



Received: July 28, 2026
Accepted: August 22, 2026
Available online: August 25, 2026

<https://doi.org/10.36078/987655547>

Original research article / Original tadqiqot maqolasi

POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION IN TURKESTAN: THE THEORETICAL AND HISTORICAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE JADID MOVEMENT

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ABSTRACT

This article analyzes the Jadid movement in Turkestan from the perspective of modern political socialization theory. The study aims to theoretically and historically substantiate Jadidism not merely as a movement for enlightenment or educational reform, but as a national model of political socialization aimed at shaping civic consciousness, political culture, and national identity. To achieve this aim, particular attention is given to the role of key institutions of the Jadid movement – including new-method schools, the national press, theatre, textbooks, and educational activities – in the process of political socialization. The study also comparatively examines the mechanisms of political depoliticization implemented during the periods of Tsarist Russian and Soviet rule.

Historical-comparative analysis, source criticism and historical-critical analysis, content analysis, political communication, and conceptual approaches based on political socialization theory were employed in the research. Archival documents, Jadid periodicals, textbooks, journalistic works, as well as contemporary local and international scholarly literature served as the primary sources for the analysis.

Findings demonstrate that the Jadids regarded schools, the press, theatre, and books as major social institutions for developing critical thinking, legal culture, national self-awareness, and civic responsibility among the population. Particular attention was also paid to the technologies of political depoliticization implemented during the Tsarist Russian and Soviet periods through education, censorship, control over information flows, and propaganda.

The study concludes that the Jadid movement emerged as the earliest national model of political socialization in Turkestan. Its core principles – quality education, a free information environment, a national press, critical thinking, and the development of civic responsibility – retain their theoretical and practical significance in today's digital information environment. Reinterpreting the Jadid movement within the framework of political socialization theory contributes to existing scholarship and offers a new conceptual approach to Jadid studies.



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Key words: Jadidism, political socialization, political consciousness, political depoliticization, national press, new-method schools, political communication, critical thinking, civic culture, Turkestan.

For citation:

Saidov, H., & Namazova, N. (2026). Political socialization in Turkestan: The theoretical and historical foundations of the Jadid movement. *Philology Matters*, D(3), 226–245. <https://doi.org/10.36078/987655594>.

TURKISTONDA SIYOSIY IJTIMOIYLASHUV: JADIDCHILIK HARAKATINING NAZARIY VA TARIXIY ASOSLARI

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ANNOTATSIYA

Ushbu maqolada Turkiston jadidchilik harakati zamonaviy siyosiy ijtimoiylashuv (political socialization) nazariyasi nuqtayi nazaridan tahlil qilingan. Tadqiqotning maqsadi jadidchilikni faqat ma'rifiy yoki ta'lim islohoti harakati sifatida emas, balki fuqarolik ongi, siyosiy madaniyat va milliy o'zlikni shakllantirishga qaratilgan milliy siyosiy ijtimoiylashuv modeli sifatida nazariy va tarixiy jihatdan asoslashdan iborat. Ushbu maqsadga erishish uchun jadidlar faoliyatining asosiy institutlari – yangi usul maktablari, milliy matbuot, teatr, darsliklar va ma'rifiy faoliyatning siyosiy ijtimoiylashuv jarayonidagi o'rni aniqlash, shuningdek, chor Rossiyasi va sovet davrida amalga oshirilgan siyosiy ongsizlashtirish mexanizmlarini qiyosiy tahlil qilish vazifalari belgilandi.

Tadqiqotda tarixiy-qiyosiy tahlil, manbashunoslik va tarixiy-tanqidiy tahlil, kontent-tahlil, siyosiy kommunikatsiya hamda siyosiy ijtimoiylashuv nazariyasiga asoslangan konseptual yondashuvlar qo'llanildi. Ilmiy tahlil jarayonida arxiv hujjatlari, jadid matbuoti, darsliklar, publitsistik asarlar va zamonaviy mahalliy hamda xorijiy ilmiy adabiyotlardan foydalanildi.

Tadqiqot natijalari jadidlar maktab, matbuot, teatr va kitobni aholining tanqidiy fikrlashi, huquqiy madaniyati, milliy o'zligini anglashi va fuqarolik mas'uliyatini shakllantiruvchi asosiy ijtimoiy institutlar sifatida qaraganliklarini ko'rsatdi. Shu bilan birga, chor Rossiyasi va sovet davrida ta'lim, senzura, axborot oqimini nazorat qilish va propaganda orqali amalga oshirilgan siyosiy ongsizlashtirish texnologiyalari tahlil qilinib, ularning jadidlar ilgari surgan ma'rifiy modelga muqobil mafkuraviy strategiya ekanligi asoslandi.

Tadqiqot xulosasiga ko'ra, jadidchilik harakati Turkistonda siyosiy ijtimoiylashuvning ilk milliy modeli sifatida shakllangan bo'lib, uning asosiy tamoyillari – sifatli ta'lim, erkin axborot muhiti, milliy matbuot, tanqidiy fikrlash va fuqarolik mas'uliyatini rivojlantirish g'oyalari bugungi raqamli axborot muhitida ham o'z nazariy va amaliy ahamiyatini saqlab qolmoqda. Maqola jadidchilik harakatini siyosiy ijtimoiylashuv nazariyasi doirasida qayta talqin qilish orqali mazkur sohadagi ilmiy tadqiqotlarni boyitishga hamda jadidshunoslikka yangi konseptual yondashuv taklif etishga xizmat qiladi.

Kalit so'zlar: jadidchilik, siyosiy ijtimoiylashuv, siyosiy ong, siyosiy ongsizlashtirish, milliy matbuot, yangi usul maktablari, siyosiy kommunikatsiya, tanqidiy fikrlash, fuqarolik madaniyati, Turkiston.

