Traditions and the Informal Economy in Uzbekistan: A Case Study of Gaps in the Andijan Region*

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INTRODUCTION

This article investigates gaps, traditional associations in Uzbekistan, the members of which are bound together by commonly acknowledged ties of residential proximity, school alumni membership, kinship, friendship, etc. The recent gaps are characterized by regular get-togethers at the houses of group members on a rotational basis. The present study, which is based on field research conducted in the Andijan region of Uzbekistan, has the following two aims across both the fields of Central Asian studies and development economics.

First, this is an attempt to quantitatively examine several functional aspects of gap, by using first-hand data of the household budget survey that targeted a local community in the densely populated area. The traditional institutions and practices of reciprocity in Central Asia have begun attracting broader academic concern in the course of the post-socialist transition. While scholars from Central Asia tend to emphasize their cultural aspects serving as manifestations of their original ways of livings, values or identities, those from the Western world have recently paid attention to their practical aspects helping households to cope with economic difficulties during transition periods. In spite of increasing concern for these institutions, however, there have been very few attempts to examine the quantitative magnitude of their prevalence or their contribution to the informal economy due to the difficulties involved in conducting field surveys. This article will provide a unique quantitative analysis based on an original household budget survey that was designed to grasp the realities and dynamic aspects of the tradition.

Second, by drawing upon a specific viewpoint in development economics, this article intends to bring some of the distinctive features of gaps into sharp relief from the comparative perspective, along with providing theoretical implications. According to the discourse in the field of economics, the present Uzbek gaps can most likely be classified as the so-called “Roscas” (Rotating Savings and Credit Associations). However, by investigating the actual conditions and performance of the gaps, some discrepancy from the general

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image derived from the economics theory as well as consistent aspects can be observed. The purpose of this article, therefore, is not claiming the function of gaps exclusively as Roscas, nor does it aim to construct a generalized view of gaps. Instead, by focusing on a specific facet of gaps, it attempts to shed light on their complex features in which socially originated affinity and rational motivation co-exist.

This article is organized as follows. I present an overview of gaps as well as the concept of the Rosca, followed by an explanation of the fieldwork process and providing basic information on the targeted community. Then, by using the survey data, I examine the differences among various types of gaps and their impacts on residents’ economic life, focusing on their function as Roscas. The final sections consider some of the distinctive features of gaps and discuss their significance. Here I deal with sustainability issues and default problems, including focuses on multiple belonging to gaps and discusses its meaning from a network point of view. I conclude with some remarks on the implications of this research.

**GAP**

Gaps have been mentioned in the literature as one of the essential components in the traditional communal life of Uzbekistan. As a rule, a gap, which comprises about a dozen members, has a leader (jo’ra boshi) and its own set of rules. Each gap holds regular get-togethers (once or a few times a month), and its members take turns to play the role of host or hostess, offering their houses as meeting places. The leader assigns substantial importance to attendance in regular gatherings and sometimes sets a rule that enables members’ brothers or sisters to attend a gathering in case they are unable to attend it personally. The host or hostess usually prepares Uzbek traditional pilafs (oshi) and soup with meat and provides some refreshments. These get-togethers are held not only for feasts but also for discussing various topics related to social life and matters of mutual help. Even today, gaps are considered to consolidate members’ social position in a mahalla (a local community). Gaps have their own reputa-


2 Mahallas are neighborhood communities that have been reformed into formal institutions or lowest administrative units of local municipalities (khokimiyats) in 1990s and till present. Mahallas have existed since ancient times as traditional institutions in such areas as Bukhara, Samarkand, Tashkent and Ferghana valley. In some urban areas of Uzbekistan,
tion and serve to confirm the status system by making it a matter of prestige to belong to certain groups or displaying their status through conspicuous consumption. This traditional association that can reflect and influence people’s thoughts and opinions have been often watched with keen interests by official authorities or research institutes.\(^3\)

Originally, *gaps* had been associations of elderly men who would regularly meet in their houses or public places such as teahouses (*choikhona*) mainly during winter, which is the slack season for farmers. In the *mahalla* that I researched, the elderly informants often emphasized that *gaps* had provided them with valuable opportunities to acquire knowledge, such as the latest news or information regarding new fertilizers, at a time when television and radio were not common. At that time, a typical *gap* was a relatively large group comprising 30-50 members.

This practice of organizing get-togethers, which appeared to be on the wane by the 1950s, was revived remarkably in the 1970s – the era of “Soviet consumerism” under Brezhnev – when the limited access to scarce goods and service under the Soviet regime had led to the mobilization of a range of informal mechanisms. At that time, the types of *gaps* began to diversify considerably. *Gaps* began to be seen in urban areas as well and were no longer confined to men; they now involved *gaps* organized by and for women only or mixed-sex groups of married couples.

**A Variety of Gaps**

Thus far, the *gaps* in Uzbekistan have highly diversified membership, meeting styles, or purposes. In the following paragraphs, I will present a brief overview of various types of *gaps* by classifying them on the basis of three axes concerning their membership criteria: gender, generation, and preexisting social relationships.

First, most of the *gaps* are formed separately by and exclusively for males and females. As mentioned earlier, the traditional *gaps* were organized only for elderly men to make good use of the holidays or spend their free time gathering at the same place. However, at present in Uzbekistan, *gaps* organized only by women are even more popular. An Uzbek scholar refers to the emergence of women’s *gaps* in relation to the matter of the changing position of women in the *mahalla*.\(^4\) Women have come to utilize *gaps* as instruments to seek the


\(^4\) Арифханова. Традиционные сообщества. С. 44-45.
moral support of the local community for assistance in case they face family troubles or other problems. It is plausible that the women’s voices organized through the gaps could have led to the formation of public opinion at the local community level. In addition, it is notable that women’s gaps are now organized not only among neighbors but also within various other types of social relationships such as relative groups or colleagues at the workplace, as seen in men’s gaps.

Though the purposes of these women’s associations are diverse, they appear to be rather practical in comparison with the traditional men’s gaps. Not merely aiming at leisure or entertainment at the meetings, they tend to actively utilize gaps for mutual help such as exchanging information, sharing social experiences, or providing mutual support in daily life. For instance, women are often accompanied by their children to their meeting, with the intent of increasing cooperation and instilling moral education or discipline in their children. In addition, gaps often function just like Roscas as will be explained later in this section. Such financial benefits offered by women’s gaps have often been emphasized by recent literature.

