The Situation of Children and Young People at the Regional Level in Tajikistan

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MONEE Country Analytical Report
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ANALYTICAL REPORT

STATE OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE
AT THE REGIONAL LEVEL IN THE REPUBLIC OF TAJIKISTAN

Dushanbe 2004
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INTRODUCTION

September 9, 2004 marks 13 years since the Republic of Tajikistan achieved independence. As we sum up key development indicators for those years, it is pertinent to note that the state operated as a tool for strengthening the community of people, but in the process it also sought to preserve diversity and created conditions for promoting common interests and broad-based human development.

This brief analytical report offers current (as far as possible) information on demographic, socioeconomic and cultural situation in 2003 as compared with preceding years. The data are drawn from official statistics, studies, and surveys carried out at the regional level, and may provide insights into the situation in the main sectors of the economy: industry, agriculture, transport, etc. Some data also refer to the geography and climate in the Republic of Tajikistan.

Tajikistan is located in the southeast of Central Asia; its territory measures 143,100 square kilometres; its monetary unit, the somoni, was introduced in October 2000. The length of the state border is 3,000 kilometres. The length of the territory from west to east is 700 kilometres, from north to south, 350 kilometres. In the west and the north, Tajikistan borders upon the republics of Uzbekistan (910 km of borderline) and Kyrgyzstan (630 km); in the east, China (430 km); and in the south, Afghanistan (1,030 km).

Tajikistan is a typical mountainous country: mountains ranging in height from 300 to 7,495 meters cover 93% of its territory. Its most precious treasure are its glacier-fed rivers and lakes. The overall length of its 947 rivers that are longer than 10 kilometres exceeds 28,500 kilometres. They account for 60% of available water resources in Central Asia. There are huge amounts of snow and ice concentrated in Tajikistan’s highlands. The climatic boundaries of permanent snow are at the altitude of 3,500-3,600 meters in the west and rises to 5,800 meters. Tajikistan is also rich in lakes which number around 1,300. The climate is continental, with January temperatures varying from +22 degrees Celsius (Pyandzh in Hatlon Region) to –61 degrees Celsius (Lake Bulunkul in Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Area), and July temperatures, from –8 degrees Celsius (Lake Bulunkul) to +45 degrees Celsius (Pyandzh).

Certainly, such considerable variations in natural and climatic conditions make some regions vastly different from others, resulting in peculiarities and dissimilarities in their socioeconomic development.

In accordance with its administrative territorial division, the Republic of Tajikistan is made up of the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Area (GBAA), situated in the east and boasting the biggest territory of 64,200 square kilometres (45% of the total), and two regions: Sogdiana in the north and Hatlon in the south. Sogdiana measures 25,400 sq km (17.7%), and Hatlon 24,800 sq km (17.3%). Also there are some centrally administered entities: the capital city, Dushanbe, three cities and 13 districts (for convenience, they were combined to form centrally administered districts, CAD) located in the middle part of the country. Their area totals 28,600 sq km (20%).

Regions include regionally administered districts and cities, districts include district-administered towns, settlements and villages. Villages form jamoat dekhot (rural administration). As of January 1, 2004, Tajikistan had 62 rural districts, 23 cities (administered from the republican, regional and district centres), 48 settlements, 364 jamoat dekhot (rural administrations), and over 3,500 villages. Population of jamoat dekhot vary from 1,000 to 43,000.

1 By status, settlements rank as urban localities, but they are not towns.
Tajikistan’s urban settlements include cities, towns and settlements. Accordingly, urban population is population of all urban settlements. By size, the urban settlements fall into the following groups:

- major cities (100,000 and more),
- big cities (40,000 to 100,000),
- medium-size towns and settlements (10,000 to 40,000),
- small towns and settlements (under 10,000).

As of January 1, 2004, urban population mostly dwelled in the two major cities, Dushanbe (the capital) and Khojend (the administrative centre of Sogdiana Region), which account for around 44% of total urban population (770,000). There are six big cities under the classification: Tursunzade (CAD), Vakhdat (CAD), Kanybadam (Sogdiana Region), Istravshan (Sogdiana Region), and Kurgan Tyube (Hatlon Region), Kulyab (Hatlon Region). These account for about 20% of urban population (340,000). The number of medium-size and small towns is 15 (12 medium-size and 3 small), and localities, 48 (15 medium-size and 33 small). These account for 37% of urban population (nearly 650,000), or approximately one in every three residents of urban settlements.

Living conditions in those urban settlements differ depending not only on their size but also their functional load, development level of social infrastructure, local prime employers, socioeconomic development level, as well as historical lifestyles and traditions. Major and big cities are centrally and regionally administered industrial centres and have a fairly well-developed social infrastructure. Medium-size and small towns and settlements are mostly district-administered. Economic development level of medium-size and small urban settlements approximates that of rural areas.

All administrative-territorial changes in the Republic of Tajikistan should be approved by the Majlisi Oly (Parliament) on a motion by Tajikistan’s constituent entities pursuant to the Law of the Republic of Tajikistan on the Procedure for Addressing Matters of Administrative-Territorial Organization. Hatlon Region’s borders have been altered over the last 10 years, incorporating two centrally administered districts. Leninabad Region changed its name to Sogdiana Region. Another 12 districts and 6 urban settlements got new names as well. Four new districts were formed as bigger districts were broken up into smaller units, and two rural populated localities got urban settlement status.
1. **DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE**

For reason of different conditions for development (natural, economic, historical), the population mostly lives in valleys and near water sources, a circumstance responsible for its highly uneven territorial and regional distribution. Nearly 90% of the total population lives in valley areas (approximately 35% of the total territory of Tajikistan). The most densely populated valleys are Gissar (a portion of centrally administered districts), Vakhsh (a portion of districts of Hatlon Region), Fergana (a portion of districts of Sogdiana Region). The vast mountainous territories – GBAA and mountainous areas in Sogdiana and Hatlon regions and CAD – are quite sparsely populated.

As of January 1, 2004, Tajikistan’s total population amounted to 6,640,000. With 2,344,600 people (35.3% of the total population) as of January 1, 2004, Hatlon Region is the biggest in terms of population size. Population density in the region was 95 persons per 1 square kilometre. Sogdiana Region had 1,992,600 (30%), and population density was 78 persons per 1 square kilometre. Some 1,467,700 persons (22.1%) lived in centrally administered districts (CAD), where population density amounted to 51 persons per 1 square kilometre. Some 215,700 persons inhabited Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Area (GBAA), where population density was three persons per 1 square kilometre.

With 619,400 (35.2% of the total population) as of January 1, 2004, the capital city, Dushanbe, is the biggest city in Tajikistan. With 150,500 inhabitants, Khojend is the second biggest city.

![Population distribution in the Republic of Tajikistan as of January 1, 2004, by region, %](image1)

![Territory of regions of the Republic of Tajikistan as of January 1, 2004](image2)

Tajikistan is a country with a fast-growing population. Between 1990 and 2004, *average annual population growth rates* were 1.7%, varying from 0.3% in Dushanbe to 2.1% in Hatlon Region. In GBAA and CAD these were 1.9%, and in Sogdiana Region, 1.6%. In the same period, the total population grew 26.6%. In Hatlon Region the growth amounted to 33.4%, in GBAA, 30.4%, in Sogdiana Region, 25%, and in the city of Dushanbe, 2.9%.