ПОЛИТИЧЕСКАЯ СОЦИАЛИЗАЦИЯ В ТУРКЕСТАНЕ: ТЕОРЕТИЧЕСКИЕ И ИСТОРИЧЕСКИЕ ОСНОВЫ ДЖАДИДСКОГО ДВИЖЕНИЯ

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АННОТАЦИЯ

В статье анализируется джадидистское движение в Туркестане с точки зрения современной теории политической социализации. Цель исследования заключается в теоретическом и историческом обосновании джадидизма не только как движения за просвещение и реформу образования, но и как национальной модели политической социализации, направленной на формирование гражданского сознания, политической культуры и национальной идентичности. Для достижения данной цели особое внимание уделяется роли ключевых институтов джадидского движения – новометодных школ, национальной прессы, театра, учебников и просветительской деятельности – в процессе политической социализации. Исследование также предусматривает сравнительный анализ механизмов деполитизации, реализованных в периоды царской России и советской власти.

В исследовании применялись историко-сравнительный анализ, источниковедческий и историко-критический анализ, контент-анализ, подходы политической коммуникации и концептуальные подходы, основанные на теории политической социализации. В качестве основных источников использовались архивные документы, джадидская периодическая печать, учебники, публицистические произведения, а также современная отечественная и зарубежная научная литература.

Результаты исследования показывают, что джадиды рассматривали школу, прессу, театр и книгу как важнейшие социальные институты формирования критического мышления, правовой культуры, национального самосознания и гражданской ответственности населения. Особое внимание уделяется также технологиям деполитизации, осуществлявшимся в периоды царской России и советской власти посредством образования, цензуры, контроля над информационными потоками и пропаганды. Подобные процессы позволяют рассматривать деятельность джадидов как важный этап формирования общественно-политического сознания населения Туркестана.

Исследование позволяет заключить, что джадидское движение сформировалось как первая национальная модель политической социализации в Туркестане. Его основные принципы – качественное образование, свободная информационная среда, национальная пресса, развитие критического мышления и гражданской ответственности – сохраняют теоретическую и практическую значимость в современной цифровой информационной среде. Переосмысление джадидского движения в рамках теории политической социализации способствует развитию существующих научных исследований и предлагает новый концептуальный подход к изучению джадидизма.

Ключевые слова: джадидизм, политическая социализация, политическое сознание, политическая деполитизация, национальная пресса, новометодные школы, политическая коммуникация, критическое мышление, гражданская культура, Туркестан.

INTRODUCTION

The rapid digitalization of the information space, the widespread use of social

networks and artificial intelligence technologies necessitate a reconsideration of the factors shaping political consciousness and civic position in society. In contemporary political communication theory, the political socialization of the population, media literacy, and critical thinking skills are regarded as one of the important conditions for democratic development. At the same time, processes such as controlling information flows, manipulating public opinion, and restricting alternative views have historically been among the key factors influencing the political activity of society in different historical periods.

In most studies devoted to the Jadid movement, this movement is interpreted as an educational, cultural, or national revival movement. The significance of initiatives such as establishing new-method schools, national press, theatre, and textbooks in the development of education and culture has been extensively highlighted. However, the analysis of Jadidism from the perspective of political socialization theory and a comprehensive examination of its role in shaping the political consciousness, civic culture, and national identity of the population have not been sufficiently undertaken.

This article considers the Jadid movement not merely as an educational reform, but as a national model of political socialization in Turkestan society. This approach makes it possible to assess the Jadids' activities in schools, the press, book publishing, theatre, and public engagement as a system pursuing a single strategic objective – educating citizens capable of independent thinking, understanding national interests, and demonstrating social responsibility.

The aim of the study is to analyse the role and significance of the Jadid movement in the process of political socialization on the basis of historical sources and contemporary theories of political communication. Based on this aim, the following objectives were identified: to assess the ideological foundations of Jadidism from the perspective of political socialization; to reveal the role of education and the national press in shaping the political consciousness of the population; to analyse the mechanisms through which the colonial policy of Tsarist Russia and the information system of the Soviet period influenced political consciousness; and to identify the conceptual convergence between the Jadid experience and the influence of the information environment and algorithms in the digital era.

The study employed historical-comparative analysis, a systematic approach, theories of political communication and political socialization, as well as discourse analysis of Jadid writings and periodical press materials.

The scientific novelty of the study lies in the fact that the Jadid movement is analysed for the first time as an integrated concept from the perspective of political socialization theory, substantiating its character as a national model that served to shape civic consciousness, political culture, and national identity in Turkestan society. The findings make it possible to interpret the Jadid movement in relation to contemporary issues of political communication and media literacy.

Literature review

The analysis of the scholarly literature on the Jadid movement demonstrates the

existence of several major approaches to this subject. In early studies, Jadidism was primarily regarded as a movement associated with the activities of new-method schools, educational reforms, and national revival, while in subsequent years, comprehensive studies encompassing its political, cultural, and social dimensions also emerged.

In Uzbekistan, the studies of scholars such as Begali Qosimov, Naim Karimov, Bahodir Eshonov, Dilorom Alimova, Alikhon Soguni, Shukhrat Rizaev, and others are of significant importance in examining the history of Jadidism and its ideological foundations. In particular, Professor Begali Qosimov's works provide a scholarly substantiation of the formation of Jadidism as an independent socio-political movement. This approach constitutes one of the theoretical foundations of the present study.

The works of the Jadids themselves also serve as important sources for this study. An analysis of the views of Mahmudkhoja Behbudi, Abdurauf Fitrat, Munavvarqori Abdurashidkhanov, Abdulla Avloni, and other thinkers on education, the press, the nation, statehood, and development demonstrates that their primary focus was on educating knowledgeable, independently thinking, and socially responsible individuals within society.

In foreign scholarship, Jadidism has been studied primarily from the perspectives of modernization, reformism in Muslim societies, and processes of national revival. In particular, the works of scholars such as Adeeb Khalid, Hisao Komatsu, Edward J. Lazzerini, and Marianne Kamp extensively examine the role of Jadidism in cultural and social reforms. However, these studies have rarely considered the Jadid movement as an independent object of analysis from the perspective of political socialization theory.

