

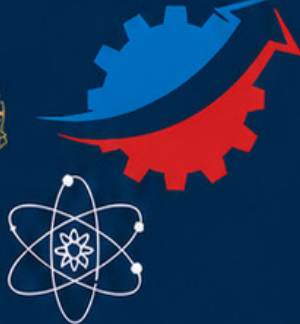
MUHANDISLIK

& IQTISODIYOT

ijtimoiy-iqtisodiy, innovatsion texnik,
fan va ta'limga oid ilmiy-amaliy jurnal

2026-YIL

AVGUST 8-SON, I-QISM



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ФИЛИАЛ В г. ТАШКЕНТЕ



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- 05.01.01 – Muhandislik geometriyasi va kompyuter grafikasi. Audio va video texnologiyalari
- 05.01.02 – Tizimli tahlil, boshqaruv va axborotni qayta ishlash
- 05.01.03 – Informatikaning nazariy asoslari
- 05.01.04 – Hisoblash mashinalari, majmualari va kompyuter tarmoqlarining matematik va dasturiy ta'minoti
- 05.01.05 – Axborotlarni himoyalash usullari va tizimlari. Axborot xavfsizligi
- 05.01.06 – Hisoblash texnikasi va boshqaruv tizimlarining elementlari va qurilmalari
- 05.01.07 – Matematik modellash
- 05.01.11 – Raqamli texnologiyalar va sun'iy intellekt
- 05.02.00 – Mashinasozlik va mashinashunoslik
- 05.02.08 – Yer usti majmualari va uchish apparatlari
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- 05.04.01 – Telekommunikatsiya va kompyuter tizimlari, telekommunikatsiya tarmoqlari va qurilmalari. Axborotlarni taqsimlash
- 05.05.03 – Yorug'lik texnikasi. Maxsus yoritish texnologiyasi
- 05.05.05 – Issiqlik texnikasining nazariy asoslari
- 05.05.06 – Qayta tiklanadigan energiya turlari asosidagi energiya qurilmalari
- 05.06.01 – To'qimachilik va yengil sanoat ishlab chiqarishlari materialshunosligi
- 05.08.03 – Temir yo'l transportini ishlatish
- 05.08.06 – "G'ildirakli va gusenisali mashinalar va ularni ishlatish" (texnika fanlari)
- 05.09.01 – Qurilish konstruksiyalari, bino va inshootlar
- 05.09.04 – Suv ta'minoti. Kanalizatsiya. Suv havzalarini muhofazalovchi qurilish tizimlari
- 10.00.06 – Qiyosiy adabiyotshunoslik, chog'ishtirma tilshunoslik va tarjimashunoslik
- 10.00.04 – Yevropa, Amerika va Avstraliya xalqlari tili va adabiyoti
- 08.00.01 – Iqtisodiyot nazariyasi
- 08.00.02 – Makroiqtisodiyot
- 08.00.03 – Sanoat iqtisodiyoti
- 08.00.04 – Qishloq xo'jaligi iqtisodiyoti
- 08.00.05 – Xizmat ko'rsatish tarmoqlari iqtisodiyoti
- 08.00.06 – Ekonometrika va statistika
- 08.00.07 – Moliya, pul muomalasi va kredit
- 08.00.08 – Buxgalteriya hisobi, iqtisodiy tahlil va audit
- 08.00.09 – Jahon iqtisodiyoti
- 08.00.10 – Demografiya. Mehnat iqtisodiyoti
- 08.00.11 – Marketing
- 08.00.12 – Mintaqaviy iqtisodiyot
- 08.00.13 – Menejment
- 08.00.14 – Iqtisodiyotda axborot tizimlari va texnologiyalari
- 08.00.15 – Tadbirkorlik va kichik biznes iqtisodiyoti
- 08.00.16 – Raqamli iqtisodiyot va xalqaro raqamli integratsiya
- 08.00.17 – Turizm va mehmonxona faoliyati

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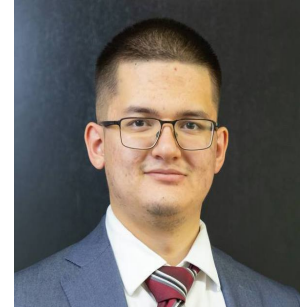
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FROM CITY ASSETS TO PRODUCTIVE JOBS: AN EVENT-HISTORY FRAMEWORK FOR DIAGNOSING URBAN GROWTH CONSTRAINTS IN HISTORICAL CITIES

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Abstract: This article develops a qualitative framework for diagnosing why the economic assets of secondary cities do not always translate into productive investment, stable employment, and higher household earnings. It reformulates a field instrument prepared for Kokand, Samarkand, and Khiva as an article-level research design. The central methodological claim is that urban constraints should not be inferred from rankings of general problems. They should be reconstructed through concrete, dated decisions in which an investor, worker, household, public agency, or service provider faced a binding obstacle and altered behaviour as a result.

