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LIFE STANDARD IN THE POST-SOVIET CONTEXT:
THE CASE OF THE REPUBLIC OF ADYGEYA

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LIFE STANDARD IN THE POST-SOVIET CONTEXT:
THE CASE OF THE REPUBLIC OF ADYGEYA

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ABSTRACT

LIFE STANDARD IN THE POST-SOVIET CONTEXT: THE CASE OF THE REPUBLIC OF ADYGEYA

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This study aimed to describe the life standard in the post-Soviet context taking the Republic of Adygeya, one of the poorest districts of Post-Soviet Russia, as an example. The applicability of the European approach to the life standard (quality of life) was also in question. The survey in Adygeya showed that life standard research is applicable in the post-Soviet context. However, modifications are necessary and not all concepts are comparable to the world outside the ex-Soviet region. The descriptive chapters on the case of Adygeya include income, economic life, settlement, necessities and ownership, the failure of the systems of education and health, democracy and citizens as well as the general evaluation of the quality of life and satisfaction.

Keywords: life standard, quality of life, Adygeya, Russia, post-Soviet, democracy, satisfaction.

ÖZ

POST SOVYET COĞRAFYASINDA YAŞAM KALİTESİ: ADİGEY CUMHURİYETİ ÖRNEĞİ

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Bu çalışma post- Sovyet coğrafyasında yaşam standardı kavramını Rusya Federasyonu'nun en fakir bölgelerinden biri olan Adigey Cumhuriyeti örneğini ele alarak tanımlamayı hedeflemiştir. Yaşam standardı (yaşam kalitesi) kavramına Avrupalı yaklaşımın uygulanabilirliği de sorgulanmaktadır. Adigey'de yapılan araştırma yaşam standardı araştırmalarının post- Sovyet coğrafyasında uygulanabildiğini göstermektedir. Ancak, değişiklikler gerekmede ve tüm kavramlar eski Sovyet coğrafyası dışında kalan dünya ile karşılaştırılamamaktadır. Adigey örneği ile ilgili betimleyici bölümler gelir, ekonomik yaşam, yerleşke, gereklilik ve sahiplik, eğitim ve sağlık sistemlerinin çöküşü, demokrasi ve vatandaşlar başlıklarının yanısıra genel olarak yaşam kalitesi ve memnuniyet değerlendirmelerini içermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: yaşam standardı, yaşam kalitesi, Adigey, Rusya, post-Sovyet, demokrasi, memnuniyet

*To my grandfathers – Jade Murat from Adygeya and Jade Kazım from Turkey-
elders of a family separated in the Circassian exile 150 years ago.*

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INTRODUCTION

This study aims to describe the life standard in the post-Soviet context taking Adygeya, one of the poorest districts of Post-Soviet Russia, as an example. During the field study, besides the collection of necessary data to understand the life standard in the region, the applicability of the European approach to the life standard was in question.

The controversial issue of the origin of the life standard or the quality of life concept goes back to ancient times. In the social research, definition and approach to the concept started to gain importance in 1970s. Today surveys on life standard are agreed to be multi dimensional- including both the objective and subjective indicators.

Objective indicators are the ones about the actual situation such as the education, income, criminal events experienced, voting behavior, ownership of a household item, resources, and so on. Subjective indicators are the ones that try to understand the psychology of the individuals. Life satisfaction, happiness, perceived realization of political rights and freedom, evaluation of environmental conditions and public security, and the like are some examples.

In this research, a model questionnaire, the Euromodule questionnaire, prepared by 15 European researchers with the initiative to develop social indicators for Europe- has been used to a great extent with modifications to account for unique conditions prevailing in Adygeya.

The Republic of Adygeya is a republic under the Russian Federation. It is located in the north-west Caucasus in the historical lands of the Adyge- known in Russia, in the west and Turkey as Circassian or Cherkes.

This Republic is chosen as a post-Soviet example mainly because of its economic status. Adygeya is claimed to be one of the poorest districts of the Russian Federation. Although it is surrounded by a highly developed region the Krasnodar Krai, the overall development is very slow in the Republic. Mainly due to the interconnectedness of the Soviet systems, as in many parts of the ex-Soviet region, which guaranteed the flow of raw materials, the existing infrastructure is not used due to the lack of raw materials flow, which stopped after the breakdown of the system. Furthermore, the entrepreneurs prefer to invest in the neighboring regions, since it is more beneficial to operate in those regions. The current economy is unable to satisfy its needs and most of the budget of the Republic comes from the Russian Federation as a subsidy. The Russian Federation wanted to cancel the republican status of Adygeya and add it to the Krasnodar Krai administration on the basis of the above mentioned economic reasons.

However, ten years of the Republic of Adygeya report shows that although the period of 1991-1997 was marked with economic decline and decrease in life standards of the majority of the population, , there were some positive tendencies in economic development after 1998. The year 2000 was marked with a growth in industrial and agricultural production, increase in investments, decrease in inflation, number of unemployed and people with incomes lower than poverty line and expansion of inner consumer demand. Beginning from February 2000, real income of the population started to increase, which was the result of the increase in salaries.¹ This contradicts with the claims of the Federation and also indicates the importance of this study, which aims at finding out how people feel about their own lives.

Yet, another reason for choosing the Republic is that despite being in the midst of extreme conflicts it is a peaceful land where Adyge people, who are only a minority of the population, live in harmony with the majority Russians. Besides, the small size of the Republic makes traveling quite easy and less expensive which is important for the total budget of the research.

¹ Respublike Adygeja Desjat' Let: socialno-jekonomicheckie itogi [Ten years of the Republic of Adygeya: Socio-economic conditions] Maikop, 2001. (In Russian). p.183.

The fieldwork in Adygeya took place between September and December 2005 in the seven districts (rayons) and two cities of the Republic. At first, semi-structured interviews and focus groups were done to formulate some of the questions in the questionnaire. The questionnaire was completed (See Appendix 1 for the complete questionnaire in English) and pre-tested. Local interviewers were preferred to overcome the cultural tension against surveys and surveyors.

The questionnaire has thirteen sections, which are not entertained as separate chapters in the text. There is a descriptive chapter about the respondents and the household. The remaining data are analyzed in seven analytical chapters.

The text starts with Chapter 1, which describes the debates on issues regarding the theory of life standard concept. The second chapter is about the Republic of Adygeya. The third chapter explains the methodology of the research, which is followed by the chapter about the respondents of the survey and the households. Chapter 5 to 11, are the analysis of the survey.

Chapter 5 is the analysis of income and income sufficiency. Income defines the living conditions, gives way to or limits ownership and belonging as well as possibilities and life chances. If income is not sufficient for the survival of the household, life standard of every individual in that household falls greatly. A poverty line for the sample is constructed and the sufficiency of the income is analyzed.

The following chapter (Chapter 6) is about the living standards and economic life. The relation between the income and compulsory spending of a household defines the living standards of that household. Here this balance is questioned. Moreover, occupation, unemployment and agricultural productivity of the respondents is explained.

The next chapter (Chapter 7) examines the settlement related satisfaction since this defines the inclusion level of an individual. The residence, people around (neighbors), public security, environmental conditions (cleanness, recreation areas, and so on) and social life are the five aspects of the settlement that are analyzed.

Necessities and Ownership chapter (Chapter 8) is the analysis of the perceptions and actual situations in comparison to European and Turkish samples of the Euromodule project. What people perceive as a necessity in life and how much they own those things that they see important to live a good life is very crucial to evaluate the life standards of a society. Comparing the Adygean perceptions with that of Europe and Turkey gives an idea about the different understanding in the post-Soviet context.

Chapter 9 is entitled “The failure of the systems: Education and Health”, and it is the analysis of comparisons of the two systems in the Soviet and post-Soviet time. When USSR dissolved, the systems, which were based on interdependency, corrupted. The evaluation of the new systems by ordinary people is analyzed in the present study.

Democracy is said to be replacing the communism in the post-Soviet context. The following chapter (Chapter 10) is the analysis of the perceptions of ordinary people of the realization of some basic rights, freedoms and life chances.

The last chapter (Chapter 11) is the self-evaluation of the respondents of their own life standards considering all the previously mentioned issues.

CHAPTER 1

LIFE STANDARD AND QUALITY OF LIFE THEORY

The concept of “life standard” first appears in history in Aristotle’s ‘Theory of Eudemonia.’ Eudemonia, translated as “happiness” to English, corresponds to the definition of self –sufficiency, of the modern theory of quality of life, meaning ‘lacking nothing’ to live a good life².

Different philosophical, economical, political, sociological and methodological explanations have been brought to related concepts of ‘happiness’, ‘well being’, ‘welfare’, ‘social exclusion’, ‘satisfaction’ and ‘quality of life.’ Philosophical explanations to the Quality of life theory can be grouped into three approaches.

The first approach describes characteristics of the good life that are dictated by normative ideals based on a religious, philosophical, or other systems... The second approach to defining the good life is based on the satisfaction of preferences... The third definition of quality of life is in terms of the experience of individuals. If a person experiences her life as good and desirable, it is assumed to be so.³

2 Curzer, Howard. “Criteria for Happiness in Nicomachean Ethics” in *The Classical Quarterly*, New Series, Vol. 40, No. 2. (1990), pp. 421-432

3 Diener, Ed and Suh, Eunkook. *Measuring Quality Of Life: Economic, Social, And Subjective Indicators in Social Indicators Research*, Volume 40, Numbers 1-2 / January, 1997

In defining the ‘quality of life’ or life standard, arguments included ‘objective versus subjective approaches’; ‘single-dimensional versus multi-dimensional’ conceptualization; ‘relative versus absolute’ understanding. After the 1970s, social scientists started to examine as a ‘scientific notion.’ the ‘quality of life’ concept, which was used to measure ‘life satisfaction’ of incurable patients.⁴ Social scientists and empirical researchers dealt with “definition problems, the search for suitable indicators to monitor underlying processes and the establishment of theoretical frameworks”.⁵

The questions of relating to “the role of values; the place of self-evaluation; the cultural context”⁶ and choosing between local, national and global levels of research were important debates⁷ in measuring quality of life.

The two well known approaches the “social indicators and subjective well-being measures are based on different definitions of quality of life”⁸. The subjective well-being research is the analysis of satisfaction in relation to aspirations, values and goals⁹. The “social indicators are nothing else than social statistics”¹⁰.

The OECD approach has been very influential in social indicators research.

4 Woodruff SI, Conway TL., 1992, Longitudinal Assessment of the Impact of Health/Fitness Status and Health Behavior on Perceived Quality of Life in Percept. Mot. Skills, 5: 3-14.

5 Bohnke, Petra Reporting on Social Exclusion: Standard of Living and Social Participation in Hungary, Spain, and Germany, WZB (Social Science Research Center Berlin), 2001, p.8

6 Galloway, Susan, Hamilton, Christine and Scullion, Adrienne. Quality Of Life And Well-Being: Measuring The Benefits Of Culture And Sport: Literature Review And Think piece, Scottish Executive Social Research, Research Findings 12 retrieved <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/89281/0021350.pdf> , 2005

7 Greenwood, Measuring quality of life with local indicators in What has happened to the quality of life in the advanced industrialized nations? Ed. Edward N. Wolff, 2005.

8 Diener, Ed and Suh, Eunkook. Measuring Quality Of Life: Economic, Social, And Subjective Indicators, Social indicators research, Volume 40, Numbers 1-2 / January, 1997

9 Böhnke, Petra. First European Quality of Life Survey: Life satisfaction, happiness and sense of belonging. European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, 2005, p. 5

10 Zapf, Wolfgang. Social Reporting in the 1970s and 1990s, WZB (Social Science Research Center Berlin), 1999

The OECD social indicators have been developed to provide a perspective for international comparisons and assessments of social trends and policies... categorized into four areas of social policy: self-sufficiency, equity, health and social cohesion.¹¹

The self sufficiency includes topics like employment and unemployment, education and other objective indicators that define the survival of an individual. The equity is the analysis of income inequality, the level of social spending, etc. Health indicators are infant mortality, mortality and expenditures on health care. Indicators related to social cohesion are social isolation, teenage births, drug addiction and suicides. All the data is collected at the national level and compared at the international level. In social indicators approach the focus is more on societal analysis.

The subjective definition of quality of life, on the other hand, “grants to each individual the right to decide whether his or her life is worthwhile” and is sometimes referred as ‘happiness.’¹² “The major advantage of subjective well-being measures is that they capture experiences that are important to the individual”¹³. Three interrelated components shape the indicators of the approach: ‘life satisfaction’, ‘pleasant affect’ and ‘unpleasant affect’.

The self-assessment of “pleasant and unpleasant moods and emotions” and a cognitive sense of satisfaction with life and with different domains of life, define the subjective well being of individuals¹⁴.

In the 1980s, having influenced very much from the subjective-well being approach “quality of life was conceptualized more and more as individual well-

11 Society at a Glance: OECD Social Indicators 2002 Edition retrieved <http://www1.oecd.org/publications/e-book/8103051E.PDF>

12 Diener, Ed. Subjective well being, The science of happiness and a proposal for a national index in Psychological Bulletin, 95, 1984 542-575.

13 Diener, Ed and Suh, Eunkook. Measuring Quality Of Life: Economic, Social, And Subjective Indicators, Social Indicators Research, Volume 40, Numbers 1-2 / January, 1997, p. 205

14 Diener, Ed and Suh, Eunkook. Measuring Quality Of Life: Economic, Social, And Subjective Indicators, Social Indicators Research, Volume 40, Numbers 1-2 / January, 1997, p. 200

being”¹⁵ determined by both objective living conditions and subjective self. The typology of Having, Loving and Being emerged as an alternative to the existing welfare research that considered only the economic and objective indicators, included in the analysis self assessment of individuals and understanding the ‘being’ as part of the societal¹⁶.

Parallel to this multi-dimensional approach in conceptualization, the survey research gained importance as a tool to measure the trends in quality of life-proving itself as “a flexible instrument for international comparative welfare research”¹⁷.

Late 20th century, in quality of life research, was marked with the “notion of progress”¹⁸ parallel to the social development understanding of the period characterized by economic and social problems¹⁹.

Welfare in non-monetary terms is “the individuals command over resources ... through which the individual can control and consciously direct his living conditions”²⁰. Poverty versus inequality has been in the center of conceptualization for the welfare research. The question of social exclusion or in other terms not being part of the society due to being relatively deprived replaced the monetary understanding of welfare research.

People can be said to be deprived if they lack the types of diet, clothing, housing, environmental, educational, working and social conditions, activities

15 Zapf, Wolfgang. Social Reporting in the 1970s and 1990s, WZB (Social Science Research Center Berlin), 1999

16 Allardt, Erik. Having, Loving, Being: An Alternative to the Swedish Model of Welfare Research in *The Quality of Life*, Ed. Nussbaum and Sen, March 1993, pp. 88-95(8)

17 Zapf, Wolfgang. Social Reporting in the 1970s and 1990s, WZB (Social Science Research Center Berlin), 1999

18 Rapley, Mark. *Quality of life research : a critical introduction*. SAGE Publications, 2003, p. 4.

19 Noll, H.-H., 2000. *Konzepte der Wohlfahrtsentwicklung: Lebenqualität und “neue” Wohlfahrtskonzepte*. Discussion Paper P00-505, Social Science Research Center Berlin (WZB)

20 Johansson 1970 in Erikson, R. *Descriptions of Inequality in The Quality of Life*, ed. Nussbaum and Sen, March 1993, pp. 72-3.

and facilities which are customary, or at least widely encouraged or approved in the societies to which they belong.²¹

Risks of deprivation included “low income; bad housing conditions, inadequate standard of living, education deficits, precarious labor market attachment, unemployment” and several other material deficiencies as well as the question of social membership²² different than the concept of poverty which concentrated “on the just distribution of material resources”.²³

Ownership-related variables like income, education, health, accommodation and job as well as indicators such as family ties, social relations, social and political participation are included in the analysis²⁴. “Amartya Sen points to ‘capabilities’ as an important aspect in quality of life research”²⁵. The participation of individuals to the social and economic lives of the society and their individual potentials and welfare levels is another understanding of life standard. According to this definition the social quality of people is closely related to economic security, social participation, independency and health²⁶ still the basis of the approach was “proposed as a standard by which to measure the extent to which the quality of the daily lives of citizens have attained an acceptable European level”.²⁷

21 Townsend in Paris, Denise and Suter Christian, Comparative analysis of the Standard of Living and Deprivation in Five European Countries, Presented in the Euromodule Workshop, October 5/6, 2001

22 Bohnke, Petra Reporting on Social Exclusion: Standard of Living and Social Participation in Hungary, Spain, and Germany, WZB (Social Science Research Center Berlin), 2001, p.10

23 Bohnke, Petra, Nothing left to lose? Poverty and social exclusion in comparison, Empirical evidence on Germany, WZB (Social Science Research Center Berlin), 2001, p. 28

24 Zapf, Wolfgang., Individualisierung und Sicherheit (Untersuchungen zur Lebensqualität in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Münschen). 1987

25 Sen in Chris Hatton and Alastair Ager, Quality of Life Measurement and People with Intellectual Disabilities: a Reply to Cummins, Journal of Applied Research in Intellectual Disabilities, 2002, 15, 254–260

26 Duffy In Gössweiner, V., Pfeiffer, C.Richter, R. Quality Of Life And Social Quality, Austrian Institute for Family Studies Working Paper 12, 2002

27 Beck, Van der Maesen and Walker, 1998, in Walker and Van der Maesen, Social Quality and Quality of Life, in Glatzer, Von Below and Stoffregen, Challenges for Quality of Life In the Contemporary World, p. 14

The Euromodule Project was a research initiative for European welfare comparison, social reporting and quality of life. The first attempt to develop a European Welfare Survey had been initiated in 1996 by the Research Unit Social Structure and Social Reporting at the Social Science Research Center Berlin (WZB) and the Social Indicators Department at the Survey Research Centre Mannheim (ZUMA). Combining research groups from 19 countries the Euromodule project was formed in 1998, as a smaller part of the main idea including a set of basic questions considering a variety of interests.²⁸

The Euromodule “combines three kinds of welfare concepts: objective living conditions, subjective wellbeing, and (perceived) quality of society”²⁹. Although, other research initiatives such as the Eurobarometer and the World Value Survey included few indicators on life satisfaction and happiness; some others such as the European Community Household Panel (ECHP) [Eurostat] cover the financial situation and economic life nationwide; in the Euromodule the objective and subjective indicators were equally valued and questioned³⁰.

The *societal* components of welfare referring to

the quality of a given society, i.e. the quality of relations among the members of society and the binding effects of these relations, the rupture of the relationship between individual and society due to new forms of poverty, and the feelings of mutual commitment and trust created by common values and norms³¹

28 Delhey, J., Böhnke, P. Habich, R. and Zapf, W. The Euromodule: A new instrument for comparative welfare research, WZB (Social Science Research Center Berlin), 2001

29 Delhey, J., Böhnke, P. Habich, R. and Zapf, W. The Euromodule: A new instrument for comparative welfare research, WZB (Social Science Research Center Berlin), 2001, p. 8

30 Delhey, J., Böhnke, P. Habich, R. and Zapf, W. The Euromodule: A new instrument for comparative welfare research, WZB (Social Science Research Center Berlin), 2001

31 Delhey, J., Böhnke, P. Habich, R. and Zapf, W. The Euromodule: A new instrument for comparative welfare research, WZB (Social Science Research Center Berlin), 2001, p. 9

are also included in the Euromodule survey.

Besides the approach, the availability of comparative data has been the reason of for choosing the Euromodule project as a basis for this study. However, there was a need to make it suitable for application in the post-Soviet context since it was mainly a European approach to life domains. Camfield argues that although Euro-American respondents of quality of life and life standard surveys are “grown up in a culture where surveys are a common form of democratic participation and self exploration”; in developing countries where majority of the respondents are illiterate or have low educations, there is no such understanding but a tension³². Moreover, Glatzer argues, besides being a scientific term “quality of life is used in everyday language” from politics to advertisements and its ‘popular meaning is influenced by different sources’.³³

In the Post-Soviet context, majority of the people are highly educated and they have a distinct culture. For the elderly, this distinct culture is mostly shaped by the Soviet culture. For the youth, it is the post-Soviet or the transition culture.

The Soviet culture is distinct since it is based on an interconnection of systems that define the life domains of ordinary people. Tension about surveys is an aspect of the Soviet culture but in a different manner than in developing countries- since people are uncomfortable for they know the value of information and that it may be used against them.

The post-Soviet culture which is marked with the aspects of political, economic and social transition stand a little far from the Soviet understanding. People, especially the youth, is aware of the world outside that their community through improved means of communication as well as interaction, and they look at the world from a more global perspective. They are more comfortable talking about their lives- answering surveys and try to get from life what they can rather than wait for the system to provide them.

32 Camfield, Subjective Measures of Well Being in Developing Countries in Glatzer, Von Below and Stoffregen, Challenges for Quality of Life In the Contemporary World, p. 45-60

33 Glatzer, in Camfield, Subjective Measures of Well Being in Developing Countries in Glatzer, Von Below and Stoffregen, Challenges for Quality of Life In the Contemporary World, p. 4

Creating a post-Soviet understanding of life standard research is crucial not only methodologically but also politically for local social policymakers. If economy, society, politics and psychology is included in the life standard research than it will for sure be a useful tool for the benefit of the people.

In the survey applied in the Republic of Adygeya, distinct cultural differences has been tried to be understood through semi-structured in-depth interviews and focus groups. To include the change and its perception, comparative questions were included in the survey to be asked to respondents aged over 40 and had most of their lives lived in the Soviet context. Also to save time and to make it easily understandable to the respondents the categories of many questions are decreased, such as the satisfaction evaluation was decreased from 0-10 scale to 1-5 (Likert) scale, and some questions were asked open-ended -such as the education, occupation. The indicators used in the Euromodule Survey and the ones used in this study are given in Table 1.

To conclude, this is a research, which is mainly in line with Euromodule type study conducted by WZB. The approach used by Euromodule has been enriched by making use of other approaches such as quality of life in enlarged Europe undertaken by European foundation in Dublin.

Tools used in these studies were modified to fit the prevailing conditions in Adygeya. In a sense this is a testing of European hypothesis on life standard and quality of life in a Post-Soviet context. The focus was to see how the people in one of the post-Soviet regions evaluate their conditions by using measures traditionally employed in the West. Many of the countries in the post-Soviet era are in the process of transition to market economy, which make them similar to their Western counterparts. However, their socialist background, which enforced welfare state values more than any other country, left its blueprints in the minds of especially older generations. Therefore, their reference is the time when the state met all their needs and brought all substructures to their use. It is one of the aims of this study to trace perceptions of old and young generations about their life conditions and compare them with some Western countries.

Table 1: The indicators in Euromodule and this study

Euromodule³⁴	Post-Soviet Adygeya
<i>Objective living conditions</i>	
housing	+
household composition	+
social relations	- (Removed in the field)
participation	+
standard of living (Necessities and Ownership)	+
income	+
health	+
education and work	+
personal environment and safety	+
<i>Subjective well-being</i>	
domain satisfactions	+
general life satisfaction	+
happiness	+
anxieties and anomia	-
subjective class position	+
importance of various life domains	+
optimism/pessimism for various social concerns	-
evaluation of the own living conditions	+
<i>(Perceived) quality of society</i>	
social conflicts	-
trust in other people	- (Removed in the field)
degree of achievement of public goods (freedom, security, social justice)	+
living conditions in various European countries in comparison to the own country	- (Removed in the field)
preconditions for social integration	-

34 Delhey, J., Böhnke, P. Habich, R. and Zapf, W. The Euromodule: A new instrument for comparative welfare research, WZB (Social Science Research Center Berlin), 2001

CHAPTER 2

REPUBLIC OF ADYGEYA

Located in the North West Caucasus, Adygeya is one of the 21 Federative Republics of the Russian Federation. Adygeya occupies an area of 7790 km² within Krasnodar Krai (highlighted red in Map 1) in Southern Russia.³⁵



Figure 1: Map of Adygeya, Krasnodar Krai and the Russian Federation

Source: Retrieved www.russiatrek.com/kr_krasnodar.shtml in 2006

³⁵ Geografiya Respubliki Adigeja [In Russian, Geography of the Republic of Adygeya] Maikop, 2001, p 5.

The head of state of the Republic is the President, along with a “directly elected State Council- Khase, which comprises the Council of Representatives and the Council of the Republic”³⁶. Hazret Sovmen is the second president of Adygeya and is also the wealthiest member of the Russian Parliament – *Duma* and the 69th richest person of the Russian Federation³⁷. Nevertheless, the republic is the seventh poorest in the whole Russian Federation³⁸.

Administrative Divisions/Settlements

Adygeya is divided into 7 main administrative units, called rayons. The two major cities are Maikop, the capital, and Adygeisk (*Adygekale*). Within the republic there are 5 urban type settlements and 46 **rural okrugs** (сельские (поселковые) округа), comprising one or more rural-type settlements. In total there are 224 rural settlements including *aoul* (аул)/villages, *khutor* (хутор), *selo* (село), settlement (посёлок) and *stanitsa* (станция). Four of these settlements are currently uninhabited³⁹.

