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Local Impact on Secondary Educational Reform in Post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan

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Introduction

In the post-Soviet period, nation-building, economic development and globalization, as well as regional and local cultures and histories have influenced Kyrgyz secondary education. My presentation will demonstrate the rather surprising results of using micro-level analysis to address the grave problems facing the secondary education system in Kyrgyzstan today, namely (according to President Kurmanbek Bakiev): the lack of qualified staff, low average salaries, failing infrastructure, and lack of quality textbooks.¹ Today I will focus on the latter issue, the textbook deficit, in the schools hit the hardest: the Uzbek-language schools in southern Kyrgyzstan. Findings from the Ministry of Education show the crisis facing Kyrgyz schools: in 2007, 60% of primary school children & 80% of secondary school children did not possess basic knowledge of mathematics, and struggled to read.²

Educational debates are no longer limited to the classroom, but are discussed in journals, at conferences, and continue to be a major field of international non-military cooperation. This is understandable as education is generally defined as a human right. I was drawn to this topic for the chance to turn knowledge flow around, from a Western-centric model, to one encouraging exchange with our Central Asian counterparts. Comparative educational studies give us models for solving difficult questions faced by public schools in our own country, such as “who is responsible for minority education?” and “what have been successful models for minority education in the past?”

This presentation is organized to first introduce the region I study. Second, I will demonstrate how scholars have previously dealt with public education in the region. Third, I explain the strategy I adopted for my own analysis. And finally, I reveal the current results of this research.

Southern Kyrgyzstan

In the spring of 2008, I made a significant career move from Russian to Central Asian Studies. I have been an Uzbek student for two years now. I became interested in Kyrgyzstan's Uzbek population while seeking an Uzbek immersion program in a place where the language was spoken among native people. Opting for placement in Osh, Kyrgyzstan (which is about 40% Uzbek), I wondered whether Uzbeks there perceived their situation any differently in the post-transition period than their compatriots in neighboring Uzbekistan. This was based on my understanding of the drastically different paths taken by these countries after independence: Kyrgyzstan seeking and receiving a lot of Western aid and Uzbekistan, which was significantly wealthier, attempting to go it alone.³ I chose *public* education as a lens to explore this question, as it seemed states had great potential to shape the experience of their citizens in this context.

Before describing my research in the U.S. and abroad, it is important to illustrate the situation of this particular Uzbek population. Uzbek nationals make up 14% of Kyrgyzstan's population, and are largely concentrated in the southern cities of Jalalabad, Osh, and Uzgen in the area (bordering Tajikistan and Uzbekistan) known as the Ferghana Valley.⁴ The mountainous terrain that physically divides the Kyrgyz Republic's North and South is hence said to play a socially divisive role as well, separating the cosmopolitan *Russified* North (where the capital city of Bishkek is located) from the conservative (Uzbek) South. Uzbek school children have, since the Soviet period, enjoyed the option of instruction in their native language, in Uzbek schools and in schools with parallel languages of instruction.

Past Research

Reviewing post-Soviet literature on Kyrgyz secondary education in general, I found development and nation building to be the focal points. Authors have dealt with the assertion of international NGOs on the one hand, and the national government's plans to shape Kyrgyz

education independently on the other. International development experts and comparative educationalists alike have found that national projects failed to take into account local perspectives. (In the case of textbooks, emphasis was made on the contributions of the titular nationality). The reason for this emphasis is clear: Local complicates efforts to create a nation, since local allows for difference, while national and international initiatives intend to create similarity.

There is a downside to this approach. That is, it leads to projects limited in scope in the best case scenario and aggravate sub-national divisions in the worst. The initiators of these projects, be they Asia Development Bank, the Soros Foundation, USAID or the national government, seem to realize this. Unfortunately, powerful decision makers tend to be risk-averse, when the stakes, such as time or money, are high. In order to maintain supporters, it is often thought easiest to maintain the status quo.

