LUND UNIVERSITY

Central Asian Law: Legal Cultures, Governance and Business Environment in Central Asia. A Collection of Papers from Central Asian Guest Researchers Seconded to Lund University

Urinboyev, Rustam

2020

Document Version:
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Link to publication

Citation for published version (APA):
Urinboyev, R. (Ed.) (2020). *Central Asian Law: Legal Cultures, Governance and Business Environment in Central Asia. A Collection of Papers from Central Asian Guest Researchers Seconded to Lund University*. (Research Report in Sociology of Law; No. 2). Lund University (Media-Tryck).

Total number of authors:
1

Creative Commons License:
Unspecified

General rights
Unless other specific re-use rights are stated the following general rights apply:
Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.
• Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
• You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
• You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal

Read more about Creative commons licenses: https://creativecommons.org/licenses/

Take down policy
If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

LUND UNIVERSITY

PO Box 117
221 00 Lund
+46 46-222 00 00

Central Asian Law: Legal Cultures, Governance and Business Environment in Central Asia

A Collection of Papers from Central Asian Guest Researchers Seconded to Lund University

Editor: Rustamjon Urinboyev

Research Report in Sociology of Law 2020:2

Editor: Rustamjon Urinboyev

Central Asian Law: Legal Cultures, Governance and Business Environment in Central Asia

A Collection of Papers from Central Asian Guest Researchers Seconded to Lund University

LUND
UNIVERSITY

SOCIOLOGY OF LAW
LUND UNIVERSITY

För en komplett förteckning över bokutgivningen vid
Rättssociologiska institutionen, Lunds universitet,
se slutet av boken

Sociology of Law Research Report 2020:2

Copyright The Authors

Editor Rustamjon Urinboyev

Cover picture Mirzayor Erkinov

Grafisk design Infografen/Desktop

Typesetting Jonas Palm

Production Media-Tryck

Print Media-Tryck, Lund University, Lund, Sweden 2020

ISBN 978-91-7267-429-5 tryck

ISBN 978-91-7267-430-1 PDF

ISSN 1404-1030

Publishing and distrubution
Media-Tryck
Lund University
Box 117
SE-221 00 Lund, Sweden
E-post bookorder@service.lu.se • www.mediatryck.lu.se

Media-Tryck is an environmentally
certified and ISO 14001:2015 certified
provider of printed material.
Read more about our environmental
work at www.mediatryck.lu.se

MADE IN SWEDEN

Table of Contents

Funding Acknowledgement 7

1 Introduction **9**

Rustamjon URINBOYEV

The Central Asian Law Project: Rationale, Aims, and Objectives 10
Paper Outlines 15
References 22

2 Comparative Analysis of Higher Education and Research in Central Asia from the Perspective of Internationalization **25**

Berdymyrat OVEZMYRADOV and Yolbars KEPBANOV

Introduction 25
Description of methods 27
Post-Soviet developments in Central Asian education and research .. 28
Country-specific information 34
The role of international organizations 38
National legislation on education and research: international aspects 41
Student and researcher mobility 43
Citations and university rankings 48
English language proficiency 50
Standardized tests in English and STEM skills 52
Implications for policymakers and international partners in the region 52
Summary 55
References 57

3 State Anticorruption Legal Framework and Business Climate in Uzbekistan: Legal and Practical Challenges **61**

Tolibjon MUSTAFOEV

Introduction 61
Methodological consideration 64
Trust and changing legal culture 65

Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index and its implications for the business and investment climate 69
Anticorruption reviews of legal acts as a preventive measure of legal corruption 78
Conclusion 80
References..... 82

4 **Introducing the Discipline of Legal Culture for B.A. Students within the Cultural Studies Specialty: A Syllabus Development..... 87**
Ruziya KAMAROVA
Introduction and Background..... 87
Why is legal culture important to study?..... 88
Course learning outcomes..... 89
Philosophy of the discipline 89
Module 1 90
Module 2 92
Module 3 94
Conclusion 95
The syllabus of the legal culture discipline 96
Explanatory note..... 96
Thematic plan of the discipline..... 98
Recommended literature for the course..... 100

5 **Places of Memory as a Business Environment Forming a Cultural Brand and Identity..... 103**
Kuralay YERMAGAMBETOVA
Introduction 103
Methodology 104
Museum as a place of memory and space of identity construction.. 107
Memory Practices and Identity Policies..... 111
Discussion 118
Conclusion 119
References..... 120

6 **The Information Space of the Economy of Tajikistan and Other Post-Soviet States 123**

Shuhrat MAQSUDOV

1. The concept and essence of the Information Space of integration communities 125
2. Features of the information space of economic cooperation between countries..... 130
3. Prospects for the Information Space of the Economies of Post-Soviet states..... 136

Conclusion 144

References..... 146

7 **Contributor Biographies 149**

Funding Acknowledgement

All papers included in this research report have received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 Marie Skłodowska-Curie Research and Innovation Staff Exchange (MSCA RISE) Program under the grant agreement No. 870647 (project: Central Asian Law). In addition to MSCA RISE funding, this publication was also supported by Swedish Research Council (dnr 2018-01425, project "The Multilevel Orders of Corruption"). I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the Department of Sociology of Law at Lund University for providing facilities, resources, and an atmosphere conducive to quality research.

Rustamjon URINBOYEV

1 Introduction

Rustamjon URINBOYEV

This research report is a compilation of essays written by guest researchers from Central Asia who spent four to twelve months at the Department of Sociology of Law, Lund University, and conducted research on various topics pertaining to legal cultures, governance and business environments in Central Asia. These guest research stays (secondments) took place in the framework of the EU-funded project "Central Asian Law: Legal Cultures and Business Environments in Central Asia" (project number 870647 H2020 MSCA-RISE 2019-2023), which runs from 01/03/2020 through 28/02/2024. The project is coordinated by Lund University and the project consortium includes European universities (University of Zurich, Charles University Prague, Riga Graduate School of Law, Marmara University, University of Latvia) as well as Central Asian partner institutions (L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University, Khujand Polytechnic Institute of the Tajik Technical University, SIAR Research and Consulting, Tebigy Kuwwat Public Association, Academy of the General Prosecutor's Office of Uzbekistan, Westminster International University in Tashkent).

The initial idea of compiling Central Asian guest researchers' essays into a research report emerged from the first Central Asian Law project seminar, which was organized at the Lund University Department of Sociology of Law on June 5, 2020. The seminar featured four guest researchers who presented their research projects relating to legal culture, cultural branding, corruption, and digital governance and their implications for understanding the governance and business environment in Central Asia.[1] The main idea behind publishing this preliminary research report is to provide a platform for Central Asian guest researchers to present the research projects they developed during their research stay in Lund and share their initial research findings with the Central Asian Law project team and the wider academic

[1] More detailed information about the seminar can be found here: https://www.soclaw.lu.se/en/article/culture-and-corruption-in-focus-at-the-first-central-asian-law-seminar.

and policy audiences. Another equally important aim was to empower our guest researchers, given the fact that many Central Asia-based researchers find it difficult to publish their academic work in Western academic venues due to different academic, economic, and ideological factors. In this respect, as a principal investigator of the Central Asian Law project, my role has been to encourage our guest researchers (seconded fellows) to produce tangible academic output, to read, comment, and edit their papers, and to organize the proofreading and publication process.

This research report consists of five papers that explore contemporary issues and challenges in Central Asia, such as the problems accompanying the internationalization of higher education and research, anti-corruption legal frameworks and the business climate, cultural branding, legal culture education, and the digital economy. In what follows, I will present the main highlights from each paper and discuss their implications for understanding the interconnections between legal cultures, local business environments, and governance in Central Asia. Before providing paper outlines, I will present a brief overview of the Central Asian Law project, discussing its rationale, aims, and objectives.

The Central Asian Law Project: Rationale, Aims, and Objectives

Over the last two decades, political and economic relations between the EU and the five post-Soviet Central Asian republics (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan) have evolved around two parallel and contradictory patterns. On the one hand, due to the efforts of the EU, political and economic relations and interdependence have increased, and the presence of EU development aid programs, educational initiatives and companies in the region has expanded significantly.[2] On the other hand, inconsistent business ethics standards, widespread corruption and the peculiar way in which rule of law is interpreted and applied in the region (called "the local way of doing business") have hindered and limited the role of foreign companies in the region. Building on the recent political developments leading to the opening up of previously closed and inaccessible countries, **Central Asian Law is a research and training project that aims to promote greater understanding and explanation of the interconnections between legal cultures, local business environments, and governance in Central Asia**. Based on these considerations, the Central Asian Law project aims to 1) produce new empirical knowledge on legal cultures and business ethics in the region; 2) engage

[2] https://ec.europa.eu/international-partnerships/where-we-work/central-asia_en

with, and challenge, existing theoretical paradigms within socio-legal studies, law, economic and management studies, Central Asian studies (post-Soviet studies more generally) and public administration studies; 3) provide strategic intelligence for business actors interested or already operating in the region; and 4) inform international organizations and decision makers in the EU and Central Asia on possible ways to improve the business and investment climate, the rule of law and governance in the region.

Business Ranking[3]	Market Opportunities	Business Environment
Kazakhstan (28) Population: 18,037,646 GNI Per Capita (US$): 7,890	Vast hydrocarbon and mineral reserves. Government support to develop its industry (i.e. transport, pharmaceuticals, telecommunications). Growing middle class and urbanization	Significant reforms since 2015 include: Simplified procedures for starting a business, reduction in the time required for VAT registration; easier cross-border trade, introduction of an electronic customs declaration system; reduction in customs administrative fees; easier enforcement of contracts thanks to new measures aimed at increased transparency and accountability of the commercial courts.
Kyrgyzstan (70) Population: 6,201,500 GNI Per Capita (US$): 1,130	Government interest in exploiting large mineral reserves (gold, tungsten, tin, antimony, mercury); tourism sector open to foreign business; open to joint ventures in agriculture and technoparks. Growing middle class, large amount of remittances	Liberal investment legislation includes liberal visa regime for foreigners; easier enforcement of contracts thanks to improved case management in courts and adoption of new law on voluntary mediation; removal of administrative obstacles and barriers for investments by limitation of state interference in investment and other entrepreneurship activity; improvements to customs legislation, low import duties.
Uzbekistan (76) Population: 32,387,200 GNI Per Capita (US$): 1,980	Rich in gas, uranium, gold, cotton production, manufacturing, telecommunications, transportation. Large population, growing middle class, large amount of remittances.	Newly introduced reforms in 2016 include visa-free regime for all EU countries; increased access to hard currency; moratorium on all state business audits; simplified fiscal regime, reduction of import duties; easier procedure to register businesses.
Tajikistan (126) Population: 8,921,343 GNI Per Capita (US$): 990	Room to develop hydro resources, mining, food processing, agribusiness machinery, construction equipment, tourism. Growing middle class, large amount of remittances.	Recent business facilitation includes easier cross-border trade thanks to better relations with Uzbekistan; easier business registration; establishment of formal mechanisms for dialogue between government and market actors.
Turkmenistan (N/A) Population: 5,896,856 GNI Per Capita (US$): 6,650	Room to invest in hydrocarbon and mineral reserves, chemical and petrochemical industries, transportation, construction, tourism	Government regularly announces its desire to attract more foreign investment. So far, large projects (construction of malls, buildings) are structured as joint ventures with foreign companies (mostly from Turkey). This continues to be the most viable investment approach.

In 2012, *Uppdrag Granskning*, one of Sweden's leading investigative-journalism television shows, presented some highly contentious revelations about the involvement of Telia (the Swedish telecom giant whose principal shareholder is the Swedish government with almost 40 percent of the company's shares) in high-level corrupt business practices in Central Asia (Uppdrag granskning, 2012). Telia has

[3] http://www.doingbusiness.org/en/rankings?region=europe-and-central-asia

been conducting business in Central Asia since 2007 and a large part of their operations were located in Uzbekistan. These revelations illustrated how Telia contributed, intentionally or unintentionally, to the efforts of Central Asian governments to intercept the communications of certain individuals who showed dissent to authoritarian regimes. The culmination of these revelations was the so-called "Uzbekistan affair" – the 3G-licensing process in Uzbekistan. The revelations provided solid evidence of how Telia, in an attempt to acquire the 3G license in Uzbekistan, made extensive monetary transfers to an offshore company, Takilant, which was linked to the late Uzbek President Islam Karimov's family. The information presented by *Uppdrag Granskning* clearly showed that Takilant was owned by Gayane Avakyan, an assistant to Gulnara Karimova, the late president's daughter. It was thus concluded that Gulnara Karimova had earned over €200 million between 2007 and 2010 as a result of the licensing deal. This high-level corruption scandal sent shockwaves rumbling across Sweden, the EU, United States, and Uzbekistan, eventually leading to criminal charges against the former Telia CEO and two other senior officials for their involvement in the bribery scheme. As a result of the legal proceedings against the company, Telia had to pay $965 million to resolve charges relating to violations of the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act (Schoultz & Flyghed, 2016). Telia's "Uzbekistan affair" was not the only case where EU-based business actors were involved in corruption scandals in Central Asia. Similarly, VimpelCom, the Amsterdam-based telecom company, also faced criminal charges for paying massive bribes to Gulnara Karimova to enter the Uzbek telecommunications market and, as a result, agreed to pay $835 million to settle US and Dutch charges (The Guardian, 2016).

These two cases are black spots on a series of otherwise successful initiatives in the field of international cooperation between the EU, its member states, and the five Central Asian post-Soviet republics.[4] Indeed, a significant number of well-respected EU-based companies (including, Prime Horti Solutions, BNP Paribas Total, Sanofi-aventis, Volkswagen Group, Daimler, Siemens, Deutsche Bank, BMW Group, and MAN Knauf) now successfully operate in the region and have contributed to the development of EU-Central Asian relations. However, the aforementioned corruption scandals can be regarded as indicative of at least two tendencies:

1. In spite of the fact that the development of a framework for EU-Central Asian relations has been significantly advanced, the production of knowledge regarding the region has not followed accordingly. Diplomatic and political relations have rapidly evolved, including in the fields of development, cooperation, and research, and there is a desire to further

[4] https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/regions/central-asia/eu-support-private-sector-development-central-asia_en

business relations.[5] However, apart from political declarations and official statistics,[6] little knowledge or strategic documents have been produced on how to deal with Central Asian markets in terms of access, business development, cultural adaptation, business ethics, and corporate responsibility. Recent events and developments make it very likely that exchanges will intensify rapidly and become wider. The waiving of visas for EU citizens travelling to Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan represents only one of a long list of measures taken after local leaders realized the potential benefits of intensified relations with the EU (Boonstra & Panella, 2018). These are important steps for opening up these recently unexploited markets with a growing middle class. Of particular interest is the case of Uzbekistan, a country which was closed and nearly inaccessible until 2016 and recently opened to the outside world, offering the largest market in the region thanks to a population of 33 million people.

2. The Central Asian region is a challenging environment when it comes to navigating and understanding its legal culture and business and economic context. Little is known about how the environment can be navigated. Companies operating in the region have been led by a trial and error approach, often keeping the results of their experiences to themselves and making it difficult for newcomers to gather information quickly on how to operate. Local markets have opened only recently, thus offering high rates of return compared to other regions. However, potential investors are faced with at least two additional challenges: First, the risks associated with entering Central Asian markets and running business activities are much higher and involve informal and illegal relations with state officials as well as fierce competition with local business elites who are connected to the higher echelons of the government. A series of investigative reports by Kristian Lasslett published on the Open Democracy website is a good example of how the state and private sectors are merging in Uzbekistan (Lasslett, 2019, 2020). Second, a difference in legal cultures, often resulting in a different understanding of business ethics, leads to a conflict between a) what is considered moral, socially acceptable or even legal in the region and b) what is considered good practice, in line with international law and international standards. This is why the primarily focus of the Central Asian Law project is to go beyond the "law-in-books" and standard review of development policies and produce original empirical material (fieldwork-based) on legal cultures and the business environment.

[5] https://ec.europa.eu/research/iscp/index.cfm?pg=eeca

[6] http://ec.europa.eu/trade/policy/countries-and-regions/regions/central-asia/

To respond to the above needs, the Central Asian Law project is concerned with the way national and inte3rnational laws, norms, and (written and unwritten) rules come to shape the business environment and governance in five Central Asian countries. In order to do this, it is necessary to identify a rationale and framework capable of explaining why some rules and laws are complied with, while others are ignored or avoided, and why some rules are bent or violated in support of personal objectives and benefits. This can only be done by comparing visible and "invisible" practices, official and unofficial ones, explaining why and how a law is adopted and written on paper, how it is interpreted, applied in practice, and translated into practical recommendations in practice, and how the target group responds to the new provisions generated by a new law. To do this, the Central Asian Law project will commit to four research objectives:

Objective 1) International actors: To study the role and influence of transnational and international actors on the institutional and business environments of the Central Asian region. This objective will be accomplished by exploring and comparing the way the EU, US, other international actors interested in the region (i.e. China, India, Japan, Korea, Russia) and international organizations (IMF, WB, WTO) have been attempting to influence the legal and institutional framework used nowadays to regulate business and economic relations in the region.

Objective 2) Domestic institutions: To explore the nexus between legal environment, domestic regulatory institutions, and the actual governance practices in defining the business environment. Achieving this objective means examining the synergies between external influences and domestic institutions as well as the actual regulatory practices ("law in action") in order to understand the degree to which the approaches, ideas, and principles (i.e. corporate responsibility, business ethics) proposed by international and transnational actors are received, understood, and possibly applied at the domestic level in the region.

Objective 3) Business actors: To survey the reactions of national and international business actors to the formal and informal norms and practices produced by the synergies between domestic and international actors. Achieving this objective means identifying patterns of behavior across the region in a comparative and socio-legal perspective. In particular, we will be looking at tendencies to comply (or not comply) with the overall framework for a given sector and country in order to explain why some rules are obeyed while some others are ignored, rejected or renegotiated.

Objective 4) Informal institutions and norms: To investigate the perception, by society and its citizens as well as the business community, of compliance and non-compliance with business rules. Achieving this objective means a) exploring the attitudes and social acceptability of the behavior patterns of business actors in the region; b) distinguishing practices that are considered acceptable by society even if they end up violating some rules or are considered by the state to be harmful to the

business environment; and c) understanding why these attitudes fail to be considered harmful. This will include consideration of the following questions: What kind of social control is offered, or enforced, informally? How are morality and business ethics shaped, lived, and developed by citizens in their daily lives and transactions?

The five papers included in this research report are aligned with these four research objectives. In the next sections, I will present the main highlights from each paper and describe how they are related to the aforementioned objectives and in what way they contribute to a better understanding of the interconnections between legal cultures, local business environments, and governance in Central Asia.

Paper Outlines

The five chapters included in this research report explore diverse topics and problems in the context of five Central Asian countries (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan). But one common element in all five papers is that they each address the problems, challenges, and opportunities that need to be considered when examining the interconnections between legal cultures, governance, and the business environment in Central Asia.

The paper by Berdymyrat Ovezmyradov and Yolbars Kepbanov comparatively investigates the development trajectories of higher education and research in post-Soviet Central Asia. In undertaking this task, the authors examined the current state of the internationalization of higher education and research in five Central Asian republics, specifically focusing on the performance of national systems of education and research in innovation, international cooperation, academic mobility, research output, English proficiency, and standardized testing. In their study, Ovezmyradov and Kepbanov examined four key issues: 1) the most important developments in the internationalization of higher education and research in Central Asia; 2) the collaboration between Central Asian countries and international actors in the field of higher education and research; 3) the key characteristics of the internationalization of higher education and research sectors in Central Asian countries; and 4) the position of Central Asian countries in world university rankings for education and research. Their findings indicate the region's inadequate performance and participation in globally recognized measures and rankings in relevant areas. Central Asian countries lag behind other post-Soviet countries that have achieved higher levels of internationalization and liberalization.

It is worth highlighting certain positive development trends in Central Asia in the field of education. After gaining independence, the countries of Central Asia introduced legislation in the field of education and science based on the principles of state policies, goals, and functions of education systems, including international

cooperation. At the same time, the authors suggest high attention must be paid to the consistent sequence of actions in practice, and especially the norms of international cooperation. More work would be needed to address the existing deficiencies in transparency, research performance, underinvestment, aging staff, foreign language proficiency, institutional autonomy, privatization, and industrial R&D. Internationalization in the form of academic cooperation, foreign share, standardized testing, evaluation, and promotion based on the best practices worldwide could be the effective steps towards responding to these challenges. The role of foreign partners in the region has been and will continue to be instrumental in the respective developments

Another important question explored in this report is the relationship between anti-corruption laws and the business climate. This issue was explored in the context of Uzbekistan, a profoundly closed country that only opened up to the world following the death of Islam Karimov, the first president of independent Uzbekistan, on September 2, 2016. For many Western analysts, journalists, business circles, and scholars who write about Uzbekistan, Islam Karimov's quarter-century rule had been politically, economically, and morally oppressive, encompassing the brutal suppression of free speech, the merciless fight against political opposition, the systematic abuse of human rights, the extremely high unemployment rate, rampant corruption, and the impossibility of doing ethical business in the country (Kandiyoti, 2007; Rasanayagam, 2011; Peshkova, 2016; Ilkhamov, 2017). With the death of Islam Karimov and the election of Shavkat Mirziyoyev as the new president of Uzbekistan, the crucial question for the foreign corporations and companies interested in investing in Uzbekistan was whether and how these events would affect the modes of governance and the business and investment climate in the country.

It has been more than four years since Shavkat Mirziyoyev took over leadership of Uzbekistan. In contrast to early pessimistic predictions, the new president has emerged as a reform-oriented, ambitious, and pragmatic leader, openly acknowledging the failure of the Karimov-era governance practices. He presented himself to the world as a reformer and expressed eagerness to modernize the country and create a favorable business environment to attract foreign investors to the largely under-exploited Uzbek market. However, despite the new leadership's reformist agenda, it should be noted that the Karimov-era governance and business practices are still dominant. There is still strong government interference in the economy and informal, unwritten rules continue to shape the business life in Uzbekistan, which leads to widespread corruption and kleptocratic practices (Lasslett, 2019, 2020). Based on the analysis of recent political events in Uzbekistan, it is possible to speak of some form of a transition period from a heavily repressive authoritarianism towards a softer form of authoritarianism, akin to a hybrid political regime or authoritarian modernization (Pannier, 2017; Buckley, 2018; Anceschi, 2019). Under this transition, "the rules of the game" are unclear and business actors are

operating under conditions of uncertainty. One can see some kind of legal pluralism where different political groups are struggling over resources and access to privileges, which implies that there is no dominant power structure that have full control over business climate.

Although Uzbekistan acceded to the United Nations Convention against Corruption in 2008 and adopted an anti-corruption law on January 4, 2017, no significant success in reducing corruption has been seen. The latest report by Transparency International (2019) shows that Uzbekistan continues to remain among the most corrupt countries in the world. The Uzbek government continuously reports about officials who were arrested for corruption charges. In 2018, over a thousand criminal cases were opened on suspicion of corruption. Experts note that these corruption hunts are not a real campaign against corruption. Rather, in personalistic authoritarian regimes such as Uzbekistan, it is a common practice to occasionally conduct various kinds of campaigns against corrupt officials who are made into scapegoats. The policy report, "Tackling Corruption in Uzbekistan," commissioned by the Open Society Foundation's Eurasia Program, shows that the Uzbek authorities' recent anti-corruption drives largely reflect political maneuverings among the elite rather than a genuine attempt to combat corruption (Lewis, 2016). It remains to be seen whether the new Uzbek leadership will take real tangible measures to fight corruption.

In the second paper, **Tolibjon Mustafoev** examines the impact of anti-corruption laws on the business and investment climate in post-Karimov Uzbekistan. He explores these processes by drawing on his recent interviews with key informants in business and government circles as well as by critically analyzing Uzbekistan's anti-corruption legal framework and current public policy developments. In his paper, Mustafoev provides a very interesting narrative on how Uzbekistan, under the leadership of President Shavkat Mirziyoyev, has embarked on an ambitious mission to create a positive international image and improve its position in international indicators by enhancing its domestic legislation and institutions. As Mustafoev argues, even though Uzbekistan has adopted a series of anti-corruption laws, policies, and programs since 2016, there are still numerous barriers that need to be addressed. In this respect, he points out the following issues affecting the business environment in Uzbekistan.

First, one of the main reasons for the poor enforcement of anti-corruption legislation is a lack of trust between the government, people, and businesses. Drawing on his interviews and observations, Mustafoev claims that trust and changing society's legal culture is the first step in combatting corruption in Uzbek society. It requires a departure from the "normal" culture and attitudes underpinning corruption in Uzbek society. Ordinary citizens, businesses, and even government officials in Uzbekistan tend to see corruption as a normal means to an end. But while corruption allows tasks to be completed more efficiently in the short-term, in the long-term, it

is more damaging to efficiency, especially for the ordinary citizens who do not have the means to engage in these practices. It is a vicious cycle. Second, Mustafoev maintains that a lack of transparency is one of the main factors breeding corruption. If people and the business sector, particularly international businesses, can have access to direct and accurate information, there is a high likelihood that Uzbekistan's climate would improve considerably, thereby affecting its position in international indicators such as the World Bank's Doing Business Index. With access to information, businesses can make better assessments of markets and their risks and opportunities. Third, based on his analysis of the anti-corruption legal framework, Mustafoev suggests that there is a need to revise the anti-corruption expertise procedures in Uzbekistan. Legislative acts adopted by different state bodies and regional and local governments are rarely subject to anti-corruption expertise, which often leads to conflicts of interest and a lack of transparency. The elimination of possible corruption-generating risks and factors in legal acts can be achieved through clear and strict compliance with the principles and mechanisms of anti-corruption expertise. This implies the need to separate anti-corruption expertise from the general legal expertise that is currently being utilized by the Ministry of Justice of Uzbekistan. An independent and thorough anti-corruption expertise can eliminate or minimize corruption risks and significantly improve the quality of adopted legal acts on both the central and local government levels. The active involvement of civil society institutions in anti-corruption expertise could provide additional impetus.

The third paper, by Ruziya Kamarova, can be described as an "action research" project where the author presents her new course proposal on introducing the "Legal Culture" discipline to BA students in the Cultural Studies program at L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University in Nur-Sultan, Kazakhstan. This new course proposal was developed during Kamarova's four-month secondment at the Department of Sociology of Law, Lund University, which enabled her to conduct a thorough review of various theories and methods in the sociology of law. As Kamarova argues, in Kazakhstan as well as in other countries in Central Asia, legal science and cultural studies continue to be taught and developed in isolation from each other, while law and culture are closely interrelated. Law is a part of culture and has its twists and turns in the history of the development of human societies. The history and specifics of law are reflected in different ways in various cultural spheres, arenas of society, and branches of knowledge. Considering these interlinkages, it is important to introduce a discipline of legal culture in both law and cultural studies programs. Therefore, when studying the legal culture, it is important to look at law from different perspectives and reflect the diversity of approaches to its consideration.

In her course proposal, Kamarova also aspires to maintain the balance between theory and methodology. As she argues, it is important not only to consider the conceptual aspects and existing theories regarding law, but also to pay attention to

how it is studied in order to stimulate the students' interest in researching various social aspects of legal culture. She structures the course in such a way that students first study the various aspects of law as a phenomenon, its conceptual frameworks and variety of meanings and definitions. they then move on to the study of law and legal culture with various multidisciplinary approaches. At the end of the course, the students will have an opportunity to study important aspects of legal culture in the contemporary world, with a focus on Kazakhstan. In general, the course will consist of three modules:

1. An overview of the state of research in the fields of legal culture, its history, functioning, and development (national and international frameworks): students are to be able to apply law frameworks in their professional activities, and in solving professional tasks in the field of legal culture.
2. The correlation of theoretical knowledge with its practical applicability: students are to be able to apply theoretical and methodological approaches for the analysis of legal cultures.
3. The capability to navigate the current challenges in the field of legal culture in modern Kazakhstan freely: students are to be able to study issues in the field of legal culture in Kazakhstani society.

All in all, the main intention behind Kamarova's new course proposal is to contribute to capacity-building processes in Kazakhstan by broadening the professional skills of university students and giving them an opportunity to study and pay attention to the law and its place and development in society in future research and practice. As Kamarova states, the idea of introducing the discipline of "legal culture" in university education is in line with the processes of nation-building in Kazakhstan after the collapse of the Soviet Union – a constant development of legislative framework and institutions. The government has adopted a special state program titled "Rukhani Zhangyru" or "course towards the future," entailing a modernization of Kazakhstan's identity in which special attention is paid to the development of competencies (economics, IT, law, etc.). Kamarova believes that this new course would allow her to use her research insights in educational processes and give lectures on the nexus between legal culture, domestic regulatory institutions, and actual governance practices and their implications for understanding governance, business, and investment in Kazakhstan.

The paper by **Kuralay Yermagambetova** also focuses on the Kazakh cultural context and explores the interconnections between cultural branding, identity, and the business environment. As the author argues, in the context of globalization and rapidly changing conditions, creating a favorable international image of the country and identifying its cultural brands is a prerequisite for improving Kazakhstan's business and investment climate. With these considerations in mind, the author focuses on places of memory as a main tool for cultural branding and identity

building. More specifically, Yermagambetova discusses the potential of culture, cultural sites, and places of memory for creating a business environment and the ways in which they increase the recognition of localities, regions, and Kazakhstan as a whole, both locally and internationally. These processes were investigated with reference to the work of Kazakhstani scholars in the field of identity, the Kazakh government's programs focusing on the construction of Kazakhstani identity and anthropological studies of places of memory in Kazakhstan.

The interaction of business and culture has traditionally been difficult. In her paper, Yermagambetova challenges the widely held view that culture and business are separate spheres of human life. Rather, she argues that culture and business are intertwined spheres. The process of mutual influence occurs, as a rule, through the incorporation of the phenomena of culture into economic reality. This process is associated with the appearance within the work of art in the culture of a certain "economic dimension," which can be represented as its value, expressed in monetary terms. By acquiring value, cultural phenomena gain economic importance and become objects of the business sphere. Considering these mutually transforming interactions, Yermagambetova suggests that improving cultural policy and preserving cultural heritage through reproduction in cultural memory is an important component of the strategic development of modern Kazakhstan. This implies that Kazakhstan's modernization and development programs aimed at entering the country into the top thirty developed countries should also encompass measures aimed to develop its spiritual and material culture. From this perspective, the author concludes that it is necessary to identify the relevant objects and subjects of places of memory that could serve as a tool for improving the business environment, cultural branding, and identity building in Kazakhstan.

The final paper, by **Shuhrat Maqsudov**, provides a review of the current state of e-governance and the digital economy in Tajikistan (and other post-Soviet countries), focusing specifically on the role of the digital economy in shaping political, economic, and social developments in the post-Soviet space. As the author describes, the digital economy began to take shape in Tajikistan in the early 2000s, with elements of the infrastructure of all or several technological structures and features of a mixed economy. These changes generated many contradictions in the organization and maintenance of the functioning of all these structures and the economic system as a whole. This inevitably gave rise to the most diverse contradictions at all levels of the management and organization of the national economy.

Following on the heels of the global discourses on e-governance and digitalization, the political leadership of Tajikistan made multiple bold claims that they would promote e-governance and the digital economy in the country. The concept of the digital economy in the Republic of Tajikistan was approved by a decree of the government of the Republic of Tajikistan on December 30, 2019. In public-funded

organizations, including universities, financial transactions began to be conducted online through a unified system. In all organizations, salaries and pensions are transferred to bank cards, which sharply stimulated the development of online shopping and services. The republic's customs and tax services comprehensively use online services. The Tajik government also declared its intention to transfer the provision of public services to online platforms.

Even though the Tajik government has been making bold claims to promote e-governance and build the infrastructure of its information space, the level of digitalization in Tajikistan still remains low, especially when compared to other post-Soviet republics, as sh0wn in Maqsudov's paper. Tajikistan buys the Internet from Russia and it is delivered through Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan, resulting in a relatively high price for Internet access. According to the UN Commission on Digital Technologies for the Development of Broadband, in 2016, Tajikistan ranked 149th (among 191 countries) in terms of the number of individual Internet users. With regard to the distribution of mobile telephony, Internet use, personal computer use, and the use of social networks, Tajikistan ranked 116th among 139 countries in 2016, while Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan ranked 88th and 58th, respectively.

Based on his review of the current state of e-governance and digitalization in Tajikistan, Maqsudov believes that Tajik government should adopt new strategies and regulations to develop the digital economy. Referring to the 2019 government order on the Concept of the Digital Economy in the Republic of Tajikistan, the author suggests that it is time for Tajik government bodies to determine ways to motivate the transition of all employees, from managers to simple production workers, to new types of digital jobs. Digitizing the existing base of the modern economy is a huge task in organizing the management of enterprises in Tajikistan in the digital economy. Another equally important task is to improve the education system and to train and retrain specialists related to information technology. In doing so, people must acquire the proper skills for the systematic use of information technology. Entrepreneurship, employment, and e-literacy should be encouraged, with an emphasis on creating conditions for the accessibility of education for all.

Maqsudov concludes that building information space infrastructure and developing the digital economy is a prerequisite for improving Tajikistan's business and investment climate. This is especially important when considering the fact that the geographical location of the country leads to higher prices for communication with the rest of the world, as well as services and equipment for the population, which, combined with the lack of independent providers of local hosting capacities, limits the development of local content.

References

Anceschi, L. (2019). New authoritarianism in post-Karimov Uzbekistan. In C. Frappi & F. Indeo (Eds.), *Monitoring Central Asia and the Caspian area: Development policies, regional trends, and Italian interests* (117-119). Venice: Edizioni Ca' Foscari.

Boonstra, J., & Panella, R. (2018). Three reasons why the EU matters to Central Asia. *Voices On Central Asia*. Retrieved November 15, 2020 from https://voicesoncentralasia.org/three-reasons-why-the-eu-matters-to-central-asia/

Buckley, N. (2018). Once-repressive Uzbekistan begins a post-Karimov opening. *Financial Times*. Retrieved November 15, 2020 from https://www.ft.com/content/6c37419c-0cbf-11e8-8eb7-42f857ea9f09

Ilkhamov, A. (2017). Grand corruption in Uzbekistan's telecommunication sector: Root causes and social costs. In M. Laruelle (Ed.), *Constructing the Uzbek state: Narratives of post-Soviety Years* (45-68). Boulder, CO: Lexington Books.

Kandiyoti, D. (2007). Post-Soviet Institutional Design and the Paradoxes of the Uzbek Path. *Central Asian Survey*, 26 (1), 31–48.

Lasslett, K. (2019). Uzbekistan Ltd: Private-public interests clash in flagship project. *openDemocracy*. Retrieved November 15, 2020 from https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/odr/uzbekistan-ltd/

Lasslett, K. (2020). Revolving doors, invisible hands: How the state and private sector are merging in the new Uzbekistan. *openDemocracy*. Retrieved November 15, 2020 from https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/odr/revolving-doors-invisible-hands-how-state-and-private-sector-are-merging-new-uzbekistan/

Lewis, D. G. (2016). *Tackling corruption in Uzbekistan: A white paper*. New York: Open Society Foundations.

Pannier, B. (2017). Analysis: How high should hopes be for change In Uzbekistan? *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*. Retrieved November 15, 2020 from https://www.rferl.org/a/uzbekistan-mirziyoev-hopes-for-change-karimov-cotton-foreign-policy/28938193.html

Peshkova, S. (2016). Religion under Karimov and after. *Central Asian Survey*, (Special Issue).

Rasanayagam, J. (2011). *Islam in post-Soviet Uzbekistan: The morality of experience*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schoultz, I., & Flyghed, J. (2016). Doing business for a "higher loyalty"? How Swedish transnational corporations neutralise allegations of crime. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, *66*(2), 183–198.

The Guardian. (2016). VimpelCom pays $835m to US and Dutch over Uzbekistan telecoms bribes. Retrieved November 15, 2020 from https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/feb/19/vimpelcom-pays-835m-to-us-and-dutch-over-uzbekistan-telecoms-bribes

Transparency International. (2019). Corruption Perceptions Index 2019. Retrieved November 15, 2020 from https://www.transparency.org/cpi2019

Uppdrag granskning. (2012). Teliasonera i miljardaffär med diktatur. Retrieved November 15, 2020 from https://www.svt.se/ug/teliasonera-gjorde-miljardaffar-med-diktatur-genom-bolag-i-skatteparadis

2 Comparative Analysis of Higher Education and Research in Central Asia from the Perspective of Internationalization

Berdymyrat OVEZMYRADOV and Yolbars KEPBANOV

Introduction

Due to their increasing importance, it has become necessary to rethink the role of education and research in socio-economic development in Central Asian countries. All those countries have been strongly dependent on exports of commodities for economic growth: Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan on oil and gas, Uzbekistan on minerals and cotton, and Kyrgyzstan on minerals (UNESCO, 2017). The economies of Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan were also heavily dependent on transfers from migrant labor as well as on reserves of precious and other metals. Recently, prices for these commodities were driven to unexpectedly low levels due to combinations of factors such as economic downturns, increasing competition among suppliers, and disruptive technology. For instance, oil and gas prices collapsed to lows unimaginable only a few years ago. This happened largely due to unexpected developments such as a rapid growth in renewables, disruptive fracking technology, and later the COVID-19 crises. Findings of the recent World Bank Report on the COVID-19 shock to Kazakhstan's economy (the largest in two decades) could apply more or less to all the other countries in the region: the pandemic could have a decades-long negative impact on human capital development (World Bank, 2020).

In times when Central Asia can no longer rely on the export of natural and labor resources the way the region did in the past, it becomes critical to develop human resources for growth based on the knowledge economy. The tensions between public objectives and inadequate resources should be addressed throughout the education systems. Meanwhile, a shortage of skilled workers is an obstacle for local and foreign companies to do business. Therefore, the role of tertiary education and research is critical for the region to transition to more competitive states. Since modern research and education are impossible in isolation without close ties to the global academic community, internationalization can be considered a key to development. Competitive higher education and research must enable rapid flows of ideas, technology, people, and information in order to remain competitive. Though leading universities have long recognized the globalization of society by internationalizing their campuses, still too few institutions recognize internationalization as an important part of education (IIE, 2012).

Even though some similar changes have happened to a certain extent in all of Central Asia, there are still many unique characteristics of the national education systems and research sectors that remain specific to each country (Cabe, 2013). This study aims to compare higher education and research in Central Asia from the perspective of internationalization. This topic is important because it could provide a much-needed source of information on the research and education system from the perspective of globalization. Currently, there is a shortage of academic, technical, and non-academic literature in English on research and education in Central Asia. Meanwhile, this kind of information could be highly interesting for foreign businessmen and specialists who currently or intend to participate in various projects in the region. This study will attempt to reveal some of those unique traits in internationalization that present both challenges and opportunities for the national education systems. The research compares countries in Central Asia in terms of how they performed in international-level research and education after gaining independence. To the best of the authors' knowledge, there has been no recent research conducting a comparative analysis of Central Asian countries in terms of their performance with respect to the growth of international cooperation and contribution to global research and education. Research questions in this study are as follows: i) What were the most important developments in the internationalization of higher education and research in Central Asia? ii) How could relationships between Central Asian countries and international organizations contribute to the development of national education and research sectors? iii) What are the key characteristics of the internationalization of higher education and research sectors in Central Asian countries that distinguish them from other post-Soviet countries? and iv) How can standards of higher education and research in Central Asian countries be improved relative to their current positions in international rankings? The results indicate that the region mostly lagged behind comparative countries in the major indicators of development and

internationalization of education and research. The implications for policymaking and international cooperation are discussed.

Section 2 presents the methods. Initially, general information of relevance for international cooperation is presented on socio-economic and legal developments in the region and the countries in Sections 3, 4, 5, and 6. Afterward, Sections 7, 8, 9, and 10 discuss mobility, academic rankings, language proficiency, and admission tests, respectively. Section 11 lists the implications of the analysis and proposes policy changes. Finally, findings and future work are summarized in Section 12.

