

DEMOGRAPHIC CRISIS AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT OF THE RUSSIAN  
FEDERATION IN VLADIMIR PUTIN REGIME

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for the Degree of Master of Arts Program in Russian Studies  
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การวิจัยในครั้งนี้เป็นการวิจัยเชิงคุณภาพ โดยมีวัตถุประสงค์คือ 1) เพื่อศึกษาสภาวะประชากรและการพัฒนาคุณภาพมนุษย์ในสมัยสหภาพโซเวียต 2) เพื่อศึกษาสภาวะประชากรและการพัฒนาคุณภาพมนุษย์ในช่วงเปลี่ยนผ่านถึงยุคหลังคอมมิวนิสต์ 3) เพื่อวิเคราะห์สาเหตุของอัตราการเติบโตของประชากรที่ลดลงในสหพันธรัฐรัสเซีย 4) เพื่อวิเคราะห์ความเกี่ยวข้องระหว่างสภาวะประชากรและการพัฒนาคุณภาพมนุษย์ในสหพันธรัฐรัสเซีย โดยมีสมมติฐานว่าการลดลงของอัตราการเติบโตของประชากรนั้นมีผลกระทบต่อการพัฒนาคุณภาพมนุษย์ และเชื่อว่าสหพันธรัฐรัสเซียจะสามารถผ่านพ้นวิกฤตปัญหานี้พร้อมทั้งพัฒนาคุณภาพประชากรได้ในเวลาเดียวกัน

ผลการศึกษาวิจัยพบว่าทฤษฎีการเปลี่ยนแปลงของจำนวนประชากรนั้น สามารถนำมาใช้อธิบายพัฒนาการของประชากรรัสเซียได้เพียงบางช่วงระยะเวลาเท่านั้น โดยเฉพาะการเปลี่ยนแปลงจำนวนประชากรในช่วงสหพันธรัฐรัสเซีย ซึ่งไม่สามารถอธิบายโดยทฤษฎีใดได้เลย โดยตัวแปรหลักที่เข้ามาแทรกแซงทำให้การเปลี่ยนแปลงไม่เป็นไปตามทฤษฎีคือ สงคราม, ภาวะอดอยาก, นโยบายและการเปลี่ยนแปลงทางการเมืองและเศรษฐกิจ ในขณะที่สาเหตุของวิกฤตการลดจำนวนของประชากรนั้นเริ่มดำเนินมาตั้งแต่สมัยสหภาพโซเวียตต่อเนื่องมาถึงสมัยสหพันธรัฐรัสเซีย โดยสาเหตุหลักมาจากลักษณะนิสัยของตัวประชากรเองที่สืบเนื่องมาตั้งแต่อดีต เช่น อุปนิสัยการดื่มเหล้า เป็นต้น รวมทั้งการเปลี่ยนแปลงทางการเมืองและเศรษฐกิจจากสหภาพโซเวียตมาเป็นสหพันธรัฐรัสเซีย และนโยบายที่ออกโดยรัฐ

ในส่วนของคุณภาพประชากรในช่วงสหภาพโซเวียตนั้นไม่ค่อยดีเท่าที่ควร ด้วยสภาพการทำงานที่หนัก ความเป็นอยู่แออัดคับแคบ การทุจริตในการเข้าศึกษาระดับสูง และการให้บริการด้านสุขภาพที่ไม่ได้มาตรฐาน โดยที่นโยบายแนวทางการพัฒนาจะเปลี่ยนไปตามผู้นำที่เปลี่ยนไป คุณภาพประชากรในหลายด้านได้ลดต่ำลงมากในช่วงแรกของการเปลี่ยนผ่านด้วยหลายสาเหตุ แต่ด้วยนโยบายของผู้นำทางการเมืองรวมทั้งการปรับตัวของประชากรทำให้คุณภาพประชากรและวิกฤตประชากรได้คลี่คลายและพัฒนาไปในทางที่ดีขึ้นเรื่อยมา โดยเฉพาะการปฏิรูปการศึกษา การปฏิรูปการบริการด้านสุขภาพ และนโยบายด้านที่อยู่อาศัยในสมัยรัฐบาลปูติน ถึงแม้ว่าผลลัพธ์ที่ได้ยังไม่เป็นไปตามเป้าหมายเท่าใดนัก โดยที่การพัฒนาคุณภาพประชากรและสาเหตุของการเปลี่ยนแปลงจำนวนประชากรนั้นมีส่วนสัมพันธ์กัน

สาขาวิชา ..... รัสเซียศึกษา ..... ลายมือชื่อนิสิต .....

ปีการศึกษา ..... 2555 ..... ลายมือชื่อ อ.ที่ปริกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก .....

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KEYWORDS : DEMOGRAPHIC CRISIS/ HUMAN DEVELOPMENT/  
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SLAITIP SUBHANKA: DEMOGRAPHIC CRISIS AND HUMAN  
DEVELOPMENT OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION IN VLADIMIR  
PUTIN REGIME. ADVISOR: ROM PHIRAMONTRI, Ph.D., 143 pp.

The objectives of this qualitative research consist of 1) to understand the demographic conditions and human developments in the Soviet Union period 2) to understand the demographic situations and human developments in the period of transition to Post-Communist Russia 3) to examine the causes of the decline of the population growth rate in the Russian Federation, and 4) to analyze the implications of the demographic situation and human development in Russia

This research found that only some theories can be used to clarify some parts of the demographic transition, while others are not compatible with it, especially the demographic situation in the Russian Federation. The interventions of them are WWII, the great famine in 1933, policies and the alternation of political and economic structure. The causes of the demographic crisis have been present since the Soviet era. The main causes ranged from both population characteristics as well as the political and economic environments to be specific factors such as alcohol consumption behavior, policies implemented by the government and the transformation of the political and economic structures from the Soviet era to the Russian Federation.

Human development in Soviet era was terrible with miserable and long working hour, crowded habitation, and substandard healthcare service. The conditions also changed as the leader changed. Surprisingly, human development in the early transition was getting even worse. However, with the policies implemented by the government and the adaptation of population aided both human development and demographic crisis, especially, educational reform, healthcare reform, and housing policies under Putin's presidency and premiership, even if the results did not meet the entire objectives intended in the first place. Moreover, this research discovers that human development and demographic development are related to each other.

Field of Study: RUSSIAN STUDIES Student's Signature \_\_\_\_\_  
Academic Year: 2012 Advisor's Signature \_\_\_\_\_

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNI	Gross National Income
HDI	Human Development Index
ILO	The International Labor Organization
OSH	The National Occupational safety and health system
UN	The United Nations
UNDP	The United Nations Development Program
WWII	The World War II

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### Rationale and Background information

From Forbs statistic, Russia's population growth was minus 219,797 since 1992 and then rapidly fell to minus 958,532 in 2000<sup>1</sup>. These figures mean that the birth rate does not cover the death rate, resulting in the decline in population growth. Just before the collapse of the Soviet Union, the population in Russia hit its historical climax in 1991<sup>2</sup>. But then, the population growth rate was starting to fall, as a consequence of falling in birth rate and rising in death rate. Russia's demographic problem has an impact on Russia's macro economies and society, which the government needs to be concerned about. A statement of Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin in April 2011 shows how significant the circumstance is:

*“ 1.5 trillion roubles will be invested in demography projects, to improve the average life expectancy and to boost the birth rate by 25 to 30 percent over three years.”<sup>3</sup>*

The situation also involves life expectancy and the age structure pyramid. Now, Russia's age structure is 15% of 0-14 years, 72% of 15-64 years and 13% of 65 years<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> **Russian Demographic Update – things are still (slowly) getting better** [Online], Source <http://www.forbes.com/sites/markadomanis/2011/07/29/russian-demographics-update-things-are-still-slowly-getting-better/>.

<sup>2</sup> **Сообщение Росстата** [online], 2010. Source <http://www.perepis-2010.ru/message-rosstat.php>.

<sup>3</sup> Hilary White, Rome Correspondent, **Russia considering abortion restrictions to slow population collapse** [online], April 2011. Source <http://www.lifesitenews.com/news/russia-considering-abortion-restrictions-to-slow-population-collapse>.

and over owing to the decline of birth rate. If the birth rate is not rising or continues rising at a slow rate, the population pyramid would get worse. Russia would struggle with low youth population and high aged population in the near future. Aged populations might be a burden for government that has to care for these people. As for the Russian life expectancy, an average age is the 59 years for men and the 72 years for women<sup>5</sup>, which is lower than other developed countries. The rise in the death rate and life expectancy of Russian men is somehow related to the problem of alcoholism.

In fact, these population growth phenomena did not occur within one day but it has long been forming for many years. Both death rate and birth rate have been gradually declining since the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. Hence, we need to use the time machine to see what has really happened in Russia's historical development.

In October 1917, the Bolsheviks took over power from the Tsar, attempting to totally transform the social system. Marxism was adopted by the Soviet leaders. Ideology and education were two of the major tools by which the Communist Party maintained its control while the remnant parts such as religions, personality cult, etc. would slowly disappear from Soviet society<sup>6</sup>. However, the Soviet Union had its own distinctive feature, namely, the peasantry from the majority of the Russian population. As David Lane has said:

*“ Finally, I turn to my own position: that the Soviet Union is best labeled as a social formation distinct from the capitalist and communist mode of production but containing elements drawn from both ”*<sup>7</sup>

Under the influence of Marxism-Leninism, the social system and policy of the old regime were changed to suit the new political life. For example, family structure

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<sup>4</sup> **Russia Demographics Profile 2011** [online], Source [http://www.indexmundi.com/russia/demographics\\_profile.html](http://www.indexmundi.com/russia/demographics_profile.html).

<sup>5</sup> Rosenberg Matt, **Population Decline in Russia** [online], Source <http://geograp.about.com/od/obtainpopulationdata/a/russiapop.htm>.

<sup>6</sup> Lane S. David, **Soviet Economy and Society** (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), p. 83-84.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83.

was changed so that the family became a smaller unit. Spouse relations had changed, as women were now equal to men in rights. Children were more independent. Divorce was easily available since the law gave no support for a stable family. But after World War II, the Soviet political system tried to strengthen the family. Stable parenthood had been encouraged, Marriage was given municipal recognition and divorce was made more difficult to achieve<sup>8</sup>. In other social policies, the Soviet government tried to provide free basic services, making them accessible to the whole population, although the quality of the services was poor<sup>9</sup>. For instance, each child received both primary and secondary school education; jobs were guaranteed, as were housing for everybody, pension for the elderly and freely healthcare.

Then, given the fact that the socialist system did not work and because of the growing influence from western liberalism, the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, and in its place emerged the Russian Federation. Since then, Russia has adopted market liberalization and privatization in the transition from communism to capitalism. The change in social policy was that the Russian government rapidly withdrew those basic social services available in the Soviet time without replacing them with new systems<sup>10</sup>. Many improved technologies, buildings, restaurants and shopping centers emerged in Russia mostly in Moscow. But while the new Russia has accepted privatization, Russia struggled with growing social inequalities resulting from fake prosperity due to ineffective policies and evaporated funding when people who “have” represent only a small numbers and those who “have not” were the huge proportion of the population.

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., pp. 107-137.

<sup>9</sup> White Stephen, Zvi Gitelman and Richard Sakwa, **Developments in Russian Politics** (New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2005), p. 204.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.



According to the idea of four-stage\* population change in Thomas Robert Malthus's theory of population growth<sup>11</sup>, in stage two, the death rate would start falling and then birth rate would begin to decline in stage three. On the contrary, Russia's demographic transition did not happen in the same sequence. Russia had her own unique situation compared to other countries and the theory. Moreover, the liberal demographic transition theory tends to concentrate too much on the national level and ignored regional divergences and variation in Russian demography.<sup>12</sup> Since Russia is an enormous country, regional differences should be included in such work.

The decline of population growth rate in the Russian Federation seems to be only a quantitative problem. But if we profoundly look through this problem, it also has extensive consequences in many areas. The decline in the population growth rate has resulted from many causes including political viewpoints. Thus, to understand the causes of the crisis, we should study the demographic situation since the Soviet Union period all through the transition to liberal Russia to see the change in its situation and political views relating to this situation as well.

As the population is one of the key components of the state<sup>13</sup> and the continuing situation of Russia's demographic phenomena is a major issue, I see that Russia's demography has been a major national development concern. In addition, since the historical background could not be ignored, I think that it would be important to study demographic circumstances in the Soviet Union as well in order to get more sense of the current demographic situation and human development in this country.

I believe this work can greatly contribute to the knowledge of the demographic

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\* Four stage of Demographic Transition Model, first started with the high and unstable of both birth rate and death rate. The second stage introduces the decrease in death rate by the improvement of medical care. From time to time, children are no longer wealth of the family, the need of labor decline and the family planning. Therefore, the birth rate decreased. The fourth stage shows the low and stable of both birth rate and death rate in developed countries.

<sup>11</sup> Montgomery Keith, **The Demographic Transition**. Department of Geography and Geology [online]. Source <http://www.marathon.uwc.edu/geography/demotrans/demtran.htm>.

<sup>12</sup> Griffith J. Prendergrast, "The Regional Consequences of Russia's Demographic Crisis," **A new Russian Heartland?** (July 2004): p. 2.

<sup>13</sup> Dasgupta Rohni, **What are the essential elements of a State?** [online]. Source <http://www.preservearticles.com/201104215738/what-are-the-elements-of-a-state.html>.

and human development in the Russian Federation and better understanding of the determinant of Russia's demographic phenomena as a whole.

### **Objective of the study**

1. To understand the demographic conditions and human developments in the Soviet Union period.
2. To understand the demographic situations and human developments in the period of transition to Post-Communist Russia.
3. To examine the causes of the decline of population growth rate in the Russian Federation.
4. To analyze the implications of the demographic situation and human development in Russia

### **Hypothesis**

The decline in population growth rate has significantly affected human development in Russia. I believe that Russia will be success in solving the demographic crisis while enhancing human development particularly living standards, health and education.

### **Scope and Definitions of terms**

To study demographic conditions, related policy and human development in the Soviet Union from 1917 to 1991 and in Russia after 1991, especially during the President Putin period from 2000, and also the underlying factors accounting for demographic phenomena.

#### *Demographic Crisis*

In this research, demographic crisis means the decline in population growth rate in the Russian Federation, which has happened since the late of the Soviet Union.

### *Vladimir Putin's Regime*

Vladimir Putin's Regime refers to the time period when Vladimir Putin was the president (2000-2008) including the prime minister of the Russian Federation till the present (2010).

### *Natural Change*

Natural Change is the difference between the amount of births and the amount of deaths.

### *Human Development*

In general, human development stands for many dimensions. But in the view of this research, human development based on human development approach, which divided into three dimensions namely, living standard, education, and healthcare

### *Living Standard*

Living Standard in human development term according to UNDP, the indicator of living standard is only Gross National Income (GNI). But this research will include Housing as another indicator for living standard since it is one of the factors of the Demographic Crisis

## **Conceptual Framework**

Given my interest in the development of demography in the Russian Federation since the Soviet Union period, I have decided to undertake a more in-depth study of the demographic transition in this country. In terms of population census and process of population, demographic transition theory will be applied to this research. And as the population is one of the crucial elements of the state, the Malthusian theory will be used in this research, together with human development indicators. Moreover, since my research is also concerned with Soviet history, which was strongly influenced by Marxism, the Marxist idea on population theory cannot be ignored in the analysis.

### *Malthusian Theory*

An *Essay on Population* written by Thomas Robert Malthus, a British economist and demographer of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century introduced Malthusian Theory. Malthus stated that the population was increasing faster than its sustenance, particularly the primary resource of food. He explained that the population expanded geometrically while nourishment increased arithmetically. Thereby, he predicted that eventually the population would reach a resource limit, in other words overpopulation. Malthus suggested that birth control should be implemented in order to prevent a crisis. The consequence of any further growth of the population would be famine, disease or war.

Malthusian Theory can be applied to my research in both periods, namely the Soviet Union period and Post-Soviet period by analyzing whether or not Russia would be overpopulated according to Malthusian Theory.

### *Marxism on population theory*

According to the book *The Theory of Population, Essays in Marxist Research*, written by L. Osadnik (GDR) and many others, edited by D.I. Valentey, and translated from the Russian version, Karl Marx, who is regarded as the Father of Communism, in fact did not propose any population theory. However, in his theory of communism, there is a part of surplus population theory, in which he criticized the Malthusian theory of population.

Unlike Malthusian theory, Marx characterized the population problem differently by interpreting the population increase in the context of the capitalistic economic system. He said that there could be no universal law of population but rather proposed that there was a “law of population” under capitalism and that every mode of production had its own particular laws of population. This law of population development under capitalism began with capital accumulation; then, “overpopulation” would rise as a consequence of the fact that the laboring population

increased more speedily than the source of demand for labor. “Relative surplus-population” or army of unemployed would thus be created by its own capitalistic mode of production. This surplus population was created independently of the actual rate of population growth. Marx raised the idea that with the collective mode of production, capitalism would be superseded and the relative over-population in the context of the capitalist mode of production would disappear. He also analyzed that the death rate would be about to decline because of the increase of income, the lessening of inequalities in income distribution, and the refinement in overall living condition. And the birth rate as well would decline on an account of the improvement of living standards and the ending of exploitation of children.

This theoretical book also contains Marxian thought about population reproduction, population distribution and so on. These propositions from Marx will be examined whether he is right or wrong comparing with what happened in the Soviet era. But on the top of that this law of population will be applied to describe in order to see their relevance to the demographic situation in Soviet Russia.

### *Demographic Transition Theory*

Demographic Transition Theory is a model that tries to explain the transformation of the population growth rate overtime from having high birth and death rates to low birth and death rates. Proposed by Thomas R. Malthus in an essay on population, “a Demographic Transition Model” is based on an American demographer Warren Thompson’s work in 1929, which scrutinize the transition of the population growth rate in industrialized societies over the past two hundred years. This Model divides the demographic transition into four stages.

Stage one presents the population growth as slow and unstable because of the high birth rate and the death rate. The birth rate is high because of the absence of family planning, religious beliefs, the lack of workers in agriculture, the high infant mortality rate, and children as an asset for more workers. Together with war, famine, lots of diseases, the low quality of healthcare and sanitation were causes of the high

death rate. The first stage defines pre-industrial revolution with no modern technology, low education for family planning, and medication.

Stage two suggests the demographic condition in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century in case of developing countries (mainly Western European countries) when the death rate dropped while the birth rate still remained high; hence, the population started to increase steadily or even rapidly. The death rate was falling due to the improvement in sanitation, medicine, healthcare resulting in a decreasing infant mortality rate, improvement in food production and storage, including transport industry, meaning better transportation for food.

From time to time, this growth rate still rose speedily but began to slow down because along with advances in birth control, having more children no longer meant wealth for family; on the contrary, children became an extra burden. With higher education, the changing status of women made family planning more widely available. As modern technology was easily accessible, it brought about an increase in mechanization, accordingly reducing the need for workers. Because of all the factors mentioned, this stage was slowly transitioning to the third stage. This third stage initiated developed countries in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The last stage informs a low fluctuating population growth rate with both birth rate and death rates being low, in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century in developed countries. For the developed countries that were in the fourth stage of the transition, immigration from less developed countries explain much of the population growth environment in their countries.

I will compare this demographic transition theory with the demographic transition, which happened in the Soviet Union and Russian Federation, along with other countries.

### *Human Development Approach*

Seeing one country population development, one study should not only investigate in quantity dimension. But the quality of population should be included in the study. The great number of population dose not mean the country greater development, while the less number with better quality of population might caused the country better development. According to human capital theory, human are the element of production in economical aspects. Education is one of the keys to develop human<sup>14</sup>. Therefore this research will include human development terms in the study. And to scope the human development dimension, this research applied Human Development Approach to the study.

According to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), as a result of growing criticisms of the leading development approaches of the 1980s, the human development approach emerged and served as the link between economic growth and the expansion of human choices. The way of looking at development is not concerned only with material wealth or commodities and financial prosperity but also the need to seek something else, especially human well-being.

The human development approach is a process of enlarging people's choices and enhancing human capabilities and freedoms. The main idea is to enable every person to live a long and healthy life, have access to a proper standard of living including primary education and knowledge, realize their rights and freedom to make decisions affecting their life, and participation in their community life. These choices, capabilities and freedoms, however, can significantly change over time. The human rights idea shares a general vision with human development and they both are strengthening and helping to secure well-being and dignity of all people.

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<sup>14</sup>Almendarez Leroy, **Human Capital Theory: Implications for Educational Development** [Online], 11 October 2011. Source <http://www.cavehill.uwi.edu/BNCCde/belize/conference/papers2010/almendarez.html>

There are many subjects related to human development but the contemporary subjects considered most essential to human development are:

1. *Social progress* is to have a greater access to knowledge, along with better nutrition and health services.

2. *Economics* is also important as a principal means to reduce inequality and enhance the levels of human development.

3. *Efficiency* in terms of resource use and availability is important to human development, which is pro-growth and productivity-oriented, and which needs to benefit the poor, women and other marginal groups.

4. *Equity* means that economic growth and other human development parameters need to be equal.

5. *Participation and freedom* means that people can gain knowledge, participate in, and have free access to these subjects; empowerment, democratic governance, gender equality, civil and political rights, cultural liberty, especially for minor groups defined by urban-rural, sex, age, religion, ethnicity, physical/mental parameters, etc.

6. *Sustainability* for the future generation in ecological, economic and social terms is needed.

7. *Human security* refers to freedom from threats in daily life that include hunger, unemployment, famine, conflicts, etc.

Human development has always been flexible and open-ended. Human development dimensions can be various in both across and within countries and can be as many as possible, as long as they are ways of enlarging people choices.

From the main issues and the themes of human development shown above, there can be plenty of human development indicators. But, in fact, there are indicators for human development index, the statistics, which shows each country's standard in a frame of both social and economic development. Life expectancy, educational attainment and income are indicators that represent three dimensions, which are health, education, and living standard. And these three dimensions of the human development framework will be used in my research to explain human development



conditions in both the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation.

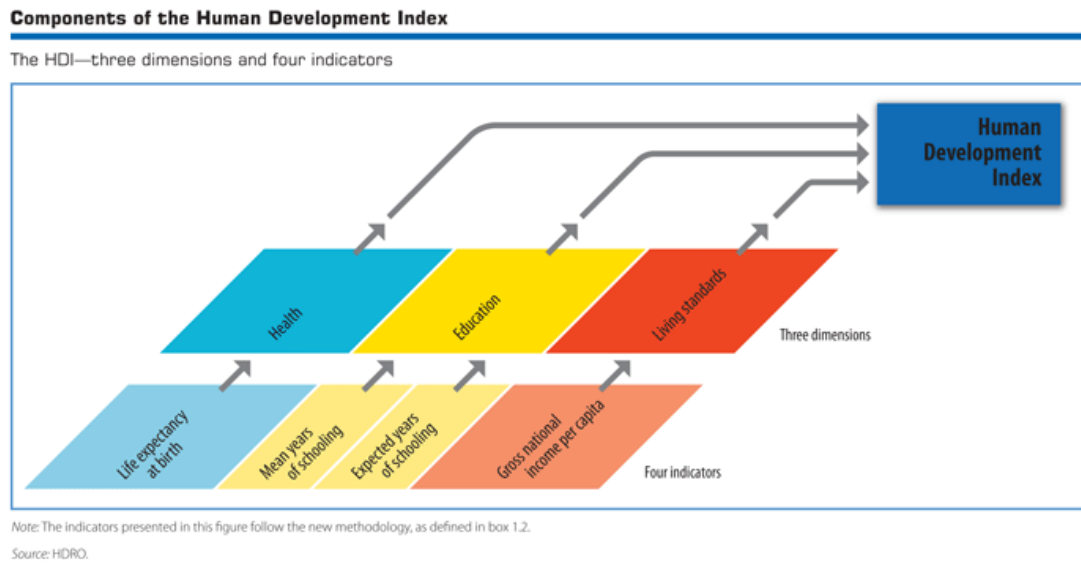


Figure 1: Components of the Human Development Index

Source: UNDP **Components of the Human Development index** [Online].

<http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home.html>.

## Literature Review

Owing to the fact that my research is divided into 4 chapters, I would like to split the book and other document reviews into the following topics.

1. Chapter II: the Soviet Union period
2. Chapter III: the Transition to the post Soviet Union period
3. General Demographic Transition

### *Chapter II: The Soviet Union Period*

First of all, I want to introduce *Soviet Economy and Society (1985)*, written by David Lane as a principal instruction to the Soviet time. This is one of the most significant books for my research. The book gives fundamental information about the economy and social relations in the Soviet Union period. I owe my understanding of

the economic condition to the first part of this book which, in turn, helps me grasp better understanding about the social condition.

The social relations part investigates the social system according to the following topics. The population and family section tells me about the Russian traditional family, family policy since 1917, the birth, marriage, divorce conditions, family relations, and social classes, including gender divisions. The educational system, role and socialization are also taken into account. This social relations part also provides information on nationalities and ethnic relations, and this helps me make better sense of immigration occurrences in the Soviet Union. The impact of Marxist ideology and industrialization on change in the Soviet life in such aspects is analyzed. Somehow social phenomena were also influenced by ideology.

This book also contains some population facts or statistics and documents, which give better understanding of the context and which I can remix with those from other documents. The information supplies me with useful references for my research.

Searching through the library, I found Ann Helgeson, "Demographic Policy" (pages: 118-145) and Alastair McAuley, "Social Policy" (pages: 146-169) in the book *Soviet Policy in the 1980s* by Archie Brown and Michael Kaser. This book is very helpful for my research. Ann Helgeson initiated that in the Soviet economy and society, there was never a shortage of labor force. But since World War II ended, the fertility rate has decreased and the out-migration in the 1980s began to show its consequences. Demographic issues thus became matters of acute interest to the Soviet officials, especially when the result of the plan for labor productivity growth in the 10<sup>th</sup> five years plan did not meet the target. The first part shows the demographic tendency in several years before the 1980s policy imposition in the field of fertility, mortality and migration. And the second half inspects the demographic policy as a tool for the long-term solution between 1981 and 1985.

As defined by Alastair McAuley, social policy means policies in the USSR that were concerned with the living standard in the areas of wages, pensions, and the

value of services. These social policies are involved with social attitudes, economic potentials as well as demographic constraints. The attempt to predict social policy with those factors, therefore a study of the past will be a great support. By examining Soviet social policy in the past, Alastair pointed out that the policies, which were adopted in the Khrushchev and Brezhnev's periods, differed from those of the Stalin period. Social consumption expenditure was moderate compared with those of the past. First, the writers begin with establishing the acknowledgement of the evolution of social attitudes and then he described the social policy by analyzing the expenditures and other figures.

### *Chapter III: The Transition to Post-Soviet Period*

As for the transitional period, I would like to mention one useful books, Donald D. Barry and Carol Barner-Barry, *Contemporary Soviet Politics: An Introduction (Fourth Edition)*, which provides an analysis of the transitional period, from the late Soviet society from the late 1980s to the opening months of 1990. The writers generally analyzed Soviet politics and the political progress in the era of Glasnost. They began with the examination of historical factors before the Soviet era to see how these influenced Soviet politics. Then, they stated that even though the state leaders claimed that the Soviet system had changed from Tsarist Russia, but actually it was not completely different from the past. This book also descriptively presents the structure of Soviet ideology.

In addition, this book (page 192-219) discusses the Soviet citizens in the areas of economic operations, achievements, and problems. This gives understanding of the basic socio-economic aspects such as work, housing and standard of living. The authors also examined citizen preferences, which were sometimes in conflict with the government policy. In this part, the authors also made a useful analysis by compared the economic situation of Soviet citizens with those of other countries, particularly the United States. They also mentioned other issues in the Soviet economy, for instance, the fact that its currency, the ruble, was not strong; that it was not freely convertible

on the open market like the Western currencies or others; and that Russia's ruble was devaluated in late 1989. Moreover, there was a problem involving the quality of goods. Compared with that of Russia's neighbors, especially in the West, the quality of Soviet goods seems to be lower than those of Western standard.

The part on social problems in the area of family policy (pages: 290-320) is also important. The writers pointed out that the government effort to increase family size in the Soviet Union did little impact while the country experienced a shortage of workers. This is because women seemed to shoulder heavy workload by working two full time jobs; one at home and the other at the workplace. By any means, the female roles were related to problems of Soviet youth, when tired, overworked mothers contributed to behavioral problems among children. The working mother, however, was only one of a number of factors as being pointed out by Soviet sociologists and others. Furthermore, another problem is connected with sex and reproduction. Infant mortality, prostitution, homosexuality, and venereal diseases were common problems in the world but in the eyes of the Soviet leadership such problems were not supposed to exist; so they did not. On the other hand, in the era of the Glasnost the willingness to acknowledge that actually these problems did exist was increasing. Along with the emergence of AIDS, the Soviet government started to acknowledge that those problems required a policy response. At this point, the authors analyze necessary issues related to policymaking, regarding sexual behavior and reproduction.

Further more, I found that *Russia's Demographic Crisis*, a report written by Julie DaVanzo and others from the RAND Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies published in 1996 definitely helpful to my research topic. This document contains studies on the factors accounting for the population growth decline in the Russian Federation, which started to happen in 1992. Generally this document uses related policies and analyzes them with the fertility rate, population growth rate, mortality rate, birth rate, and life expectancy. And sometimes the analysis refers to the Soviet Union period statistics and also gives some prospects or trends. Many statistical tables and figures provided in this document show in variant years the population trends from 1920 to 1992. These statistics can be divided into two periods to match up with

my thesis chapter.

Judy Twigg, “Social Policy in Post-Soviet Russia” (pages 204-220) in the book *Developments in Russian Politics 6<sup>th</sup> edition* by Richard Sakwa and others, is the only one chapter related to my research topic. It is the important one for the main idea of the transition from the Soviet Union in my research. This chapter gives me knowledge about the social policy in the late Soviet period (approximately 1980s), and the information in the latest edition of the book (2005) goes to around 2004. The book also provides projections. The social policies mainly mentioned by Judy Twigg cover poverty, crime, education, health and demographic concerns. She briefly analyzes those policies with figures; for instance, on life expectancy, ages, income rate and other information. Judy Twigg also points to the contradictions within the country, the separation and inequalities between people who acquired the policies.

According to Judy Twigg, despite the fact that the quality of services could not be compared with those of neighbor countries, in the Soviet Union era every citizen had free access to primary services; namely, healthcare and childcare, education, housing, ensured employment, and retirement pensions. And most of all, they equally acquired those services and they relied on them. According to Twigg, the number of Russian millionaires grew 5% in 2003; shopping centers and high-class restaurants mostly congregated in and around Moscow, where they were visited by prodigals. Throughout the transition to a market economy, the state struggled to survive with ineffective policies and vaporized funding because the state concentrated more on establishing democracy and free market and swiftly withdrew basic social services that had not yet been substituted by new policies.

But still, the other chapters in this book are useful to my topic as well since they give me fundamental comprehension of the transitional environment in various areas such as political parties, civil society, media evolution, and how democracy developed and how its prospects were in Russia. I can compare those conditions to my topic and obtain a better understanding of Russia’s demographic transition.

### *General Demographic Transition*

I found John C. Caldwell, *Demographic Transition Theory* useful to my research in general. This book gives me fundamental knowledge of demographic transition theory since the early transitions which include the Neolithic, classical world, agrarian and pre-industrial periods, and also demographic transition theory in the modern transition from industrialization and globalization to the contemporary periods (2006). The Neolithic and classical world (ex. Classical Greece and the Roman Empire) periods give me a background understanding of the early world's demographic transition, population span, and population intensification. This book analytically discusses the world's human reproduction, fertility and mortality levels, their balance, and control. And the other chapters tell me about the decline in fertility, the mortality decline and rise, policies responses, an idea of long view and future prospect of the modern world.

The articles in this book can be used to analyze and compare with Russia's demographic situation. I can pick the articles in this book, which describes the periods between around 1900 and 1990 (for instance the pre-industrial and industrial periods), and use them for my second chapter, which talks about the demographic condition in the Soviet period. Likewise, the discussion after 1990 and so on can be used in my third chapter, which discusses about the same things in contemporary Russia.

In the near future, I assuredly plan to enlarge my sources on Russia's demographic development, demographic transition, comparative political idea and other theories into my thesis work.

### **Research Methodology**

Since my research focus on the demographic development of the Russian Federation and also the transition of the Soviet Union to contemporary Russia, a

qualitative approach and an evolutionary approach will be applied to research process. I use documentary research as a method to gather information and figures to be analyzed in my study. Through descriptive analysis, I can also compare information and figures on Russia with those of other countries. And I also use research techniques such as snowball research (searching from reference) to find out more relevant information in detail or in general if needed.

This study began with a thorough review of literature about demographic development in the Russian Federation written by demographers from Russia and other countries or experts in social policy. As I have access to both Russian and international resources, archival documents and other materials such as dissertations, books, reports, journals, newspapers, and Internet articles to supplement the main sources for my study. Most of the research consists of secondary documents. But primary data will also be used in the study, for instance documents from Russia's government official reports.