To see local as exclusively *folkloric*, *ethnographic*, or *overly* political is risky too, as state initiatives might look very different at the local level. Educational policy experts, political scientists, anthropologists, and journalists have independently shed light on local diversity. Educational Policy Professor Alan DeYoung's *Surviving the Transition?: Case Studies of Schools and Schooling in the Kyrgyz Republic Since Independence* explores "local practices, values, community structures, and individual directors - many of which run "decidedly counter to the neo-liberal models of 'rationality'." ⁵ Ethnographers, such as Matteo Fumagalli and Morgan Liu, have introduced political movements among Uzbeks in Kyrgyzstan now kept in check by the nation-state, which could by extension have dramatic effects on the way curricula is used at the local level. ⁶

Meanwhile, Doctor of Comparative Education and Political Sociology, Iveta Silova showed how local leaders in Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan recycle educational reforms and put them to their own use, thus putting the locality into dialogue with the state.⁷ These authors thus expose marked diversity at the local level, but only Silova begins to look at the significance of such research for policy makers. My own research, on the history of the education of the multinational population in southern Kyrgyzstan, hopes to join and extend this scholarship by examining individual, sub-regional and local plans for the Kyrgyz nation.

My approach

Uzbeks and Kyrgyz, the two largest ethnic groups in Kyrgyzstan, are aware their differences. Only twenty years ago, the cities of Osh and Uzgen (which is about 85% Uzbek), witnessed three nights of violent inter-ethnic riots over property rights and the deaths of at least 300 (unofficial sources estimate 1000) people.⁸ Ethnicity continues to be politicized in major debates, within Kyrgyzstan and in conflicts with neighboring Uzbekistan.

As a result, former president Askar Akaev and his successor, Kurmanbek Bakiev, have had to carefully articulate national identity in order to appease ethnic groups living in the Kyrgyzstan. The traditional depiction sees Akaev as protector of interethnic harmony and Bakiev, a Southerner, having to cater to the interests of the Kyrgyz majority in the North and thus being unwilling to steer a course which is overtly pro-Uzbek.⁹

I hypothesized that improving the quality of Uzbek education in Kyrgyzstan would require close attention not only to regional and local cultural and history, but to evolving micro-level perceptions and actions. *Only* using such an approach would commonalities in opinion surface and the stakes be lowered. To test this approach I examined the interplay of international, national, and local educational plans in southern Kyrgyzstan during the Bakiev

presidency. I then brought this information to the Minister of Education of Kyrgyzstan, through a recent assignment in my Post-Soviet Security class, to see how local and policy would interact.

Primary Sources

In order to track the source and direction of change in the Kyrgyz educational system in general and the Uzbek schools in particular, I conducted interviews with the Department of Education and a dozen school directors in Osh. The interviews were conducted in Russian, but my conversation partners often shifted unknowingly into Uzbek and Kyrgyz, at which point my director from American Councils would act as an interpreter. I then combed through the entire drawer of call numbers relating to education at the Osh State Library and found 1) Soviet era publications describing the growth of multi-national schools and 2) current discussions between state and locality regarding these schools.

Three official newspapers articulate the relative weight of instructional languages in Kyrgyzstan today. *Erkintoo* (Free Mountains) is a national pro-government Kyrgyz-Russian newspaper. *Kut Bilim* (Blessed Knowledge) is similar, but directed at administrators and teachers in public schools. *Ekho Osha* (Echo of Osh) is a Russian language social-political newspaper local to Osh. These sources revealed three trends. First, no reference is made to Uzbek education specifically. Secondly, the articles demonstrated a growing interest among “native students” in Russian language education. Thirdly, and as a result of government initiative, the Kyrgyz language is increasingly promoted in the press and in general. If not from the media, the story of the Uzbeks would have to begin somewhere else.

Results

From the Osh Department of Education, I learned Uzbek textbooks were to be allotted to 24 city schools in 2007-2008: 13 Uzbek schools; 9 Uzbek-Russian schools; 1 Kyrgyz-Uzbek

school; and 2 Kyrgyz-Russian-Uzbek schools.¹⁰ In that same year, nearly 42% of Osh children studied in Uzbek. Regarding textbooks, I found that the city had 82% of the Kyrgyz-language books that it needed and only 52% of the Uzbek-language textbooks in 2007-2008 and 60% of Kyrgyz textbooks and 56% of Uzbek textbooks in 2008-2009.¹¹ The head of the Department of Education emphasized the acuteness of the textbook shortage in the Uzbek schools, but it is clear that deficit was an issue across the board.¹²

As state media and statistics only revealed general trends, I sought independent media that could speak to me a little more about how the shortage of Uzbek textbooks were perceived and acted upon at the community level. A systematic online search for “Uzbek schools in Osh and Kyrgyzstan” (written in Uzbek), identified two international Uzbek-language sources regularly reporting specifically on the Uzbek question in Kyrgyzstan. I translated articles from two sites: *Ozodlik Radosi* (the Uzbek language broadcast of *Radio Liberty*) and *Ferghana.ru* (an Uzbek -Russian- English source, founded by a former Ferghana citizen in Moscow).

