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Social and Demographic Development of Tuva (Late 20th – early 21st Centuries)

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The present article is based on the comprehensive analysis of census data and published papers comparing historical facts concerning socio-demographic development of one of the youngest regions of the Russian Federation, the Republic of Tuva. The research is determined by the need to bring the social policies of modern Russia and its regions to compliance with their growing economic capacities. At the moment, there is a tendency to overcome the severe social consequences of the economic reforms of the 1990-s.

The problems associated with the government regulation of social processes, and the reasons why the national characteristics change, concern all aspects of the demographic development of Tuva: fertility, mortality, natural population movement and migration. Such trends in demographical processes as steady high birth rates in Tuva region of the Russian Federation, an alarming increase in the number of children born out of wedlock, disproportionate growth of the number of dependents, high mortality rate, especially in the working-age population, low life expectancy, especially in men, worsening public health and lower quality of life are revealed.

Analysis of the measures taken by the authorities to ensure the growth of living standards and quality of life, suggests a delay of some urgent measures of social policy. The practice of social reforms in Russia in the 1990-s was not systematic in many ways; the reforms were crude and lacked the forecast of long-term social development. The change of the social climate and making a positive impact on all the aspects of public life, including demographic situation, are only possible with the implementation of fundamental changes in the economic and social spheres, along with the elimination of the negative effect.

Keywords: Constitution, the Russian Federation, the Republic of Tuva, region, social policy, demography, reform, fertility, mortality, natural movement of the population, migration, quality of life.

Research area: History.

The Republic of Tuva is located in the central part of the Asian continent between Eastern Siberia in the north, Mongolia in the South and the East, Irkutsk Region in the North-East, Buryatia in the east and the Altai Republic in the

West. In the territory of 170.5 thousand sq.km. the population is 310,4 thousand people¹. In the near past the republic was a backward area with mainly agrarian economy; it became a part of the Russian Federation in October, 1944. At that time

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the population of the Tuva National Republic was 95 025 people, with the share of indigenous people of 85 % , 14.4 % Russian, 0.16 % Khakas, 0.09 % Mongols, 0.07 % Ukrainians. The specific share of urban population made only 6.5 % ².

After entering the structure of the Russian Federation, the Republic of Tuva has strikingly changed: by 1990, its population has grown by over three times, and the industrial output has increased by almost 80 times. However, the process of social and economic transformations in the republic was accompanied by a number of difficulties, serious problems of both objective and subjective matter. The living standards of the Tuva population which had been lagging from all-Russian indicators (in providing the population with social infrastructure in particular) have decreased. The output of food and non-food commodities has considerably decreased. The housing input has reduced by over four times. The average income of population per capita was 25 % behind the average Russian level, while the gross regional product per capita made about 33 % of that of Russia (in 1995).

During the reforms of 1990-2000, the development of the republic slowed down; in a number of branches, especially in the unfortunate social sphere, some stagnation was observed. So, in 1993, some housing with a total area of 32.7 thousand sq.m. was constructed in Tuva, which is 2.1 times less than in 1992, though spent up all the finance that had been assigned for the project. The average salary, monetary income and personal expenses in the republic were much lower than the average Russian level or that of any other region in Eastern Siberia. So, in February 1994 the average salary in Tuva was 1.8 times less than that in Krasnoyarsk Region and 1.6 times less, than that in the Republic of Khakassia.

The living wage of the population of Tuva was growing. So, as of January 4, 1993 it made 3 919 rub., and for April 26, 1994 it was 78 100

rub. (almost 20 times more). More and more was spent on food. If in 1990 this item of expense constituted around 25 % of the total expenses, in 1992 it rose to 40 % (Balakina, G.F. Anayban, Z.V. 1995: 17).

Economic reforms in Tuva had some ethnodemographic features (existence of big families of radical nationality) that caused a greater gap between the rich and poor than anywhere across Russia.

The living standard dynamics was negatively affected by the criminal situation. While in Tuva per 10 thousand inhabitants 363 crimes were committed, in Russia the figure counted 186 crimes. Tuva was considered to be one of the regions with the worst criminal situation in the Russian Federation.

In the 90-s such factor as deterioration of interethnic relations added up to the existing problems. Such serious faults of the national policy as suppression of any manifestations of the Tuva culture, traditions, or customs, became the soil for aggravation. For example, the celebration of the Lunar New Year, or Shagaa, used to be forbidden, while the Orthodox Church, Old Believer and Baptist communities in Tuva continued their work. It led to intensification of social tension in the community, to international conflict aggravation, revival of nationalist and chauvinist movements. Considerable damage was caused to traditionally benevolent relations of the people. The mass migration of the non-Tuvan population from Tuva began: in 1990, over 10 thousand people left the republic³.