### **Significance of the study**

1. Better understanding of the demographic condition and human developments in the Soviet Union, transitional to the Post-Communism period.
2. Better understanding of the causes of the decline in the population growth in the Russian Federation and its measurement.
3. Similar demographic issues are facing many countries in the world today, including Thailand; understanding the Russian situations during all these time periods is of considerable comparative importance.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **DEMOGRAPHIC AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE SOVIET UNION PERIOD**

Demographic Crisis did not cause by one day but it sure been take over from the former condition. Almost 4 century that Russia has been ruled by Tsar. Everything in the country was under control by one person. The freedom as well as people living condition has changed by each ruler. All condition and trend such as population growth, living standard, education, and healthcare had a great change after the revolution made by Bolshevik. These condition as well changed by each leader. Studying one situation should also be aware of its historical aspects.

This chapter starts with the introduction of social structure, society, education, and health in Russian empire, which were inherited to the foundation of the Soviet Union, to show the importance of population in Tsarist era, as well as demographic aspects and their connection to the political situation in the country. Then gives foundation of political and economic condition of the Soviet Union and their influences toward state development policies. This section will then focus on aspects of demographic development and comparing each aspect with Marxist on population theory, Malthusian theory, and demographic transition theory continues with clarification of human development situation in the Soviet Union till the Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev era. Therefore this chapter divided into four main parts; 1) Legacy of Tsarist, 2) Political Economy of the Soviet Union, 3) Aspects of Demographic Development, and 4) Human Development



## Legacy of Tsarist Russia

Demographic and human development in the Soviet Union had been inherited from the Tsarist era. To see these evolutions more clearly is to know the situations over each aspect. As commonly acknowledge, back to a few centuries ago in common history, human were not valued much significant as nowadays and so in the Russian Empire. For this reason, there was not much evidence to discuss so much in detail about demographic, human development or policy, which concerned population. However, some can be conversed about. With limited evidences, this topic will not mentioned about healthcare. The inheritance from Tsar could be briefly discussed over these topics; 1) living condition, 2) education, 3) Health Care, and 4) aspect of demographic development.

### 1. Living condition

In the time of Tsar, all population was blocked from participation in politic. The tsar was autocratic. His authority was absolute and unlimited, and people were to submit to unavoidably. In the early reign of Tsars, people were working and living independently as Valerie Kivelson has wroted in the book “A History of Russia”:

“ In the interstices of the autocratic state, society developed many spheres of autonomy, and people conducted their lives in ways quite unconnected with the controlling agenda of the tsarist regime.”<sup>1</sup>

The majority of social structure in Russian empire was peasantry. In the period of Muscovite Russia, agriculture was the main peasant occupation. In sixteenth century, the old system of agriculture was depended on the availability of free lands and the agreement between landlord and the peasants. The contract which the peasants promise to pay dues or working for their landlord in return for money loan,

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<sup>1</sup> Riasanovsky V. Nicholas and Mark D. Steinberg, **A History of Russia** (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 182.

grain, or agriculture tools<sup>2</sup>. But while the Muscovite state grew, together with the continuance of peasant contracts, the peasants were not allowed moving freely and had to continue serving the landlord or gentry. The foundation of the Muscovite economic and social system was this serfdom. The whole state, so the gentry, were supported by them. In addition, the domestic agriculture in the seventeenth century, made the serfdom system even expanded, when the tsar granted lands with peasants to his gentry servitors. The peasants were completely limited their mobility and prevented their flights.

The social structure latter in the eighteenth century, however, had slightly changed, as a result of Russian manufacturing establishments. In the time of Peter the Great, Peter was encouraged to develop the country to keep up with others Western country, therefore he introduced such modern technique, and manufacturing from Western and decided to make a progress in industry of the empire. At the time of Peter the Great's death, the country had over 200 factories, while the beginning of the century there were only 15 industrial enterprises existed in Russia<sup>3</sup>. And then the number of factories continued growing to 1,200 by the end of century, or perhaps more than 3,000, if included light industry. This occurrence reflected and also affected the social structure of Russia<sup>4</sup>. More factories means more labor. As many factories were in scarce of labor, state peasants become industrial serfs. Some landlords established their own factories, especially for light industry, and made their serfs useful to the business. In any way, sometime, some one else's serf came out to work for another landlord, made the relationships in the factories become more "capitalistic". This indicated that free labor increasingly grew and become more important role in the country's economy. Additionally, Peter issued many regulations for population to pay taxes and mostly the burden of taxation fell on the peasants.

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<sup>2</sup> Rosefielde Steven, **The Russian Economy: From Lenin to Putin** (United Kingdom: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), pp.3-8.

<sup>3</sup> Lentin A., **Russia in the Eighteenth Century: From Peter the Great to Catherine the Great (1696-1796)** (London: Heinemann Educational books, 1973), p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Riasanovsky V. Nicholas and Mark D. Steinberg, **A History of Russia**, p. 275.

With the need of permanent source of taxes and services by the state, the peasant slowly attached to the land<sup>5</sup>.

Moreover, the second half of the eighteenth century in the reign of Catherine the Great was the flourishing age of gentry of Russian empire. Many of Catherine's reform and policy whether in economy or society were supported and promoted to the benefits of gentry. The gentry's class was the main role which dominated the country and enjoyed increasing their wealth in country's beneficial economy. According to this reason, their life style were changed and became ever more elaborate and superfluous, thus they needed more servants and serfs for their wealthy. These circumstances which happened in Peter I and Catherine II's reign, helped the serfdom grew even more bigger and stronger, as well as, started to make the society more diversification of classes.

To be more crystal about the serfdom, there was no law directly establishing this system, but some certain legislative acts in the seventeenth century led to that objective<sup>6</sup>. For instance, forbidden years for peasant when the peasants could not move or could if they paid their obligation, the state legislative act penalties for those who shelter fugitive serfs. Another acts that helped the growth of serfdom were that the government recorded peasant residence and listed their children in the same category as their parents, which is peasant or serf.

On top of that, there was also no social guaranteed for certain population, only the grant of land, properties, and serf from the tsar for the gentry and leased land, and shelter for serf and their family. The peasants or serfs living were depended on the mercy of landlords. But subsequently in the eighteenth century, as industries started to grow in the country, many groups of peasants had managed to seek employment in industrial section. These additional jobs, along with their agricultural earning, made a large number of peasants achieved to pay their debts or obligations, and sustained

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<sup>5</sup> Lentin, A., **Russia in the Eighteenth Century: From Peter the Great to Catherine the Great (1696-1796)**, pp. 32-34.

<sup>6</sup> Riasanovsky V. Nicholas and Mark D. Steinberg, **A History of Russia**, p. 184.

themselves and their families, although the standard of livings were dismal. Moreover, all this condition was made worse by the big rise in number of population in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. This eventually caused the extent of peasant impoverishment.

## 2. Education

Apart from living condition and social stratifications, education is another topic, which denote human potential of that period. As for Russia, back to the early seventeenth century, there were only religious schools of academies, which aimed for training and teaching people to be priests or monk. But, the foundation of education in Russia, as a matter of fact, was started in the reign of Peter the Great.

The great desire of Peter the Great was to modernize Russia to be paralleled with other Western countries. As he journeyed through Europe, many professors in various fields were summoned to Russian Empire. On the contrary with educational direction before his reign, Peter neither planed to educate his population more about religious nor fortify any church influence over people's belief. The church, however, the church continued to play an important role as an instrument of education. The knowledge he wished from the Western was only for pragmatic and he saw this knowledge as a path to the great mighty as A. Lentin stated in his book *Russia in the eighteenth century: from Peter the Great to Catherine the Great (1696 – 1796)* published in 1973;

“Peter’s view of education was practical and utilitarian: knowledge to hem was the key to power. But by knowledge he meant the secular, technological and scientific knowledge of the west, not the great body of Orthodox doctrine and learning handed down by the Church. On the contrary, Peter sought to destroy the Church’s monopoly in the field of thought and ideas.<sup>7</sup>”

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<sup>7</sup> Lentin, A., **Russia in the Eighteenth Century: From Peter the Great to Catherine the Great (1696-1796)**, p. 36.

Many schools were established to serve Peter's objective. When Peter visited the West, he was fond of navigational sciences, as he wanted to use the ocean as the way out to the world and he focus on making progress in military as well. Thus the first non-religious school was the school of mathematical and navigational Sciences, established in 1701 and then later military schools was founded. Many other schools were built in various fields of science. But these schools and education were meant for the heirs of gentry, including clergy, soldiers and clerks. Serfs and peasants, accordingly, the major of population in the Russian empire were not educated. Many experts called this era of Peter's reforms, as "Westernization" and the most explicit emblem of westernization was the new capital "St. Petersburg", where all dwellings, palace, and public buildings were built in Western style.

Later in the end of Peter reign, he planed to set up higher education facilities including universities, research facilities, and academic secondary schools. Even so they were established shortly after his death. Catherine the Great was the tsar who continued Peter works of education development. Enhancing the school system was her main focal point in education development<sup>8</sup>. Although she attempted to open more educational opportunity to various class of population, it turned out to be unsuccessful.

In the next several decades till Tsar Nicholas I's reign, the number of universities and different schools were increased considerably in the main cities and covered some district areas as well. But at this time, serfs were allowed to attend only parochial elementary schools, while the higher education such as scientific schools, secondary schools and universities belonged to the gentry's class only.

After the emancipation of serfs was proclaimed in 1861, during the reign of Tsar Alexander II, this was the time that serfs and peasants actually had a better chance to get education. Tsar also expanded the educational system to the abandon

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<sup>8</sup> De Maderiaga Isabel, **Catherine the Great: A Short History** (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), p.105.

areas in the countryside. Even if these opportunities to other classes than gentry were only for primary education, but in general the result was appreciated. The percentage literacy rate was successfully rising at 24 percent by the end of the nineteenth century<sup>9</sup>, although the percentages were considerably different between town and the rural area.

### 3. Healthcare

Prior to Peter the Great reign there was practically no effective health care system. Medical treatment thus depended on traditional medical care, to be specific, citizen virtually treat their illness by herbal or medicines from their own garden or sometimes superstitious treatment with religious ritual were involved. In Peter the Great period, then he interested in medical treatment especially in dentistry and surgery techniques. At that time, many foreign physicians were employed in the empire but mostly only assigned to care for the gentry's class<sup>10</sup>. Peter's perception, without doubt was to broader public health, even if his extension of medical services started only in military section.

The first Medical College was established by Catherine the Great<sup>11</sup>. But serious medical studies began after the first medical faculty established at the University of Moscow in 1775<sup>12</sup>. She created Boards of Public Welfare and was then followed by midwife schools, lying-in hospitals, and civilian hospitals. She also founded the basis for health care by set minimum requirement of physician, surgeon and others to each district. In those days, many citizens relied on midwives and

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<sup>9</sup> Kusuma Thongniam, "Educational Reform of the Russian Federation in the Post - Soviet Period," (Master's Thesis, Russian Studies, Chulalongkorn University, 2012), p.17.

<sup>10</sup> Ramer C. Samuel, **Russian History: Imperial Health Care Services** [Online], Source <http://www.answers.com/topic/imperial-health-care-services>.

<sup>11</sup> Sarah Bylsma, **Catherine the Great: Reforming Russia** [Online], Source [http://www.alaskahistoryday.com/uploads/4/9/1/1/4911518/catherine\\_the\\_great\\_-\\_reforming\\_russia.pdf](http://www.alaskahistoryday.com/uploads/4/9/1/1/4911518/catherine_the_great_-_reforming_russia.pdf).

<sup>12</sup> Burger J. Edward et al., "Academic Medicine in Russia," **Croatian Medical Journal** (2004): p.674.

traditional healers also till twentieth.<sup>13</sup> It could be say that her reform created broader public services. When smallpox came to Russia, Catherine the Great volunteered to have herself and her children inoculated against the disease as an example for her people<sup>14</sup>. Next under ruling of Paul I, since a bunch of ministries was established in 1803, the Medical College was incorporated into the Ministry of Internal Affairs and its Medical Department.

The continued growth of peasantry which founded an extensive part of the population and its dissemination made it difficult to provide medical care throughout the whole country. The reforms of the 1860's, the Zemstvos or self-government institutions initiated by Alexander II along with the Pirogov Society in 1885 made an impressive success in rural medicine<sup>15</sup>. Zemstvo reform attempt was to decentralized power, hence medical practitioners to countryside. This was also made the physicians more independent. Zemstvo budget and government subsidies were the main fiscal of rural medical care instead of payments for service. Another accomplishment in rural healthcare delivery, The Pirogov Society introduced by Nikolay Ivanovich Pirogov established in honor of Nocholas I. Pirogov was renowned scientist, doctor and many others. He is believed to be the father of surgery sphere. His attempt of the society was to represent the idea of a doctor as a scientist and a humanitarian<sup>16</sup>.

It is difficult to resist any epidemic when there was disintegration of medical administration. After the twice cholera epidemic in nineteen century and other epidemic diseases, a national ministry of public health was created. Despite epidemics and wars, which cost millions of death, the numbers of Russian population deaths were also form drunkenness or alcoholism. It was extremely high in 1860s and was

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<sup>13</sup> Ramer C. Samuel, **Russian History: Imperial Health Care Services** [Online], Source <http://www.answers.com/topic/imperial-health-care-services>.

<sup>14</sup> Sarah Bylsma, **Catherine the Great: Reforming Russia** [Online], Source [http://www.alaskahistoryday.com/uploads/4/9/1/1/4911518/catherine\\_the\\_great\\_-\\_reforming\\_russia.pdf](http://www.alaskahistoryday.com/uploads/4/9/1/1/4911518/catherine_the_great_-_reforming_russia.pdf).

<sup>15</sup> Ramer C. Samuel, **Russian History: Imperial Health Care Services** [Online], Source <http://www.answers.com/topic/imperial-health-care-services>.

<sup>16</sup> **History of Public Health in Russia** [Online], Source [www.pitt.edu/~super7/29011-30001/29551.ppt](http://www.pitt.edu/~super7/29011-30001/29551.ppt).

average in other years. But still from the statistic 1880, comparing with neighborhood countries Russia was exceedingly high in Alcohol-related mortality<sup>17</sup>.

In the latter 1910s, the two main reforms, the Zemstvo and the Pirogov Society eminently had influences on increasing social consciousness of socialized medicine. But in small numbers, regularly German nationality, the profession was discerned by the Bolsheviks as affluent, elite, and precariously political active. Thus, the physicians' services run down and doctors were employed under rigorous control of the state. And after the Bolsheviks took control, the "bourgeois" doctors were suppressed and the Pirogov Society was forced to disperse<sup>18</sup>.

#### 4. Aspect of Demographic Development

In the sense of the number of population, since Russia has vast territory, there was no concern neither about overpopulation nor depopulation. Or at least the effects of them never came into administration's attention at the time, hence no certain law or act was issued to control number of population. One of the evidence is that in the second half of the sixteenth century, there was a terrible economic crisis, together with deadly epidemics, civil war, and gentry exploitation of peasants. Many peasants fled to the frontier, caused labor shortages. The government didn't do anything to solve this problem, only let the exploitation of labor even worse.

The increase of population growth in the eighteenth century was the sign of development of Russian empire, which, it could be said, paralleled with the progression in Western counterparts. The population of Russia evidently stayed large number for a century before as the country had vast area. The number of population rapidly rose from this time on, whereas it might have lessen during the tough reforms

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<sup>17</sup> Stickley A., Razvodovsky Y. and Mckee M., "Alcohol mortality in Russia: A historical perspective," **Public Health** 123 (2009): pp. 21-25.

<sup>18</sup> Burger J. Edward et al., "Academic Medicine in Russia," **Croatian Medical Journal** (2004): pp. 674-675.



in the reign of Peter the Great, together with prominently heavy casualties<sup>19</sup> by some of his reforms, which could be implied as cruel. Although the population rose, this evidence also shows how people have not been valued and concerned much at that time. The inhabitants gradually increased from 13 million people in 1725 to 29 million in 1796, and by the end of the eighteenth century Russia had over 36 million inhabitants<sup>20</sup>. The immediate increase in population was also a result of the expansion of the Russian Empire, such as victory in the Great Northern War in the time of Peter the Great and some partitions of Poland in Catherine the Great's reign. On the contrary, it is ironic that all the hard won territory had also caused a considerable loss of life<sup>21</sup>, but the population still continued to increase speedily throughout the nineteenth century, from 45 million in 1815 to 67 million in 1851.

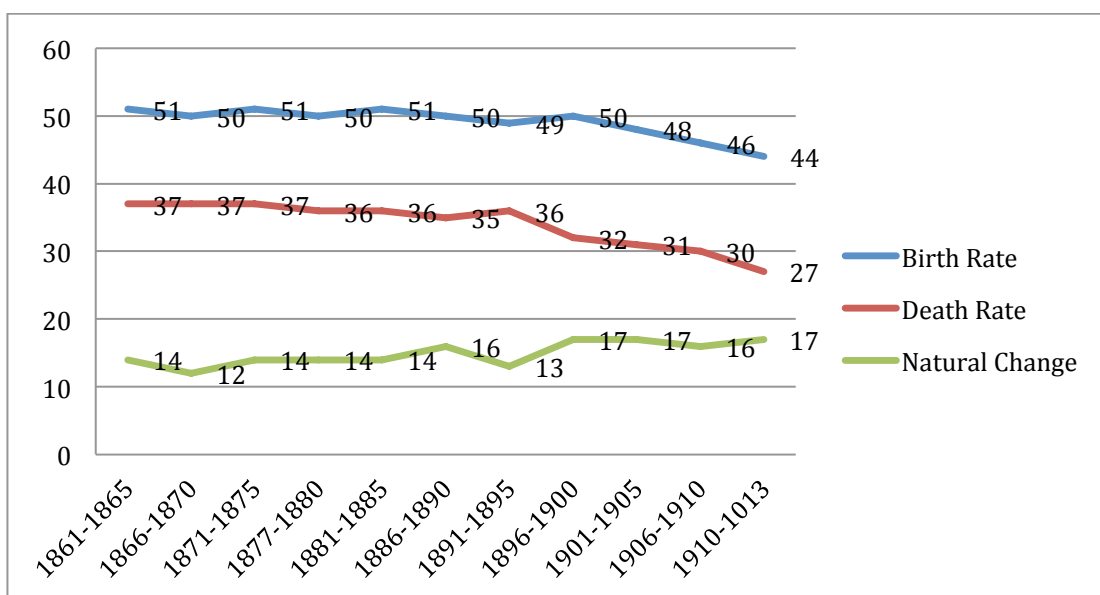


Figure 2. Russia Basic Demographic Figures in 1861 -1913

Note: Crude birth rate and death per 1,000 populations

Source: Paul Gregory and Robert Stuart, **Russian & Soviet Economic Performance & Structure**. (USA: Addison Wesley Longman, 2001). p.29.

<sup>19</sup> Dejevsky Mary, **Encyclopædia The Britannica Guide to Russia**, (The United States of America: Running Press, 2009), p. 37.

<sup>20</sup> Riasanovsky V. Nicholas and Mark D. Steinberg, **A History of Russia**, p. 273.

<sup>21</sup> Lentin, A., **Russia in the Eighteenth Century: From Peter the Great to Catherine the Great (1696-1796)**, p. 67.

Demographic numbers, to be specific, birth rate, death rate, and natural change in the graph (figure 2.) can clearly explain demographic condition in the latter nineteenth century and the early twenty-century. According to the figures says that both birth rate and death rate were likely steady till the start of 1900s and so on, they were slightly decreased. And the natural change line also went steadily till it started to vaguely increase at the end of nineteenth century, meaning that population growth has rose as well.

Apart from the industrial development at that time, there was also the continuation of the great expansion of agriculture in Russia. This vast extension has caused the increasing of serfdom, while the technique that used in agriculture was not modern or very productive. It was rather primitive, which, in turn even excellent land gave very low profits. From this point, serfdom contributed to the inefficient labor usage and evidently account for rural overpopulation. In 1974, 3 percent of Russia population lived in towns and 97 percent in the countryside. Although in 1796 the number had slightly changed to 4.1 percent against 95.9 percent<sup>22</sup>, but these figures still extremely distinguished.

From all these three aspects it can be said that with the ruling of Tsar in the early reign, population had not been taken care of so much. Most Tsars did not give much importance to all population. Generally they only paid attention to the gentry's class, excepted Tsar Alexander II who undertook drastic reform, including emancipating the serfs in 1861. As a result of this the education system opened wider for serfs and worker. And all educational efforts were to help Russian empire retain its status of a great power. Talking about the aspect of population statistics, in spite of the fact that many wars and reforms paid with a lot of lives, there were significantly increased in number of population all through the eighteenth century and nineteen century. But because of the enormous territory of Russia, this rising never caused acute land shortage among the people.

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<sup>22</sup> Riasanovsky V. Nicholas and Mark D. Steinberg, **A History of Russia**, p. 276.

For the society, citizen's lives were absolutely under control of the tsar, nevertheless during Peter the Great's and Catherine the Great's reign, peasants were starting to complain about their misery lives even if it was illegal. And later in other Tsar reign in the second half of the nineteenth century, serfs and labors led by intelligentsia were assembled to rebel against the imperial government many times. In that time, Russia was to maintain a great power status, therefore the government promoted industrial development and higher education. But this has caused long-term conflict between government and society. And finally the government eagerness, on the contrary, have made its own trauma when its educated populaces, known as intelligentsia become socialist and turned up against their authority. Not only the intelligentsia but also serfs and labors, who were joined to make rebellion and terrorism. This might be a result of the enlightenment of people's mind after their broader education from time to time. This conflict between the population and the imperial government went critically further until the breakdown in 1917 revolution.

According to the background in the Tsar period shown above, not merely the economic basis between serfs and owners but the entirely Russian Empire's basic economy were driven by serfdom. This serfdom system lasted long in Russia because its economic disadvantages did not earlier exceed its advantages, therefore it never were the problem in the sight of their administration. Still the existence of serfdom, in fact, slowed the improvement of agricultural techniques<sup>23</sup> and somehow held up the new coming modern technologies from Western. Because labors were difficultly mobilized, thus the country's economy slowly developed by the mean of the lack of free labor. Russia's economy was making thriving progress in the end of nineteen century and the beginning of twentieth century, especially in the industrial section. And all these condition became the foundation of the future Soviet economy. But the overall living condition for the all class of population was not satisfied, along with the impact of Marxism and communism idea from the west, provoked the professional revolutionaries seized the power from Tsar in 1917.

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<sup>23</sup> Kanoksak kaewtep, **Development in Soviet economic system in 1900 – 1990**. (Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University, 1994), p. 7.

## **Political Economy of the Soviet Union**

In 1917, Russian Empire came to an end, when the Bolsheviks took over the power after the last Tsar was overthrown. This happened on an account of the influence from Marxism by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in the second half of nineteenth century. As the leader of the country changed, the way of governing changed. Politics, economies, societies, and many others were affected by the ideal of development of the leader at that time. This section explains the Marxist ideology impacted the development direction, which changed the way of ruling in the Soviet Union. In addition this part tells economic and political development, including related population policies in the Soviet Union till Brezhnev's period

Leading the Bolsheviks, Lenin ideal of ruling the regime, as well, base on Marxist doctrine. Marx's ideal concerned mainly in the context of economic system. He argued that labor should work not only for himself but also for society. Communism represents utter public ownership and refuses private property and personal profit. State is the main actor to satisfy the needs of its people. The core objective of the idea is to allocate in horizontal level, focuses on equalities of income distribution, and get rid of an inequality in society. The pinnacle point is a class-less society, which Marx believed that it would be beneficial for the massive majority of population.

Influenced by Marx, Lenin's aim was to make Russia to a Communist country as Hegel's dialectical process of thesis, antithesis and both leading to synthesis. In Marx's analysis, the first stage is capitalism, which in October 1917 – June 1918 Lenin created the state capitalism to be the fundamental of Soviet economy. The thesis followed by socialism, which Lenin was starting an essential step toward the initial attempt at building a socialist society during the period known as "War Communism" and then the last stage end with communism as a synthesis. While War Communism launched, all private property, business and entrepreneurship were

criminalized. In addition Market activities and all private trade were abolished.<sup>24</sup> The policy also included “Prodravyorstka”, which commanded buying agricultural surpluses from peasants at an absolute minimum price and rationed supplies. State authorities forced everyone to work, dictating conditions, suppressing the people’s economic freedom, and consumer sovereignty.

Since the War Communism did not work and the state economy went down, the New Economic Policies or NEP was started to recover Soviet economy by integrated market economy and socialism together and decriminalized small business while large-scale industry remained nationalized. Lenin established market economy by collecting production tax and created a private middleman and allowed them to manage small enterprises selling directly to individuals or state sector. Lenin accidentally started an effort to liberalize and rationalize state economic governance.

What came afterward was “Command Communism” by Josef Stalin. He introduced 5Year plan, which included Collectivization of agriculture and excessive heavy Industrialization as well. His objective was to use industrial product to improve efficiency of agricultural production and thus to increase grain product sufficiently in order to sell abroad for foreign currencies and to finance the industrial development of the U.S.S.R. With this policy, all private trade was again banned. Workforces were mobilized to support the 5Year plan for industry section. The industrial development agenda was also for enhancing the military force to protect the security of the Soviet Union from any foreign invasion threat. Moreover, in political aspect Stalin tried to increase his power over the countryside.

“Reform Communism” began in the era of Khrushchev 1955 – 1964. He introduced the reform so called “Sovnarkhozes”, which he radically reorganized state and party administrative jurisdictions<sup>25</sup>. The major reform objective was to disintegrate Stalin’s system (destalinization), to abolished departmentalism of

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<sup>24</sup> Rosefielde Steven, **The Russian Economy: From Lenin to Putin** (United Kingdom: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), pp.25-26.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p.115.

ministries in Stalin's era and centralization, and hence replaced by regional economic councils or Sovnarkhozes. In addition, free enterprise was banned as Khrushchev pronounced that Soviet communism would bury Western capitalism. The main actor who carried out the reform in Leonid Brezhnev's era in 1964 – 1982, Alexei Kosygin continued with huge economic reform for enterprise incentives, some called "the great debate on decentralization". On the contrary, the administrative reform or "The Recentralization Reform"<sup>26</sup> was to restore and enhance the communist party's power, since they have lost their control in Khrushchev's reform. Soviet leaders at that time also attempted to modernize Command Communism through computerization and cybernetics.

For the number of population prospect in the eyes of Marxism, there was a "law of population" under capitalism. First it started with capital accumulation and what came afterward is "overpopulation" owing to the fact that the laboring population grew more quickly than the demanding source. These surplus populations would be unemployed and hence created the factual population growth rate. And at the end, capitalist would disappear. The death rate would decline by the increase of income, the easing of inequalities in income distribution, and the polishing in living condition. And in virtue of the development of standard living and the end of child exploitation, the birth rate would also decrease. The main idea of theory on population by Marx was to opposed Malthusian theory that the rapid rate of population growth was not the problem and as development keeps on, the rate will decrease. At the end, Marx believed that the fully mature country, who had the overall better living standard and the equalities in distribution, would had a stable birth rate, death rate, and growth rate of population.

### **Aspects of Demographic Development**

Populations, one of the elements to complete the word "state", are vital for the government to take care of. One way of managing is to know the number of

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<sup>26</sup> Kanoksak kaewtep, **Development in Soviet economic system in 1900 – 1990**, p. 96.

population that the country has and its population growth rate. Understanding population growth rate from the past will help predict its situation in the future. This part will show figures and analyzes the development of demographic situation in the Soviet Union with Marxist ideology with the use of Malthusian theory and demographic transition theory. And as the population growth is generally calculated by using population growth model, the demographic development will split into the following categories; 1) birth rate, 2) death rate, and 3) aspects of demographic development Analyzing with Theories

### 1. Birth Rate

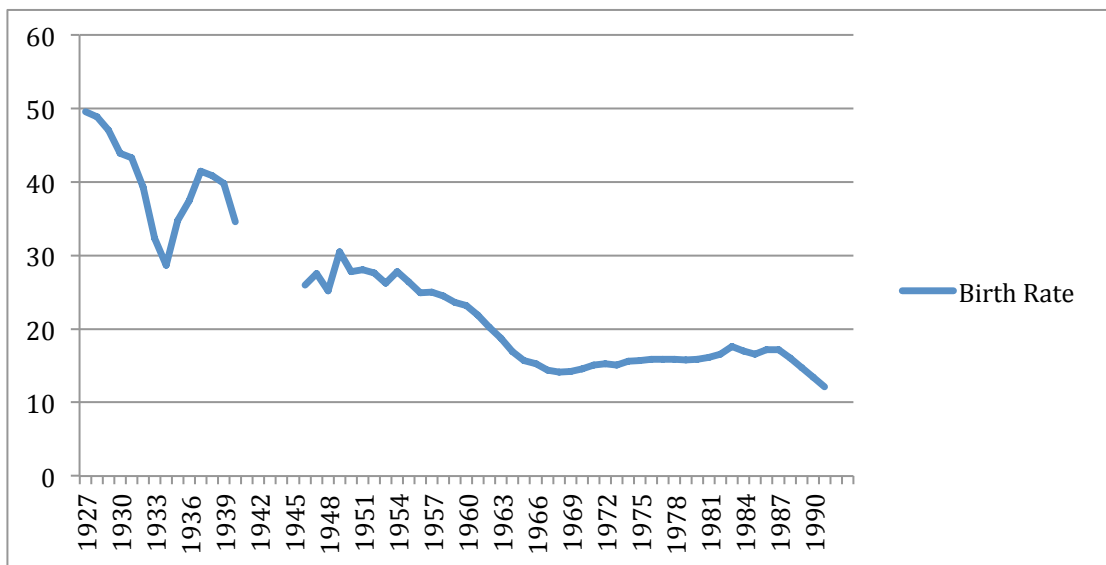


Figure 3. Soviet Population's Birth rate

Note: (1) Crude birth rate per 1,000 populations

(2) Soviet population birth rate in 1927-1991 (not include 1941-1946, WWII)

Source: Russian Federation Federal State Statistic Service **Soviet Population's Birth rate in 1927-1991** [Online], <http://www.gks.ru>.

From the graph (figure 3.), birth rate was remarkably high in the beginning of the Soviet Union at a rate 49.6 per 1,000 populations. The data quickly declined twice in 1933-1934 the great famine and after the World War II with the lowest rate of that decade at 28.7 per 1,000 in 1934 and then the rate slowly rose after the war. In this stage the birth rate was unstable because of the situations. But the unusual lessening

of birth rate a few years after the famine was due to the housing shortage<sup>27</sup>. And the low birth rate after the war was the consequence of the shortage of male populations.

In the 1950s till the early 1960s, even the birth rate started to fall but it is considered rather high compared with the number in other countries in Europe<sup>28</sup>. The difference was due to the natural advantages of socialist society as seen by The Soviets. The rate fell to 14.1 per 1,000 populations in 1968. Next the birth rate began to vaguely climb in the 1970s but it was dropped again after 1988. The unusual rise in birth rate in 1983 was because of the intervention of family policies. Surprisingly the natural change was decreased since 1959.

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<sup>27</sup> Westwood J.N., **Endurance and Endeavour: Russian History 1812 – 2001** (United Kingdom: Oxford University press, 2002), p. 382.

<sup>28</sup> Vishnevsky G. Anatoly, "Family, Fertility, and Demographic Dynamics in Russia: Analysis and Forecast," In **Russia's Demographic "Crisis"**, DaVanzo Julie, editor, (Santa Monica, CA: RAID, 1996), p. 13.



## 2. Death Rate

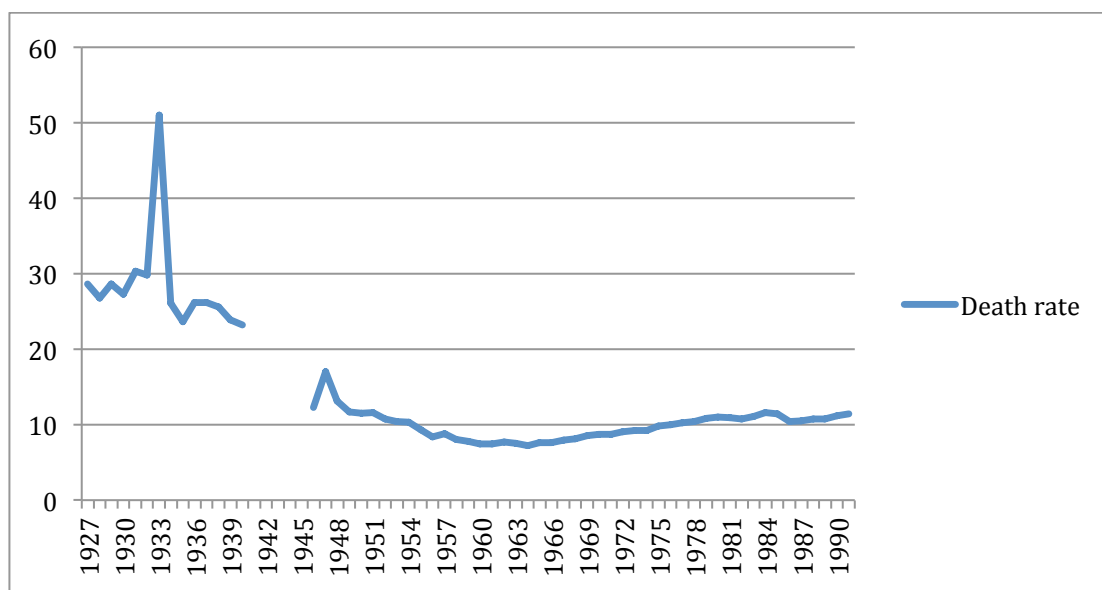


Figure 4. Soviet Population's Death rate in 1927-1991

Note: (1) Crude death rate per 1,000 populations

(2) Soviet population death rate in 1927-1991 (not include 1941-1946, WWII)

Source: Russian Federation Federal State Statistic Service **Soviet Population's Death rate in 1927-1991** [Online], <http://www.gks.ru>.

