

Monitoring Economic Conditions in the Russian Federation

*The Russia
Longitudinal Monitoring Survey
1992-2001*

April 2002

Russia Longitudinal
Monitoring Survey



University of North Carolina
at Chapel Hill

The Russia Longitudinal Monitoring Survey (RLMS) is a series of nationally representative surveys of the Russian Federation implemented between 1992 and 2001. This report is based on surveys conducted in September 1992 (Round 1), February 1993 (Round 2), August 1993 (Round 3), November 1993 (Round 4), December 1994 (Round 5), October 1995 (Round 6), October 1996 (Round 7), November 1998 (Round 8), October 2000 (Round 9), and October 2001 (Round 10). Data from all rounds have been weighted to ensure comparability of the information presented herein.

To date, the RLMS has been carried out in two phases, each of which has followed a different nationally representative sample of the Russian population. All aspects of field work in Phase II (the current phase, consisting of Rounds 5-10) were handled by the Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences, headed by Drs. Polina Kozyreva and Mikhail Kosolapov, along with the late Dr. Michael Swafford, Paragon Research International. The Institute of Nutrition, Russian Academy of Medical Sciences, headed by Dr. Alexander Baturin coordinated and carried out the collection and processing of health and diet data.

Data collection for Phase I (Rounds 1-4) was implemented by the Russian State Statistical Bureau (Goskomstat), with Alexander Ivanov and Igor Dmitrichev co-directing this effort. Assistance was provided by the Russian Center for Preventive Medicine, led by Drs. Alexander Deev and Svetlana Shalnova. The Russian Institute of Sociology, especially Drs. Polina Kozyreva and Mikhail Kosolapov, and the late Dr. Michael Swafford of Paragon Research International also provided detailed assistance in Phase I.

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The University of North Carolina team that has coordinated all phases of the RLMS includes: Barry Popkin, Principal Investigator, and co-investigators Namvar Zohoori, Thomas Mroz, and Lenore Arab.

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Access to RLMS data is being provided, as data sets become available to the public, at <http://www.cpc.unc.edu/rlms> (the RLMS home page on the World Wide Web).

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The Russia Longitudinal Monitoring Survey 1992-2001

*Thomas Mroz, Laura Henderson, Mikhail Bontch-Osmolovskii, and Barry
Popkin took the lead in the preparation of this report*

Part 1. Overview of Key Findings

- Annual inflation rates for the 12 month periods ending in 2001 hovered around 20%. Prices increased by 18.6% from December 2000 to December 2001.
- Between October 2000 and October 2001 real, aggregate household income increased by 18%.
- During the year to October 2001, per capita income for almost all percentiles of the income distribution rose by about 20%.
- Despite these recent income increases, household incomes during the fall of 2001 were 16% below their levels in 1994.
- Total household expenditures rose by 13% from 2000 to 2001. Expenditures rose by 13% for the lowest expenditure quintile and by 9% at the highest income quintile. Average nonfood expenditures are now at the highest level observed in all the RLMS surveys.
- Unemployment fell to 7.3% in October 2001, its lowest level since the end of 1995. A version of the unemployment rate that includes “hidden unemployment” is at its lowest level since before the 1993 RLMS.
- Labor force participation among working aged persons increased slightly from 2000 to 2001. It now stands at 82.6%. Less than 15% of retirement aged persons work.
- Poverty rates in October 2001 are half of the peak rates observed in 1998. Fewer than 30% of children under age 6 were living in poverty at the end of 2001, and fewer than one in twelve young children lives in a household with an income under 50% of the poverty line. Only 9% of pension-aged persons are living in households below the poverty level.
- Few individuals undertook job training in 2001, even among the unemployed. This continues the downward trend in the incidence of job training.
- Only 25% of working-aged adults were owed back wages as of October 2001, down from almost two out of three in November 1998.
- Average rent and utility payments increased almost 40% from 2000 to 2001, but they account for less than 5% of all expenditures. The incidence of delinquent rent and utility payments by households now stands at 25%. Households headed by working aged adults are more likely than average to owe back payments.

Part 2. Discussion of Results

Inflation

Price increases in Russia have been relatively moderate since the turmoil of late 1998. For each month since mid 2000, the annual inflation rate during the previous 12 months hovered about 20%. Prices increased only by 18.6% between December 2000 and December 2001. This relatively long-term price stability suggests that it may be possible for prices, transfer payments, and incomes to adjust to and reflect real economic conditions. This report uses Goskomstat's consumer price index to translate nominal values to June 1992 rubles. June 1992 prices are used throughout this report, and multiplying these June 1992 prices by 0.863 will translate the constant rouble prices to December 2001 prices in the re-denominated rouble.¹

Due to these modest inflation levels, income, wage, and expenditure measures for October 2000 and October 2001 in the RLMS are likely to provide relatively accurate indications of real economic conditions. Incomes and expenditures measured in the RLMS for 1998 and in many earlier years, however, took place during the high and variable inflationary periods. Consequently, changes in real rouble incomes and expenditures as

measured with the RLMS using data from 1998 and some earlier years should be interpreted cautiously.

The consumer price index reflects changes in the overall cost of living for all Russians, but it might not accurately measure the relevant prices faced by poor individuals. To overcome this shortcoming, in some earlier rounds of the RLMS we used the official Russian poverty lines to define the incidence of poverty in Russia. These official measures were developed by Russian officials and researchers and UNC-CH researchers, and they reflect the average cost of food items in a Russian food basket for low-income persons. For more recent reports on the RLMS, we refined the official all-Russia poverty lines to incorporate oblast-level price variations, regional food baskets, and adjustments for family size (economies of scale adjustments). Our adjusted poverty lines, like the official poverty lines, reflect the cost of living for low-income persons. It is important to note that some earlier reports in this series focused on the official poverty lines, which can differ significantly from the poverty lines used here. In this report all poverty measures for all years use our modified poverty lines.

Figure 1a. Monthly Price Levels
(6/92-12/01)

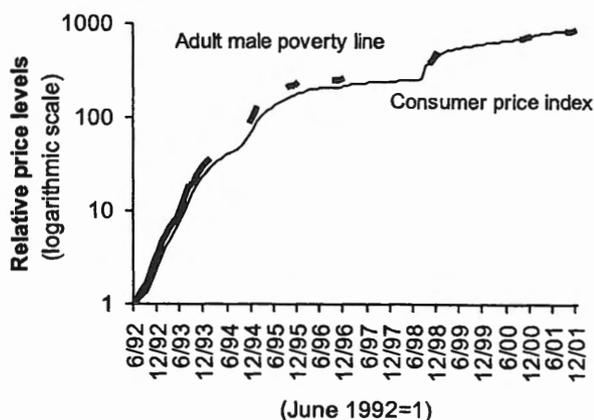


Figure 1b. Annual (12 month)
Inflation Rates
(1/96-12/01)

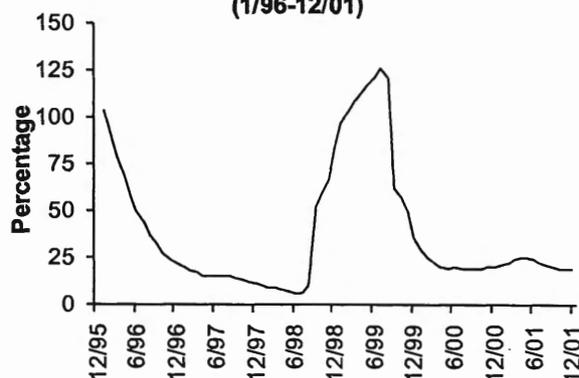


Figure 1a contains a comparison of the consumer price index and the adult male poverty line, constructed with all-Russia average prices, across all time periods covered by the RLMS. Note that the vertical axis is measured on a logarithmic scale; equal increases on this scale correspond to equal proportionate changes. Figure 1b focuses on inflation over each 12 month period starting in 1996. Inflation during this time period was much less severe than the period 1992 to 1995 when 12 month inflation rates were always over 100% and exceeded 1000% and 2000% at several points. While annual inflation rates remain relatively high, around 20%, inflation appears to have stabilized in the time since the banking crises of the last half of 1998.

Overall, from October 2000 to October 2001 prices increased by 18.8% according to the consumer price index, while the adult male poverty line increased by a slightly lower 18.3%.

Household Income Sources

The last row of Table 1 indicates that average real household income increased by 18% from October 2000 to October 2001.² This is nearly twice the annual growth rate in income that took place from 1998 to 2000. Incomes at the end of 2001 were at their highest levels since the beginning of 1995, and average household income is 16% below its 1994 level. Wage income increased by 28% over the past year, with a nearly 60% growth in aggregate wage income from working for private organizations. One third of all wage income now comes from strictly private sources. Real transfers from the State increased faster than overall income growth during the past year, with 90% of the increase in State transfers due to increased pension income. Cash income from home production rose by 10%, while noncash income fell by 13%, indicating a reduced reliance of households on foods grown for their own consumption. Family and charity transfers increased by only 8% over the past year.

Table 2 and Figure 2 show the average percentages of household income by source from

1992 to 2001.³ The average fraction of income from wages is now about 42%, well above its level from the end of 1994 to the end of 2000. Income from working for fully or partially State-owned enterprises comprises 31% of average income, its highest level since 1995. The fraction of income from working for private organizations rose to 12%, its highest level ever observed in a RLMS survey. Almost 22% of all households in 2001 received some income from private organizations, the highest level ever observed in the RLMS.

