

Multilingual policy and multilingual education in Kyrgyzstan after independence

Bağımsızlıktan Sonra Kırgızistan'da Çokdilli Politika ve Çokdilli Eğitim

Abstract

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The Soviet Union (1922-1991) was established at the initiative of Russia and consequently was under the influence of the Russian language and culture. After the dissolution of this gigantic union in 1991, 14 new republics emerged along with the Russian Federation. The major common feature of those new republics was the complete rejection of the cultural and economic formation, such as Russian culture and Communist philosophy. Because Russian culture trivialized the cultural values of these people, the Communist philosophy, i.e. the Communist production-consumption model, caused them to remain poor. Therefore, they all immediately switched to a free-market economy and attempted to re-establish their national states within the framework of their cultural values. Initially, there was a strong emphasis on nationalism; however, multiethnic policies were pursued in the following years after independence. Nationalisms in these new republics were built based on language. The emphasis on the language inevitably pushed these countries to the nation-state model. In other words, this model was chosen to react to the policies that made them minorities in their own countries. This paper aims to present the process of language policy that evolved from monolingual to multilingual in Kyrgyzstan after the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

Keywords: Kyrgyzstan, language policy, language education, bi and multilingual policy.

Öz

19. yüzyılda dünyayı sarsan siyasi olaylardan biri de Sovyetler Birliği'nin kurulması ve dağılmasıydı (1922-1991). Bu devasa birliğin dağılmasının ardından Rusya Federasyonu ile birlikte 14 yeni devlet ortaya çıktı. Bu cumhuriyetlerden 5'i Türk soylu cumhuriyetlerdir. Sovyetler Birliği'nin dağılmasından sonra kurulan bağımsız cumhuriyetlerdeki en belirgin ortak özelliklerden biri de yaklaşık yetmiş yıl devam eden ekonomik ve kültürel oluşumun diğer bir ifadeyle Rus kültürü ve Komünist felsefenin tamamıyla reddiydi. Çünkü Rus kültürü bu halkların kültürel değerlerini önemsizleştirmiş, Komünist felsefe, diğer bir ifadeyle Komünist üretim-tüketim modeli de fakir kalmalarına sebep olmuştu. Bu yüzden hepsi hemen serbest pazar ekonomisine geçti ve kendi kültürel değerleri çerçevesinde millî devletlerini yeniden kurmaya giriştiler. Bu yeni cumhuriyetlerdeki milliyetçilikler dil temelinde inşa edildi. Bunun en önemli sebebi ise gerek Çarlık zamanında gerekse Sovyetler Birliği döneminde uygulanan milletler politikasının merkezinde yerel dillerin bulunmasıydı. Bu makale, Sovyetler Birliği'nin dağılmasının ardından Kırgızistan'da dil politikasının tek dillilikten çok dilliliğe doğru evrilme sürecini sunmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Kırgızistan, dil politikası, dil eğitimi, iki ve çok dillilik siyaseti

Language policy in the Soviet Union

In the 18th and 19th centuries, when colonialism was on the rise, Russia sought its share in Turkestan, today's Central Asia, and in Siberia. According to Russian sources, approximately 150 different languages were spoken in this vast geography where approximately 130 different ethnic groups lived (Grenoble, 2003, p. 1). This linguistic richness was the main reason why the national policy was executed based on language. The language policy of the Tsarist period was majorly implemented through the Orthodox Church, which carried out missionary activities (Alpatov, 2000, p. 32). The duty to propagate Orthodoxy constituted an important element of language policy, since preaching the Orthodoxy had been carried on mother languages. The Soviet regime took over the language issue of non-Russian peoples from the Tsarist rule as unresolved. The approach to national languages other than Russian during the Soviet Union period can be broadly divided into two parts (Pool, 1978, p. 226): The first is the approach in the 1920s, which aimed to develop national languages for use in the public and professional sphere, mass communication, and education. The second approach was in 1938 and aimed to universalize the Russian language among the Union member peoples. These approaches conflict with each other at various levels (Pool, 1978, p. 226). The language policy of the first period from the Bolshevik government until the late 1920s was shaped according to the promises made to non-Russian peoples before the revolution and Lenin's more moderate political understanding. Lenin stipulated that communists should fight with equal vigor against two "discriminations": "Great Russian chauvinism" and "local bourgeois nationalism" (Seton-Watson, 1977, p. 312).