Description of the problem

At the root of the grave situation in Uzbek schools in Kyrgyzstan today is the fact that Uzbekistan is not providing any support to Uzbeks abroad. Uzbekistan delivered the last of its textbooks and materials printed in Cyrillic, when it officially Latinized its alphabet in 1993. These have not sufficed for the 238 schools currently offering Uzbek in Kyrgyzstan.¹³

The Kyrgyz national focus has been on the development of education in the official languages. Following independence first Kyrgyz, then Russian in a “rapid and near unanimous decision” became official state languages. Russian’s adoption gave citizens the right of appeal in Russian and decreed that laws, acts, official meeting minutes were to be printed in both Russian and Kyrgyz.¹⁴ (Hence my ability, as a non-Kyrgyz speaker, to work with these publications)

Still, various proposals have been made to support Uzbek-language schools. Former Kyrgyz president Askar Akaev opened an Uzbek Textbook Development Center in 1997 near Osh's Kyrgyz-Uzbek University, which eventually fell to university rector and head of the Republic's Uzbek National-Cultural Center.¹⁵ The World Financial Crisis has put an end to the center's publishing efforts, leaving Uzbek schools to seek other sources. The Education Ministry under Bakiev has also not fulfilled its promise of publishing a single Uzbek textbook. In 2005, then Minister of Education noted local authorities were covering 7 percent of repair costs needed in Osh city schools; the other 93 percent of expenses were left to parents, sponsors, and international organizations.¹⁶

A 2007 report about the ongoing collection of parental monies to support Jalalabad Oblast Uzbek schools provides insight as to the unique textbook situation in Uzbek schools, namely – as was recently raised in parliament - the usage of books from Uzbekistan. A school director in Jalalabad was confident teachers were helping students understand these "mistakes" (a different president, flag and national hymn). "The students themselves understand all things very well." Looking at newer texts, published in Kyrgyzstan, local specialists found them scientifically and methodologically behind, and full of grammatical errors.¹⁷ That is, while even Jalalabad Oblast governor argued their quantity was no lower than Kyrgyz textbooks, their quality has certainly been brought into question.

Past Attempts

Collectively, prior proposals to the Kyrgyz government on behalf of Uzbek-language schools have been overruled or only partially adopted. In March 2007, Uzbek community leaders Qodirjon Botirov and Davron Sobirov brought a proposal to parliament which hoped to make Uzbek an official language. It fell nine votes short of passing.¹⁸ That same year, in June 2007,

Bakiev introduced a “top-down” plan for increased hours of Kyrgyz language classes, replacing Uzbek ones. Teachers protested to Bakiev and a compromise was made, so that Uzbek classes still met, but their hours were cut in favor of Kyrgyz.¹⁹

With aforementioned popularity of Russian instruction (on the ground in the classrooms) and the added support of the Russian embassy in Bishkek, and the Russian consulate in Osh, it is no surprise that Botirov, noting the increasing dropout rate among Uzbek students, would reframe the objectives of the Uzbek community in a new proposal to introduce Russian as the language of general instruction in Uzbek schools.²⁰ Botirov’s curriculum and budget have been brought to the attention of Bakiev, the Russian Minister of Education, and the Kyrgyz-Slavic University (in Bishkek). In his plea for general quality of education, it seems he too wished to depoliticize the question of textbooks in Uzbek schools.

Stakeholders

Before looking at the viability of his plans, also frozen by the World Financial Crisis, let’s look at the stakeholders. **President Bakiev** has shown that his chief interest is uniting the populace under a centralized Kyrgyz state.²¹ The **Kyrgyz majority**, particularly with Russian outmigration, has eagerly asserted dominance, and supported Bakiev’s Kyrgyz language legislation.²² **The Uzbek minority**, meanwhile, has long called for “greater representation in government, more Uzbek-language schools, and official status for the Uzbek language.”²³ Some see Bakiev’s new Kyrgyz-language laws as violating their constitutional rights.²⁴ The government’s neutrality has not, however, encouraged any protest or mass organization since 2007.²⁵ Most Uzbek leaders now support Bakiev.²⁶

As for those most directly related to schools: **Administrators** may be hesitant to drop systems of support they have adopted to help Uzbek schools in the past.²⁷ **School teachers** have shown their chief concerns are their income and the students’ cultural upbringing.²⁸ **Parents**

have gone to great lengths to fund their children's education, but are increasingly opting for the quality of education in Russian schools.²⁹ **Students** are least likely to resist change, as they have not had the time to get used to the status quo.