Maikop City

Maikop is referred to as *Miyekuape* in Adyge, meaning the garden of wild apple trees.⁴⁰ The city was established and developed as a military administrative center by Russia in the 18th and 19th century as part of the colonization of the region.⁴¹ Today, it is the center for education, health care and commerce as well as

36 Wikipedia- the free encyclopedia, Adygeya, retrieved <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adygeya>

37 Dollar Millionaires Who Ran for Election to the Fourth Duma Session. Top 27, retrieved http://www.kommersant.com/tree.asp?rubric=4&node=459&doc_id=-124 and The Fullest List Of Russian Billionaires, Rating Of «Finans.» Magazine, <http://www.finansmag.ru/12512>

38 Liono, Alexandru. Economic Survival Strategies in the North Caucasus, retrieved <http://poli.vub.ac.be/publi/crs/eng/Vol5/lionu2.htm>

39 Wikipedia- the free encyclopedia, Adygeya: Administrative Divisions, retrieved http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Administrative_divisions_of_Adygea

40 Firma Pascal, Navodnenie v Adygeya, retrieved www.maykop.ru

41 Tavkul, Ufuk, Sovyet Döneminde Kafkasya'da Kentleşme, Tarih ve Toplum, (94), 1991, pp 55-56. retrieved http://www.circassiancanada.com/tr/arastirma/sovyet_doneminde_kafkasyada_kentlesme.htm.

administration. There are two universities in Maikop, the Adygeya State University (AGU) and Maikop State Technological Institute (MG TU). In addition, some faculties of various universities of the Federation are located here. There are 40 medical establishments functioning in Maikop city.⁴²

The city is also home to a theater named after the Russian writer Pushkin and a large cultural center (*Dom Kultur*) for social activities, along with the philharmonic hall where all official celebrations and Adyge Khase meetings are held. The biggest museum of the Republic is the Adyge National Museum and is located in the capital.

The only mosque of the city was built by some Adyge returning from Jordan, in a Middle Eastern style. Beneath the mosque, there is a wedding hall where religious weddings take place for the Muslim citizens of the Republic. The official weddings take place in the government hall. Close to the Mosque, there is a memorial statue for the exile of the Circassians and other Caucasians from the motherland. Adyge wedding ceremonies include break before celebrations (*ceug*) to place flowers on the memorial.

There are mainly two types of residences in the city: Soviet style box like apartments and detached houses with gardens. Except the renovated residences, the style and scheme is monotonous. There are many small recreation areas within the city but the Central Park (*God Park*) is the center of social and sport activities (the stadium is within this park) especially in good weather.

There are two big market areas; the central market focuses mainly on food. In the market, the meat is still sold in open (not in fridges), and awareness regarding hygiene is very low. The second market is located in a new district called *Chieremushki*, a 10-minute drive from the city center, and mainly specializes in textiles. It is possible to find new style (for the post-Soviet context) apartments and shopping centers in this rapidly developing district.

42 Firma Pascal, Navodnenie v Adygeya, retrieved www.maykop.ru

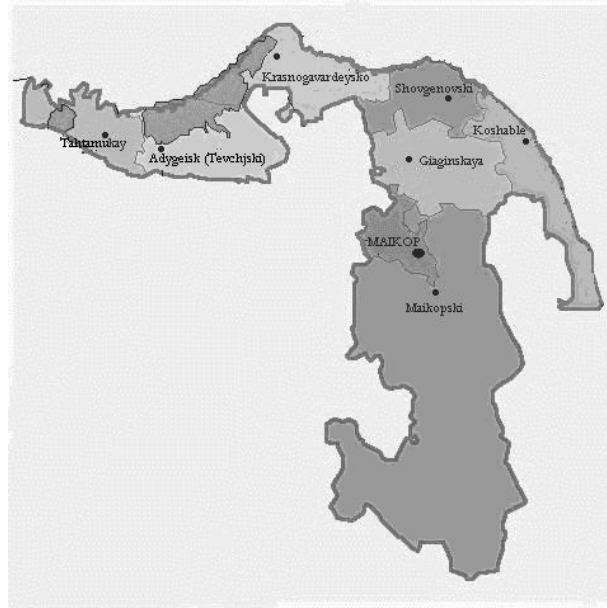


Figure 2: Map of main administrative divisions of the Republic of Adygeya

Adigeisk

The other city, Adigeisk was established in 1969 as part of the re-settlement of the villages within the land of the Krasnodarskogo water depository (dam). The place was named Tevchjska in 1976 but the original name was reinstated in 1990.⁴³ Adigeisk literally means the city of Adyge in Russian and it is referred as *Adygekhale* in Adyge.

Although Adigeisk holds city status, the settlement is much more like a town. The population of the city is 14539 people of which 12187 live in urban areas. In an informal conversation with a school teacher in the city, she had complained hastily about how they did not deserve to be a city. Facilities were unavailable, the settlement was more rural than urban and the people had fewer opportunities, but still the level of compensation was lower than that of their colleagues in the village, who have more advantages.

⁴³ Geografiya Respubliki Adigeiya [In Russian, Geography of the Republic of Adygeya] Maikop, 2001, p 156 and Wikipedia- the free encyclopedia, Adygeisk, retrieved <http://fi.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adygeisk>

The People and the History: Adyge/Circassians

The titular ethnic group that the republic is named after is the Adyge, indigenous to the Northwest Caucasus. While the term Adyge is a self-designation used by the Adyge, as well as by their ethnic brethren the Kabardians, Cherkess and the Shapsugh, they are called ‘Circassian’ in English and ‘Cherkess’ in Russian and also in Turkish. The Adyge are only a minority within their own land. According to the 2002 Russian Population Census, 444,438 people live in 151,597 households in the Republic, of which 66 percent are Russians and only 23 percent are Adyge.

The reason for this low population of Adyge lays in the exile of the Caucasians during the mid-19th century Caucasian Wars that took place between the Caucasians and Russians. Many Circassians were forced to migrate to the Ottoman Empire. There was a huge drop in the populations of many North Caucasian groups, especially the Adyge. 80% of the Adyge population in the Caucasus was lost during this migration.⁴⁴ The remaining Circassian population lived in the Adygeya Autonomous Oblast, established in 1922, the republic of Kabardino-Balkaria, the Karachay-Cherkessia Autonomous Oblast and within Krasnodar Krai, during the Soviet period.

In 1990, the status of Adygeya was upgraded to Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. With the dissolution of the Soviet Union, in 1992, its status changed to The Republic of Adygeya under the Russian Federation.⁴⁵

The Economy

The economy of the Republic is mostly based on public and state services. Foodstuffs, timber, woodworking, pulp and paper are the most important light

44 Ersoy, Hayri and Kamacı, Aysun. (1992) Çerkes Tarihi, [Circassian History] Tüzmamanlar Yayıncılık, İstanbul., p 96.

45 Geografiya Respubliki Adıgeya [In Russian, Geography of the Republic of Adygeya] Maikop, 2001, p 7.

industries. In terms of agriculture grain, corn, wheat, sunflowers, tea and tobacco are the most important products. Crimean roses and lavender are also produced.⁴⁶

The Republic of Adygeya is considered as one of the poorest regions in Russia since the dissolution of the Soviet Union. "In the period 1993-94, the North Caucasus occupied the last place in the list of Russia's 11 regions in terms of per capita income, 9th place in terms of prices for main food items, 11th place in purchasing capacity per capita".⁴⁷ The biggest reason for this is the difference of the Republic from the highly developed, wealthy Krasnodar Krai, which surrounds it. This considerable difference also has spawned the debate regarding the cancellation of the republican status of Adygeya and merging the Republic with Krasnodar to ensure the economic development of the region.

Today, the economy of Adygeya still relies on subsidies and agriculture and "the economic problems here resemble more those of the neighbouring Krasnodar region".⁴⁸ In 2006, a two-year development plan was published in Adygeya, poverty alleviation and increasing GDP being the priorities of development⁴⁹.

46 Adygeya State University, The Republic of Adygeya, <http://www.adygnet.ru/english/aboutadyg/aboutadygheya.shtml> and "Adygeya, Russia." Britannica Student Encyclopedia 2006. Encyclopædia Britannica Premium Service. 11June2006 <<http://www.britannica.com/ebi/article-9315861>

47 Gaz, Arguments and Facts 1993, and Neza v isimaya Gazeta, 21.10.93-17.5.1994 in Guseynov, Rauf, A. Ethnic Situation in the Caucasus, Perceptions Sept-Nov 1996, Vol 1 No:3 p. 120-136.

48 Liono, Alexandreu. Economic Survival Strategies in North Caucasus. Retrieved <http://poli.vub.ac.be/publi/crs/eng/Vol5/lionu2.htm>

49 Adygeya Nat Press, Adygeya government considered perspective plan of development for 2008, retrieved http://www.adygeanatpress.net/news/2004_jun/090604_e/e002.htm

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

Data used in this study have been obtained by the survey method. The sample consists of 532 households that have been chosen Republic wide. A sample this will allow for between rayons and rural-urban comparison.

Sample

The sampling design of the survey was multi stage sampling. In the first stage, proportionate sampling was used according to the nine administrative divisions, the two cities and the seven rayons, each making up a stratum.

The initial sample size was $n=500$. Subsequently, the sample sizes for each stratum were rounded to at least 30 to reach the minimum requirement for statistical analysis and the sample size increased to $n=605$.

In Adygea, there are five urban settlements. So at the second stage, proportionate sample sizes were calculated for urban and rural strata. At the third stage for all rural settlements, the villages of Adyge were listed and among them and others, randomly selected villages were sampled separately. Local interviewers were preferred, especially in the villages, to conduct questionnaires with randomly selected people.

The table below shows the statistics for rayons as well as rural-urban areas in order to compare the population and the sample distributions.

Table 2: Calculated sample sizes for each territory by field (urban-rural)

	Total N	% N	Urban N	% N	n1	n	Rural N	% N	n1	n	n1	n
TOTAL	444438	100,00	233930	52,64	263	354	210508	47,36	237	251	500	605
MAIKOP CITY	176021	39,61	157223	35,38	177	240	18798	4,23	21	30		
ADYGEISK CITY	14539	3,27	12187	2,74	14	26	2352	0,53	3	4		
GIAGINSKI	33214	7,47		0,00	0	0	33214	7,47	37	37		
KOSHABLE	31058	6,99		0,00	0	0	31058	6,99	35	35		
KRASNA.	31064	6,99		0,00	0	0	31064	6,99	35	35		
MAIKOPSKI	57056	12,84	16614	3,74	19	30	40442	9,10	45	34		
TAHTAMUKUAY	65691	14,78	42972	9,67	48	48	22719	5,11	26	26		
TEVCHJSKI	19736	4,44	4934	1,11	6	10	14802	3,33	17	20		
SHOVGENOVSKI	16059	3,61		0,00	0	0	16059	3,61	18	30		

However, due to culture-related problems (some people were afraid to take part in any kind of research), problems related to the interviewers (who were not accepted, sometimes even by their fellow villagers) and time limit, which prevented other interviewers to return to some areas, the non-response rate was high. (There is no exact number of rejections of interview but all interviewers would say many people did not accept. Therefore, the estimated non-response rate is at least 50 percent, which resulted in misrepresentation or non-representation of some groups especially with lower education and lower income.) In addition, some questionnaires were found not to be suitable during data entry, including interviews with the youth or half interviews, which also decreased the sample size. The number of valid questionnaires is 532.

In table, the list of villages, rayon centers and cities that these 532 questionnaires were administered is listed according to urban-rural areas as well as rayons. In some villages, only one interview could be conducted. This is due to two reasons: In the Republic of Adygeya, the villages are not located at considerable distances to each other. Usually three or more villages of small sizes are close together, resembling a single large village. Sometimes even the residents are not sure where the next village starts. This is mainly a result of the Soviet settlement policy. Besides some villagers were interviewed in Maikop or Adigeisk, the cities to which they came for work, university or shopping, daily or for weekdays.

Table 3: Resulting Sample Sizes of villages, districts or rayon centers by territory and field

			Urban	Rural	Total
Maikop City	1	Maikop	221		221
	Total		221		221
Adigeisk City	1	Adigeisk	9	0	9
	2	Gatlukai	0	2	2
	Total		9	2	11
Maikopski Rayon	1	Abadzehskaya	0	1	1
	2	Gavardovski	0	1	1
	3	Hanskaya	0	3	3
	4	Kamennomostskii	10	0	10
	5	Krasnooktyabrskii	0	11	11
	6	Pervomaiskii	0	7	7
	7	Podgornyy	0	3	3
	8	Rodnikovskii	0	1	1
	9	Sadovii	0	2	2
	10	Sevastopolskaya	0	5	5
	11	Shuntuk	0	5	5
	12	Tabachnii	0	5	5
	13	Timiryazevo	0	1	1
	14	Tul'skii	12	0	12
	Total		22	45	67
Giaginski Rayon	1	Giaginskaya		32	32
	2	Kelermesskaya		1	1
	Total			33	33
Tahtamukay Rayon	1	Enem	23	0	23
	2	Novobgegokay	0	6	6
	3	Prikubanskii	0	1	1
	4	Starobgegokay	0	1	1
	5	Tahtamukai	0	13	13
	6	Yablonovskii	9	0	9
	Total		32	21	53
Koshable Rayon	1	Blehepsin		5	5
	2	Dmitrievskiy		1	1
	3	Egeruhai		10	10
	4	Hodz		1	1
	5	Koshehabl		28	28
	6	Natirbovo		10	10
	7	Otradnii		1	1
	Total			56	56
Tevchjski Rayon	1	Dhzidzhihabl	0	1	1
	2	Gabukai	0	5	5
	3	Kunchukohabl	0	5	5
	4	Necherezii	0	1	1
	5	Poneghukai	0	5	5
	6	Shevchenko	0	5	5
	7	Tlustenhabl	9	0	9
	8	Tugurgoi	1	0	1
	Total		10	22	32
Krasnogavardeysko R.	1	Bzhedughabl		5	5
	2	Krasnogvardeiskoe		12	12
	3	Ljambechii		1	1
	4	Ulyap		5	5
	Total			23	23
Shovgenovski Rayon	1	Hakurinohabl		11	11
	2	Hatahzukai		3	3
	3	Kabehabl		2	2
	4	Mamheg		1	1
	5	Pishcho		10	10
	6	Tihinov		5	5
	7	Zarevo		4	4
	Total			36	36

Data Collection Instruments

The instrument used for data collection in this study is the questionnaire. The questionnaire consists of 15 parts. Each part, according to the main topic, includes questions of basic descriptive, actual and subjective indicators, and comparison with the Soviet times. Basic descriptive questions are about demographic characteristics of the respondent. Actual indicators are about conditions and life experiences that are thought to be defining life standard. For example, education, occupation, experience of theft etc. Subjective indicators question the perceptions and satisfaction of respondents regarding their personal and environmental conditions and experiences. This included satisfaction regarding housing, education or the health care system of the Republic, perception of realization of rights and freedoms, and other issues. The subjective comparison with the Soviet times includes questions that were asked to respondents aged over 40 and have lived most of their lives in Adygeya. This section included a comparison of environmental conditions during the Soviet times and today.

The questionnaire was pre-tested before the field study in various neighborhoods of Maikop together with in-depth interviews with different people to explore cultural differences. 21 of the in-depth interviews were recorded. Six of the interviews were not recorded due to the demand of the respondents. Of the interviews 11 were held in the villages and 5 in the outskirts of the Maikop city. One took place in the city of Adygeisk. The rest were held in Maikop. Two of the interviews were held in English, 11 in Russian, one in Turkish and the rest in Adyge. Two of the interviews were held with Sociologists, two with teachers of English education, one with a Russian linguist, one with an Adyg linguist. The randomly selected respondents included two with agricultural workers (who were poorly educated), some shop workers, a shop manager, doctors, teachers, students, housewives and retired. During the interviews, the respondents were asked to answer some general questions about themselves as well as some questions from the questionnaire

The questionnaire was revised by making the necessary changes in the light of information obtained from these interviews and suggestions of six experts and pre-

tested. Two sociologists interviewed earlier and a political scientist have made comments on the questionnaire whereas no comments were received from the rest of experts.

A Russian Linguist translated the questionnaire from Turkish to Russian, an Adyge returned from Turkey. A native speaker (also a linguist of English) from the English version crosschecked it. After the translation was completed, my flat mate who was unfamiliar with the questionnaire administered it to my translator in order to detect any remaining problems and form the interviewer guide from the perspective of an observer.

Due to the length of the questionnaire, the field study took about a month despite the fact that more than 30 people assisted as interviewers and/or to convince people to participate. The average time for the application of the questionnaire in the field was 30 minutes. A copy of the questionnaire in two languages (English) is provided in the Appendix A.

CHAPTER 4

BASIC DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS ABOUT THE RESPONDENTS

In this chapter, the characteristics of the respondents in the sample will be summarized in three sections as well as the demographic information about the population when necessary. The first section describes the basic descriptive statistics about the respondents and the population. The following section is about the respondents' households and households in population. The last section includes basic information about the accommodation and infrastructure facilities of the respondents and the population.

The Respondents

According to 2002 the All-Russia Population Census, the population of the Republic of Adygeya is 447 thousand. 52,5 percent of the population live in urban areas and 53,5% are female⁵⁰.

Among the 532 respondents of the survey, 53 percent live in urban areas and 392 are female (74,5 %). Most of the respondents are aged between 30 to 49 years old (45,8%). One third of the respondents are younger than 29 years.

50 All Russia Population Census, 1. Gorodskoe I Sel'skoe Naselenie Po Subektam Rossijskoj Federacii, 2. Naselenie Po Polu I Vozrastnym Gruppam Po Sub#ektam Rossijskoj Federacii

Although the Adyge make up 23 % of the total population of the Republic, the number of Adyge respondents makes up approximately half of the sample. Russian respondents make 48,5 percent of all and 44,7 percent are Adyge. The other ethnicities are relatively less represented. Among other ethnicities, there are Caucasian ethnicities like Abkhazian, Armenian, Greek (Pontus), German, Oset and Lezgi. Furthermore ex-Soviet ethnicities like Kazaks, Moldovians, Ukrainians, and Tatars are present, and there is even a Korean respondent.

When we look at how many respondents speak the two official languages of the country, we see that only 2,6 percent of the respondents have said they cannot speak Russian. Adyge is spoken by 43,6 percent of all respondents including two Russians and two other ethnicities. Ten Adyg reported that they cannot speak their mother tongue.

Table 4: Languages spoken by the respondents

	Adyge		Russian		Other	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
No	300	56,4%	14	2,6%	430	81,0%
Speaks	232	43,6%	518	97,4%	101	19,0%
Total	532	100,0%	532	100,0%	531	100,0%

The respondents were also asked to report if they speak any other language. Nineteen percent of the respondents have said they speak other languages. These languages vary from ethnic languages of the Caucasus (like Abkhazian, Balkar, Armenian, Georgian) to ethnic languages of ex-Soviet world (Kazak, Tatar, Ukrainian) and also include languages of modern world (English, French, German).

Seventy percent of the respondents of the survey have lived in the Republic of Adygeya all their lifetime. Still, nearly one third of the respondents have lived in another country or region at some point of their lives.

The population aged 16 or over make about 81 percent. Out of this population, 46 percent are married and about 16 percent have never married. Six thousand

(%0,01) of men and 37 thousand (%0,08) of women are widows. 12 thousand (%0,03) men and 22 thousand (0,05%) women are separated or divorced⁵¹.

More than half of the respondents of the survey are married. A quarter of the respondents are single whereas about one tenth are divorced or living separately. Only 14 females have verified that they are living with someone.

The educational distribution of the republic according to the 2002 All-Russia Population Census is as follows: Out of 14,5 percent of the people are higher professional education graduates (university or higher degree holders). 2,9 percent have not completed their higher degree. 25,6 percent are graduates of vocational secondary schools. General secondary school graduates are 19,5 percent, high school graduates are 14,5 percent and primary school graduates are 8,4 percent of the population.

Table 5: Education distribution of the sample

EDUCATION	Count	%
<i>School (Basic general)</i>	6	1,2%
<i>High school (Basic primary)</i>	3	,6%
Not completed Secondary school	2	,4%
Completed Primary Education	10	1,9%
<i>Secondary school</i>	38	7,3%
<i>Vocational secondary school</i>	83	15,9%
Not completed AGU	5	1,0%
Not Completed MGTU	2	,4%
Not Completed University	5	1,0%
Student of University, AGU, MGTU	63	12,0%
Completed Secondary Education	196	37,5%
AGU	173	33,1%
MGTU	12	2,3%
University	130	24,9%
PhD	1	,2%
Completed University	316	60,4%
Total	523	100,0%

51 All Russia Population Census, 5. Nacional'naja Prinadlezhnost' I Vladenie Russkim Jazykom

The educational distribution of the sample shows that population with lower education is relatively less represented. The respondents that have completed primary education make up only 1,9 % of the sample. The respondents that are graduates of vocational schools varying from art schools to medical schools, from technical education to specialization schools make up 15,9 % of all respondents. Approximately 60 percent of the respondents hold higher degrees.

The Household

Average household size of the republic is 2,9 people. The average household size in urban areas is 2,8 and 3,1 in rural areas.

The average household size of the sample is a little larger than the Republican average - 3,81 people. Of this, on average, 0,25 are children younger than 6 and 0,68 are aged 6-18. On average 0,51 pupils are enrolled in school, 0,57 are enrolled in the university. Average number of people working in a household is 1,85 and 0,15 are working abroad.

Average household size for urban and rural areas shows a significant difference. Average household size for urban areas is 3,44 and for rural areas 4,26 ($t=-6,813$, $p=0,0001$). Both are larger than the Republican average. The average number of children and youths show also significant differences, being larger in rural areas ($t=-3,712$ and $t=-4,270$ respectively at $p=0,0001$).

Accommodation

The 2000 statistics of the Statistical Committee shows that out of 9736 thousand flats and houses 84 percent are private, 17 percent are state-owned and municipal houses.

56,2 percent of the respondents have reported that they live in detached houses and 30,8 percent have said they live in flats belonging to themselves or their family. Only 22 people lived in rented houses or flats and 7 percent have said they live in houses of their relatives or acquaintances. Only 8 respondents live in hostels and state or municipal service houses.

Table 6: Frequency distribution of type of accommodation

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Flat belonging to you or to your family	164	30,8	30,9
Detached house belonging to you or to your family	299	56,2	56,4
Rented flat	18	3,4	3,4
Rented detached house	4	,8	,8
House belonging to a relative or an acquaintance	37	7,0	7,0
Hostel	4	,8	,8
Government/Municipality service house	4	,8	,8
Total	530	99,6	100,0
Missing	2	,4	
Total	532	100,0	

In the year 2000, residences without a water supply made up 32,8% and those without a sewage system made up 42,8% of all residences. Central heating was widespread in the urban areas but only about one third of the dwellings in rural areas had central heating. (The ratio between houses and flats is also crucial here). Still 70 percent of the houses had natural gas connected. Nearly half of the houses had bathrooms, while only 39,9% had hot water supplies.

Table 7: Existing infrastructure in the dwelling by field

	All	Urban	Rural
Water supply	67,2	80,5	51,3
Sewage	57,2	72,3	39
Central heating	54,4	75,1	29,6
Bathroom	48,4	63,6	30,1
Gas	70	77,6	60,7
Hot water supply	39,9	61,4	14
Floor electric slab	0,6	1	0,1

The respondents were asked to report the place of the toilet in their dwellings since it made a great difference with regard to quality of dwelling. 44,9 percent of the houses had outside toilets, while 7,7 percent had an outside toilet/bathroom. 38,7 percent of the houses had separate (divided) toilets and bathrooms inside the house/flat while 15,2 percent had combined toilets and bathrooms.

Table 8: Place of the toilet in the dwelling by field

	Urban	Rural	Total
Outside	62	136	198
	21,5%	57,4%	37,6%
Divided	161	45	206
	55,7%	19,0%	39,2%
Combined	50	31	81
	17,3%	13,1%	15,4%
Outside and Divided	11	21	32
	3,8%	8,9%	6,1%
Outside and Combined	5	4	9
	1,7%	1,7%	1,7%
Total	289	237	526
	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Considering the type of sanitation systems, 72,4 percent of the houses in rural areas had their toilets connected to a cesspool or a septic tank while 65,5 percent of the houses in urban areas had connection to the sewage system.

Table 9: Type of toilet in the dwelling by field

	Urban	Rural	Total
Toilet connected to the sewage system	188	57	245
	65,5%	25,8%	48,2%
Toilet connected to a cesspool or septic tank	94	160	254
	32,8%	72,4%	50,0%
Other	2	0	2
	,7%	,0%	,4%
Two toilets one to sewage system-one to septic tank	3	4	7
	1,0%	1,8%	1,4%
Total	287	221	508
	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

86,3 percent of the houses in urban areas had central water supplies in the houses while only about half the houses in the rural areas. 8,9% of all the houses had water supplies only in their courtyards. 24,1 percent of rural dwellings had artesian or similar natural water sources.