Second, gaps are generally formed by companies within the same generation. Gaps comprising members from school alumni are typical cases. Apart from schoolmate-based gaps, most of the gaps represent generation groups. With regard to women’s gaps, for instance, the most commonly observed gaps are those of young brides, middle-aged women, or old women in a neighborhood. The gaps of the youth are also utilized for practical purposes such as exchanging information or cementing social connections. Nevertheless, on some occasions, some of the gatherings of the younger generations involve excessive entertainment with extravagant meals or the consumption of alcohol, belittling traditional activities such as moral education or knowledge acquisition. I have personally often attended the gatherings of young male gaps, where enjoying feasts throughout the night was the ritual. The deviations from the traditional style of the gaps, which have become distinctive, as the types of gaps have diversified during the late Soviet period, have been often criticized by the older generation.5

Third, it is indeed characteristic of the gaps that they are necessarily based on the adherence of the members to specific social relationships such as neighborhood residents, graduates of the same educational establishment, kinship relatives, colleagues at a workplace or a combination of these ties. This element of the gaps can distinguish them from other similar rotating associations that can be defined as Roscas. That is, an association called Roscas need not necessarily be accompanied by such close face-to-face interactions among members as neighbors, classmates, kin, or coworkers.6 In the same vein, there also exist

5 Арифханова. Современная жизнь. С. 26.
rotating associations called “chornaia kassa” in Uzbekistan that are characterized by group saving among coworkers at the same office. This system of Soviet practices is different from the gaps in that it does not necessarily require visits to each member’s house.\(^7\)

The roles of the gaps necessarily depend on the types of preexisting social relationships. For instance, the gaps of neighbors are expected to influence the sense of participation in community activities, contributing to the formation of a strong feeling of belonging to the locality and that is the reason why the associations have been considered to be essential for communal living.\(^8\) In the other case, the gaps of female relatives are often intentionally organized for maintaining regular contact with their own families.\(^9\) This is because females often have to live apart from their families after marriage, following the Uzbek family custom. Furthermore, it will be expected that the characteristic of the gaps of coworkers would be more like of those of chornaia kassa.

At the same time, the classification of the gaps in reality is rather complicated and ambiguous in various respects. First, there are many activities commonly seen in any gap. For instance, outside the regular gatherings, most of the gaps can operate as mutual aid unit in an emergency, irrespective of the type of membership they are based on. In particular, the members join forces when some of their fellow members conduct family rituals (toi) such as weddings or circumcisions, which often involve huge amounts of money, materials, and labor. In addition, they take it as their duty to visit him/her and offer their help, especially, for example, when a member of their gap takes ill or meets with an accident. Second, from the practical perspective, the three axes mentioned above affect the characteristic of gaps in complex ways. For instance, we cannot predict solely based on the predominance of neighbors’ gaps that they are essential for the communal life in that area. Other aspects of these neighbors’ gap such as gender ratio or generation types may more strongly characterize the roles or positions of the gaps. Third, the gaps appear to be on the verge of changing. Those gaps whose members always discuss the form and content of their activities at each meeting have the potential to develop in many directions. One of the peculiar aspects of the changing function of the gaps should

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\(^7\) On the other hand, the gaps did not necessarily involve any monetary changes until the late Soviet period. Thus, it is possible to consider that the financial uses of the gaps have appeared as relatively new phenomena by incorporating the function of the chornaia kassa. Kandiyoti pointed out in 1998 that “It is in the last five or six years that the role of the chornaia kassa appears to be combined with the gaps which are clearly proliferating.” See, Deniz Kandiyoti, “Rural Livelihoods and Social Networks in Uzbekistan: Perspectives from Andijan,” Central Asian Survey 17:4 (1998), p. 574.

\(^8\) See for example, Арифханова. Традиционные сообщества. С. 42-43; or Dadabaev, Mahalla, p. 82 et passim.

\(^9\) This is the view commonly shared by the informants of our research.
be financial use in the form of Roscas, which will be discussed in the paragraphs below.

**Roscas**

The function of *gaps* as Roscas has been recently pointed out by some scholars, mainly from the Western world. Their main concerns revolve around household strategies to cope with economic difficulties and uncertainties in the course of the post-socialist transition. Traditional institutions or informal associative networks that are deeply embedded in the local society in Central Asia were considered as social capital or collaterals that are helpful in the daily struggle to make ends meet and explain how a family with a monthly income of about fifty dollars can expend several thousand dollars on a wedding. In this context, *gaps* have been reported as unique associations that have innovative potential in adapting to the new economic pressures faced by households during the transition.

Here, the basic concept of Roscas should be explained. The Rosca, an informal financial institution widely reported in the developing world, has fascinated anthropologists for a long time and has recently attracted the theoretical attention of some economists. Roscas can be categorized into several types in terms of their systems. However, they share a common basic principle: in every Rosca, all members agree to contribute a fixed amount of money or materials at each of a set of uniformly spaced dates toward the creation of a fund; this fund will then be allotted to each member of the group in turn, in accordance with some prearranged rule. The allotment is determined either through bidding, a lottery, or an arrangement by discussion.

This system is particularly effective for purchasing luxury or durable goods, rather than for small daily items of consumption. For instance, consider

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11 For example, Sievers, “Uzbekistan’s Mahalla,” p. 130; or Kandiyoti, “Rural Livelihoods,” pp. 569-575.

a person who can afford to save only 10 dollars a month and now hopes to buy
durable goods worth 100 dollars. If this person saves alone, he or she can ac-
quire these goods only after 10 months. However, when there are 10 persons
who also save 10 dollars per month for the same purpose, they can cooperate
with each other through a Rosca. If a contribution of 10 dollars from each
member is collected, then one member can receive 100 dollars just after one
month. Over a ten-month period, a different member will receive 100 dollars
for each month. In this manner, the Rosca has been interpreted as a system that
can facilitate the earlier gain of utility from the use of durable goods compared
with the case of an autarky, and this hypothesis has been tested empirically
in studies of economics.

