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INTRODUCTION

Globalization has transformed the digital economy from a sector-specific policy concern into a structural feature of national competitiveness, reshaping how states organize markets, regulate data, and position themselves within global value chains. For developing and transition economies, this shift raises a specific institutional question: infrastructure and technology can, in principle, be acquired or developed relatively quickly, whereas the rules, regulatory bodies, and enforcement mechanisms that enable a digital economy to function predictably—its institutional foundations—tend to evolve more gradually and unevenly.

Uzbekistan offers an instructive case for examining this process. Since **2018**, the country has pursued digital transformation through a comprehensive and continuously evolving body of legislation, beginning with the foundational Law “**On Informatization**” [4], followed by Resolution **PP–3724** on the accelerated development of electronic commerce [3] and Decree **PF–5598**, which first introduced the concept of the “**digital economy**” as an explicit object of public administration [2], and continuing with the consolidated Strategy “**Digital Uzbekistan – 2030**”, adopted under Decree **PF–6079** [1] and subsequently updated by Decree **PF–6268** [5]. This sequence of legal acts reflects a broader pattern observed across many developing economies, where governments promote digital transformation through successive and complementary legislative measures rather than through a single comprehensive framework. This development raises the question of whether legislative activity alone constitutes institutional development or primarily strengthens organizational and infrastructural capacity while the broader regulatory environment continues to evolve.

This issue is not unique to Uzbekistan. International reports and comparative studies of the wider post-Soviet region indicate similar patterns in which infrastructural progress advances more rapidly than institutional development. At the same time, the existing literature provides limited systematic analysis of how this process has unfolded in Uzbekistan through the country’s legislative evolution and in relation to internationally comparable institutional-readiness indicators.

This article addresses that research gap. Its primary objective is to examine the institutional foundations of Uzbekistan’s digital economy transformation within the broader context of globalization by tracing how the country’s legal and regulatory framework has supported, and evolved alongside, the practical development of the digital economy. To achieve this objective, the study pursues three specific tasks. First, it reconstructs the sequence and content of Uzbekistan’s principal legal acts governing the digital economy and the policy objectives they establish. Second, it places this national trajectory within the context of international models of digital economy governance and institutional-readiness indices. Third, it interprets the observed patterns through the lens of institutional economics to explain why infrastructural and institutional development have progressed at different rates. The remainder of the article is organized as follows: the literature review situates the study within existing theoretical and empirical research on digital economy institutions; the methodology section describes the document-based research approach and data sources; the analysis section examines Uzbekistan’s legislative framework, comparative governance models, and institutional-readiness indicators; and the conclusion discusses the implications of these findings for digital economy policy in Uzbekistan and other comparable economies.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The theoretical starting point for an institutional analysis of digital economy transformation is **North’s Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance** [13], which defines institutions as the formal and informal constraints that structure economic interaction and distinguishes them from organizations, which can be established and resourced relatively quickly, whereas institutions themselves evolve gradually and in a path-dependent manner. **Williamson** [14] further develops this perspective by identifying transaction costs as the principal mechanism through which institutional quality influences economic outcomes.

A parallel conceptual strand considers the digital economy as an analytical object in its own right. **Tapscott** [15] is widely recognized for developing one of the earliest conceptual frameworks distinguishing network-based economic activity from the industrial paradigm. This approach was subsequently elaborated in the Russian-language literature through **Strelets’s Network Economy** [16] and the textbook of the same title by **Stolyarov, Stolyarova, and Syrkova** [17].

Building on this conceptual foundation, a substantial body of applied empirical research, particularly in Russia, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan, reflects their shared post-Soviet institutional starting conditions and examines institutional development as a key factor influencing digital economy performance. **Yurieva and Saifieva** [18], **Fintushal et al.** [19], **Yefremova** [20], and **Ustinova, Virtsev, and Shakirova** [21] consistently emphasize that institutional development plays a decisive role alongside technological progress in advancing digitalization in Russia, while **Kaluzhsky** [22] highlights the development of digital-market institutions as an



important contributing mechanism. In Central Asia, **Beisembai et al.** [25] consider institutions and infrastructure as complementary prerequisites for Kazakhstan's digital economy, whereas **Ubaidullaeva** [23] and **Khaitboyev and Najmiddinov** [24] examine Uzbekistan's institutional trajectory and its selective adaptation of international models, respectively.

