



Stratification of the Population of Uzbekistan in the Late Xx - Early Xxi Centuries

Shavkat Rakhmatullaev

Candidate of Historical Sciences, Senior Researcher, Scientific Secretary of the Institute of State and Law of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan

Abstract: *By the end of XX century to researchers – social scientists have accumulated a wealth of methodological tools and terminological apparatus for characterizing the processes of stratification in modern societies. However, with regard to Uzbekistan studies of this kind are in the initial stage . This is due to a number of factors relating to, first, the terms of humanitarian development, including historical and social science, and secondly, the complexity of the problems of the modern guest transit period.*

Meanwhile, the formation of the market environment and the occurrence of the global economic space motivate the importance of studying the transformation processes in the social structure of the population in terms of the sovereign development. As part of this article examines changes in financial position and income levels of Uzbekistan, characterized by mixed stratification processes transit period. To carry out such studies, in our opinion, the most preferred is the analysis of changes revenue potential of the population, most objective adequately reflect changes in the social structure that occurred and are occurring in the country in the post-Soviet period. In this case, despite the complexity of the definition of an indicator or set of indicators that would be most appropriate to the actual financial position of the individual layers, groups, income potential can serve as the basis for the relative isolation of groups on the basis of: the poor - middle income - the rich. Following the formal logic, they can be represented social group, located at the yield sign in a hierarchical axis of the standard of living and consumption¹.

The roots of modern stratification processes

Transformation of the social structure of the population of Uzbekistan (in particular, its separation) at the end of XX - beginning of XXI century is influenced by the complex processes associated with the transitional phase of development of society, the national economy, in particular. If we start from the definition of economists that "transition is an economy in which there is a relatively long process of disintegration of the old economic system and the formation of the elements of a new economic order"², modern transition state of Uzbekistan's economy is not a unique phenomenon, and stratification changes are caused by a process of natural.

The above is based on the most common data definitions among economists transitional stage of social development. One group of economists to classify stages of social development and evaluation

2.1 ¹ O kriteriyax i metodax issledovaniya bolee podrobno sm.: Raxmatullaev Sh.M. Sovremennoe metodo' i kriterii v izuchenii zkonomicheskoy stratifikatsii obhestva: vopros statusa srednego klassa Uzbekistana // Istoricheskaya nauka v kontekste intellektualnogo razvitiya Tsentralnoy Azii (ocherki istoriografii i istochnikovedeniya) / otv. red. d.i.n. D.A. Alimova... – T., 2014. S. 71-77.

2.1 ² <http://studlib.com/content/view/3137/44/>

stages of the economic system, takes as its basis a factor. In line with this, they are divided on the agrarian society (where the crucial role played by land, farmland), industrial (real capital), postindustrial (human capital, information). Another group (for example, Marx and his followers), use the category of "mode of production". On the basis of this approach was extended, in particular well-known theory of successive socio-economic formations (primitive communal, slave, feudal, capitalist, communist, with its first phase - socialism). Since the second half of XX century was becoming more common so-called civilization criterion when scientists in assessing the transition states are considering the totality of elements of material and spiritual culture of society (and not just factors of production). Accordingly, "the most widespread among economists has three fixing such critical states of society as traditional (pre-market economy), the market economy and the economy of post-industrial society"³. In each of which is allocated leading social groups, respectively: landowners, owners of capital, highly skilled workers with the advanced system requirements.

Controversy with extendable economists theories associated with historical overtones and economic context of the problem. For our study, the priority is not contesting the findings of the leading strata and social groups at one or another stage of development of society, and themselves and prerequisites transitions, transformation processes that influenced the formation of new or existing fading social strata in Uzbekistan.

Compared with other countries (Eastern Europe, western and central part of the USSR) unprepared "jump" from one (pre-capitalist agrarian) stage of social development in a completely different, driven by utopian ideas, ignoring another (market) stage and the natural course of development for the people of Uzbekistan unexpected burden proved doubly complicating the return on the evolutionary path. It should be noted that Russian expansion (including its negative components associated with the traditional relationship of the colony and the metropolis), in the late XIX - early XX century paved the way for the development of trade and market relations mainly in urban and agricultural areas of Central Asia, to begin forming new social strata typical for this stage of development. Thus, according to the experts "in coverage of commodity-money, cattle market bonds significantly inferior to the agricultural complex... This is explained by the fact that the production of cotton... almost completely took the form of goods and dispose of the market. And this market is the transformation of Russian Turkestan in the periphery of the capitalist economy became more capacious"⁴, which in turn "... contributed to the rapid transformation of natural farmer facilities in commodity and cause a number of features in land relations and the internal structure of the village. In the early twentieth century. it increased social differentiation, strengthened middle peasants, their number has grown significantly, from wealthy farmers began to form a new social group - bai"⁵. Gradually to commodity-market economy began to join local artisans and craftsmen, rather solid niche in economic relations took stratum consisting of people engaged in trade, of which at the beginning of the twentieth century. Grew larger local merchants millionaires - the so-called commercial and industrial bourgeoisie. This meant that the province was relatively rapid process of formation and development of market relations (with local flavors) classic design, characteristic of XVII-XIX centuries.