Description of methods

As subsequent sections clearly show, detailed and accurate data on relevant indicators are often missing for most Central Asian countries. Specifically, the period from 1991 to 2019 seems to be ready for a deeper analysis of how each of the five Central Asian countries performed in one of the key aspects of higher education and research – internationalization. Wherever possible, available statistical and other quantitative sources were used to complement and validate the qualitative findings in the analysis. Internationalization in general implies outbound academic mobility, hosting international students, curricula modernization, and cooperation with institutions abroad (IIE, 2012). Since no universally accepted measures of internationalization exist in higher education and research, the following openly accessible estimations or their derivatives were chosen as indicators to describe a certain aspect of internationalization: involvement of foreign organizations in the internationalization of institutions, mobility of students and researchers, global academic rankings, SCImago ratings, TOEFL and GRE scores, standardized testing, language training, participation in the Bologna process, and international cooperation. The comparisons also include data analysis and examples of past and current related legislation, as well as observer opinions. They will take into account practices that are widely accepted in the country, including but not limited to curriculum, publication requirements, local research articles, teaching methods, research methods, equipment, admission procedures, certification, employment perspectives, industry-education ties, internships, and information and communication technology. The available primary data would be collected from accessible resources in English, Russian, and local languages. Since specific data on the internationalization of some indicators were not readily available, certain conjectures were based upon limited surveys for country-specific information. Therefore, several statements made in the next two sections are based more on anecdotal evidence than empirical data.

To put the developments in Central Asia into perspective relative to other post-Soviet countries, three countries were included in comparisons as representatives of the general direction of geopolitical orientation: Russia (Russian Federation), Ukraine and Latvia (the latter two countries representing relatively more open and "westernized" states). Due consideration was given to relative measures. These are mostly absolute measures divided by the population of a studied country, as in the case of mobile students, or by the number of test-takers, as in TOEFL and GRE discussions. For calculating TOEFL performance, a weighted average as per the number of test-takers in the PBT, CBT, and IBT versions was estimated for each of the three selected points where data was available. To measure research performance, the total number of citations is used. This is deemed preferable to the number of publications (another common measure used by UNESCO (2017) in a similar study) as citations are more accurate in measuring both the volume and quality of scientific work. H-index, another common measure of publication quality used in this study, means the number of papers that received at least h citations. Since no accurate data was available on sample sizes and variability across all countries and years of testing, no statements can be made about representative sampling and the statistical significance of the results in most of the comparisons.

Post-Soviet developments in Central Asian education and research

The education systems of the Central Asian countries had undergone significant changes in the early 1990s after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Each country consecutively launched several reforms in an attempt to modernize their systems and bring them closer to international standards. As mentioned above, there is an obvious shortage of literature in English on education and science in Central Asia. The most comprehensive report dedicated to the topic of Central Asian education and research by the World Bank was published more than a decade ago, though its findings mostly remain valid today (Brunner & Tillet, 2007). Decision makers and scholars have long acknowledged the importance and challenges of transforming education systems in Central Asian countries to serve the needs of society (Nessipbayeva & Dalayeva, 2013). These countries share a common historical background and face similar challenges, yet each country in the region has a unique structure that clearly distinguishes it from other neighboring countries in terms of its research and education system. After independence, multiple changes have been made that were quite similar among the majority of the post-Soviet countries, including a move toward academic exchange, international collaboration, standardized testing in admissions, a diversification and decentralization in management, and the introduction of private schools. Another major shift was the gradual joining in the

Bologna process in order to bring national standards up to international ones. Researchers suggested that those changes in higher education have been inevitable and dictated by the market economy (Heyneman, 2010). The interest of Central Asian governments in higher education has been strongly motivated by heightened expectations that technology can bring prosperity (Brunner & Tillett, 2007). As the subsequent analysis would reveal, technological changes alone are not likely to be effective without adequate institutional reforms and accompanying liberalization.

A typical higher education institution (hereinafter, HEI) in the USSR was a government organization with rigid curricula and a fixed academic structure. The curriculum, management, and admissions in higher education and research were more or less identical across the republics of the former Soviet Union (Rosen, 1963). It should be noted that the quality of education and research in the USSR was by no means sub-par, especially in technical fields. Despite strong ideological influences and relative isolation in the socialist countries, Soviet achievements in the science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) fields, as exemplified by the number of Nobel Prize winners, massive aerospace projects, and military technology, generally demonstrated remarkable performance in education and science. Interestingly, anecdotal evidence suggests holders of advanced degrees from the USSR were often considered better educated and more competent than those who received a corresponding degree in the post-Soviet period. The Soviet education system broadly succeeded in key aspects such as universal literacy, free education at all levels, the inclusion of women, supporting living costs via stipends, and providing access for all classes of society through quotas for rural and other underprivileged areas (Huisman, 2018). A significant number of reputable academic institutions were based in all Central Asian countries. The great majority of HEIs and R&D institutions in Central Asia still remain those established during the Soviet period, even after two decades of independence (UNESCO, 2010; UNESCO, 2015). The legacy of the USSR was not sustainable for separate countries where the post-Soviet economies were no longer part of an integrated production system as governments could not receive the same levels of funding for training, education, and research (Brunner & Tillet, 2007).

The post-Soviet countries experienced negative developments as measured by key socio-economic indicators at different periods of time after gaining independence (Penn World Table, 2019). The collapse of the USSR initially dealt a severe blow not only to the economies and social welfare of the former Soviet republics, but also to the quality of research and education. Despite progress in certain areas of internationalization, scientific and educational standards were believed to have degraded overall in most post-Soviet countries after the collapse of the USSR as economic hardships and corruption took hold in the 1990s (Brunner & Tillett, 2007). Levels of corruption in Central Asia evidenced by consistently low rankings in Transparency International rankings imply that education and research

institutions could not stay immune to nepotism and bribery (ETICO, 2004). New large-scale reforms have been implemented by the new governments since the 1990s to address those issues. One important aspect of those reforms was bringing older secondary and tertiary education systems closer to international standards in cooperation with foreign organizations. Nevertheless, this task of modernization proved to be a great challenge, and major issues remained in educational standards and the efficiency of reforms. The science and education sectors seem to continue to rely on centralized government planning even after the collapse of the Soviet Union, with heavy dependence on the public sector – factors that generally do not favor innovative growth (UNESCO, 2010). Numerous problems common for science sector in all countries of the region include low R&D investment (far below one percent), brain drain (particularly in the 1990s), aging research staff (mostly holders of Soviet Candidate of Science degrees), closure of scientific facilities, inadequate number of new research institutions, little industrial R&D, poor ICT infrastructure, few registered patents, and excessive reliance on higher education for the employment of R&D staff (UNESCO, 2017). Data from SCImago and GII in Figures 1 and 2 suggest that research and development levels (and, implicitly, also educational attainment levels) need improvement. The performance varies across the countries of Central Asia with Kazakhstan achieving greater progress overall. These findings reinforce those of the earlier reports (UNESCO, 2017).

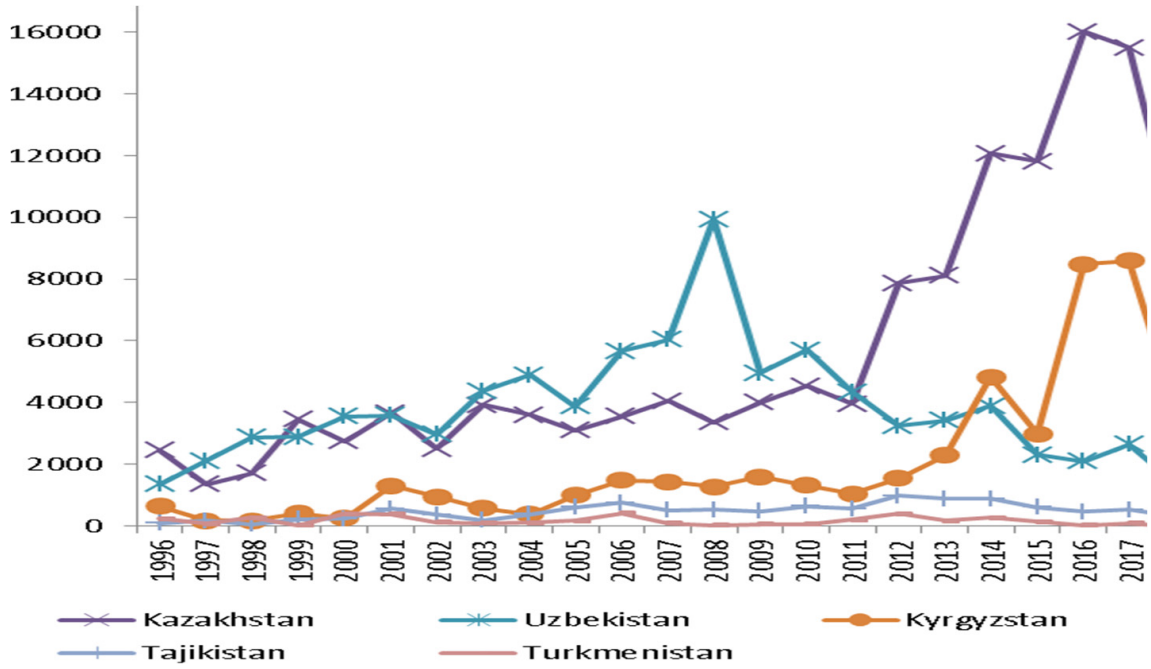

Figure. 1. The research output of Central Asian countries measured in total number of citations as indexed in each year by SCImago, 1996-2017 (Source: SCImago (2020)).

In terms of the total number of citations, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan made steady progress in increasing their citation performance after 2011, while the corresponding measure first increased and then declined for Uzbekistan after 2008, and for Tajikistan and Turkmenistan, it stayed at low levels across all periods. To provide more accurate comparisons in terms of research quality and productivity, Table 1 presents the h-index and citations weighted by the population of the respective country. H-index is a very popular metric for quality of research, and Kazakhstan is a leader in this respect in the region. The population of a country is a defining factor in research productivity relative to the country's size. Interestingly, Kyrgyzstan demonstrated the highest performance in this measure of citation weighted by population. Again, Central Asia remained behind its post-Soviet counterparts in the comparison, while small Latvia demonstrated remarkable performance relative to the size of the country.

Table 1. Quality and productivity of research output between 1996-2019 in selected post-Soviet countries (Source: SCImago (2020)).

Country	SCImago *h*-index (average for the period 1996-2019)	SCImago citations per million of population (average for the period between 1996-2019)
Russian Federation	580	63 316
Ukraine	277	30 491
Latvia	168	127 297
Kazakhstan	107	8 333
Uzbekistan	94	3 192
Kyrgyzstan	79	8 825
Tajikistan	46	1 563
Turkmenistan	27	822

Overall, the number of citations per each publication from Central Asia was low. Interestingly, the top partners in publishing in the region were from the USA, Germany, Turkey, and Russia – all countries having a strong presence in Central Asia with offices of international aid/assistance and cultural affairs (UNESCO, 2017).

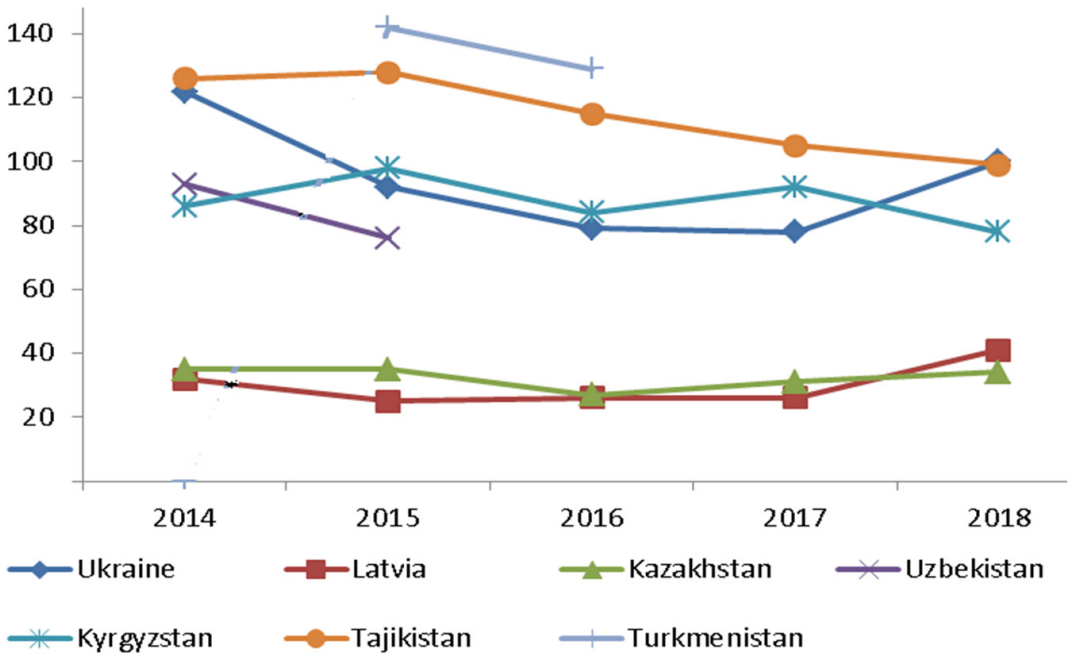

Figure. 2. Innovation Output Sub-Index for selected post-Soviet countries, 0-100 Score (Source: GII (2020); data is not available across all years for Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan).

Inadequate development in national education and research standards inevitably has a negative impact on the innovation and business climate of a country. Figures 2 and 3 indicate that most of Central Asia has ample room to improve in the transfer to the knowledge economy relative to comparative countries. Latvia and Ukraine both have favorable standings in business and innovation performance compared to other post-Soviet countries that have lower levels of liberalization. It was difficult to fully control for factors such as starting levels of development and influence of funding and mobility within the EU, but liberalization and internationalization are likely to strongly contribute to progress in education and research.

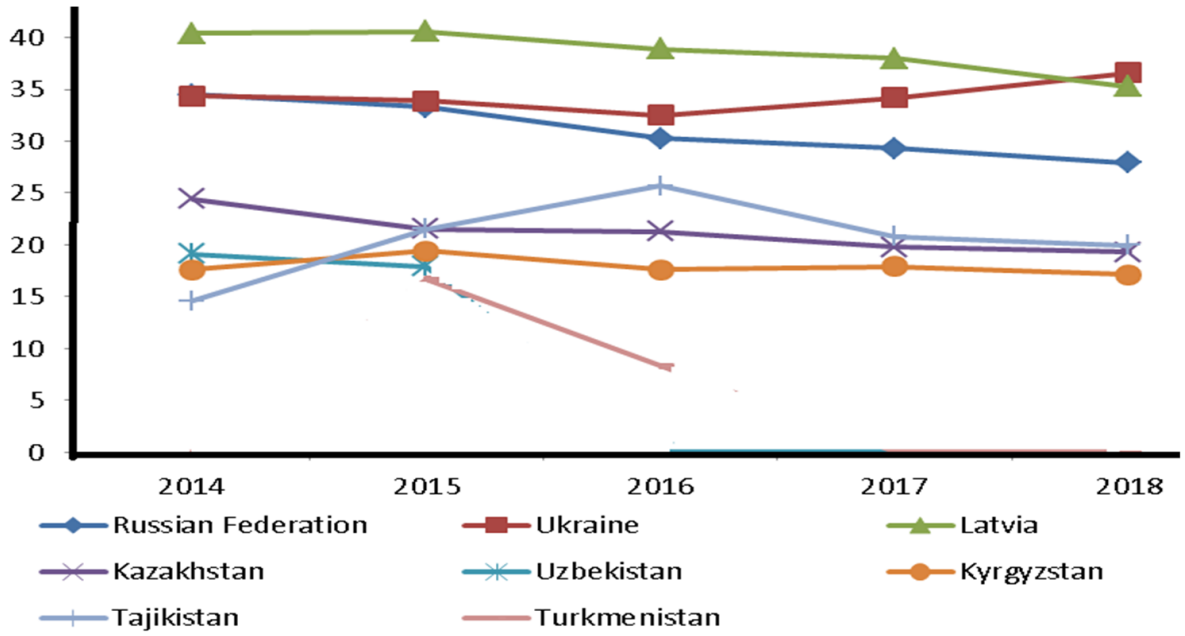

Figure. 3. Business environment rank of *selected post-Soviet countries*, 1 is the highest rank (Source: GII (2020); data is not available across all years for Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan).

The demographic dynamics of the Central Asian countries varied substantially, from smaller and stable populations in Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan to rapidly growing populations in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan (Figure 4). The dynamics of demographics have implications for national education systems. Furthermore, comparisons between the countries should be weighed with regard to the relative sizes of the population. Overall, the high and still increasing share of youth in the countries in the region will drive demand for higher education.

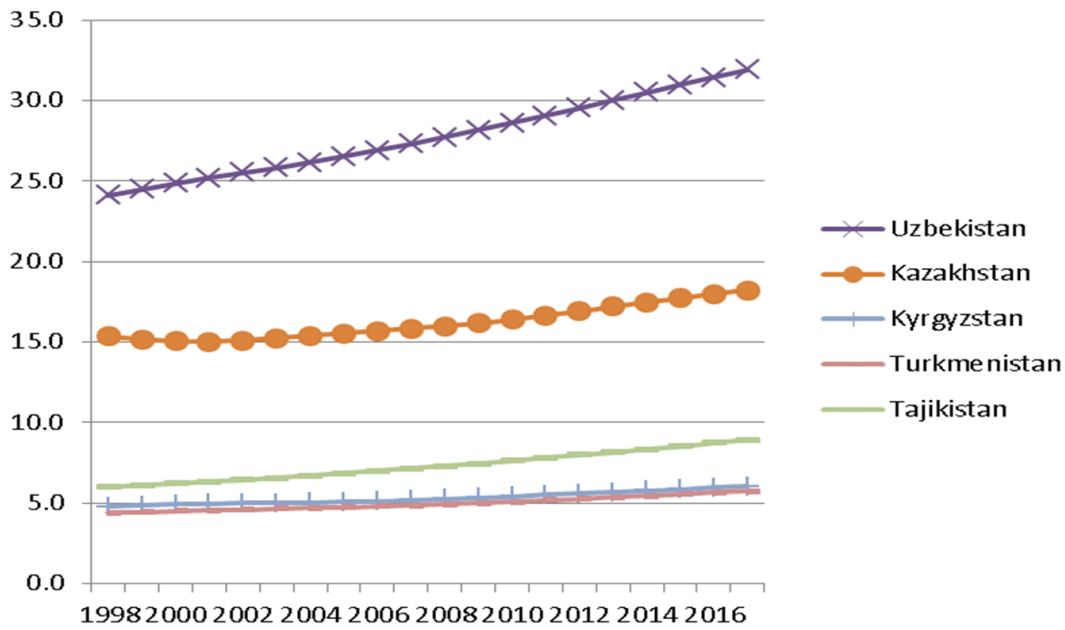

Figure. 4. Population growth in Central Asia (in millions) between 1998 and 2016 (Source: Penn World Table (2019)).

There were a number of relevant programs in this regard sponsored by organizations from other countries – most notably, those funded by the US Department of State and USAID, TEMPUS and ERASMUS of the European Union, DAAD, and GIZ of Germany, MEXT and JASSO of Japan, and the British Council of the UK. STI International Cooperation Network for Central Asia (IncoNet CA), funded by the EU, encouraged the participation of regional researchers in Horizon 2020; the Innovative Biotechnologies Programme (2011-2015) and the Centre for Innovative Technologies focused on scientific cooperation with Russian researchers (UNESCO, 2017). The World Bank, ADB, and the Islamic Development Bank were important organizations in educational investments. Local HEIs started opening international offices in recognition of the growing globalization. Prominent new universities established since 2000 include instruction in English. The Bologna process, started in the 1990s in cooperation with European partners, made progress in a region that still has a complex mix of older Soviet and modern Western academic and degree structures. A majority of the advanced degrees awarded in the Central Asian countries in recent decades still belong to the classic Soviet academic structure with the Candidate of Science roughly equivalent to the "western" Ph.D. and the Doctor of Science, which is technically a more advanced relative to the Ph.D. (such Soviet degrees sometimes create confusion as they are unfamiliar in the Western academic systems). In order to facilitate internationalization, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan have completely switched to the Ph.D. (Doctor of Philosophy) system since 2012, while other countries in the region shifted to "mixed" systems (UNESCO, 2017).

Country-specific information

All the available data identifies Kazakhstan as a leader in Central Asia both in terms of higher education and research. The country has a significant number of international universities and several technoparks (UNESCO, 2010). Kazakhstan is not only interesting from the viewpoint of its exemplary research performance for other Central Asian countries, but also because of the better availability of analysis results on the higher education experience and settings that could be more or less applicable to other countries in the region. In 2017, approximately 14,000 foreign students studied at about one hundred universities in Kazakhstan, including 3,663 Uzbek citizens, 3,290 from India, 1,320 from Turkmenistan, 1,290 from China, and 1,026 from Kyrgyzstan (Shayakhmetova, 2017). Kazakh universities also have representative offices abroad: the Ministry of Education and Science of Kazakhstan has made internationalization a priority and administered the Bolashak presidential scholarship program , which allows a large number of Kazakh students to study abroad (ICEF, 2015). About 70% of Kazakh students abroad were privately funded, and parents had a significant influence in such cases (the same statement could likely

apply to parents of international students outside the region). The ministry required Kazakh universities to build international partnerships, benchmarking, and research cooperation. Progress has been made in reducing academic fraud. The government has encouraged foreign involvement in education from the beginning. The number of international institutions and branches with foreign involvement is notable indeed; it includes the following HEIs: Kazakh-British Technical University, Geneva Business School, German-Kazakh University, Kazakh-American University, KIMEP University, and Akhmet Yassawi International Kazakh-Turkish University. Kazakh universities have increasingly recruited foreign faculty (UNESCO, 2017) and the number of Kazakh students studying abroad more than doubled since 2006 (ICEF, 2016). The students have increasingly chosen developed countries with quality higher education as their destinations of study; China has also been increasing in attraction (ICEF, 2015).

With the largest and fastest-growing youth population in the region, Uzbekistan could not keep up with the demand for higher education despite the rapid expansion of enrolment (ICEF, 2012). The gross enrolment rate declined from 15% in 1991 to 9% in 2012, and the country experienced a substantial shortage of university graduates (World Bank, 2014). Despite the enormous potential for outbound mobility, the number of international students from Uzbekistan has remained low relative to its population, seemingly due to cost concerns, a lack of information about opportunities for study abroad, and visa restrictions (ICEF, 2012; UNESCO, 2020). The Umid Foundation, established in 1997, initially sponsored Uzbek students studying in the USA and the EU countries, but later shifted its focus to bringing international education to Uzbekistan due to government concerns about brain drain (ICEF, 2012). After gaining government permission, the following universities opened their Uzbek branches (most of them in the last several years): the Westminster International University, Moscow State University, Gubkin University, Plekhanov Russian University of Economics, Management Development Institute of Singapore, Turin Polytechnic University, Inha University, Yeodju Technical Institute, ISMA University, Bucheon University, Amity University, and Webster University. Russian and Korean institutions seem to have a strong presence in Uzbekistan. The country had the highest number of researchers after Russia and Ukraine among post-Soviet countries and made efforts to develop its innovation infrastructure (UNESCO, 2010). Still, Uzbekistan's economy lagged behind comparative countries in innovation and research rankings (SCIMAGO,, 2020; World Bank, 2014). The number of international students in the country remained very low. The socio-economic sectors in general and higher education in particular seems to have gained traction after reforms launched by the new government since 2016. Efforts have been made to eradicate pervasive corruption at HEIs since then (Yun, 2016). Internationalization seems to be among the top priorities in higher education (Uralov, 2020). Recent socio-economic developments

in Uzbekistan have allowed for a greater acceleration of positive changes in education and science to match the country's prominent size in the region.

HEIs in Kyrgyzstan actively worked with international organizations such as TEMPUS/TACIS, the Eurasia Foundation, and USAID to promote the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS) and internationalization. The Ministry of Education in the country sponsored Kyrgyz citizens to study at HEIs in Russia, Turkey, Ukraine, Jordan, and Egypt (Brunner & Tillett, 2007). The country hosted the highest number of international students relative to its population in Central Asia as shown in Table 3. Foreign partners were among the founders of a significant proportion of the most prestigious Kyrgyz HEIs: American University of Central Asia (AUCA), Kyrgyz-Russian Slavic University, Ala-Too International University, International University of Kyrgyzstan, Manas University, and the University of Central Asia. The privately funded Friendship of the Peoples University serving the Uzbek minority was closed in 2010 following the tragic events in Osh (Pollock, 2010).

The qualification compliance system and agreement on mutual recognition of diplomas in Tajikistan were established among the CIS member countries based on the Russian national standards so the graduates could work with fewer restrictions in their respective countries. Tajik higher education is notable for the influence of Russian in instruction and curriculum development at HEIs (Huisman et al., 2018). Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan have been engaged in active scientific cooperation projects. Three prestigious HEIs of the Modern Humanitarian Academy of Moscow City were established in cooperation with Russian specialists (Brunner & Tillett, 2007). The Russian Tajik Slavonic University, established in 1996, has been recognized as a prestigious public university with programs in Russian accredited by the Russian Federation. The University of Central Asia opened a campus sponsored by the Aga Khan Network. The country had made limited progress in the Bologna Process and the creation of private HEIs (Huisman et al 2018). The US, British, French, and German representatives expressed concern at the Ministry of Education's revocation of the academic license of the Institute of Technical Innovations and Communication (ITIC) in 2010, the only private Tajik university at that time, for reasons that remained unclear (Pollock, 2010).

There is less detailed information related to HEIs and research in Turkmenistan (UNESCO, 2017). Thus, some of the tentative findings presented here are based on limited local knowledge from a few interviews, which could be subjective in cases when no supporting data was available from reliable sources such as UNESCO. Relatively more information was provided specifically about Turkmen education and research in relevant sections to address the existing gaps in the literature. Scientific and educational institutions in Turkmenistan conspicuously need more online presence with websites and access to vital information as actual steps towards internationalization. The new government that came to power in 2007 re-established

the Academy of Sciences and the Sun Institute, and launched a new technology park (technopark) project specializing in renewables and nanotechnology – all fields implying a greater need for international collaboration in research (UNESCO, 2017). Improvement in foreign language proficiency is the focus of several new specializations launched at Turkmen HEIs in 2020 (Arzuw News, 2020). Newly modernized academic degree structures were introduced. Turkmen HEIs have accepted a limited number of foreign students mostly based on government programs. In 2016-2017, 26 students from Afghanistan were enrolled at four Turkmen HEIs (Choreklieva et al., 2017). A significant number of Turkish nationals were previously enrolled in Turkmen-Turkish University before its closure. Enrolling ethnic Turkmen from foreign diasporas could be considered effective by officials for purposes of humanitarian ties and soft power. There is a list of approved HEIs for studies abroad issued and updated by the Ministry of Education every year. As mentioned above, Turkmenistan limited the flow of Turkmen studying in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. A branch of the Gubkin Russian State University of Oil and Gas operated for a short time but was closed in 2012; in its place, the Institute of Oil and Gas was opened, which was supposed to attract foreign academic staff (Neftegaz.ru, 2013). There are no private HEIs in the country. The Institute of International Relations was created in 2008. Students and academic staff of the International University for Humanities and Development had studies entirely in English from 2014 in academic programs closer to Western standards than other HEIs. Turkmen government has boosted economic ties to Japan since 2014, and Japan's joint educational projects and initiatives in Turkmenistan are unprecedented in recent years in terms of support by the Turkmen government and scale of operations. Japanese-Turkmen schools and the Oguz Han Engineering and Technology University of Turkmenistan opened in 2016 based on close cooperation with Japanese institutions (this HEI was partially based on premises of the Turkmen-Turkish University, which used to be the first international HEI and one of the country's most prestigious places of study, offering high educational standards with instruction in Turkish and English since the 1990s). All the aforementioned major HEIs established recently include instruction in English. Turkmen HEIs are notable for the virtual absence of branches of foreign universities among them. An increasing number of Turkmen students abroad were participants in officially approved academic programs as per intergovernmental agreements to allow Turkmen students to study in China, Malaysia, Ukraine, Belarus, Korea, Romania, Croatia, and other countries (Novikova, 2013; Choreklieva et al., 2017). Nevertheless, it seems the national admission system and government-sponsored programs are not able to satisfy all the local needs for higher education. Data presented further in Section 7 suggest that young Turkmen are more likely to study abroad than their Central Asian counterparts. Though most of the students in Turkmenistan chose Turkey, Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine as their main destinations, there seems to be an increasing number studying in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan and, in particular, China. Turkmen

universities have organized admission to Chinese universities since 2016, and Lenovo Group assisted in IT equipment for education (Choreklieva et al., 2017). Turkish, American, German, and Japanese organizations were all active in funding the best Turkmen talent to study and research in countries with highly developed education and research, which could be prohibitively expensive for the majority of ordinary residents. The TEMPUS program was effective in providing university internet access, driving institutional reforms in secondary and higher education, training researchers (such as the staff of the Sun Institute), and initiating the Bologna process in the country (Tempus, 2012). The Ministry of Education seems to keep and update the list of officially recognized institutions for Turkmen students abroad, which excludes many HEIs from Central Asia and other regions (Turkmenportal.com, 2019; News.ru, 2019). The list could also discourage certain programs and specialties for study by Turkmen students abroad. Recognition of qualifications from foreign HEIs is an important area for improvement where international cooperation could help: currently, Turkmen graduates even from the best universities abroad have to go through the unnecessarily complicated process of validation to get recognized for employment with local employers. The country would have to face the challenge of fostering and retaining human resources for the planned transition to a knowledge economy based on innovations and digitalization. Brain drain seems to be an issue since the 1990s, when a substantial number of highly skilled citizens including researchers emigrated (UNESCO, 2010). The development of a merit-based system of admission and incentives for effective study should become the top priority. Internationalization here is an important aspect of socio-economic liberalization that could be crucial for the further development of Turkmenistan and other countries in the region.

The role of international organizations

There has been an urgent need for further modernization in higher education and research in Central Asia. The experience and assistance of highly developed Western and Asian countries could be hugely relevant to this end, since all countries in the region have maintained relationships in many fields. The EU involvement and funding were instrumental in driving the internationalization of education and research in all Central Asian countries. TEMPUS and Erasmus Mundus have been the most prominent programs through which European agencies drove important institutional changes in many aspects of science, as well as higher, vocational, and secondary education (Cabe et al., 2013). The Bologna process and school reform promotion undoubtedly aid internationalization through the recognition of high school and university degrees outside of Central Asia. Equipment and governance were important areas of improvement under the EU-funded projects of the National

Tempus Offices (National Erasmus+ Offices). The wider introduction of ECTS and academic exchange in the European area were significant areas of internationalization supported by EU funds and expertise. For instance, the first university-wide Internet access networks and the initiation of the Bologna process in Turkmenistan were crucially supported by TEMPUS (Choreklieva et al., 2017). The Central Asian Research and Education Network (CAREN) project connected the research and education institutions of five Central Asian countries to the European GEANT network. The TuCAHEA project contributed towards the Central Asian higher education area by tuning structures and building a quality culture. In Central Asia, 65.5 million euros was allocated under the Erasmus + program between 2014 and 2017. Since 2015, 3,833 grants have been received by academic staff and students from Central Asia and 1,711 grants for scholars from European countries. Between 2014 and 2018, over 250 two-year master's scholarships were awarded to students from Central Asia under the Erasmus Mundus Joint Master Program (ECBC, 2019). Curricula development has been a major area of funding. TEMPUS and Erasmus have emphasized official university cooperation in Central Asia: national priorities were defined locally and the involvement of local ministries was encouraged. Such a strategy ensures a greater willingness of the governments to cooperate, which was crucial for institutional reforms. On the other hand, opportunities for independent applications for scholarships and grants were less present as compared to programs managed by American and German organizations.

The USA has been the country with the largest impact on the internationalization of education in most Central Asian countries. American programs have been notable for working with individual beneficiaries at the levels of secondary and higher education. The direct cooperation of public organizations with relevant American organizations and agencies such as the Public Affairs Sections of U.S. Embassies, USAID, the American Councils/ACCELS, and IREX was far more limited on the governmental level compared to EU counterparts. Consequently, the implementation of institutional-level support projects was more challenging to American partners than, for example, for those from the EU or Japan. Yet the comprehensive activities of American programs were crucial in fields that promote internationalization such as English training and testing (TOEFL), scholarships and grants for studies abroad, Internet access, and information campaigns. Instead of operating through public organizations such as universities and institutions, US programs focused more on working directly with the target audience through a well-developed network of educational and cultural centers where American and local staff offered a range of opportunities to serve young people and scholars interested in study and research in the USA. Funding by FLEX, Fulbright and other American programs offered access to study and research in the USA to top talent among Central Asian youth (this included free TOEFL/GRE/SAT testing). USAID has been actively working with local organizations to support activities that indirectly or directly strengthen research potential: the PICTT project (administered by IREX)

in Turkmenistan was one rare example of high-level cooperation with a wide range of local organizations in the country. The facilitation of industry-research links, fellowships, business trips, and "work and travel" opportunities could also be deemed American activities indirectly contributing to internationalization in education.

Similar to their American counterparts, the German organizations DAAD and GIZ have been among the most influential long-serving players in internationalizing higher education and research in Central Asia. In particular, DAAD grants were significant for training teachers and hosting students and researchers from the region at leading German institutions. GIZ contributed to the modernization of all levels of education in the region. The presence of Japanese institutions has been increasingly visible in Central Asia with dozens of international students and researchers from each country in the region receiving funding for studies and research in this highly developed country that has a very positive image not only among young people but also local officials. MEXT and JASSO are two prominent Japanese organizations that have contributed to the internationalization of higher education and research in the region. British Councils have long been operating in the region. The Chevening scholarship is the UK government's international award that has long been available for applicants demonstrating leadership capabilities in the region. IELTS has been growing in importance as an alternative English test for mobile students.

Private and government organizations from Turkey have established a strong presence in the secondary and higher education systems of all countries in the region by opening schools and universities known for relatively high educational standards with instruction in Turkish and English. This well-developed network of educational facilities has attracted talented youth and facilitated their subsequent studies at Turkish universities. The availability of government and private scholarships, relatively low tuition and living costs, subsidies for Central Asian students, sponsorship of Turkish businesses in the region, and standardized YÖS Examination system have all created favorable conditions for Turkey winning a top position as a destination for international students from Central Asia. The relationship with education authorities has not always been stable at different periods of political developments in the respective countries, however. The most important country for the entire region's recent history, Russia, still has a strong influence and "soft power" in the region that is historically closely connected to Central Asia, where a majority of the population can speak Russian. Many schools of secondary education in Russian remain in the region and enjoy a high reputation among locals of all nationalities. Each year, hundreds if not thousands of students from the region join labor migrants in traveling to Russia. Government-sponsored cultural organizations and HEIs from Russia have been active in the local education market since the collapse of the USSR.

Finally, a growing number of various lesser-known organizations from Asia and the Middle East have recently been active in student recruitment in the region. Chinese universities seem to have increased their recruitment of students from Central Asia since 2000 with new offers of international programs, stipends, and other benefits. The University of Central Asia opened campuses in Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Kazakhstan under the sponsorship of the Aga Khan Development Network. Certain foreign organizations, mainly from the Middle East, have sponsored religious studies abroad. Local officials and observers have raised concerns that such studies could promote fundamentalist ideology and indoctrination instead of positive internationalization in the region. Traditionally, moderate forms of religion and a strong secularism inherited from the Soviet era has contributed to generally tolerant attitudes among local worshippers. Governments in the region, strongly interested in stability and security, could strive to strictly control or prevent young people from attending unauthorized religious schools in the regions that are deemed potentially unsafe (some Middle East countries are shown further in Table 4).

National legislation on education and research: international aspects

Development of the legislation of Central Asian countries in the field of education is briefly discussed in this section with examples of laws relevant to internationalization. After independence, the extensive legal framework of the Central Asian countries in the field of education was formed. It was based on the principles of state policies in the field of education, as well as the goals and objective functions of the education systems, including issues of international cooperation. Education is defined as a purposeful and systematic activity aimed at meeting the needs of individuals, society and state in upbringing and training in the Law on Education of Turkmenistan (2009); it is a continuous process of education and training, carried out for the purpose of moral, intellectual, cultural, and physical development and formation of professional competence according to the laws on education of Kazakhstan (2007) and Kyrgyzstan (2003) (CIS Legislation, 2020). Regarding internationalization, the laws in the relevant sections on the principles of state policies in the field of education, as an illustration, stipulate the following:

- The development of the education sector, taking into account international standards of quality of education and international norms of education – according to the Law on Education of Tajikistan (2013).
- The integration of the education system with science and industry and its interaction with the education systems of other countries, enabling

international relations with other states and studying and disseminating best practices – according to the Law on Education of Turkmenistan (2009).

According to these laws, the international cooperation of Central Asian states in education is carried out in accordance with the national legislation and international agreements of these countries. Bodies exercising management in the field of education and educational institutions can establish direct contacts with foreign enterprises, organizations, and institutions implementing various educational programs in the manner established by the Cabinet of Ministers of Turkmenistan. According to the Law on Education of Turkmenistan, the education of foreign citizens in educational institutions of Turkmenistan, as well as the education of citizens of Turkmenistan in foreign educational institutions, is carried out under direct contracts concluded by legal entities and individuals with educational institutions and bodies exercising education management in accordance with the respective Law and international agreements of Turkmenistan. According to the Law on Education of Kazakhstan, educational organizations, in accordance with the specifics of their work, have the right to establish direct contacts with foreign educational, scientific, and cultural organizations, as well as international organizations and foundations, to conclude bilateral and multilateral agreements on cooperation, to participate in international exchange programs for undergraduate, graduate, and doctoral students, and pedagogic and scientific workers, and to join international non-governmental organizations (associations) in the field of education. In 2011, Kazakhstan adopted the Law on Science encompassing education, science, and industry, which brought leading researchers to the highest levels of decision making (UNESCO, 2017). In 1997, the Law on Education and the National Programme for Personnel Training (NPPT) were introduced in Uzbekistan. Tempus contributed to the establishment of a legal basis and the implementation of measures for the modernization of higher education in all the aforementioned countries.

The legislation of Central Asian countries in the field of higher education provides mainly for a five-year period of training for specialists, with the exception of Kazakhstan, which signed the Bologna Declaration in 2010. In the system of higher education in Tajikistan, there is a two-cycle model of training specialists and a five-year continuous training program in parallel; preference is given to the five-year continuous training of specialists. In the system of higher education in Turkmenistan, there is only a continuous five-year training program for specialists. At the same time, the Central Asian countries, in accordance with the Astana Declaration of the Second Meeting of the Ministers of Education of the Member States of the European Union and Central Asia (Astana, June 23, 2017), confirmed their interest in establishing links with the Bologna Process, which offers guidelines for conducting a number of national reforms. They emphasized the importance of cooperation with the European Union in the modernization of education and

vocational training systems in Central Asia and welcomed the system-wide steps taken by the Central Asian countries to introduce two- to three-level education, agreeing on the need to strengthen mutual cooperation on internationalization in the field of education within the framework of the regional and international organizations and cooperation mechanisms. Over the past 20 years, substantial support for the modernization of higher education systems in Central Asian countries has been provided under the Tempus program. The EU will continue its support of institutional and legal reforms in Central Asia, and it contributed to the internationalization of higher education in the region (ECBC, 2019). Overall, international organizations could assist in changes to move away from certain characteristics of institutions and legal frameworks that could hamper further development, which more or less applied to all countries in the region as noted by outside observers: these areas include the surprising degree of government control over key aspects of teaching, ideological and practical reluctance to adequately privatize education, less-than-transparent decisions on the allocation of resources, lack of autonomy, and inconsistencies between the grand designs of national programs and regulations (Brunner & Tillet, 2007).

Student and researcher mobility

Overall, cultural and geographical proximity seems to be important for the destination choices of Central Asian students in the world (Figure 1). In addition, the data in Tables 2 and 4 show Central Asian students are strongly oriented towards study abroad, though motivating factors and scale could vary from a moderate 11,000 in Kyrgyzstan to a staggering 46,000 in Turkmenistan. Kyrgyzstan has achieved success in attracting international students. Developed countries were major destinations for Uzbek, Kyrgyz, and in particular Kazakh students abroad. Tajik and Turkmen students mostly chose neighboring countries and Turkey as destinations. The cost of tuition and ease of admission could be important factors in their choices, presumably due to convenience and economic reasons.