At the 10th Party Congress in 1921, it was envisioned that the staff would be selected from the local people who were familiar with the life of their indigenous people. These staff, who were not from the Great Russian nation, would be able to catch up with developed Russia by using their native languages in the courts, administration, agriculture, and government bodies (Rodnevich, 1933, p. 107). This was called "the functional method" and was widely used between 1927 and 28. This method involved systematically filling the positions in the state apparatus with local-national employees, thus officially using non-Russian national languages (Rodnevich, 1933, pp. 119-20). Thus, even in the 1929 constitution, it was stated that the "Kyrgyz language had a superior position than the Russian language" (Mambetaliev, 2019, p. 49). Even for a short time, non-Russian peoples benefited from this neutral attitude and achieved real gains in terms of using their language, employing their citizens, and developing their own national culture. This policy of Lenin, which represents a positive attitude towards other languages and nations, was largely implemented throughout the 1920s (Kriendler, 1977, p. 86). This entire positive atmosphere changed in the late 1920s, with the forced collectivization of agriculture and dizzying industrialization (Seton-Watson, 1977, p. 312). Collectivization was officially launched by the decision of the Central Committee on November 17, 1929. This meant that the party would realize the establishment of socialism in all areas of the country (Akhminov, 1989, p. 69). Stalin's political understanding and practices represented this period. At the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1934, it was decided that colonialism was a positive factor, and Russian colonialism and Russian immigration were officially approved (Roy, 2000, p. 149). During these years, Moscow's control over the development of local national cultures began to increase, and "Great Russian chauvinism", the specter of non-Russian peoples, was revived. At the 7th Extraordinary Congress of Soviets in 1936, the completion of the socialist establishment in the Soviet Union was declared by Stalin (Akhminov, 1989, p. 68). On March 3, 1937, Stalin declared that the class struggle was

intensifying with the development of socialism (Akhminov, 1989, p. 69). This struggle in fact was a liquidation movement undertaken by the government against the intellectuals who did not show enough loyalty to the regime (Fierman, 1991, pp. 48 and 135). By the late 1930s, Russification became the definitive national policy of Soviet Russia. The most obvious move of this policy was the replacement of the Latin-based writing systems, which were accepted just ten years ago, with Russian alphabet-based writing systems. As Grenoble states, “Switching to the Cyrillic alphabet can be seen as switching to Russian” (2003, p. 194), because the script has the feature of imposing itself. However, during the Second World War, Moscow’s insistence on the Russian language inevitably weakened, “partly because it did not then have the means to enforce Russian, but mainly because it did not wish to awaken opposition in the republics” (Landau and Heinkele, 2001, p. 54). Russian authorities decided to freeze the compulsory teaching of Russian and leave other languages alone (Landau and Heinkele, 2001, p. 54). After the war, the Russian leaders who unexpectedly emerged victorious and represented the other victorious wing experienced a mood of victory to the point of paranoia. During this period, Russian superiority began to be emphasized, sometimes to the point of being ridiculous (Kohn, 1971, p. 62).

