Alphabet Transition in Uzbekistan: Political Implications and Influences on Uzbek Identity

Ryan Michael Schweitzer

Following its independence after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Uzbekistan sought to create an Uzbek identity that would distance itself from the Soviet colonial past and differentiate itself from its neighbors. One of the major policies during this process of identity formation was the reinvention of the Uzbek alphabet, which is still ongoing and heavily debated today.

Uzbek scholars and politicians regularly critique and question the policy, and the issue arose again during the 2019 elections. Frequently mentioned questions include, “should the state and its people use the Arabic script found in early literature,” “should Cyrillic be used because of its historical impact,” or rather, “should a Latin-based Uzbek writing style be used?”

All of these are valid questions for Uzbek politicians to ask, but the potential societal impact of these alphabets would be drastically different. No matter the decision, any change in the alphabet will influence society, and these changes must be concomitantly examined with the reasoning behind the decision. The culture of a society shapes the language which, in turn, continues to change or support that same culture and society.

In this paper I explore how changes in the alphabet helped create Uzbek identity and how Latinization is currently developing and influencing Uzbek identity. I examine the opinions of residents of Uzbekistan about the alphabet and how changes to the alphabet impact individuals’ daily lives and personal identities. Following this, I investigate the rationale behind the ruling Uzbek elite’s decisions to change the alphabet throughout history in order to explain the interactions and mutual influence of culture, politics, and identity in Uzbek society. In the final section, I make policy suggestions for the Uzbek government and intelligentsia pertaining to a smoother alphabet transition in order to limit its impacts on Uzbek society. Failing to implement the alphabet transition throughout all social sectors and regions of Uzbekistan will limit Uzbek identity formation, leave generational and class-based gaps in society, and admit further external influence in the Uzbek nation-building process.
Methodology

Kanchan Chandra defines “identity” as the categories that an individual chooses and of which he or she is eligible to be a member. These ‘categories’ are religion, sexuality, race, origins, ethnicity, and language. Such personal identifications allow for an individual to be a part of larger cultural and societal groupings. In this paper, I base my conception of identity on Chandra’s definition. The terms “individual identity” or “national identity” will refer to how individuals choose and relate to their origins, ethnicity, and language, and how governmental bodies influence these choices.

In order to understand how citizens of Uzbekistan relate to and interact with the Uzbek language and its alphabets (Cyrillic or Latin), I conducted 130 personal interviews with individuals between the ages of 18 and 90 years old and from all twelve regions (and one semi-autonomous region) of Uzbekistan. The interviews consisted of eight questions (see Appendix 1). In order to understand the dynamics of Uzbek alphabet transitions throughout history, I utilized state and national archival and library documents. Finally, to gauge the level of political influence on Uzbek alphabet transitions and to understand the role that political elites play in identity formation in Uzbekistan, I conducted in-depth interviews with government officials and analyzed various public news media outlets (newspapers, online articles, Twitter, and Telegram channels).

History

Identity in Uzbekistan has taken many forms as a consequence of the multi-ethnic state, a history of conquests, and the rise and fall of the communist regime. The Uzbek language is unique because it has radically changed its alphabet four times during the twentieth century. Uzbek is one of the only languages to have undergone these many transitions, and each new alphabet has brought different new dynamics not only to the language, but also to the society.

Uzbek identity may be a modern creation, but modern Uzbek language has its roots in Chagatai. From the 14th century until the late 1920s, Chagatai/Uzbek was written in Arabic script. Then, the Baku Turkological Congress of 1926 set forth a path to Latinization, and by 1928, the initial stages of this process were in effect. News articles and journals began using the new Latin alphabet; that same year, secondary schools began conducting lessons using Latin. Until the late 1920s, there was neither a large desire by the government to use nor a significant demand from the people for the Latin alphabet. Before this time, the political elites were religiously minded conservatives; therefore, writing Uzbek in the Arabic script complemented their Islamic beliefs.