The average fraction of income due to State transfers rose over the past year, and it now stands at its second highest level among the time periods represented in Table 2 and Figure 2. Nearly all of this increase in State transfers comes from increases in real pension payments, with pensions comprising over 89% of all State transfers. The average fraction of income due to home production and informal sector activities fell to 14.2%, with only 1992 income having a lower fraction from these sources. Overall, the State remains an important income source. In 2001, the average fraction of income from State or combined State-private sources increased to nearly 66%. The decline in the importance of the State sector for providing income that took place from 1992 to 1996 appears to have subsided, while the average fraction of income coming from private transfers has remained roughly constant.

Table 3 categorizes the composition of household income by quintiles of the per capita income distribution. It provides some summary information on the level of real income within these quintiles. The last panel in Table 3 contains summary data for 2000 by income quintiles for that year: the percentage of income from wages, the percentage of income from State transfers, and average income. The last row in the top panel of Table 3 presents the average 2001 income by income quintiles in 2001. Average real incomes in the lowest three income quintiles grew by between 25 and 34 percent from 2000 to 2001. Average incomes within the top two quintiles increased by 18 and 15 percent over the same time period.

Table 1 - Income: Composition of Household Income in the Russian Federation (in June 1992 rubles)

Sources of Income	Dates Data Collected						
	9/92	12/94	10/95	10/96	11/98	10/00	10/01
Income from work for State-owned organizations	3645	2218	1718	1663	1159	1503	1760
Income from work for private organizations	230	921	833	878	558	723	1140
Income from work for combined State-owned and private organizations	466	736	553	604	335	462	543
Total income from wages	4341	3875	3104	3145	2052	2688	3443
Transfers from the State (pensions, unemployment benefits, stipends, State allowances)	1207	1430	1085	1018	870	978	1210
Cash income from home production and informal sector	485	563	474	469	381	620	683
Noncash income from home production and informal sector	503	694	481	628	681	543	475
Sale of personal belongings	336	279	290	126	122	120	157
Rental of personal property	5	20	8	10	11	11	30
Dividends	n/a	212	54	79	21	103	34
Family and charity transfers	927	639	459	558	344	406	438
Total monthly income (June 1992 rubles)	7804	7712	5955	6033	4481	5469	6470

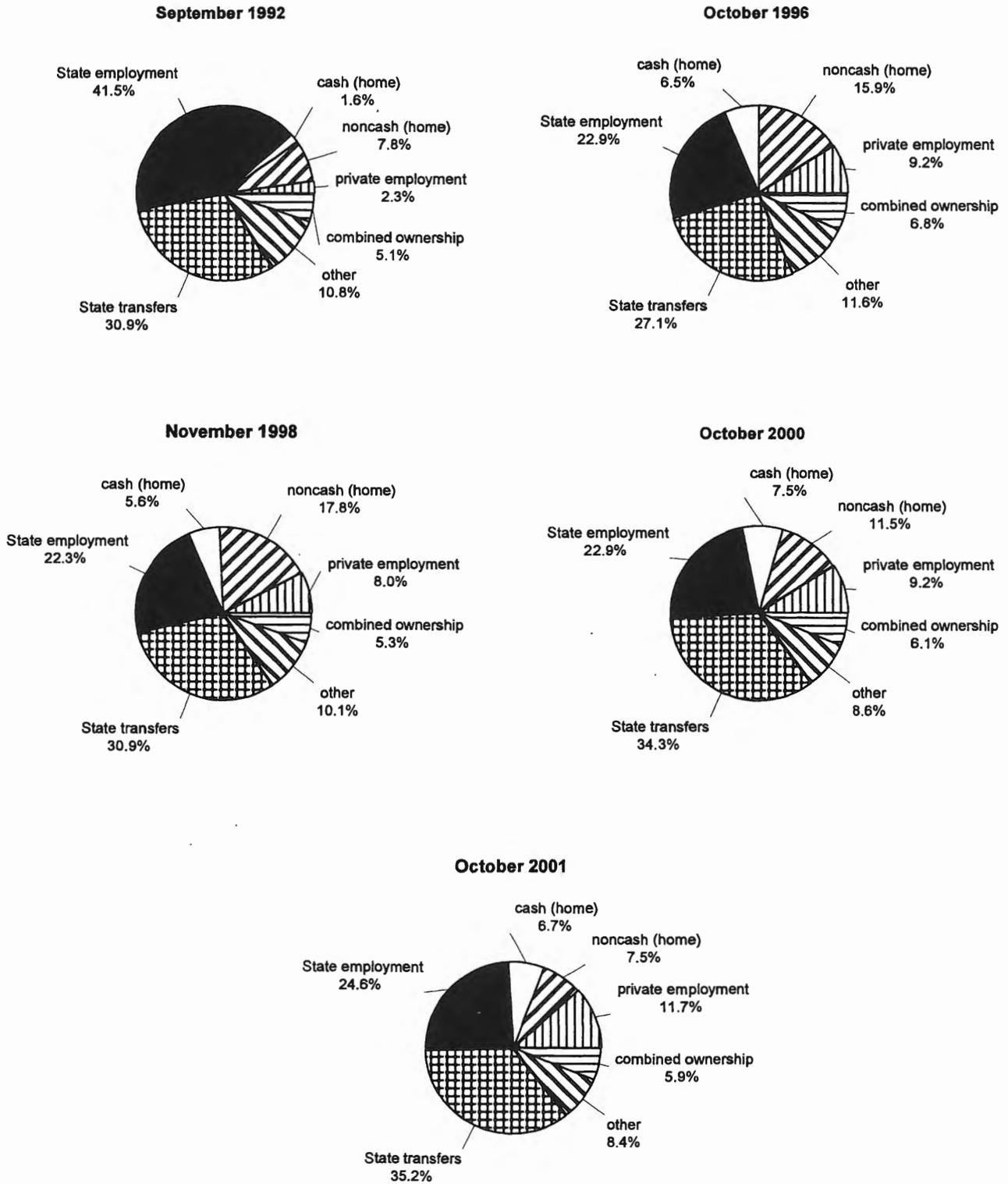
Table 2 - Income: Distribution of Sources of Income (percentages)

Sources of Income	Dates Data Collected						
	9/92	12/94	10/95	10/96	11/98	10/00	10/01
Income from work for State-owned organizations	41.5	25.6	24.6	22.9	22.3	22.9	24.6
Income from work for private organizations	2.3	8.3	8.7	9.2	8.0	9.2	11.7
Income from work for combined State-owned and private organizations	5.1	6.4	6.6	6.8	5.3	6.1	5.9
Total income from wages	48.9	40.3	39.9	38.9	35.6	38.2	42.1
Households with income from State-owned organizations (percent)	(64.8)	(47.8)	(44.5)	(41.2)	(42.1)	(44.4)	(43.9)
Households with income from private organizations (percent)	(5.3)	(16.6)	(17.0)	(16.6)	(16.1)	(17.5)	(21.8)
Households with income from combined State-owned and private organizations (percent)	(10.5)	(13.2)	(13.2)	(12.4)	(10.7)	(12.1)	(11.1)
Transfers from the State (pensions, unemployment benefits, stipends, State allowances)	30.9	34.0	36.5	27.1	30.9	34.3	35.2
Cash income from home production and informal sector	1.6	5.2	6.1	6.5	5.6	7.5	6.7
Noncash income from home production and informal sector	7.8	10.8	8.4	15.9	17.8	11.5	7.5
Sale of personal belongings	1.2	1.3	1.2	1.3	1.0	0.8	0.6
Rental of personal property	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2
Dividends	n/a	0.8	0.4	0.6	0.3	0.3	0.2
Family and charity transfers	9.7	7.5	7.4	9.6	8.5	7.3	7.4
Total monthly income (percent)	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 3 - Income: Distribution of Sources of Income by Quintiles Based on Per Capita Income, October 2001 in June 1992 Rubles (percentages)

Sources of Income	Per Capita Income Quintiles				
	bottom 20%	21-40%	41-60%	61-80%	top 20%
Income from work for State-owned organizations	27.4	22.5	20.8	26.8	25.4
Income from work for private organizations	7.4	8.4	8.6	14.2	20.3
Income from work for combined State-owned and private organizations	4.8	4.7	3.4	6.8	9.7
Total income from wages	39.6	35.6	32.8	47.8	55.4
Households with income from State-owned organizations (percent)	(39.7)	(39.8)	(39.3)	(50.2)	(50.5)
Households with income from private organizations (percent)	(13.1)	(16.9)	(17.2)	(25.9)	(36.1)
Households with income from combined State-owned and private organizations (percent)	(8.6)	(10.0)	(7.9)	(12.2)	(16.8)
Transfers from the State (pensions, unemployment benefits, stipends, State allowances)	39.8	44.6	49.1	29.5	12.3
Cash income from home production and informal sector	4.5	5.9	5.0	5.9	12.4
Noncash income from home production and informal sector	6.6	7.8	7.5	8.7	7.2
Sale of personal belongings	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.6	1.4
Rental of personal property	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.4
Dividends	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.8
Family and charity transfers	8.9	5.6	4.9	7.4	10.2
Total monthly income (percent)	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total monthly income, October 2001	2258	3788	4584	6908	15008
Total income from wages, October 2000	31.2	31.0	29.0	45.3	53.8
Transfers from the State (pensions, unemployment benefits, stipends, State allowances), October 2000	36.4	47.4	49.5	26.7	11.6
Total monthly income, October 2000	1775	2833	3656	5865	13026

Figure 2. Sources of Income



The importance of the different components of income varies considerably across income classes in 2001. Over 36% of households in the highest income quintile received income from work for private organizations while only 13% of households in the lowest income quintile had income from this source. Twice as many households in the highest income group had income from combined State-owned and private enterprises than households in the lowest income group. Transfers from the State make up almost half of the income received by the middle income quintile. These transfers comprise somewhat smaller income shares for lower quintiles and substantially lower income shares for the upper income quintiles. The lower panel of Table 3 reveals that the fraction of income due to State transfers for each income class has changed little since October 2000. These income shares, however, are substantially different from what they were in 1998, when the poorest income quintile received only 24.5% of its income in State transfers and the upper quintile received 16%. Recent State transfers appear to have been focused more on the poorer segments of society.