Language situation in Kyrgyzstan before independence

When two different languages begin to be used as a means of communication in the same society for historical and/or cultural reasons, one of the languages may dominate the other and marginalize it. In a multilingual environment, one or more dominant languages seriously usurp the communication contexts of the other language or languages (Unesco, 2003, p. 7).¹ Before independence, the Kyrgyz language was spoken only in the private sphere, and it was even scared and ashamed to be used in the public domain. The language of communication in politics, judiciary, education, science, and art was only Russian. In the “Soviet era, some Kyrgyz considered that one cannot be well educated if he or she did not speak Russian.” (Mambetaliev, 2023, p. 56). The Kyrgyz language situation was compatible with the definition of “language in danger”, like all ex-Soviet Union member new republics’ titular languages. Like all other new republics, the new government of Kyrgyzstan also has engaged in reversing the process of language loss, which Fishman calls “reversing language shift” (1997). Language reforms in the former non-Russian Soviet Union member republics generally depict such a “reversal” process. Just before the disintegration of the Union, language laws had been approved one after another in republics during 1989-1990. The importance given to the Kyrgyz language by political authorities and officials after independence also includes the reaction to this neglect that lasted for about seventy years. Therefore, the regulations were related to the status of the Kyrgyz language rather than its structure. However, it is impossible to delete the past in one fell swoop. That’s why the Kyrgyz language was assigned as “the state language” and Russian as “the official language”. In this respect, in this paper “the state language” phrase refers to the Kyrgyz language and “official language” refers to the Russian language.

Bilingual situation in Kyrgyzstan

In today’s globalizing world, societies have become highly dependent on each other. The fluency and globalization of areas that appeal to the masses, such as capital, workforce, education, tourism, and media, bring along multilingualism and multiculturalism. As a result, the nation-states based on a single national language, which plays a central role in the construction of modern

1 It was also emphasized that multilingualism alone is not a threat to languages (Unesco, 2003, p. 7).

national identities, have been decreasing. As Grenoble and Whaley put forward multilingualism in today's societies "will find themselves in part of a tiered system of language choices, where the tiers represent spheres of influence and use. The local language is on one tier, a regionally prevalent language on another, the national language on a third, and, in some cases, a language of international access on a fourth". (2006, p. 35). In a multilingual environment, one or more dominant languages can significantly usurp the communication domains of the other language or languages. R. W. Fasold attributes the formation of a multilingual society to four historical factors: 1) migration, 2) imperialism, 3) federation, and 4) border region multilingualism (1987, p. 9). Kyrgyzstan's current and earlier language situation includes all of those four factors at the end of the historical process; namely imperialism, migration, federation (USSR) and border region multilingualism. The population structure of the Kyrgyz people began to change after the Russians came to the region. After the Kokand Khanate was eliminated by the Russians in 1876, the Kyrgyz people came under the rule of Tsarist Russia. Thus, with the migrations that occurred in various periods in history, the country's population increased fourfold between 1913 and 1980 (from 864 thousand in 1913 to 3,529 thousand in 1979). This increase was the highest population increase during the USSR. The biggest reason for this increase was immigration to the country. Kyrgyzstan was the second member of the Soviet Union to receive the most immigration after Kazakhstan.

Table 1. *Population of Kyrgyzstan Between 1913-1979 (thousand)*

1913	1979	gap (%)
864	3.529	308.4

Source: Kozlov, 1982, p. 65

As for border region multilingualism, until the delimitation of the national borders by the Soviet Regime in 1924, people with the same language and religion lived close and mixed with each other's population. The division into republics resulted in all ethnolinguistic groups (Kyrgyz, Tajik, Turkmen, Uzbek, and Kazakh) being divided between the republics so that each group forms relatively large linguistic minorities in other republics (Liddicoat, 2019, p. 453).

Table 2. *Border Region Population of Kyrgyzstan*

Items	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Uzbeks	918.262	940.628	964.379	985.358	999.300
Uighurs	57.002	58.168	59.367	60.210	61.033
Tajiks	54.976	56.219	57.612	58.913	60.148
Kazakhs	35.541	36.022	36.396	36.706	36.854
Turkmens	2.139	2.142	2.150	2.150	2.159