But social disasters that befell the Russian Empire in the early XX century, and forced transition to the planned economy of the Soviet type, negative impact on the socio-psychological state of the population (in the mind), including Uzbekistan. Not having deep enough to "taste" some elements of the classic design of market relations and encode it at the genetic level, the population was subjected to experiments forming egalitarian society with a strong ideological bias, and as a result, lost the rich social heritage which it has accumulated before the events in 1917 C On the other hand, we must recognize that socialism virtually unable to create a society with equal rights and material prosperity. Moreover, the difference between rich and poor had, and every year, albeit without express symptoms increased, for example, did not experience any material difficulties the party

2.1 ³ Sm.: Tam je.

2.1 ⁴ Istoriya Kazaxstana i Tsentralnoy Azii: Ucheb. posobie / Abuseitova M.X. i dr. – Almato', 2001. – S. 409.

2.1 ⁵ Maxkamova N.R. Sotsialnaya struktura obhestva na territorii Uzbekistana: traditsii i transformatsii (konets XIX v – 30-e godov XX v.): Avtorref... dokt. ist. nauk. – Tashkent, 2011. – S. 19.

nomenklatura, leaders of the Soviet state apparatus, as well as to hide their income underground entrepreneurs, etc.

Lack of historical practice a particularly negative impact on the socio-demographic development of the country during the Soviet period. By the end of the Soviet era Uzbekistan was in the grip of the so-called "Malthusian trap"⁶ - the impact of high population growth and a significant proportion of disabled people on the welfare of society. Thus, according to experts, in 1985-1990. population growth absorbs 70% of the growth of the national income⁷. Although the theory of Malthus still fiercely criticized by his contemporaries (in terms of the fact that with the growth of living standards, improvement of material living conditions are subject to changes in demographic processes affecting the fertility decline)⁸, in Uzbekistan it has acquired specific coloring and for the republic was regularity, especially in 60-80 years of XX century. This pattern was determined by lack of motivation to productive activities, "feudal-socialist" thinking, to form the population of Uzbekistan during the 70 years of "socialist construction." This is as a consequence of a negative impact on demographic processes in the country, has become one of the main reasons for the decline of living standards (particularly in rural areas).

According to Western sociologists in the democratic society, people are born with equal rights, but with different needs and abilities to work effectively. People capable, enthusiastic, talented in every society about 5% (according to other sources up to 10%)⁹. Accessibility needs and abilities, dependency in modern societies, according to the same estimates, about 25%. Other members of society are dispersed between these poles¹⁰. It is clear that, having different capabilities and needs, individuals make different social choice, and in terms of "building communism", where there was no particular economic interest and proclaimed "egalitarianism" pandemic in social development has resulted in the dominance of the population dependent moods.

Standard of living and social structure of the population in the late 1980s - early 1990s.

It is well known that for many decades, the former Soviet Union formed "triad" of social division, the characteristic matrix of the socialist structure of society (the working class - the peasantry - the intelligentsia), subsequently served as a potential base for the polarization of society in terms of market reforms. Meanwhile, this division can be considered more illusory, does not reflect the reality of living standards and material wealth of the population, both in Uzbekistan and in the country as a whole¹¹. In each stratum could attend at least three layers (rich-poor-average) is distributed in living standards and incomes.

Due to objective and subjective reasons associated with the collapse of the former Soviet Union and the disintegration of economic space, the representatives of the "triad" in large part been sidelined

2.1 ⁶ Teoriya, vo'dvinutaya odnim iz teoretikov klassicheskoy zkonomicheskoy shkolo' – Tomasom Maltusom (1766-1834 gg.) v svoey knige «Opo't o zakone narodonaseleniya».

2.1 ⁷ Yusupov Yu.B. Stanovlenie i razvitie zkonomicheskoy nauki. Kurs lektsiy po istorii zkonomicheskoy mo'sli s drevneyshix vremen do kontsa 80-x gg. XX veka. – T., 1999. – S. 64.