Those in the lowest income quintile now receive a smaller fraction of their income from home production and informal sector activities, 11.1%, than do the households with higher incomes. Only a year earlier, the lowest quintile had nearly 23% of its income from this source, and in 1998 this source provided over 30% of all income for this group. Family and charity transfers are also important income components, making up 9% of income for those in the lowest income quintile and over 10% of income for those in the top income quintile in 2001. These transfers comprise a smaller fraction of income in the middle of the income distribution (1998 and 2000 percentages from the 1998 and 2000 RLMS Reports).

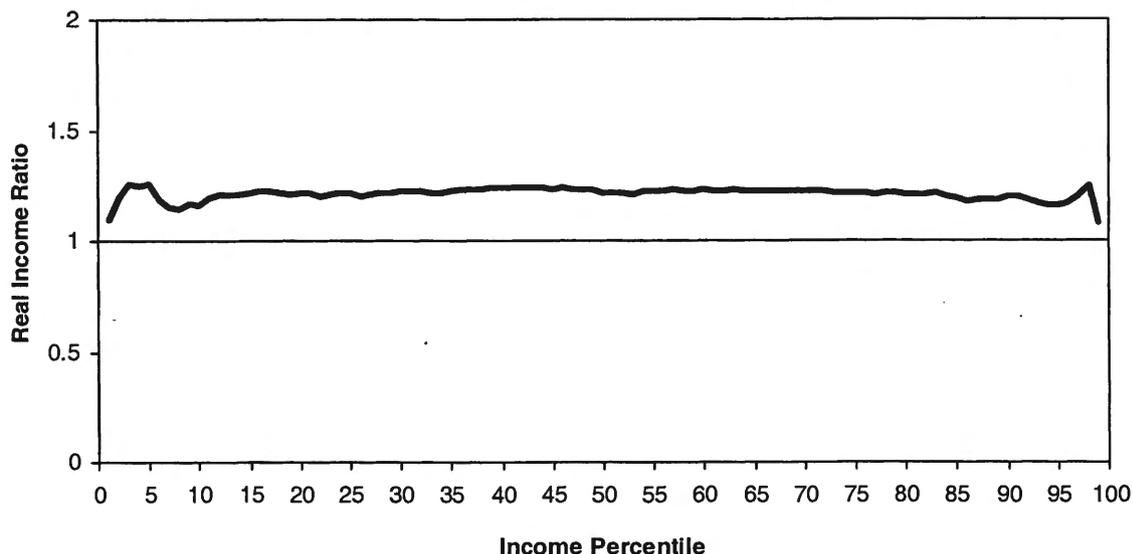
While the RLMS survey was not designed to provide regional information, it does indicate some important variations in income changes over different parts of the country. To minimize reliance on possibly inaccurate, detailed regional variations, we focus on income changes in

Moscow and St. Petersburg relative to the rest of the country as represented in the RLMS. From 1998 to 2000, total household income in the combined two large cities rose by 13% (from 5589 to 6324), while in aggregate the rest of the country experienced growth of nearly double that rate (25%, from 4407 to 5519). From 2000 to 2001, however, average household income in Moscow and St. Petersburg grew by 24% while the rest of the country experienced only 14% growth in average household income. The pace of economic change varies considerably across regions, with the regional differences exhibiting considerable variation over a somewhat short time horizon.

Figure 3 displays the changes in the per capita income distribution from October 2000 to October 2001. It plots the value of the real per capita income at each income percentile in 2001 as a fraction of the real per capita income at the same percentile in 2000. Note that this graph refers to per capita incomes, while the earlier tables and graphs were for household incomes. At every percentile of the income distribution there has been an increase in real per capita income, with most increases being about 20%. These percentage changes were approximately constant throughout the income distribution, with the smallest increases focused at the extremes of the income distribution.

The impacts of all these income increases are reflected in answers to several attitudinal questions asked during the 2000 and 2001 RLMS surveys. When asked if they were "satisfied with their lives in general," only 41% were indifferent or satisfied in 2000. By the fall of 2001 this rose to 48%. In 2000, 24% of adults considered their economic rank to be on the lowest two rungs of a nine-step ladder; this was down to 17% by October 2001. Another indicator of changes in economic conditions are responses to questions about expectations for families over the next year. In 2000, approximately the same number of respondents thought that their families would fare better during the next twelve months (24%) as thought that they would fare worse (22%). In

Figure 3. October 2001 to October 2000 Income Percentile Ratios
 (Real Income at Percentile P in 2001 Divided by Real Income at Percentile P in 2000)



2001, there were twice as many optimists (31%) as pessimists (15%). Other attitudinal indicators of improvements in household economic conditions were more ambiguous. In 2001, for example, 23% felt that their financial position had improved during the past year, while 23% felt that it had worsened. The improvements in economic conditions as represented by the responses to the attitudinal questions do not appear nearly as striking as the real income increases experienced over the past year.

Household Expenditures

Table 4 indicates that average total household expenditures rose by 13% between October 2000 and October 2001, from 6933 to 7821 rubles. Even with this substantial growth in real expenditures, it is important to recognize that only the 1998 and 2000 real expenditure levels were substantially below this fall 2001 level across all time periods covered by the RLMS. Total real expenditure is 6% below its level in 1992 and 23% below its 1994 level.

Real expenditures have increased across all categories since October 2000, except for moderate declines in expenditures on potatoes

(1.8% of total expenditures in 2001) and imputed expenditures on home produced foods (now 7.3% of all expenditures). Overall, real food expenditures increased by 7% since October 2000, while nonfood expenditures increased by 18%. Real food expenditures are about 60% of the maximum level observed in the RLMS (in December 1994). Nonfood expenditures, however, are now at their highest real level across all waves of the RLMS. These two statistics suggest that important relative price changes may have taken place over the past eleven years.

Within the food category, besides the fall in consumption of home produced foods, there is only one notable change since 2000. The consumption of meat and dairy products have each increased by 21%. Several key nonfood categories had substantial expenditure increases. Fuel expenditure increased by 18% and is now at its highest level in all RLMS surveys. Expenditures on rent and utilities increased by 39% during the past year, and savings rose by 28%. The increase in expenditures on services and recreation in Table 4 is mostly due to improvements in measuring expenditures on textbooks, office supplies, and sporting equipment.

Table 4 - Monthly Household Expenditures in the Russian Federation (in June 1992 rubles)

Expenditure Categories	Dates Data Collected						
	9/92	12/94	10/95	10/96	11/98	10/00	10/01
<i>Food Expenditures</i>							
Dairy products	629	394	352	334	231	238	287
Meat, poultry, fish	1195	1598	1190	1015	677	709	861
Potatoes	155	71	131	123	35	153	137
Other food items	2420	2515	2215	1788	1267	1326	1433
Dining away from home	247	383	363	276	190	269	293
Home production of food	524	841	615	618	746	646	570
Alcohol	291	288	174	173	113	121	137
Total spent on food	5461	6089	5039	4328	3260	3462	3718
<i>Nonfood Expenditures</i>							
Tobacco	154	119	121	123	116	97	104
Clothing	824	810	649	655	613	711	716
Fuel ¹	107	238	268	245	147	246	291
Electronics and other durables	433	1070	728	671	478	689	703
Services and recreation	150	754	938	1030	644	966	1250
Payment for tuition, loans, other debts, insurance	356	315	217	168	188	104	137
Rent and utilities	115	194	264	300	247	262	363
Stocks, bonds	51	28	4	9	2	1	6
Miscellaneous household items (soap, toys, newspapers, etc.)	491	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	124	185
Savings	167	495	283	215	173	271	348
Total spent on nonfood	2848	4022	3471	3416	2607	3471	4103
Total food and nonfood expenditures	8309	10110	8511	7743	5867	6933	7821

¹Beginning with the data collected in December 1994, the definition of fuel changed to include auto fuel, bottled gas, and firewood. In previous rounds, bottled gas and firewood were included in the utilities category. The proportions of fuel obtained from each source in the four most recent surveys are: 12/1994: auto fuel - 49%, firewood - 19%, bottled gas - 32%; 10/1995: auto fuel - 56%, firewood - 17%, bottled gas - 27%; 10/1996: auto fuel - 56%, firewood - 18%, bottled gas - 26%; 11/1998: auto fuel - 58%, firewood - 16%, bottled gas - 26%; 10/2000: auto fuel - 71%, firewood - 11%, bottled gas - 18%; 10/2001: auto fuel - 68.5%, firewood - 14%, bottled gas - 17.5%.

