

**Rediscovering National Identity through the Soft Power of Latinization:
Comparative analysis of contemporary Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan**

By

Jemile Bashimova

Submitted to:

Central European University

Nationalism Studies Program

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Supervisor: András Kovács

Budapest, Hungary

2021

Abstract

The thesis analyzes the contemporary political discourse of linguistic transition and its social impact on Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan's young generation. Both Central Asian countries share similarities in moving the state languages' (titular languages) alphabets, Kazakh and Uzbek, from Cyrillic to Latin scripts. Although language reforms have taken place several times since independence, the current presidents emphasize the need for language changes and the transition to a Latin alphabet. The thesis has primarily focused on the countries' current presidents, Kasym-Jomart Tokayev and Shavkat Mirziyoyev, who intensify the transition process and fulfilment of the decrees on Latinization. I explore how switching from the Cyrillic script (seen as Soviet legacy) to the Latin script serves as countries' power for creating powerful titular languages as the significance of Kazakh and Uzbek national identity homogenization, depriving from Soviet legacy and maintaining political motives. Moreover, it analyzes how Latinization as a soft power impacts young peoples' identity and language preferences. The study's methodology includes a discourse analysis of those recent decrees on switching to the Latin alphabet and introducing new alphabets to titular languages. Semi-structured in-depth interviews help discover the opinions of young people in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan on the language changes, their attitude toward the Russian, and their opinion on language changes from the political perspective. The research considers the historical narrative of language development and national identity construction throughout the different periods. There is an assumption of generalization in the literature of language politics of Central Asia countries; this comparative study of Kazakh's and Uzbek's linguistic nationalism transforming the national identity among young people emphasize the countries' particularities and similarities. Thus, this thesis will contribute to the contemporary discussion on language politics in the region.

Keywords: Latin scripts, a new alphabet, identity among young people, Russian language

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude and appreciation to András Kovács for his guidance, assistance and patience throughout the process of thesis writing. Without his valuable suggestions, help, and intelligence, this research would not have been realized. I wish to express my sincere appreciation to the professors of the Nationalism Department for their extensive experience and knowledge in the field. I also would like to thank my academic advisor, Sanjay Kumar, for his assistance and support throughout the thesis writing. I would like to express my appreciation to Mariam Mosiashvili for supporting and encouraging throughout CEU life.

Words cannot express how grateful I am to my mother, Gulnar Bashimova and my fiancé, Patrik Szeleczekei, for their continuous support and encouragement. I am thankful to Éva Nagy and Zoltán Szeleczekei for their constant emotional support and positivity.

I am indebted to my friends Zhaniya, Lunara, and Clara for their feedbacks and faith in me and my project. Special gratitude goes to the participants of interviews, who dedicated time, opinions and details of their personal life for contributing to the thesis.

Table of Contents

Introduction	1
Literature Review.....	9
Chapter I: Historical Background of Identity Formation and Language Policies in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.....	15
1.1 The 1926- Census: The Process and <i>korenizatsiia</i>	15
1.2 Soviet identity and legacy of the Central Asians.....	18
1.3 Language development in post-Soviet Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.....	20
Chapter II: Theoretical Framework and Methodology.....	25
2.1 Theory of Soft Power	26
2.2 External ‘soft power’ in Kazakh and Uzbek Latinization.....	31
2.3 Research Process.....	34
Chapter III: Research Findings and Analysis.....	38
3.1 Language preferences and its usage.....	38
3.2 The role of the Russian language for the young generation	40
3.3 Attitude on Language Policy "Latinization".....	44
3.4 Politics behind the process of Latinization.....	47
Conclusion.....	53
Appendix.....	56
Bibliography.....	57

List of Tables

Table 1. Three Types of Power.....	33
Table 2: Respondents from Kazakhstan.....	37
Table 3: Respondents from Uzbekistan.....	37
Figure 1:Percentage of language preferences among young people of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.....	40
Table 5: Last version of the Kazakh Latin alphabet in 2021	56
Table 6: Last version of the Uzbek Latin alphabet in 2021.....	56

Introduction

This year will be the 30th Anniversary of Independence in post-Soviet Central Asia; throughout those years of independence, each Central Asian country has faced various transformations and reforms. Each country of the region has the ultimate desire to establish a sovereign and legitimate nation with its own vital national identity, culture, and language. After the Soviet Union's dissolution, Central Asian countries took different approaches to develop and strengthen state languages (titular languages). Nevertheless, with its Soviet historical background, the Russian language has played a crucial role in the everyday life of Central Asians.¹ During the Soviet Union, the Russian language was a representation of Soviet identity.² Thus, the independence of each Soviet Central Asian country was a chance to eliminate the Russification of their societies by introducing new language policies and reforms.³ The Latinization of the scripts of Central Asian languages has attempted to strengthen titular languages at an early stage.

One of the Central Asian countries, Turkmenistan, got rid of the Russian language from the first days of independence by nationalizing the Turkmen as a state language and moving from the Cyrillic alphabet to the Latin one.⁴ Similar practices were seen in other post-Soviet

¹ Fierman William "Identity, Symbolism, and the Politics of Language in Central Asia" *Europe-Asia Studies* University of Glasgow Vol. 61, No. 7 (September 2009), 1210. Accessed from: DOI: 10.1080/09668130903068731

² Pavlenko Aneta "Multilingualism in Post-Soviet Countries: Language Revival, Language Removal, and Sociolinguistic Theory", *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 11:3-4 (2008), 281, DOI:10.1080/13670050802271517

³ Evdokimov Alexander N. , Tatyana A. Davydova, Dmitry A. Savkin "Russian language in Central Asia: current status and prospects" *Post-Soviet Issues*/[Проблемы постсоветского пространства] (2020;7(3)), 377. Accessed from: <https://doi.org/10.24975/2313-8920-2020-7-3-373-388>

⁴ "Turkmen Paradox: De Jure – There Is No Russian Language, De Facto – It Is Necessary" *Central Asian Bureau for Analytical Reporting* (CABAR Asia), (25 February 2019) <https://cabar.asia/en/turkmen-paradox-de-jure-there-is-no-russian-language-de-facto-it-is-necessary>

countries outside of Central Asia. However, other countries of the region could not afford to do it the same way as the Turkmen authorities due to the geographical location, geopolitics, and demographic dimension. This has led to ongoing linguistic transformations.⁵ In the region's contemporary literature, Kazakhstan's and Uzbekistan's linguistic reforms take a big part of the discussion because of its diverse societies, political changes and economic developments.

The Russian language has long retained a special place in the lives of the post-Soviet Central Asian countries. For instance, in Kazakhstan - the Russian language has the position of an official language, whereas Russian is considered to be the language of communication in multiethnic Uzbekistan.⁶ This gives a strong foundation for the justification of the Russian language and its presence in the daily life of every citizen of their countries. It is worth noting that the Russian language can be important to people born or who lived during the Soviet Union, but the Russian language has a special meaning for young people.

This research aims to analyze the alphabets' Latinization to transform national identity by the current presidents of the states, Kassym-Jomart Tokayev in Kazakhstan and Shavkat Mirziyoyev in Uzbekistan. I believe that these presidents have tried to stress the development of the state languages (to Latinize the scripts), demonstrating the soft power they are capable of compared to the former presidents of those countries. From the political view, Alan Patten's doctrine of linguistic nationalism, which promotes the national languages as an urgent political

⁵ Evdokimov Alexander N. , Tatyana A. Davydova, Dmitry A. Savkin "Russian language in Central Asia: current status and prospects" *Проблемы постсоветского пространства / Post-Soviet Issues* (2020;7(3)), 374. Accessed from: <https://doi.org/10.24975/2313-8920-2020-7-3-373-388>

⁶ "Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan on the State Language," (October 1989). Accessed from: http://base.spininform.ru/show_doc.fwx?rgn=770 and "Law of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic on Languages in Kazakh Socialist Republic" (22 September 1989). Accessed from: https://online.zakon.kz/Document/?doc_id=1005765#pos=3;-104

matter,⁷ demonstrates the language as a tool in internal political affairs. Both countries have experienced waves of innovations in state language policies to integrate citizens linguistically. The comparative analysis of the case studies is driven by the fact that both Kazakh and Uzbek languages are Turkic languages.⁸ It is one of the main factors of both countries' commonality.

Political elites try to reconstruct national belonging through state language with a concept of linguistic homogenization. According to William Kymlicka and Allan Patten, "Linguistic homogenization has been one of the central mechanisms that states have used to inculcate a common civic identity within diverse societies."⁹ I believe that both countries of the region, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, share a similar approach in the contemporary time with current presidents. There are similarities in the political discourse on the recent decrees of Latinization. The Latinization of the scripts tends to be appropriate to build a shared national identity with a strong sense of state belonging among young people in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.

Similarly, another Central Asian country- Turkmenistan, with the project 'Turkmenization', had a similar approach of Latinization of the script as a significant transition to the establishment of strong state belonging among young people.¹⁰ It is significant to analyze

⁷ Alan Patten "The Humanist Roots of Linguistic Nationalism" *History of Political Thought*, Imprint Academic Ltd. Vol. 27, No. 2 (Summer 2006), 223. Accessed from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26222195>

⁸ Yunusbayev B, Metspalu M, Metspalu E, Valeev A, Litvinov S, Valiev R, et al. "The Genetic Legacy of the Expansion of Turkic-Speaking Nomads across Eurasia" *PLoS Genet* 11(4) (2015), 3. Accessed from: doi:10.1371/journal.pgen.1005068

⁹ Allan Patten and Will Kymlicka "Introduction: Language Rights and Political Theory: Context, Issues and Approaches" in the book *Language Rights and Political Theory*, Oxford University Press (2003), 13. Accessed from: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/288898738_Introduction_Language_rights_and_political_theory_Context_issues_and_approaches

¹⁰ "Turkmen Paradox: De Jure – There Is No Russian Language, De Facto – It Is Necessary" *Central Asian Bureau for Analytical Reporting* (CABAR Asia) (25 February 2019)

the linguistic nationalism of Kazakh and Uzbek authorities because of the Turkic origins and the reflection of other's Turkic countries' successful implementation of Latin alphabets. It seems that those countries have a tendency to duplicate linguistic reforms from each other.

Language shift is still taking an important place in the politics of countries. It is still an ongoing process.¹¹ In Kazakhstan, the most recent decree on Latinization was signed in 2019; it was an action plan with several phases of implementing the Latin script by 2025.¹² Although the former President of Kazakhstan introduced it, Nursultan Nazarbaev, current President Tokayev, expressed his interest in the process and recently ordered the ratifications of the decree. In 2019, the current President created a working group of scientists who intensively worked on the language practices and its alphabet.¹³ Moreover, in March 2020, the Administration of the Kazakh President created another working group to improve the orthography of the newly created alphabet.¹⁴ This was initiated after public discontent regarding the Latin script of the Kazakh language and brings various societal discussions on Latinization.

Similar to Kazakhstan, in Uzbekistan, there were several attempts at Latinization throughout the years of independence which kept being postponed. However, the current President has always had motives to move the Uzbek language fully to the Latin script. Recently, in 2020 Mirziyoyev signed a decree, "Concept for the development of the Uzbek

<https://cabar.asia/en/turkmen-paradox-de-jure-there-is-no-russian-language-de-facto-it-is-necessary>

¹¹ Pavlenko Aneta "Multilingualism in Post-Soviet Countries: Language Revival, Language Removal, and Sociolinguistic Theory", *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 11:3-4, (2008), 296, DOI:10.1080/13670050802271517

¹² Kazakh official website of Laws "Programma po realizatsii yazykovoi politiki na 2020-2015 gody utverjdена v RK (The implementation programme for language policy for 2020-2025 is approved in Kazakhstan)," *Zakon.kz* (14 January 2020). Accessed from: <https://www.zakon.kz/5002543-programma-po-realizatsii-yazykovoy.html>

¹³ *Ibid*

¹⁴ *Ibid*

language and improvement of language policy in 2020-2030," which will foster the process and promises to have fully moved to the Latin script by 2025.¹⁵ I believe that both countries share similar practices of language politics to improve the position of the state languages, which consequently contribute to the societies' national identities. Moreover, it would be interesting to see the way the authorities try to constitute titular languages as majoritarian languages in ethnically diverse communities, where the Russian language has its unique place and harmoniously coexists with the titular languages. Additionally, this research demonstrates the political motives behind the efforts of Latinization in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.

Research Question

Primary Question:

Why do Kazakh and Uzbek leaders, Tokayev and Mirziyoyev, still try to Latinize alphabets after 30 years of independence from the Soviet Union?

Secondary Questions:

How do the language policies of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan impact the formation of national identity among young people?

What is the significance of language for the young generation of both countries?

Hypotheses

The hypotheses aim to analyze Latinization as an effort to rediscover the national identities of Kazakh and Uzbek societies, to change the role of the Russian language in those communities and maintain political leaders' political and economic intentions behind the Latinization efforts.

¹⁵ Decree of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan "On measures for the further development of the Uzbek language and improvement of the language policy in the country" *National News Agency of Uzbekistan*, October 2020. Accessed from: <http://uza.uz/posts/182650>

Therefore, I argue that Latinization efforts demonstrate states' motivation for creating powerful titular languages as a consequence- homogenized Kazakh and Uzbek national identities that do not reveal any Soviet legacy (Cyrillic script). Simultaneously, Latinization processes point out political motives to benefit not only Latinization leading toward homogenization of state languages and national identities but also economic and other advantages gained from the Western world that uses Latin script.

