

## **Transformation Of Mahalla In The Context Of Community Education**

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### **Abstract**

The purpose of this article is to show the change in the stabilizing and educational role of the traditional mahalla institution in Uzbek society. The methods of this work include theoretical analysis, along with such sociological methods as observation, conversation, questioning and interviews with both ordinary aksakals and scientists. The results of the work made it possible to identify trends in the nature of the traditional institution in the development of market relations. Work on the article has been going on for several years and the findings indicate the need to preserve traditional institutions.

### **Ключевые слова**

mahalla, social order, social relations, education, community education, youth, elderly, neighborhood

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Mahalla - is a neighborhood community in every village and every town in Uzbekistan. According to the law Mahalla chair - Oqsoqol is elected for two and a half years. In Soviet times, he worked as a volunteer. Now he and his adviser are officials with salary. Oqsoqol knows all members of Mahalla, if not in name, then in the face.

Mahalla in Muslim societies is a local self-government, which covers part of the districts in big cities. Size of a Mahalla, usually, equal to the size of one (in some cases a few small blocks) quarter in the city. In modern understanding in Uzbekistan and the

Central Asian Republics, as well as in Afghanistan, villages and local cities also divided in Mahallas. Historically, as a rule, the center of a Mahalla is a mosque, which was a kind of cultural center, which hosts the Friday meeting of the population and the place for Friday prayer.

Organization and holding of public and family events is among main tasks of Mahalla. Without participation of the leaders of Mahalla, families do not do wedding or circumcision. Circumcision - a big event in the life of Uzbeks. Usually boys circumcised when they are one year old, three or five. Communal events of Mahalla concern all members and bring together as much as possible people.

Although family events usually are concern of members of families, there are two main reasons of the necessity of participation of the Oqsoqol. Oqsoqol as a rule observe the process of family events according to the cultural, religious and ethical rules of the society. In other words, if participation of an official Oqsoqol provides legality the wedding or circumcision, the presence of unofficial Oqsoqols in the ceremony gives legitimacy of the family before the society.

Although weddings and circumcisions in Mahalla are, as a rule, joyful events, the organization of those events requires quite complicated organizational abilities from Mahalla Oqsoqol and serious financial resources from a family. From this point of view, joy of the event, in most cases, hardly be observed in the face of Oqsoqol and the parents. This fact shows that weddings are very important and compulsory event for Uzbek families, because of many unnecessary rules, which require much financial resources becoming quite heavy burden for many families.

There are important technical tasks of Oqsoqol. For instance, Oqsoqol determine the order/calendar of Mahalla events. It is quite essential for Mahalla to organize weddings or circumcision in proper time. For instance, Oqsoqol should put all family events before Ramadan. In order to avoid delays, Oqsoqol try to fill all days, sometimes put two events in one day. At the same time, people should attend both events and eat all meals prepared for guests. In order to keep balance between the people with different income level, Oqsoqol has to have exceptional organizational talents. All weddings or circumcision planned to conduct in certain period of year, should be exactly put in Mahalla calendar. Reasons of such measurement are beginning of Ramadan (in the case of cities), agricultural works (in the case of villages). Here we can see quite complicated tasks of Oqsoqol.

**On history.** As far as we have not historical goals in this paper, we do not have intention to make long historical excursus. Nevertheless, some short historical details in understanding of Mahalla as a historical phenomenon of social stability is quite necessary.

Historians claim that the emergence of Mahalla in the territory of Uzbekistan started in II millennia BC. Scientific sources indicate that the first Mahalla were built as a fortress in the hills to the temple or palace in the center. In the fortress and at the foot of the hills stacked dwelling communities, the meanings of which were *shelter and protection*. In the early Middle Ages began to appear Keshka castles of farmers,

which also erected on the platforms of the hills. Settlements overgrown around castles grew into the cities. These fortresses were the first Mahallas of historic cities. Of the many Keshka Tashkent oasis began to shape the future metropolis of the Central Asia - Tashkent.