The framework combines seven respondent-specific interview protocols with a common event-history sequence. Each interview begins with a real investment, hiring, connection, service, training, tourism, commuting, or household-enterprise event. It then identifies the relevant actor and rule, reconstructs the order of actions, measures the associated shadow price, records the workaround, compares the case with a less-exposed or successful case, and tests the response expected if the constraint were relaxed. The unit of evidence is therefore a causal-process observation rather than an unstructured opinion.

The comparative design links this evidence to five diagnostic pillars: market access; firm capabilities and business inputs; labour allocation, skills, and inclusion; land, infrastructure, urban access, and amenities; and institutions, coordination, and policy incidence. Common questions support comparison across the three cities, while targeted probes address inherited industrial and craft capabilities in Kokand, tourism, development, and heritage pressures in Samarkand, and water, sanitation, destination management, and seasonality in Khiva.

The article shows how the interview architecture can distinguish a binding constraint from a visible symptom. Credible diagnosis requires convergence across actors, measurable costs or delays, behavioural responses, negative cases, documentary corroboration, and a clear policy locus. The framework is intended for hypothesis testing and prioritisation before large-scale policy design. It does not report completed fieldwork; instead, it establishes the analytical structure through which field evidence can be converted into city-specific causal narratives and actionable reform propositions.

Key words: Urban Growth Diagnostics; Event-History Interviews; Causal-Process Observations; Binding Constraints; Secondary Cities; Kokand; Samarkand; Khiva; Institutional Coordination; Policy Incidence.

Annotatsiya: Ushbu maqolada ikkilamchi shaharlarning iqtisodiy aktivlari nima sababdan har doim ham samarali investitsiyalar, barqaror bandlik va uy xo'jaliklari daromadlarining oshishiga olib kelmasligini aniqlash uchun sifat jihatidan diagnostik asos ishlab chiqilgan. Unda Qo'qon, Samarqand va Xiva shaharlari uchun tayyorlangan dala tadqiqoti vositasi maqola darajasidagi tadqiqot dizayni sifatida qayta shakllantiriladi. Asosiy metodologik yondashuv shundan iboratki, shaharlardagi cheklovlar umumiy muammolar reytingi asosida aniqlanmasligi, balki investor, ishchi, uy xo'jaligi, davlat tashkiloti yoki xizmat ko'rsatuvchi muayyan majburiy to'siqqa duch kelgan va buning natijasida o'z xatti-harakatini o'zgartirgan aniq, sanasi ko'rsatilgan qarorlar orqali qayta tiklanishi lozim.

Mazkur yondashuv respondentlarga moslashtirilgan yettita intervyu protokolini umumiy voqealar xronologiyasi ketma-ketligi bilan birlashtiradi. Har bir intervyu real investitsiya, ishga yollash, tarmoqqa ulanish, xizmat ko'rsatish, malaka oshirish, turizm, qatnov yoki uy xo'jaligi korxonasi bilan bog'liq voqeadan boshlanadi. Shundan so'ng tegishli subyekt va qoida aniqlanadi, harakatlar ketma-ketligi qayta tiklanadi, tegishli yashirin narx o'lchanadi, muqobil yechim qayd etiladi, holat kamroq ta'sirlangan yoki muvaffaqiyatli holat bilan taqqoslanadi hamda cheklov yumshatilgan taqdirda kutiladigan javob sinovdan o'tkaziladi. Shu sababli dalil birligi tizimlashtirilmagan fikr emas, balki sababiy jarayonni aks ettiruvchi kuzatuv hisoblanadi.