Source: <https://www.stat.kg/en/opendata/category/312/>

Bilingualism policy in Kyrgyzstan

After the independence, the new government launched a program to revitalize the Kyrgyz language, which had declined before the Russian language. The language choice made by the gover-

nment in a country, and the language policy it implements may be against the interests of some groups and minorities in society. The Kyrgyz language revitalization program that required minorities living in Kyrgyzstan to learn Kyrgyz, affected Russians and other Russian-speaking minorities the most. This language policy that caused political crisis and mass migration has necessitated the policy of bilingualism in Kyrgyzstan. In fact the first official initiative on bilingualism had come from Moscow in 1988, before the union was dissolved. With the directive of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on October 15, 1988, the Communist Party of Kyrgyzstan adopted a decision on the development of bilingualism based on national languages and Russian (Huskey, 1995, p. 549; Landau and Heinkele, 2001, p. 93). However, this decision mobilized forty-one intellectuals, including Cengiz Aytmatov, and they protested the Central Committee, claiming that the decision limited the use of the Kyrgyz language (Landau and Heinkele, 2001, p. 93). The decision aimed to develop Russian and minority languages in Kyrgyzstan, instead of the Kyrgyz language (Huskey, 1995, p. 553). From the second half of the 1980s, Kyrgyz intellectuals had already begun to express more and more opinions about the expansion of the functional area of the Kyrgyz language. In September 1989, with the language law, Kyrgyz was elevated to the status of “state language” and Russian was reduced to the status of “language of agreement between peoples”. Actually the language situation in Kyrgyzstan included bilingualism in Soviet Union too, but this bilingualism was valid for non-Russians only. Russians were largely monolingual (except for about 3%), and bilingualism had been working asymmetrically (Smagulova, 2008, p. 445).² In other words, the local people were learning the Russian language, but the Russians remained indifferent to the language of the titular peoples.

Table 3. *Proficiency in Russian or another language in the Turkic republics*

	Proficiency in Russian (%)		Proficiency in another language (%)	
	1970	1979	1970	1979
Kyrgyz	19.1	29.4	3.3	4.1
Uzbeks	14.5	49.3	3.3	2.8
Kazakhs	41.8	52.3	1.8	2.1
Turkmens	15.4	25.4	1.3	1.6
Azeri	16.6	29.5	2.5	2.0
Tatars	62.5	68.9	5.3	4.9
Russians	100	100	3.0	3.5

Source: Kozlov, 1982, p. 232.

However, after independence, an attempt was made to exclude the Russian language to some extent to increase the importance of the Kyrgyz language in Kyrgyzstan. The Kyrgyz language was declared the state language in the first post-independence constitution adopted on May 5, 1993. There was no reference to the status of the Russian language. Article 5 guaranteed the pro-

² In 1966, Y. Desheriev put forward the thesis of asymmetric bilingualism (Bruchis, 1984, p. 15).

tection and free development of Russian and other languages. However, in the immigration decree issued in 1994 to prevent increasing Russian immigration, Russian was mentioned as the official language, citing the necessity of use in fields such as health and technical sciences (*Ukaz*, 1994). Since the actual situation was not very suitable for a monolingual policy, it was inevitably necessary to switch to a bilingual policy. A Congress of Kyrgyz Peoples was held in Bishkek in January 1994 to preserve the multicultural population structure of Kyrgyzstan and discuss the ways to ensure unity between peoples (Huskey, 1997, p. 680).

A new immigration decree dated May 20, 2000, was a harbinger of regulation regarding the Russian language. The decree required the government to create reasonable conditions for developing and learning the Russian language. A commission was requested to be established to increase the quality of Russian education. In addition, the judiciary was asked to make laws and regulations to ensure the protection of the rights and freedoms of the Russian-speaking people (*Ukaz*, 2000). Finally, with the law “On the Official Language of the Kyrgyz Republic” dated May 29, 2000, the official language status of Russian was set in concrete. Russian was determined as the official language after the law stated that “the official language is used together with the state language in public administration, legislative and judicial proceedings, and in other areas of public life” (*Zakon*, 2000). Following this decision, an addition was made to Article 5 of the 1993 Constitution on 24 December 2001, and the official language status of Russian was constitutionally guaranteed (*Zakon*, 2001).