Arab conquerors found historical keshkas, i.e. Mahallas in the cities and suburbs. Agricultural elite of the cities were pushed out by merchants. For example, as a result of growing demographic density and entrepreneurship, the government of Bukhara sold the central part of the city and arable lands in suburbs to merchants of caravan trade. Keshka were replaced with trade and artisan streets - Mahalla. Thus emerged and there are still various Mahallas of artisans, where live and work blacksmiths, bakers, textile, carpet-makers, dyers, shoemakers, tanners, carpenters, musicians, gunsmiths, ceramists etc. Some of Mahallas of craftsmen are still functioning in big cities in Uzbekistan. For example, in some historical areas small Mahalla overgrown to big city over centuries and became unique center of ceramic art. Rishton is a unique city in Fergana valley, which can be called museum of ceramists.

***Communist approach to the Mahalla.*** It is interesting to stop to the survival of Mahalla in the Soviet system. Uzbek scholar Dr.G.Malikova analyzed the communist approach to this institution in detail. She describes how Bolsheviks unsuccessfully tried to smash this powerful institution of societal solidarity.

Communist approach to the institution of Mahalla was destructive. First years of Soviet system, Bolsheviks openly wanted to eliminate this system in Central Asia. However, since Mahalla resisted the ravages of communist ideology, the communists decided to use it against the local culture. To achieve this goal Communists used simple mechanism. They transformed all *mahalla* into the cells of soviets. Mahallas were under strict control of special services. This means existence of *mahalla* before the independence, both officially and unofficially, but latter was more successful in order to perform cultural, religious and ethical duties. In other words, former regime allowed to keep *mahalla* as unofficial institution, only because to keep it under control and to prevent the increase of political consciousness of local ethnicities.

Survival of *mahalla* during Soviet period demonstrated its exceptionality. Despite the negative communist approach, religious and cultural rules of Uzbeks strengthened the power of *mahalla*, which observed in organizing public events. Despite the extreme atheism, due to influence of *mahalla*, none of the local communists could not marry their daughters without Nikah - main religious ceremony of all Muslim people. All communists of Muslim origin, thanks to *mahalla* culture, had to perform another important religious ritual for all Muslims - circumcision. In other words, despite the strict atheism, local Communists feared censure in *mahalla*.

The nature of this censorship is also interesting. Every communist leader born in *mahalla* understood strong connection of his life with his neighbors after retirement. His attitude to *mahalla* is formulated on the idea of his funeral ceremony, at the end, will be performed by the members of his neighborhood. Taking into account indisputable authority of elderly in *mahalla* life, Uzbek communists understood

sensitivity of their condition among neighbors, at the finish of their life. Communists who openly opposed the ethno-religious traditions evoked social hatred. Case with Rano Abdullayeva is classic example, when Secretary of Ideology in Uzbekistan during Soviet period openly opposed national traditions, and has deserved societal hate.

This is one of the main reasons Uzbek communists' fear of societal hatred. In other words, no one wants to be outcast in his old age, including communists. Therefore, in order to collect respect from *mahalla*, in other words "keep the face" before the local commune, Uzbek communists have had forced to ignore many *mahalla* rules, which might be unacceptable for communists, and thus allowed protection traditions of *mahalla*. Thus, it can be argued that the ethno-religious traditions were wonderful factor of protection for the survival of *mahalla* in the Soviet period. In other words, norms emerged inside the commune, led to elaboration of survival components of mahalla.

***Social Control in Mahalla as a factor of stability and security.*** If we want to understand the Mahalla as a factor of stability, we must remember the reasons for its emergence. As it was mentioned early, Mahalla emerged first as a buffer zone, shelter and protection area. In order to protect homeland it was necessary a social solidarity and equality within community. These determining values in Mahalla have been proved over the centuries through wars, starvation and natural disasters. In critical periods for Uzbek community was needed horizontal social control, which concerns all members. In such critical situations any activity of members of Mahalla, despite of their social status should have been transparent. Being equal, every member of Mahalla got security and stability. This is main point, which provided survival of Mahalla in different periods of the history, despite war or peace.

Now, we come closer to the functional responsibilities of Mahalla members, including its leaders and ordinary citizens. We must always keep in mind the main purpose of this institution – stability and security. These two essential values have always demanded transparency in the life of Mahalla. Each member of Mahalla grew in front of community, and during the peace period social deviance such as theft, alcoholism or prostitution appeared in exceptional cases. Betrayal was a major crime in the society and proper upbringing was the main weapon to prevent it.