In the scholarly literature devoted to the problems of political socialization, the theoretical views of scholars such as Gabriel Almond, Sidney Verba, David Easton, Robert D. Hess, Paulo Freire, and Jürgen Habermas are widely applied. They regard education, the family, mass media, and public institutions as key factors in shaping political values and civic culture. However, these theories have not yet been systematically applied to the Jadid movement in Turkestan.

The analysis of the literature demonstrates that although the educational, literary, and cultural dimensions of Jadidism have been relatively extensively studied, the interpretation of Jadidism as a national model of political socialization has not been sufficiently investigated. The present article is aimed at addressing this scholarly gap and seeks to reinterpret the Jadid movement on the basis of contemporary theories of political socialization and political communication.

METHODS

This study employed complementary scientific research methods to comprehensively examine the role of the Jadid movement in shaping the political consciousness of the population and its influence on the process of political socialization.

First, the *historical-comparative analysis* method was used to comparatively

analyse the ideological foundations of the Jadid movement, the colonial policy of Tsarist Russia, the information policy of the Soviet period, and the processes of political communication in digital society. This approach made it possible to identify the common and distinctive features of mechanisms of political depoliticization across different historical periods.

The theoretical foundation of the study consisted of *political socialization theory*, *political communication theory*, and the *concept of media literacy*. On the basis of these theoretical approaches, the Jadids' activities in the fields of education, the press, book publishing, and theatre were interpreted as an integrated system aimed at shaping the political culture, national identity, and civic responsibility of the population.

Content analysis and *discourse analysis* methods were used in working with the sources. In particular, the journalistic and scholarly-educational works of Mahmudkhoja Behbudi, Abdurauf Fitrat, Munavvarqori Abdurashidkhanov, and other Jadid thinkers, materials from the Jadid press, as well as official publications of the Tsarist Russian period were analysed in terms of their content, and discursive approaches to political consciousness, national identity, education, the press, and colonialism were identified.

In addition, a *systemic approach* was applied in the study, whereby the Jadid movement was evaluated not as a collection of individual schools or press publications, but as an interconnected system of social institutions encompassing education, journalism, literature, theatre, and public activity. This made it possible to provide a comprehensive assessment of the role of Jadidism in the political socialization of the population.

To ensure the reliability of the research findings, historical sources, the legacy of the Jadids, scholarly literature, and theoretical approaches related to contemporary political communication were compared and subjected to comprehensive analysis. This approach made it possible to evaluate the Jadid movement not merely as an educational movement, but as a national model of political socialization in Turkestan.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Jadidism as a national model of political socialization

The history demonstrates that as the political literacy and independent thinking of the population increase, public oversight, responsibility, and demands for reform also grow. Conversely, the unilateral control of information or the restriction of opportunities for critical thinking has been used in different periods as a means of strengthening political control.

According to the theory of political socialization, the political stability of society is determined by the degree to which citizens' political knowledge, values, and culture of participation have been developed [Almond & Verba, 1963: 60]. From this perspective, political consciousness is regarded as a cognitive and value-based system expressing an individual's conscious attitude towards the state, power, rights, and public interests.

Therefore, when we look at history, we can see that forces seeking to strengthen

political control over society in different periods have often paid particular attention to controlling education, the press, and the information space. Conversely, progressive intellectuals, particularly the Jadids of Turkestan, regarded enlightenment, independent thinking, and a free press as the most effective means of raising political consciousness. For them, educating not merely a literate person, but a citizen who understood their rights and responsibilities and possessed a sense of involvement in the fate of society, was the most important task.

From this perspective, the struggle for political consciousness is not a phenomenon characteristic only of a particular historical period. It is a continuous social process occurring in every society over information, knowledge, and thought; although its content changes with the times, its essence remains unchanged.

Political depoliticization is a social phenomenon associated with the weakening or deliberate restriction, under the influence of various factors, of the ability of members of society to independently understand, analyse, and evaluate political processes. In such circumstances, citizens may become inclined towards indifference to issues of governance, rights and freedoms, public oversight, and social responsibility.

Political depoliticization is not always carried out openly or directly. Historical experience demonstrates that it can manifest itself in various forms, including restrictions on access to education, the one-sided organization of information flows, censorship, propaganda, restrictions on alternative views, insufficient development of critical thinking skills, or the diversion of public attention from important socio-political issues. Each of these factors affects the political culture and civic engagement of society in different ways.

As an example, let us consider the role of the colonial press as a means of shaping political consciousness.

After Turkestan was conquered by Tsarist Russia in the second half of the nineteenth century, these territories were transformed into a raw-material base for the colonizers. A policy of Russification was initiated. Oppression of the local population intensified. As a result, in 1898, an uprising took place in the Fergana Valley, particularly in Andijan, under the leadership of Dukchi Eshon (Muhammadali Sobirogli). At that time, a report was published in the only periodical in the local language, *Turkiston viloyatining gazetisi* (*Newspaper of the Turkestan Region*), a publication of the Governor-Generalship of Turkestan. It stated, among other things:

“Those Muslims of the Fergana region who believe and are conscientious committed an abominable sinful act, namely, at dawn, a large group among the Muslims had secretly held consultations beforehand and gathered various weapons, then lay in wait like robbers near the city for a small number of sleeping Russian soldiers, attacked the soldiers, and began wounding and killing those soldiers who were obedient to the Tsar. There was no reason whatsoever for such an unruly and ignorant incident. The Muslims who committed such an unjust and disrespectful act of war against the Russian soldiers were those who had always demonstrated obedience and sincere devotion to the Russian authorities, benefited from prosperity through peace, and preserved the religion, nation, customs, laws, livelihood, traditions, and

order inherited from their ancestors. And such people had been led astray from the path of peace by the mad dervish Eshon Muhammadali Sobir oqli of Mingtepa. That Eshon himself had forgotten God Almighty and, through ignorance, forgotten the supreme mercy shown by His Imperial Majesty the Russian Emperor to all citizens of Turkestan, and, having obtained a meaningless and worthless piece of paper in the hands of the Russian authorities, had shown it to the people and, thinking and imagining like a foolish madman, had claimed that an order had come from heaven to create hostility between Muslims and Russians; and some of his close associates who had previously respected the said Eshon believed him and, fearing that the Russian authorities would learn of the agitator's evil intentions, hastened to carry out his intentions" (*Newspaper of the Turkestan Region*, 1898).