Writing in the Arabic script oriented them towards other Muslim nations, united their shared histories, and was a convenient way for religious scholars and the general population to read and study the Koran. However, by the late 1920s, the conservative elite was defeated and left the political scene. As with all reforms in Uzbekistan, the alphabet switch that followed this development was a top-to-bottom approach. The motivations behind the new political elites’ decision were more aligned with those of other Turkic nations already using the Latin alphabet and with those of Soviet leaders in Moscow. As one leader of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan mentioned:

We know that the Arabic alphabet and Arabic writing were difficult – and so we discarded them; but we discarded them not only because they were difficult. This is only one of the main reasons. They had to be discarded because if we had not discarded them once and for all, we would not be able to free ourselves very easily from noxious Muslim philosophy and from Arabic scholasticism (Vsesoiuznyi 1932: 7).
For many common citizens, the first change to the alphabet was relatively beneficial. During this early Soviet period, the literacy rate was approximately 3.7 percent. Thus, the shift to the Latin alphabet immediately increased the literacy rate, as people believed that it was a much easier alphabet to teach in the then rising Soviet educational systems. Uzbek culture and traditions were also impacted. By using the Latin alphabet, the Uzbek language created a cultural shift towards a Soviet, more secular, framework of thinking.

By the late 1930s, Latinization of the Uzbek language had ended in favor of Cyrillization, which was completed in 1940. For Stalin and others among the USSR’s political elite and intelligentsia, the process of Latinization had met most of its intended goals (especially in its fight against Islamism), but it had not fully united the Russian and non-Russian peoples living within the USSR. The switch to the Cyrillic alphabet would bring greater harmony amongst these groups under the leadership of the Russian. In addition, having the Russian alphabet and the native languages written in the same alphabet would allow for an easier language-learning experience in schools and universities.

In the personal interviews that I conducted, many individuals mentioned that using the Cyrillic alphabet allowed them to read more about Soviet/Russian history and allowed Soviet culture to expand in society and into their personal identities. As one individual described to me in the city of Nukus, using the Cyrillic alphabet “helped bring a unified Soviet spirit to the region, which made [him feel he] had actively participated in the political transformation.” The Cyrillic alphabet naturally increased the ease of learning the Russian language and allowed it to expand across the country and become the language of business, government, and daily life.

The collapse of the Soviet Union brought with it a renewed commitment from Uzbekistan’s political elite to nation building and Uzbek identity formation. The newly independent Uzbek government wanted to build a state and society for Uzbeks that were differentiated from those of its former Soviet connections and neighbors. These formative processes were important for protecting independent Uzbekistan from possible encroachment by Russia or another foreign country. In order to achieve a unified Uzbek society, the government relied on creating national myths and a unique history that were set apart from those of other Central Asian nations, renamed buildings and streets, and decided to change the Uzbek alphabet once again.

In 1993, a new alphabet law came into effect requiring a switch from the Cyrillic alphabet to the Latin alphabet by 2000. The new law also required secondary schools to begin learning the new alphabet within the next year. However, this 2000 deadline would be extended several more times, and as of 2020, is still unrealized. The motivation behind this change to a Latin alphabet was twofold: it was part of a desire to de-Russify Uzbek culture and history in order to ensure greater independence in the future, and it was a response to modern technology. Computers, phones, and the Internet are more accessible, more efficient, and easier to program using Latin characters. For this reason, the Uzbek leadership thought that the use of the Latin alphabet would be an effective way to close the Russian/Soviet chapter of Uzbek history and adapt the country’s culture, identity, and technology to modern times. However, there were and still are many challenges for this latest adaptation of the alphabet: foreign countries, for example, continue to influence, not only the actual alphabet, but also its implementation process. I examine that influence below.

The Choice of Alphabet and Karimov’s Foreign Policy

Under the rule of former President Islam Karimov, Uzbekistan remained largely isolated from the foreign powers that tried to
influence the country’s domestic policies and relations. Russia was always in the background, as it considered the Central Asian states still within its sphere of influence; however, in the early 1990s and 2000s, Uzbekistan became closer to Turkey and the United States, among others. During this time, it appeared that Uzbekistan’s political elite and intelligentsia were keen on reconnecting with their Turkic roots and developing a Latin alphabet closely related to that of Turkey’s. The Latin alphabet that Turkey uses provides the letters that other Latin alphabets lack—such as “sh” and “ch.” Yet in 1993, and again in 2003, the relationship between Turkey and Uzbekistan deteriorated. As a result, Uzbekistan refused to follow exactly the Turkish alphabet and chose its own variant, the one currently being used (See Appendix 2 for the various alphabets.)