Now we can focus on the causes of some apparent privileges of Oqsoqol (or elder, literally *whitebeard.*), who has special right to observe personal and family affairs of all members of the Mahalla. Administrative duties of Oqsoqol in the Mahalla may seem strange to the western people, because from the liberal point of view interference in the personal affairs of the citizen can be assessed as interference to the human rights. Here we see an oriental, or more specifically Uzbek philosophy of social life, which can be observed in interpersonal relations of Mahalla.

***Education functions.*** There is famous Uzbek proverb about coaching functions of Mahalla: "Seven mahallas are parents for one kid". This old saying still keeps its actuality and demonstrates the responsibility of mahalla for the behavior of every

member of young generation. In other words, this and many other rules determine societal relations in Uzbek society. "Family is sacred" – another proverb, which advocates for healthy family relations, especially among young generation, who preparing themselves to marriage. In the understanding Uzbek elderly family is a cell of mahalla and accordingly, healthy environment within the family provides stability in the mahalla and in turn in the whole society. This simple formula, which worked continuously over centuries, is still effectively functioning in Uzbek society. Strong cultural values provide mahalla as a living system with an accurate structure, complicated and interdependent rules. Accordingly, these rules help the society for adequately upbringing youth through involvement in events, such as funerals, weddings and other public events.

In terms of education, it is interesting to stop on the process of involvement of children to public events. There is strict rules of involvement of children in the weddings, funerals and holidays. For example, if proportion of attendance of children in weddings of mahalla in the evening is 100 % regardless their sex, the number of children for early morning Nahor-osh<sup>1</sup> decreases till 0%. Teenager boys over 14 years old are allowed to early morning Nahor-osh ceremony only as waiters, not as guests as a rule. No girls are allowed to attend any kind of funerals in mahallas. Thus almost all ceremonial rules in mahalla are taught through involvement and strictly controlled by the elderly.

There is strong social hierarchy in mahallas in Uzbekistan. This hierarchy does not mean the social strata in terms of financial and economic condition of the members of the Mahalla. Although the economic power is also important for the prosperity of Mahalla, it does not give any exclusive rights to rich people, or violates the rights of the poor. This will be discussed below.

Historically, the mahalla had been important for solving various issues related to daily life as traditional street-level units of self rule in cities and large villages of sedentary Central Asia. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> to early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, one community would have had 20–100 families. An Oqsoqol would be chosen by a gathering of the community. Together with his assistant female leader, and male and female handypersons, Oqsoqol would organize and oversee communal activities, prepare for circumcision, wedding or funeral parties, care for orphans and widows, mediate internal conflicts, and arbitrate succession of property.

Oqsoqol, Counselor of Oqsoqol (in Women Affairs) and Mullah are officially responsible in terms of Administration. They have official authority to take decisions on local issues in the area of their responsibility. These people together with elderly of Mahalla constantly observe ethical atmosphere in the Mahalla. Every case of

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<sup>1</sup> Nahor-osh literally *Nahor - Early morning, osh - plov* (A famous Uzbek meal with rice) – breakfast ceremony organized in early morning strictly for male members of the mahalla is an important part of any wedding in Uzbek mahallas. As a rule, Nahor-osh was held before sunrise, i.e. before the start of field work.

disobedience to cultural and social rules as a rule discussed in the Mahalla meetings and addressed to the elderly of regarded families.

Because of long roots, this process in Mahalla is evident for everybody and there are no claims about the decision of Mahalla activists. Administrative duties of Oqsoqol in the Mahalla may seem strange to the western people, because from the liberal point of view interference in the personal affairs of the citizen can be assessed as interference to the human rights. But Oqsoqol in the understanding Uzbek society has rights to observe communal ethics, including interpersonal relations. As far as family is a basic element of every society it is extremely important to control environment within the family. This type of system in Mahalla always guarantees the social stability, peace, interpersonal harmony. Thanks to social control, nobody in Mahalla in Uzbekistan cannot pressure against ethnic minorities. It may seem strange, but there is no single evidence in Uzbekistan about human rights abuse of ethnic minorities by the members of titular nation. From this point of view role of Mahalla is exceptional.