Table 5 presents household expenditures by per capita expenditure quintile for October 2001, and Figure 4 presents average expenditure shares for several broad classes of expenditures.⁴ Looking first at Table 5, food expenditures comprise 62% of total expenditures for the lowest total expenditure quintile, down from 66% in 2000 and 71% in 1998. The expenditure share of food declines by income quintile. While it only falls to 54% by the second highest quintile, it declines

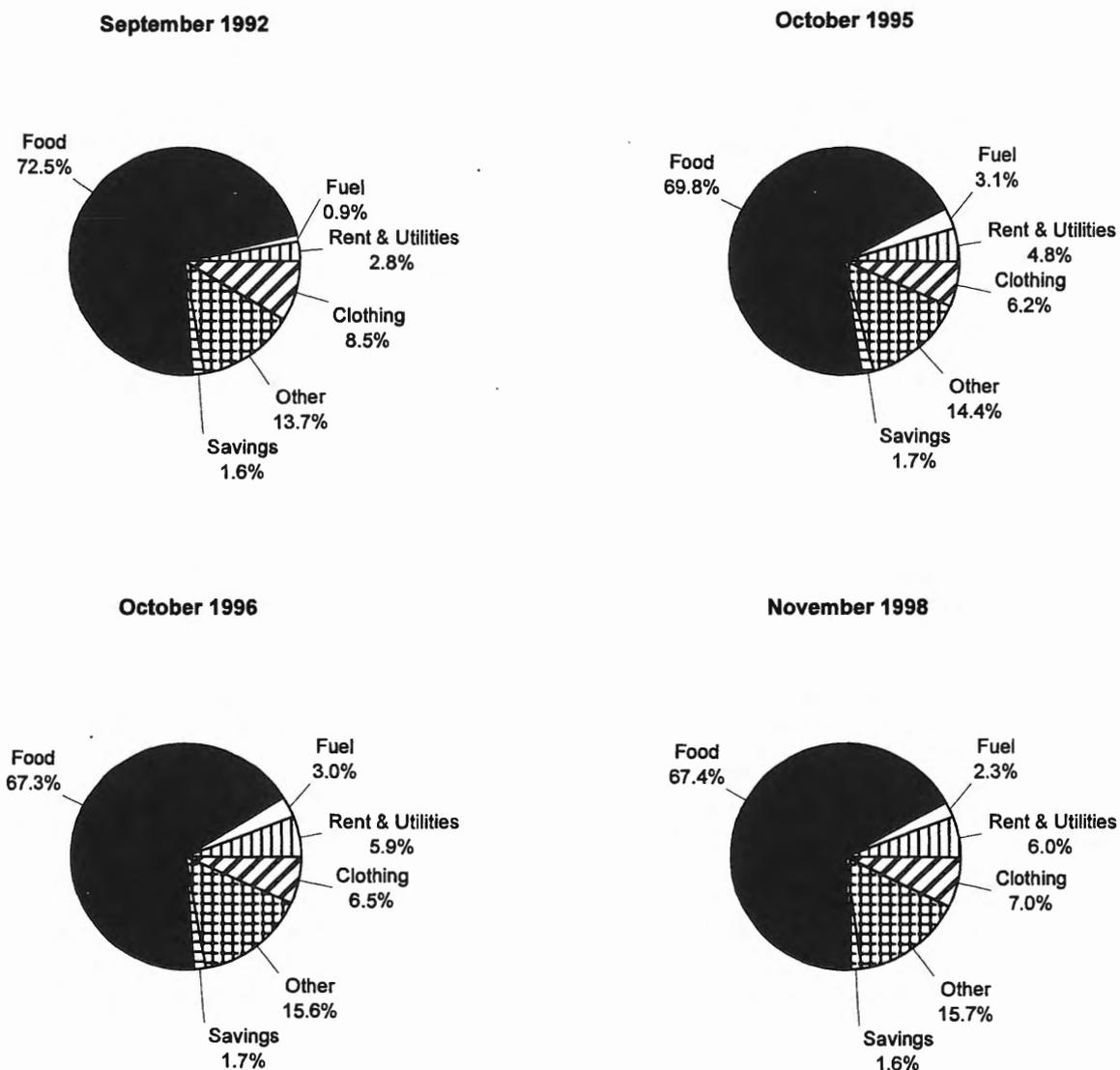
precipitously to 36% for the highest expenditure quintile. Meat, poultry, and fish expenditures rise rapidly with increased expenditure quintiles. The increase in expenditures on electronics and durables with the total level of expenditures is remarkable, with the poorest quintile spending less than 1% on these goods and the wealthiest quintile having 16% of their expenditures in this category.

Expenditure Categories	Per Capita Expenditure Quintiles				
	bottom 20%	21-40%	41-60%	61-80%	top 20%
<i>Food expenditures</i>					
Dairy products	91	214	240	343	554
Meat, poultry, fish	224	514	810	1107	1664
Potatoes	20	42	82	218	324
Other food items	659	1065	1295	1768	2396
Dining away from home	64	145	220	323	720
Home production of food	292	547	653	638	717
Alcohol	28	56	109	156	342
Total spent on food	1378	2583	3049	4553	6717
<i>Non-food expenditures</i>					
Tobacco	52	69	100	129	171
Clothing	160	377	588	845	1631
Fuel	54	112	234	348	718
Electronics and other durables	18	71	147	429	2912
Services and recreation	254	490	792	1101	3674
Payments for tuition, loans, other debts, insurance	19	43	60	133	438
Rent and utilities	181	263	344	371	661
Stocks, bonds	0	0	0	5	27
Miscellaneous household items (soap, toys, newspapers, etc.)	73	116	163	210	369
Savings	18	45	148	258	1297
Total spent on non-food	829	1586	2576	3829	11898
Total food and non-food expenditures	2207	4169	5985	8382	18615
Total spent on food, October 2000	1292	2273	3243	4158	6307
Total spent on non-food, October 2000	660	1227	1841	2777	10813
Total food and non-food expenditures, October 2000	1952	3500	5084	6936	17120

Figure 4 reveals that the average expenditure share of food purchases is at its lowest level across all RLMS survey dates. This low proportion of expenditures going towards food, and particularly its decline for those households in the lowest income quintile, might be indicative of improvements in welfare when combined with the income distribution results. Fuel expenditures as

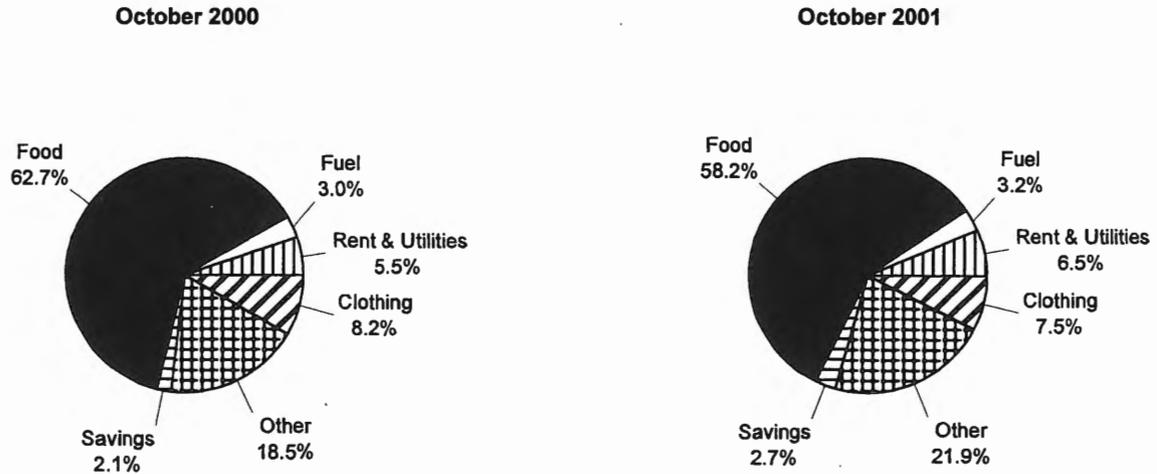
a fraction of all expenditures are now at their highest level in all of the 10 RLMS survey rounds. Rents and Utilities, with an average budget share of 6.5%, now comprise their highest household budget share. Savings, while taking on its largest budget share in 2001, constitutes less than 3 percent of expenditures.

Figure 4. Distribution of Expenditures



(continued)

Figure 4. Distribution of Expenditures
(continued)



Ownership of Assets

Table 6 reports the ownership of assets from 1992 through 2001. As would be expected, fewer households own black and white televisions in 2001 than in the previous years of the survey.

There was a moderate increase in the fraction of households owning color TV, along with moderate declines in the percentage owning refrigerators, washing machines, and a dacha.