There are substantial differences at the regional level not only in distribution and population growth rates but also in some other demographic indicators – urbanization level, migration, birth and mortality rates, age patterns, average size of households – which influence, directly or indirectly, the condition of children and young people in a region.
Urbanization process (for reason of historical, socioeconomic and demographic specifics) was very slow in the last 15 years. Despite some growth in urban population in the last few years, its share in the total population declined steadily. Urban settlements had 1,757,800 dwellers as of the beginning of 2004. The urban population grew 4.5% as compared to 1990, while simultaneously the rural population increased approximately 37% and amounted to 4,882,200 persons. The share of urban population decreased from 32.1% in 1990 to 25.9% in 2004.

Notice that the share of urban population decreased in all regions with the exception of GBAA, where a rise from 12.5% in 1990 to 13.2% in 2004 was observed. With its share of urban population standing at 26% (33.3% in 1990), Sogdiana is the most urbanized region. The least urbanized are CAD, with 12.7% of urban population (14.7% in 1990). In Hatlon Region, the share of urban population is 17% (20.8% in 1990).

Natural population growth level (birth rates in the first place) is mostly behind the regional differences in growth dynamics and proportion of urban and rural populations in Tajikistan. In recent years, population migration, too, had quite an effect on the formation of the population. In the early 1990s, it was characterized by a considerable outflow of the population from the country, primarily from major and big industrially developed cities, where the share of non-indigenous population was particularly great. The reason was political and economic instability. In that period, the migration outflow amounted to 100,000 persons a year, with urban population migratory activity exceeding that of the rural several times over. Approximately 0.5 million left the country between 1990 and 1999, more than 85% of them city dwellers (mostly from Dushanbe and other industrially developed cities). The migration turnover at that time involved 6-9% of urban population and 1.5-2% of rural population. The outflow of highly skilled specialists greatly affected the country’s socioeconomic situation in subsequent years and as a consequence, the living standards of the entire population, particularly children.

Later the migration outflow declined; the main reasons for migration at the present time are education, unemployment and low earnings. Annual migration turnover involves about 2% of urban population and 0.4% of rural population. Despite a decrease in outward no-return migration, it continues influencing the formation of the population. The migration outflow from urban settlements and out of the country amounts to approximately 10,000 a year, with another 2,000 leaving villages.

Population movements within the country underwent considerable change in those years. In the early 1990s, active migration of rural population to cities was observed, constituting about 2-3.5% of the urban population. In the mid-1990s, this tendency slackened, with rural-urban migration turnover standing at a mere 1% in the last four years. Between 10,000 and 12,000 persons a year come to cities through internal rural-urban migration exchanges, and about 5,000-6,000 come back to villages. Increment in urban population through internal migration exchanges amounts to about 5,000-6,000 persons a year (or 3-4% of the total population). The share of internal migration-related population increase in total urban population growth between 1999 and 2003 was 16.6%. The share of internal migration in migration turnover was 60%.

The main flow of rural migrants is directed to major and big cities. Since 1999, migration-induced population increase in Dushanbe amounted to 1,000-2,000 a year, with population numbers growing 15% in that period. In Khojend, the population increased approximately 2%. In big cities, the population grew 21%, and in middle and small urban settlements, only 3.4%.

The most active migrants are inhabitants of Dushanbe and Sogdiana Region. Migration turnover (the number of incoming people plus the number of outgoing people) per 1,000 of the population in those regions in 2003 was 16.1 and 8.2, respectively. In GBAA, the migration turnover was 5.7 per 1,000, in CAD – 5.2, Hatlon Region – 4.7.
Migration had considerable impact not only on population numbers and patterns but also the *ethnic composition* in the country and its regions. According to the 1989 census, the proportion of Tajiks in the entire population was 62.3%. Persons from non-indigenous ethnic groups dwelled mostly in urban settlements. In Dushanbe, Tajiks made up 38.2% of the total population, others, 61.8%. In Sogdiana Region, the proportions were 56.9% and 43.0%, respectively; in Hatlon Region, 68.6% and 31.4%; in CAD, 69.2% and 30.8%; in GBAA, 89.5% and 10.5%.

The most numerous non-indigenous groups were Uzbeks (23.5%) and Russians (7.6%), and the Kirghiz and Tartars (1.3%-1.4% each).

The migration outflow from the country made the ethnic composition more homogeneous in regions. According to the 2000 census, the proportion of Tajiks in the total population was 79.9%; 83.4% in Dushanbe, 77.9% in Sogdiana Region, 78.6% in Hatlon Region, 81.4% in CAD, and 94.0% in GBAA.

As before, Uzbeks were the most numerous non-indigenous group (15.3%), while Russians and the Kirghiz accounted for 1.1% each. Dushanbe and Sogdiana Region are where the most numerous Russian diasporas dwell (42.2% and 35.6% of the total number of Russians, respectively). Some 52.6% of the Kirghiz live in CAD, 26.6% in Sogdiana Region, and 18.3% in GBAA. The greatest number of Uzbeks dwell in Sogdiana Region (38.2%), Hatlon Region (35.7%), and CAD (20.7%). In Dushanbe, the proportion of Russians is 5.1%, and Uzbeks, 9.1%. The proportion of Uzbeks is 19.1% in Sogdiana Region, 15.6% in Hatlon Region, and 14.5% in CAD. The proportion of the Kirghiz is 5.8% in GBAA, and 2.6% in CAD. The highest proportions of Uzbeks and the Kirghiz are in areas adjacent to their historic homelands, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan.

![Census-revealed changes in proportion of Tajiks in the general population in regions of the Republic of Tajikistan, %](image)

Despite migration growth, birth rate is of critical importance for the country’s population growth rates. Birth rate compensates for all human losses connected with natural decline (death) and migration of the population, ensuring population growth. At the same time, a stable downward trend in birth rate has been observed in recent years. A number of reasons are involved, specifically the following:

- transition-related socioeconomic transformations; a slide in the living standards
- family planning policy of the state
- introduction of paid birth registration
- demographic: a small female subpopulation enters the fertile age (as a consequence of lower wartime birth rates in 1940-1945).
On average, one child less was born to a woman in the country between 1989 and 1998. While one woman in the childbearing age (15-49 years) accounted for 5.11 live births (cumulative live birth rate) in 1989, the figure dropped to 4.10 in 1998. Birth rates decline fast in regions where the highest replacement level traditionally persisted. In the same period, the cumulative live birth rate went down from 6.52 to 5.0 in Hatlon Region, 5.83 to 4.62 in CAD, 4.31 to 3.25 in Sogdiana Region. A particularly rapid decline was recorded in GBAA, where the average number of live births diminished by 2 (from 5.36 to 3.40). The contraception coverage of childbearing-age women in that region is greater than in other regions, amounting to 21.2% in 2002. The coverage was 11.4% in Hatlon Region, 13.0% in Sogdiana Region, and 19.5% in CAD.

Increase in birth rate is observed only in Dushanbe. The cumulative live birth rate in that period grew from 2.72 to 3.23 in the wake of an intensive migration outflow from Dushanbe of persons belonging to non-indigenous ethnic groups which have much lower birth rates than the Tajik. In 2000, the crude birth rate was about eight pro mille (per 1,000 of the population) for Tajikistan-based Russians, and more than 32 for Tajiks and Uzbeks. In subsequent years, inhabitants of other regions came to replace those who had left Dushanbe, and their birth rate indicators were higher.

Despite a reduction in birth rates, they remain sufficiently high in all regions, securing expanded reproduction of the population. The result has been a relatively young age structure of the population where ageing processes do not yet hold much sway: the average age is 24 years, the share of children aged 0-14 was 39% as of January 1, 2004, and the share of old citizens (65 years and older) was 4%.