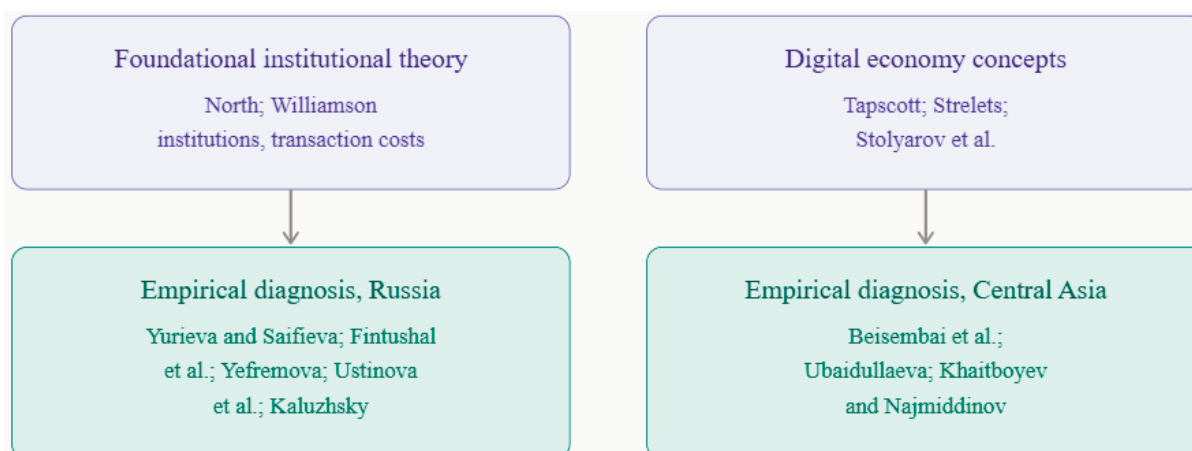


Figure 1. Categorization of the literature reviewed on the institutional foundations of the digital economy [13]–[25].

Taken as a whole, this body of literature demonstrates both considerable convergence and opportunities for further theoretical development. A common finding across studies from Russia and Central Asia is that institutional development is consistently recognized as a major determinant of digital economy performance, alongside infrastructural and technological advancement. At the same time, opportunities remain to strengthen the theoretical integration of this research. With the partial exception of **Kaluzhsky** [22], much of the applied literature engages only indirectly with the foundational frameworks proposed by **North** [13] and **Williamson** [14], often treating institutions as a descriptive concept rather than as a fully operational analytical category.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study employs a qualitative, document-based approach. Primary Uzbek legal acts were reviewed directly through **Lex.uz** rather than relying on secondary paraphrases, while quantitative indicators were obtained from international reports published by **UNCTAD**, **OECD**, **the World Bank**, **ITU**, and **UNDP** and cross-checked against the national statistics cited therein, ensuring that every figure used is traceable to an identifiable original source. These materials are interpreted through the lens of institutional economics, drawing on **North's** distinction between institutions and organizations and **Williamson's** transaction-cost framework. The analysis is structured around four analytical dimensions: the sequence of domestic legal instruments, comparative international governance models, institutional-readiness indices, and the empirical literature on Russia, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan, selected because of their shared post-Soviet institutional starting conditions.

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

The institutional foundation of Uzbekistan's digital economy has evolved incrementally through a sequence of legal instruments rather than through a single comprehensive act. The Law "**On Informatization**" [4] established the initial general legal framework for information systems and electronic document management without yet defining digitalization as an independent economic policy objective. A more targeted institutional framework was subsequently introduced through Resolution **PP-3724**, "**On Measures for the Accelerated Development of Electronic Commerce**" [3], which established the first sector-specific regulatory framework, including the National Register of e-commerce operators and the legal recognition of virtual payment terminals as equivalent to conventional cash registers.

A significant stage in institutional development was reached with Decree **PF-5598** [2], which, for the first time, identified the **digital economy** as an explicit object of public administration. This gradual



institutional process culminated in Decree **PF-6079**, “On Approval of the Strategy ‘Digital Uzbekistan – 2030’” [1], which consolidated previously fragmented sectoral initiatives into a unified and coordinated framework comprising a designated institutional body (the Coordination Commission), sectoral and regional transformation programmes, and clearly defined, measurable, and time-bound targets. Subsequent amendments [5] further demonstrate the evolutionary nature of Uzbekistan’s digital economy governance, which has developed through successive legislative refinement rather than through a single foundational legal act, consistent with **North’s** [13] observation that institutional change is typically incremental and path-dependent.