The Russian reformers of the early 1990-s officially chose the most acceptable, socially focused economy. It was later established in the Constitution of 1993 where the Russian Federation was proclaimed to be a social state⁴. According to E.T. Gaydar, "It manifested the market economy, which is not the end of itself, but a condition for increasing the living standards, creating a base

for sustainable democratic development”⁵. The aspiration of the government to provide some real guarantees of social protection in the 1990-s revealed itself in a number of implemented regulative acts. However, a considerable part of them was an overdue reaction to the calls, an attempt to smooth the aggravated social problems. In particular, the growing unemployment caused the implementation of a special legal base aimed at mitigation of its consequences. In 1991, the Law “On the Employment of Population in the Russian Federation”, regulating the labor relations between the citizens, was put into force⁶.

The research showed that in 1990 a new stage of social legislation development began in the country. In 1990 the Law “On the State Pensions in RSFSR”, in 1993 the Law “On Payment of Pensions to the Military People, Law-Enforcement Body Officers, and Their Families”, in 1995 the Law “On Welfare Payments to the Citizens Having Children”, “On Social Protection of the Disabled”, “On Veterans”, “On the Essentials of Social Service”⁷ were adopted. At the same time, the regulative acts could not solve all the problems of the social sphere, especially the major problem, the low wages.

In the 1990-s the authorities approached to ensuring the women’s rights to guarantee not only legal, but also the actual equality of genders. The Basic Law of the country was complete with a new clause stating that “men and women have equal rights and freedoms, and equal opportunities for their actualization”⁸. Advancement of women in society was promoted by a number of special decrees of the President and government resolutions⁹. As a whole, the legislative base of the 1990-s social policy was of complex character, focused on ensuring the rights and freedoms of citizens, overcoming the main social contradictions.

However, the system of social protection operating in the territory of the Russian

Federation could not provide the rights of the most vulnerable groups of the population. The main reason for such situation was not only the lasting deep economic crisis, but also a special approach of the authorities to the social support system, irrationally expanding the number of persons with the privilege right. In the mid-nineties, a number of social laws were enacted, increasing the social burden on the state. But without the real financing base, the laws could serve for nothing.

The aggravation of international relations in Tuva in the 90-s became a center of attention for the republic state governing bodies. The anti-criminal program aimed at eliminating the main reasons destabilizing the situation in the republic and inducing non-Tuvan people to the compelled migration was launched.

In December, 1993 the new Russian Constitution, defining the status of the republics as that of states, finally came into force. In October, 1993 the new Constitution of the Republic of Tuva, confirming the status of the Tuvan language as the official language and Russian as the all-federal one was adopted. In the same year 1993 the President of Russia signed the decree “On Urgent Measures for Stabilization of Economy and Development of the Social Sphere of the Republic of Tuva”, and in 1996 the resolution of the Government of Russia “On Urgent Measures for the State Support of Social and Economic Development of the Republic of Tuva for the Years 1996-2000” was issued.

The positive dynamics of the republic development was restored at the beginning of this century. The 2000-2005 industrial production growth reached 135.5 % , while on the average across Russia the growth equaled to 128.4 % . The share of population with the income below the living wage dramatically decreased: in five years it fell from 78 to 44 % , and the amount

of salary reached 82.5 % of the average Russian value.

The population of the republic is characterized by rather high growth rates. In comparison with the Population Census of 2002, the republic population has increased by 2420 people, or by 1.2 % . According to the Population Census of 2002, there were 102 nationalities in the republic, Tuvans constituting 77 % , Russians counting up to 20 % and the rest consisting of the Khakas, Ukrainians, Komi, and Tatars.

At the Population Census of 2010, 120 various answers were given to the question on the national identity. Some changes in the national structure happened during the intercensus period, which is generally connected with the high birth rate among Tuvans and the processes of external migration of the population connected with the outflow of the Russian population from Tuva. Therefore, the numerical domination of Tuvans became more distinct: the share of Russians decreased from 249 299 (82 %) to 16,3 % or to 49 434 people. The share of other nationalities also dropped to the figure of 1.7 % ¹⁰.

