



IQTISODIYOT & TARAQQIYOT

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MUNDARIJA

KICHIK BIZNESNI RIVOJLANTIRISHDA TO'G'RIDAN-TO'G'RI XORIJIY INVESTITSİYALARNING AHAMIYATI.....	12
Usmonova Zarina	
O'ZBEKISTONDA YASHIL IQTISODIYOTNI RIVOJLANTIRISHNING HUQUQIY MEXANIZMLARI VA MAHALLIY DAVLAT HOKIMIYATI ORGANLARI FAOLIYATINI TAKOMILLASHTIRISH MASALALARI	19
Zaripova Sabrina Zafar qizi	
O'ZBEKISTON TO'QIMACHILIK TARMOG'IDA INTEGRATSIYALASHGAN MENEJMENT TIZIMINI RAQAMLI TRANSFORMATSIYA ASOSIDA JORIY ETISH: SAMARADORLIK, TO'SIQLAR VA ISTIQBOLLAR.....	25
Sobirov Shohruh Shuxratovich	
ISTE'MOLCHILAR ORASIDA IJTIMOIIY TARMOQLARDAGI QISQA FORMATLI VIDEOKONTENTNING IMPULSIV XARID XATTI-HARAKATLARIGA TA'SIRI.....	30
Ra'no Balxiboyeva Davron qizi	
KAPITAL BOZORI ORQALI TIJORAT BANKLARI RESURS BAZASINI KENGAYTIRISH YO'LLARI.....	40
Otabek Oltiboyev	
TURIZM XIZMATLARI BOZORIDA RAQAMLASHTIRISHNING YALPI TALAB O'ZGARISHIGA TA'SIRI TAHLILI.....	45
Ochilov Laziz Siddiqovich	
O'ZBEKISTON RESPUBLIKASIDA SOLIQ SIYOSATINING IQTISODIY O'SISHGA TA'SIRI VA YANGI ISLOHOTLARNING MAKROIQTISODIY TAHLILI.....	54
Sanakulova Iroda Abrorovna	
GLOBAL IQLIM O'ZGARISHI SHAROITIDA CHO'L YAYLOVLARI IXTISOSLASHUVINI MOSLASHTIRISHNING NAZARIY-KONSEPTUAL ASOSLARI VA ILG'OR XORIJIY TAJRIBA (O'ZBEKISTON RESPUBLIKASI QIZILQUM CHO'L YAYLOVLARI MISOLIDA)	61
Kozokov Najmiddin Isomiddinovich	
XALQARO OLIY TA'LIM TIZIMLARIDA UNIVERSITET BOSHQARUVINING TRANSFORMATSIYASI: INSTITUTSIONAL AVTONOMIYA, HISOBDOIRLIK VA STRATEGIK BOSHQARUV MODELLARI	68
Tursunmuratov Sherzod Turdimuratovich	
THREE GENERATIONS OF REFORM: GOVERNANCE PARADIGMS AND THE MEASUREMENT GAP IN UZBEKISTAN'S SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT TRANSITION	76
Salakhutdinova Yulduz Golibovna	
ГЕНЕРАТИВНЫЙ ИСКУССТВЕННЫЙ ИНТЕЛЛЕКТ И ТРАНСФОРМАЦИЯ КОНТЕНТ-МАРКЕТИНГА	82
Умарова Нозанин Алишерзода	
RAQAMLI TRANSFORMATSIYA SHAROITIDA XIZMATLAR SOHASINI RIVOJLANTIRISHNING IQTISODIY MEXANIZMLARINI TAKOMILLASHTIRISH.....	88
Sapayev Abduljalol Odinayevich	
TIJORAT BANKLARIDA TO'LOV TIZIMLARI SAMARADORLIGINI OSHIRISH VA XAVFSIZLIGINI TA'MINLASH	96
Berdiboyev Oltinboy Abdiboqi o'g'li	
UMUMIY IQTISODIY MUVOZANAT NAZARIYASINING ZAMONAVIY TALQINI.....	102
Murodov Alisher Murodjon o'g'li	
РОЛЬ СИСТЕМЫ ЭКОЛОГИЧЕСКОГО МЕНЕДЖМЕНТА В ОБЕСПЕЧЕНИИ УСТОЙЧИВОГО РАЗВИТИЯ ПРЕДПРИЯТИЙ И НАПРАВЛЕНИЯ ЕЁ СОВЕРШЕНСТВОВАНИЯ	106
Уралова Сожида Анвар кизи	
JIZZAX VILOYATI TURIZMINING RIVOJLANISH DINAMIKASI, TUZILMASI VA ISTIQBOLLARI (2016–2024-YILLAR)	112



Mamadiyorov Adhamjon Qo'chqar o'g'li KREATIV INDUSTRIYALARNI RIVOJLANTIRISH ORQALI AHOLI BANDLIGI VA DAROMADLARINI OSHIRISH IMKONIYATLARI	121
Ulug'bekov Sardorbek Ulug'bekovich TIJORAT BANKLARIDA KREDITLASH AMALIYOTI SAMARADORLIGINI BAHOLASH MEZONLARI VA KO'RSATKICHLAR TIZIMINI TAKOMILLASHTIRISH	128
Turdiyev Eralijon Muxtarovich OLIY TA'LIM MUASSASALARIDA BUDJETDAN TASHQARI TUSHUMLAR AUDITINING O'ZIGA XOS XUSUSIYATLARI	134
Abduraxmonov Saidqosimxon Abduhamid o'g'li CHAKANA BANK XIZMATLARINI RAQAMLI TRANSFORMATSIYA QILISHNING NAZARIY JIHATLARI	138
Asqarov Fayzullo G'iyosiddin o'g'li RAQAMLI IQTISODIYOT SHAROITIDA BILIM VA MALAKALARNI RAQAMLI BAHOLASH TIZIMINING NAZARIY-IQTISODIY ASOSLARI	148
Abdiyev Nosir Raximovich Muzaffarova Mohira Nuraliyevna O'ZBEKISTON BANK SEKTORIDA MOLIYAVIY JINOYATLARGA QARSHI KURASHISHDA SUN'IY INTELLEKT TEXNOLOGIYALARIDAN FOYDALANISH IMKONIYATLARI	154
Berdiboyev Oltinboy Abdiboqi o'g'li SURXONDARYO VILOYATIDA TURIZM INFRATUZILMASINING HUDUDIIY RIVOJLANISH DARAJASINI QIYOSIY BAHOLASH	160
Omonova Nigora Bahodir qizi ZAMONAVIY TO'LOV TIZIMLARINING INSTITUTSIONAL RIVOJLANISHINI STRATEGIK BOSHQARISH MEXANIZMLARI	167
Iskandarov Xurshid Iskandarovich TEXNOLOGIK AVLOD ALMASHINISHI SHAROITIDA ALOQA KORXONALARI TOVAR-MODDIY ZAXIRALARINING QADRSIZLANISHINI HISOBGA OLISH USLUBIYATINI TAKOMILLASHTIRISH	175
Jamilov Jushqin Jonon o'g'li SANOAT KORXONALARINING INNOVATSION RIVOJLANISH DARAJASINI ANFIS ASOSIDA MODELLASHTIRISH	181
Avazova Nafisa Namazovna O'ZBEKISTONDA KICHIK BIZNESNING RAQAMLI RIVOJLANISHINI BAHOLASH: O'ZSME-DDI MODULINING METODOLOGIYASI VA AMALIY JORIY ETISH MEXANIZMI	186
Rajabov Sirojiddin Mansurovich ISLOM MOLIYASI TAMOYILLARINING IQTISODIY SAMARADORLIKNI TA'MINLASHDAGI AHAMIYATI	193
Kenjaeva Durdona Ravshan qizi ФАКТОРНЫЙ АНАЛИЗ КАК ИНСТРУМЕНТ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ ПРОИЗВОДСТВЕННОЙ ЭФФЕКТИВНОСТИ ПРОМЫШЛЕННЫХ ПРЕДПРИЯТИЙ	198
Аюбов Ойбек Улугбек угли YASHIRIN IQTISODIYOTGA QARSHI KURASHISHDA MA'LUMOTLAR TAHLILINI MATEMATIK MODELLASHTIRISH	204
Raximov Sarvarbek Abdumutalibjonovich KICHIK BIZNES SUBYEKTLARINI QO'LLAB-QUVVATLASH, ULARNI MOLIYALASHTIRISHNI RAG'BATLANTIRISH BO'YICHA CHORA-TADBIRLARNING ASOSIY YO'NALISHLARI	211
Umarova Gulzodxon Qodirbekovna MEHMONXONA XO'JALIKLARI SAMARADORLIGINI BAHOLASHNING INTEGRAL MEXANIZMI VA EKONOMETRIK MODELLASHTIRISH	216
Rahimov Hasan Abdusaitovich NOMODDIY AKTIVLAR BO'YICHA OSHKORALIKNI TAKOMILLASHTIRISH VA MILLIY HISOBNI XALQARO STANDARTLAR BILAN UYG'UNLASHTIRISH	221