In 2005, the relationship between the United States and Uzbekistan reached a low point, and Uzbekistan re-embraced its relations with Russia. During this period, there was a resurgence of bilateral relations, and the Russian language again grew in importance within the country. This “thaw” with Russia is perhaps one of the reasons for a slow conversion to the Latin alphabet. During this period, Russian media often lambasted the decision to change the alphabet, and many of the Uzbek establishment played into these criticisms. Yet Uzbekistan has continued to embrace Latinization, despite criticisms coming from Russia. For instance, the Foundation for Strategic Culture in Russia stated that the Latin alphabet is simply a tool that the U.S. is using to expand its influence and interests.

Since late 2016, the current president of Uzbekistan, Shavkat Mirziyoyev, has opened the country to new foreign relations and partnerships. One may also notice a resurgence of nationalism in Uzbekistan, and once again an emphasis on the need to fully implement the Latin transition. It appears that Russia’s began relative advantage from the 2005 period has waned and Uzbeks are again interested in fully removing the Cyrillic alphabet from the Uzbek language.

Today’s Alphabet Confusion

Today, the conversion to the Latin alphabet is still ongoing, albeit slow. In addition, there are now rumors that Uzbekistan may undergo another change to its alphabet, even though the previous version from the early 1990s has not been fully implemented. Under the influence of Uzbek professors, linguistic scientists, and various government representatives, Uzbekistan may once again turn to the Turkish version of Latin alphabet, as it has the additional letters that the Uzbek language requires. While this newest change is still speculation, it could be a real possibility in the near future, especially as relations with Turkey begin to warm again. However, the current situation remains the same—the Latinized version of the Uzbek language as envisioned by former President Karimov is still being implemented.

For the younger generation—those who were born after the collapse of the Soviet Union—the Latin alphabet is the preferred method for reading and writing. They find the Latin script much more practical when using modern technologies and internet-based communication. Since 2016, as the West began to invest more in the Uzbek economy, many students and younger adults also feel that knowing and using the Latin alphabet makes English and other European languages easier to learn. Nonetheless, the older generation, socialized during the Soviet period, still prefers to use the Cyrillic alphabet. These individuals may believe that the Latin alphabet represents a more independent Uzbek society and identity, but they still use Cyrillic when communicating in Uzbek.

The situation on the ground reflects these the preferences of these two groups. As previously mentioned, the switch to the Latin alphabet has not been completed, and there are major issues evident in the conversion process. All schools and universities, when
instructing in Uzbek, use the Latin alphabet, yet many textbooks—especially in remote regions—are still in Cyrillic, despite students’ preferences. In the business sphere, tourism has had a major influence; all eating establishments’ signs and menus (unless they are Russian restaurants) are in the Latin alphabet. In addition, all maps, travel agencies, food labels, hotels, banks, movie theatres, shopping malls, and other entertainment centers use the Latin alphabet. Most businesses use the Latin alphabet not only because younger generations own them, but also because of their desire to attract foreigners as tourists and business partners.

By contrast, in the political sphere, especially in Tashkent, Cyrillic is still very much apparent. While all government buildings’ signs are in the Latin alphabet, the paperwork, decrees, laws, and even internal memos, which the administration publishes, are written in Cyrillic. For example, Uzbekistan’s head prosecutor’s office is supposed to have switched to the Latin alphabet, but their paperwork is in the Cyrillic script (to view an example, see Appendix 3). While there are several potential reasons for certain sectors’ use of Cyrillic, the most salient is that most of their workers are of the older generation and prefer Cyrillic when writing in Uzbek or are more comfortable using the Russian language.

One only needs to look at the recent 2019 elections to confirm this trend: a majority of the political campaign and election advertisements around the country were written in Uzbek using the Cyrillic alphabet. When candidates were asked about their use of the Cyrillic alphabet, reasons were plentiful: they wanted to attract the older generation, whom they deemed more likely to vote; political posters were made for them, so they (the candidates) had no opinion or choice; and they were hoping to gain the vote of Russian sympathizers. Most, however, simply expressed their own comfort with the Cyrillic alphabet.