From figure 4., in 1933, the death rate was extremely high and hit 51 by the great famine and then moderately declined to 23.9 per 1,000 after the situation till World War II. In the late 1930s, sometime after the famine, Soviet death rate was reckoned to be acutely high compared to the United States, with 15 times higher<sup>29</sup>. The causes of deaths in the early nineteenth century were also included communicable diseases and outbreaks of epidemics and the majority of deaths were infants and children before age of 5.

After the vaguely decline of the death rate in the late 1940s, the rate hit its lowest point at 7.4 per 1,000 in 1960 and kept stable. Next the death rate started

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<sup>29</sup> Shkolnikov M. Vadimir and Mesle France, "The Russian Epidemiological Crisis as Mirrored by Mortality Trends," In **Russia's Demographic "Crisis"**, DaVanzo Julie, editor, (Santa Monica, CA: RAID, 1996), p. 118.

climbing since the late 1960s. Major mortality rates in the second half of Soviet era came from different groups of ages and factors. While for infants and children at ages under 15 the mortality rates in the late 1940s till 1950s was drastically declined, the mortality rates at ages 15 to 65 tended to rise in the late 1960s. In a similar way to the variety of age groups, while infectious diseases were no longer the main cause of the mortality rate, but the cardiovascular mortality, injuries, and violence<sup>30</sup> became major factors.

### 3. Aspects of Demographic Development Analyzing with Theories

This part analyzes the similarity and dissimilarity of the Russian demographic development to Malthusian theory, Marxism on Population Theory and Demographic Transition Model, including the intervention in the Soviet Union which made Soviet demographic condition different from those theories.

**Malthusian Theory** Malthusian Theory was introduced by Thomas Robert Malthus. He suggested that the population will expand in geometrical number but the food supplies will increase in arithmetical number. Thus, in the end, the population would reach a resource limit and consequences will be famine, disease or war.

The birth rate trend of the early Soviet Union was in the same manner as in Malthusian theory. The natural change did increase, meaning that the population did grow both before and after the war. The death rate was very much identical to Malthusian theory the number of population did expand, even though there were some amounts of deaths. But the increase did not take place geometrically. Another piece of positive evidence was that the birth rate had declined by the decrease in food supply in Famine time (1923-1933) according to Neo-Malthusian theory. But there is also negative evidence in this situation; in other words, the famine did not happen as a result of overpopulation as claimed by Malthus. Moreover, the natural change started

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<sup>30</sup> Shkolnikov M. Vadimir and Mesle France, "The Russian Epidemiological Crisis as Mirrored by Mortality Trends," In **Russia's Demographic "Crisis"**, DaVanzo Julie, editor, (Santa Monica, CA: RAID, 1996), pp. 120-122.

to decrease since the 1960s. This drop in population was obviously contrary to Malthusian theory with no incident.

**Marxism on Population Theory** In the eyes of Marxism, there was a “law of population” under capitalism. First it started with capital accumulation and what came afterward is “overpopulation” owing to the fact that the laboring population grew more quickly than the demanding source. These surplus populations would be unemployed and hence created the factual population growth rate. And at the end, capitalism would disappear. The death rate would decline by the increase of income, the easing of inequalities in income distribution, and the improvement in living condition. And in virtue of the development of the standard of living and the end of child exploitation, the birth rate would also decrease. The main idea of theory on population by Marx was to oppose Malthusian theory by arguing that the rapid rate of population growth was not the problem, and as development went on, the rate would decrease. At the end, Marx believed that the fully mature country, which had the overall better living standard and the equalities in distribution, would have a stable birth rate, death rate, and growth rate of population.

The positive evidence of this theory in the context of the Russian demographic development is that the death rate fell because of the advancement of medical care. Moreover, Marxism stated that the death rate declined because of the rise of worker stipend, better living condition and less differences of income distribution. This was actually true during the 1950s till 1960s: there was a decrease in income distribution disparities as a result of the lowering in industrial wage differentials. Since 1969, wage inequality in the Soviet Union had kept fairly stable and then moderately rose again in inequality in 1980s<sup>31</sup> (see appendix for income distribution of Soviet Workers and Employees in 1956-1986). But the next phase of increase in death rate in the late 1960s and later, better medical care and lower inequality were not the cause as claimed by Marxism on Population views.

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<sup>31</sup>Paul Gregory and Robert Stuart, **Russian & Soviet Economic Performance & Structure**. United State of America: Addison Wesley Longman, 2001, pp. 122-124.

Although there was a decline in birth rate as Marxism argued, it is not certain that the reason for this was the same. What can be said is that the reduction of birth rate after the war till late early 1980s was the effect of the lowering number of male population after the war<sup>32</sup>.

**Demographic Transition Model** There are four stages of population growth in the Demographic Transition Model. Stage one presents the population growth as slow and unstable because of high birth rate and death rates. In stage two, the death rate was falling due to improvement in sanitation, medicine, and healthcare while the birth rate still remained high. The next stage is that the birth rate will fall due to advances in birth control and Family planning. The last stage informs a low fluctuating population growth rate in developed countries with both birth rate and death rate are low.

The first phase of the death rate was more like the first stage in the Model, which defines pre-industrial revolution with no modern technology, lack of family planning and medication. It is also as David Lane implied in his book that high the birth rate was the pattern of developing industrial countries<sup>33</sup>.

The Positive evidence for Demographic Transition Model is that the reduction of death rate in the next phase after the war was as same as the second stage explained in the model that the reason of lowering was the refinement in medicine and healthcare. And if advances in birth control, higher education, and family planning were the reasons of the decrease in Soviet's birth rate according to Demographic Transition Model, Soviet was certainly running late because at this stage, the model explained developed countries in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

After the second stage, the Soviet Union's demographic situation should transition to the third and then the fourth stages where the death rate and the birth rate

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<sup>32</sup> Lane S. David, **Soviet Economy and Society** (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), p. 116.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 108.

should be steady. But in the second half of the twentieth century, the death rate trend was inverted and both trends were unstable. This is the negative evidence against the Demographic Transition Model.

**Interventions** The intervention of all three theories was the World War II, which happened in 1939-1945. In this time period, there were a great number of casualties. As a result of the war, the birth rate was decreased because people did not want to have a child and the death rate was increased. This situation made both rate dissimilar to those predicted in theories.

Family policies were another intervention for all theories. The trend in birth rate was slightly rising after the late 1960s. But there were uncommon increases in the birth rate in the mid 1980s. In fact, the sudden expansion of birth rate was the effect of social policy measures adopted by the government. The measures were introduced in 1983 with an extension of partially paid maternity leave from one year to 3 years and the access to all benefits in public services and housing for the family with three children<sup>34</sup>. And the explanation of the decline in birth rate was that the intervals between births were reduced to give more frequent births in the period after the introduction of the measures. Therefore, many families reached their reproductive goal earlier. This resulted in the reverse trend in years later.

Another intervention of both Marxism on Population Theory and Demographic Transition Model was the great famine in 1933, which caused a lot of death. Low birth rates and high death rates were demographic characteristic of the Soviet Union in that period

The intervention of Malthusian theory was also the family policies as explained above. But the extra intervention of this theory is the political and economic policies applied by Stalin. The policies were to improve the industrial

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<sup>34</sup>Zakharov V. Sergei and Ivanov I. Elena, "Fertility Decline and Recent Changes in Russia: On the Threshold of the second demographic Transition," In **Russia's Demographic "Crisis"**, Davanzo Julie, editor, (Santo Monica, CA: RAID, 1996), p. 48.

sector by support from the agricultural sector. This resulted in too high agricultural requisition; thus the farmer did not have enough left for their living and they would be executed if they hid some products before they reached the requisition. And this was the cause of the famine – a situation that was not explained by Malthus.

#### 4. Family policy

The effect of Marxism on family was lying in the family policy. The main ideas of Socialist family were as the following aspects<sup>35</sup>:

1. To maintain the principle of monogamy
2. To recognize common law of marriage
3. To abolish all class, national or religious controls on marriage
4. To allow easy divorce
5. To equalize the legal status
6. To recognize birth as the basis of the family

As the ideology of socialism on family are as lists above, inexpensive and easy on both marriage and divorce were the foundation of civil marriage after the Revolution<sup>36</sup>. Abortion was legalized in 1926 and this was the factor of the reduction in the birth rate after famine. Strengthen the family was the measures taken in 1936 to stop a further and undesirable fall in birth rate. This measure was to made divorce became expensive and difficult. Another action was that only the mother's with serious risk to their health allow having the abortion. Since Soviet contained the idea that the increase in birth is the core of the family, hence no serious policies issued to intervene the trend of birth rate in the early of the Soviet period.

The further decrease in birth rate in War period was due to a shortage of marriageable men. A new commandment was issued in 1944 to cope the fall in birth

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<sup>35</sup> Lane S. David, **Soviet Economy and Society**, p. 111.

<sup>36</sup> Westwood J.N., **Endurance and Endeavour: Russian History 1812 – 2001** (United Kingdom: Oxford University press, 2002), p. 383.

rate such as “mother – heroines’ for fertile mothers who bared ten children and special fund to enlarge families size<sup>37</sup>. With the new 1944 decree, divorce was getting more difficult to do<sup>38</sup>. The birth rate did rise and began to fall again in the 1960s. What affected the family size was also habitation. The habitation implementation in Khrushchev period seems indecisive where mostly he did was just small size apartments. The abortion was legalized again in 1955<sup>39</sup>, thus the divorce rate rose in the late 1950s. In 1968, the new law gave the right to both spouses to maintenance by the other if he or she becomes incapacitated within a year of divorce<sup>40</sup>.

## **Human Development**

One among the million ways, to indicated if one country is developed or not, is to evaluate the quality of its people and its people life. Human development shows the country’s capability of sustaining their people. For this topic, researcher will describe human development condition in the Soviet Union, analyzing with its determinants, and show some statistics which indicated each sections. The definition of human development, in this research, is based on the interpretation of human development approach by UNDP. Therefore, this chapter’s subtitle, according to human development indicators by UNDP, can be divided into 3 topic; 1) living standard, 2) education, and 3) Healthcare

### 1. Living Standard

In the beginning of Soviet era, the living conditions were poor. Although it had risen gradually during the NEP period, in 1928 they plunged and continue to be low throughout the famine and the war in almost 2 decade. At the start of 1928 period was in control of Stalin who was trying to modernize the Soviet Union by improving the industrial sector. But there was some problem with his central planning. Some

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Lane S. David, **Soviet Economy and Society**, p. 122.

<sup>39</sup> Westwood J.N., **Endurance and Endeavour: Russian History 1812 – 2001**, p. 383.

<sup>40</sup> Lane S. David, **Soviet Economy and Society**, p. 122.

contended that the whole system of industry was desperate with shortages of goods for a huge number of buyers, thus the factory administrator managed to produce by supply low quality products<sup>41</sup>. While other argued that the production targets were set too high, hence they did not meet the targets. Trying to meet their production targets, result in, some managers lower their goods quality in order to increase quantity produced. Besides the inadequate of equipment and resources have made some factories left inactive for sometimes. In addition, most worker were ex-peasants who were only adapted to simple level of technology and for this reason, some machinery was recklessly impaired<sup>42</sup>. The First Five-Year Plan, there was inflation in 1931. People were pushed to work with their maximum effort while getting the minimum of their need. The standard of living before the war have been little or even no improvement at all. But the slow improvement has shown in 1947.

The urban infrastructure was substandard. Poor public transport made most workers travel to and from work with an hour of intolerable. It was normal for both father and mother to work. This made the grandmother an important role to queue for foods and look after the children. Despite the poor working condition the good behavior worker was allowed to leave with payment for 2 weeks holiday<sup>43</sup>.

As for housing condition in Soviet period, there was a failure in Stalin's Social policy of inhabitant. Housing conditions declined, therefore the living standards declined during the 1930's and 1940's as the government diverted investment funds from the housing industry into heavy industry. In addition, according to J.N. Westwood in the book "Endurance and Endeavour", in the mid-1930s, there was only 6 per cent of households in Moscow that had more than one room and about 5 per cent did not even have a room or dormitory but they were living in a kitchen, corridor, or hallway<sup>44</sup>. What the western observers surprisingly discovered was that before the

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<sup>41</sup> Westwood J.N., **Endurance and Endeavour: Russian History 1812 – 2001**, p. 384.

<sup>42</sup> **Stalin's Economic Policies 1928-1941**. [Online], Source <http://learning-ibhistory.wikispaces.com/file/view/Stalin%27s+Economic+Policies+1928-41.pdf>.

<sup>43</sup> Westwood J.N., **Endurance and Endeavour: Russian History 1812 – 2001**, p. 386.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 385.



war, Soviet had dazzling underground metro station in Moscow and after the war, they had skyscraper buildings, while their houses were cheap and miserably. On the contrary, the housing problem like this was not just happened in the Soviet Union but it was the world housing conditions in that times even among the industrialized countries as claim by Donald D. Barry in his book *Contemporary Soviet Politic: an Introduction*<sup>45</sup>.

Huge efforts have been made in the 1950s-1960s to solve housing problems that were left by Stalin. In the Stalin era, most habitations were an apartment block ill built and unappealing, but instead under Khrushchev's successors continued to built inhabitant with better and more desirable designs<sup>46</sup>. However, the increases in constructions were slower than the number of families. Some residences with more spacious along with better neighborhood were reserved for privileged class as before. In that time, even housing were regarded as essential but still had to wait for resources behind defense, industry and agriculture. Moreover, housing constructions by Khrushchev were considered to be small, which continuously caused the low birth rate<sup>47</sup>. Nevertheless, houses and apartments were heavily subsidized by the state, tenant only paid 4 to 5 percent of their family income. But like other area, housing constructions were not met the targets plan<sup>48</sup>.

Table 1: Average floor space per inhabitant of Soviet in 1920-1964

Year	1920	1950	1964	1980
Square meters	9	4.7	6.8	13.4

Source: Barry D. Danale and Barner – Barry Carol, **Contemporary Soviet Politics: An Introduction** (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1991). p. 210, Russian Federation Statistic Service **Average floor space per inhabitant of Soviet in 1920-1964** [Online], <http://www.gks.ru>.

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<sup>45</sup> Barry D. Danale and Barner – Barry Carol, **Contemporary Soviet Politics: An Introduction** (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1991), pp. 209-210.

<sup>46</sup> Westwood J.N., **Endurance and Endeavour: Russian History 1812 – 2001**, p. 467.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 383.

<sup>48</sup> Barry D. Danale and Barner – Barry Carol, **Contemporary Soviet Politics: An Introduction**, pp. 211-212.

As Average floor space is an indicator for housing, Table.1 presents that housing standard was much worse After the Stalin era. After the great efforts in housing construction in Khrushchev period, average floor space increased but still lower than the pre-war period. In 1980, housing saw a better living space with 13.4 square meters per inhabitants. Like other area, housing constructions were not met the targets plan.

## 2. Education <sup>49</sup>

Since the Bolshevik took power, it was important to reconstruct the education. Commissar for education appointed by the Bolshevik took over all schools and institutes except for those administrated by other ministries. Educational policy was put in action from 1917 to 1931, thus old principles were replaced by new theories. They were provided free and minimum education up to the age of 17 but the lack of teacher and building made it impossible. Nevertheless from 1927 it was applied up to the age of 12. The ‘Polytechnic’ was the major type of school in Soviet, which would lessen class separation in education. This type of school allowed students to mix their formal studies with labor experience. Foreign educational theory was also applied in Soviet schools due to a great interest in the 1920s. These progressive concerned student take part in projects more than formal learning and examination.

‘Workers faculties’ was founded, the whole intention of its was to make higher education accessible to workers and peasants. Another crucial education policy was the literacy campaign. The effort was considered accomplish since the literacy rate was increased and by 1959, 99 per cent of town population and 98 per cent of the villages were literate.

The schools systems were much reversed in the Stalin era. Foreign educational theories were criticized. On the contrary, the old examination and formal learning

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<sup>49</sup> Westwood J.N., **Endurance and Endeavour: Russian History 1812 – 2001**, p. 387-389.

were restored, while some part of tsarist practices were brought back. New regulated textbooks were initiated with contents teaching about the greatness of Stalin among other object. The rise in academic standards and a better chance of entry for children of administrators was made possible by the termination of the official requirement that two-third of universities students should be from the working class and peasantry. The fees introduced in 1940 for higher education and for the final three years of secondary education had made working class education miserable.

During the war, the education was damaged by the loss of teachers and buildings. The military training was extended from the peacetime 6 per cent to 11 per cent of secondary course. In 1943, a plenty of reforms in education were implement. Educational theory was restored. School starting age was lowered from 8 to 7 year olds. Those workers and peasants whose education had been terminated during the war were helped by the establishment of new evening schools. After the war, the education was quickly recovered, although the deficiency of department space continued to exist. For this reason, many academies had to work two- or even three-shift system but the post war poor birth rate helpfully edged off the problem.

Compulsory education was meant to rise from 7 years to 10 years for 1955 plan, but unfortunately by Khrushchev was not interested. But the students could stay at the academic for extra years if they wished to proceed to higher education. A shortage of skilled worker still remained. Therefore Khrushchev preferred the 'polytechnic' schools as he also graduated from one, which occupational training was included industrial or agricultural work. Khrushchev also removed the school fees charged by Stalin. This action was put the hurriedly traveling from life and work of students to an end. A comprehensive knowledge was a basic practice of Soviet school. Except for special school like school of ballet, and schools for gifted children in mathematics and languages that were established under Khrushchev and were successful in general.

Khrushchev's campaign in education also involved enlargement of part-time and correlation courses. This meant more opportunities and choices in education for

students. In comparing with neighboring countries, Soviet correspondence students were treated well than in the west when they were given time off work for taking a course. By 1969, forty universities were outnumbered by other institutions. There were 794 academies for higher education covering technical, agricultural, medical, teacher-training institutes, and others. Ten of more lecture hours of political knowledge such as Marxism-Leninism were obliged to university students. However there was no interest or eagerness among the students.

In Brezhnev period, full secondary education to all population were guaranteed by the new 1977 Constitution, and educational reform took place in 1984. The compulsory school reduced the lower age schooling from 7 to 6. Information technologies of senior compulsory classes, perhaps the most progressive move, were introduced. While the general schools doubled labor training and socially productive work hours. An erosion of educational standards was criticized. In response, a requirement of teacher for five years training was applied instead of four. The prerequisite of student average marks one year before the entry of higher education push pressure to parents. On that account, a practice of bribery, corruption, blackmail, etc. were used in order to get inflated point. However, these massive reforms were implement not just before Gorbachev came into power with his radical reassembling of the Soviet Union. Consequently, a long debate between innovators and conservatives were arisen throughout following years.

### 3. Healthcare

Soviet medical services had a principle of the Russian Empire period to workout. But the real trouble to deal with was the loss in number of physicians in the late 1910s. The number of doctors started rising again in 1928 and continued rising till 1987 when the proportion between doctors and people was better than the rate in USA with one doctor for every 450 people<sup>50</sup>. The expansion of medical services has been promoted since the Bolsheviks tried to give equal occupation opportunities to

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 386.

females, hence there were many women training to become doctors or medical assistants. The number of female worker in medical sectors was rapidly grown since Stalinist year. By 1970, about 70 per cent of medical practitioners were female. And the numbers of total doctors were speedily increased again in the late 1980s. Apart from the number of doctors, most hospital in the Soviet Union were incompetently equipped and maintained. There were not many clinics, which were reserved for special people. All patients had to pay for their medicines since the 1920s, however, Health conviction was pay attention on necessity rather than the payments that patient had to pay.

Medical service was one of the social services that needed to be reform. Hospital condition was dismal; therefore people needed to bribe doctors or nurses for faster lineup queue of emergency ambulances, anesthetics, some space between bed. Another reason for demanding bribe was that most doctors were female who had been paid with low salaries comparing to other occupations. The working teams sometime were too drunk to work safely but not drunk enough to be sent off duty. Apart from bad ambulance services, most of the staff were also unqualified in first aid. This caused 15 per cent of patients who at first survived serious crash died later<sup>51</sup>. Poor roads and terrible vehicle maintenance were also the factors explaining bad ambulance services. Special hospitals for superior health care that still existed were another reason why the abysmal medical service kept continue.

The major cause of death in the early period was infectious diseases such as tuberculosis, diarrheal diseases, air-born infections, inflammatory diseases, pneumonia, and many other diseases<sup>52</sup> (see appendix A for the death rate in 1965-1989 divided by cause of death) .The ages of death were particularly high at the ages of 1 to 14. Infant Mortality rate was almost 200 per 1,000 births in the late 1930s, while compared to the United State with 50 per 1,000 births<sup>53</sup> (see figure . page. for

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid., p.469.

<sup>52</sup> Shkolnikov M. Vadimir and Mesle France, "The Russian Epidemiological Crisis as Mirrored by Mortality Trends," In **Russia's Demographic "Crisis"**, p. 118.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., p. 118.

infant mortality rate). In the Soviet Union, there were risings in number of young mother with most mothers going to full-time work. And if they did not live with their parents or parent in-law, the child needed to go to the infant day-care. Such centers were caused many infant deaths by being the suitable place for breeding influenza and pneumonia outbreaks<sup>54</sup>.

After the growing frighten in infectious diseases, many policies were taken to halt these disease. The government believed in the primacy of the industrial worker. As the mother and child were important to the next generation of workers, their health were secured by various polices. The epidemics through the Civil and Patriotic Wars led to the policies to increase the number of hospital beds<sup>55</sup>. In addition, the annual health checks were provided during Brezhnev era. But in fact, the numbers of death by non-infectious diseases were increased after the 1960s. And those policies, which underestimated the capacity of non-infectious disease, were only aggravated this tendency of deaths.

## **Conclusion**

In the reign of the Tsar, every thing was under control by the tsar. The economic and social conditions were changed by each leader. This research has found that change in political conditions also effect other area, namely living standard, education, and healthcare. Living standard in this period were poor and depended on their owner which was either the state or the privately owner. The education also reforms in direction as Peter the Great wanted Westernized Russia. The education were limited only for noble people until the emancipation of serf in 1861. The Healthcare was depended on traditional method and the public health had started within military section in Peter the Great period until the real improvement was attempt in Catherine the Great reign.

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<sup>54</sup> Westwood J.N., **Endurance and Endeavour: Russian History 1812 – 2001**, p. 467.

<sup>55</sup> Wallaya Monchuket, "The Russian Health Care System," (Master's Thesis, Chulalongkorn University, 2012). p.36.

The number of population increased rapidly in 18<sup>th</sup> century till the first half of 19<sup>th</sup> century. And after that it continued to grow steadily until the end of Tsar period. In the start of the Soviet Union period, at first, the birth rate was lower than the death rate. And then, the extremely high death rate and low birth rate was because of the great famine in 1931. Birth rate became high again after the crisis. There is no information in the WWII times. Both birth rate and death rate kept falling after WWII, and moderately rising again after 1960s.

Seeing that Soviet views were based on Marxist ideology, the government never saw the rapid population growth as a problem, hence no program or policy was needed. The state interfered with population affair in a very small scale. Although Soviet main views on population kept seeing this way all through its period, in the late Soviet times, there was a tendency to accept other ideologies. Unlike the earlier period, after the time passed by the state tended to intervene more in the population matter and their policies issued at that time were more in contrast with the traditional socialist position.

Soviet demographic development has both positive evidences and negative evidences to those theories namely, Malthusian theory, Marxism on Population theory, and Demographic Transition Model (see appendix B for the overview of theories analysis). The external interventions was the WWII, while the internal intervention were the famine (1932-33), family policies and the political and economical policies implemented by Stalin.

Since the lowering of the birth rate and high death rate were caused by Stalin policies and the high casualties in WWII times, these are another evidence that the trend of population growth also had affected by the political condition. With the Collectivization and Centralization in Stalin period, all living standard were poor, hours of queuing for food, poor public transport, the houses were miserable and cheap while there are skyscraper for official headquarters. The encouragement to raise literacy rate in Stalin period has shown a positive result as more than 90% of

populations are legible. The fees for higher education were implemented in Stalin year and the education was uses as tool to teach Stalin greatness to children.

With the decentralized system in Khrushchev period, all of those conditions in living standard were better. Khrushchev also created a minimum wage in 1956. There were more house constructions, even so it was rather small but considered better than in Stalin times. Khrushchev also established more part-time education and took out the school fee charged by Stalin. Full secondary educations were guaranteed and special schools were established in this period.

While the hospital were poor equipped and bad maintainace. Since 1920s, all patients need to pay for their medicines. Nevertheless, health belief concentrated on need rather than the fees. Some clinic were reserved for special group of people. This has caused long queuing for medical service, emergency ambulances, etc., therefore, bribing and corruption occurred. By Stalin's policies, the number of female medical practitioners quickly increased since then. Unqualified staff skill and behavior were responsible for many lost in the Soviet period. Main causes of death were infectious disease but after the precaution policies were applied, the deaths from non-infectious disease were rise instead. The numbers of doctors were rapidly rose again after Brezhnev era.

The next phase of the political condition with the thorough alternation of structure, the declining trend of population growth in the next period, the following trend of deteriorated human development in the transition period will be discussed in the following chapter.



## CHAPTER III

### DEMOGRAPHIC CRISIS AND DEMOGRAPHIC DEVELOPMENT IN RUSSIAN FEDERATION

“Fewer but not better”<sup>1</sup> is the phrase that Nicholas Eberstadt used in her research about demographic situation in Russia issued in 2010, to satirize Vladimir I. Lenin’s phrase “Better Fewer, But Better”<sup>2</sup> in his last document. As Lenin wrote in his letter: “Better fewer, but better. We must follow the rule: Better get good human material in two or even three years than work in haste without hope of getting any at all” He claimed that eventually the triumph of Communism in the Soviet case would aroused population quality not population mass. But in reality, the current Russia’s demographic situation proved that it does not come across as his statement.

After the Soviet disintegration, Russia has been surprisingly faced its population decrease, which regarded by Nicholas Eberstadt as peacetime demographic crisis. Although the certain consequence of this troubling demographic trends is not officially informed, most experts concur that as the number of population continue to decline, the country will effect from the consequences in numerous areas. Therefore, It is important to know the determinants of the crisis for making further development policy that suit to the problems.

Carrying on from the second chapter, this chapter will first inform a fundamental knowledge of political and economic environment covering the details after the Soviet Union collapsed and so the transition periods starting from the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, through Vladimir Putin regime, the chapter will show the connection between the alteration of political idea and development policies. Then it

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<sup>1</sup> Eberstadt Nicholas, **Russia’s Peacetime Demographic Crisis: Dimensions, Causes, and Implications** (United State: National Bureau of Asian Research, 2010), pp. 3-4.

<sup>2</sup> Lenin Ilyich Vladimir, **Better Fewer, But Better** [Online], 2 March 1923. Source <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1923/mar/02.htm>.

presents the situation of demographic crisis with figures and explanation in quantitative aspects, namely birth rate, death rate and natural change rate compared their statistics to demographic transition theory and Malthusian theory. This part also includes the detail and some of statistical indicators of the human development atmosphere in the Russian Federation categorized in subheading based on UNDP. Thus this chapter is divided into three main parts; 1) Political Economy of the Russian Federation, 2) Aspects of Demographic Development, 3) Human Development, and 4) Causes of Demographic Crisis

### **Political Economy of the Russian Federation**

At the end of Brezhnev's era, Mikhail Gorbachev came to power. Due to his reform minded, he decided to make radical reform to pull the Soviet economy out of stagnation. His reform involved both political and economical area. This changes impacted on the direction of development, which shifted from merely horizontal to both horizontal and vertical. The impact was also felt on the state policies concerning many areas. This section explains the evolution of Soviet to Russian Federation's development concepts with both political and economic conditions.

After Brezhnev died in 1982, the Soviet economy was in trouble. Their administrations at that time failed to solve the problems. For this reason, Mikhail Gorbachev who became head of the Communist Party in 1985 intended to immediately find the key to the economic problem. He made clear about his policy preferences, as he proposed initiate, in a speech on December 10, 1984, "deep transformation in the economy and the whole system of social relations," "perestroika of economic management," and "glasnost"<sup>3</sup>. Being contrary with other policies in the Soviet Union, Gorbachev policies tended to lean more to Capitalism and Liberalism. "Perestroika" means "restructuring" Originally focusing on economic revision, it also meant to democratize social and economic life. In other words, "Perestroika" was

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<sup>3</sup> Kaufman F. Richard and John P. Hardt, **The Former Soviet Union in Transition** (The United States of America: M.E. Sharpe, 1993), p. 185.

meant to transform every aspect of Soviet life, to restructure socialism in a most effective direction<sup>4</sup>. And the next word “Glasnost”, means “openness”. It centered on the openness of discussion of political and social issue for media to more freely disseminate new and information and also permitted criticism of government officials, as the leader believed that the way to recover the economy and society required the participation of people mind in political process<sup>5</sup>.

With “perestroika” and “glasnost” reform, Gorbachev did not mean to sabotage the Soviet system. He only wished to make it more efficient and his policies advocated a free-market economy. This also meant the price liberalization. The leader promoted enterprises to become self-financing. His goal in pursuing such economic policies was to increase capital investment as well as encouraged structural economic changes. But he opted for the Communist party’s leading role and the central economic direction to remain the same. He tried to combine NEP leasing, Reform Communist controls and spontaneous privatization together. Furthermore, he also amended the constitution to increase his ability to make decisions. However, in practice his policies were not put to use, hence he became a constitutional dictator only on a paper.

But the new dawn of Soviet – Russian nationalism debilitated Gorbachev as the leader of the Soviet empire. And eventually, taking ideologies from the opposite side of Soviet Union, Gorbachev’s policies, in turn, weakened the grip of Soviet ideology over its population. As Berlin Wall, the symbol of the cold war collapsed and public medias pointed out many weaknesses of the Soviet system, together with many other factors, the time had come to the disintegration of the USSR.

The next age came with Boris Yeltsin who played the primary role in conquering the attempted coup in 1991 and was elected as the first president of the

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<sup>4</sup> Kanoksak kaewtep, **Development in Soviet economic system in 1900 – 1990**. (Bangkok: chulalongkorn University, 1994), p. 120.

<sup>5</sup> Dejevsky Mary, **EncyclopÆdia The Britanica Guide to Russia**, (The United States of America: Running Press, 2009), p. 98.

Russian Federation. During the cold war, the East connected itself with the centrally planned economy, and the West with market economy, not only in the economic, but also political sectors. The struggle between markets and plans came to an end with the victory of free enterprise, when Gorbachev canceled Gosplan's directive authority and Yeltsin disassembled the ministerial productive control mechanism<sup>6</sup>. With political democratization and economic liberalization, some scholars call this period of Russia "the dual transition"<sup>7</sup>.

Extremely opposite to the development direction in the Soviet Union, the first reform of Russian Federation powerfully advocated by Yeltsin's advisors consisted of suddenly terminating price and currency controls, withdrawing state subsidies, and constantly liberalizing by decriminalizing private properties, businesses, and entrepreneurship. After a few years of transition, many policies failed owing to the fact that they did not take account of major political, economic and social conditions in the countries of the former USSR<sup>8</sup>. The government decided to sort out their economic problems with loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Within Yeltsin's regime, the economy also struggled as a consequence of global economic crisis in the late 1990s. With unsuccessful economic and social development, Yeltsin's popularity tumbled.

And then in the year 2000, Vladimir Putin was elected President of the Russian Federation. The testimony of the Russian economy in the 1990s was the tale of an ambitious attempt at rapid, comprehensive restructuring of over an extremely weak state. Putin had to face a transitional period through another stage of liberalization and also a duty to pay partially the debts to IMF and Paris Club. Within those few years of Putin as the President, he made radical reforms in the areas of domestic and foreign policy. Putin main target was to make Russia strong again, to be more crystal clear, to make Russia strongly drive with its own reliance by increasing

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<sup>6</sup> Rosefielde Steven, **The Russian Economy: From Lenin to Putin** (United Kingdom: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), p.128.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas F. Remington, **Politics in Russia**. Pearson Education, Inc., 2006, p.192.