Ishankulov Izzatilla Nurillayevich SANOATLASHTIRISH ORQALI MILLIY IQTISODIYOT RAQOBATBARDOSHLIGINI TA'MINLASHDA UNUMDORLIK OMILI.....	226
Erkayev Akrom Normuxammadovich INNOVATSION O'ZGARISHLAR ASOSIDA AHOLI FAROVONLIGINI OSHIRISHNING 2030-YILGACHA MO'LJALLANGAN PROGNOZ SSENARIYLARI VA ULARNING SEZGIRLIK TAHLILI	232
Amrullayev Dadaxon ЭКОНОМЕТРИЧЕСКОЕ МОДЕЛИРОВАНИЕ ЭНЕРГЕТИЧЕСКОЙ УЯЗВИМОСТИ СТРАН ЦЕНТРАЛЬНОЙ АЗИИ В УСЛОВИЯХ ЦИФРОВОЙ И СТРУКТУРНОЙ ТРАНСФОРМАЦИИ	237
Эркинбаева Камила Жавланбековна TIJORAT BANKLARI BIZNES MODELINING RAQAMLI TRANSFORMATSIYASI: ZAMONAVIY TENDENSIYALAR VA RIVOJLANISH ISTIQBOLLARI	243
Sh. Nurullayeva S. Narimonov OLIY TA'LIMDA RAQAMLI EKOTIZIMNI SHAKLLANTIRISHDAGI XAVF-XATARLAR (RISKLAR) VA BOSHQARUV MUAMMOLARI.....	249
Pirmanov Oxunjon Baxridin o'g'li НЕКОТОРЫЕ ВОПРОСЫ РАЗВИТИЯ ДИСТАНЦИОННОГО БАНКОВСКОГО ОБСЛУЖИВАНИЯ В УЗБЕКИСТАНЕ	256
Шомуродов Равшан Турсункулович Хакимов Хафизбек Хамза угли Джумабаева Гаянэ Рахимовна YASHIL IQTISODIYOT SHAROITIDA AVTOTRANSPORT XIZMATLARI BOZORINING RAQOBATBARDOSHLIGINI EKOLOGIK-IQTISODIY OMILLAR ASOSIDA OSHIRISH YO'LLARI	263
Sultanov Sulaymon Safarboy o'g'li TIJORAT BANKLARIDA TADBIRKORLIK SUBYEKTLARINI KREDITLASH SAMARADORLIGINI BAHOLASH VA UNI OSHIRISHNING USTUVOR YO'NALISHLARI.....	269
Abdushukurova Mehribonu Dilmurod qizi CHORVACHILIK MAHSULOTLARI ISHLAB CHIQRISH, YER RESURSLARIDAN FOYDALANISH VA AHOLINING XARID QOBILİYATI MUVOFIQLIGINI BAHOLASH	276
Ramazonov Zafar Ulug'bekovich ИННОВАЦИОННЫЙ МЕНЕДЖМЕНТ СТРАХОВЫХ КОМПАНИЙ КАК ФАКТОР РАЗВИТИЯ СТРАХОВОГО РЫНКА	281
Мирахмедова Мафтуна Ибрагимовна TIJORAT BANKLARIDA FOIZ SIYOSATI SAMARADORLIGINI OSHIRISHNING AMALIY JIHLTLARI.....	288
Orifova Dilnoza Obid qizi XALQARO KREDIT LINIYALARIDAN FOYDALANISH SAMARADORLIGINI OSHIRISH YO'LLARI.....	295
Aliyev Bekzod Ilhomovich ОРГАНИЗАЦИОННО-ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКИЕ ПОДХОДЫ К СОВЕРШЕНСТВОВАНИЮ УЧЁТА И АНАЛИЗА ОБРАЗОВАТЕЛЬНЫХ УСЛУГ В НЕГОСУДАРСТВЕННЫХ ВЫСШИХ ОБРАЗОВАТЕЛЬНЫХ ОРГАНИЗАЦИЯХ	301
Холикова Дурдона Бунёдjon кизи TOSHKENT VILOYATIDA ISHLAB CHIQRISH SOHASIDA KICHIK BIZNESNING RIVOJLANISH TENDENSIYALARI VA HUDUDII DIFFERENSIATSIYASI	308
Salimov Burxoniddin IJTIMOIY-IQTISODIY ADOLATNI TA'MINLASHDA SINERGETIK YONDASHUV: ZANJIRLI ADOLAT KONSEPSIYASI.....	314
Alimov Nasimjon Hoshimovich AQLLI SHAHAR TIZIMIDA IJTIMOIY SOHA BOSHQARUVI SAMARADORLIGINI OSHIRISHNING TASHKILIY-IQTISODIY MEXANIZMLARI.....	319



Radjabov Bunyod Abduxalilovich QO'SHILGAN QIYMATNI TAQSIMLASHNING SAMARALI SOLIQ MEKANIZMIGA OID XORIJ TAJRIBALARI.....	326
A.A. Bobomurodov O'ZBEKISTONNING "YASHIL IQTISODIYOT" TIZIMIGA O'TISH ZARURIYATI VA XIZMATLAR SOHASI UCHUN IQTISODIY AHAMIYATI.....	333
Y.M.Xalikov OLIY TA'LIM TASHKILOTLARIDA AKADEMIK FAOLIYATNI BOSHQARISHNING NAZARIY VA METODOLOGIK ASOSLARI.....	342
Ixtiyorov Bekzod Zulfiqor o'g'li YOSHLARNING RAQAMLI MEHNAT PLATFORMALARIDA BARQAROR BANDLIGINI RISKKA ASOSLANGAN STRATEGIK BOSHQARISH.....	349
Palvonova Sevara Baxromovna RAQAMLI IQTISODIYOT SHAROITIDA XIZMAT KO'RSATISH TARMOQLARIDA INNOVATSION BOSHQARUV TIZIMINI TAKOMILLASHTIRISH	355
Almanov Ilhom Sultonovich MAKTABGACHA TA'LIM XIZMATLARINI GEYMIKATSIYALASH ASOSIDA TA'LIM SIFATI VA IQTISODIY SAMARADORLIKNI OSHIRISH	362
Aslonova Rushano Ilxomovna KICHIK BIZNES SUBYEKTLARIDA RAQAMLI PLATFORMALARDAN FOYDALANISHNING IQTISODIY NATIJADORLIKKA TA'SIRINI BAHOLASH.....	368
Tursunxo'jayeva Gulnoza Jamoliddin qizi HUDUDLARNING IQTISODIY RIVOJLANISHIDA ISTE'MOLCHILAR HUQUQLARINI HIMOYA QILISH MEKANIZMLARINI TAKOMILLASHTIRISH	374
Xolmatov Azamatjon Abdupattoyevich СОВЕРШЕНСТВОВАНИЕ МЕХАНИЗМОВ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОГО РЕГУЛИРОВАНИЯ ЭКСПОРТА В УЗБЕКИСТАНЕ: ЭКОНОМЕТРИЧЕСКИЙ АНАЛИЗ ЭКСПОРТНОЙ АКТИВНОСТИ ПРЕДПРИЯТИЙ	380
Муниса Турдибаева LOYIHA MENEJERLARINING SOFT SKILLS KOMPETENSIYALARINI RIVOJLANTIRISHNING LOYIHALAR IQTISODIY SAMARADORLIGIGA TA'SIRI	394
Zairova Farida To'xtamurod qizi TIBBIY XIZMAT KO'RSATUVCHI KORXONALAR FAOLIYATI SAMARADORLIGINI OSHIRISHDA IQTISODIY KO'RSATKICHLAR TIZIMIDAN FOYDALANISH.....	400
O'roqov Firdavs Ortiqniyoz o'g'li RAQAMLI IQTISODIYOT SHAROITIDA KORXONALAR FAOLIYATI SAMARADORLIGINI OSHIRISHNING NAZARIY-USLUBIY ASOSLARI	407
Jumaev Sohob Baxodirovich O'ZBEKISTONDA RAQAMLI VA BARQAROR TURIZMNI RIVOJLANTIRISHNING TRANSFORMATSIYON MODEL.....	412
Murodullayeva Guljaxon A'zamjon qizi INSON KAPITALINI BOSHQARISHNING ILMIY-NAZARIY VA USLUBIY ASOSLARI	418
Djalilova Dilbar Abdikarim qizi RAQAMLI TRANSFORMATSIYA SHAROITIDA O'ZBEKISTONNING INVESTITSION JOZIBADORLIGINI OSHIRISH MEKANIZMLARI	426
Olimboyeva Nazokat Abdujabbor qizi KICHIK VA O'RTA BIZNES SUBYEKTLARIDA INTEGRALLASHGAN RISKKA YO'NALTIRILGAN AUDIT MODELIDAN FOYDALANISH USLUBIYOTI.....	431
Muydinov Erkin Jamaldinovich MINTAQA IQTISODIYOTINI BARQAROR RIVOJLANTIRISHDA TADBIRKORLIK FAOLIYATI SAMARADORLIGINI OSHIRISHNING INSTITUSIONAL MEKANIZMLARI	441
Bekbergenov G'ayrat Shuxratovich YENGIL SANOAT KORXONALARINING EKSPORT FAOLIYATINI SOLIQ MEKANIZMLARI ASOSIDA MOLIVAVIY RAG'BATLANTIRISH	446



O'rinova Umida Qodirjonovna SOG'LIQNI SAQLASHNING YAGONA RAQAMLI EKOTIZIMIDA KIBERXAVFSIZLIK RISKLARINI BOSHQARISH METODOLOGIYASINI TAKOMILLASHTIRISH	450
Turayeva Nafisa Odiljonovna XORAZM VILOYATIDA YER BOZORI INFRATUZILMASINI TAKOMILLASHTIRISHNING USTUVOR YO'NALISHLARI	456
Ubaydov Mirshod Ismailovich O'ZBEKISTON UY-JOY BOZORIDA MOLIVAVIY PUFAX XAVFINI BAHOLASH: INTEGRAL INDEKSNI SHAKLLANTIRISH VA EKONOMETRIK TAHLIL	462
Botirov Islombek Ulug'bek o'g'li SUTCHILIKGA IXTISOSLASHGAN CHORVACHILIK KORXONALARIDA TANNARXNING BUXGALTERIYA HISOBINING OBYEKTI SIFATIDA O'ZIGA XOS XUSUSIYATLARI	467
Razzoqov Abbas Abdumalik o'g'li BUDJET TASHKILOTLARIDA MOLIVAVIY XATO VA NOMUVOFIQLIKLAR ICHKI AUDITINING INSTITUTIONAL-TASHKILIY MEKANIZMI	472
Mulayev Farxod Alisherovich SHAHAR INFRATUZILMASINI RIVOJLANTIRISHDA EKOLOGIK BARQARORLIK TAMOYILLARINI JORIY ETISH: MUAMMOLAR, INNOVATION YECHIMLAR VA ISTIQBOLLAR.....	477
Nurtayev Zaxriddin SANOATNING «DRAYVER» SOHALARINI RIVOJLANTIRISH ORQALI IQTISODIY O'SISHNI JADALLASHTIRISH	482
Xolbozorov Muzraf Yusup o'g'li СОВЕРШЕНСТВОВАНИЕ МЕХАНИЗМОВ ЦИФРОВОГО СТРАХОВАНИЯ ТУРИСТСКИХ РИСКОВ В УЗБЕКИСТАНЕ	489
Усманова Азиза Бахтиер кизи TIJORAT BANKLARI TOMONIDAN AHOLIGA KO'RSATILADIGAN XIZMATLARNI TAKOMILLASHTIRISHNING NAZARIY-KONSEPTUAL ASOSLARI.....	497
Rajabov Saidrasul Xalil o'g'li AYOLLAR TADBIRKORLIGI VA GENDER TENGLIGI: XITOIY VA O'ZBEKISTON MEHNAT BOZORLARI TRANSFORMATSIYASI MISOLIDA	504
Xasanova Shaxzoda SOLIQ TIZIMIDA MARKIROVKALASH ORQALI XUFIYONA IQTISODIYOT VA SOLIQDAN QOCHISHNI QISQARTIRISH AMALIYOTI TAHLILI.....	510
Ismailov Bobir Salomovich MOLIVAVIY HISOBOTNING XALQARO STANDARTLARI ASOSIDA BOSHQARUV HISOBOTI METODOLOGIYASINI SHAKLLANTIRISH KONSEPSIYALARI	517
Eshniyazova Yulduz Yuldashbayevna HUDUDIIY IQTISODIY TIZIMNI INNOVATION BOSHQARISHDA "INNOVATION EKOTIZIM" KONSEPSIYASI ASOSIDA ICHKI VA TASHQI MUHITLAR O'RTASIDAGI DINAMIK O'ZARO TA'SIRLARNI BAHOLASH.....	521
Xolov Azimjon ECONOMIC AND ORGANIZATIONAL MECHANISMS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF GREEN TOURISM	530
Abdurashidova Mahfuza Tolibjon kizi TIJORAT BANKLARIDA RAQAMLI TRANSFORMATSIYA JARAYONLARINI BOSHQARISH SAMARADORLIGINI OSHIRISH YO'LLARI.....	534
Kulboyeva Nargiz Majitovna SAVDO XIZMATLARINI RAQAMLASHTIRISHNING IQTISODIY SAMARADORLIGINI BAHOLASH METODIKASINI TAKOMILLASHTIRISH	545
Raxmanov Sherzod Shuxratovich АКТУАЛЬНОСТЬ ОБЕСПЕЧЕНИЯ АУДИТА ГОСУДАРСТВЕННЫХ ЗАКУПОК В РЕСПУБЛИКЕ УЗБЕКИСТАН	552
Абдуллаева Ш.Э. Чернушкина Л.А. O'ZBEKISTONDA JADAL URBANIZATSIYA SHAROITIDA YASHIL IQTISODIYOT	