Recommendations

In my policy memo, I advocated serious consideration of the Botirov's Russian language proposal, as an affirmative answer to the Uzbek community, keeping in mind that this would have to be *gradual and voluntary*. This would please the wishes of Uzbek parents and students, hoping for a competitive education. Additionally, Botirov's proposal acknowledges the Russian language's historic and contemporary weight in Kyrgyzstan.³⁰

Botirov called for continued state support of Uzbek language and literature classes to allay the Uzbek minority's fears of losing its national, cultural tradition. I added: Every effort would need to be made to not politicize the switch, but show the state's intent to *better* support the needs of its citizens. Uzbek cultural and linguistic education must not be limited to the classroom. The state should actively support extracurricular activities encouraging interethnic dialogue and open Uzbek study programs at universities.

To respect state and Kyrgyz majority efforts of consolidating Kyrgyz national identity (my addition),³¹ it would be important to create avenues for all nationalities to continue studying the official language. Scholarships need to be offered to those who do decide to continue with a Kyrgyz language track.

Botirov proposed a one-month training to prepare all teachers interested in switching to a Russian system to alleviate teachers' concern about unemployment. Additionally, he offered to pay teachers at the Russian rate. This option could be explored with the support of Russian networks in Kyrgyzstan. Teachers' pay would need to commence during the summer training. As teachers and administrators were consulted in the planning process, they may adopt this plan.

Finally, cost-efficient solutions should be looked at, such as paperback textbooks and teachers' guides. Printing primarily in two languages, rather than three would focus fiscal efforts, as would continued support of Russian and international organizations involved in interethnic and educational projects.

Conclusion

In a world where new states often assert their nationalism, emphasizing Russian may not be favorable in any package to nationalists, particularly as the expedient to improving general education for all Kyrgyz students. My goal for this project has been another: merely, to suggest that there are very important reasons for employing the local lens to answer larger national and international questions, in order to mitigate the worst possible outcomes including renewed conflict of sub-national groups.

Solving the textbook problems that riddle Uzbek schools today is not easy and it involves many actors, but only if we start to examine not only the differences but the commonalities (shared history in this case) of these actors will be reach the most mutually beneficial solution.

¹ Alan J. DeYoung, Madeleine Reeves, and Galina K. Valyayeva, *Surviving the Transition? Case Studies of Schools and Schooling in the Kyrgyz Republic Since Independence*. International perspectives on educational policy, research, and practice (Greenwich, Conn: Information Age Pub, 2006), 21.

² Muzaffar Toursunov, "Kyrgyzstan: Still Waiting," *Transitions Online Chalkboard*, April 29, 2008, <http://chalkboard.tol.org/about> (accessed January 31, 2010).

³ Nick Megoran, "The Bell tolls for another U.S.-Based NGO in Uzbekistan," *EurasiaNet.Org*, July 11, 2006, <http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/civilsociety/articles/eav071106.shtml> (accessed December 5, 2009); "Uzbek government exerting pressure on local NGOs to close 'voluntarily'," *EurasiaNet.Org*, October 4, 2005, <http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/civilsociety/articles/eav100405.shtml> (accessed May 2, 2009).

⁴ Bradley Mayhew, *Central Asia: Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan* (Footscray, Vic: Lonely Planet, 2007) 269-274.

⁵ Alan J. DeYoung, Madeleine Reeves, and Galina K. Valyayeva, *Surviving the Transition?: Case Studies of Schools and Schooling in the Kyrgyz Republic Since Independence*. International perspectives on educational policy, research, and practice, (Greenwich, Conn: Information Age Pub, 2006), 225.

⁶ Morgan Y. Liu, "Recognizing the Khan: Authority, Space, and Political Imagination Among Uzbek Men in Post-Soviet Osh, Kyrgyzstan," Ann Arbor: UMI Dissertation Services, 2002; Matteo Fumagalli, "Framing Ethnic Minority Mobilisation in Central Asia: The Cases of Uzbeks in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan." *Europe Asia Studies*. 59. 4 (2007): 567-590.