Methodology

For the research, I apply the qualitative approach of a discourse analysis of the presidential decrees on Latinization of titular languages and online semi-structured in-depth interviews with young people from Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. This method helps me explore the effects and impacts of Latinization and discover if those decrees by the current presidents on language reforms serve as a soft power of political goals to transform national identity, strengthen titular languages and maintain advantages. I rely on snowball sampling to find respondents for my future interviews. I target young people aged from 18 to 30 years old residing in urban cities in the countries. I chose this age category because of the post-Soviet Union generation who have not experienced Soviet ideologies and for which the Russian language is not tied to the Soviet experience. Astana (Nursultan), Almaty, Tashkent, and Bukhara are my primary city targets. These cities are the biggest and the most ethnically diverse in these states. I contacted experts in the field to get to know the particularities of the research topic. I believe that Latinization has different and particular processes yet share similarities in these countries. It is notable to mention that I tend to target individuals who have bilingual communication in everyday life because it is interesting to analyze the impact of the language policy whether it pushes the use of the primary titular language for daily practices at the expense of the usage of Russian. For the study, 16 in-depth interviews conducted. A form of consent

provided for interviewees at the beginning of each interview. The language of the interviews was Russian because the English language may lead to a particular category of individuals—collected information transcribed and translated into English.

Theoretical Framework

In this research, I apply a soft power theory to demonstrate the process of Latinization, which intends to be a soft power to transform national identity among young people in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. I apply the theory of 'soft power' developed by Joseph Nye, who claims "soft power is the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments. It arises from the attractiveness of a country's culture, political ideals, and policies."¹⁶ This theory helps to analyze the complexity of the efforts and politics of Latinization in the case studies. This theory analyzes the current presidents of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan and their desire to Latinize the scripts. Although Joseph Nye focuses more on soft power analysis of states foreign policies, I believe it is interesting to apply the theory to internal policy in these cases.

Structure of Thesis

This thesis has three chapters. The first chapter focuses on the literature review to justify the significance and contribution of the research and the historical background of the language politics and identity construction prior to, during, and after the Soviet period of contemporary Kazakh and Uzbek societies. It is essential to expose the historical development of the languages regarding national identity in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. Chapter Two is concentrated on the analytical and theoretical frameworks of the research. Primarily, the focus of the second chapter is on the theory and the methodology process of the study. The last

¹⁶ Joseph S. Nye "Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics" Public Affairs Publications 2004, p.1

chapter, Chapter Three, is dedicated to the analysis of collected data. Data collected with the help of interviews stimulates the evaluation of the significance of this research and help test the hypothesis. A conclusion follows the last chapter.

Literature Review

All existing and collected data were applied to analyze language development and language politics in the Central Asian countries, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. Literature grants an opportunity to study the Kazakh and Uzbek languages' historical background throughout different periods. Currently, available scholarship on Central Asian Studies offers literature on national identity and its building processes, the power of politics in these processes and the general impact. However, there is a gap in the literature which this thesis aims to fulfil. The study offers the comparative analysis of two countries of the region with linguistic nationalism transforming the state identity and belonging among the people as vital political rationale from the political view. The theoretical concepts of the case demonstrate the degrees of soft power used by the current presidents. The chosen methodology helps identify its impact on young peoples' national identity and sense of state belonging.

Connect it to the purposes of the literature review, Heller Monica, in her chapter "Bilingualism, Education and the Regulation of Access to Language Resources," in the book *Bilingualism: A Social Approach*, discusses education in bilingual and multilingual settings with a stress on the language component. The author provides insights, critiques, and various interpretations of the sociolinguistic impacts on bilingual and multilingual education of individuals. This chapter contains a rich analysis of the discourse of language policies. The author, Heller Monica, gives the historical background of bilingual education and contributes to arguments on the social inequality created between dominant and minority language groups in general terms.¹⁷ Heller offers terms like 'language separation,' which might become a

¹⁷ Heller Monica "Bilingualism, Education and the Regulation of Access to Language Resources" in the book *Bilingualism: A Social Approach*, Palgrave Macmillan: University of Toronto (2007), 163

problematic social phenomenon in some linguistic contexts.¹⁸ Moreover, the book *Bilingualism: A Social Approach* illustrates social constructivism, which can be created through language policies in education. The author discusses studies that are taken through Bourdieu's theory of symbolic power.¹⁹ Heller Monica's argument on language separation illustrates the possibility that sociolinguistic inequality might be observed in bilingual societies.²⁰ She also leads it towards the argument that language as a symbol can be used as part of political and ideological processes. It underlines the crucial role of the bilingual environment and the political intention of strengthening state languages.

The author, Vladimir Alpanov, in his research *Scripts and Politics in the USSR*, discusses how frequently language policies had changed in the USSR, unlike any other countries in the world.²¹ He analyzes three periods: the 1920s, immediately following the Revolution, the 1930s, and the last years of the USSR's existence. He argues that revolutionary goals expressed the necessity- of switching from the Russian language to the national language in the secondary and higher education of the members of the Soviet Union.²² However, there were issues with the languages' scripts: the Central Asian members mainly used the Arabic and Mongolian scripts; therefore, creating the new alphabet took place.²³ The author talks about the process of Cyrillization, which took place during the 1930s and left its legacy to the post-Soviet states.²⁴ Moreover, Alpanov brings a comprehensive but essential analysis of the formation of

¹⁸ *Ibid*

¹⁹ Heller Monica "Bilingualism, Education and the Regulation of Access to Language Resources" in the book *Bilingualism: A Social Approach*, Palgrave Macmillan: University of Toronto (2007), 163

²⁰ *Ibid*, 170

²¹ Alpanov Vladimir "Scripts and Politics in the USSR". *Studi Slavistici* xiv (2017), 9. Accessed from: DOI: 10.13128/Studi_Slavis-21936.

²² *Ibid*

²³ *Ibid*, 10

²⁴ *Ibid*

language policies and how those policies could potentially influence individuals. He states that 'the choice of the alphabet can be involved into four main issues: linguistic, economic, psychological and political.'²⁵ Consequently, he provides explanations and examples for each of these issues. He brings an analysis of the Central Asian countries and their approaches to the change of alphabet. The author gives a historical background of language policies during the Soviet period and illustrates the issues and 'scripts' rationality'²⁶ of that period, which can be noticed in the current linguistic situation in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. This shows the cyclical nuances of linguistic policies in the post-Soviet Central Asian countries. Thus, this research contributes to the analytical part of the thesis, demonstrating the complexity of linguistic issues of the region inherited by the past.

The article *Kazakhstani School Education Development from the 1930s: History and Current Trends* by Mynbaeva Aigerim and Victoria Pogolian provide an analysis of Kazakhstan's school education development in two periods: the Soviet period of growth and the post-Soviet period. The research includes explanations of language policies, including the main goals, strengths, weaknesses, and insights of the results during two periods of Kazakh history. The article provides the historical background of the development of school education in Kazakhstan with its particularities throughout the various timelines. Moreover, it compiles the development of education systems after the dissolution of the Soviet Union.²⁷ It mentions reforms in the educational system of Kazakhstan after independence, which were driven by

²⁵ Alpanov Vladimir "Scripts and Politics in the USSR". *Studi Slavistici* xiv (2017), 13. Accessed from: DOI: 10.13128/Studi_Slavis-21936.

²⁶ *Ibid*, 10

²⁷ Mynbayeva, A., & Pogolian, V. "Kazakhstani School Education Development from the 1930s: History and Current Trends". *Italian Journal of Sociology of Education*, 6(2), (2014), p. 149. Accessed from http://www.ijse.eu/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/2014_2_7.pdf

political, economic, and cultural factors.²⁸ The article is tremendously helpful because it has a rich narrative and insights into developing an educational system with its description of the Kazakh language. It determines the challenging embarrassment of language reforms in the country.

The author, Alimdjanov Bakhtiyor, in his article *Why the Uzbek language has not become a language of politics and science*, provides a narrative of language development in Uzbekistan. The paper illustrates the political, economic, and cultural aspects of the language policy developments in post-Soviet Uzbekistan up to the contemporary time. The author provides an analytical discussion of the modernization of the Uzbek language: its causes, consequences, and purposes. Moreover, the author discusses the position of the Russian language in everyday life of individuals and the way it coincides with the Uzbek language.²⁹ This article argues that the Uzbek language has not obtained legitimate power, making it coexist with the Russian language.³⁰ It points out the nationalization of the Uzbek language in the everyday life of individuals in Uzbekistan.³¹ Additionally, it provides an analysis of the Latinization policy- which the government has introduced. It gives insights into how the language looked before the Soviet period, during the Soviet Union, and in the era of independence. The author's argument on the nationalization of the Uzbek language through the language policy of Latinization and its co-existence with the Russian language helps us

²⁸ Mynbayeva, A., & Pogolian, V. "Kazakhstani School Education Development from the 1930s: History and Current Trends". *Italian Journal of Sociology of Education*, 6(2), (2014), p. 149. Accessed from http://www.ijse.eu/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/2014_2_7.pdf

²⁹ Alimdjanov Bakhtiyor, "Why the Uzbek language has not become a language of politics and science," *Central Asian Bureau for Analytical Reporting* (CABAR Asia) (19 February 2019). Accessed from: <https://cabar.asia/ru/uzbekistan-pochemu-uzbekskij-ne-stal-yazykom-politiki-i-nauki/>

³⁰ *Ibid*

³¹ *Ibid*

understand the vacuum in which the young generation lives. It offers an opportunity to explore the relevant field of research and expand the understanding of the linguistic issues in Uzbek society.

Education of the Non-Russian Peoples in the USSR, 1917-1967: An Essay by Yaroslav Bilinsky offers historical background to the Russification of the non-Russian-speaking Soviet countries. It explains the way Russian language policy had been implemented and approached through the process of *korenizatsiia* (indigenization) in the schools, universities, and other educational institutions in the countries where Russian-speaking people were in the minority. In his essay, Yaroslav Bilinsky argues that the Russification of non-Russian nationalities happened through educational institutions such as kindergartens, high schools and universities and affected ethnic allegiances among non-Russians.³² The author discusses the effects of this process of Russification on the mother tongue and ethnic identity of Soviet citizens and draws attention to the importance of language, predominantly Russian, in the formation of Soviet identity. Statistical data in the essay reveal how robust Russian language policy implementation was in Soviet Central Asia. Thus, it can be explained how complex and challenging it is for the new authorities to eliminate this Soviet legacy.

One recent relevant research conducted by Matthew Blackburn contributes to understanding contemporary language politics and its influence on national identity among young people in Kazakhstan. His study, *Discourses of Russian-speaking youth in Nazarbayev's Kazakhstan: Soviet legacies and responses to nation-building*, focuses on young people from Russian-speaking minorities in Almaty and Karaganda. The author examines the 'identity trajectories' among Russian-speaking young people envisioning themselves with the state in

³² Yaroslav Bilinsky "Education of the Non-Russian Peoples in the USSR, 1917-1967: An Essay" *Slavic Review*, Sep., 1968, Vol. 27, No. 3 (Sep., 1968), 412

identity matters.³³ This research provides a discourse analysis of the impact of the nation-building process on the younger generation whose primary language is Russian. Moreover, the author tries to explore how Russian-speaking communities identify themselves in the current state system of Kazakhstan.³⁴ His findings show the passive attitude of the targeted population toward the language reforms of the state, and he states that the Russian-speaking population of Kazakhstan do not perceive themselves to be a national minority.³⁵ Additionally, Matthew Blackburn discusses the presence of the Soviet legacy in the identity of the targeted group. This research defines the significance of the language reforms, their impact on Russian-speaking young people, and other cities beyond Karaganda and Almaty in Kazakhstan. It affirms the relevance of the thesis.

Another recent piece of research was conducted on language politics in some Central Asian countries. Sofya du Boulay and Huw du Boulay, in the study *New Alphabets, Old Rules: Latinization, Legacy, and Liberation in Central Asia*, provide a comprehensive analysis of how changing the national alphabets can project a motive of legitimization of power among the Central Asian authorities such as Kazakh, Uzbek, and Turkmen.³⁶ The authors revise the Latinization developments in three countries since they gained independence. Sofya du Boulay and Huw du Boulay argue that Kazakh Latinization has political ambiguity while Uzbek Latinization faces limitation.³⁷ The research analyzes the process of Latinization in those countries to illustrate the

³³ Matthew Blackburn "Discourses of Russian-speaking youth in Nazarbayev's Kazakhstan: Soviet legacies and responses to nation-building" *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 38, No. 2, (2019), 217. Accessed from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/02634937.2019.1615409>

³⁴ *Ibid*

³⁵ *Ibid*

³⁶ Sofya du Boulay, Huw du Boulay "New Alphabets, Old Rules: Latinization, Legacy, and Liberation in Central Asia" *Problems of Post-Communism*, Taylor & Francis Group, LLC, Vol. 68, No. 2, (2021), 135. Accessed from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2020.1785315>

³⁷ *Ibid*

political motives behind it. Additionally, it offers a historical background to the political discourse of Latinization, with its stress on obtaining successful nation-building in the post-Soviet period and maintaining legitimacy among the presidents. This research illustrates how Central Asian authorities politicized cultural symbols with a desire to keep their power. The article analyses how modern non-democratic countries such as those in Central Asia incorporate switching scripts to pursue internal and external legitimacy.³⁸ This recent study is vital for the analysis of the political discourse of the research.