Table 6 - Proportions Owning Various Assets at the Time of the Survey

Assets	Sept. 1992	Oct. 1995	Oct. 1996	Nov. 1998	Oct. 2000	Oct. 2001
Television, black and white	53.7	48.9	43.4	34.5	29.8	24.4
Television, color	54.6	64.8	67.6	73.5	75.9	79.3
VCR	3.1	18.8	24.7	32.2	33.4	36.3
Car or truck	16.5	22.4	22.5	24.8	26.3	26.8
Refrigerator	93.0	93.7	92.8	92.4	93.3	93.0
Washing machine	76.6	80.0	78.4	78.5	79.1	78.0
Dacha*	17.8	29.4	30.8	30.9	30.4	28.9

*Dacha includes garden or country house; proportion of ownership is calculated for urban households only.

Unemployment and Labor Force Participation

Table 7 presents information on the incidence of unemployment, the frequency of work without pay, and the duration of unemployment from 1992 to 2001. It contains both official unemployment (BLS/ILO definition) and hidden unemployment. The official rate, the fraction of the labor force not working and looking for work, decreased from its highest level of 10.8% in November 1998, to 8.4% in October 2000, followed by a decline to 7.3% in October 2001. The unemployment rate lies at its lowest level since the end of 1995. If one includes the "hidden" unemployed⁵ in the definition, then unemployment is at its lowest level since before the 1993 RLMS. Figure 5 shows that there was a slightly larger drop in unemployment for women than for men. Only 9.1% of individuals reported employment and no labor earnings during the month before they were surveyed, and this is now at its lowest level since 1992. Table 7 and Figure 6 indicate that the

composition of the unemployed has shifted towards those experiencing 1-3 months of unemployment, with these increases due to declines in the incidence of both long term and short term unemployment. Almost three-quarters of the unemployed, however, have been without a job for more than three months.

The labor force participation rate rose slightly from 2000 to 2001. It now stands at 82.6%, well below all levels reported in the RLMS for 1996 and earlier. According to Figure 7, both the male and the female labor force participation rates increased by only 0.2 percentage points since 2000. These are only slightly above their lowest levels ever recorded in the RLMS. As seen in Figure 8, there was 0.8 percentage point decline in the labor force participation of pension-aged individuals; it now stands at its lowest level since the RLMS started collecting data. Fewer than 15% of pension-eligible persons actively participated in the labor market at the end of 2001.

Table 7 - Unemployment Rates among Working-Aged Adults (Men 18-60; Women 18-55), Russian Federation, 1992-2001

Categories	9/92	12/94	10/95	10/96	11/98	10/00	10/01
Unemployment rate (BLS/ILO definition)	5.6	7.2	7.2	8.8	10.8	8.4	7.3
Unemployment rate (including hidden unemployment)*	n/a	7.7	7.6	8.8	11.2	8.5	7.4
"Hidden unemployment" rate <i>only</i>	n/a	0.5	0.4	0.03	0.5	0.1	0.1
Percentage of labor force reporting employment and no labor earnings in the last 30 days	5.8	14.8	17.4	21.4	17.1	10.8	9.1
Duration of unemployment (excluding hidden unemployment)							
Less than 1 month	n/a	10.2	8.4	7.7	5.4	9.0	7.1
1-3 months	n/a	11.2	13.9	13.0	20.6	15.8	19.3
More than 3 months	n/a	78.5	77.7	79.4	74.0	75.3	73.6
Labor force participation rate	86.7	85.7	86.3	84.5	82.6	82.4	82.6

*Hidden unemployment is defined as: on involuntary unpaid leave and no labor earnings at the time of the survey.

Figure 5. Unemployment Rates by Gender

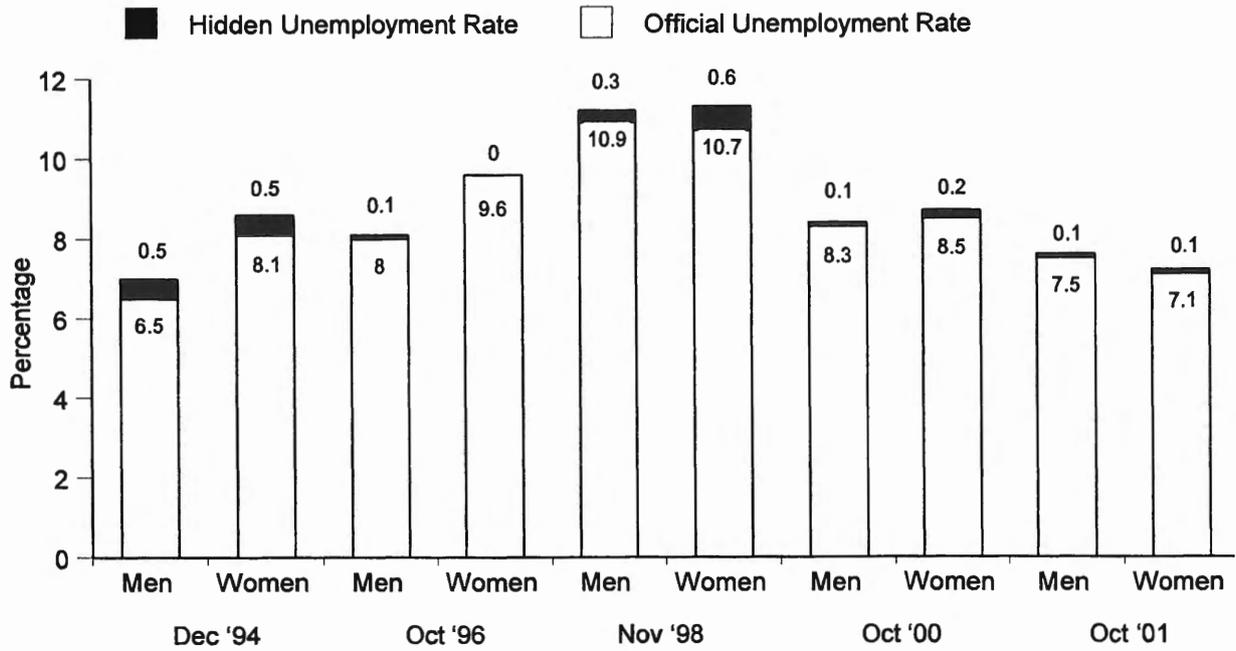


Figure 6. Duration of Unemployment (BLS Definition)

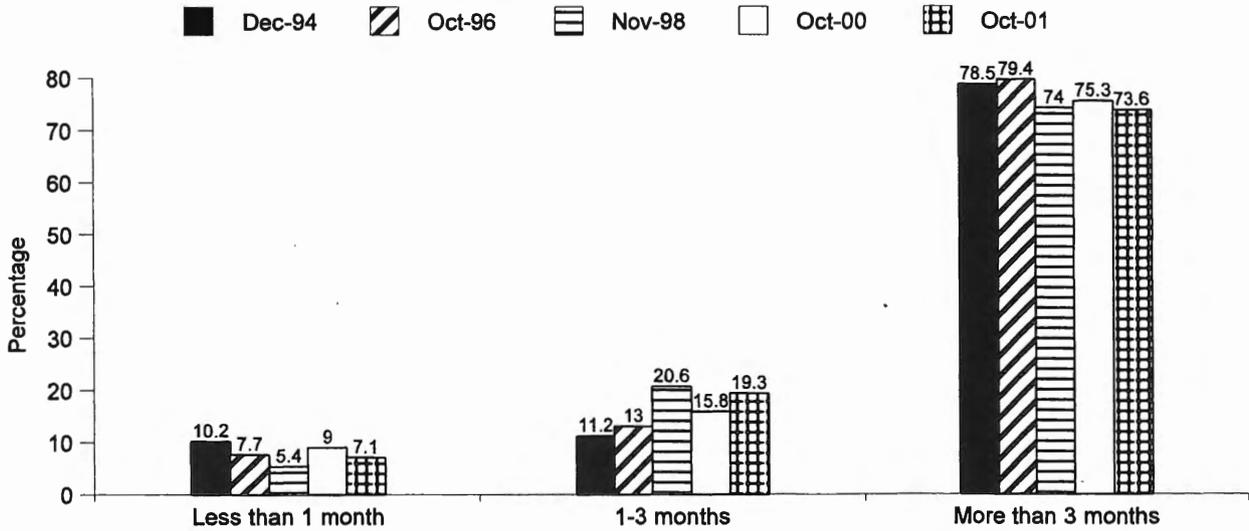


Figure 7. Labor Force Participation of Working-Aged Adults
(those with jobs or looking for jobs)