Demand for higher education among Uzbek and Turkmen youth far outstrips supply by governments. The high rates of student mobility in Turkmenistan – close to one percent of the entire population – could be explained by the limited intake in national HEI and other limitations in admission. For instance, only 6,100, or approximately 6% of high school graduates were admitted to Turkmen HEIs in 2013 (Turkmenistan.ru, 2013). This was in contrast with neighboring countries around the same period: students at HEIs in Uzbekistan made up about 10% of the total population; in Kazakhstan, the corresponding proportion was 38%; and an average was approximately 25% for all Central Asia (ISEF Monitor, 2012). It can be said that Turkmenistan effectively encouraged the international mobility of its young

people due to the admission limits in national HEIs. As an illustration, more than half of the foreign students in Belarus in 2016 were Turkmen (Astapenia, 2016). Admission to Turkmen HEIs in subsequent years more than doubled, reaching 14,000 in 2020 (Turkmenistan, 2020). Still, demand for higher education seems to outpace supply (similar to neighboring Uzbekistan), so the enrolment could be further expanded significantly. Turkmen citizens were among the largest groups of international students studying in Turkey at least since 2014 (Study in Turkey, 2014). Such a large number of Turkmen students coming to Turkey from a relatively small country could at least be partially explained by lower tuition rates and visa-free entry for Turkmen citizens to Turkey – the only such destination where direct flights are available. Visa-free agreements seem to be an influential factor in the choice of destination by international students from Central Asia. Russia and Turkey are two major destinations for all of Central Asia, as is prominent in the presented figures.

Table 2. Flow of tertiary-level students in Central Asia (Source: UNESCO 2020).

Country	Students abroad	Mobile students hosted	Population in 2019	Students abroad as % population	Mobile students hosted as % population
Russia	56 659	250 658	145 872 256	0.04%	0.17%
Ukraine	77 639	49 632	43 993 638	0.18%	0.11%
Latvia	5 297	6 130	1 906 743	0.28%	0.32%
Kazakhstan	84 681	22 728	18 551 427	0.46%	0.12%
Uzbekistan	34 990	700	32 981 716	0.11%	0.00%
Kyrgyzstan	11 399	16 534	6 415 850	0.18%	0.26%
Tajikistan	19 762	2 238	9 321 018	0.21%	0.02%
Turkmenistan	46 223	-	5 942 089	0.78%	-

The Central Asian region lagged far behind the major post-Soviet countries shown in Table 2 in attracting foreign students. No significant increase in the number of international students outside of the CIS area is foreseen in the near future due to the low recognition of Central Asia as a place for perspective studies globally. At the same time, the potential for Central Asian students' mobility between countries for studies and academic exchange is considerable. However, governments in the region seemed reluctant or, on certain occasions, even actively discouraged their nationals from studying in neighboring countries. The Ministry of Education of Uzbekistan recalled Uzbek students studying in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan in 2020; and the recognition of qualifications could be a more important reason than the pandemic outbreak (Akipress, 2020). After the tragic events in Osh, the Turkmenistan government discouraged Turkmen citizens from visiting Kyrgyzstan as a place of study (Pollock, 2010). This restriction was officially motivated by safety

reasons (conflict regions in Ukraine where Turkmen students studied were another place in the CIS where similar restrictions were applied). Tajikistan was also seemingly included as an undesirable place for study as it is mostly absent from the lists of accepted universities in the country, along with many others (News.ru, 2019).

Data on the mobility of researchers proved to be hard to find. Limited conclusions can be drawn from SEVIS records that include mobile scholars entering the US (SEVP, 2020). As Table 3 shows, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan were countries of origin with a high proportion of students and scholars relative to their populations entering the USA for study and research. As the USA has the highest-ranking HEIs and research institutions in the world, SEVIS records could be indicative of the proportion of top talent from Central Asia succeeding in selective and expensive programs. The brightest students and researchers could pass in such programs sponsored by American organizations or national scholarship programs, since the costs of travel and study could be prohibitively expensive for the majority of households in the region. The outbound mobility ratio among doctoral students from Central Asia in 2000 and 2013 was the highest in the world (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2015). The academic exchange of researchers and professors from Central Asia undoubtedly took place between many countries in the world, but the lack of detailed data makes it difficult to make any statements to compare the respective performance.

Table 3. Citizenship by total number of active SEVIS records selected post-Soviet countries.

Country	2017	2018
Russia	9 309	9 006
Ukraine	3 975	3 697
Latvia	441	401
Kazakhstan	3 599	3 671
Uzbekistan	1 259	1 209
Kyrgyzstan	400	449
Tajikistan	486	464
Turkmenistan	554	561

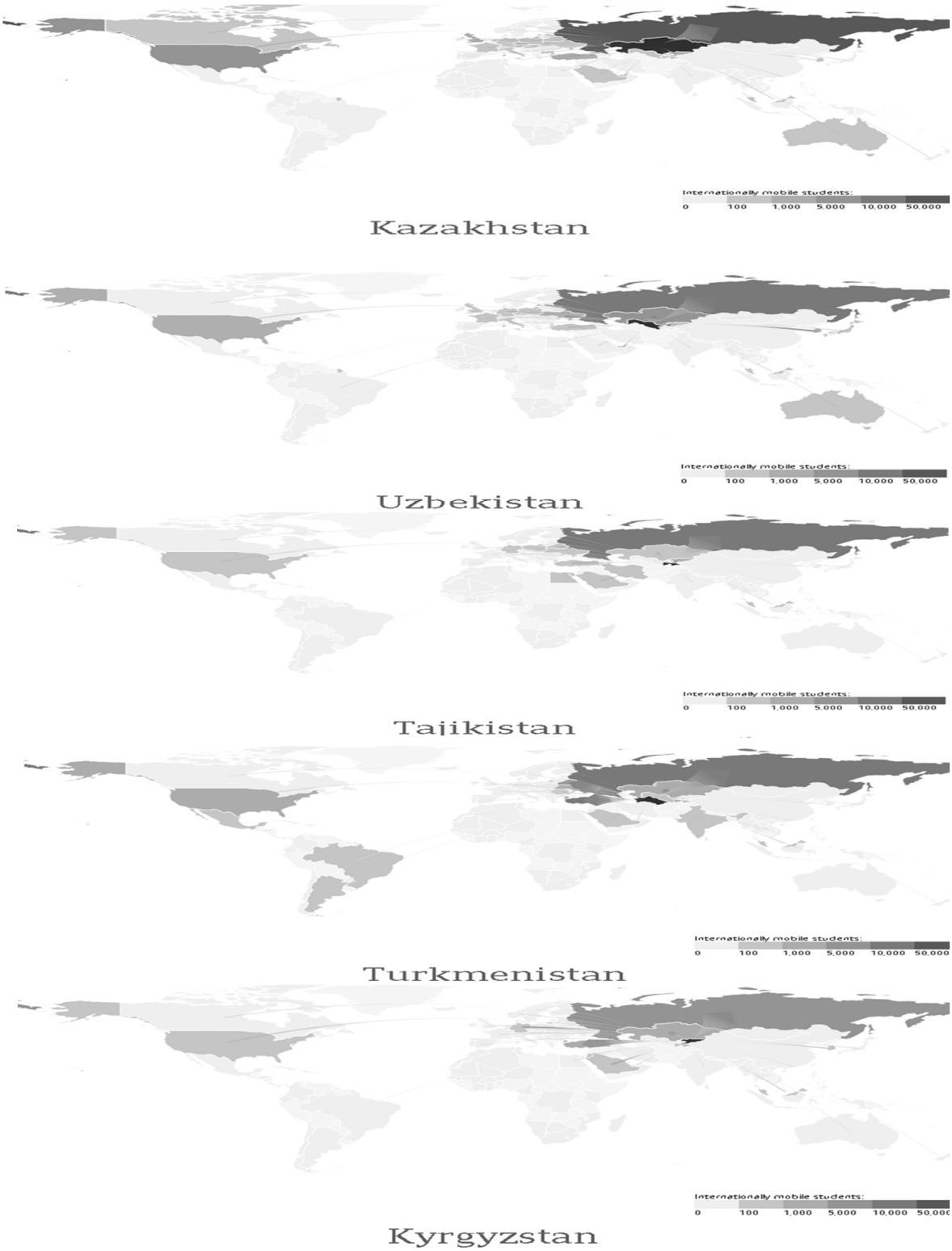

Figure 5. Mapping of global flow of tertiary-level students from Central Asia (Source: UNESCO 2020).

Table 4. Mobility of Central Asian students by origin and destination. Continued on next page (Source: UNESCO 2020).

Kazakhstan			
Country of origin		**Destination country**	
Uzbekistan	9 641	Russia	65 237
India	3 719	Kyrgyzstan	3 290
Turkmenistan	2 699	Turkey	2 015
Russia	1 511	United States	1 707
China	1 472	Czech Rep.	1 648
Kyrgyzstan	1 117	United Kingdom	1 436
Mongolia	612	Malaysia	808
Tajikistan	563	Germany	750
Afghanistan	427	Korea, Rep.	659
Turkey	257	Poland	649

Kyrgyzstan			
Country of origin		**Destination country**	
India	6 828	Russia	5 523
Kazakhstan	3 290	Turkey	2 032
Tajikistan	1 856	Kazakhstan	1 117
Russia	1 535	Germany	477
Uzbekistan	882	Saudi Arabia	359
Turkey	624	Korea, Rep.	195
Pakistan	579	United States	195
China	273	Tajikistan	129
Afghanistan	169	Malaysia	124
Turkmenistan	51	Jordan	103

Tajikistan			
Country of origin		**Destination country**	
Turkmenistan	869	Russia	14 204
India	573	Kyrgyzstan	1 856
Afghanistan	256	Turkey	692
Kazakhstan	177	Kazakhstan	563
Kyrgyzstan	129	Belarus	478
Russia	111	Saudi Arabia	397
Korea, DPR	35	Ukraine	207
Uzbekistan	35	United States	202
Iran	25	Egypt	167
Turkey	7	Poland	164

Turkmenistan		
Country of origin	**Destination country**	
No data	Russia	17 457
	Turkey	10 418
	Belarus	7 434
	Ukraine	3 679
	Kazakhstan	2 699
	Tajikistan	869
	Uzbekistan	246
	United States	233
	Azerbaijan	226
	Malaysia	213

Uzbekistan			
Country of origin		**Destination country**	
Turkmenistan	246	Russia	20 862
Russia	174	Kazakhstan	9 641
Kazakhstan	108	Ukraine	1 872
Kyrgyzstan	36	Korea, Rep.	1 716
Tajikistan	20	Latvia	1 025
Ukraine	14	Kyrgyzstan	882
Armenia	7	Turkey	736
Azerbaijan	6	Germany	651
Algeria	-	United States	495
Angola	-	Japan	384

Citations and university rankings

SCImago presents readily available metrics for measuring the international rankings of institutions that are absent from other global rankings, such as those of Times Higher Education. Included in SCImago were research and education institutions from the following countries: Russian Federation – 278, Ukraine – 45, Latvia – 4, Kazakhstan – 7, Uzbekistan – 1. None of these institutions were based in Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, or Turkmenistan –countries with significantly larger populations than Latvia. None of the countries in Central Asia can be found in the global rankings of HEIs such as the Times Higher Education or Shanghai indices. Figure 6 indicates the trends in another interesting SCImago indicator – international cooperation in scientific publishing. Though the overall trend seems to be on the increase for international collaboration, the indicator of cooperation in publications with foreign colleagues is too volatile to draw conclusions for researchers in all countries of the region. As for areas of publications in general, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan seemed

to specialize in physics and chemistry, Tajikistan in chemistry, Kyrgyzstan in geosciences, and Turkmenistan in mathematics. The Kyrgyz achieved progress in scientific collaboration and actively cooperated in publications with other Central Asian colleagues, unlike in the rest of the region (UNESCO, 2017). Meanwhile, the countries of Central Asia could join forces and take advantage of the vast potential for international scientific co-operation within the region since they have close political, historical, and cultural ties (UNESCO, 2010).

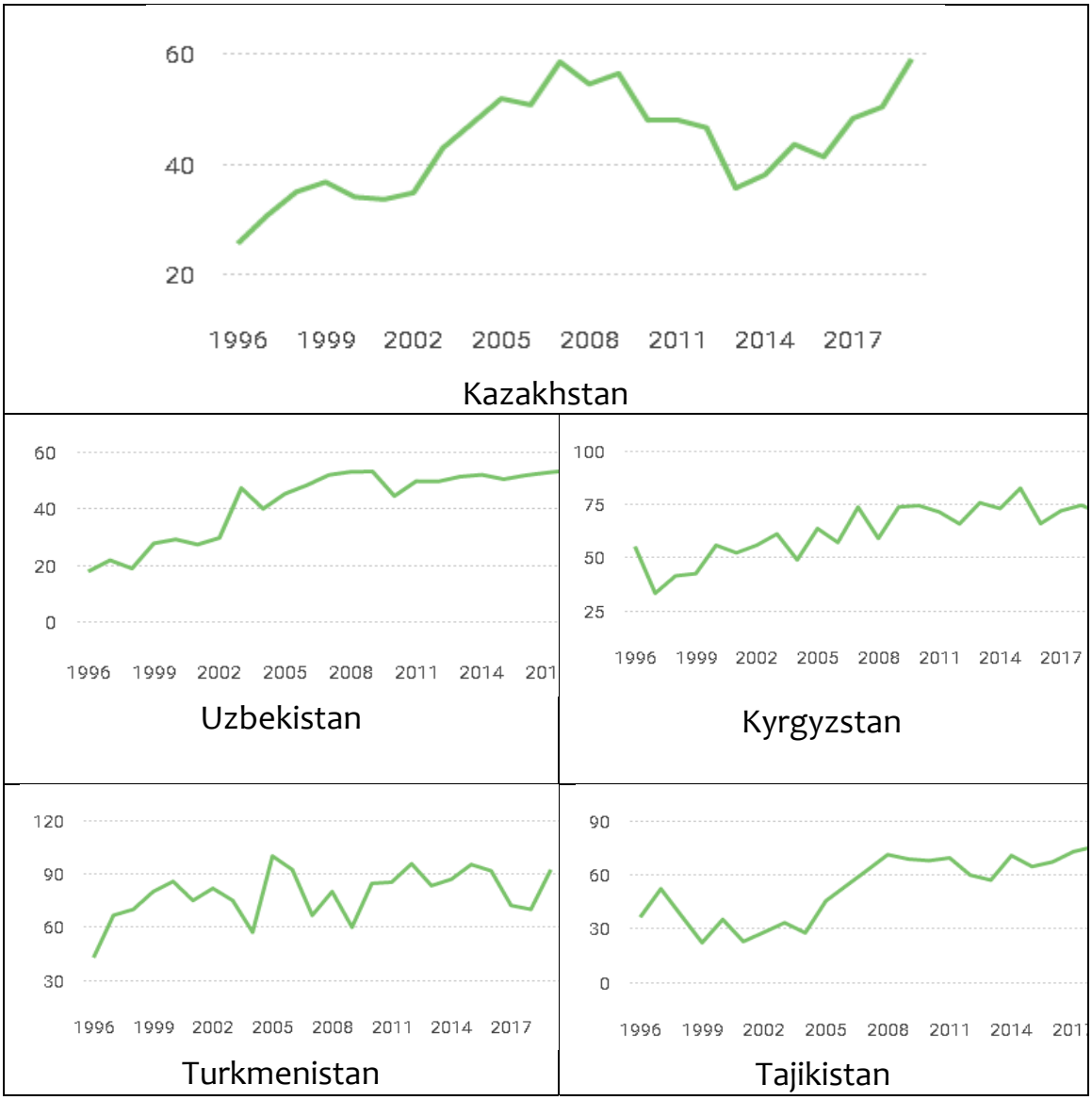

Figure 6. International collaboration in the research output of Central Asia as measured by publications and citations in SCImago (Source: SCImago (2020)).

English language proficiency

An increasing number of HEIs outside of the English-speaking regions of the world have introduced programs in English as a crucial step in internationalization. For instance, the number of English-language undergraduate degree programs in Europe increased fifty-fold to nearly 3,000 between 2009 and 2017 (ICEF, 2017). English proficiency is crucial for international research. The TOEFL remains the most important test of academic English among international students. Figures 7, 8, and 9 illustrate the relative performance and participation of test-takers from Central Asia in the most popular test of English in the world. The proportion of test-takers as a percentage of the entire population probably presents higher interest here as a measure of concrete intention for studying abroad in major countries with developed higher education systems. Care should be exercised when making claims about the relative performance and popularity of the English language among prospective international students since the scores converted to PBT do not precisely reflect the relative difficulty of different methods of taking TOEFL. Furthermore, other standardized tests such as the IELTS have been gaining popularity in recent years.

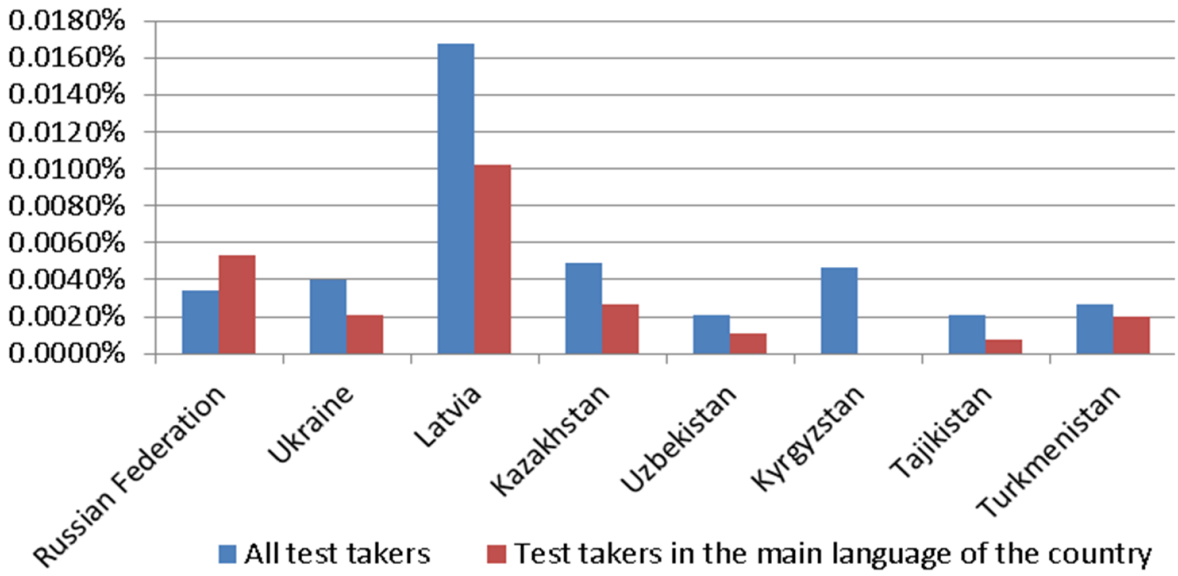

Figure 7. Proportion of population taking the TOEFL test in selected post-Soviet countries in 2004 (Source: ETS 2020).

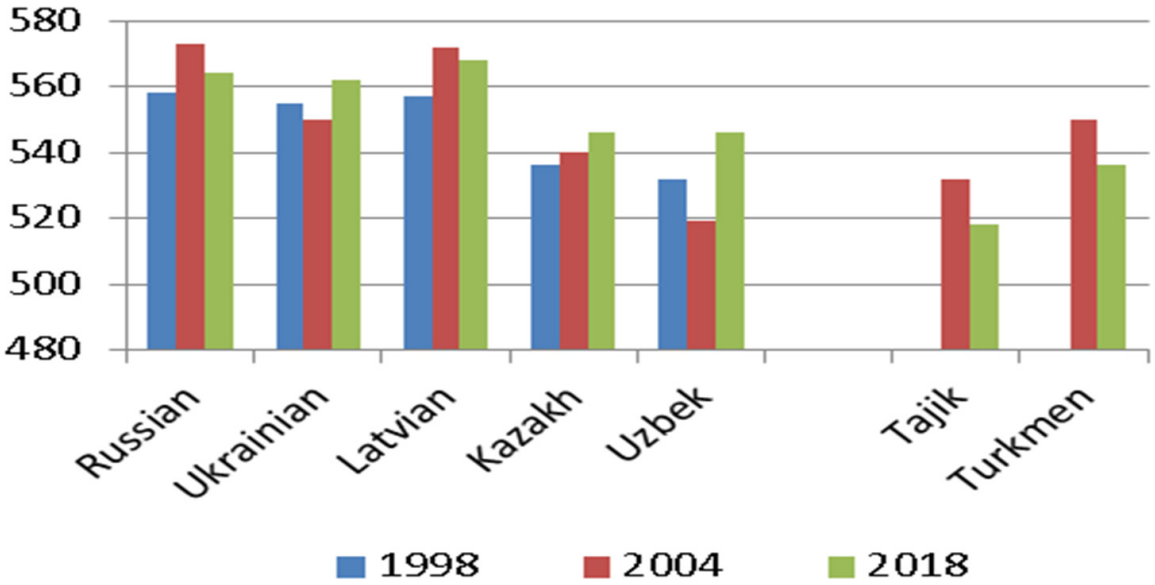

Figure 8. Performance of TOEFL test-takers in languages of selected post-Soviet countries (Source: ETS 2020).

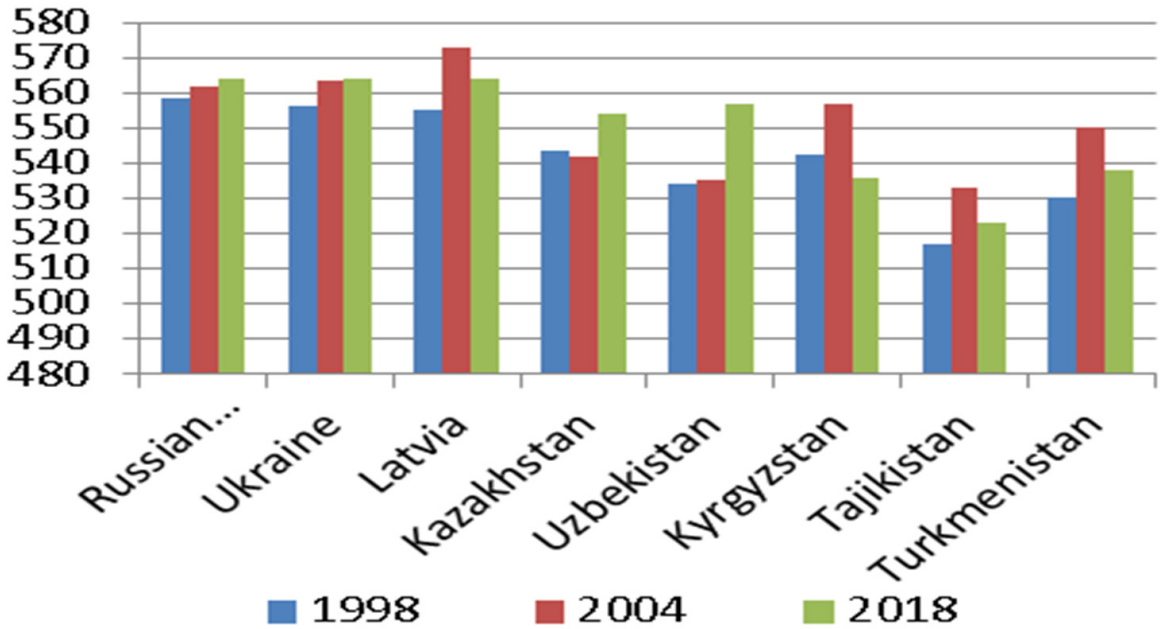

Figure 9. Performance of TOEFL test-takers in selected post-Soviet countries (Source: ETS 2020).

Kazakh and Uzbek test-takers seem to have improved their skills as measured by TOEFL, though the same cannot be stated about other countries. Interestingly, minorities in all countries except for Russia seem to demonstrate higher results and participation in TOEFL relative to representatives of the local population speaking the main language (the so-called titular nation). This could mean that Russian-speaking people are better prepared and more willing to study abroad. The absence of Kyrgyz language statistics could suggest that a majority of test-takers in the

country, even those not belonging to the minorities, indicated other languages (most likely Russian) as their preference. Participation rates seemed higher in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan relative to counterparts in the region.

Standardized tests in English and STEM skills

Standardized tests can play a crucial role in assessing future students and researchers in a manner that is more transparent and objective than the prevailing subjective methods in educational systems. This is particularly relevant for the development of STEM and English skills. The GRE and SAT are admission tests taken by many students pursuing graduate (GRE) and undergraduate (SAT) studies in the USA. The Graduate Management Admission Test (GMAT) is similar to the GRE but emphasizes the quantitative section with a focus on business-oriented problems. The GMAT was included in the Global Innovation Index as one of many performance metrics of each country in terms of innovation (GII, 2020). The aforementioned tests measure both quantitative and English verbal skills. Though the popularity and necessity of those tests has decreased somewhat in recent years, they can still serve as indirect indicators of the intentions of international students outside of America to study abroad. Therefore, the performance and proportion of test-takers are both presented for the GRE in Table 5 (detailed data on the GMAT is not available, only the score for the number of test-takers was included) where Kyrgyz and Kazakh test-takers achieved slightly better results and took the tests more actively.

Implications for policymakers and international partners in the region

National governments in Central Asia have useful examples to learn from within the region itself: from the Kyrgyz success in attracting foreign students to the comprehensive Kazakh achievements in internationalization and relative academic rankings. For the policymakers in the region, it is worth noting that opening higher education and research systems to foreign influence does not necessarily mean compromising security and stability in each country, as the performance of Kazakhstan demonstrates. In legal frameworks, the decentralization of the systems with greater funds and freedoms given to institutions in pursuing internationalization could become the starting point of fruitful liberalization. Institutions seem to need more autonomy and privatization. The exemplary achievements of post-Soviet Latvia are the success story of internationalization taken to a much higher level when close cooperation with foreign bodies and the

promotion of English proficiency leads to substantial academic development, innovations, and global recognition in a country with a much smaller population than in any of the other Central Asian countries. The economic and reputational gains here far outweigh any perceived risks of internationalization.

Table 5. Performance and participation in standardized admission tests in selected post-Soviet countries in 2014 (SD – standard deviation) (ETS 2020; GII 2020).

Country	GRE test takers 2014	Verbal Reasoning Mean	Verbal Reasoning SD	Quantitative Reasoning Mean	Quantitative Reasoning SD	Analytical Writing Mean	Analytical Writing SD	% population taking GRE	Number of GMAT test-takers (score 0-
Russia	1 021	149	8.1	156	8.6	3.2	0.7	0.0007%	58.6
Ukraine	320	148	8.5	152.9	8.4	3.1	0.8	0.0007%	41
Latvia	31	148.4	7.4	152.7	8.5	3.5	0.7	0.0015%	153
Kazakhstan	492	146.1	8.1	154.5	8.9	3.1	0.7	0.0029%	56.8
Uzbekistan	81	145.7	7.6	151.4	9	3.2	0.8	0.0003%	10.8
Kyrgyzstan	59	146.1	8.6	151.6	10	3.1	0.6	0.0010%	26.6
Tajikistan	31	146.1	9.2	149.9	10.3	3	0.7	0.0004%	5.5
Turkmenistan*	22	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.0004%	1.1

*Number of Turkmen test-takers deemed insufficient by ETS to provide detailed statistics.

Objective assessment is crucial for any development; one cannot improve something that cannot be measured. In view of the inefficient and corrupt systems of evaluations and rewards that can exist on local levels, national governments could start promoting scientific workers and managers based on internationally accepted and objective rankings such as SCOPUS, Web of Science, PISA, SCImago, and GII. The individual qualifications of researchers should be judged based on their publications in the globally recognized journals indexed by SCOPUS and Web of Science rather than in local publications that are rarely translated into English or indexed in internationally recognized systems. That would serve as a powerful "quality check" and drive international cooperation towards broader recognition and greater impact of national scientific output. Furthermore, the governments of all countries in the region, especially Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan, could consider improving data availability and statistics on key indicators in the relevant fields. The transfer to a knowledge economy should be based on hard data.

The participation of youth in globally recognized tests such as PISA, TOEFL, IELTS, GRE, and GMAT should be encouraged for a more objective assessment of student readiness for study and research programs in English and in STEM. One way of avoiding substantial fees for those tests could be organizing mass institutional versions of the tests in cooperation with American and European organizations.

Another way of addressing cost concerns could be implementing more affordable shrunk versions of the tests such as the TOEIC or developing national adaptions of the tests in close cooperation with international organizations such as ETS in order to eliminate the potential for corruption and mistakes. Finally, few Central Asian countries except maybe for Kazakhstan have taken an active part in major PISA studies. Though focused on secondary education, PISA provides probably the best available assessments of how well future students and researchers are prepared in the globalized world.

Quality assurance remains a major challenge to be addressed by foreign partners in cooperation with the public sectors of the economy, education, and science in the region, though the effectiveness of any measures is ultimately limited by the willingness of local officials to cooperate and give up cherished control over many aspects of institutional operations. Foreign partners should continue their important work in cooperation with government institutions to bring the local organizations in Central Asia closer to the best international standards. This includes the much-needed liberalization discussed earlier in this section. At the same time, influential organizations such as TEMPUS could enhance activities on the local levels by working directly with individual applicants. Limited available funding in future projects could potentially provide higher returns after a shift from areas such as new curricula development to targeted grants for studies and research in key areas. For instance, a greater share of scholarships and grants such as in Erasmus+ could be awarded to individuals, bypassing local partner universities in a manner similar to the popular MEXT, DAAD, and Fulbright applications using merit-based processes. This is particularly relevant for countries with low enrolment rates and high nepotism levels at HEIs with low transparency in admissions. Furthermore, the facilitation of visa applications for study in advanced countries, especially at the undergraduate level, could become another direction of improvement where local governments might show little interest in cooperation. The introduction of special visa types such as the B1/B2 in the USA could help bypass concerns about brain-drain and no-return in all involved countries. American organizations should continue their effective strategy of covering a wider audience of potential beneficiaries. German and Japanese programs could hopefully expand to match the scale of their American counterparts.

The USA, Germany, Japan, and the UK are the leading countries in the world in terms of science and technology. They also enjoy greater "soft power" in many countries, including those in Central Asia. The assistance of organizations from such countries in the higher education and science sectors could become an important contribution towards the modernization of economic and technological systems, national science, institutions, and human resource development as well as strengthening mutually beneficial cultural and economic relationships. Cooperation with the developed countries is preferable from the perspective of accountable and

transparent activities directed not only at purely academic and technical but also crucial institutional changes for the long-term shift to good governance. Future funding in large-scale programs such as Horizon Europe should be linked to bold liberalization in all sectors of the countries in the region as a precondition for a major shift to democratic states with knowledge economies. The elimination of barriers in the flow of people and ideas between the region and developed countries could become a long-term goal of foreign cooperation. Technical assistance in the objective performance assessment of education and research based on reputable international standards could also be highly effective. These measures will demonstrate the practical benefits of internationalization in the region. Despite the global recession triggered by the pandemic in 2020, the developed countries should not neglect or reduce their involvement in Central Asia: "the frontier Europe," as it is called sometimes, is too important from an economic and geopolitical viewpoint for ensuring sustainable development in the entire continent. As described in this paper, the aforementioned developed countries have made a crucial contribution to internationalization in Central Asia and they are expected to continue and expand effective projects in key areas such as institutional reforms, academic mobility, language proficiency, and assessment of knowledge.

Summary

This study provides a general comparison between the education systems of Central Asian countries in terms of internationalization at the tertiary level of education and science. It is one of few studies presenting a deeper perspective on higher education and research in Central Asia specifically involving English proficiency, academic mobility, international cooperation, and research output as compared to the related rankings of higher education and research in the world. The study also analyzes the overall organizational and technical characteristics of education and research systems relevant for the internationalization in each Central Asian country that distinguish it from other post-Soviet countries as exemplified by Russia, Ukraine, and Latvia. The results of the comparisons were as follows.

As a region, Central Asia clearly lags in terms of both educational and scientific internationalization behind other major post-Soviet countries that are geographically and culturally closer to Europe. Kazakhstan appears ahead of the other countries in the region with respect to internationalization. Given its relatively small population, Kyrgyzstan has demonstrated moderate achievements in internationalizing research, attracting foreign students, participating in standardized tests, and publishing. Though being major sources of international students, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan seem to have stagnated or exacerbated their positions in international research output between 2011 and 2017 (newer data on recent periods could

hopefully show a reversal of these negative trends). Some progress in growing international collaboration in scientific publishing that was achieved in the early 2000s seems to have stalled in all Central Asian countries except for Kazakhstan since 2011. The universities need further work on facilitating the inflow of mobile students and researchers from other countries and between countries of the region. The positive trend in the development of relevant legislation in Central Asian countries, including international cooperation, has already taken place; it is necessary to focus on the consistent implementation of international cooperation in actual practice. The region can shift towards the wider introduction of globally accepted measures and standardized testing to assess and encourage the performance of local students and researchers in English proficiency, science, technology, engineering, and mathematics. Policymakers should consider the relevance of international cooperation in the field of research and education as related to the national education system and to relationships with developed countries such as the USA, Japan, Germany, and other EU countries. International organizations have always been important for providing access to the best educational and research facilities for top talent among the students and researchers from the region. Funding and implementation of international education and research from the major developed countries should not suffer after the pandemic outbreak in 2020 as it continues to be significant for fostering future leaders and capacity-building in the region as a mutually beneficial area for all involved parties. Implications for policymaking and the business environment were discussed from this point of view. In particular, Central Asian governments and international partners could promote the necessary institutional reforms for creating knowledge economies in the region through the liberalization of their higher education systems by means of expanding privatization, reducing ideological influences, avoiding excessive control, enhancing transparent decision-making, and providing more autonomy for HEIs.

The research lacked data for a more thorough analysis in a number of areas critical for an understanding of the studied topic. In particular, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan are countries where more data would be necessary for developing effective policies in internationalization. Gathering extra information for statistically significant findings and using local knowledge for validation should be the direction of future work. Surveys and interviews should be conducted with representatives of the education and research sectors from these countries in order to gain a deeper understanding of the results outlined in the study.

References

Akipress. (2020). *Uzbekistan recalls its students from universities in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan*. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://akipress.com/news:634841:Uzbekistan_recalls_its_students_from_universities_in_Kazakhstan,_Kyrgyzstan,_Tajikistan/

Arzuw News. (2020). V VUZah Turkmenistana poyavyatsya novye lingvisticheskie spetsial'nosti [New linguistic specialties will appear in the universities of Turkmenistan]. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://arzuw.news/v-vuzah-turkmenistana-pojavjatsja-novye-lingvisticheskie-specialnosti

Astapenia, R. (2016). Attracting foreign students to Belarus: Success or failure? *Belarus Digest.* Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://belarusdigest.com/story/attracting-foreign-students-to-belarus-success-or-failure/

Brunner, J. J., & Tillett, A. (2007). *Higher education in Central Asia: The challenges of modernization–an overview.* Washington, DC: World Bank.

Cabe, R., Ruffio, P., & Tiberi, C. (2013). *The main achievements of the Tempus programme in Central Asia 1994-2013.* TEMPUS.

Choreklieva, A., Sariyeva, G., & Nazarova O. (2017). *Overview of the higher education system - Turkmenistan.* Turkmenistan National Erasmus+ Office.

CIS Legislation. (2020). Legislation of 11 countries members of Commonwealth of Independent States. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://cis-legislation.com/index.fwx

EEAS. (2019). *Spravochnaya informatsiya Sotrudnichestvo Evropeyskiy Soyuz – Tsentral'naya Aziya* [Background information on European Union - Central Asia cooperation]. European. External Action Service.

Huisman, J., Smolentseva, A., & Froumin, I. (2018). *25 Years of transformations of higher education systems in post-Soviet countries: Reform and Continuity* (p. 482). Springer Nature.

ETICO. (2004). Central Asia: buying ignorance – Corruption in education widespread, corrosive. UNESCO. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://etico.iiep.unesco.org/en/central-asia-buying-ignorance-%E2%80%93-corruption-education-widespread-corrosive

ETS. (2020). https://www.ets.org/toefl.

GII. (2020). *Global Innovation Index.* Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://www.wipo.int/global_innovation_index/en/

Heyneman, S. P. (2010). A comment on the changes in higher education in the former Soviet Union. *European Education*, *42*(1), 76-87.

IIE. (2012). *International Education as an institutional priority.* Institute of International Education.

ICEF. (2012). *Field report: demand for education up sharply in Uzbekistan*. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://monitor.icef.com/2012/11/field-report-demand-for-education-up-sharply-in-uzbekistan/

ICEF. (2015). *Kazakhstan economy driving both reforms and demand for higher education.* Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://monitor.icef.com/2015/06/kazakhstan-economy-driving-both-reforms-and-demand-for-higher-education/

ICEF. (2016). *Outbound mobility from Kazakhstan up 140% over past decade.* Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://monitor.icef.com/2016/12/outbound-mobility-kazakhstan-140-past-decade/

ICEF. (2017). *Fifty-fold increase in English-taught bachelor's degrees in Europe*. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://monitor.icef.com/2017/09/fifty-fold-increase-english-taught-bachelors-degrees-europe/

Neftegaz.ru. (2013). Turkmenistan sozdaet Mezhdunarodnyy universitet nefti i gaza [Turkmenistan establishes International University of Oil and Gas]. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from http://neftegaz.ru/news/view/112210

Nessipbayeva, O. & Dalayeva, T. (2013). Developmental perspectives of higher education in the post-Soviet countries (for the cases of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan). *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, *89*, 391-396.

News.ru. (2019). Turkmeniya ne budet priznavat' diplomy inostrannyh vuzov [Turkmenistan will not recognize diplomas of foreign universities]. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://news.ru/cis/turkmeniya-ne-budet-priznavat-diplomy-inostrannyh-vuzov/

Novikova, V. (2013). *Na uchebu – za rubezh* [Study abroad]. E-newspaper "Zolotoy vek." Retrieved November 1, 2020 from http://www.turkmenistan.gov.tm/?id=7264

Rosen, S. M. (1963). *Higher education in the USSR: Curriculum, schools, and statistics* (No. 16-21). US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education.

Penn World Table. (2019). *PWT version 9.1.* Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://www.rug.nl/ggdc/productivity/pwt/?lang=en

Pollock, M. (2010). *Russia & CIS – WENR.* WES. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://wenr.wes.org/2010/09/wenr-september-2010-russia-cis

SCImago. (2020). *Journal & Country Rank*. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://www.scimagojr.com/countryrank.php

SEVP. (2020). The Department of Homeland Security. Student and Exchange Visitor Program. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://www.ice.gov/sevis/whats-new#tab2

Shayakhmetova, Z. (2017). International students say they appreciate studies, life in Kazakhstan. *Edge KZ.* Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://www.edgekz.com/international-students-say-appreciate-studies-life-kazakhstan/

Study in Turkey. (2014). 54,000 *International students study in Turkey.* Retrieved November 1, 2020 from http://www.studyinturkey.com/content/sub/54000_international_students_study_in_turkey.aspx

Tempus. (2012). Higher education in Turkmenistan. *National Tempus Office Turkmenistan.*

The Economist. (2020). *GMAT vs. GRE: which admissions test should you take?* Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://gmat.economist.com/gmat-advice/business-school-admissions/which-test-should-you-take/gmat-vs-gre-which-admissions-test-should-you-take

Turkmenistan.ru. (2013). *Turkmenistan's higher education establishments begin entrance examinations.* Retrieved November 1, 2020 from http://www.turkmenistan.ru/en/articles/17322.html

Turkmenportal. (2019). *Kommentariy Ministerstva obrazovaniya Turkmenistana o Poryadke legalizatsii diplomov* [Commentary of the Ministry of Education of Turkmenistan on the procedure for the legalization of diplomas]. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://turkmenportal.com/blog/18810/kommentarii-ministerstva-obrazovaniya-turkmenistana-o-poryadke-legalizacii-diplomov-zarubezhnyh-vuzov

Turkmenistan Golden Age. (2020). 24,000 young people to become first grade students of high and secondary educational institutes of the country. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from http://turkmenistan.gov.tm/_eng/?id=14703

UNESCO. (2020). *Global flow of tertiary-level students.* Retrieved November 1, 2020 from http://uis.unesco.org/en/uis-student-flow

UNESCO Institute for Statistics. (2015). *Outbound mobility ratio among doctoral students, 2000 and 2013.*

UNESCO. (2010). *UNESCO science report 2010: The current status of science around the world.* Retrieved November 1, 2020 from http://uis.unesco.org/sites/default/files/documents/unesco-science-report-2010-the-current-status-of-science-around-the-world-en.pdf

UNESCO. (2017). *UNESCO science report: Towards 2030. Institutions and economies*, 125-127.