2.1 ⁸ Sm.: Yadgarov Ya.S. Istoriya zkonomicheskix ucheniy. Uchebnik dlya vuzov. – M., 1997. – S. 84-91.; Bertenev S.A. Istoriya zkonomicheskix ucheniy v voprosax i otvetax: Uchebno-metodicheskoe posobie. – M., 1998. – S. 50-51.; Yusupov Yu.B. Stanovlenie i razvitie zkonomicheskoy nauki... S. 59-64.; i dr.

2.1 ⁹ «Psixologi opredelyayut kolichestvennyuyu granitsu sposobnostey k predprinimatelstvu po rasprostraneniyyu ztogo sotsialnogo fenomena sredi naseleniya. Zta otsenka ne prevoshaet 10%, to est ne bolee 10% naseleniya imeet ob'ektivno'e dannoe dlya zanyatiya predprinimatelskoy deyatelnostyu». Istochnik: Sharifullina T. Sistemno'y podxod k analizu, prognozu predprinimatelskoy deyatelnosti i kadrovomu obespecheniyu // Zkonomika i klass sobstvennikov. T., 2003. № 4. S. 9.

2.1 ¹⁰ Starushenko G. B. Obhestvenno'y stroy: kakoy on u nas mojet bo't? // Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya. M., 1992. № 12. S. 85.

2.1 ¹¹ Dlya xarakteristiki stratifikatsionno'x sistem primenitelno k sovetskoy obhestvu rossiyskie sotsiologi Radaev V. V., Shkaratan O. I. schitayut, chto «printsipialnuyu sterjnevuyu rol v nem,... igraet ztakovitaya sistema» (rangi vo vlastnoy ierarxii). Zto ob'yasnyatsya tem, chto iz-za vo'sokoy stepeni ogosudarstvleniya sobstvennosti i proniknoveniya vo vse sfero' obhestvennoy jizni uvelichivaet vozmojnosti i sotsialnoe polozhenie tex sotsialno'x grupp kotoro'e naxodyatsya blije k kormilu gosudarstvennoy vlasti. Istochnik: Radaev V. V., Shkaratan O. I. Sotsialnaya stratifikatsiya: Ucheb. posobie. – M., 1996. S. 58-59.

social change, and their material prosperity, as well as the economic situation has deteriorated. Naturally, this process affected, and Uzbekistan, where the transformation of the social structure proceeds with its own characteristics.

Statistical materials of the Soviet period indicate that the standard of living and material prosperity of the population of Uzbekistan, as well as many other socio-economic indicators, compared to the European part of the former Soviet Union, were significantly lower throughout the existence of the USSR. It should be noted that in the absence of private property and statistics features of the period, one of the main criteria of the standard of living and income security of the population was of durable goods, although in terms of egalitarianism and income had little importance. Comparative data are presented in Table. 1-3.

Provision of the population of durable goods (End of year) units.

Durable goods	Per 100 families						Per 1000 people					
	1985	1990		1991	1992	1993	1985	1990		1991	1992	1993
		USSR	Uzbeki stan					USSR	Uzbeki stan			
Watches	508	565	496	539	497	451	960	1701	907	963	904	820
Radios	101	96	95	97	89	82	188	290	173	172	161	148
TVs	86	107	90	87	79	72	159	321	164	156	144	130
Tape recorders	33	55	49	51	47	43	60	165	89	91	85	79
Cameras	23	33	21	23	22	21	43	100	38	41	40	38
Refrigerators and freezers	80	92	80	78	73	68	150	276	150	140	132	123
Washers	57	75	67	68	63	58	106	226	123	121	114	106
Vacuum cleaners	20	48	29	30	28	26	37	143	53	53	50	47
Motorcycles and scooters	19	20	26	22	20	18	34	60	47	40	36	32
Bicycles and mopeds	100	59	97	97	86	77	185	179	168	174	157	139
Sewing Machines	78	61	76	76	71	66	147	179	144	136	129	120

Note: Calculated based on the data in figures of the USSR in 1990, a brief article. compilation. M., 1991. S. 199, The Economy of the Uzbek SSR in 1990 Stat. Yearbook. - Tashkent, 1991. S. 66; y p r e s in VI Fundamentals of social statistics: methods scorecard analysis. M., 1991. Pp. 85, National Economy of Uzbekistan in 1993 Stat. Yearbook. Tashkent, 1994. Pp. 107.

From the above data suggest that in terms of the number of families the end of the Soviet era security of the population of durable goods in Uzbekistan was at an acceptable level. However, per 1,000 people. srednesoyuznye population and national figures are much different and really reflect the level of material prosperity Uzbeks.