To summarize, the existing literature does not offer the main focus of my research study:

- the impact of the processes of Latinization from political and sociolinguistic perspectives among the young people who are bilingual in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. The research topic holds active discussion among scholars and experts of the Central Asian region. The study claims its significance of the comparative analysis of linguistic nationalism with its promotion of state language as soft power to transform state identity and belonging among the young generation.

³⁸ Sofya du Boulay, Huw du Boulay "New Alphabets, Old Rules: Latinization, Legacy, and Liberation in Central Asia" *Problems of Post-Communism*, Taylor & Francis Group, LLC, Vol. 68, No. 2, (2021), 135. Accessed from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2020.1785315>

Chapter I: Historical Background of Identity Formation and Language Policies in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan

Several periods weighed on the language reforms in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. According to William Fierman, "The alphabet shifts in Central Asia are the most easily identifiable element based on the shift of Soviet policies reflecting identities."³⁹ In the 1920s, the Arabic alphabet was replaced by the Latin alphabet for all Central Asian languages.⁴⁰ Fierman calls this period 'the most prominent though very short-lived' for the Latin script of the regional languages.⁴¹ However, it was a significant change for the further development of the languages in the region. Moreover, it possesses the analysis of Soviet policies contribution to the identity formation of the Soviet Central Asian states. The introduction of the Cyrillic alphabet during that period was an obvious decision. However, the short period of the Latin script's existence reflected on the post-Soviet period of language reforms of Kazakh and Uzbek states.

1.1 The 1926 - Census: The process and *korenizatsiia*

The 1926 census process in both countries was a prominent tool for Soviet nation-building purposes to grasp smaller identities into broader entities.⁴² According to Grigol Ubiria,

³⁹ William Fierman "Identity, Symbolism, and the Politics of Language in Central Asia" *Europe-Asia Studies* University of Glasgow Vol. 61, No. 7, (September 2009), 1211. Accessed from: DOI: 10.1080/09668130903068731

⁴⁰ *Ibid*

⁴¹ *Ibid*

⁴² Grigol Ubiria "Soviet census and passport policies: Institutionalizing Kazakh and Uzbek national identities" *Soviet Nation-Building in Central Asia: The making of the Kazakh and Uzbek Nations*, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group (2016),140

"The 1926 -census had a considerable impact on Uzbek nation-making, since it institutionally imposed the collective Uzbek national identity, initially at least the common ethnonym, onto various distinct sedentary Turkic- (and some Iranian) speaking people. Similarly, the 1926 census was an effective nation-building tool in enforcing a single Kazakh national identity upon the different indigenous steppe (mostly nomadic) people."⁴³

The Soviets pushed the creation of common identities as 'Kazakhs' and 'Uzbeks' during this period of their Soviet presence in the region. The establishment of language reforms played a massively important part in it. Moreover, the author of the book *Soviet Nation-Building in Central Asia: The making of the Kazakh and Uzbek Nations* implies "it was the main component of the Soviet nation-building process in Soviet Central Asia aiming to form distinct nationalities with its identities and national languages."⁴⁴ This historical moment of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan reflects the general impact on the nation-building process.

However, the Soviet Union's politics contributed to nation-building with its distinction. The 1920s to early 1930s was the period of the so-called *korenizatsia* (can be translated as indigenization) when the central government sought to "put down roots" among non-Russian peoples.⁴⁵ This Soviet policy had the purpose of integrating non-Russian nations into the Soviet leadership position at the local levels of governance.⁴⁶ The process of *korenizatsiia* offered a chance to establish visibility of titular languages in the non-Russian space of the Soviet Union. Fierman says in his study, "the *korenizatsia* policy sought to encourage the upward mobility of

⁴³ Grigol Ubiria "Soviet census and passport policies: Institutionalizing Kazakh and Uzbek national identities" *Soviet Nation-Building in Central Asia: The making of the Kazakh and Uzbek Nations*, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group (2016),140

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 153

⁴⁵ Yaroslav Bilinsky "Education of the Non-Russian Peoples in the USSR, 1917-1967: An Essay" *Slavic Review*, Cambridge University Press vol 27, no 3, (September. 1968), 418.

⁴⁶ Grigol Ubiria "Soviet census and passport policies: Institutionalizing Kazakh and Uzbek national identities" *Soviet Nation-Building in Central Asia: The making of the Kazakh and Uzbek Nations*, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group (2016),141

indigenous people in their home republics by giving them preferential incentives".⁴⁷ This policy seemed comforting for the indigenous people using and strengthening language for the administrative space. This period of the Soviet presence played an important role in constructing the identities among the Central Asian republics. Soviet power exemplified how language can be an important component in the nation-building process.

Further on, this Soviet policy implementation led to linguistic changes in the Central Asian region. It may be said that it brought changes and restructured the language order in the region. *Korenizatsia* followed up with the process of Russification happening in the area. "The Russian language reached its maximum extent, making it the primary language of communication that helped push out the Arabic and Farsi languages' influence in the region."⁴⁸ The purpose of the Russian language was to balance the emergence of titular nations and preserve non-Russian nations as a part of the Soviet regime. The author, Grigol Ubiria, argues that "the native language gained an important ethnosymbolic value: linking ethnicity/nation, culture, and territory."⁴⁹ Although the native languages of Kazakh and Uzbek communities had to coexist with the Russian language, there were notions of creating collective titular identities. This legacy has been mirrored in the post-independence period of nation-building processes in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan.

⁴⁷ Chaimun Lee "Languages and Ethnic Politics in Central Asia: The Case of Kazakhstan" *Journal of International and Area Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (June 2004), 105. Accessed from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43107089>

⁴⁸ Alexander N. Evdokimov, Tatyana A. Davydova, Dmitry A. Savkin "Russian language in Central Asia: current status and prospects" *Проблемы постсоветского пространства / Post-Soviet Issues*, (2020;7(3)), 376. Accessed from: <https://doi.org/10.24975/2313-8920-2020-7-3-373-388>

⁴⁹ Grigol Ubiria "The korenizatsiia campaign in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan" *Soviet Nation-Building in Central Asia: The making of the Kazakh and Uzbek Nations*, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group (2016), 157

Throughout time, the Russian language positioned itself as the main language in the region. During the 1950s and 1960s, the Soviet policy *korenizatsia* shifted the positions of the Russian language and native languages.⁵⁰ As Fierman describes,

"Russian and native changed their status as first and second languages, while the Russian language retained a dominant position in daily life. That is, Kazakh took the status of the first language and occupied the position of a second."⁵¹

Meanwhile, Fierman also discusses how the language functions changed; for example, "in the 1950s Russian began to be called the 'second mother tongue' of all non-Russians of the USSR."⁵² Consequently, it impacted the self-identification of the Soviet Central Asians and rooted usage of the Russian language among the Central Asians.

1.2 Soviet identity and legacy among the Central Asians

Soviet identity among the Central Asians had been firmly established. One of the prominent parts of Soviet identification was the Russian language. Central Asians knowing and speaking the Russian language was essential to the Soviet Union. William Fierman argues, "The policies that produced these patterns, though adopted for a wide variety of reasons, nevertheless constitute part of the Soviet policy to create a single 'Soviet people.'⁵³ Those Soviet settings

⁵⁰ Chaimun Lee "Languages and Ethnic Politics in Central Asia: The Case of Kazakhstan" *Journal of International and Area Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (June 2004), 105. Accessed from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43107089>

⁵¹ *Ibid*

⁵² William Fierman "Identity, Symbolism, and the Politics of Language in Central Asia" *Europe-Asia Studies* University of Glasgow Vol. 61, No. 7, (September 2009), 1216. Accessed from: DOI: 10.1080/09668130903068731

⁵³ William Fierman "Identity, Symbolism, and the Politics of Language in Central Asia" *Europe-Asia Studies* University of Glasgow Vol. 61, No. 7, (September 2009), 1216. Accessed from: DOI: 10.1080/09668130903068731

established a strong sense of Soviet belonging among the titular nations of the Central Asian region, which provoked a struggle for all newly independent states of the region. Nation-building processes were weakly implemented due to the Soviet legacy of the Soviet people.

It is barely possible to envision each Central Asian country without any Soviet legacy. The Soviet presence established each aspect of the constructed Soviet and post-Soviet Central Asian states. Jonathan Levin argues, "the peoples of Central Asia have their histories and identities crafted largely by foreign actors."⁵⁴ The possible explanation for Sovietism in the nation-building process in Central Asian countries is that before the Soviet Union, Central Asian countries did not exist at all.⁵⁵ The people of Central Asia had a nomadic lifestyle. The Soviet Union was the first institution to offer the possibility of establishing national societies. Therefore, it might be an explanation of the Soviet legacy, which is present to this day. The collapse of the Soviet Union led the countries of the post-Soviet territories to transition between Soviet habits and acquire a new chance for national state-building.

The trajectory of national identity among the Central Asian countries was expanded under the Soviet power. "National identity is an abstract and multidimensional construct that touches on a wide range of spheres of life and manifests many permutations and combinations."⁵⁶ To follow this definition of national identity, in the Central Asian countries, the Soviet Union and its history contributed to constructing the contemporary national identity.

⁵⁴ Jonathan Levin, "From Nomad to Nation: On the Construction of National Identity through Contested Cultural Heritage in the Former Soviet Republics of Central Asia," *Journal of International Law and Politics* New York University 50, no. 1 (Fall 2017), 271

⁵⁵ *Ibid*

⁵⁶ Christopher P. Carney and John P. Moran "Imagining Communities in Central Asia: Nationalism and Interstate Affect in the Post-Soviet Era" *Asian Affairs: An American Review*, Taylor & Francis, Ltd. Vol. 26, No. 4 (Winter, 2000), 185. Accessed from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30172493>

I believe that this is because the Soviet government had firstly 'imagined' Central Asian communities. Rico Isaacs and Abel Polese argue in their research,

"The Soviet authorities took it upon themselves to become "nation-makers" in the region, institutionalizing and ascribing the borders and ethnic categories which became the basis for post-Soviet nation-statehood."⁵⁷

Therefore, it was challenging to diminish the Soviet legacy of nation-building for the newly established post-Soviet Central Asian countries. The Soviet legacy has been haunting the national identities of the Central Asians.

To follow up on this argument, Central Asian countries, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, tend to share a similar approach in transiting from post-Soviet history. With their language policies, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan share similarities in the intention of de-Russification as a part of the process of de-Sovietization.⁵⁸ It seems crucial to transform the Soviet established identity into the state identity without any historical legacies. This year, it will be the 30th anniversary of the independence of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. However, the intention to de-Russify and de-Sovietize the societies of both countries tend to be in the transitional phase.

1.3 Language development in post-Soviet Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan

Language reforms took place during 1989 before the dissolution of the Soviet Union, during the 1990s when the Central Asian countries gained independence, and in the 2000s,

⁵⁷ Rico Isaacs & Abel Polese "Between "imagined" and "real" nation-building: identities and nationhood in post-Soviet Central Asia", *Nationalities Papers*, 43:3, (2015), 372. DOI: 10.1080/00905992.2015.1029044

⁵⁸ Pavlenko Aneta, "Multilingualism in Post-Soviet Countries: Language Revival, Language Removal, and Sociolinguistic Theory", *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 11:3-4, (2008), 282. DOI:10.1080/13670050802271517

2010s, and recently. The adoption of laws on language has similarities among the Central Asian states. It is important to mention that the main focus of the language reforms was the position and role of the Russian language in nation-building and state-building processes.

The history of the current bilingual system of Kazakhstan started in 1989 when the law on languages was adopted, and it defined the roles of the Kazakh and Russian languages.⁵⁹ The law positioned the Russian language as a language of 'international communication'.⁶⁰ It can be said that this laid the foundation for the assimilation of the Russian language as part of the identity because, during the collapse of the Union, the countries of Central Asia were too multiethnic societies. Constitutional language changes of 1995 granted the Kazakh language the status of state language while the Russian language received the status of official language.⁶¹ The official status of the Russian language was a critical consolidating element for the further implementation of the nation-building process of Kazakh identity.

Nazarbayev, a former president, signed a long-term program on language development that included the Latinization of the Kazakh script and strengthening the Kazakh language's usage and role on the republic's territory. The National Program on the Development of Languages for 2011-2019 pushed three languages to be used among the residents- Kazakh, Russian and English, which would bring the Kazakhstanis into a new literacy level.⁶² The program put effort into the expansion of usage of the state language: - Kazakh. However, the

⁵⁹ Bekmurzaev Nurbek "Language Policies of the Central Asian States" *Central Asian Bureau for Analytical Reporting* (CABAR), (2019), 5. <https://doi.org/10.46950/202004>

⁶⁰ Law of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic of Languages in the Kazakh Socialist Republic (22 September 1989), https://online.zakon.kz/Document/doc_id=1005765#pos=3;-0

⁶¹ Bekmurzaev Nurbek "Language Policies of the Central Asian States" *Central Asian Bureau for Analytical Reporting* (CABAR), (2019), 6. <https://doi.org/10.46950/202004>

⁶² Yuri Masanov "Vse chto nujno znat o yazykah i yazykovoi politike v Kazakhstane" ("Everything you need to know about languages and language policy in Kazakhstan"), *Inform Buro*, (28 April 2018). Accessed from: <https://informburo.kz/cards/vsyo-chto-nuzhno-znat-o-yazykah-i-yazykovoy-politike-v-kazahstane.html>

program could not set aside the use of the Russian language among residents. It pushed to modernize the earlier mentioned program and put more effort into the Latinization of the script. In understanding the local authorities, the Latin script would provide the Kazakh language with more importance and privilege, putting aside the Russian language. Moreover, the political and economic reasons with its alignment to the West seem to be one reason for the Latin script implementation.