The most relatively young structure of the population is in Hatlon Region and centrally administered districts. There, the average age is 23 years, the share of children aged 0-14 is between 41% and 42%, the share of elderly persons (65 years and older) is approximately 3.6%-3.8%, population aged 15-64, 54%-56%.

In Dushanbe and Sogdiana Region, the average age is 25 years, the share of children aged 0-14 is 35%-35.6%, the share of elderly people is approximately 3.8%-4.7%, and population aged 15-64, 61%-60%.
The mountainous Gorno-Badakhshan AA has the biggest territory and the smallest population. It boasts the country’s highest mountains (Pamir). There, the average age is 26 years, the share of children aged 0-14 is 32.5%, the share of elderly people is 5%, and that of population aged 15-64 is 62%.

The high birth rates influence not only age structures but also average family (household) size. It is the biggest in regions with high birth rates. In Hatlon Region, the 2000 census identified the average size of household as being 7 persons, and in CAD, 6.5 persons. In Dushanbe, where the birth rate is the lowest, so is the average family size (4 persons). In Sogdiana Region, the average family size is 5.1 persons. Despite lower birth indicators in GBAA, local inhabitants prefer to have big mixed families. Unlike other regions, local patriarchal family lifestyles still command much of an influence, resulting in an average household size of 6.6 persons; the share of households with 7 and more members is over 45%. The figures for CAD and Hatlon Region are over 45% and over 50%, respectively.

Families with many children find themselves at a disadvantage materially in comparison with small families, and are more often exposed to the risk of sinking below the poverty line.

Registration of births and deaths with the bodies of the Ministry of Justice (civil registry offices) is much of a problem for the country at present. Currently, birth registration level is 67%-70%, being at its lowest in Dushanbe (50%) and at its highest in Sogdiana Region (95%). In other regions (Hatlon Region, GBAA, CAD) it is between 56% and 62%.

Death registration, particularly of children under five, is a closely related problem. As to estimates and national surveys, civil registry offices record 80% of deaths, and the figure for children under one year of age is 30%. Children who died under 1 year of age and failed to be registered as newborn by civil registry offices are not registered as dead either.

The reasons why the registration of live births and, as a consequence, deaths is on the ebb are the following:

- growth in home deliveries whose share at present is 35.7%;
- introduction of paid live birth and death registration (live birth registration fee has been reduced from US$3 to US$1, but as much as US$2 has to be paid for death registration);
- low living standards of families;
- decline in registration of marriages with registry offices and growth in civil marriages.
Fewer registered marriages is a reason behind low live birth registration. In 2003, the total number of officially registered marriages was 39,100, 22% less than in 1990. One can trace a direct relation between live birth registration and marriage registration levels in regions. In 2003, as compared to 1990 level, marriage registration was two times lower in Dushanbe and GBAA, 35.5% lower in Hatlon Region, and 19.2% lower in CAD.

The state of women and children is a problem related to marriage registration. According to the 2000 census, the share of the people whose marriage is unregistered was over 6%; upwards of 11% in Dushanbe, about 8.6%-9% in CAD and Hatlon Region, and 1.6%-2% in GBAA and Sogdiana Region.

Unregistered marriages are most widespread among those who marry young. 24.5% of married women and 23.2% of married men in 15-19 age group, and 15.7% of married women and 17.6% of married men in 20-24 age group did not register their marriage.

Early marriages are typical of Tajikistan, particularly among women. In 2000 census, 13.4% of women aged 15-19 years were married, and so were 65% of women in 20-24 age group. Early marriages are less frequent among men, amounting to 2% in 15-19 age group, and 34% in 20-24 age group. The prevalence of early marriages in 15-19 age group in regions (except for GBAA) is approximately the same, and varies, for women in this age group, from 12.1% in Dushanbe to 14.5% in Hatlon Region. In GBAA, a mere 3.5% of women aged 15-19 years are married. Accordingly, the average marriage age for women is 21 years. Men usually marry three years later: the average first marriage age for men is 24 years.
Economic development of Tajikistan’s regions and their sectoral structure are largely determined by the geography and climate of Tajikistan as well as the long established integration between the ex-USSR constituent republics. On the whole, Tajik economy is industrial and agrarian in nature. Agriculture accounts approximately for 45-50% of the total production, and industry, for 40-44%. Cotton is the main agricultural crop (33% of the entire sown area), and aluminium is the main industrial product. The main exports are aluminium, cotton, as well as electric power, precious and semi-precious stones, and metals. The main imports are wheat and flour, sugar, vegetable oil, tea, flour products, fruit and vegetables. In 2003, the Republic of Tajikistan had trade and economic partners in 78 countries of the world. Its 2003 foreign trade turnover amounted to US$1,678 million. Exports made up US$797.2 million, or 8.2% up on 2002, and imports, accordingly, US$880.8 million, or 22.2% up on 2002.

Services has become a rapidly developing sector of late, its share of the GDP rising from 24% in 1991 to 33.4% in 2003, whereas that of industrial production grew from 24% to 27.7%. Meanwhile, the share of agricultural production in the GDP went down from 35% to 25%.

During first years of independence (1991 to 1996), there was a drop in production in all sectors of the economy across the regions. In 1996, production declined 24%, in 1997, 2%, and 1998 saw a tendency for industrial production growth in all the sectors. Currently there exist objective factors for a solid foundation of macroeconomic stabilization. From 1999 to 2003, the economy averaged 8% annual growth. In the regions, annual GDP growth per capita was 13% in GBAA (US$250 in 2003), 14% in Sogdiana Region (US$208), 14% in Hatlon Region (US$195), 3% in the city of Dushanbe (US$468), and 2% in CAD ($246).²

It is important to mention positive tendencies in the national economy, associated with governance transformations in the last 13 years and wider democratization reform. Though an administrative

reform is still at an early stage, new institutions are forming as are non-governmental organizations. Private and collective sectors are developing rapidly too. Private sector employment grew from 19% to 44.8% between 1991 and 2003, and collective sector employment from 21.2% to 28.8%. As a result, public sector employment shrunk from 59.7% to 25.5%.

As of October 1, 2004, the Republic of Tajikistan had 30,070 operating enterprises and organizations, 24,891 (82.8%) of them non-public and 5,179 (17.2%) public. The process differs by region. In GBAA, for example, 57.6% of 817 businesses and organizations were public; in Dushanbe, 22.9% of 4,642 organizations; in Sogdiana Region, 19.6% of 7,215 organizations; in Hatlon Region, 16.1% of 8,151 organizations; and in CAD, 9.9% of 9,245 organizations. This means that the market process varies across the regions.

Privatization of public property began in 1991 and intensified after the passing of the Republic of Tajikistan laws on Denationalization and Privatization of Property (1991), on Joint-Stock Companies (1992), and on Foreign Investments (1992). Privatization policy is pursued at two levels. The State Committee of the Republic of Tajikistan for Public Property Management is in charge of privatization of state-owned property, while district, city and regional property management committees privatize communal property. Three regional committees (GBAA, Sogdiana and Hatlon), ten city committees, three city departments, and nine district committees were organized to implement regional privatization policies. In 23 districts, specialists from local executive agencies handle the job.