Other statistical data analysis also confirmed that Uzbekistan compared to the individual republics of the former USSR, was much slower than for prosperity. For example, in Russia, Kazakhstan, Georgia, almost every family had a refrigerator, Armenia, Estonia, Turkmenistan, Latvia 100 families had refrigerators 106-112, while in Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, every fourth - sixth family "get along" without him¹². Provision of cars on the Union was on average in 1990 to 100 families 19 pcs. (In 1980 - 10 pcs.), per 1,000 people. population, this figure was 58 pcs. (In 1980 - 30 pcs.)¹³ In Uzbekistan, these figures were respectively 11.9 and 21.9 pc¹⁴.

2.1 ¹² Gurev V. I. Osnovo' sotsialnoy statistiki: metodo', sistema po-ka-zateley, analiz. M., 1991. S. 84.

2.1 ¹³ SSSR v tsifrax v 1990 g. M., 1991. S. 149.

At the same time, it should be noted, to "build up" raw orientation rooted in the colonial period and to take biased in the Soviet period was the cause of formation in the country "imported" economy. Until the 1990s, most of the consumer goods were imported from abroad, including 100% of TV sets, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, cars, about 40% of cotton fabric, 30% of all shoes, etc.

Low supply of durable goods was partly a result of complex (with several family nuclei) feature of families¹⁵. In addition, numerous traditional family structure, and adversely affect the economic situation of the population. Thus, the average family size in the country at that time was 5.5 people., In some regions of the country over 6 people., Whereas in the European part of the USSR, the figure was only 3.2 persons¹⁶. Experts estimate that the birth of a child family member income decreased by 25-30%¹⁷. For comparison we present data reflecting the state per capita income in the country as well as in Uzbekistan (see: Table. 2)

Distribution of population by average per capita income (based on household budget survey).

Index	Average annual population figure								
	Million persons				Percentage of total				
	1985 г.		1990 г.		1985 г.		1990 г.		
	USSR	Uzbeki stan	USSR	Uzbeki stan	USSR	Uzbeki stan	USSR	Uzbeki stan	
Including a total average per capita joint income per month, rub.:	277,2	18,2	288,4	20,4	100	100	100	100	
до 75,0	49,6	8,9	22,3	6,9	17,9	49,3	7,7	34,1	<i>Low</i> ¹⁸
75,1–100,0	54,8	4,3	30,6	4,7	19,8	23,7	10,6	23,0	
100,1–125,0	53,6	2,3	39,5	3,3	19,3	13,0	13,7	16,6	
125,1–150,0	41,7	1,2	41,4	2,0	15,0	6,8	14,3	10,2	<i>Average</i>
150,1–175,0	28,9	0,6	37,9	1,3	10,4	3,5	13,2	6,4	
175,1–200,0	18,6	0,3	31,1	0,8	6,7	1,7	10,8	3,8	
200,1–250,0	19,0	0,2	43,1	0,7	6,9	1,4	14,9	3,7	<i>High</i>
more than 250	11,0	0,1	42,5	0,4	4,0	0,6	14,8	2,2	

Note: Calculated based on the data in figures of the USSR in 1990, Moscow, 1991. S. 129, The Economy of the Uzbek SSR in 1990, Tashkent, 1991. S. 47; Gurev VI Fundamentals of social statistics ... Moscow, 1991. Pp. 81-82.

In general, summarizing indicators of able. 2, it can be concluded that in 1990, 57.1% of the population had incomes below 100 rubles. per month, and in the Union, this figure was only 18.3%, "medium" level of wealth was, respectively - 33.2% and 41.2%, "high" - 40.5% and 9.7%. According to official data, in 1989 44% of Uzbekistan's population lived below the official poverty line and in the Union, this figure was 11.1%.

However, a significant impact on earnings had established structure of employment. The rapid population growth in the second half of XX century., And formed a lopsided economy of the republic exacerbated the problem of employment. Made in 1992, calculations showed that in the last

2.1 ¹⁴ Osnovno'e tendentsii i pokazateli zkonomicheskogo i sotsialnogo razvitiya Respubliki Uzbekistan za godu' nezavisimosti (1990–2010 gg.) i prognozo' na 2011–2015 gg. Statisticheskii sbornik. Tashkent, 2011. S. 86 (dalee – Osnovno'e tendentsii i pokazateli).

2.1 ¹⁵ Raschet obespechennosti bralsya iz kolichestva nuklearno'x semey vxodivshix v sostav rasshirenno'x, i nekotoro'e predmeto' dlitel'nogo polzovaniya priobretalis na vsyu bolshuyu semyu.

2.1 ¹⁶ Sm.: Karimov I. Uzbekistan — sobstvennaya model perexoda na ro'nochno'e otnosheniya / Karimov I.A. Uzbekistan: natsionalnaya nezavisimost, zkonomika, politika, ideologiya. Tashkent: O'zbekiston, 1996. T.1. S. 279.