Like its neighboring country, Uzbekistan approached the Law on Languages in 1989 by granting Uzbek the status of the state language, whereas the Russian language became the language of communication.⁶³ Due to the political regime, after the independence, Uzbek authorities actively started de-Russification to move away from the Soviet legacy. In 1993, Uzbek authorities attempted to change from the Cyrillic script to Latin.⁶⁴ However, the switch created a fiasco because the transition was only on the educational level while people still used the Cyrillic script daily.⁶⁵ Those attempts to switch from Cyrillic to Latin script caused negative impacts on the population, such as confusion and illiteracy.⁶⁶ Unlike the Kazakh experience in implementing long-term projects on languages, Uzbekistan has never adopted any long-term projects to develop and strengthen its state language. The Latin and Cyrillic coexist as the population still uses both scripts. However, it is important to note that the young generation pursues education in the Uzbek Latin script. In contrast, the older generation whose education was followed during the Soviet Union still uses the Uzbek Cyrillic script.

⁶³ Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan on the State Language,” Accessed from: http://base.spininform.ru/show_doc.fwx?rgn=770

⁶⁴ Bakhtiyor Alimdjanov, “Why Uzbek language has not become a language of politics and science,” *Central Asian Bureau for Analytical Reporting* CABAR.asia, (19 February 2019). Accessed from: <https://cabar.asia/ru/uzbekistan-pochemu-uzbekskij-ne-stal-yazykom-politiki-i-nauki/>

⁶⁵ *Ibid*

⁶⁶ *Ibid*

The current President, Mirziyoyev, has recently signed a decree on creating a road map for the long-term strategy in Latinizing the Uzbek Language. The decree of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan, "On measures to further develop the Uzbek language and improve the language policy in the country", was signed on October 20, 2020.⁶⁷ It envisions improving the system of state language education to foster the learning process of Uzbek and to complete the transition to the Latin script.⁶⁸ Moreover, it introduces the systematic management of the knowledge of governmental and administrative workers in the country.⁶⁹ This long-term strategy assures the seriousness of the President's motives in the current language politics of the state. Thus, the government headed by the President is trying to improve the domestic policy of the country. Similar to the former President, the current President of Uzbekistan has not convincingly substantiated the reasons for a complete transition to the Latin alphabet but made it be seen as another internal reform for power legitimization.

Recent updates on the language politics of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan demonstrate how language can be a tool for political moves to legitimate the ruling government, support foreign politics and position the country in the international arena. Sofya du Boulay and Huw du Boulay, in the article *New Alphabets, Old Rules: Latinization, Legacy, and Liberation in Central Asia*, claim that through Latinization of alphabets, Central Asian leaders possess the process of liberation which "incorporates the revival of previously suppressed culture,

⁶⁷ Decree of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan "On measures to further develop the Uzbek language and improve the language policy in the country" *National News Agency of Uzbekistan* (O'zbekiston Milliy axborot agentligi), (October 20, 2020) Accessed from: <https://uza.uz/ru/posts/o-merakh-po-dalneyshemu-razvitiyu-uzbekskogo-yazyka-i-soversh-20-10-2020>

⁶⁸ *Ibid*

⁶⁹ *Ibid*

language, and traditional values.”⁷⁰ It is perceived as overcoming the traumatic experiences of the Soviet past. Central Asian countries have dynamic internal and external politics; language politics is one example of it. Therefore, it can be argued that language policies contribute to the fulfilment of overcoming the past. It can be seen how language may be an important power to define the authorities' ideologies, political aims, and political perspectives with foreign actors.

⁷⁰ Sofya du Boulay, Huw du Boulay "New Alphabets, Old Rules: Latinization, Legacy, and Liberation in Central Asia" *Problems of Post-Communism*, *Taylor & Francis Group, LLC*, Vol. 68, No. 2, (2021), 136. Accessed from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2020.1785315>

Chapter II: Theoretical Framework and Methodology

In the following chapter, I aim to examine the power of the Central Asian politicians imposed on the civilians to fulfil authorities' will, aims, and goals. Max Weber defined,

*"A 'power' (macht) is the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite the resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests."*⁷¹

This definition might be accurate in defining the power imposed by the non-democratic countries of Central Asia. However, in my study, I want to apply a recent definition of power: *a soft power*, which the political scientist had introduced, Joseph S. Nye Jr.⁷² Meanwhile, scholars Marlene Laruelle and Wei (Josh) Luo, in their article on Soviet legacy use a soft power with the case study of Russian politics in relations to the Chinese reception challenge the assumption made about soft power.⁷³ The authors claim the concept of soft power introduced by Joseph Nye Jr. lead to two problematic assumptions: soft power can accrue among the liberal countries, as in the United States and the United States itself is 'the yardstick for measuring its impact'.⁷⁴ Authors of the article *Soviet Legacy as Soft Power: Chinese Reception of Russian Political and Cultural Influence* question those assumptions in the example of Russian soft power.⁷⁵ For this reason, I intend to challenge the assumptions regarding soft power theory in the case studies in my thesis. In this chapter, I argue that Latinization efforts in both countries

⁷¹ Max Weber "Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology" *Bedminster Press* New York, (1968), 153

⁷² Nye Joseph Jr. "Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics" *Public Affairs New York*, (2004), 1

⁷³ Marlene Laruelle, Wei (Josh) Luo "Soviet Legacy as Soft Power: Chinese Reception of Russian Political and Cultural Influence" *Program on New Approaches to Research and Security in Eurasia* (PONARS Eurasia) (2020), 1. Accessed from: <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/soviet-legacy-as-soft-power-chinese-reception-of-russian-political-and-cultural-influence/>

⁷⁴ *Ibid*

⁷⁵ *Ibid*

are just political tools for the elites to achieve political and economic interests from the Western world.

2.1 Theory of Soft Power

There are different discussions and debates of what power is and how power can be defined in political matters.⁷⁶ This research aims to focus on the definition and analysis provided by Joseph S. Nye, Jr. in his book *Soft Power. The Means to Success in World Politics*. The author offers a fair analysis, which can be applied in the case studies of the language reforms in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. Joseph S. Nye Jr. defines "power is the capacity to do things."⁷⁷ The author provides a variety of power means which can be identified in domestic and international politics. In this section, I aim to examine the theory of 'soft power' which Joseph S. Nye Jr. introduces in his book. He says, "soft power rests on the ability to shape the preferences of others."⁷⁸ Although it might seem a vague and broad definition of soft power, it might be striking to apply the theory to the case studies. It offers attractive objectives for analyzing the notion of Latinization of state languages in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.

"The ability to establish preferences tends to be associated with intangible assets such as an attractive personality, culture, political values and institutions, and policies that are seen as legitimate or having moral authority."⁷⁹ This is one of the core arguments provided by the author of *Soft Power. The Means to Success in World Politics* serve as the foundation of

⁷⁶ Diana T. Kudaibergenova, Filippo Costa Buranelli "Theorizing the Nature of Power in Central Asia. Introduction to the Special Issue" *Problems of Post-Communism*, VOL. 68, NO. 2, (2021), 89. Accessed from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2021.1863116>

⁷⁷ Nye Joseph Jr. "Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics" *Public Affairs New York*, (2004), 1

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, 5

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 6

analyzing the study on language reforms in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. Latinization can be analyzed through the preferences of political leaders. Current presidents try to show personal competence for achieving reforms that were not accomplished by the previous leaders of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. The current leaders are trying to personify the importance of all strategies which will lead to 'the desired future.'⁸⁰ It is seen as under these leadership strategies, and there are assurances behind those policies - to strengthen the national identity with its culture and language, increase titular languages' visibility, and have advantages for states' potential foreign and economic policies.

According to Rogers Brubaker, "language constitutes a second key domain for analyzing nationalizing discourses, policies and processes."⁸¹ Languages have also been a tool for power in the hands of Central Asian political leaders. Joseph S. Nye Jr. argues, "political leaders have long understood the power that comes from attraction."⁸² The author implies, "the attractiveness of the country's culture, political ideals, and policies" can be used by the political elites.⁸³ This can be applied to the internal policies of the countries. In the nation-building processes of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, the promotion of Kazakh and Uzbek languages is a powerful tool of political leaders for strengthening national identity. As mentioned earlier, language reforms adopted during the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s served to foster the nation-

⁸⁰ Sofya du Boulay, Huw du Boulay "New Alphabets, Old Rules: Latinization, Legacy, and Liberation in Central Asia" *Problems of Post-Communism*, Taylor & Francis Group, LLC, Vol. 68, No. 2, (2021), 136. Accessed from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2020.1785315>

⁸¹ Brubaker Rogers "Nationalizing states revisited: projects and processes of nationalization in post-Soviet states" (2011) *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 34:11, (2011), 1795. Accessed from: DOI:10.1080/01419870.2011.579137

⁸² Nye Joseph Jr. "Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics" *Public Affairs New York*, (2004), 6

⁸³ *Ibid*

building processes in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, which meant to help step aside from the Soviet legacy.

Nursultan Nazarbayev (first president of Kazakhstan) introduced the idea to Latinize the state language script during the 2010s.⁸⁴ Islam Karimov (first president of Uzbekistan) presented the necessity to shift from the Cyrillic script to the Latin script earlier than the Kazakh president. Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan have experienced the transition of power to other hands in past years. Nazarbayev voluntarily gave presidential power to Tokayev, while Mirziyoyev gained power after the death of Islam Karimov.⁸⁵ The current presidents showed a desire to continue the idea of Latinization. Joseph S. Nye Jr. points out that "all power depends on context- who relates to whom under what circumstances -but soft power depends more than hard power upon the existence of willing interpreters and receivers."⁸⁶ It seems that the current presidents of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan hold language reforms as the ultimate necessary move for future developments. Political leaders imply that Latinization is a crucial step for the internal and external actions of the countries. To achieve these goals, titular languages seem like the main element of soft power, which intends to strengthen national identity and patriotic sentiments among the citizens of both countries to contribute to the achievement of future desired developments collectively.

⁸⁴ Shakhanova Gaziza "Being in Close Neighborhood with Russia: The Kazakhstan's State-Framed Identity and Latinization of the Script -An Attempt for Westernization or Creating Own Subalternity?" *The Journal of Central Asian Studies*, Volume:XXV, (2018), 3

⁸⁵ Junisbai Azamat K. "Authoritarian Learning: Making Sense of Kazakhstan's Political Transition" *Program on New Approaches to Research and Security in Eurasia* (PONARS Eurasia) (2020), 4. Accessed from: <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/authoritarian-learning-making-sense-of-kazakhstan-s-political-transition/>

⁸⁶ Nye Joseph Jr. "Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics" *Public Affairs New York*, (2004), 16

This pushes the strengthening of collective identity through language reforms. "Collective identity claims based on the language are often a driving force in making autonomy regimes, particularly when the speakers are territorially concentrated."⁸⁷ The scripts in current Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan illustrate how current political leaders try to construct what had not been built by former political leaders. Rogers Brubaker claims, "nationhood is not an ethnodemographic or ethnocultural fact; it is a political claim. It is a claim on people's loyalty, on their attention, on their solidarity."⁸⁸ I would agree with Brubaker and try to apply this statement to the study. The current presidents put much stress on the importance of the Latin scripts to make citizens follow the governments' initiatives (ideologies). Because this year will be the 30th anniversary of the Central Asian countries' independence, in which language reforms are still in transition. Compared to other post-Soviet countries, there is pressure on the Kazakh and Uzbek political elites because the countries have not strengthened the titular languages. The presence of Cyrillic script shows the existence and visibility of the Soviet past and its heritage. Therefore, the current presidents show the utmost importance in switching to the Latin script. Moreover, it illustrates that soft power maintains political loyalty, solidarity, and attention in political understanding.

Political leaders of both countries display themselves as key actors in the reinforcement of shared state identity and belonging. "The political elites saw nationalistic narratives as an opportunity to consolidate their power through the vision of the "father of the nation" and as

⁸⁷ Arraiza José-Maria "The Management of Linguistic Diversity through Territorial and Non-Territorial Autonomy" *Europäisches Journal für Minderheitenfragen* (2015), 8. Accessed from: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2650970>

⁸⁸ Brubaker Rogers "In the name of the nation: reflections on nationalism and patriotism" *Citizenship Studies*, 8:2, (2004), 116. Accessed from: DOI: 10.1080/1362102042000214705

the guarantors of stability for all ethnic groups residing in both states."⁸⁹ I would also add that it has a motive to sustain political unity and shared identity. The similarity of the countries is political leaders who incorporate identical actions to maintain and keep power. Additionally, it indicates the way the presidents of the countries try to reinforce their political legitimacy.