<sup>8</sup> Ross Cameron, **Russian Politics Under Putin** (New York: Manchester University Press, 2004), p.107.

its economic potential, raising the living standard, exporting more energy, etc.<sup>9</sup> Unlike what the Yeltsin administration had long avoided, Putin believed that economy needed deep structural reforms, so that it became healthy in the long run. He applied a new tax code to make the tax system simpler and more efficient in order to encourage individuals and businesses to pay taxes<sup>10</sup>. Benefiting from the rising of global oil and material prices, the Russian government enjoyed their economic recovery. Under Putin's leadership, attempts were made to reduce corruption in state organizations such as police and the juridical system. In spite of the fact that Putin faced a miserable economic situation from the Yeltsin legacy, along with the global economic crisis in the late 1990s and in the late 2000s, his reforms created political stability and economic recovery which had never been seen during the Yeltsin era. Nevertheless, problems in the economic section remained.

The Russian political leadership under Vladimir Putin, in addition, experienced a change in the way Russian people viewed the Soviet Union in the past. While under Yeltsin's presidency, many people had nostalgia of pre-revolutionary days, and were critical of the Soviet era, during Putin's times the population was nostalgic for the Soviet age instead. Many successes in the Soviet era were again venerated, such as the victory in the Second World War or Russia's superpower status.<sup>11</sup>

In view of his domestic development, and foreign policy, Putin had nothing but an ambition to re-establish Russia as a great power. To many Russians, it seemed that Russia's superpower status faded away after the Soviet Union had perished, and there was a doubt whether Russia has been, is and will sustain its superpower. Now that was what made Putin so keen to implement many policies toward numerous countries. But it is not easy to accomplish such goal. Russia was in transition and still is. The country and its people need some time to understand and readjust the way of

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<sup>9</sup> Kanet E. Roger, **Russia : Re-Emerging Great Power** (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p.16.

<sup>10</sup> Dejevsky Mary, **Encyclopædia The Britanica Guide to Russia**, p. 126.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 126-127.

democratization and liberalism, since the country was under communism for almost a century. In the same way as Ingmar Oldberg have said in the book “Russia: Re-Emerging Great Power”:

“Obviously, this Russian preoccupation with great power status and influence is partly a heritage from the past, partly it reflects the current authoritarian trends in the country. Thus, it may take time for Russia to become a really modern and “normal” power in the Western sense, according to which greatness is mainly based on the citizens’ welfare and a civil and democratic system of government”<sup>12</sup>.

All these changes in political and economic view points and the alteration of people beliefs in the country and their leader from “Glasnost and Perestroika” during Gorbachev’s presidency, through the collapse of the Soviet Union, to the transition period up to the present, have had an effect on policies which each leader has chosen to implement.

### **Aspects of Demographic Development**

The number of population and its future are important components to understand in order to succeed in handling the population’s issue. As in the former times, there were many theories, which explained or predicted the demographic change. This section shows some numerical facts and gives the explanation of the similarities or the differences between the demographic situation in Russia and Malthusian theory together with demographic transition theory. Owing to the fact that birth rates and death rates are the two factors which are used to compute the natural change rate of population, this section is divided into these topic; 1) Birth rate, 2) Death rate, and 3) Aspects of Demographic Development Analyzing with Theories

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<sup>12</sup> Kanet E. Roger, **Russia : Re-Emerging Great Power** (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p.28.

### 1. Birth Rate

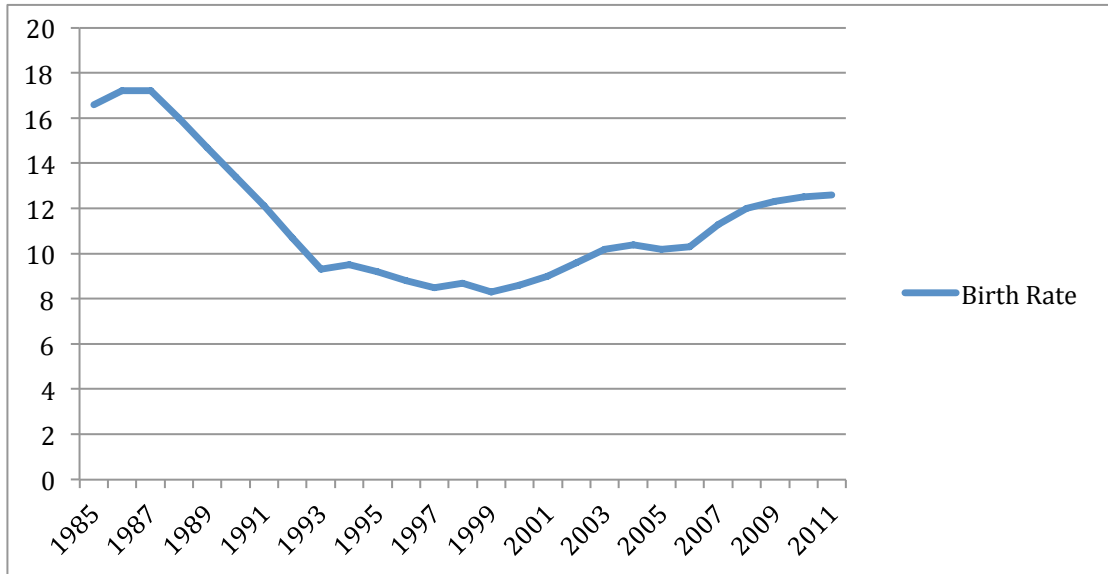


Figure 5. Birth Rate of the Russian Federation 1985-2011

Note: (1) Crude birth rate per 1,000 populations

Source: Russian Federation Federal State Statistic Service **Birth Rate of the Russian Federation 1985-2011** [Online], <http://www.gks.ru>.

According to figure 5., the birth rate before Gorbachev was in the declining phase. It rose a little bit for several years and hit its peak at the rate 17.2 per 1,000 populations in 1986. Then the rate rapidly dropped in number and did not seem to increase till the birth rate hit its lowest point at rate 8.3 per 1,000 populations in 1999. After a decade of solving the problem and several policies had been adopted, the birth rate began to rise at the beginning of twenty-first century and has kept rising since then. The latest update of crude birth rate is now 13.3 per 1,000 populations with 143,213,095 total populations in 2012.

## 2. Death rate

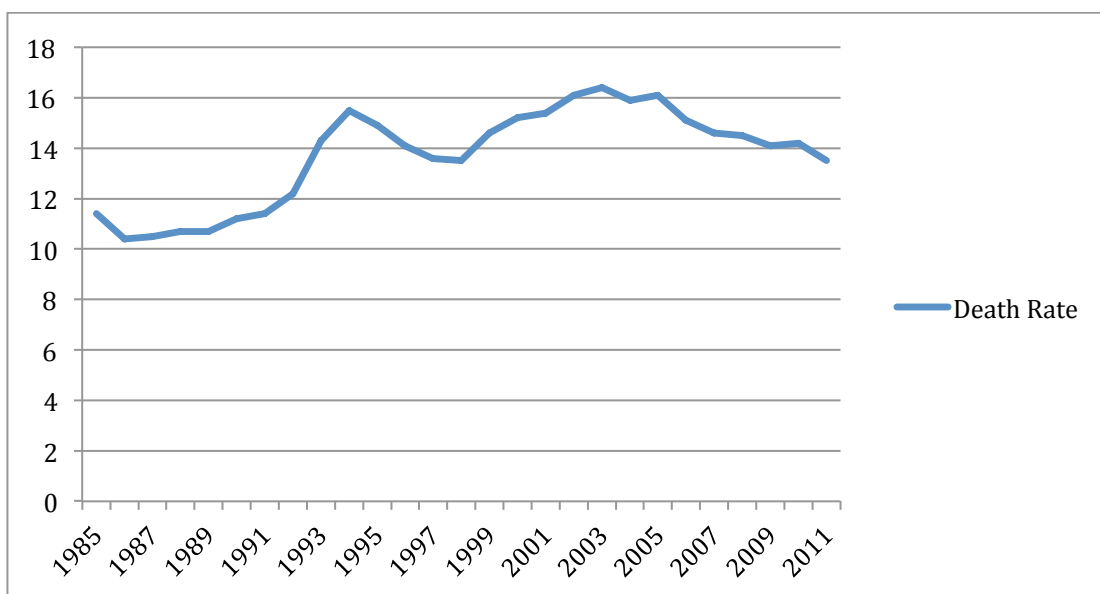


Figure 6. Death Rate of the Russian Federation 1985-2011

Note: Crude death rate per 1,000 populations

Source: Russian Federation Federal State Statistic Service e **Death Rate of the Russian Federation 1985-2011**, [Online], <http://www.gks.ru>.

According to the figure 6., the death rate was going down to the lowest point at rate 10.4 per 1,000 population of Russia in the transition period. This drop was due to Gorbachev's anti-alcohol campaign begun in 1985<sup>13</sup>. The result was a three-year trend of survival probabilities, as a consequence the death rate decrease. The rate then drastically rose right after the disintegration of the Soviet Union and peaked at 15.5 in 1994, after it had slightly climbed up. Still the death rate in the Russian Federation was not stable yet; thus the rate decreased to 13.5 in 1988, then slightly increased and reached its peak at 16.4 in 2003 before moderately falling down again till now. The latest update of crude death rate is now 13.3 per 1,000 populations in 2012.

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<sup>13</sup> Shkolnikov M. Vadimir and Mesle France, "The Russian Epidemiological Crisis as Mirrored by Mortality Trends," In **Russia's Demographic "Crisis"**, DaVanzo Julie, editor, (Santa Monica, CA: RAID, 1996), pp. 122-123.



### 3. Natural Change

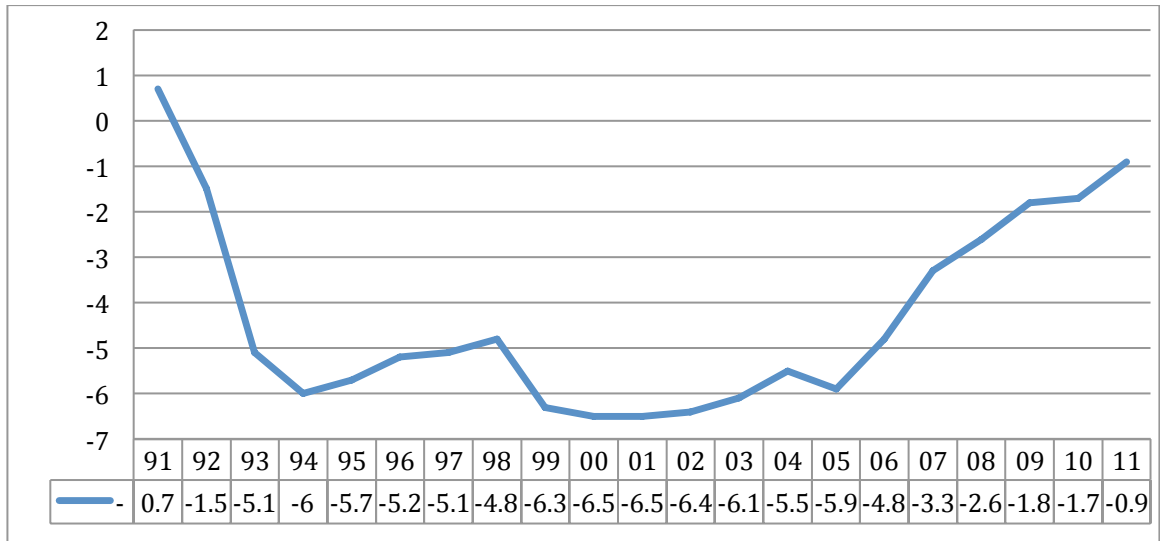


Figure 7. Natural Change rate in Russia 1991-2011

Note: Natural change per 1,000 population

Source: Russian Federation Federal State Statistic Service **Natural Change rate in Russia 1991-2011**

[Online], <http://www.gks.ru>.

As shown in the graph above (figure 7.), natural change (the birth rate deducted with the death rate) rapidly fell and the natural change rate came to be in the deficit at -1.5 per 1,000 populations in 1992. It managed to climb up by the end of the 1990s but the rate began to decrease again and hit its lowest point at -6.5 per 1,000 populations. The natural change rate started rising in 2005 and now the rate is 0 natural change per 1,000 populations in 2012, but for the net natural change the population is still in the deficit at 2,573 populations.

### 4. Aspects of Demographic Development Analyzing with Theories

This part analyze the similarity and dissimilarity of Russian demographic development to Malthusian theory and Demographic Transition Model, along with the interventions which made Russia's demographic situation differ from the theories.

**Malthusian Theory** The basic of Malthusian theory is that population grows geometrically, while food supply grows arithmetically. To Prevent famine or any further problem, Malthus suggested that birth control should be put into action.

According to figures 9 and 10 shown above, the high death rate and the decline in birth rate was evidently opposed to Malthusian Theory. Not only did the population not grow geometrically but the natural change was also in deficit since 1992. The negative number of natural change was strongly dissimilar to Malthusian Theory. On the other hand, the number of population was reducing right after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Additional negative evidence is that the death rate did not rise because of over-population as claimed by Malthus. Moreover, the birth rate, which did not decline by policy control, is another piece of negative evidence against Malthusian theory. Lastly, there is no positive evidence in demographic situation in the year of 1985 till 2012.

**Demographic Transition Model** The nature of Demographic Transition Model is that at the first stage both the birth rate and the death rate are unstable. In the next stage the death rate will start declining first because of the medical advancement; thus the population grows speedily in this stage. From time to time, this growth rate begins to slow down because the birth control is applied and the better education causes the better family planning. And in the end, both birth rate and death rate will be low and steady in the forth stage. This stage suggests a stable population growth rate in developed countries.

And according to the previous chapter, which indicated that both birth rate and death rate of the Soviet Union matched with the second stage, but then the unstable death rate after the disintegration of the Soviet Union with an excessive number of deaths was not match the fourth or even second stage where the rate would be low and stable or would decline that Russia should have. In fact, it is more likely that the rise in the death rate was in the first stage of the model because the mortality rate also included the high infants mortality rate and low number of people who reached

healthcare service was the main factor<sup>14</sup>. This death rate was getting higher while the medical care was already well developed and the main problem was also due to the individual health characteristic of the former Soviet Union society.

Neither the birth rate of Russia in transition came into the fourth stage of demographic transition model with a low stable rate, nor the birth rate still remained in, according to the model, the third stage where the rate was declining and the reason for this was not the same as explained by the theory. The birth rate started rising again since 2000. This rising rate does not match any stage in the demographic transition model because this situation was the ease after trouble.

Although, there is now a creation of stage 5 in Demographic Transition Model, which suggested that after stage 4, the birth rate would be very low and the death rate would slightly increase. But this stage of the model is still not the demographic situation in Russia as predicted by the model. This is because the birth rate is low as a consequence of materialism and the desire for family size, which is the same reason as in stage 3 and the high death rate was due to the fact that ageing population reached the end of lives<sup>15</sup>.

**Intervention** The intervention of both Malthusian Theory and Demographic Transition Model was the radical change in political and economical system of Russia. High alcohol consumption, the stress from the total reform, along with other factor have caused more deaths from illness, suicide, homicide, and accidents. Another intervention was the family policy of the Soviet Union in the early 1980s. The reduction of birth rate was the reflection of policies implemented before Gorbachev came to power. The policies of providing benefits of housing and public service for family with three children encouraged the population to early and

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<sup>14</sup> Shkolnikov M. Vadimir and Mesle France, "The Russian Epidemiological Crisis as Mirrored by Mortality Trends," In **Russia's Demographic "Crisis"**, pp. 133-134.

<sup>15</sup> **Demographic Transition Model** [Online], Source <http://www.coolgeography.co.uk/GCSE/AQA/Population/Demographic%20Transition/Demographic%20Transition%20Model.htm>.

frequently reproduce. This resulted in a reverse effect in following years<sup>16</sup>, when most families reached their third child sooner. The Alcohol Campaign of Gorbachev to increase chance of survival had a little impact with the decrease in death rate for few years. There was no long-term positive effect because the actions were to restrict public access to alcohol but they did not change the motives of drinking alcohol. As a result, the opposite trend began moderately in 1988 but the death rate from alcohol consumption jumped much higher in 1992. The Asian financial crisis was the external intervention, which caused low GDP per capita and thus, was the reason of the extension of low birth rate.

### 5. Family Policy of the Russian Federation

Various institutions are responsible for Family policies framework of Russian Federation i.e. Ministry of Health care and Social development, Ministry of Economic development, Ministry of Education and Science, other region administrative units responsible for family policy and etc.<sup>17</sup>. The main directions of the family policy in the Russian Federation now are approved by the Decree of 1996.

The underlying objectives of family policies are the low birth rate and the high level of family instability (high divorce rate), considerable number of deprivation of parental rights, and necessity to improve the development of children<sup>18</sup>. The main objective of the family polices are as follow<sup>19</sup>:

1. To create conditions to remove negative tendencies
2. To stabilize financial situation in Russian families

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<sup>16</sup> Vishnevsky Anatoly, **The Challenges of Russia's Demographic Crisis** (Paris: Ifri - Russia/NIS Center, 2009), p. 9.

<sup>17</sup> **Institutional Framework of Family policies** [Online], Source [http://www.coe.int/t/dg3/familypolicy/Source/Comparative%20table\\_Coordination.pdf](http://www.coe.int/t/dg3/familypolicy/Source/Comparative%20table_Coordination.pdf).

<sup>18</sup> **Concerns and policy drivers underlying the objectives** [Online], Source [http://www.coe.int/t/dg3/familypolicy/Source/1\\_2\\_ii%20Concerns%20&%20policy%20drivers.pdf](http://www.coe.int/t/dg3/familypolicy/Source/1_2_ii%20Concerns%20&%20policy%20drivers.pdf).

<sup>19</sup> **Main family policy objectives** [Online], Source [http://www.coe.int/t/dg3/familypolicy/Source/1\\_2\\_i%20Main%20family%20policy%20objectives.pdf](http://www.coe.int/t/dg3/familypolicy/Source/1_2_i%20Main%20family%20policy%20objectives.pdf).

3. To lessen poverty
4. To extend assistance to labor non-efficient family member
5. To improving family health protection
6. To enhance assistance to family in upbringing children

There are policies on reconciling work and family life and its objectives are as follow<sup>20</sup>:

1. To fulfill indisputable legal norms set concerning workers with family responsibility
2. To guarantee the mother employment after giving birth.
3. To develop childcare services for children under 6.

Over the last decade, there was no major shift in policies objective, excepted the “Maternity Capital” program in 2007. The program is that the woman who giving birth or adoption second child or further can apply to this program. The program is include money benefits available for the subject three year after, in which the money can be invested in education for children or for improving living conditions, or additional pension for the mother<sup>21</sup>.

**Social Protection Program and Benefit for Family and Child** <sup>22</sup> There are some benefits given by the government for the families as they have a child, namely birth grant, pregnancy assistance and child allowance. As for given birth and pregnancy, state gives birth grant for newborn children and early pregnancy assistance benefit for pregnant women at prenatal care’s registration. Both benefits give by the state as one time cash payment.

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<sup>20</sup> **Policy objectives on reconciling work and family life** [Online], Source [http://www.coe.int/t/dg3/familypolicy/Source/1\\_2\\_iii%20Policy%20objectives%20on%20reconciling%20work%20&%20family%20life.pdf](http://www.coe.int/t/dg3/familypolicy/Source/1_2_iii%20Policy%20objectives%20on%20reconciling%20work%20&%20family%20life.pdf).

<sup>21</sup> **Shifts in policy objectives over the last decade** [Online], Source [http://www.coe.int/t/dg3/familypolicy/Source/1\\_2\\_iv%20Shifts%20in%20policy%20objectives.pdf](http://www.coe.int/t/dg3/familypolicy/Source/1_2_iv%20Shifts%20in%20policy%20objectives.pdf).

<sup>22</sup> Shaban Radwan, **Reducing Poverty Through Growth and Social Policy Reform in Russia** (Washington, DC: The World Bank, 2006), p. 244.

The family with income per capita lower than the regional subsistence minimum will get monthly cash assistance for their children until the child reach the aged of 16 or 18 if the child is still studying in school. The state also dive monthly cash benefits for taking care of a child to mothers with all work status until their child reach 18 months old.

## **Human Development**

Another aspect of country's success is the country's human development. This involves the outcome of the government's development efforts in this area. This part illustrates human development in the Russian Federation and also provides statistics to help reader to have a better understanding. In the same way with the previous chapter, this part will be separated into parts following the human development approach originated by UNDP. By virtue of the initiation of HDI in human development approach, this part will be categorized into 3 sub - headings; 1) living standard, 2) education, and 3) healthcare

### 1. Living Standard

During the transition, although Russia has at least accomplished some part of a free market and democratization, still it was still struggling to accomplish these goals from its infancy. While in the main city like Moscow full of extravagance, the others seem like never be touched by prosperity. Under the Glasnost and Perestroika plan, the transition to market economy, basic social welfare have been canceled but not yet replaced by the system. The lack in efficiency of a large number of areas, most of its citizens yet consider the state responsibility.

There were serious changes in living standards in the early transition period. There was more freedom to organize. The new union of worker paid more attention to the worker's working condition and environment<sup>23</sup>. On the other hand, the real

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income per capita, which was quickly increasing in the 1970s till the 1980s, fell sharply in 1991-1992 (see appendix A for real income per capita of Russia in 1970-1994). With the new economic structure, the distribution of wages among the populations was much less uniform than the condition in the Soviet Union<sup>24</sup>. Thus, the living condition of some group of population could get much worse.

Privatization was applied in Russia economy. State food subsidies and other products were removed in the 1990s. This caused the immediately increase in prices. Even if in this period there were more choices and products for populations to opt for and more desirable condition than in the Soviet period but it would not be any advantage while people had no money to buy. This led to under-nutrition health of population, which might cause death in this time<sup>25</sup>.

The new issues in living standard were the rise in poverty and crimes. In the early transition to democracy and market economy, Russia faced the problem of poverty. But a few years later, official reports showed in statistics that this problem had started to get better. Vladimir Putin attempted to reduce the poverty by implementing poverty related policies and employment policies<sup>26</sup>. The Crime rate dramatically increased since the late 1980s, to be specific the crime that involved economic and illegal drug related crimes. The attempt of reform the penal system by the criminal code issued in 2004<sup>27</sup>.

Latter in 2012, Russia made a cooperation program with International labor organization for 2013-2016. In fact, those aims of cooperation has already mentioned by Vladimir Putin earlier of that year. He stated that there is the need of serious change in skilled jobs market. New conditions and assessment of professional

<sup>23</sup> Westwood J.N., **Endurance and Endeavour: Russian History 1812 – 2001** (United Kingdom: Oxford University press, 2002), p. 509.

<sup>24</sup> Shkolnikov M. Vadimir and Mesle France, "The Russian Epidemiological Crisis as Mirrored by Mortality Trends," In **Russia's Demographic "Crisis"**, DaVanzo Julie, editor, (Santa Monica, CA: RAID, 1996), p 145.

<sup>25</sup> *ibid*

<sup>26</sup> Judy Twigg, "Social Policy in Post-Soviet Russia," In **Developments in Russian Politics**, White, Stephen, Zvi Gitelman and Richard Sakwa, editor. (New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2005), pp. 205-208.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 209-210.

capabilities must not be restricted by each single company but should included in the national system. This will raise skilled workers chances on vocational market and as well their salary.

Owing to the fact that the birth rate has increased as positive results, Putin suggested that there should not be a halt in improving the pensions system and social assistance. Putin suggested that to extend people chances for making a sensible choice in resolving their problems, the state should draft a new pension policy for the middle class<sup>28</sup>.

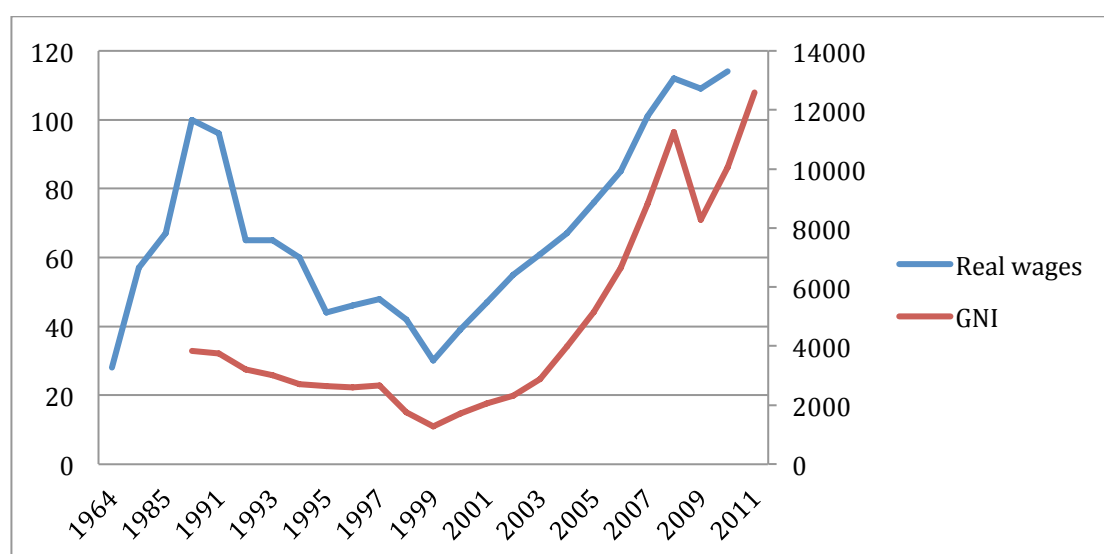


Figure 8. Real wages and GNI of Russia 1964 - 2012

Note: Real wages 1990 = 100, Gross National Income per capita in dollars

Source: Clarke Simon, **Market and Institutional Determinants of Wage Differentiation in Russia** [Online], [www.warwick.ac.uk/russia](http://www.warwick.ac.uk/russia), **Global Wage Report 2012/13** (Geneva : International Labour Organization, 2013), Page 19, **Gross national income (GNI) of Russia, 1990-2011** [Online], [http://kushnirs.org/macroconomics/gni/gni\\_russia.html#t3\\_2](http://kushnirs.org/macroconomics/gni/gni_russia.html#t3_2).

According to UNDP, GNI is the indicator for living standard. Figure 8. presents real wages and GNI of Russia since 1964-2010. In the graph, the blue line represents real wages and the red line represents GNI per capita of Russia. In the

<sup>28</sup> Putin Vladimir and Pravada Komsomskaya, **Vladimir Putin: Building Justice - A Social policy for Russia** [Online], 13 February 2012. Source <http://www.ruskiymir.ru/ruskiymir/en/publications/articles/article0239.html>.



transition period, Real wages rapidly fell and GNI was gradually declined. This trend shows the economic stagnation in the transition to market economy until the Asian financial crisis, which affected the income of people. Both GNI and wages were increasing after the crisis with a little struggle in the global economic crisis in 2007-2008. This trend indicated that the living standard of Russia has drastically increased in the last decade.

With regard to housing, during the Soviet period, the factory had not been only a place for work but on many occasions also a source of social services, namely, childcare and housing. In the transition period, the housing system was developed toward the western style called property-owning democracy. In 1988 tenants have the right to buy if the local soviets of the owner gave their permission to. The legislation in 1991 made all the process of buying easier. But practically, few people wanted to buy. One reason was because the tenant did not have to take responsible for the repairs. And two, there were criticized that the policy was considered unfair. While some tenants were struggle living in a terrible and substandard house, and some were living in more desirable accommodation. As a result, by the end of 1990 only about 20,000 tenants had bought<sup>29</sup>.

After the privatization in housing construction, housing for Russia citizens is now 22 square meters per person. It is 40 percent increased since the Soviet period. But the cost of housing has been unacceptable increase. According to Vladimir Putin claimed in his report, only a quarter of the populations have a chance to build or buy new property. The difficulty to possess the new property makes people change the priorities in their lives. This shows a lower quality of life as compared to the Soviet period<sup>30</sup>. As living space is an indicator for housing development, figure 9. presents the average floor space per inhabitant of Russia in 1980-2010. Average living space was gradually rose since 1980 until now.

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<sup>29</sup> Westwood J.N., **Endurance and Endeavour: Russian History 1812 – 2001** (United Kingdom: Oxford University press, 2002), p. 514.

<sup>30</sup> Putin Vladimir and Pravada Komsomskaya, **Vladimir Putin: Building Justice - A Social policy for Russia** [Online]. 13 February 2012. Source <http://www.ruskiymir.ru/ruskiymir/en/publications/articles/article0239.html>.

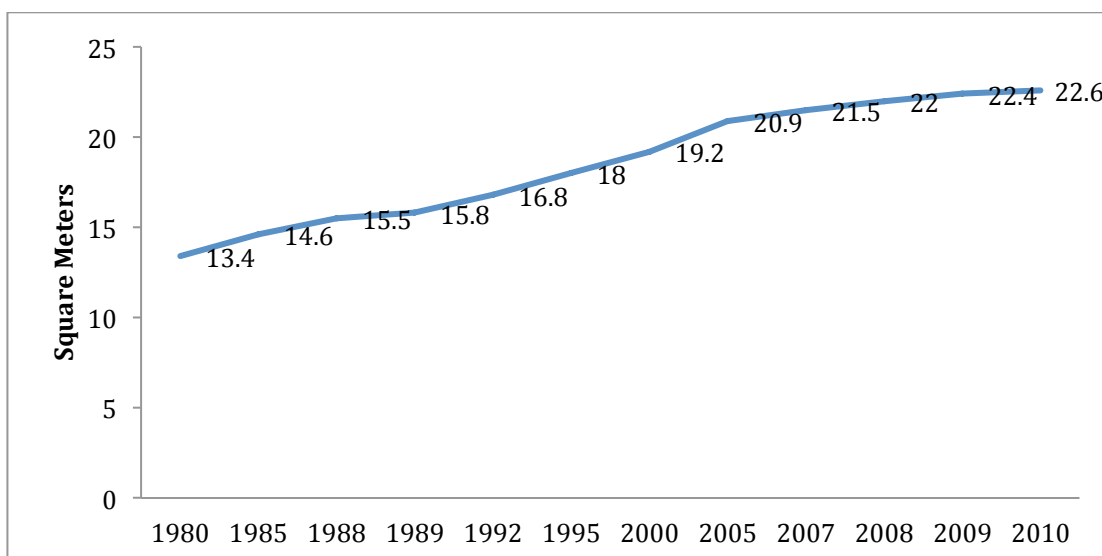


Figure 9. Average floor space per inhabitant of Russia 1980 - 2010

Source: Russian Federation Federal State Statistic Service **Average floor space per inhabitant of Russia 1980 - 2010** [Online], <http://www.gks.ru>.

### Social Protection Programs of living standard in the Russian Federation in Vladimir Putin regime<sup>31</sup>

#### *Pension*

The Russian Federation has pension for labor. Labor after their retirement will get monthly cash benefit. Labors who have the eligibility are women at the aged 55 and older, men at the aged 60 and older, handicapped people and survivors who are the dependents of the death. Additionally, there is normal social pension with monthly cash for women at the aged 60 and older, men at the aged 65 and older, including disable people who are not covered by the labor pension.

Another benefit for population is social assistance qualified by income based, granted one time or monthly in cash or others. There are social work and care services taking care of every vulnerable population for special services such as day care, temporary residents, psychosocial support and etc.

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<sup>31</sup> Shaban Radwan, **Reducing Poverty Through Growth and Social Policy Reform in Russia**, pp. 223-224.

Special privileges and subsidies as discounted or free products and services, for instance, medical care, habitation and utilities, food, transportation, and others, will be given to various groups of individuals and families who qualified for necessary basis.

#### *Housing allowance*

As for the housing, state gives monthly housing allowance for those who have household's income tasted by the measurement of utility services based on social standards. The federal standard which was set until year 2008 for the housing subsidy are 33 square meters for single person households, 42 square meters for two person households and 18 square meters per person in households with three or more people. Moreover, long term placement in habitation care will be gave for children, who have been neglect from parent, poor children, people with disabilities and fragile elderly.

#### *Unemployment benefit*

For unemployed insurance, up to 12 month, the state gives monthly cash for officially registered unemployed populations. The unemployed citizens will receive, first 3 months, 75 percent of the prior wage and 45 percent for the next five months. The limited minimum of this advantage is 20 percent of minimum standard of living. There is also sick leave compensation to employer who is momentarily incapable of working. The benefit is monthly cash for a short time.

## 2. Education

Before Gorbachev's restructuring, there were great reforms in the Soviet Union. There was as well a monopoly of educational research created by the academy represented the old and dictatorial, performed through subordinate institutes. Of which teachers would not have to involve themselves in studying methods and also precluded them to interest in modernization. This research was also an origin of the institute of defectology, which aimed for handicapped pupils education. But later the academy begun all those researches and approaches lost its monopoly under Gorbachev. 'The Creative Union of Teacher' was established in order to connect

teachers, parents and others together and introduced innovation prospect<sup>32</sup>. Gymnasium-type schools were founded with a motive of student's encouragement to think by themselves. What 'glasnost' did was exposed deplorable. The difficulties of rewriting the history were controllable. And the head teachers were now allowed to modify the course syllabus<sup>33</sup>.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russian education was drastically altered and again the education was used as an instrument for political and economical aspects. The education is now served the market economy. Textbooks needed to change its content of the new political and economical, to be specific, liberalization, privatization and market economy. The content needed to add new aspects of Marxism and Socialism. Education was readjusted to suit the needs of labor market and the new economy system. People have changed their ideology and world perspective by the education. The view on education has changed among student. Now higher education is the best way for getting good jobs<sup>34</sup>, while the vocational education is now considered too low for one's future life. In this time, the accessibility of information was easier than in the time of the Soviet government

Education in Russia is regulated by the Ministry of Education and Science. And most of them are provided by the state. Regional authorities regulate education within their authorities and also under the current federal law's framework<sup>35</sup>. Many educational policies were implemented in the 1990s but many failed to complete their goal. Leaders at that time did not take educational development area as the primary issue. The government concerned more on political and economic in transition. Education was low in list of priorities of the Russian government in 1990s. With the problem of low and owing salary and the equipment shortage, teaching profession

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<sup>32</sup> Westwood J.N., **Endurance and Endeavour: Russian History 1812 – 2001**, p. 422.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 511.