A total of 7,501 facilities were privatized in the Republic of Tajikistan since 1991, 4,478 or 59.7% of them operating. The rest operate intermittently and at less than full capacity. Hatlon Region accounts for 31% of the privatized facilities, Sogdiana Region, for 29.4%, the city of Dushanbe, for 21.2%, CAD, for 16%, and GBAA, for 2.4%. Most privatized companies, or 82%, are in non-production sectors, and 18% are in the production sector.

Regions’ unequal growth is associated with their differing sectoral structure development, that is, location and development of industrial facilities and services companies, output volumes, quality of goods and services, as well as agriculture and infrastructure development levels.

Industry. In 2003, operating industrial facilities totalled 1,312 (against 2,308 in 1991). The declining number was due to the ruptured economic ties with other countries, lack of raw materials, funds, and other reasons. To date, far from all the facilities can operate at full capacity. In 2003, the nationwide proportion of those employed in industry was 7.7% (against 21% in 1991), the employment numbers declining over 150% as compared to 1991. In 2003, the country’s industrial output was worth 3,205 million somoni. CAD account for the biggest share of industrial production: 46.9% (42.9% in 1991). Hatlon Region produced 26.2% (17.6% in 1991), Sogdiana Region 22.3% (24.5% in 1991), the city of Dushanbe 4% (10.3% in 1991), and GBAA 0.6% (4.7% in 1991).

Small and private businesses have a considerable impact on industrial output growth. In 2003, there were 1,027 non-public industrial facilities, their output making up 38.8% of total industrial production (3.3% in 1995, 9.6% in 1996, 17.9% in 1997, 32.8% in 2002).

A network of joint ventures came into being, with partners from the United States, Austria, Great Britain, China, Korea, Russia, and other countries. The 34 industrial joint ventures operate in the light, food, non-ferrous and other industries. Joint ventures manufacture various commodities: cotton yarn and fabrics, garments, footwear, canned food, soft drinks, sausages, beer, tea, wheelchairs, thermos flasks, and more. Others engage in assembling buses and TV sets, mining silver and gold, etc.
**Agriculture.** Agriculture is another major sector of Tajik economy. It is a labour-intensive industry, a circumstance of no small importance for the fast growing population. Therefore both the economic growth and the population well-being depend on the development of agriculture. In 2003, agriculture employed 1,275,000 persons (including those working on their private subsidiary plots), or 67.6% of their total number (45% in 1991), a growth of 50% on 1991.

Agricultural land measures 4,066,200 hectares, which is 28% of the country’s overall land fund, and its regional break-down is the following: 63% of the region’s entire land resources is in Hatlon Region, about 40% in Sogdiana Region, 30% in CAD, and around 10% in GBAA. In 2002, Hatlon Region had 39% of the total cattle stock, Sogdiana Region 28.6%, CAD 24.7%, and GBAA 7.7%. There were two head of cattle per ten persons; the figure for GBAA was four head.

Hatlon Region accounts for more than 40% of the overall agricultural output, Sogdiana Region more than 35%, CAD around 20%, and GBAA over 3%.

In recent years, kolkhozes and sovkhozes were converted to private farms. Before 1991, Tajikistan numbered approximately 600 major agricultural farms (sovkhozes, kolkhozes and mezhkhozes), which employed approximately 500,000 persons, or 57% of the total agricultural employment figure. As of January 1, 2004, those farms numbered 319, employing 42%.

According to statistics supplied by the State Committee for Land Management of the Republic of Tajikistan, the number of certified private farms was 15,202 as of January 1, 2004, and the overall number of land users was 19,851, a growth of more than six times by comparison with 1996.

The degree of employment in private subsidiary holdings is high as well, and it tends to grow, as does agricultural output in the non-public sector. In 2002, private dekhan (peasant) farms and personal subsidiary holdings produced 65.4% of agricultural produce (35% in 1991, 49.9% in 1997), with plant-growing accounting for 57.6% and animal husbandry for 92.7% of the sectoral figure. And yet, progress in expanding the non-public sector of agriculture is still slow. According to the Asian Development Bank’s poverty-reduction monitoring survey (PRMS) for 2002, 72% of households possess a plot of land, and 52% own cattle. The average size of the land plot was 23 sotkas (the Russian term for one-hundredth of a hectare). Almost 82% of households had a small plot of land measuring five sotkas, and another 12.3%, from six to ten sotkas. Only 1.4% of households owned big plots of land exceeding in size 20 sotkas; 82% of households held six or more head of cattle and poultry.
Transport and communications. Motor roads are the main transport routes for cargoes and passengers due to the country’s geographical location and mountainous terrain. The total length of motor roads in Tajikistan is about 30,000 kilometres, of which 13,700 kilometres are in general use, including 4,800 kilometres of national highways, and 9,000 kilometres of local roads. Overall road density in the country is merely 0.194 km per sq km, or 4.38 km per 1,000 population. In winter, mountain passes are closed, and people living in the highlands find themselves in complete isolation (GBAA, some mountain areas in CAD and Sogdiana Region). North-centre wintertime transport communications are by rail or by air, with travelling costs increasing considerably. The motor road network was built in the period when there were no national borders, nor any problem travelling via neighbouring countries. The situation is different now, with limitations on transborder motor transit.

Rail transport is a strategic component in Tajikistan’s economy, accounting for 90% of external haulage. The principal trunkline is made up of three isolated stretches: northern in Sogdiana Region,
central in Gissar Valley, and southern in Hatlon Region. They are connected through the territory of Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. The total length of rail tracks is 860 kilometres.

*Air carriage* is performed by Tochikiston, the only state-owned unitary air company. International flights are made from airports located in Dushanbe, Khojend, and Kulyab.

*Telecommunications* are currently underdeveloped and fall short of public requirements as regards quality and range of services. Cities, where 27% of the population live, account for 85% of all telephone lines. The number of telephones per 100 urban dwellers is 9.3, the figure being a mere 0.6 for the residents of rural areas. Public telephones (payphones) that can be accessed by the poor, rural poor in particular, are few and far between.

According to the 2000 census, telephone density was the highest in the city of Dushanbe, with 29.8% of the population enjoying accommodation with fixed telephones. In GBAA, the figure is 21.8%, Sogdiana Region 10.6%, Hatlon Region 4.1%, and CAD 3.6%.

In 1994, Tajik Technical University started training specialists in radio engineering, and a department for communications networks and switching systems was opened in 1996. The first class of radio engineers and specialists in telecommunications graduated in 1999/2000.

New types of telecommunications develop, too. In 2003, President signed the Decree on State Strategy in Information and Communication Technologies for the Development of the Republic of Tajikistan. Currently Tajikistan has six mobile operators offering GSM and AMPS services. According to Civic Internet Policy Initiative (CIPI) statistics, there are four primary Internet providers and one e-mail provider, CADA. From October 13 to 15, 2004, the country held its first International Exhibition “Information Tajikistan” to promote the country’s communications infrastructure that is officially supported by the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan, Ministry of Communications of the Republic of Tajikistan, Ministry of Industry of the Republic of Tajikistan, and the State Committee for Construction and Architecture of the Republic of Tajikistan. A broad program of seminars was held within the exhibition framework. UNDP also emphasizes the growth of the information and communications technologies sector in Tajikistan.

To secure a balanced development of information and communications technologies, it is important that the country focus on Hatlon Region and CAD, because these regions have a poorly developed infrastructure and were hard hit by the 1993-1996 civil war. The current state of telephone lines in those regions is unsatisfactory, the level of computerization at schools and universities is low, and the number of Internet cafes and Internet users is small.

In 2003, Tajikistan had 54,501 mobile phone users, 11,587 e-mail users, and 901 active Internet users.