The policy of bilingualism gained official content again with a decree published together with the language law dated April 2, 2004 with the title “Measures for the Advancement of the State Policy for the Development of Bilingualism and Preparation of the Necessary Conditions for the Active Use of the State and Official Language” (*Ukaz*, 2004). Before the announcement of this language law and decree, then President Askar Akayev made a speech and said “A bilingual state is the path we should follow”. He also stated that the usage area of the Russian language, far from narrowing down, was even expanding (*Zakon*, 2004: 6-7). He always advocated bilingualism throughout his administration (Landau and Heinkele, 2001, p. 94).

Multilingual and multicultural policy in Kyrgyzstan

The bilingualism policy quickly evolved into the policy of multilingualism and multiculturalism. Since the actual language situation in Kyrgyzstan is more suitable for multilingualism and globalization. A global environment had to be prepared in the country for the foreign entrepreneurs who came after the independence, both in educational institutions and in the commercial fields, and for the foreign labor force that came with the capital. In this respect, preparations were made for a multilingualism policy with the provision in Article 5 of the 1992 education law, in which it was stated that “learning Kyrgyz, Russian and one of the international languages is compulsory in all educational institutions”, and we see the manifestations of this policy in the regulations made in the following years (*Obrazovaniye*). Acquisition “the state language and two foreign languages” was mentioned in the 2003 education law again. The same statement was included in the 32nd article of the 2007 constitution regarding education. One of the two foreign languages here was undoubtedly Russian, and its name was not mentioned. This means trying to treat Russian as just a foreign language. The emphasis on learning a “third foreign language” can also be seen in the education and language policies of other republics (for example, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan). By mentioning this third language, they try to erode the influence of the Russian language and neutralize its efficiency with the help of another powerful language. This is what

they cannot do with their own languages. Nowadays, English is increasingly popular in Kyrgyzstan (İbragimova, 2008, p. 68; Esengulova, 2008, p. 86). A similar situation exists in other republics. For example, the choice of letters in the new alphabet adopted in Uzbekistan is very similar to the English alphabet. Such a policy is pursued for two reasons: 1) English is a more common language, and 2) more importantly, there is no colonial-colonialist history between English and titular languages, so its acceptance seems easier. Moreover, since English or any other language does not have the historically prestigious feature that the Russian has gained in these republics; it will not cause a language shift, and will always have the identity of being a foreign language. In other words, it will not be able to enter the private domain from the public space.³ The most concrete move regarding multilingualism came from the Ministry of Education and Science. In 2008, a circular titled “Multicultural and Multilingual Education Concept” prepared by the Ministry was published, and it revealed that the policy of multilingualism in education was adopted. The Ministry, then, published a program titled “Multicultural and Multilingual Education Target Program” (Dzhusupbekov et al., 2012, p. 110). In the program, the importance of the politics of multilingualism (көп тилдүү) and multiculturalism (көп маданияттуу) was explained as follows (Kontsepsiya, 2009, pp. 48-9):

- Creating a civil society in Kyrgyzstan: Kyrgyzstan is a newly independent country, and for the development of the country, it is very important for the unity between citizens, and the unity of those living in the country to join forces.

- Ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity in the country: Ten different ethnic groups have been living in Kyrgyzstan over the centuries with their own history, language, and culture. In this respect, it is important to create opportunities for the revival and development of ethnic cultures and to create interaction amongst them based on common interests.

- The need to adapt young people from mono-ethnic regions to a multicultural environment.

In the “2013-2017 Development Strategy Plan” published by the National Council on January 21, 2013, it was stated that sustainable development in the Kyrgyz Republic could only be achieved by strengthening the state language and developing multilingualism. In this strategy plan, it was complained that the country did not raise a generation that knew both the state and official languages. The multilingualism strategy was formulated as follows (*Strategiya*, 2013-2017): “Creating a new generation of trilingual Kyrgyzstanis who know the state language, the official language, and a global language, by ensuring the protection and development of the native languages of minorities.” In the 2014-2020 state language development program, many references were made to multilingualism. One of the main goals of the program was to create a new multilingual generation. The main aim of the work planned to be done in the field of culture was to “instill respect for the state language as a human and national value”. The third phase of the three-phase implementation plan of the program covered issues related to the state language being the language of international communication. In the third phase of the program, covering the years 2019-2020, it was desired to create the necessary conditions for vertical multilingual education (from primary to higher education) (*Programma*, 2014).