Uralov, O. S. (2020). Internationalization of higher education in Uzbekistan. *Social Sciences & Humanities Open*, *2*(1), 100015.

World Bank. (2014). *Uzbekistan: Modernizing tertiary education*. World Bank, Washington, DC.

Yun, A. (2016). *Corruption in Uzbek higher education: detrimental impurity for the future.* OSCE Academy in Bishkek. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from http://osce-academy.net/upload/file/Brief34.pdf

3 State Anticorruption Legal Framework and Business Climate in Uzbekistan: Legal and Practical Challenges

Tolibjon MUSTAFOEV

Introduction

Uzbekistan is a post-Soviet country with a developing economy that is strivings to improve its international image by enhancing local legislation and institutions. A positive international image and reputation are very important for Uzbekistan in order to be a more attractive destination for foreign direct investments. The current government, led by the president Mirziyoyev, seeks to establish international and regional collaborations and partnerships in a variety of activities, including in the fight against corruption in both the public and private sectors. Modern Uzbekistan considers the UN Sustainable Development Goals and the national Development Strategy Action 2017-2021 as important strategies to rely on when initiating new policies and lawmaking processes (World Bank and United Nations, 2018). Currently, Uzbekistan ranks 153rd out of 180 countries according to the 2019 Corruption Perceptions Index reported by Transparency International (Transparency International, 2020). Active lawmaking and enforcement practice, systematic anticorruption reforms, and effective international collaboration has helped Uzbekistan to raise its position on the Corruption Perception Index by 5 ranks compared to previous years. However, some state officials who were in charge of implementing newly released laws and policies were closely linked to corrupt schemes or actually owned the businesses that implemented these projects (Lasslet, 2020). Law in action and high corruption perception remain challenging factors for

Uzbekistan's "National Development Strategy of Actions 2017-2021", which was adopted by decree №4947 of President Mirziyoyev on February 7, 2017.

Corruption perception is interlinked with the social norms and culture of Uzbek people (Urinboyev & Svensson, 2016). The ethnographic research conducted in the Fergana Valley of Uzbekistan in 2014 mentions local people distinguishing between "bad and "good" corruption in their own social understanding (Urinboyev & Svensson, 2014). The same concept of corruption categorizing can be applied to the *elite capture* in terms of obvious bribery as "bad" corruption and exclusions in legal acts benefiting only certain people or businesses as "legal" corruption. Legal corruption is a recent understanding in the law, which describes the legal framework built by the elite to protect the financial interests of individuals by providing exclusive rights in business dealings (Faufmann & Vicente, 2011; Maciel & Souza, 2017; Domadenik, Prašnikar & Svejnar, 2014). There is a high risk of losing transparency upon initiating any exclusions in legal acts coordinating business or investment dealings. Exclusions in legal acts are mostly viewed as a negative factor benefitting a limited number of individuals by creating unfair business conditions, monopolies, and ineffective governance (Gilmore, McKee & Collin, 2007; Arnáiz, 2006; Warren, 2006; Tadjibaeva, 2019; Troschenko, 2020).

Furthermore, international corruption scandals related to Uzbekistan have had a negative impact on the country's position in international rankings. For instance, Uzbekistan has experienced international corruption scandals involving foreign international private and public business enterprises. All of those corruption cases directly or indirectly affected the position of Uzbekistan on the Corruption Perception Index and other international indices. Most of the infamous corruption scandals were related to Gulnara Karimova, daughter of the former president Islam Karimov, who is currently serving a thirteen-year prison sentence due to her involvement in corrupt activities (Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project, 2020). The Sarajevo-based Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project previously estimated that five telecom companies could have paid Karimova more than a billion dollars in bribes in the 2000s (Roque, 2016). In addition, recent conflict of interest accusations in a Tashkent city project and the Sardoba dam failure in the Syrdarya region have raised concerns about corruption by highlighting the tendency toward legal corruption in Uzbekistan (Markowitz, 2017; Open Democracy, 2019; The Economist, 2020). Thus, the main hurdles to ongoing reforms in Uzbekistan remain corruption and the weak rule of law.

Considering the aforementioned legal and social backgrounds of anticorruption policies in Uzbekistan, this paper discusses three main points affecting the intersection of the legal framework and business climate in Uzbekistan. The first part of the research is devoted to the concepts of trust and the changing legal cultures in Uzbekistan. This section describes the state anticorruption policy agenda and the reactions of both local and foreign businesses to it. The main aim in the following

part is to analyze ongoing anticorruption reforms and their interpretation in real life. Trust is considered in the paper from both social and political perspectives. Uzbekistan is fervently working on improving its position in the international economic and political arenas to gain the trust of foreign companies and attract them to the Uzbek market. Foreign businesses gauge their trust of the ongoing reforms in the country and sustainability of the market by referring to the international marketing strategies of Uzbekistan. On one hand, according to the experiences of the European business representatives, they face bureaucratic and legal problems during the initial period of their investment process. On the other hand, international and local companies that have operated in Uzbekistan for a long time are recognizing the effectiveness of the recent anticorruption reforms. However, the existence of the legal pluralities and cultural perception of corruption in Uzbek society are affecting the business and investment climate of Uzbekistan by delaying the effectiveness of the implementation of anticorruption reforms in everyday business operations. Hence, in this section I will examine the business representatives' perceptions, the legal culture and morality in Uzbekistan.

The second part of the research highlights the issues of transparency and its actuality in policymaking processes in Uzbekistan. Human discretion exists in almost all policymaking and implementation processes in Uzbekistan, which creates obstacles to ensuring full transparency in both the public and private sectors. Mitigating the reasons for and sources of corruption begins with transparency (Bhatnagar, 2003). Transparency allows citizens to be informed about their rights and to gain access to accurate data and other important information. Transparency in data and information also allows businesses to demonstrate to government organizations that their business transactions are fair and honest (Halter, Arruda & Hulter, 2009). Transparency of data and information empowers policymakers to make correct and informed decisions; it allows international corporations to understand the processes and inner workings of the government (in turn creating a more stable business environment for investors and international development); and most importantly, it helps strengthen trust between the government and the people. People and some public servants have different approaches to issues of transparency, and those differences will be discussed further in the following part with reference to the interview data.

The third section analyzes the causes of legal corruption in Uzbekistan by referring to the practice of exclusion provisions in legal acts. This part describes the importance of the anticorruption review of legal acts as a practical preventive tool to remove the practice of legal corruption from the modern policymaking. The Ministry of Justice of Uzbekistan conducts legal reviews of the draft laws before their adoption by Parliament. Anticorruption screening is considered to be a part of general legal review in the modern practice of legal theory in Uzbekistan. According to the respondents within this research, the Ministry of Justice is sometimes also

responsible for conducting anticorruption reviews on draft laws and policies proposed or initiated by itself. Thus, some interviewees involved in my research, who are business and private sector representatives, claim that the screening of self-initiated acts by the Ministry of Justice of Uzbekistan is an obvious conflict of interest. Moreover, civil society institutions and individual experts are not involved in anticorruption screening process. Even though civil society is officially empowered to conduct their own anticorruption reviews of state-level legal acts, the laws do not mention the anticorruption screening of acts adopted at the local and regional levels or orders of *khokims* of the regions. Confusion in laws and the level of flexibility for *khokims* to sign orders without any liability on anticorruption or legal screening create uncertainty and discontent among businesses operating in the city of Tashkent city, the twelve regions and the Republic of Karakalpakstan (an autonomous republic within Uzbekistan). Both the legal aspects and the social perception of the lack of solid anticorruption reviews within the legal framework of Uzbekistan will be analyzed in this paper with reference to the relevant literature and the personal experience of the respondents.

Methodological consideration

General and specific scientific methods of cognition were applied to achieve the goals and objectives set within this socio-legal research on understanding the interlinkages between legal culture, society, and anticorruption legal frameworks and their implications for the busines climate in Uzbekistan. Analytical, logical, and comparative legal methods were implemented during the fieldwork data analysis process. My paper is based on a qualitative approach to the data collection and its analysis. This type of study is interdisciplinary and covers elements of both law and the sociology of law.

I have conducted semi-structured interviews with anticorruption public servants, practicing lawyers, experts, analysts, and academic researchers who have an understanding of the anticorruption and business environment in Uzbekistan. I have also conducted interviews with representatives of foreign companies operating or considering investing in various sectors of Uzbekistan's market. I was able to interview the general manager of the company which was responsible for implementing the massive "Tashkent city" state construction project. The interview data will be presented in the subsequent sections. Interviews were conducted in different cities, including Copenhagen and Tashkent; others were conducted online through the use of modern platforms for remote conferencing.

Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, I had to conduct more than half of my interviews online. Most of the interviewees who wished to remain anonymous informed me

that they did not feel comfortable discussing such a sensitive topic as corruption in a digital format. However, after long negotiations and having become acquainted with anonymization procedures, most of my interviewees agreed to answer all my questions. Representatives of foreign businesses and local businesses requested the interview questions beforehand, including the aim and the financial sources of the research. Public sector representatives and individual experts, on the other hand, asked for general information about the interview topic just to clarify the exact area of the anticorruption reforms and business climate to be discussed.

My research is also based on my personal observations during my daily experiences and my observations of corruption in daily life. I conducted one group interview involving experts from different fields to illuminate the causes of corruption and the conflicts of interest in the public sector. All respondents, excluding some public officials from Uzbekistan, asked to be cited as anonymous interviewees or to use fictional names while referring to their answers in the paper.

Considering my interviewees' profiles, spheres of work, and answers to my questions, I classified them into three groups, which are:

a) "benefitting" people who support local laws and policies and feel privileged and secured in terms of state legal and financial frameworks;

b) "challenged" people who had or still have difficulties in applying certain laws or complicated state policies and have no access to the verified and transparent data to keep their business operations active and effective; and

c) "experts" who shared their professional opinion about the current legal, social, and political backgrounds of corruption perception and anticorruption reforms in Uzbekistan.

Trust and changing legal culture

Uzbekistan has recently established a new Anticorruption Agency as an indication of its intention to combat corruption. However, it is not still systematized and lacks the trust of citizens. One of the main reasons for the inefficient anticorruption legal framework is a lack of trust between people, businesses, and state institutions. If people do not have access to correct and clear information, they cannot make adequate decisions in critical moments. Manipulating or essentially fabricating data without reliable sources creates uncertainty for people and businesses by allowing corruption to persist.

Trust in the political and economic stability of the host country is a very important factor for any businesses to consider that country as an investment destination. Trust

in the market starts with analyzing the relevant reports to ensure the further security of the investments and business efforts. In my interviews, most of the foreign companies highlighted the importance of international indices and rankings as major factors for any pre-investment consideration in the region. The Finnish companies I interviewed operating in oil and gas production in Uzbekistan highlighted the importance of the Corruption Perception Index by Transparency International as one of the essential documents to rely on before investing in new destinations. The Corruption Perception Index mostly relies on the opinion of regular citizens and both national and international experts' reports on the level of tolerance of corruption (Transparency International, 2019). The results of my observations and group discussions show that trust is the first step in stemming the flow of corrupt practices. Trust is essential, but it requires a departure from the "normal" culture and the attitude surrounding corruption in Uzbekistan's society to international values and standards. Ordinary citizens, business workers, and even government officials in Uzbekistan see corruption as a normal means to an end. Corruption allows tasks to be completed more efficiently in the short term; in the long-term, however, it is more damaging to efficiency, especially for those members of society who do not have the means to engage in such practices. It is a vicious cycle (Gleave, Robbins & Kolko, 2011; Urinboyev & Svensson, 2017; Urinboyev, 2019; Uslaner, 2013).

The current situation regarding transparency and efficiency in governance in Uzbekistan was covered during an online group discussion involving representatives from the Ministry of Justice of Uzbekistan, independent lawyers, and researchers in February 2020. All participants decided to remain anonymous because of the sensitivity of the discussed topics, which cover corruption, governance, state policies, and a personal understanding of the problems challenging transparency in public-sector operations. During the discussions, one of the participants noted about the relevance of the transparency and trust:

> Transparency leads people to have more trust in government, which can help to overcome corruption-related problems in the public sector (Khusnora, female legal expert from Uzbekistan).

However, a second participant in the group interview used a neutralization technique (Schoultz & Flyghed, 2016) while responding to the first speaker: He defended the need to keep certain public areas untransparent and justified both the current state policies as well as actual practice.

> Ensuring full transparency in the public sector may lead to other political and social challenges within the state. It is impossible and not profitable either economically or socially to ensure full transparency in the public sector by disclosing every single operation to public. Also, the state must ensure transparency only in such public

> activities as education and health care. Because the state has a task not just to ensure a good life but also to protect its citizens. For instance, there is such a task to protect borders and citizens' interests in the world where all resources are limited and everyone has their own interests (Alisher, male public servant from Uzbekistan).

According to the opinions of the interviewees, some people are less likely to engage in transparent ways of doing business and will instead rely on corruption because of a simple lack of resources. When people receive low salaries, they still have to meet their daily needs. Therefore, people have to find informal and illegal ways to meet these daily needs. The way to do so is through everyday "good" or "bad" bribery. In addition, the state's inadequate provision of social services and high employment has led to the creation of an unwritten set of rules and ways of social behavior, which are not in conformity with the rule of law (Urinboyev & Svensson, 2017). According to my respondent, if people have the means to meet their daily needs and wants, then they are less likely to be inclined to participate in informal and illegal practices because they have no need to do so. As countries become more developed and people reach better standards of living, the situation regarding the informal social perception of corruption may become better on its own. However, it still requires a system that is built on transparency. To build this sort of transparent system, it is necessary to build trust as well as to change the cultural mindset of the people of Uzbekistan.

Social norms sometimes transit to a higher level in the public sector by creating more serious problems and obstacles for the proper operation of the rule of law. For example, on March 13, 2019, the U.S. State Department released an annual report on the human rights situation in various countries, including the level of corruption. The document noted that while the number of cases against officials on corruption charges has actually increased in Uzbekistan, "impunity is still widespread" and "officials often engage in corruption with impunity" which is very arguable considering the recent numbers of corruption cases involving public officials. As an example, the State Department cited recent proceedings against high-ranking officials including the accusations against the governor of the Samarkand region, Turobjon Juraev, of receiving bribes from construction companies for building permits in UNESCO-protected areas of the city of Samarkand. In 2019, Juraev was arrested (U.S. Department of State, 2018).

To gain more trust from the international business community, the government of Uzbekistan strives to identify its "vulnerable" public sectors and implement enhanced international practices on anticorruption policies by initiating reforms and international collaboration. For instance, since 2018, the Prosecutor General's Office and the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Uzbekistan, together with the Republican Interdepartmental Commission on Combating Corruption, have been implementing the UNDP project "Countering Corruption through Effective, Accountable and Transparent Governance Institutions in Uzbekistan" (UNDP

Uzbekistan, 2019) and the Program to Support Anti-Corruption Policies and Activities in the Republic of Uzbekistan within the framework of the UNDP Global Project on Anti-Corruption for Peaceful and Inclusive Societies (ACPIS) for 2017-2020. In accordance with Uzbekistan's Action Strategy for 2017-2021 and the country's commitments under the UN Sustainable Development Goals, this project contributes to the effective implementation of the law of the Republic of Uzbekistan "on combating corruption." In addition, current joint projects are an opportunity for the Uzbek government to implement national obligations under the UN Convention against corruption and the Istanbul Action Plan to combat corruption in the public sector. Hence, the implementation of international norms and standards in local policymaking practice has led to better state profile reports, which means that the likelihood of international businesses considering the Uzbek market as an investment destination could significantly increase. According to my fieldwork results, international companies interested in Uzbekistan's market mostly reckon with expert opinions and reports about the recent updates in policymaking and changes in the social and political sectors.

> The changing legal culture of the citizens is very important because it represents solid policy establishments which guarantee and secure transparency, human rights, and the social welfare of the people. An upgrade in the people's welfare and the political stability of the country mostly reverberates on country reports, which we constantly read and take into consideration before considering future investments (Anna, female, deputy manager of a Finnish company operating in Uzbekistan).

Accordingly, new laws introduced to shape the legal culture of the society should be properly monitored by the state authorities and civil society respectively (Russel, 1992). For instance, the new, systematized anticorruption reforms of Uzbekistan started from the adoption of the law "On Combating Corruption" on January 3, 2017. The law initiated the establishment of the Republican Interdepartmental Commission for Combating Corruption to coordinate work prioritizing international rankings and indices, which indicate the government's interest in improving its position within these spheres. In addition, the Interdepartmental Commission was empowered to monitor the activities of the state bodies and organizations that carry out and participate in anticorruption activities. The order of formation and activities of the Interdepartmental Commission is determined by the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan. The Interdepartmental Commission is chaired by Prosecutor General and consists of the heads of different ministries and state agencies, including the State Security Service, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Department for Combating Tax, Currency Crimes and Legalization of Criminal Incomes under the General Prosecutor's Office, and the Department for Combating Economic Crimes under the Prosecutor General's Office of the Republic of Uzbekistan. The basic tasks of the subsequent commission are to ensure the

interaction of the different organizations within Uzbekistan that participate in anticorruption activities as well as to initiate proposals for enhancing the current legislation on combating corruption and its eradication (Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan "On Combating Corruption," 2017). The Interdepartmental Commission was a first step and a pioneer practice for Uzbekistan in the way of reforming the anticorruption legal framework and related policies within the country.

The Interdepartmental Commission is recognized as a supportive body in the process of anticorruption lawmaking and international practice implementation activities. However, it cannot be a substitute for the requirement of Article 6 of the United Nations Convention Against Corruption, which states that each state should grant independence to the preventive anticorruption body so that it can carry out its tasks and missions "free from any undue influence" (United Nations Convention Against Corruption, 2003*).* Uzbekistan signed and accepted the United Nations Convention Against Corruption; consequently, according to the principle of public international law *pacta sunt servanda,* the government is supposed to follow all of its requirements as much as possible. Pursuing this further, according to President Mirziyoyev's address to the Parliament of Uzbekistan in January 2020, he initiated the creation of a new independent anticorruption body that will be accountable only to the Senate and the President (Permanent Mission of Republic of Uzbekistan to the United Nations, 2020). This decision of the government could serve as a positive background for following the requirements of Article 6 of the UN Convention against Corruption, but the Anticorruption Agency upon establishment was not provided with the necessary independence and flexibility: it was not granted law enforcement power and remains as a research and observant body within the government of Uzbekistan. However, according to my interviews, both local and foreign businesses warmly welcomed the new anticorruption body and hoped for its further progress on corruption eradication in public-private partnerships and joint major projects in Uzbekistan.

Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index and its implications for the business and investment climate

Respondents representing foreign companies within my research shared their step by step experience of investing and starting their business operations in Uzbekistan. One of their first steps was reading and analyzing reports on transparency and governance in Uzbekistan. The Corruption Perception Index was the most popular document to rely on for the majority of my respondents. Complex area coverage and

comprehensive methodology makes the CPI one of the most popular rankings considered by foreign businesses before investing in Central Asian markets. Thus, my next analyses will be on understanding the philosophy and methodological background of the CPI to provide a better understanding of its popularity among businesses.

The international ratings by Transparency International, Freedom House, World Bank, Bertelsmann Foundation, and World Economic Forum measure the level of perception of corruption and transparency in different public and private sectors by standardizing. According to Transparency International experts, the standardization method allows for identifying the most corrupt areas of public administration and institutions. However, several legal scholars believe that ratings do not illustrate a measurement of "corruption", but just standardize people's thoughts and perceptions about corruption. Tina Søreide challenges the nature, effectiveness, and reliability of Transparency International's CPI. She claims that the CPI is not based on "true facts about the actual levels of corruption"; rather, she calls it an "index of indices" (Søreide, 2006). Corruption-related ratings and indices indirectly and directly affect the foreign direct investment (FDI) and business attractiveness of developing states (Woo & Heo, 2009).

Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index is recognized as "first-generation index" that applies diverse instrumental and statistical techniques to measure corruption by its perception in society (Johnston, 2000). These diverse statistical and data analysis techniques guarantee the CPI its leading position among the world's corruption evaluation and analytical observation indices. However, some legal scholars argue about the validity of Transparency International's corruption perception methodology. According to Bevan and Hood (2006, p.517), any complex governance system needs a special form of control that relies on measured performance indicators and administration by targets (Bevan & Hood, 2006). The absence of the exact "measurement" formula for evaluating the level of corruption challenges the comprehensiveness of the methodology applied by TI for making its reports and indices. Most of the sub-indicators of the CPI sources concentrate on the level of public management issues, transparency in public-sector activities, effective governance, and tolerance for corruption. The complexity and variety of sources applied by TI for creating the CPI make the corruption measurement process difficult, or even unclear.

The CPI is a score-registering trend that raises awareness about ongoing corruption-related scandals. It has unique character, which is very influential in world politics and image making but is not practical for countries. For example, Transparency International's reports and indices cover only the problems, but not the solutions. Because of the standardization method, countries struggle to raise their positions in the CPI in order to improve their business and investment attractiveness. Any government reforms or sustainable development that includes anticorruption efforts

cannot guarantee an improvement of the position of the state in the CPI. Even though Transparency International standardizes countries according to its own methods, it does not and cannot provide any practical recommendations or advice for governments on the possible ways to improve their scores and position on the CPI or to better their high-risk, corruption-prone public sectors. Consequently, Gultung also agrees that the CPI mostly criticizes because it does not provide any solutions or answers to the existing corruption-related problems. Indeed, it is more practical to identify the solutions rather than raise awareness about the problems. Gultung claims that "giving harsh and negative scores to countries where reformers are hard at work is to denigrate their work and to feed cynicism and the belief that whatever they are trying to do will be unsuccessful". Thus, countries consider the CPI to be a race to the top, but in reality, it is the opposite *(*Governance-Access-Learning Network, 2014*)*.

Despite critiques of Transparency International's methodology, Uzbekistan strives to improve its position on the CPI. But the standardization method tracking the progress of all countries is such that simultaneous progress in the anticorruption sector in several developing countries can still influence the position of Uzbekistan on the index. Thus, getting high positions in the CPI is quite challenging regardless the progress made by a state over a short period because of the subjectivity of progress analyzes and the standardization method.

The first data about Uzbekistan in the Corruption Perception Index was published in 1999 and was based on surveys from four sources. In some years, country was leading the Central Asian region in the Index. But Uzbekistan started getting low scores and correspondingly lower positions on the CPI due to the enlargement of the number of surveys and sources. In 2014, the country scored 18 out of 100 on the scaled computing system. This score ensured Uzbekistan would rank 166th among 175 countries, meaning it was recognized as the Central Asian country with the second-highest corruption perception and corrupt public sector after Turkmenistan, which received 17 points in 2014. The most important data that TI relied upon to measure the level of corruption perception in Uzbekistan in 2014 was presented by the World Bank Worldwide Governance Indicators, where the country performed poorly on all six of the main dimensions of governance assessed, which were:

- Voice and accountability
- Political stability and absence of violence
- Government effectiveness
- Regulatory quality
- Rule of law

- Control of corruption (Martini, 2015)

Currently, Uzbekistan with its 25 points is the 153rd least corrupt nation out of 180 countries, according to the 2019 Corruption Perception Index reported by Transparency International. In comparison to previous years, Uzbekistan has enhanced its positioning by 5 ranks. Eastern Europe and Central Asia including Uzbekistan are recognized by Transparency International as the second-lowest performing region, where the average score is 35 (Transparency International, 2019). The official report by Transparency International on its 2019 CPI reaffirms the Freedom House's report, and states:

> Since 2012, Belarus (45), Kyrgyzstan (30) and Uzbekistan (25) have significantly improved on the CPI. However, these three post-Soviet states continue to experience state capture and a failure to preserve checks and balances. While Uzbekistan has loosened some media restrictions, it still remains one of the most authoritarian regimes worldwide (Freedom House, 2019).

The score for Uzbekistan in 2018 took into account data from such sources as:

- Bertelsmann Foundation Transformation Index (Uzbekistan – 21)
- Economist Intelligence Unit Country rating (Uzbekistan – 20)
- Freedom House Nations in Transit Rating (Uzbekistan – 21)
- Country risk rating – Global Insight (Uzbekistan – 22)
- CPIA – World Bank (Uzbekistan – 18)
- Rule of Law Index – World Justice Project (Uzbekistan – 34)
- Annual report on democracy – project "Diversity of democracy" -V-Dem. (Uzbekistan – 23)

The standardization method applied by Transparency International recalculates the original scores and standardizes them according to a scale from 0 as the most corrupt to 100 as the least. The aforementioned sources analyze almost all of the political and social aspects, reforms, challenges, rule of law, and economic stability of the state. The methodology used by all sources vary from one to another but the assessment process remains comprehensive and "large scale." Apart from this, the Bertelsmann Foundation critically discusses the conflicts of interest in the public sector, which can create extra motives for further corruption schemes. Experts from the Bertelsmann Foundation (BF) mostly referred to the intersection of interests in the public and private sectors. Mostly, they gathered information from open sources and referred to the survey results that aim to collect data from individual experts or private-sector representatives. For example, the latest report of the BF mentions the following:

> …unfortunately, the government does not use transparent and non-discriminatory criteria in evaluating requests for permits to associate and/or assemble. More often than not, groups are not able to operate free from unwarranted state intrusion or interference in their affairs. For example, the government adopted a rule in 2013 that NGOs receiving grants from international organizations or foundations must open a special bank account for those grants and a special commission must issue permission for the use of the grant. Such a measure was established as means to control NGO activities (Bertelsmann Foundation, 2018).

The Bertelsmann Transformation Index country report on Uzbekistan for 2018 highlights several times that the analyzed data is mostly taken from official state sources, which means the, at least in this report, experts have referred to the most valuable and accountable data available.

Transparency International mostly evaluates institutional and legal anticorruption frameworks; in addition, it critically evaluates the high-corruption-risk public sectors of Uzbekistan such as healthcare, police, security and defense, education, public administration, and agriculture. Different international indices including the CPI always try to stay "objective" during the data collection, analyzing and ranking processes. The affiliation level of the legal and institutional anticorruption reforms of any state with its positioning in the Corruption Perception Index depends on data from three main sources that are recognized as corruption indicators (Fakezas, Toth & King, 2016):

1. Different types of surveys related to the perception of corruption and the most widely held attitudes.
2. A critical review of the state efforts in anticorruption policy and its existing legal and institutional frameworks.
3. A detailed version of the analyses and audits of individual cases.

The CPI in particular considers a very large scale of corruption "measurement". Public policy, recent updates, and existing challenges in public-sector business dealings mostly affect state positioning on the CPI. Moreover, the report of the 2019 Corruption Perception Index highlights the main directions of the public sector in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) that are strongly linked to the final results or ranking. The CPI in its report on the Central Asian countries highlights that "across the region, countries experience limited separation of powers, abuse of state resources for electoral purposes, opaque political party financing and conflicts of interest" (Transparency International, 2020). Moreover, the report states that "strong political influence over oversight institutions, insufficient judicial independence and limited press freedoms serve to create an over-concentration of power in many countries across the region" (Transparency International, 2020).

Transparency can make state workers more responsible in informing people about the thousands of tasks that they carry out and constantly letting them know about the status of implementation. All governments can issue hundreds of new regulations, but the most important part is implementation and control; thus, transparency could assure this. Issues of corruption and the failure to provide transparency can be seen as symptoms of a larger problem. Confidence of both government and citizens in political processes is considered to be the main imperative for the enhancement of transparency and democracy in the state. Holding government officials accountable for the decisions made by them and their actions can be reached only by providing greater transparency and openness in the public sector (Kierkegaard, 2009). In this regard, democratic processes are successful only when the government ensures transparency in its public sector and allows all citizens to actively participate in the decision-making process on policies or laws that have a direct effect on peoples' everyday routines and lives. Considering this further, Ball claims that only "when citizens have information, governance improves. Transparency occurs through the support of society, government, media, and business for open decision-making" (Ball, 2009). Thereby, the important aspects of transparency in the public sector are letting people track and monitor government actions and ensuring direct public control over state policy implementation processes. Direct public control within the context of transparency means the direct participation of citizens in the policy decision-making and implementation process rather than an indirect monitor through representatives where the results only arise from democratic values (Meijer, 2013).

Uzbekistan has an experience of attempting to actively encourage citizens and people living in the country to participate in discussions of state projects, amendments to existing legal acts, and norms. However, there is a gap in sufficient public relations in Uzbekistan's public sector that can be filled in by implementing more effective "feedback" communication strategies and policies to inform about the results and ongoing actions of previously made decisions. For example, before conducting a general review of legal acts, the Ministry of Justice takes into consideration people's comments on those acts and policy initiatives that are normally published in the regulations.go.uz portal. Ensuring people's participation in discussions is a very positive experience within the scale of transparency, but it needs to be enhanced in terms of raising public awareness about this portal and ensuring the reporting by the government about the progress and results of implemented projects, policies, or laws.

Transparency and accountability in the public sector are powerful allies in any anticorruption policy. Previously discussed practices of foreign countries with better positions on the CPI show that Uzbekistan can get better world recognition for its anticorruption efforts by internationalizing the values aligned with citizenship and government that should be open and transparent. All these recommendations highlight the importance of people's feeling as participants in political processes, not

just as observers, but "also for the rescue of ethical values by politicians and public officials in order to generate greater confidence in the government" (Lyrio, Lunkes & Taliani, 2018). As a matter of fact, getting high ranks and a good position on the international indices on transparency and governance, including the Corruption Perception Index, depends on minimizing corruption problems and cases, enhancing social welfare, and strengthening democracy. All of the aforementioned successes can be achieved through a combination of the values discussed in the paragraph on participatory practice and sufficient access to information, where government regularly informs everyone about their dealings in the public sector and people stay informed by being able to express their opinions in an adequate and relevant manner.

Following the previously made analyses about providing sufficient access to information regarding public-sector dealings and relying on the nineteenth recommendation of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development's (OECD) country progress update within the third round of monitoring under the Istanbul Anticorruption Action Plan, Uzbekistan needs to "ensure that legislation on free access to information limits discretion of officials in refusing to provide information; set precise definitions of the 'state secret' or other secret protected by the law; carry out campaigns to raise citizens' awareness about their rights and responsibilities in regard to the access to information regulations. Ensure systematic training of officers who are responsible to provide information on the access to information" (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2015).

Even with the existence of a legal framework that guarantees people's right to access to information related to the public sector, it is not practical if people's awareness of this is low. Therefore, providing official and accountable information to the public leads to an increase of trust in the government and a possible decrease in the social phenomenon of legal corruption. The accuracy, appropriateness, and up-to-dateness of the published information are very important to catch peoples' interest and ensure transparent business dealings in the public sector.

In the public sector, the more transparency there is in monetary information, the better the business investment climate and the general lifestyle of the society will be. Relevant, publicly available information holds officials and businesses accountable. In addition, this information allows people to trace business transactions and ensure that illegal schemes, like money laundering, do not happen. Publicly available documents concerning monetary issues ensure the compliance of businesses with laws, allow audits to be more efficient, and, as a result, make people more likely to trust businesses and public officials when there is data that can be used as proof.

> For example, citizens warmly welcomed the recent reforms in the tax system of Uzbekistan, because the government introduced new technology based on blockchain technologies that can ensure transparency in this sector. The database in the

> blockchain system duplicates in different organizations, so that this system has introduced decentralized control over public funds and taxes. This case can be viewed as a positive experience for establishing transparency (Khusnora, female legal expert from Uzbekistan).

Article 8 of the law of the Republic of Uzbekistan "On Public Procurement" pertaining to the "principle of openness and transparency" states that:

Openness and transparency of public procurement is carried out by:

- placement of information on public procurement on a special information portal with full, timely, free and free access to the relevant state bodies, subjects of public procurement and the public, in accordance with the procedure established by law, with the exception of cases stipulated by law;
- drafting and ensuring the safety of documents and reports on procurement procedures." (Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan On Public Procurement, 2018)

The current law was adopted to ensure effective management and transparency in Uzbekistan's public procurement sector, and mostly focuses on setting exact procedures for that sector. The law highlights the importance of announcements of information related to public procurement on relevant online platforms by relying on the principles of transparency and openness. However, there are quite a lot of exceptions that are granted to conduct direct contracting in the public procurement sector. For instance, 36 types of state purchases have been approved for direct contracting by the respective state departments and suppliers by decree of the President of Uzbekistan (Decree of the President of Uzbekistan "On Measures Implementing the Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan 'On Public Procurement'", 2018). The decision was made in consideration of state security issues, but the experience of the European Union legislation on public procurement strongly recommends avoiding direct contracting because of the risks of possible practical challenges and conflicts of interest (Bekzod, male, investment manager in foreign consulate based in Uzbekistan).

In the context of European legislation, public procurement objectives are well accepted and supported by most of the population of the member states. The Eurobarometer (2011) survey shows large-scale support for the EU's procurement standards in the fight against corruption and favoritism. The following survey and its results clearly demonstrate public awareness and understanding of the importance of opening up the procurement market for more competition (European Commission Internal Market and Services, 2011).

More competition, less exceptions for direct contracting, and public awareness lead to better trust of citizens and the private sector in government policies. The

phenomenon of trust is one of the main segments to rely on while ranking a country's position in different democracy and transparency indices, including the Corruption Perception Index.

Furthermore, according to the local business representatives engaged in the construction sector I interviewed, Uzbekistan would benefit from implementing a blockchain-based e-procurement system. Hence, the expansion of electronic procurement forms is essential for Uzbekistan to create a safe and transparent platform for public procurement (World Bank, 2017).

> Improvements in the existing electronic procurement platforms in terms of simplifying the registration process, integrating them with verified clearing and settlement platforms, and introducing document exchange and payment options directly through the system would make Uzbekistan's procurement system more transparent and reliable so that private companies would feel more confident while dealing with supplies to public sector. In addition, the interaction and unification of the electronic databases of different state departments, ministries, and public organizations can increase the interest of both suppliers and purchasers for applying an electronic version of procurement for most of the cases (Anvar, male, businessman in the construction sector in Uzbekistan).

Indeed, for example, South Korea, as a strategic partner of Uzbekistan in various fields, has experienced how the interaction of the Ministry of Finance Treasury, the "Single-Window" state service center, the customs and tax authorities, banks, and different insurance organizations in one electronic portal for procurement by organizing simplified purchases, speeding up registration processes and quick payment methods would attract entities in both the public and private sectors for the online operation and transparency of procurement issues. Thus, public purchasers cannot be assumed to have the same commercial pressure or organizational incentives for the sound management of their expenditure as private sector purchasers who are subject to strong competition have. This has prompted the imposition, by many jurisdictions around the world, of disciplines to encourage the better use of resources, promote greater efficiency, and reduce the risk of favoritism or corruption in public purchasing (European Commission Internal Market and Services, 2011).

Anticorruption reviews of legal acts as a preventive measure of legal corruption

In theory and practice, it is generally agreed that all measures aimed at fighting corruption are mainly divided into two main areas, namely:

- The first direction is to take measures to counteract external manifestations of corruption. This direction is aimed at fighting already-existing corruption with punitive measures. These can include, for example, bringing disciplinary responsibility, initiating criminal cases, and others.
- The second direction includes measures to prevent corruption by eliminating the legislative and institutional prerequisites for corruption. One of these measures is to conduct correct anticorruption reviews.

Practice shows that a significant number of threats arise at the stage of developing or drafting legal acts. These threats contribute to the emergence of corrupt factors. Preventing corruption risks is an effective measure to combat corruption. The elimination of possible corruption risks in legal acts can be achieved through clear and strict compliance with the principles and mechanisms of anticorruption expert review (MGIMO MFA of Russia, 2009).

> A proper level of anticorruption review at the national level has not found its wide application, and there are still problems with this issue on the ground. Thus, an anticorruption review of legal acts is conducted within the framework of the legal review in Uzbekistan. Based on the current legislation, anticorruption reviews are carried out by state bodies with the appropriate authority to adopt legal acts. In the case of Uzbekistan, it is the Ministry of Justice (Ozodbek, male, leading research analyst of the Senate of "Oliy Majlis" – the Parliament of Uzbekistan).

The Ministry of Justice and its territorial divisions are defined as bodies responsible for conducting anticorruption reviews in accordance with the Law "On Normative Legal Acts" (2012) and the Order of the Minister of Justice "On the Approval of the Methodology of Anticorruption Review of Normative Legal Acts" (registration number 2745, December 25, 2015). Civil society institutions have the right to conduct independent anticorruption expert reviews in Uzbekistan. The results of the examination of civil society representatives are of a recommendatory nature.

> Analyses of the current state of anticorruption reviews practiced in Uzbekistan clarify that the main reasons and prerequisites for the appearance of corruption-related factors in legal documents is due to violations of the methodological foundations, principles, and traditions of legislative techniques. The aforementioned problems create the possibility of their different and ambiguous interpretation by law

> enforcement agencies, the adoption of normative legal acts by government bodies that do not have the authority to adopt those acts. Also, by studying the local practice of standard-setting and conducting anticorruption reviews of draft legal acts on the ground, it is possible to identify a number of problematic points in Uzbekistan's legislation (Ozodbek, male, leading research analyst of the Senate of "Oliy Majlis" – the Parliament of Uzbekistan).

According to the respondents who are independent lawyers, the elimination of these problems and gaps would minimize corruption risks and significantly improve the quality of adopted legal acts. The institutional and legal framework for anticorruption reviews has been established in Uzbekistan, but the existing potential is not being used as effectively as it could be. Significant unrealized prospects are present in terms of improving legislation and ensuring control over compliance with methodological norms of rulemaking and organization of work processes.

The 2015 Istanbul Action Plan monitoring meeting recognized Uzbekistan's progress in establishing new visions and policies in anticorruption screening of legal and administrative acts at all levels by stating the following:

> [T]he law drafted in February 2015 aimed at measures for streamlining legislation and reducing the regulations, which is now available for the public discussion on the website of the Ministry of Justice of Uzbekistan. These measures are welcome. While not having the opportunity to study the relevant legislative base, the expert team believes that the reported measures already constitute the progress in implementation of the recommendation (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2015).

However, the existing high risk of the conflicts of interest in the area of screening legal documents at the regional and local levels is creating obstacles for full transparency in the lawmaking process. Moreover, less practiced anticorruption screening specialists and *de facto* anticorruption reviews that are not independent from general legal reviews are challenging indicators for Uzbekistan's progress in getting recognition for full satisfaction of the legal framework according to the criteria of Article 5 of the UNCAC (United Nations Convention Against Corruption, 2003). The effect of the lack of solid anticorruption reviews of legal acts is noticeable from the everyday challenges the local businesses are faced with. One of the respondents working in the private educational sector in Uzbekistan expressed his concerns about the high level of corruption and conflicts of interest in land distribution processes:

> In order to get land for construction or other purposes until 2020, people had to approach the *Khokimiyats* (regional governmental bodies) for a certain document granting the right to the land. According to that informant, *Khokims* on some levels

> involve nepotism during the land distribution. Negligent and criminal behaviors of regional governances are motivated by the absence of anticorruption or any other type of legal screening of their orders and signing documents (Anvar, male, businessman in construction sector in Uzbekistan).

Problems with land distribution have been on the agenda for a long time and currently, according to the newly released state policy, citizens or other businesspeople can get a title for the land use by participating in online tenders within few days. Even though the right to independently distribute lands has been taken away from the *Khokims* by the higher government, the question of anticorruption screening of the *Khokimiyat*'s order still remains undiscussed. Reviews of local lawmaking practices and anticorruption reviews in Uzbekistan are a very important factor for preventing corruption schemes. And these changes can positively facilitate the work scale of employees of the new agency for the fight against corruption. Anticorruption reviews of draft legal acts at the regional and district levels would reveal a number of problematic points in the legislation at the local level. Thus, a separate and thorough anticorruption review could eliminate or minimize corruption risks and significantly improve the quality of adopted legal acts by ensuring equal treatment and transparency for proper business operations.