TAMOYILLARINI SHAHARSOZLIKKA INTEGRATSIYA QILISH.....	557
Azamiddin Quldashev	
MANAGEMENT OF CULTURAL HERITAGE IN TOURIST DESTINATIONS OF UZBEKISTAN: THE CASE OF THE NEWLY RESTORED IMAM AL-BUKHARI COMPLEX	562
Saidzoda Shakhlokhon Murodilloevna	
O'ZBEKISTONDA PENSIYA TIZIMINING HOZIRGI HOLATI VA MINTAQAVIY TAHLILI	568
Jumabayeva Kumush Botir qizi	
CIVIL-MILITARY COOPERATION AND SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA: A STATISTICAL ASSESSMENT OF EDUCATIONAL AND LEGAL POLICY OUTCOMES.....	578
Adams Adah Otakwu	
Muhammad Auwal Sule	
Blessing Onyanta Otakwu	
Mercy Omoo Otakwu	
SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND ORGANISED CRIMINALITY IN NIGERIA: IMPLICATIONS FOR LAW ENFORCEMENT AND SOCIAL POLICY	591
Adams Adah Otakwu	
Muhammad Auwal Sule	
TEMIR YO'L TRANSPORTI KORXONALARINING EKOLOGIK-IQTISODIY SAMARADORLIGINI BAHOLASHNING METODIK ASOSLARI.....	601
Abduraxmanova Muqaddas Toxtasinovna	
KICHIK BIZNESDA BANDLIKNI OSHIRISHGA TA'SIR ETUVCHI OMILLARNI TIZIMLASHTIRISH VA BAHOLASHNING EKONOMETRIK YONDASHUVLARI.....	607
Turdiqulov Farrux Ravshanjon o'g'li	
KOMPETENSIYA MATRIKSINING MEHNAT BOZORIDAGI AHAMIYATI VA UNING O'ZBEKISTON UCHUN INSTITUTSIONAL JIHATLARI	616
Kurbanbayeva Sevara Marat qizi	
BYUDJET YO'QOTISHLARINING IQTISODIY MOHIYATI VA KO'P O'LCHOVLI TASNIFI (RISK-MENEJMENT KONTEKSTIDA)	623
Jasur Nurmatov	
ФОРМИРОВАНИЕ ИНТЕГРИРОВАННОЙ ТУРИСТСКОЙ ЭКОСИСТЕМЫ КАК ОСНОВА КОМПЛЕКСНОГО РАЗВИТИЯ ТУРИСТСКОЙ ИНДУСТРИИ УЗБЕКИСТАНА.....	630
Абзалова Нозимахон Нодирбек кизи	
XORIJIY MAMLAKATLARNI SANOATLASHUV MODELLARINING QIYOSIY TAHLILI VA ULARDAN FOYDALANISH IMKONIYATLARI.....	636
Erkayev Akrom Normuxammadovich	
TIJORAT BANKLARINING KORXONALAR INNOVATSION-INVESTITSIYAVIY TALABLARINI TA'MINLASHDAGI FAOLIYATINI TAKOMILLASHTIRISH.....	642
Gafurova Dilshoda Farxotovna	
HUDUDLARNING IQTISODIY-IJTIMOIIY RIVOJLANISHIDA INVESTITSIYALARNI JALB QILISHNING ILMIY-NAZARIY ASOSLARI	646
Muxamadjanov Shaxriyor Solijon o'g'li	
IJTIMOIIY TARMOQLARDAGI MARKETING KONTENTINING ISTE'MOLCHILARNING XARID QILISH NIYATIGA TA'SIRINI BAHOLASH	652
Tilavkobilova Mehriniso Isomiddin qizi	
YASHIL LOYIHALARNI MOLIALASHTIRISH MEXANIZMLARINING TASNIFI VA ULARNING BANK TIZIMIDAGI O'RNI	658
Sobirov Bobur Oybek o'g'li	
ЦИФРОВАЯ ТАМОЖНЯ В ЦИФРОВОЙ ЭКОНОМИКЕ УЗБЕКИСТАНА: ОТ ЗАРУБЕЖНОГО ОПЫТА К НАЦИОНАЛЬНЫМ ЦИФРОВЫМ ТЕХНОЛОГИЯМ.....	663
Сейдеметова Эльмира Оралбай кизи	
MADANIY MEROS OBYEKTLARINING TURISTIK-IQTISODIY SALOHIYATINI BAHOLASH USLUBIYOTI	667
Sharofiddinov Shohabbos Xayrullayevich	
O'ZBEKISTONDA MOLIAVIY HISOBOTNING XALQARO STANDARTLARIGA (IFRS) O'TISH SHAROITIDA BUXGALTERIYA HISOBINI TRANSFORMATSIYA QILISH MUAMMOLARI	675



To'rayeva Farida Rustam qizi	
TURIZM SOHASIDA INSON KAPITALI RESURLARIDAN SAMARALI FOYDALANISH YO'LLARI.....	680
Xakimova Zavqiya Umarbek qizi	
RAQAMLI TO'LOV TIZIMLARI VA BIZNESNI RAQAMLASHTIRISH: MOLIYAVIY INKLYUZIYA, YASHIRIN IQTISODIYOTNI QISQARTIRISH VA SOLIQ TUSHUMLARI (XALQARO TAJRIBA VA O'ZBEKISTON UCHUN TAVSIYALAR).....	684
Shonazarov Ashurali Akabayevich	
KICHIK BIZNES SUBYEKTLARINING YOPILISH XAVFINI BAHOLASH: OMILLI TAHLIL	691
Akbarova Barno Shuxratovna	
ОСОБЕННОСТИ ФИНАНСИРОВАНИЯ ВЫСШЕГО ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ В УЗБЕКИСТАНЕ И ЗА РУБЕЖОМ: СРАВНИТЕЛЬНЫЙ МАКРОЭКОНОМИЧЕСКИЙ АНАЛИЗ.....	697
Исматуллаев Акмаль Исматуллаевич	
BANK DAROMADLARI BARQARORLIGINING KAPITALLASHUV DARAJASIGA TA'SIRINI BAHOLASH.....	705
Tursunov Mustafo Mirzayevich	
CHAKANA SAVDODA NARX SHAKLLANISH MEXANIZMLARINI TAKOMILLASHTIRISHNING ZAMONAVIY YONDASHUVLARI	713
Xabibullayev Anvar Shovkat o'g'li	
GLOBAL IQTISODIYOTDA JANUBIY KOREYA MODEL: SAMSUNG VA HYUNDAI MISOLIDA KORPORATIV STRATEGIYALAR TAHLILI.....	719
Abdulaziz Xolmirzayev	
RIVOJLANAYOTGAN MAMLUKATLARDA TIJORAT BANKLARI MOLIYAVIY XIZMATLARINI RIVOJLANTIRISHNING O'ZIGA XOS XUSUSIYATLARI VA INSTITUTSIONAL MEXANIZMLARI	724
Ergashev Azizxon Avazxon o'g'li	
TIJORAT BANK KREDITLARI ASOSIDA MINTAQAVIY IQTISODIY RIVOJLANISH ISTIQBOLLARI	731
Shodiyev Odiljon Salim o'g'li	
АНАЛИЗ ФИНАНСОВОГО СОСТОЯНИЯ ООО «SAM PULSAR DISTRIBUTORS»	736
Мусаева Шоира Азимовна	
NODAVLAT OLIY TA'LIM MUASSASALARIDA MAJBURIYATLAR, DAROMADLAR VA XARAJATLAR HISOBINING AMALDAGI HOLATI.....	743
Saidova Kamolat Farhodovna	
TIJORAT BANKLARINING CHAKANA XIZMATLARI TAHLILI VA UNI RIVOJLANTIRISH YO'NALISHLARI	747
Axmedov Sardorbek Abdukarim o'g'li	
DEHQON-FERMERLARNING "ORGANIK BILIM" ELEKTRON PORTALI ORQALI ORGANIK QISHLOQ XO'JALIGI HAQIDA BILIM OLIISH IMKONIYATLARI.....	753
Shavqidinova Dilnavoz	
Abror Mamasadikov	
KORXONALARDA MOLIYAVIY BARQARORLIKNI TA'MINLASH VA MOLIYAVIY RISKLARNI BOSHQARISHNING ZAMONAVIY USULLARI	758
Abdurazakova Nargiza Rixsibayevna	
KICHIK TADBIRKORLIK SUBYEKTLARINING MOLIYAVIY BARQARORLIGINI TA'MINLASHDA BOSHQARUV MEXANIZMLARINING O'RNI	764
Bazarov Diyor Gafurovich	
OLIIY TA'LIM VA ILMIY TASHKILOTLARDA TEXNOLOGIYALAR TRANSFERI OFISLARINI NATIJAGA YO'NALTIRILGAN BOSHQARISH MEXANIZMI	772
Ergashev Rustam Rajabovich	
СОВЕРШЕНСТВОВАНИЕ ОРГАНИЗАЦИОННО-ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКИХ МЕХАНИЗМОВ УПРАВЛЕНИЯ КОНКУРЕНТОСПОСОБНОСТЬЮ ГОСТИНИЧНЫХ ПРЕДПРИЯТИЙ В УЗБЕКИСТАНЕ	780
Нигматова Сугдиена Жалолиддин кизи	
O'ZBEKISTONDA VOJXONA TO'LOVLARINING FISKAL-IQTISODIY MOHIYATI VA DAVLAT BUDJETI DAROMADLARINI SHAKLLANTIRISHDAGI ROLI	788
Sarmanov Orifjon Adiljonovich	