What distinguishes Decree **PF-6079** from the preceding legal acts is the assignment of measurable targets to designated implementing institutions—the mechanism through which the Strategy translates policy objectives into institutional commitments. **Table 1** summarizes these targets as codified in the Decree.

Table 1.
Official institutional and infrastructural targets of the “Digital Uzbekistan – 2030” Strategy, 2020–2022 implementation phase [1]

Target indicator	Value mandated in the Decree
Rate of settlement connectivity to the Internet	Increase from 78% to 95%
Broadband access ports	Increase to 2.5 million
Fibre-optic communication lines laid	20,000 km
Minimum Internet speed guaranteed in every settlement (by the end of 2022)	Not less than 10 Mbit/s
Information systems and e-services introduced (regional level)	Over 400
Information systems introduced in real-sector enterprises	Over 280
Citizens trained in basic computer programming	587,000 , including 500,000 under the “ One Million Programmers ” project
Share of investment-project funds mandatorily allocated to digital components	Not less than 5%
Priority digital-transformation projects under implementation at the time of the Decree	Over 220

Two features of **Table 1** merit particular attention. First, the targets are predominantly infrastructural and quantitative rather than institutional and qualitative, reflecting what **North** [13] describes as a formal institutional emphasis on measurable outputs. Second, independent corroborative evidence supports the investment target. The **UNDP** report [26] confirms that approximately **USD 2.5 billion** was allocated to digital infrastructure under the Strategy, indicating that this institutional commitment was accompanied by substantial financial support.

Beyond the national level, the institutional architecture of the digital economy is shaped by three major global governance models, each representing a distinct approach to the governance of data—the central asset of the digital economy. According to **UNCTAD’s Digital Economy Report 2021** [6], these models may be broadly characterized as follows: the **United States** model places primary responsibility for data governance in the private sector; the **Chinese** model emphasizes the coordinating role of the state; and the **European Union** model prioritizes individual control over data based on fundamental rights and values. The Report further emphasizes that this classification is intentionally simplified and that each country’s regulatory approach reflects its broader technological, economic, social, political, institutional, and cultural context. This perspective is also consistent with the institutional economics approach, according to which regulatory design develops in accordance with pre-existing institutional conditions and long-term institutional evolution.



These three institutional models are not merely competing regulatory philosophies; they also translate into measurable market outcomes. **UNCTAD** data indicate that the **United States** and **China** together account for approximately **90 per cent** of the market capitalization of the world's largest digital platforms. This finding suggests that the institutional model adopted at the national level has a direct influence on a country's capacity to capture value from the global digital economy, extending beyond the scope of domestic regulatory policy alone. **Table 2** summarizes the three models according to the dimensions most relevant to institutional analysis.

Table 2.
Comparative institutional models of digital economy governance [6]

Dimension	United States	European Union	China
Locus of data control	Private sector	Individual (rights-based)	State
Regulatory priority	Market-driven innovation	Protection of fundamental rights	National strategic coordination
Institutional mechanism	Sectoral, largely self-regulatory oversight	Comprehensive rights-based legislation	Centralized state coordination

This tripartite typology provides a useful analytical framework for understanding Uzbekistan's institutional trajectory. The “**Digital Uzbekistan – 2030**” Strategy incorporates elements that do not correspond exclusively to any single governance model. Specifically, it combines a centralized, state-coordinated implementation mechanism [1], broadly consistent with the Chinese approach to digital governance, with infrastructural development and market-facilitation objectives that share characteristics with the market-oriented model. **UNCTAD** further observes that existing international institutional frameworks continue to evolve in response to the distinctive characteristics of global data governance and highlights the importance of a broader institutional architecture based on multilateral, multi-stakeholder, and multidisciplinary cooperation to facilitate greater coherence among national approaches. This perspective underscores an important institutional consideration: a national digital transformation strategy, such as that of Uzbekistan, is designed both to achieve domestic institutional objectives and to operate effectively within an evolving international regulatory environment.