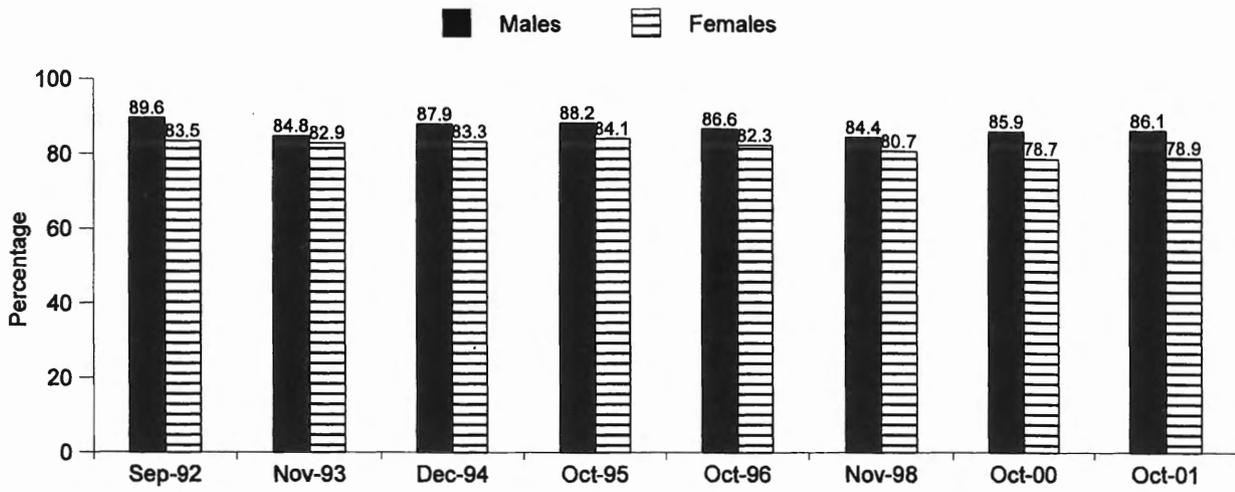
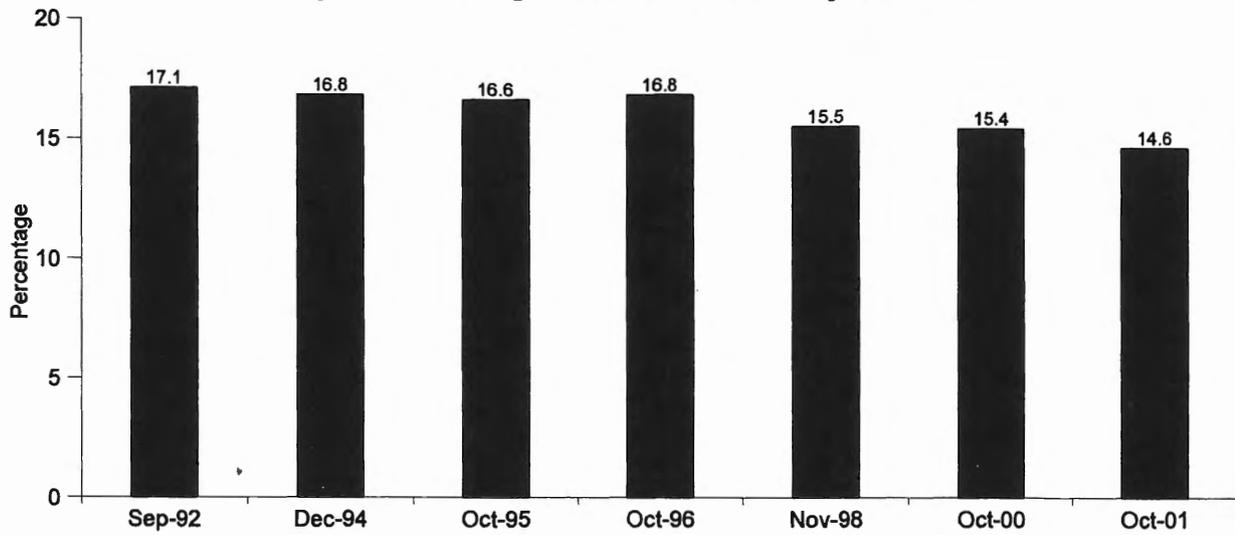


Figure 8. Percentages of Pensioners with Any Kind of Job



Poverty

Table 8 shows the changing incidence of poverty from 1992 to 2001. The October 2001 poverty rates are the lowest measured by the RLMS since before 1995. The fraction of households with income below the poverty line⁶ fell by almost one third from October 2000 to October 2001. The household poverty rate now stands at 18.9%, and there are currently almost 50% fewer households living under the poverty line than there were in 1998. The incidence of extreme poverty, as indicated by the fraction of households with less than one-half of the poverty line in income, continued the decline started after 1996 and now stands at 6.9%. These changes in poverty appear consistent with the income changes described in Tables 1 and 2 and Figure 3.

Poverty among children also declined significantly from 2000 to 2001. The poverty rate for young children in October 2001 is below 29%, almost as low as its 1994 level. The fraction of children in extreme poverty, as defined above, is now only 8.1%. Children appear to have benefitted considerably from the household income increases that took place during the past two years. Poverty among pension-aged persons also fell considerably from 2000 to 2001, most likely in response to the increases in real pension income during this period. Fewer than one in ten older persons is living below the poverty line, and fewer than one in forty pension-aged persons is in a household with an income of less than one-half the poverty line.

Table 8 - The Distribution of Poverty by Household and Age: Russian Federation (Regional Poverty Lines)

	9/92	12/94	10/95	10/96	11/98	10/00	10/01
<i>Household-Level Poverty</i>							
Under 50% of poverty line	3.0	6.8	12.9	18.5	15.9	9.1	6.9
50-<100% of poverty line	8.1	10.2	18.7	16.1	22.2	17.4	12.0
Total under poverty line	11.1	17.0	31.6	34.6	38.1	26.5	18.9
<i>Children Aged 0-6</i>							
Under 50% of poverty line	4.4	12.0	18.9	20.8	25.4	14.7	8.1
50-<100% of poverty line	11.4	13.4	23.3	21.1	30.8	21.8	20.3
Total under poverty line	15.8	25.4	42.2	41.9	56.2	36.5	28.4
<i>Persons of Pension Age</i>							
Under 50% of poverty line	1.2	2.5	8.0	18.4	9.3	2.8	2.3
50-<100% of poverty line	5.4	6.7	15.3	11.4	16.1	11.3	7.0
Total under poverty line	6.6	9.2	23.3	29.8	25.4	14.1	9.3

In Appendix A, we present Tables 8a-8f with regional distributions of the incidence of poverty. It is important to note that the RLMS was not designed to be used to construct regional measures; the figures in these tables should be considered only illustrative. Country wide, only the North Caucasus poverty rate exceeds 20% (25.7%). All regions except Moscow and St. Petersburg experienced declines in household poverty rates, and only in Siberia and the Far East is the percentage of households in extreme poverty above 7.5% (9.1%). Poverty rates among children are higher than the rates for all households. The poverty rate for young children exceeds 30% only in Moscow and St. Petersburg (32.0%) and in the North Caucasus (40.7%). In no region is the poverty rate for pension-aged persons higher than 17%, with several regions experiencing thirty to fifty percent declines in the poverty rates for pension aged persons during the past year. The regional poverty lines used throughout this report reflect the varying costs of goods and varying consumption patterns across

the regions of the Russian Federation.

Housing Ownership

Table 9 traces housing ownership patterns from 1992 to 2001. Most of the change in housing ownership took place before 1994. Since 1994 there have been small but continual declines in housing owned by the State or by one's employer, and small and continual increases in ownership by households. In October 2001, almost two-thirds of all households owned their own homes. Table 10 explores these trends by the age of the household head. The incidence of State- or employer-ownership of one's residence declined over the past year for household heads of all ages. Nearly one-half of household heads under age 25 and more than 85% of household heads over age 59 live in owner-occupied housing.

Table 9 - Distribution of Housing Ownership (percentages)

	9/92	12/94	10/96	11/98	10/00	10/01
Owned by enterprise or State	65.7	38.8	34.4	29.7	27.3	26.0
Owned by cooperative	3.5	1.0	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.4
Owned by household	25.4	49.9	55.9	60.8	63.4	64.3
Rented from other individuals	2.2	6.0	5.0	4.8	5.2	5.0
Live in a dormitory	3.1	4.4	4.2	4.2	3.7	4.3
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

	Less than 25 years					25-35 years					36-59 years					More than 59 years				
	9/92	12/94	10/96	10/00	10/01	9/92	12/94	10/96	10/00	10/01	9/92	12/94	10/96	10/00	10/01	9/92	12/94	10/96	10/00	10/01
Owned by enterprise or State	60.5	32.2	32.2	22.8	21.8	68.6	40.5	33.8	29.4	26.7	73.0	46.7	42.4	34.5	33.5	48.6	22.2	19.2	13.3	12.2
Owned by cooperative	4.4	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	2.1	0.6	0.3	0.0	0.5	4.3	1.4	0.7	0.8	0.4	3.0	1.0	0.5	0.1	0.5
Owned by household	14.6	40.8	43.3	47.3	49.7	16.6	38.8	46.7	54.2	56.4	20.3	45.1	50.4	56.7	57.5	47.3	73.4	78.3	85.1	85.7
Rented from other individuals	5.4	11.3	10.1	18.2	13.9	4.8	10.0	9.8	9.5	9.3	1.4	5.0	3.9	4.6	4.6	0.8	2.7	1.4	0.9	1.0
Live in a dormitory	15.2	15.8	13.5	11.8	14.7	7.9	10.1	9.3	6.9	7.1	1.0	1.9	2.6	3.4	4.0	0.3	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.7
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Other Economic Adjustment Issues

During the transition period, there has been concern about a number of key economic issues, including unemployment, unpaid wages, the need to train workers, and the need to reduce State and enterprise subsidies of housing and utilities. The RLMS collects additional information to help inform about these issues. In general, the measures we construct from these additional data indicate increased economic performance over the past year.