RAQAMLI TRANSFORMATSIYANING KORXONALAR BOSHQARUV TIZIMIGA TA'SIRI VA RIVOJLANISH TENDENSIYALARI	794
Alimova Xurshida Nurmaxamatovna	
COST TYPE-DRIVEN LOGISTICS EQUILIBRIUM DECISIONS IN INTENSIVE GREEN PRODUCT SUPPLY CHAINS	799
Bai Mingyuan	
MILLIY IQTISODIYOTNING O'SISHNI TA'MINLASHDA INVESTITSİYALARNI JALB ETISHNING AHAMIYATI VA O'ZIGA XOS XUSUSIYATLARI	811
Fazliyev Farrux Faxriddinovich	
SELLYULOZA-QOG'OZ MAHSULOTLARI TANNARXINI SHAKLLANTIRISH VA MOLIYAVIY NATIJALARNI HISOBGA OLISHNING USLUBIY ASOSLARI	818
Abdurashidov Abdumurod Abduraxmonovich	
QISHLOQ XO'JALIGIDA RISKLARNI BOSHQARISH SALOHİYATINI BAHOLASH METODIKASINI TAKOMILLASHTIRISH (NAVOIY VILOYATI MISOLIDA).....	824
Xamrokulov Sindor Qaxramonovich	
SAMARQAND VILOYATIDA TURISTIK KORXONALAR INNOVATSION FAOLIYATINI MOLIYALASHTIRISHNING 2030-YILGACHA BO'LGAN PROGNOZ SSENARIYLARI.....	830
Ruzibayeva Nargiza Xakimovna	
KORXONALARNING RAQAMLI YETUKLIGINI INTEGRAL BAHOLASH METODIKASI VA RAQOBATBARDOSHLIKNI OSHIRISHNING INSTITUTSIONAL-IQTISODIY MEXANIZMLARINI TAKOMILLASHTIRISH	835
Kungratov Ilmurod Qo'zibay o'g'li	
Abdullayev Munis Qurbonovich	
KICHIK BIZNES KORXONALARIDA INSON KAPITALI SAMARADORLIGINI OSHIRISH USLUBIYATINI TAKOMILLASHTIRISH	843
Musayev Ozodjon Shavkat o'g'li	
O'ZBEKISTON TIJORAT BANKLARINING MOLIYAVIY BARQARORLIGINI ERTA OGOHLANTIRISH INDIKATORLARI ASOSIDA BAHOLASH VA STRESS-TESTLASH	849
Saidov Doniyor Abdullayevich	
TIJORAT BANKLARINING KREDITLASH FAOLIYATINI INNOVATSIYALAR ASOSIDA TAKOMILLASHTIRISH YO'LLARI	856
B.B. Xanaliyev	
THE NATION BRAND IN THE TOURISM SERVICES MARKET: CONCEPT, DELIMITATION, AND ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE	861
Yusupova Mokhinur Farkhod qizi	
HUDUDLAR INVESTITSION JOZIBADORLIGINI OSHIRISHDA INFRATUZILMAVIY TA'MINOTNING AHAMIYATI	871
Umaraliyev Sanjar Sultonaliyevich	
ВЛИЯНИЕ ВЕНЧУРНОГО ФИНАНСИРОВАНИЯ НА РАЗВИТИЕ ИННОВАЦИОННОГО ПРЕДПРИНИМАТЕЛЬСТВА В УЗБЕКИСТАНЕ.....	877
Хайруллаева Малика Шухратжон кизи	
RAQAMLI IQTISODIYOTDA BANK XIZMATLARI XAVFSIZLIGINI TA'MINLASH VA KIBERTAVAKKALCHILIKLARNI BOSHQARISH STRATEGIYALARI.....	883
Eshqobulova Charos O'roq qizi	
RESEARCH SUPPORT AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE WORK EFFICIENCY OF ACADEMIC STAFF IN HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS	889
Sultonboyeva Munira Bahodirovna	
Sultanova Kamila Mukhtorali kizi	
O'ZBEKISTON QURILISH MATERIALLARI SANOATIDA HUDUDIY TALAB VA ISHLAB CHIQRISH MUTANOSIBLIGI: 2024 VA 2025-YILLAR TAHLILI	896
Turdiyev Abdullo Sagdullayevich	
O'ZBEKISTONDA KICHIK SANOAT ZONALARINING INVESTITSION FAOLIYATINI MOLIYALASHTIRISH MANBALARI VA ULARNING SAMARADORLIGI.....	904
Sultonov Asadbek Sobir o'g'li	



THE ECONOMIC NATURE OF EDUCATIONAL SERVICES AND THE SPECIFICS OF THEIR PROMOTION IN THE HIGHER EDUCATION MARKET	909
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Umarov Shuhrat Bahodir o'g'li



THE ECONOMIC NATURE OF EDUCATIONAL SERVICES AND THE SPECIFICS OF THEIR PROMOTION IN THE HIGHER EDUCATION MARKET

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Abstract. The economic nature of educational services is commonly described in terms of intangibility, inseparability, heterogeneity, and perishability. This article argues that these characteristics are not the principal operative properties and examines an alternative proposition: higher education is dominated by credence attributes that buyers cannot verify before, during, or, in most cases, even after consumption, and the distinctive features of promotion in this market stem primarily from this characteristic.

Three constructs are examined using panel data from twenty anonymised higher education institutions in Uzbekistan. Claim composition classifies promotional statements according to verifiability distance, introduced here as the number of steps separating a claim from independent verification. Reach and yield conversion are measured separately: the former as applications generated per unit of promotional expenditure and the latter as the proportion of offers converted into enrolments.

The results reveal a clear distinction between these two stages. Nine per cent of promotional claims can be verified before a student commits, whereas forty-eight per cent cannot be independently verified, placing the mean claim 2.12 steps from verification. Promotional expenditure has an elasticity of 0.914 with respect to applications, with a t-statistic of 20.72, and explains 96.0 per cent of their variation, whereas the share of verifiable claims has virtually no effect, with a coefficient of -0.002 and a t-statistic of -0.81 .

At the enrolment stage, however, the relationship changes substantially. The coefficient on promotional expenditure declines from 0.0834 ($t = 2.95$) to 0.0029 ($t = 0.26$) once the share of verifiable claims is included in the model. The coefficient on the verifiable-claim share is 0.0078 per percentage point ($t = 12.90$), while R^2 increases from 0.326 to 0.938. Because offers increase less than proportionally with applications, with an elasticity of 0.797, promotional expenditure has no statistically significant association with enrolments once admission capacity is held constant, with a coefficient of 0.0274 and a t-statistic of 0.54. A ten-percentage-point increase in the share of verifiable claims is associated with a 7.8-percentage-point increase in enrolment yield, corresponding to 3,533 additional enrolments at the sector-level offer base without additional promotional expenditure.

Keywords: educational services; credence goods; verifiability; higher education marketing; enrolment yield; information disclosure; Uzbekistan.

Annotatsiya. Ta'lim xizmatlarining iqtisodiy tabiati odatda nomoddiylik, ajralmaslik, geterogenlik va saqlab bo'lmislik xususiyatlari orqali tavsiflanadi. Ushbu maqolada mazkur xususiyatlar asosiy operatsion xususiyatlar emasligi ta'kidlanib, muqobil ilmiy yondashuv ko'rib chiqiladi: oliy ta'limda ishonchga asoslangan xususiyatlar (credence attributes) ustun bo'lib, iste'molchilar ularni xizmatdan foydalanishdan oldin, foydalanish jarayonida yoki aksariyat hollarda undan keyin ham tekshira olmaydilar. Oliy ta'lim bozoridagi targ'ibot faoliyatining o'ziga xos jihatlari, asosan, aynan shu xususiyatdan kelib chiqadi.

Tadqiqotda O'zbekistondagi nomlari anonimlashtirilgan yigirmata oliy ta'lim muassasasining panel ma'lumotlari asosida uchta konstrukt tahlil qilindi. Targ'ibot mazmunidagi da'volarning tarkibi ularning tekshirilish masofasiga (verifiability distance) ko'ra tasniflandi. Ushbu tushuncha da'vo bilan uni mustaqil ravishda tasdiqlash imkoniyati o'rtasidagi bosqichlar soni sifatida kiritildi. Qamrov va qabulga aylanish samaradorligi alohida o'lchandi: birinchisi targ'ibot xarajatlarning har bir birligiga to'g'ri keladigan arizalar soni, ikkinchisi esa o'qishga qabul qilish takliflarining amaldagi talaba qabuliga aylangan ulushi sifatida baholandi.

Natijalar ushbu ikki bosqich o'rtasida aniq farq mavjudligini ko'rsatdi. Targ'ibot mazmunidagi da'volarning 9 foizi talaba qaror qabul qilishidan oldin tekshirilishi mumkin, 48 foizi esa mustaqil ravishda tekshirilmaydi. Natijada da'volarning tekshirishgacha bo'lgan o'rtacha masofasi 2,12 bosqichni tashkil etdi. Targ'ibot xarajatlarning arizalar soniga nisbatan elastikligi 0,914 ni, t-statistika esa 20,72 ni tashkil etdi va ushbu omil arizalar sonidagi o'zgarishlarning 96,0 foizini izohladi. Tekshirilishi mumkin bo'lgan da'volar ulushining ta'siri esa deyarli kuzatilmadi: koeffitsiyent $-0,002$, t-statistika $-0,81$ ni tashkil etdi.

Biroq talabalikka qabul bosqichida ushbu bog'liqlik sezilarli darajada o'zgaradi. Modelga tekshirilishi mumkin bo'lgan da'volar ulushi kiritilgach, targ'ibot xarajatlari koeffitsiyenti 0,0834 dan ($t = 2,95$) 0,0029 gacha ($t = 0,26$) pasaydi. Tekshirilishi mumkin bo'lgan da'volar ulushining koeffitsiyenti har bir foiz punktiga 0,0078 ni ($t = 12,90$) tashkil etdi, R^2 esa 0,326



dan 0,938 gacha oshdi. Qabul takliflari soni arizalar soniga nisbatan mutanosibdan past darajada, ya'ni 0,797 elastiklik bilan oshgani sababli, qabul imkoniyatlari o'zgarmas holda nazorat qilinganda, targ'ibot xarajatlari talabalikka qabul soni bilan statistik jihatdan ahamiyatli bog'liqlik ko'rsatmadi: koeffitsiyent 0,0274, t-statistika esa 0,54 ni tashkil etdi. Tekshirilishi mumkin bo'lgan da'volar ulushining 10 foiz punktiga oshishi qabul takliflarining talabalikka qabulga aylanish darajasining 7,8 foiz punktiga oshishi bilan bog'liq bo'lib, bu sektor miqyosidagi qabul takliflari bazasida qo'shimcha targ'ibot xarajatisiz 3 533 ta qo'shimcha talaba qabuliga mos keladi.

Kalit so'zlar: ta'lim xizmatlari; ishonchga asoslangan tovarlar; tekshiriluvchanlik; oliy ta'lim marketingi; qabul samaradorligi; axborotni oshkor qilish; O'zbekiston.

Аннотация. Экономическая природа образовательных услуг обычно характеризуется такими свойствами, как неосвязаемость, неотделимость, неоднородность и несохраняемость. В настоящей статье утверждается, что данные характеристики не являются основными операционными свойствами, и рассматривается альтернативный научный подход: в сфере высшего образования преобладают доверительные характеристики (credence attributes), которые потребители не могут проверить до получения услуги, в процессе её получения или, в большинстве случаев, даже после её получения. Специфические особенности продвижения на рынке высшего образования преимущественно обусловлены именно этой характеристикой.