Beyond the national level, the institutional architecture of the digital economy is shaped by three major global governance models, each embodying a distinct answer to the question of who controls data—the central asset of the digital economy. According to **UNCTAD's Digital Economy Report 2021** [6], these models can be characterized, in simplified terms, as follows: the **United States** approach vests control of data primarily in the private sector; the **Chinese** model emphasizes the role of the state in data governance; and the **European Union** model favours individual control of data, grounded in fundamental rights and values. The Report emphasizes that this classification is intentionally simplified and that the regulatory choices made by individual countries reflect a broader configuration of technological, economic, social, political, institutional, and cultural conditions specific to each country—a formulation that is consistent with an institutional-economics perspective on digital governance, in which regulatory design is path-dependent on pre-existing institutional endowments rather than being selected from a set of uniformly available alternatives.

These three institutional models also translate into measurable market outcomes. **UNCTAD** data indicate that the **United States** and **China** together account for approximately **90 per cent** of the market capitalization of the world's largest digital platforms, suggesting that the institutional model adopted at the national level has a direct influence on a country's capacity to capture value from the global digital economy (Table 3).

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This tripartite typology provides a useful analytical framework for understanding Uzbekistan's institutional trajectory. The “**Digital Uzbekistan – 2030**” framework combines elements that do not correspond exclusively to any single governance model. Specifically, it incorporates a centralized, state-directed coordination mechanism, broadly consistent with the Chinese approach to state-led digital governance, together with infrastructural development and market-facilitation objectives that are more characteristic of the market-oriented model. **UNCTAD** further notes that existing international institutional frameworks continue to evolve in response to the distinctive characteristics of global data governance and highlights the importance of a broader institutional architecture based on multilateral, multi-stakeholder, and multidisciplinary engagement to promote greater coherence among national approaches. This perspective highlights an important institutional consideration: a national digital transformation strategy, such as Uzbekistan's, is designed both to achieve domestic institutional objectives and to operate effectively within an evolving international regulatory environment.

Institutional-readiness indices provide a useful basis for positioning a developing economy such as Uzbekistan within this broader analytical framework. The most directly relevant indicator is the **Network Readiness Index (NRI)**, compiled by the **Portulans Institute**, which assesses digital readiness through multiple dimensions rather than a single composite score. According to the **UNDP** report on Uzbekistan's digital economy [26], Uzbekistan ranked **133rd** out of **134** countries in the NRI's institutional and regulatory category in **2023**, placing it among the lowest-ranked countries in this particular dimension of digital readiness. This finding indicates that the country's substantial progress in achieving infrastructure-related targets, as documented in **Table 1**, has not yet been accompanied by an equivalent pace of development in the institutional and regulatory environment governing the effective, reliable, and trusted use of that infrastructure by economic actors.

This pattern is further illustrated by a second indicator reported in the same source [26]. Uzbekistan ranked **102nd** out of **134** economies in the NRI's **Regulatory Quality** category. Considered together, these indicators suggest that the next stage of Uzbekistan's digital transformation lies in the continued strengthening of institutional capacities, including predictable rule-making, regulatory coordination, and effective implementation, alongside the progress already achieved in physical infrastructure and digital connectivity. This interpretation closely reflects **North's** [13] distinction between organizations, which can be established and resourced relatively quickly, and institutions—the rules of the game—which typically evolve more gradually through path-dependent processes.

Regional data from the **World Bank** [8] place this institutional context within a broader Central Asian perspective rather than viewing it as unique to Uzbekistan. As of the mid-2010s, approximately **60 per cent** of the population in **Central Asia** and **40 per cent** of the population in the **South Caucasus** lacked Internet access, indicating that the region as a whole began its digital transformation from a relatively modest institutional and infrastructural baseline (Table 4).

Table 4.
Institutional and regulatory readiness indicators for Uzbekistan [8], [26]

Indicator	Value
Network Readiness Index — Institutional/Regulatory category	133rd of 134 countries (2023)
Network Readiness Index — Regulatory Quality category	102nd of 134 countries
Population without Internet access, Central Asia (regional baseline)	Approximately 60%
Population without Internet access, South Caucasus (regional baseline)	Approximately 40%
ICT services' share of the national economy	1.6% (2021) → 1.8% (2022) → 1.9% (2023)

A complementary perspective on institutional readiness, focusing on its constituent dimensions rather than solely on Uzbekistan's relative position, is provided by the **OECD's *Going Digital Integrated Policy Framework*** [9], [10]. This framework conceptualizes digital transformation policy through seven interrelated dimensions, beginning with access to communications infrastructure and extending to governance, innovation, digital skills, trust, market openness, and social prosperity (Figure 2).