Now we try to penetrate into the life of Mahalla in order to understand some important aspects, which are invisible from outside. There is a question about the effectiveness of the Mahalla administration. It has to be mentioned that officials are not only stabilizing factor of social relations. In other words, social relations in the community cannot be provided efficiently with a few people. Beyond of official persons in Mahalla, there is whole system of social behavior to harmonize social relations. In order to understand this system more deeply, we should draw parallels between the life in Mahalla and official administration.

Excluding the official administration, Mahalla life entirely based on ethno-cultural and religious values, which stand on a solid historical foundation. Parallel to official administration there is unofficial social hierarchy in the community. In sociological meaning elderly men and women, middle age men and then women, young men and girls (unmarried) and at last, children compose hierarchical construction of every Mahalla. But true secrets of societal life in Uzbek Mahalla hardly can be described with simple sociological approach. The life here includes very sensitive cultural and religious elements, and therefore, societal hierarchy in Uzbek Mahalla can be described as following: Grandparents - Parents - Children. Besides, most of rest members of Mahalla are uncles, aunts, nephews, nieces, neighbors etc.

Mahalla perfectly keeps wisdom of elderly, which expressed in their life style. Every word of them is used to educate the children. Every young man who grew up in Mahalla never forgets basic responsibilities before parents and grandparents in one side and before Mahalla on the other.

There are several ethno-cultural rules with hidden religious essence, which serve as essential social norms. They have negative and positive meaning according to the case. The important point here is the effect to the people, who were caught with some immoral acts or, vice versa, were noticed with positive behavior. Talking about rules we should notice that there are a number of positive rules, which, as a rule, expressed verbally by any member of Mahalla:

Baraka topgur - wish you prosperity.

Otangga raxmat - thank your father.

Onangga raxmat - thank your mother.

Ustozingga raxmat - thank your teacher (mentor, master).

Boshing toshdan bo'lsin - wish you health (wish you to be strong as a rock).

Kam bo'lma - wish you prosperity (do not be less).

Bola-chaqang ko'p bo'lsin - wish you many children.

Typically, these words expressed by the elders to the good actions of young people. They look like encouraging and appreciative statements. It should be stressed that such recognitions have practical application for the future of these young people. For example, doing good deeds, young people may become potential grooms for the most beautiful girls in the Mahalla.

Other examples from the life of Mahalla also perfectly show social relationships among ordinary people. It should be noted here that the older generations are engines of social relations and at the same time are unique judges. For example, the appearance of old people on the street leads to the correct behavior and appearance of teenagers. Young people stand up and (usually together) greet the elderly, smokers usually hide (often throw) cigarettes. If the old man noticed a young man hiding cigarette, they can make a serious comment on the matter. This is a simplest example from the life of the Mahalla.

Speaking about the behavior of adolescent girls in such cases, it should be noted that they prefer hiding from a view of elderly or calm down when they pass by. Such a behavior of girls demonstrates ethical education in Mahalla and they get verbal approval of the proper behavior of the elderly, for example, *baraka topgur* (wish you prosperity), *rahmat ona qizim* (thank you mother girl/daughter), *rahmat o'g'lim*, (thank you son), *katta kelin bo'ling* (wish you to be good bride), *yaxshi joylarga kuyov bo'ling* (wish you to be groom of good family).

Recognition of good behavior in adolescents does not end only verbal approval of the elderly. At the same time, old men tell their old ladies of well-trained and ill-mannered teenagers in Mahalla. Any information of elderly, negative or positive is extremely important for the future of teenagers. Accumulation of encouraging comments about any young man or woman will lead to universal recognition of the family, where grew up that guy or a girl.

There are dozens of negative statements of elderly of Mahalla, which indicate immoral acts of the members of Mahalla and have immediate effect to the concerned family.

Padaringga la'nat - shame on your father;

Uyatsiz - you have no shame;

Insosiz - you have no goodness;

Accumulations of these kinds of negative statements are also having practical impact to the fortune of the young people. It is unimaginable the emergence of families with bad behavior in the society with such high moral standards.

Here it is necessary to express the reason of practical impact of negative and positive statements of elderly of Mahalla to the fortune of people. Since the most of elderly of Mahalla are religious, their recognition or censure has psychological effect to the people. Ordinary negative comment one of the religious Oqsoqols of Mahalla may have more effect to the behavior of the youth than administrative punishment of the official Oqsoqol. In this respect, we can detect the difference between the official Oqsoqol, which has an official administrative status and unofficial members of the elders, also called Oqsoqol. As we witnessed latter has less officiality, but more impact in stabilizing of societal order and ethical atmosphere in Mahalla.