Unpaid wages: Table 11 shows that only 25% of working-aged people were owed back wages at the end of 2001. This is down considerably from its 30% level in October 2000, and it is at its lowest level since before the RLMS started collecting data on unpaid wages in 1994. Among those owed back wages, 73% have been owed back pay for only two months or less. The mean amount owed rose by slightly less than one percent. Women continue to be less likely to be owed back pay than are men, even though the incidence of being owed back pay fell considerably more for men than for women over the past year.

Job training: Table 12 indicates that the incidence of job training has continued its decline through the end of 2001. Fewer than 7% of working-aged men and women received any training. Those most in need of training, the unemployed and those out of the labor force, were unlikely to have received any training. Fewer than 3% of unemployed men and at most 7% of unemployed women received any job training. Overall, these are the lowest training levels since the RLMS started collecting this information in 1995.

Delinquent rent and utilities payments: According to Table 13, one-quarter of all households owe back rent or utilities payments. This is down only slightly from 27% in 2000. Those with delinquent payments owe, on average, slightly more than 3 months's back rent and utilities' payments. Households headed by working-aged men or working-aged women are more likely than average to owe back rent. As in earlier RLMS data, these two groups are those most responsible for the overall incidence of overdue rent and utilities payments. The incidence of overdue payments for households headed by retirement-aged persons rose slightly from 2000 to 2001. It is interesting to note that the average real rent and utility bill, for those not owing back payments, increased by over 30% during the past year.

Table 11 - Unpaid Wages Owed by Primary Employers to Working-Aged Adults*

	Percent Owed Money	Time Period That Money Has Been Owed (% among those owed)				Mean Amount Owed If Owed (in June 1992 rubles)
		<=1 month	>1-<=2 months	>2-<=3 months	>3 months	
<i>Dec. 1994</i>						
Men	40.3	35.6	29.6	16.9	18.0	7313
Women	35.8	41.6	25.4	14.9	18.1	3772
Total	38.1	38.3	27.7	16.0	18.0	5628
<i>Oct. 1995</i>						
Men	40.0	36.4	26.9	13.5	23.2	5802
Women	37.2	40.9	29.2	15.9	14.0	3224
Total	38.6	38.5	28.0	14.6	18.9	4546
<i>Oct. 1996</i>						
Men	54.5	25.1	24.7	18.3	32.0	9300
Women	53.7	26.2	27.7	18.0	28.1	5598
Total	54.1	25.6	26.2	18.1	30.1	7416
<i>Nov. 1998</i>						
Men	65.1	19.4	19.3	18.7	42.6	9422
Women	62.8	21.2	21.0	17.0	40.7	4847
Total	63.9	20.3	20.2	17.8	41.7	7030
<i>Oct. 2000</i>						
Men	33.1	38.0	18.9	10.8	32.4	4906
Women	25.9	46.3	21.8	9.1	22.8	2921
Total	29.6	41.5	20.1	10.1	28.3	4053
<i>Oct. 2001</i>						
Men	26.7	46.6	21.0	11.5	21.0	5053
Women	23.9	51.7	27.7	8.7	11.9	3078
Total	25.4	49.0	24.1	10.2	16.7	4089

*Working-aged is defined as 18-60 years old for males and 18-55 years old for females.

Table 12 - Incidence of Additional Training Received by Working-Aged Adults* in the Last Five Years

	Males			Females		
	All†	Unemployed	Out of the labor force	All†	Unemployed	Out of the labor force
<i>October 1995</i>						
Training in the same occupational field	8.3	4.1	1.6	10.5	7.0	2.6
Training in a different occupational field	4.6	5.4	2.6	5.6	9.1	5.2
<i>October 1996</i>						
Training in the same occupational field	7.7	2.3	1.5	9.8	2.8	2.1
Training in a different occupational field	4.1	3.4	3.8	5.1	7.6	4.5
<i>November 1998</i>						
Training in the same occupational field	7.6	3.4	1.0	10.0	3.1	1.9
Training in a different occupational field	3.7	3.4	4.3	4.9	8.9	3.5
<i>October 2000</i>						
Training in the same occupational field	5.4	1.2	1.7	6.8	6.1	2.0
Training in a different occupational field	2.8	4.6	1.7	4.1	3.8	3.5
<i>October 2001</i>						
Training in the same occupational field	3.9	1.3	1.2	4.1	3.5	0.6
Training in a different occupational field	2.7	1.4	2.9	2.8	3.6	2.3

*Working-aged is defined as 18-60 years old for males and 18-55 years old for females.

†"All" includes total working-aged adults.

Table 13 - Households that Owe Rent and/or Utilities

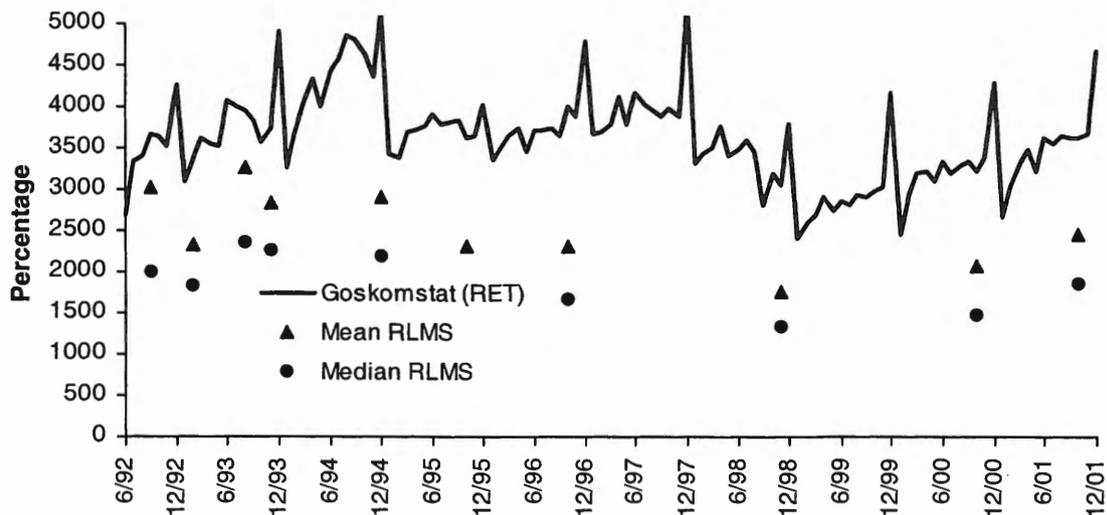
	All Households	Working Aged Male-headed Households	Working Aged Female-headed Households	Retired Male-headed Households	Retired Female-headed Households
<i>October 1995</i>					
Percent that owe	22.0	25.2	30.6	7.6	13.4
Amount owed, if owed (in June 1992 rubles)	702	758	734	339	262
Average monthly rent and utility bill, if not owed (in June 1992 rubles)	379	445	376	248	228
<i>October 1996</i>					
Percent that owe	29.1	33.7	30.1	17.2	18.1
Amount owed, if owed (in June 1992 rubles)	1183	1288	1472	446	454
Average monthly rent and utility bill, if not owed (in June 1992 rubles)	450	530	469	289	260
<i>November 1998</i>					
Percent that owe	37.5	43.1	43.4	19.6	24.9
Amount owed, if owed (in June 1992 rubles)	1370	1572	1313	586	380
Average monthly rent and utility bill, if not owed (in June 1992 rubles)	388	486	379	234	204
<i>October 2000</i>					
Percent that owe	26.9	33.1	32.9	9.6	11.8
Amount owed, if owed (in June 1992 rubles)	1321	1365	1635	370	575
Average monthly rent and utility bill, if not owed (in June 1992 rubles)	348	434	356	219	175
<i>October 2001</i>					
Percent that owe	25.0	30.5	27.8	10.5	12.9
Amount owed, if owed (in June 1992 rubles)	1464	1640	1455	421	439
Average monthly rent and utility bill, if not owed (in June 1992 rubles)	457	574	453	288	209

Per Capita Income

Figure 9 examines differences in per capita income measures from the RLMS and from Goskomstat as reported in *Russian Economic Trends* (RET).⁷ The Goskomstat estimates indicate large real-income fluctuations. For instance, real income increased from 3014 rubles per capita in November 1999 to 4166 rubles per capita in December 1999, a 38% increase in one month's time. This was followed immediately by a decline to 2445 real per capita rubles for January 2000, implying a one-month real-income decline of 41% and an overall two-month decline of 19%. Much of the large fluctuations in Figure 9 might be due to the receipt of the 13th salary in late December of each year, as there are large end-of-the-year income fluctuations for all years displayed in Figure 9. In general, the RLMS,

being based on a nationally representative sample, has a much lower mean per capita income level than that reported by Goskomstat. Figure 9 also reports the across-individual median of per capita income from the RLMS. The median per capita income falls 20–30% below the mean per capita income level at each RLMS interview date. Mean incomes can yield quite misleading pictures of income levels for the majority of the population. For example, in October 2001 mean per capita income from the RLMS was 2447 rubles while the median per capita income was only 1865 rubles. The Goskomstat per capita real-income series indicates a much lower percentage increase in real income from October 2000 to October 2001 (12.6%) than either the mean measure from the RLMS (a 18% increase) or the median RLMS measure (a 26% increase).