In fact, in Tashkent, only one candidate for office had her political posters in the Latin alphabet. She was running on the ticket for the Ecological Party of Uzbekistan (O’zbekiston Ekologik Partiyasi). One reason she offered for her party’s use of the Latin alphabet was that younger Uzbeks usually list environmental issues as important, so her party was geared towards this demographic (to view her posters and other election materials, see Appendix 4). For the Uzbek political elite, Cyrillic has not lost traction because the political and upper classes of Uzbek society resemble those of both the Soviet system and the current Russian system. Even for political groups, like the Yuksalish (Progress) Movement, embodying the nationalistic fervor of younger generations, internal documents are typically written in the Cyrillic alphabet—even if full transition to the Latin alphabet is one of the key goals of the movement’s agenda.

Yet changes to the alphabet cost time and money, and the alphabet is not always Tashkent’s biggest priority. Cyrillic is still being used on outdated building structures and in traditional media. For example, signs and instructions at metro stations and other former Soviet buildings still use the Cyrillic alphabet. However, as new metros are being built in Tashkent, these stations and their signage are using the Latin alphabet. Although traditional forms of media, such as most newspapers, have yet to switch to the Latin alphabet (they are mostly read by the older generation), news on online news on online platforms is always accompanied by both alphabets, giving readers the choice of whichever alphabet they prefer.

In my interviews, members of the younger generation expressed their preferences for the Latin alphabet on apps like Facebook, Twitter, and Telegram. However, as with more traditional forms of media, the older generation prefers to use the Cyrillic alphabet on social media. For example, the language of a recent post on the Twitter page of DavletovUz, an Uzbek-run social media channel, suggests that some people do not read social media posts that are written in the
Latin alphabet, and that instead, they keep scrolling (see this and other posts in Appendix 5). The owners of this Twitter and Telegram group are Uzbek expats living in Russia who were born during the Soviet Union; their preference for the Cyrillic alphabet makes sense. One can then suppose that as the younger generation gains power in society, most of these Cyrillic writings will likely disappear.

Advantages and Disadvantages: A Summary

Uzbeks have faced and adapted to much adversity throughout history; hence, despite recent challenges, most individuals have been able to adjust to the multiple transitions to the different alphabets relatively easily. In fact, unlike other societies that have faced similar changes, Uzbekistan has not witnessed a dramatic decrease in its literacy rate in response to the latest alphabet change; on the contrary, its literacy rate—at least officially—has increased.

Another advantage of the country’s latest change to the Latin alphabet is its greater access to information. Many young people have expressed that the Latin alphabet has opened different avenues for the discovery of information on the Internet. In a society where information is usually suppressed and censored, it is critical to have a wide range of information at one’s disposal. In addition, the use of Latin characters allows for easier and faster communication on computers and cell phones. Most computers keyboards, especially ones purchased from the West, do not have Cyrillic keys or require additional keystrokes to get the desired letter. Not using Latin alphabet thus decreases the speed of information exchange and communication.

Additionally, the Latin alphabet represents a departure from the Soviet past and allows for the Uzbek nation to be symbolically independent from the former colonial center. A new non-Cyrillic alphabet would reflect the desire of the Uzbeks (or at least of the government,) to decide a unique Uzbek identity. While some may argue that the Latin alphabet is not the most historically relevant alphabet to reclaim “Uzbek-ness,” the ability to reconstruct Uzbek identity and decide what this identity means for future generations will undoubtedly strengthen Uzbek society.

Many Uzbeks who were interviewed, notably those of the younger generation, feel the need to use the Latin alphabet because of its global prevalence. Knowing and utilizing this alphabet allows for the development and expansion of new markets of information, commerce, and trade. Young Uzbeks see this new connection to the outside world as an opportunity to advance their personal dreams and businesses. Many of those interviewed stated that the Latin alphabet will be the alphabet that is used in most business transactions, so it is important to understand. The Latin alphabet gives Uzbek entrepreneurs the opportunity to connect with Western businesses, which in turn creates more revenue and investment for Uzbek business ventures. The Latin alphabet is more than just a font or style of writing; it is a new way for Uzbeks to expand beyond the Russian and former Soviet landscapes.