<sup>34</sup> Kusuma Thongniam, "Educational Reform of the Russian Federation in the Post - Soviet Period," (Master's Thesis, Russian Studies, Chulalongkorn University, 2012), p. 39.

<sup>35</sup> **The Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation** [Online], Source [http://минобрнауки.рф/static/ministry\\_eng.html](http://минобрнауки.рф/static/ministry_eng.html).

became unattractive. Russian higher education became more expensive and easy way to corruption<sup>36</sup>.

Latter period, education become the national priority. From 2000 toward 2008, one the main goals of Vladimir Putin was to use technology in education, in other word to modernize education. Education reform under first term of his presidency considered not succeed in practical. While in the second term, the government did expand better technology into schools and educational institutions. Unfortunately, this plan did not reached the objectives in rural areas as a consequence of the decentralization system<sup>37</sup>. In order to cope educational corruption problem, national exam were applied in 2005. All students needed to take standard leaving exam after graduated<sup>38</sup>. Teacher payment have been doubled to persuade people to interest more in teaching profession<sup>39</sup>.

As to international context, the government under Putin presidency issued plans in 2002 to make national staffs ready for foreign students in Russian education. The number of foreign students in technical schools and higher institutions has increased in this period, especially students from the CIS countries<sup>40</sup>.

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<sup>36</sup> Bacon Edwin and Wyman Matthew, **Contemporary Russian**. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 66.

<sup>37</sup> Kusuma Thongniam, "Educational Reform of the Russian Federation in the Post - Soviet Period," (Master's Thesis, Russian Studies, Chulalongkorn University, 2012), p. 56.

<sup>38</sup> Judy Twigg, "Social Policy in Post-Soviet Russia," In **Developments in Russian Politics**, p. 218.

<sup>39</sup> Bacon Edwin and Wyman Matthew, **Contemporary Russian**. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 67.

<sup>40</sup> Kusuma Thongniam, "Educational Reform of the Russian Federation in the Post - Soviet Period," (Master's Thesis, Russian Studies, Chulalongkorn University, 2012), p. 50

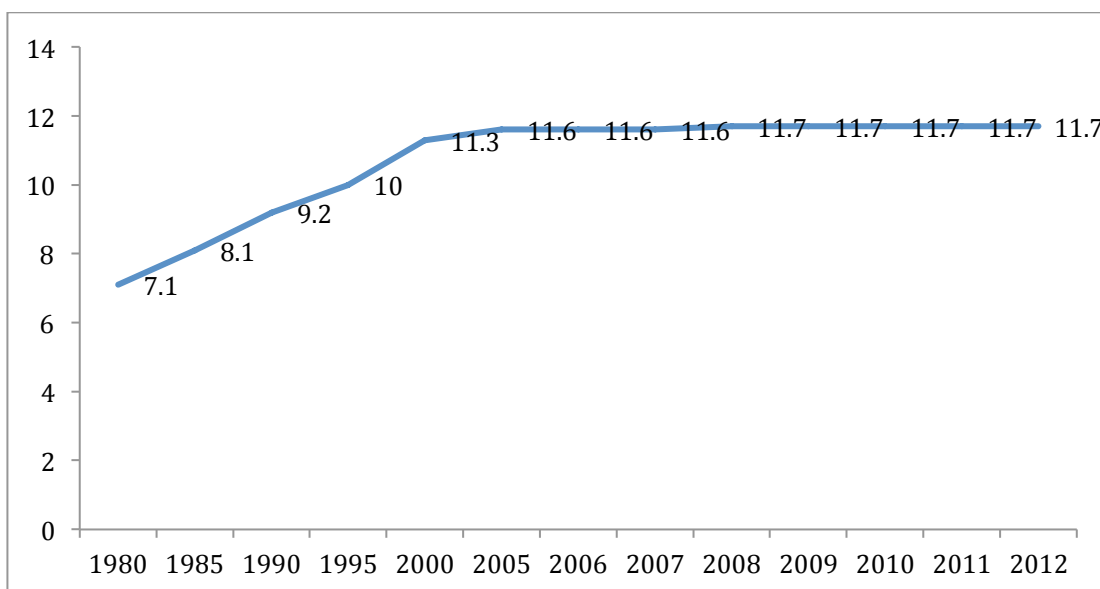


Figure 10. Mean years of schooling of Russia in 1980-2012

Source: UNDP **Mean years of schooling** [Online], 15 October 2012. <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/indicators/103006.html>.

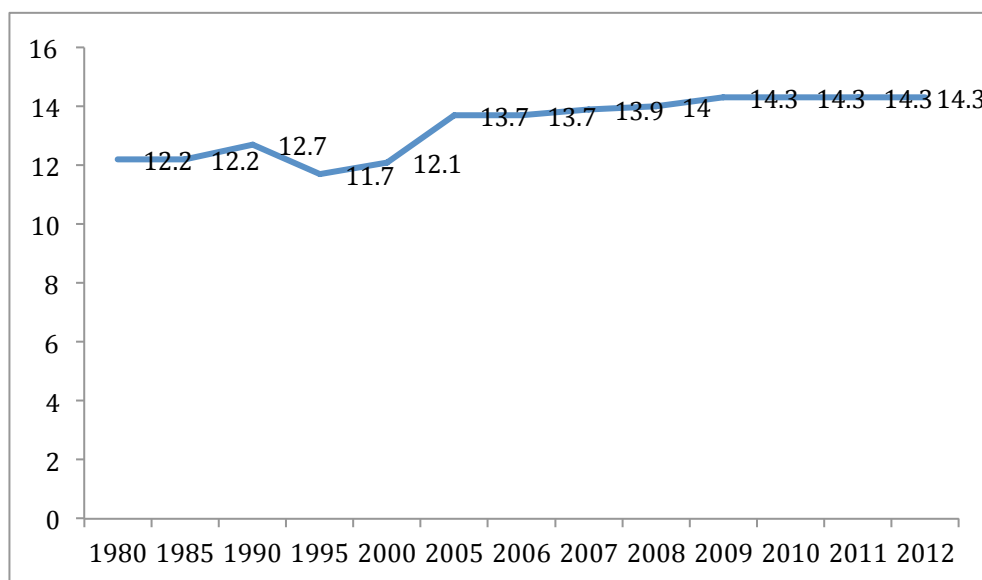


Figure 11. Expected years of schooling of Russia 1980-2012

Note: Expected years of schooling of children

Source: UNDP **Expected years of schooling** [Online], 15 October 2012. <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/indicators/69706.html>.

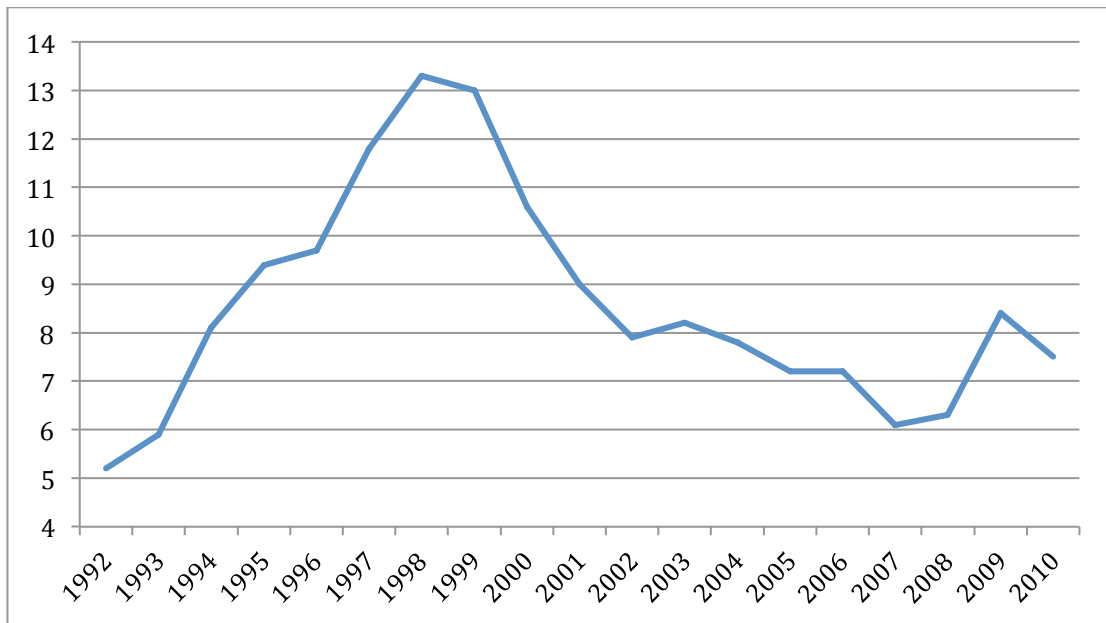


Figure 12. Unemployment rate of Russia 1992 - 2010

Note: Percentage of Total labor force

Source: mundi **Unemployment rate of Russia** [Online], 21 February 2013. [http://www.indexmundi.com/russia/unemployment\\_rate.html](http://www.indexmundi.com/russia/unemployment_rate.html).

According to UNDP, mean year of schooling and expected year of schooling are the indicators of educational development (see figure 10. and figure 11.). The mean year of schooling trend was moderately rising since 1980s and then it kept stable since 2000, while the expect year of schooling was high and did not change much, excepted the certain decline trend in the late 1990s. But it rose to 13.7 years, which is more than the rate in the beginning of the 1990s and then it kept stable since 2005. According to these indicators, Russian education had a good trend of development in 1980 until 2000. And after 2000 Russian education was rarely changed. Is this mean that Putin educational reform did not success? This result is in contrast with the documentary research explained above. It might be that not only the mean year of schooling and expect year of school are indicators for educational development as claimed by UNDP. Anyway, both indicators were considered high according to UNDP.

As for unemployment rate, unemployment was illegal in the Soviet period and actually there was no unemployment as claimed by the Soviet government. After the disintegration, figure 12. shows that the rate was drastically rising in the transition

period and acutely high in the Asian financial crisis. And then the rate was rapidly falling after the crisis until 2007 and it swiftly rose again in the global economic crisis. According to unemployment rate and its percentage change (see Unemployment Rate and Percentage Change of the Russian Federation in 1992-2012), it is clearly that the educational reforms by Vladimir Putin was successful in some point, at least people got their jobs. And even if compared expected year of schooling of Russia with other countries, Russia is somewhere between European countries and China but compared mean year of schooling, it could be say that Russia education is comparable to those European countries and the United State (see appendix A for Expected Years of Schooling and Mean year of Schooling of Russia and Selected Countries in 1980-2012).

### 3. Healthcare

Private sector of medical services has started in the late 1980s under Gorbachev' policies and at first started only in Moscow. Throughout the transition period, the facilities and appliances were mush the same as in the Soviet Union. The number of physicians and hospital beds were slightly decreased in number in the early transition period (see Appendix A for the number of physicians and hospital beds in 1970-1994). But these problems were not really important because the number of them both were already high in Khrushchev period. The rapid rising in transportation prices also obstructed people to access advanced medical care in big cities. In fact, most hospitals were located in Moscow, St. Petersburg and other big cities of Russia while many regions were lack of skilled or specialized staffs<sup>41</sup>. Moreover, the salaries for physicians were quickly decreased in the transition period and they were considered vary low. And the poorly equipped and poorly organized hospitals and clinics were still existed by the insufficient funds. These were much worse problems.

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<sup>41</sup> Shkolnikov M. Vadimir and Mesle France, "The Russian Epidemiological Crisis as Mirrored by Mortality Trends," In **Russia's Demographic "Crisis"**, p. 146.



After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, more than 98 laws, decrees, orders, decisions and concepts related to healthcare had printed<sup>42</sup>. The basic principles of healthcare reform in the early transforming period include in the following<sup>43</sup>:

1. The decentralization of management
2. The establishment of a health services market
3. Finding additional reliable resources by use multi-channel of financial support for medical enterprises
4. The transition to a financing scheme (payments depend on the quantity and quality of services)
5. The introduction of obligatory medical insurance
6. The development of voluntary insurance schemes and fee for service for healthcare

Liberalization policy has caused the increase in price of service but in general, there were no increase in demand for higher quality of health services<sup>44</sup>. This rise in fee for service was responsible for more stress in family where the family budgets were already heavily by other pressures. Encouraging further healthcare system reform, health care insurance program was issued in 1992 and the law of healthcare service fee control in the private sector was initiated in 1996<sup>45</sup>. More healthcare benefits was added to social welfare service and the government had made an agreement with the private sector regarding to its participation in social welfare services.

Most results of these policies were unpleasant and had failed to achieve the objective. The main cause was the inadequate funding. Another factor of the

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<sup>42</sup> Van Wagoner L. Jarad, "The Demise of Russian Health Capital: The Continuity of Ineffective Government Policy," (Master's Thesis, Master of Arts in National Security Affairs, Naval Postgraduate School, 2007), p. 62.

<sup>43</sup> Rozenfeld A. Boris, "The Crisis of Russian Health Care and Attempts Reform," In **Russia's Demographic "Crisis"**, DaVanzo Julie, editor, (Santa Monica, CA: RAID, 1996), p 166

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 169.

<sup>45</sup> Wallaya Monchuket, "The Russian Health Care System," (Master's Thesis, Chulalongkorn University, 2012), p. 86.

ineffective of the insurance program was the resistance from the Ministries of Health and Finance<sup>46</sup>. The program was affected by administration infighting and misfeasance in both national and local officials, thus healthcare continues to be insufficient funded (see appendix A for health care expenditure in the Russian Federation in 1994-2002 and healthcare expenditure compared with selected countries in 2002).

After the former policies did not show positive result with unstable live expectancy, healthcare reform by Vladimir Putin was initiated in 2006. The major objectives of the reform are as follow<sup>47,48</sup>:

1. An argument concerning major shift in prominence on quality of treatment, rather than the quantity.
2. To Encourage more practitioners to become general doctors, the plan included the elimination of thousands of specialists.
3. To improve the country's healthcare system by improved funding and healthcare infrastructure
4. To equip hospitals and clinics with advanced equipment and ambulance systems
5. To build new medical center
6. To provide free health checks and vaccination programs
7. To develop medical technology including information technology
8. To increase salary of medical staff working in the primary care including an expansion of their training programs.

The assessments of the program were satisfied in general. The health industry got benefited from the program fund to build additional specialized health centers.

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<sup>46</sup> Van Wagoner L. Jarad, "The Demise of Russian Health Capital: The Continuity of Ineffective Government Policy," (Master's Thesis, Master of Arts in National Security Affairs, Naval Postgraduate School, 2007), p. 63.

<sup>47</sup> Koehlmoos Lynn Tracey, **The Russian Healthcare System** [Online], Source <http://gunston.gmu.edu/healthscience/InternationalHealth/TheRussianHealthcareSystem.ppt>.

<sup>48</sup> **Russian Healthcare System Overview**. (St. Petersburg: The Stockholm Region office, 2010), p.7.

But there were also some concerns from leader and staff in the current healthcare system regarding why the national healthcare project is in charge by the presidential administration but not by the health ministry. The programs showed good results but compared to other European countries, Russia still have a long way to go (see appendix A for Life expectancy at birth of Selected Countries 1980-2012).

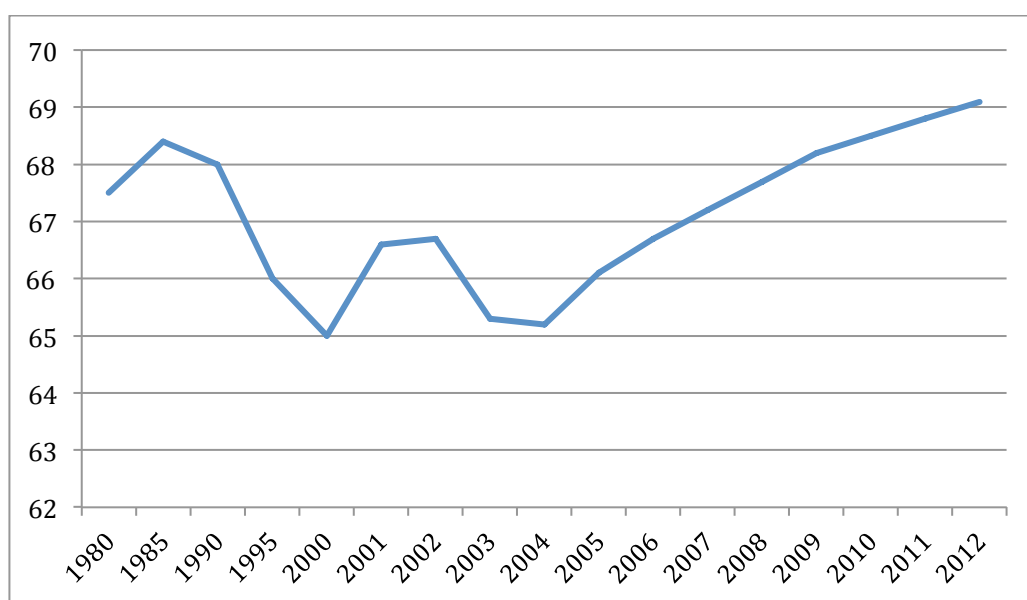


Figure 13. Life expectancy at birth of Russia in 1980-2012

Source: UNDP **Life expectancy at birth** [Online], 15 October 2012. <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/indicators/69206.html>.

Life expectancy is used as an indicator for healthcare development according to UNDP. Figure . presents life expectancy at birth of Russia in 1980-2012. It was rising a little bit in the 1980s but then it drastically decline in the transition period until 2000. Life expectancy rose again under Vladimir Putin presidency but again it decreased after a few year of rising. According to a record in 2006, there was only 50 percent chance of Russian males 16 years old to live past through the age of 60<sup>49</sup>. The situation of population decline in Russia had notable repercussions for the Russian economy, especially the decline of working-age males. In this time, life expectancy of Russia was unstable. This is because there was no serious healthcare reform until

<sup>49</sup> **In Russia, a Demographic Crisis and Worries for Nation's Future** [Online], 11 Oct 2011. Source <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2011/10/in-russia-a-demographic-crisis-and-worries-for-nations-future/246277/>.

2006. There was a good trend of life expectancy since then. The reason behind the rising life expectancy after 2005 was because of the healthcare reform in Russia. This is the evidence of the successful of Healthcare reform by Vladimir Putin. But compared with other European countries and the United State, Russia could not considered to be parallel with those countries (see appendix A for Life expectancy at birth of Selected Countries 1980-2012). And the major reason of this was and continued to be inadequate funding compared with the same group of countries, if Russia did not applied any effective funding polices (see appendix A for expenditure on health public of Selected Countries in 2000-2010).

Another indicator for healthcare is the infant mortality rate. Figure 14. shows the infant mortality rate of Russia in 1970-2011. The rate rose a little bit in the 1970s and then it rapidly fell until 1990. This obviously shows the achievement of health protection of communicable diseases. But then the rate was moderately rising in the early transition period from 17.4 to 18.1 per live births, because of the lessening of accessible healthcare services. The rate then gradually declined since 1995 until the rate was 7.3 per 1,000 live births in 2011. The decrease in infant mortality rate after 1995 shows the achievement of maternity and childcare services. Actually, maternity and child were the first in priority of healthcare reform at that time because the demographic crisis had just started in 1992.

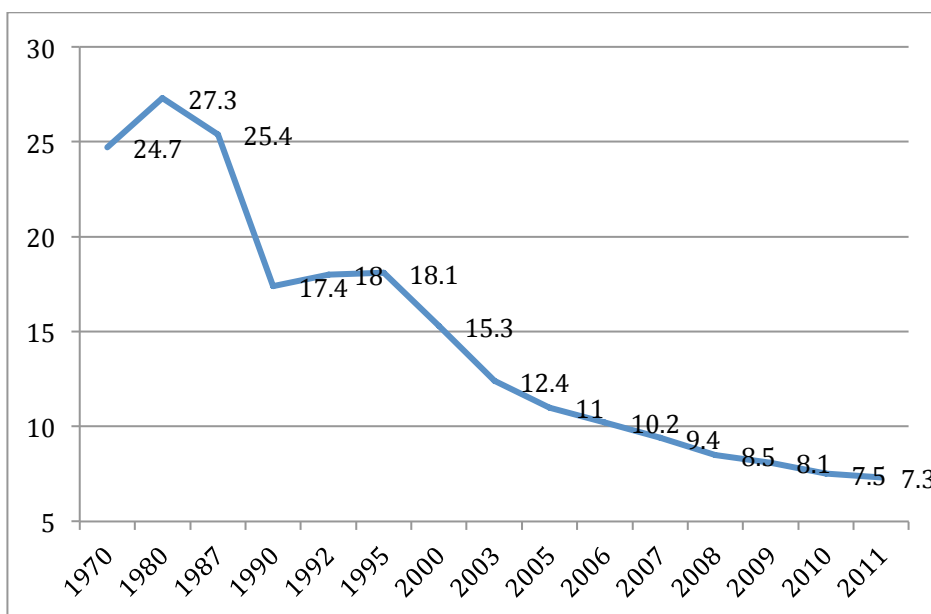


Figure 14: Infant mortality of Russia 1970 - 2011

Note: Death per 1,000 live births

Source: Russian Federation Federal State Statistic Service **Infant mortality of Russia 1970 - 2011**

[Online], <http://www.gks.ru>.

### Cause of Demographic Crisis

According to many scholars accompanying the background of Russia's demographic situation in both quantity term and human development term from chapter 2 and the first two part of chapter 3, Russia population decline is not a normal problem compare to condition of other countries in Europe, especially when it is not in the time of war. The demographic crisis had affected on many areas of the country. Russia's human capital, economic capability, military power, social condition, and many other areas are constrained by the crisis. The causes of the situation have sure been root from various factors from both internal and external Russian personality and some of the factors might have been buried there for long time ago. Even if there were many signs of situation's relief in the last few year, but as from the recent news and one of Vladimir Putin's campaign<sup>50</sup> to boost Russia's population in his re-election

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<sup>50</sup> **Vladimir Putin vows to reverse Russian population decline** [Online], Feb 2012. Source [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/vladimir-putin/9078672/Vladimir-Putin-vows-to-reverse-Russian-population-decline.html#disqus\\_thread](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/vladimir-putin/9078672/Vladimir-Putin-vows-to-reverse-Russian-population-decline.html#disqus_thread).

in March 2012, showed that Russia so far does not seem to completely cure the problem.

The causes of the crisis may originate from various characteristics such as economy and country's development direction, but it can be pinpoint at 2 aspects, the mortality and the fertility. Hence the next of this scene will examine the determinants of demographic crisis in the Russian federation assembled with some statistics as evidences. Hence, this part divided into 2 main topic namely, 1) Population's Health and its implication to Mortality, and 2) Family Structure and its implication to Fertility

### 1. Population's Health and its implication to Mortality

Each determinant of high death rate are linked to population's health topic. The main causes of high death rate are as follow:

1. Long working hour and bad work condition in the Soviet period
2. A low value of individual life and health
3. The socio-economic transformation in 1990s
4. High Alcohol consumption

The working conditions in the Soviet Union were bad. In that period, the government was concentrated to develop faster in the industrial sector because the intensive economic development of 5-year plan. The prerequisites were set too high, therefore the worker were forced to work with their maximum abilities. Sometimes they had to work 12-14 hours a day and 6 days a week<sup>51</sup>. In addition, the poor public transports had caused hours of travelling forth and back between their workplace and home. These were the source of stress and non-communicable diseases, which created the number of deaths and somehow led to the alcoholic behavior.

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<sup>51</sup> Wallaya Monchuket, "The Russian Health Care System," (Master's Thesis, Chulalongkorn University, 2012), p. 56.

Another reason that rooted from the condition in the former Soviet Union was a low value of individual life and individual health. With the Marxism ideology in the Soviet society, state objective over personal needs has taught people that their individual values were the minor significance. People had confident that their government would help them if there were any serious health problem. Therefore, people did not care much about their future health<sup>52</sup>. This was the weakness of Russia' health fundamental and become intensely dangerous under the new conditions of political development with inadequate health policies.

With the political and economical changed in structure, people lived dangerously with the old ideology of individual life and health. This alternative also caused stresses to the people. The Soviet state theoretically gave some images of social guarantees to the people such as housing, pension, cheap food and free medical care, etc., even if they were substandard of products and services. People at least felt stable with their predictable future. But these conditions in the 1990s changed radically. The state would no longer give this set of social guarantees. People started to realize that they have to take care of themselves. This was difficult for people aged of 45 and above when they thought that it was too late for them to change their profession or it might be possible that they could not earn enough money to keep their standards of living with their current job<sup>53</sup>. This stress was one of the factors, which caused high alcohol consumption in the transition period (see appendix A for Alcohol consumption per capita in liters of Russia 1993-1994).

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<sup>52</sup> Shkolnikov M. Vadimir and Mesle France, "The Russian Epidemiological Crisis as Mirrored by Mortality Trends," In **Russia's Demographic "Crisis"**, p. 145.

<sup>53</sup> *ibid*, p. 144.

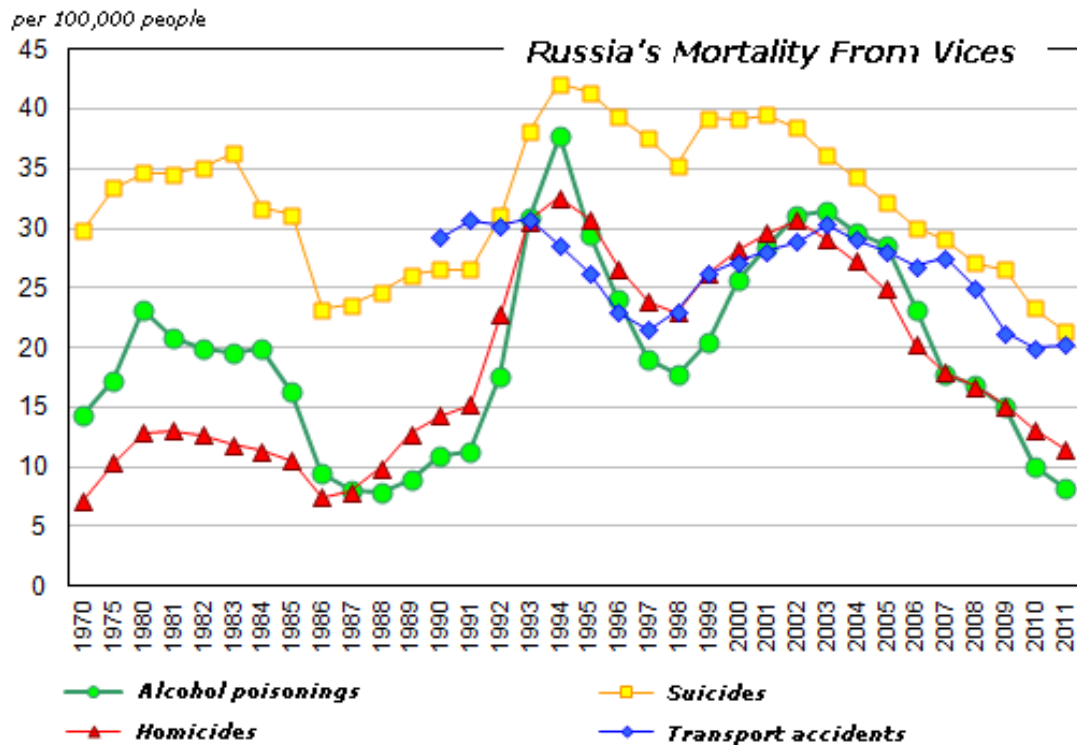


Figure 15. Russia's Mortality from Alcohol poisonings, Suicides, Homicides, and Transport accidents 1970-2011

Note: death per 100,000 people

Source: **Russia's Mortality From Vice On the Decline** [online], 7 March 2012.  
<http://darussophile.com/category/society/public-health/>.

Another factor of the high death rate was the death from alcohol consumption. Figure 15. presents Russia's Mortality from alcohol poisonings, suicides, Homicides and Transport accidents in 1970-2011. According to the graph, all 4 lines shared almost the same trend. The rates were rising since 1970s, kept stable and then declining in the mid 1980s. The rates were extremely increasing again in the transition period and peak in 1994. After some trend of decline, the rates were started to rise again in the Asian financial crisis. And then they started to decrease after the crisis in 2004. These were the evidences shows that there were political and economical implications to the drinking behavior, which caused deaths by alcohol and led to more deaths in other form such as suicides, homicides, and transport accidents as seen in the graph.



As a matter of fact, the drinking behavior was long buried in Russian society for more than a century. Some evidence showed that there was high death rate in the Russian Empire since the 1860s (see appendix A for death from alcohol-related of Russia in 1858-1867). Another evidence showed that the high death rate in the Soviet Union started to get higher in the 1920s (see appendix A for death per 100,000 from alcoholism (alcohol poisoning) in Leningrad and Moscow in 1923-1928). And comparing to other countries in Europe, Russia alcohol related mortality was considered extremely high. According to figure 16., in the late 1880s, the rate were 3 times higher than Switzerland, 9 times higher than England and even 36 times higher than Norway (estimated from the figure).

What's more is that the change in political economy structure had equally effected the severe change in living standards especially the distribution of wages and the change in medical services, which already discussed earlier in the human development part of this chapter. These changes were in some way responsible for many deaths or induced more alcohol behavior.

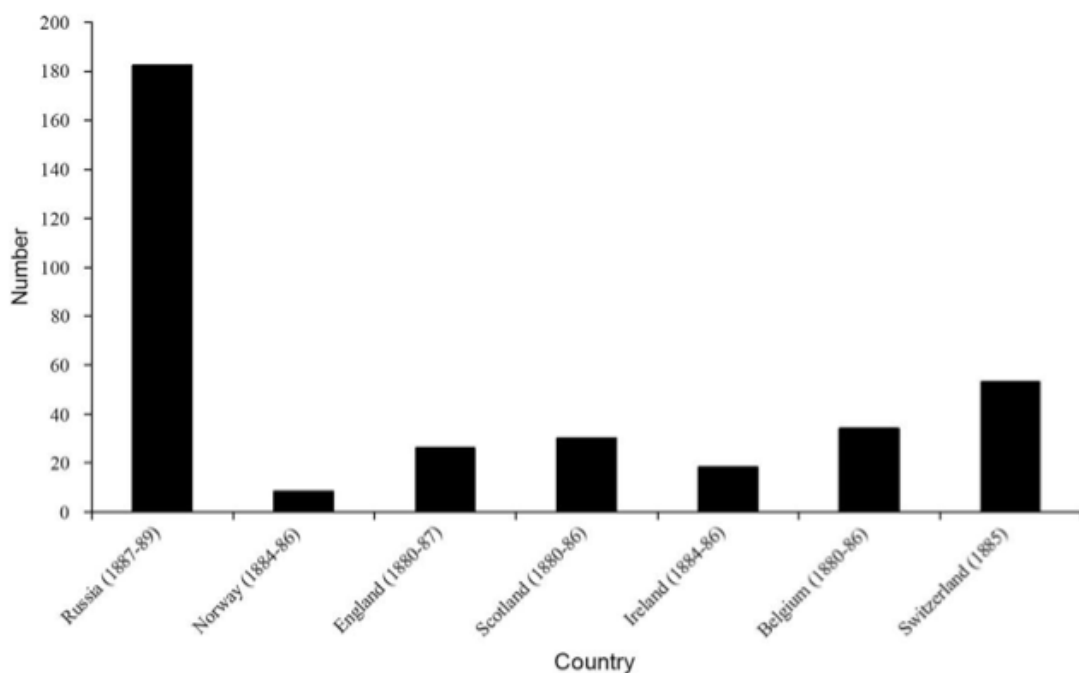


Figure 16. Alcohol-related mortality per 10,000 deaths in selected European Countries in 1880-1889

Source: Stickley A., Razvodovsky Y. and Mckee M., "Alcohol mortality in Russia: A historical perspective," **Public Health** 123 (2009): p. 24.