3 However, according to an interviewee, Kyrgyz-speaking students from the periphery choose Russian “because of the lack of language contact and the weak outcomes of the educational system in teaching English, the most achievable goal remains the familiar Russian language.” (Mambetaliev, 2023, p. 55).

As a result, the multilingualism policy implemented has yielded positive results. The majority of the public supports this policy. Today, many new companies and international organizations are looking for bilingual employees (Korth, 2005, p. 242). Bilingualism is also a criterion sought in government job recruitment.

Multilingualism in education

The language problem in education is the most difficult problem to solve. Because it is an investment for the future, both individually and socially, and it is the area where maximum benefit is most sought after. Therefore, parents and students can choose a language as the language of education that will benefit the most in business and professional life after education. This area can be seen as the area where national feelings come into play the least.

A language is best learned at school as a second or foreign language. The most important reason for this is related to time. Education life involves a long, slow, and gradual process. Primary education helps to improve pronunciation, especially in foreign language learning, and in higher education, it is especially effective in developing vocabulary and terminology.

After the Kyrgyz language was adopted as the state language in 1989, it became an active part of the curriculum and a compulsory subject in all educational institutions, including Russian schools, starting from the first grade of primary education. With a separate law enacted on December 16, 1992, the position of Kyrgyz language in the country's education system was further strengthened. In Article 5 of the law, the language of education was determined as Kyrgyz (*Obrazovaniye*). However, in 2002, it was changed to "the language of education is the state and official languages". There was again a resort to the Russian language, since the inadequate educational infrastructure (lack of teachers in Kyrgyz language and textbooks) made education in a single language impossible. In the education program called "Bilim" (Science) dated March 20, 1996, it was stated that Russian and a foreign language would be taught in all educational institutions (*Bilim*). In Article 18 of the language law dated April 2, 2004, the statement "The state language is the main language of education in the education system in the Republic of Kyrgyzstan" is repeated (*Zakon*, 2004). In the decree on April 22, 2011, it was requested to increase the course hours allocated to the Kyrgyz language in higher education, general education (primary education, high schools, and vocational high schools), and pre-school educational institutions (*Decree*, 2011).

In the early 1990s, when the Kyrgyz language was on the rise and various laws were passed in its favor, parents began to prefer schools that provided education in Kyrgyz for their children. However, when the official status of the Russian language gained importance in 1994, parents began to take their children from Kyrgyz schools and enroll them in Russian-medium schools (Korth, 2005, p. 205). This duality in the education system also created a dilemma for students and parents to overcome. On the one hand, the Russian language could offer many opportunities both within the country and abroad. On the other hand, the material and moral advantages were created in favor of the Kyrgyz language, because it was now almost impossible to take part in any government job without knowing it. This problem could be solved by pursuing a bilingual or multilingual policy. On the other hand, the language and education demands of the Uzbeks, who have become the most populated minority group in the country after the mass immigration of Russians since independence, also constituted an ethnic problem. Despite the intense demands of the Uzbeks, Kyrgyzstan did not grant any official status to the Uzbek language. Starting from the 2011

academic year, in line with the demand of the parents, education in the state and official language began to be provided in the first grades of Uzbek schools (*Yazykovaya*). As of 2013, university entrance exam questions started to be printed in Uzbek, too. According to a newspaper, Students who received their high school education in Uzbek schools would take the university entrance exam with question booklets prepared in Uzbek (*Gazitter*).