The function of Roscas should not be confined to matters of purchasing luxuries. It is theoretically analogous to utilize this system for any relatively
large expense at one time such as small business investments or expenses for
ceremonial events. Recent studies have also pointed out that Roscas can have psychological effects such as increased self-control and a restraint in easy ex-
penses. Furthermore, if flexible changes in the rotational turns are allowed,
the fund can be utilized for the members’ problems, facilitating urgent access
to money. In this case, this financial system can also be regarded as a source of
informal credit or insurance.

Concerning the Uzbek gaps, their effects as Roscas can be observed from
several aspects. In one case, some of the recent gaps are organized with the
main aim of seeking cooperation to purchase specific durable goods such as
TVs, carpets, or jointly paying ceremonial expenses. In the other case, there is
no concrete plan to purchase goods or spend for a common purpose through
the gaps; however, gaps can fulfill an indirect function as Roscas. In gatherings,
the leader by tradition collects membership fees to finance the host or hostess’
expense; the remaining money is at the host or hostess’s disposal to make any
necessary purchases or to meet any other financial obligations. Since they are
free to resort to any other source to add more capital, whether the funds from
the gaps can accumulate to the level of the prices of targeted goods is not an
important issue. It should be noted that in Uzbekistan, where the national cur-
rency or bank system is premature, there is a tendency for people to quickly
convert them into objects such as accessories, domestic animals, or automobiles
when they obtain a fairly large sum of Uzbek currency. Thus, whether or not
the gaps actually fulfill the function of Roscas is not a matter of the intentions of
the participants, and that is why this article should attach weight to examining
non-subjective indices based on household budget survey.

Moreover, in Uzbekistan, this system of group savings has functioned
quite effectively in coping with the intense inflation in the 1990s. The constant
depreciation of Uzbek currency made it just a loss to keep them at hand for a

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13 For example, Besley et al., “Economics of Rotating Savings.”
14 Ambec and Treich, “Roscas as Financial Agreements.”
long time, urging people to consume them rapidly, instead of enlarging personal savings, while the acquisition of foreign hard currencies like U.S. dollars were strictly restricted by the law for ordinary people. In this situation, they used the prices of specific materials as an index when they decided the amount of money that each member must contribute in each gathering, not using the unit of Uzbek currency. In the Andijan region, there is a custom to use the current bazaar prices of meat (e.g., 2 kg. of sheep) – that are quite sensitive to the movement of real and nominal prices – as an index. In this manner, irrespective of when the members receive the fund money of Roscas, they could neither benefit nor suffer losses from the inflation.

FIELDWORK

The fieldwork was conducted in a mahalla in the Andijan region, which is located in the eastern part of Ferghana Valley. The Andijan region is the smallest in size, but most densely populated region of Uzbekistan. Nearly 10 percent of Uzbekistan’s total population lives in what comprises only one percent of the country’s total territory. The households in this region have been facing the highest population pressure for a long time and have been engaged in a combination of activities to acquire different sources of income for daily survival. For instance, Kandiyoti ethnographically illustrates the complex way in which rural households in the Andijan region are responding to the new economic pressure of the transition and highlights the importance of social networks such as kinship relations or gaps. In this respect, this area appears to be in a relatively favorable situation for comprehending the vitality and prevalence of social networks in Uzbekistan. According to the government statistics for 2003, among 14 regions, the Andijan region stood at an average level of economic or social development, ranked seventh for per capita Gross Regional Product (GRP) and 6th for social infrastructure.

The researched mahalla, henceforth referred to as Oqmahalla, is situated in Oltinkol District, one of the 14 rural districts of the Andijan region. Oltinkol District has a population of 125,000 and has few national minorities, with the exception of 4,000 Tajiks who constitute the majority in one village (qishloq). The land of Oltinkol has been known to be fertile. The region of Oltinkol was founded during the Qoqon Khanate in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the growing needs of its population had compelled the Khans to expand their agricultural land. At the time, Oltinkol was a shallow lake. Ac-

15 Kandiyoti, “Rural Livelihoods.”
16 See, Uzbekistan National Human Development Report 2005, UNDP and CER, p. 52, Table 3.9. The level of economic development is determined on the basis of per capita GRP, the level of social development on the basis of per income, presence of social infrastructure, turnover of goods and paid services. Estimates based on data from State Committee of the Republic of Uzbekistan on Statistics.
According to a legend, when people settled in the land surrounding the city of Andijan, they saw a beautiful moonlight reflection on the lake and began to refer to the land as “Oydinkol,” which means “light lake.” They began to grow wheat and cotton in the region near the lake and soon reaped rich harvests due to its fertility. Since then, the land has been called “Oltinkol,” which means “gold lake.”

The industry of Oltinkol is still heavily dependent on agriculture. Oltinkol has 12,000 hectares of irrigated land in the form of cooperative farms (Shirkat), 7,000 hectares of which is under cotton cultivation, and another 4,500 of which is under wheat cultivation, and the rest, under vegetable cultivation. More importantly, most of the households own private plots in their gardens (tomorqa), covering approximately 3,000 hectares in total. Private greenhouses are often set up on these plots and high-value products such as tomato, pepper, or tobacco are grown. These products are grown not only for self-consumption but also for sale in Tashkent or export to Russia. Moreover, Oltinkol has three large factories engaged in the processing of coats, textile and cotton; each of these factories employs more than 500 people.

The fieldwork in Oqmahalla began in 2002, spanning a total of six months and involving five visits to date. The survey on which this article is mainly based was conducted over August – September 2003. According to the investigation conducted by the mahalla committee in January 2003, the population of Oqmahalla comprised 486 households or 2,523 residents, which can be regarded as medium size given the size of the present mahallas in this country.