Implementing the State Strategy and goals envisaged by the Program for the Development of Information and Communications Technologies is an important tool for the regions’ progress and Tajikistan’s future growth. We realize that information and communications technologies considerably expand educational and research potential and enable a higher quality of knowledge and research.

*Foreign investments.* Foreign investments mostly started coming in after the peace treaty terminating the civil war was signed. June 27, 1997 is the official Peace Day Holiday in the Republic of Tajikistan and will remain in the memory of each citizen and of the entire nation as the day when peace, calm and peaceful work were achieved. Political stabilization and peace contributed to security and foreign investments inflow. Funds were scarce and practically no investments went to power industry, oil and gas sector, and coal industry. Operating power plants
cut production by 20%-50%. Coal and gas production plunged dramatically. There was practically no drilling done. Consumer and corporate power and heat debts mounted. Financial infrastructure and financial institutions are poorly developed in all regions. The dearth of credit resources in all sectors of the economy was the main barrier to development. The process of company incorporation and joint venture establishment is still slow.

In 2003, there were 138 bilateral and multilateral joint ventures operating in the Republic of Tajikistan, 94 of them in the city of Dushanbe, 27 in Sogdiana Region, 11 in Hatlon Region, and six in CAD. These are mostly engaged in mining and production of precious and semi-precious metals, non-ferrous metallurgy, production and selling of farm produce, and in construction. Many take part in commercial activities. The ventures employ a total of 16,520 workers and office staff. In current prices, earnings from sales of goods (works and services) provided by joint ventures add up to 374.8 million somoni, a rise of 65% in comparison with 2002. Both foreign partners and Tajik entrepreneurs are investing in joint ventures and their development. The bulk of foreign investment into the national economy (96% of the total) came from countries outside of the former USSR, and the other 4% came from CIS countries.

The biggest amounts of foreign investments are accumulated at ventures organized jointly with partners from the United Kingdom (32.6%), the United States (25.1%), Korea (11.1%), Italy (9.9%), Liechtenstein (8.2%), the Netherlands (1.0%), China (3.4%), Luxembourg (0.5), and others.

In 2003, the bulk of foreign investment – 69.0% of the total – went to Dushanbe-based joint ventures, 17.0% went to those in CAD, 9.6% in Hatlon Region, and 4.4% in Sogdiana Region. Investment was channelled almost to every sector of the national economy, with the largest amounts of foreign investment being accumulated at ventures engaged in mining and processing of precious metals, in non-ferrous metallurgy, and in textile industry (22.7%, 16.9%, and 11.3%, respectively).

Currently 26 investment projects sponsored by international organizations are being implemented in the country.

### 3. REGIONAL STANDARDS OF LIVING

The Republic of Tajikistan is through a period of political instability and on its way to developed market relations. Economic management is acquiring new quality. At the same time there is a backlog of outstanding problems, both on the national and regional level, and one of these is the state of children and young people amid the nation’s poverty reduction efforts.

Recognizing poverty as one of crucial problems, the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan works hard to implement its poverty reduction policy. To create an environment for an accelerated and equitable economic growth, which is indispensable for higher real incomes and better quality of life, the Parliament of the Republic of Tajikistan endorsed, on June 19, 2002, Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper No. 666. Its purpose is securing higher real incomes throughout the country, more equitable distribution of growth benefits, better aid targeting, enhanced private sector initiatives for new jobs, broader access to health and education services for the poor, and better governance and security. But meagre own resources and the already heavy debt burden constrain Tajikistan’s efforts to achieve economic growth and overcome poverty on its own. It will also find it hard to achieve the Millennium Development Goals.

Unemployment also aggravates the poverty problem. Employment issues in the Republic of Tajikistan as a “labour-abundant” area are a centrepiece in the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper. Market relations led to structural transformations in the economy and lay-offs in all economic
sectors. The specifics of the transitional period in the Republic of Tajikistan aggravated the unemployment problem even further in all regions. The employed lost jobs and general unemployment grew at a fast rate, the process affecting all regions of the country and all walks of life. In the last 13 years, Tajikistan’s traditionally poor groups – old-age pensioners, families with many children, one-parent split families – were joined by the “working” poor. Cotton-growers and their families and landless families in mountainous areas are also in the vulnerable category.

The registered unemployment level in the Republic of Tajikistan is not high, standing at 2.7-2.2% of the economically active population. But the general unemployment level exceeds by far the registered jobless figure and varies considerably from region to region. The 2000 population census puts the general unemployment level at 9.4% of the economically active population, and the World Bank’s 2003 living standards survey, at 4.3%. In 2003, the highest general unemployment level was recorded in the city of Dushanbe: 12.2% (31.3% in 2000). The 2003 general unemployment rate was 6.6% (6.3% in 2000) in Sogdiana Region; 2.1% (4.9%) in Hatlon Region; 1.5% (2.1%) in CAD; 1.7% (27.0%) in GBAA.

Youth unemployment is a big problem in Tajikistan. In recent years, general and registered unemployment has been fairly high among young people aged 15-29 years, standing at more than 65%; the rate of unemployment among economically active young people aged 15-29 years is 28%, 20-24 years 18.2%, and 25-19 years 12.6%.³

Household incomes are linked to employment. According to the 2003 living standards survey, per capita income was 25.89 somoni, and spending 60.92 somoni. In the regions, the lowest average per capita income and spending, 23.28 and 45.73 somoni, respectively, were in Hatlon Region, and the highest, 31.31 and 80.73 somoni, respectively, in the city of Dushanbe. The figures for GBAA are 29.64 and 62.61 somoni, CAD 25.74 and 71.92 somoni, and Sogdiana Region 23.89 and 56.55 somoni. Wages constitute 45.4% in the aggregate per capita income structure.

In 2003, average monthly wages were 44.61 somoni or US$14.57. The regional differentiation in wage levels is due to regions’ sectoral structure. The highest wage level is in industrialized regions where it is 150% above the national one. In 2003, the highest average monthly wages, 85.76 somoni

and 59.04 somoni, were in the city of Dushanbe and in CAD, respectively. The figure for Sogdiana Region was 39.78 somoni, Hatlon Region 30.67 somoni, and GBAA 30.45 somoni.

According to the World Bank’s 2003 living standards survey, the poverty level in the Republic of Tajikistan was 64%, which means that approximately two-thirds of the population live on less than US$2.15 a day. In 1999, that indicator amounted to 82%, or 13 percentage points higher. This is the highest poverty level in Europe and Central Asia.

Analytical data show that the rural poverty level is somewhat higher than in urban areas (65% of the rural population live on less than US$2.15 a day as against 59% in cities). The poorest regions in Tajikistan are the GBAA, where the general poverty level was 84% in 2003, and Hatlon Region (78%). In Sogdiana Region, the figure was 64%, in the city of Dushanbe 49%, and in CAD 45%.

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According to the World Bank, poverty reduction factors between 1999 and 2003 were as follows:

- peace;
- macroeconomic stability (economic growth rates averaged 8% a year in the past five years);
- population migration.