Table 10: Type of water source in the dwelling

	FIELD		Total
	Urban	Rural	
Central in the house	252	125	377
	86,3%	52,7%	71,3%
Central in the courtyard	10	37	47
	3,4%	15,6%	8,9%
Artesian water	13	57	70
	4,5%	24,1%	13,2%
Other	1	0	1
	,3%	,0%	,2%
Central in the house and courtyard	16	13	29
	5,5%	5,5%	5,5%
Central in the house and Artesian	0	2	2
	,0%	,8%	,4%
Central in the house and other	0	1	1
	,0%	,4%	,2%
Central in the courtyard and artesian	0	2	2
	,0%	,8%	,4%
Total	292	237	529
	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Only 6,5 percent of the urban dwellings do not have central gas connections but a quarter of the rural dwellings do not. In terms of having central heating and hot water supply urban areas are also more advantageous, 3 quarters having access to central heating and a little less to hot water. Nevertheless, in rural areas only about half have central heating and two fifths have hot water.

Table 11: Dwellings with central gas, central heating, hot water by field

		Urban	Rural	Total
Central gas	No	19	62	81
		6,5%	26,2%	15,3%
	Yes	272	175	447
		93,5%	73,8%	84,7%
Total		291	237	528
		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
Central heating	No	65	121	186
		22,5%	54,3%	36,3%
	Yes	224	102	326
		77,5%	45,7%	63,7%
Total		289	223	512
		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
Hot water	No	73	130	203
		26,2%	59,1%	40,7%
	Yes	206	90	296
		73,8%	40,9%	59,3%
Total		279	220	499
		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

CHAPTER 5

INCOME AND INCOME SUFFICIENCY

Income and income sufficiency is an important determinant of life standard. Income defines the living conditions, gives way to or limits ownership and belonging as well as possibilities and life chances. If income is not sufficient to provide for the household, the life standard of every individual in that household will be significantly lower. Although lower incomes guarantee a drop in life standard, higher incomes does not guarantee an increase. Previous research in Europe has showed that people, who have low level of life standards and incomes, feel relatively more deprived. “Who are disadvantaged tend also to *feel* disadvantaged.”⁵² In addition, studies show that there is a high correlation between income and objective indicators of quality of life⁵³.

In the post-Soviet context, income is much more vital element that defines life standards. In the Soviet times, the state provided all basic services starting from education and health care, to social life- youth groups, activity groups, political organizations, elderly groups, that each individual of the society had to participate, to even providing basic needs of households and individuals. There was no open market and there was only a single kind of product available such as 100% cotton

52 Fahey, T., Whelan, C.T. and Maître, B. First European Quality of life survey: Income, inequalities and deprivation. Retrieved <http://www.eurofound.eu.int/pubdocs/2005/93/en/1/ef0593en.pdf>

53 Diener and Diener in Diener, Ed and Suh, Eunkook. Measuring Quality Of Life: Economic, Social, And Subjective Indicators, Social indicators research, Volume 40, Numbers 1-2 / January, 1997, p.192

trousers for all men, the same black shoes for all children, the same glass or plate in each household. The first years after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, were marked with the problems of transition to a market economy. In the case of Adygeya, the problems were severe, since the Republic was among the poorest districts of the Russian Federation.

When USSR disrupted, our country was in anarchy. Now we try to swim out of anarchy. It is very hard! I remember times when we bought bread for 100 Rubles, the other day it was 1000 Rubles. Inflation was so big. In one day, people got up and their money was nothing in value. Its Russian history. In Soviet, you can buy for 6000 rubles *Volga* car, or *Jiguli* car. Now you can buy bread, tea, and little cheese, nothing more. I was 2nd or 3rd grader when USSR dissolved. My father died one year before dissolution of the Soviet, our mom worked in 5 different jobs. I was 7, my brother was 8. She began work at 8 a.m. and came home at 10 p.m. She did so we would not need anything. I do not want to speak badly about that time. More people were very very poor. Today life is better.⁵⁴

A returnee to Adygeya from Turkey tells the story of how they bought their house with a smile. When they arrived, they wanted to buy a house. They agreed on the price for 2000\$ with the owner of the house. However, the seller wanted the money in Rubles. There was no one in Adygeya to exchange two thousand dollars-which made about 24000 Rubles. They found someone in Nalchik (Kabarday-Balkar) who agreed to exchange 500\$. They had to take a taxi-car since there was no transportation. When the gas of the taxi finished, they had to take another car since there was no gas to buy. They had to change many cars to exchange the 500\$ with Rubles which physically filled four sacks. When they had returned to Maikop, somebody convinced the seller to take the rest in dollars so that it would be easy to carry to Moscow where he was moving. At last, the seller agreed. “Than

54 Informal interview with a university student, October 2005, Maikop, Adygeya, RF.

it was too hard to buy anything, there was nothing in the markets or shops. Now you can buy anything in the shops. Life has changed too much.”⁵⁵

While in the Republic of Adygeya the period of 1991-1997 was marked with economic decline and decrease in life standards of the majority of the population after 1998, there were some positive tendencies. In 1999, there was a considerable economic growth. The year 2000 was marked with a growth in industrial and agricultural production, increase in investments, decrease in inflation, number of unemployed and people with incomes lower than poverty line and expansion of domestic consumer demand. Beginning from February 2000, the real income of the population started to increase which was due to the increase of salaries.⁵⁶

In 2000, the poverty line for the Republic was 722,4 rubles and the average per capita income was 1110,2 rubles.⁵⁷

Income

Median household income of the sample is 7000 Rubles (250 US \$). In urban and rural areas the median incomes are 8000 Rubles (about 286 US \$) and 7000 Rubles respectively. In each rayon, the median income changes. The Shovgenovski rayon has the lowest median income with 5000 Rubles (about 179 US \$) and the Krasnogavardinski Rayon and Maikop city have the highest median incomes with 8000 Rubles.

The Shovgenovski Rayon shows considerable difference in both mean and median income. Adygeisk City, the Maikopski, Tahtamukuay and Koshable Rayons show lower mean and median incomes whereas Maikop City, Giaginski, Tevchjski and Krasnogavardinski Rayons have higher average income.

55 Informal talk in a house visit with a returnee from Turkey, October 2005, Maikop, Adygeya, RF.

56 Respublike Adygeja Desjat' Let: socialno-jekonomicheckie itogi [Ten years of the Republic of Adygeya: Socio-economic conditions] Maikop, 2001. (In Russian)., p.183.

57 Respublike Adygeja Desjat' Let: socialno-jekonomicheckie itogi [Ten years of the Republic of Adygeya: Socio-economic conditions] Maikop, 2001. (In Russian)., p.187.

The average income is 8452 Rubles. Income is not distributed homogenously. The standard deviation of income for all Republic is 5338 Rubles. This means that majority of the respondents have incomes changing between 3114 Rubles to 13790 Rubles. This is mainly due to the non-existence of a middle class.

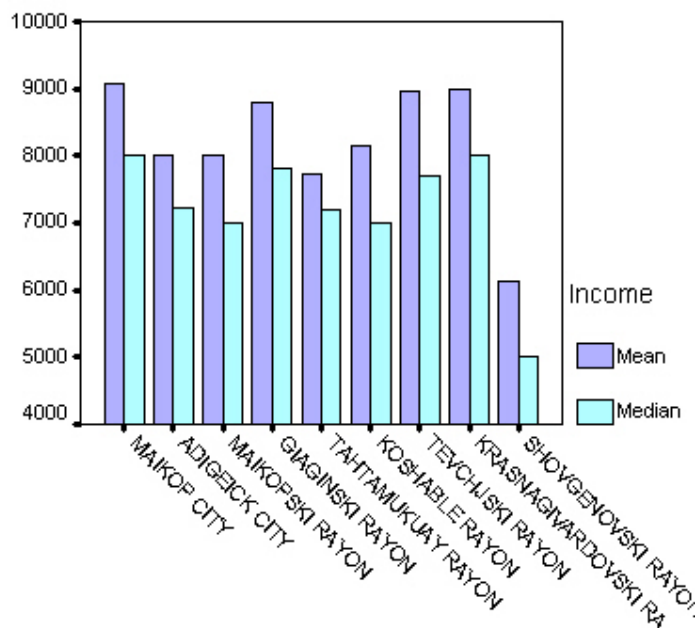


Figure 3: Mean and Median Income (in Rubles) by territory

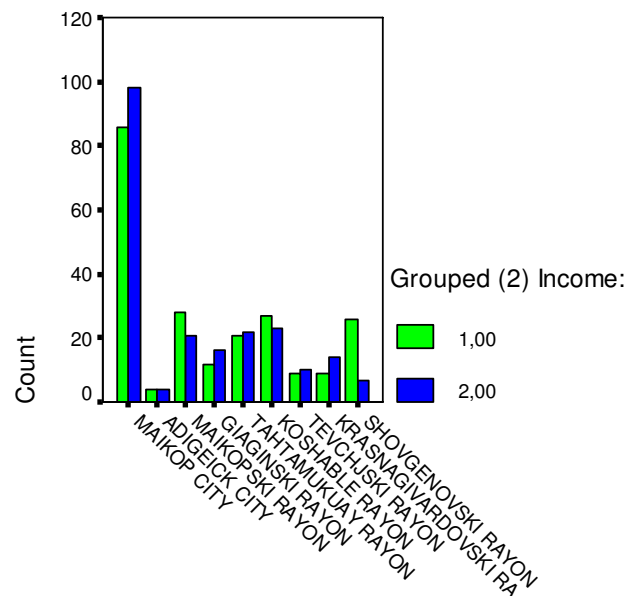
The income is grouped into 5 categories for the purpose of the analysis. The half-median value has been taken as the cutoff point. The categories are:

- 1 Respondents that reported household income less than half of the median income*
- 2 Respondents that reported household income between the half-median and the median*
- 3 Respondents that reported household income more than the median and twice median*
- 4 Respondents that reported household income between twice and three times the median*
- 5 Respondents that reported household income more than three times the median*

Table 12: Grouped (5) income distribution

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Below half median	58	10,9	13,3
Betw half median and median	164	30,8	37,5
Betw median and two medians	159	29,9	36,4
Betw two medians and three medians	41	7,7	9,4
Above three medians	15	2,8	3,4
Total	437	82,1	100,0
Missing	95	17,9	
Total	532	100,0	

In Maikop city, the capital, one fifth of the respondents have reported household incomes lower than half the median. On the other hand, in Adygeisk city, none of the respondents has reported low incomes. This is very possibly because of the low response rate in this city. The Giaginski rayon follows Adygeisk with a single respondent reporting lower income than half the median. In urban areas, 19 percent of the respondents and in rural areas 15 percent have reported incomes lower than half the median. In total 13.3 percent of the respondents can be classified as poor. Excluding the two extreme cases of high income, 3.4 percent of the respondents (15 people) have reported high incomes.

**Figure 4: Grouped (2) Income Distribution by territory**

*1 Self-reported income below the median

2 Self reported income above the median

When we look at the number of respondents that reported incomes more than the all Republic's median income only in Maikop City there are considerably more people than that reported lower incomes. Also in Giaginski, Tahtamukuay, Tevchjski and Krasnogavardinski there are few more people that have incomes above the median.

Looking at the relation of some basic variables with the grouped income, we can see significant relations with some basic descriptive variables. Elderly respondents have reported incomes lower than the poverty line, more than younger respondents. Vise versa, more than half of the younger respondents have reported incomes above median.

About 78 percent of Adyge have incomes between the half median and twice the median. Russians are more likely to have lower incomes, with about one fifth having incomes less than half the median. The other ethnicities seem to have the highest incomes among the three groups.

Widowed respondents have the highest percentage of having very low incomes (41.4%) followed by divorced respondents (35%). About one fourth of the separate couples live with incomes lower than the poverty line.

Nearly three fifths of the respondents who live alone have incomes below half the median, and as the household size increases, it is less likely to see respondents in this group. About half of the respondents who have households of 4 or more have reported incomes higher than the median.

Households with agricultural lands are less likely to have incomes below the poverty line, however many of them reported incomes between poverty line and the median. More than half of the respondents who have Dachas, small resting lands –left from the Soviet times, which was than part of the welfare system, the state provided these places outside of the cities, in the mountains or near streams, for workers to have a place for resting and holiday-, have reported incomes above the median.

38.8 percent of respondents who see themselves as lower class, have reported incomes below the half median. 44.4 percent of the respondents who see themselves as the working class, have reported incomes between the half median and the median. 42.3 percent of respondents who see themselves as middle class have reported incomes between the median and two medians. There is an upward trend, as the social class a person sees oneself belonging to is higher, income is likely to increase.

Income Sufficiency

More important than the level of income is the sufficiency of that income for the person and household to survive and satisfy one's needs. When we look at the relation between the income group and how sufficient is this income according to the respondent, we see an upward trend. As the income increases, level of mean sufficiency increases.

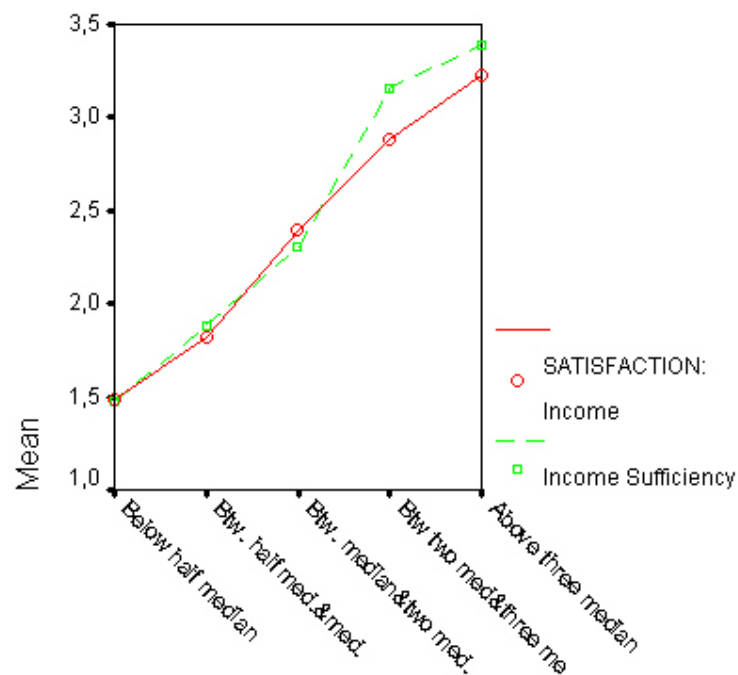


Figure 5: Income group by mean income sufficiency and mean income satisfaction

Satisfaction regarding the household income also shows a similar trend. Although among high-income groups satisfaction stays lower than the sufficiency, there is still an increasing trend.

The living standards and economic life will be analyzed in the next section.

CHAPTER 6

ECONOMIC LIFE

People who “lack the types of diet, clothing, housing, environmental, educational, working and social conditions, activities and facilities which are customary, or at least widely encouraged or approved in the societies to which they belong”⁵⁸ can be said to be deprived. To satisfy their needs they need at least an average income. “Employment and job security promise an income to satisfy basic needs and provide social integration and social identity at the same time”⁵⁹.

The Soviet system provided the individuals with some basic needs such as housing, education, job and social life. Benefiting from Soviet style accommodation meant you had the basic infrastructure such as hot water, heating and cleaning- especially in communal apartments- gas, water, electricity, phone in all kinds of housing. The common name for these services provided by the municipalities is *communalni usulgi*.

The residents are required to pay a sum of money to the municipality every month for these services. The rates are determined according to the services provided, settlement type, number of rooms in a house, etc by the local administration. The

58 Townsend in Paris, Denise and Suter Christian, Comparative analysis of the Standard of Living and Deprivation in Five European Countries, presented at the Euromodule Workshop, October 5/6, 2001

59 Bohnke, Petra Reporting on Social Exclusion: Standard of Living and Social Participation in Hungary, Spain, and Germany, WZB (Social Science Research Center Berlin), 2001 p.7

balance between the household income and this regular payment is crucial, since it identifies the remaining income for the consumption needs –such as food, social life, education, etc.

Balance of Income and Expenditure

Comparing the balance between the income and compulsory spending of a household in the different rayons of Adygeya, we see that in the Shovgenovski rayon, which also had the lowest mean and median income, the difference is the lowest followed by Adygeisk, Tahtamukuay and Koshable. Median spending is highest in Giaginski and lowest in the Shovgenovski, Koshable and Maikopski rayons. The mean difference is highest in Maikop city with 6090 rubles, however median income is highest in Krasnogavardinski with 5102 rubles.

Table 13: Income, Expenditure and Balance of Income by Territory

TERRITORY		Difference of income and expenditure	Net monthly income of the household	Expenditure on regular payments
MAIKOP CITY	Mean	6090,0578	9088,37	2998,01
	Median	5000,0000	8000,00	2400,00
	% of Total Sum	44,6%	45,3%	44,6%
ADIGEISK CITY	Mean	4507,2857	7996,25	3102,11
	Median	4000,0000	7235,00	2700,00
	% of Total Sum	1,3%	1,7%	2,2%
MAIKOPSKI	Mean	6252,2222	7995,92	2123,58
	Median	5000,0000	7000,00	2000,00
	% of Total Sum	11,9%	10,6%	9,0%
GIAGINSKI	Mean	5578,2143	8781,79	3022,58
	Median	4900,0000	7800,00	3300,00
	% of Total Sum	6,6%	6,7%	7,5%
TAHTAMUKUAY	Mean	5001,7073	7727,67	2765,48
	Median	4000,0000	7200,00	2500,00
	% of Total Sum	8,7%	9,0%	9,3%
KOSHABLE	Mean	5842,6531	8160,80	2269,61
	Median	4000,0000	7000,00	2000,00
	% of Total Sum	12,1%	11,0%	9,3%
TEVCHJSKI	Mean	5530,0000	8972,11	2934,62
	Median	5000,0000	7700,00	2250,00
	% of Total Sum	4,4%	4,6%	6,1%
Krasnogavardeysko	Mean	5733,4286	8990,09	3395,24
	Median	5102,0000	8000,00	3000,00
	% of Total Sum	5,1%	5,6%	5,7%
SHOVGENOVSKI	Mean	4035,8065	6127,58	2351,52
	Median	3000,0000	5000,00	2000,00
	% of Total Sum	5,3%	5,5%	6,2%
Total	Mean	5711,6256	8452,41	2763,05
	Median	4790,5000	7000,00	2000,00
	% of Total Sum	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

On average, respondents spend 38 percent of their income on regular payments. The average income decreases to 5711 Rubles (About 203\$) when this compulsory spending is subtracted.

Economic Life

To have an idea of the economic life in the Republic, respondents were asked questions regarding to employment under three headings. The first included questions about employment type as part or full-time. The second included questions on unemployment. The third had questions about the agricultural productivity.

Type of Employment

There are differences among respondents from different territories with respect to time spent on the job. Type of employment has three different forms as full-time, part-time and irregular employment. In Krasnogavardeysko, Giaginski and Shovgenovski many people are employed full time. There are many people working irregularly in all places except Koshable and Krasnogavardeysko. Part time employment is more frequent in Tahtamukay, Koshable and Tevchjski. In general, about two fifths of the people are full time employees.

Table 14: Employment type of the work done by territory

	Full time	Part Time	Irregular	Don't work
Maikop City	39,2%	9,0%	33,7%	18,1%
Adigeisk City	45,5%	,0%	54,5%	,0%
Maikopski Rayon	34,9%	9,5%	31,7%	23,8%
Giaginski Rayon	51,7%	3,4%	37,9%	6,9%
Tahtamukay Rayon	40,0%	16,0%	32,0%	12,0%
Koshable Rayon	40,8%	16,3%	6,1%	36,7%
Tevchjski Rayon	37,5%	12,5%	21,9%	28,1%
Krasnogavardeysko Rayon	69,6%	8,7%	8,7%	13,0%
Shovgenovski Rayon	50,0%	9,4%	28,1%	12,5%
Total	41,8%	10,2%	28,9%	19,1%

Occupation

The distribution of occupations of the respondents is rather unusual in the country. Two fifths of the respondents are professionals. When only employed respondents are considered, the percentage goes up to 57,5. A considerable amount of the respondents is legislators, senior officials and managers⁶⁰.

Table 15: Distribution of Occupations

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Armed forces	1	,2	,3
Legislators, senior officials and managers	65	12,2	17,4
Professionals	215	40,4	57,5
Technicians and associate professionals	14	2,6	3,7
Clerks	8	1,5	2,1
Service workers and shop and market sales workers	45	8,5	12,0
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	4	,8	1,1
Craft and related trades workers	12	2,3	3,2
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	5	,9	1,3
Elementary occupations	5	,9	1,3
Total	374	70,3	100,0
Not working	96	18,0	
Missing	62	11,7	
Total uncategorized	158	29,7	
TOTAL	532	100,0	

The distribution of occupations among rayons also differs significantly. In Maikop a quarter of the respondents are legislators, senior officials and managers while only two fifths are professionals. In all other places, more than half of the respondents are professionals. There are service workers, shop and market sales workers only in rayons where there is an urbanized center.⁶¹ About one tenth of the

⁶⁰ The ISCO '88 (International Standard Classification of Occupations) does not have a category for businessman/entrepreneur. While categorizing the occupations of the people who defined their occupation as 'businessman' or 'running own business' or even as 'has a shop' the best fit was the "manager".

⁶¹ There are also people from the rural areas who work in the rayon centers as well as in the two cities. Some travel to the city daily, some weekly.

respondents from Tahtamukay and Krasnogavardeysko are craft and related trades workers.

Occupation classified into 10 categ. by ISCO 88

- 0 'Armed forces'
- 1 'Legislators, senior officials and managers'
- 2 'Professionals'
- 3 'Technicians and associate professionals'
- 4 'Clerks'
- 5 'Service workers and shop and market sales workers'
- 6 'Skilled agricultural and fishery workers'
- 7 'Craft and related trades workers'
- 8 'Plant and machine operators and assemblers'
- 9 'Elementary occupations' .

Table 16: Occupation by territory

	Occupation classified into 10 categ. by ISCO 88									
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Maikop City	,6%	24,0%	41,6%	2,6%	2,6%	22,7%	1,3%	1,9%	,0%	2,6%
Adigeisk City	,0%	20,0%	60,0%	10,0%	,0%	10,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%
Maikopski Rayon	,0%	14,0%	69,8%	7,0%	2,3%	2,3%	,0%	2,3%	2,3%	,0%
Giaginski Rayon	,0%	18,5%	66,7%	7,4%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	7,4%	,0%
Tahtamukay Rayon	,0%	2,3%	77,3%	2,3%	,0%	4,5%	,0%	11,4%	2,3%	,0%
Koshable Rayon	,0%	14,3%	57,1%	10,7%	3,6%	7,1%	,0%	3,6%	3,6%	,0%
Tevchjski Rayon	,0%	14,3%	76,2%	,0%	4,8%	,0%	4,8%	,0%	,0%	,0%
Krasnogavardeysko Rayon	,0%	10,5%	73,7%	,0%	5,3%	,0%	,0%	10,5%	,0%	,0%
Shovgenovski Rayon	,0%	17,9%	60,7%	,0%	,0%	14,3%	3,6%	,0%	,0%	3,6%
Total	,3%	17,4%	57,5%	3,7%	2,1%	12,0%	1,1%	3,2%	1,3%	1,3%

Looking at the urban-rural distribution of occupations, more people from the rural areas are professionals, technicians and associate professionals or plant and machine operators and assemblers.

Table 17: Occupation by field

	Occupation classified into 10 categ. by ISCO 88									
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Urban	,5%	20,5%	50,0%	2,9%	2,4%	17,1%	1,0%	3,3%	,5%	1,9%
Rural	,0%	13,4%	67,1%	4,9%	1,8%	5,5%	1,2%	3,0%	2,4%	,6%

Women are more likely to be professionals and service workers. During the study, I met many female teachers, doctors and in all shops most of the workers were female. The relatively less representation of males in this study can also be due to irregular or non-professional types of employment where they had to work during the weekends or late afternoons. Many managers are aged between 30-49 years old, whereas more professionals are over the age of 50. Young people are usually working in services and sales.

Table 18: Occupation by sex and age

	Sex		Age		
	Male	Female	Over 50	30-49 years old	Younger than 29
0	1,3%	,0%	,0%	,5%	,0%
1	30,0%	14,1%	14,9%	21,4%	9,7%
2	26,3%	65,6%	64,4%	59,5%	43,1%
3	7,5%	2,7%	4,6%	1,9%	8,3%
4	3,8%	1,7%	,0%	2,4%	4,2%
5	7,5%	13,4%	5,7%	7,6%	30,6%
6	3,8%	,3%	3,4%	,5%	,0%
7	11,3%	1,0%	4,6%	3,3%	1,4%
8	6,3%	,0%	1,1%	1,4%	1,4%
9	2,5%	1,0%	1,1%	1,4%	1,4%

Adyge respondents are more likely to be professionals. In most state institutes Adyge are over populated. Russians are more likely to be working in the service and sales sectors. Other ethnicities usually have their own jobs (classified here as managers).