While the Latin alphabet has the potential to strengthen identity and jumpstart the economy in Uzbekistan, it has a few disadvantages. As expected, switching the alphabet for a country of over 34 million people is expensive. The transition to a new alphabet and distribution of textbooks for schools and universities is particularly challenging. As of 2020, the government has failed to provide Latin textbooks to all first-grade students, which is the grade in which most students begin to learn to read and write. A large portion of the Uzbek government’s budget would be required to provide all of the necessary changes. According to the Uzbek Finance Ministry, there has never been a real calculation of the monetary cost of transitioning the alphabet.

However, neighboring Kazakhstan, which
plans to shift to Latin alphabet in 2025, predicts that it will cost between US$664 million and $1 billion to change the alphabet. As of now, the Uzbek government seems unwilling to spend a similar amount of money to complete the country’s alphabet conversion process.

While money is a big impediment for the finalization of the alphabet transition, the small changes that have already been completed have left Uzbek society divided on the basis of socio-economic classes and age. For many wealthier families—especially those in Tashkent—Russian language schools are typically preferred over Uzbek schools. Russian schools provide better education and more importantly, teach and instruct in Russian. For many Uzbeks, the Russian language used to be a way to gain better economic advantages, especially in the business and political spheres. Although these perceived advantages have waned in recent years, many still believe that Russian schools have superior instruction. Of course, in terms of language reforms, this means that students who attend Russian schools prefer to use the Cyrillic alphabet when communicating in Uzbek. In addition, at the university level, students who attended Uzbek schools as children tend to be from poorer families and/or regions of Uzbekistan, which are usually seen as inferior. As relations with the West improve and the younger generation increasingly values the Latin alphabet, these class dynamics may change. But for the moment, especially in Tashkent, the Cyrillic alphabet is seen as a status symbol.

The alphabet conversion is also creating a generational divide. The older generation feels that once the younger generation begins to take power in major government positions, the change from Cyrillic to Latin will happen much more quickly since they are the ones who prefer the Latin alphabet. For the older generation, Cyrillic is more than just a remnant from a bygone era; it is part of Uzbeks’ shared history and identity. Throughout my interviews, members of the older generation expressed their fear of losing their Uzbek identity once the Uzbek alphabet is fully converted. In fact, the very old fear that they will be unable to learn the Latin alphabet and will therefore be unable to correspond through written Uzbek, especially if the younger generation ceases to know Cyrillic. The issue of the alphabet is creating a sense of isolation and difference between these generations and will only continue to become more acute as the younger generation advances into adulthood. This generational divide could weaken the process of nationbuilding and development of the Uzbek identity. For Uzbeks living in Uzbekistan, protecting their shared identity, culture, and history is important—they only need to look across the border to realize what isolation can do to the Uzbek identity.

**Conclusion**

Because languages and alphabets play a key role in forming identity, it is the Uzbek government, as the creator of the language policy, that lays the foundation for the “official” Uzbek identity. The Uzbek alphabet has changed many times throughout history depending on which nation or peoples were in control of the territory. For this reason, Uzbek identity has changed along with the alphabet. However, these changes were always government-led processes. Nevertheless, today’s Latinization process is still incomplete thirty years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, raising new questions and issues related to what it means to “be” Uzbek.

Even as much as the Uzbek political elite like to dictate their own desires and wishes for the realization of Uzbek identity, the current government is focused on gaining foreign investment which, in many ways, may lead to influences language policy. As signs continue to point towards Uzbekistan’s inevitable accession to the Russia-led Eurasia Economic Union (EAEU), Moscow will be in a position to once again influence Uzbekistan’s domestic policies. If this is the case, some
business and political officials may see the benefit to stalling the Latinization process. If Russia once again becomes Uzbekistan’s most important economic partner, the latter will have an incentive to utilize Cyrillic, especially in business.10

Growing foreign influence aside, Uzbekistan is experiencing the negative effects of the stalled Latinization process. Class and generational differences are beginning to appear, especially in the country's capital. Older Uzbeks feel as if they are parting ways with a central part of their shared identity by moving away from the Cyrillic alphabet. The older generation has spent nearly all of their lives using this alphabet and has forged personal and shared identities around it. However, at the same time, the younger generation feels that using the Cyrillic alphabet hampers the creation of a desovietized and derussified Uzbek identity.