***Social equity and equality.*** One of the main characteristics of the Mahalla is a social equality. Despite the big difference in financial conditions, every member of Mahalla is equivalent in performing of communal duties. Financial and economic strength does not provide social dominance in Mahalla in terms of preferences or profits. Oqsoqol will give more tasks to wealthy people of Mahalla in order to provide social equality in performing social events like funerals, circumcision or weddings. Understanding of this process needs in more detailing, as far as it includes some psychological aspects. Leader of mahalla – Oqsoqol or any elder has several exceptional rights in the territory of his authority.

Elder of Mahalla has the right to criticize the official Oqsoqol in violation of social equality. Such criticism will be primarily addressed directly to him in the form of verbal comments. On the other side, official Oqsoqol may criticize any member of Mahalla if such fact was made by the members of the community.

Now we can understand how Mahalla is a key institution of social order especially during early years of independence. On the other side, Mahalla as an important institution of civil society, becoming interesting subject for scientific researches both nationally and internationally. As a conclusion of the article it would be stressed, that there is great interest of foreign researchers and professors about the role of Mahalla in the development of society. According to professor T.Ako, Mahalla is a great mechanism to support families at individual level, selectively, and of course, contributes to the development of the country and boosts its economy as a whole. Thus taking into account exceptional tasks of Mahalla on upbringing young generation we need preserve this institution and provide all necessary support to develop.

***Transformation of Mahalla.*** Rapid socio-economic transformation of traditional societies affects generations, relationship of parents with children becoming increasingly technical. Recent studies of mine indicated the rise of problems among youth, because of crisis in Uzbek Mahalla. Contemporary trajectory of this institution indicates its gradual decline. Extended research can elaborate conditions of preservation of this unique social phenomenon, which regulated social relations, provided communal justice and perfectly educated the youth over millennia.

Children of traditional Mahalla are notable for high level of moral education. They uphold moral ethics of respecting elders and classmates, taught in Mahalla. Throughout my long year's observation, I assume, that they can be a good public

officer, being able to perform managerial duties perfectly or being skilled for working effectively in any sphere, which require for hierarchical interpersonal relations. Taking into account unprecedented role of Mahalla to upbringing well-mannered young fellow, however, it seems interesting for exploring the difference of the class performance of children between typical (ordinary) Mahalla and artisanship Mahalla.

Long-term observation of students indicates, that: a) being well mannered and the school performance are different from each other; b) community education of Mahalla doesn't always guarantee high-level school performance. The proof of aforementioned postulates require profound study of the community education in Mahalla of different artisanship, in the context of school performance.

Specification of social order in artisan Mahalla is interesting. Historic districts of large cities in Uzbekistan are usually divided into quarters, some of them are Mahallas' of artisans. In such quarters, the entire Mahalla involved in similar activity, performing different aspects of the same line of work. Some crafts resemble a conveyor, in which final phase involves manufacturing finished products. This is the kind of chain, accompanied by a personal relationship between members of local community. Disruption of one component will lead to interruptions in the supply of the necessary material, which in turn leads to disarray of entire production cycle. Manufacturing relations in such neighborhoods ensure for the development of social relations and guarantee the growth of social capital. Every member of such community, who participates in the production chain, is not interested in illness, trouble, relocation of any member from this sequence. If someone is absent from this line, any close neighbor temporarily replaces his place, by taking his seat and ensures uninterrupted supply.

Community and family relations in Uzbek Mahalla is perfect issue for exploration. There is two face of Mahalla in Uzbekistan, first being official Mahalla, with office, elected Chairman (Oqsoqol) and staff. The second is traditional Mahalla, with unofficial Oqsoqols and members of local community. In Uzbek society, family crisis can occur, where traditional Mahalla is absent. This means, fully functional Mahalla prevents many relapses of family turbulence.