## 2. Pattern of Family Structure and its implication to Fertility

This research intended to find only the outer causes of the low birth rate, not the inner causes such as the reason of why women do not want to have children. The main factors of the low birth rate are as follow:

1. High Abortion
2. Lower marriages and Higher Divorces
3. Economic and its implication to birth rate
4. Family Policy
5. Housing problem in the Soviet Union

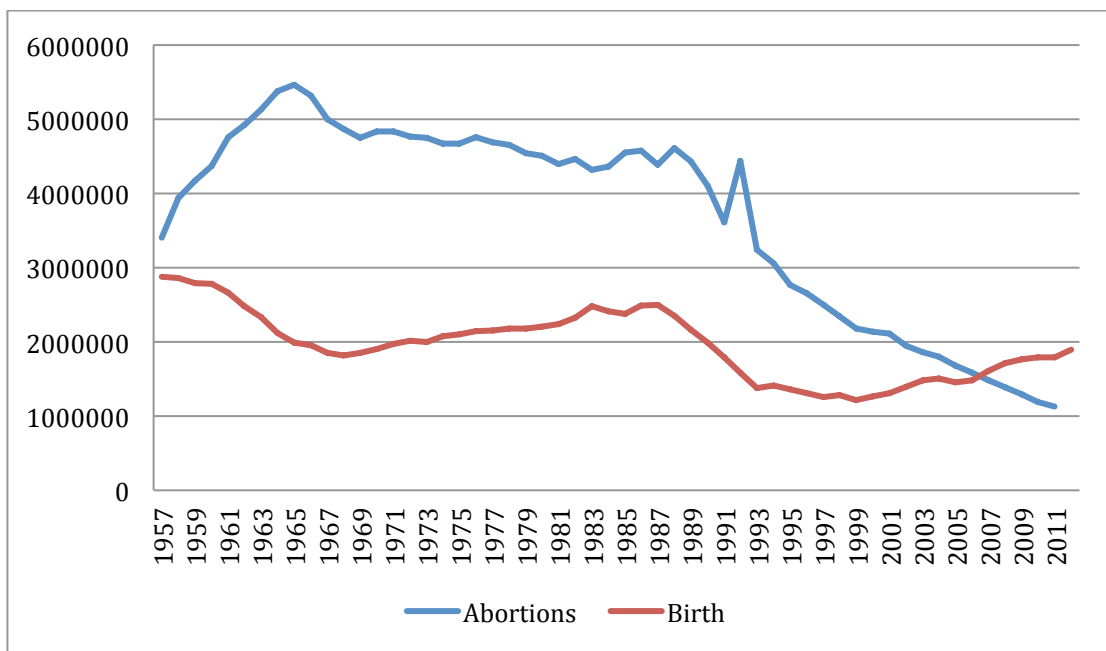


Figure 17. Total Abortion and Live Birth of Russia 1957 - 2012

Source: Russian Federation Federal State Statistic Service **Total Abortion and Live Birth of Russia 1957 - 2012** [Online], <http://www.gks.ru>.

Figure 17. presents the number of abortion and live birth of Russia in 1957-2012. The blue line represents the total abortion and the red line represents the total live birth. The total abortion was getting higher in the 1950s. It declined a little bit in

1965-1969 and kept stable since then. In the transition period from 1983 until 1993, the trend in abortion was unstable. After that it was gradually declined until now. The live birth was considering high in the late 1950s but there was the trend of decline in 1961-1967, before it slightly increase again. The total live birth then rapidly fell in the transition period and kept stable since 1993.

High abortion was the reason of low birth rate. The number of total abortion has shown above is only the officially reported abortion. There were also unreported abortions, which expected to be high as well. The situation was severe when Russia also contained high level of family instability with high divorce rate and low marriage rate.

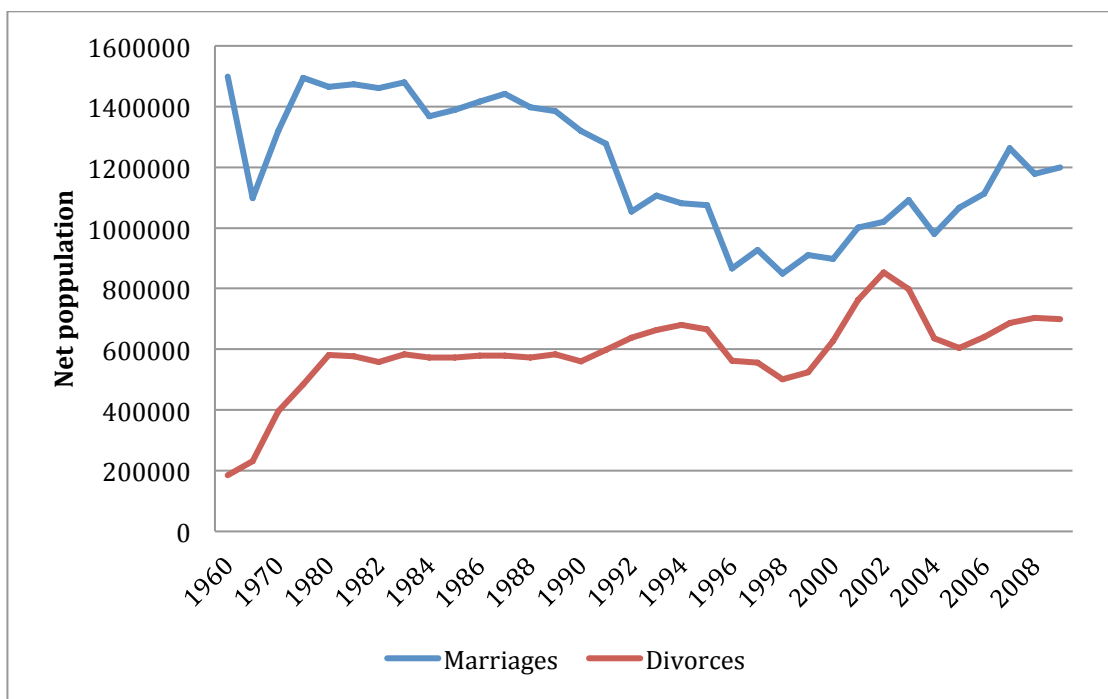


Figure 18. Total Marriage and Divorce of Russia 1960 - 2009

Source: Russian Federation Federal State Statistic Service **Total Marriage and Divorce of Russia 1960 - 2009** [Online], <http://www.gks.ru>.

Family instability is one of the reasons of low birth rate. Figure 18. presents total marriage and divorce population of Russia in 1960-2009. The blue line represents the number of marriage population and the red line represents the number of divorce population. The divorces numbers was increasing in the 1960s – 1970s and it kept stable until 1990. The divorces numbers was highly unstable in the transition period and quickly rose in 2000 and hit its climax in 2002. It is rapidly declined again 2004, after that it moderately rose till 2008. The trend of total marriages population was unstable and slightly decreased since 1970 throughout the transition period until 1988 then it was unstable and slightly rose until now. Both numbers were tremendously different in the Soviet time, while the difference in number was continuously reducing throughout the transition period until 2002.

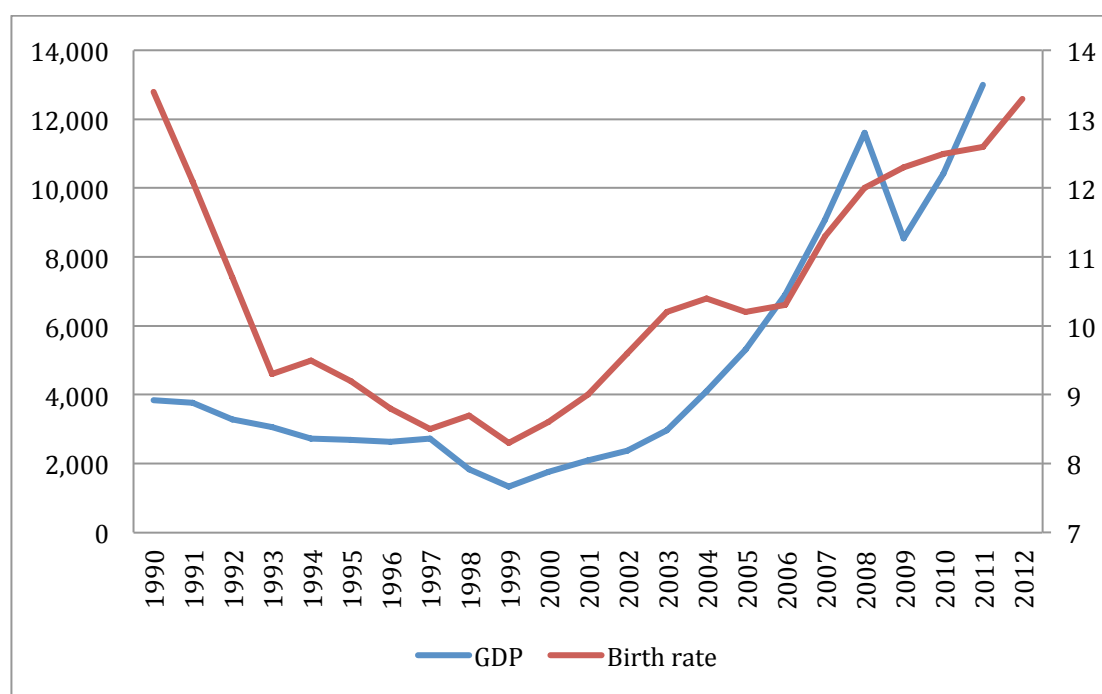


Figure 19. GDP and Birth rate of Russia 1990 - 2012 (GDP per capita)

Note: GDP per capita in US dollar, Birth rate per 1,000 populations

Source: **Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Russia, 1990-2011** [Online],

[http://kushnirs.org/macroeconomics/gdp/gdp\\_russia.html](http://kushnirs.org/macroeconomics/gdp/gdp_russia.html), Russian Federation Statistic Service **Total Birth rate of Russia 1960 - 2009** [Online], <http://www.gks.ru>.

Moreover, This research also discovered that there is an implication between the birth rate, which the researcher considered the GDP per capita or the economy as the determinant of the low birth rate. Figure 19. is evidently shows that the GDP per capita had shared similar trend with the birth rate. When the GDP fell in the Asian financial crisis times, the birth rate also fell. And as the GDP rose after the crisis, the birth rate rose. Excepted that the birth rate did not change its trend, when the GDP was unstable in the global financial crisis.

Family policies, which caused the low birth rate in the early transition period were the policies implemented before Gorbachev era. The policies were that the partially paid maternity leave was extended from one year to three years and the family with three children could access to all the advantage of public services and housing. This resulted in the early and more frequently reproduction in a shorter time, thus, most families reached their reproductive goal earlier<sup>54</sup>. These measurements were applied in 1983. The reverse effect had shown in the next few years with the decline in birth rate in 1988.

Another factor, which rooted from the Soviet period, was the housing. Russia inherited bad housing conditions since Stalin was the leader. The houses and apartments were small and most of them were built in block with a shape of square considered not pleasurable. Moreover, the population needed to live together. Sometimes two or three families lived in one house or many people lived in one room. The housing conditions were poor, not including housing with no electricity of running water. The attempt in housing reform in Khrushchev period resulted in more houses and apartments with a little bit more living space and more pleasant look but most of them rather small. This had caused the low birth rate in the Russian Federation.

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<sup>54</sup> Zakharov V. Sergei and Ivanova I. Elena, "Fertility Decline and Recent Changes in Russia: On the Threshold of the Second demographic Transition," In **Russia's Demographic "Crisis"**, DaVanzo Julie, editor, (Santa Monica, CA: RAID, 1996), pp. 47-49.

## Conclusion

As the same in chapter II, It is clearly that there are relationships between the political and economical condition and both the trend of demographic aspects and each human development aspects.

The birth rate was rising a little bit in transition period before kept falling until year 2000 when it started rising again. In contrast with the death rate, which was declined in Gorbachev era, then it increased in transition period and stayed high until it started to gradually decrease in the mid 2000s. The high death rate and low birth rate has cause negative natural change rate starting in 1992, thus cause the decline in population growth.

The Russian demographic development has only negative evidences to those two theories namely, Malthusian Theory and Demographic Transition Model (see appendix B for overview of theories analysis). The internal interventions of both theories are the radical change in political and economical structure, family policies, and alcohol policies, while the external intervention was the Asian financial crisis.

As Gorbachev made a call on “Perestroika” to restructure the Soviet economy, it was affected to other dimensions. There was more freedom to organize. In this period, the government started policies on property ownership whether it was not considered to be successful. The education system was decentralized. And the medical care provided by private sectors was started under Gorbachev’ policies.

In the next era after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Privatization and liberalization were applied to use as shock therapy, while Russia also faced the Asian financial crisis as an external intervention. The new union of worker had more awareness of poor and unsafe working. The housing had better improvement than the Gorbachev period with faster increase in space of living per inhabitant. While, the education was low in list of priorities and teaching profession become unattractive. The founding of insurance company for population health issue and the healthcare

service fee control in private sector were occurred in this period. There was not much change in human development dimensions in this time because the government paid more attention to the country's politic and economy.

In Vladimir Putin until Dmitry Medvedev period, a new round of liberalization was implement. The country has burdens to pay partially its debts to the IMF and Paris Club. The external intervention was the global economic crisis in the late 2000s and the world oil prices decline. The GNI was continuously getting better after the Asian financial crisis and was a little bit struggled in the global financial crisis. The housing were much better than in Yelsin period with now 22.4 square meter floor space per inhabitant. Education was readjusted to suit the needs of labor market and Russian market economy. Standard exams were applied to deal with educational corruption problem. The seriously healthcare reform was happened in 2006

This research also found that the determinants of the demographic crisis has received an effect from both the political and economical condition and also has been caused from the historical perspective. The main causes of high death rate were the long working hour and bad work condition, which were the reasons of numerous deaths by non-infectious disease. The socio-economic transformation in 1990s, after the disintegration of the Soviet Union has caused stress among the population. This, in some ways, led to high cigarette and alcohol consumption, which was one of the factors of high death rate. A low value of individual life and health was the characteristic of which Russian population were inherited from the former Soviet society.

While the major causes of low birth rate was as well found in historical evidences. The living in miserable houses, which merged to other families, was one of the reasons of low birth rate in the Soviet era. Although Khrushchev had made reforms in housing section with more houses and more pleasing appearance but most of them were rather small. It is considered difficult and unsuitable to convince people to have another member of family. The high abortion was the condition of the Soviet

society, which continued existing in the transition period. While the unstable families status with low marriages and high divorces just started after the dissolution of the USSR and was feature of Russia until 2002. Another evidence of the connection between the country's economic conditions and the number of population was the trend of birth rate, which resemble to the trend of GDP per capita.

As seen in the studies of demographic development and human development in both Soviet and Russia period, what will happen to Russia in those 2 areas in the next decade? The next chapter discusses the population growth's and human development's trend of future Russia and the new challenges to face including the policies which the state chosen to implement.



## **CHAPTER IV**

### **PROJECTION AND CONCLUSION OF DEMOGRAPHIC CONDITION IN THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION**

Russia has faced a negative population growth since 1992, right after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. The demographic crisis combined with the low birth rate together with the high death rate. After many measures have been applied, the crisis has been resolved. But some problems still have their effect in the latter years. The future of Russian development in many areas still poses challenges for the Russian policymakers.

Distinct from presenting pattern of the last two chapters, this chapter will first demonstrate the projection for the future demographic development of the Russian Federation. However, this demonstration is not meant to calculate any number of populations in the future. It is intended to show projections from other documents and show the differences between the demographic situation of Russia and the old projection. With regard to the projection of Russia's human development, this research presents social policies related to each of the following dimensions, namely, living standard, education, and healthcare, which are currently used or planned for future practice. The second part of this chapter is a conclusion, which summarizes the evolution of Russia demographic development and human development from Russian Empire through the Soviet Union until present. And also with regard to human development, the chapter will show the trend in Russia's Human Development Index as a whole along with its components. Therefore this chapter is divided into two parts as the following topic; 1) Projection, and 2) Conclusion

#### **Projection**

Since the dissolution of the USSR, Russia has had a bad trend of population growth rate. The situation was acute in the beginning of the 1990s both in quantitative

and qualitative terms. These conditions started to get better and then Russia was struggling in global economic crisis in the late 2000s. The country's long-term development of demography, living standard, education, and healthcare are the challenges for the policymaker. This part briefly summarizes the projection of Russia's demographic development from other documents and illustrates the related-policies of each dimension of human development planned for the future. Thus, this part is split into 4 following topics: 1) Aspect of Demographic Development, 2) Living Standard, 3) Education, and 4) Healthcare

### 1. Aspect of Demographic Development

The trend in Russia's birth rate was getting higher with such a scale in Gorbachev era and at the same time the death rate was getting lower. But after that the birth rate speedily fell down and kept on being low in the transition period. While the death rate, on the other hand, kept rising and the number of deaths was higher than the number of births. These caused a trend of reduction of population growth. The birth rate then has been rising since 2000 whereas the death rate started decreasing in 2005. The birth rate has kept rising up to the present, while the death rate has kept reducing.

The projection of both birth and death rates was that the rates would meet each other at some point. Now those rates already met in 2012 at the rate 13.3 per 1,000 populations and the natural change is 0 per 1,000 populations but the total natural change is still negative at 2,573 populations (see figure 7.). Since the trend in the birth rate is getting higher and the death rate is getting lower, it is certain that in the near future the birth rate will keep rising while the death rate will keep decreasing. But then, the new task of Russia will be to keep the birth rate stable and keep the death rate lower. Now Russia's life expectancy as compared with those of other countries is considered unpleasant.

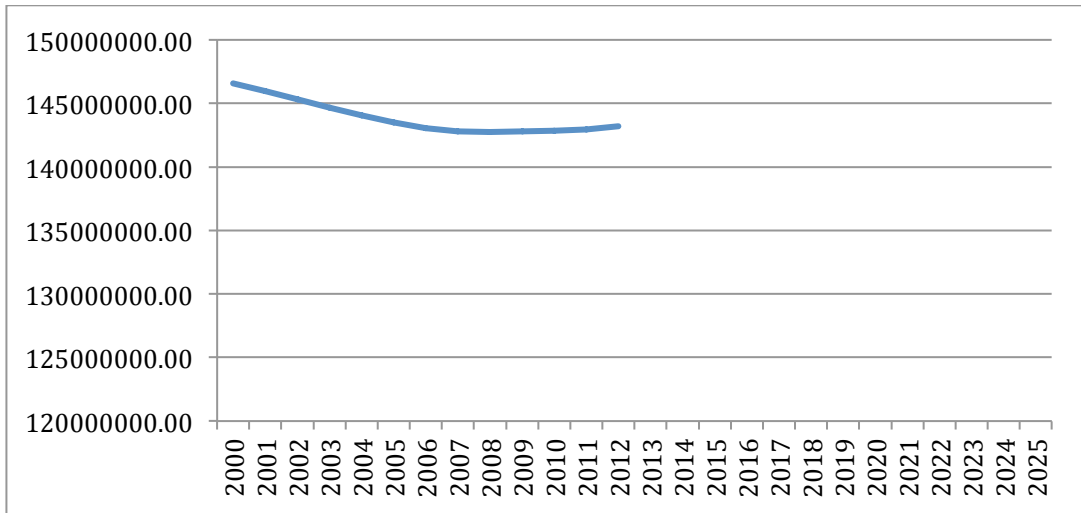


Figure 20. Total Population of Russia 2000 - 2012

Source: Russian Federation Federal State Statistic Service **Total Population of Russia 2000 - 2012** [Online], <http://www.gks.ru>.

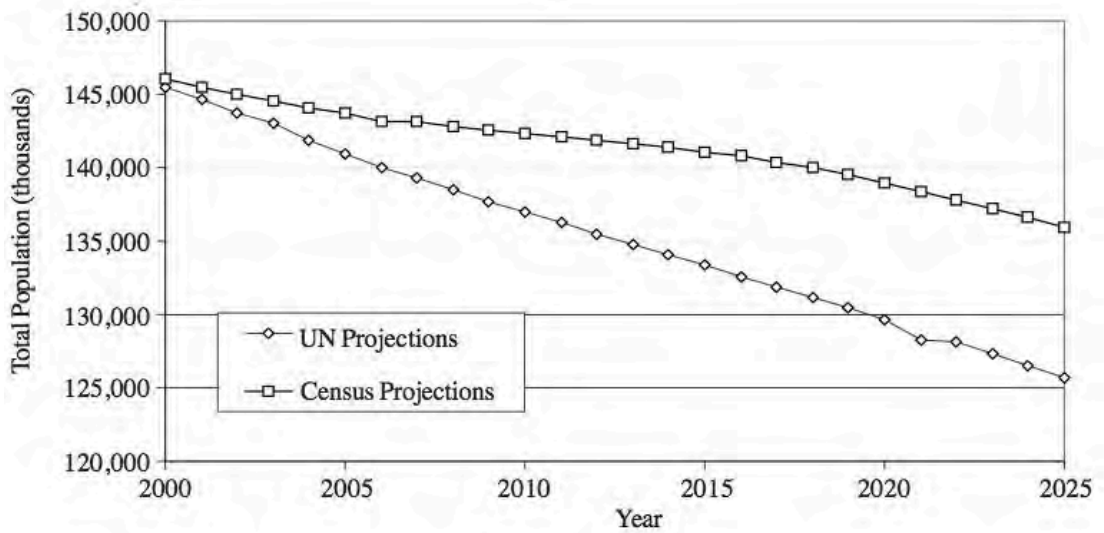


Figure 21. Projected Total Population in Russia 2000-2025

Note: Information in year 2004, Projection from year 2000

Source: Eberstadt Nicholas. "The Russian Federation at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century: Trapped in a Demographic Straitjacket," **NBR Analysis** Vol.15, No. 2. (September 2004): p. 35.

The average population of the Russian Federation in 2000 was 146,597,000, nearly 2 million less than the average population in 1991, which stood at 148,394,000 people. The population has gradually declined since the disintegration of the Soviet Union. The situation seemed to get better with negative natural change 705,452 population in 1998, less than in 1994 with negative natural change 893,207 people but then it got worse in 1999 with negative natural change 929,627 (see figure 7.). After many policies encouraged people to have more children along with the social security programs, which gave special benefits for family and children, this situation slowly got better. And Russia's population is now 143,213,095 in 2012, which is already better than both UN and census projections of 2000.

With respect to the social benefits, there were measures for encouraging the birth of a second child by giving social benefits to the families in 2006. But Putin has already planned to increase Russia's population to 154 million by the next 4 decades<sup>1</sup>. Now Putin thought that it is time to take the next step in initiating special benefits for the third and subsequent children. The amount of benefits is now estimated to be 7,000 rubles per month. Some may argue that 7,000 rubles per month are not enough<sup>2</sup> but it is better than zero. Nevertheless, as Putin stated in his report in 2012, the federal budget will increase the provided contribution to 50% by 2018. And the families who receive such benefits should not be with high incomes or higher income than the average in their region<sup>3</sup>.

Figure 21. is a projection of the total population of Russia in 2000-2025, projection based on the year 2000. The UN projection forecast Russia's population trend to be much lower than the census projection. In accordance with the trend in the figure, the actual trend of total Russian population was not completely the same. At first the trend in total population was more similar to the census projection with

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<sup>1</sup>Wang Yamei, **Backgrounder: Key points of Putin's policies** [Online], 5 March 2012. Source [http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/database/2012-03/05/c\\_131447285.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/database/2012-03/05/c_131447285.htm).

<sup>2</sup>**Putin want more babies** [Online], 15 February 2012. Source <http://www.mercatornet.com/demography/view/10303>.

<sup>3</sup>Putin V. and Pravada K. **Vladimir Putin: Building Justice - A Social policy for Russia** [Online]. 2012. Available from : <http://www.ruskiymir.ru/ruskiymir/en/publications/articles/article0239.html>.

145,306,469 total populations in 2002. The trend then developed in the same way as UN projection but a little bit better. In other words, Russia's trend is somewhere between the UN projection and the census projection in 2005 of the total population at 143,518,816. The trend then hit its lowest point since the disintegration of the Soviet Union at 142,742,368 in 2008. Surprisingly, this trend turned out to be more identical with the census projection again in the past few years. And now in 2012, the total population of the Russian Federation is even better than the census projection in 2012. According to the trend of total population from earlier year since 2000, the trend in Russia's total population in the near future is certain to be better than census projection in the graph.

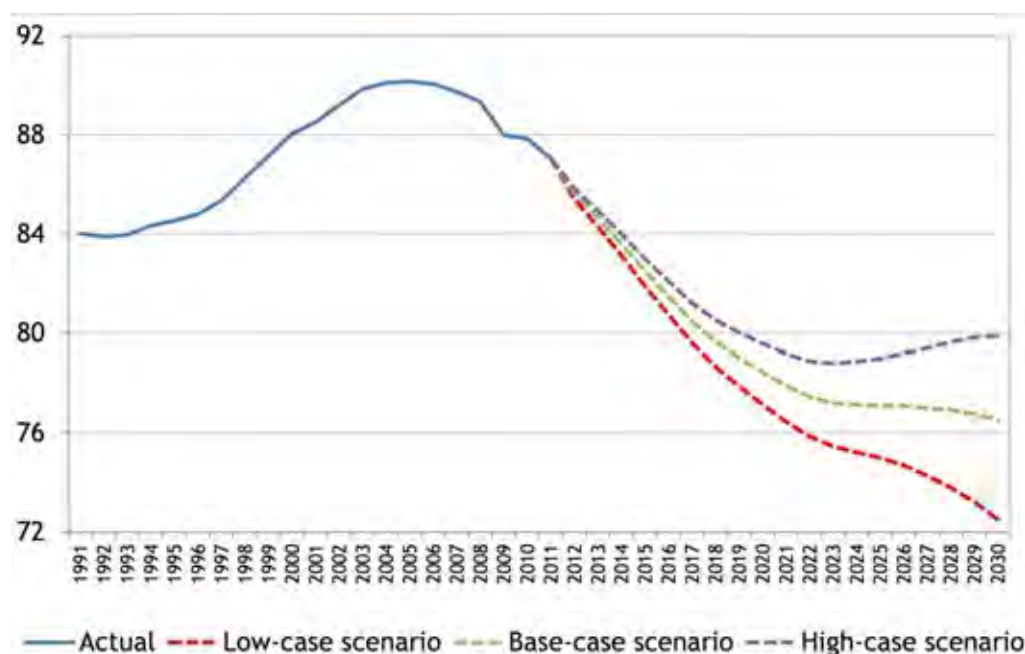


Figure 22. Russia's Working Age Population in 1991-2030

Note: information in year 2013

Source: Richter Kaspar, **Russia's growth prospects: what about aging?** [Online], <http://blogs.worldbank.org/voices/russia-s-growth-prospects-what-about-aging>.

But the low population birth rate has already happened for some decades and the effect of this in one dimension was the population age pyramid. The lowering of younger population and the high aged populations have caused the burden for

younger people, and the low working age population problem has started to show its effect now and will continuously be like this in the next decade. This incident will also lead to a decrease in economically active population, thus, reducing of labor supply. The figure above (figure 22.) presents Russia's working age population in 1991-2012 and projects Russia's working age population from 2013 until 2030. This graph shows that the working age population of Russia was stable for few years after the disintegration of the USSR and the kept rising until it hit its peak in 2005. And then the prior low young populations began to show in decreasing working age population trend in 2006-2012. Three dash lines represent three case scenarios. The purple dash line represents high case scenario as an optimistic projection. The green dash line represents base case scenario as a normal projection. The red dash line represents low case scenario as a pessimistic projection.

## 2. Living Standard

In December 2012, Maxim Topilin Minister of Labor and Social Protection of the Russian Federation has signed the program of cooperation between the Russian Federation and the International Labor Organization for 2013-2016. The goals and the prime concern of the program are to build the long-term social and economic development of the Russian Federation till 2020 through the development of labor relations in the Russian Federation. The new training strategy is quoted as "A Skilled Workforce for Strong, Sustainable and Balanced Growth". In fact, some of the aims of cooperation hve already been mentioned by Vladimir Putin earlier in that year.

As Russia's working age population is forecasted to decrease in 2013 till at least 2020, the new state program on employment promotion for 2013-2020 was issued. The aims of the program are to match the skilled labor to the demand of local resource, to complete professional education with market requirements, and to raise working conditions. Pension and unemployment insurance systems are also given special attention in the field of social security. Moreover, effective tripartite and bipartite as strong and competent social partners are the essential condition for effective social dialogue.

The agreements of cooperation between the Russian Federation and the ILO in 2013-2016 incorporate the following key priorities<sup>4</sup>:

1. To increase employment opportunities and creating better jobs by focusing on: firstly modernizing effective jobs under post-crisis condition; secondly making the qualified environment for business; thirdly, youth employment policies and programs should be applied; fourthly, simplifying a slow transition to formal economy; fifthly, developing small and medium sized enterprises and entrepreneurship for most employment and self-employment opportunities; and lastly, creating more opportunities and employability of professional education for disabilities persons.

2. To ensure safe working conditions and enhancing social protection by focusing on: firstly modernizing and improving the national occupational safety and health system together with its legislation and policy with ILO standards and practices; secondly, improving the working conditions and developing the OSH management system and services in enterprises; thirdly, setting the minimum standards of social security and social services; and lastly, improving the legal framework for pension insurance and the long-term development of pension system.

3. Promoting international labor standards and strengthening social dialogue by focusing on: firstly, promoting ratification and application of ILO conventions and recommendation; secondly, using international standards for the better labor legislation; thirdly, policy making in both national and regional levels, which should be participated by the role of workers and employers' organizations; fourthly, strengthening the role of collective bargaining in wage and through appropriate bargaining procedure; fifthly, enhancing the minimum wage; sixthly, expanding workers' representation and the role of trade unions; seventhly, providing new and

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<sup>4</sup> **Programme of Cooperation between the Russian Federation and the International Labour Organization for 2013-2016.** Moscow. December 2012, pp. 5-7.

better services to the employers' organization members by reinforcing its capability; and lastly, adding the significant social and labor issues to have wider involvement of social partners.

The trends of economic growth in Russia are likely to grow and so is the gross national product. As for housing projection, the Russian government has already started to be interested in the construction of new housing and mainly of the affordable variation. This has also become a focal point of the policy initiatives. The target of these efforts is a 9.4 % of compound annual growth rate in 2010-2020. A result anywhere near this target would be a sign of growth<sup>5</sup>.

President Putin has also extended free housing privatization to 2015. Privatization of housing in Russia began in 1992. The period during which owners can privatize their apartments without paying full taxes and fees has already been extended twice<sup>6</sup>.

### 3. Education

The main areas of the Russian education that Vladimir Putin gave oath to make reforms on 4 March 2012, after his re-election of the Russian Presidency are to the following areas:

1. To export Russian education, thus to created internationally a better image of Russia.
2. To establish military education institutes including 10 research' and educational centers for national security. The main objective is to encourage the defense industry's research and development.

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<sup>5</sup> **Russian homebuilding: A topperforming sector over the next decade** [Online], 9 February 2011. Source : <http://www.trustedsources.co.uk/russia/infrastructure/russian-homebuilding-a-top-performing-sector-over-the-next-decade>.

<sup>6</sup> **Putin Extends Free Housing Privatization Until 2015** [Online], Source <http://www.themoscowtimes.com/business/article/putin-extends-free-housing-privatization-until-2015/476044.html>.



3. To reinforce the quality of education in Russia, including a monthly financial aid for high performance and low-income students.
4. To promote civic patriotism in literary education.

Since most of the educational institutions in the Russian Federation are provided by the state, both President Putin and Dmitry Livanov, the new Education and Science Minister, agreed to propose the objectives to privatize education and to limit the rights of educators nationwide. Therefore, the new law has been initiated to close thousands of Russia's education institutions in 2013. Some criteria have already been launched by the Ministry of Education and Science in the previous year. Each educational institution will be evaluated in the following topics:

1. The earnings of the institution alumni 5 years after they graduated
2. Comparing the pay of professors to average regional pay
3. The percentage of students whose academic qualifications allowed them to be accepted to the university without taking entrance exams
4. The scholarly work of professors and the scientific research which conducted at the university

As Livanov believes that education should create skilled workers, he hope to have primary school students evaluated upon portfolio of their academic performances. A new draft law requires all preschool-age children to be put in a state preschool.

Other aspect of the education is the global challenges. All nations are seeking to compete in the global environment context is one of the challenges to the higher education system. Higher education has become equal as the elementary education and literacy in a century ago. The Russian Federation faced specific problems of the Russian education namely, the demographic problem and the corruption. According to the trend in means year of schooling since 1980, it was gradually rose until 2000 and rather stable since then. Unless Russia government has a better result on education reforms, this statistic would still be unchanged.

According to UNDP, Russia's mean years of schooling is considered as very high human development. Even so in the macro dimension, mean year of schooling and expected years of schooling of Russia still quiet inequivalent compare to those European countries and the united state (see appendix for means years of schooling and expected years of schooling of Russia and selected countries). While trend of both statistic of the united state and other countries in Europe are just about the same, but Russian trend of the statistics are some where between those countries and China.

Moreover, Russia spent about the same share of GDP on education with Asian and Latin American countries but not even close compared to the united state or European countries (see appendix for public expenditure on education as percentage of GDP of selected countries of USA, Europe, Asia and Latin America). And the outcome of education in those Asian and Latin American countries are various results. If Russia cannot finish the entire disadvantage, especially with regard to corruption, it is positive that Russian education will not be able to compete in global field.