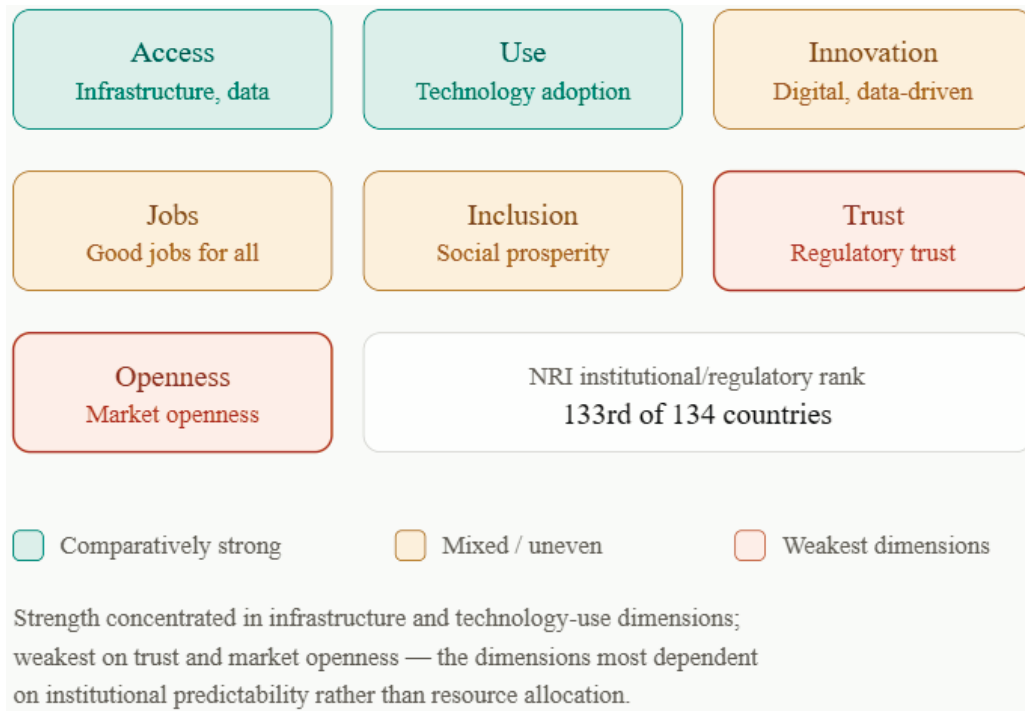


Figure 2. OECD Going Digital framework mapped to Uzbekistan's institutional profile [1], [9], [10], [26].

This theoretical perspective receives partial support from the empirical literature on digital economy institutions in **Russia**, **Kazakhstan**, and **Uzbekistan**, although the available studies differ in their scope and emphasis. **Kaluzhsky** [22], in examining the institutionalization of digital trade in the **Russian Federation**, identifies the further development of innovative digital-market institutions as an important factor in strengthening the economic efficiency and competitiveness of digital trade and relates institutional development to performance on international e-commerce-readiness indices. A comparable institutional perspective is reflected in the analysis of Kazakhstan's digital economy by **Beisembai et al.** [25], whose research hypothesis emphasizes that the successful development of a digital economy requires institutional foundations specifically oriented toward infrastructural development at both the macro and micro levels. This interpretation suggests that infrastructure and institutions should be viewed as complementary, rather than alternative, conditions for digital transformation.

For **Uzbekistan**, **Ubaidullaeva** [23] identifies the establishment of the **Ministry of Innovative Development** in **November 2017** as an important institutional milestone in the country's digital economy governance. She places subsequent strategic documents, including **Decree PF-6079** [1], within a broader and continuous process of institutional development rather than considering the **2020 Strategy** as an isolated starting point. Similarly, **Khaitboyev and Najmiddinov** [24], in their comparative analysis of international digital economy models, interpret Uzbekistan's institutional development as a process of selective adaptation of international experience rather than as an entirely autonomous domestic design. This interpretation is consistent with the tripartite governance typology discussed earlier [6], according to which countries adapt elements of different governance models rather than adopting any single national model in its entirety (Table 5).