В исследовании анализируются три конструкта с использованием панельных данных двадцати анонимизированных высших учебных заведений Узбекистана. Состав рекламно-информационных утверждений классифицируется в соответствии с дистанцией проверяемости (verifiability distance), которая определяется как количество этапов между утверждением и возможностью его независимого подтверждения. Охват и конверсия в зачисление измеряются раздельно: первый показатель определяется как количество заявлений, полученных на единицу расходов на продвижение, а второй — как доля предложений о зачислении, которые фактически преобразуются в зачисления студентов.

Результаты демонстрируют чёткое различие между этими двумя этапами. Девять процентов рекламно-информационных утверждений могут быть проверены до принятия студентом решения, тогда как 48% не поддаются независимой проверке. Средняя дистанция от утверждения до его проверки составляет 2,12 этапа. Эластичность количества заявлений по расходам на продвижение составляет 0,914 при t-статистике 20,72, при этом данный фактор объясняет 96,0% вариации количества заявлений. В то же время доля проверяемых утверждений практически не оказывает влияния: коэффициент составляет -0,002 при t-статистике -0,81.

Однако на этапе зачисления характер взаимосвязи существенно изменяется. После включения в модель доли проверяемых утверждений коэффициент расходов на продвижение снижается с 0,0834 ($t = 2,95$) до 0,0029 ($t = 0,26$). Коэффициент доли проверяемых утверждений составляет 0,0078 на каждый процентный пункт ($t = 12,90$), а значение R^2 увеличивается с 0,326 до 0,938. Поскольку количество предложений о зачислении увеличивается менее чем пропорционально количеству заявлений, с эластичностью 0,797, расходы на продвижение не демонстрируют статистически значимой связи с количеством зачислений при контроле пропускной способности приёма: коэффициент составляет 0,0274, а t-статистика — 0,54. Увеличение доли проверяемых утверждений на 10 процентных пунктов связано с повышением конверсии предложений о зачислении в фактическое зачисление на 7,8 процентного пункта, что при существующей отраслевой базе предложений соответствует 3 533 дополнительным зачислениям без дополнительных расходов на продвижение.

Ключевые слова: образовательные услуги; доверительные блага; проверяемость; маркетинг высшего образования; конверсия в зачисление; раскрытие информации; Узбекистан.

INTRODUCTION

Textbook treatments of educational services typically begin with the four properties conventionally attributed to services in general: intangibility, inseparability of production and consumption, heterogeneity, and perishability. Each of these characteristics applies to higher education; however, none is sufficient to distinguish it from many other service activities.

What distinguishes higher education is a different characteristic—one that is informational rather than physical. A prospective student choosing among universities must evaluate claims about outcomes that may materialise, if at all, four to ten years later, that may be influenced by the student's own effort and circumstances, and that, in many cases, cannot be attributed exclusively to the institution even retrospectively. For example, an employed graduate cannot determine with certainty the extent to which obtaining a degree contributed to that employment outcome. The central attributes of the service are therefore difficult or impossible to verify, rather than merely intangible, and the distinction between these two concepts constitutes the central focus of this article.

If the dominant attributes cannot be independently verified, several observable implications follow. Promotional communication may tend to emphasise attributes that are difficult to verify because such claims are less susceptible to immediate independent confirmation or comparison. Claims that can be independently verified are therefore expected to constitute a smaller proportion of promotional communication. Moreover,



the two stages of the purchase decision may exhibit different response patterns. The application stage, during which a prospective student decides whether to apply and may rely substantially on initial impressions, is expected to respond to the volume of promotional activity. By contrast, the enrolment stage occurs after an offer has been received and involves a more consequential commitment; at this stage, the decision is expected to respond more strongly to the availability of verifiable information.

This article tests these propositions using panel data from twenty anonymised higher education institutions in Uzbekistan. Three constructs organise the analysis. First, claim composition classifies each promotional claim according to its verifiability distance, defined as the number of steps separating a claim from independent verification, ranging from zero for a fact that can be verified before enrolment to three for a claim that cannot be independently verified. Second, conversion efficiency is decomposed into reach, measured as applications generated per unit of promotional expenditure, and yield, measured as the proportion of offers converted into enrolments; these two measures are reported separately throughout the analysis. Third, verifiability distance itself is introduced as a construct for systematically characterising the degree to which promotional claims can be independently verified.

The contribution of the study is threefold. First, the article provides a testable formulation of the economic nature of educational services rather than relying solely on a descriptive characterization, thereby enabling its implications to be examined empirically. Second, it documents a clear differentiation between the factors associated with the two stages of the conversion process: promotional expenditure is strongly associated with applications but not with enrolments once relevant factors are taken into account, whereas verifiability exhibits the opposite pattern. Third, the analysis indicates that this separation is related to the structural characteristics of the admissions process rather than solely to behavioural responses, because the offer stage is constrained by admission capacity and additional applications therefore do not necessarily translate into additional enrolments.

Section 2 reviews the relevant literature. Section 3 describes the panel dataset and the three analytical constructs. Section 4 presents and discusses the empirical results. Section 5 concludes the article.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Nelson distinguished product attributes into search attributes, which can be evaluated before purchase, and experience attributes, which can be evaluated only through consumption [16]. Darby and Karni introduced the third category on which the present study builds: credence attributes, which buyers may be unable to verify even after consumption [6]. Arrow's analysis of medical care had already identified a closely related informational structure and examined its implications for market organisation [3], while Dulleck and Kerschbamer subsequently provided a comprehensive review of the theory of credence-goods markets [8].

Akerlof's analysis of markets characterised by asymmetric information about quality provides an important theoretical foundation for understanding the potential market consequences of limited verifiability [1]. When quality cannot be directly observed and credible signals are limited, the price mechanism may not fully differentiate products according to quality, creating incentives for higher-quality sellers to develop credible signalling mechanisms. Spence's signalling model provides a theoretical framework for understanding such mechanisms [18], while Stiglitz's work places information asymmetry and signalling within the broader economics of information [19].

Zeithaml applied the search, experience, and credence classification directly to services and argued that services tend to rely disproportionately on experience and credence attributes [24]. Zeithaml, Parasuraman, and Berry examined the resulting implications for service marketing [25], while Lovelock developed a classification of services based on characteristics that influence how they are purchased and consumed [14]. Vargo and Lusch's service-dominant logic further reframes exchange in terms of value co-creation [20]. This perspective is relevant to the present study because outcomes that are jointly produced through interactions between providers and consumers may be more difficult to attribute exclusively to the service provider.

Winston's analysis of the distinctive economics of higher education provides an important foundation for understanding the unusual characteristics of this sector [23]. Higher education institutions may be subsidised, they participate in selecting their students, and students themselves can contribute to the educational environment experienced by their peers. Consequently, the characteristics of the student body may form part of the educational service itself. Rothschild and White formalised this students-as-inputs property of higher education [17], while Hoxby examined the resulting structure and evolution of the higher education market [13].

For the present analysis, an important implication is that some attributes that prospective students might, in principle, attempt to evaluate are partly endogenous to the choices and characteristics of other students. This can make independent verification more complex than it initially appears. Dill and Soo examined university rankings as one market response to the problem of assessing higher education quality and highlighted substantial variation in the dimensions and indicators used by different ranking systems [7].



Rankings may therefore reduce some information costs while not fully resolving the underlying problem of quality verification.

Hemsley-Brown and Oplatka's review of higher education marketing identified a literature with a strong emphasis on institutional practices and highlighted the need for further empirical research into the relationship between marketing activities and institutional outcomes [11]. Maringe examined the application of marketing concepts and the marketing mix within the university context [15], while Chapleo investigated university branding and the challenges institutions face in developing and communicating distinctive brand identities [5]. These findings are relevant to the present study because difficulties in defining and communicating institutional differentiation may influence the composition of promotional claims.

From the student perspective, Briggs examined the criteria involved in higher education choice and identified reputation as an important consideration in students' stated decision criteria [3]. Vrontis, Thrassou, and Melanthiou further developed a model of the higher education decision-making process, illustrating the range of individual and environmental factors that may influence student choice [21]. The importance attached to reputation is particularly relevant to the present analysis because reputation may function as a decision heuristic when directly verifiable information about future educational outcomes is limited.

Fung, Graham, and Weil's analysis of targeted transparency policies provides a framework for understanding the conditions under which information disclosure can influence behaviour [9]. Their approach emphasises that the effectiveness of disclosure depends not merely on the availability of information but also on whether that information is accessible, interpretable, and incorporated into the decision-making process. This perspective is directly relevant to the present study because verifiable information is likely to have greater practical value when it becomes available at the stage at which prospective students make consequential enrolment decisions.

The transparency literature therefore provides an important link between verifiability and market behaviour. From this perspective, increasing the quantity of disclosed information alone may not be sufficient; the information must also be structured in a form that allows prospective students to evaluate relevant claims and incorporate them into their decisions. This provides the conceptual basis for considering verifiable claims not simply as a feature of promotional communication but also as a potential information instrument in the higher education market.

The existing literature provides substantial theoretical foundations for understanding search, experience, and credence attributes, information asymmetry, service marketing, higher education choice, and information disclosure. However, an important empirical gap remains at the intersection of these research areas. The services literature classifies product and service attributes according to their verifiability but has paid comparatively limited attention to systematically measuring the composition of actual promotional communication using this classification. At the same time, the higher education marketing literature examines promotional activities and student choice but rarely distinguishes empirically between the application and enrolment stages as separate conversion outcomes.

This distinction is important because the two stages may respond to different mechanisms. Promotional expenditure may influence the reach of institutional communication and thereby affect the number of applications, whereas the availability of independently verifiable information may become more relevant when prospective students decide whether to accept an offer and enrol. Examining applications and enrolment yield separately therefore makes it possible to identify whether promotional reach and information verifiability operate differently across the two stages of the decision process.

The present study addresses this gap by classifying promotional claims according to their verifiability distance and by separating conversion efficiency into application reach and enrolment yield. It then empirically examines whether promotional expenditure and the share of verifiable claims are associated differently with these two outcomes. In doing so, the study connects the economics of credence attributes with higher education marketing and provides an empirical framework for examining how promotional intensity and information verifiability relate to different stages of student conversion.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The panel comprises twenty higher education institutions in Uzbekistan, including national universities, sectoral institutes, regional universities, branch campuses of foreign universities, and private higher education institutions. The institutions are anonymised and identified by codes because several variables involve assessments of institutional practices, and anonymisation allows the analysis to focus on aggregate patterns rather than institution-specific evaluations. Table 1 presents the variables used in the analysis and their construction.