#### 4. Healthcare

The Russia's life expectancy at birth of Russia was high at rate 68.4 years old in 1985. But then it swiftly fell in the transition period until the Asian financial crisis. The rate was getting better but then decreased again in 2003. The next year after that, the Russian's life expectancy started to increase since then (see figure 13. for life expectancy at birth of Russia in 1980-2012).

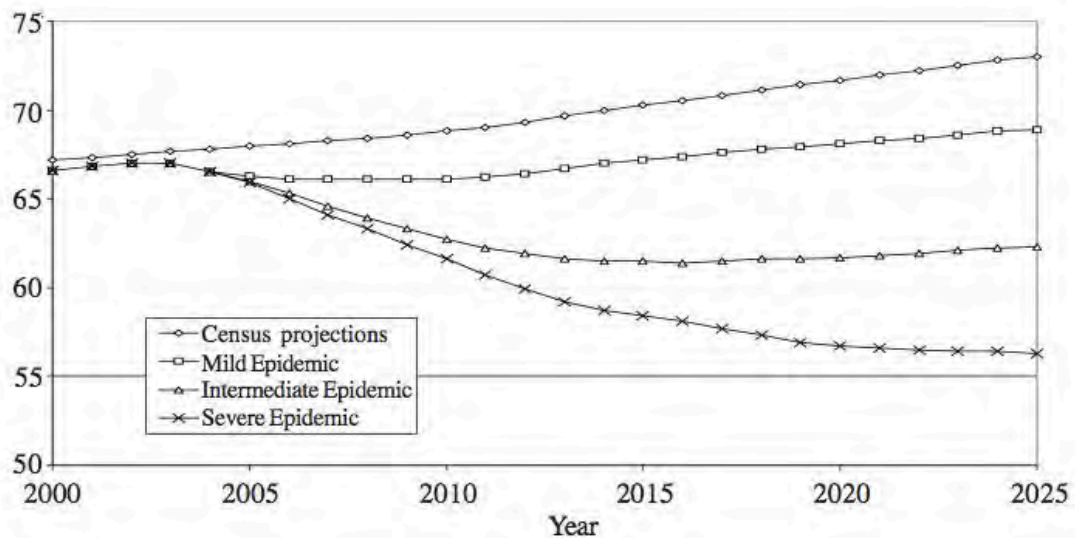


Figure 23. Projected Life Expectancy of Russia in 2000-2025

Note: projected from year 2000, information in 2004

Source: Eberstadt Nicholas. "The Russian Federation at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century: Trapped in a Demographic Straitjacket," *NBR Analysis* Vol.15, No. 2. (September 2004): p 52.

Figure 23. presents projected life expectancy of Russia in 2000-2025, projected based in year 2000. There are 4 type of projection in the graph, each one represent the variety of the possibility. The first line, the best one is census projection. The second line is Mild epidemic with a lower projected line than the first line. The third line is intermediate epidemic with a little bit higher projected rate than the last line. And the last line is severe epidemic with the lowest projected rate.

In the start of the 2000s, Russia's life expectancy was much in the same manner as all four projected line, which are rising a little bit. But in only 2 years, the rate was not rising or identical to any projected line shown in the graph. Instead, the rate was decreasing since 2000 till it reached at 65.2 years in 2004. The Russia's life expectancy was slightly rose and identical to those three projected in epidemic condition again at the rate 65.2 in 2005 but not similar to the census projected rate. Only that Russian rate was increasing while the other projected rate were decreasing. After that the Russia's life expectancy rate kept rising and started to be in between the census projection and the mild epidemic projection in 2009. By 2012, Russian's life

expectancy is more likely identical to census projection, which is considering the best (see appendix for Russia's life expectancy comparing graph in 2000-2025).

The low life expectancy in the 2000s was because there was no serious healthcare reform until 2006. And if the leader of Russia continue to make a progress in healthcare development and provide sufficient fund, it is sure that Russia life expectancy will continue rising. But to compare with the United State and other countries in Europe, Russian is far behind and need more effort to be parallel with those countries.

To make and improvement in healthcare, the government had lunched the new legislation on healthcare development system of Russia and had made its concept through 2020<sup>7</sup>.

The main objectives of this conception are as follow:

1. To encourage population growth up to 145 million people, which are now 143,213,095 populations in 2012.
2. To raise average life expectancy to 75 years, which is now 69.1 year.
3. To lessen maternal mortality to 18.6 per 100,000 born
4. To form a healthy lifestyle to the Russian population, including reducing tobacco and alcohol consumption.
5. To improve the quality and accessibility of healthcare services.

And the goals of this conception are as follow:

1. The creation of conditions, possibilities and motivation of population for healthy lifestyle
2. The development of the healthcare system

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<sup>7</sup> **Russian Healthcare System Overview.** (St. Petersburg: The Stockholm Region office, 2010), p. 8.

3. The requirement of state guarantees of free medical services provision to the population.
4. The development of pharmaceutical supply at the outpatient department within the frames of the OMS\* system.
5. The formation of an effective management model of financial resources of the state guarantee program
6. A further training of medical staff and the establishment of motivation system for quality work
7. The improvement of medical science and innovation in healthcare area
8. The advancement of IT in healthcare

## **Conclusion**

The Russian Demographic Development was brought to be popular topic since Vladimir Putin's first election in 2000. But actually the crisis has long been there since 1992 where the natural change rate was negative. And as a matter of fact, the roots of the crisis has gradually derived from the condition of the Soviet Union era with high death rate and low birth rate. The determinants of the crisis also started to exist since the Soviet Union. The consequences of the situation were affected in many areas. The lower number of population for the military recruitment, the lower working age population means lower active population, while aging populations will be the burden in the low active population era. This has come to conclusion for many demographers that the demographic situations in Russia since 1993 have been the problem and can be called "demographic crisis". Bangkok may, at one point, not be any different from the situation in the Russian Federation.

The number of population increase rapidly in 18<sup>th</sup> century throughout 19<sup>th</sup> century. The population growth rate was kept steady in the first half, except the massive casualties in the WWI, WWII, famine and the other civil war. Both birth rate

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\* OMS is stand for Mandatory Medical Insurance according to Russian Healthcare System Overview, 2010

and death rate were declining after the WWII. After the 1960s, the death rate was increasing. In contrast with the birth rate which was decreasing. In 1992, the death rate has beat the birth rate causing the negative natural change and the decrease in population growth. After some policies were chosen to ease the problem, the death rate was vaguely declined since 2005 and the birth rate was gradually increased in the 2000s (see appendix A for birth rate and death rate of Russia in 1927-2011). The population growth is projected to get further increase, while the working age population is projected to decrease at least for the next 20 years, after that it would start rising again or it would decline depended on the population growth rate of the next year.

According to the trend of birth rate, death rate and population growth in the 5 years, it is the evidence proving that the measurements, which were applied in the Vladimir Putin Regime, could consider as successful. The main focal area was to induce the birth rate and reducing the death rate was the minor area. The policies implemented to reduce the death rate were the improving for the safety road and the prevention of the import and production of alcohol. The policies implemented to generate the birth rate were child (one time) and childcare (monthly) benefits, financial and social support for young families, Maternity leave benefits, Material support, benefits for guardian or foster parents.

Analyzing aspect of Russia demographic development, there are positive evidences and negative evidence compared to Malthusian Theory, Marxism on Population Theory, and Demographic Transition Model. Each theory has its own unique results. But the analyzed of Malthusian Theory is the most distinctive theory of all three. While Marxism of Population Theory and Demographic Transition Model have shared some of its positive and negative evidences. On the other hand, the interventions, which made Russia demographic development different from those theories, were mostly shared to all three theories in both external and internal dimensions. The interventions in the Soviet period were the WWII, the famine (1932-33), family policies and the political and economical policies. Whereas the

interventions in the Russia period were the alternation of political and economical structure, family policies, and alcohol policies, including the Asian financial crisis.

With pessimistic view of humanity, Malthus proposed that population will be increase more quickly than the sustenance. Malthus failed to oversee the influence and the effects of the political and economical conditions. He underestimated the capability of humanity and the innovation created by human. Because in fact, people could create the machinery that help produce more food. While Marxism were too optimistic and too confident in socialism system and thought that the system and so the other conditions would be adapted by itself. He failed to value the positive sides of capitalism and overlook the influence of other variable. The Demographic Transition Model was the last and the best theory among others (in this research), which could gave explanation and foresee the demographic development in many countries. On the other hand, only some situation in the first half of the Soviet Union that matches with stages in the Model. This model was too simple and narrow. Even if latter there are the creation of the 5<sup>th</sup> stage where the death rate is low but the birth rate is lower and it causes the decline in population growth. But Russia was not the same situation in the 5<sup>th</sup> stage because Russia condition was the high death rate.

Figure 24. is Human Development index of Russia in 1990-2012. Russia is now in the rank of 55<sup>th</sup> among other countries with rate 0.788 in 2012. The HDI of Russia was lower a little bit in the transition period. It was getting higher again after the year 2000. The rate was lower again in 2005 and the end of the 2000s.

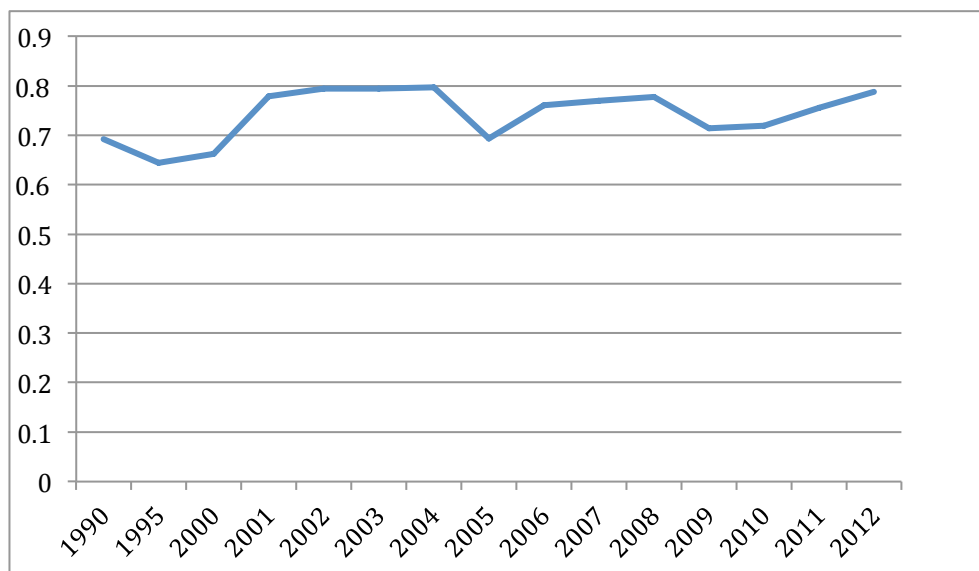


Figure 24. Human Development Index (HDI) of the Russian Federation 1990-2012

Note: (1) latest accessed information in April 2013

(2) HDI is the calculation of 4 statistics from 3 dimension, namely gross national product, mean year of schooling, expect year of schooling, and life expectancy.

Source: UNDP **Human Development Index (HDI) of the Russian Federation 1990-2012** [Online], <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/indicators/103106.html>.

Figure 25. presents Trend in Russian Federation's Human Development Index component indices 1990-2012. According to the statistic in 2012, education was the best result among other dimensions. It started with the third position in 1990, but the index was rapidly rising in 1995 and since then education became the first position. In contrast with the life expectancy, which represents healthcare, was rather high and came with the first position in 1990, but then it slightly went down until 2000 when it started rising again. And the rate ended with the second place in 2012. Whereas the worst rate is the GNI per capita. It kept its place since 1990. GNI was rapidly fall in the transition period and the slightly increased after 1995.



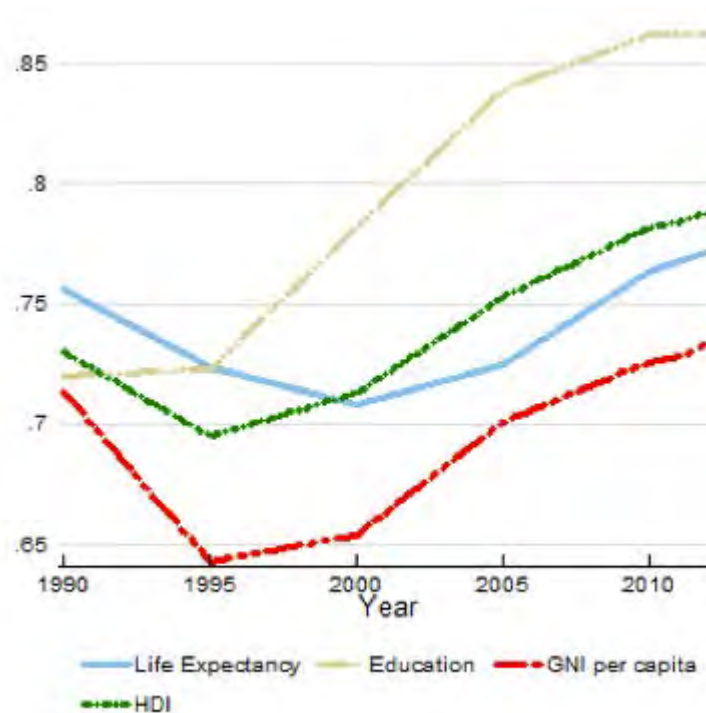


Figure 25. Trend in Russian Federation's Human Development Index component indices 1990-2012

Source: **UNDP Russian Federation HDI values and rank changes in the 2013** [Online], <http://hdrstats.undp.org/images/explanations/RUS.pdf>.

Living Standard of the Soviet Union were substandard public transport and urban infrastructure. There was no choices or desired good to be found in stores. Housing were unpleasant and dismal and most of its rather small. While there were more safe in working condition and also more choices and products. The real wages and GNI was getting higher and better after the Asian financial crisis. The property ownership was bring into practice. Housing constructions were privatized. By The program of Cooperation between the Russian Federation and the International Labor Organization for 2013-2016, Russia working environment and its business including the country's economy are projected to be healthier. Private housing constructions also have a tendency of the expansion with the extension of free tax policy.

Education in the Soviet Union was uses as an instrument of Marxism to teach people the significant of proletarian. Especially in Stalin time, education was

exercised to teach the greatness of Stalin among children. As in the same way, the education was modified to fit the demand of labor market and the country market economy. The education system was decentralized and was assemble to more national education. National standard leaving exam was implement to fight the corruption. The assessment of educational reform was the best result among other dimension, especially in Vladimir Putin period, whether the results was not meet the whole objective. By seeing the future of Russian Education in the international scene, it is not considered comparable to those European countries and the United State. Unless Russia terminates the entire weakness, especially corruption, Russian educations will certain to straggle in the global challenge.

Healthcare in Soviet Union period was abysmal. The hospital had not enough equipment, besides the maintainance was negligent. The researve clinic and long queuing for medical care has caused the corruption in the system. Private sector of medical care started in Gorbachev era. In the 1990s, Russia's healthcare established health insurance company and service fee control in private sector. The healthcare reform was actually put into action by the President Putin in 2006. The result of the reform was only small improvement. The future of Russia healthcare was expected to be better with more total population and higer life expectancy with the contineuing of Putin healthcare policies developed to apply from 2010-2020.

As to the determinants, this research found that the determinants of the demographic crisis were the following factor:

1. The non-infectious diseases caused by long working hour and bad work condition in the Soviet period
2. A low value of individual life and health, which inherited the characteristic from the former Soviet Union
3. The political and economical transformation in 1990s, which caused stress among population, especially the age of 40 and over
4. High alcohol consumption
5. High abortion

6. Unsecured family status with high divorce rate, while the marriage rate are low
7. The country economy and its implication to birth rate
8. Family Policy
9. Housing problem, receive the condition from the Soviet Union

From all the aspects and information, the researcher considered that healthcare should be the first in priority list for the country development, while the others should be the minor topic. The government should continue their social security program to subsidize families, maternity, including the worker. The education reform should be implemented but with low cost of public services. Most of all, the government should gave enough finance to make all policies meet its objective, otherwise it would be just plans on papers. The government should not pay much attention to the economy more than other topic. And to be straightforwardly, the researcher did not really agree with UNDP to use only GNI per capita as an indicator for living standard, not only the money that define wealthy and better living.

Most of all, this research discovered that there are relations between all dimensions and in both internal and external context. There was a link between the political and economical aspects and each conditions of both demographic development and human development namely birth rate, death rate, living standard, education, and healthcare. In contrast, each dimensions of human development had received impacts from the demographic developments and both demographic conditions and human development conditions had effected on the political and economical policies in reversed. It can be say that there are connections between political economical condition of each leader, demographic development and human development. One change in one dimension will cause changes in others.

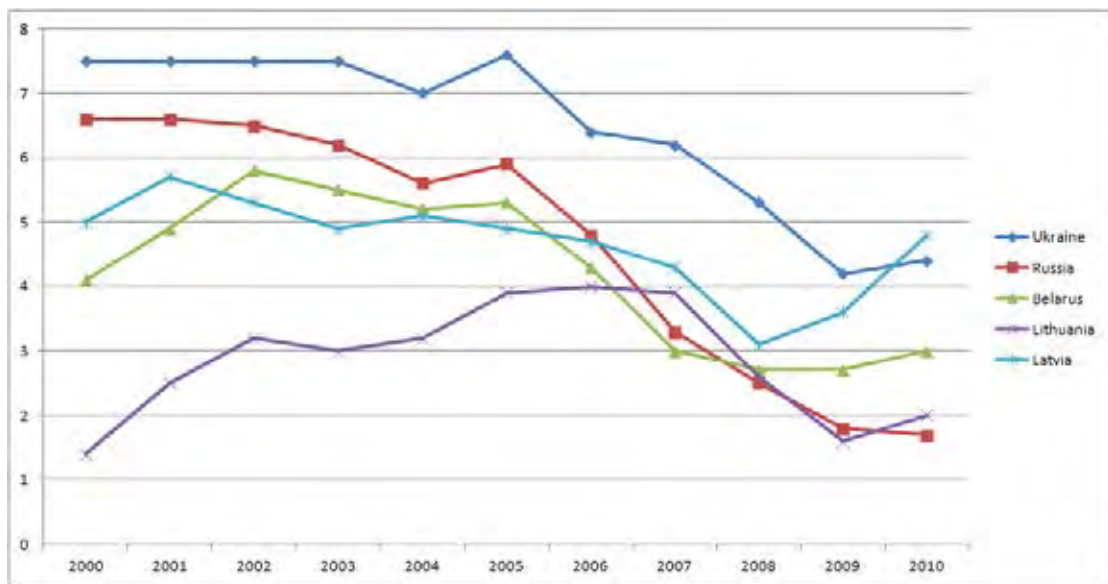


Figure 26. The natural rate of population decrease per 1,000 residents from 2000-2010

Source: Adomanis Mark, **A Reply to Nicholas Eberstadt's "The Dying Bear"-Russia's Demographics are Not Exceptional** [Online], 31 October 2011. <http://www.forbes.com/sites/markadomanis/2011/10/31/a-reply-to-nicholas-eberstadts-the-dying-bear-russias-demographics-are-not-exceptional/>.

As many experts considered Russia demographic development as a “Crisis”, but some doubted that it is not while some other countries were also confronted by the same situation in Russia. According to figure 26., Ukraine, Belarus, Lithuania, and Latvia were shared almost the same trend of the natural rate of population decrease per 1,000 residents. But in the opinion of researcher, those countries are the former Soviet Union and that is the reason why they had the same conditions in their countries. Or is it really just a trend? And the government was only intent to rise the cost of the public service as claim by Harley Balzer<sup>8</sup> or Vladimir Putin only used this topic as a tool for his popularity and his election. There is also the evidence that the reproduction of Russia was not much different from those countries in Europe (see

<sup>8</sup> Balzer Harley, “Russian Higher Education to 2020,” **Russian analytical digest**, No 97 (May 2011): p. 2.

appendix A for net female reproduction coefficient 1960-2005 of selected countries). But as for the life expectancy, Russia was definitely too low compared to other countries (see appendix A for life expectancy of Russia and selected countries). Even compared with among the countries of the former Soviet state itself, life expectancy of Russia also considered low (see appendix A for life expectancy of Russia and selected countries). And it does not have to compare with other countries, the death rate still considering high comparing to the former Soviet Union. Moreover, the Russia death rate also high compared to the former Soviet state (see appendix A for Mortality of Russia and the former Soviet state). From the researcher judgment, Russia still has many spaces left for the development in many areas, even if it is not about the number of population or any aspects of demographic development.

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## **Appendices**

## Appendix A

### Tables and Figures

**Table 1: Wage and Salary Distribution of Soviet Workers and Employees, 1956-86**

Wage and Salary Distribution of Soviet Workers and Employees, 1956-86 (%)						
Rubles earned per month	March 1956	April 1968	March 1972	April 1976	March 1981	April 1986
Under 80	71.0	32.7	23.6	15.2	6.4	4.9
80 - 100	13.2	21.3	18.5	14.6	13.6	11.3
100 - 120	6.6	15.1	14.7	13.2	12.3	10.3
120 - 140	3.6	10.7	12.1	12.9	12.5	11.0
140 - 160	2.0	7.3	9.5	11.6	11.7	11.4
160 - 200	1.9	7.4	11.9	16.2	19.2	18.4
200 - 250	1.2	3.1	5.6	9.0	12.5	15.3
250 - 300	-	1.3	2.1	3.8	5.6	7.7
Over 300	0.4	1.1	2.0	3.4	6.2	9.6

Source: Gregory, P. and Stuart, R.C., **Russian & Soviet Economic Performance & Structure** (The United State of America : Addison Wesley Longman, 2001), P.124

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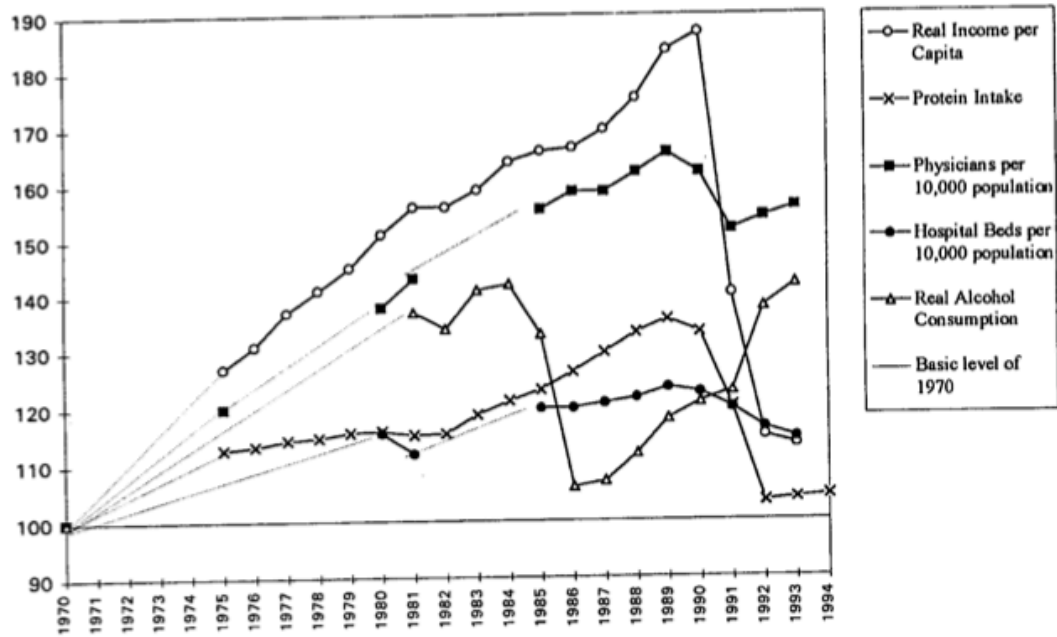


Figure : Real income per capita, Daily protein intake, number of physician and Hospital beds per 10,000, and Real Alcohol Consumption in 1970-1994

Note: each compared to the basic level of 1970, 1970=100

Source: RAID Rozenfeld A. Boris, "The Crisis of Russian Health Care and Attempts Reform," In **Russia's Demographic "Crisis"**, DaVanzo Julie, editor, (Santa Monica, CA: RAID, 1996). Page 161.

Table 2: Unemployment Rate and Percentage Change of the Russian Federation in 1992-2012

Year	Unemployment rate	Percentage Change
1992	4.768	
1993	5.285	10.84 %
1994	7.233	36.86 %
1995	8.534	17.99 %
1996	9.606	12.56 %
1997	10.819	12.63 %
1998	11.889	9.89 %
1999	13.001	9.35 %
2000	10.591	-18.54 %
2001	8.939	-15.60 %
2002	8	-10.50 %
2003	8.6	7.50 %
2004	8.2	-4.65 %
2005	7.6	-7.32 %
2006	7.2	-5.26 %
2007	6.1	-15.28 %
2008	6.4	4.92 %
2009	8.4	31.25 %
2010	7.5	-10.71 %

Note: Unemployment rate is the number of unemployed populations as a percentage of the total number of labor force.

Source: UNDP **Unemployment Rate** [Online]. 21 February 2013. [http://www.indexmundi.com/russia/unemployment\\_rate.html](http://www.indexmundi.com/russia/unemployment_rate.html)

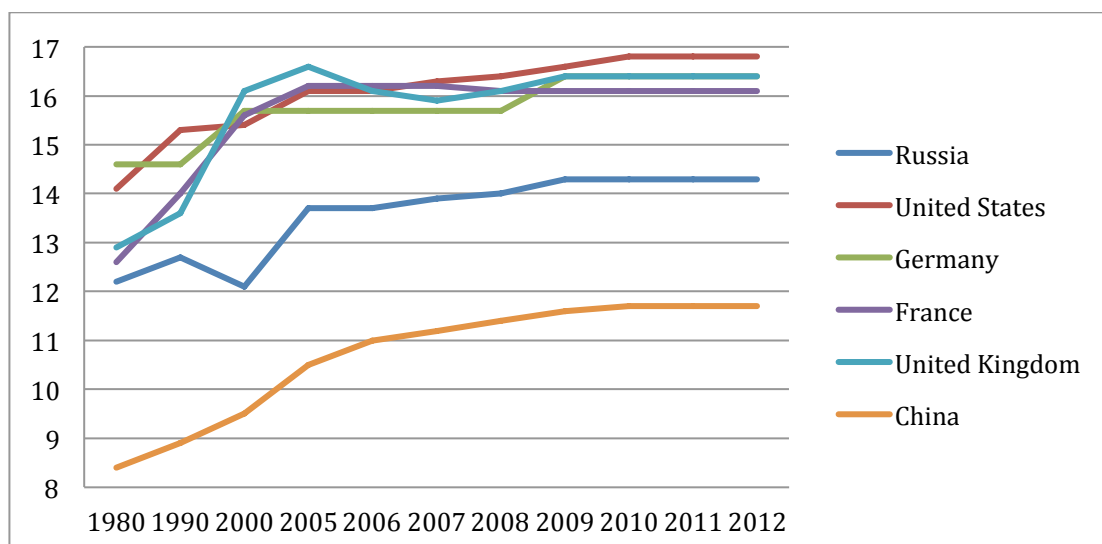


Figure 13: Expected Years of Schooling of Selected Countries in 1980-2012

Note: Expected years of schooling of children

Source: UNDP **Expected Years of Schooling (of children) (years)** [Online]. 15 October 2012. <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/indicators/69706.html>

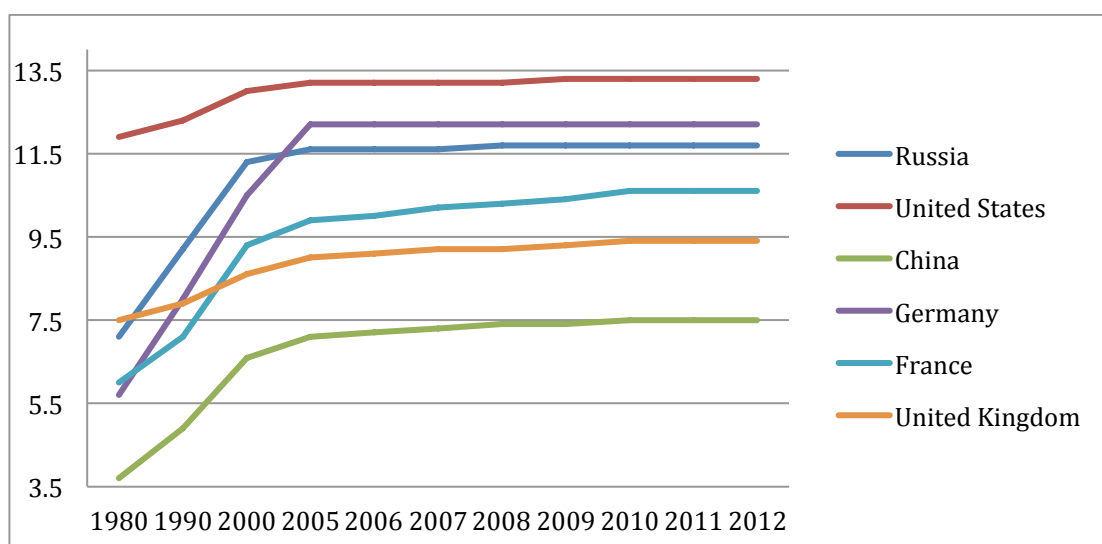


Figure : Mean years of Schooling of Selected Countries in 1980-2012

Note : Average number of years of education received by people ages 25 and older, converted from education attainment levels using official durations of each level.

Source: UNDP **Mean years of schooling (of adults) (years)** [Online]. 15 October 2012. <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/indicators/103006.html>

Table 6: Trends in Healthcare Expenditure in the Russian Federation, 1994-2002

Total Expenditure on Health Care	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2002
Annual Healthcare Expenditure, US\$ PPP, billion	29.2	23.8	24.5	29.2	26.2	27.2	N/A
Share of GDP (%)	4.4	4.0	4.1	5.1	4.6	4.6	5.6
Public as share of total expenditure on health care (%)	88.9	81.7	79.2	75.3	67.7	65.5	59.0

Source : Van Wagoner L. Jarad, "The Demise of Russian Health Capital: The Continuity of Ineffective Government Policy," (Master's Thesis, Master of Arts in National Security Affairs, Naval Postgraduate School, 2007), Page 63

Table 7: Healthcare Expenditure and Health Indicators Comparison, 2002-2003.