Latin scripts for both countries are appropriate for various state purposes. Nazarbayev stated that latinizing the state language's script is necessary to integrate into the modern world and step into common international areas with its global system of culture and science.⁹⁰ Similar to Kazakhstan, Uzbek authorities believe that the Latin script might be advantageous for the country. As it is stressed in *New Alphabet, Old Rules*, "Latinized modernity indicate the importance of their civilizational choice with its reference points to internationalism and the Western model of development."⁹¹ This action also represents a form of soft power that the Central Asian authorities impose on the nations. Joseph S. Nye Jr. argues, "the fact that soft-power resources are awkward to wield has not prevented governments from trying."⁹² It is hard to disagree with his argument because Latinization could have been ignored in the cases studies as it was not a crucially necessary action. Cyrillic script is a symbol of Soviet history in both countries. Therefore, the political leaders display the Latinization holding main perspectives of integrating into the modern world, which offers economic and other advantages. It strengthens

⁸⁹ Kudaibergenova T. Diana, Shin Boram "Authors and Authoritarianism in Central Asia: Failed Agency and Nationalising Authoritarianism in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan" *Asian Studies Review*, Vol. 42, No.2, (2018), 305. Accessed from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2018.1447549>

⁹⁰ Bekmurzaev Nurbek "Language Policies of the Central Asian States" *Central Asian Bureau for Analytical Reporting* (CABAR), (2019), 7 <https://doi.org/10.46950/202004>

⁹¹ Sofya du Boulay, Huw du Boulay "New Alphabets, Old Rules: Latinization, Legacy, and Liberation in Central Asia" *Problems of Post-Communism*, Taylor & Francis Group, LLC, Vol. 68, No. 2, (2021), 136. Accessed from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2020.1785315>

⁹² Nye Joseph Jr. "Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics" *Public Affairs New York*, 2004, p.100

national identities that departed from ‘the Soviet heritage, abandoning the old cultural domination.’⁹³

2.2 External ‘soft power’ in Kazakh and Uzbek Latinization

Central Asian states geographical location positions those countries to be among the external powers. There is a wide range of literature focusing on the international affairs of different actors in the region's geopolitics. To focus on the linguistic perspective, Turkey had a dominant influence in promoting Latinization since the countries’ independence.⁹⁴ The author, Landau Jacob M., implies that Turkey demonstrates itself as a model for newly independent republics whose languages share a common linguistic root (Turkic).⁹⁵ Moreover, Turkey positioned itself as a successful model of a westernized country and society that successfully implemented Latinization.⁹⁶ It can be seen as a form of soft power imposed by the Turkish authorities in the region. Moreover, Landau Jacob M. argues, “the Turks energetically attempted to persuade a common Latin script based on the Turkish alphabet.”⁹⁷ Processes of Latinization in Kazakh and Uzbek cases demonstrate their willingness to learn from Turkish success. However, Kazakh and Uzbek linguistic developments are processing not in an expected way.

⁹³ Sofya du Boulay, Huw du Boulay "New Alphabets, Old Rules: Latinization, Legacy, and Liberation in Central Asia" *Problems of Post-Communism*, Taylor & Francis Group, LLC, Vol. 68, No. 2, (2021), 139. Accessed from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2020.1785315>

⁹⁴ Landau Jacob M. "Alphabet Reform in the Six Independent Ex-Soviet Muslim Republics" *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Third Series, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Jan., 2010), 27. Accessed from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27756121>

⁹⁵ *Ibid*

⁹⁶ *Ibid*

⁹⁷ *Ibid*

Nevertheless, it does not stop Central Asian leaders from trying to implement new alphabets. Along with Turkey, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan are members of the Turkic Council, established in 2009.⁹⁸ In the Turkic Council, Turkey represents itself as a big brother to other Turkic states; therefore, some countries inspired by the big brother try to duplicate reforms to achieve internal policies as language reforms that will offer new advantages- political and economic advantages at the international level. This is mainly because the 'big brother'-Turkey inspired those Central Asian leaders. Turkic Council is a platform for Turkey to be seen as a successful example of implementing Latin script, strengthening national identity and gaining economic and other advantages from getting closer to the Western world.

Moreover, "the same modernization logic motivated Central Asian leaders to adopt the Latin alphabet and its perceived advantages for entering the global community and market."⁹⁹ The Central Asian countries are situated in the center among countries like China, Russia, India, and Europe, the USA.¹⁰⁰ In his book *Prisoners of Geography: Ten Maps That Tells You Everything You Need to Know About Global Politics*, Tim Marshall points to the vital importance of geography in governments' foreign policies.¹⁰¹ Central Asia's geographical location usually defines political aspects and reforms. From the language perspective, the Latinization of titular languages in understanding the Kazakh and Uzbek authorities offers an opportunity to get close to the Western world and step aside from the Russian and Chinese emergence of power. In practice, it is evident that the Central Asian states cannot simply

⁹⁸ *Turkic Council*. Accessed from: <https://www.turkkon.org/en/turk-konseyyi-hakkinda>

⁹⁹ Sofya du Boulay, Huw du Boulay "New Alphabets, Old Rules: Latinization, Legacy, and Liberation in Central Asia" *Problems of Post-Communism*, Taylor & Francis Group, LLC, Vol. 68, No. 2, (2021), 136. Accessed from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2020.1785315>

¹⁰⁰ Michael Rywkin, "What is Central Asia to Us?" *American Foreign Policy Interests*, (2011), 222

¹⁰¹ Tim Marshall, "Prisoners of Geography: Ten Maps That Tells You Everything You Need to Know About Global Politics" *Elliott & Thompson*, (2015), 280

abandon Sino-Russian influence in the countries' political, economic, and social aspects.¹⁰² Further, the process of Latinization and its complicated nature of adaptation in both societies illustrates how complex and challenging the path toward the Western world is for Kazakh and Uzbek governments.

*Table 1 Three Types of Power*¹⁰³

	Behaviors	Primary Currencies	Government Policies
Military Power	coercion deterrence protection	threats force	coercive diplomacy war alliance
Economic Power	inducement coercion	payments sanctions	aid bribes sanctions
Soft Power	attraction agenda setting	values cultures policies institutions	public diplomacy bilateral and multilateral diplomacy

If I take this table of power and focus on the third type of power, - soft power, it can demonstrate how soft power works from both ways. The Western world channels its own culture, ideas, and opportunities to the regions like Central Asia, where Kazakh and Uzbek governments see the West as an opportunity for the economy, society, and politics (to some extent). Moreover, the example of Turkey as a country that could successfully obtain Latinization and endorsed

¹⁰² Goos Hofstee, Noor Broeders "Multi-dimensional chess Sino-Russian relations in Central Asia" *Clingendael Institute* (2020), 5. Accessed from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep29360>

¹⁰³ Nye Joseph Jr. "Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics" *Public Affairs New York*, (2004), 31

cooperation with the West motivates the Central Asian states such as Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. Therefore, the Central Asian countries set a plan similar to introducing a new alphabet, which may foster bilateral or multilateral relations with Western countries. It is interesting to observe how the process of Latinization has such potential in diplomacy-related perspectives and has potential economy-wise. "The alphabet as a medium of ideological domination allows the Kazakh leadership to exercise its multi-vectoral foreign policy potential" and "Uzbek Latinization is the symbol of internationalization and westernization."¹⁰⁴ It leads to the opinion that Latinization is just a political tool that the elite intends to use for certain political and economic advantages offered by the West. It parallelly has a motive to strengthen national identities; however, it seems a bit implicated process.

2.3 Research Process

The study's methodology is focused on the recent language policies of Latinization in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan and its effect on young people residing in Nursultan (Astana), Almaty, Tashkent, and Samarkand. I adopted an approach combining discourse analysis of language policies and semi-structured in-depth interviews with young people of both countries. The aim of the semi-structured in-depth interviews with young people from both countries was to know their opinion on the language changes introduced by the government, on the Kazakh and Uzbek alphabets' changes (reforms), and personal experiences of the language

¹⁰⁴ Sofya du Boulay, Huw du Boulay "New Alphabets, Old Rules: Latinization, Legacy, and Liberation in Central Asia" *Problems of Post-Communism*, Taylor & Francis Group, LLC, Vol. 68, No. 2, (2021), 138. Accessed from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2020.1785315>

implementations. Additionally, the discourse analysis of the recent decrees on Latinization allows for comparing the intentions of those language changes in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.

At the early stage of the research, I was interning at the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) at the Office of High Commissioner on National Minorities in the Eastern Europe, Caucasus, and Central Asia (EECCA) Section; I had a discussion with the Central Asian regional experts to get to know their opinion on Latinization. Additionally, I talked to a linguist who was an expert in language policies in the post-Soviet region. Those informal interviews with experts were helpful to know the social and political aspects of Latinization in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. Moreover, it was beneficial to understand the political motives of the language reforms from the nation-building process and the ongoing formation of titular nations after the independence of the Central Asian states.

To understand the Latinization process in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan and its impact on young people, I interviewed individuals with a bilingual communication style: Kazakh and Russian or Uzbek and Russian. After each interview, I kindly asked contacts to share with me for potential interviews to avoid targeting the interviewees. Interviewees were very welcoming and eager to help me with interviews despite the online format of the research. Moreover, I tried to achieve a gender balance in my lists of respondents. However, most potential male respondents refused to participate in interviews because they did not feel comfortable talking to me. This might be explained as part of the societal norms of female-male interaction in the Central Asian countries.

The general target population for the interviews was young people aged 18 to 30 years living in Nursultan (Astana), Almaty, Tashkent, and Samarkand. I chose this age category because those born in independent Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan do not have any Soviet experience and witnessed only sovereign governments' nation-building processes with their

language policies. Important to mention is that this category of the population witnessed language changes throughout their school and university years. This targeted population includes students who are currently pursuing education and seeing language changes in their everyday life, employed people who also experience those language changes in the working environment and unemployed people who have to adjust to new linguistic regulations imposed by new governmental standards. The reason why those cities such as Nursultan (Astana), Almaty, Tashkent, and Samarkand were chosen for the study is that it provides an opportunity to analyze findings from the southern cities of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan- Almaty and Samarkand and northern cities of countries- Nursultan (Astana) and Tashkent. Also, Nursultan (Astana) and Tashkent are the capitals of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.

For data collection, I used the snowball method to find interviewees. In total, I conducted 24 potential interviews, 20 individuals expressed interest in having discussions. However, I could only conduct 16 interviews because 4 other individuals at the last minute refused to share their own opinion. In the data analysis, I used only 14 interviews because 2 interviews failed due to a bad internet connection from the interviewees' sides. Interviewees asked to remain anonymous or change their names. For those reasons, I decided to use the fake names of the interviewees. Interviews were conducted in the Russian language. All interviews were conducted online due to the epidemiological situation of COVID-19, and interviews lasted for 30-45 minutes. The leading platforms for interviews were Zoom, Telegram, and Facebook. All quotations in data and finding analysis are translated and transcribed by me.

Table 2 *Respondents from Kazakhstan*

Name	Age	Education	Occupation	City
Lunara	21	M.A.	Unemployed	Nursultan, Kazakhstan
Zhaniya	21	M.A.	Consultant	Nursultan, Kazakhstan
Amina	23	M.A.	Auditor	Almaty, Kazakhstan
Kanat	30	M.A.	Unemployed	Almaty, Kazakhstan
Eliskhan	24	B.A.	Student	Almaty, Kazakhstan
Aruzhan	23	B.A.	Student	Almaty, Kazakhstan
Kamila	24	M.A.	Intern	Nursultan, Kazakhstan

Table 3 *Respondents from Uzbekistan*

Name	Age	Education	Occupation	City
Ali	27	B.A.	Research Assistant	Tashkent, Uzbekistan
Aziza	23	B.A.	Program Coordinator	Samarkand, Uzbekistan
Chinara	24	B.A.	Student	Tashkent, Uzbekistan
Feruza	23	B.A.	Financial Analyst	Tashkent, Uzbekistan
Dilara	26	M.A.	Lecturer	Samarkand, Uzbekistan
Nozima	25	B.A.	Student	Tashkent, Uzbekistan
Gulnora	26	M.A.	Unemployed	Samarkand, Uzbekistan

Chapter III: Research Findings and Analysis

This last chapter of the research is dedicated to analyzing the findings from the online semi-structured in-depth interviews with young people from Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. This analysis of findings helps to test the hypotheses stated in the thesis's introduction. This chapter is divided into four main parts of the discussion, which were retrieved from the findings. The primary focus of those parts is on the language use and language preferences among Kazakhs and Uzbeks, opinion and perception of the switch to Latin scripts, opinions on the political and social aspects of Latinization, and the personal impact of Latinization.

3.1 Language preferences and their usage

Even though Latinization may have seemed an accelerator to using the Kazakh and Uzbek languages more than the Russian language, language changes such as Latinization do not impact the language preferences among the young generation. In other words, language hierarchy with their preferences to the titular language is mainly observed among young people who speak in Kazakh and Uzbek at home with families. Four out of seven interviewees from Uzbekistan expressed their preference for the Uzbek language because they speak mostly with their families in the Uzbek language. This makes them lean to the preference of Uzbek as the dominant language. Similarly, three out of seven interviewees from Kazakhstan expressed their preference for the Kazakh language because they speak with their families at home in the Kazakh language. At the same time, four of the fourteen interviewees from both countries expressed a neutral attitude towards language preferences. If their mother tongue is either Kazakh or Uzbek, their families speak in Russian. Another three out of fourteen interviewees,

ethnically Kazakhs and Uzbeks, defined their mother tongue as Russian because they speak Russian at home.

In the Kazakh case, the choice of the dominant language in each individual from the interviews depends not only on their ethnic belonging but also on the choice of language used in their families. One of the interviewees, Lunara (21), to the question about mother tongue, replied:

"This question is tough for me. Deep down, I consider Russian as my mother tongue, as I think, my first words were in Russian, and in my free time, I usually express myself in Russian with my family and friends. I think that I am a little embarrassed to say or write that my native language is Russian, as I often hear comments or hostile looks from strangers or even relatives when I speak Russian."