During the fieldwork, a one-shot household budget survey targeting 245 households or 1,344 residents was implemented. This survey began on September 12, 2003 and was completed on September 15, 2003, with the cooperation of eight interviewers. In recent years, household budget surveys meeting a certain methodological standard such as World Bank’s Living Standard Measurement Survey have been increasingly implemented in developing or transition countries. Similar attempts are also made in Uzbekistan; however, this survey is different in that its sample is representative not at the national level, but at the community level. That is, its priority is placed not on large-scale representativeness but on examining concrete examples and structures of residents’ living environment. One of reasons for the scarcity of this type of economic survey in Uzbekistan will be political pressure or intervention by

17 Apart from household budget surveys by State Committee on Statistics (Goskomstat), of which the first hand data do not have public access, there were several attempts of household budget surveys with sample sizes of 1000-2000 households level such as EESU (EUI/Essex University Survey in Uzbekistan) in 1995 or Expert Fikri-JICA Survey (see also footnotes 20) in 2003. However, the situation surrounding household budget surveys in Uzbekistan appears to be still backward, compared with neighboring countries such as Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan where World Bank’s Living Standard Measurement Surveys have already been conducted several times.
authorities. This survey is valuable in the sense that it could overcome this kind of obstacle.\textsuperscript{18}

The household budget survey was conducted in the following manner.\textsuperscript{19} First, half of the households were randomly selected from the list of the households maintained by the mahalla committee of Oqmahalla. Next, the interviewers, accompanied by residents who were familiar with the mahalla, visited each household to conduct face-to-face interviews with one or simultaneously with several members of the household aged over 18 years; however, only those who were fully aware of the household’s budget were interviewed. Although the items of the questionnaire were varied, they basically focused on economic activity in the past one month. They included questions that sought information on household composition, individual income, education levels, employment status, private income transfers, household assets, durable goods, livestock, private plots, participation in specific customs such as gaps, etc. The interviewers and I would crosscheck our questionnaires every night, and in case some data were missing, we would visit the same households again the next day.

Tables 1 and 2 present the household income structure and employment status of Oqmahalla based on the results of this survey. For comparison, the results of the household budget survey conducted in February 2003 for 1,000 sample households all over Uzbekistan are shown in the right-hand side column of each table.\textsuperscript{20} Table 1 shows that the average income per household

\textsuperscript{18} Unlike a large-scale sample survey, this type of community-intensive survey becomes such a big event in the researched community that it is impossible to complete the survey without a notice of the local municipalities or SNB (National Security Service) in the current political regime of Uzbekistan. Thus, I visited the local municipalities (Andijan khokimiyat and Oltinkol khokimiyat) earlier with my colleague and explained that our concern is purely academic. Thanks to a letter of the director of the Republic Mahalla Charity Funds in Tashkent, other social connections and my own nationality, we were on good terms with municipalities and obtained necessary permits for the survey. As a result, we had no external intervention in any step of designing questionnaire, selecting samples and interviewers or conducting the survey. Graduates of the University of World Economy and Diplomacy in Tashkent who had a good understanding of the objective of this research participated in this survey as interviewers. During the survey, residents were surprisingly cooperative with us, since I often attended ceremonial events in the mahalla and was well known to all residents. To my sorrow, however, it is uncertain that this procedure can work again in present time when the radical change occurred in the personnel and attitude of local municipalities after the event of Andijan in May 2005.

\textsuperscript{19} Household means a group of individuals who live at the same dwelling and are involved into common revenues or expenses (budget).

\textsuperscript{20} This household budget survey over Uzbekistan on “Revenues, expenses and loans of people living in mahalla” was conducted in February-March of 2003 by “Expert Fikri” Center on Sociological Surveys according to the contract with Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA), to which the author offered the draft of the questionnaire. Households were selected using two-step PPS (proportional probabilistic sampling) procedure. At the first step, 78 sample mahallas were selected out of the total list of mahallas of the country. On the second step, 1,000 sample households out of those mahallas were selected for interviews, which were conducted by 57 interviewers.
received from the main workplace in Oqmahalla is only 24,525 soums (approximately 25 U.S. dollars); however, the total income reaches 86,119 soums. The latter amount is somewhat higher than the average figure for this county. This difference is mainly caused by the two components of income: temporary or seasonal income and income from private plots. Taking the following two operational factors into consideration, the living standards in Oqmahalla should be regarded as average or as slightly higher than that in Uzbekistan. First, since the survey in Oqmahalla was conducted in the harvest season and that in Uzbekistan was conducted in winter, the demand for temporary or seasonal labors in Oqmahalla must have been abundant. Second, we conducted elaborate research on the income from private plots and also attempted to grasp the amount of production used for self-consumption, considering its importance in rural households.\(^{21}\) The lower part of Table 1 indicates the information on

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Oqmahalla 2003.9</th>
<th>Uzbekistan 2003.2</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Income from private plots</strong></td>
<td>30783.6</td>
<td>5131.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total income received</strong></td>
<td>86119.4</td>
<td>46348.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Private transfers (cash or kind)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Received</td>
<td>17857</td>
<td>6883.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Given</td>
<td>31428</td>
<td>5400.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: The soum is a monetary unit of Uzbekistan. The exchange rate was approximately 1,000 soums per 1 U.S. dollar in 2003 (The unofficial rate was 1,020 soums/USD in 2003.2 and 980 soums/USD in 2003.9). An outliner was excluded from the observations in Oqmahalla (244 observations in total).

Sources: Oqmahalla is based on author’s field research. Uzbekistan is based on Expert Fikiri - JICA survey (See note 20).

\(^{21}\) Note that there is a difference in the methodology. In the survey in Oqmahalla, the income from private plots was calculated by dividing by 12 the estimated annual income from the private plots, while all other income was income received in the last one-month.
private or inter-household transfers. Private transfers involve various types of items such as cash, food, durable goods, or clothing; all these have been converted into an equivalent amount in terms of soums. The transfers received were up to 20% and those given were 36% of the average income per household, which indicates the considerable significance of the reciprocal exchange among the households in Oqmahalla.

Table 2 indicates that the proportion of state enterprises, institutions, and organizations is higher in the employment status of Oqmahalla. This category includes employees in the social sector, which includes schools and hospitals, and those employed in state factories as laborers. Oqmahalla is in charge of one brigade of the cooperative farm; however, its significance in the daily lives of the residents is not very high with regard to the number of regular workers and their salaries (the income from the cooperative farm is included in “wage at second place(s) of work” in Table 1). The results presented in Table 2 do not reflect the proportion of laborers working on private plots, since these occupa-

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23 However, we should consider the effects of family rituals (toi) that occur frequently in the harvest season.
tions are usually not recognized as jobs; however, it should be noted that most of the households in Oqmahalla are engaged in production on private plots, and the income from this comprises 35% of the total income, as shown in Table 1.