This text corresponds to concepts such as *agenda-setting*, *framing*, and *manufacturing consent* in contemporary political communication theory. Although these theories were formulated in the second half of the twentieth century, the example of the colonial press demonstrates that mechanisms of selecting information, interpreting events within a particular frame, and excluding alternative views had already operated much earlier. This confirms the decisive importance of the information institution in the process of political socialization.

The excerpt is a vivid example of the style of official publications issued in connection with the Dukchi Eshon uprising in Turkestan. It clearly demonstrates that the primary objective was not an impartial analysis of events, but rather the dissemination of the colonial administration's perspective into the consciousness of the population.

The use of strongly evaluative words such as "*like robbers*", "*unruly*", "*ignorant*", "*foolish madman*", "*agitator*" in reference to the participants of the uprising served to shape a particular emotional response among readers rather than to present events objectively. From the perspective of contemporary political communication theory, this represents one of the principal features of *framing* and *propagandistic language*.

Another important feature is also evident in the text. The editorial office explains the causes of the uprising not in terms of colonial policy, the socio-economic condition of the local population, or restrictions on political rights, but rather through the "misleading" activities of one individual – Dukchi Eshon. Thus, a complex political process is reduced to individual culpability, while systemic problems are excluded from discussion. From the perspective of contemporary political communication, this method constitutes one of the mechanisms of *agenda-setting* and *reframing*.

The text portrays the Russian Emperor as "merciful" and his rule as an authority ensuring the peace and prosperity of the Muslim population. Such a contrast – creating the images of "just authority" and "rebels who have succumbed to ignorance" – served to strengthen the political legitimacy of colonial rule. This situation can be regarded as one of the classical methods of colonial propaganda.

Most importantly, the text provides no space whatsoever for an alternative interpretation of the event. The perspective of the participants in the uprising or the

local population is not reflected, and their grievances and claims are not discussed. Such one-sidedness of the information source limits the reader's ability to draw independent conclusions about the events. This constitutes a practical manifestation of one of the important mechanisms of political depoliticization – *the monopolization of the information space and the restriction of alternative views*.

From the perspective of political socialization theory, such articles were directed not towards developing the critical thinking abilities of the population, but towards inducing acceptance of the single political interpretation prescribed by the colonial authorities. In this sense, the colonial press functioned not only as a means of disseminating information, but also as an ideological institution shaping citizens' political views and behaviour.

Many scholars regard Jadidism as a major condition of national development rather than as an independent political movement aimed at raising people's consciousness. We conclude, however, that this view is one-sided. This is because the term Jadid was accepted in a one-sided manner by Soviet-period scholars and, through them, by foreign researchers.

Among foreign researchers, Adeeb Khalid regards Jadidism as a modernization movement within Central Asian Muslim society. According to him, the Jadids sought to renew society through education, culture, and the press. However, this approach does not sufficiently reveal the mechanism of political socialization inherent in Jadidism. In the present study, Jadidism is interpreted specifically from the perspective of shaping civic consciousness and political culture.

The term Jadidism was used in the sense of *usuli jadid*, that is, merely as a new method in education. However, the prominent Uzbek scholar Professor B.Qosimov comprehensively demonstrated in his works that Jadidism was a socio-political movement [Qosimov, 2002: 56].

This subsequently raised the question: new in relation to which movement? This question was also answered [Saidov, 2004: 40]. The brief essence of the answer is that this movement was a new movement in relation not to the "traditionalists" or the old educational system, but to the movements of Islamism or Turkism that had undertaken the struggle against colonialists in the East. We shall confine ourselves to citing the main idea expressed in Mahmudkhoja Behbudi's article "History and Geography" [Behbudi, 1908] – the main reasons why Eastern states fell under European colonial domination were their backwardness in science and scholarship, abandonment of the exact sciences, perception of world development as unbelief, and failure to progress.

From Abdurauf Fitrat's treatise "On Aruz": "The first period of Jadidism among us proceeded under the banner of Pan-Islamism... Gradually, Pan-Islamism, Pan-Turkism, and Uzbek nationalism separated from one another as distinct forms of action. I have passed through all three of them..." [Fitrat, 2010: 247]. Fitrat's statement also indicates that Jadidism represented a distinct movement in relation to Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism.

When does the need to establish a new movement in relation to existing movements arise? Certainly, when the objectives set out in the programmes of those

movements, the means of achieving them, are incompatible or rejected.

In our view, although the Jadid movement, like the movements of Islamism and Turkism, embodied the idea of struggle against colonialism, its path towards achieving national liberation was new in comparison with the aforementioned movements. Time demonstrated the difficulty of uniting under either the banner of Islam or the banner of Turkism. Therefore, Fitrat concluded that they “separated from one another as distinct forms of action”.

Furthermore, after the fall of Tsar Nicholas Romanov of Russia from the throne in 1917, Behbudi would not have raised the issue of parliament: “We want the Muslims of Turkestan, together with Russians, Jews, and others living here, to establish a government of Turkestan on their own, and our assembly of consultation should be ‘parliamentarism’” [Behbudi, 1917].