Figure 9. Comparison of Goskomstat and RLMS Real Income Figures (monthly income per capita)



Endnotes

1. The currency reform of January 1, 1998, divided old ruble prices by 1000 in order to obtain the newly denominated ruble prices.
2. All income figures are expressed in June 1992 rubles by using the Goskomstat price deflator (CPI). As noted in the text, multiplying the June 1992 figure by 0.863 provides December 2001 ruble values; multiplication by 863 provides December 2001 ruble values that do not incorporate the currency re-denomination. RLMS reports prior to 1996 used a price index that the World Bank derived from Goskomstat price indices.
3. The numbers reported in Table 2 and Figure 2 are based on averages of income-shares across households; they cannot be calculated directly from the average incomes in Table 1. If one used the Table 1 figures, the ratio of the average income by source to the average total income would correspond to a weighted average of the household income-shares, where the weights are proportional to each household's total income.
4. The average budget shares displayed in Table 5 and Figure 4 are based on across-household averages of each household's budget shares. Ratios of the average expenditures presented in Table 4 would correspond to weighted averages of budget shares, where the weights are proportional to the household's total expenditures. Expenditures on clothing and electronics and other durables were reported over a three-month horizon. Since 1998 we have allocated these three-month expenditures uniformly (to four points) over the three months preceding each interview date before adjusting the nominal expenditures for inflation.
5. We define "hidden unemployment" as being on involuntary unpaid leave with no alternative labor income.
6. These poverty measures use a poverty line based on adjustments for economies of scale, oblast-level prices, and regional food baskets.
7. These are Goskomstat figures published by *Russian Economic Trends*. *Russian Economic Trends* is produced by a team working within the Russian Centre for Economic Policy (RECEP) and with the assistance of the Working Centre for Economic Reform, Government of the Russian Federation. Before 1998, assistance in the production of *Russian Economic Trends* was provided by the London School of Economics' Center for Economic Performance; through 2000 *Russian Economic Trends* was managed by the Stockholm Institute of Transition Economics and East European Economies, within the Stockholm School of Economics. *Russian Economic Trends* is now managed by UPMF, Grenoble (University Peirre Mendes France) and ETLA, Helsinki (The Research Institute of the Finnish Economy).

Appendix A

Table 8a - The Distribution of Poverty, by Household and Age: Moscow and St. Petersburg (Regional Poverty Lines)

	9/92	12/94	10/95	10/96	11/98	10/00	10/01
<i>Household-Level Poverty</i>							
Under 50% of poverty line	3.1	2.9	4.4	5.2	7.0	6.1	5.9
50-<100% of poverty line	7.1	7.4	11.6	5.7	15.4	7.4	9.7
Total under poverty line	10.2	10.3	16.0	10.9	22.4	13.5	15.6
<i>Children Aged 0-6</i>							
Under 50% of poverty line	3.9	1.2	3.2	4.5	**	**	7.5
50-<100% of poverty line	10.6	8.3	9.7	4.5	**	**	24.5
Total under poverty line	14.5	9.5	12.9	9.0	**	**	32.0
<i>Persons of Pension Age</i>							
Under 50% of poverty line	1.2	1.5	3.4	5.0	1.2	3.2	2.7
50-<100% of poverty line	5.7	4.1	6.9	2.4	13.3	3.4	5.3
Total under poverty line	6.9	5.6	10.3	7.4	14.5	6.6	8.0

**Potentially imprecise. Fewer than 50 individuals were in the RLMS sample for this group in this region at this time period.

Table 8b - The Distribution of Poverty, by Household and Age: North and Northwest (Regional Poverty Lines)

	9/92	12/94	10/95	10/96	11/98	10/00	10/01
<i>Household-Level Poverty</i>							
Under 50% of poverty line	3.5	8.3	11.7	12.4	13.7	7.3	7.0
50-<100% of poverty line	8.8	8.4	19.0	21.9	25.4	16.6	7.6
Total under poverty line	12.3	16.7	30.7	34.3	39.1	23.9	14.6
<i>Children Aged 0-6</i>							
Under 50% of poverty line	4.1	9.0	19.8	7.4	24.1	0.0	11.4
50-<100% of poverty line	10.6	11.8	23.1	27.6	27.9	21.4	11.4
Total under poverty line	14.7	20.8	42.9	35.0	52.0	21.4	22.8
<i>Persons of Pension Age</i>							
Under 50% of poverty line	3.7	2.4	3.0	13.3	8.4	1.9	0.0
50-<100% of poverty line	5.6	2.9	15.4	16.0	14.0	10.0	5.0
Total under poverty line	9.3	5.3	18.4	29.3	22.4	11.9	5.0

Table 8c - The Distribution of Poverty, by Household and Age: Central Black Earth, Volga-Vaytski, and Volga Basin (Regional Poverty Lines)

	9/92	12/94	10/95	10/96	11/98	10/00	10/01
<i>Household-Level Poverty</i>							
Under 50% of poverty line	2.3	6.3	12.9	18.0	15.3	8.0	5.9
50-<100% of poverty line	7.4	9.9	18.5	15.8	23.7	18.3	11.7
Total under poverty line	9.7	16.2	31.4	33.8	39.0	26.3	17.6
<i>Children Aged 0-6</i>							
Under 50% of poverty line	2.6	9.9	20.1	17.8	25.5	12.9	7.4
50-<100% of poverty line	10.4	13.3	25.3	24.2	33.1	24.9	17.7
Total under poverty line	13.0	23.2	45.4	42.0	58.6	37.8	25.1
<i>Persons of Pension Age</i>							
Under 50% of poverty line	0.7	1.2	7.2	16.0	9.3	2.3	1.4
50-<100% of poverty line	4.5	6.4	14.1	9.8	16.3	10.9	4.8
Total under poverty line	5.4	7.6	21.3	25.8	25.6	13.2	6.2

Table 8d - The Distribution of Poverty, by Household and Age: North Caucasus (Regional Poverty Lines)

	9/92	12/94	10/95	10/96	11/98	10/00	10/01
<i>Household-Level Poverty</i>							
Under 50% of poverty line	5.1	7.2	13.7	27.5	23.7	14.0	7.4
50-<100% of poverty line	10.9	12.9	21.0	15.2	22.1	18.1	18.3
Total under poverty line	16.0	20.1	34.7	42.7	45.8	32.1	25.7
<i>Children Aged 0-6</i>							
Under 50% of poverty line	10.4	16.9	21.8	32.3	34.6	23.0	5.6
50-<100% of poverty line	14.1	19.7	27.4	16.2	31.0	24.6	35.1
Total under poverty line	24.5	36.6	49.2	48.5	65.6	47.6	40.7
<i>Persons of Pension Age</i>							
Under 50% of poverty line	1.7	5.2	13.4	25.8	13.3	5.6	2.6
50-<100% of poverty line	6.7	8.1	16.0	13.7	18.9	12.9	14.3
Total under poverty line	8.4	13.3	29.4	39.5	32.2	18.5	16.9

Table 8e - The Distribution of Poverty, by Household and Age: Urals (Regional Poverty Lines)

	9/92	12/94	10/95	10/96	11/98	10/00	10/01
<i>Household-Level Poverty</i>							
Under 50% of poverty line	1.9	7.2	11.5	16.1	13.8	9.2	6.7
50-<100% of poverty line	7.6	8.5	19.2	17.4	23.1	21.4	13.2
Total under poverty line	9.5	15.7	30.7	33.5	36.9	30.6	19.9
<i>Children Aged 0-6</i>							
Under 50% of poverty line	2.3	13.5	15.7	18.3	18.1	14.8	5.5
50-<100% of poverty line	10.8	15.9	19.5	22.3	30.4	19.7	18.2
Total under poverty line	13.1	29.4	35.2	40.6	48.5	34.5	23.7
<i>Persons of Pension Age</i>							
Under 50% of poverty line	1.1	3.3	5.8	17.8	5.8	1.7	2.5
50-<100% of poverty line	4.0	4.9	15.1	10.4	15.9	14.0	8.2
Total under poverty line	5.1	8.2	20.9	28.2	21.7	15.7	10.7

Table 8f - The Distribution of Poverty, by Household and Age: Siberia and Far East (Regional Poverty Lines)

	9/92	12/94	10/95	10/96	11/98	10/00	10/00
<i>Household-Level Poverty</i>							
Under 50% of poverty line	3.3	8.6	18.0	23.5	18.4	9.7	9.1
50-<100% of poverty line	7.8	12.6	20.4	18.2	20.2	15.2	10.6
Total under poverty line	11.1	21.2	38.4	41.7	38.6	24.9	19.7
<i>Children Aged 0-6</i>							
Under 50% of poverty line	3.3	16.0	22.1	26.4	23.7	16.8	12.4
50-<100% of poverty line	11.1	8.3	24.1	22.6	27.4	19.2	12.1
Total under poverty line	14.4	24.3	46.2	49.0	51.1	36.0	24.5
<i>Persons of Pension Age</i>							
Under 50% of poverty line	0.6	4.0	11.2	26.0	12.5	2.5	4.6
50-<100% of poverty line	7.0	10.3	21.6	16.6	15.6	12.1	6.4
Total under poverty line	7.6	14.3	32.8	42.6	28.1	14.6	11.0