Table 5.
Institutional barriers to digital economy transformation identified across national case studies

Type of barrier	National case
Limited institutional support for the development of innovative digital-market institutions [22]	Russia
Institutional foundations supporting macro- and micro-level infrastructure development [25]	Kazakhstan
Institution-building preceding and shaping subsequent strategic frameworks [23]	Uzbekistan
Institutional development through the adaptation of international models alongside domestic policy design [24]	Uzbekistan



Read together, the four analytical dimensions examined above converge on a coherent institutional interpretation. Uzbekistan's digital transformation has been driven predominantly through formal, decree-based institution-building—a continuous sequence of legal acts that has generated measurable and independently verified infrastructural outcomes, ranging from broadband connectivity to computer-literacy training. When considered alongside the tripartite typology of global data governance and assessed through internationally comparable institutional-readiness indices, this trajectory also highlights a continuing distinction between the progress achieved in infrastructural and organizational development and the ongoing evolution of institutional dimensions related to regulatory predictability, trust, and market openness.

This pattern is not unique to Uzbekistan; comparable trends are also identified in the empirical literature on **Russia** and **Kazakhstan**. In Uzbekistan's case, these findings are reflected in the country's position within the **Network Readiness Index** institutional category. The institutional-economics framework developed by **North** and **Williamson** provides a coherent explanation for this pattern. Organizations can be established and resourced through legislative and administrative measures, whereas institutions—the stable and predictable rules that reduce transaction costs for market participants—typically evolve more gradually through long-term institutional development. Consequently, infrastructural investment and institutional development perform complementary rather than interchangeable roles in supporting digital transformation. This distinction between organizational capacity and institutional capacity provides the analytical foundation for the discussion that follows.

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

The analysis presented above highlights a set of interrelated institutional considerations that accompany the substantial progress Uzbekistan has made in developing its digital economy. First, institution-building has evolved through a continuous process of decree-based legislative development rather than through a single, fully integrated legislative framework. Successive presidential decrees and resolutions have amended, refined, and expanded preceding legal acts over time, contributing to an active and continuously evolving regulatory environment. Second, the objectives established through this legislative process have been predominantly infrastructural and quantitative—such as connectivity rates, kilometres of fibre-optic networks, and the number of citizens receiving digital-skills training—rather than institutional and qualitative. As a result, these objectives are comparatively easier to implement and monitor, while longer-term institutional development continues to progress alongside them.

Third, international benchmarking further illustrates this pattern. Uzbekistan's position in the **Network Readiness Index** institutional and regulatory-quality categories indicates that continued opportunities remain to strengthen the institutional environment alongside the significant progress already achieved in digital infrastructure. Fourth, when interpreted through the institutional-economics framework developed by **North** and **Williamson**, this distinction reflects the different dynamics governing organizational and institutional development. Organizations and infrastructure can be established and expanded relatively quickly through legislative and administrative measures, whereas institutions—the stable and predictable rules that reduce transaction costs for market participants—typically evolve more gradually through long-term institutional development. Finally, at the international level, Uzbekistan's institutional trajectory incorporates features associated with each of the three principal global governance models identified by **UNCTAD**, combining centralized state coordination with market-facilitation objectives in a manner that provides a flexible foundation for the continued evolution of its regulatory approach to data governance, competition, and market openness.

These findings also suggest several practical directions for the further development of institutional policy. The most immediate priority is legislative consolidation. Replacing the current pattern of incremental decree amendments with a comprehensive digital economy code or framework law could further strengthen regulatory coherence and enhance legal predictability. Second, future strategic documents would benefit from incorporating measurable institutional and qualitative indicators alongside the infrastructural metrics that have characterized planning documents such as the “**Digital Uzbekistan – 2030**” Strategy [1]. In this regard, the **OECD's Going Digital Integrated Policy Framework** provides a useful reference, as it distinguishes access and use from trust and market openness as complementary policy dimensions requiring distinct institutional instruments.

Third, strengthening the institutional dimensions reflected in the **Network Readiness Index** may be supported through continued investment in regulatory implementation capacity, including technically competent regulatory institutions, transparent rule-making procedures, and effective dispute-resolution mechanisms, alongside the substantial investments already directed toward digital infrastructure. Fourth, given that no single global model of data governance can be transferred directly from one national context to another, Uzbekistan's institutional framework may continue to benefit from the selective adaptation of the strengths associated with



each of the three principal governance models: market-facilitation mechanisms reflected in the **United States** model, rights-based data protection associated with the **European Union**, and coordinated state investment capacity characteristic of the **Chinese** model. Such a balanced and adaptive approach is also consistent with **UNCTAD's** broader vision of a future multilateral, multi-stakeholder, and multidisciplinary architecture for global data governance.

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