Conclusion

I have argued that the business climate in Uzbekistan depends on the level of trust, transparency, and a comprehensive legal framework. All three factors are combined in one report by many international indices and rankings, such as the Corruption Perception Index, which are very popular among foreign businesses to refer to before considering the final investment. In this paper, I have challenged the theories focusing only on the social or legal components of corruption perception in Uzbekistan by introducing a cross-sectional socio-legal approach that relies on a high level of human discretion in the decision-making practice in the public sector.

Firstly, this paper provided detailed analyses of the Corruption Perception Index as one of the leading rankings shaping the business and investment attractivity of Uzbekistan. Moreover, according to the fieldwork conducted within this research, the current situation regarding public awareness in Uzbekistan demonstrates how websites and other sources of information are simply not available or are inaccurate. If businesses and officials do not provide the required data, the public is less likely to trust the institutions. In turn, the perception of corruption for these individuals and businesses is higher. The lack of access to reliable and official information also makes it extremely difficult to contact individuals and question them about certain topics. Hence, trust in political and economic sustainability increases through the

introduction of modern and comprehensive policies that prioritize transparency, openness, and equality in all matters. New policies and laws as the core principles of the changing legal culture in Uzbek society were examined in the first section of the current research.

Secondly, and more importantly for Uzbekistan, transparency makes the economy function more efficiently. If people, particularly international businesses, can get access to direct and accurate information, the business climate within the country automatically improves. With access to information, businesses can make better assessments of markets and better business decisions. Additionally, being more transparent would improve Uzbekistan's international image and rankings, something President Mirziyoyev perceives as important. Adding transparency within legal sectors, like limiting "closed" trials, would allow Uzbekistan to garner an improved and more "democratic" image.

Thirdly, as local and foreign business representatives mentioned about the cases of regional governors who are still participating in corruption schemes, any policies from the capital, Tashkent, take a significant amount of time to be effectively implemented in the regions. However, from the perspective of many different international anticorruption organizations, Uzbekistan's domestic policies have significantly improved. This is particularly true for the business sector, which has seen massive growth in international investment. Corruption reforms take longer than most other reforms to truly be successful because they require a changing of the mindset of people, and not just of the system. That being said, however, Uzbekistan is on the correct path to improving its international image and corruption rankings.

Consequently, there are numerous measures being taken in Uzbekistan with the aim of fighting corruption. These include in particular the ongoing improvement of the regulatory framework, strengthening the capacity of law enforcement authorities, and supporting civil society institutions in exercising public control. Despite the efforts that have been made, however, the problem of corruption has not yet found its solution. This is evidenced by the low position of Uzbekistan in certain international rankings. Government efforts and ongoing legal and institutional efforts should positively impact Uzbekistan's positioning in the Corruption Perception Index in the coming years. At the same time, it should be noted that corruption is present in most state sectors around the world and it is a universal problem.

References

Arnáiz, T. (2006). *Grounds for Exclusion in Public Procurement: Measures in the Fight against Corruption in European Union*. [e-book] Retrieved November 1, 2020 from http://ippa.org/images/PROCEEDINGS/IPPC2/Article_12_Amaiz.pdf

Baier, M. (2020). *Social and legal norms: Towards a socio-legal understanding of normativity*. pp. 267-285.

Ball, C. (2009). What is transparency? *Public Integrity*, *11*(4), 293–308. doi: 10.2753/PIN1099-9922110400

Bhatnagar, S. C. (2004). *E-government: from vision to implementation: a practical guide with case studies*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

MGIMO MFA of Russia. (2020). Corruption: Causes, Influences, and Methods of Fighting. *Mirovoe i Natsional'noe Xoziaistvo.* Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://mirec.mgimo.ru/2009-01/korrupciya-prichiny-vozniknoveniya-vliyaniya-i-metody-borby2

Decree of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan "On the action strategy for the further development of the Republic of Uzbekistan" dated February 7, 2017, № PD-4947. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://lex.uz/docs/4355387

Decree of the President of Uzbekistan "On Measures to Implement the Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan "On Public Procurement" dated September 27, № DPU-3953. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://lex.uz/docs/3919892

Domadenik, P., Prašnikar, J., & Svejnar, J. (2014). Legal Corruption, Politically Connected Corporate Governance and Firm Performance. *IZA Discussion Paper* No. 8321. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://ssrn.com/abstract=2468497

European Commission Internal Market and Services. (2020). EU public procurement legislation: delivering results. Summary of evaluation report. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://ec.europa.eu/docsroom/documents/15552/attachments/1/translations/en/renditions/pdf

Federal Law of the Russian Federation "On anti-corruption review of normative legal acts and draft regulatory legal acts" dated July 17, 2009, № FL-172. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_89553/

Gilmore, A. B., McKee, M., & Collin, J. (2007). The invisible hand: how British American Tobacco precluded competition in Uzbekistan. *Tobacco Control, 16,* 239-247.

Gleave, E., Robbins, B., & Kolko, B. (2012). Trust in Uzbekistan. *International Political Science Review*, *33*(2), 209–229. doi: 10.1177/0192512110379491.

Halter M., Arruda M., & Halter R. (2009). Transparency to Reduce Corruption? Dropping Hints for Private Organizations in Brazil. *Journal of Business Ethics 84,* 373–385.

Kaufmann, D., & Vicente, P. (2011). Legal Corruption. *Economics & Politics*, *23*(2), 195-219.

Kierkegaard, S. (2009). Open access to public documents—More secrecy, less transparency! *Computer Law and Security Review*, *25*(1), 3-27. doi:10.1016/j.clsr.2008.12.001

Lasslett, K. (2019). Uzbekistan Ltd: private-public interests clash in flagship project. *openDemocracy*. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/odr/uzbekistan-ltd/

Lasslett, K. (2020). Revolving doors, invisible hands: How the state and private sector are merging in the new Uzbekistan. *openDemocracy*. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/odr/revolving-doors-invisible-hands-how-state-and-private-sector-are-merging-new-uzbekistan/

Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan 'On Normative Legal Acts' dated December 24, 2012, № PD-342. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://www.lex.uz/acts/2105726 (Accessed 20 January 2020)

Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan "On Combating Corruption" dated January 3, 2017, № LRU-419. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://lex.uz/docs/4056495

Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan "On Public Procurement" dated April 9, 2018, № LRU-472. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://lex.uz/docs/3648311

Lyrio M., Lunkes, R., & Taliani, E. (2018). Thirty years of studies on transparency, accountability, and corruption in public sector: The state of the art and opportunities for the future research. *Public Integrity, 20*(5), 512-533.

Maciel, G., & de Sousa, L. (2017). Legal corruption and dissatisfaction with democracy in the European Union. *Social Indicators Research*, *140*(2), 653-674.

UNDP Uzbekistan. (2018). *Mainstreaming, Acceleration and Policy Support (MAPS) For Achieving the Sustainable Development Goals in Uzbekistan.* Retrieved November 1, 2020 from http://www.un.uz/files/UN%20in%20Uzbekistan/MAPS%20Report%202018/UZB-MAPS%20Report%20-%20Final_Eng.pdf

Markowitz, L. (2017). Beyond *Kompromat*: Coercion, corruption, and deterred defection in Uzbekistan. *Comparative Politics*, *50*(1), 103-121.

Meijer, A. J. (2013). Understanding the complex dynamics of transparency. *Public Administration Review*, *73*(3), 429–439. doi:10.1111/puar.12032

Order of the Minister of Justice of the Republic of Uzbekistan "On approval of the methodology of anti-corruption review of normative legal acts" dated December 25, 2015, №2745. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://www.minjust.uz/en/activity/npaprojects/96781/

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. (2015) Istanbul Action Plans, Third Round of Monitoring: Uzbekistan Progress Updates. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://www.oecd.org/corruption/acn/Uzbekistan-ACN-Progress-Update-March-2015-ENG.pdf

Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project. (2020). Jailed Uzbek 'princess' gets further prison time. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://www.occrp.org/en/daily/11867-jailed-uzbek-princess-gets-further-prison-time

Permanent Mission of Republic of Uzbekistan to the United Nations. (2020). Address by the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan Shavkat Mirziyoyev to the Oliy Majlis. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://www.un.int/uzbekistan/news/address-president-republic-uzbekistan-shavkat-mirziyoyev-oliy-majlis-0

Roque, S. (2016). Vimpelcom fined US$ 795 million over Uzbekistan telecoms bribes. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://www.occrp.org/en/investigations/4958-vimpelcom-fined-us-795-million-over-uzbekistan-telecoms-bribes

Roumeen, I. (2003). Do more transparent governments govern better? *World Bank*. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://elibrary.worldbank.org/doi/pdf/10.1596/1813-9450-3077

Russell, C. S. (1992). Monitoring and enforcement of pollution control laws in Europe and the United States. In R. Pethig (Ed.) *Conflicts and cooperation in managing environmental resources. Microeconomic Studies*. Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer.

Schoultz, I., & Flyghed, J. (2016). Doing business for a "higher loyalty"? How Swedish transnational corporations neutralise allegations of crime. *Crime, Law and Social Change,* 66, 183–198. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10611-016-9619-5

Tadjibayeva, D. (2019). Penal legislation of Uzbekistan: condition, problems and prospects. *International Penitentiary Journal*, *1*(3), pp.191-196. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/the-penal-legislation-of-uzbekistan-condition-problems-and-prospects

The Economist. (2020). A dam failure raises concerns about corruption in Uzbekistan. August 6. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://www.economist.com/asia/2020/08/06/a-dam-failure-raises-concerns-about-corruption-in-uzbekistan

UNDP in Uzbekistan. (2018). Preventing corruption through effective, accountable and transparent governance institutions in Uzbekistan. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://www.uz.undp.org/content/uzbekistan/en/home/projects/preventing-corruption-through-effective--accountable-and-transpa.html

Transparency International. (2019). Report on corruption Perception Index 2019. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://www.transparency.org/cpi2019

Troscenko, E. (2020). From mice-eaten passports to fingerprint scanning: Fluctuating state presence and 'entangled documents' along the Kyrgyz–Uzbek border. *Central Asian Survey*, *39*(2), pp.236-254. doi.org/10.1080/02634937.2019.1711022

United Nations Convention Against Corruption. (2004). Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://www.unodc.org/documents/brussels/UN_Convention_Against_Corruption.pdf

Urinboyev, R. (2013). *Living law and political stability in post-Soviet Central Asia. A case study of the Ferghana Valley in Uzbekistan.* PhD Dissertation. Lund University.

Urinboyev, R., & Polese, A. (2016). Informality currencies: A tale of Misha, his brigada and informal practices among Uzbek labour migrants in Russia. *Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe*, *24*(3): 191–206.

Urinboyev, R., Polese, A., Svensson, M., Adams, L., & Kerikmae, T. (2018). Political vs everyday forms of governance in Uzbekistan: The illegal, immoral and illegitimate politics and legitimacy in post-Soviet Eurasia. *Studies of Transition States and Societies*, *10*(1), 50-64.

Urinboyev, R., & Svensson, M. (2013). Living law, legal pluralism, and corruption in post-Soviet Uzbekistan. *Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law, 45*(3), 372–390.

Uslaner, E. M. (2013). Trust and corruption revisited: How and why trust and corruption shape each other. *Qual Quant, 47*, 3603–3608. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-012-9742-z

U.S. Department of State. (2018). 2018 country reports on human rights practices: Uzbekistan. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://www.state.gov/reports/2018-country-reports-on-human-rights-practices/uzbekistan/

Warren, M. (2006). Political corruption as duplicitous exclusion. *PS: Political Science and Politics, 39*(4), 803-807. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from http://www.jstor.org/stable/20451821

World Bank. (2017). Improvement of the public procurement system in the Republic of Uzbekistan. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/816741495971667917/Uzbekistan-13th-PEIMO-Forum.pdf

4 Introducing the Discipline of Legal Culture for B.A. Students within the Cultural Studies Specialty: A Syllabus Development

Ruziya KAMAROVA

Introduction and Background

"Cultural Studies" is one of the specialties of the Philosophy Department of the Faculty of Social Sciences at L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University (Nur-Sultan, Kazakhstan) at the Bachelor's, Master's, and Ph.D. levels. This syllabus is designed for BA-level students majoring in Cultural Studies.

The objectives of the B.A. in Cultural Studies Program are to train competent, highly qualified specialists with a high level of professional knowledge, the necessary skills of social adaptation and mobility in the contemporary dynamic world, and the capability for self-development and setting and solving urgent theoretical and practical problems in the sphere of culture and the cultural industry.

The key learning outcomes of the B.A. in Cultural Studies Program cover a wide range of competences: graduates should be able to implement the acquired theoretical and practical knowledge and understanding at a professional level; improve thinking, speaking, and writing skills; be able to search, select, and structure information; set goals and choose the relevant means to achieve them; gather and interpret relevant data, taking into account social and ethical issues; think creatively

and solve new problems in the industrial and innovative development of Kazakhstan; be able to handle technologies to use information in professional activities; and be able to implement a state cultural policy to preserve and enhance cultural, art, historical, and natural heritage.

These generally formulated learning outcomes are delivered and specified through the disciplines of the Curriculum. An analysis of the Curriculum for the B.A. in Cultural Studies showed that there is a minimum of three directions for majors. The first one is concerned with the theory of culture and art, the second studies the history of cultures and arts and the third is linked with different fields of culture in society. The third direction of the discipline also covers the development of practical skills for future professional activities, such as Cultural Tourism, Cultural Branding and PR, Culture Management, etc. Amongst these different disciplinary approaches to cultural studies, there is no special attention given to law and its place in culture. Therefore, the idea of this syllabus is to shed light on the phenomenon of legal culture.

Why is legal culture important to study?

There is an idea of legal culture as the presumption of knowledge of law by each person. In fact, this is an assumption that for the normal functioning of the entire legal system, a legal culture is required, in which every citizen should be interested in legal knowledge and its application. The development of society presupposes that citizens have such a legal culture that they not only know the law, but also show legal activity. In fact, legal knowledge is mainly possessed by certain persons – specialists who are directly related to jurisprudence. Yet it is also important for students of Cultural Studies to have knowledge and skills in the field of legal culture.

Therefore, one of the main intentions of the course in Legal Culture is to broaden the professional skills of Cultural Studies students, to give them an opportunity to study and pay attention to the law, its place and development in society in future research and practice.

This demand is linked to the processes of nation-building in Kazakhstan after the collapse of the Soviet Union – the constant development of the country's legislative framework and institutions. The government has adopted a special State Program titled ***Rukhani Zhangyru* – Course towards the future: modernization of Kazakhstan's identity,** where special attention is paid to the development of competencies in fields such as economics, IT, law, etc.

Course learning outcomes

Studying the discipline of Legal Culture should provide students with the following knowledge and skills:

- A familiarity with the state of research in the field of legal culture, its history, functioning, and development (national and international frameworks): to be able to apply law frameworks in their professional activities, in solving professional tasks in the field of legal culture.
- An ability to correlate theoretical knowledge with practical applicability: to be able to apply theoretical and methodological approaches to the analysis of legal cultures.
- A capability to freely navigate the current challenges in the field of legal culture in modern Kazakhstan: to be able to study issues in the field of legal culture in Kazakhstani society.

Philosophy of the discipline

The main basis for studying Legal Culture is its interdisciplinarity, which helps to consider the phenomenon from different angles. Cultural Studies as a specialty is itself interdisciplinary, with broad fields of applicability. Law is a part of culture and has its twists and turns in the history of the development of human societies. The history and specifics of law are reflected in different ways in various spheres of society, and in various branches of knowledge. Therefore, when studying legal culture, it is important to look at the law from different perspectives and reflect the diversity of approaches in its consideration.

The balance between theory and methodology is also a priority for this discipline. It is important not only to consider the conceptual aspects and existing theories regarding law, but also to pay attention to how law is studied in order to stimulate the students' interest in researching various social aspects of legal culture.

The logic of the discipline is structured in such a way as to first examine the various aspects of law as a phenomenon, its conceptual frameworks and variety of meanings and definitions. Then we move on to the study of law and legal culture with various multidisciplinary approaches. At the end of the course, we consider the important aspects of legal culture in the contemporary world, with a focus on Kazakhstan. In general, the course will consist of three modules, the contents of which we will consider below.

Module 1

Introduction to Legal Culture

One of the conditions for the formation of a high level of legal culture in society is legal education. The process of legal education should have a purposeful and systematic impact on the consciousness and culture of members of society, with the aim of developing a sense of respect for the law and the habit of observing the law as the basis of personal conviction.

Legal culture is commonly recognized as an urgent problem of our time, since without ensuring legal culture it is impossible to realize the constitutional potential of civil society, or even to form civil society itself and the rule of law. It is known that both legal culture and legal education are important complex components of the mechanism of legal socialization of a person within the process of assimilation, adoption and implementation by subjects of the legal values of society, the ideas, experiences, feelings and emotions of people, legal assessments, norms, and patterns of behavior.

The importance of legal culture as the basis for legal education in modern conditions can take many factors into account. For example, the concept of law in many cases becomes a condition and prerequisite for the development of a civil society, where there is no place for various forms of violence. Why do these phenomena occur? Does the law consider the real and diverse sociocultural values of people, their ideas about justice and the purpose of law? All this requires the study of law within a complex of sociocultural, anthropological, and philosophical problems.

The complexity and versatility of the problem of legal education are the reasons why some of its aspects are not sufficiently developed. Today, there are various approaches to the formation of a legal culture through education, various concepts of legal and patriotic education, and systems of democratic civic education that have been developed to enhance the legal consciousness of youth and young specialists – in particular culturologists.

Strengthening the standards of education undoubtedly develops a strong legal consciousness and also gives an idea of its importance in the development of civil society. In this case, the process of education is a means and consciousness is a result. Legal education is a process of forming a respectful attitude to the law, as well as the adoption of laws of great social value, which directly affect every person. A person with a good level of legal education experiences a sense of responsibility to the law, including an intransigence to arbitrariness and corruption. In addition, legal education is inextricably linked with and implemented through legal training, which is a direct process of obtaining knowledge.

Legal training is "a way of external expression and organization of the transfer of theoretical legal material to the object of education."[7] One of the initial purposes of introducing the course on legal education to young specialists in Kazakhstan is to form the theoretical foundations of legal consciousness and legal culture, to ensure the necessary level of systematization of knowledge about the rule of law, the legal framework in general, legal thinking and the perception of legal norms, and to form both scientific and practical legal worldviews.

Obtaining legal education and training can be considered as a process, the implementation of which is possible only at a certain period in a person's life, mainly during training at the undergraduate level. In the absence of upbringing in a specific period of time (in our case, senior undergraduate students), its further preparation becomes difficult. This is justified by the age characteristics of the students when all mental processes become less susceptible to external influences in the form of education. Generally speaking, the goal of legal education is to improve the legal culture and legal awareness of citizens. The main task of legal education is to instill in an individual a conscious desire for lawful behavior. The specific goals of legal education encompass legal information, legal training and the involvement of an individual in the activities of the state – that is, applying the acquired knowledge into practice.

The subjects of the lectures and seminars of the first module are aimed at gaining knowledge of the law. Lectures within the module are designed for 3 hours, where the following topics will be considered:

- Law as a value (morality, justice, order, law, legislation).
- Law as a social institution.
- Legal culture as an object of research: concepts, structure, and methodological approaches.

Seminars will focus on the discussion of issues such as:

- The space between jurisdiction and social justice as well as the interaction of the state and the law, economics, and politics, with the demands of the public, which are expressed in moral law.
- Norms and normativity. Why does human society need legal norms?
- Legal culture as a concept: the complexity and diversity of approaches in definition and interpretation.

[7] Semitko A.P. Russian legal culture: mythological and socio-economic sources and premises // State and Law. 1992. No. 10.

Module 2

Personality, society, and law: a variety of research approaches

Today, it has become especially obvious that the successful solution of economic, political, and social problems is impossible without improving the legal culture of society, especially among young people. An important factor in the development of civil society and of the country as a whole is instilling in every citizen a deep respect for the law as well as the formation of a readiness for direct and active participation in the implementation of certain provisions of the law in everyday life. In this regard, legal culture can be considered as one of the most important prerequisites and a necessary condition for the formation of the rule of law, the implementation of legal reform, strengthening the fight against crime, and improving the position of Kazakhstan in international rankings.

The level of legal culture of citizens of any state is an important indicator of the degree of maturity of a particular historical legal system in the country itself. This fully applies to modern Kazakhstan. Its legal system pays great attention to the level of progressive legal development of society, and youth in particular.

Legal culture mediates all the main spheres of society's legal life: lawmaking and legislation, legal awareness and realization of law, rights, freedoms, and duties of citizens, political and legal institutions, and institutions of society and the state. Legal culture determines the measure of the legal civilization of the state and society and their legal progress; the study of the culture of law from different perspectives helps young culturologists to understand the realities of the modern legal framework and practice of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

This module aims to introduce new concepts and modern approaches in the field of research in areas related to legal consciousness for Cultural Studies students. The next module aims to promote the concept of "legal culture" as a part of general culture of people living in Kazakhstan.

Basically, during this module, we will look at different perspectives on law. The lectures will focus on a variety of disciplinary approaches to law and legal culture, such as Philosophy of Law, Law in Literature, Sociology of Law, Religion and Law, Gender and Law, and History of Law in Kazakhstan.

The last topic will be given special attention. As one well-known Kazakhstani lawyer, the legal historian Salyk Zimanov, noted: "in the stream of intertwining history, the Kazakhs took out and preserved for their descendants two unfading values of the early era – this is the kingdom of the Word and the kingdom of Justice." One of the historical and cultural values of this kingdom of Justice is the Kazakh steppe law, "Zhargy."

The most important structure of the rule of law in the history of Kazakhstan was represented by a court led by *biy*-judges who had special training in the development of the arsenal and ethics of steppe law, as well as impeccable personal moral qualities with a human face. They had to pass a test before the sophisticated experience of the elders and before the people in order to become a *biy*-judge. "*Biy* is a living chronicle of the people, a lawyer and its legist."

The three important layers of the regulatory system of Kazakh law are:

a) The main customary legal institutions and regulatory frameworks, expressed in short and concise formulas; they are cross-cutting and supportive in nature.

b) The small and large legal regulations included in Kazakh law known by the names of khans and *biys* under whom they were written. Those are: the Code of Kasym Khan, ("Kasym khannyn қaska zholy"), the Code of Esim Khan ("Esim khannyn eski zholy"), and the Code of Tauke Khan ("Zheti Zhargy").

c) The judicial precedents – that is, the decrees of famous *biys* that have become popular, both named and nameless – which are often called "atadan kalgan ulgi" ("the heritage bequeathed by the ancestors"), "biyden kalgan zhol onege, zhol zhoralgy soz" ("the word-edification of a specific biy"). Each of them is formulated, as a rule, in light and elegant – but informative and short – sayings and logical formulas.

To this day, attempts have been made to revive the spirit and style of this "steppe law," to master its institutions and thereby enrich the national legal culture.

The seminars are intended to expand upon the lectures. The main content of the seminars will be:

- Legal ontology, legal epistemology, legal axiology, legal anthropology, legal logics, and legal hermeneutics.
- Abay Kunanbayev on justice and law; Fyodor Dostoevsky on morality and law ("Am I a trembling creature or have I the right?"); law and legitimacy in the works of Franz Kafka.
- Contemporary sociological discourses on law; law as a tool for managing society in the legal concepts of N. Luhmann, J. Griffiths, and S.F. Moore.
- Law and religion as cultural phenomena: historical vicissitudes and contemporary challenges.
- Postcolonial, feminist, queer, and neo-Marxist critical approaches to the regulatory order that are produced by law and at the same time produce the law; historical contexts of legal culture in Kazakhstan.

Module 3

Legal culture in contemporary Kazakhstani society

Nowadays, the importance of taking legal consciousness into account in cultural studies can be characterized on the basis of distinctions that are associated with a certain vision of the subject of this science. Some scholars refer to the concept of "legal consciousness" in a broader sense than as part of "sociology of law." This is because the culture of legality and legal consciousness cover not only a basic understanding of the principles of the rule of law, but also its norms and institutions, its perception by modern society and the level of its applicability.

Some scholars maintain that studies related to legal consciousness are a legal discipline. Furthermore, the theory of law requires the researcher to take into account the specifics of modern humanitarian knowledge, basic systems theories, and some references to philosophy and psychology, as well as a number of other complex specialized scientific fields.

Undoubtedly, the process and method of studying the culture of legality among culturologists and lawyers differ. But studying legal consciousness is an important factor for culturologists in the modern, developing Kazakhstani society. In addition, for culturologists, the importance of studying sociology is not in the process of developing, testing, and approving the rule of law, but in their acceptance and perception by people. With this in mind, the third module aims to explore people's understanding of the acceptance or rejection of certain laws by providing students with a broader concept of cultural norms and social principles in the application of laws and the general legal framework in Kazakhstan.

Moreover, this module is focused on the study of the socio-cultural functions of law, which are directly related to the adoption and implementation of certain legal norms in public life as well as the level of understanding of the rule of law as one of the important social institutions that performs certain functions in society. Considering this module as a combination of both cultural and legal disciplines is a big step towards disseminating the concept of a legal consciousness among young people and providing a research platform for young specialists on the cultural aspects of the influence or perception of laws in society from the point of view of cultural studies.

In modern Kazakhstani society, there is mutual agreement that common cultural and social interests become legitimate and central when they are accepted as law in both codified and unwritten ways, as a result of which the legal culture of the population is of key importance. In general, lawyers are interested in the specific legal (and sometimes social) base of certain draft laws. Culturologists, however, are interested in the cultural aspects of legal norms, their assimilation in society, as well

as their understanding and perception with regard to their acceptance or rejection by the people.

The topics of the lectures of the third module will encompass the following important issues of contemporary law and legal cultures:

- A sociological approach to legal studies and a comprehensive analysis of law and culture.
- Democracy, the rule of law and constitutionalism.
- International legal institutions and national state law.
- Law, legislation, and enforcement.

The seminars will be devoted to a discussion of the following issues in Kazakhstani society:

- Society implies that norms govern human behavior (Ralf Dahrendorf); what are culture and the law – as they are and as they should be?
- Legal consciousness, civil legal activism, and legal nihilism.
- Human rights and citizen rights: the problem of universalism and statehood.
- Legitimacy of law; criminal justice, police, and the courts.
- "Diseases" of society: the shadow economy, corruption, and crime – how to study them and how to fight them.

Conclusion

Teaching Legal Culture to B.A. students would help them not only to become acquainted with the different theoretical and methodological approaches to studying law, but could also inspire insights into their future lives and work trajectories to explore and practice law. This is an important and necessary part of the processes of nation-building in Kazakhstan after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The state development of a new "order" in accordance with global tendencies toward democratization and modernization initiates a lot of changes, including to legal spheres and institutions. I believe that this new course will allow the promotion of not only the professional competencies of the students, but their personal qualities as well, which will help them to be good citizens with a developed sense of legal culture.

The development of this course became possible thanks to the CENTRAL ASIAN LAW Project, the aims of which are linked with the promotion of legal cultures using any possible means to improve the legal climate, the rule of law, and governance in

the regions. Teaching the discipline of Legal Culture will help to disseminate the knowledge and skills that have been gained during common training events by the network of researchers and practitioners. Law and business ethics in Central Asia, and particularly in Kazakhstan, demand human and social capital in line with international law and international standards.

The popularization of legal culture through teaching matches the dissemination plan of CENTRAL ASIAN LAW Project. The possibility of contributing to this task in terms of academic production and public engagement would be realized not only by the scholars becoming Marie Curie Ambassadors, but also through the teachers and their opportunity to provide young people with hope for their agency within a culture of law in society.

The syllabus of the legal culture discipline[8]

This syllabus is developed on the basis of the Education Program and the catalog of elective disciplines for the specialty 5B020400, "Cultural Studies"

The development of the syllabus is one of the results of a research internship at the Department of Sociology of Law at Lund University (Sweden) in accordance with the Project "Legal Cultures and the Business Environment in Central Asia" (project number 870647 H2020 MSCA-RISE and the Horizon-2020 Program – Marie Sklodowska-Curie Research and Innovation Staff Exchange 2020-2024).

Explanatory note

Brief description of the discipline

The Legal Culture discipline is aimed at expanding the existing contexts of culture. The study provides for the designation of conceptual and methodological approaches to understanding the phenomenon of law and its place in culture. Such important aspects as the social history of law, human rights and the law, citizenship and activity, law and morality, legal transfer, etc., will be considered.

[8] This syllabus is designed in accordance with the form required by the L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University.

The purpose of the discipline is to develop competence skills that allow students to study the main aspects of society related to law and legal culture, and to be able to evaluate and apply them in future professional activities.

The tasks of the discipline:

- To know the main directions and conceptual schemes of the theoretical understanding of legal culture, its history, functioning, and development.
- To be able to apply the acquired knowledge as methodological principles for the analysis of legal culture and its phenomena in historical and relevant forms of human life and society.
- To master the modern methodology of competent performances and a comprehensive study of the topical issues in the field of legal culture in Kazakhstani society.

Excerpt from the Curriculum

Elective discipline; teaching is conducted in Kazakh and Russian.

Level: BA, 4th year.

Semester: 7.

Credits: 5 ECTS.

Type of classes	Hours
Lectures	15
Seminars	30
Students' independent work	90
In total	135

Thematic plan of the discipline

Weeks	Topics and main content	Hours
1-3	Module 1 Introduction to Legal Culture	
	Lectures	
	Law as a value (morality, justice, order, law, legislation)	1
	Law as a social institution	1
	Legal culture as an object of research: concepts, structure, methodological approaches	1
	Seminars	
	1.1 The space between jurisdiction and social justice; the interaction of the state and law, economics, and politics, with the demands of the public, which are expressed in moral law	2
	1.2 Norms and normativity: why does human society need legal norms?	2
	1.3 Legal culture as a concept: the complexity and diversity of approaches in the definition and interpretation	2
4-9	Module 2 Personality, society, and law: a variety of research approaches	
	Lectures	
	2.1 Philosophy of Law	1
	2.2 Law in Literature	1
	2.3 Sociology of Law	1
	2.4 Religion and Law	1
	2.5 Gender and Law	1
	2.6 History of Law in Kazakhstan	1
	Seminars	
	2.1 Legal ontology, legal epistemology, legal axiology, legal anthropology, legal logics, legal hermeneutics	2
	2.2 Abay Kunanbayev on justice and law. Fyodor Dostoevsky: morality and law ("Am I a trembling creature or have I the right?"). Law and legitimacy in the works of Franz Kafka	2
	2.3 Contemporary sociological discourses on law. Law as a tool for managing society in the legal concepts of N. Luhmann, J. Griffiths, and S.F. Moore	2
	2.4 Law and religion as cultural phenomena: historical vicissitudes and contemporary challenges	2
	2.5 Postcolonial, feminist, queer, neo-Marxist critical approaches to the regulatory order that are produced by law and at the same time produce the law	2
	2.6 Historical contexts of legal culture in Kazakhstan	2
	Students' independent work	
	2.1 The philosophy of law at the beginning of the 21st century through the prism of constitutionalism and constitutional economy – Edition of the Moscow-Petersburg Philosophical Club (2010) – work in groups on the chapters of the collection of papers – presentations	9
	2.2 Abay: "Words of Edification"; Dostoevsky: "Crime and Punishment," "The Brothers Karamazov"; Kafka: "The Castle", "The Trial" – individual essay	12

	2.3 Sociology of law in search of a balance between factuality and normativity – work in groups based on the chapters of the collection of papers "Modern Sociology of Law" (2013) – presentations	9
	2.4 Law and Religion in an Interdisciplinary Interpretation: A.B. Didikin (2019) – flexible reporting	9
	2.5 Rosemary Hunter: Alternatives to Equality – flexible reporting	6
	2.6 History of legal culture in Kazakhstan: the works of Kazakh and foreign historians – flexible reporting	9
10-15	**Module 3** **Legal culture in contemporary Kazakhstani society**	
	Lectures	
	3.1 Social approach in legal research. Comprehensive analysis of law and culture	2
	3.2 Democracy, the rule of law, and constitutionalism	1
	3.3 International legal institutions and national state law	1
	3.4 Law, legislation, enforcement	2
	Seminars	
	3.1 Society implies that norms govern human behavior (Ralf Dahrendorf). Culture and law: as they are, as they should be?	2
	3.2 Legal consciousness, civil legal activism, legal nihilism	2
	3.3 Human rights and citizen rights: the problem of universalism and statehood	2
	3.4 Legitimacy of law. Criminal justice, police, courts	2
	3.5 "Diseases" of society: shadow economy, corruption, crime – how to study, how to fight	4
	Students' independent work	
	3.1 David Nelken. Comparative Sociology of Law – presentations: Is it still logical under globalization to pay attention to national legal culture?	12
	3.2 How does the culture of society determine the boundaries of law, and vice versa, how does law, for its part, help to demarcate these very borders? – flexible reporting	12
	3.3 Robocop and Batman: who is fighting for law and justice in Kazakhstani society and how? – an analysis of movies, social networks	12
Total hours		**135**

Recommended literature for the course

In English:

Banakar, R. & Travers, M. (2005). *Theory and method in socio-legal research.* London: Hart Publishing.

Banakar, R. (2015). *Normativity in legal sociology: Methodological reflections on law and regulation in late modernity*. New York City: Springer.

Martin, V. (2001). *Law and custom in the steppe: The Kazakhs of the Middle Horde and Russian colonialism in the nineteenth century*. London: Routledge.

In Kazakh:

Иманқұл, Н. Н. (2004). Құқық философиясы: пәндік негіздері және қысқаша тарихы. Астана.

Қабыкенова, Б. С. (2011). Құқықтық мәдениет: Оқу құралы. Астана.

Зиманов С. З. жетекшілігімен (Eds.) (2009). Қазақтың ата заңдары. Құжаттар, деректер және зерттеулер. Алматы.

Сандыбаев Ж. С. (2011). Ортағасыр Шығыс философиясындағы басқару мәдениетінің адамгершілік негіздері. Монография. Астана.

In Russian:

Алферова, Е. В. (ред.) (2013). Современная социология права: Сб. науч. тр. Москва.

Баренбойм, П., & Захаров, А. (сост.) (2010). Философия права в начале XXI столетия через призму конституционализма и конституционной экономики. Москва: Летний сад.

Вареникова С. П. (2016). Казахское обычное право и судопроизводство биев. Lex russica (Русский закон), 8, 168-177.

Дидикина, А. Б. (ред.) (2019). Право и религия в междисциплинарной интерпретации: монография. Москва: Проспект.

Джампеисова, Ж. М. (2006). Казахское общество и право в пореформенной степи. Астана: ЕНУ.

Есмагамбетов К. (1992). Что писали о нас на Западе? Алматы: Қазақ университеті.

Зиманов, С. З. (2005). Мир права казахов «Жарғы» - уникальная система права. Zakon.kz, 11. https://journal.zakon.kz/203736-mir-prava-kazakhov-zhargy-unikalnaja.html

Каудыров, Т. Е., Саймова, Ш. А., Балгынтаев, А. О., & Шакенов, М.А. (2019). Элементы судебного прецедента в деятельности суда биев. Тенденции развития науки и образования, 54(5): 26-30.

Контарев А. А. (2016). Нормативный и философский подходы к проблеме сущности права. Философия права, 4(77): 107-114.

Мартин В. (2009). Закон и обычаи в Степи: казахи Среднего жуза и Российский, колониализм в XIX в. История Казахстана в западных источниках XII - XX вв. Алматы: Санат.

Кондаков, А. (ред.-сост.) (2015). Общество и право: исследовательские перспективы. Санкт-Петербург: Центр независимых социологических исследований.

Ударцев С. Ф. (2020). Абай Кунанбаев: Мыслитель, судья, законодатель. Алматы: Простор.

5 Places of Memory as a Business Environment Forming a Cultural Brand and Identity

Kuralay YERMAGAMBETOVA

Introduction

The interaction of business and culture has traditionally been difficult. As a rule, it is customary to separate these two spheres of human life and even contrast them.

The process of mutual influence occurs, as a rule, through the incorporation of the phenomena of culture into economic reality. This process is associated with the appearance in the work of art, in general, in the culture of a certain "economic dimension," which can be represented as its value expressed in monetary terms. By acquiring value, cultural phenomena gain economic importance and become objects of the business sphere.

Improving cultural policy and preserving cultural heritage through reproduction in cultural memory are important components of the strategic development of modern Kazakhstan. Government policy today is aimed at the development of the regions, which play an increasingly important role in the processes of modernization of Kazakhstan. And in the development of the regions, an important role is played by cultural phenomena and their business environment.

In recent decades, the concepts of "memory," "oblivion," "nostalgia," and "resentment" in their socio-cultural dimensions have been actively used in the study of identity in cultural studies. A business environment usually encompasses

everything that somehow affects the process of business development and helps its promotion and growth. The analysis of collective memory, memory studies, and the business environment today have reached a certain level of theoretical and methodological maturity, which allows us to rely on the heuristic potential of these studies. But these aspects are not sufficiently represented in Russian cultural thought. Therefore, the consideration of cultural memory, relevant memory practices, and places of memory in connection with the development of business requires a special anthropological and cultural analysis. Memory is one of the most popular and productive concepts in research focused on modern cultural conditions, if culture is understood not as normative and directive, but as real prescriptions, including everyday practices and ways to adapt to global challenges, as well as local identification strategies and self-description.

Places of memory, a concept introduced by Maurice Halbwax (2007) and Pierre Nora (Nora et al., 1999), reflects the symbolic nature of some objects (both natural and man-made). A place of memory is understood as a unity of spiritual and material order, which over time and by the will of people becomes a symbolic element of heritage within a community's national memory. Through the special status of places of memory, preservation, increment, and change of a society's ideas about itself, its history and identity, take place. Nora et al. (1999) emphasize that the main characteristic of places of memory is that, for different groups or segments of the population, their meanings can vary; moreover, they can change over time. A place of memory is involved in the process of transformation and renewal, so the study of places of memory is always a study of reflections about the identity and language of official representations. In addition, the state programs of the Republic of Kazakhstan, aimed at entering the country into top thirty developed countries and the development of spiritual and material culture, imply a faster pace of modernization of various spheres of public life, which affects memory policies and practices. State programs to strengthen civic identity, such as "Menin Elim" (My country), "Mangilik el" (Eternal Country), or "Uly dala eli" (Great Steppe Country), require knowledge of the country's history and culture (Nazarbayev, 2015). By emphasizing research on museums and sacred places (mazars, barrows, etc.) as places of memory, we thereby draw attention to the problems facing national and regional museums, as well as local cultural institutions.

Methodology

The research methodology is based on an interdisciplinary approach, including the methodological principles of comparative, hermeneutic, visual, and phenomenological study of places of memory as a business environment, constructing a regional identity, and creating a cultural brand.

To understand the role and significance of memory places in the construction of identity, an important role is played by the works devoted to the theoretical foundations of the cultural, social, and collective memory of foreign and Russian authors. Among foreign authors, the works of Nora (1999), Halbwax (2005), Megil (2007), Assmann (2014) are particularly significant.