Table 19: Occupation by ethnicity

		ADYGE	RUSSIAN	OTHER	Total
0	row %		100,0%		100,0%
	column %		,5%		,3%
1	row %	47,7%	41,5%	10,8%	100,0%
	column %	18,3%	14,7%	33,3%	17,4%
2	row %	47,9%	47,0%	5,1%	100,0%
	column %	60,9%	54,9%	52,4%	57,5%
3	row %	35,7%	50,0%	14,3%	100,0%
	column %	3,0%	3,8%	9,5%	3,7%
4	row %	37,5%	62,5%		100,0%
	column %	1,8%	2,7%		2,1%
5	row %	42,2%	57,8%		100,0%
	column %	11,2%	14,1%		12,0%
6	row %	75,0%	25,0%		100,0%
	column %	1,8%	,5%		1,1%
7	row %	25,0%	66,7%	8,3%	100,0%
	column %	1,8%	4,3%	4,8%	3,2%
8	row %	20,0%	80,0%		100,0%
	column %	,6%	2,2%		1,3%
9	row %	20,0%	80,0%		100,0%
	column %	,6%	2,2%		1,3%
Total	row %	45,2%	49,2%	5,6%	100,0%
	column %	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Unemployment

The distribution of unemployment demonstrate that people living in rural areas, men, youths and other ethnicities are more likely to be unemployed.

Table 20: Unemployment by field, sex, age and ethnicity

		Unemployed	Employed
Field	Urban	19,4%	80,6%
	Rural	19,8%	80,2%
Sex	Male	30,1%	69,9%
	Female	15,5%	84,5%
Age	Over 50	23,7%	76,3%
	30-49 years old	5,9%	94,1%
	Younger than 29	40,0%	60,0%

The other ethnicities are more likely to be unemployed followed by the Adyge, however the difference is not significant.

Table 21: Unemployment by Ethnicity

		ADYGE	RUSSIAN	OTHER	Total
Don't work	Row %	47,9%	42,7%	9,4%	100,0%
	Column %	20,7%	17,4%	27,3%	19,6%
Employed	Row %	44,7%	49,2%	6,1%	100,0%
	Column %	79,3%	82,6%	72,7%	80,4%
Total	Total Row %	45,3%	48,0%	6,7%	100,0%
	Total Column %	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

The reasons for unemployment are mostly based on other responsibilities, such as taking care of the house or children or being a student. Only 8,7 percent of unemployed mentioned difficulty in finding a job as the reason of unemployment.

Agricultural Production

About half of the respondents did not answer the section about agriculture. Among the 279 respondents who answered, more than half have agricultural land. One third of the respondents do not have any land while 16,5 percent have *dachas*. “The term *dacha* denotes any plot of land used by urban residents for summer gardening or leisure”⁶². Half of the respondents from Maikop state that they do not have any land. A quarter have a *dacha* while another quarter have agricultural lands.

Table 22: Agricultural land ownership by territory

		No, we do not have agricultural land	Yes, we have a <i>Dacha</i>	Yes we have agricultural land	Total
NNP (Grouped in 2)	Maikop	50,0%	26,0%	24,0%	100,0%
	Others	17,9%	11,2%	70,9%	100,0%
FIELD	Urban	44,2%	22,5%	33,3%	100,0%
	Rural	16,7%	11,3%	72,0%	100,0%

62 Zavisca, Jane. Contesting Capitalism at the Post-Soviet *Dacha*: The meaning of Food Cultivation for Urban Russians. *Slavic Review*, Vol. 62, No. 4, Tourism and Travel in Russia and the Soviet Union. (Winter, 2003), pp. 786-810.

When we look at the average size of land, the Dacha's could be as big as 8 hectares while agricultural lands could be as small as 1000 meter squares. On average, 131 people have about 3 hectares of agricultural land.

Another important variable is the agricultural production. In about a tenth of the lands, there is no agricultural production, while in another one tenth something is produced for the market. 74,2 percent of the respondents have stated that they produce for self-consumption.



Figure 6: Agricultural Production

The respondents were asked some questions about animal husbandry as well. Of the 258 people who answered these questions, more than half of the respondents do not have animals. The number of people owning animals is much less in Maikop. As expected in rural areas more people own animals.

Table 23: Animal raising by NNP (Maikop and others) and field

		No	Yes
NNP (Grouped in 2)	Maikop	89,3%	10,7%
	Others	42,0%	58,0%
FIELD	Urban	85,0%	15,0%
	Rural	37,7%	62,3%

When we look at the animal raised, we see that 103 people raise poultry where the number of animals ranges from 1 to 100 with an households average of 3 animals. Cattle are raised in 58 households and the number of animals ranges between 1 to 5. There are 18 people raising sheep or goats while 13 raise some other farm animal.

Table 24: Number of households and animals raised

	HH	Minimum (Animal)	Maximum (Animal)	Mean (Animal)
Cattle	58	1	5	1,38
Sheep, Goat	18	1	11	1,83
Poultry	103	1	100	2,91
Other Animals	13	1	15	2,08

CHAPTER 7

SETTLEMENT

Material shortages as well as environmental conditions are crucial in the analysis of life standards since they define the inclusion level of an individual. Although ownership of most material things is highly related with income, there are some concepts that are more related to the conditions of the settlement area.

The type of residence is the first of these concepts. “Research conducted in various countries has proved that having satisfactory accommodation is at the top of the hierarchy of human needs”⁶³ When the choice of house or apartment flat is limited as it is in the Post-Soviet context, having a satisfactory residence is difficult. However, those with sufficient income levels may build their own residences according to their needs. Otherwise, a selection must be made among the Soviet style accommodation.

The neighborhood is another important concept in relation to the conditions of the settlement. The socio-ecological characteristics of the neighborhood identify the level of satisfaction and quality of daily lives of their residents. The characteristics include “spatial composition, access to recreational areas, local infrastructure and

63 Burns and Grebler, 1986 and Kiel and Mieszkowski, 1990 in Henryk Doman'ski, Antonina Ostrowska, Dariusz Przybysz, Agata Romaniuk and Hubert Krieger First European Quality of Life Survey: Social dimensions of housing European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, 2006, p. 1

facilities, the degree of pollution, and the level of social problems, particularly different types of crime”⁶⁴.

Soviet housing policy was based on mass production, with minimum cost, geared to the small family but also

assembled buildings were fitted into a designed housing district that the Soviets call a microboroug (also translated as microrayon or microdistrict). The microborough consists of residential superblocks and was conceived as a self-sufficient unit containing the essential social and cultural services... the immediate Soviet goals for urban development: satisfaction of the need for housing, economy of construction, rationalization of the urban layout by control of functions, and satisfaction of the needs of hygiene, culture and recreation.⁶⁵

Another settlement related issue is the people around- the neighbors. The diversity of housing and neighborhood is “an indication of social differences and the level of polarization within a particular society”⁶⁶ Moreover, “the degree to which one is involved with friends, neighbors, associations, and community activities contributes to the quality of life of individuals and communities”⁶⁷.

The settlement which is an important indicator of quality of life is captured in this study with concepts which are measured by five variables. Variables relate to the type of residence, the people living in surrounding areas (neighbors), public security, environmental conditions (cleanliness, recreation areas, etc.) and social life. There are two types of questions to understand the current situation of these 5 factors. First set of questions measure actual conditions while the second set are

64 Henryk Doman'ski, Antonina Ostrowska, Dariusz Przybysz, Agata Romaniuk and Hubert Krieger First European Quality of Life Survey: Social dimensions of housing European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, 2006, p. 1

65 Bunkse, Edmunds V. The role of a Humane Environment in Soviet Urban Planning, *Geographical Review*, Vol. 69, No. 4. (Oct., 1979), pp. 379-394.

66 Myers and Welch, 1995; O'Rond and Hennetta, 1999; Flippen, 2004 in Henryk Doman'ski, Antonina Ostrowska, Dariusz Przybysz, Agata Romaniuk and Hubert Krieger First European Quality of Life Survey: Social dimensions of housing European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, 2006, p. 1

67 Saracevo, C., Oagrero, M. And Torrioni, P., First European Quality of Life survey: Families, work and social networks, European Foundation for the Improvement of living and working conditions, 2005, p.4

geared into taping self-assessed satisfaction of the respondents regarding to 5 factors.

Type of residence

In Adygeya, in the rayon centers and cities, most of the apartment blocks are designed with the aim to include as many people as possible. Most of them are run down, dirty, smelly and unsafe. The houses, which are located in city centers, suburbs and villages, are mostly old and the conditions may be very bad if not renovated. It is worth noting that most of the newly built houses, which are like castles, have all the luxuries. It should be remembered that, most people cannot make renovations in their residences due to the transitional economy.

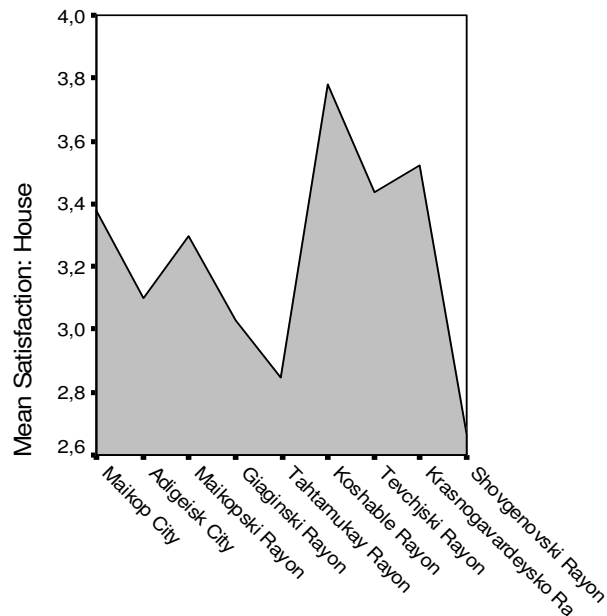


Figure 7: Mean Satisfaction from the house by territory

Parallel to the housing differences, satisfaction with the residence one lives in changes significantly among territories. In the Koshable rayon where you can see many newly build homes, the satisfaction is highest. However, in the Shovgenovski and Tahtamukay rayons satisfaction is very low. The year the house/flat was built or type of block was not asked mainly for not getting too much

detailed information. However, it became clear that they are indispensable for any analysis regarding to quality of residences and satisfaction derived from it.

The type of residence significantly differs in all rayons. Most of the residences are flat type in Maikop (% 53,8) whereas in most others it is detached house. It is rare to see rented detached houses. However, in Tahtamukay it is possible to see people living in houses that belong to a relative or acquaintance. Very few respondents live in government/municipality service houses.

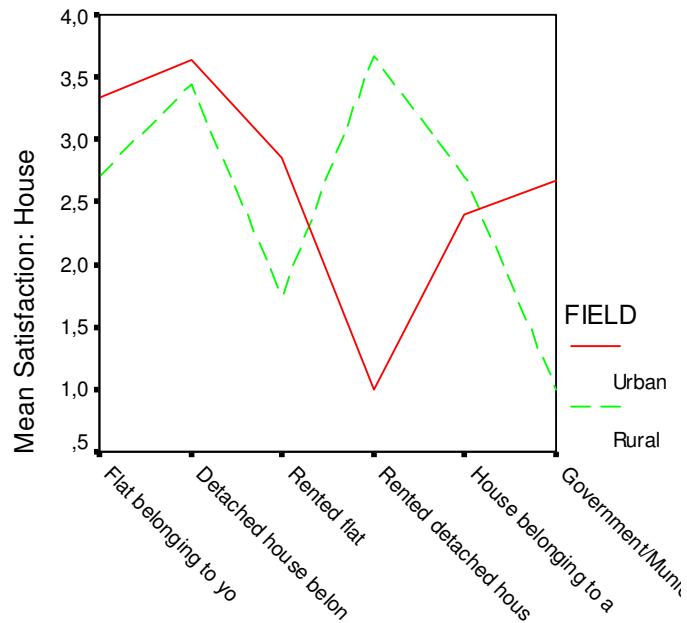


Figure 8: Mean satisfaction from the house by type of residence

Mean satisfaction with the house differs significantly in rural and urban areas when the type of residence is considered. Especially in urban areas, satisfaction with rented houses is very low, while in rural areas the satisfaction is the highest. Satisfaction in rural areas is lowest among respondents living in government service houses.

Average number of rooms also significantly differs among rayons as well as between urban and rural areas. The average number is lowest in Maikop and lower in urban areas in general. The Republic wide average is 3,41.

The average number of rooms also varies according to type of residence. It is lowest in rented flats followed by hostels and government service houses. The average room number is highest among detached houses, as expected.

Public Security

In total, 87 respondents have experienced 105 criminal incidents. About half of these occurred in Maikop city. Most were thefts in the home followed by harassment or threat. This is one of the main reasons of the low level of satisfaction with public security.

Table 25: Number of criminal incidents lived by territory

	Robbed in the street	Robbery at home	Harassment or threat	Sexual harassment	Beaten or injured	Total
Maikop City	8	17	16	5	4	50
Adigeisk City	1	0	0	0	0	1
Maikopski Rayon	1	11	6	2	2	22
Giaginski Rayon	1	6	5	1	1	14
Tahtamukay Rayon	0	2	3	0	1	6
Koshable Rayon	1	2	1	0	2	6
Tevchjski Rayon	0	0	0	0	1	1
Krasnogav. Rayon	1	0	1	0	0	2
Shovgenovski Rayon	0	2	1	0	0	3
Total	13	40	33	8	11	105

The relation between lived criminal incidents and satisfaction show that if a person has lived any criminal incident the persons mean satisfaction from the public security falls significantly. Two returnee girls told the story of their father being beaten and robbed in the street on a very cold winter night. He woke up nearly frozen a few hours later. After this day, the girls were very afraid to go out at night and the overall satisfaction of the family from the public security is very low.

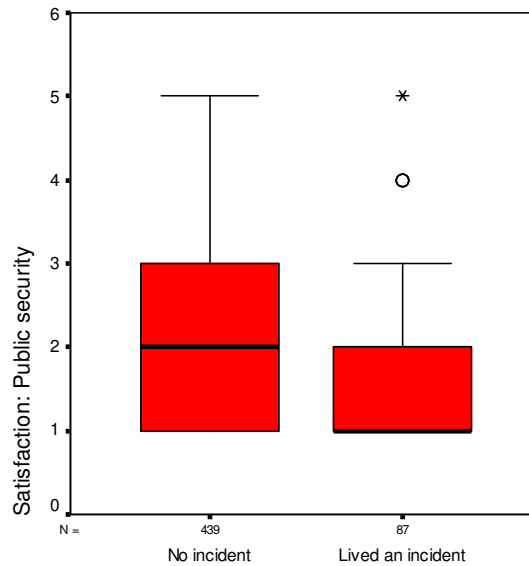


Figure 9: Satisfaction from public security box-plot by criminal incident experience

There is a positive but weak correlation (Pearson= 0,256, $p= 0,0001$) between how secure people feel walking alone in the streets at night and how satisfied they are with public security. This means that although it is not perfect, the more people feel more secure, the higher is their satisfaction.

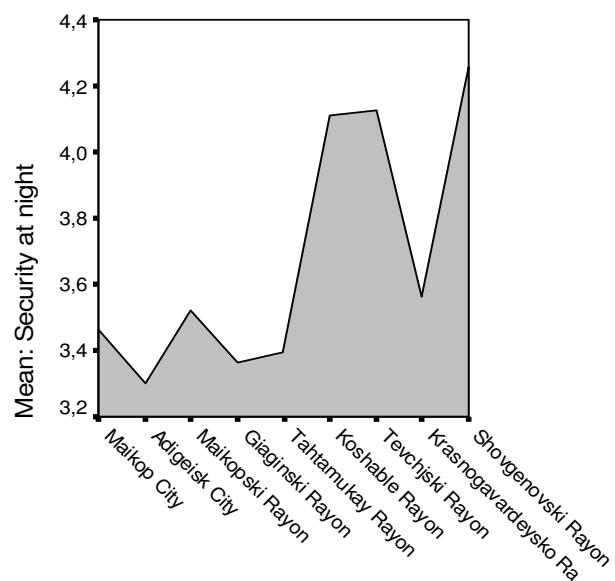


Figure 10: Mean Satisfaction at night by territory

The feeling of security at night changes very much according to the rayon. Adygeisk, Giaginski and Tahtamukay are the places where people feel most insecure. People from Maikop City, Maikopski and Krasnogavardeysko also feel insecure.

The Environment

The respondents were asked to evaluate their environments. The environment includes air and noise pollution, the distance to recreation areas, markets as well as the city center (for urban areas). The services provided by the local administration that shape the settlements environment are also crucial.

Table 26: Percentage of not perceiving an environmental problem by territory

Don't see a problem	Noise	Air pollution	Distance to green areas	Distance to entertainment areas	Distance to markets	Distance to city center
Maikop City	39,8%	38,8%	55,9%	59,9%	76,4%	67,0%
Adigeisk City	30,0%	10,0%	44,4%	45,5%	60,0%	45,5%
Maikopski Rayon	60,6%	52,3%	87,7%	34,8%	68,2%	37,3%
Giaginski Rayon	62,5%	28,1%	74,2%	41,9%	67,7%	35,5%
Tahtamukay Rayon	32,6%	24,5%	60,0%	26,0%	62,5%	34,0%
Koshable Rayon	65,5%	51,8%	76,4%	45,5%	55,4%	41,8%
Tevchjski Rayon	68,8%	46,9%	81,3%	54,8%	64,5%	68,8%
Krasnogavardeysko Rayon	72,7%	30,4%	72,7%	21,7%	65,2%	38,1%
Shovgenovskiy Rayon	53,1%	43,8%	75,0%	37,5%	78,1%	45,5%
Total	49,9%	39,8%	67,1%	47,0%	69,7%	52,3

The Caucasus, as part of its natural characteristic, is verdure. This is the reason why the distance to green areas is not a big problem. In addition, as part of the Soviet *microdistrict*, all settlement areas have their parks, shops (that you can buy anything you need), health centers and most have Cultural Houses (*Dom Kultura*).

The biggest environmental problem in Adygeya is told to be the air pollution and still about 40 percent of the respondents do not see it as a problem. It is seen as a problem in Adygeisk, Tahtamukay, Giaginski and Krasnogavardeysko. A resident of Adygeisk, who I met on a trip to the city, also complained about the pollution of

the Kuban River. He argued that the fish from the river was no longer eatable and smelled very bad.

Noise is another problem in Adygeisk, as well as in Tahtamukay and Maikop. Distance to green areas is seen as a problem in the two cities while distance to entertainment areas, markets and certainly the city center are considered more problematic in other places- especially rural areas.

Communalni usulgi –as previously mentioned- is the name for the services provided by the local administrations. It includes basic services like telephone, water and electricity as well as cleaning and heating and sometimes hot water. The respondents were asked to evaluate some services of *communalni usulgi*. Heating service, which starts on a prescribed day in mid October and ends on a prescribed day in mid May, appears to be the most problematic service among the *communalni usulgi*. I myself experienced the problems of heating system. It was very cold on the second week of October but there was no heating. They turned on the system just as the cold weather ended. Than it was warm outside and hot inside. Many apartment flats in the city center are hot all winter still some flats that are very much torn out are very cold. In the suburbs and urban areas it is colder, since most are not apartment flats but houses that are hard to warm.

The hot water service, which is used by about 60 percent of the respondents is also a big problem. 88,6 percent of the household have tap water from the local administration and about half see the quality as an important problem. Cleaning of the apartments is also a problem but compared to others it is not so significant.

When the differences among rayons are examined in the two cities, all four services are more likely to be taken by the respondents. In Koshable, about one third of the respondents do not have water from the local administration. In Shovgenovski four fifths of the respondents do not have hot water or heating services. The problems experienced with the services provided also vary among rayons. While cleaning is a big problem in Maikop, Maikopski and Koshable, quality of water is more problematic in Shovgenovski and Tevchjski. Hot water and heating services are least problematic in Giaginski.

Table 27: Communalni Usulgi services problems by territory

		Environment and apartment cleaning	Quality of water	Hot water service	Heating service
Maikop City	No problem	27,4%	14,1%	14,2%	11,6%
	Little problem	37,4%	23,5%	18,3%	15,7%
	Big problem	35,2%	62,4%	67,5%	72,7%
Adigeisk City	No problem	60,0%	90,9%	62,5%	50,0%
	Little problem	30,0%	9,1%	12,5%	33,3%
	Big problem	10,0%	,0%	25,0%	16,7%
Maikopski Rayon	No problem	34,8%	22,6%	17,4%	14,8%
	Little problem	47,8%	26,4%	26,1%	14,8%
	Big problem	17,4%	50,9%	56,5%	70,4%
Giaginski Rayon	No problem	83,3%	51,9%	44,4%	35,7%
	Little problem	16,7%	40,7%	44,4%	42,9%
	Big problem	,0%	7,4%	11,1%	21,4%
Tahtamukay Rayon	No problem	60,7%	49,0%	20,8%	12,5%
	Little problem	35,7%	32,7%	33,3%	28,1%
	Big problem	3,6%	18,4%	45,8%	59,4%
Koshable Rayon	No problem	36,4%	23,5%	20,0%	9,7%
	Little problem	27,3%	29,4%	20,0%	9,7%
	Big problem	36,4%	47,1%	60,0%	80,6%
Tevchjski Rayon	No problem	61,1%	23,1%	30,8%	35,7%
	Little problem	16,7%	46,2%	15,4%	28,6%
	Big problem	22,2%	30,8%	53,8%	35,7%
Krasnogavardeysko Rayon	No problem	66,7%	35,0%	21,4%	38,5%
	Little problem	22,2%	30,0%	28,6%	15,4%
	Big problem	11,1%	35,0%	50,0%	46,2%
Shovgenovski Rayon	No problem	57,1%	16,7%	16,7%	,0%
	Little problem	14,3%	25,0%	33,3%	,0%
	Big problem	28,6%	58,3%	50,0%	100,0%

Problems differing along the rural-urban dimension seen only in terms of cleaning and quality of water; and both seem to be less problematic in rural areas.

Table 28: Communalni usulgi problems by field

		FIELD	
		Urban	Rural
Environment and apartment cleaning (a)	No problem	34,4%	52,9%
	Little problem	37,0%	25,7%
	Big problem	28,6%	21,4%
Quality of water (b)	No problem	21,9%	30,5%
	Little problem	24,7%	32,2%
	Big problem	53,4%	37,4%

(a) Chi square=7,744; p,021; b)Chi square=11,136; p,004)

Social Life and Relations

When criminal events increase, it is expected that peoples' trust in each other will decrease. However, people in the Republic of Adygeya⁶⁸ seem to have high satisfaction with each other. A quick look at the relations with the neighbors show that about 60 percent of the respondents frequently meet their neighbors- have close relations.

Table 29: Relations with the neighbors

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
I don't know my neighbors at all	5	,9	,9
I just know my neighbors	127	23,9	24,1
I meet them on special circumstances	83	15,6	15,7
I frequently meet my neighbors	312	58,6	59,2
Total	527	99,1	100,0
Missing	5	,9	
Total	532	100,0	

⁶⁸ There were some questions about trust. However, in the pilot study it turned out that some questions especially about social relations were creating discomfort among the respondents. For the benefit of the study these questions were excluded in the applied questionnaire.

One possible determinant of quality of social life is the attendance of the respondents to social events. Birthdays and weddings are very special events for the people of Adygeya. My personal experience supports this argument. The week I arrived, it was my birthday. I told this to my tenant in the last minute and she had rushed to buy me a present, cook for me special meals and to make it an unforgettable birthday. It was also the Republican day of Adygeya and it was a holiday.

Nearly half of the people attend birthdays and weddings frequently. Another half attends sometimes. Theatre, opera and ballet as well as sporting events are not attended much by the respondents. Still 70,7 percent of the respondents attend concerts every now and then.

Table 30: Attendance to social activities

	Do not attend	Attend sometimes	Attend frequently	Total
Concerts	125	366	27	518
	24,1%	70,7%	5,2%	100,0%
Theatre, opera and ballet	279	215	8	502
	55,6%	42,8%	1,6%	100,0%
Celebration of special days (Like Republic Day)	63	306	148	517
	12,2%	59,2%	28,6%	100,0%
Sports events	261	209	34	504
	51,8%	41,5%	6,7%	100,0%
Birthdays, weddings	7	289	230	526
	1,3%	54,9%	43,7%	100,0%

Most of the Cultural Houses built in the Soviet times are not working/used today, especially those outside the cities or rayon centers. The difference between urban and rural areas in the level of attendance is mainly due to this. There is a significant difference only in terms of theatres, operas and ballets. More people in rural areas could not attend theatres, operas and ballets.

The national theatre organizes a tour of the rayons every year but is usually sponsored by private enterprises. Due to difficulty in finding sponsors, only few events take place outside of the two cities and attendance to theater is limited.