Qiyosiy dizayn ushbu dalillarni beshta diagnostik yo'nalish bilan bog'laydi: bozorga chiqish imkoniyati; korxonalar salohiyati va biznes resurslari; mehnat taqsimoti, ko'nikmalar va inklyuziya; yer, infratuzilma, shaharga kirish imkoniyati va qulayliklar; shuningdek, institutlar, muvofiqlashtirish va siyosat ta'siri. Umumiy savollar uchta shahar o'rtasida taqqoslashni

ta'minlaydi, maqsadli savollar esa Qo'qondagi tarixiy sanoat va hunarmandchilik salohiyati, Samarqanddagi turizm, rivojlanish va meros obyektlariga bosim, Xivadagi suv ta'minoti, sanitariya, turistik yo'nalishlarni boshqarish va mavsumiylik masalalarini qamrab oladi.

Maqolada intervyu arxitekturasida majburiy cheklovni ko'zga tashlanadigan simptomdan ajratib olish imkonini berishi ko'rsatiladi. Ishonchli diagnostika subyektlari o'rtasidagi mos keluvchi dalillar, o'lchanadigan xarajatlar yoki kechikishlar, xatti-harakatlardagi javob reaksiyalari, salbiy holatlar, hujjatli tasdiqlar hamda aniq siyosiy vakolat doirasi mavjudligini talab qiladi. Mazkur yondashuv keng ko'lamli siyosiy choralarni ishlab chiqishdan oldin gipotezalarni sinash va ustuvor yo'nalishlarni belgilash uchun mo'ljallangan. Unda yakunlangan dala tadqiqoti natijalari keltirilmaydi; aksincha, dala ma'lumotlarini shaharga xos sababiy narrativlar va amaliy islohot takliflariga aylantirish mumkin bo'lgan tahliliy tuzilma shakllantiriladi.

Kalit so'zlar: Shaharlar o'sishi diagnostikasi; voqealar xronologiyasiga asoslangan intervyular; sababiy jarayon kuzatuvlari; majburiy cheklovlar; ikkilamchi shaharlar; Qo'qon; Samarqand; Xiva; institutsional muvofiqlashtirish; siyosat ta'siri.

Аннотация: В статье разработана качественная диагностическая основа для выявления причин, по которым экономические активы вторичных городов не всегда трансформируются в продуктивные инвестиции, стабильную занятость и рост доходов домохозяйств. Полевой инструмент, подготовленный для Коканда, Самарканда и Хивы, переосмыслен как исследовательский дизайн на уровне научной статьи. Основной методологический тезис заключается в том, что городские ограничения не следует выявлять на основе рейтингов общих проблем. Они должны реконструироваться посредством конкретных решений, принятых в определённый момент времени, когда инвестор, работник, домохозяйство, государственное учреждение или поставщик услуг сталкивался с существенным ограничением и в результате изменял своё поведение.

Предлагаемая методика объединяет семь протоколов интервью, адаптированных к различным категориям респондентов, с общей последовательностью анализа истории событий. Каждое интервью начинается с реального события, связанного с инвестициями, наймом работников, подключением к инфраструктуре, получением услуг, обучением, туризмом, поездками или деятельностью домохозяйства. Далее определяется соответствующий субъект и нормативное правило, восстанавливается последовательность действий, измеряется связанная с ограничением скрытая цена, фиксируется использованный обходной механизм, проводится сравнение с менее подверженным воздействию или успешным случаем и проверяется ожидаемая реакция в случае смягчения ограничения. Таким образом, единичей доказательства выступает наблюдение причинно-следственного процесса, а не неструктурированное мнение.

Сравнительный дизайн связывает полученные данные с пятью диагностическими направлениями: доступ к рынкам; возможности предприятий и бизнес-ресурсы; распределение труда, навыки и инклюзия; земля, инфраструктура, городской доступ и городские удобства; а также институты, координация и воздействие политики. Общие вопросы обеспечивают сопоставимость данных по трём городам, тогда как целевые вопросы охватывают исторический промышленный и ремесленный потенциал Коканда, туризм, развитие и давление на объекты наследия в Самарканде, а также водоснабжение, санитарные условия, управление туристическим направлением и сезонность в Хиве.

В статье показано, каким образом архитектура интервью позволяет отличить реально сдерживающее ограничение от внешне заметного симптома. Надёжная диагностика требует согласованности свидетельств различных субъектов, измеримых затрат или задержек, поведенческих реакций, анализа негативных случаев, документального подтверждения и чёткого определения уровня и сферы ответственности соответствующей политики. Предлагаемая методика предназначена для проверки гипотез и определения приоритетов до разработки широкомасштабных мер государственной политики. В статье не представлены результаты завершённого полевого исследования; вместо этого формируется аналитическая структура, посредством которой полевые данные могут быть преобразованы в причинно-следственные нарративы, специфичные для конкретного города, и практические предложения по реформированию.