⁷ Iveta Silova, "Traveling Policies: Hijacked in Central Asia." *European Educational Research Journal*, no. 4.1(2005): 50-59. ERIC <http://www.wvwords.eu/eeerj/content/pdfs/4/issue4_1.asp>.

⁸ Ibid., 333-334.

⁹ Alisher Khamidov, "Forging Broken Links: Uzbeks and the State in Kyrgyzstan," *Institute for Public Policy*, no.6. (September - October 2006): 11-16. <http://www.ipp.kg/en/analysis/295/> (accessed November 30, 2009); "Ethnic Uzbeks in Kyrgyzstan voice complaints over discrimination, corruption," EurasiaNet.org, January 25, 2006, <http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/civilsociety/articles/eav012506.shtml> (accessed February 23, 2010).

¹⁰ "Svedeniia ob obespechennosti uchebnikami po gorodu Osha (Particulars of the provisions of textbooks in the city of Osh)." Handout available from Gorodskoe upravlenie narodogo obrazovaniia (the Department of Education) in Osh, Kyrgyzstan.

There are 23 schools providing instruction in Kyrgyz and 23 providing instruction in Russian. At the schools where Uzbek is one of the two languages taught, the number of Uzbek students outweigh others. At the two trilingual schools, the majority of the students study in Russian.

¹¹ "Obespechennost' shkol uchebnikami po. g. Osh v procentnom otnoshenii (Provision of schools with textbooks (in the city of Osh by percentage)," Handout available from Gorodskoe upravlenie narodogo obrazovaniia (the Department of Education) in Osh, Kyrgyzstan.

¹² One of the main reasons for the steady drop in textbook provisions, according to an expert from USAID, was the government's cancellation of the "textbook renting" system in 2005 (thus cutting parental support for textbook provision). This policy is not realistic, as the government has never been able to allocate sufficient funding for textbooks.

¹³ "Operativnaia informatsiia o sostoianii obespechennosti uchebnikami shkol respubliki s uzbekskim i tadzhikskimi yazykami obuchenii (Working information about the state of provision of books for the schools of the republic with Uzbek and Tajik languages of instruction)," Handout made available by Keneshbek B. Sainazarov, Country Director, USAID Quality Learning Project, March 20, 2010.

¹⁴ The Kyrgyz Language was sanctioned as official state language in a law of 1992 and the 1993 Constitution. Russian was first proposed as state language in 1996 and legitimized in 2000. Abdykadyr Orusbaev, Arto Mustajoki, and Ekaterina Protassova, "Multilingualism, Russian Language and Education in Kyrgyzstan," *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, no.11. 3-4 (2008): 485.

This law was largely adopted as a means to stem out-migration of non-Kyrgyz. Maria Utyaganova, "Kyrgyzstan adopts Russian as official language," *Central Asia-Caucasus Analyst*, June 7, 2000, <http://www.cacianalyst.org/?q=node/519> (accessed February 28, 2010).

¹⁵ Chinghiz Umetov, "Kyrgyzstan: Uzbeks in Southern Regions Wrestle with Cultural Dilemma," *EurasiaNet.org*, October 27, 2009, <http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insightb/articles/eav102709.shtml> (accessed February 28, 2010).

The Uzbek National Cultural Center is a national organization founded to promote Uzbek interests in Kyrgyzstan, which has regional sub-organizations headquartered in Jalalabad, Osh, Batken, and Chuy Oblasts. Alisher Khamidov, "Forging Broken Links: Uzbeks and the State in Kyrgyzstan," *Institute for Public Policy*, no.6. (September - October 2006), <http://www.ipp.kg/en/analysis/295/> (accessed February 28, 2010).

¹⁶ Hamid Toursunof, "Kyrgyzstan: The Future Short-Changed," *EurasiaNet.org*, February 26, 2006, <http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/civilsociety/articles/pp022606.shtml> (accessed February 28, 2010).

¹⁷ Mamaraimov, "Qirg'izstondagi o'zbek jamoatchiligi maktab ta'limi muammolarini mustaqil ravishda xal qilishga urinmoqda (Uzbek society troubles itself to settle problems of school education in an independent manner)." The issue of textbooks was raised by Deputy Kamchibek Tashiev at a meeting of the Jo'g'o'rku Kenesh (the Kyrgyz parliament). "Citizens of Kyrgyzstan, beginning from the school, gradually assimilate to another state ideology other than their own."