Practice shows that there is a change in the lifestyle of Tuvan people, not corresponding to the national character (for example, the youth does not want to work as shepherds anymore), a waste of the nation's culture which, combined with the low level of social infrastructure development, leads to the continuous outflow of the population from rural areas to suburbs. Therefore, despite a natural increase, in 12 of 17 rural areas a general decline in population due to migratory losses is recorded. The main flow of migrants moves to the capital, where people hope to find work and to provide their children with better education opportunities.

Gradual reduction of the average life expectancy, one of the most significant demographic indicators, is noted in the republic. If in 1990 life expectancy of the population of the

republic made 62.5 years, in 2006 it was reduced to 58.4 years (53.3 for men). In 2012 it grew worse, making 61.4 years, which is 6.5 years less than the national average¹¹. Supermortality of men is especially noticeable; the difference in life expectancy of men and women is 11-12 years. In recent years in the republic the specific weight of mortality increases for the reasons of criminal character, and due to alcohol abuse and the growing consumption of alcohol substitutes. Another disturbing circumstance is high incidence tuberculosis among the indigenous population. As a whole, in average life expectancy the republic significantly lags behind many other regions of the Russian Federation. Child mortality, though decreasing year by year, is still high. If in 1980 this indicator made 53.4 children of 1000, in 1993 it was 36.6, and 16.5 in 2012¹².

One of the most important components of demographic process is birth rate. On this indicator, Tuva is high on the rating of the Russian Federation regions. Among the factors maintaining the tradition of having many children in a family there are: prevailing residence of indigenous people in rural areas, weak migratory mobility due to the language barrier (according to the Census of 2010, 77 % of the republic population had a command of Russian language)¹³, attachment to the parental house and native places, close relative connections and others.

The republic did not experience all the processes that happened in Russia during the 1990-s. Just like in Russia, during the crisis the birth rate reduced by two times. The only difference was that the average Russian coefficient of birth rate made in 2003 made 9.8 per 1000 inhabitants, while in Tuva it was 18,4, which is almost twice more¹⁴. But it was not enough for expanded reproduction of the republic population. The beginning of the 1990-s was noted not only by deterioration of the demographic situation in Tuva, but also by the fact that for the first time for

the last 40 years the number of the dead exceeded the number of the new born; therefore, there was a situation of natural loss of the population. It was the reaction of the families to the economic difficulties and socio-political instability in the society.

After the recession of the reform age, the birth rate increased in the republic. In 2002, 5 727 children were born, which is 30 % less than in 1990, but more than in 2001, for 14.3 %¹⁵. The increase in birth rate is still observed: in 2006, 5 950 children were born, in 2007 there were 7 446, and in 2012 8 273 children were born¹⁶. Tuva became the leader of Siberian Federal District in birth rate with the coefficient of 27.3. The second place belongs to Altai (22.5), and the third to Buryatia (16.9)¹⁷. Tuva exceeds the average Russian indicator of birth rate (2011 – 12.6) by 2.1 times.

The increase of birth rate was connected with some favorable shifts in the gender and age structure of the population, along with some increase in the birth age indicators. The birth rate growth was affected, somewhat, by increase in the total amount of women registered at women health clinics before 12 weeks of pregnancy (in addition to pregnancy and childbirth), the lump sum paid at the birth of each child and a monthly grant during the maternity leave period before the child reaches the age of 1.5 years. Growth of birth rate was also promoted by a number of measures taken the republican authorities directed on the protection of health of women and children. In particular, according to the Law of the Republic of Tuva of December 24, 1992 No. 388 “On the State Awards of the Republic of Tuva”, the mothers who have brought up 10 and more children, are granted the honorary title “The Mother-Heroine of the Republic of Tuva” and paid a single reward of 220 thousand rubles at the expense of the region budget. At the moment, there are 47 women bearing the rank.

Large families in the republic have other privileges, too. For example the family bringing up three or more children aged under 18 can receive a land plot for an individual house construction, free of charge. They are also paid the parental compensation for their children’s attending public and municipal educational institutions. A good addition to the federal maternity capital, paid at the birth of the second and the subsequent children, is the regional maternity capital. It is paid under the Law “On the Social Support of Certain Categories of Families in the Republic of Tuva” at the birth of the fifth and the subsequent children, and counts up to 50 thousand rubles. As of October 1, 2012 in Tuva there were more than two hundred families that had the right for the payment.