Ключевые слова: диагностика городского роста; интервью по истории событий; наблюдения причинно-следственных процессов; сдерживающие ограничения; вторичные города; Коканд; Самарканд; Хива; институциональная координация; воздействие политики.

INTRODUCTION

Cities concentrate firms, workers, infrastructure, institutions, and markets, yet concentration alone does not guarantee productive transformation. A city may possess a strong craft tradition, a recognised tourism asset, a strategic location, a pool of educated workers, or a substantial base of small enterprises while still generating limited investment and unstable earnings. The analytical problem is therefore not simply to inventory assets or list constraints. It is to identify the mechanism that prevents an available asset from being combined with complementary inputs and converted into higher productivity, jobs, and income.

This problem is especially important in secondary cities undergoing rapid institutional and spatial change. Formal rules may coexist with informal practices; responsibility for land, services, transport, heritage, finance,



and employment may be divided across levels of government; and the same policy can affect firms and households differently across neighbourhoods and sectors. In such settings, aggregate indicators can reveal weak outcomes but often cannot show the decision point at which growth was lost. A low investment rate, persistent vacancy, unreliable service, or short visitor stay is an outcome to be explained, not yet a diagnosis.

The field interview guides for Kokand, Samarkand, and Khiva respond to this gap by imposing a common discipline on qualitative inquiry. Respondents are not first asked to rank broad problems. They are asked to describe one recent decision or failure: an investment delayed, a utility connection postponed, a vacancy left unfilled, a loan reduced, a tourism project redesigned, a job refused, or a household business constrained. The interviewer then reconstructs sequence, cost, coping response, comparison case, counterfactual, and corroborating evidence. This converts an interview from a collection of perceptions into a structured test of a live hypothesis.

The object of the study is the causal process through which city assets are translated, or fail to be translated, into productive jobs and higher incomes. The subject of the study is the design of event-anchored qualitative evidence for identifying binding urban growth constraints across heterogeneous actors and policy domains.

The aim of the article is to articulate a coherent methodological framework for comparative urban growth diagnosis in Kokand, Samarkand, and Khiva. Its contribution is to connect respondent-specific field protocols to a unified logic of causal inference, evidence triangulation, and policy prioritisation. Because fieldwork results are not contained in the source instrument, the article treats the guides as a prospective research design and does not attribute empirical findings to the three cities.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON THE SUBJECT

Growth diagnostics begins from the proposition that reform priorities should be selected by identifying the most binding constraints rather than by applying a universal catalogue of desirable policies. In an urban setting, this logic requires attention to complementarities. Finance may be available but irrelevant if serviced land is inaccessible; training may expand without improving employment if wages, transport, care, or recruitment practices prevent matching; tourism demand may increase without raising local value added when procurement leaks outside the city or seasonality limits stable work. The relevant constraint is the one that changes behaviour at the margin.

Urban economic research also emphasises the productive value of proximity and market access. Density can lower matching costs, support specialised suppliers, and allow knowledge to circulate, but congestion, unreliable infrastructure, fragmented land management, and weak connectivity can reverse these advantages. The field design therefore treats urban access as an economic mechanism rather than a background condition. Travel time, connection delays, rent premia, service outages, and coping expenditures become observable shadow prices that reveal how spatial and infrastructure failures alter investment and labour decisions.

Case-study methodology provides the second foundation. Process tracing focuses on the sequence and observable implications connecting a proposed cause to an outcome. A credible account requires more than association: it should identify who acted, what rule or resource mattered, what alternative was attempted, and why the final decision differed from a plausible counterfactual. Comparative cases strengthen this logic. A successful or less-exposed firm, neighbourhood, project, or worker can reveal whether the suspected constraint varies with the outcome and whether another mechanism offers a better explanation.

Institutional analysis provides a third foundation. Urban outcomes are produced through nested rules and organisations rather than a single municipal authority. Land allocation, utility investment, transport, heritage protection, finance, employment services, and training may each involve city, regional, and national actors. A constraint is actionable only when its policy locus is identified. The interview protocol therefore records the formal mandate, the actual decision path, the escalation route, and the coordination forum that exists or is missing.