However, coverage the country with legal Mahalla, does not promise its suitable functioning. In reality, official Mahalla plays role of overseer, rather than factual caring about communal needs. This indicates big gap between official and traditional Mahalla. In the understanding of Mahalla management, their task is constant regulation of communal behavior according to legislation. Meanwhile, traditional Mahalla covers wide-range societal relations far beyond legislation. Civic control and social capital is dependent from the strength of traditional Mahalla. In this context, Mahalla is a chain of relationships, which shaped historically through joint successes and losses. Despite that, different factors lead to unexpected interrupt of this chain and fading the traditional Mahalla.

Traditional Mahalla represents clearest example of social capital and cohesion on macro level. Mahalla divided into smaller subdivisions called "Guzars" and

families. Social capital perfectly seen in trajectory of "Family - Guzar - Mahalla" during communal events and works. Guzars are as personal network have stronger tie because of kinship, age etc. Authority of Mahalla elderly is equally valid for all Guzars, since they discuss social diseases of whole Mahalla. There are unclear factors leading to weakening of Mahalla create great concern of scholars.

Atmosphere of unity in success and failure in Mahalla penetrates to the social relations, which in turn calls for positive relationship among children. They perceive neighbors as close relatives, and their children as brothers and sisters. There are several important proverbs with educational character, which characterize Mahalla brotherhood. "Bir bolaga yetti Mahalla ota-ona" – "Seven Mahallas' are Parents for one Child". Values of Mahalla demonstrate cohesiveness and responsibility of whole Mahalla over any child, regardless the family.

The next one is "Yaxshi qiz – o'z mahallasidan chiqmaydi" – "Good girl does not quit the Mahalla". This means, the girl, raised before the eyes of Mahalla, is going to be a bride of this place". Alternatively, Mahalla does not give their good girl to strangers. This proverb is still actual and demonstrates its educational role.

Every family in Mahalla wants to demonstrate the behavior of their children before the Mahalla, which raises the possibility to build marriage relationship with daughters or sons respected family among the local community. Children of Mahalla also try to be obedient and maintain strong respect for senior members of the Mahalla.

Mahalla as a geographical and professional entity, indicates the life in a particular area, which contributes to a certain isolation. In many crafts mahallas, many people usually do not leave the territory of the mahallas. Children in such mahallas have certain patterns for movement, relationships, study and activities. The way of life in such communities strictly framed, which lives as repeated circle. In this standpoint, the influence of unvarying life on the progress of class performance of mahalla children is required for research.

Psychological environment of children in artisanal Mahalla is stable. Constant stability in the Mahalla of artisans' influences for the educational process. Children in such communities demonstrate ability to care about others. They do not understand the contradictions and quarrels between the neighbors, as they grow up under strict social order. Living in a such dynamic life of mastery, they are always busy with performing different functions of the production cycle of craft.

From the disciplinary life in mahalla, we can assume that such children usually may show good results in primary school. The reason for this is the family professions, which from childhood developed their creative thinking. For example, the children of florists Mahalla understand vegetation, agriculture, water use, various drugs for use in cultivating and sale of flowers. Being educated in such community education circle, they show unique skills in art and design, biology and calculus.

Mahalla of music-tool artisans is also interesting case. There are many famous musicians among members of these Mahallas. However, it is still unclear the difference between the making and playing the music tools. Here is question. How

does the master's creation of musical instruments contribute to the development of the musical abilities of his children? How often children of music-tool artisans became successful musicians?

It is interesting in this context focus on the professional and ethic characteristics of young people from traditional mahalla and modern neighborhoods.

At present, it is clear that as a universal phenomenon in raising good behavior, the traditional Mahalla is gradually losing its authority. On the other hand, my observations allow me to have an assumption, that Mahalla is a system akin to authoritarian management which may lead to fixed mindset of children. This is important research question, since well-mannered young fellow cannot always demonstrate success at school. Fixed mindset can lead to fragmentary action, limited worldview, which comes from narrow professional activity of their parents. Such way of mental development often contradicts growth of mindset. Having with such development, children see the social environment around them narrowly, comparing all other activities, through their family craft. In this context, it is necessary to observe mindset of children from Mahalla artisans and the ordinary Mahalla.

Another important issue is the difference between the children of traditional Mahalla and modern apartment quarters. The severity of the coordination of the traditional Mahalla, possibly may lead to a restriction of creative thinking. This may affect the lesson learning, especially in solving tasks of exact subjects. Of course, we do not have an idea about the quality of lesson learning of children from modern neighborhoods. Establishing the difference between children from the traditional Mahalla and modern neighborhoods allows for clarifying lesson learning level between traditional mahallas' and Russian-speaking neighborhoods.