Thus, evaluating the Jadid movement solely as an educational reform or a cultural-enlightenment trend does not fully reveal its historical essence. From the perspective of contemporary political socialization theory, Jadidism was a national modernization movement aimed at shaping a new political culture and civic consciousness in Turkestan society. Its objective was to educate citizens capable of understanding their own destiny under colonial conditions through science and enlightenment, the national press, free thought, and modern education rather than through armed confrontation.

In this sense, the struggle strategy of the Jadids represented an entirely new approach for their time. They understood that the principal condition for achieving freedom was to raise the political consciousness, legal culture, and critical thinking abilities of the people. This demonstrates that the primary objective of Jadidism was not a struggle for power, but first and foremost a struggle for the human mind.

From the perspective of contemporary political communication theory, this idea has not lost its relevance. The principal mechanisms of political depoliticization in society – restrictions on educational opportunities, the one-sided organization of the information space, the exclusion of alternative views, and the weakening of critical thinking skills – continue to be most effectively countered by quality education, a free information environment, media literacy, and the consistent development of civic responsibility. From this perspective, Jadidism emerges not only as a historical movement, but also as a model of political socialization that remains relevant to the contemporary digital era.

Interim scientific result: the analysis demonstrates that the Jadid movement in Turkestan was not limited to educational reforms, but functioned as a comprehensive modernization project that shaped a national model of political socialization. Through new-method schools, the national press, textbooks, and public communication, the Jadids sought to educate individuals capable of critical thinking, possessing national identity, and conscious of civic responsibility under colonial conditions. This finding makes it possible to reassess Jadidism not merely as an educational movement, but as an institutional mechanism of political socialization.

New-method schools – an institution of political socialization in Turkestan

According to the theory of political socialization, an individual's political views, values, and civic participation are shaped primarily through educational institutions [Almond & Verba, 1963: 62]. From this perspective, the Jadids established new-method schools not merely as educational institutions, but as strategic institutions serving to renew the political culture of the nation.

For people to read newspapers and journals, become informed about world politics, and develop legal culture, it was first necessary to educate a generation capable of reading them thoughtfully. From the early years of the twentieth century, Jadid intellectuals such as Mahmudkhoja Behbudi, Munavvarqori Abdurashidkhanov, and Ashurali Zohiri, while analysing the causes of the nation's backwardness, considered one of the main factors to be the population's growing detachment from modern knowledge and secular sciences. Alongside expressing these views, they began establishing the first Jadid schools at their own expense [Behbudi, 1903].

The Jadids clearly understood one fundamental truth: a literate person who can think independently and analyse events and understand their essence can be governed, but it is difficult to exercise absolute control over their consciousness. Therefore, by establishing new-method schools, they sought to instil in children not only reading and writing skills, but also an expanded worldview, awareness of national identity, patriotism, and civic responsibility. The teaching of secular subjects such as geography, history, natural science, and arithmetic in Jadid schools served precisely this purpose.

For example, why did Mahmudkhoja Behbudi begin his struggle for freedom specifically with the school? He came to understand that before achieving freedom, it was necessary to educate a generation capable of independently governing the country and bringing it among developed states while preserving its national values. In pursuing this path, he made use, to the extent possible, of all the influential means available in his time [Muin, 1923].

Behbudi's practical approach to education is methodologically consistent with the concept of critical pedagogy developed in modern educational theory by P.Freire. This approach is also in harmony with the concept of liberating education advanced in Paulo Freire's work *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* [Freire, 1970: 30]. According to P.Freire, the task of education is not to adapt a person to the existing order, but to transform them into a subject capable of critically understanding social reality. Jadid schools likewise sought to fulfil precisely this function within the national context.

First and foremost, in order to educate the desired generation, he planned to establish new and progressive schools similar to those he had seen during his pilgrimage. Schools began to be established in Samarkand from 1903. He embarked on the creation of new textbooks taught in the mother tongue. For the new schools in the villages of Halvoi and Rajabamin near the city of Samarkand, he wrote and published *Treatise on the Means of Literacy* (1904), *Treatise on Urban Geography* (1905), *Treatise on the Geography of Russia* (1905), *Selected General Geography and a Model of Geography* (1906), *Writing for Children* (1908), *Islamic Practices* (1908), and *History of Islam* (1909). At the same time, he prepared and published maps for

geography and history. Much can be said about the distinctive new information and ideas contained in these publications and their significance. Scholars have conducted extensive research in this regard.

As an example, we shall examine the textbook *Selected General Geography and a Model of Geography* [Behbudi, 1906: 108]. This subject, which was not taught at all in the old schools and was introduced specifically in Jadid schools, and which became a reason for Behbudi and his associates to be declared infidels, brought about significant changes in the consciousness of the population, particularly among young people.

As you read the textbook *Selected General Geography*, the question of what Behbudi's purpose was in teaching this subject repeatedly arises. At first glance, everything appears simple.

For example, at the beginning of the textbook, the term is explained: "The word geography, according to the Greek lexicon and its Arabic definition, means the name of the science that explains the earth and soil. The science of geography has several benefits and explanations," thereby providing a detailed account of the political and historical necessity of this discipline.

"Accordingly, the explanations and sciences related to this discipline are referred to by several names. For example, the science that explains the shape of the earth, its properties between the sky and the earth, and its relationship with and movement among the things in the sky is called 'mathematical geography'; the science that discusses the properties of the earth, the soil, its lowlands and highlands, various plants and minerals, mountains, rivers, lakes, climate, and air is called 'physical geography'. Regarding major events occurring on the earth's surface, peoples, governments, and, in general, events taking place on the earth, each type of matter is explained within this science, and the name of the relevant science is added to the end of the word geography. For example, 'historical geography', 'political geography', 'urban geography', and others. In conclusion, in our time the science of geography should be a necessary 'science that reveals the world', informing us about the world and the peoples, animals, civilizations, and everything else that exists in it" [Behbudi, 1906].

