



Marie-Sophie Borchelt Camêlo | Aziz Elmuradov (eds.)

# Shifting Security and Power Constellations in Central Asia and the Caucasus



Nomos

The Series

Transformation, Development, and  
Regionalization in Greater Asia

is edited by

Prof. Dr. Christoph Schuck  
Department of Philosophy and Political Science  
TU Dortmund University, Germany

Matthias Heise, M.A.  
Department of Philosophy and Political Science  
TU Dortmund University, Germany

Marie-Sophie Borchelt Camêlo | Aziz Elmuradov (eds.)

# **Shifting Security and Power Constellations in Central Asia and the Caucasus**



**Nomos**

Open access of this publication was supported by the Centre of German and European Studies (CGES/ZDES) at Bielefeld University with funds from the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD).

**The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek** lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>

ISBN     978-3-7560-0733-2 (Print)  
          978-3-7489-1827-1 (ePDF)

**British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data**

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN     978-3-7560-0733-2 (Print)  
          978-3-7489-1827-1 (ePDF)

**Library of Congress Cataloguing-in-Publication Data**

Borchelt Camêlo, Marie-Sophie | Elmuradov, Aziz

Shifting Security and Power Constellations in Central Asia and the Caucasus

Marie-Sophie Borchelt Camêlo | Aziz Elmuradov (eds.)

210 pp.

Includes bibliographic references.

ISBN     978-3-7560-0733-2 (Print)  
          978-3-7489-1827-1 (ePDF)

1st Edition 2024

© The Authors

Published by

Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft mbH & Co. KG

Waldestraße 3–5 | 76530 Baden-Baden

[www.nomos.de](http://www.nomos.de)

Production of the printed version:

Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft mbH & Co. KG

Waldestraße 3–5 | 76530 Baden-Baden

ISBN     978-3-7560-0733-2 (Print)

ISBN     978-3-7489-1827-1 (ePDF)

DOI       <https://doi.org/10.5771/9783748918271>



Onlineversion  
Nomos eLibrary



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution  
4.0 International License.

## Acknowledgments

This book is the outcome of collaborative work within the framework of the postdoctoral fellowship program “Institutional Change and Social Practice. Research on the Political System, the Economy, and Society in Central Asia and the Caucasus” (2019–2024). Supported by the Volkswagen Foundation and directed jointly by Prof. Dr. Christoph Schuck together with Nora Becker, M.A. of TU Dortmund University and Prof. Dr. Andreas Vasilache together with Marie-Sophie Borchelt Camêlo, M.A. and Dr. Aziz Elmuradov of Bielefeld University, the postdoctoral fellowship program aimed to support academic cooperation between the next generation of scholars from Central Asia and the Caucasus.

We thank all project partners and colleagues who provided a contribution to this volume. In addition, we are indebted to Stephen Curtis for his excellent language editing services. Our sincere thanks go to the Volkswagen Foundation for its continuous and generous support without which neither the project nor this publication would have been possible. Thanks to the support of the Foundation over the years, we hope to have been able to accomplish the task of laying the groundwork for sustainable international academic cooperation between the project partners. We are grateful for the support of open access publication by the Centre of German and European Studies (CGES/ZDES) at Bielefeld University.

The whole project would have not been possible without the great commitment of the postdoctoral research fellows and multiple cooperation partners. We are very grateful to our fellows, their hosts, and tandem partners in Germany as well as to our external researchers and speakers for their insightful presentations and lively discussions. Last but not least, we would like to offer our sincere thanks to all of our colleagues at TU Dortmund University and Bielefeld University for their very helpful feedback.

Bielefeld, January 2024  
Marie-Sophie Borchelt Camêlo, Aziz Elmuradov



## Table of Contents

<i>Marie-Sophie Borchelt Camôlo and Aziz Elmuradov</i>	
Introduction: Shifting Security and Power Constellations in Central Asia and the Caucasus	9
<i>Aijan Sharshenova</i>	
Polity Diffusion and Regime Security in Central Asia	17
<i>Edward Lemon and Bradley Jardine</i>	
Parallel Order Building: China's Changing Role in Central Asia's Security	41
<i>Farkhad Tolipov</i>	
The Strategic Stalemate in War Waging and the Conceptual Conundrum of Peacemaking in Afghanistan	67
<i>Akram Umarov</i>	
Governance problems in Kyrgyzstan: rentier state and building resilience (1991-2018)	91
<i>Aliia Maralbaeva</i>	
E-justice and Cyber Security: Balancing between Openness of the Courts and Data Protection in Kyrgyzstan	123
<i>Shalva Dzebisashvili and Lia Evoyan</i>	
Why New Democrats Fail: Preserving the Old Role of <i>Siloviki</i> in Armenia	151
<i>Serik Beimenbetov, Zumrat Sanakulova and Zhansaya Aitbay</i>	
Governing the Extractive Sector: The Politics of Authoritarian Neoliberalism and Labor Resistance in Kazakhstan	189