Conclusion

Kyrgyz is a relatively young language. As a result of the nationalization and modernization movements that emerged in the Turkestan region after the Bolshevik Revolution, it began to be developed as an independent language (written) in the 1920s. In the years following its incorporation into the Soviet Union it fell under Russian influence before it had even begun to mature. Of course, like a large fish swallowing smaller fish in the ocean, Russian is quite adept at swallowing languages with small speaking communities and insufficient historical roots. As a result of the Russification policy implemented, especially from the 1940s onward, Russian became a ghost among many languages in the Union. After its withdrawal from the Soviet Union, the new Kyrgyz government enacted various laws and programs to revitalize Kyrgyz, which had been losing ground to Russian, to ensure its wider use in public life, and, in other words, to make it a widely used language of communication in administration, education, commerce, the media, science, and the arts. Education is one of the primary institutions that fosters the strengthening of a language. There are two key reasons for this: 1) Education encompasses a long time; 2) It is a process that begins at a very young age. When these two factors are combined, the importance of education in the development and revitalization of a language becomes clear. However, the area where Kyrgyz language revitalization programs are most ineffective is education. Since education is a future-focused investment, both personally and socially, it is the area where the greatest benefit is prioritized. Therefore, parents and students can choose a language as the means of instruction that will offer them the most advantages in their professional and work-related lives after graduation. This area can be seen as the place where national feelings are the least involved. For example, when we look at the number of students in daytime general education institutions based on the language of instruction below, we see that there are more institutions offering instruction solely in Kyrgyz than those offering instruction in Russian. However, in the 2021-22 academic year, the number of institutions providing instruction in Kyrgyz decreased by 30, while the number offering instruction in Russian increased by 17. Additionally, five English-language institutions were opened for the first time during that academic year.

Table 4. *Number in daytime general education organizations by language of instruction*

	2018/19	2019/20	2020/21	2021/22	2022/23
Educational organizations with one teaching language	1.663	1.672	1.653	1.677	1.666
including:					
Kyrgyz	1.395	1.389	1.376	1.399	1.369
Russian	234	251	248	247	264
Uzbek	31	29	26	28	25

Tajik	3	3	3	3	3
English					5
General educational organizations with two or more languages of instruction	602	611	643	656	684
including:					
Kyrgyz-Russian	445	453	484	499	520
Kyrgyz-Uzbek	49	45	48	49	43
Kyrgyz-Tajik	2	2	2	3	2
Russian-English					4

Source: *Natsional'nyy statisticheskiy komitet Kyrgyzskoy Respubliki*, p. 50.

In higher education, the situation changes dramatically in favor of Russian. Except for some departments (such as agriculture or Kyrgyz language and literature), Russian continues to be effective in higher education. (Mambetaliev, 2023).

Table 5. *Number of students of the higher professional educational organizations by language of study (as of the beginning of the academic year)*

	2019/2020	2020/2021	2021/2022	2022/2023
Number of students				
Kyrgyz	50 789	68 116	72 948	79 385
Russian	111 768	122 330	129 074	118 864
English	17 342	20 596	25 211	26 430
Turkish	2 916	2 964	2 892	2 846
other	963	151	81	57

Source: *Statistical Publication 2018-2022*, p. 139.

As a result of this, there is a parallel situation in PhD thesis writing.

Table 5. *PhD Dissertations Defended in Kyrgyzstan by Languages*

Topics	Kyr	Rus	Ratio		Topics	Kyr	Rus	Ratio
Health	0	1500	0		Kyrgyz language	109	20	5.5
Law, Economics	4	946	0.004		Pedagogy	150	348	0.43
Soviet literatutture	6	18	0.33		Linguistics	153	169	0.91
Languages	35	13	2.7		Sciences	202	668	0.30
Humanities	90	349	0.26		Other	234	1013	0.23

Source: (Mambetaliev, 2023, p. 55)

Nevertheless, the Kyrgyz governments continue its programs to revitalize the Kyrgyz language, and the Uluttuk Komissiya (National Language Commission) continues its work.