August 19, 2013. The Government of Tuva approved the bill “On Measures of Social Support of Large Families in the Republic of Tuva” establishing the payment of the regional maternity capital of 100 thousand rubles at the birth of the seventh and subsequent child. More than 250 families applied for it. Similar to the federal maternity capital, the regional payment may be used for the purchase or construction of accommodation, education of the children or for the mother’s future pension. The money gets accessible when the child reaches the age of three. However, this restriction does not apply if the parents decide to use the maternity capital or its part to repay the debts or commission on the mortgage loan.

The studies of the experience of social services in Tuva shows that the protection of families, motherhood and childhood have been the priority ones in the republic and that a special relevance was gained by these issues in the 1990-s. The low income of families with children became an immediate cause of insufficiency of nutrition (in quality or even in quantity for poor families), low-quality medical service, decrease

in consumption of education services, weak organization of leisure and rest during vacation, especially due to the commercialization of culture and leisure establishments and a rise in prices for their services.

Unfortunately, quantitative indices of birth rate were not always accompanied by positive dynamics in the social sphere. As a result, the indicators of social distress were very high. As a whole, the present research showed that joint efforts of a family and the state in the 1990-s were often insufficient for providing each child with the high living standards for their physical, intellectual, spiritual and social development. Therefore, the effective measures on providing assistance to the families in a difficult life situation taken at the regional level were of great importance. The process of adaptation to new social and economic conditions was painful for 87 526 families of the republic, 20 575 of them being poor, 6 154 incomplete and 2 497 being large families.

As we know, birth rate and mortality are not only demographic, but also social and economic problems, being closely connected with such concepts as “physically able population”, “manpower”, “economic losses”. The average age of the population of the republic is 29.2 years at the moment, 30.8 years for women and 27.6 years for men. The average indicators of the whole country are 39.2 years for both sexes. Despite the fact that the Republic of Tuva has one of greatest levels of natural surplus in the country, the steady process of demographic aging in the republic led to the increase of senior, physically incapable population by 2 145 people (7.7 %). The physically able population of the republic is 181.6 thousand people or 58.7 % of the total number and bears extreme social load due to the high unemployment rate, which pushes people to migrate to Kyzyl.

Population mortality is influenced by many factors. The extent of social development, distribution of material benefits, climatic conditions also make their impact on the indicator. Increasing importance is gained by such factor, as environmental pollution and climate change. In this regard the indicator of average life expectancy should be considered as a result of the whole set of vital conditions of the population and the increase of life expectancy can be reached only at improvement of working conditions, living standards, leisure and medical care of the population.

Another demographic process is marriage. According to the Population Census of 2010, the number of married couples in the republic counted up to 62 thousand (58 thousand in 2002). A decrease in the number of marriage registration is observed. According to the Census of 2002, there were 15 thousand couples (25.9 %) lining in unregistered marriage, while in 2010 the indicator rose to 18 thousand (29 %). Besides, the number of divorces also grows. So, in 1993 there were more divorces than in the previous years. In 2012, 396 married couples of 1000 would eventually break up¹⁸. In the urban environment, married couples divorce by 1.8 more often than in rural areas. The increase in the number of unregistered marriage unions led to the increase in number of children born out of registered marriage. During the period 1989-2002, the share of such children grew from 34.4 % to 62 %, which is 2.1 times higher than the average Russian figure. In 2006 the number of births out of marriage increased and reached the level of 67.8 % in the republic as a whole, 63.8 % in urban and 71.2 % in rural areas¹⁹. In the next years, the indicator remained high (68 % in 2011), Tuva holding the leading position in the number of single mothers.

The growth of this indicator can be explained by the economic crisis, when many families, especially those living in rural areas, lost their

constant sources of the income, the unemployment rate increased, and the child allowance turned out to be the main income for the families. Besides, the traditions of Tuvans do not allow denying illegitimate children: the parents of the mother, and the people around would treat the family not the worse for it. Such children are loved just as much as any others.

It is known that in many respects demographic processes depend on the population shift that also affected Tuva. According to the Census of 2002, there was a population reduce of 3 thousand people in comparison with 1989, which happened due to migration of the people out of the republic. Since the beginning of the 1990-s, there has been intensive intra-republican migration. From the point of view of national structure, the migration of non-indigenous people in Tuva has always been higher than that of radical Tuvans. The non-indigenous people are usually focused not on leaving the republic, but on moving to another village or a city within its borders. In 2000, the migration rate in Tuva counted up to 922 people, while in 2005 it was 821 people and 1 751 people in 2010. In 2011, 5 035 people left the region and 1 175 people arrived, and in the year 2012 the indicators were 5 658 and 1 976 people correspondingly²⁰. Due to the reduction of natural surplus of the population in the rural areas, the urban population of Tuva began to grow. So, according to the Population Census of 1989, the urban population of Tuva made 46.8 % ; the Census of 2002 claimed the share of 51.5 % , and the Census of 2010 stated the number of 53.9 % of the total number of the population (in Russian Federation the indicator is 73 % , 70.7 % for Siberian Federal District). The population density of 1.8 persons per 1 sq.km. is one of the lowest among the regions of the Russian Federation. The population is distributed unevenly on the territory of the republic, with over a third of the inhabitants

living in the republic capital, the city of Kyzyl (113.3 thousand people).