**Types and Purposes of Gaps**

To begin with, we attempt to obtain the overview of the general characteristic of gaps in Oqmahalla by examining their variety in membership criteria or purposes. We collected information on gaps concerning each member of the households during the household budget survey, accepting that different households would provide information on the same gaps. The information on gaps includes the number of members, amount of contribution, frequency of gatherings, purpose of gaps, systems of rotation, experience of defaults, etc. The survey data reveal that 81.6% of the sample households of Oqmahalla have at least one family member who belongs to a gap. The households belonging to gaps participate in 2.47 gaps on an average. These numbers clearly confirm that most of the households in Oqmahalla are intertwined in a dense web of gap networks. The meaning of this density of prevalence will be reexamined further below.

The economic literature of Roscas has paid considerable attention to the manner in which the order of the allocation of the lump sum fund is decided. In Oqmahalla, the members decide the order by “drawing lots” or through “discussion,” and not by “bidding.” The high proportion of “discussion” implies that the gaps can also function as informal insurance to meet emergent needs.

Below, I classified the data of the gaps into several categories based on their membership criteria and examined their differences. Table 3 reports the frequency and proportion of the gap prevalence according to membership criteria. We can observe that both males and females participate actively in gaps. In this table, those who participate in multiple gaps are counted repeatedly, while the numbers counted only once for every participant are shown within parentheses. In the case of the left-hand side, a chi-square test of independence revealed that the age structure of gaps is not independent of gender difference, at the 1% level of significance. This result is mainly due to the difference in participation in the age group of less than 30 years. The lack of participation among young females implies that they may be in a weak position in the households and find it difficult to spend money on gaps. In addition, the tendency of females to rarely organize gaps among their classmates might be one of the reasons why there are few gaps of young females, as can be verified from the right-hand side of Table 3.

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24 In theory, the lottery is preferred when the members are homogeneous (in respects of valuations of the durable or returns from contributions to the pool) and the bidding is preferred when credits from other sources are not costly. See, Besley et al., “Economics of Rotating Savings”; and Kovsted and Luk-Jensen, “Rotating Savings and Credit Associations.”
The right-hand side of Table 3 classifies the gaps by social relationships that determine the qualification for the membership of gaps. The majority of gaps are organized according to the criteria of “living in the same mahalla” (37.9%) or “graduates of the same school” (37.4%), followed by “kinship relations” (10.1%) and “colleagues at work” (7.5%). The category “other” includes “friends” or “people of the same age.” It can be observed that males tend to organize classmate gaps more often and that females tend to organize mahalla gaps and relative gaps to a greater extent. Regarding relative gaps, female informants often emphasized that gaps are very useful for maintaining regular contact with their own families after marriage. A chi-square test of the hypothesis that the criteria of gaps are independent of the gender difference is easily rejected, which confirms the above findings.

Table 4 and Table 5 categorize the purposes of gaps by their membership criteria. We inquired about the purposes of each gap, accepting multiple answers, all of which are counted in the Tables. At first glance, it is obvious that a variety of purposes to attend gaps were reported. The column “Total” in Table 4 shows that the purposes of “just meeting members (56%)” and “refreshment and leisure (46%)” comprise one half of the total answers. This supports the idea that the gap is not merely a financial institution. On the other hand, the purposes related with the functions of Roscas such as “purchasing durable goods (29%),” “saving money (4%),” and “insurance for the future (44%)” comprise about 40% of total answers.

From the other columns in Table 4, it is apparent that any type of gap can have various proposes and these purposes are not explicitly defined by criteria such as gender or generation. Nevertheless, we can recognize some tendency. For instance, the females tend to utilize gaps for the Roscas-related purposes...
Table 4. Purpose of Gaps in Oqmahalla (gender and age)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Male (age)</th>
<th>Female (age)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-30</td>
<td>31-40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Just meeting members</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refreshment or leisure</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchasing durable goods</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saving money</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance for the future</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussing problems</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barter</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keeping social positions</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of answers</td>
<td>543</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>1009</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In percent of total number of Gaps

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Male (age)</th>
<th>Female (age)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-30</td>
<td>31-40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Just meeting members</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refreshment or leisure</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchasing durable goods</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saving money</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance for the future</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussing problems</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barter</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keeping social positions</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of Gaps</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: The chi-square test of independence yields a P-value of 0.00002 for gender difference in the left-hand side of the table.
Sources: The author’s field research.

Table 5. Purpose of Gaps in Oqmahalla (social relationship)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Mahalla</th>
<th>Classmate</th>
<th>Relative</th>
<th>Workplace</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>65</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refreshment or leisure</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchasing durable goods</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saving money</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance for the future</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussing problems</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barter</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keeping social positions</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of answers</td>
<td>358</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>1009</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In percent of total number of Gaps

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Mahalla</th>
<th>Classmate</th>
<th>Relative</th>
<th>Workplace</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refreshment or leisure</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchasing durable goods</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saving money</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance for the future</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussing problems</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barter</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keeping social positions</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of Gaps</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>494</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: The chi-square test of independence yields a P-value of 0.00000 for differences in social relationships.
Sources: The author’s field research.
mentioned above such as “purchasing durable goods (36%)” or “insurance for the future (50%),” while males tend to attend gaps for more leisurely purposes such as “just meeting (67%)” or “refreshment or leisure (52%).” A chi-square test of independence confirms this idea, rejecting the hypothesis that the purposes of gaps are independent of gender difference. This is consistent with our expectation mentioned above. From the left-hand side of Table 4 that classifies gaps further by using age differences, we can observe that the tendency to utilize the gaps for practical purposes such as “insurance for the future” is stronger particularly for females over 30 years of age. It appears that those women who have a certain responsibility for their household budgets attend gaps with their family’s living strategies in mind. With regard to male gaps, differences in purposes according to generations cannot be clearly observed. The serious attitude of the relatively elderly generation toward gaps can possibly be recognized in the high proportion of “discussion problem (38%)” in male gaps of the age group of 41-50.