The population’s migration was promoted by low wages and incomes and by high unemployment. Push-pull migration (daily rural-urban commuting to work or school) and temporary external labour migration to neighbouring countries grew in scale. Increasing unemployment, particularly in rural areas, was behind an internal rural-urban migration rise. In search of work the impoverished rural youth moved to urban localities. But with businesses and organizations operating at less than full capacity, it proved impossible to provide young people with jobs. This triggered off a rise in external labour migration to neighbouring countries (mainly the Russian Federation), which persists to this day. The World Bank living standards survey put the total external labour migration figure at over 200,000. However, being seasonal, external labour migration, as estimated by other surveys, adds up to 350,000 in summer. According to the 2003 living standards survey, external labour migrants made up 3.4% of the population: 6.4% in CAD, 3.8% in Sogdiana Region, 3.3% in GBAA, 3.2% in the city of Dushanbe, and 1.7% in Hatlon Region.

The money transfers that external labour migrants wired to their families in Tajikistan made up 10% of the household per capita income and aided family welfare growth.

**Infrastructure.** The infrastructure development level is one of main indicators in regional economic growth and the population’s welfare. An outmoded infrastructure is an impediment to small and medium businesses, market relations, public education, and new information technologies. It also strongly affects the development levels in families, regions and the country as a whole.

Regional infrastructure development levels account for differences in the provision of public utility services to the population. The war caused considerable damage to infrastructure facilities, which are being restored today. But their pre-war level is yet to be achieved. A comparison of 1982 and 2000 censuses reveals that power supply (to 99% of the population) was the only utility service that could be preserved during the period. Running water supply grew somewhat (from 22.3% in 1989 to 26.6% in 2000). But the rest of the utilities are in a slump: heating declined from 17.95% to 11.6%, sewage 15.7% to 12.9%, hot water supply 12.0% to 7.8%, gas supply and electric ovens 85.0% to 32%. The best provided category of the population is that in the city of Dushanbe, and the worst provided one is in GBAA.
According to heads of the local authorities (regions), provision with cultural establishments (theatres, movie theatres, community centres) in Tajikistan is approximately 60%. Nearly 40% of the total population and over 50% of the rural population have no access to these establishments.

The number of theatres (15) has remained unchanged in recent years, while the number of community centres (1,045) was less by 27% (388) in 2003 as against 1991.

Privatization, conversion, and rivalry offered by television and video rental outfits led to the dwindling of cultural establishments, particularly movie theatres and community centres. On the other hand, it is a costly affair to produce new theatricals, films and concerts. People in the regions increasingly rely on services provided by video rental outfits and television, and thus the capacities of cultural establishments are left underemployed.

Regional heads believe that 76.4% of the population have no opportunity to use services of newsstands, while 23.6% have. These are mostly urban dwellers (76.6% of the population). Only 4.1% of the rural population can use services available from newsstands in the countryside.\

**Crime.** Huge damage estimated at US$7 billion was caused to the nation’s material assets in consequence of the 1991-1996 civil war and a protracted crisis in the economy. But social damage was even greater. Growing crime is yet another consequence of social disintegration. In post-war years, organized criminal groups increasingly seized the right to own and use material assets belonging to the nation as a whole. An analysis of the crime dynamics and pattern in 1991-1996 reveals the graveness of the crime situation in the country, particularly so in Hatlon Region and CAD, with 1996 being the most strenuous and controversial year in this sense.

At the same time, law enforcement agencies in the Republic of Tajikistan managed to achieve, in 1996 by comparison with 1995, better results in main areas of work. For example, the registered crime rate per 10,000 population went down from 25.0 to 23.0. The crime detection level rose 2.3%, including 0.9% where grave crimes were involved. Political stabilization and peace were conducive to crime reduction and greater security. Both national and regional crime levels scale down from year to year. The available data suggest as much: in 2003, the nationwide crime indicator was 17.0 per 10,000 population (23.0 in 1996); the respective figures for GBAA were 21.9 and 27.0, Hatlon Region 11.7 and 16.0, Sogdiana Region 13.3 and 25.0, the city of Dushanbe 51.5 and 63.0, and CAD 11.2 and 15.0.

4. **EDUCATION**

As is evident from world record and numerous studies, education can raise the standards of living, specifically improve people’s health or bring them higher incomes. The Republic of Tajikistan is implementing a stage-by-stage education sector reform. It has radically revised educational goals and is developing new types of preschool childcare institutions, secondary schools, and higher educational establishments. A new regulatory framework on education has been drawn up (including Education Law No. 532 of 2004). Nine-year incomplete secondary education (basic education) is compulsory.

The Government of the Republic of Tajikistan has set up a Committee for Youth Affairs, which handles youth policies at regional and national levels. To protect the rights and interests of children, the Government has also founded a Commission for the Affairs of Minors. The National Commission for the Protection of Children’s Rights was created in 2001.

Despite its socioeconomic and political problems in the last 13 years, the nation has largely managed to preserve its former achievements in the education sector in all regions. In the 2000

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census, the proportion of persons aged 15 years and older with a higher or secondary (complete or incomplete) education was 92.2%; 95.3% in GBAA, 95.1% in the city of Dushanbe, 94% in CAD, 90.9% in Hatlon Region, and 90.7% in Sogdiana Region.

In the 2003/04 academic year, the Republic operated 3,701 full-time general education establishments, or 17 more than in the 2002/03 academic year. The number of general education schools increased by 522, or 16.4%, as compared with 1991/92. It is noteworthy that the increase is due not only to the construction of new schools but also the conversion of other buildings and premises. In 2003, 9,572 student vacancies were created. It might be well to point out that the annual opening of student vacancies has been on the decline in all regions lately. On the national scale, it slumped 60% as compared with 1991: 90% in GBAA (250 student vacancies in 2003), 66.7% in Hatlon Region (2,454 student vacancies), 50% in Sogdiana Region (4,540 student vacancies), and 33.4% in CAD (2,328 student vacancies).

The 2002 Asian Development Bank poverty reduction monitoring survey demonstrated that the towns and cities were provided with schools 100% and the rural areas 99.5%.

The student body at full-time general education establishments increased by 22,300, or 1.4%, to reach 1,641,700 in the 2003/04 academic year as against 2002/03; of these 1,640,000 went to Ministry of Education schools.

Other ministries have schools of their own as well. The Health Ministry runs three sanatorium-type schools, where students (a total of 196) combine studies with medical treatment. Two specialized musical colleges of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Tajikistan train 749 students. An athletic boarding school under the Committee for Physical Culture and Sports of the Republic of Tajikistan has a student body of 398, and a secondary school under the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Tajikistan, 332.

Currently there are 50 private general education schools with the total number of students amounting to 14,100. The biggest number of private schools is in Dushanbe: 18 with 5,300 students; Hatlon Region has 12 schools with 2,000 students, Sogdiana Region 10 schools with 2,200 students; CAD 9 schools with 3,700 students, and GBAA one school with about 1,000 students.

On average, one general education school has 440 students, with 16 students per one teacher. Average numbers of students per school and per teacher differ greatly from region to region. These indicators are the highest in the city of Dushanbe, where one school accommodates, on average, 1,240 students and one teacher trains 25 students. The lowest indicators are in GBAA, where populated localities are scattered over a large area in hard-to-access mountains. The average number of students per school in GBAA is 168 and per teacher 8. In Sogdiana Region the figures are 538 and 13, respectively, in Hatlon Region 483 and 20, and in CAD 321 and 18.
Student attendance is one of the most important education indicators within the framework of the Education for All project. The indicator is not reflected in educational statistical reporting and therefore one-off school attendance surveys and checks have to be run. In 2003, the World Bank carried out a living standard survey, and a section in its questionnaire inquired about school attendance.