The interdisciplinary interaction of history with cultural anthropology has resulted in increased attention to the study of mental stereotypes and the phenomenon of cultural memory. The flow of work that can be attributed to the field of "memory studies" in different disciplines steadily grew at the end of the twentieth century. A large number of terms such as "collective memory," "social memory," "cultural memory," "popular memory," and "public memory" were proposed to denote a collective measurement of memory in the English-language context. Most of these terms still have not received unambiguous definitions; their mutual relationship is still a subject of debate. In 1989, the journal History and Memory. Studies in the Representations of the Past became a meeting place for researchers of collective memory, that is, sociologists, historians, psychologists, social (cultural) anthropologists, literary critics, and experts in the field of the theory of mass communications, each of whom gave different definitions and meanings of terms. But Zelizer identified six main points around which the field of "collective memory studies" is structured in one way or another (Zelizer, 1995, pp. 214-239). This is, firstly, the interpretation of collective memory as a process of constant deployment, transformation, and modification; secondly, the perception of collective memory as an unpredictable phenomenon, which is far from always linear, rational, or logical in nature; thirdly, the consideration of collective memory from the perspective of the strategies developed by it to deal with time in the interests of certain social groups; fourthly, the connection of memory with the spaces, "places," and landscapes of memory through which the topography of socially significant memories is traced; fifthly, an understanding of collective memory as selective, socially distributed, and potentially conflicting; and sixthly, viewing collective memory in an "instrumentalist" perspective, from the point of view of its use by social groups to achieve certain goals and obtain certain benefits and advantages. At the same time, the authors outlined the main directions for the further development of "social memory studies." This is the study of social memory in connection with the problems of collective identities, tracing the history of mnemonic practices, developing approaches to resolving and regulating conflicts associated with collective memory, and implementing a large-scale program in the field of culture, sociology, and history from the perspective of memory. The recognition of the importance and prospects of research in this area by the academic community is usually accompanied by a statement that this field is poorly integrated and structured, and that there is no unity of opinion around its key definitions and fundamental problems (Tulving, 2007). Here is how one modern theorist writes about it:

> [T]he success of memory studies was not accompanied by significant conceptual and methodological successes in the study of collective memory processes. ... These methodological problems are even amplified as a result of the metaphorical use of terminology from the field of psychology or neurology, which distortively represents the social dynamics of collective memory as a result of exposure and the continuation of individual autobiographical memory (Kansteiner 2002, p.179).

As Repina argues,

> socially constructed historical myths, ideas about the past, perceived as reliable "memories" and constituting a significant part of this picture of the world, play an important role in the orientation, self-identification and behavior of an individual, in the formation and maintenance of collective identity and translation of ethical values. In this regard, there is a need for analysis of the formation of individual historical myths, their specific functions, the environment of their existence, marginalization or re-actualization in the everyday historical consciousness, their use and ideological re-evaluation, including successive or competing narratives of national history (since all nations recognize themselves in terms of historical experience rooted in the past). In the network of interactive communications there is a constant selection of events, as a result of which some of them are forgotten, while others are preserved, overgrown with meanings and turned into symbols of group identity. The decisive role in the constitution of collective identity belongs to the memory of the central events of the past, whether in the model of "national catastrophe" or in the model of "triumph" (Repina, 2008, pp. 10-11).

The images of the past vary – not least depending on time. We must not forget that the choice of an individual at the intersection of identities is made every time in a particular situation (Popper, 1993, pp. 169-170). The plurality of identities, the presence of competitive versions of historical memory, alternative memories of even the same events, and the existence of different interpretation models require the development of theoretical approaches that allow putting the study of the "memory/history/identity" relationship on a scientific basis.

Since the theoretical and methodological part of the article is connected with a need to analyze interdisciplinary approaches to the problems of memory and to build a research strategy relevant for Kazakhstan, we turn to the works of Kazakhstani scholars. Here, it is worth noting the work of Kazakhstani scholars on various aspects and problems of describing the identity: Abdumalik Nysanbaev (2015), Zhabaykhan Abdildin (2003), Laika Baideldinova (1985), Georgy Malinin (2001), Mukhtarbek Shaykemeleva (2013). Their works constitute the main block of texts providing a detailed analysis of the problems associated with developing new forms of identification of Kazakhstan's population in the sovereign period.

In this regard, the existing works from the perspectives of sociology, political science, and philosophy on the analysis of Kazakhstani society can be divided into two parts. The first focuses on the analysis of the problems of civil consent and civil identification of various groups of the population, while the second focuses on the issues of ethnic identity and ethnic identification. It is also possible to allocate a separate group of works devoted to the need to create (design) a common Kazakhstan unification idea. In this regard, Abdildin (2003), and Nysanbaev (2015) emphasize the social identity of the population, which they consider as a key to preserving international peace in the country and creating the foundations for the development of national identity. In my first article, memory locations were considered as new forms of identity construction, since the place of memory encompasses objects and spaces that are associated with historical and cultural events, especially the tragic events of history (Yermaganbetova, 2017, pp. 325-344).

The above works are theoretical frames. In this article, we will present the results of our anthropological (field) studies. For field research, museums and holy or sacred places were chosen as places of memory. The visual method, description, and interviews were used.

Museum as a place of memory and space of identity construction

The processes of nation-building involve reflection on various types of searches for national identity. Those practices associated with "places of memory" were selected for this study. Museums were chosen as places of remembrance and the study was built on the deconstruction of representations of memory among professional communities, such as museum workers. The interviewees were managers and researchers at museums in the Republic of Kazakhstan that existed before 1990 and were created after 1991. Such a distinction between museums (Soviet and post-Soviet) is necessary because, as noted by the well-known Kazakhstan museologist Fayzulina: "Museums in Kazakhstan are mainly Soviet educational practice, an instrument of ideological format and, therefore, such museums, especially in the regions, preserve and reserve special aspects of memory that were relevant in the past period" (Fayzulina et al., 2012). According to the preliminary data, commemorative practices in Kazakhstan are undergoing changes, the nature of which is influenced by following aspects: the simultaneous presence in memory practices of social frames of different formats, the enthusiasm and asceticism of individuals, and the active search for new forms and spaces (places) of memorialization for constructing identities.

The history and genesis of museum work in Kazakhstan are generally complex and controversial. On the one hand, the state program "Cultural Heritage" has played an exceptional role in supporting and developing museums and has become a stimulating factor in the revival of museum research activities. On the other hand, there is opposition between national (Almaty, Astana) and regional museums. If the capital's museums have opportunities for the active use of the resources of large cities, then the regional museums of Kazakhstan are in a special locus of problems.

In the framework of the project "Actual memory practices: conceptualization of the past and the construction of identity in the modern culture of Kazakhstan," surveys were conducted among the scientific staff of museums and museum leaders. Through an analysis of the exhibition policy in regional museums, we tried to determine the role of museums in the formation of commemoration practices and the construction of regional identities, and to find out how effectively museums interact with the population, state, and non-governmental organizations. A comparative analysis of world trends in the museum industry shows that modern museums are booming in a revival. Museums are becoming urban creative sites, promoting the development of regional tourism; they create educational programs that can be integrated into schools and continuing education systems, and can provide certain social groups, such as senior citizens and students, with additional places for work; they also can develop local government programs through active volunteering. The results of the study show that domestic regional museums have not yet reached the level of such new practices and, despite the individual facts of museum asceticism, in general, the reform situation can be described as a careful reframing.

The growth of national identity leads to the need for self-expression and the reproduction of national and religious aspects of culture. Regional museums are affected by the state's cultural policy and global cultural development trends, but the main resource for reform are the local and regional opportunities for both financing and research investments.

The essence of the survey was to understand the following propositions in regional museums: whether a museum appeared in the Soviet period or after independence; whether it is public or private; whether is the museum has a patronage; whether there are any research programs and, if yes, how effective they are; whether those programs are relevant to contemporary museum trends in the world; if the potential of the museum is used to develop educational programs in the regions; in what forms their educational function is realized; whether a museum is a free access space; and how museums are integrated into the social life of their cities and local communities. The following is clearly seen in regional museums: the methods of presenting materials and the nature of many exhibition practices preserve the standards of an educational museum, which were laid down in the Soviet period. The main emphasis is on exhibiting, on the didactics of oral communication, while one of the trends in

modern museum practice is the transformation from an exhibition space into a contact space, when visitors can touch exhibits and "phenomenologically experience" their involvement in those or other artifacts and events. In almost all museums in which fieldwork was carried out, contact practices were not met; the exhibits still remain behind glass and are not to be touched. The dominance of window displays does not allow us to move on to new, more creative practices. Moreover, even new exhibition topics in such an "old" format level their novelty and relevance. In museum practice, the exception is museum exhibits and practices that have arisen as a result of asceticism or as a result of the patronage of help. For example, in the History Museum of Kokshetau, the former Kuybyshev Museum, an exhibit on "Apartments of the 1950-60s" became a zone of contact involving visitors in the history of Soviet urban life. Visitors are not only allowed to touch household items, play chess, and sit on Soviet-made chairs, etc., but also become a donor for such an exhibition by donating their own household items. This practice in the literature is called an archeology of the recent past. It can be used not only in museums, but, for example, in the design of cafés or tourist places. Complicated scholarly research is not necessary for this practice, since reconstructions are repelled by the mass character of "recalling," these are more likely nostalgic practices for bygone everyday life.

Another type of contact practice is related to what was called contagious magic or sympathetic magic in classical anthropology (Report of the scientific project "Actual memory practices: conceptualizing the past and constructing identities in the modern culture of Kazakhstan"). In new museums, this practice most often arises as a result of ascetic activities, when museum exhibitions are organized around the biographies of individuals, and can allow visitors to touch, for example, the musical instrument on which an actor played a national memory. "Establishing a contact" is a type of symbolic practice of initiation when an encoding of identification occurs – both the visitor and the museum worker at a conventional level enter into a symbolic agreement on the importance of such contact. In essence, this is one of the forms of traditional behavior: familiarization with the general (integrating) through physical contact. An interesting fact is that while maintaining a ban on photography (a Soviet practice), touching individual objects may be allowed. Moreover, in museums with large funds and the possibility of frequent changes in exhibits, contact practices are less pronounced than in museums with poorer funds. Field studies have shown that the dynamics of the representative (exhibition) activities of regional museums are largely determined by the development of museum business. It is stock security (completeness/incompleteness, representativeness/non-representativeness) that is able to predetermine both research and exhibition work. Other types of the institution's activities also depend on it. On the other hand, such museums with "classical" ideas about expositional activities are rarely visited by the local population. Usually these are school trips or some kind of cultural program options organized in

a museum territory. In local history museums, if it were not for school programs or tourists, there would, as a rule, not be many visitors.

The museum revolution is taking place in the world: museums are becoming democratic, publicly accessible venues and the concept of a “museum-temple” or “sensitive facility” is becoming outdated. They are being replaced by new interactive museums that are starting to use technologies to popularize science. Another aspect of comparing world and local practices is the use of museums’ learning potential. None of the museums examined had a special learning zone, and photography is prohibited in most museums.

In museums of both the old and new frames, there is a lack of sufficient scientific elaboration of exhibition activity. In one example, there were adjoining exhibits about the first Soviet workers' and peasants' deputies in the region and, at the same time, exhibits about those who fell victim to the collectivization of those same Soviets. In the same room and in the single-format plane-of-glass memory are both victims and actors of these events. The point is that the methods of supplying the material can be different. For example, in the Berlin film museums, cinema of the Nazi period is presented in a separate room and uses the technology of "embedded stands". In the exhibition space, which is decorated with dull gray panels, clicking on one or another panel displays a screen from the wall space in which a film will be shown with speeches by the leaders of German Nazism, that is, personalities to which there is a negative attitude. The story about them is not “extinct”, but is reformatted.

This presentation of the material allows us to preserve the logic of the transition from one period to another and, within the distribution of current accents, to make these exhibitions more complicated than parallel placement on one plane.

During field studies, representatives of the (professional) museum communities were asked the question about “the most significant” places of memory “for which it is worth coming to your city (region)”. “Museum workers noted that it was worth coming to their region for the sake of the museum itself, which they mainly celebrated as significant holidays, events in honor of famous people and occurrences, and monuments and city objects. Part of the control group did not select (or confirm) these options. For ordinary residents of certain regions, for whom the same question was also asked randomly, sacred spaces (places of pilgrimage) and natural-geographical objects were most frequently mentioned.

In this study, we were guided by the assertion that studies of memory as dynamic processes will be most relevant. If memory is understood as the current state of experience of the past, history, culture, then, in the end, it is an experience of identity.

Memory Practices and Identity Policies

Since identity is a complex concept, we will focus on the group of practices that need an organized maintenance of efficiency. These are memory practices associated with state programs, regional representations, religious places of memory, and group identities such as building mazars for "their tribal batyrs" (heroes). Some researchers divide the entire set of identities into natural ones that do not require organized participation in their reproduction, and artificial ones that constantly need organized support. The former includes such identities as ethnic, racial, territorial (landscape), global, and species. The latter category includes such identities as national, professional, contractual, confessional, regional, (sub) continental, estate, class, zodiac, group, and stratification. Each of these types of identity acts not only and not so much as an "internal classifier," but as a regulator of activity, a system-forming element. Since social identity is the recognition of one's belonging to a social group, then it is also an adoption of the values, attitudes, stereotypes, and norms that are significant in this group (Ageev, 1990).

The earliest studies of these trends are grouped in a certain way around discussions about the use of the concepts of "Kazakh" and "Kazakhstan," but they are far from exhausted.

As we have already noted, Zhabaykhan Abdildin and Abdumalik Nysanbaev emphasize in their works the social identity of the population, which they consider in the light of the need to preserve international peace in the republic, creating the foundations for the development of common Kazakh identity.

In this direction, the existing works of the sociological, political science, and philosophical plan on the analysis of Kazakhstani society can be divided into two parts: the first concentrates on the analysis of problems of civil consent, civil identification of various groups of Kazakhstan's population; the second has as its subject the problems of ethnic identity and ethnic identification. It is also possible to allocate a separate group of works devoted to the need to create (design) a common Kazakhstan unification idea.

In his work "State Identity of Kazakhstanis," analyzing the problem of destroying such an established identification system as the "Soviet people," Abdygaliev offers different versions of an answer to the question "Who are we?": "We, the Kazakh nation," "We, the Kazakh people," and "We, the people of Kazakhstan" (1996). Such a foundation as the Kazakh nation, Abdygaliev believes, cannot be the basis of the new identification of Kazakhstani society. The 1993 Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan laid down the understanding of Kazakhstan as "a form of statehood of the self-determined Kazakh nation." The second answer – "We, the Kazakh nation" – the author also finds unacceptable for the Republic. He calls this approach (known in Western and in many studies of post-Soviet sociologists and

political scientists as constructivist) technocratic, believing that such an understanding of the nation, suffering from political shortsightedness, will lead to "national nihilism, underestimation of the aspirations of national groups, lifestyle, culture, language." The author finds it impossible to accept the concept of "Kazakhstani nation" because of the extraordinary ethnic diversity of society and the rise of its national identity. The most adequate to Abdygaliev is the concept of popular sovereignty as a source and bearer of state power. The author believes that, in modern Kazakhstani society, the process of creating Kazakhstanis as a single people is taking place. Therefore, "in order to maintain international stability, the new Constitution (1995 – author note) proceeds only from the logic and principle of "We, the people of Kazakhstan." Thus, the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan emphasizes national unity, the commonality that unites people of different ethnic groups.

In the work of R. Arynova, "The National Idea for Kazakhstan: Paths of Search," the modern stage of Kazakhstani society is defined as the stage of a civilizational rift; therefore, society needs a national idea, designed, first of all, to unite people of different ethnic groups. The author of the work is a supporter of the so-called integrative ideology for Kazakhstan, where "the key moment of the national idea will be the universal humanity characteristic of the people of Kazakhstan, that is, tolerance for other traditions, beliefs, and respect for neighboring countries" (Arynova, 1998).

Kadyrzhanov (2014) writes that national identity and ethnocultural symbolism turn out to be closely related and interdependent categories. Ethnocultural symbolism is determined by national identity and national culture, which contains values and symbols of ancient origin. At the same time, the content of national identity is largely determined by the content of ethnocultural symbolism, that is, how national elites construct symbols and manipulate them to form the identity of their nation. That is why, in order to determine the content and state of the national identity of Kazakhstan, it is necessary to determine the content and state of its ethno-cultural symbolism. The study of the national identity of Kazakhstan from the perspective of ethnocultural symbolism involves addressing a number of problems and contradictions in the national sphere of Kazakhstani society. It should be noted that many of the problems and contradictions in the national sphere of Kazakhstan are universal, that is, most states and nations of the modern world face them. However, the forms of expression of these contradictions have a unique, concrete historical, and specifically national character. It is no accident, therefore, that for many people, including those who are involved in the national situation of Kazakhstan, these problems and contradictions seem unique to our country.

Mukhtarbek Shaykemelev believes that "the Kazakh identity as an identity of an open, syncretic and tolerant culture – the successor of ancient Turkic civilization – should become a fundamental link that holds together many ethnocultural elements

of multi-ethnic mosaic that exists within our republic. But it is at the stage of defining, developing and overcoming internal uncertainty, as a reflection of the multispectrally determined sociocultural differentiation and disunity" (Shaykemelev, 2013).

In the dominant discourse on identity, discussions are centered on the concepts of ethnos, language, and culture; therefore, the official tools for constructing identity are state projects whose goal is the framing (design) of national identity as a Kazakhstani identity. This is, first of all, the state program "Cultural Heritage," aimed at studying, restoring, and preserving the country's historical and cultural heritage, reviving historical and cultural traditions, and promoting the cultural heritage of Kazakhstan among the population and beyond the country. These tasks include the reconstruction of significant historical, cultural, and architectural monuments as well as the creation of a holistic system for studying cultural heritage, including modern national culture, folklore, traditions, and customs. The magnitude of the tasks in the state program and the nature of the dominant scientific specializations of the performers has led to a kind of folklorization of the concept of memory and cultural heritage. In the course of field research, faced with a peculiar routine of memory practices, we see in action the famous thesis of Pierre Nora, when he said that historians are trying to "capture the memory," to make their professional credo of it. And this is a situation that, as a result, leads to a gap between those who create "state frames" and those for whom they are created.

The specificity and effectiveness of this state program in the scale and scope of large projects, such as the "restoration in accordance with modern requirements of a number of significant monuments in the city of Turkestan and the Otyrar settlement, Issyk and Berel barrows and other historical and cultural complexes, holding systemic events revealing their role in the history of the state as values uniting the people." Of particular interest is the emphasis on practices to create a national brand of Kazakh culture as a successor to the nomadic culture of the Eurasian space and the promotion of this brand at the international level (State program "Madeni Mura," 2004).

The next state program, which plays a huge role in the construction of Kazakhstan's identity, is the concept of the cultural policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan. This aims to develop a single multinational cultural space and to form a "Kazakhstani" mentality and spirituality for Kazakhstanis. Its tasks include: 1) the formation of spiritual and moral guidelines for citizens, patriotism, and a stable system of values; 2) the development of an all-Kazakhstan cultural space based on the preservation of national diversity and harmonious development of the culture of the people of Kazakhstan; 3) the integration of domestic culture into the world cultural space, broad promotion of the historical and cultural heritage of Kazakhstan in the country and abroad, and the formation of their own national brands; 4) the creation of conditions for the intensive development of a competitive cultural environment and

modern cultural clusters; 5) the further preservation and popularization of historical and cultural heritage in the new format "Mangilik el"; 6) the creation of vivid artistic images that embody the best examples of our time, remarkable historical events and artifacts, cultural heritage, and traditions replicated through all types, genres, and directions of art – cinema, animation, literature, painting, etc.; and 7) the widespread use of the historical and cultural landscape of the country for the development of internal and external cultural tourism (The Concept of Cultural Policy in the Republic of Kazakhstan, 2014).

In this program, as well as in the previous one, we see that the main emphasis is on a deep study of national traditions, on the factual side of the issue, where the content of the concept of memory is often revealed in categories of either an ethnographic and artifact nature, or in concepts of written heritage. Whereas, in the framework of our project, we are trying to expand our understanding of the contents of memory, turning to an analysis of real, currently performed memory practices.

The third state project on the development of cultural policy, which we analyze in this text, is the Concept for Strengthening and Developing Kazakhstani Identity and Unity, approved on December 28, 2015. The Concept enshrines not an ethnic but a civic understanding of a nation that unites all citizens of a multinational and multiconfessional country. In the Concept, the key is the idea of the Kazakhstani nation as a nation of a single past, a joint present, and a shared future.

The concept serves to strengthen the image of Kazakhstan as a country where different ethnic groups live in peace and harmony. It is based on the following main principles: 1) the basic vector is the nationwide patriotic idea of "Mangilik el" put forward by the previous President N. Nazarbayev; 2) the consolidating values of the nationwide patriotic idea "Mangilik el" – civic equality, hard work, honesty, the cult of learning and education, and the secular country; 3) the foundation of Kazakhstani identity and unity – national values based on cultural, ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity; and 4) Kazakhstani identity and unity as a continuous generational process. It is based on an assumption that every citizen, regardless of ethnic origin, connects his or her fate and future with Kazakhstan. A single past, a joint present, and a shared responsibility for the future bind society together: "We have one Fatherland, one Motherland – Independent Kazakhstan."

The new capital of Kazakhstan, Astana (now Nursultan), has become a symbol of Kazakhstan's new identity and unity. And for the consolidation of a multi-ethnic and multi-religious society, the role of the Institute of the Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan (APK) is emphasized. All work to strengthen and develop Kazakhstan's identity and unity will be built under the auspices of the APK and around the nationwide patriotic idea of "Mangilik el" according to the following vectors: 1) identity on the basis of citizenship; 2) promotion of the nationwide patriotic idea of "Mangilik el" as a system of values that reflect the experience of the nation over the

years of independence; 3) the trinity of languages (Kazakh, Russian, and English); and 4) generation of the "Mangilik el" (The Concept of Strengthening and Developing Kazakhstani Identity and Unity, 2015).

The practice of creating the Kazakhstani ideology of national construction, based on its own identity and national interests, in modern conditions is of particular importance. This is the ideology of the new Kazakhstani patriotism, putting the interests of each resident of the Republic in the first place, regardless of ethnicity and religion. The new ideology focuses on forming the Kazakh nation, united by common ideals and values, the implementation of which will ensure the independence and prosperity of the Republic. As we already wrote in the previous section, the practice of representing the concept of Kazakhstan's identity can be seen in the space of the regional and national museums that were opened in Kazakhstan before 1990 and after 1991. Since museums are the very place of memory, they are a memory of the heritage of a people and can influence a visitor, inter alia, in their self-identification.

The emergence of new museums is a breakthrough in regional museum development; the new museums are not only state-owned, but also private and departmental. We have recorded practices of memory that can be characterized as ascetic or proactive, when an individual becomes an initiator, a curator of a collection of historical artifacts, and engages in local history as a true ascetic.

The creation of the Museum of the History of Mining and Smelting in the village of Zhezdy, Karaganda region, is a unique story. It was founded by a front-line soldier, former district committee employee Maken Toregeldin. He devoted his life to collecting rare exhibits on the history of the region, mainly on the topic of metallurgy (the ancient period, British industrialists, Satbayev[9], the Soviet period), but he was also interested in the topic of war and archeology. This is an example of how the history of museum is intertwined with the biography of its organizer. Toregeldin was an assistant to K. Satbayev, a friend of K. Akishev[10], and was familiar with all of the researchers in this region, as well as with leaders of the regional and republican levels. In the early years of independence (1994), he was able to realize his idea of creating the only museum on the history of mining and smelting in Zhezdy in Kazakhstan (the Satbayev Museum in Karsakpay, which already existed, became its branch). During his lifetime, the museum became the center of cultural

[9] K. Satbayev was an outstanding geologist, scientist, science enthusiast, and founder of the Republican Geological Service, the Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh SSR, and The Institute of Geological Sciences that bears his name now; he was the first president of the Academy of Sciences of Kazakhstan and the first Kazakh union academician.

[10] Soviet and Kazakhstani archaeologist, one of the founders of the national school, who discovered the Golden Man. Doctor of Historical Sciences, corresponding member of the German Archaeological Institute.

life of not only Ulutau, but also the Zhezkazgan region. He developed and approved at the regional level the Zhezkazgan-Zhezdy-Karsakpay and Zhezkazgan-Zhezdy-Ulytau tourist routes. After his death (in 2006), his family members have continued to work in the museum. There were several attempts to translate and combine this museum with, for example, the Ulutau Museum-Reserve, or transfer the exhibition to a large city like Karaganda or Dzhezkazgan, but family members remained faithful to the museum's mission and are working on its development.

The main idea behind linking the museum to a place is that the museum should treat this place of memory as especially significant not only for the history of production, but also for the history and culture of Kazakhstan. Unique exhibitions were created that are especially noticeable compared to the uniformity of most exhibits in other museums; this includes the exhibit on mining equipment that was used at various enterprises in the region, such as the dynamos of the early twentieth century, fragments of a British power plant, an American machine tool, a German steam locomotive, and so on. The museum also has fragments of space technology. In addition to the technological component in this museum, there is a large collection of samples of minerals from the Zhezkazgan, Zhairemsky, Karazhalsky, Zhezdinsky, and Aktassky deposits, which offers a potential for the implementation of educational functions. The museum as a whole adheres to classical ideas about the functions of the museum, but it has a rather interesting memory practice. Visitors can work at smelters and kilns, and are invited to participate in the creation of small clay objects, which can be taken as a souvenir of this place, the museum.

The history of the second museum, also associated with this region and with its production histories, is the K. Satbayev Historical and Production Museum, or as the media call it, the Kazakhmys Museum (a mining and metallurgical company that is the eleventh largest in the world in copper smelting). The museum's exhibits are also based on the initiative work of local historians, but a large company with an international workforce has become the main philanthropist for this museum and, in a certain sense, this museum positions the idea that the history of Zhezkazgan is the history of Kazakhmys.

The attitude of the authorities towards private museum practices can be consumerist: interest increases when you need to show a new place of cultural and social activity, and this interest disappears as soon as the "inspectors" or "external guests" leave the region. An example is the case of the personal belongings of the academician V. Vernadsky, who lived in Borovoye during the Great Patriotic War (or the Second World War). One of the organizers of the Abylai Khan Museum (in Borovoye), Amina Apay, worked with Vernadsky as a home assistant and had preserved a large collection of his personal items. When she organized the Abylai Khan Museum, she decided to create a hall dedicated to the academician. After her death, her daughter led this museum, but as soon as she was asked to leave the museum, the heiress took away many of the exhibits collected by Amina Apay.

In the city of Satbayev, near the main park, where the Victory Memorial stands, a new memorial complex "Tagzym" (Adoration) was erected, which covers almost all the significant topics of memory except the Holodomor (Asharshyly, or the Famine). The complex was created in such a way that its space allows new sculptural compositions to be established in the future.

The concept of *z*huz division, or tribal division among Kazakhs, also plays an important role in the construction of identity. The revival, reconstruction, and preservation of places of memory are often associated with clan or zhuz origin. This was very well described by a Kazakh orientalist, doctor of historical sciences Ashirbek Muminov, a leading specialist in the history of Islam not only in Kazakhstan but also in Central Asia. The book is called "The Family Tree of Mukhtar Auezov," in which he, studying the personality of Mukhtar Auezov, describes the world's cultural skin (Muminov, 2011).

The next author, Ulan Bigozhin (2015) discusses how Kazakhs have become more interested in holy or sacred places. He writes: "since independence, the state could not avoid using religion as an element of nation-building. On the one hand, it is connected with the Soviet heritage to control everything, especially religion. On the other hand, religion, like any other cultural heritage, is always taken into account in nation-building." Interest in holy places has existed for a long time; they simply were not controlled by the state. When mazars, mounds, etc., became cultural and historical objects, they came to be controlled by the authorities. Since time immemorial, Kazakhs worshiped Aruahs (spirits). The Kazakhs have a characteristic proverb that says: "Өli riza bolmai, tyri bayimaydy," which literally translates as "Until the deceased finds peace, there will be no satisfying life for the living." Therefore, to perform any rites or rituals, holy places are often visited – mazars, graves, temples, zirats. It can also be considered an element of a person's self-identification.

Shaykemelov notes that "the Kazakh consciousness lives on the archetypes of the past – the time of the glorious accomplishments of its Aruahs – the great khans, biys and batyrs. The spirits of their ancestors continue to largely determine the boundaries of Kazakh identity, including that of quite modern urban residents. Kazakhs believe that the spirits of their ancestors predetermine fate, and the fulfillment of their will and destiny determines our path. If a person fulfills the will of his ancestors and honors their memory, they will certainly support him. If he forgets their covenants and loses his conscience and honor, they [the spirits] will certainly turn their backs on him and no donations and ceremonies will help here" (Shaykemelov, 2013) Therefore, places of memory such as mazars, mosques, graves, and museums are the main tools for the construction of Kazakhstani identity.

Discussion

Different research angles are in opposition to each other: for example, there is an understanding of memory as predominantly national, associated with a particular state, the context of the current ideological program. Another perspective is treating memory as a tool that works outside the didactics of state ideology but embraces local and regional practices. In our study, we chose the approach according to which the phenomenon of commemoration (collective memory) is understood as arising in a situation of the centering and unification of a certain community for various social purposes.

It is worth noting that in memory studies, there are contradictions that arise between specific strategies of representation and contexts of perception (Kansteiner, 2002). There cannot be a single history of collective memory; collective memory is rather a complex process of cultural production and consumption.

Some museum practices give an idea of how specific memory filters exist; therefore, one should distinguish between the mass history of memory as memories and as a reflection of historical experience. Domestic historians recognize that the current state of historical science has two processes. On the one hand is a professional story with the practices of academic disputes and arguments; on the other, the second story, which they call national history, is a story that works as an ideological concept.

Currently, there is a whole area of research – Memory Studies. This area is predominantly interdisciplinary, and as in any interdisciplinary project, research angles depend on the nature of a dominant discipline. The specificity of Memory Studies can be influenced by historical, political, and cultural contexts. For example, the German tradition uses the concept of "cultural memory" (J. Assmann 2004; A. Assman 2014), while the French tradition uses the concepts of "social memory" and "collective memory" (Halbwax, 2005, 2007; Nora, 1999). Because the volume of memory research has grown over the past three decades, there is a migration of research frames to new territories, states, and communities, and these classical, theoretical, and methodological trajectories intersect, complement, and enrich each other. In such studies, great emphasis is placed on the description of "supra-individual" types of memory. Therefore, for the study conducted in Kazakhstan, we selected those research parameters that would reflect the peculiarities of local memory practices, methods of social memory framing, and methods of conceptualizing memory by the professional community (Medeuova et al., 2015).

In this study, we proceed from the assertion that studies of memory as dynamic processes will be most relevant. If memory is understood as the current state of experience of the past, history, and culture, then in the end, it is an experience of identity.

Conclusion

The research results allow us to talk about the complexity of the processes of commemoration and related processes of identity construction in Kazakhstan. Despite the efforts of official authorized bodies to create a clear social framework for collective memory, real memory practices are quite diverse and have their own regional characteristics and the potential to develop in the context of global trends.

The chosen methodology is important for the study of current memory practices in the regions of Kazakhstan.

The most powerful transformations are associated with a change in the nature of understanding memory in general (this hypothesis will be tested in subsequent stages). If in the Soviet period city monuments and museums were considered references, now there is a tendency for objects located outside large cities – memorial complexes, sacred objects, natural-landscape objects – to become the reference memory. With this hypothesis we want to draw attention to the fact that there are different aspects of the interaction of memory and space.

In the course of the study, multi-angle social frames were distinguished that require their conceptualization and elaboration. Occurring elements of de-professionalization and some regional features can contribute to what museums will lose in quality of memory, creating surrogate programs that mimic collective memory.

The study revealed that there is an interest in memory practices that are not satisfied with conservative museum practices and this interest is focused on topics of national identity, culture, and history of the past regions. Since cultural memory is embodied in a certain space and actualized at a certain time through the practice of remembering and forgetting, the process of cultural development and the transfer of cultural heritage take place in space and time. The specified process contains, first of all, a time indicator. Simultaneously, it is associated with spatial images of the temple, museum, archive, library, etc. In the process of the evolution of culture, there was a transition from somatic to constructive memory.

The study found that in order to create and develop a business environment in the field of culture, it is necessary to identify relevant objects and subjects of places of memory that could become a tool for business. This means the need to study supply and demand. To this end, one needs to conduct a sociological survey of the population, and to study the interests of stakeholders.

References

Abdildin, Z. (2003). *Vremya i kultura: Razmyshleniye filosofa* [Time and culture: Reflection of the philosopher]. Almaty: Alash.

Abdygaliev, B. (1996). Gosudarstvennaya identichnost kazahstantsev [State identity of Kazakhstanis]. *Mysl*, *7*, 30-33.

Ageev, V. S. (1990). *Mezhgruppovoye vzaimodeystviye: sotsialno-psihologicheskiye problemy* [Intergroup interaction: socio-psychological problems]. Moscow: Moscow University publishing house.

Arynova, R. (1998). Natsionalnaya ideya dlya Kazahstana: puti poiska [National idea for Kazakhstan: Search paths]. *Sayasat*, 2, 51-58.

Assmann, J. (2004). *Kulturnaya pamyat. Pismo, pamyat o proshlom i politicheskaya identichnost v vysokikh kul'turah drevnosti* [Cultural memory. Writing, remembrance, and political imagination in the high cultures of antiquity]. Moscow: Languages of Slavic culture.

Assmann, A. (2014). *Dlinnaya ten proshlogo: Memorialnaya kultura i istoricheskaya politika* [The long shadow of the past: Cultures of memory and the politics of history]. Moscow: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie.

Baideldinov, L. (1985). *Sotsialnaya praktika v sotsialisticheskom obshchestve* [Social practice in a socialist society]. Alma-Ata: Kazakhstan.

Bigozhin, U. (2015). V Kazahstane seychas idet bum svyatyh mest [There is an ongoing boom of holy places in Kazakhstan]. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from http://caa-network.org/archives/5947

Faizulina, G., Asanova, S., & Dzhasybaev, E. (Eds.) (2012). Sovremennyy muzey v Kazahstane: voprosy, fakty, mneniya [Modern museum in Kazakhstan: questions, facts, opinions]. Saarbrucken: LAP LAMBERT.

Halbwachs, M. (2005). Kollektivnaya i istoricheskaya pamyat [Collective and historical memory]. *Neprikosnovenniy zapas*, *2-3*(40-41), 8-27.

Halbwachs, M. (2007). *Sotsialnyye ramki pamyati* [Social framework of memory]. Moscow: Novoye.

Kadyrzhanov, R. (2014). *Etnokulturnyy simvolizm i natsionalnaya identichnost Kazahstana* [Ethnocultural symbolism and the national identity of Kazakhstan]. Almaty: Institute of Philosophy, Political Science and Religious Studies of Kazakhstan.

Kansteiner, W. (2002). Finding meaning in memory: A methodological critique of collective memory studies. *History and Memory, 41*, 179-197.

Kontseptsiya kulturnoy politiki Respubliki Kazahstan [Concept of the cultural policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan]. (2014). Retrieved November 1, 2020 from http://adilet.zan.kz/rus/docs/U1400000939

Kontseptsiya ukrepleniya i razvitiya kazahstanskoy identichnosti i yedinstva [Concept of strengthening and development of Kazakhstan identity and unity]. (2015). Retrieved November 1, 2020 from http://adilet.zan.kz/rus/docs/P1500001012

Malinin, G. (2001). Identifikatsionnyye protsessy v Kazahstane ili vybor osnovaniy budushchego [Identification processes in Kazakhstan or the choice of the grounds for the future]. In A.N. Nysanbaev & G.V. Malinin (Eds.) *Kazakhstan Society and Social Forecasting: Sociological Dimension*. Almaty: Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan, pp. 31-51.

Medeuova, K. A., Sandybaeva, U. M., Tolgambayeva, D. T., & Yermaganbetova K. S. (2015). Report on the research work "Aktualnyye praktiki pamyati: kontseptualizatsiya proshlogo i konstruirovaniye identichnsoti v sovremennoy kulture Kazakhstana [Relevant memory practices: Conceptualizing the past and designing identity in the modern culture of Kazakhstan]". Astana: Adonis.

Megill, A. (2007). *Istoricheskaya epistemologiya* [Historical Epistemology]. Moscow: Kanon+.

Muminov, A. K. (2011). Rodoslovnoye drevo Mukhtara Auezova [Family tree of Mukhtar Auezov]. Almaty: Zhibek Zholy.

Nora, P. (1999). *Problematika mest pamyati* [Problems of places of memory]. St. Petersburg: St. Petersburg University Publishing House.

Nora, P., Ozouf, M., de Puymege, G., & Winock, M. (1999). Frantsiya-pamyat [France-Memory]. St. Petersburg: St. Petersburg University Publishing House.

Nysanbayev, A. (2015). *Duhovno-tsennostnyy mir naroda nezavisimogo Kazahstana: problemy i perspektivy* [Spiritual and value-based world of the people of independent Kazakhstan: Problems and prospects]. Almaty: Institute of Philosophy, Political Science and Religious Studies of Kazakhstan.

Popper, K. (1993). *Nishcheta istoritsizma* [The poverty of historicism]. Moscow: Progress.

Repina, L. P. (2008). Dialogi so vremenem: pamyat o proshlom v kontekste istorii [Dialogues with time: Memory of the past in the context of history]. Moscow: Krug.

Shaikemelev, M. S. (2013). *Kazahskaya identichnost* [Kazakh identity]. Almaty: Institute of Philosophy, Political Science and Religious Studies, Kazakhstan.

State program "Madeni mura" – Cultural Heritage of Kazakhstan. (2004). Passport of the program. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from http://www.madenimura.kz.

Tulving, E. (2007). Are there 256 kinds of memory? In J.S. Nairne (Ed.), *Foundations of Remembering: Essays in Honor of Henry L. Roediger, III* (pp. 39–52). New York: Psychology Press.

Yermaganbetova, K. (2016). Brending mest i identichnost [Branding of places and identity]. *Bulletin of KazNU*, *4*(70), 160-170.

Yermagambetova, K., & Tolgambayeva, D. (2017). Identification of new forms and places of memory for identity design. *Man in India, 97*(25), 325-344.

Zelizer, B. (1995). Reading the past against the grain: The shape of memory studies. *Critical Studies In Mass Communication*, *12*(2), 214- 239.

6 The Information Space of the Economy of Tajikistan and Other Post-Soviet States

Shuhrat MAQSUDOV

This paper[11] aims to provide a review of the current state of e-governance and the digital economy in Tajikistan (and other post-Soviet countries), focusing specifically on the role of the digital economy in shaping political, economic, and social developments in the post-Soviet space. The digital economy began to take shape in Tajikistan in the early 2000s, with elements of the infrastructure of all or several technological structures and features of a mixed economy. This gave rise to a number of contradictions in the organization and maintenance of the functioning of all these structures and the economic system as a whole. But these contradictions will become aggravated if the state and private sector enterprises make less focused efforts and funds available for the development of advanced technologies or a new technological mode of production. It can be argued that in the modern economy of the country, almost all technological modes can be seen, including the information sector. This inevitably gives rise to the most diverse contradictions at all levels of management and organization of the national economy (Boboev, 2017).

The active use of the potential of information and communication technologies (ICT) to date has enabled many forms of implementation of information interaction between various actors. The information space of each state is saturated with various forms of telecommunications, satellite, electronic, and other types of infrastructure, which makes it possible to freely implement business, personal, corporate, and interstate contacts, as well as information technologies for solving a variety of

[11] This report is based on materials mostly from the Global network, which are freely available. Since it is the start of a research project, no special studies were carried out to write it; the report has the character of a review.

production, management, scientific, and practical problems in terms of programming and completing software. They also meet the needs of social and cultural spheres, thus creating conditions for innovative processes in all areas of society. It seems that the conditions of the digital information age have a sufficient basis and the creation of an information society in its full sense is not far off.

However, the three main components of ICT and, therefore, the directions for their development and inclusion in innovative processes are developing unevenly. The most problematic part of the potential of ICT so far is the information itself, that is, the content that should fill out the software and communication structures and give the user an intellectual product, knowledge, and information necessary to choose behaviors, organize relationships with different actors, and make decisions.

The processes that we are currently observing in the field of infrastructure building in the information space, taking into account the emphasis on target criteria and the specifics of content, allow us to distinguish at least three areas: 1) the area of a single information space of the post-Soviet states; 2) the area of information interaction with the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) member states, the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), and other states that are most active in terms of ensuring economic and social interests based on contractual relations; and 3) the area of information space, which is most important for the implementation of specific problems in economic, political, cultural interaction in the international community.

Based on these three directions, one can trace the features of the use of the information space and the entire information potential by participants, the specifics of building state policy, and the use of means of information interaction (Dyatlov & Lobanov, 2019; Kovalchuk, 2011).

United Nations Secretary-General António Guterres, in the preface to the Digital Economy Report 2019, noted that "Digital advances have generated enormous wealth in record time, but that wealth has been concentrated around a small number of individuals, companies and countries. Under current policies and regulations, this trajectory is likely to continue, further contributing to rising inequality. We must work to close the digital divide, where more than half the world has limited or no access to the Internet. Inclusivity is essential to building a digital economy that delivers for all" (UN, 2019, p. v).