Satisfaction from the Settlement

To conclude this chapter, the analysis conducted on five issues indicated that people living in Adygeya are most satisfied with the people around them. In Tevchjski, Giaginski and Shovgenovski rayons, the mean satisfaction from the people is the highest. Housing satisfaction and environmental satisfaction seem to be closely related except in the Shovgenovski rayon where average satisfaction from the house is the lowest and Adygeisk city where average satisfaction from the environment is much lower than satisfaction from the house. The lowest satisfaction rate encountered relates to public security in all of the rayons.

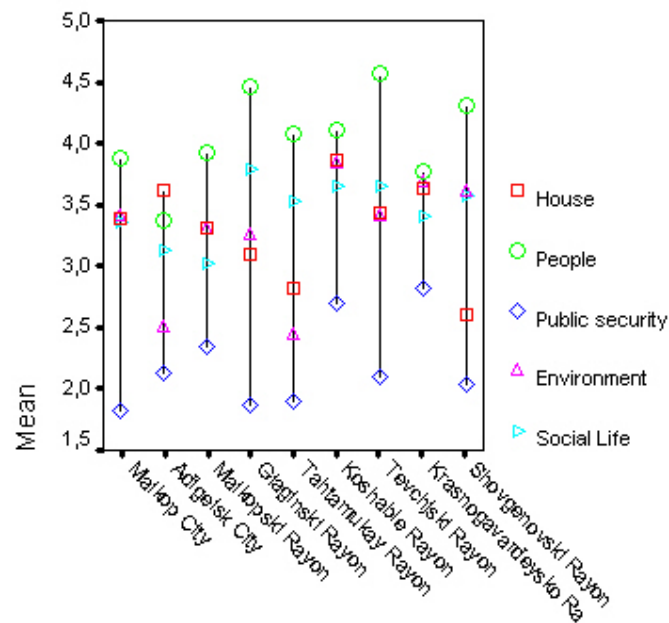


Figure 11 Mean Satisfaction from five different fields related to the settlement by territory

The One-way ANOVA analysis shows that the differences among territories are significantly different for all five variables. As Figure 11 indicates the order of satisfaction dimensions is mostly similar but the level of satisfaction in each dimension varies.

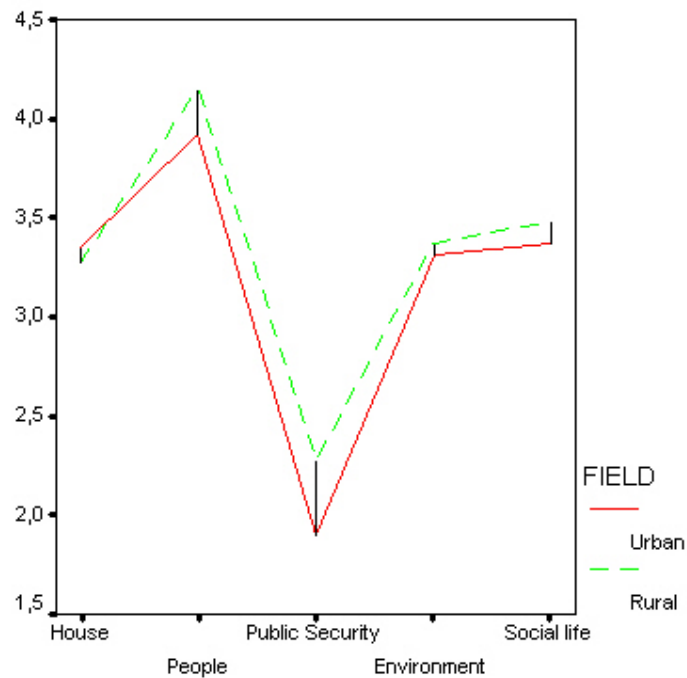


Figure 12: Mean Satisfaction from five different fields related to the settlement by field

Looking at the differences between urban and rural settlements, we see that there is not a significant difference in terms of mean satisfaction except in public security and people dimension. Still, in both, satisfaction from people is highest and public security is lowest, which is also true for Maikop and other settlements.

CHAPTER 8

NECESSITIES AND OWNERSHIP

Studies show that “lack of life necessities presumably reduces quality of life”⁶⁹. The deprivation indicators approach, developed in studies in the United Kingdom, “aims to discover if there are people living below the minimum publicly-accepted standard”⁷⁰. In the life standard research, the deprivation indicators are used to evaluate what individuals perceive as a necessity to live a good life and how much they have access to those things.

The perceptions of necessities in life are highly influenced by the society one lives in. In the Soviet times, all had the same domestic products such as the same pair of shoes as well as the same glasses or similar chairs at home. With the dissolution of the Soviets, people suddenly had access to all the consumption goods from the west which were believed to be better than what they had. However, the illusion did not last long, some of the goods from the west lost their attractiveness with high prizes and equal quality.

The perceptions of people who have lived the Soviet times as well as the first years of the transition economy, in understanding the necessities to live a good life is

69 Delhey, J. Life Satisfaction in an Enlarged Europe, European Foundation for the Improvement of living and working conditions, 2004

70 Gordon, Dave. Combined Resources & Deprivation Poverty Lines Draft retrieved http://www.nscb.gov.ph/poverty/TCPOvStat/reading_materials/rioXG/Social%20Exclusion/SocExcPrac_DGordon.pdf

crucial. Here the perceptions of people are compared with the perceptions of people from Europe and Turkey- the data of which was taken from the Euromodule.

The section in the Euromodule living standard data included a list of items about necessities in life and the level of actual ownership of these items. The items in Euromodule data were evaluated one by one for their appropriateness in the Soviet context and only some of them were included.

The ownership had three response categories in the Euromodule questionnaire (do not have or do, cannot afford, have or do). In this study, the reason of not having an item (cannot afford) is not taken into consideration only for simplicity⁷¹. At this point for comparability, Euromodule data has been recoded into 2 categories by combining *can not afford* into the *do not have or do* category.

The countries, the time of the field works and the sample sizes of those datasets taken from the Euromodule data set are as follows:

Table 31: Sample sizes of the Euromodule data

<i>Country</i>	<i>Year(s)</i>	<i>Sample size</i>
Slovenia	1999	1012
Germany	1999	2493
Hungary	1999	1510
Spain	2000	2489
Switzerland	2000	1570
Sweden	1998-1999	7701
Austria	2002	502
Europe		17277
Turkey	2001-2002	4020

Source: Euromodule data, 2002

Because of the difference in sample sizes, the data is weighted.

⁷¹ See McKay, Stephen Poverty or Preference: What does 'consensual deprivation indicators' really measure? Retrieved <http://www.benefits.org.uk/povpref.pdf> for.

Comparison

The following are some important comparisons obtained in the analysis. There are 15 items that were both asked in the Euromodule and Adygeya life standard surveys.

Having a separate room for everyone is found a necessity by %65,7 of the respondents in Adygeya, whereas in Turkey only half of the respondents and in Europe 43,3 percent find it necessary.

Adygeyans find having a bath in the house equally necessary as Europeans, while Turkish people find it slightly less necessary but more desirable.

A garden is seen a necessity mostly in Turkey, more than in Adygeya. In Europe, it is seen desirable.

A vacation is seen as desirable by half of the respondents in all three. However, considerably less people see it as necessary in Adygeya.

The Telephone is not a necessity for about three tenths of the respondents in Adygeya whereas it is seen more as a necessary in Turkey and even more in Europe.

It is interesting to see that to have new clothes is a necessity for a quarter of the Turkish, while for 44,7 percent of Europeans, it is necessary and also for three fifths of the Adygeyans.

To replace worn out furniture is found necessary by forty percent of Adygeyans and more than half find it desirable. For only about 18 percent of the respondents in Turkey and 12,4 of Europeans find it necessary while about three fifths find it desirable.

Inviting friends for dinner at least every month is seen by two fifths of the respondents from Adygeya whereas only a quarter from Turkey and one fifth from Europe find it necessary.

Taking out family for dinner at least monthly is seen as a necessity by one fifth of the respondents from Turkey however, only 15,8 percent see it necessary in Adygeya, and 10 percent in Europe.

Car ownership is a necessity for more than half of the respondents from Adygeya. It is a necessity for about one third of the respondents in Turkey and Europe.

Television ownership is a necessity for only three fifths of the respondents from Europe while it is a necessity for four fifths of the respondents from Turkey and 88,7 percent of the respondents from Adygeya.

Washing Machine ownership is seen as a necessity by 83,7 percent of respondents from Adygeya, whereas three quarters of respondents from Turkey see it as necessary and also 64,5 percent in Europe.

On the other hand, only 17,2 percent of the respondents from Adygeya and 14,1 percent from Europe see dishwasher as necessary equipment while 44,3 percent from Turkey see it as necessary.

Computer ownership is a necessity for 32,1 percent of the respondents from Adygeya while considerably less people in Turkey and much less in Europe see it necessary.

Cellular phone is seen as necessary in the Republic by more than half of the people while one third of respondents from Turkey see it necessary. This item was not included in the Euromodule questionnaire before Turkey.

Table 32: Perceived Necessities of items in comparison to Turkey and Europe

		Adygeya		Turkey	Europe
necessities: own room	could be renounced	3,7%		5,5%	9,8%
	desirable	30,7%		43,9%	46,9%
	necessary	65,7%		50,6%	43,3%
necessities: bath	could be renounced	,6%		1,0%	1,3%
	desirable	8,6%		16,1%	7,7%
	necessary	90,7%		83,0%	91,1%
necessities: garden	could be renounced	15,8%		4,9%	12,5%
	desirable	48,0%		41,0%	59,5%
	necessary	36,2%		54,1%	28,0%
necessities: vacation (Adygeya : vacation in-country/abroad)	could be renounced	28,2%	37,3%	18,4%	12,3%
	desirable	53,9%	52,3%	56,9%	49,3%
	necessary	17,9%	10,4%	24,7%	38,4%
necessities: phone	could be renounced	6,0%		2,8%	4,0%
	desirable	24,9%		18,8%	12,9%
	necessary	69,1%		78,5%	83,1%
necessities: new clothes	could be renounced	3,3%		13,2%	12,4%
	desirable	35,6%		60,5%	42,9%
	necessary	61,1%		26,3%	44,7%
necessities: replace furniture	could be renounced	4,6%		20,4%	28,4%
	desirable	55,5%		61,6%	59,1%
	Necessary	39,9%		18,0%	12,5%
necessities: invite friends	could be renounced	10,0%		17,8%	23,6%
	Desirable	49,4%		58,5%	57,4%
	Necessary	40,6%		23,7%	19,0%
necessities: take out family	could be renounced	36,5%		21,8%	38,9%
	Desirable	47,7%		57,9%	51,1%
	Necessary	15,8%		20,3%	10,0%
necessities: car	could be renounced	4,6%		13,6%	16,5%
	Desirable	38,4%		51,4%	46,0%
	Necessary	56,9%		35,0%	37,5%
necessities: television	could be renounced	1,1%		2,5%	9,9%
	Desirable	10,3%		15,2%	29,2%
	Necessary	88,7%		82,3%	60,8%
necessities: washing machine	could be renounced	2,1%		3,1%	7,8%
	Desirable	14,1%		22,3%	27,6%
	Necessary	83,7%		74,6%	64,5%
necessities: dishwasher	could be renounced	35,6%		13,9%	37,7%
	Desirable	47,2%		41,8%	48,2%
	Necessary	17,2%		44,3%	14,1%
necessities: computer	could be renounced	18,3%		31,7%	39,5%
	Desirable	49,6%		46,4%	47,4%
	Necessary	32,1%		21,9%	13,1%
necessities: cellular phone	could be renounced	8,6%		24,8%	
	Desirable	37,4%		44,1%	
	Necessary	54,0%		31,1%	

The items included in the Adygeya life standard survey had interesting results for the internet access and photo camera. A quarter of the respondents see internet access a necessity whereas half see it as desirable. For photo camera, half of the responses are desirable while 34,1 percent of the responses are necessary. The other items, considered creating a change in life standards do not show very interesting results, seen a necessity by the majority are items like toilet and separate kitchen in the house, refrigerator, vacuum cleaner and cooking stove with an oven.

Table 33: Perceived Necessities of other items

		Adygeya
NECESSITY: Toilet	could be renounced	3,4%
	Desirable	21,4%
	Necessary	75,2%
NECESSITY: Separate kitchen in house	could be renounced	2,1%
	Desirable	11,6%
	Necessary	86,3%
NECESSITY: Refrigerator	could be renounced	,6%
	Desirable	2,8%
	Necessary	96,6%
NECESSITY: Vacuum cleaner	could be renounced	4,3%
	Desirable	21,7%
	Necessary	74,0%
NECESSITY: Cook stove with oven	could be renounced	1,3%
	Desirable	10,8%
	Necessary	87,9%
NECESSITY: Internet access	could be renounced	27,2%
	Desirable	48,4%
	Necessary	24,4%
NECESSITY: Photo camera	could be renounced	14,8%
	Desirable	51,1%
	Necessary	34,1%
NECESSITY: Video camera	could be renounced	22,6%
	Desirable	58,6%
	Necessary	18,8%

In Adygeya, two fifths of the respondents do not live in places where each member of the family has a room of one's own. Turkey is still the worst among the survey countries with only two fifths having this chance. In Europe only 14,4 percent do not have this possibility.

Having a separate bathroom in the house is considerably less observed in Adygeya, followed by Turkey. In Europe, nearly all respondents stated they have a bath in the house.

Having a garden, balcony or terrace is also less frequent in Adygeya again followed by Turkey and a high rate in Europe.

Compared to Europe nobody in Adygeya has a chance to have a vacation every year. While more three fifths of the respondents have a chance go to a vacation in Europe, in Turkey only 14,8 percent has this chance. In Adygeya only 9,6 percent of the respondents stated that they could go to vacation in the Russian Federation every year while only 3,5 percent has a chance to go abroad.

The respondents who do not have a telephone in their house make up 31,4 percent of the people from Adygeya. However, 83,7 percent of the Turkish sample and 95,9 percent of the European samples stated they have telephones.

It is interesting to see a majority has a chance to buy new clothes in Adygeya. Although compared to Turkey the prices are higher and the quality is lower since it is necessary to have new clothes people create this possibility. In Europe 57,5 percent can buy new clothes while in Turkey only 21,6 percent could do so.

Replacing worn out furniture is nearly equal to European average. In Turkey, only about a tenth has this possibility.

Inviting friends for dinner at least once a month is something that a majority of Adygeyans could do. In Europe about half of the respondents stated they could invite their friends while in Turkey one third of the respondents can.

The level of eating out with family is equal to Turkish sample, which makes up only 15 percent of the respondents. In Europe 4 out of 10 people could eat outside with their family at least once a month.

Three quarters of Europeans have cars. More than half of Adygeyans have cars. Among the Turkish respondents, only a quarter owns a car. The cars in Adygeya are usually old Soviet cars but there are also new European cars in the Republic.

In Turkey, television is relatively less owned while in Adygeya and Europe nearly all respondents have televisions.

Washing machine ownership rate is equal in Adygeya and Europe, of 5 people 4 owns it. In Turkey three quarters of the respondents have washing machines which is only slightly less.

Dishwasher ownership is considerably low in Adygeya. Only 5,5 percent owns a dishwasher. A quarter of respondents from Turkey and half of the Europeans stated they have a dishwasher.

Ownership of computers is relatively high in Adygeya. In one third of the houses, there is a computer. In Turkey, only a tenth had it while in Europe half of the respondents have personal computers at their houses.

Cellular phones are very popular in Adygeya and 83,4 percent of the respondents owns one. In Turkey only 40,7 percent had a cellular phone⁷².

⁷² In terms of items like computer and cell phone the comparison may not be valid due to the three years time difference. Three years' change is significant in Turkey.

Table 34: Ownership and actualization of items compared to Turkey and Europe

		Adygeya		Turkey	Europe (7 countries)
ownership: own room	have or do	58,6%		42,3%	85,6%
	don't do or have	41,4%		57,7%	14,4%
ownership: bath	have or do	80,6%		87,2%	97,4%
	don't do or have	19,4%		12,8%	2,6%
ownership: garden	have or do	57,5%		74,0%	88,8%
	don't do or have	42,5%		26,0%	11,2%
ownership: vacation (Adygeya : vacation in-country/abroad)	have or do	9,6%	3,5%	14,8%	60,7%
	don't do or have	90,4%	96,5%	85,2%	39,3%
ownership: phone	have or do	68,6%		83,7%	95,9%
	don't do or have	31,4%		16,3%	4,1%
ownership: new clothes	have or do	65,9%		21,6%	57,5%
	don't do or have	34,1%		78,4%	42,5%
ownership: replace furniture	have or do	34,7%		11,9%	38,2%
	don't do or have	65,3%		88,1%	61,8%
ownership: invite friends	have or do	66,2%		29,3%	47,5%
	don't do or have	33,8%		70,7%	52,5%
ownership: take out family	have or do	15,1%		15,3%	41,5%
	don't do or have	84,9%		84,7%	58,5%
ownership: car	have or do	53,4%		25,0%	78,5%
	don't do or have	46,6%		75,0%	21,5%
ownership: television	have or do	98,8%		92,0%	97,5%
	don't do or have	1,2%		8,0%	2,5%
ownership: washing machine	have or do	81,0%		75,3%	82,4%
	don't do or have	19,0%		24,7%	17,6%
ownership: dishwasher	have or do	5,5%		25,8%	49,2%
	don't do or have	94,5%		74,2%	50,8%
ownership: computer	have or do	32,7%		10,1%	51,0%
	don't do or have	67,3%		89,9%	49,0%
ownership: cellular phone	have or do	83,4%		40,7%	,0%
	don't do or have	16,6%		59,3%	,0%

Two of the items that were not listed in the necessities scale were asked in another section in the Euromodule questionnaire. Having a separate kitchen and toilet in the house is very normal in European countries. 98,3 percent and 96,9 percent owns them respectively. In Turkey and Adygeya, about 85 percent has a separate kitchen in the house. However, half of the houses in Turkey and a little more than a third of the houses in Adygeya do not have a separate kitchen.

Other items in the list are owned by majority of the respondents in Adygeya. The two exceptions are internet access and video camera that are owned by only about 15 percent of the respondents.

Table 35: Ownership and actualization of other items

		Adygeya	Turkey	Europe (7 countries)
amenities: kitchen	No	14,8%	11,7%	1,7%
	Yes	85,2%	88,3%	98,3%
amenities: toilet	No	36,1%	52,5%	3,1%
	Yes	63,9%	47,5%	96,9%
OWNERSHIP: Refrigerator	No	1,9%		
	Yes	98,1%		
OWNERSHIP: Vacuum cleaner	No	19,3%		
	Yes	80,7%		
OWNERSHIP: Cook stove with oven	No	7,4%		
	Yes	92,6%		
OWNERSHIP: Internet access	No	82,9%		
	Yes	17,1%		
OWNERSHIP: Photo camera	No	34,6%		
	Yes	65,4%		
OWNERSHIP: Video camera	No	84,5%		
	Yes	15,5%		

What people consider necessary to live a good life is highly influential in defining the life standards of a society. More crucial is owning those things that are necessary.

To sum up the results, interesting comparisons are chosen. Although people in Adygeya find having a bath in the house as much necessary as Europeans, they do

not have baths as much as Europeans have. Having a garden, balcony or terrace is not something many respondents have, compared to perceptions on its necessity. A majority has a chance to buy new clothes in Adygeya- something that is perceived as more desirable than necessary in other countries but valued in the Republic. To replace worn out furniture is found necessary by forty percent of Adygeyans, by 18 percent of the respondents in Turkey and 12,4 of Europeans while equal percentage of people in Adygeya and Europe have this possibility. Inviting friends for dinner at least every month is seen by two fifths of the respondents from Adygeya as necessary and a majority of Adygeyans could do it. Car is a necessity for more than half of the respondents from Adygeya and so many have cars. Relative to Turkish sample only a minority of the respondents from Adygeya and Europe see dishwasher as a necessary equipment while just a few owns a dishwasher in Adygeya. Relatively more people see owning as necessary and own a computer. Cellular phone is seen necessary in the Republic by more than half of the people and a majority owns one.

CHAPTER 9

THE FAILURE OF THE SYSTEMS: EDUCATION AND HEALTH

When USSR corrupted the Soviet systems lost their spirit. The systems started to malfunction. In some ex-Soviet polities they did not function at all.

The education and health systems, being the two crucial elements that define the main course of people's life are in question here. The respondents were asked to evaluate their satisfaction with the education and health systems for the evaluation of their current status. Furthermore, only the respondents aged 40 and over evaluated the education and health systems in comparison with the Soviet times.

Education of the respondents

The education levels of the respondents have been summed up in six categories. The male-female distribution of these categories shows an interesting picture. A majority of female respondents are university graduates compared to half of the male respondents. The percentage of males who finished technical middle schools as well as those who have not completed university education is higher than that of females in the same categories.

Table 36: Education by sex

	Male	Female	Total
School	,8%	1,3%	1,2%
High school	,8%	,8%	,8%
Middle school	9,9%	6,5%	7,4%
Technical middle school	17,6%	15,6%	16,1%
Not Completed University	21,4%	11,9%	14,3%
University	49,6%	63,9%	60,3%
Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

One fifth of the respondents aged between 30 and 50 are technical middle school (vocational school) graduates. Three fifths of the respondents aged over 50 and a little more of those aged over 30 are university school graduates. Among the youth 45,3 percent are university graduates while nearly same proportion have not yet completed university programs.

Table 37: Education by age

	Over 50 years old	30-49 years old	Younger than 29 years old	Total
School	2,5%	,4%	1,3%	1,2%
High school	,8%	,4%	1,3%	,8%
Middle school	12,5%	6,8%	4,4%	7,4%
Technical middle school	21,7%	21,1%	3,8%	15,9%
Not Completed University	,8%	1,3%	44,0%	14,3%
University	61,7%	70,0%	45,3%	60,5%
Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Adyge are more likely to have finished university or higher education than Russians and other ethnicities in the Republic. A tenth of Adyge have not completed university while more Russians and even more of other ethnicities have not. One fifth of the respondents who belong to other ethnicities are graduates of technical middle schools, which is relatively more than ethnic Russians and Adyge.

Table 38: Education by ethnicity

	Adyge	Russian	Other	Total
School	0	1,6%	5,6%	1,1%
High school	1,7%	0	0	,8%
Middle school	8,7%	6,6%	2,8%	7,3%
Technical middle school	15,2%	15,6%	22,2%	15,9%
Not Completed University	10,0%	17,6%	19,4%	14,4%
University	64,3%	58,6%	50,0%	60,5%
Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Health of the respondent

Two questions were asked to find out the health situation of the respondents, one regarding diseases and inabilities another on the regular medicine usage.

Half of the females and 63,4 percent of the males stated that they do not have any illnesses. Females with serious illnesses make up 8,7 percent while the percentage of males with illnesses is a little less. The females who need to take regular medication are about one fourth of females while the percentage of males who need regular medication are less than one fifth.

Table 39: Health and regular medicine usage by sex

	Male	Female	Total
No illness	63,4%	49,2%	52,9%
Illness to a degree	31,3%	42,1%	39,3%
Serious illness	5,2%	8,7%	7,8%
Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
Does not take medicine	81,2%	72,0%	74,3%
Takes regular medicine	18,8%	28,0%	25,7%
Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

As expected, elderly respondents are more likely to have diseases and inabilities that impede their daily activities. Half of the respondents aged over 50 have illnesses to some degree and half use regular medicine, while 43,3 percent of respondents aged over 30 have illnesses to some degree and a quarter use regular medication. Only a quarter of the youth have illnesses to some degree while 10,4 percent use regular medicine.

Table 40: Health and regular medicine usage by age

	Over 50 years old	30-49 years old	Younger than 29 years old	Total
No illness	29,5%	50,0%	72,6%	52,3%
Illness to a degree	51,6%	43,3%	25,6%	39,7%
Serious illness	18,9%	6,7%	1,8%	8,0%
Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
Does not take medicine	50,8%	75,8%	89,6%	74,3%
Takes regular medicine	49,2%	24,2%	10,4%	25,7%
Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

It seems that Adygeya are relatively healthier than Russians and other ethnicities. 57,8 percent do not have any illnesses, while half of Russians and 36,1 percent of other ethnicities do not have any illnesses. The relation between medicine use and ethnic background is not significant.

Table 41: Health and regular medicine usage by ethnicity

	Adyge	Russian	Other	Total
No illness	57,8%	50,6%	36,1%	52,8%
Illness to a degree	37,1%	39,3%	52,8%	39,2%
Serious illness	5,1%	10,1%	11,1%	7,9%
Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
Does not take medicine	76,3%	73,8%	66,7%	74,4%
Takes regular medicine	23,7%	26,2%	33,3%	25,6%
Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

When respondents were asked to evaluate their own level of happiness it seems that most feel psychologically happy. One third of the respondents feel average happiness but the ones who stated they feel unhappy or not happy at all are only 9 and 3 percent respectively.