The survey demonstrated that children spent progressively less time at school and that in their majority they got a low-quality education. Primary school attendance declined between 1999 and 2003, particularly so in the city of Dushanbe. Despite a certain rise in the government funding of the education sector, the majority of schools are in a very bad state after a protracted period of economic slump, with schooling in need of being improved and curricula overhauled.\(^8\)

A spot check of general education school attendance was undertaken in all regions in November and December of 2003. The check embraced ten educational establishments in each region, including schools, gymnasiuims and lycées, and focused on attendance by first-, fifth-, ninth- and eleventh-grade students. In GBAA, 45% of the total student body came under check, in Sogdiana Region 13.6%, in Hatlon Region 25%, in the city of Dushanbe 31%, and in CAD 11.1%.

\(^8\) Tajikistan: Poverty Assessment Update (World Bank paper, Main Report October 21, 2004, Development Department, Human Resources Sector, Europe and Central Asia).
The check was to reveal reasons for week-long nonattendance and identified the following:

a) sickness;
b) valid cause (parents’ request);
c) other.

The proportion of nonattending students in checked-out schools was about 2% for GBAA, 5.3% for Sogdiana Region, 6.6% for the city of Dushanbe, 6.7% for Hatlon Region, and 9.1% for CAD. In all regions, 65% of the nonattendees on average failed to come to school on account of sickness (the check was held in November and December, two months marked by an increased incidence of respiratory diseases), 10% for some valid cause, and 25% for other reasons.

The biggest proportion of nonattendees for “other reasons” was registered in Hatlon Region – 35.4% of the total nonattendance figure – and in the city of Dushanbe: 24%. The figures for GBAA, CAD, and Sogdiana Region were as follows: 17%, 11.5% and 11.4%, respectively.

Low material security in families is another reason for nonattendance. Most Tajik families have many children, and parents’ wages are not always enough for monthly school fees or for children’s clothing and footwear. Lately, individual schoolmasters have been introducing standard winter and spring/fall uniforms which parents have to buy. School enrolment is not always indicative of attendance or quality of instruction. Among other reasons, Dushanbe students also pointed to instability in municipal transport services (buses, trolleybuses and shuttle minibuses).

There is a certain difference in attendance between Dushanbe-based general education schools, which depends on their type. Gymnasium and lycée attendance is higher than that at ordinary general education schools where nonattendance amounts to 4.7%. This is explained by the fact that a higher fee has to be paid to the former and thus they draw their student body from better-off families.

**Children’s rest and leisure.** In the 1990s, the world community became increasingly concerned with children’s welfare problems. Before 1990, the Republic of Tajikistan had Houses of Pioneers, athletic centres, summer camps and grounds for children’s rest and recreation, parks, and children’s studios. It also organized creative meetings and contests for children.

The civil war and aftermath of the transition period have practically destroyed all establishments for creative and cultural development of children and young people. Establishments for children’s entertainment were converted to garages, cafeteria or bars. The lack of new books brought in its wake low attendance of libraries for children and teens. Boys alone have access to the majority of existing children’s sports facilities. Girls cannot appear outside unchaperoned.

The situation being what it is, the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan takes steps to organize rest and recreation for children and young people, particularly in summer when students are out of school. For three years at a stretch President Emomali Rakhmonov personally controls the organization of rest and recreation for children at summer camps in the countryside. Special resolutions are passed to induce ministries, agencies and trade unions to comply with the order. Following below are data on the number of school-age children who enjoyed rest and recreation in 2003 and 2004.
<table>
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<th>2003</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2004 in % of 2003</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of camps</td>
<td>1,810</td>
<td>2,272</td>
<td>125.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>including:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>School camps</td>
<td>1,345</td>
<td>1,729</td>
<td>128.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Countryside camps</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>126.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour and rest camps</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>109.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanatorium-type camps</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>108.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health-building and athletic camps</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>173.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of children in camps, persons</td>
<td>458,436</td>
<td>444,638</td>
<td>97.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>including girls</td>
<td>82,436</td>
<td>83,249</td>
<td>101.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Schools organized the biggest number of camps – 76.1% – using instruction premises for the purpose.

Children who enjoyed rest and recreation at summer camps included those from poor families (28,381), problem children (1,743), orphans (11,027), and gifted children (2,216).

Republic of Tajikistan: number of camps for children’s rest and recreation and number of attendees, by region

<table>
<thead>
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Contributions to the efficient organization of children’s rest and recreation in summer 2004 (in percent of the total cost) were as follows: 16.8% from the Fund for the Social Protection of the Population; 22.4% apiece from the Trade Union Federation of Tajikistan, ministries and agencies; 31.5% from local budgets, and 6.9% from private and joint sponsors.

In 2003, public funds for the education sector amounted to 112.7 million somoni, or 2.4% of the Gross Domestic Product.

5. **HEALTH**

Health system improvement is vital for human development. Health indicators in the Republic of Tajikistan are identical to those in the poorest countries. The scale and incidence of diseases tend to grow. This is particularly true of diseases induced by poverty and inadequate medical services. Hence new threats to health, such as outbreaks of typhus, malaria, brucellosis, and anthrax, the prevalence of diarrhea and malaria, and a fast spread of HIV/AIDS.

Health status of the population also suffered from the impact of unstable operation of economic sectors, poor quality of life, lack of necessary foodstuffs, worsening quality of drinking water and other factors. Malnutrition is observed in the majority of the population in the country. Actually there is a direct link between malnutrition and the spread of infections.
At present the problems of food security and high-quality nutrition are under study in Tajikistan. The State Statistical Committee of the Republic of Tajikistan publishes a quarterly on food security and poverty in the country. High quality of food, dietary variety, and mandatory inclusion of fruit and vegetables in child diet are all potent weapons in the combat against infectious and other parasitic diseases. In 2003, the Health Ministry’s epidemiological service held numerous surveys on the conditions of foodstuffs storage and sale.

In 2003, primary morbidity in terms of medical aid appealability in the country as a whole was 38,881.4 per 100,000 population, declining more than 1.5 times as compared to 1990. Moreover, the decrease is observed in all regions. In comparison with 1995, however, primary morbidity in terms of appealability grew 1.7 times. Overall mortality rate was 5.1 per 1,000 in 2003.

In 2003, the highest rates of primary morbidity in terms of appealability were registered in CAD (44,573 per 100,000), GBAA (43,149 per 100,000), and Sogdiana Region (43,020 per 100,000). In Hatlon Region, primary morbidity rate in terms of appealability was 33,864 per 100,000, and in the city of Dushanbe, 26,528 per 100,000.

In 2003, respiratory diseases ranked first in the pattern of primary morbidity in terms of appealability – 15,745 per 100,000, or 40.5%, followed by digestive system diseases (3,447.9 per 100,000, or 8.9%), and endocrine diseases (2,502.5 per 100,000, or 6.4%).

Among children aged 0-14 years, 2003 nationwide primary morbidity in terms of appealability was 18,936.4 per 100,000 in this age group, declining 1.6 times as compared to 1995. It was 28,574.2 per 100,000 in Sogdiana Region, 21,572.9 per 100,000 in GBAA, 19,154.3 per 100,000 in CAD, 18,800.4 per 100,000 in Dushanbe, and 11,740.0 per 100,000 in Hatlon Region.