Table 1
Variables and Construction¹

Variable	Construction
Promotional spend	Annual expenditure on recruitment communication, million UZS
Applications	Applications received in the admission cycle
Offers	Admission offers issued
Enrolments	Students who took up an offer
Enrolment yield	Enrolments divided by offers
Reach conversion	Applications per million UZS of promotional spend
Verifiable claim share	Share of the institution's promotional claims at verifiability distance 0 or 1, per cent
Outcome disclosure	Whether the institution publishes graduate employment outcomes
Tuition	Annual tuition for the standard programme, million UZS
Digital capability	Score from 0 to 6 on recruitment website functionality

Each promotional claim is assigned a verifiability distance ranging from 0 to 3.

Distance 0 includes claims that a prospective student can independently verify before making an enrolment commitment, such as tuition fees, location, programme offerings, accreditation status, and entry requirements. Distance 1 includes claims that can be verified after enrolment, such as class sizes, teaching arrangements, facilities, and workload. Distance 2 includes claims that can be assessed only several years after graduation and, in many cases, only at an aggregate level, such as employment rates, earnings, and progression to further study. Distance 3 includes claims that are not readily amenable to independent verification at any stage, such as institutional prestige, claims of being world-class, the provision of a unique educational environment, or an exceptional institutional atmosphere.

The classification is applied to promotional materials published by each institution for prospective students. The verifiable-claim share used in the empirical estimation is defined as the proportion of an institution's promotional claims classified at distance 0 or 1.

Two features of this construct should be emphasised. First, it measures verifiability rather than truthfulness. A distance 3 claim may be entirely accurate, while a distance 0 claim may be inaccurate; the classification does not attempt to assess the truthfulness of either type of claim. Second, the classification was conducted by the authors. This introduces an element of researcher judgement and represents an important measurement limitation of the study, which is discussed further in Section 4.6.

The two conversion measures are reported separately throughout the analysis and are not combined. Reach conversion is defined as the number of applications generated per million UZS of promotional expenditure. Yield conversion is defined as the number of enrolments divided by the number of offers.

This separation is a central feature of the research design. A combined measure, such as enrolments per unit of promotional expenditure, would aggregate two stages that may respond to different factors. Analysing them separately therefore allows the study to identify whether promotional expenditure and information verifiability are associated differently with application generation and enrolment conversion.

Three sequential regression specifications, referred to as estimation ladders, are estimated using ordinary least squares (OLS). The applications ladder first regresses the logarithm of applications on the logarithm of promotional expenditure and subsequently adds the verifiable-claim share, digital capability, and the logarithm of tuition. The yield ladder first regresses enrolment yield on the logarithm of promotional expenditure and subsequently adds the verifiable-claim share, the disclosure indicator, and the logarithm of tuition. The enrolment ladder first regresses the logarithm of enrolments on the logarithm of promotional expenditure, then adds the verifiable-claim share, and finally adds the logarithm of offers. The final specification examines whether promotional expenditure remains associated with enrolments after admission capacity, as represented by the number of offers, is taken into account.

A separate specification regresses the logarithm of offers on the logarithm of applications. An estimated elasticity below unity indicates that offers increase less than proportionally with applications, which is consistent with capacity constraints at the offer stage. This provides the structural context for interpreting the enrolment ladder.

¹ Author's development



Concentration is measured using the Herfindahl–Hirschman Index (HHI), the Gini coefficient, and the share accounted for by the five largest observations [10, 12]. Group differences are assessed using Welch's statistic [22]. Given the sample size of twenty observations and the observational nature of the analysis, the estimated relationships are interpreted as associations rather than causal effects [4]. Alternative explanations for the central empirical finding are considered explicitly in Section 4.6 rather than being addressed solely as a general limitation of the study.

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Table 2 presents the composition of promotional claims according to their verifiability distance.

Table 2
Composition of Promotional Claims by Verifiability Distance²

Verifiability distance	Description	Share
0	Verifiable before enrolling: tuition, location, accreditation, programme list	9%
1	Verifiable while studying: teaching, facilities, workload	18%
2	Verifiable years after graduation: employment, earnings, progression	25%
3	Never independently verifiable: prestige, world class, unique environment	48%

Figure 1 provides a visual representation of the composition of promotional claims across the four verifiability-distance categories. The distribution is strongly weighted toward claims that are more distant from independent verification. Only 9 per cent of promotional claims fall within distance 0 and can therefore be verified by prospective students before enrolment. A further 18 per cent are classified at distance 1, meaning that they become verifiable after a student has enrolled and gained direct experience of teaching arrangements, facilities, workload, and related institutional characteristics.

By contrast, 25 per cent of promotional claims are located at distance 2 and can be assessed only several years later, typically through outcomes such as employment and earnings. The largest category is distance 3, accounting for 48 per cent of all promotional claims. These claims concern attributes such as prestige, world-class status, uniqueness, and institutional atmosphere, which are not readily amenable to independent verification. Taken together, distance 2 and distance 3 claims account for 73 per cent of the promotional communication examined, whereas only 27 per cent falls within the two categories that can be verified either before or during enrolment (Figure 1).

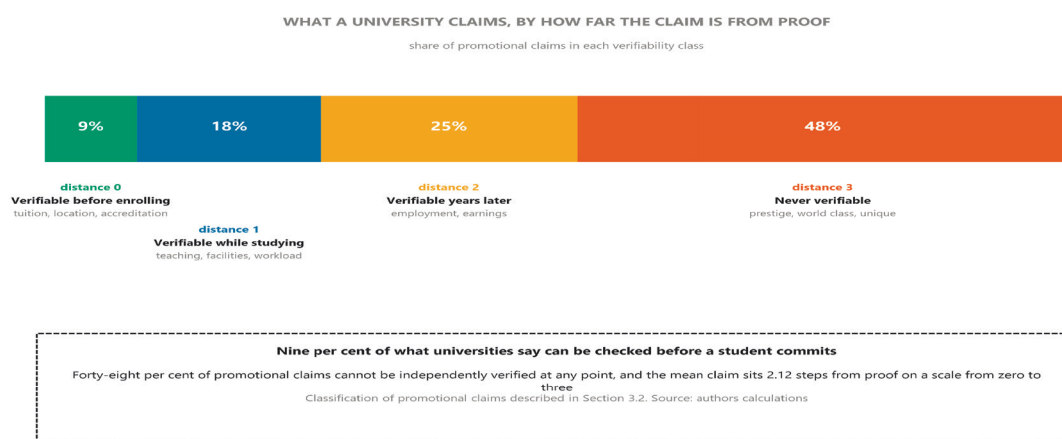


Figure 1. Composition of promotional claims by verifiability distance.
Bar widths are proportional to the share of claims in each class³

Nine per cent of the promotional claims communicated by universities to prospective students can be independently verified before an enrolment commitment is made. By contrast, 48 per cent fall into the category of claims that are not readily amenable to independent verification at any stage. Across the zero-to-three,

² Author's development

³ Author's development



the mean verifiability distance is 2.12, indicating that the average promotional claim is positioned relatively far from independent verification.

These findings provide empirical support for the article's argument concerning the economic nature of educational services. The higher education market is not characterised solely by the intangibility of the service; promotional communication also contains a substantial proportion of claims that are difficult to verify independently. This pattern is consistent with the informational problem described by Akerlof [5]: when product quality cannot be directly observed and claims are difficult to verify, promotional assertions may provide limited information for distinguishing among providers. Under such conditions, an institution with genuinely superior quality may find it difficult to communicate that advantage through claims that can be made in similar terms by other institutions. A more informative signal would therefore be one that is independently verifiable and comparatively difficult for an institution lacking the corresponding attribute to substantiate—that is, a claim with a low verifiability distance.

Table 3 presents the degree of concentration across the three stages of the conversion funnel.

Table 3
Concentration Across the Conversion Funnel⁴

Distribution	HHI	Gini	Top-five share
Promotional spend	0.0809	0.4243	52.9%
Applications	0.0845	0.4347	54.1%
Enrolments	0.0804	0.4153	53.7%

The three distributions exhibit very similar levels of concentration. The Gini coefficients differ by less than 0.02, while the top-five shares differ by approximately one percentage point. These results provide little evidence of a meaningful change in concentration across the stages of the conversion funnel. In contrast to settings in which successive stages of a funnel substantially increase or reduce concentration, the distribution across institutions in the present sample remains broadly stable.

The rank comparison provides an additional qualification. The mean absolute movement between an institution's rank in promotional expenditure and its rank in enrolments is 1.60 positions. Thus, some movement occurs, but its magnitude is relatively modest. Moreover, the observed rank movements do not appear to correspond systematically to verifiability. The two branch campuses with the highest verifiable-claim shares, at 71 and 68 per cent, decline by three and two positions, respectively. This pattern is consistent with their relatively limited admission capacity. It suggests that institutional enrolment rankings are closely related to capacity constraints rather than being determined by enrolment yield alone, anticipating the structural relationship examined in Section 4.5.

Table 4 presents the institutions in the panel together with promotional expenditure and the two conversion measures.

Table 4
Institutions, Promotional Expenditure, and Conversion Measures⁵

Institution	Promo, mln UZS	Applications	Offers	Enrolments	Reach conversion	Yield	Verifiable claim share
U01 National	900	26,000	7,000	4,620	28.9	66%	38%
U02 National	640	18,500	5,200	4,056	28.9	78%	45%
U03 Technical	520	15,200	4,400	3,168	29.2	72%	41%
U04 Branch	480	9,800	1,900	1,729	20.4	91%	71%
U05 Private	430	8,600	2,300	1,334	20.0	58%	28%
U06 Medical	380	12,400	3,100	2,759	32.6	89%	62%
U07 Economics	340	10,200	2,900	2,001	30.0	69%	31%
U08 Pedagogical	300	9,400	3,400	2,244	31.3	66%	40%
U09 Branch	280	5,600	1,200	1,140	20.0	95%	68%
U10 Agrarian	240	6,800	2,600	1,560	28.3	60%	27%
U11 Private	220	4,900	1,500	960	22.3	64%	24%

⁴ Author's development

⁵ Author's development



U12 Regional	190	5,400	2,200	1,210	28.4	55%	22%
U13 Arts	160	3,100	900	729	19.4	81%	49%
U14 Regional	140	4,200	1,800	1,044	30.0	58%	19%
U15 Private	120	2,800	1,000	490	23.3	49%	17%
U16 Regional	95	3,300	1,400	966	34.7	69%	44%
U17 Institute	70	2,100	800	576	30.0	72%	38%
U18 Institute	55	1,700	700	371	30.9	53%	14%
U19 Regional	38	1,200	600	264	31.6	44%	13%
U20 Institute	20	800	400	192	40.0	48%	12%
Sector	5,618	95,900	45,300	31,413	17.1	69.3%	

Reach conversion is defined as the number of applications generated per million UZS of promotional expenditure, whereas yield conversion is defined as the number of enrolments divided by the number of offers.