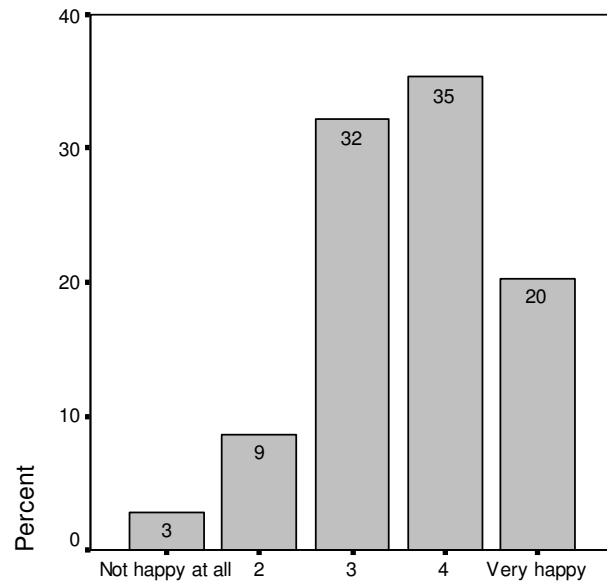


Figure 13: Happiness

Evaluation of the systems

Respondents aged over 40 who had lived most of their lives in the Soviet as well as the Post-Soviet context see the health care and education systems very poor today when compared to Soviet times.

The education system is considered to be better or much better by only 7,8 percent of the people who responded to this question. 6,6 percent of those thought the system was same. The majority of the respondents (%46,3) considered it to be worse than the Soviet times while 39,3 stated it is much worse today. There is no significant difference of evaluation among different groups.

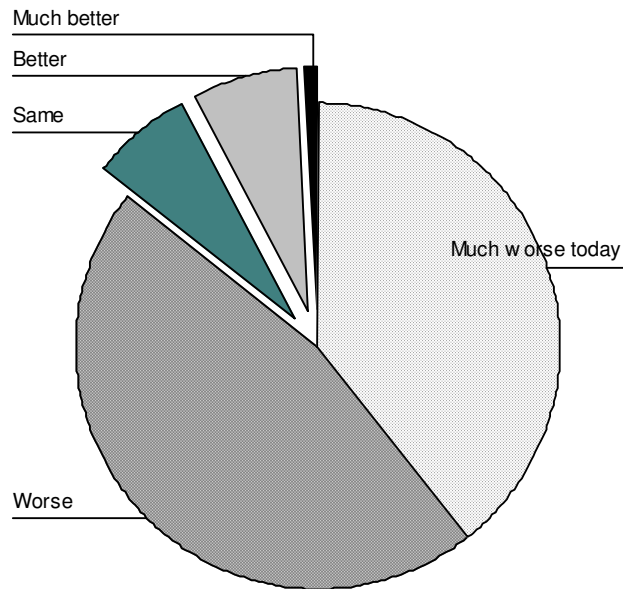


Figure 14: Education system compared to Soviet times

During the in-depth interviews, complaints about the education system mostly focused on higher education, where anybody seems to be able to buy a certificate or a diploma if one has the money - that indicates the corruption in higher education.

The health care system is considered to be better or much better by only 8,1 percent of the people who responded this question. 10,2 percent of those thought the system was same. The majority of the respondents (%47,6) found it worse than the Soviet times while 34,1 stated it is much worse today. There is no significant difference of evaluation among different groups.

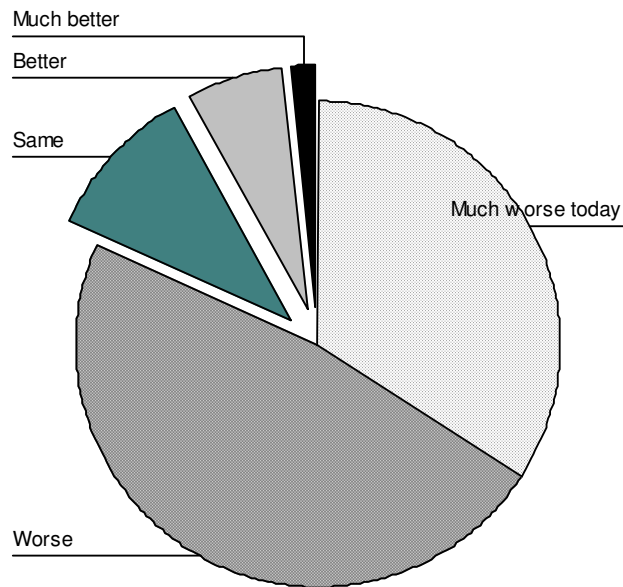


Figure 15: Health care system compared to Soviet times

The complaints on the health care system were, parallel to the corruption in education. People said the doctors were not as good as those in the Soviet times, since they could easily become doctors just by paying enough for a diploma. Secondly, the doctors are corrupt themselves, since they can not earn enough and ask for bribes for health care. Third, the infrastructure of the hospitals is old and insufficient. Still, the system tries to survive within its insufficiencies.

CHAPTER 10

DEMOCRACY AND CITIZENS

“Where citizens are unable to secure their social rights, they will tend to suffer processes of generalized and persisting disadvantage and their social and occupational participation will be undermined.⁷³”

A section of the questionnaire was devoted to democracy and citizenship. Besides some questions about political participation of the respondents, they were asked to evaluate the level of realization of some basic civil and political rights, freedoms and also life chances. The way people perceive these items will help us to evaluate the satisfaction of ordinary people with the society they live in.

The political participation is very crucial element of democracy. Voting is the only means that ordinary people have to participate in politics. Of the respondents, one fifth has not voted in the elections of 2002. Three quarters have voted and 3 percent of the respondents were not at voting age.

Table 42: Voting behavior of the respondents

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
No	115	21,6	21,8
Yes	396	74,4	75,1
Not of voting age	16	3,0	3,0
Total	527	99,1	100,0
Missing	5	,9	
Total	532	100,0	

73 Graham Room in Bohnke, Petra Reporting on Social Exclusion: Standard of Living and Social Participation in Hungary, Spain, and Germany, WZB (Social Science Research Center Berlin), 2001, p. 5

Being member of a political party or political organization is the second step of political participation. However, among the respondents only 57 are members of such organizations. There are 11 respondents that are members of trade unions and 7 members of the "Unified Russia" party. One respondent was a member of Adyge-Khase. Some other memberships observed include the "Mother Country", the Agrarian Party, the Animal Protection Society, the Circassian Congress, Club of Young Teachers, the Media Union, the Scientific Soviet, the Slavic Union, the Social Party, the Socio-Economical Party, UNESCO "Adygeya" and Young Unity.

The items listing some civil and political situations in Adygeya included 13 different concepts of 'freedom', 'rights' and 'life chances'. The ones related to freedom define where a person places oneself in the society. The realization of 'rights' is important to evaluate the systems. The concepts- hereby referred as life chances are crucial, since they question the level of equality of citizens, help us to identify the level of belonging. The respondents were asked to evaluate these concepts at three levels: Fully realized, partly realized, not realized.

As for freedoms, freedom of religion is perceived as fully realized by four fifths of the respondents. Freedom to choose their own occupation is perceived by 45 percent as fully realized and by 40.5 percent as partly realized. The concepts of freedom of political participation as well as freedom of speech are perceived as partly realized by half of the respondents and by the majority of the rest as fully realized.

As for rights are concerned, the most widely realized is the protection of private property, which is perceived as fully realized by half of the respondents and as partly realized by another 42 percent. Protection of the environment, protection from crime and the right of social security is perceived as partly realized by about three fifths of the respondents. The last two are perceived as not realized by a third of all respondents.

For life chances, just and fair distribution of wealth is perceived as not realized by half of the respondents and as only partly realized by 40 percent. The concepts of support for those in need and employment opportunities are perceived as partly

realized by a majority, however most of the rest perceive it as not realized at all. Equality of life chances is perceived as partly realized by 43,8 percent of the respondents. Equality of men and women is perceived as the most realized concept under this category- with 48,4 percent perceiving it as partly realized and 37,9 percent as fully realized.

Table 43: Perception of realization of freedoms, rights and life chances

	Fully realized	Partly realized	Not realized	Realized
FREEDOM				
Freedom of religion	80,3%	18,0%	1,7%	FULLY
Freedom to choose for yourself your occupation	45,0%	40,5%	14,5%	FULLY-
Freedom of political participation	36,2%	52,1%	11,7%	PARTLY+
Freedom of free speech	41,1%	48,0%	10,9%	PARTLY+
RIGHTS				
Protection of private property	51,1%	42,0%	6,9%	FULLY-
<i>Protection of environment</i>	22,6%	59,0%	18,4%	PARTLY
Protection from crime	6,0%	58,9%	35,1%	PARTLY-
Social security	5,1%	59,1%	35,8%	PARTLY-
LIFE CHANCES				
Equality of men and women	37,9%	48,4%	13,6%	PARTLY+
<i>Equality of life chances</i>	32,9%	43,8%	23,3%	PARTLY
Support for those in need	2,5%	55,6%	41,9%	PARTLY-
Chance to get a job	4,2%	48,0%	47,8%	PARTLY-
Just and fair distribution of wealth	8,2%	40,0%	51,8%	NOT+

In sum, the people living in Maikop are less optimistic in their perception of the realization of freedoms, rights and life chances. In rural areas, people perceive these more realized than people of Maikop.

Females are more positive about the freedom to choose one's own occupation and the realization of protection from crime. The elderly are more optimistic about the

realization of freedom of political participation and equality of life chances but more pessimistic about the fairness of wealth distribution and protection from crime.

Russians are a little less comfortable about the 'freedom of speech' in Adygeya and the youth feel they are left out of politics. In terms of 'life chances' the youth are more optimistic about 'justice in wealth distribution' and more pessimistic about 'equality of life chances'. The Adyge perceive the 'equality of life chances' more realized than Russians and other ethnicities do.

Freedom of political participation, fair distribution of wealth, support for those in need and equality of life chances are seen more realized by technical middle school graduates than people at other education levels.

Clerks feel more free about choosing own occupation while machine operators and people with elementary occupations are more pessimistic about the realization of this right.

To sum up, the rights and freedoms, which are the basic elements of democracy, are more or less realized in the Republic of Adygeya. However, the market economy brought with it things that people are unsatisfied with: inequality, injustice and isolation.

CHAPTER 11

QUALITY OF LIFE AND SATISFACTION

Many areas in life affect the general life standard of ordinary people. These include *what one already has* – education, occupation, disabilities, family, etc.; *what one owns [resources]* – house, household items, opportunities, job, etc.; *what a settlement could add to one's life* – neighbors, environment, recreation facilities, social life, etc.; *what a state could provide a citizen* – education and health care, freedom, social and political rights, life chances and equality, etc. The objective conditions are important for the well-being of the people as important as that is, the self-assessment of people of their own lives – the subjective well being.

When the people of Adygeya were asked to evaluate their level of satisfaction from their life standards considering all life domains, the average (2,5) shows that they are not much satisfied. 38,1 percent of the responses to life standard satisfaction is 3 – average, followed by 24,2 percent 1 – not satisfied at all. One fifth of the respondents stated they are not satisfied much with their lives. Those who are satisfied or completely satisfied make up 16,3 percent of the respondents.

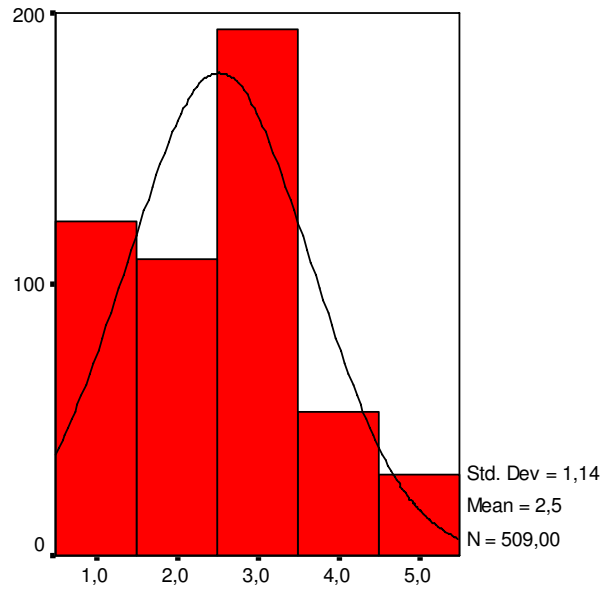


Figure 16: Life standard as perceived by the respondent

Significant differences in terms of life standard satisfaction are observed with age, ethnicity and education. Elderly people are less satisfied than the youth. Adyge are more satisfied relative to other ethnicities of the Republic. People with higher education (especially the ones who have not completed Universities) are more satisfied with their life standards.

Table 44: Life standard by age, ethnicity and education

		Not satisfied at all	2	3	4	Completely satisfied
Age	Over 50 years old	29,8%	25,6%	36,4%	5,0%	3,3%
	30-49 years old	26,6%	25,3%	37,1%	7,0%	3,9%
	Younger than 29	15,6%	11,7%	41,6%	20,1%	11,0%
Ethnicity	Adyge	16,7%	19,7%	43,4%	10,5%	9,6%
	Russian	30,9%	22,0%	33,3%	11,4%	2,4%
	Other	25,7%	28,6%	37,1%	2,9%	5,7%
Education	School	66,7%	,0%	33,3%	,0%	,0%
	High school	,0%	25,0%	50,0%	25,0%	,0%
	Middle school	37,1%	14,3%	31,4%	17,1%	,0%
	Technical middle school	31,7%	20,7%	30,5%	12,2%	4,9%
	Not Completed University	10,1%	11,6%	40,6%	23,2%	14,5%
	University	23,0%	25,7%	40,1%	6,3%	4,9%

When the respondents compared young people's life standards with that of their parents the perceptions are more pessimistic. About half of the respondents state today's youth have worse life standards. However, about one third state they have better. One fifth mentions they have the same life standards.

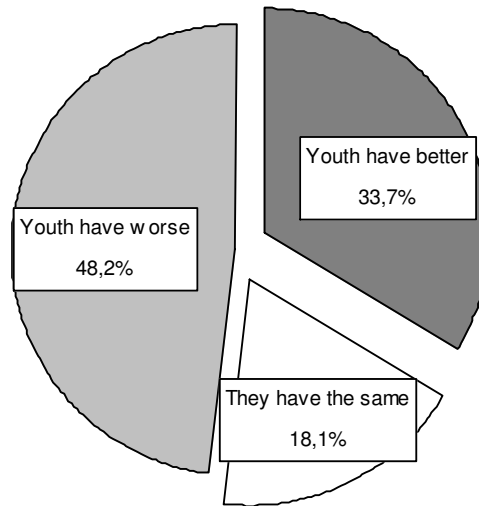


Figure 17: Comparison of life standard of the youth with their parents

More people living in rural areas stated today's youth have better life standards. More people in urban areas perceive the two generations life standards as equal. More Adyge believe today's generation have better life standards than Russians believe and even more other ethnicities believe so. Half of Russians stated today's youth have worse life standards while a little less Adyge believe so.

Table 45: Comparison of life standard of the youth with their parents by field and ethnicity

		Youth have better	They have the same	Youth have worse
FIELD	Urban	30,1%	21,7%	48,2%
	Rural	38,3%	13,5%	48,2%
Ethnicity	Adyge	37,9%	14,7%	47,3%
	Russian	27,6%	20,5%	51,9%
	Other	48,6%	22,9%	28,6%

When asked to compare the life standard of today with that of Soviet times the results are also interesting. A majority see today's life standards worse than the old times. Still, 28 percent see today's better while 6.3 percent believe it is the same.

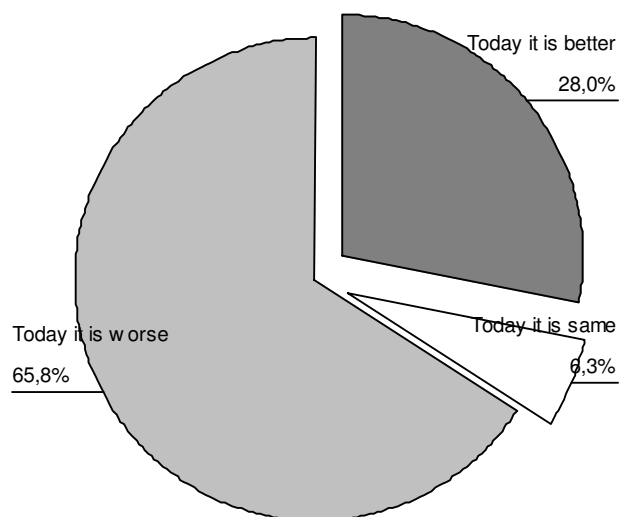


Figure 18: Life standard today compared to Soviet times

The elderly people are more pessimistic about today's life standard compared to Soviet times. Three fourths of the elderly perceive today's life standards as worse while only half of the youth does. There are more Adyge, optimistic about today's world. More Russians are pessimistic.

Table 46: Life standard today compared to Soviet times by age and ethnicity

		Today it is better	Today it is same	Today it is worse
Age	Over 50 years old	15,8%	7,5%	76,7%
	30-49 years old	29,8%	3,7%	66,5%
	Younger than 29 years old	38,9%	10,2%	50,9%
Ethnicity	ADYGE	34,7%	4,5%	60,9%
	RUSSIAN	20,9%	7,9%	71,2%
	OTHER	33,3%	6,7%	60,0%

The pessimistic evaluations of the people bring in the question of the reasons of this situation. When asked directly what is going wrong, respondents in the in-

depth interviews preferred not to answer. An elderly (about 85 years old) Adyg woman rejected recording of the interview and stopped the translator from translating what she said many times since she did not want me to write bad about her Republic. A middle-aged (49) Adyg lady stated that today everything was dependent on money. The youth went to school for money, worked for money, lived for money. Today there was no life, no normal life, as they knew.

On the other hand, the younger people's assessments were more optimistic though there were anxieties about the future. An Adyge girl aged 22, who was working in a government office as a part time employee wondered where she would be in a year time. Still her concerns about the conditions of the Republic relate to her wish that the future would be better.

CONCLUSION

This study aimed to describe the life standard in the case of Adygeya, one of the poorest districts of Post-Soviet Russia. During the field study the applicability of the European approach to the life standard was also in question. The survey in Adygeya showed that life standard research is applicable in the post-Soviet context. However, modifications are necessary and not all concepts are comparable to the world outside the ex-Soviet region.

To reiterate, the instrument employed was a questionnaire adopted from the Euromodule, a European initiative for the quality of life research. The field study took place in the Autumn of 2005.

The analysis of the income distribution and construction of a poverty line showed that in the most urbanized place- the city of Maikop- more people reported lower incomes than the Republican average. The elderly, the Russians, widows, divorced respondents and separate couples are more likely to have lower incomes than other groups in the Republic. The difference between income and expenditure showed significant variation among rayons. About two-fifths of the people were full time employees. A majority of the respondents, mostly women and the Adyge, were professionals. Russians and women as well as the younger respondents were more likely to be service and sales workers. The distribution of unemployment demonstrates that people living in rural areas, men, youth and other nationalities were more likely to be unemployed.

A comparative analysis of the assessment of satisfaction with the five fields, which are argued to explain the society and settlement showed that people living in Adygeya were most satisfied with the people around them. The lowest satisfaction was with public security in all rayons. Perception of necessity of some items was

similar to the perceptions of Europeans such as having a separate bathroom, replacing worn out furniture. However, the actualization of these things was lower than in Europe. In addition, there are things that people in Adygeya valued more than others such as inviting friends for dinner at least every month (necessary) or having new clothes (desirable).

The transition brought with it many problems and they are observed in the perception of the current health care and education systems which are considered very poor today compared to Soviet times. The perceptions of realization of some basic rights, which are the most important elements of democracy, shows that the people of Adygeya feel free in the society they live in. However, the consequences of the market economy: inequality, injustice and isolation are still important problems.

Conclusion

The data analysis revealed the life satisfaction and living standards are not very high in the Republic of Adygeya. I believe this is mainly due to 'learned deprivation'. For the elderly and the pro-socialists, the dissatisfaction is very much due to the longing for the past. For the youth, the low satisfaction is due to the worries about the future.

During the Soviet era the Soviet citizen was provided with whatever was needed to live an average life. People had jobs, job security and a regular income. Education and health care was provided by the state free of charge. A place to live, basic needs of a residence (*communalni usulgi*) and basic needs of a household were supplied for little costs. Each communal district had its recreation areas, social center (*dom kultura*), and other things to make it a livable settlement. The society was a communal one where each was an individual but part of a larger society. The Soviet regime gave an ordinary citizen the necessary resources (having), necessary structures to become someone (being) in a society where each was part of a bigger entity (loving).

With the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the resources were no longer standard for most people. The market economy brought with it a variety of choices for

everything. The freedom to choose among choices created a dream for something better. The systems corrupted and people started buying what they needed rather than achieving them. Someone could become a doctor without studying hard in the medical school or could become a rich doctor by taking bribes. People lost their enthusiasm to live in a community. They started to become more and more individualistic.

The elderly, who have lived the Soviet times, felt dissatisfaction with this change. Different than the older generation, the youth who lived in the transition culture, adapted to the concepts and strategies of the “new” world. Money became all that they cared about and their satisfaction was highly influenced by their worries about the future.

Although the Soviet ideology argued that all were equal and had the same, some people were in a better situation than the others. The people in close relation to the “Party” had better advantages in terms of jobs, housing, education, care and even to trade items from the west. With the dissolution, the inequality became a reality and the gap between the ones below and above the average widened. The reason was no more the political affiliations or networks as in the Soviet’s but economic relations and status.

I would like to argue that in the post-Soviet context people are taught to feel deprived. If people in Adygeya and post-Soviet Russia would know a place which has worse living conditions than their own, they would be more satisfied with their lives. In this connection they are told through media in Adygeya that they were one of the worst economic polities in Russia which is crucial to explain people’s feelings of deprivation.

Further research implications

Further research is for sure necessary in the North Caucasus, to understand the peculiarities of the small nations of these critical lands that connect Europe to Asia and gain importance day by day. However, it is very hard to conduct a Russian Federation wide study that uses such a detailed approach. Nonetheless, previous work on different topics can be combined to create a cost-effective questionnaire

for the evaluation of the life standard in the post-Soviet Russia. The data from the ex-Soviet republics are also crucial in having a better understanding of the post-Soviet culture.

Most important of all, local understandings of life standard should be analyzed in comparison not only from economic and social viewpoints but also from the cultural viewpoint since life standard is heavily related to the way people live their lives.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: QUESTIONNAIRE IN ENGLISH

QUESTIONNAIRE NO _____

RUSSIAN FEDERATION REPUBLIC OF ADYGEYA LIFE STANDARD SURVEY

REGION:

MAIKOP CITY

	1
--	---

ADYGEISK CITY

	2
--	---

MAIKOPSKI RAYON

	3
--	---

GIAGINSKI RAYON

	4
--	---

TAHTAMUKUAY
RAYON

	5
--	---

KOSHABLE RAYON

	6
--	---

TEVCHJSKI RAYON

	7
--	---

KRASNOGAVARDINSKI RAYON

	8
--	---

SHOVGENOVSKI
RAYON

	9
--	---

FIELD:

URBAN

	1
--	---

RURAL

	2
--	---

VILLAGE:

ADDRESS:

THE INTERVIEWEE

A 1. Sex?

- 1 () Male
- 2 () Female

A 2. Year of birth?

Year: _____

A 3. Your ethnical root?

- 1 () Adyge
- 2 () Russian
- 3 () Other (SPECIFY)_____

A 4. Which languages can you speak fluently? (*Multiple response*)

- 1 () Adyge
- 2 () Russian
- 3 () Other (SPECIFY)_____

A 5. For how long have you been living in Adygeya?

Year: _____ => IF BORN HERE, SKIP TO A7.

A 6. (*If was not born here*) Where were you living before?_____

A 7. Which of the following defines best your marital status?

- 1 () Single
- 2 () Married, living together
- 3 () Married living separately
- 4 () Widow
- 5 () Divorced
- 6 () Living with someone

B COMPOSITION OF THE HOUSEHOLD AND POPULATION

B 1. How many people including you live in this house? We mean everyone living normally in the house including those who are absent presently for vacation. Please count the children as well, but not workers and tenants.

Number: _____

B 2. How many are below 6?

Number: _____

B 3. How many are 6-18 years old?

Number: _____

B 4. How many are students?

Number of students: _____

Number of university students: _____

B 5. How many are currently working?

Number: _____

B 6. Are there those living abroad for work? How many? Please explain.

Number: _____

C HOUSEHOLD

C 1. How many rooms does your flat/house have? Please do not count kitchen, bathroom, hall, pantry, larder or rented rooms.

Number of rooms: _____

C 2. What is the status of your house?

- 1 () Flat belonging to you or to your family
- 2 () Detached house belonging to you or to your family
- 3 () Rented flat
- 4 () Rented detached house
- 5 () House belonging to a relative or an acquaintance
- 6 () Hostel
- 7 () Other (SPECIFY) _____

C 3. For how long have you been living in this place?

Year: _____ Month: _____

C 4. Does the place currently need any reparations or alterations ?

- 0 () No
- 1 () Yes, needs some repairs. These are _____

C 5. Where is the toilet your house has?

- 1 () Outside
- 2 () Divided
- 3 () Combined

C6. What kind of a toilet does your house have ?