The question on language preferences and usage of the particular dominant language, either titular or Russian, impacts the family environment in which s/he was born. It also influences the tendency to question language preferences in a young person's life in Central Asia. It hesitates to choose the titular language as the dominant language because an individual ethnically belongs to a titular nation (Kazakh).

Meanwhile, respondents from Uzbekistan expressed a more vigorous attitude toward their preference for the Uzbek language because their family spread the value and significance of the titular language. An interviewee, Aziza from Uzbekistan, said that her parents always say to her, *"The Uzbek language carries Uzbek culture and tradition."* It means that speaking in the titular language is a tool for communication and carries cultural value. It intends to push the young generation to communicate more frequently in the Uzbek language to show efforts and choices to preserve the Uzbek culture and traditions. This can illustrate how the family as an institution can subconsciously influence language preferences among the young

generation. The diagram below shows that language preferences among individuals are balanced.

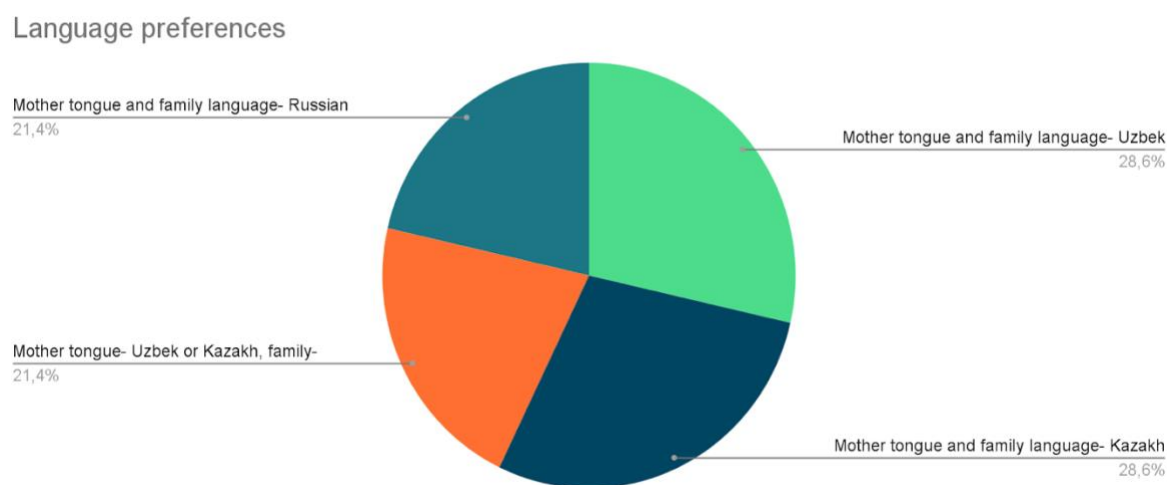


Figure 1: Percentage of language preferences among young people of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan

3.2 The role of the Russian language for the young generation

Interviewees from both countries expressed a positive attitude toward knowing the Russian language. The Russian language is actively present in everyday life of each individual who had been interviewed for the study in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. Even though some individuals prefer using the titular language more frequently, it does not mean that the Russian language is abandoned and useless. Knowledge of the Russian language produces many benefits for today's youth of both countries. It is essential to mention that many respondents had not taken the Russian language as their first language of education. Mostly, the Russian language comes as a second or third language in the educational systems of Kazakhstan and

Uzbekistan. However, there are specific Russian schools/classes where the primary language of education is Russian.

"We live in a globalized world, and we would need to have the necessary skills to survive. We live in the era of globalization; knowledge of different languages gives us a chance to be a part of this globalization, to have opportunities, and to explore new horizons." (Eliskhan, 24). Like Eliskhan, other interviewees see knowing Russian and other languages as an opportunity for the younger generation. Young people try not to neglect opportunities that are available for them. Eliskhan studied in a Kazakh school, but he shared the experience that he would try to develop his knowledge of the Russian language during school time and outside of the educational institutions. In his everyday life -- going to the shop, talking to his Russian-speaking neighbours -- there would be good opportunities to practice his Russian language. Currently, he is finishing his degree, and soon he will enter the job market; he shared his opinion that in the current job market, each skill matters, and especially knowledge of languages opens new doors and shrinks the horizon of the opportunities. His future profession will be an engineer in the gas and oil industry. Eliskhan said that year by year, and new companies arrive in the country; some companies are there because of the membership of Kazakhstan in the Eurasian Economic Union. Therefore, knowledge of Russian might be beneficial for such companies.

The transition to the Latin script limits the expansion of literature available in the state language. According to Ali, a research assistant in Uzbekistan, the Russian language allows one to access world literature. In other words, there is a broader range of literature available in the Russian language compared to the Uzbek language. He implied that it is also because of those constant language changes that slow down the translation and printing literature in Uzbek's new alphabets. (Ali, 27) *"The Russian language continues to play a prominent role in the life of the people and the country."* (Ali, 27) This implies that the Russian language positively contributes

to the literacy rate among the young generation in Uzbekistan. Moreover, he stated, *"The Russian language perfectly coexists along with the state language. Russian is still widely used in communication and other forms (documents, websites, signs, signs on the streets, etc.)."* (Ali, 27) This means that the Russian language offers benefits from different layers of the country to its population.

Furthermore, the Uzbek authorities attempted to implement the Latin script in the Uzbek language several times. Those failed attempts caused the Latin and Cyrillic scripts to coexist.¹⁰⁵ The young generation was targeted for this research and studied only with the Latin script of the Uzbek language. Whereas the older generation of Uzbekistan still uses the Cyrillic script. When Ali mentioned, *"Russian is still widely used in communication and other forms (documents, websites, signs, signs on the streets, etc.)."* he meant that administrative work in Uzbekistan is processed in the Cyrillic Uzbek language. Although it is noticed that the authorities try to switch to Latin more intensively, the Cyrillic script is still present there.

Dilara, who works as a Lecturer at the State University, shared her working experience and the importance of the Russian language at her job. Dilara pursued her education in the Uzbek language and spoke in Uzbek with her family. However, she has some Russian-speaking friends with whom she learned and practised her Russian language. Dilara said that she knew the Russian language only for personal purposes. When she started her job at the university, she did all her administrative responsibilities in the Latin Uzbek language because she was taught in the Latin Uzbek language. During the first months at work, her older colleagues expressed

¹⁰⁵Bakhtiyor Alimjanov, "Why Uzbek language has not become a language of politics and science," *Central Asian Bureau for Analytical Reporting CABAR.asia*, (19 February 2019). Accessed from: <https://cabar.asia/ru/uzbekistan-pochemu-uzbekskij-ne-stal-yazykom-politiki-i-nauki/>

concerns that they did not understand what reports, briefs, and other documents/work she submitted, because she did all the paperwork in the Latin Uzbek language. Meanwhile, those colleagues do not know the Latin script of the Uzbek language and use only the Cyrillic Uzbek language. After a while, she started to adjust to the system because she was the youngest lecturer and did not feel comfortable going against the elderly due to respect and their Soviet education. Dilara said,

"Governmental administration and other institutions ask to use Cyrillic script of Uzbek because it is more comfortable. People got used to it and because carders in administration and other institutions such as universities are mainly older generations who had Soviet education." (Dilara, 26)

It means that if she did not know the Russian language, her education in Latin Uzbek would be challenging in her current position.

Moreover, she shared her experience of how her colleagues who have difficulties teaching in the Russian language pushed on Dilara to take students' learning in the Russian language. In the beginning, she experienced difficulties in teaching Law in Russian because she had limited working proficiency in Russian. She assured me that this level of Russian was helpful to develop and improve her language skills. If not for her language level, she could have been in a critical situation in the Russian-speaking group of the course.

Gulnora from Uzbekistan shared part of her routine that she tries to follow weekly, which defines her significance in knowing Russian. Her education was entirely in Latin Uzbek, and she has only limited knowledge of Russian. She shared her experience with local newspapers. Every week, she tries to purchase governmental newspapers to see what is on the news and read presidential decrees and updates. Almost all state-sponsored newspapers are in Cyrillic Uzbek. She shared her own opinion saying,

"Those newspapers are targeted to the older generation because we, the youth, used to have digital engagement. Nevertheless, reading a newspaper in Cyrillic Uzbek is strange for me. Luckily, I know the Russian language, it is a huge help in it. I hope one day I will get a newspaper which will have a script I learned." (Gulnora, 26)

The Russian language still has a significant role in the lives of the Central Asian population. One way or another, the necessity to know the non-titular language is visible. *"The Russian language is good to be part of the post-Soviet territory- communications between each other, migration, business between the countries."* (Aziza, 23) The experiences and claims by the interviewees mentioned illustrate the role of the Russian language and its influences. There are primarily positive influences and benefits from knowing the Russian language. The interview results demonstrate that the Russian language is often noticed in people's everyday lives in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. Moreover, it makes to realize that Latinization efforts are unsuccessful in this matter. Anderson argues that 'print capitalism' can be a component of the creation of imagined community with its distinctive language.¹⁰⁶ Uzbek case illustrates the way government neglects to build the imagined community through Latin script.

3.3 Attitude on Language Policy "Latinization."

In this section, I plan to talk about respondents' opinions on the process of switching to Latin scripts in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. The majority of the respondents reacted either neutrally or negatively to the process of Latinization. Some individuals shared their personal experiences in Latinization processes. Also, individuals from both countries expressed concern about how those who recently introduced the Latin versions of alphabets change their names

¹⁰⁶ Anderson Benedict, "Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism", *Verso New Left Books*, New York (2006), 62

and surnames. There is criticism on the language politics to switch to the Latin scripts both among Kazakhs and Uzbeks. Interestingly, there is an opinion to support the promotion of the language itself but not the Latinization of titular languages. However, there is an argument that Latinization might bring regional unity to diverse communities of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.

Both governments spend and dedicate too much money to the process of switching to Latin scripts, both Kazakh and Uzbek languages. Meanwhile, there are many more severe issues such as poverty, unemployment, climate change, and many other problems that make citizens' lives hard. Aruzhan implies the switch to Latinization, saying, *"We have more crucial sectors which need attention than the language."* (Aruzhan, 23) Meanwhile, Kairat says:

"From an economic perspective: at the current stage, the government spends so much money on language reforms which are not smart decisions because the working group is weak and we are not prepared for such changes. We do not have strong cadres to work on the implementation of the new alphabet." (Kairat, 29)

In other words, the way Kazakh authorities put attention on the need to move to Latin script seemed to be ambiguous and not crucial at the current moment. There is criticism of the working group that the Kazakh government assigned to develop the Latin alphabet and implement linguistic changes in Kazakhstan within a specific timeframe. People feel that the opinion of the public is neglected in defining the prioritization of reforms.

Instead of promoting the switch to Latin script, the government should encourage and create attraction to learn/use titular language.

"We need to prioritize the Kazakh language; otherwise language can die out. the Russian language holds an important position for the citizens of Kazakhstan. We should promote the Kazakh language." (Eliskhan, 24)

Additionally, he said, *"To know the language and know Latin script are two different goals. Government gives different priorities and sets different goals to citizens."* (Eliskhan, 24) In the Kazakh case, the government showed its involvement in Latinization more vigorously rather than defining the reasons for the titular language's importance as a language itself. Young people perceive language as an important symbol of the nation. However, the promotion of state languages are underdeveloped and lack of structure and monitoring. There are actions to justify the motives of the internal policies as Latinization. It is done not to get public criticism, but it inevitably grasps attention among the young population of Kazakhstan.

The Uzbek youth leans toward the impression that the new alphabet incorporates young people's identity into the Turkic identity. Because the new alphabet imposes new letters that change the style of writing surnames and names. Many of them shared their experience that a new potential alphabet in which new letters like 'ç' (ch) and 'ş' (sh) are provided will make them change their passports, certificates, and other personal documents. It will change the sound and perception of own names and surnames, making it similar to the Turkic distinctiveness. Moreover, the new alphabet aligns the Uzbek population with Turkic-speaking nations and Turkey itself. It might be seen as Uzbekistan tries to replicate big brother's (Turkey's) successful switching to the Latin script of the language. It also demonstrates an inclination to the Turkic origins of both nations. Additionally, it demonstrates a "break from the ideological colonial influence" of post-Soviet Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.¹⁰⁷ It is interesting to note how this shows that a language policy can have a complex nature of distinctive influences.

¹⁰⁷ Sofya du Boulay, Huw du Boulay "New Alphabets, Old Rules: Latinization, Legacy, and Liberation in Central Asia" *Problems of Post-Communism*, Taylor & Francis Group, LLC, Vol. 68, No. 2, (2021), 139. Accessed from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2020.1785315>

The processes of Latinization may hold dishonest forms of action involving economic means. Alpatov, in his research *Scripts and Politics in the USSR*, calls ‘change of alphabet costly’.¹⁰⁸ Another interesting suggestion was presented from both sides that the whole process of Latinization and the emphasis on the importance of the Latin alphabet could possibly be a good cover for corruption in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. Kairat and Eliskhan share a similar opinion that the state allocates a tremendous amount annually to improve language policy. Perhaps some of the money goes into the pockets of officials and those close to the government. (Kairat, 30 and Eliskhan, 24) Just like his Kazakh colleagues, Ali believes that the Uzbek state is allocating unreasonable amounts for the process of Latinization of the alphabet. (Ali, 27) This might be especially true of the current amendments to the state language. Perhaps it might be just an assumption; however, there is a well-known corruption issue among Central Asian countries.