Two institutional comparisons illustrate the pattern prior to the regression analysis. U16, a regional university with the fourth-smallest promotional budget in the panel, at UZS 95 million, has a verifiable-claim share of 44 per cent and an enrolment yield of 69 per cent, equal to that of the largest national university in the panel. By comparison, U05, a private institution with a promotional budget of UZS 430 million—more than four times that of U16—has a verifiable-claim share of 28 per cent and an enrolment yield of 58 per cent. Across the sector represented in the sample, promotional expenditure per enrolment amounts to UZS 178,843.

Table 5 presents the sequential regression specifications for applications.

Table 5
Applications Ladder: Dependent Variable = Log Applications (n = 20)⁶

	A1	A2	A3	A4
log promotional spend	0.914 (0.044)	0.939 (0.054)	1.080 (0.104)	0.941 (0.096)
	t = 20.72	t = 17.24	t = 10.39	t = 9.78
Verifiable claim share		-0.002 (0.003)	0.000 (0.003)	0.000 (0.003)
		t = -0.81	t = -0.13	t = -0.14
Digital capability			-0.104 (0.066)	0.060 (0.076)
			t = -1.56	t = 0.79
log tuition				-0.299 (0.099)
				t = -3.03
R ²	0.960	0.961	0.966	0.979
Adjusted R ²	0.958	0.957	0.960	0.974

Promotional expenditure is strongly associated with the number of applications. Its estimated elasticity is 0.914, with a t-statistic of 20.72 and an R² of 0.960, indicating that promotional expenditure alone accounts for 96.0 per cent of the observed variation in applications within the sample. The estimated elasticity remains relatively stable across specifications, ranging from 0.939 to 1.080 after additional explanatory variables are introduced.

By contrast, the verifiable-claim share shows no statistically significant association with applications across the reported specifications. Its estimated coefficient is -0.002 in the first specification in which it enters and 0.000 in each of the subsequent two specifications, with the absolute value of the corresponding t-statistics never exceeding 0.81. Thus, within this sample, the results provide little evidence that a higher share of verifiable promotional claims is associated with the number of applications.

Tuition enters negatively in specification A4, with an estimated coefficient of -0.299 and a t-statistic of -3.03. This result is consistent with conventional price sensitivity: holding the other included variables constant, higher tuition is associated with a lower number of applications.

Table 6 presents the sequential regression specifications for enrolment yield and total enrolments.



Table 6
Yield and Enrolment Ladders (n = 20)⁷

	Y1	Y2	Y3	E1	E2	E3
Dependent variable	yield	yield	yield	log enrolments	log enrolments	log enrolments
log promotional spend	0.0834 (0.0283)	0.0029 (0.0108)	0.0022 (0.0111)	0.835 (0.066)	0.828 (0.083)	0.027 (0.051)
	t = 2.95	t = 0.26	t = 0.20	t = 12.67	t = 9.99	t = 0.54
Verifiable claim share		0.0078 (0.0006)	0.0083 (0.0010)		0.001 (0.005)	0.011 (0.001)
		t = 12.90	t = 8.34		t = 0.15	t = 8.80
Outcome disclosure			-0.0218 (0.0316)			
			t = -0.69			
log offers						0.992 (0.058)
						t = 17.13
R ²	0.326	0.938	0.939	0.899	0.899	0.995
Adjusted R ²	0.288	0.930	0.928	0.894	0.887	0.994

The yield ladder exhibits a pattern that contrasts sharply with the applications ladder. When promotional expenditure is included as the sole explanatory variable, it is positively and statistically significantly associated with enrolment yield, with an estimated coefficient of 0.0834, a t-statistic of 2.95, and an R² of 0.326. However, this association becomes statistically insignificant once the verifiable-claim share is introduced into the specification. The coefficient on promotional expenditure declines to 0.0029, with a t-statistic of 0.26, while the coefficient on the verifiable-claim share is 0.0078 per percentage point, with a t-statistic of 12.90. At the same time, R² increases substantially from 0.326 to 0.938.

These results indicate that, within the sample, the verifiable-claim share is strongly associated with differences in enrolment yield once it is included alongside promotional expenditure. The estimated coefficient implies that a one-percentage-point increase in the verifiable-claim share is associated with a 0.78-percentage-point increase in enrolment yield, holding the other included variable constant (Figure 2).

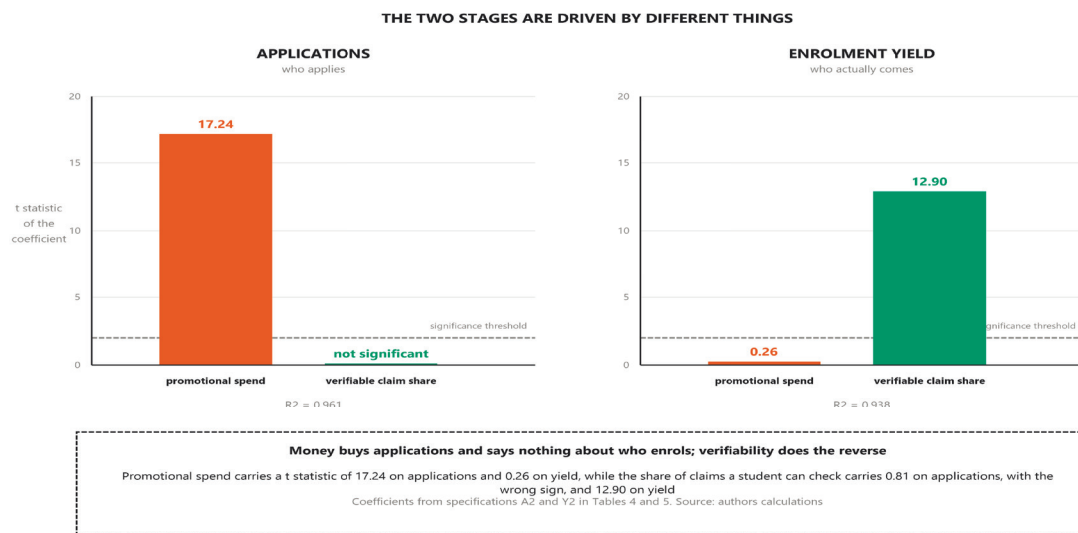


Figure 2. The t statistic of each predictor at each stage, from specifications A2 and Y2. The dashed line marks the conventional significance threshold⁸

The interpretation of the coefficient is straightforward: a ten-percentage-point increase in the verifiable-claim share is associated with a 7.8-percentage-point increase in enrolment yield, holding the other included variables constant.

⁷ Author's development

⁸ Author's development

The outcome-disclosure indicator in specification Y3 requires careful interpretation. Its estimated coefficient is -0.0218 , with a t -statistic of -0.69 , indicating that it is not statistically significant in this specification. The negative coefficient also runs counter to the expected direction of the relationship. One plausible explanation is the high degree of collinearity between outcome disclosure and the verifiable-claim share: the two variables have a correlation coefficient of 0.833 . Consequently, the specification may have limited ability to distinguish their separate associations with enrolment yield.

The direct group comparison provides complementary evidence. Institutions that publish graduate employment outcomes convert, on average, 77.9 per cent of their offers into enrolments, compared with 55.8 per cent among institutions that do not publish such outcomes. The difference is substantial and is supported by a Welch statistic of 5.32 with 16.3 degrees of freedom. By contrast, the same two groups show little difference in reach conversion: institutions publishing graduate employment outcomes generate 27.6 applications per million UZS of promotional expenditure, compared with 28.5 applications among institutions that do not, with a Welch statistic of -0.37 .

Taken together, these results are consistent with the distinction identified between reach and yield. Outcome disclosure is associated with a substantial difference in enrolment yield between the two groups, whereas the corresponding difference in applications generated per unit of promotional expenditure is small (Figure 3).

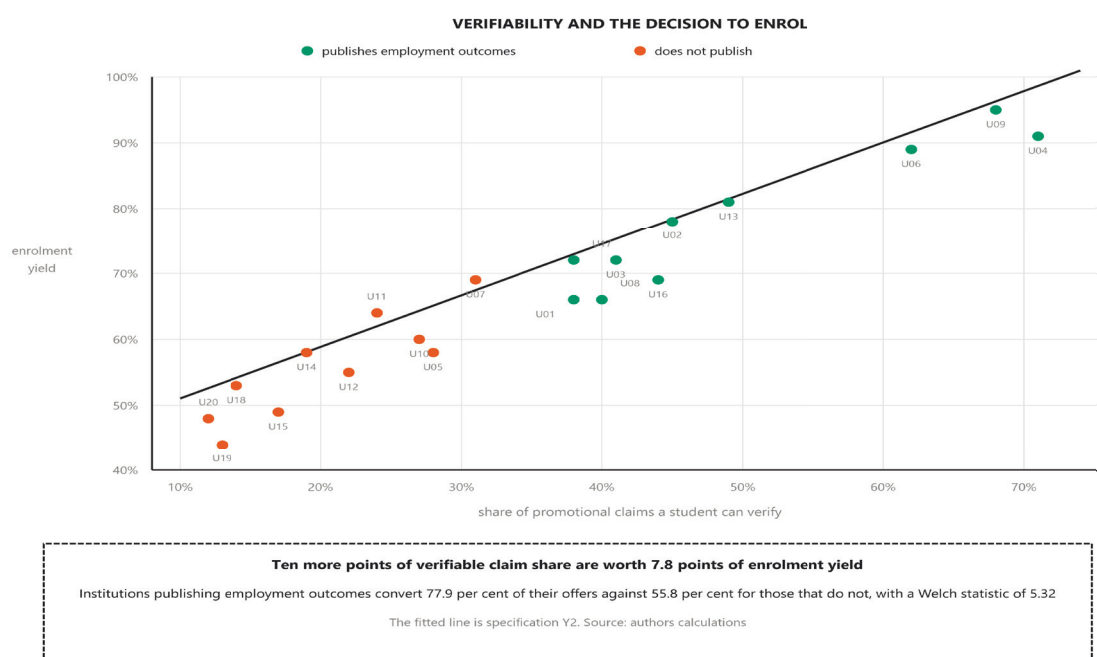


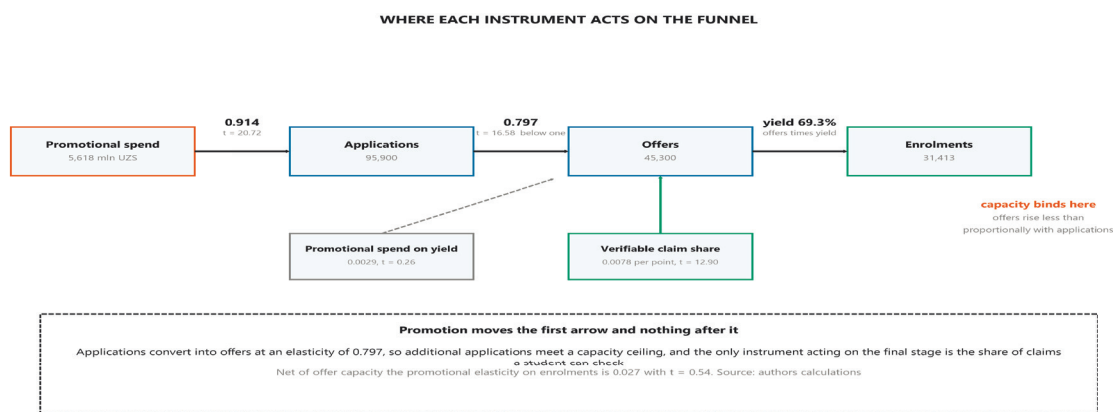
Figure 3. Enrolment yield against verifiable claim share. Institutions publishing graduate employment outcomes are shown in green⁹

The enrolment ladder provides evidence that helps explain why higher promotional expenditure is not associated with additional enrolments at the second stage once admission capacity is taken into account.