- 1 () Toilet connected to the sewage system
- 2 () Toilet connected to a cesspool or septic tank
- 3 () Other (SPECIFY) _____

C 7. What kind of a water source does your house have ?

- 1 () Central system in the house
- 2 () Central system in the garden
- 3 () Artesian or other well in the garden
- 4 () Other (SPECIFY) _____

C 8. Does you house have central gas?

- 0 () No
- 1 () Yes

C 9. Does your house have central heating?

- 0 () No
- 1 () Yes

C 10. If I ask you to evaluate your house/flat according to how satisfied you are, how would you rank it out of 5; considering sufficiency of living space, how well-built, kitchen, bathroom and toilet facilities,

- 1 () Not satisfied at all
- 2 ()
- 3 ()
- 4 ()
- 5 () Completely satisfied

D NECESSITY AND (E) OWNERSHIP

D There are various opinions and ideas on the necessities that ensure a satisfactory life of an individual. Now I will name some facilities and belongings. According to you which of these are necessary,” “would be good to have” or “could be renounced?” I will also ask you if you possess these facilities or belongings, or not.

		1 Could be renounced	2 Good to have	3 Necessary		E Does he/she have?	
						0 No	1 Yes
D 1	A house where every individual has a room	1	2	3	E 1	0	1
D 2	Toilet, bath or shower in house	1	2	3	E 2	0	1
D 3	Separate kitchen in house	1	2	3	E 3	0	1
D 4	Garden, balcony or terrace	1	2	3	E 4	0	1
D 5	Refrigerator	1	2	3	E 5	0	1
D 6	Television set	1	2	3	E 6	0	1
D 7	Washing machine	1	2	3	E 7	0	1
D 8	Dish washer	1	2	3	E 8	0	1
D 9	Vacuum cleaner	1	2	3	E 9	0	1
D 10	Cook stove with oven	1	2	3	E 10	0	1
D 11	Telephone	1	2	3	E 11	0	1
D 12	Handy phone	1	2	3	E 12	0	1
D 13	Computer	1	2	3	E 13	0	1
D 14	Internet access	1	2	3	E 14	0	1
D 15	Photo camera	1	2	3	E 15	0	1
D 16	Video camera	1	2	3	E 16	0	1
D 17	Car	1	2	3	E 17	0	1
D 18	A one-week in-country voyage per year	1	2	3	E 18	0	1
D 19	A one-week voyage abroad per year	1	2	3	E 19	0	1
D 20	To systematically afford new garments	1	2	3	E 20	0	1
D 21	To change old furniture	1	2	3	E 21	0	1
D 22	To afford inviting friends to dinner once a month	1	2	3	E 22	0	1
D 23	To afford taking family out to dinner once a month	1	2	3	E 23	0	1

F SECURITY

F 1 How satisfied are you of the people in your environment ?

- 1 () Not satisfied at all
- 2 ()
- 3 ()
- 4 ()
- 5 () Completely satisfied

F 2. How secure do you feel when walking alone at night in your environment ?

PLEASE RANK OUT OF 5

- 1 () Not safe
- 2 ()
- 3 ()
- 4 ()
- 5 () Very safe

F 3-F 7. Have you been subject to any of the incidents below during the last year ?

		0 No	1 Yes
F 3	INCIDENTS: Something stolen from you in the street	0	1
F 4	INCIDENTS: Something stolen from home	0	1
F 5	INCIDENTS: Harassment or threat	0	1
F 6	INCIDENTS: Sexual harassment	0	1
F 7	INCIDENTS: To be beaten or injured	0	1

F 8. How satisfied are you of public security ? PLEASE RANK OUT OF 5

- 1 () Not satisfied at all
- 2 ()
- 3 ()
- 4 ()
- 5 () Completely satisfied

ASK THIS QUESTION ONLY FOR THOSE RESPONDENTS AGED OVER 40 AND HAVE LIVED MOST OF THEIR LIFE IN ADYGEYA OR USSR.

F 9. What would you say if I ask you to compare present public security with the Soviet times.

- 1 () Much worse today
- 2 () Worse
- 3 () Same
- 4 () Better
- 5 () Much better

- 0 () No idea/don't know

G ENVIRONMENT

G 1-G 6. Please think of the environment you are currently living in. Are there reasons to complain concerning the environment problems below ?

		1 No problem	2 Little problem	3 Too many problems
G 1	ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEM: Noise	1	2	3
G 2	ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEM: Air pollution	1	2	3
G 3	ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEM: Distance to green areas	1	2	3
G 4	ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEM: Distance to entertainment areas	1	2	3
G 5	ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEM: Distance to markets	1	2	3
G 6	ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEM: Distance to city center	1	2	3

G 7-G 10. Are there any reasons for you to complain about the quality of the services of “Comunalni usulgi (All services provided by the municipality/state)”?

		0 Don't take this service	1 No problem	2 Little problem	3 Too many problems
G 7	COMUNALNI USULGI PROBLEM: Environment and apartment cleaning	0	1	2	3
G 8	COMUNALNI USULGI PROBLEM: Quality of water	0	1	2	3
G 9	COMUNALNI USULGI PROBLEM: Hot water service	0	1	2	3
G 10	COMUNALNI USULGI PROBLEM: Heating service	0	1	2	3

G11. How satisfied are you about the environment in the Republic ?

- 1 () Not satisfied at all
 2 ()
 3 ()
 4 ()
 5 () Completely satisfied

ASK THIS QUESTION ONLY FOR THOSE RESPONDENTS AGED OVER 40 AND HAVE LIVED MOST OF THEIR LIFE IN ADYGEYA OR USSR.

situation with that of the Soviet time.

- 1 () Much worse today
 2 () Worse
 3 () Same
 4 () Better
 5 () Much better
 0 () No idea/don't know

H EDUCATION

H 1. What is your level of education? Please indicate the last school you finished. If you are still a student, indicate both the last school you finished and the one you are currently in.

H 2. If I ask you to evaluate your education, how would you rank it out of 5, considering benefits it would bring in life, chances of finding a job and its role in reaching your goals?

- 1 () Not satisfied at all
- 2 ()
- 3 ()
- 4 ()
- 5 () Completely satisfied

ASK THIS QUESTION ONLY FOR THOSE RESPONDENTS AGED OVER 40 AND HAVE LIVED MOST OF THEIR LIFE IN ADYGEYA OR USSR.

H 3. What would you say if I ask you to compare present education system with that of the Soviet time?

- 1 () Much worse today
- 2 () Worse
- 3 () Same
- 4 () Better
- 5 () Much better

- 0 () No idea/don't know

I HEALTH

I 1. Do you have any physical or mental health problems, diseases or inabilities that impede your daily activities?

- 0 () No
- 1 () Yes, to a degree
- 2 () Yes, seriously

I 2. Do you need to regularly take any medication ? I do not mean vitamins.

- 0 () No
- 1 () Yes

I 3. How satisfied are you with your health? PLEASE RANK OUT OF 5

- 1 () Not satisfied at all
- 2 ()
- 3 ()
- 4 ()
- 5 () Completely satisfied

I 4. How satisfied do you feel psychologically these days ? PLEASE RANK OUT OF 5

- 1 () Not happy at all
- 2 ()
- 3 ()
- 4 ()
- 5 () Very happy

I 5. How would you evaluate your satisfaction of present health care services, considering quality of hospitals, hygiene, scientific knowledge of doctors and their attitude to patients? PLEASE RANK OUT OF 5

- 1 () Not satisfied at all
- 2 ()
- 3 ()
- 4 ()
- 5 () Completely satisfied

ASK THIS QUESTION ONLY FOR THOSE RESPONDENTS AGED OVER 40 AND HAVE LIVED MOST OF THEIR LIFE IN ADYGEYA OR USSR.

that of the Soviet times?

- 1 () Much worse today
- 2 () Worse
- 3 () Same
- 4 () Better
- 5 () Much better
- 0 () No idea/don't know

J FAMILY AND SOCIAL RELATIONS

J 1. Are you currently member of a social club or organization? (like dance troupe, sports club...) If yes, which one?

0 () No

1 () Yes

(SPECIFY) _____

J 2-J 6. Now I will name some activities. Can you tell me how often you attend them.

	0 I don't attend	2 I attend sometimes	3 I attend regularly
J 2 ATTENDANCE TO: Concerts	0	1	2
J 3 ATTENDANCE TO: Theatre, opera and ballet	0	1	2
J 4 ATTENDANCE TO: Celebration of special days (Like Republic Day)	0	1	2
J 5 ATTENDANCE TO: Sports events	0	1	2
J 6 ATTENDANCE TO: Birthdays, weddings	0	1	2

J 7. How would you evaluate your relations with your neighbors?

1 () I don't know my neighbors at all

2 () Just exchange greetings or talk over special things

3 () I often visit my neighbors

J 8. Social activities and clubs you attend to, how and with whom you spend your spare time make up your social life in general. From that point of view, how satisfied are you with your social life ?

1 () Not satisfied at all

2 ()

3 ()

4 ()

5 () Completely satisfied

K EMPLOYMENT

KI WORK LIFE

KI 1. What kind of a work did you do during the last week ?

- 1 () Full time
- 2 () Part time
- 3 () Irregular
- 4 () Did not work at all => **KI 4.**

KI 2. What did you do? Please indicate in detail where you worked, as what.

—

KI 3. How satisfied are you with your work? Please rank out of 5, considering income, prestige, continuity, job security and possibilities.

- 1 () Not satisfied at all
- 2 ()
- 3 ()
- 4 ()
- 5 () Completely satisfied

**ASK THE NEXT TWO QUESTIONS ONLY FOR THOSE
RESPONDENTS AGED OVER 40 AND HAVE LIVED MOST OF
THEIR LIFE IN ADYGEYA OR USSR.**

KI 4. Were you working during the Soviet time? If yes, what were you doing?

0 () No I didn't work => **KII 1**

1 () Yes I worked as(SPECIFY)_____

KI 5. What would you say, if I ask you to compare present work conditions with that of the Soviet time ?

- 1 () Much worse today
- 2 () Worse
- 3 () Same
- 4 () Better
- 5 () Much better

- 0 () No idea/don't know

KII UNEMPLOYMENT

**PLEASE ASK SECTION KII ONLY IF THE RESPONDENT IS
UNEMPLOYED!**

KII 1. For how long have you been unemployed?

Year _____ Month _____

KII 2. What are the reasons for your unemployment?

KII 2 1 _____

KII 2 2 _____

KII 2 3 _____

KIII QUESTIONS TO THOSE INVOLVED IN AGRICULTURE

KIII 1. Do you or your family have agriculture land? If yes, how big?

0 () No land=> if doesn't have land continue with KIII 4

1 () I have a 'Dacha'=> _____m2

2 () Yes, I have agriculture land _____hector

KIII 2. Is there agricultural production on your land this year ? If yes, by who? Do you farm yourself or have you given the land to a cooperative?

0 () There is no agricultural production on this land this year

1 () By myself or my family for our own consumption

2 () By myself or my family for the market

3 () By the cooperative

KIII 3. What are the reasons for no agricultural production on your land?

KIII 3 1 _____

KIII 3 2 _____

KIII 4. Do you or your family have animals ?

0 () No, doesn't have any animals => If no animal continue with

L 1

1 () Yes, I raise animals.

KIII 5-KIII 12. What animals do you have, how many and could you please tell if you raise these animals for your own consumption or for the market?

	own consumption	for the market
Cattle	KIII 5	KIII 6
Sheep, goat	KIII 7	KIII 8
Poultry	KIII 9	KIII 10
Other _____	KIII 11	KIII 12

L INCOME CONSUMPTION AND LIVING CONDITIONS

PLEASE REMIND THE RESPONDENTS THAT ALL THE INFORMATION COLLECTED WILL BE USED FOR CALCULATING THE AVERAGES ANONYM. DO NOT INSIST FOR AN ANSWER.

L 1. Can you tell me net monthly income of your household. By that, we mean total income of those who work, excluding taxes and deductions. Please do not forget, housing and children subsidies and sales of agricultural products.

_____ Rubles

L 2. How well does this income meet your household needs ?

- 1 () We live on minimums
- 2 ()
- 3 ()
- 4 ()
- 5 () Fully sufficient

L 3. Which social class would you say you belong to?

- 1 () Lower class
- 2 () Worker
- 3 () Middle
- 4 () Upper middle
- 5 () Upper

L 4. How much of your income do you spend for regular payments such as, communalni usulgi, credits, back payments, rent, taxes?

_____ Rubles

L 5. Can you save money?

- 0 () Not at all.=> Continue with L 7.
- 1 () I try to put aside some money, irregularly.
- 2 () I save approximately _____ Rubles a month

L 6. (*If has savings*) What do you save for?

L 6 1 _____

L 6 2 _____

L 7. How satisfied are you with your household income ?

- 1 () Not satisfied at all
- 2 ()
- 3 ()
- 4 ()
- 5 () Completely satisfied

**ASK THIS QUESTION ONLY FOR THOSE RESPONDENTS AGED
OVER 40 AND HAVE LIVED MOST OF THEIR LIFE IN ADYGEYA
OR USSR.**

L 8. What would you say if I ask you to compare present living conditions with that of the Soviet times, considering that the relation between your income and all your needs and consumption determine your standard of living.

- 1 () Much worse today
- 2 () Worse
- 3 () Same
- 4 () Better
- 5 () Much better
- 0 () No idea/don't know

M RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS- CITIZEN INVOLVEMENT

M1. Did you vote in the last general elections?

- 1 () Yes
- 2 () No
- 3 () I do not have a right to vote

M2. Are you a member of an association or an institution ? If yes, which one?

- 1 () Yes _____
- 2 () No

M3-M15. Which of the freedoms, rights and equal opportunities listed below are realized in the society you live in ?

	1 Fully realized	2 Partly realized	3 Not realized at all
M3. Freedom of political participation	1	2	3
M4. Freedom to choose profession	1	2	3
M5. Protection of the environment	1	2	3
M6. Protection of private property	1	2	3
M7. Equal and just distribution of wealth	1	2	3
M8. Equality between men and women	1	2	3
M9. Equality regardless of origin	1	2	3
M10. Freedom of speech	1	2	3
M11. Freedom of religion and belief	1	2	3
M12. Protection from crime	1	2	3
M13. Social security	1	2	3
M14. Support for those in need	1	2	3
M15. Chance to find a job	1	2	3

N QUALITY OF LIFE

N1. Considering all the things we have talked on, what do you think your life standard is? Can you rank it out of 5 ? By this we mean, not only goods and services that can be bought, such as house, garments, food, car, voyage, but also, all our life expectations as an individual and a social being, such as social life, environment, health, freedoms and rights. How satisfied are you with your life standard ?

- 1 () Not satisfied at all
- 2 ()
- 3 ()
- 4 ()
- 5 () Completely satisfied

N 2. Which of the following can be said comparing the life standard of today's youth with that of their parents ?

- 1 () Youth have better life standard
- 2 () Youth have worse life standard
- 3 () It is the same

N 3. When compared with the Soviet times, which of the following can be said?

- 1 () Today the life standard is better
- 2 () Today the life standard is worse
- 3 () It is the same

APPENDIX B: SOME OTHER DATA TABLES

Appendix Table 1: Details on the household composition

	N	Min.	Max.	Sum	Mean	Std. Dev.
How many people including you live in this house?	524	1	10	1995	3,81	1,415
How many are below 6?	523	0	4	129	,25	,552
How many are 6-18 years old?	522	0	4	354	,68	,838
How many are students in school?	511	0	4	260	,51	,716
How many are university students?	517	0	3	296	,57	,668
How many are currently working?	528	0	6	979	1,85	,867
Are there those living abroad for work? How many?	520	0	3	79	,15	,428

Appendix Table 2: Details on the household composition by field

FIELD		How many people including you live in this house?	How many are below 6?	How many are 6-18 years old?
Urban	Mean	3,44	,17	,54
	N	289	288	289
	Std. Deviation	1,246	,426	,726
	% of Total Sum	49,9%	37,2%	44,1%
Rural	Mean	4,26	,34	,85
	N	235	235	233
	Std. Deviation	1,483	,664	,933
	% of Total Sum	50,1%	62,8%	55,9%
Total	Mean	3,81	,25	,68
	N	524	523	522
	Std. Deviation	1,415	,552	,838
	% of Total Sum	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Appendix Table 3: Total net monthly household income by Location

Maikop City	N	184	Koshable Rayon	N	50
	Mean	9088,37		Mean	8160,80
	Median	8000,00		Median	7000,00
	Std. Deviation	6043,597		Std. Deviation	5697,720
	% of Total Sum	45,3%		% of Total Sum	11,0%
	Sum	1672260		Sum	408040
	% of Total N□	42,1%		% of Total N□	11,4%
Adygeisk City	N	8	Tevchjski Rayon	N	19
	Mean	7996,25		Mean	8972,11
	Median	7235,00		Median	7700,00
	Std. Deviation	3286,135		Std. Deviation	5489,496
	% of Total Sum	1,7%		% of Total Sum	4,6%
	Sum	63970		Sum	170470
	% of Total N□	1,8%		% of Total N□	4,3%
Maikopski Rayon	N	49	Krasnagivardovs ki Rayon	N	23
	Mean	7995,92		Mean	8990,09
	Median	7000,00		Median	8000,00
	Std. Deviation	5355,788		Std. Deviation	4229,891
	% of Total Sum	10,6%		% of Total Sum	5,6%
	Sum	391800		Sum	206772
	% of Total N□	11,2%		% of Total N□	5,3%
Giaginski Rayon	N	28	Shovgenovski Rayon	N	33
	Mean	8781,79		Mean	6127,58
	Median	7800,00		Median	5000,00
	Std. Deviation	3833,076		Std. Deviation	3671,407
	% of Total Sum	6,7%		% of Total Sum	5,5%
	Sum	245890		Sum	202210
	% of Total N□	6,4%		% of Total N□	7,6%□
Tahtamukuay Rayon	N	43	Adygeya Total	N	437
	Mean	7727,67		Mean	8452,41
	Median	7200,00		Median	7000,00
	Std. Deviation	3859,328		Std. Deviation	5337,942
	% of Total Sum	9,0%		% of Total Sum	100,0%
	Sum	332290		Sum	3693702
	% of Total N□	9,8%		% of Total N□	100,0%□

Appendix Table 4: Relation of grouped income with some basic variables

		Below half median		Between half median and median		Between median and twice median		Between twice median and three times median		Above three median		Total	Chi Square
		Count	Row %	Count	Row %	Count	Row %	Count	Row %	Count	Row %	Count	(df;Sig)
Sex	Male	20	18,7%	39	36,4%	37	34,6%	7	6,5%	4	3,7%	107	1,321
	Female	50	15,3%	124	38,0%	125	38,3%	18	5,5%	9	2,8%	326	(4; .858)
Age grouped (in 3)	Over 50 years	25	26,0%	38	39,6%	29	30,2%	4	4,2%			96	16,132
	30-49 years old	30	14,2%	80	37,9%	83	39,3%	11	5,2%	7	3,3%	211	(8; .041)
	Younger than 29 years	14	11,2%	45	36,0%	50	40,0%	10	8,0%	6	4,8%	125	
Your ethnical root	Adyge	21	10,8%	74	37,9%	78	40,0%	16	8,2%	6	3,1%	195	17,566
	Russian	44	20,8%	79	37,3%	77	36,3%	8	3,8%	4	1,9%	212	(8.;.025)
	Other	5	16,7%	13	43,3%	8	26,7%	1	3,3%	3	10,0%	30	
Did you all the time lived here or not?	Lived here life time	50	16,5%	114	37,6%	111	36,6%	19	6,3%	9	3,0%	303	,890
	Moved from some place	18	14,4%	49	39,2%	49	39,2%	6	4,8%	3	2,4%	125	(4; .926)
Which of the following defines best your marital status?	Single	16	14,7%	33	30,3%	44	40,4%	9	8,3%	7	6,4%	109	50,608
	Married, living together	23	9,7%	95	40,3%	98	41,5%	14	5,9%	6	2,5%	236	(20; .0001)
	Married separate	2	25,0%	4	50,0%	2	25,0%					8	
	Widow	12	41,4%	13	44,8%	3	10,3%	1	3,4%			29	
	Divorced	14	35,0%	14	35,0%	11	27,5%	1	2,5%			40	
	Living with someone	2	16,7%	7	58,3%	3	25,0%					12	

Appendix Table 4- cont: Relation of grouped income with some basic variables

		Below half median		Between half median and median		Between median and twice median		Between twice median and three times median		Above three median		Total	
		Count	Row %	Count	Row %	Count	Row %	Count	Row %	Count	Row %	Count	Chi Square (df;Sig)
Number of people in the household	1	9	64,3%	4	28,6%	1	7,1%					14	52,105 (16; .0001)
	2	15	21,1%	39	54,9%	16	22,5%	1	1,4%			71	
	3	14	17,3%	26	32,1%	36	44,4%	3	3,7%	2	2,5%	81	
	4	20	13,3%	52	34,7%	61	40,7%	12	8,0%	5	3,3%	150	
	5 +	11	9,5%	43	37,1%	47	40,5%	9	7,8%	6	5,2%	116	
What is the status of your house?	Flat (own)	17	13,5%	48	38,1%	53	42,1%	5	4,0%	3	2,4%	126	16,641 (24; .864)
	Detached house (own)	41	16,4%	90	36,0%	89	35,6%	20	8,0%	10	4,0%	250	
	Rented flat	4	25,0%	8	50,0%	4	25,0%					16	
	Rented detached house	1	50,0%	1	50,0%							2	
	House belonging to a relative or an acquaintance	6	18,2%	14	42,4%	13	39,4%					33	
	Hostel			2	66,7%	1	33,3%					3	
	Other	1	20,0%	2	40,0%	2	40,0%					5	
Health problems, diseases or inabilities	No	34	15,2%	87	38,8%	83	37,1%	13	5,8%	7	3,1%	224	2,667 (8; .953)
	Yes, to a degree	29	16,7%	65	37,4%	63	36,2%	11	6,3%	6	3,4%	174	
	Yes, very serious	7	18,4%	14	36,8%	16	42,1%	1	2,6%			38	

Appendix Table 4- cont: Relation of grouped income with some basic variables

		Below half median		Between half median and median		Between median and twice median		Between twice median and three times median		Above three median		Total	
		Count	Row %	Count	Row %	Count	Row %	Count	Row %	Count	Row %	Count	Chi Square (df;Sig)
What is the time status of the work you do?	Full time	32	17,9%	74	41,3%	64	35,8%	8	4,5%	1	,6%	179	21,849 (12; .039)
	Part Time	2	4,9%	21	51,2%	12	29,3%	4	9,8%	2	4,9%	41	
	Irregular	16	13,9%	37	32,2%	46	40,0%	8	7,0%	8	7,0%	115	
	Don't work	12	16,7%	26	36,1%	30	41,7%	3	4,2%	1	1,4%	72	
Do you or your family have agriculture land?	No, we do not have	19	26,8%	24	33,8%	20	28,2%	6	8,5%	2	2,8%	71	15,630 (8; .048)
	Yes, we have a Dacha	7	19,4%	9	25,0%	19	52,8%	1	2,8%			36	
	Yes we have agricultural land	16	14,2%	53	46,9%	38	33,6%	5	4,4%	1	,9%	113	
Do you or your family have animals ?	No	26	20,3%	42	32,8%	49	38,3%	9	7,0%	2	1,6%	128	3,596 (4; .463)
	Yes	14	14,9%	39	41,5%	37	39,4%	3	3,2%	1	1,1%	94	
Which social class would you say you belong to?	Lower class	26	38,8%	24	35,8%	17	25,4%					67	99,614 (16; .0001)
	Working class	20	18,5%	48	44,4%	36	33,3%	3	2,8%	1	,9%	108	
	Middle class	18	8,2%	84	38,2%	93	42,3%	18	8,2%	7	3,2%	220	
	Upper middle class	3	10,0%	7	23,3%	11	36,7%	4	13,3%	5	16,7%	30	
	Upper class									1	100,0%	1	

Appendix Table 5: Perception of realization of Rights, Freedoms and Life Chances by territory