Depending on the definition used, the size of the digital economy is estimated to be between 4.5 and 15.5% of global GDP. Nearly 40% of the added value generated by the global ICT sector comes from the United States and China. However, in relation to GDP, the share of this sector is highest in Taiwan, Ireland, and Malaysia. The number of people employed in the ICT sector worldwide has grown from 34 million in 2010 to 39 million in 2015, with the largest percentage of employees

(38%) working in the field of computer services. Over the same period, the share of the ICT sector in total employment increased from 1.8 to 2%.

In 2018, the volume of exports of services using digital technologies reached $2.9 trillion, which amounted to 50% of the global export of services. In the least developed countries (LDCs), such services accounted for an estimated 16% of total exports of services, and their exports more than tripled between 2005 and 2018. Currently, there is a huge gap in the world between countries with weak Internet connections and countries with a very high level of digitalization. For example, in LDCs, only one in five people uses the Internet, while in developed countries, four out of every five people have Internet access. If you consider the efficiency of use due to speed, then this gap differs even more.

1. The concept and essence of the Information Space of integration communities

The information society is a society in which the majority of workers are engaged in the production, storage, processing, and sale of information, especially its highest form – knowledge. This stage of development of society and the economy is characterized by:

- An increasing role of information, knowledge, and information technology in society.
- An increase in the number of people engaged in information technology, communications, and the production of information products and services as well as an increase in their share in gross domestic product.
- The increasing informatization of society using telephony, radio, television, the Internet, as well as traditional and electronic media.
- The creation of a global information space providing people with:
    - effective information interaction;
    - access to world information resources;
    - information products and services.

James Martin made an attempt to identify and formulate the main characteristics of the information society according to the following criteria.

- **Technological:** a key factor is information technology, which is widely used in production, institutions, and the educational system and in everyday life.
- **Social:** information acts as an important stimulator of changes in the quality of life; an "information consciousness" is formed and affirmed with wide access to information.
- **Economic:** information is a key factor in the economy as a resource, services, goods, source of value added, and employment.
- **Political:** freedom of information leading to a political process characterized by growing participation and consensus between different classes and social groups.
- **Cultural:** the recognition of the cultural value of information through the promotion of information values in the interest of the development of an individual and of society as a whole.

In the CIS countries, the information society is being implemented on the basis of the interstate network of information and marketing centers (the IMC network), which is a project similar to the Digital Agenda for Europe (DAE), presented by the European Commission as a strategy for ensuring economic growth in the European Union in the digital age and the spread of digital technology among all walks of life.

Information economy is a term used to refer to two concepts. First, the information economy is the modern stage of development of civilization, which is characterized by the predominant role of creative work and information products. Second, the information economy is an economic theory of the information society. This term was first used in 1976 by a staff member of the Stanford Center for Interdisciplinary Research, Mark Poratan, who published his works under this title.

The system of information economy is interconnected with the system of real management, providing the latter with a structured reflection of occurring facts (events) and their empirical generalization in terms of place, time, types of activities, and circumstances. Friedrich Hayek wrote: "If we have all the relevant information, if we can proceed from a given system of preferences and if we have complete knowledge of available means, then the problem (determining a rational "economic order," that is, production volumes, satisfying a variety of needs in the best way) comes down to a logical task." That is, he clearly points to information not as a condition of the process, but as the same economic resource as labor, land, and capital (Hayek, 1945).

In 2001, the Nobel Prize in Economic Sciences was awarded for studies that can be arbitrarily called "information economy" (George A. Akerlof, Michael Spence, and Joseph E. Stiglitz). Akerlof drew attention to the fact that market information can be "private" or "hidden," which can cause its uneven distribution among two types

of economic agents: sellers and buyers. This will ultimately provoke a "reverse selection" situation on the market, when a quality product remains in the hands of the seller and there are largely low-quality goods in the market (Nazarov, Fitina, & Juraeva, 2019).

As a result of an analysis of the most significant works of the leading economists of the 20th century, Nazarov et al. (2019) argues that the precondition for the emergence of the digital economy was such a stage of social development as the information economy. He divided developmental (i.e. economic) theory and the information revolution into seven periods and related mathematical apparatus.

According to Nazarov et al., in the sixth (2000-2017) and seventh (2017-present) periods of the prevailing economic theory, "Information and Communicative Economics" (G. Akerlof, M. Spence, J. Stiglitz, I.R. Aumann, T.K. Schelling) and Digital Economy (L. Gurvich, E. Maskin, R.B. Myerson, P. Krugman, E. Ostrom, O. Williamson, P. Diamond, D. Mortensen, K. Pissarides) corresponded to the "Fifth Information Revolution" (17 years): cloud technology; the *cumulative stage*: development of computer technologies and their use in all fields of activity, high-tech innovations (paperless computer science); and the *transformation stage*: a qualitatively new level of economic relations, digital transformation, and data mining. The mathematical apparatus of these two periods includes:

- Game theory in economics, fuzzy set theory, information theory, Data Mining technologies;
- Game Theory, Big Data Analysis, Data Mining.

In a broad sense, the information economy is considered in the context of the evolution of social and economic relations as their new level, ensuring an increase in the quality of life of society and the intensity of development of business processes, with the predominant role given to intellectual and creative work and information products.

In a narrow sense, the information economy is a special branch of economic theory, based on the paradigms of the information society, which studies the role and impact of information as one of the factors of production, as well as information and communication technologies and products for the development and adoption of economic and managerial decisions in new economic conditions.

Key concepts such as information and knowledge played a central role in the formation of the information economy. As B. Gates notes, "Knowledge management is a fancy term for a simple idea. You're managing data, documents, and people's efforts. Your aim should be to improve the way people work together… Teams should be able to act with the same unity of purpose and focus as a well-motivated individual" (Gates, 1999). That is, interpreting the words of one of the most successful contemporary managers, we can say with certainty that knowledge

management at the level of industrial enterprises is the management of the mechanism for generating resources in order to create assets and ensure the means of production and distribution of products.

Any enterprise producing goods or services can exist in a market coordination system subject to the rational management of its resources or assets. However, attention is now focused on the increase in the use value of information that occurred at a time when information began to be used not only for the development of technology, production technology, and labor organization, but also for management. And here Gates put it extremely accurately: "The tools of the Industrial Age extended the capabilities of our muscles. The tools of the digital age extend the capabilities of our minds" (Gates, 1999).

The impact of information on the economic process as a whole is twofold. On the one hand, knowledge and information act as mandatory initial elements of scientific and technological research, and on the other hand, an information resource is used in the economic system in the same way as labor or capital. Therefore, we can talk about a direct relationship between economic results and the amount of information introduced into economic activity.

At the same time, an information resource has a number of features that distinguish it from traditional resources: information affects production efficiency without physically increasing traditional resources; information acts on the subjective factor of production – a person, his character and ability; and information speeds up the reproduction process by reducing the periods of production and circulation.

The modern era is identified with the computer phase of information exchange, which, thanks to the technological component, began to influence the development of economic relations even more intensively and brought them to a qualitatively new level, providing the conditions for a new transformation – the transition to the fifth information revolution. As part of the fifth information revolution, a new phenomenon arises due to the unprecedented pace of digital technology development: the digital economy.

The digital economy is a system of economic, social, and cultural relations based on the use of digital information and communication technologies (Ministry of Digital Development, Communications and Mass Media of the Russian Federation).

In recent decades, there has been a sharp transition from a traditional economy, whose origins were still connected with the industrial revolution, to a digital economy. This comes from the basic breakthrough technology of the fifth industrial revolution, which is presented as follows (Turdibekov, 2018):

- "The global network of economic and social activities that are enabled by platforms such as the Internet, mobile and sensor networks" (Government of Australia).

- "A system of economic, social and cultural relations based on the use of digital information and communication technologies" (World Bank).
- “An economy which functions primarily by means of digital technology, especially electronic transactions made using the internet” (Oxford Dictionary).
- "A digital economy refers to an economy based on digital technologies, although we increasingly perceive this as conducting business through markets based on the internet and the World Wide Web" (BCS UK).
- "An economy capable of providing high-quality ICT infrastructure and mobilizing ICT opportunities for the benefit of consumers, business, and government " (The Economist).

Derivatives of the digital economy can rightfully be considered as a collaborative (shared) economy, a unit economy that arose against the backdrop of the development of cloud services and cohort data analysis.

A collaborative economy is a set of business models in which market agents (people, organizations, and communities) get an opportunity to collectively use any goods and services through barter, rent, lending, donation, resale exchange, and replacement (European Commission, 2017). That is, the basis of these models is the paradigm of temporary (joint) and not permanent (sole) ownership of a thing in the broad sense of the word.

Unit economics is an economic modeling method used to determine the profitability of a business model by evaluating the profitability of a unit of goods or a single customer. It is typically used to measure the profitability of a startup’s business idea. A business can be successful only if a single unit of product or service is profitable (Minin, 2018). In the framework of unit economics, cohort data analysis is used as a basic tool.

Cohort analysis is the allocation of a specific group of users (cohorts) and the analysis of its behavior over time. Users in a cohort are united by the performance of an action at a certain period of time.

The basis of all the varieties of the digital economy presented above is the possibility of almost instant information processing, the emergence of global network technologies, and the design and widespread use of databases and knowledge that facilitate the rapid adoption of optimal decisions in the course of any business activity.

The essence of a digital economy is the implementation of a new type of economic relations within the framework of modern information society, in which the “data-information-knowledge” triad acts as a main connecting link between production and consumption, between the stages of material and intangible production. In this

case, a digital economy is a dynamic system of a new type, which should efficiently distribute digital resources – data, means, values, stocks, opportunities, sources of processing, storage, distribution, and consumption of information in order to create new knowledge (Nazarov et al., 2019).

2. Features of the information space of economic cooperation between countries

The concept of forming the information space of the Commonwealth of Independent States was adopted in 1996. The concept of scientific and information support for the programs and projects of the CIS member states in the innovation sector was adopted in 2009.

The task of transitioning to e-government (or, in other words, the information state) has been posed to the authorities of the Republic of Tajikistan for more than 15 years. During this time, a number of conceptual and program documents were adopted, including the following:

- The concept of the formation of an e-government in the Republic of Tajikistan (2012-*2020*), approved by the Decree of the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan dated December 30, 2011, No. 6434.
- The decree of the President of the Republic of Tajikistan dated November 5, 2003, No. 1174 "On the state strategy of information and communication technologies for the development of the Republic of Tajikistan".
- The State Program for the Development and Implementation of Information and Communication Technologies in the Republic of Tajikistan for 2014-*2017* (Decree of the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan of July 3, 2014, No. 428).

The Republic of Tajikistan is only entering the threshold of industrialization and informatization. In his address to the Parliament on December 26, 2018, Emomali Rahmon, President of Tajikistan, called the transition to industrialization of the Tajik economy the fourth strategic goal of the state, along with breaking the communication deadlock and ensuring energy independence and food security. The concept of the digital economy in the Republic of Tajikistan was approved by a decree of the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan dated December 30, 2019, No. 642 (Ministry of Economic Development and Trade of the Republic of Tajikistan, 2019).

Thus, the institutional framework for this transition is formed. For example, the Law of the Republic of Tajikistan "On Information" establishes "general legal standards for the receipt, use, distribution and storage of information, secures the right of the subject of information relations to information in all areas of public and state life in the Republic of Tajikistan, as well as the information system, its sources, determines the status of participants in information relations, regulates access to information and ensures its protection, and protects an individual and society from false information."

The National Development Strategy of Tajikistan (NDST), which covers the period until 2030, noted that "ensuring the country's sustainable development in the long term is impossible without the use of innovations in all areas of socio-economic life. The main factor in this growth model can only be human capital and its main backbone components – education and science – as the most important conditions for improving national security and the competitiveness of the national economy" (Governmnet of the Republic of Tajikistan, 2016). The key principles of this line of action are determined by the desire for a comprehensive solution to the problems of developing human capital and the quality of life, as well as creating sustainable prerequisites for the formation of a knowledge economy. Based on this, the NDST-2030 declared the priority of transferring the economy to an innovative path of development; the urgent need to ensure the accelerated development of the education system using ICT is obvious.

The National Strategy for the Development of Education of the Republic of Tajikistan for the period until 2020 (NSDET-2020), adopted by the Government on June 30, 2012 (Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Tajikistan, 2012), names the following priorities in the field of higher professional education:

- An increase in the share of students' independent activity in the development of curricula, including through the widespread use of information resources and ICT.
- The use of information technology and distance learning methods to increase the availability of vocational education programs.

The NSDET-2020 recognizes that computer technology is a powerful means of connecting the learning process with real-life situations. The Internet is changing the hierarchical relationship between a teacher and a student, with students becoming less dependent on teachers' qualifications. In this regard, the government plans to equip all vocational education institutions with information resources and Internet access points. In the section "Strengthening the personnel potential," the NSDET-2020 aims to provide teachers at educational institutions with constant access via the Internet to teaching materials and electronic educational resources for continuous professional growth. On September 28, 2017, the Government of Tajikistan adopted the fourth state program for the implementation of information and

communication technologies in educational institutions of the Republic of Tajikistan for 2018-2022. The main goal of this program is to improve the level and quality of education in accordance with international standards and the development of a modern material and technical base for educational institutions.

It should be noted that according to the assessment presented in the Global Information Technology Report, from 2013 to 2016, Tajikistan is in the middle of the list according to the indicator "Laws relating to ICT" (Ashurov, 2017).

The geographical location of the country has effected a high price for communication with the world, services, and equipment for the population, as well as a lack of independent providers of hosting local capacities a limit to the development of local content. Tajikistan buys the Internet from Russia and it is delivered through Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan, resulting in a relatively high Internet price.

Although the cost of international connections in Tajikistan continues to decline, this process is slower than in other countries in the region. The cost of these compounds for Tajikistan is about five times higher than for Kazakhstan: it costs about $10 per Mbps per month on the section of the Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan route, while on the Kyrgyzstan-Tajikistan section it is already $55 to $70 per Mbps per month.

According to the U.N. Commission on Digital Technologies for the Development of Broadband, in 2016, Tajikistan ranked 149th (among 191 countries) in terms of the number of individual Internet users. And according to the Global Information Technology Report's index of individual ICT use (Usage sub-index), which measures the prevalence of certain ICTs among the population, including the distribution of mobile telephony, Internet use, personal computer use, and the use of social networks, Tajikistan ranked 116th among 139 countries in 2016, while Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan ranked 88th and 58th, respectively. A comparative analysis of the sub-indices in Tajikistan and the average values of sub-indices for groups of countries with the same level of economic development (in 2015, Tajikistan was in a group of low-income countries, and in 2016, a group of low and middle-income countries) indicates that it is precisely because of the infrastructure and price affordability components that Tajikistan's indicators are lower than the average indicators of the corresponding group of countries in 2015.

According to the Global Information Technology Report, Tajikistan's position on the Skills sub-index of the Network Readiness Index (NRI) far exceeds that of the corresponding group of countries. This is primarily the result of the implementation of three stages of the state program of computerization of secondary schools in the Republic of Tajikistan. The first two stages of the program, during which schoolchildren were taught computer science from the seventh grade, were implemented from 2003 to 2007 and from 2008 to 2010. The third stage of the

state program of computerization of secondary schools was implemented between 2011 and 2015.

By the time the third stage of this program was completed, 3,290 educational institutions were provided with computer classes and equipped with computers, printers, and other means of information technology, and 1,240 educational institutions were connected to the Internet. The implementation of the computerization program at the end of 2015 amounted to 99.1%. As a result of the implementation of this program, the provision of secondary school students with personal computers amounted to 1 PC for 17 students (compared with 165 in 2002).

In recent years, there has been a significant increase in the number of trained specialists in ICT areas at the country's universities. At present 14 universities are training specialists in the field of ICT.

However, according to data on Internet access in the countries participating in the EDB (Eurasian Development Bank), there is a digital gap between states even within the region (Nazarov et al., 2019). Moreover, due to the heterogeneous infrastructural and economic development of the countries, a gap is also present between different regions within countries, and there is a significant difference in the level of digitalization between the urban and rural environments.

According to the indicator of the population's access to the Internet, it is possible to divide the EDB member countries into two groups: the group with the broadest access (Russia, Kazakhstan, Belarus, and Armenia) and the group with limited access, which includes Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. In 2017, 38.2% and 22% of the population of Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan had access to the global network, respectively.

The indicator of the population's access to the global network is visible because the Internet plays a fundamental role in a digital economy and the transition to it. As part of the formation and development of a digital economy, the Internet creates an entire economic ecosystem and fundamentally changes the nature and competitiveness of traditional spheres.

Since its foundation in 2010, Khujand Polytechnic Institute of Tajik Technical University (KPITTU) began to implement the goals and objectives of the Concept and the formation of e-government in the Republic of Tajikistan. The Institute introduced the following main e-government elements:

Stage 1: A unified computer network was created and all students, teachers, employees learned to work with it; mechanisms for timely modification of the institute's website were also created.

Stage 2: A Learning Management System (LMS) was developed, in which all participants of the educational process, from a student to a rector, have their interfaces and carry out their work through information technology.

Stage 3: The Institute's information resource – a platform for organizing distance learning and monitoring the educational process in it – was developed (www.fosilavi.tj).

The LMS of KPITTU complies with four basic principles of e-government:

Government Network Service. The LMS operates within a single computer network at KPITTU, whose buildings are located in various parts of the city and are connected by an optical fiber network. The network is also available through many Wi-Fi routers from anywhere in the building through any device.

Paperless government. The workflow at the Institute is mainly carried out through the LMS. This includes electronic student applications, the formation of orders, electronic confirmation of all actions to organize and control the educational process, and the use of electronic resources from documents to training materials.

Knowledge-based government. On the LMS, many operations are performed directly by the system itself based on algorithms that, drawing on input data, analyze them and make decisions.

Transparent government. On the LMS, actions and solutions are available to a wide range of users. Anticorruption tools are used. Parents of students also have access to the process of teaching their children.

For the development of the LMS and its elements, the Institute employees received about 60 copyright certificates.

KPITTU is also working on the informatization of the Tajik language, which has resulted in practical possibilities for checking the spelling of texts in Tajik in Microsoft Office, as well as the use of electronic dictionaries to translate from Tajik into Russian and English.

KPITTU provides training in four specialties related to information technology. Given the challenges of the development of information technology and training for the digital economy, a new specialty has opened up for the Republic of Tajikistan – information resource management. The training of personnel in artificial intelligence is planned to start from 2021.

In recent years, many universities of the Republic of Tajikistan have also introduced information systems for managing the educational process and organizing distance learning. Although the implemented distance learning systems have expanded opportunities for using multimedia content and organizing webinars, forums, and

video lectures, the high cost and low speed of the Internet do not allow students to take full advantage of these opportunities.

Recently, the level of use of information technologies in Tajikistan has sharply increased. In public-funded organizations, including universities, financial transactions are conducted online through a single system in the republic. In all organizations, salaries as well as pensions, are transferred to bank cards, which sharply stimulated the development of online shopping and online services. The customs and tax services of the republic also comprehensively use online services, and the government is working to transfer the provision of public services to online platforms.

In December 2018, the Ministry of Health and Social Protection of the Population of the Republic of Tajikistan signed a memorandum on relations and cooperation with Sifat Innotech Invest LLC, which aimed at introducing innovations in the field of health and social protection through the introduction of digital medicine and electronic document management. The cooperation of the Ministry and Sifat Innotech Invest is aimed at creating a Unified National Digital Medical System, developing the digitalization of medicine in general and thereby laying the foundations for future telemedicine within the framework of public-private partnership models.

Although the country has made a significant progress on the adoption of ICT, information about it is not available on the Internet sites of the ministries and municipal governments of regions, cities, and districts.

Within the framework of NDST-2030, the government plans three stages of the country's development: “a period of transition to a new model of economic growth,” “a stage of accelerated development based on investments,” and “a stage of completion of accelerated industrialization” for development based on knowledge and innovations. The development of high-tech industries and an innovative economy is planned by strengthening institutional development, introducing modern information technologies at all levels of government, enhancing the protection of property rights, improving the legal system, creating favorable conditions for the development of networks of information and communication technology parks, and “reducing the country's relative dependence on food imports, reorientation towards the import of modern technologies. ”

The above indicates that, despite the digital divide between the countries participating in the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU), active measures are being taken to develop the digital economy.

3. Prospects for the Information Space of the Economies of Post-Soviet states

Significant efforts are being made to integrate digital economies, between which there is a significant gap in the level of development. For example, in the EU, a common digital agenda was introduced both in Sweden and in Greece (countries that occupied the 5th and 57th places, respectively, in the ICT implementation indicator within the framework of the Global Competitiveness Report 2018).

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has seen a growing number of e-commerce initiatives aimed at closing the gap in the use of technology in the foreign economic activities of Singapore and Myanmar (the World Bank's Doing Business foreign trade indicators for these countries are 45th and 168th, respectively).

In the case of the EAEU member states, international organizations see them as promising new participants in the global digital economy. According to the World Bank classification, the EAEU member states are divided into two groups: emerging (Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan) and transitional (Kazakhstan, Belarus, Russia, and Armenia) digital economies. Considering the importance of the digital component in integration processes, an significant element is the analysis of promising directions of technology implementation within the framework of the EDB member countries (Eurasian Development Bank, 2019).

The economic potential of the ICT sector. The development of ICT as a sector can make a significant contribution to national and regional economies and can increase the competitiveness of all industries. In addition, ICTs can effectively contribute to international economic integration, improving living standards, and narrowing the digital divide (Figure 1).

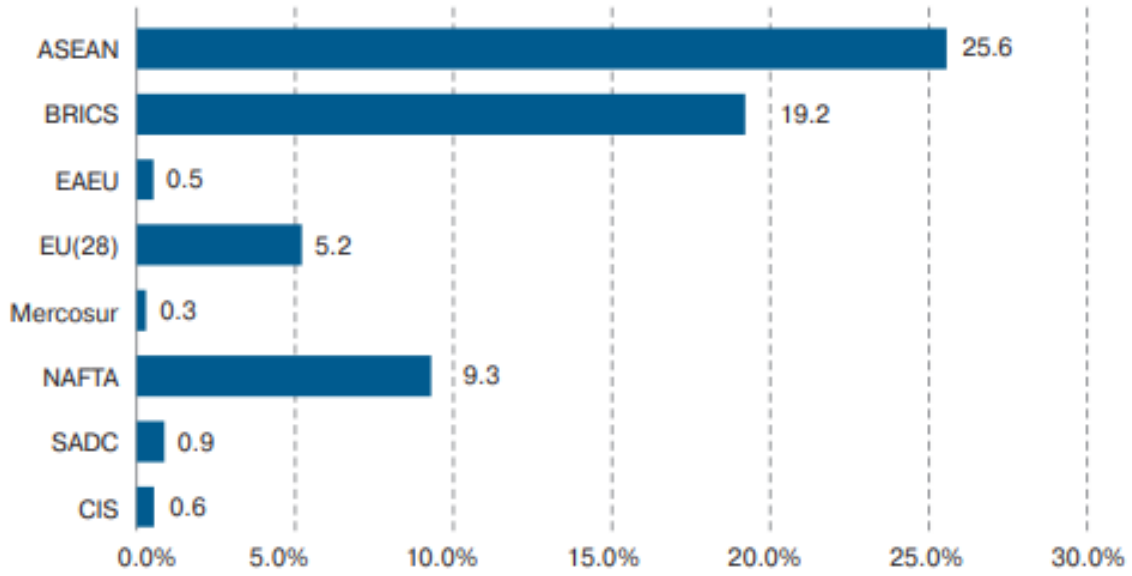

Figure 1. Percentage of ICT Goods in Integration Blocs' Total Exports of Goods (Source: EDB, 2019).

An analysis of the product structure of the EAEU member countries for the period 2012-2017 shows that ICT goods are exported and imported by all countries, not just regional leaders. However, a comparison of the share of ICT goods in the export of the EAEU member countries shows that their share is the most stable in the structure of Belarus's export (for the period under review, it was about 0.7%), while there are very unstable dynamics and a significant gap in the relative volumes in other countries (Figure 2).

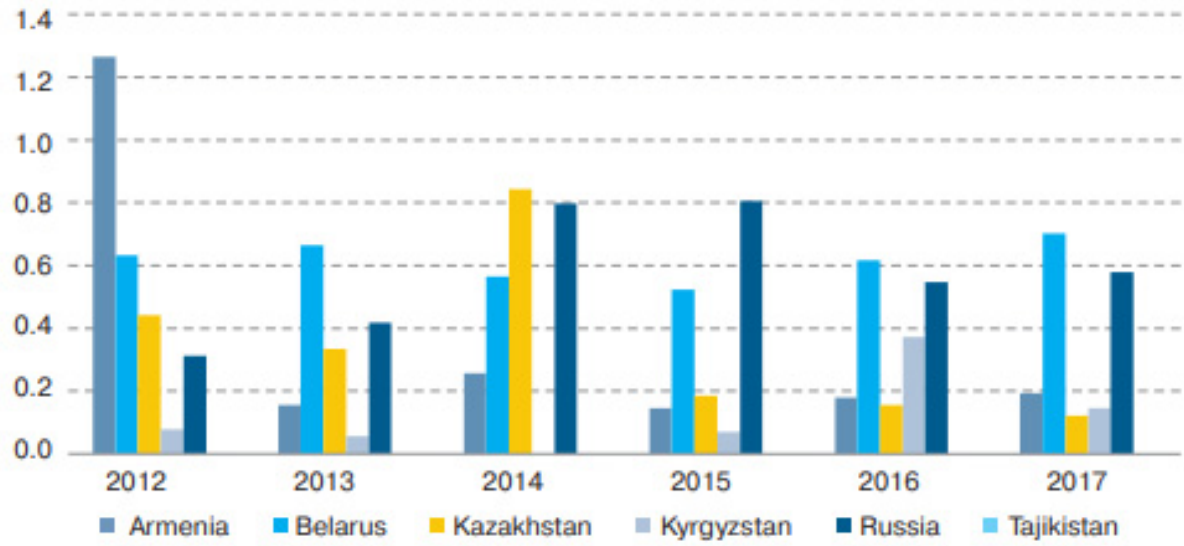

Figure 2. Percentage of ICT Goods in All Exports of EDB Member Countries in 2012-2017 (Source: EDB, 2019).

With regard to the share of ICT imports, all the countries under consideration show a significant gap compared to exports. All participating countries are net importers of ICT goods, due to the specifics of their economic models. The smaller countries of the EAEU in particular are characterized by a larger proportion of the agricultural sector in their economies, in which a significant part of the employed population works. Taking into account the existing share of people employed in this sector, the prospect of digitalizing the agricultural sector is especially important, since the introduction of advanced technologies and increased industry productivity will significantly increase the export potential of agricultural products and ensure food security for the respective countries. In the case of larger EAEU economies, this gap is explained by a relative technical lag behind world leaders, as a result of which, these countries have to focus on the import of high-tech products.

Wider developm3ent of digital infrastructure and bridging the digital divide at the national level will allow countries to increase the share of ICT services in total service exports.

Country	Exports	Imports	ICT trade balance
Armenia	195.00	26.00	169.00
Belarus	1 438.00	301.00	1 137.00
Kazakhstan	115.00	243.00	-128.00
Kyrgyzstan*	66.00	28.00	38.00
Russia	4 664.00	4 868.00	-204.00
Tajikistan	5.00	4.00	1.00

Figure 3. Value of the EAEU Member Countries' ICT Services Exports and Imports in 2017, USD Million (Source: EDB, 2019).

No less interesting is the comparison of data on the indicator of the shares of services provided in digital form from the total export and import of services of the EAEU member countries in 2017 (Figure 3), where Kazakhstan and Russia are leaders. Services provided in digital form are a combination of insurance, pension, and financial services, as well as fees for the use of intellectual property, telecommunication, computer and information services, and audio-visual and related services.

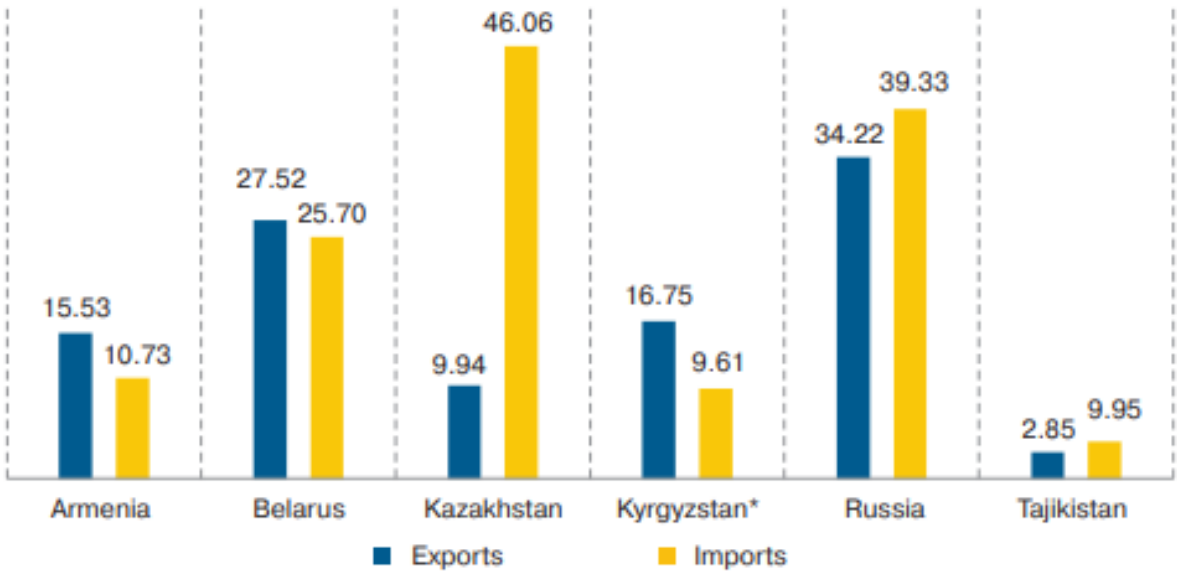

Figure 4. Percentage of Digitally Deliverable Services in All Service Exports and Imports of the EAEU Member Countries in 2017 (Source: EDB, 2019).

The insufficient involvement of the member states in mutual supplies can primarily be explained by the lack of sufficient awareness of business entities about the needs and opportunities for the production of industrial products from the EAEU partner countries.

To implement the assigned tasks, the EAEU needs to integrate development. The implementation of this area can grow within the digital economy.

By introducing digital technologies, enterprises increase their products' value, the efficiency of their activities, and the number of customers and business partners.

E-commerce. E-commerce is extremely important for its economic benefits. E-commerce connects countries and businesses, which in turn, can give a new impetus to the development of an economy, since a decrease in transactional and economic costs makes entrepreneurial activity more accessible for most of the population (Eurasian Development Bank, 2019). However, it is important to note that in order to maximize the impact and facilitate the growth of trade, it is necessary to lay the foundation on which e-commerce will take place. One of the important conditions is the ICT infrastructure, the importance of which was discussed in the previous section. In addition, research shows that a number of other underlying conditions are critical. Thus, a classification of countries using digital technologies for the development of electronic commerce was carried out. All six EAEU member countries are included in the group of "emerging digital economies," which requires measures to improve the logistics infrastructure (Eurasian Development Bank, 2019).

A reliable logistics infrastructure is essential for the formation of e-commerce. Expanding access to the Internet could help more firms entering new markets, especially in the service sector. A high-quality logistics infrastructure can greatly enhance the value of a business.

The second key condition is the development of more advanced and interoperable payment systems and increased availability of financial services. For the development of online payment systems, it is important to ensure the security of payments made using technology. In this regard, participation in mutual trade within the integration bloc is important. E-commerce will reduce the existing bureaucratization of procedures. The stimulation of intraregional trade leads to the expansion of opportunities for the population and the expansion of their activities in foreign trade.

The Eurasian Economic Commission (EEC) works for the development of an industrial cooperation network within the EAEU. The presence of enterprises in the industrial cooperation network is important. This, first of all, refers to the sphere of small and medium enterprises (SMEs), which is the main driver of a modern post-industrial society and should take a permanent place in the economies of Armenia, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan.

Connecting to a network of this kind will allow the obtaining of production and technological chains that contribute to the development of the most technologically advanced activities, which accelerate integration development.

Interest in the banking sector and investors lies in increasing the transparency of industrial ties and simplifying the selection of the most promising integration projects.

The development of the digital economy by revitalizing e-commerce promotes the involvement of organizations in the global economy, enhances competition on the market, and ensures high labor productivity and efficiency in the use of capital.

If a high-speed Internet access is granted to people in Tajikistan, and given that the country's position on the Skills sub-index of the Networked Readiness Index (NRI) is much higher than that of the corresponding group of countries, Tajikistan can significantly increase the export of online services and expand the opportunities for citizens to find jobs. But to reach this goal, it is necessary to organize a widely accessible educational network on ICT competencies. Women entrepreneurs should also be empowered in this area. Mentoring, networking, and presenting professional success stories can help to overcome the typical gender biases or cultural attitudes that can limit women's abilities to confidently start or pursue e-commerce and information technology projects.

Financial sector. Digital technologies are mainly beneficial for "financial sector inclusiveness"; in other words, they make financial services highly accessible. Greater access to financial services means an increase in demand for them, which serves as a

driver for further development of the banking sector. This confirms that population demand contributes to the digitalization of the financial sector and that there is the potential for synergistic development in this area of digital economy.

The important consequences of the digitalization of the financial sector for the state will be an increase in the transparency of cash flows in the economy and the expansion of non-cash payments.

The state also has the ability to and should actively influence the formation of the population's digital culture, including in payments between federal and municipal authorities and the population. Such measures by the government should increase confidence in digital banking and the transparency of the financial sector.

Digital technologies are increasing the stability of the banking industry. The use of innovative technologies and Big Data databases by commercial banks makes it possible to assess the risks of their clients faster and more accurately. A more transparent banking system will have a beneficial effect on the investment attractiveness of the country and can significantly expand the possibility of financing for most of the economic agents.

Agriculture. When analyzing the digital potential of the EAEU, it is extremely important to take into account the specifics of their economic structure, and the importance of agriculture in particular as one of the key industries in a number of its member countries. At first glance, it seems that digitalization and a technological breakthrough in the economy contradict the development of the agricultural sector, since as a result of the introduction of technologies, the demand for human resources decreases and, with it, employment in this sector. However, as international experience shows, disruptive technologies can structurally transform agriculture, contributing to a more efficient use of resources.

Comparison of the share of agriculture in the GDPs of the EAEU member countries with the share of the employed population working in the industry shows that, with the exception of Belarus and Russia, this sector is characterized by rather low productivity. A striking example is Tajikistan, where more than 50% of the employed population works in an industry that produces only 20% of GDP.

Digital Agriculture aims to improve the productivity of the agricultural sector. The term refers to the combination of advanced technology with Big Data to better manage resources and take into account such important external factors as weather or increased demand for food products in order to adjust yields.

This new direction is especially interesting because, in addition to increasing the productivity of the agricultural sectors, it directly contributes to the state's ability to ensure the country's food security and the growth of the competitiveness of its food exports. Given its impact on such strategically important issues for the country, it is worth noting that support from the government in the interaction of agribusiness

and private innovative enterprises is extremely important for the full implementation of, and transition to, smarter agriculture.

Analysis of the experience of 15 countries (Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, Colombia, Estonia, Japan, Korea, Latvia, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, and the USA) in the development of digital agriculture, conducted by the OECD (Innovation, Productivity and Sustainability in Food and Agriculture: Main Policy Lessons from Selected OECD Country Reviews, 2019, OECD) confirms that efforts to promote cooperation between the public and private sectors are active in most of the reviewed countries. In addition, the analysis highlights the importance of international cooperation in this area, as it implies reducing costs, pooling resources, and harnessing synergies to address regional and global agricultural challenges.

In the Eurasian space, digital agriculture is still at an early stage of development. Most countries do not have national strategies in this area, but, according to FAO estimates, they have a significant potential. At the moment, the Russian Ministry of Agriculture has developed the most advanced ministerial projects on digital agriculture in the region.

The goal of the Digital Agriculture project is to provide a technological breakthrough in the agro-industrial complex through the introduction of digital technologies in agriculture in order to double labor productivity in agricultural enterprises by 2021.

The digitalization of agriculture is vital for Tajikistan, since land resources in rural regions are not enough for everyone and the introduction of modern production technologies will further exacerbate this problem. But the natural conditions of Tajikistan make it possible for farms to grow ecological products ordered via the Internet in small batches at a good price, since in recent years, the efforts of the state have significantly improved roads and transportation logistics.

The global implications of the growing influence of digital platforms. Digital platforms are playing an increasing role in the global economy. In 2017, the combined value of platform companies with a market capitalization of more than $100 million exceeded an estimated $7 trillion, up 67% from 2015. Some global digital platforms have gained very strong market positions in certain segments. For example, about 90% of the Internet search engine market belongs to Google. Facebook accounts for two thirds of the global social media market and is the most popular social media platform in over 90% of countries. Almost 40% of the world's online retail sales are carried out through the Amazon network, and its subsidiary Amazon Web Services accounts for about the same share of the global cloud infrastructure services market.

In China, WeChat (owned by Tencent) has over a billion active users, and its payment system, together with Alipay (owned by Alibaba), covers virtually the entire

Chinese cellular payments market. At the same time, Alibaba accounts for an estimated 60% of the Chinese e-commerce market.

Digital data strategies. Countries with limited capacity to transform digital data into digital intelligence and business opportunities are clearly in a disadvantageous position in terms of value creation. To prevent such countries from becoming more dependent in a global data-driven economy, national development strategies must address (value added) digitalization in data value chains and build domestic capacity to improve data quality. This may require action at the national level to make better use of existing opportunities and counter the threats and challenges posed by digital proliferation. In this context, strategic questions are critical in deciding how to grant ownership and control over data, build consumer confidence and protect data privacy, regulate cross-border data flows, build the necessary knowledge and skills, and empower digital data to benefit development (Denisenko, 2018).

A number of proposals have been put forward to ensure a more equitable distribution of the economic benefits of digital data. Some of these are aimed at paying rewards to individuals who provide data for use on platforms through personal data markets or data trust funds. Others recommend using collective data ownership as well as digital data foundations as the basis for creating a new "common digital space." These and other alternative approaches will need to be tested in practice in order to assess their feasibility and respective advantages and disadvantages.

Without appropriate measures, the huge gap between countries with poor Internet connectivity and countries with a very high level of digitalization will only widen, as will the existing inequality. The digital divide, the varying degrees of readiness of countries, and the high concentration of market power in the digital economy indicate the need to adopt new strategies and regulations that contribute to a more equitable distribution of benefits from the ongoing transformation processes under the influence of digital technologies (Denisenko, 2018). In connection with the adoption of the Concept of the Digital Economy in the Republic of Tajikistan in 2019, it is time for government bodies to determine ways to motivate the transition of all employees, from a manager to a simple worker in production, to new types of digital jobs. Digitizing the existing base of the modern economy is a huge task in organizing the management of enterprises in the Republic of Tajikistan in the digital economy. The time has come for the republic to improve the personnel education system, train, and retrain specialists related to information technology. In doing so, people must acquire the proper skills for the systematic use of information technology. That being said, one should consider managing the risks associated with his or her online social and economic activities. Entrepreneurship, employment, and e-literacy should be encouraged here, with an emphasis on creating conditions for the accessibility of education for all. And in this, a great responsibility for the future of the republic lies with the universities in Tajikistan.

As a result of the analysis, a clear division was revealed in the levels of digitalization development in the post-Soviet countries, which can be grouped into three clusters:

- Very high (EGDI > 0.75): Estonia, Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Lithuania.
- High (EGDI from 0.5 to 0.75): Latvia, Georgia, Moldova, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Ukraine, Armenia, and Kyrgyzstan.
- Medium (EGDI from 0.25 to 0.5): Tajikistan, Turkmenistan.

Conclusion

The gradual informatization of society in the Republic of Tajikistan in recent years has significantly influenced the achievement of the goals of the Anti-Corruption Strategy in the Republic of Tajikistan for 2013-2020.