Offers increase less than proportionally with applications. The estimated elasticity of the logarithm of offers with respect to the logarithm of applications is 0.797 , with a t -statistic of 16.58 and an R^2 of 0.939 . Thus, a proportional increase in applications is associated with a less-than-proportional increase in offers. This pattern is consistent with capacity constraints at the offer stage, including teaching capacity, accreditation-related limits, and applicable admission quotas.

The same pattern is evident in specification E3. When promotional expenditure is included without the number of offers, its estimated coefficient is 0.835 , with a t -statistic of 12.67 , indicating a strong positive association with enrolments. Once the number of offers is included in the specification, however, the coefficient on promotional expenditure declines substantially to 0.027 , with a t -statistic of 0.54 , and is no longer statistically significant. By contrast, the estimated coefficient on offers is 0.992 , with a t -statistic of 17.13 , indicating an approximately one-to-one relationship between offers and enrolments, conditional on the other variables included in the model. The verifiable-claim share also remains positively and statistically significantly associated with enrolments, with an estimated coefficient of 0.011 and a t -statistic of 8.80 (Figure 4).

⁹ Author's development



The mechanism suggested by these results is therefore not that students are unresponsive to promotional activity. Rather, promotional expenditure is associated primarily with an earlier stage of the conversion process whose downstream output is constrained by admission capacity. Additional applications may therefore encounter capacity constraints and not translate proportionally into additional enrolments. At the final stage, the remaining margin is the proportion of offers that are accepted and converted into enrolments. On this margin, promotional expenditure shows no statistically significant association, whereas the verifiable-claim share exhibits a strong positive association.

Applied to the panel as a whole, the estimated coefficient implies that a ten-percentage-point increase in the verifiable-claim share would correspond to 3,533 additional enrolments on the existing offer base of 45,300, assuming that the estimated association holds and that the offer base remains unchanged. This calculation does not require additional promotional expenditure. A direct comparison with the amount of promotional expenditure that would be required to generate an equivalent increase in enrolment yield cannot be reliably calculated from the present estimates. The estimated coefficient of promotional expenditure on yield is 0.0029, with a t-statistic of 0.26, and is therefore not statistically distinguishable from zero. Consequently, the estimates do not provide a statistically reliable basis for calculating an expenditure-to-yield conversion rate.

The results provide an empirically testable formulation of the economic nature of educational services that extends beyond their conventional descriptive characteristics.

The findings are consistent with the importance of credence attributes in the sense developed by Darby and Karni [6]. Because such attributes are difficult to verify independently, promotional statements concerning them may provide prospective students with limited opportunities for direct confirmation. The observed composition of promotional communication is consistent with this interpretation: 48 per cent of claims are classified at the maximum verifiability distance, whereas only 9 per cent can be independently verified before an enrolment commitment is made. This informational structure also has parallels with the asymmetric-information framework developed by Akerlof [1]. Within the present analysis, independently verifiable claims may function as more credible informational signals because they allow prospective students to compare promotional statements with observable evidence. Institutions possessing the corresponding attributes may therefore have greater scope to substantiate such claims through independently verifiable information.

The distinction between the application and enrolment stages is central to the empirical findings. At the application stage, prospective students may compare a relatively broad set of institutions while facing comparatively low commitment costs. Promotional volume may therefore influence institutional visibility and the likelihood that an institution enters a prospective student's consideration set. Consistent with this interpretation, promotional expenditure is strongly associated with applications, whereas the verifiable-claim share shows no statistically significant association at this stage. At the enrolment stage, however, prospective students already hold an offer and face a more consequential commitment. Verifiable information may consequently become more relevant to the final decision. The strong positive association between the verifiable-claim share and enrolment yield is consistent with this interpretation.

The structural results provide additional context for this stage separation. Offers increase with applications at an estimated elasticity of 0.797, implying a less-than-proportional relationship. This pattern is consistent with capacity constraints that limit the extent to which additional applications can translate into additional offers

¹⁰ Author's development



and, ultimately, additional enrolments. Promotional expenditure may therefore generate additional applications without producing a proportional increase in final enrolments. Across the institutions represented in the panel, total promotional expenditure amounts to UZS 5,618 million, while the results indicate that the relationship between promotional expenditure and final enrolment is substantially attenuated once the number of offers is taken into account.

An important alternative explanation must also be considered because the present research design cannot exclude it. Institutions with stronger graduate outcomes may also be more willing to publish information about those outcomes. The verifiable-claim share may therefore partly reflect underlying institutional quality rather than independently influencing enrolment yield. Under this interpretation, prospective students could be responding to underlying quality characteristics that are correlated with verifiability rather than to verifiability itself. If so, increasing the number of verifiable claims without corresponding differences in the underlying institutional attributes would not necessarily produce an increase in enrolment yield. This possibility limits the extent to which the observed association can be interpreted as a causal effect or directly translated into policy recommendations.

Two findings provide additional context for this alternative explanation, although neither resolves the identification problem. First, the two disclosure groups show little difference in reach conversion, with a Welch statistic of -0.37 . This pattern is consistent with the possibility that verifiability is particularly relevant at the commitment stage rather than functioning solely as a general indicator of institutional quality. However, it does not by itself rule out the quality-based explanation. Second, the relationship is observed continuously across the verifiable-claim share rather than solely as a discrete difference associated with the disclosure indicator. Again, this pattern is informative but not sufficient to establish causality.

A stronger causal test would require exogenous variation in disclosure or verifiability. For example, a uniformly implemented disclosure requirement that applies independently of institutional outcomes could generate variation suitable for examining whether changes in the availability of verifiable information are followed by changes in enrolment yield. Such a design would provide a stronger basis for distinguishing the effect of information verifiability from the influence of underlying institutional quality.

Four additional limitations should be considered when interpreting the results.

First, the promotional-claim classification was conducted by the authors. Researcher judgement may therefore influence the coding process, particularly if broader impressions of an institution inadvertently affect the classification of individual claims. Future research could address this limitation through independent coding by assessors who are blinded to institutional enrolment outcomes, combined with formal tests of inter-rater reliability.

Second, the association between the verifiable-claim share and enrolment yield is exceptionally strong, with a correlation coefficient of 0.968 . In a cross-sectional sample of twenty institutions, a relationship of this magnitude warrants careful interpretation. It may reflect the proposed relationship between verifiability and yield, but it may also be consistent with both variables being associated with an unobserved institutional characteristic. Additional observations and research designs capable of addressing potential omitted-variable influences would therefore strengthen the evidence.

Third, the panel is cross-sectional and comprises twenty higher education institutions within a single national context. The admissions framework, including applicable admission quotas and other capacity-related arrangements, forms part of the institutional environment in which the relationships documented in Section 4.5 are observed. Consequently, the structural findings may differ in higher education systems where institutions have greater flexibility in determining their own intake. Comparative evidence from other institutional settings would help establish the external validity of the results.

Fourth, enrolment yield is measured at the institutional level rather than at the programme level. Because enrolment patterns may vary substantially across programmes within the same institution, institution-level aggregation may conceal important within-institution heterogeneity. Programme-level data would allow future research to determine whether the observed relationships remain stable across fields of study and different types of academic programmes.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This article examined the economic nature of educational services and the distinctive characteristics of their promotion using data from twenty anonymised higher education institutions in Uzbekistan.

The findings suggest that the informational characteristics of educational services, particularly the importance of credence attributes, provide an important complement to the conventional description of services in terms of intangibility. Only 9 per cent of the promotional claims examined can be independently verified by prospective students before an enrolment commitment is made, whereas 48 per cent fall within the category



with the greatest verifiability distance. Across the zero-to-three scale, the mean verifiability distance is 2.12.

The empirical results reveal a clear distinction between the application and enrolment stages. At the application stage, promotional expenditure is strongly associated with the number of applications. Its estimated elasticity is 0.914, with a t-statistic of 20.72 and an R^2 of 0.960. By contrast, the verifiable-claim share shows no statistically significant association with applications, with an estimated coefficient of -0.002 and a t-statistic of -0.81 in the specification in which it is first introduced.

At the enrolment stage, a different pattern emerges. When promotional expenditure is considered without the verifiable-claim share, its estimated coefficient is 0.0834, with a t-statistic of 2.95. Once the verifiable-claim share is introduced, however, the coefficient on promotional expenditure declines to 0.0029, with a t-statistic of 0.26, and is no longer statistically significant. The verifiable-claim share has an estimated coefficient of 0.0078 per percentage point, with a t-statistic of 12.90, while R^2 increases from 0.326 to 0.938. Consistent with this pattern, institutions publishing graduate employment outcomes convert, on average, 77.9 per cent of their offers into enrolments, compared with 55.8 per cent among institutions that do not publish such outcomes, with a Welch statistic of 5.32. By contrast, the corresponding comparison for reach conversion shows little difference between the two groups, with a Welch statistic of -0.37 .

The structural analysis provides additional context for this separation between the two stages. The estimated elasticity of offers with respect to applications is 0.797, indicating that offers increase less than proportionally with applications. This pattern is consistent with capacity constraints at the offer stage. Moreover, once the number of offers is included in the enrolment specification, the coefficient on promotional expenditure declines to 0.027, with a t-statistic of 0.54, and is no longer statistically significant. These findings suggest that the association between promotional expenditure and final enrolments is substantially attenuated once admission capacity is taken into account.

The estimated relationship between verifiability and enrolment yield is also economically substantial. A ten-percentage-point increase in the verifiable-claim share is associated with a 7.8-percentage-point increase in enrolment yield. Applied to the existing offer base of 45,300 within the panel, this association corresponds to approximately 3,533 additional enrolments, assuming that the estimated relationship holds and that the offer base remains unchanged. Because the estimated coefficient of promotional expenditure on enrolment yield is 0.0029, with a t-statistic of 0.26, the present estimates do not provide a statistically reliable basis for calculating a comparable expenditure-to-yield conversion rate.

Overall, the findings indicate that promotional intensity and information verifiability are associated with different stages of the student conversion process. Promotional expenditure is closely associated with application generation, whereas verifiable promotional information is more strongly associated with the conversion of offers into enrolments. These results support treating reach and enrolment yield as analytically distinct outcomes and highlight the potential importance of independently verifiable information in higher education promotion. Given the observational and cross-sectional nature of the data, however, these relationships should be interpreted as associations rather than definitive causal effects.

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