		Maikop	Adigeisk	Maikopski	Giaginski	Tahtamukay	Koshable	Tevchjski	Krasnogavardeysko	Shovgenovski	χ^2 , d.f., sig.
Freedom of political participation	Fully realized	27,4%	55,6%	36,4%	50,0%	37,5%	29,1%	51,6%	50,0%	60,6%	40,766
	Partly realized	54,0%	44,4%	54,5%	46,9%	60,4%	60,0%	45,2%	36,4%	33,3%	16
	Not realized at all	18,6%	,0%	9,1%	3,1%	2,1%	10,9%	3,2%	13,6%	6,1%	,001
Freedom to choose for yourself your occupation	Fully realized	33,2%	72,7%	43,9%	42,4%	46,0%	47,3%	68,8%	73,9%	67,6%	43,888
	Partly realized	47,7%	18,2%	42,4%	54,5%	38,0%	36,4%	21,9%	21,7%	26,5%	16
	Not realized at all	19,2%	9,1%	13,6%	3,0%	16,0%	16,4%	9,4%	4,3%	5,9%	,000
Protection of environment	Fully realized	23,9%	18,2%	20,0%	18,2%	6,1%	38,2%	22,6%	27,3%	21,2%	31,937
	Partly realized	59,2%	72,7%	67,7%	69,7%	55,1%	47,3%	58,1%	45,5%	60,6%	16
	Not realized at all	17,0%	9,1%	12,3%	12,1%	38,8%	14,5%	19,4%	27,3%	18,2%	,010
Protection of private property	Fully realized	44,2%	45,5%	55,2%	54,5%	34,0%	61,8%	59,4%	65,2%	76,5%	32,796
	Partly realized	47,9%	45,5%	34,3%	45,5%	58,0%	34,5%	28,1%	34,8%	20,6%	16
	Not realized at all	7,8%	9,1%	10,4%	,0%	8,0%	3,6%	12,5%	,0%	2,9%	,008
Just and fair distribution of wealth	Fully realized	5,1%	9,1%	11,9%	,0%	8,3%	18,2%	13,3%	,0%	12,5%	32,540
	Partly realized	36,6%	45,5%	40,3%	54,8%	31,3%	38,2%	43,3%	72,7%	37,5%	16
	Not realized at all	58,3%	45,5%	47,8%	45,2%	60,4%	43,6%	43,3%	27,3%	50,0%	,008
Equality of men and women	Fully realized	29,1%	30,0%	43,3%	36,4%	30,0%	51,9%	61,3%	43,5%	51,5%	37,207
	Partly realized	53,5%	70,0%	46,3%	51,5%	44,0%	37,0%	35,5%	47,8%	48,5%	16
	Not realized at all	17,4%	,0%	10,4%	12,1%	26,0%	11,1%	3,2%	8,7%	,0%	,002
Equality of life chances	Fully realized	17,4%	36,4%	35,8%	39,4%	34,7%	49,1%	67,7%	45,5%	50,0%	76,862
	Partly realized	46,3%	54,5%	49,3%	51,5%	36,7%	34,5%	25,8%	50,0%	44,1%	16
	Not realized at all	36,2%	9,1%	14,9%	9,1%	28,6%	16,4%	6,5%	4,5%	5,9%	,000

Appendix Table 5- cont.: Perception of realization of Rights, Freedoms and Life Chances by territory

		Maikop	Adigeisk	Maikopski	Giaginski	Tahtamukay	Koshable	Tevchjski	Krasnogavardeysko	Shovgenovski	χ^2 , d.f., sig.
Freedom of free speech	Fully realized	23,1%	40,0%	52,2%	51,5%	34,6%	43,6%	83,9%	56,5%	79,4%	95,649
	Partly realized	57,4%	60,0%	40,3%	45,5%	61,5%	45,5%	16,1%	39,1%	20,6%	16
	Not realized at all	19,4%	,0%	7,5%	3,0%	3,8%	10,9%	,0%	4,3%	,0%	,000
Freedom of religion	Fully realized	75,3%	72,7%	77,6%	93,9%	71,2%	88,9%	87,1%	90,9%	93,9%	21,808
	Partly realized	21,9%	27,3%	19,4%	6,1%	26,9%	11,1%	12,9%	9,1%	6,1%	16
	Not realized at all	2,8%	,0%	3,0%	,0%	1,9%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,150
Protection from crime	Fully realized	3,7%	10,0%	7,6%	,0%	12,0%	9,1%	16,1%	,0%	3,0%	23,988
	Partly realized	55,3%	80,0%	60,6%	66,7%	60,0%	63,6%	51,6%	56,5%	63,6%	16
	Not realized at all	40,9%	10,0%	31,8%	33,3%	28,0%	27,3%	32,3%	43,5%	33,3%	,090
Social security	Fully realized	2,8%	,0%	4,5%	,0%	8,0%	7,4%	9,7%	4,3%	15,2%	27,438
	Partly realized	53,7%	80,0%	69,7%	69,7%	66,0%	55,6%	51,6%	69,6%	51,5%	16
	Not realized at all	43,5%	20,0%	25,8%	30,3%	26,0%	37,0%	38,7%	26,1%	33,3%	,037
Support for those in need	Fully realized	,0%	,0%	3,0%	,0%	1,9%	7,3%	12,9%	,0%	5,9%	59,611
	Partly realized	45,8%	80,0%	67,2%	81,8%	51,9%	50,9%	51,6%	77,3%	64,7%	16
	Not realized at all	54,2%	20,0%	29,9%	18,2%	46,2%	41,8%	35,5%	22,7%	29,4%	,000
Chance to get a job	Fully realized	3,7%	,0%	7,5%	,0%	3,8%	3,6%	9,7%	,0%	6,1%	22,122
	Partly realized	43,8%	60,0%	53,7%	54,5%	54,7%	45,5%	54,8%	22,7%	57,6%	16
	Not realized at all	52,5%	40,0%	38,8%	45,5%	41,5%	50,9%	35,5%	77,3%	36,4%	,139

Appendix Table 6: Perception of realization of Rights, Freedoms and Life Chances by sex, age and ethnicity

		Male	Female	χ^2 , d.f., sig.	Over 50	Aged 30-49	Younger 29	χ^2 , d.f., sig.	Adyge	Russian	Other	χ^2 , d.f., sig.
Freedom of political participation	Fully realized	39,1%	34,9%	4,323	47,4%	38,3%	24,8%	15,853	41,6%	31,5%	35,3%	6,922
	Partly realized	54,1%	51,6%	2	43,0%	49,6%	62,1%	4	49,6%	54,2%	52,9%	4
	Not realized at all	6,8%	13,4%	,115	9,6%	12,2%	13,0%	,003	8,8%	14,3%	11,8%	,140
Freedom to choose for yourself your occupation	Fully realized	43,6%	45,1%	6,317	48,7%	45,1%	42,6%	1,675	59,6%	31,7%	44,4%	39,276
	Partly realized	35,3%	42,5%	2	39,3%	40,8%	40,7%	4	31,7%	48,4%	41,7%	4
	Not realized at all	21,1%	12,4%	,042	12,0%	14,2%	16,7%	,795	8,7%	19,8%	13,9%	,000
Protection of environment	Fully realized	27,8%	20,6%	3,336	19,5%	21,1%	26,7%	3,311	26,0%	19,2%	25,7%	4,234
	Partly realized	53,4%	61,2%	2	59,3%	59,5%	57,8%	4	58,1%	60,4%	54,3%	4
	Not realized at all	18,8%	18,2%	,189	21,2%	19,4%	15,5%	,507	15,9%	20,4%	20,0%	,375
Protection of private property	Fully realized	51,1%	50,7%	,672	57,1%	48,3%	52,1%	5,195	55,2%	48,8%	41,7%	4,036
	Partly realized	43,6%	42,0%	2	38,7%	45,3%	38,7%	4	38,3%	44,5%	47,2%	4
	Not realized at all	5,3%	7,3%	,715	4,2%	6,4%	9,2%	,268	6,5%	6,6%	11,1%	,401
Just and fair distribution of wealth	Fully realized	6,1%	8,8%	1,222	7,9%	3,9%	14,7%	17,884	11,6%	6,0%	2,9%	20,241
	Partly realized	39,4%	40,5%	2	34,2%	41,9%	41,7%	4	47,1%	33,3%	42,9%	4
	Not realized at all	54,5%	50,7%	,543	57,9%	54,1%	43,6%	,001	41,3%	60,7%	54,3%	,000
Equality of men and women	Fully realized	44,3%	35,5%	3,238	49,6%	33,3%	36,3%	9,458	42,2%	35,2%	30,6%	9,600
	Partly realized	44,3%	50,1%	2	41,0%	51,9%	48,8%	4	48,4%	49,0%	44,4%	4
	Not realized at all	11,5%	14,3%	,198	9,4%	14,7%	15,0%	,051	9,3%	15,8%	25,0%	,048
Equality of life chances	Fully realized	29,8%	33,4%	1,767	42,9%	37,7%	19,5%	21,659	48,0%	21,1%	20,0%	57,993
	Partly realized	42,7%	44,6%	2	37,8%	42,0%	50,6%	4	41,5%	45,3%	48,6%	4
	Not realized at all	27,5%	21,9%	,413	19,3%	20,3%	29,9%	,000	10,5%	33,6%	31,4%	,000

Appendix Table 6- cont.: Perception of realization of Rights, Freedoms and Life Chances by sex, age and ethnicity

		Male	Female	χ^2 , d.f., sig.	Over 50	Aged 30-49	Younger 29	χ^2 , d.f., sig.	Adyge	Russian	Other	χ^2 , d.f., sig.
Freedom of free speech	Fully realized	38,6%	41,5%	1,283	47,9%	39,7%	38,9%	3,813	50,9%	32,9%	36,1%	17,888
	Partly realized	52,3%	47,0%	2	43,0%	48,3%	51,9%	4	41,3%	54,1%	47,2%	4
	Not realized at all	9,1%	11,5%	,526	9,1%	12,1%	9,3%	,432	7,8%	12,9%	16,7%	,001
Freedom of religion	Fully realized	76,5%	81,6%	1,991	84,6%	79,2%	79,3%	8,475	81,1%	81,2%	68,6%	5,571
	Partly realized	22,0%	16,5%	2	15,4%	19,9%	17,1%	4	17,1%	17,6%	25,7%	4
	Not realized at all	1,5%	1,8%	,369	,0%	,9%	3,7%	,076	1,8%	1,2%	5,7%	,234
Protection from crime	Fully realized	1,5%	7,3%	7,046	7,6%	3,9%	8,1%	17,757	9,6%	3,1%	2,9%	17,754
	Partly realized	65,4%	56,7%	2	47,9%	58,3%	68,3%	4	62,3%	54,7%	67,6%	4
	Not realized at all	33,1%	36,0%	,030	44,5%	37,8%	23,6%	,001	28,1%	42,1%	29,4%	,001
Social security	Fully realized	3,8%	5,0%	,664	6,0%	3,9%	6,3%	9,354	7,1%	2,8%	8,3%	5,723
	Partly realized	62,1%	58,6%	2	47,9%	63,2%	61,9%	4	58,7%	59,7%	58,3%	4
	Not realized at all	34,1%	36,3%	,717	46,2%	32,9%	31,9%	,053	34,2%	37,5%	33,3%	,221
Support for those in need	Fully realized	,8%	2,6%	1,772	3,4%	1,7%	3,1%	7,063	3,9%	,8%	5,6%	6,719
	Partly realized	55,3%	56,1%	2	50,0%	62,1%	51,2%	4	56,3%	55,3%	52,8%	4
	Not realized at all	43,9%	41,3%	,412	46,6%	36,2%	45,7%	,133	39,7%	43,9%	41,7%	,151
Chance to get a job	Fully realized	2,3%	4,7%	3,333	6,7%	2,1%	5,6%	6,166	4,3%	3,9%	5,7%	4,123
	Partly realized	43,9%	49,5%	2	42,5%	49,8%	49,4%	4	46,3%	47,5%	62,9%	4
	Not realized at all	53,8%	45,8%	,189□	50,8%	48,1%	45,1%	,187□	49,4%	48,6%	31,4%□	,390□

Appendix Table 7: Perception of realization of Rights, Freedoms and Life Chances by occupation

		Armed forces	Legislators, managers	Professionals	Technicians	Clerks	Service and sales workers	Agricultural	Craft workers	Machine operators	Elementary occupations	χ^2 , d.f., sig.
Freedom of political participation	Fully realized	,0%	43,5%	42,0%	25,0%	62,5%	16,3%	50,0%	33,3%	,0%	20,0%	38,582
	Partly realized	,0%	46,8%	48,8%	75,0%	37,5%	55,8%	50,0%	50,0%	100,0%	60,0%	18
	Not realized at all	100,0%	9,7%	9,3%	,0%	,0%	27,9%	,0%	16,7%	,0%	20,0%	,003
Freedom to choose for yourself your occupation	Fully realized	,0%	43,5%	46,2%	46,2%	75,0%	26,2%	50,0%	33,3%	40,0%	20,0%	33,819
	Partly realized	100,0%	38,7%	47,1%	38,5%	12,5%	45,2%	50,0%	41,7%	20,0%	40,0%	18
	Not realized at all	,0%	17,7%	6,7%	15,4%	12,5%	28,6%	,0%	25,0%	40,0%	40,0%	,013
Protection of environment	Fully realized	,0%	25,4%	18,2%	14,3%	37,5%	19,0%	50,0%	25,0%	40,0%	40,0%	24,132
	Partly realized	100,0%	57,1%	67,0%	64,3%	37,5%	64,3%	25,0%	25,0%	40,0%	20,0%	18
	Not realized at all	,0%	17,5%	14,8%	21,4%	25,0%	16,7%	25,0%	50,0%	20,0%	40,0%	,151
Protection of private property	Fully realized	,0%	47,6%	51,4%	53,8%	75,0%	46,5%	75,0%	41,7%	40,0%	20,0%	10,402
	Partly realized	100,0%	46,0%	42,9%	46,2%	25,0%	44,2%	25,0%	50,0%	60,0%	60,0%	18
	Not realized at all	,0%	6,3%	5,7%	,0%	,0%	9,3%	,0%	8,3%	,0%	20,0%	,918
Just and fair distribution of wealth	Fully realized	,0%	4,8%	5,9%	7,7%	,0%	11,6%	,0%	,0%	,0%	20,0%	19,532
	Partly realized	,0%	47,6%	46,1%	38,5%	50,0%	37,2%	,0%	16,7%	40,0%	,0%	18
	Not realized at all	100,0%	47,6%	48,0%	53,8%	50,0%	51,2%	100,0%	83,3%	60,0%	80,0%	,360
Equality of men and women	Fully realized	,0%	34,9%	38,3%	38,5%	25,0%	32,6%	75,0%	25,0%	20,0%	20,0%	27,777
	Partly realized	100,0%	50,8%	51,7%	23,1%	62,5%	53,5%	25,0%	33,3%	40,0%	80,0%	18
	Not realized at all	,0%	14,3%	10,0%	38,5%	12,5%	14,0%	,0%	41,7%	40,0%	,0%	,066
Equality of life chances	Fully realized	,0%	36,5%	36,5%	30,8%	25,0%	11,6%	25,0%	25,0%	20,0%	40,0%	31,101
	Partly realized	,0%	49,2%	42,7%	53,8%	62,5%	62,8%	75,0%	16,7%	60,0%	20,0%	18
	Not realized at all	100,0%	14,3%	20,9%	15,4%	12,5%	25,6%	,0%	58,3%	20,0%	40,0%	,028

Appendix Table 7- cont.: Perception of realization of Rights, Freedoms and Life Chances by occupation

		Armed forces	Legislators, managers	Professionals	Technicians	Clerks	Service and sales workers	Agricultural	Craft workers	Machine operators	Elementary occupations	χ^2 , d.f., sig.
Freedom of free speech	Fully realized	100,0%	41,3%	39,0%	30,8%	62,5%	25,6%	75,0%	25,0%	40,0%	40,0%	21,157
	Partly realized	,0%	38,1%	50,7%	46,2%	37,5%	62,8%	,0%	58,3%	60,0%	60,0%	18
	Not realized at all	,0%	20,6%	10,3%	23,1%	,0%	11,6%	25,0%	16,7%	,0%	,0%	,272
Freedom of religion	Fully realized	100,0%	77,4%	83,0%	85,7%	100,0%	79,1%	100,0%	58,3%	60,0%	60,0%	18,058
	Partly realized	,0%	21,0%	16,5%	14,3%	,0%	16,3%	,0%	41,7%	40,0%	40,0%	18
	Not realized at all	,0%	1,6%	,5%	,0%	,0%	4,7%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,452
Protection from crime	Fully realized	,0%	1,6%	5,2%	,0%	,0%	7,3%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	14,519
	Partly realized	,0%	69,8%	58,3%	66,7%	87,5%	48,8%	50,0%	66,7%	80,0%	40,0%	18
	Not realized at all	100,0%	28,6%	36,5%	33,3%	12,5%	43,9%	50,0%	33,3%	20,0%	60,0%	,695
Social security	Fully realized	,0%	4,8%	5,3%	7,7%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	19,551
	Partly realized	,0%	60,3%	60,6%	38,5%	100,0%	66,7%	25,0%	58,3%	100,0%	60,0%	18
	Not realized at all	100,0%	34,9%	34,1%	53,8%	,0%	33,3%	75,0%	41,7%	,0%	40,0%	,359
Support for those in need	Fully realized	,0%	3,2%	3,8%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	23,707
	Partly realized	,0%	58,7%	62,1%	53,8%	87,5%	46,5%	50,0%	25,0%	100,0%	40,0%	18
	Not realized at all	100,0%	38,1%	34,1%	46,2%	12,5%	53,5%	50,0%	75,0%	,0%	60,0%	,165
Chance to get a job	Fully realized	,0%	6,3%	4,2%	,0%	12,5%	2,3%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	8,658
	Partly realized	,0%	49,2%	54,2%	38,5%	50,0%	48,8%	50,0%	50,0%	40,0%	40,0%	18
	Not realized at all	100,0%	44,4%	41,6%	61,5%	37,5%	48,8%	50,0%	50,0%	60,0%	60,0%	,967

Appendix Table 8: Perception of realization of Rights, Freedoms and Life Chances by education

		School	High school	Middle school	Technical middle school	Not Completed University	University	χ^2 , d.f., sig.
Freedom of political participation	Fully realized	33,3%	50,0%	40,5%	43,0%	16,2%	38,2%	25,314
	Partly realized	66,7%	25,0%	40,5%	40,5%	73,0%	52,0%	10
	Not realized at all	,0%	25,0%	18,9%	16,5%	10,8%	9,9%	,005
Freedom to choose for yourself your occupation	Fully realized	33,3%	75,0%	51,4%	39,0%	48,6%	44,6%	16,804
	Partly realized	50,0%	25,0%	40,5%	35,4%	33,8%	44,3%	10
	Not realized at all	16,7%	,0%	8,1%	25,6%	17,6%	11,1%	,079
Protection of environment	Fully realized	16,7%	25,0%	37,8%	19,5%	24,0%	21,0%	15,902
	Partly realized	50,0%	75,0%	37,8%	53,7%	64,0%	61,6%	10
	Not realized at all	33,3%	,0%	24,3%	26,8%	12,0%	17,4%	,102
Protection of private property	Fully realized	33,3%	50,0%	63,2%	54,2%	51,4%	48,9%	7,087
	Partly realized	66,7%	50,0%	34,2%	36,1%	41,9%	44,3%	10
	Not realized at all	,0%	,0%	2,6%	9,6%	6,8%	6,8%	,717
Just and fair distribution of wealth	Fully realized	,0%	50,0%	15,8%	3,8%	13,5%	6,3%	26,960
	Partly realized	16,7%	25,0%	28,9%	33,8%	36,5%	44,7%	10
	Not realized at all	83,3%	25,0%	55,3%	62,5%	50,0%	49,0%	,003
Equality of men and women	Fully realized	50,0%	50,0%	55,3%	37,5%	36,5%	35,9%	12,666
	Partly realized	16,7%	50,0%	42,1%	45,0%	48,6%	51,0%	10
	Not realized at all	33,3%	,0%	2,6%	17,5%	14,9%	13,1%	,243
Equality of life chances	Fully realized	16,7%	25,0%	60,5%	34,6%	17,3%	33,4%	30,216
	Partly realized	33,3%	75,0%	28,9%	34,6%	56,0%	44,8%	10
	Not realized at all	50,0%	,0%	10,5%	30,9%	26,7%	21,8%	,001

Appendix Table 8- cont.: Perception of realization of Rights, Freedoms and Life Chances by education

		School	High school	Middle school	Technical middle school	Not Completed University	University	χ^2 , d.f., sig.
Freedom of free speech	Fully realized	50,0%	50,0%	57,9%	41,5%	37,8%	39,4%	17,074
	Partly realized	50,0%	25,0%	39,5%	45,1%	59,5%	47,1%	10
	Not realized at all	,0%	25,0%	2,6%	13,4%	2,7%	13,5%	,073
Freedom of religion	Fully realized	83,3%	100,0%	81,6%	77,2%	80,0%	80,9%	3,241
	Partly realized	16,7%	,0%	18,4%	20,3%	17,3%	17,8%	10
	Not realized at all	,0%	,0%	,0%	2,5%	2,7%	1,3%	,975
Protection from crime	Fully realized	,0%	,0%	10,8%	6,1%	6,8%	5,5%	12,404
	Partly realized	50,0%	100,0%	48,6%	47,6%	62,2%	61,9%	10
	Not realized at all	50,0%	,0%	40,5%	46,3%	31,1%	32,6%	,259
Social security	Fully realized	,0%	25,0%	5,3%	5,0%	4,2%	4,9%	8,690
	Partly realized	50,0%	50,0%	60,5%	52,5%	54,2%	62,9%	10
	Not realized at all	50,0%	25,0%	34,2%	42,5%	41,7%	32,2%	,562
Support for those in need	Fully realized	,0%	,0%	2,6%	,0%	2,7%	3,2%	21,127
	Partly realized	16,7%	75,0%	63,2%	46,9%	43,2%	61,0%	10
	Not realized at all	83,3%	25,0%	34,2%	53,1%	54,1%	35,7%	,020
Chance to get a job	Fully realized	16,7%	25,0%	2,6%	2,4%	5,4%	3,9%	13,449
	Partly realized	16,7%	25,0%	55,3%	47,6%	39,2%	50,6%	10
	Not realized at all	66,7%	50,0%	42,1%	50,0%	55,4%	45,5%	,200

Appendix Table 9: Perception of realization of Rights, Freedoms and Life Chances by field and Nnp

		Urban	Rural	χ^2 , d.f., sig	Maikop	Others	χ^2 , d.f., sig
Freedom of political participation	Fully realized	31,3%	42,3%	10,736	27,4%	42,6%	23,016
	Partly realized	53,5%	50,2%	2	54,0%	50,7%	2
	Not realized at all	15,1%	7,5%	,005	18,6%	6,8%	,000
Freedom to choose for yourself your occupation	Fully realized	36,4%	55,6%	21,067	33,2%	53,3%	21,374
	Partly realized	45,1%	34,9%	2	47,7%	35,5%	2
	Not realized at all	18,5%	9,5%	,000	19,2%	11,2%	,000
Protection of environment	Fully realized	22,6%	22,6%	,029	23,9%	21,7%	,655
	Partly realized	59,2%	58,7%	2	59,2%	58,9%	2
	Not realized at all	18,1%	18,7%	,985	17,0%	19,4%	,721
Protection of private property	Fully realized	45,1%	58,5%	9,664	44,2%	56,1%	7,098
	Partly realized	46,5%	36,3%	2	47,9%	37,7%	2
	Not realized at all	8,3%	5,1%	,008	7,8%	6,2%	,029
Just and fair distribution of wealth	Fully realized	8,1%	8,4%	8,196	5,1%	10,5%	8,648
	Partly realized	34,7%	46,7%	2	36,6%	42,6%	2
	Not realized at all	57,2%	44,9%	,017	58,3%	47,0%	,013
Equality of men and women	Fully realized	31,3%	46,1%	16,731	29,1%	44,2%	13,171
	Partly realized	50,7%	45,7%	2	53,5%	44,9%	2
	Not realized at all	18,0%	8,3%	,000	17,4%	11,0%	,001
Equality of life chances	Fully realized	21,8%	46,8%	52,174	17,4%	44,0%	54,921
	Partly realized	45,0%	42,4%	2	46,3%	42,1%	2
	Not realized at all	33,2%	10,8%	,000	36,2%	13,9%	,000
Freedom of free speech	Fully realized	29,5%	55,4%	41,579	23,1%	53,8%	60,084
	Partly realized	54,5%	39,9%	2	57,4%	41,3%	2
	Not realized at all	16,0%	4,7%	,000	19,4%	4,9%	,000
Freedom of religion	Fully realized	74,7%	87,4%	13,276	75,3%	83,8%	6,598
	Partly realized	22,9%	11,7%	2	21,9%	15,2%	2
	Not realized at all	2,4%	,9%	,001	2,8%	1,0%	,037
Protection from crime	Fully realized	6,3%	5,6%	1,291	3,7%	7,6%	7,603
	Partly realized	56,7%	61,6%	2	55,3%	61,5%	2
	Not realized at all	37,0%	32,8%	,524	40,9%	30,9%	,022
Social security	Fully realized	4,9%	5,2%	,643	2,8%	6,7%	11,506
	Partly realized	57,7%	60,9%	2	53,7%	63,0%	2
	Not realized at all	37,3%	33,9%	,725	43,5%	30,3%	,003
Support for those in need	Fully realized	1,1%	4,3%	12,673	,0%	4,3%	28,654
	Partly realized	51,2%	60,9%	2	45,8%	62,5%	2
	Not realized at all	47,7%	34,8%	,002	54,2%	33,2%	,000
Chance to get a job	Fully realized	5,2%	3,0%	1,599	3,7%	4,6%	3,374
	Partly realized	48,1%	47,8%	2	43,8%	51,0%	2
	Not realized at all	46,7%	49,1%	,450	52,5%	44,4%	,185