Qualitative interviewing is often criticised for dependence on recall, selective attribution, and socially desirable responses. The instrument addresses these risks through event anchoring, bounded time periods, requests for amounts or ranges, documentary follow-up, and a second source who can confirm or challenge the account. It also separates a respondent's interpretation from the process evidence contained in the narrative. Perceptions remain valuable, but they become one element in a chain that includes dates, actors, rules, measurable losses, workarounds, and comparisons.

Taken together, these traditions support a diagnostic approach that is problem-driven, mechanism-centred, and comparative. The framework does not assume that every reported difficulty is binding, that the loudest stakeholder represents the city, or that one mechanism operates uniformly across places. Instead, it asks whether multiple observations reveal a repeated decision process, whether the process carries a measurable

economic cost, and whether removing the suspected constraint would plausibly induce investment, hiring, productivity, or earnings responses.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The study adopts a comparative qualitative research design centred on semi-structured, respondent-specific interviews. Seven guides cover: city, regional, and national government; land, utilities, transport, and urban service providers; firms, workshops, and entrepreneurs; tourism, heritage, hospitality, and artisans; banks and small-business finance; employment, training, and labour-market intermediaries; and residents, jobseekers, and household businesses. Interviews are designed for approximately 25 to 45 minutes and are selected according to the hypothesis under examination rather than administered as a mechanical questionnaire.

All respondent groups follow a common six-step event-history protocol. First, the interviewer elicits a concrete decision or failure before inviting a general assessment. Second, the sequence is established: what happened, when it happened, who acted, which rule or system applied, and what outcome followed. Third, the shadow price is measured through money, time, lost output, vacancy duration, rent premium, commuting burden, or coping expenditure. Fourth, the workaround is documented and compared with a successful or less-exposed case. Fifth, the counterfactual is tested by asking what would change if the constraint were relaxed. Sixth, the interview closes with a request for a record and an additional source.

The sampling strategy is purposive and hypothesis-led. Respondents should be chosen because they occupy a position in a suspected causal chain or provide variation on the mechanism of interest. For example, a service provider can describe network capacity and official standards; an affected firm can quantify production losses and coping costs; a comparable firm can reveal conditions under which service is reliable; and a government actor can locate the budget, mandate, or approval bottleneck. Sampling should continue until the principal hypotheses have both supporting and disconfirming observations, not merely until stakeholder categories are filled.

The unit of analysis is a city-level growth constraint, while the unit of evidence is a causal-process observation. Each observation should contain eight minimum elements: a concrete event and date; the relevant actor, rule, or system; a measurable cost, delay, or loss; the behavioural workaround; a comparison or negative case; the expected response to relaxation; the city, regional, or national policy locus; and a document, dataset, or second respondent for corroboration. Notes that lack these elements may generate leads but should not independently support a diagnostic conclusion.

Evidence is organised across five pillars. Pillar one concerns market access, including customers, exports, visitors, logistics, and destination linkages. Pillar two concerns firm capabilities and business inputs, including finance, technology, premises, utilities, and supplier networks. Pillar three concerns labour allocation, skills, and inclusion, including vacancies, wages, recruitment, transport, care, safety, and migration. Pillar four concerns land, infrastructure, urban access, and amenities. Pillar five concerns institutions, coordination, and policy incidence. The pillars are analytical containers rather than isolated sectors; a single event may link several of them.

City-specific probes provide structured contextualisation. In Kokand, interviews investigate whether inherited industrial and craft capabilities remain active, why workshops or manufacturers struggle to reach markets, and how migration and remittances influence labour supply and investment. In Samarkand, the design examines interactions among housing development, land values, infrastructure capacity, heritage and buffer-zone rules, congestion, visitor flows, and local procurement. In Khiva, attention focuses on water and sanitation costs, the governance of Itchan Kala, the local retention of visitor spending, and constraints on stable low-season employment.

Analysis should begin with within-case chronologies. Interview notes are converted into event records that separate antecedent conditions, triggering decisions, institutional or resource bottlenecks, responses, and outcomes. Records are then coded by pillar, hypothesised mechanism, affected group, cost metric, policy locus, and evidentiary status. Cross-case matrices compare the same mechanism across respondents and cities. The purpose is not to count mentions as if they were survey responses, but to determine whether independent observations describe the same causal process and whether negative cases weaken or refine the hypothesis.