Table 5 categorizes the purposes of gaps by the social relationships on which the gaps are based. We can recognize the tendency that Roscas-related practical purposes are more popular in mahalla and workplace gaps, than in classmate or relative gaps. A chi-square test of the hypothesis that the purposes of the gaps are independent of the criteria of gaps is easily rejected. This popularity of mahalla gaps may somewhat contradict our impression, though we could expect that of workplace gaps to some extent. Here, the effect of the high proportion of female participants in mahalla gaps that can be recognized in Table 3 must be taken into account. In addition, the popularity of practical purposes of mahalla gaps and workplace gaps can be explained by the view that in the situation wherein members meet each other almost daily, there is little necessity of maintaining regular contact through non-practical gatherings.

**Gaps and Roscas**

Thus far, we dealt with the data of answers to the questions regarding gaps, in which informants’ values or thoughts about their traditions or economic motivation may be well reflected. Henceforth, we attempt to examine the effects of gaps as Roscas based on non-subjective indices. The result of totaling the survey data reveals that the average amount of contribution in a gathering is 4,760 soums per capita. Here, as amounts of money to be contributed were often reported in the form of materials, they were converted into the equivalent amount in soums by refereeing to their bazaar prices at that time. It also reveals that the average size of a gap is 13.68 members, the average frequency of gatherings in a month is 1.21 times, and the average life of a gap is 6.88 years. Thus, the average amount of lump sum funds allocated to a member at every gathering is

\[4760 \times (13.68 - 1) = 60,357\] soums.

---

25 They often use a specific amount of meat as an index. See, p. 50.
Table 6. *Gap* Participation and Prevalence of Durable Goods in *Oqmahalla*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of <em>gaps</em> participating</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>more than 5</th>
<th>Co-efficient</th>
<th>t-statistics</th>
<th>Marginal effect dF/dx</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Color Television</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td>17.2%</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
<td>31.8%</td>
<td>39.1%</td>
<td>0.156***</td>
<td>0.043</td>
<td>0.043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black and White TV</td>
<td>77.8%</td>
<td>86.4%</td>
<td>92.2%</td>
<td>80.0%</td>
<td>86.4%</td>
<td>91.3%</td>
<td>-0.003</td>
<td>-0.040</td>
<td>-0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refrigerator</td>
<td>15.6%</td>
<td>22.7%</td>
<td>42.2%</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
<td>63.6%</td>
<td>56.5%</td>
<td>0.212***</td>
<td>3.780</td>
<td>0.078</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music player</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>15.2%</td>
<td>17.2%</td>
<td>36.0%</td>
<td>40.9%</td>
<td>47.8%</td>
<td>0.243***</td>
<td>4.330</td>
<td>0.063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washing machine</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td>10.6%</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
<td>32.0%</td>
<td>22.7%</td>
<td>60.9%</td>
<td>0.256***</td>
<td>4.180</td>
<td>0.066</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Microwave oven</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td>19.7%</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>36.0%</td>
<td>31.8%</td>
<td>30.4%</td>
<td>0.132**</td>
<td>2.430</td>
<td>0.066</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gas cooker</td>
<td>93.3%</td>
<td>97.0%</td>
<td>95.3%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>95.5%</td>
<td>91.3%</td>
<td>-0.168</td>
<td>-1.450</td>
<td>-0.006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Automobile</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>18.2%</td>
<td>20.3%</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
<td>45.5%</td>
<td>39.1%</td>
<td>0.184***</td>
<td>3.120</td>
<td>0.051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durable goods index</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>3.55</td>
<td>4.48</td>
<td>4.50</td>
<td>5.13</td>
<td>0.377***</td>
<td>7.340</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Num.of households             | 45   | 66   | 64   | 25   | 22   | 23          |
| Size of household             | 4.64 | 5.36 | 5.38 | 6.12 | 5.82 | 6.78        |
| Income per household          | 48802| 72596| 83457| 108506|112123|130822      |
| Income per capita             | 13598| 14242| 16116| 18091 |20863 |21103       |

Note: ***Significant at 1%, **Significant at 5%.

This amount accounts for 70% of the average total monthly income per household (86,119 soums) in *Oqmahalla*. Here, it is important to recognize that although each contribution is never big, the total amount of the fund becomes fairly large against our impression. As the average frequency of gatherings in a month is 1.21 times, the fund will be allocated to each member almost once a year (1.21 \times 12 \div 13.68 = 1.06). In addition, a household participates in 2.47 *gaps* on average. In other words, households whose members belong to *gaps* are expected to receive 70% of the monthly household income 2.5 times a year. Although the funds are used not only for Roscas but also to pay for meals and the entertainment expenses incurred for the gatherings, this fairly large amount of money should be expected to change household behavior toward expenditure or purchase.

As an attempt to investigate whether these funds could contribute to purchasing durable goods from the non-subjective indices, we examine the correlation between *gap* participation and the prevalence of durable goods. Table 6 categorizes households by the number of *gaps* in which they participate and calculates the prevalence ratio (%) of various durable goods in each category. For instance, 39.1% of the households that belong to more than five *gaps* own...
color televisions, whereas only 6.7% of the households that do not belong to any \textit{gap} do. The durable goods index is calculated by taking 1 if the household owns a durable good and 0 if it does not, and summing up the numbers for eight durable goods. The index increases with the number of \textit{gaps} in which a household participates, as shown in Table 6. The overall results reveal that there is a positive association between \textit{gap} participation and durable goods acquisition.

As can be recognized from the lower part of the table, however, household size and household income also tend to increase when households participate in more \textit{gaps}. Thus, I estimated the probit models for each durable good, after controlling for the differences in the observed income or the number of household members. The results are shown on the right-hand side of Table 6. The coefficients of \textit{gap} participation were positive at the 1\% level of significance for 5 durable goods, and at the 5\% level for 1 durable good.

The above results provide some support to the view that \textit{gaps} are as well utilized as Roscas in the acquisition of durable goods. This analysis, however, has a limitation in clarifying the pattern of durable goods diffusion and cannot deny the possibility that the causation would run in reverse. In order to tackle the endogeneity issues, the panel or cohorts data should be collected in further research on this topic.\textsuperscript{26}

\textbf{Sustainability Constraints and Default Problems}

As an attempt to clarify a distinctive feature of the \textit{gaps}, we deal with the issues of sustainability and default problems in this section. The literature has unanimously emphasized that for long-enduring institutions managing common pool resources, small-sized groups or clearly defined boundaries are a necessity.\textsuperscript{27} In a larger group where the costs of monitoring and enforcement are high, it becomes more difficult to keep track of defecting members.\textsuperscript{28} Moreover, if the entry of new participants is not restricted, group members face the risk of any benefits they produce being reaped by others who have not contributed to the benefits.\textsuperscript{29} The issues of sustainability are typically similar for Roscas. Restricting group sizes and fixing clear boundaries appear to enhance the sustainability of Roscas.