In addition, these same young Uzbeks feel that using the Latin alphabet increases their future potential in business and education. By using a Western alphabet, relations between Uzbekistan and Western nations would improve, bringing with them chances to study abroad, increased tourism, and better business ties. In addition, there are elements of class dynamics at work because Uzbek students who come from wealthier families are typically educated in Russian-style schools, which use the Cyrillic alphabet, whereas students from poorer backgrounds typically study at Uzbek-style schools that emphasize the Latin alphabet. As such, class dynamic issues are growing, especially at the university level, where students from both backgrounds interact.

The Uzbek government needs to fully implement whichever alphabet it chooses—Cyrillic or Latin. Current stagnation in the transition is negatively impacting social unity, especially along class and generational lines. Having a dual-alphabetical system is not advantageous, especially when most of the younger Uzbeks advocate for a unified Latin alphabet. As in all societies, the younger generation needs to have a unified central identity to lead them into the future. A strong national Uzbek identity would strengthen individual identification with Uzbekistan and prevent other nations from encroaching on this identity. A coherent and finalized Latin alphabet will help fortify Uzbek identity.

Appendix 1—Interview Questions

Name (optional)/Ism (ixtiyoriy):

________________________________________________

Date/Sana:  ______________________________________________

Region/Viloyat:  _________________________________________

Age/Yosh:  ______________________________________________

1. In school, which Uzbek alphabet did you learn? In university?/Maktabda siz qaysi alifboni o’zbek tilini o’rgangansiz? Universitetdachi?
2. Did you attend a Russian or Uzbek school?/Siz rus yoki o’zbek maktabida o’qigansizmi?
5. How does the alphabet impact Uzbek identity?/Alifbo o’zbeklarning o’zligiga qanday ta’sir qiladi?
6. How have other countries, like Russia, the USA, Turkey, etc., reacted to the Uzbek alphabet change?/Rossiya, AQSh, Turkiya kabi boshqa davlatlar o‘zbek alifbosining o‘zgarishiga qanday munosabatda bo‘lishadi?

7. Do you agree with the government’s decision to use the Latin alphabet? Why or why not?/Siz hukumatning lotin alifbosidan foydalanish to‘g’risidagi qaroriga qo‘shilasizmi? Nega ha yoki nega yo‘q?

8. Uzbeks in northern Afghanistan use the Arabic script for Uzbek, how does this influence their Uzbek identity?/Afg‘onistonning shimoliy qismidagi o‘zbeklar arab yozuvini o‘zbek tilida ishlatishtadi, bu ularning o‘zbekligiga qanday ta‘sir qiladi?

Appendix 2—Alphabets

Arabic Script, 1920s.²

Early Latin alphabet, 1930s.²

Cyrillic alphabet, 1940s.¹³

Latin alphabet, 1993.²

Latin alphabet 1995-present.²
Appendix 3—Uzbek Government Prosecutor’s Letter

(Above) This is a recent letter from the Chief Deputy of the Uzbekistan Prosecutor’s Office to a client under investigation. As this is an on-going case, the identities of the accused and the case number have been redacted.

According to government sources, using the Cyrillic alphabet for most work is common. As leading government agencies have not fully transitioned to the Latin alphabet, the public cannot be expected to either. This situation has created a lack of motivation to learn Latin among the older generation and has created an impasse when it comes to fully transitioning the rest of society to the Latin alphabet. For further discussion of this topic, see the “Current Situation” section of this paper.
Appendix 4—Election 2019 Posters

Election advertisement, Tashkent, December 22, 2019.

Telegram campaign advertisement, “Milliy Tiklanish,” Tashkent, Cyrillic.
Election campaign poster for “O’zbekiston Ekologik Partiyasi,” geared towards the younger generation—Latin alphabet.
Appendix 5—Examples in Daily Life

Nationwide magazines. Cyrillic.

Daily, nationwide newspapers. Cyrillic.
References


Davletovuz Twitter post. Translation: “I do not read 90% of posts in Latin.” For a further discussion of this, see the “Current Situation” section above.