Ethical safeguards are integral to the design. The standard opening script explains the purpose of the study, requests permission to take notes, and states that answers will be reported in aggregate unless the respondent agrees otherwise. Sensitive financial information can be recorded as ranges, and bank evidence can be requested in anonymised counts. Identifiers should be separated from analytic notes, access restricted



to the research team, and quotations used only under the agreed consent conditions. These protections are especially important where respondents discuss regulatory delays, informal workarounds, or inter-agency failures.

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Because the source document is a field instrument rather than a completed dataset, the results of this article concern the analytical properties of the research design. The first result is that the seven guides share a common causal grammar. Whether the respondent discusses a factory investment, land connection, hotel project, loan application, vacancy, commute, or household enterprise, the inquiry follows the same sequence from event to mechanism, cost, response, comparison, and counterfactual. This common grammar permits heterogeneous experiences to be compared without stripping them of context.

The second result is a distinction between symptoms and binding constraints. A service outage is a symptom until evidence shows how often it occurs, which users are exposed, what they pay to cope, and whether reliability changes investment or output. A vacancy is not automatically a skill shortage; it may reflect an unattractive wage, inaccessible shift, care burden, weak recruitment channel, or screening practice. A rejected loan does not by itself prove scarce finance if the underlying project is weak or the firm never applied because expected demand was insufficient. The guides repeatedly force alternative explanations into the interview.

The third result is the central role of behavioural evidence. A constraint is more credible when actors incur a cost to avoid it: purchasing a generator, using tanker water, relocating, reducing shifts, redesigning a project, financing through family networks, accepting a smaller machine, commuting long distances, withdrawing from the labour force, or abandoning an investment. These responses reveal both the severity of the obstacle and the distribution of its burden. They also identify existing adaptive capacity that policy can reinforce rather than replace.

The fourth result is the value of shadow prices. Monetary and time costs translate institutional or spatial frictions into comparable evidence. Relevant measures include days required for an approval or connection, hours of output lost during outages, the premium paid for serviced premises, the effective cost of credit including fees and collateral, vacancy duration at a stated wage, door-to-door commuting time, low-season underutilisation, and the share of tourism procurement sourced outside the city. Even approximate ranges can discipline causal claims when the basis of estimation is recorded.

The fifth result is that negative cases are not supplementary; they are diagnostic. A comparable investment that succeeded can identify the design, location, sponsor, timing, or coordination feature that changed the outcome. A reliable service zone can expose the relevance of network capacity or maintenance. A firm that fills the same occupation can test whether wage, recruitment, transport, or reputation explains a persistent vacancy elsewhere. A tourism business with stronger local procurement can reveal whether quality, volume, standards, finance, or information creates leakage. Each comparison sharpens the mechanism and narrows the policy response.

The sixth result is the need to trace policy incidence across levels of government. Many urban constraints are experienced locally but cannot be resolved by the city alone. Approval authority, capital budgets, tariff rules, heritage standards, credit policy, or employment programmes may sit at regional or national level. Conversely, national reform can fail if local maintenance, coordination, land access, or service delivery remains weak. Recording the legal basis, responsible institution, typical delay, and escalation path prevents recommendations from being assigned to an actor without the mandate or resources to implement them.

The seventh result is a framework for rating evidence. A hypothesis is weak when it rests on a general complaint or a single uncorroborated narrative. It becomes plausible when a dated event identifies a mechanism and measurable cost. It becomes strong when the same mechanism appears across independent actors, predicts variation between exposed and less-exposed cases, is supported by records, and produces a credible behavioural response. It should be revised or rejected when negative cases contradict its observable implications or when an alternative mechanism better explains the sequence.

Applied comparatively, the framework should produce city-specific causal narratives rather than identical checklists. Kokand's narrative may connect production capabilities, migration, skills, and external markets; Samarkand's may connect visitor demand, development pressure, heritage governance, infrastructure, and local procurement; Khiva's may connect basic services, destination management, leakage, and seasonality. These are hypotheses embedded in the instrument, not findings. The purpose of fieldwork is precisely to determine which connections are binding, for whom, in which locations, and at what policy level.