Behbudi sought to teach the children of Turkestan about history and politics through this discipline as well. In particular, the section "Scholars of Turkestan" contains important information about history and the ancestors who were active in it and amazed the world. The author writes:

"There are extremely many Muslim scholars and sages who have compiled books on intellectual and scientific knowledge. Likewise, in the province of Turkestan, the number of highly renowned scholars who compiled books on religious and intellectual sciences exceeds several hundred. Since this book concerns intellectual and scientific knowledge, we shall write here about the highly renowned scholars, sages, historians, and authors of Turkestan who compiled books on intellectual and scientific knowledge, as follows. If it were necessary to write about the lives and works of all the 'scholars of Turkestan' who compiled books on intellectual and scientific knowledge, it would be necessary to prepare a book even larger than this one" [Behbudi, 1906].

While introducing wise ancestors to a generation that had forgotten who they were and had been humiliated, Behbudi was saying that, because of their great number, only some of them would be mentioned.

The inclusion of information about scholars such as Ibn Sina, Al-Farabi, and Ali Qushchi in the textbook was not accidental. Through this, the author sought to cultivate a sense of pride in the younger generation towards the national intellectual heritage. From the perspective of political socialization, such an approach constitutes one of the mechanisms for strengthening collective identity and national identity.

It is noteworthy that Behbudi interpreted geography not merely as knowledge about nature, but as a means of understanding the world. The use of concepts such as “political geography,” “historical geography,” and “urban geography” in the textbook contributed to developing students’ systematic understanding of territory, state, power, and relations among peoples. In this sense, the textbook also served as a means of political socialization.

The scholar Adeeb Khalid considers Jadid schools a principal means of modernizing Muslim society [Khalid, 1998: 45]. In our view, this argument should be expanded by demonstrating that new-method schools not only contributed to modernization, but also created the institutional foundation of political socialization in Turkestan.

In conclusion, for the Jadids, the school was not merely an institution for teaching literacy, but a strategic institution serving to shape the political and social consciousness of the nation. They clearly understood that the most dangerous weapon of colonialism was not military force, but keeping the people in ignorance and unaware of world events. Therefore, the introduction of subjects such as history, geography (politics), and natural science alongside reading, writing, and arithmetic in new-method schools was aimed at developing a broad worldview, awareness of national identity, and critical thinking among the younger generation. The extensive inclusion of information about historical figures, states, political systems, and world development in Behbudi’s geography textbooks was likewise not accidental. The Jadids regarded knowledge not as an end in itself, but as a means serving the political awakening of the nation.

From the perspective of contemporary political socialization theory, Jadid schools were among the first national institutions in Turkestan aimed at shaping civic consciousness, political culture, and social responsibility. Thus, the Jadids’ school reform was not limited to modernizing the educational system, but also functioned as an alternative educational programme directed against the policy of political depoliticization under colonial conditions. They understood that the people could be protected not by weapons, but by knowledge, and began to lay the foundation of future freedom first and foremost in classrooms.

Interim scientific result: the analysis demonstrates that new-method schools in Turkestan performed a social function considerably broader than that of educational institutions. From the perspective of contemporary political socialization theory, they emerge as some of the first national institutions aimed at shaping political culture,

national identity, critical thinking, and civic responsibility. In this respect, Jadid schools served as an alternative educational strategy in response to the policy of political depoliticization implemented by the colonial administration.

National press – an institution of public opinion

Another stage of the Jadid movement was the press. We will examine this very issue through the example of the Jadid movement, which expressed a critical attitude towards the uprising and aimed to develop enlightenment among the people. One of the leaders of the Jadid movement, Mahmudkhoja Behbudi, speaking about these matters in an interview with the Russian journalist G.Andreev, stated: “The most effective means of opening the way to the light of civilization is the press” [Andreev, 1915].

Ashurali Zohiri, in turn, stated, “A newspaper is like a sun that illuminates every darkness, matures everything immature, and gives flavour to every tasteless fruit” [Zohiri, 1914], and explicitly expressed its purpose: “A newspaper is the interpreter of every nation: it informs it of what it does not know and makes the aspirations of that nation known to others”.

They clearly understood that while education shaped the younger generation, the press influenced the thinking of society as a whole. Therefore, through national publications such as *Taraqqiy (Progress)*, *Khurshid (Sun)*, *Shuhrat (Fame)*, *Samarkand (Samarkand)*, *Oyina (Mirror)*, *Sadoi Turkiston (Voice of Turkestan)*, and *Turon (Turon)*, they began introducing the people to the political, economic, and cultural processes taking place in the world. Newspapers and journals became platforms for discussing social problems, disseminating ideas of reform, and shaping public opinion.

For the Jadids, the press was not merely a means of information, but an institution of enlightenment and political education. They called on the people not to accept ready-made conclusions, but to ask questions, reflect, and form their own opinions. In particular, the journalistic articles, educational and socio-political works, and treatises of Mahmudkhoja Behbudi, Munavvarqori Abdurashidkhanov, Abdurauf Fitrat, Abdulhamid Cholpon, and other associates were directed towards this objective. In their view, the future of the nation was determined not by weapons, but first and foremost by knowledge and thought.

The Jadids also regarded theatrical art as a means of awakening social consciousness [Solihov, 1935: 87]. Through Behbudi's drama *Padarkush (The Patricide)*, the stage works of Qodiri, Haji Muin, and Avloni, and Jadid theatres, social vices were criticised, while ideas of science, justice, and responsibility were promoted. Thus, school, press, and theatre constituted an integrated educational system that complemented one another in the activities of the Jadids.

An analysis of historical sources demonstrates that one of the greatest contributions of the Jadids was manifested in their efforts to raise the political culture of the population. They sought to unite the people not around the interests of a particular political force, but around knowledge, national development, the rule of law, social responsibility, and civic engagement. In this sense, the Jadid movement can be regarded not only as an educational movement, but also as a historical school

that laid the initial foundations of civil society [Ayni, 1920].