Geniřletilmis zet

İkinci Dnya Savařı'ndan sonraki en nemli siyasi olaylardan biri Sovyetler Birlięi'nin daęılmasıydı. Bu devasa birlięin beklenmedik řekilde daęılmasının ardından Rusya Federasyonu ile 14 yeni cumhuriyet ortaya ıktı. Sovyetler Birlięi (1922-1991) Rusya'nın inisiyatifıyla kurulmuř ve dolayısıyla Rus dili ve kltrnn etkisi altında kalmıřtır. Sovyetler Birlięi'nin daęılmasından sonra kurulan baęımsız cumhuriyetlerdeki en byk ortak zellik, yaklařık yetmiř yıl sren ekonomik ve kltrel oluřumun, yani Rus kltrnn ve Komnist felsefesinin tamamen reddedilmesi. nk Rus kltr, bu halkların kltrel deęerlerini nemsizleřtirmiř ve Komnist felsefe, yani Komnist retim-tketim modeli onların yoksul kalmasına neden olmuřtu. Bu nedenle derhal serbest piyasa ekonomisine gemiřler ve kendi kltrel deęerleri erevesinde ulusal devletlerini yeniden kurmaya alıřmıřlardır. Bu yeni cumhuriyetlerdeki milliyetilikler dil temelinde inřa edilmiřtir. Bunun en nemli sebebi hem arlık dneminde hem de Sovyetler Birlięi dneminde uygulanan milletler siyasetinin merkezinde ulusal dillerin yer almasıydı. Cumhuriyetlerde halkların diline yapılan vurgu, bu lkeleri kaınılmaz olarak ulus-devlet modeline itti. Bařka bir deyiřle, bu model Sovyetler dneminde Rus dili aracılıęıyla kendi lkesinde azınlık olma politikasına bir tepki olarak seilmiřti. Sovyetler Birlięi dneminde Rus dili ve kltr, dięer halkların dillerinin ve kltrlerinin gerilemesine sebep oldu. Dahası, ulus-devlet modelinin dile yaptıęı vurgu, kaınılmaz bir tercihi yansıtıyordu. nk, Sovyetler Birlięi dneminde en ok tahrip edilen kltrel alan halkların dilleriydi. Ruřa neredeyse tm aslı diller iin bir tehdit haline gelmiřti. Birlięin daęılmasından nce bile, tm cumhuriyetlerde yapılan ilk nemli dzenleme, dillerinin "devlet dili" statsne ykseltilmesi idi. Bu nedenle, baęımsızlıktan sonra, devlet dili yeni kurulan lkeler iin ulusal kimlięin bir simgesi haline geldi.

Ulus-devlet modelinin alametifarikası olan tek dillilik, toplumların giderek birbirine daha baęımlı hle geldięi kreselleřen gnmz dnyasında tartıřılmaktadır. Sermaye, iřgc, eęitim, turizm ve medya gibi kitlelere hitap eden alanların akıcılıęı ve kreselleřmesi, beraberinde ok dillilięi ve ok kltrllę getirmektedir. Bunun sonucunda modern ulusal kimliklerin inřasında merkezi bir rol oynayan tek bir ulusal dile dayalı ulus-devletlerin cazibesi de azalmaktadır. Bu nedenle Kırgızistan'daki dil politikası tek dillilikten nce iki dillilięe, sonra ok dilli politikaya evrilmiřtir. Zaten Kırgızistan'daki dil durumu aslında ok dillilięe daha uygundur. Dahası bu politika kreselleřmeye daha uygundur. Zira hem eęitim kurumlarında hem de ticari alanda baęımsızlıktan sonra gelen yabancı giriřimciler ve sermayeyle gelen yabancı iřgc iin lkede kresel bir ortam hazırlanması gerekiyordu. Gnmzde Kırgızistan'da eęitimde iki ve ok dillilik, her geen gn daha fazla uygulanan bir eęitim politikasıdır. ok dilli eęitim veren ilkokulların sayısı her geen gn artmaktadır.

Bu çalışma, etik kurul izni gerektirmeyen nitelikte olup kullanılan veriler literatür taraması/yayınlanmış kaynaklar üzerinden elde edilmiştir. / This study does not require ethics committee approval, and the data used was obtained from literature review/published sources.

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