The framework repositions qualitative interviews within urban economic diagnosis. Their value does not lie primarily in producing representative frequencies or stakeholder rankings. It lies in revealing decision processes

that administrative data often record only at their endpoint. A permit database may show elapsed time but not the redesign or abandonment it caused; employment records may show a vacancy but not why qualified applicants rejected the shift; visitor statistics may show arrivals but not procurement leakage or resident costs. Interviews connect these observable outcomes to mechanisms and behavioural responses.

For implementation, the hypothesis register should govern fieldwork. Before each interview, the team should state the hypothesis, the evidence that would support it, the observation that would weaken it, and the respondent's place in the causal chain. After the interview, the team should update the hypothesis rather than simply store notes. This creates cumulative inquiry: later interviews test unresolved links, seek negative cases, and request missing records. It also reduces the risk that prominent or persuasive respondents redirect the study toward issues that are important but not binding.

Interviewer training should focus on sequence reconstruction and neutral probing. Interviewers need to recognise when a respondent has shifted from a concrete event to a general opinion and bring the discussion back to dates, actions, costs, and outcomes. They should ask for ranges when exact amounts are sensitive, distinguish official procedures from actual experience, and avoid suggesting the preferred mechanism. Pilot interviews should be reviewed as a team to standardise what counts as adequate evidence while preserving flexibility across respondent groups.

Evidence management should use a structured event record linked to source notes and documents. Each record should identify the city, respondent category, event type, date, hypothesised mechanism, cost measure, workaround, comparison case, counterfactual, policy locus, and corroboration status. A separate claim-evidence matrix can show which observations support or challenge each hypothesis. The system should preserve confidentiality by replacing names with codes and limiting access to the identity key.

Triangulation should be designed, not added at the end. For each important mechanism, the team should seek evidence from the affected actor, the responsible or regulating institution, a comparison case, and an administrative or documentary source. Disagreement is analytically useful. Differences may reflect distinct locations, firm sizes, seasons, or access to informal networks, and can reveal segmentation that an average effect would conceal. The goal is not to force consensus but to explain patterned variation.

The main limitation is that purposive interviews cannot estimate prevalence or population effects. Recall error, strategic narratives, and missing documentation remain possible even under event anchoring. The design also risks overemphasising visible failures while overlooking successful adaptation. These limitations should be addressed by combining qualitative process evidence with administrative data, spatial analysis, firm and household surveys where feasible, and deliberate sampling of successful and less-exposed cases. Policy recommendations should state the strength and scope of the supporting evidence.

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

First, policy prioritisation should follow demonstrated behavioural impact. A constraint deserves priority when it repeatedly changes investment, hiring, production, mobility, or household labour decisions and when the expected response to relaxation is specific and plausible. High visibility, political salience, or frequency of mention is insufficient without evidence that the obstacle binds productive activity at the margin.

Second, recommendations should specify both the mechanism and the responsible level of government. "Improve infrastructure," "expand skills," or "support tourism" are not operational conclusions. A diagnostic recommendation should identify the affected users and locations, the relevant service or rule, the observable cost, the institution with authority, the complementary action required from other actors, and the indicator that would show whether behaviour changed.

Third, the three-city design should preserve comparability while allowing differentiated strategies. Common event records and evidence standards make cross-city learning possible, but the final policy package should reflect each city's mechanism. Measures appropriate to inherited production capabilities in Kokand may differ from responses to heritage-development coordination in Samarkand or service reliability and seasonality in Khiva. Comparison is most useful when it explains why the same broad constraint operates differently.

Fourth, early reforms should include testable actions. A targeted connection programme, revised approval sequence, transport adjustment, procurement linkage, placement service, low-season product, or coordination forum can be piloted with explicit predictions about investment, hiring, travel time, sales, or earnings. Monitoring the predicted behavioural response converts diagnosis into iterative policy learning and provides stronger evidence before costly expansion.

Overall, the event-history framework offers a disciplined bridge between field knowledge and urban policy. It treats city growth as a process produced by interdependent decisions and institutions rather than as a list of sector problems. By anchoring interviews in concrete events, measuring shadow prices, examining



workarounds and negative cases, and locating authority, the approach can generate causal narratives that are specific enough to guide reform while remaining open to disconfirmation.

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Axborot va ommaviy kommunikatsiyalar agentligi tomonidan
№S-5669245 reyestr raqami tartibi bo'yicha ro'yxatdan o'tkazilgan.
Litsenziya raqami: №095310.

**Manzilimiz: Toshkent shahri Yunusobod
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