It was precisely for this reason that the activities of the Jadids were viewed with suspicion by the colonial administration. The increasing number of citizens capable of thinking independently, analysing information, and understanding their rights and interests represented a serious challenge for any centralised colonial system of governance. The restriction of new-method schools under various pretexts, the intensification of censorship over the national press, and the persecution of Jadid intellectuals were a logical continuation of this confrontation.

Much has been written about Jadidism in Uzbekistan, but there are not many studies that have analysed it from the perspective of political socialization theory.

In this study, the Jadid press was analysed from the perspective of political socialization theory. According to this theory, an individual's political values and civic behaviour are shaped under the influence of the family, educational institutions, mass media, and other social institutions. From this perspective, the Jadid press performed the function of an important institution of political socialization in Turkestan.

The principal institutions of political socialization consist of the family, school, higher education, the press, literature and art, and public organizations.

From this perspective, let us consider the activities carried out by the Jadids. First, they worked with families, established schools, published newspapers, issued journals, wrote stage works and established theatres, authored textbooks, translated books, organized discussions, and, after the fall of the Tsarist emperor, established political parties. These represented the practical manifestations of nearly all the major institutions identified in the theory of political socialization during that period.

Thus, although the Jadids did not use the term from political science, in practice they had begun to create a system of political socialization for the nation. This conclusion makes it possible to evaluate the Jadid movement not merely as an enlightenment movement, but also as the first systematic movement aimed at shaping a national model of political socialization in Turkestan society. Through schools, the press, theatre, and books, the Jadids sought to educate individuals not merely to be literate, but to understand political realities, think critically, and possess a sense of civic responsibility. This, in turn, makes it possible to reinterpret their activities from the perspective of the theory of political socialization in contemporary political science.

The Jadids constructed the press not as a means of information, but as an institution of political socialization. This aspect makes it possible to reassess the historical significance of the Jadid press from a new perspective. If the colonial administration used the press as a means of controlling the consciousness of the population, the Jadids established it as an institution for shaping public opinion, strengthening civic responsibility, and enhancing political culture. Thus, two different models of the press emerged: one – political depoliticization, and the other – a model of political socialization.

For this reason, the Jadids were placed under surveillance, and the press was subject to censorship control. On 19 August 1914, a letter numbered 100 was sent to

the Military Governor of the Samarkand Region under the signature of the Chief of Staff of the Turkestan Military District concerning the journal *Oyina*.

The content of the letter was that during the First World War, “articles contrary to Russia’s interests might appear in the local press.” In this regard, staff captain Ataev was instructed to supervise the local press in Samarkand, and the editor of *Oyina* was required to submit a proof copy prepared for correction to the authorities two days before the journal was to be printed.

Naturally, the military district carried out this instruction as prescribed. Behbudi was summoned, that is, “invited”, to the military district and was made to sign the “top secret letter” with the statement, “I have read it and accepted it for information” [Fond 1, inventory 1, file 8752].

This document demonstrates that the colonial administration regarded the press not as a military threat, but as a political threat. If the journal had possessed merely educational significance, each of its pages would not have been reviewed by the military headquarters two days in advance. Thus, the colonial authorities recognised the potential of the Jadid press to influence the political consciousness of the population and, for this reason, sought to restrict it through institutional censorship.

Scientific result: the analysis demonstrates that the Jadids of Turkestan sought to establish the press not as a means of disseminating information, but as an institution of political socialization. Through newspapers, journals, and theatre, they sought to develop the political culture, critical thinking, and civic responsibility of the population. The censorship policy of the colonial administration confirms that it sought to restrict this institution after recognising its potential to influence the political consciousness of the population.

Technologies of political depoliticization under Colonial and Soviet rule: a comparative analysis

According to the theory of political socialization, any political regime seeks to establish institutional control over education, the press, and the information space in order to ensure its stability. In the history of Turkestan, these mechanisms initially manifested themselves in Tsarist Russia’s colonial policy and subsequently appeared in a more centralized form under the Soviet totalitarian system. The following section analyses this process through the example of the activities of the Jadids.

At the beginning of our article, we cited Behbudi’s view on the necessity of establishing a parliament. The Morozovist socialists (the future Bolsheviks) were the first to oppose this idea [Samarkand, 1917]. Shortly after the Bolsheviks came to power, the Jadids proclaimed the Turkestan Autonomy [Behbudi, 1917]. The autonomy, which existed for 72 days, was crushed precisely by the Bolsheviks. The newspapers established by the Jadids were closed. The Jadids who remained in the territory of Turkestan were removed from leadership positions: “In 1918, the Ittifoq Society appointed Mahmudkhoja as head of the Muslim Education Department. However, the narrow-minded Russian nationalists of that time responded to this appointment with derision... Mahmudkhoja was forced to resign” [Ayni, 1920].

In fact, although the Bolsheviks seized power on 25–26 October (7–8 November)

1917, Vladimir Ulyanov-Lenin, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, signed the decree "On the Press" on 27 October (9 November), that is, one day after the military coup, ordering the closure of all opposition publications.

"Everyone knows that one of the most powerful weapons of the bourgeoisie is the bourgeois press. Especially at a tense moment when the new government, the government of workers and peasants, is only being consolidated, it is impossible to leave this weapon, which is more dangerous than bombs and machine guns, entirely in the hands of the enemy" [Decrees of Soviet Power, 1957: 230], stated the document signed by Lenin.

This decree demonstrates that the Soviet government regarded the press not as an independent public institution, but as one of the state's political resources. In this respect, the document constituted one of the legal foundations for transferring the channels of political socialization into state monopoly.

All publications that supported the Turkestan Autonomy proclaimed in Kokand in 1917, including newspapers such as *Hurriyat (Freedom)*, *Najot (Salvation)*, *Ulug Turkestan (Greater Turkestan)*, and *El Bayrogi (The Banner of the People)*, as well as journals such as *Al-Izoh (The Explanation)* and *Al-Isloh (The Reform)*, were closed by the Council of People's Commissars [Fond 25, inventory 1, file 6].