Country	Public Expenditures (% of GDP,2002)	Private Expenditures(% of GDP,2002)	Total per Capita Expenditures on Healthcare (PPP US\$,2002)	Life Expectancy at Birth (2003)	Infant Mortality Rate per 1,000 (2003)
Russian Federation	3.5	2.7	535	65	17
United States	6.6	8.0	5,274	77	7
Germany	8.6	2.3	2,817	79	4
Poland	4.4	1.7	657	75	7
China	2.0	3.8	261	71	26
Ukraine	3.3	1.4	210	68	14
Kazakhstan	1.9	1.6	261	65	63

Source : Van Wagoner L. Jarad, "The Demise of Russian Health Capital: The Continuity of Ineffective Government Policy," (Master's Thesis, Master of Arts in National Security Affairs, Naval Postgraduate School, 2007), Page

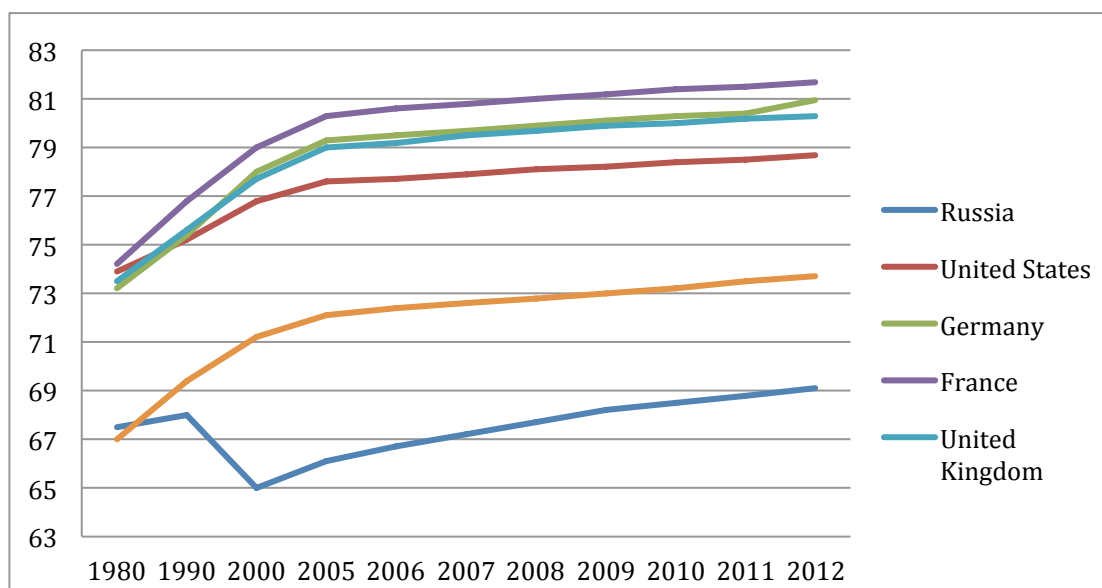


Figure 16: Life expectancy at birth of Selected Countries 1980-2012

Source: UNDP **Life expectancy at birth (years)** [Online]. 15 October 2012. <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/indicators/69206.html>

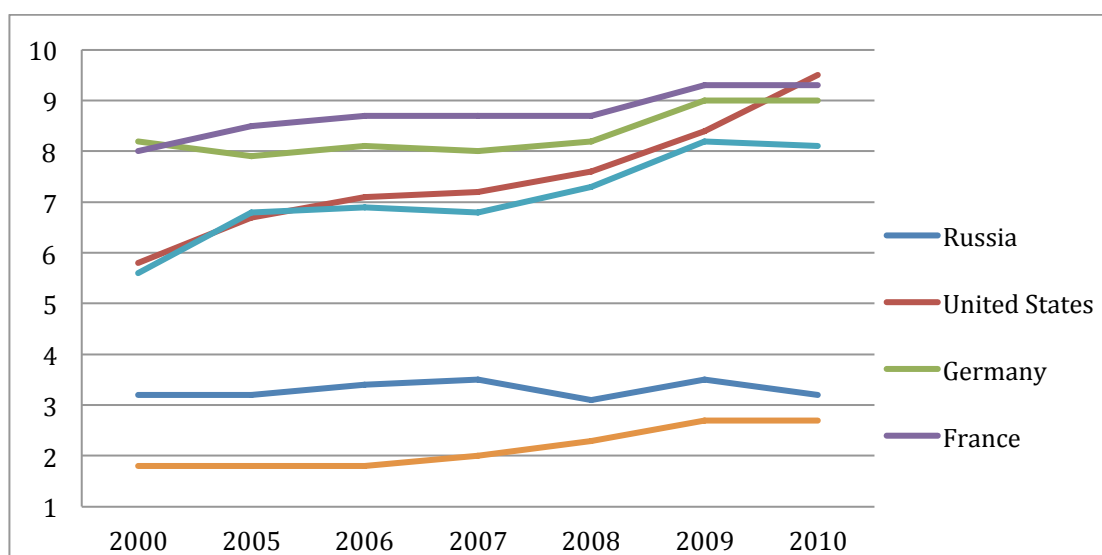


Figure 17: Expenditure on health public of Selected Countries in 2000-2010

Note: Percentage of Gross National Product

Source: UNDP **Expenditure on health, public (% of GDP) (%)** [Online]. 15 October 2012. <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/indicators/53906.html>

Table 8: Alcohol Consumption Per Capital in Liters 1993-1994

	Total	Unrecorded	Spirits
World	5.1	N/A	1.7
Russian Federation	10.58	4.9	7.64
United States	8.54	N/A	N/A
Ukraine	4.04	8.0	N/A

Source : Van Wagoner L. Jarad, "The Demise of Russian Health Capital: The Continuity of Ineffective Government Policy," (Master's Thesis, Master of Arts in National Security Affairs, Naval Postgraduate School, 2007), Page 47



Tables and Graphs in Chapter 3

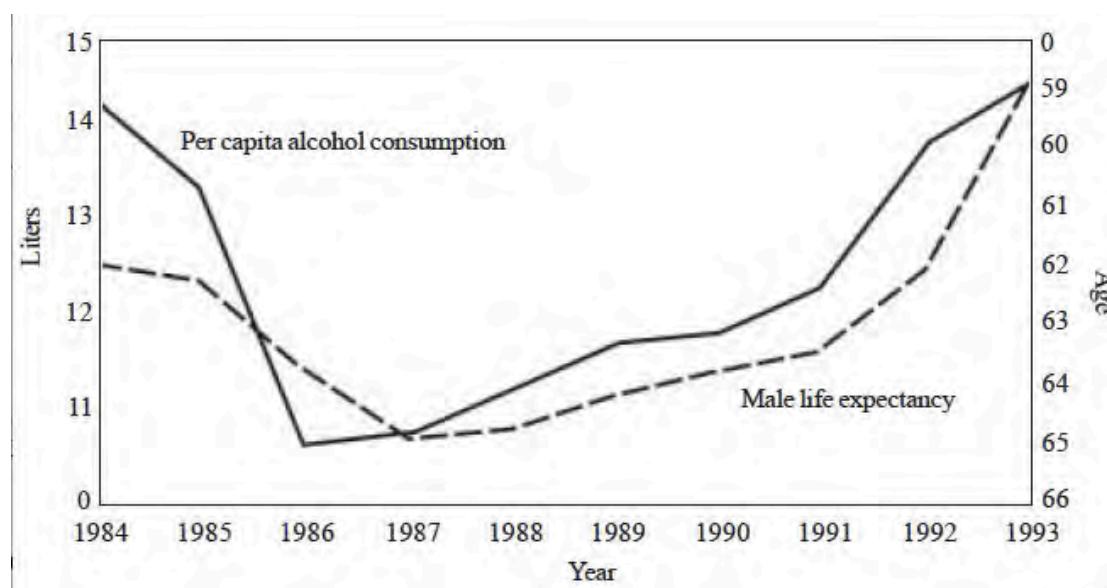


Figure . Alcohol Consumption and Male life expectancy of Russia 1984-1993

Note:

Source: Eberstadt Nicholas, "The Russian Federation at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century: Trapped in a Demographic Straitjacket," **NBR Analysis** 15, No. 2 (September 2004): 49

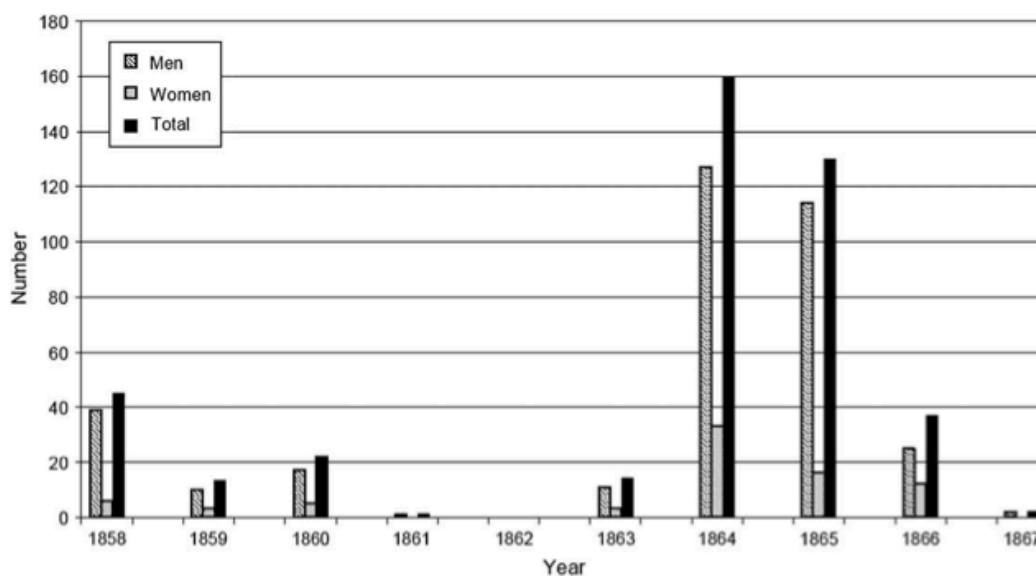


Figure 19: Death from Alcohol-related of Russia in 1858-1867

Note: Death from alcohol-related Mortality per 10,000 deaths

Source: Stickley, A., Razvodovsky Y. and Mckee M. "Alcohol mortality in Russia: A historical perspective," **Public Health** 123 (2009): 22

Table 3: Public spending on education, total (% of GDP) of the Russian Federation and selected country.

	Russia	United States	China	France	Germany	United Kingdom
1980	-	-	1.9	4.4	-	5.3
1981	-	-	2	4.8	-	5.5
1982	-	-	2.1	4.9	-	5.4
1983	-	-	2.1	4.9	-	5.3
1984	-	-	2	5	-	5.2
1985	-	-	2	4.9	-	4.8
1986	-	4.8	2.1	4.8	-	4.6
1987	-	-	1.8	4.7	-	4.6
1988	-	4.8	1.8	4.6	-	4.5
1989	-	5	-	4.5	-	4.4
1990	-	5	-	4.6	-	4.4
1991	-	5.1	-	4.9	-	4.5
1992	-	-	1.9	4.8	-	4.7
1993	-	-	1.7	5.5	4.5	-
1994	-	5.1	2	5.7	4.5	5.2
1995	-	5.2	1.9	5.9	4.5	5.2
1996	-	-	1.9	5.9	4.5	5.1
1997	-	-	-	-	-	-
1998	-	5	1.9	5.8	4.6	4.8
1999	-	5	1.9	5.8	-	4.5
2000	2.9	-	-	5.7	-	4.5
2001	3.1	5.7	-	5.6	-	4.6
2002	3.8	5.6	-	5.6	-	5.2
2003	3.7	5.8	-	5.9	-	5.4
2004	3.5	5.5	-	5.8	-	5.2
2005	3.8	5.3	-	5.7	-	5.4
2006	3.9	5.6	-	5.6	4.4	5.5
2007	-	5.5	-	5.6	4.5	5.4
2008	4.1	5.5	-	5.6	4.6	5.4
2009	-	5.4	-	5.9	5.1	5.6

Source : The Worldbank **Public spending on education, total (% of GDP)** [Online], <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.XPD.TOTL.GD.ZS?page=6>.

Table 4: Public spending on education, total (% of GDP) of the Russian Federation and selected Asian countrys.

	Russia	Singapore	China	Philippines	India	Thailand
1980	-	2.6	1.9	2.6	-	2.6
1981	-	2.6	2.0	2.6	-	2.9
1982	-	3.3	2.1	3.3	-	3.3
1983	-	4.0	2.1	1.7	-	3.5
1984	-	-	2.0	-	-	3.4
1985	-	-	2.0	-	-	-
1986	-	-	2.1	1.7	-	3.4
1987	-	-	1.8	-	-	3.1
1988	-	3.7	1.8	-	-	2.8
1989	-	-	-	-	-	2.5
1990	-	-	-	-	-	-
1991	-	-	-	-	-	3.1
1992	-	-	1.9	-	-	3.0
1993	-	-	1.7	-	-	-
1994	-	-	2.0	-	-	3.5
1995	-	-	1.9	3.0	-	3.2
1996	-	-	1.9	3.4	-	3.5
1997	-	-	-	3.6	2.8	4.6
1998	-	-	1.9	3.8	6.5	4.7
1999	-	-	1.9	-	4.3	5.0
2000	2.9	3.4	-	3.3	4.3	5.4
2001	3.1	3.0	-	3.0	-	5.0
2002	3.8	-	-	3.0	-	4.1
2003	3.7	-	-	3.0	3.6	4.0
2004	3.5	-	-	2.6	3.3	4.2
2005	3.8	-	-	2.4	3.1	4.2
2006	3.9	-	-	2.5	3.1	4.3
2007	-	-	-	2.6	-	3.8
2008	4.1	2.8	-	2.7	-	3.8
2009	-	3.3	-	2.7	3.2	4.1
2010	-	3.5	-	-	3.3	3.8
2011	-	3.2	-	-	-	-
2012	-	3.3	-	-	-	-

Source : The Worldbank **Public spending on education, total (% of GDP)** [Online].  
<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.XPD.TOTL.GD.ZS?page=6>

Table 5: Public spending on education, total (% of GDP) of the Russian Federation and selected Latin country.

	Russia	Brazil	Argentina	Mexico	Chile	Colombia
1980	-	-	2.6	-	4.4	1.7
1981	-	-	-	-	5.2	2.6
1982	-	-	1.6	-	-	-
1983	-	-	1.6	-	-	-
1984	-	-	2.6	-	-	3.0
1985	-	-	1.4	-	-	2.7
1986	-	-	1.3	-	-	-
1987	-	-	1.3	-	3.0	-
1988	-	-	-	-	-	-
1989	-	4.7	1.0	2.3	-	2.7
1990	-	-	1.1	2.3	2.4	-
1991	-	-	-	2.5	-	-
1992	-	-	-	3.0	-	-
1993	-	-	-	-	2.5	-
1994	-	-	-	4.6	2.6	-
1995	-	4.6	-	4.6	2.6	-
1996	-	-	3.7	-	2.9	-
1997	-	-	-	-	3.1	-
1998	-	4.9	4.0	4.2	3.4	3.9
1999	-	3.9	4.5	4.4	3.8	4.4
2000	2.9	4.0	4.6	4.9	3.7	3.5
2001	3.1	3.9	4.8	5.2	-	3.7
2002	3.8	3.8	4.0	5.3	4.0	4.3
2003	3.7	-	3.5	5.3	3.9	4.3
2004	3.5	4.0	3.8	4.9	3.5	4.1
2005	3.8	4.5	-	5.0	3.2	4.0
2006	3.9	5.0	4.5	4.8	3.0	3.9
2007	-	5.1	4.9	4.8	3.2	4.1
2008	4.1	5.4	5.4	4.9	3.8	3.9
2009	-	5.6	6.0	5.3	4.2	4.7
2010	-	-	5.8	-	4.2	4.8
2011	-	-	-	-	-	4.5
2012	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source : The Worldbank **Public spending on education, total (% of GDP)** [Online].  
<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.XPD.TOTL.GD.ZS?page=6>.

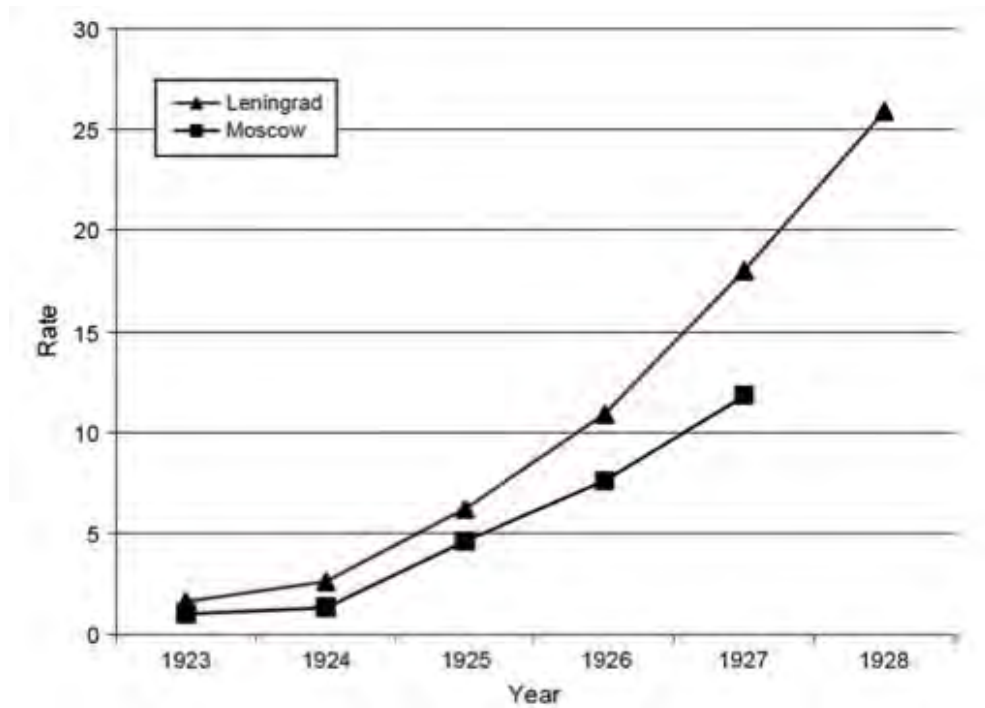


Figure . Death per 100,000 from alcoholism (alcohol poisoning) in Leningrad and Moscow, 1923-1928

Source: Stickley, A., Razvodvsky Y. and Mckee M. "Alcohol mortality in Russia: A historical perspective," **Public Health** 123 (2009): 22

## Chapter IV

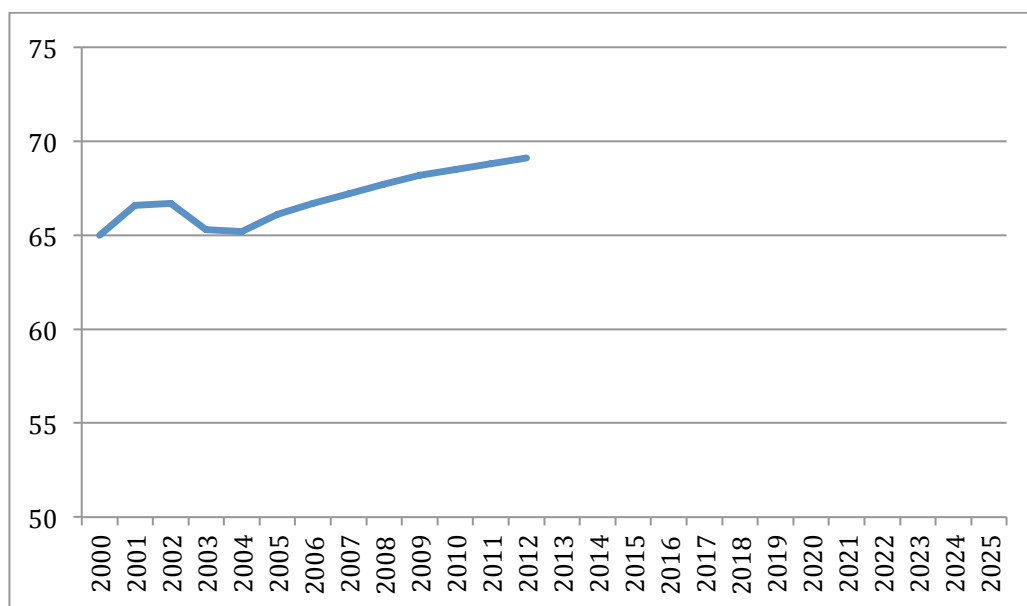


Figure . Life expectancy at birth of the Russian Federation 2000-2012

Source: **Life expectancy at birth of the Russian Federation 2000-2012** [Online].

<http://www.gks.ru>

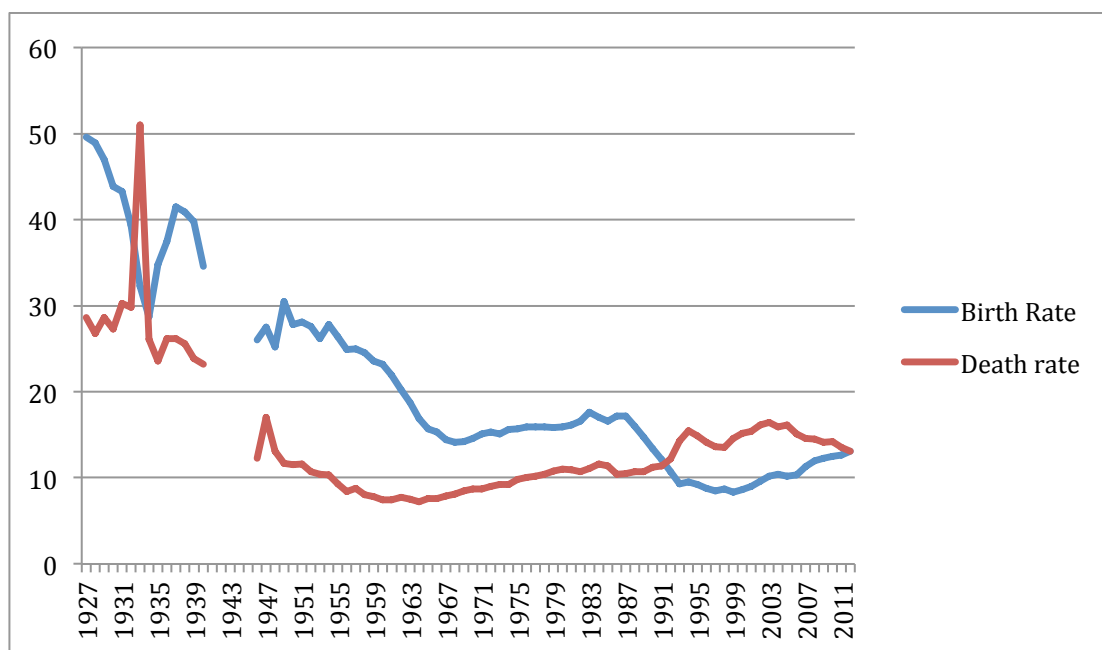


Figure . Birth rate and Death rate of Russia in 1927-2012

Note: (1) Crude birth rate and crude death rate per 1,000 populations

(2) not include 1941-1941, WWII

Source: **Birth rate and Death rate of Russia in 1927-2012** [Online]. <http://www.gks.ru>

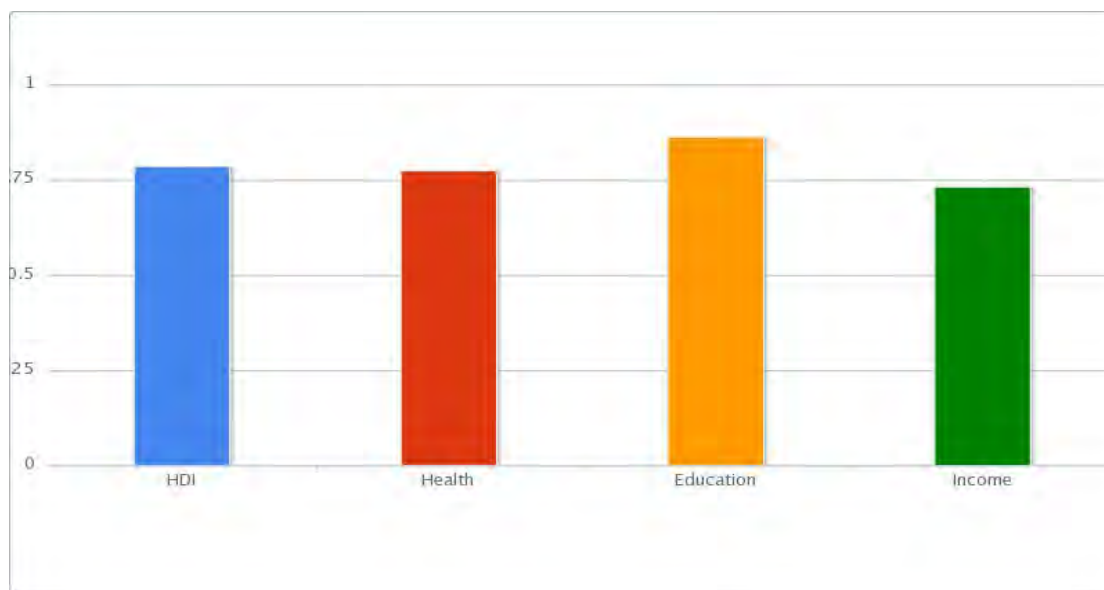


Figure . Human Development Index (HDI) and its components of the Russia Federation in 2012

Note: latest accessed information in April 2013

Source: UNDP **Human Development Index: Health, Education and Income** [Online]. <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/RUS.html>.

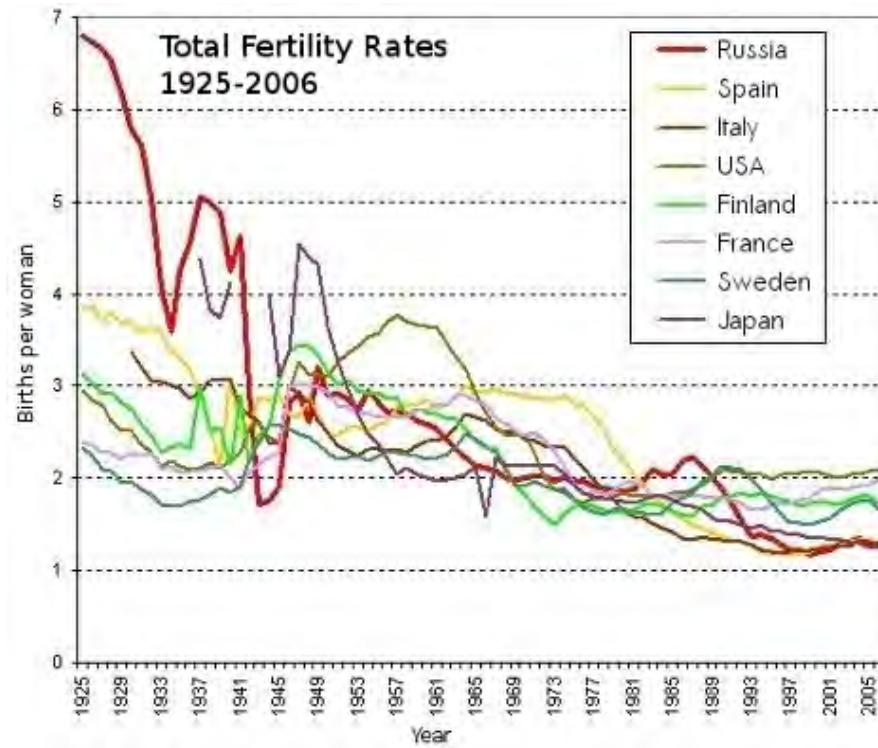


Figure . Total Fertility Rates of Russia and selected countries in 1925-2006

Source: **Total Fertility Rates of Russia and selected countries in 1925-2006**

[Online]. <http://darussophiledotcom.files.wordpress.com/2009/04/demohistory1925-2005.jpg>



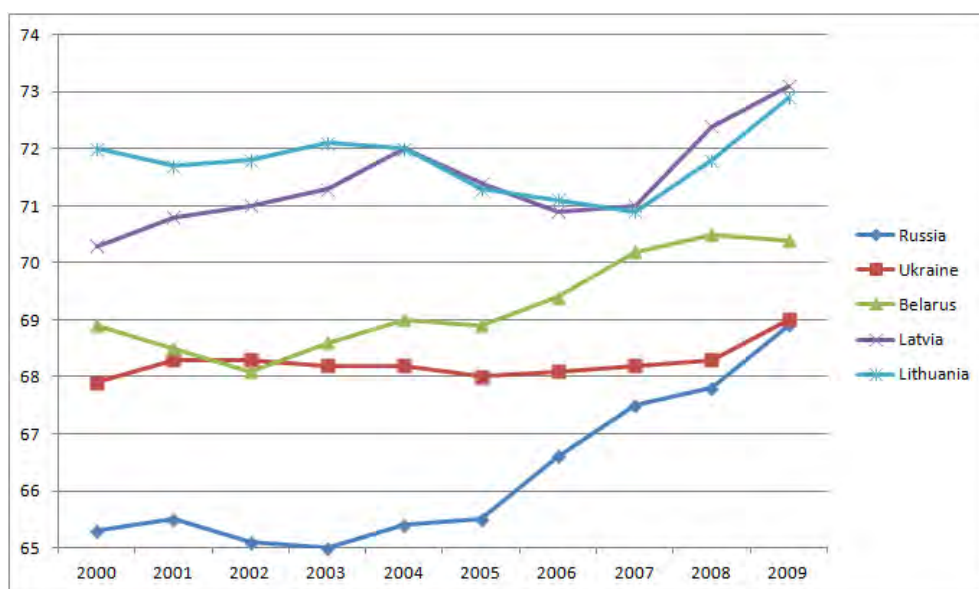


Figure : Average life expectancy of Russia and the selected former Soviet state in 2000-2009

Source: Adomanis Mark, **A Reply to Nicholas Eberstadt's "The Dying Bear"-Russia's Demographics are Not Exceptional** [Online]. 31 October 2011. <http://www.forbes.com/sites/markadomanis/2011/10/31/a-reply-to-nicholas-eberstadts-the-dying-bear-russias-demographics-are-not-exceptional/>

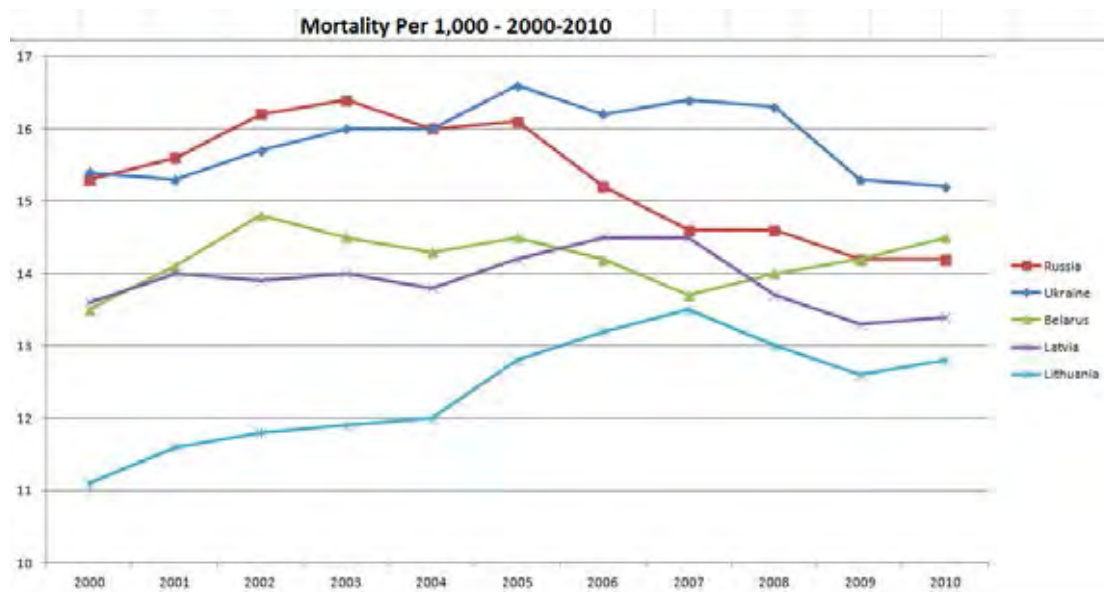


Figure : Mortality Per 1,000 populations of Russia and the selected former Soviet state in 2000-2010

Source: Adomanis Mark, **A Reply to Nicholas Eberstadt's "The Dying Bear"-Russia's Demographics are Not Exceptional** [Online]. 31 October 2011. <http://www.forbes.com/sites/markadomanis/2011/10/31/a-reply-to-nicholas-eberstadts-the-dying-bear-russias-demographics-are-not-exceptional/>

## Appendix B

### Overview of Theories Analysis

**Analyzing Soviet Demographic with Malthusian theory, Marxism on population, and Demographic transition model.**

<b>Dimension</b>	<b>Malthus</b>	<b>Marx</b>	<b>Demographic Transition Model</b>
<b>View of Population</b>	Population grows geometrically while food supply grows arithmetically	Capitalism produces an oversupply of workers. The capitalist system is unjust, but it can be changed through a revolution of the proletariat and better living conditions, the increase of income and equalities of income distribution will decrease the birth rate and death rate	Four stages of demographic transition model (birth rate and death rate) occurred as a result of social and economic development
<b>Positive Evidence</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Population did not rapidly grow.</li> <li>- Fertility declined by the decrease in food supply in Famine time (1923-33)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Death rate fell because of the advancement of medical care</li> <li>- Death rate fell while the inequality of income distribution decreased</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Death rate fell because of the advancement of medical care</li> </ul>
<b>Negative Evidence</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Population did not grow geometrically</li> <li>- Famine did not happen as a result of overpopulation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The reason for the decline in birth rate was not as claimed by Marxism</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Russia did not develop to the fourth stage where the death rate should be steady, but it rose instead</li> </ul>
<b>Intervention</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Political and economic policies</li> <li>- Family Policies</li> <li>- WWII</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Famine (1932-33)</li> <li>- Family Policies</li> <li>- WWII</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Famine (1932-33)</li> <li>- Family Policies</li> <li>- WWII</li> </ul>

### Analyzing Russia demographic with Malthusian theory and Demographic Transition Model

<b>Dimension</b>	<b>Malthus</b>	<b>Demographic Transition Model</b>
<b>View of Population</b>	Population grows geometrically while food supply grows arithmetically	Four stages of demographic transition model (birth rate and death rate) occurred as a result of social and economic development
<b>Positive Evidence</b>	-	-
<b>Negative Evidence</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Population did not grow geometrically</li> <li>- Death rate did not rise because of over population</li> <li>- Birth rate did not decline by policies control</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Russian did not developed to the forth stage where the death rate should be steady, but it rose instead</li> <li>- Death rate was getting more higher while the medical care was already well developed</li> </ul>
<b>Intervention</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Radical Change in Political and Economic system</li> <li>- Family Policies</li> <li>- The Asian Financial Crisis</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Radical Change in Political and Economic system</li> <li>- Family Policies</li> <li>- Alcohol Policies</li> <li>- The Asian Financial Crisis</li> </ul>

## **BIOGRAPHY**

Slaitip Subhanka was born on 8 October 1988 in Chiang Mai, province of Thailand. She later moved to Bangkok where she completed high school. At the age of twenty-one, she graduated her bachelor degree from faculty of political science of Chulalongkorn University, majoring in Sociology and Anthropology, and minoring Russian language. While she was in junior year of university, she also worked as intern for Missing People Center Against Human Trafficking Program of Mirror Foundation. After three months of cultural exchange of work and travel program in United states, she decided to enroll in Master of Arts Program in Russian Studies (International/Interdisciplinary Program) (MARS) at Chulalongkorn University.