In order to explain the education system it is necessary to mention, that there are several types of schools in Uzbekistan: schools in Uzbek, in Russian schools and mixed schools. Curriculum is the same for all of them, but they operate in different languages. Usually performance of students in Russian comes with poor academic results compared to Uzbek ones. Such perception is based on the bad behavior of Russian-speaking pupils, heavily coming from modern neighborhoods. Paradoxically, despite the bad behavior of Russian speaking teenagers, Uzbek people advocate for sending their kids to Russian schools. There are discussions in the society about the school performance in Uzbek speaking and Russian speaking schools. According to general perception, children in Russian schools are educated for being bilingual with no hardship and English and other foreign languages learned with small additional effort.

Child with one mother tongue (Uzbek) will spend more effort to learn Russian, which is thought be quite difficult language. Afterwards, English and other languages, which also require additional learning. Progressing interest to Russian language, among educated social strata in Uzbekistan demonstrate the importance of natural bilingualism from childhood. Probably, many people are willing to sacrifice national

traditions for the sake of obtaining advanced quality education through the Russian language.

There is assumption, that bilingualism is essential for personal development of children. However, deep study is necessary to clarify the contribution of education in Russian to learn subjects.

Professional choice of children from artisanship Mahalla has interesting point. Children who grow up in such Mahallas usually do not care about the future from the point of view of professional activity. As for the choice of profession, they usually feel solid ground under their feet. This means that when failure in other careers, they can always return to what their ancestors did.

It is interesting to study the dynamics of handling the tools by children of artisans. Mahalla study should be made by age categories and by reason, in order to identify the ration of children, which continue the parent's craft, and when and why some of them change to other professions. On the other hand, we would like to make correlation between the educational progresses of children, who reserved and dropped the parent's activity.

General perception in western academia about overextended study of mahalla is overestimation. One thing is for sure that, foreign scientists have studied Mahalla more widely in comparison with domestic scientists. However, there are many parallels in domestic studies, as well as in foreign ones. Many significant aspects, such as educational functions, social capital, contradictions between urban and rural mahalla still call for profound studies. Despite mostly descriptive sources, there are many perfect academic publications facilitate for focusing on educational functions.

Many early publications focus on explaining the essence of *mahalla* to western readers. Despite academic approach, many aspects remained beyond the focus of authors. Local sources have perfect contemporary and historic context [1]. Professor G.Malikova focuses to *mahalla* features in history [2] as well as communist approach [3]. Historians A.A.Askarov and T.Sh. Shirinov note the genesis of *mahalla* [4]. Some sources claim *mahalla* emerged in the territory of Uzbekistan in II millennia BC as a fortress in the hills including the temple or palace in the center [5].

Some works dedicated to exceptional role of *mahalla* in social stability [6]. Certain foreign scholars review *mahalla* as a fragmented civil society institution [7]. Western researchers noticed, "the most important and respectful among civil society organization in Uzbekistan has always been *mahalla* [8].

Some American professors see *mahalla* as powerful civil society institute; comparing it with a miracle [9]. There are academic works, on the structure of Uzbek society. Most literature contain information about *mahalla* as an administrative division of governance [10].

Academic interest of Japanese scholars to mahalla calls special attention. Professor A.Kawano explores official approach and educational functions [11] as well as focuses women's role in decision making in *mahalla*. Professor A. Kawano describes in detail the education of children in the Mahalla through public events,

makes comparisons between neighboring countries. This is one of the best works, which covers all main aspects of community education in Mahalla. Professor T.Ako pays attention mahallas' support of families and society. [12] Professor T.Dadabaev studies *mahalla* extendedly [13], uncovering functions of official and traditional *mahalla*.

Meanwhile, *mahalla* expects profound finding specific purposes in educating children, regulating family relations, conducting social events, preventing and addressing youth problems. Difference of this research summarized as following:

1. Investigation of *mahalla* as an institution of traditional education.
2. Geographical review of *mahalla* in the rural and urban context.

### Some Literature

1. Аскарлов Ш. Махалля в эволюции города  
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