\textsuperscript{26} See, for example, T. Besley and A.R. Levenson, “The Role of Informal Finance in Household Capital Accumulation: Evidence from Taiwan,” \textit{Economic Journal} 106 (1996), pp. 39-59. I also estimated a probit model, after dividing the \textit{gap} participation variable into the male participation variable and the female participation variable to check the difference between male \textit{gaps} and female \textit{gaps}. From the results, the coefficients of both variables are significant as well and the gender difference couldn’t be found from this type of analysis.

\textsuperscript{27} See, for example, E. Ostrom, \textit{Governing the Commons} (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990); or J.M. Baland and J.P. Platteau, \textit{Halting Degradation of Natural Resources: Is There a Role for Rural Communities?} (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

\textsuperscript{28} Baland and Platteau, \textit{Halting Degradation}, pp. 298-302.

\textsuperscript{29} Ostrom, \textit{Governing the Commons}, pp. 91-92.
In the case of the present gaps in Oqmahalla, we obtained a notable result that any experience of a serious default problem was not reported throughout the survey. This fact is quite uncommon in terms of the situation in other countries where defaults in Roscas often cause major problems such as suicides or demands for governmental regulations. In Oqmahalla, most of the respondents agree with the view that the inability of a member to pay for his or her obligation in a gathering is unlikely to lead to a major problem. Gaps are never disbanded and the defaulter is not banished from the group on the grounds of his or her default. Instead, the other members are tolerant of the defaulter’s delay and often consider some favorable arrangements for him or her. In other words, unlike markets, gaps are neither simple financial organizations nor anonymous institutions. As mentioned earlier, gaps are always based on primary networks such as close friendships or kinship relations, and this affinity among members might serve to enhance their sustainability, thereby resolving the problems of imperfect information or enforceability.

Nevertheless, it would be misleading to completely ignore the sustainability issues. In practice, the average number of members in a gap is relatively small, such as 13.68 persons in Oqmahalla; however, the expected utilities of Roscas generally increase with an increase in the group sizes. Sustainability considerations appear to be a key to understanding this fact. According to Besley et al., a Rosca cannot be sustainable if the benefit to the first fund recipient of default exceeds the default costs that represent social sanctions, such as discomfort, loss of dignity, and other costs associated with having to confront the other members each day. This leads to the idea that the benefit of default could be reduced by lowering the number of members, if the contribution amount is kept fixed. In the case of a fixed number of members, the Rosca members would be deterred from defaulting by reducing the contribution amount per specific period. Hence, if the sustainability constraint of the Rosca is binding, the size of gaps may be inversely related to the size of the contributions per specific period.

31 We can easily obtain this association from the following consideration (For details, see, Besley et al., “Economics of Rotating Savings,” p. 806). Consider a Rosca of length t among n identical individuals to purchase the durable good that costs B, then it meets at \{t/n, 2t/n, ..., t\}. The sustainability constraint of the Rosca can be written as,

\[
\left(\frac{n-1}{n}\right) y(e) [v(y) - v(y - e)] < K \quad (1)
\]

where y denotes a exogenous flow of income, e a fixed amount of contribution per specific period, v individual’s instantaneous utility, K the default cost caused by social sanction and t = B/ e. The left-hand side of (1) indicates the benefit to the first recipient of defaulting. Assuming the sustainable constraint is binding, the implicit-function theorem directly yields the expression of \( \partial n / \partial e < 0 \), which is plotted in Fig1, under the condition that v is increasing, strictly concave and e is not too small (e>1). To analyze more strictly this association using cross-section data, the differences in y and the assumption of constant B may be reconsidered.
Figure 1 plots the relationship between the size of gaps and that of the contribution per month from our survey data in Oqmahalla. There appears to be an inverse association as predicted above, although the relationship appears to be non-linear. At least, there are no gaps whose size and amount of contribution are similarly large, which prevents them from launching businesses or making large investments through gaps. The functions of the gaps seem to be somewhat restricted under the consideration of sustainability. This finding leads to the idea that the infrequent occurrence of default problems in the gaps of Oqmahalla might be the result of a well-monitored and restricted selection of members rather than the peculiarity of gaps as non-economic institutions.

Thus, it seems to be insufficient to regard gaps as simply being organized based on primary networks such as classmates, neighbors, or kinships; it is likely that they might select more restricted members from those primary networks under the consideration of sustainability issues. In other words, socially originated affinity and rational motivation appear to co-exist in gaps. This mixed view seems to be required to comprehend the dynamic aspects of the gaps. In the historical perspective, for instance, it was obvious from interviews that the sizes of gaps have been shrinking since the Soviet time, while the num-

Note: Pearson's correlation coefficient is -0.136 with a P-value of 0.004. Four observations over 80,000 soums or over 80 persons were excluded as outliners. Sources: The author's field research.
ber of *gaps* themselves has been increasing. In light of the foregoing considerations, this fact implies that the common interests of members have gradually strengthened such that they might be required to reduce the sizes of their *gaps* in order to lighten the burden of contract enforcement. In the present time of radical change in social and economic surroundings, particularly symbolized by the intrusion of the market economy, this mixed angle of viewpoints might need more attention in comprehending the changes of traditional institutions that are underway.

**MULTIPLECTY OF NETWORKS**

This section considers the multiplicity of networks. Thus far, we have dealt with each *gap* individually; however, we lack a network point of view. The interactions or relationships among *gaps* have been neglected. In *Oqmahalla*, residents often stated that there is no restriction to belong to multiple *gaps*, and a considerable number of people did participate in multiple *gaps*. In addition, in territory as small as a *mahalla*, we could observe a lot in a number of *gaps*. Based on these facts, we can assume that the *gaps* are forming a complex structure of participation network with a high density. This is the other feature of *gaps* that this article will consider.