Respiratory diseases ranked first in the pattern of primary morbidity in terms of appealability in the case of children aged 0-14 years – 4,825.8 per 100,000, or 25.5% of the total, followed by endocrine diseases, including endemic goiter that constitutes 80.7% of all endocrine diseases (3,014.5 per 100,000, or 15.9%). The greatest incidence of endemic goiter is in children aged 0-14 years in Hatlon Region (3,306.5 per 100,000 children aged 0-14 years) and in CAD (4,014.7 per 100,000 children). Digestive diseases are in the third place: 14.9% (2,819.4 per 100,000 children). The incidence of anemia among children 0-14 years of age is 1,045 per 100,000 (or 5.5%), growing 1.3 times as compared to 2000. The highest anemia indicators in children aged 0-14 years are in Sogdiana Region (1,436.5 per 100,000 children) and CAD (1,200.1 per 100,000 children).
Infant mortality is a serious problem for national maternal and child health services, its rate estimated at 33-37 per 1,000 live births, a sufficiently high figure in spite of its reduction. (To estimate infant mortality, the Statistical Committee of the Republic of Tajikistan should apply a new calculation methodology used by UNICEF). Currently any study of the dynamics in and causes of infant mortality in Tajikistan is problematic, for only 30% of children who died under age of one year are registered (for more detail, see Section 1).

In 2003, registration data revealed the following main causes of infant mortality: infectious and parasitic diseases (35.4%), respiratory diseases (28.3%), perinatal period conditions (20.1%).

Many children who died of childhood diseases could have survived had their nutrition been better. It is estimated that malnutrition is the main cause of death of children under five in 49% of cases (World Bank, “Outlook for Better Nutrition in East Europe and Central Asia”, 2003).

As is evident from analysis of current child and adolescent morbidity statistics, indicators deteriorate in such diseases as tuberculosis, endemic goiter and anemia. Worsening of family diet, particularly in families with many children, coupled with the dwindling or absence of iodine rich sources in food, are factors behind a surge of iodine deficiency diseases. The main source of food in the countryside are home-made products, while in urban localities products containing iodine and iron are available.

The population, particularly mothers in rural localities, are poorly informed about potential complications of infectious diseases their children may get failing to refer to medical establishments for aid. Some parents are unwilling to have their children going through a course of prophylactic inoculation. The Republican Immunoprophylaxis Centre collects data on prophylactic inoculation coverage in the child population on the national scale. In the countryside, however, medical workers identify children failing to receive mandatory prophylactic inoculations in the area they service. In 2003, regional immunization (with DTP vaccine) was as follows. The coverage of children was 98.4% in Dushanbe, 96.0% in CAD, 95.5% in Sogdiana Region, 96.8% in Hatlon Region, and 94.5% in GBAA.
Female reproductive health, primarily high maternal mortality rate, is a grave concern for Tajikistan. According to statistics of the Ministry of Health of the Republic of Tajikistan, 2002 maternal mortality rate was 45 cases per 100,000 population: 116.3 in GBAA, 58.9 in Dushanbe, 48.6 in Sogdiana Region, 39.1 in CAD, and 38.0 in Hatlon Region.

**Reference rate.** A decline in national morbidity indicators does not reflect the true picture, for morbidity is usually registered on the basis of appealability for medical aid. Ailments are as frequent as ever, it is just that people tend to seek medical advice less frequently on account of the high cost of medical services. Now almost all health services (including dentistry) have to be paid for, although hospital treatment is mostly available from public hospital establishments.

Medical care need to be improved, and this will certainly contribute to the amelioration of the health status of the population. In 2003, a World Bank survey on appealability rates in the quintiles⁹ revealed that a small percentage of patients referred to doctors in each quintile. This is particularly pronounced in quintile I, where appealability rate is three times less than in quintile V. On the regional level, the smallest percentage of applications for medical aid is in Hatlon Region (3.5%). The survey demonstrated that 89.5% of urban and 80.2% of rural patients would refer to doctors at public medical establishments. Reference to paramedical personnel is more frequent in rural than urban localities, a consequence of the structure of medical establishments in the countryside. One of the reasons for failure to apply for medical aid, as indicated by respondents, was that they couldn’t afford it for lack of money (58.6% of urban and 52.8% of country dwellers).

The private health sector is still poorly developed in Tajikistan and unable to compete with public health establishments. Private medical centres predominantly provide dental, non-traditional and gynaecological services.

Due to their specifics, hospital services have become highly expensive. Patients would apply for hospital aid on extremely rare occasions. According to the World Bank’s 2003 living standards survey, a mere 3.4% of respondents had been hospitalized in preceding 12 months: 3.5% in urban and 3.3 in rural areas. The regional breakdown was the following: 1.1% in Hatlon Region, 2.9% in Dushanbe, 3.0% in GBAA, 3.7% in CAD, and 5.6% in Sogdiana Region.

At the same time, the survey revealed chronic diseases in 6.4% of those polled: 8.5% in urban and 5.6% in country areas. 65.9% of those who sought medical aid took medicines to treat chronic diseases. Quintile-wise, the biggest proportion (72.5%) of medicine-takers was in quintile V. The cost of prescribed medicines averaged 14.12 somoni in quintile I and 47.84 somoni in quintile V.

According to the Asian Development Bank’s 2002 Poverty Reduction Monitoring survey, the availability of health establishments highly differed in urban and rural settlements. In urban localities there are enough clinics, drug stores and hospitals, and first aid stations to render services to 98.2%, 91% and 71% of the population, respectively. The services of health facilities (hospitals, clinics), drug stores and first aid stations are available for 50-65% and 26.3% of the rural population.

In 2003, GBAA had only 39 hospitals, bed/population ratio was 93.9:10,000, and one hospital for every 5,497 persons. The figures for Hatlon Region were 144 hospitals, 11,764 beds, bed/population ratio 50.7:10,000, and one hospital for 16,102 persons. Sogdiana Region: 142 hospitals, 14,401 beds, bed/population ratio 72.8:10,000. Dushanbe: 37 hospitals, 5,330 beds, 87.1:10,000, one hospital for every 16,532 persons. CAD: 87 hospitals, 6,732 beds, 46.4:10,000, one hospital for every 17,068 persons.

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⁹ Quintile is any of the five groups containing one fifth of the total population (20%) distributed by prosperity levels, where quintile I comprises the poorest and quintile V the richest sections of the population.
The health system is in a process of reform in the Republic of Tajikistan, the priority going to the development of primary health care (PHC). The Somoni Group for Health Reform analyzed the situation in 1999, discovering that 65% of rural PHC establishments had been built in the period from 1939 to 1980. New construction proceeds at a slow pace. Over 55% of PHC facilities is located in buildings that fall short of sanitary norms. Far from all establishments have running water and sanitation facilities.

Clinics are where urban dwellers first apply for medical aid. The state of affairs in municipal clinics is much better than in the countryside. But the health care system as a whole needs improvement at all levels.

Underfinancing of the health care sector also leads to the deterioration of the health status of the population. A lengthy period of training for doctors and low pay are factors discouraging specialists from fully displaying of their knowledge and professional skills. State budget funding for health care in 2003 was 43.3 million somoni, or 0.9% of Gross Domestic Product.

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LITERATURE ON REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

1. Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Tajikistan (annual, State Statistical Committee)
2. Statistical Yearbook “Regions of the Republic of Tajikistan” (annual, State Statistical Committee)
5. Socioeconomic Situation in the Republic of Tajikistan (monthly analytical paper, State Statistical Committee)
6. Labour and Employment in the Republic of Tajikistan (collection of statistics, once every five years, State Statistical Committee)
7. Education in the Republic of Tajikistan (collection of statistics, biannual, State Statistical Committee)
8. Agriculture in the Republic of Tajikistan (collection of statistics, annual, State Statistical Committee)