3.4 Politics behind the process of Latinization

In this section, I conclude the discussion about language policy in the eyes of young people. The content of the decrees and its perception by young representatives of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan is discussed here. Regionalism and language changes, opinion on the former and current presidents with its language changes "Latinization," and general political intentions behind the degree realization are also discussed here.

¹⁰⁸ Alpanov Vladimir “Scripts and Politics in the USSR”. *Studi Slavistici* xiv (2017), 10. Accessed from: DOI: 10.13128/Studi_Slavis-21936.

Switching to Latin script might band together regions of the country. Each Central Asian country has a rich history of being nomads, dividing into clans and tribes.¹⁰⁹ It is still reflected in contemporary communities of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. The language might be a tool to integrate and unite the regions and parts of the countries with various external linguistic influences from neighbouring countries. Strengthening the state language through Latinization is a political motive to prevent disintegration among the population. There is this constant fear revolving around possible tensions among the diverse societies of both countries. Due to the Stalinist style of map drawing and the Soviet Union's past, special attention to the adjacent territories may trigger a conflict. Thus, governments try to impose decrees as Latinization which is a tool to foster linguistic integration and the creation of majoritarian solid linguistic communities.

"Each region has its own dialect, which makes the Uzbek language particular in each region. It is important to notice that each region has its own linguistic influence from neighbouring countries. Language gives an identity to each individual from each region of Uzbekistan. Language reform can form and shape the identity as a whole." (Feruza, 23)

In the Uzbek case, Latinization can lead to the suppression of neighbouring countries' linguistic influences that contributed to the formation of these dialects. Furthermore, it is worth noting that these dialects allow us to imply which city a particular person is from, which can sometimes have an adverse and prejudicial effect. In this case, Latinization and strengthening the state language through Latinization can lead to the absence of any prejudice associated with

¹⁰⁹ Grigol Ubiria, "Soviet census and passport policies: Institutionalizing Kazakh and Uzbek national identities" and "The korenizatsiia campaign in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan" in *Soviet Nation-Building in Central Asia: The making of the Kazakh and Uzbek Nations* Routledge Taylor & Francis Group (2016),134

linguistic differences. At the same time, it should be noted that this can affect the identity of every person from any region of Uzbekistan. Thus, language policy affects identity at the interregional and national levels.

In the Kazakh case, the intensification of the Latin reform can be viewed as an instrument for balancing Russian influence. Sofya du Boulay and Huw du Boulay state, “Kazakhstan is the most Russian-speaking country in Central Asia; the majority of the population and elites speak in Russian.”¹¹⁰ Moreover, authors of the article *New Alphabets, Old Rules: Latinization, Legacy, and Liberation in Central Asia* argue that switch from Cyrillic to Latin script is liberation in Kazakh case, liberation from the USSR past and “control of the former Imperial master.”¹¹¹ However, Russia has a reasonably close with Kazakhstan that provides and strengthens bilateral economic, political, and social agreements with Kazakhstan since its independence. Because of its Soviet past, Kazakhstan is trying to balance Russian influence. The reforms on the Latinization of the Kazakh language are an indicator of this balance. Thus, the Russian language can deviate from the top place from a linguistic point of view.

For instance, the statements of the Russian deputies about the territory of Kazakhstan are alarming the Kazakh government. For example, in December, a deputy from the Russian State Duma called the north of Kazakhstan a "gift from Russia and the Soviet Union"¹¹² because

¹¹⁰ Sofya du Boulay, Huw du Boulay "New Alphabets, Old Rules: Latinization, Legacy, and Liberation in Central Asia" *Problems of Post-Communism*, Taylor & Francis Group, LLC, Vol. 68, No. 2, (2021), 13. Accessed from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2020.1785315>

¹¹¹ *Ibid*

¹¹² Asylkhan Mamashuly "Great gift. Statements of Russian MPs about the territory of Kazakhstan provoke indignation" Azzattyq Radio, (December 15, 2020). Accessed from: <https://rus.azattyq.org/a/kazakhstanis-reaction-to-the-statements-of-russian-deputies-about-the-kazakh-territory/31002411.html>

most of the population living in the north both ethnically Russians and Russian-speaking population. This causes caution for the government of Kazakhstan, to which the transition to the Latin alphabet may be a push to strengthen the Kazakh language.

"We need to consider the regional politics, for instance, the Eurasian Economic Union in which Russia has general power. Kazakhstan is an important country and is located in the middle between great powers- China, Russia and the West. Latin script might be a balance to press on the Russian linguistic influence." (Kairat, 30)

Regional politics play a crucial role in defining and reforming internal policies. Language policies are one example of it. Effective geopolitical changes make the country think strategically. The emergence of regional powers of Russia and China through regional cooperation such as the Eurasian Economic Union and Shanghai Cooperation Organization enhances Kazakhstan's economic and political dependency. Geopolitics may be an initiative for the promotion of the new alphabets. Because the new alphabet will help to step from the Cyrillic dependency, meaning step out from the Russian linguistic influence. New alphabet- Latin script of Kazakh language can demonstrate a soft power of country's foreign policy towards the Western cooperation.

Current presidents demonstrate their state language more frequently compared to former presidents. Current presidents position themselves as new cadres of modernization and innovation. Unlike former presidents' styles, Kasym-Jomart Tokayev and Shavkat Mirziyoev seem to have their modern approach in the process of nation-building. One of the significant moves noticed by both presidents is that they use state language more often than former presidents. *"Currently, all presidential decrees and legislation are released in the Uzbek language. Before,*

presidential decrees and legislation were in Russian." (Feruz, 23) It seems that the current President of Uzbekistan tries to demonstrate his ability to apprehend state language into active use, unlike the former President. Such behaviour can be interpreted that the current President is trying with all his might to show and prove his ability to change the strength of the state language. Moreover, this can be interpreted by the fact that the current President clarifies his ambition and confidence that language policy can achieve its goals under his power and control. The new habit of releasing state legislation in state language can be seen as a form of Mirziyoev's power.

Political elites' new habits may seem like coverage of old habits linking to Soviet legacy. Vladimir Alpatov argues that "the psychological aspect of the problem of alphabet change is connected with historically established habits and stereotypes."¹¹³ In this sense, authorities of both countries set themselves as a role model of successful departure from the Soviet past. In linguistic matters, demonstratively talking in titular language may indirectly manipulate people's language preferences. However, Kudaibergenova, Diana and Shin Boram, in their article *Authors and Authoritarianism in Central Asia: Failed Agency and Nationalising Authoritarianism in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan*, argue that political resistance against the Soviet Union legacy is still relatively weak in contemporary Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.¹¹⁴ Perhaps those transitions from the post-Soviet period might take longer than expected. Moreover, language reforms make those transitions challenging.

¹¹³ Alpanov Vladimir "Scripts and Politics in the USSR". *Studi Slavistici* xiv (2017),11. Accessed from: DOI: 10.13128/Studi_Slavis-21936.

¹¹⁴ Kudaibergenova T. Diana, Shin Boram, "Authors and Authoritarianism in Central Asia: Failed Agency and Nationalising Authoritarianism in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan" *Asian Studies Review*, Vol. 42, No.2, (2018) 306. Accessed from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2018.1447549>

From the political perspective- the goal to establish Latinization is clear and has logical incentives. Kudaibergenova Diana and Shin Boram argue that “elites do construct and imagine national distinctions and myths that glorify the nation; however, they do so against already existing cultural and historical backgrounds.”¹¹⁵ It clearly illustrates the intention to imagine the nation through the soft power of the Latinization of titular languages. However, establishing imagined national Kazakh and Uzbek nations is underdeveloped and lacks monitoring and structure. It makes to realize that the political elites in both countries are failing to implement the process and achieve the goal of the transition.

¹¹⁵ Kudaibergenova T. Diana, Shin Boram, "Authors and Authoritarianism in Central Asia: Failed Agency and Nationalising Authoritarianism in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan" *Asian Studies Review*, Vol. 42, No.2, (2018) 306. Accessed from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2018.1447549>

Conclusion

The research aimed to analyze the contemporary political discourse of the Latinization processes in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan and discover the young generation's opinion on those language reforms, perception of the Russian language, and impact of switching to Latin script. The analysis is constructed with the discourse analysis of the language reforms and semi-structured in-depth interviews with young people of both countries. Additionally, the theory of soft power by Joseph Nye Jr. was applied to analyze the political aspect of the language changes and the way current presidents try to foster the process of switching to Latin script. The study has offered the findings that young people mostly agree that processes of Latinization are a tool for the governments to achieve their own political and economic means. Nevertheless, it seems like a failed attempt to promote the titular languages since the political leaders stress the importance of the Latinization itself. Homogenization of state language with Latin script explained intention to break from the Soviet past, associated with the Cyrillic script. Therefore, urgency in switching to Latin scripts seem like desperate attempts to get rid of the Soviet past. Due to the underdeveloped, weakly monitored, and weakly structured Latinization efforts do not strengthen the national identities of both countries. There was a concern that it creates a gap with the older generation, which has Soviet education and find it hard to learn new alphabets. Young people of both countries see the Russian language as a functional language that offers possibilities and advantages in many aspects. Young people expressed a negative attitude on the language reforms because both countries have much more critical issues to have attention on rather than languages' scripts. There was a comparison of former presidents and current presidents of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan and their titular languages. It was noted that current

presidents use more the titular language, which makes it another motive to push on the changing script of titular languages.

In this research, I applied a theory of soft power to demonstrate the process of Latinization as a political tool to impact the national identity of the population, strengthen political legitimacy as new presidents and maintain the political and economic advantages of the Latin script. Precisely to say, I argued that Latinization is a soft power for the political elite to get closer to the Western world. The geographical location of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan has its importance in defining the internal and external policies. Soviet legacy with its Cyrillic script and the emergence of Russian and Chinese powers in both countries makes Central Asian states balance and implement policies such as linguistic policies that open new opportunities for the states. Latin script might alter the Russian influence and align the Kazakh and Uzbek government to the Western world. The presidents indeed use soft power in this matter; however, it does not seem sufficient to maintain the Latinization.

The existing literature of language politics in the Central Asian region has a general approach to analyzing five countries under one umbrella. My study demonstrates that Central Asian countries might share similarities in identity formation during the Soviet period. However, there are critical sides that make each country unique in the post-Soviet period. Therefore, the study with a comparative approach of only two countries of the Central Asian region contributes to the analysis of each country with its particularities. This research could contribute to the existing literature on language politics in post-Soviet countries. The study demonstrates the emergence of linguistic nationalism in the contemporary political discourse of both countries.

Moreover, this research contributes to the discourse analysis of the political elites in the process of Latinization. The population's opinion is often neglected in the literature on nation-

building processes in the post-independent post-Soviet countries such as Central Asian countries. The study expands the understanding of the relations between language politics, language preferences among the population, and its impact on state identity and belonging. Targeted young generation in this study is representation of Kazakh and Uzbek population.

Annex

Figure 2 Last version of the Kazakh Latin alphabet (2021)¹¹⁶. Source: Official website of Kazakhstan Prime Minister.

ЖАҢА ҚАЗАҚ ӘЛПБИИ							
№	латынша	кирилше	әріптің атауы	№	латынша	кирилше	әріптің атауы
1	A a	А а	a	18	O o	О о	o
2	Ä ä	Ә ә	ä	19	Ö ö	Ө ө	ö
3	B b	Б б	by	20	P p	П п	py
4	D d	Д д	dy	21	Q q	Қ қ	qy
5	E e	Е е	e	22	R r	Р р	ry
6	F f	Ф ф	fy	23	S s	С с	sy
7	G g	Г г	gi	24	Ş ş	Ш ш	shy
8	Ğ ğ	Ғ ғ	gy	25	T t	Т т	ty
9	H h	Х х, Н н	hy	26	U u	У у	uy
10	I i	Й й, И и	iy	27	Ü ü	Ү ү	ü
11	J j	І і	i	28	Y y	Ү ү	y
12	J j	Ж ж	jy	29	V v	В в	vy
13	K k	К к	ki	30	Y y	Ы ы	y
14	L l	Л л	ly	31	Z z	З з	zy
15	M m	М м	my	*С, Х, W танбалары ынталық принциппен жазылатын шетелдік сөздерде қолданылады.			
16	N n	Н н	ny				
17	D ñ	Ң ң	ny				

Figure 3 Last version of the Uzbek Latin alphabet (2021).¹¹⁷ Source: Official State Portal

Lotincha			Kirill	Lotincha			Kirill
Bosma	Yozmasi	Talaffuzi	Harflar	Bosma	Yozmasi	Talaffuzi	Harflar
A a	А а	a	А а	Ö ö	Ö ö	ö	Ў ў
B b	Б б	be	Б б	P p	Р р	pe	П п
D d	Д д	de	Д д	Q q	Q q	qe	Қ қ
E e	Е е	e	Э э	R r	Р р	re	Р р
F f	Ф ф	fe	Ф ф	S s	С с	se	С с
G g	Г г	ge	Г г	Ş ş	Ш ш	şe	Ш ш
Ğ ğ	Ғ ғ	ge	Ғ ғ	Ç ç	Ч ч	çe	Ч ч
H h	Х х	he	Х х	T t	Т т	te	Т т
I i	И и	i	И и	U u	У у	u	У у
J j	Ж ж	je	Ж ж	V v	В в	ve	В в
K k	К к	ke	К к	X x	Х х	xe	Х х
L l	Л л	le	Л л	Y y	У у	ye	Й й
M m	М м	me	М м	Z z	З з	ze	З з
N n	Н н	ne	Н н	ng	Н г	nge	н г
O o	О о	o	О о	,	,	Tutuq b.	ъ

¹¹⁶ “A. Mamin chaired a meeting of the National Commission on the translation of the Kazakh alphabet into Latin script” [“Mamin provel zasedaniye Nackomissii po perevodu alfavita kazakhskogo yazyka na latinskiyu grafiku”] *Official Information Resource of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Kazakhstan* (28 January 2021). Accessed from:

<https://primeminister.kz/ru/news/a-mamin-provel-zasedanie-nackomissii-po-perevodu-alfavita-kazahskogo-yazyka-na-latinskuyu-grafiku-280497>

¹¹⁷ On Amendments to the Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan "On Introduction of the Uzbek Alphabet Based on the Latin Script" *Normative- Legal Documents Portal Discussion Projects* [“Normativ-Hukukiy Hujjatlar Loyihallary Muhokamasy Portali”] (March 2021). Accessed from: <https://regulation.gov.uz/uz/d/31596>

Bibliography

Abashin Sergey, "Nationalism in Central Asia: In Search of Identity" *Russian Academy of Science Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology* 2007

Alpanov Vladimir, "Scripts and Politics in the USSR". *Studi Slavistici* xiv (2017): 9-19, DOI: 10.13128/Studi_Slavis-21936.