The viewpoint of multiple belonging is, in fact, important in considering the sustainability issues of Roscas, though such examples regarding Roscas have rarely been observed in the literature. The logic is considered to be analogous to the previous discussion about the size of the group. In general, belonging to multiple groups must raise default risks not only due to the increasing obligations of the participant but also as a result of increasing monitoring and enforcement costs or making boundaries of membership ambiguous. Nevertheless, in *Oqmahalla*, there are few problems of defaults or other destructive conflicts in each *gap*.

To consider this feature of the *gaps*, the multiplicity of networks seems to be a key factor. The simplest picture is as follows. A and B belong to a Rosca, but B belongs to another Rosca. From the general point of view regarding Roscas, the multiple belonging of B puts the former Rosca at risk by making it difficult to keep track of B’s defecting. However, in the case of the *gap* that has a high density of prevalence, the following situation can frequently occur: A also belongs to the other *gap* that has a member, say C, who belongs to B’s *gap* that A does not belong to. Here, C can function as a monitor, and B’s behavior against A’s interests will be restricted even in the *gap* without A. This type of restriction through indirect relationships has been referred to as the dyadic constraint in sociological literature.³²

³² More specifically, the dyadic constraint on vertex u excised by a tie between vertices u and v is defined as the extent to which u has more and stronger ties with neighbors who are strongly connected with vertex v. See, for instance, W.D. Nooy et al., *Exploratory Social Network Analysis with Pajek* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 147.
To view the relational structure formed by gaps, we need to examine the network data that could identify those who are connected with each other through common gaps. Since the household survey that collected data on the basis of a household or person unit is lacking in this type of relational data, in September 2004, I conducted another survey targeting members who belong to a mahalla committee. The mahalla committee is a representative organ of the mahalla formed by its residents and those people who are expected to be leaders or influential persons in the mahalla are targeted.

Figure 2 presents the participation network of gaps for 45 persons who are in charge of any post of the mahalla committee. Here, the network data was converted into a one-mode network; the circles indicate persons and lines, gaps. The numbers below the circle represent the number of member and the alphabets posts; A denotes a member of council (kengash); B advisor (maslahatchi); C a member of subordinate commissions that work on specific tasks. Those members who belong to a common household or a close a paternal kinship group are unified as a same circle whose size represents the

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Figure 2  Gap Participation Network of the Mahalla Committee Members in Oqmahalla

Note: The line indicates the connection through the common gap, the figure in the line indicates the number of the gaps. The figure in the circle indicates committee member number, and alphabets posts; A denotes a member of council (kengash), B advisor (maslahatchi), C a member of subordinate commissions that work on specific tasks.

Sources: The author’s field research.
size of paternal kinship group in the community, considering that this type of relationship is much stronger than that of gaps.

Our main concern should be based on the fact that a considerable number of relationships of complete triads can be observed in the network of Figure 2. From the network point of view, this implies that members must be highly controlled by dyadic constraints. This relationship structure was realized under the peculiar condition of the gaps mentioned above; however, it must be considered that activists in the mahalla committee tend to participate in a considerably greater number of gaps than do ordinary residents. We can also observe isolated members who are not connected with any member by gaps on the right-hand side of the figure. Nonetheless, when considering other members’ roles outside the mahalla committee or other social relationship apart from the gaps within the mahalla, we can imagine the extent to which the residents are connected with each other by the multiplicity of the networks and even simultaneously restricted by dyadic constraints.

Thus, the generous attitude towards participation in multiple associations is not necessarily irrational with regard to their sustainability issues, if we broaden our scope to the overall structure of the network. Again, we can assume a rational motivation for active participation in gaps. It seems that the discussion in this section should not proceed without sufficient explication or space and other approaches to this unusual but imaginable phenomenon of the gaps should be adopted. In any case, the meaning of a “close-knit network,” a terminology often observed in the literature of the Central Asian society, should be examined further in order to understand what is really special.

**Concluding Remarks**

This article investigated gaps based on a field survey in the Andijan region in Uzbekistan. We attempted to recognize differences among various types of gaps from our statistics, as well as to examine the quantitative magnitude of their prevalence. The survey data revealed that 81.6% of the sample households of Oqmahalla had at least one family member who belongs to a gap and participated in 2.47 gaps on an average. These numbers clearly confirmed that most of the households in Oqmahalla were intertwined in a dense web of gap networks. While each gap has a variety of purposes, some tendency affected by membership criteria such as gender, generation, and type of social relationships could be certainly observed.

In comparison with the living standard data collected through the household budget survey, we clarified the impacts of gaps on residents’ economic life. Households whose members belong to gaps were expected to receive 70% of the monthly household income 2.5 times a year. We could also recognize the positive correlation between gap participation and the prevalence of durable goods. The correlation appeared to be strong even after controlling household incomes or size effects; however, the issue of causation still remains to be observed due to the lack of time-series data.
The latter half of this article focused on some of the distinctive features of the gaps and attempted to show the manner in which they are noteworthy. I dealt with sustainability issues and default problems and discussed the meaning of the high density of the gap participation network. The scarcity of default problems or generosity toward multiple belongings should draw more attention as peculiar features of gaps from theoretical aspects.

The findings of this article provide implications in both the fields of economics and area studies. First, the discussion in the latter half provides an insight into the network approach in economics studies, in which they have conventionally treated a household or a person as a separate unit. More specifically, household budget surveys increasingly utilized by development economists for their analyses appear to be indifferent to the network point of view. This article, however, implied that a relational viewpoint could be essential even in a simple logic of collective action. This seems to give rise to the need for an integrated approach based on household and network data, in order to obtain well-balanced standpoints.

Second, this was an attempt to grasp a relatively new phenomenon that can be seen in the traditional institutions in Uzbekistan. As Uzbek scholars often emphasize, it would be quite correct to state that gaps are strongly originated in the local culture and society. At the same time, in order to grasp the rapid changes occurring in every aspect of the traditional institution, we should be more aware of how relatively new elements such as the trend of the financial use of gaps affects people’s behaviors and perceptions.

Last, this article shed light on the distinctive feature of the gaps from the comparative perspective; however, it only alluded to their origin or the reason why such a difference could arise in gaps. These matters should be thoroughly discussed in a broader context that comprises sociological and historical perspectives. In this sense, the findings in this article should be regarded as preliminary results.