Corruption is a complex, multifactorial phenomenon, which necessitates an adequate systemic response in the form of a comprehensive legal policy that institutionalizes a multifaceted system of digital counteraction to this crime. It should be taken into account in its development that corrupt behavior can be based on various motives of participants in shadow transactions, ranging from low wages, to value and spiritual deformation, to any dependence on a superior leader.

Digital technologies make it possible to implement organizational, incentive, and restrictive measures that have been previously inaccessible in public administration and legal regulation, the effectiveness of which is fundamentally higher than traditional methods of anti-corruption policy. At the same time, it should be stated that digital technologies by themselves, apart from changes in organizational and technical forms of communication between officials and representatives of the business environment, citizens, and other civil servants, cannot influence the shadow relations between business and the government. Thus, for example, the technology promoting the depersonalization of officials and limited, verifiable communication prevents corruption offenses only if such digital restrictions cannot be circumvented outside the information and communication environment. And this implies a change in the order of work of local officials, such as the exclusion of the reception of citizens on any issues and personal contacts with state and municipal employees from other authorities that are not related to work issues. Therefore, only the bundling of the digital technologies of public administration with a conceptual change in the organizational and structural paradigm of the state apparatus will make it possible to reach the full effectiveness of anti-corruption innovations.

The creation in 2014 of the National Testing Center under the President of the Republic of Tajikistan (NTCUPRT) was an important step and allowed the country to make significant progress towards the formation of the its first national system for assessing the quality of education and promoting the principle of meritocracy in the education system for the benefit of female students and residents of remote and rural areas. NTCUPRT organizes and conducts centralized entrance examinations to educational institutions of higher and secondary vocational education, as well as research and assessment of the level of knowledge of students in educational institutions of primary, general basic, and general secondary education, and conducts a republican subject Olympiad. All work of the center is carried out on the basis of information and communication technologies, which made it possible to eradicate the factor of corruption in entrance exams and admission to higher and secondary educational institutions.

In July 2017, the government of the Republic of Tajikistan adopted uniform rules for the official websites of ministries and departments, local executive bodies of state power, and self-government bodies of villages and *dekhots* on the Internet. For example, a special block ("trading platform") of the official website can provide, if necessary, information on tenders among organizations and enterprises to carry out certain works for state needs; the site publishes tender announcements, conditions for participation, and a set of special forms that must be filled out by the applicant. The portal software helps to collect and summarize incoming applications.

The development of the e-procurement system is one of the priority areas for reforming public procurement in the country. Expanding the practice of conducting procurement in electronic form is included as one of the main directions of the anti-corruption national policy outlined in the Anti-Corruption Strategy in the Republic of Tajikistan for 2013-2020.

The government of the Republic of Tajikistan adopted in March 2018 the procedure for the official publication of normative legal acts of ministries, state committees, bodies under the President of the Republic of Tajikistan, bodies under the government of the Republic of Tajikistan, and the National Bank of Tajikistan. This Procedure requires the placement of the full text of the act on the website of the body that adopted it.

As part of the implementation of the State Support Program for Entrepreneurship, a number of reforms are being carried out aimed at simplifying regulation and reducing administrative barriers. An online application system for obtaining more than 30% of permits has been introduced by two pilot ministries, the Ministry of Health and Social Protection of the Population and the Ministry of Transport, which represents 35% of the permits.

An electronic system for submitting tax returns and reporting has been introduced. In 2016, the Law "On Investments" was adopted in a new edition, and a "Single Window" was opened for investors.

The challenges facing societies, cultures and economies at the international level, such as climate, health, nutrition, education, and equity, are interconnected and increasingly complex. The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development provides the path for the current decade and the foundation for decades to come.

Now more than ever, with COVID-19 revealing gaps and weaknesses in the digital resilience of governments and further undermining governance and accountability where systems have already been weakened by corruption and bribery, public sectors around the world must take advantage of the opportunities offered by digital, data, and technology throughout the life cycle of government services to help:

- Respond to the increased expectations of people for simpler, more understandable, and digital public services.
- Build trust between governments and their communities.
- Increase transparency and access to information.
- Reduce inequalities in society and stimulate the local economy by increasing competition and the participation of underrepresented groups of service providers, such as women-owned small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs).
- Contribute to the successful achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

References

Ashurov S. B. (2017). *Open educational resources in Tajikistan*. Retrieved November 1, 2020, from https://iite.unesco.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/Analiticheskij_otchet_OOR_Tajikistan.pdf

Boboev, Z. M. (2017). Sovremennoe sostoyanie i osobennosti formirovaniya informatsionnyh resursov v ekonomike respubliki Tadjikistan [The current state and features of the formation of information resources in the economy of the Republic of Tajikistan]. *Naukovedenie, 6*(9).

Denisenko, I. A. (2018). Funktsionirovanie i razvitie predprinimatel'stva v usloviyah tsifrovoy ekonomiki [The functioning and development of entrepreneurship in the digital economy]. *Servis v Rossii i za rubezhom,* 4 (82), 84-98.

Dyatlov, S. A., & Lobanov, O. S. (2019). *Convergence of Regional Information Spaces as a Factor of Global Digital Economy*. Proceedings of the International Science and Technology Conference "FarEastCon."

Eurasian Development Bank. (2019). *The digital potential of the EDB member countries*. Retrieved November 1, 2020, from https://eabr.org/upload/iblock/551/EABR_Digital_Potential_06_2019.pdf

European Commission. (2017). *Collaborative economy*. Retrieved November 1, 2020, from https://ec.europa.eu/growth/single-market/services/collaborative-economy_en

Gates, B. (1999). *Business @ the Speed of Thought: Succeeding in the Digital Economy*. New York: Grand Central Publishing.

Government of the Republic of Tajikistan. (2016). *National Development Strategy of the Republic of Tajikistan for the period up to 2030 [in Russian]*. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from http://standard.tj/documents/files/file_118.pdf

Hayek, F. A. (1945). The Use of Knowledge in Society. *The American Economic Review*, *35*(4), 519-530.

Kovalchuk, M. V. (2011). Convergence of Sciences and Technologies—Breakthrough to the Future. *Nanotechnologies in Russia,* 6(1).

Minin, A. (2018). *Unit economics. Part 1: history of appearance*. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://marketing-course.ru/unit-esonomiss/

Ministry of Digital Development, Communications and Mass Media of the Russian Federation. (2017). *The "Digital Economy of the Russian Federation" program [in Russian]*. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://digital.gov.ru/uploaded/files/natsionalnaya-programma-tsifrovaya-ekonomika-rossijskoj-federatsii_NcN2nOO.pdf

Ministry of Economic Development and Trade of the Republic of Tajikistan. (2019). *Concept of the digital economy in the Republic of Tajikistan [in Russian]*. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://medt.tj/images/news/2019/KCERT.pdf

Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Tajikistan. (2012). *National Strategy of Education Development of the Republic of Tajikistan till 2020 [in Russian]*. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from http://www.adlia.tj/show_doc.fwx?rgn=117256

Nazarov, D. M., Fitina, E. K., & Juraeva, A. O. (2019). *Digital economy as a result of the genesis of the information revolution of society* (pp. 351-356). Proceedings of the 1st International Scientific Conference "Modern Management Trends and the Digital Economy: from Regional Development to Global Economic Growth." https://doi.org/10.2991/mtde-19.2019.67

Turdibekov, B. A. (2018). The current state of the formation of the digital economy in the Republic of Tajikistan. *The Eurasian Scientific Journal*, 1(10).

United Nations (2019). *Digital Economy Report 2019 - Value Creation and Capture: Implications for Developing Countries*. United Nations Publications. Retrieved November 1, 2020 from https://unctad.org/webflyer/digital-economy-report-2019

7 Contributor Biographies

Rustamjon Urinboyev is Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology of Law at Lund University. He is a principal investigator of the EU-funded project "Central Asian Law: Legal Cultures and Business Environments in Central Asia," which is coordinated by Lund University. Rustamjon works at the intersection of sociology of law and ethnography, studying migration, corruption, governance and penal institutions in the context of Russia and Central Asia. His current research focuses on (1) migration, shadow economy and informal legal orders in hybrid political regimes, (2) corruption, informality and legal pluralism in Uzbekistan, and (c) informal hierarchies, religious orders and ethnic identities in Russian penal institutions. He is the author of *Migration and Hybrid Political Regimes: Navigating the Legal Landscape in Russia* (2020), published by the University of California Press.

Ruziya Kamarova is Associate Professor in the Department of Philosophy at L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University and Head of the Department of Religious Studies at "JSC Nazarbayev Center of Interfaith and Intercivilization Dialogue." Ruziya' teaching and research interests have interdisciplinary scope between cultural and religious studies and mainly focuses on (1) civil society institutions, and (2) gender issues from sociological and anthropological perspectives. She participated in several research projects in Kazakhstan such as "Tolerance and In-tolerance in the post-Soviet area: application of new methods and techniques. A case of Kazakhstan,", "Anthropology of Morality," "The Ethnic Cultural Centers of the Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan: interaction of Ethnicity and Religion in a Secular Society."

Kuralay Yermagambetova is Associate Professor of the Department of Philosophy at L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University. Her research interests include modern cultural studies, cultural anthropology, cultural branding, sacred geography. She is a participant of several research projects such as "Moral Anthropology: Discourses and Everyday Practices in Modern Kazakhstan," "Actual Memory Practices: Conceptualizing the Past and Constructing Identity in Modern Culture of Kazakhstan," "Places of Memory in Modern Culture of Kazakhstan: Processes of Commemoration in Public Space," "Cultural Image of Kazakhstan: Mapping of Regional Cultural Brands." Yermagambetova teaches courses "Cultural Branding," "Sacred Geography," "Project Activity in the Field of Culture."

Yolbars Kepbanov, PhD in Law, is a Researcher in the Tebigy Kuwwat NGO (Turkmenistan). He is a Research Fellow of the EU-funded project "Central Asian Law: Legal Cultures and Business Environments in Central Asia" at Lund University. His area of expertise is legal issues of ecology and agriculture in Turkmenistan as well as education and migration in the countries of Central Asia. He is the author of over 50 scientific papers in this area. Recent publications by Yolbars include *The Organization of Environmental Activities in Turkmenistan* (2018) and *Return Migration in Central Asia* (2020), the book published by IOM in 2020 where Yolbars contributed as a co- author.

Berdymyrat Ovezmyradov is a Research Fellow of the EU-funded project "Central Asian Law: Legal Cultures and Business Environments in Central Asia" at Lund University. His interdisciplinary area of research includes management science and modelling value chains. Berdymyrat currently focuses on comparative studies of technological development in Central Asia. He previously published papers in the field of supply chain management and engineering education.

Tolibjon Mustafoev is a visiting research fellow at the Department of Sociology of Law, Lund University within the research project "Central Asian Law: Business Environment and Legal Cultures". Tolibjon is also affiliated with the "Anti-Corruption" research center at the Academy of the General Prosecutor's Office of the Republic of Uzbekistan. He conducts interdisciplinary research on law, corruption, business, society and international indices. Currently, he is developing a new research project, preliminarily titled "The impact of anti-corruption legal framework on business and investment climate in Uzbekistan: plural legalities and moralities", in collaboration with Rustamjon Urinboyev, Associate Professor of Sociology of Law Department in Lund University.

Shuhrat Maqsudov is co-founder of startup IT company UNIWORK UG in Bonn, Germany and Head of the International Relations and Project Management Office of Khujand Polytechnic Institute of Tajik Technical University. His education background is Information Systems in Economics and Master of Science in Computer Science from Université de Technologie de Belfort-Montbéliard, France. He has developed and successfully trialled an E-governance System of Higher Education Institution that helps prevent corruption in the education system, which received nomination for World Summit Award 2013 in Sri Lanka. He is currently working on how developing Tajikistan's digital economy reduces corruption, simplifies bureaucratic procedures and thereby contributes to the business environment and brings more foreign investment to Tajikistan.

Publikationer från Rättssociologiska institutionen Lunds universitet

Beställning och aktuella priser på: http://lupak.srv.lu.se/mediatryck/
Böckerna levereras mot faktura.

Lund Studies in Sociology of Law (ISSN 1403-7246)

1 Hydén, Håkan (red) *Rättssociologi – då och nu: En jubileumsskrift med anledning av rättssociologins 25 år som självständigt ämne i Sverige*
148 sidor ISBN 91-89078-23-3 (1997)

2 Hydén, Håkan & Alf Thoor (red) *Rätt i förändring: Om kristendenser i svensk rätt*
146 sidor ISBN 91-89078-24-1 (1997)

3 Hydén, Håkan *Rättssociologi som rättsvetenskap*
130 sidor ISBN 91-89078-47-0 (1998)

4 Carlsson, Bo *Social Steerage and Communicative Action: Essays in Sociology of Law*
326 sidor ISBN 91-89078-65-9 (1998)

5 Wickenberg, Per *Normstödjande strukturer: Miljötematiken börjar slå rot i skolan*
546 sidor ISBN 91-89078-78-0 (ak. avh. 1999)

6 Gillberg, Minna *From Green Image to Green Practice: Normative action and self–regulation* 218 sidor ISBN 91-89078-80-2 (ak. avh. 1999)

7 Carlsson, Bo *Social Norms & Moral Feelings: Essays in Sociology of Law*
86 sidor ISBN 91-89078-83-7 (1999)

8 Hydén, Håkan *Rättssociologi som emancipatorisk vetenskap*
221 sidor ISBN 91-89078-89-6 (1999)

9 Bartolomei, María Luisa & Håkan Hydén (eds.) *The Implementation of Human Rights in a Global World: Recreating a cross-cultural and interdisciplinary approach*
186 sidor ISBN 91-89078-92-6 (1999)

10 Carlsson, Bo *Excitement, Fair Play, and Instrumental Attitudes: Images of Legality in Football, Hockey, and PC Games* 89 sidor ISBN 91-7267-010-X (2000)

11 Ryberg-Welander, Lotti *Arbetstidsregleringens utveckling: En studie av arbetstidsreglering i fyra länder* 412 sidor ISBN 91-7267-011-8 (ak. avh. 2000)

12 Carlsson, Bo *Rättssociologi och populärkultur* 102 sidor ISBN 91-7267-118-1 (2001)

13 Pfannenstill, Annika *Rättssociologiska studier inom området autism: Rättsanvändning i en kunskapskonkurrerande miljö* 214 sidor ISBN 91-7267-120-3 (ak. avh. 2002)

14 Gustavsson, Håkan *Rättens polyvalens: En rättsvetenskaplig studie av sociala rättigheter och rättssäkerhet* 478 sidor ISBN 91-7267-135-1 (ak avh 2002)

15 Avellan, Heidi *Brännpunkter i nyhetsflödet: Rättssociologiska nedslag 2003* 60 sidor ISBN 91-7267-152-1 (2003)

16 Rejmer, Annika *Vårdnadstvister: En rättssociologisk studie av tingsrätts funktion vid handläggning av vårdnadskonflikter med utgångspunkt från barnets bästa* 248 sidor ISBN 91-7267-142-4 (ak. avh. 2003)

17 Baier, Matthias *Norm och rättsregel: En undersökning av tunnelbygget genom Hallandsåsen* 197 sidor ISBN 91-7267-144-0 (ak. avh. 2003)

18 Friis, Eva *Sociala utredningar om barn: En rättssociologisk studie av lagstiftningens krav, utredningarnas argumentationer och konsekvenser för den enskilde* 290 sidor ISBN 91-7267-150-5 (ak. avh. 2003)

19 Olsson, Patrik *Legal Ideals and Normative Realities: A Case Study of Children's Rights and Child Labor Activity in Paraguay* 178 sidor ISBN 91-7256-155-6 (ak. avh. 2003)

20 Hoff, David *Varför etiska kommittéer?* 306 sidor ISBN 91-7256-156-4 (ak. avh. 2004)

21 Zanderin, Lars *Internkontroll och systemtillsyn av arbetsmiljön i äldreomsorgen i fyra svenska kommuner: En rättssociologisk studie* 319 sidor ISBN 91-7267-177-7 22 (ak. avh. 2004)

22 Staaf, Annika *Rättssäkerhet och tvångsvård: En rättssociologisk studie* 356 sidor ISBN 91-7267-196-3 (ak. avh. 2005)

23 Hallerström, Helena *Rektorers normer i ledarskapet för skolutveckling* 183 sidor ISBN 91-7267-217-X (ak. avh. 2006)

24 Friberg, Staffan *Normbildningsprocess – genom brukarsamverkan* 235 sidor ISBN 91-7267-221-8 (ak. avh 2006)

25 Börrefors, Johanna *En essä om estetisk efterrättelse* 231 sidor ISBN 91-7267-235-8 (ak. avh 2007)

26 Appelstrand, Marie *Miljömålet i skogsindustrin – styrning och frivillighet* 323 sidor ISBN 91-7267-240-4 (ak. avh 2007)

27 Sonander, Anna *Att arbeta med barn som brottsoffer – En rättssociologisk studie* 233 sidor ISBN 91-7267-252-8 (ak. avh 2008)

28 Svensson, Måns *Sociala normer och regelefterlevnad – Trafiksäkerhetsfrågor ur ett rättssociologiskt perspektiv* 244 sidor ISBN 91-7267-271-4 (ak. avh 2008)

29 Hydén, Håkan & Wickenberg, Per (eds.) *Contributions in Sociology of Law – Remarks from a Swedish Horizonn* 245 sidor ISBN 91-7267-276-5

30 Bergman, Anna-Karin *Law in Progress? A Contextual Study of Norm-Generating Processes – The Example of GMES* (ak. anh 2009)

31 Baier, Matthias (ed.) *Participative aspects of law – a socio-legal perspective*.

32 Wedin, Lina *Going Green – A Study of Public Procurement Regulation* 193 sidor ISBN 91-7267-295-1 (ak. avh 2009)

33 Persson, Lars *Pedagogerna och demokratin – En rättssociologisk studie av pedagogers arbete med demokratiutveckling i förskola och skola* 188 sidor ISBN 91-7267-309-5 (ak. avh 2010)

34 Leo, Ulf *Rektorer bör och rektorer gör – En rättssociologisk studie om att identifiera, analysera och förstå professionella normer* 190 sidor ISBN 91-7267-314-1 (ak. avh. 2010)

35 Johansson, Susanna *Rätt, makt och institutionell förändring – En kritisk analys av myndigheters samverkan i barnahu*s 254 sidor ISBN 978-917473-101-9 (ak. avh. 2011)

36 Stefan Larsson *Metaphors and Norms – Understanding copywright law in a digital society* 167 sidor ISBN 91-7267-335-4 (ak. avh. 2011)

37 Håkan Hydén (ed.) Norms between law and society – *A collection of Essays from Doctorates from Different Academic Subjects and Different Parts of the World* 168 sidor ISBN 91-7267-330-3

38 Agevall, Charlotte *Våldet och kärleken – Våldsutsatta kvinnors begripliggörande av sina erfarenheter* 304 sidor ISBN 91-7267-341-9 (ak. avh. 2012)

39 Dahlstrand, Karl *Kränkning och upprättelse – En rättssociologisk studie av kränkningsersättning till brottsoffer* 344 sidor ISBN 91-7267-342-7 (ak. avh. 2012)

40 Urinboyev, Rustamjon *Living Law and Political Stability in Post-Soviet Central Asia – A Case Study of the Ferhana Valley* 220 sidor ISBN 91-7267-530-8 (ak. avh. 2013)

41 Pizzolatto Konzen, Lucas *Norms and Space – Understanding Public Space Regulation in Tourist City* 334 sidor ISBN 91-7267-351-6 (ak. avh. 2013)

42 Monciardini, David *Quello che conta – A Socio-Legal Analysis of Accounting for Sustainable Companies* 237 sidor ISBN 91-7267-358-3 (ak. avh. 2013)

43 Gustafsson, Håkan, Vinthagen, Stellan & Oskarsson, Patrik *Law, Resistance and Transforation – Social Movements and Legal Strategies in the Indian Narmada Struggle* 162 sidor ISBN 91-7267-352-4

44 Erlandsson, Lennart *Rätt, norm och tillämpning – En studie av normativa mönster vid beslut enligt LSS på tre arenor* 188 sidor ISBN 978-91-7473-931-2 (ak. avh. 2014)

45 Vargas, Ana Maria *Outside the Law. An Ethnographic Study of Street Vendors in* Bogotá 267 sidor ISBN 978-91-7623-804-2 (ak. avh. 2016)

46 Svenaeus, Lena *Konsten att upprätthålla löneskillnader mellan kvinnor och män. En rättssociologisk studie av regler i lag och avtal om lika lön* 392 sidor ISBN 978-91-7753-150-0 (ak. avh. 2017)

47 Hartzén, Ann-Christine *The European Social Dialogue in Perspective. Its future potential as an autopoietic system and lessons from the global maritime system of industrial relations* 388 sidor ISBN 978-91-7753-275-0 (ak. avh. 2017)

48 Michelson, Staffan *Empowerment and Private Law. Civil Impetus for Sustainable Development* 296 sidor ISBN 978-91-7223-748-3 (ak. avh. 2018)

49 Joormann, Martin *Legitimized Refugees - A Critical Investigation of Legitimacy Claims within the Precendents of Swedish Asylum Law* 267 sidor ISBN 978-91-7267-411-0 (ak. avh. 2019)

50 Antonsdóttir, Hildur Fjóla *Decentring Criminal Law: Understandings of Justice by Victim-Survivors of Sexual Violence and their Implications for Different Justice Strategies*, 196 sidor, ISBN 978-91-7895-434-6 (ak. avh. 2020)

Research Reports in Sociology of Law (ISSN 1404-1030)

1998:1 Hydén, Håkan (red) *Rättssociologiska perspektiv på hållbar utveckling* 218 sidor ISBN 91-89078-43-8

1999:1 Grip, Elsa *Kan kommunen kontrollera kretsloppen? En studie i styrmedel för den fysiska samhällsplaneringen i riktning mot kretsloppssamhället* 107 sidor ISBN 91-89078-70-5

1999:2 Grip et al, Elsa *"Den som tar ska ge igen": Balansering – ett rättvist system för miljöhänsyn i samhällsbyggandet?* 106 sidor ISBN 91-89078-79-9

1999:3 Hydén, Håkan (red) *Aspekter av och perspektiv på normer: Rättssociologer reflekterar kring normer* 177 sidor ISBN 91-7267-001-0

2000:1 Wickenberg, Per *Greening Education in Europe: Research Report on Environmental Education, Learning for Sustainable Development and local Agenda 21 in Europe* 112 sidor ISBN 91-7267-021-5

2000:2 Hydén, Håkan, Minna Gillberg & Per Wickenberg *Miljöledning i Citytunnelprojektet: MiC-projektet, delrapport 1: Bakgrund och samråd* 74 sidor ISBN 91-7267-025-8

2003:1 Wickenberg, Per *Brunnarna i Holma: Samrådens konkreta genomförande 2000-2002 för Citytunnelprojektet i Malmö* 274 sidor ISBN 91-7267-149-1

2004:1 Åström, Karsten *Prioriteringar i socialtjänsten: En analys av rättsliga förutsättningar* 46 sidor ISBN 91-7267-163-7

2004:2 Hydén, Håkan & Wickenberg, Per *Utvärderingsstudie av Venprojektet* 44 sidor ISBN 91-7267-180-7

2004:3 Hydén, Håkan (red) *Landskrona 1970–2010 i tid och rum* 111 sidor ISBN 91-7267-181-5

2004:4 Platzer, Ellinor *En icke-lag i sökljuset: Exemplet hushållstjänster i Sverige* 122 sidor ISBN 91-7267-184-X

2004:5 Rejmer, Annika (red) *Normvetenskapliga reflektioner* 178 sidor ISBN 91-7267-185-8

2005:1 Svensson, Måns *Strategier för ökad regelefterlevnad på trafikområdet* 45 sidor ISBN 91-7267-197-1

2005:2 Friis, Eva, Wickenberg, Per & Aurell, Justus *Projekt Nätverk Handel Malmös modell för kompetensutveckling av deltidsarbetslösa inom handeln* 105 sidor ISBN 91-7267-198-X

2005:3 Hallerström, Helena *Skolledarskap för förändring och utveckling* 182 sidor ISBN 91-7267-199-8

2005:4 Johansson, Susanna, Larsson, Stefan & Wickenberg, Per *Elevinflytande i Lomma kommuns skolor (skolår 7-9)* 105 sidor ISBN 91-7267-201-3

2006:1 Agevall, Chalotte *Att skapa goda arbetsmiljöer – med hjälp av design och jämställdhet: En utvärdering av projektet* Skåne i god form. *Ett samarbetsprojekt mellan LO-distriktet i Skåne ,SvenskIndustridesign och Svenska ESF-rådet* 70 sidor ISBN 91-7267-215-35

2006:2 Hansen, Helena *Slutrapport till Kronofogdemyndigheten – Otillåten påverkan inom Kronofogdemyndiheten i Malmö* 35 sidor ISBN 91-7267-222-6

2006:3 Carlsson, Lina & Waara, Fredrik *Offentlig upphandling ur upphandlarens perspektiv: Resultat från två studier med fokus på byggupphandling och ekologisk hållbarhet* 37 sidor ISBN 91-7267-226-9

2007:1 Dahlstrand, Karl *Den anomiska rätten – Om undantagskonstruktion av de rent ideella kräningsersättningarna* 130 sidor ISBN 91-7267-241-2

2007:2 Johansson, Susanna *”Man är kanske mer kapabel än vad man trodde…” – Utvärderingsrapport av projekt Mötesplats Social Ekonomi Malmö – arbetsträning för långtidsarbetslösa och långtidssjukskrivna* 103 sidor ISBN 91-7267-247-1

2007:3 Hallerström, Hellena *Invandrarkvinnor på väg mot arbete genom utbildning och kooperation – Extern utvärdering av projekt Trappan i stadsdelen Rosengård, Malmö* 55 sidor ISBN 91-7267-250-1

2008:1 Rejmer, Annika, Rasmusson, Bodil, Johansson, Susanna, Friis, Eva & Åström, Karsten *Barnahusens organisation, samverkan och verksamhet – Lägesrapport April 2006 – Delrapport 1 i utvärderingen av nationell försöksverksamhet med barnahus 2006-2007* ISBN 91-7267-261-7

2008:2 Pavlovskaia, Evgenia & Åström, Karsten *Rättsliga perspektiv på barnet som brottsoffer – Delrapport 2 i utvärderingen av nationell försöksverksamhet med barnahus 2006-2007* 56 sidor ISBN 91-7267-260-9

2008:3 Friis, Eva *Sociala utredningar om brottsutsatta barn – Målgrupp, handläggning och insatser – Delrapport 3 i utvärderingen av nationell försöksverksamhet med barnahus 2006-2007* 108 sidor ISBN 91-7267-259-5

2008:4 Johansson, Susanna *Myndighetssamverkan i barnahus – organisering, innehåll och process – Delrapport 4 i utvärderingen av nationell försöksverksamhet med barnahus 2006-2007* 98 sidor ISBN 91-7267-262-5

2008:5 Rejmer, Annika och Hansen, Helene *"... känner du till skillnaden mellan lögn och sanning" – En analys av förundersökningar – Delrapport 5 i utvärderingen av nationell försöksverksamhet med barnahus 2006-2007* 80 sidor ISBN 91-7267-263-3

2008:6 Rasmusson, Bodil *"Det är ju inget dagis precis…" Barns och föräldrars upplevelser av kontakter med barnahus – Delrapport 6 i utvärderingen av nationell försöksverksamhet med barnahus 2006-2007* 84 sidor ISBN 91-7267-255-2

2008:7 Åström, Karsten & Rejmer, Annika *"Det blir nog bättre för barnen" – Slutrapport i utvärderingen av nationell försöksverksamhet med barnahus 2006-2007* 142 sidor ISBN 91-7267-264-1

2008:8 Svensson, Måns & Persson, Lars *Socialtjänsten som kunskapskälla – En modell för psykosocial rapportering inför strategiska beslut på kommunal ledningsnivå avseende bland annat hållbar utveckling och folkhälsa* 88 sidor ISBN 91-7267-258-7

2008:9 Hallerström, Helena & Tallvid, Martin *Egen dator som redskap för lärande. Utvärdering av projektet "En-till-En" i två grundskolor i Falkenbergs kommun – Delrapport 1* 95 sidor ISBN 91-7267-274-9

2009:1 Svensson, Måns & Larsson, Stefan *Social Norms and Intellectual Property – Online norms and the European legal development* 66 sidor ISBN 91-7267-305-2

2010:1 Friis, Eva *Projekt Trapphuset Rosengård: Utbildningsverkstad och empowermentstation för invandrarkvinnor på väg mot arbete – En rättssociologisk undersökning av måluppfyllelse, genomförande och normstödjande arbete .Slutrapport från den externa utvärderingen* 82 sidor ISBN 91-7267-325-7

2012:1 Özascilar, Mine *Fear of Crime – Comparing the 'Shadowing Effect' of Fear of Sexual Assault on Turks and Sweds* 70 sidor ISBN 91-7267-345-1

2013:1 Wickenberg, Per & Leo, Ulf *Ett steg fram och ett tillbaka... – Statens styrning av miljö och hållbar utveckling genom skollag, läroplaner och kursplaner* 40 sidor ISBN 91-7267-534-0

2013:2 Sonander, Anna & Wickenberg Per *Folkhögskola 2.0 – ett kompetensutvecklingsprojekt* 66 sidor ISBN 91-7267-360-5

2015:1 Serrano Cardona, Nicolas & Baier, Matthias *Stockholm and Bogotá Citizenship Culture Surveys comparison* 58 sidor ISBN 978-91-7267-383-0

2016:1 Wedin Hansson, Lina & Johansson, Susanna *Hållbar samverkan? En fallstudie av samverkan i hållbar offentlig byggupphandling* 50 sidor ISBN 978-91-7267-388-5

2016:2 Wedin Hansson, Lina *Report on Best Practice Interviews on sustainable and innovative public procurement* 73 sidor ISBN 978-91-7267-390-8

2016:3 Wedin Hansson, Lina *Going Green in Construction A study of sustainability and innovation practices in public procurement of construction works.* 76 sidor ISBN 978-91-7267-391-5

2018:1 Vuleta, Davor *Ekonomisk otrygghet -en deskriptiv analys av migranters överskuldsättning.* 85 sidor ISBN 978-91-7753-587-4

2019:1 Wickenberg, Per *Norm formation from the Inside of a Swedish Court.* 33 sidor ISBN 978-91-7267-408-0

2019:2 Måns Svensson & Oscar Björkenfeldt *New Enviromental Zones for Passenger Cars Attitudes, norms and legal compliance.* 70 sidor ISBN 978-91-7267-408-0

2019:3 Wickenberg, Per, Rasmusson, Bodil & Leo, Ulf (eds.) *International Studies on Enactment of Children´s Rights in Education. 30 researchers from non-western countries.* 301 sidor. ISBN Tryck 978-91-7267-419-6 ISBN PDF: 978-91-7267-420-2

2020:1 Baier, Matthias & Wickenberg, Per *RQ2020. Report on Research Quality Process, RQ20.* 100 sidor ISBN Tryck 978-91-7267-421-9 ISBN PDF: 978-91-7267-422-6

2020:2 Urinboyev, Rustamjon (ed) Central Asian Law: Legal Cultures, Governance and Business Environment in Central Asia. A Collection of Papers from Central Asian Guest Researchers Seconded to Lund University. 151 sidor. ISBN 978-91-7267-429-5

Sociology of Law Dissertations 1978–

1. Widerberg, Karin: Kvinnans rättsliga och sociala ställning i Sverige 1750-1976 (1978)
2. Hydén, Håkan: Rättens samhälleliga funktioner (1978)
3. Magnusson, Dan: Konkurser och ekonomisk brottslighet (1979)
4. Kalderstam, Johnny: De laglösa. Om rättens betydelse för levnadsförhållandena i en kriminell subkultur (1979)
5. Akalu, Aster: The Process of Land Nationalization in Ethiopia. Land Nationalization and the Peasants (1982)
6. Esping, Hans: Förvaltningsrätt och reformpolitik (1983)
7. Ericsson, Lars: Ett surt regn kommer att falla. Naturen, myndigheterna och allmänheten (1985)
8. Carlsson, Bo & Isacsson, Åke: Hälsa, kommunikativt handlande och konfliktlösning. En studie av patientens ställning och av Hälso- och sjukvårdslagens ansvarsnämnd (1989)
9. Eriksson, Kjell E.: Jag slutar! Individuell konfliktlösning i arbetslivet (1991)
10. Ödman, Ella: Planlagstiftningen och välfärden: tendenser i utvecklingen av svensk planlagstiftning (1992)
11. Olsson, Sven-Erik: Kvinnor i arbete och reproduktion. Havandeskaps-penningens tillämpning (1993)
12. Gutto, Shadrack: Human and Peoples Rights for the Oppressed. Critical Essays on Theory and Practice from Sociology of Law Perspective (1993)
13. Schlytter, Astrid: Om rättvisa I barnomsorgen. Den kommunala barnomsorgens fördelningsregler ur ett vardagsperspektiv (1993)
14. Rolfsson, Margaretha: Unga på drift. Om sociala normer och social kontroll i Rosengård (1994)
15. Banakar, Reza: Rättens dilemma. Om konflikthantering i ett mångkulturellt samhälle (1994)
16. Kåhl, Ingela: Socialarbetarkåren – den lindansande professionen (1995)
17. Svenning, Margaretha: Miljökriget. Miljöarenan och politikens möjligheter att styra vår miljö (1996)
18. Hammarsköld, Claes-Göran: FINSAM: Förändring av en välfärdsorganisation genom försöksverksamhet (1997)
19. Mascaro, Joakim: Aurea Norma (1998)

20. Gillberg, Minna: From Green Image to Green Practice. Normative action and self-regulation (1999)
21. Wickenberg, Per: Normstödjande strukturer. Miljötematiken börjar slå rot i skolan (1999)
22. Ryberg, Lottie: Arbetstidsregleringens utveckling (2000)
23. Pfannenstill, Annika: Rättssociologiska studier inom området autism. Rättsanvändning i en kunskapskonkurrerande miljö (2002)
24. Rejmer, Annika: Vårdnadstvister. En rättssociologisk studie av tingsrätts funktion vid handläggning av vårdnadskonflikter med utgångspunkt från barnets bästa (2003)
25. Baier, Matthis: Norm och rättsregel. En undersökning av tunnelbygget genom Hallandsåsen (2003)
26. Friis, Eva: Sociala utredningar om barn. En rättssociologisk studie av lag-stiftningens krav, utredningarnas argumentationer och konsekvenser för den enskilde (2003)
27. Olsson, Patrik: Legal Ideas and Normative Realities. A case study of children´s rights and child labor activity in Paraguay (2003)
28. Hoff, David: Varför etiska kommittéer? (2004)
29. Zanderin, Lars: Internkontroll och systemtillsyn av arbetsmiljön i äldreom-sorgen i fyra svenska kommuner. En rättssociologisk studie (2004)
30. Staaf, Annika: Rättssäkerhet och tvångsvård. En rättssociologisk studie (2005)
31. Hallerström, Helena: Rektorers normer i ledarskapet för skolutveckling (2006)
32. Friberg, Staffan: Normbildningsprocess genom brukarsamverkan (2006)
33. Börrefors, Johanna: En essä om estetisk efterrättelse (2007)
34. Appelstrand, Marie: Miljömålet i skogsbruket – styrning och frivillighet (2007)
35. Sonander, Anna: Att arbeta med barn som brottsoffer. En rättssociologisk studie (2008)
36. Svensson, Måns: Sociala normer och regelefterlevnad. Trafiksäkerhetsfrågor ur ett rättssociologiskt perspektiv (2008)
37. Anna Piasecka: European Integration vs. European Legal Cultures. A Comparative Case Study concerning Harmonization and Implementation of EU Migration Law (PhD, within the Renato Treves International Doctorate in "Law and Society", Milan)(2008)
38. Bergman, Anna-Karin: Law in Progress? A Contextual Study of Norm-Generating Processes – The Example of GMES (2009)
39. Wedin, Lina: Going Green – A Study of Public Procurement Regulation (2009)

40. Persson, Lars: Pedagogerna och demokratin – En rättssociologisk studie av pedagogers arbete med demokratiutveckling i förskola och skola (2010)

41. Leo, Ulf: Rektorer bör och rektorer gör – En rättssociologisk studie om att identifiera, analysera och förstå professionella normer (2010)

42. Johansson, Susanna: Rätt, makt och institutionell förändring – En kritisk analys av myndigheters samverkan i barnahus (2011)

43. Larsson, Stefan: Metaphors and Norms – Understanding Copyright Law in a Digital Society (2011)

44. Agevall, Charlotte: Våldet och kärleken – Våldsutsatta kvinnors begripliggörande av sina erfarenheter (2012)

45. Dahlstrand, Karl: Kränkning och upprättelse – En rättssociologisk studie av kränkningsersättning till brottsoffer (2012)

46. Urinboyev, Rustamjon: Living Law and Political Stability in Post-Soviet Central Asia – A Case Study of the Ferhana Valley (2013)

47. Pizzolatto Konzen, Lucas: Norms and Space – Understanding Public Space Regulation in Tourist City (2013)

48. Monciardini, David: Quello che conta – A Socio-Legal Analysis of Accounting for Sustainable Companies (2013)

49. Erlandsson, Lennart: Rätt, norm och tillämpning. En studie av normativa mönster vid beslut enligt LSS på tre arenor (2014)

50. Vargas, Ana Maria: Outside the Law. An Ethnographic Study of Street Vendors in Bogotá (2016)

51. Lena Svenaeus: Konsten att upprätthålla löneskillnader mellan kvinnor och män. En rättssociologisk studie av regler i lag och avtal om lika lön (2017)

52. Ann-Christine Hartzén: The European Social Dialogue in Perspective. Its future potential as an autopoietic system and lessons from the global maritime system of industrial relations (2017)

53. Staffan Michelson: Empowerment and Private Law. Civil Impetus for Sustainable Development (2018)

54. Martin Joormann: Legitimized Refugees - A Critical Investigation of Legitimacy Claims within the Precedents of Swedish Asylum Law (2019)

55. Hildur Fjóla Antonsdóttir: Decentring Criminal Law: Understandings of Justice by Victim-Survivors of Sexual Violence and its Implications for Different Justice Strategies (2020)

Sociology of Law Licentiate Dissertations

Platzer, Ellinor: En icke-lag i sökljuset. Exemplet hushållstjänster i Sverige. Licentiatavhandling (2004).

Larsson, Stefan: Between daring and deliberating – 3g as a sustainability issue in Swedish spatial planning. Licentiatavhandling (2008).

Central Asian Law

This research report is a compilation of essays written by guest researchers from Central Asia who spent four to twelve months at the Department of Sociology of Law, Lund University, and conducted research on various topics pertaining to legal cultures, governance and business environments in Central Asia. These guest research stays (secondments) took place in the framework of the EU-funded project "Central Asian Law: Legal Cultures and Business Environments in Central Asia" (project number 870647 H2020 MSCA-RISE 2019-2023), which runs from 01/03/2020 through 28/02/2024. The project is coordinated by Lund University and the project consortium includes European universities (University of Zurich, Charles University Prague, Riga Graduate School of Law, Marmara University, University of Latvia) as well as Central Asian partner institutions (L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University, Khujand Polytechnic Institute of the Tajik Technical University, SIAR Research and Consulting, Tebigy Kuwwat Public Association, Academy of the General Prosecutor's Office of Uzbekistan, Westminster International University in Tashkent).

This research report consists of introduction and five papers that explore contemporary issues and challenges in Central Asia, such as the problems accompanying the internationalization of higher education and research, anti-corruption legal frameworks and the business climate, cultural branding, legal culture education, and the digital economy. The main idea behind publishing this preliminary research report is to provide a platform for Central Asian guest researchers to present the research projects they developed during their research stay in Lund and share their initial research findings with the Central Asian Law project team and the wider academic and policy audiences. Another equally important aim was to empower our guest researchers, given the fact that many Central Asia-based researchers find it difficult to publish their academic work in Western academic venues due to different academic, economic, and ideological factors.

LUND UNIVERSITY

Research Report in Sociology of Law 2020:2
SOCIOLOGY OF LAW • LUND UNIVERSITY
P.O. BOX 42 • SE-221 00 LUND • SWEDEN
ISSN 1404-1030
ISBN 978-91-7267-429-5