Anderson Benedict, "Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism", *Verso New Left Books*, New York 2006

Alimdjanov Bakhtiyor, "Why the Uzbek language has not become a language of politics and science," *Central Asian Bureau for Analytical Reporting* (CABAR.Asia), February 19 2019. Accessed from: <https://cabar.asia/ru/uzbekistan-pochemu-uzbekskij-ne-stal-yazykom-politiki-i-nauki/>

Arraiza José-Maria, "The Management of Linguistic Diversity through Territorial and Non-Territorial Autonomy" *Europäisches Journal für Minderheitenfragen* 2015, pp.7-33. Accessed from: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2650970>

Anonymous, "Turkmen Paradox: De Jure – There Is No Russian Language, De Facto – It Is Necessary" *Central Asian Bureau for Analytical Reporting* (CABAR Asia) February 25, 2019. Accessed from: <https://cabar.asia/en/turkmen-paradox-de-jure-there-is-no-russian-language-de-facto-it-is-necessary>

Blackburn Matthew, "Discourses of Russian-speaking youth in Nazarbayev's Kazakhstan: Soviet legacies and responses to nation-building" *Central Asian Survey* 2019, VOL. 38, NO. 2, 217–236. Accessed from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/02634937.2019.1615409>

Bekmurzaev Nurbek, "Language Policies of the Central Asian States" *Central Asian Bureau for Analytical Reporting* (CABAR. Asia), 2019. Accessed from: <https://cabar.asia/en/language-policies-of-the-central-asian-states>

Brubaker Rogers, "Nationhood and the National Question in the Soviet Union and Post-Soviet Eurasia: An Institutional Account" *Springer: Theory and Society*, Feb. 1994, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Feb. 1994), pp. 47-78. Accessed from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/657812>

Brubaker Rogers, "In the name of the nation: reflections on nationalism and patriotism" *Citizenship Studies*, 8:2, (2004) pp. 115-127. Accessed from: DOI:10.1080/1362102042000214705

Brubaker Rogers, "Nationalizing states revisited: projects and processes of nationalization in post-Soviet states" *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 34:11, (2011) pp. 1785-1814, DOI:10.1080/01419870.2011.579137

Bilinsky Yaroslav, "Education of the Non-Russian Peoples in the USSR, 1917-1967: An Essay" *Slavic Review*, Sep. 1968, Vol. 27, No. 3 (Sep. 1968), pp. 411-437. Accessed from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2493342>

Christopher P. Carney, John P. Moran, "Imagining Communities in Central Asia: Nationalism and Interstate Affect in the Post-Soviet Era" *Asian Affairs: An American Review*, Taylor & Francis, Ltd. Vol. 26, No. 4 (Winter, 2000), pp. 179-198. Accessed from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30172493>

Decree of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan "On measures for the further development of the Uzbek language and improvement of the language policy in the country" *National News Agency of Uzbekistan*, October 2020. Accessed from: <http://uza.uz/posts/182650>

Dyatlenko Pavel, "Language reforms in Central Asia: trends - goals - results" ("Yazykovye Reformy v Czentralnoy Azii: trendy- czeli- rezultaty"), *GCED Learning House* pp. 81-109. Accessed from: <https://www.gcedclearinghouse.org/sites/default/files/resources/190342rus.pdf>

Evdokimov Alexander, N. , Tatyana A. Davydova, Dmitry A. Savkin "Russian language in Central Asia: current status and prospects" *Проблемы постсоветского пространства / Post-Soviet Issues*, 2020;7(3) pp.373-388. Accessed from: <https://doi.org/10.24975/2313-8920-2020-7-3-373-388>

Fierman William, "Identity, Symbolism, and the Politics of Language in Central Asia" *Europe-Asia Studies* University of Glasgow Vol. 61, No. 7, September 2009, pp.1207–1228. Accessed from: DOI: 10.1080/09668130903068731

Goos Hofstee, Noor Broeders, "Multi-dimensional chess Sino-Russian relations in Central Asia" *Clingendael Institute* 2020, pp. 1-16 Accessed from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep29360>

Kreindler Isabelle, "Language Politics in Contemporary Central Asia: National and Ethnic Identity and the Soviet Legacy", *Middle Eastern Studies*, (2012)48:5, 851-853, DOI: 10.1080/00263206.2012.710504

Hiro Dilip, "Inside Central Asia: A Political and Cultural History of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkey and Iran" *Overlook Duckworth*, Peter Mayer Publishers, 2009

Landau Jacob M. "Alphabet Reform in the Six Independent Ex-Soviet Muslim Republics" *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* , Third Series, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Jan., 2010), pp. 25-32. Accessed from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27756121>

Levin Jonathan, "From Nomad to Nation: On the Construction of National Identity through Contested Cultural Heritage in the Former Soviet Republics of Central Asia," *Journal of International Law and Politics* New York University 50, no. 1 (Fall 2017): 265-296

Junisbai Azamat K., "Authoritarian Learning: Making Sense of Kazakhstan's Political Transition" *Program on New Approaches to Research and Security in Eurasia* (PONARS Eurasia) 2020, pp. 1-6. Accessed from: <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/authoritarian-learning-making-sense-of-kazakhstan-s-political-transition/>

Grigol Ubiria, "Soviet census and passport policies: Institutionalizing Kazakh and Uzbek national identities" and "The korenizatsiia campaign in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan" in *Soviet Nation-Building in Central Asia: The making of the Kazakh and Uzbek Nations* Routledge Taylor & Francis Group 2016, pp.134- 178

Lee Chaimun, "Languages and Ethnic Politics in Central Asia: The Case of Kazakhstan" *Journal of International and Area Studies*, June 2004, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 101-116. Accessed from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43107089>

Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan on the State Language from October 21,1989. Accessed from: http://base.spinform.ru/show_doc.fwx?rgn=770

Law of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic on Languages in the Kazakh Socialist Republic from September 22 1989. Accessed from: https://online.zakon.kz/Document/?doc_id=1005765#pos=3;-104

Kazakh official website "Programma po realizatsii yazykovoi politiki na 2020-2015 gody utverjdjena v R.K. (The implementation programme for language policy for 2020-2025 is approved in Kazakhstan)," *Zakon.kz*, January 14, 2020. Accessed from:<https://www.zakon.kz/5002543-programma-po-realizatsii-yazykovoy.html>

Kudaibergenova T. Diana, Shin Boram, "Authors and Authoritarianism in Central Asia: Failed Agency and Nationalising Authoritarianism in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan" *Asian Studies Review*, 2018 Vol. 42, No.2, pp. 304-322. Accessed from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2018.1447549>

Kudaibergenova T. Diana, Filippo Costa Buranelli "Theorizing the Nature of Power in Central Asia. Introduction to the Special Issue" *Problems of Post-Communism* , VOL. 68, NO. 2, (2021) pp.89–91. Accessed from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2021.1863116>

Pavlenko Aneta, "Multilingualism in Post-Soviet Countries: Language Revival, Language Removal, and Sociolinguistic Theory", *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 11:3-4, 2008, pp. 275-314, DOI:10.1080/13670050802271517

Patten Alan, "The Humanist Roots of Linguistic Nationalism" *History of Political Thought, Imprint Academic Ltd.* Summer 2006, Vol. 27, No. 2, pp. 223-262. Accessed from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26222195>

Masanov Yuri, "Vse chto nujno znat o yazykah I yazykovoi politike v Kazakhstane (Everything you need to know about languages and language policy in Kazakhstan)," *Inform Buro*, April 28 2018. Accessed from: <https://informburo.kz/cards/vsyo-chto-nuzhno-znat-o-yazykah-i-yazykovoy-politike-v-kazakhstane.html>

Marlene Laruelle, Wei (Josh) Luo, "Soviet Legacy as Soft Power: Chinese Reception of Russian Political and Cultural Influence" *Program on New Approaches to Research and Security in Eurasia* (PONARS Eurasia) 2020, pp. 1-6. Accessed from: <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/soviet-legacy-as-soft-power-chinese-reception-of-russian-political-and-cultural-influence/>

"A. Mamin chaired a meeting of the National Commission on the translation of the Kazakh alphabet into Latin script" ["Mamin provel zasedaniye Nackomissii po perevodu alfavita kazakhskogo yazyka na latinskiyu grafiku"] *Official Information Resource of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Kazakhstan* January 28 2021. Accessed from: <https://primeminister.kz/ru/news/a-mamin-provel-zasedanie-nackomissii-po-perevodu-alfavita-kazakhskogo-yazyka-na-latinskuyu-grafiku-280497>

Mamashuly Asylkhan, "Great gift. Statements of Russian MPs about the territory of Kazakhstan provoke indignation" *Azzatyq Radio*, December 15, 2020. Accessed from: <https://rus.azattyq.org/a/kazakhstanis-reaction-to-the-statements-of-russian-deputies-about-the-kazakh-territory/31002411.html>

Mynbayeva, A., & Pogolian, V., "Kazakhstani School Education Development from the 1930s: History and Current Trends". *Italian Journal of Sociology of Education*, 6(2), (2014), pp. 144-172. Accessed from http://www.ijse.eu/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/2014_2_7.pdf

Rico Isaacs, Abel Polese, "Between "imagined" and "real" nation-building: identities and nationhood in post-Soviet Central Asia" *Nationalities Papers*, 43:3, 371-382, DOI: 10.1080/00905992.2015.1029044

Rywwin, Michael "What is Central Asia to Us?" *American Foreign Policy Interests*, (2011), pp.222-229. Accessed from: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10803920.2011.620514>

Nye Joseph Jr., "Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics" *Public Affairs Publications* 2004

Patten Allan, Will Kymlicka, "Introduction: Language Rights and Political Theory: Context, Issues, and Approaches" in the book *Language Rights and Political Theory*, Oxford University Press 2003, pp.1-51. Accessed from: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/288898738_Introduction_Language_rights_and_political_theory_Context_issues_and_approaches

Uphoff Norman, "Distinguishing Power, Authority & Legitimacy: Taking Max Weber at His Word by Using Resources-Exchange Analysis" *Polity, The University of Chicago Press* on

behalf of the Northeastern Political Science Association Winter, 1989, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Winter, 1989), pp. 295-322. Accessed from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3234836>

On Amendments to the Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan "On Introduction of the Uzbek Alphabet Based on the Latin Script" *Normative- Legal Documents Portal Discussion Projects* ["Normativ-Hukukiyi Hujjatlar Loyihallary Muhokamasy Portali"] March 2021. Accessed from: <https://regulation.gov.uz/uz/d/31596>

Silver Brian, "Social Mobilization and the Russification of Soviet Nationalities" *The American Political Science Review*, Mar. 1974, Vol. 68, No. 1 (Mar. 1974), pp. 45-66. Accessed from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1959741>

Six Irina, "Born in the USSR": Searching High and Low for Post-Soviet Identity", *Ubandus Review*, Columbia University Slavic Department 2008, Vol. 11, pp. 232-251. Accessed from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25748190>

Sofya du Boulay, Huw du Boulay, "New Alphabets, Old Rules: Latinization, Legacy, and Liberation in Central Asia" *Problems of Post-Communism*, Taylor & Francis Group, LLC 2021, Vol. 68, No. 2, pp.135–140, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2020.1785315>

"State Programme for Development and Functioning of Languages in Kazakhstan for 2011-2019," from the official website of the *Prosecutor General's Office of Kazakhstan*, October 4 2012. Accessed from: <http://prokuror.gov.kz/rus/dokumenty/gosudarstvennyy-yazyk/o-gosudarstvennoy-programme-Razvitiya-i-funkcionirovaniya-yazykov-v>

Yunusbayev B, Metspalu M, Metspalu E, Valeev A, Litvinov S, Valiev R, et al. "The Genetic Legacy of the Expansion of Turkic-speaking Nomads across Eurasia" *PLoS Genet* 11(4), 2015, pp. 1-24. Accessed from: doi:10.1371/journal.pgen.1005068

Weber Max "Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology" *Bedminster Press* New York, 1968, p.153

Wierzbicki Andrzej, "Ethnicity and Power in the Soviet Union" *Warsaw University*, 2017 4(3), pp.240-255. Accessed from: DOI: 10.24975/2313-8920-2017-4-3-240-255