¹⁸ The bill received 29 of the 38 votes necessary. "Kyrgyz legislators reject official status for Uzbek language," *Radio Free Liberty/Radio Europe*, March 26, 2007, <http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1143839.html> (accessed November 24, 2009).

¹⁹ Sherzod Yusuf, "Til buyicha choralardan o'zbeklar norozi (Uzbeks not content with language actions)," *Ozodlik Radiosi*, November 12, 2008, <http://www.ozodlik.org/content/article/1348314.html> (accessed March 1, 2010).

²⁰ Sherzod Yusuf, "O'zbeklar ruslashmoqchi (Uzbeks intend to change their language to Russian)," *Ozodlik Radiosi*, January 28, 2009, <http://www.ozodlik.org/content/article/1375850.html> (accessed October 25, 2009).

²¹ The mountainous terrain dividing the Kyrgyz Republic's North and South, as alluded to before, is said to play a socially divisive role, separating the cosmopolitan *Russified* North (where the capital city of Bishkek is located) from the conservative (Uzbek) South. Alisher Khamidov, "Forging Broken Links: Uzbeks and the State in Kyrgyzstan"; "Ethnic Uzbeks in Kyrgyzstan voice complaints over discrimination, corruption," *EurasiaNet.org*,

January 25, 2006, <http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/civilsociety/articles/eav012506.shtml> (accessed February 28, 2010); Bradley Mayhew, *Central Asia: Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan* (Footscray, Vic: Lonely Planet, 2007) 269.

²² “The growing trend towards a ‘Kyrgyzstan for the Kyrgyz’ has picked up steam in the last few years, however, through language legislation passed by the lower house of parliament in 2004.” The new language provisions require candidates for elected office and students entering and graduating from university to demonstrate Kyrgyz fluency. “World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples - Kyrgyzstan: Overview,” *UNFCR The UN Refugee Agency*, <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/publisher,MRGI,,KGZ,4954ce13c,0.html> (accessed March 1, 2010).

²³ “Kyrgyzstan (2009),” *Freedom House*, <http://freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=22&year=2009&country=7641> (accessed November 27, 2009).

²⁴ Sherzod Yusuf, “Til buyicha choralardan o‘zbeklar norozi (Uzbeks not content with language actions),” *Ozodlik Radiosi*, November 12, 2008, <http://www.ozodlik.org/content/article/1348314.html> (accessed March 1, 2010).

²⁵ Alisher Khamidov, “Forging Broken Links: Uzbeks and the State in Kyrgyzstan.”

²⁶ Alisher Khamidov “Re: the fate of Uzbek-language schools,” email message from author, February 28, 2010.

²⁷ Meetings with directors of schools in Osh showed that the success of the individual school depended on the initiative of the director in pursuing state and non-state support for issues plaguing schools. Even though this study included only public institutions, diverse initiatives were employed: recruiting teaching staff at the local universities, acquiring textbooks from foreign embassies, and networking with alumni, parents, political parties, or international funds for everything from bookshelves to new pipes. Natalia Wobst, Interviews conducted by author at public schools in Osh, Kyrgyzstan, July-August 2009.

²⁸ Sherzod Yusuf, “O‘zbeklar ruslashmoqchi (Uzbek schools intend to change their language to Russian),” *Ozodlik Radiosi*, January 28, 2009, <http://www.ozodlik.org/content/article/1375850.html> (accessed March 1, 2010); Sherzod Yusuf, “Til buyicha choralardan o‘zbeklar norozi (Uzbeks not content with language actions).”

²⁹ Sherzod Yusuf, “O‘zbek maktablari islox arafasida (Uzbek schools on the eve of renovation),” *Ozodlik Radiosi*, February 11, 2009. <http://www.ozodlik.org/content/article/1491254.html> (accessed March 1, 2010).

³⁰ That is, according to respected scholars in *International Education: Russian is commonly studied by members of the younger generation because they want to study at Kyrgyz universities where the main scientific literature and textbooks are still in Russian, conduct business with Russia, or work or live in Russia where the standard of living is higher.* Orusbaev, et al, 476.

³¹ These efforts have included a 2000 program for the development of the state language of the Kyrgyz Republic; the founding of an institute; commission of experts; elementary education in Kyrgyz; and standardization of language, which allowed for a regular test in proficiency. In 2004, the Kyrgyz state passed the Law on the State Language of the Kyrgyz Republic to bolster Kyrgyz. Orusbaev, et al, 484.