The situation continues to intensify: people continue escaping the regions that provide better social and economic security and personal safety. In the years 2002-2010 the decrease of Russian population of the republic capital, where most of them (6 112 people) used live, got notable²¹. The main stream of migrants consists of physically able people. It brings us to the conclusion that the migration is caused by the search of a place for work under better social conditions. But overcoming this motive is impossible in the current social and economic situation of the republic.

Thus, in the beginning of the 90-s of the 20th century, the social and economic development of Tuva, as well as that of the whole Russian Federation, entered the acute crisis which encompassed all components of the demographic process: birth rate, mortality, natural population movement and migration. The number of the citizens needing social support has considerably increased. The existing social service system was poorly adapted for the crisis conditions and demanded serious reformation that was not carried out up to the end of the 1990-s. The analysis testifies the existence of some problems demanding special approach. There is a problem concerning internal migration, which means active population outflow from rural areas to the city. The negative balance of external migration is steady for the Russian population leaving the region. The number of marriages falls, and we observe a threatening growth in the number of children born out of marriage, disproportionate growth of the number of dependents in the region, high level of poverty, unemployment, crime, alcoholism. The general tendency for a demographic crisis is the stable high death rate of the population from unnatural reasons, which reflects the growing social tension, the low

life expectancy indicator, especially for men, deterioration of public health and quality of life.

All of these lead to the conclusion that stabilization of the demographic situation becomes one of the priorities of social and demographic development of the republic. By improving the public health and quality of life (thereby decreasing mortality), developing the migration policy strategy and strengthening the family institution, the situation may be changed. It is required to create conditions for the migratory appeal, making the region more attractive for the

secondary and higher educational institution graduates from outside the republic.

Here, as well as in other regions of the country, the main factors of demographic processes make a deep and multifold impact on the quality of life, social and economic development of the republic. Changing the social climate to make positive effect on all aspects of public life, including demographic situation, is only possible by means of radical transformations in the economic and social spheres along with elimination of the current negative phenomena.

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Социальное и демографическое развитие Тувы (в 90-е годы XX – начале XXI в.)

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В данной статье на основе всестороннего анализа данных переписи и опубликованных работ, сравнивающих исторические факты, исследованы особенности социально-демографического развития одного из самых молодых регионов Российской Федерации – Республики Тыва. Это определяется необходимостью приведения социальной политики современной России и ее регионов в соответствие с возросшими экономическими возможностями. На данный момент существует тенденция преодоления серьезных социальных последствий экономических реформ 1990-х годов. Были выявлены проблемы, связанные с государственным регулированием социальных процессов и причины изменения национальных особенностей для охвата всех аспектов демографического развития Тувы: рождаемости, смертности, естественного движения населения и миграции. Показаны такие тенденции демографических процессов, как сохранение высокого уровня рождаемости в Республике Тыва Российской Федерации, тревожный рост числа детей, рожденных вне брака, непропорциональное увеличение количества иждивенцев в регионе, высокая смертность (особенно в трудоспособном возрасте), низкая продолжительность жизни (особенно у мужчин), ухудшение здоровья и низкое качество жизни. Анализ мер, принятых властями для обеспечения роста уровня и качества жизни граждан, предполагает задержку ряда необходимых мер социальной политики. Практика социальных реформ в России в 1990 году носит во многом несистематический характер; ей не хватает деликатности и прогнозирования динамики общественного развития в долгосрочной перспективе. Только реализация фундаментальных изменений в экономической и социальной сферах, а также ликвидация негативных последствий изменят социальный климат и окажут положительное влияние на все аспекты общественной жизни, в том числе на демографическую ситуацию.

Ключевые слова: Конституция, Россия, Республика Тыва, регион, социальная политика, демография, реформа, рождаемость, смертность, естественное движение населения, миграция и качество жизни.

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