Beginning in June 1918, newspapers supporting Bolshevik policies began to appear. However, according to Haji Muin, "the Bolsheviks followed a colonialist policy in providing support for the national press" [Muin, 1923]. The principal attention, however, was given to publications printed in Russian. In this regard, the newspaper *Ishtirokiyun (The Participants)* wrote in 1919: "By God's grace, every day the Russian newspaper reaches from 10,000 to 15,000 copies and continues to be sold. Although Muslims constitute ninety percent in number compared with the Russians, their newspapers are published only two or three times a week, and even at the highest circulation they reach only six thousand copies" [Muslims of Turkestan and the press, 1919].

This disparity between the Russian and local press demonstrates the existence of significant inequality in access to information resources and in the ability to shape political discourse. As a result, the process of political socialization took place largely according to an agenda determined by the colonial administration.

From 1920, the Soviet government began expanding propaganda and agitation activities. The authorities increasingly recognised the need to pay attention to various cultural activities, including the press [Issues of Education and Culture in Uzbekistan, 1926: 140]. However, only three Muslims were invited to the first congress of press workers held that year [Congress of press workers, 1920].

These events coincided with the period when I. Stalin, who came to power after V. Lenin's death, began pursuing an even harsher policy than his predecessor. During the Lenin period, although intellectuals who had actively worked in the aforementioned national newspapers were removed from editorial leadership, they were permitted to work in editorial offices that had been renamed and restarted by the Bolsheviks. Under Stalin, however, they were imprisoned and physically executed.

For example, the report entitled “The Criminal Case of Abdulla Qodiri ‘Julqunboy’”, published in the newspaper *Qizil O‘zbekiston (Red Uzbekistan)* [Goziyev, 1926], provides evidence supporting our argument.

The official report begins as follows:

“Abdulla Qodiri, who was a responsible employee of the journal *Mushtum (The Fist)*, was arrested by the Central Asian State Political Directorate on 8 March 1926. Abdulla Qodiri, writing against the Soviet government with the aim of undermining its authority and turning intellectuals working in the Soviet government for the benefit of workers and the poor against the Soviet government, wrote an editorial entitled ‘Collected Statements’ in Issue 27 of the journal *Mushtum*, in which he unjustifiably and unlawfully criticised, through ridicule and mockery, Comrade Akhunbabayev, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the centre of the Uzbek Socialist Soviet Republic, and Comrade Ikramov, a member of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee”.

The criminal case against Abdulla Qodiri represents a typical example of the criminalization of critical thought in the Soviet press. This demonstrates that journalism was transformed from a function of public oversight into an instrument of ideological control.

While Lenin stated, “The newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and collective agitator, but also a collective organiser” [Lenin, 1901], Stalin assigned the press an additional task: “As a collective organiser in the hands of the Party and Soviet government, the newspaper is a means of connecting the workers of our country with the Party and Soviet government and of uniting them around it – this is the next task of the press” [Stalin, 1947: 285].

The period from 1926 to 1940 was characterised by an increase in the influence, that is, pressure, exerted by the Bolshevik Party on the mass media. The contemporary government instilled in media leaders that the principal task of the press was to educate workers in the communist spirit.

If during the Lenin period the press was regarded as a means of strengthening Party power, under Stalin it was transformed into a mechanism of complete ideological control over society.

By 1938, censorship bodies had come under the control of the Party, and throughout the Soviet Union a total of 8,850 newspapers, 1,762 journals, 74 radio stations, 1,176 printing enterprises, and 70,000 libraries were placed under control. Central newspapers such as *Pravda (Truth)* and *Izvestia (News)* served as guides, providing political direction to other publications. In Uzbekistan, this role was assigned to the editorial office of the newspaper *Qizil O‘zbekiston (Red Uzbekistan)*.

The results of the analysis demonstrate that although Tsarist Russia and the Soviet government employed different institutional mechanisms of political depoliticization, their strategic objective was the same: to restrict the population’s independent political thinking through control over education, the press, and the information space. Under Tsarist colonialism, this process was primarily directed towards protecting the interests of the colonial administration, whereas during the Soviet period it developed into a

centralized system for implanting a single-party ideology into public consciousness. This situation further highlights the political significance of the Jadids' concept of free education and the national press and makes it possible to evaluate it as an alternative national model of political socialization.

This study substantiates, through an interpretation of the Jadid movement from the perspective of political socialization theory, that it constituted a national model that contributed to the formation of civic consciousness and political culture in Turkestan society.

CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that analysing the Jadid movement from the perspective of political socialisation theory provides a broader understanding of its nature and significance. The analysis substantiates the view that Jadidism should be understood not merely as an educational or cultural movement, but as a system of national social institutions aimed at shaping political consciousness, civic culture, and national identity in Turkestan.

The findings show that the Jadids' activities in education, publishing, the press, and theatre served a common strategic purpose: cultivating individuals capable of independent thinking, social responsibility, and awareness of national interests. From this perspective, the Jadid movement can be regarded as a national model of political socialisation.

Historical analysis also demonstrates that restricting education, controlling the information space, censorship, and propaganda have functioned as important mechanisms of political depoliticisation across different historical periods. Although these mechanisms have acquired new technological forms in the digital age, quality education, a free information environment, critical thinking, and media literacy remain crucial for developing political culture and civic consciousness.

The theoretical significance of the study lies in interpreting the Jadid movement through an integrated framework of political socialisation and political communication, thereby providing a new methodological perspective on its historical significance. Its practical significance consists in identifying opportunities to draw on the Jadids' intellectual legacy to strengthen civic education, media literacy, journalism, and spiritual and educational policies.

Future research should further examine the political communication model of the Jadid press, the role of Jadid textbooks in developing civic culture, and the relationship between Jadid ideas and the contemporary digital information environment through comparative and empirical approaches.

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