2.1 ¹⁷ Osnovno'e pokazateli sotsialno-zkonomicheskogo razvitiya Respubliki Uzbekistan za 1996 god. Tashkent, 1997. S. 95.

2.1 ¹⁸ Gradatsiya po urovnyu doxodov sostavlena avtorom.

years of the Soviet Union 14% of the economically active population of Uzbekistan turned out socially useful work (5.5% compared to the other republics), with 9 out of 10 unemployed were women¹⁹. This trend is even more acute in the early 1990s, when, on the one hand, Uzbekistan's economy is experiencing a severe crisis, and on the other, in parallel with the formation of a mixed economy began to emerge the new stratum of society.

Meanwhile, the statistical office of the republic in the early 1990s, working on an established scheme, reporting continued to record data on the already well-established strata of the previous era. Analysis of statistical data for the period showed that the per capita income of the families of workers and employees (based on household budget survey) per month in 1993 was 12,742.5 rubles., Including industrial workers - 17,263.6 rubles., State farm workers - 7085.1 rubles.; farmers - 8056.1 rubles. A single pensioner - worker or employee, who lived in urban areas in 1993 - RUR 15,107.3. per month, pensioner farmers - 13,375.4 rubles. Averaged data are shown in Table. 3.

Distribution of the population of Uzbekistan by average total income in 1993 (calculated according to the household budget survey).

Index	The population figure ths.	Percentage of total	Performance *
Население	21703,0	100,0	
Including average per capita joint income per month, rub. *			Low
Until 1500	47,7	0,22	
From 1501 – to 3000	967,2	4,46	
3001 – 7000	7423,4	34,20	
7001 – 10000	5004,9	23,06	Average
10001 – 13000	3244,1	14,94	
13001 – 17000	2416,4	11,14	
17001 – 20000	983,1	4,53	High
20001 – 22000	426,8	1,97	
22001 – 24000	306,8	1,41	
24001 – and above	882,6	4,07	

Note: The Economy of the Republic of Uzbekistan in 1993 Stat. Yearbook. Tashkent, 1994. C. 77. An average of 1993 cash income in the Republic by 1 member surveyed family was 11,321.7 rubles. month. - See National Economy of Uzbekistan in 1993 ... - S. 72.

Based on data from Table. 3, it can be concluded that an increase in per capita income with low layer "average" for some reduction remained almost at the same level - 30% (in 1990 - 33%). It should be taken into account at the time carried out by an active social policy that covered almost the entire population and aimed at its protection from the harsh poverty.

The post-Soviet experience of construction shows that the development of a market economy involves more diverse than it was in Soviet society, the social structure. Due to the difficulties associated with the transition period, representatives of the "old" layers, the level of income refers mainly to the middle classes - the intelligentsia, at the initial stage of reforms have undergone dramatic changes in their social status, prestige, income, and role in society and as a result their share as "medium" in the social hierarchy is much underplayed. Thus, the costs associated with budgetary difficulties are inevitable in the process of large-scale reforms, which were carried out in Uzbekistan in the early 1990s, affected the state of the material-technical base of educational institutions, as well as stimulating the work of teachers. In particular, prior to the adoption of the State Program for

2.1 ¹⁹ Sm.: Uzbekistan: obhaya otsenka strano'. OON. 2003. S. 11–12; Rabich R. G. Xronika. Nauchnaya konferentsiya na temu «Vopros' sotsialnogo razvitiya Uzbekistana v protsesse perestroyki» // Obhestvenno'e nauki v Uzbekistane. Tashkent, 1989. № 1. S. 52. Zdes nado uchito'vat svyazanno'y s traditsionno'm ukladom jizni fakt, chto primerno polovina nezanyato'x jenhin yavlyalis domoxozyaykami.

Training in Uzbekistan in 1997, the level of teachers' salaries in the mid-1990s, the average was only 60-65% of the national average²⁰.

Stratification changes in the conditions of sustainable development

If the socialist reality, almost all revenues were formed mainly due to wage and authority to strictly regulate the property status of citizens, in the conditions of trade and market relations sources of income undergone significant changes. Gradual transformation of the economic system from a planned to a market are adequately reflected in the collections of the Statistical Committee of the Republic of Uzbekistan, where the classification structure cash income are as follows: this included income from business activities, salaries, social benefits, income from property and rather complicated position in its content - other income, including hidden wages (the latter as a percentage of total income).

However, according to experts, by 2005, the republic formed is not the optimal structure of income: the share of wages in total income of the population was less than 40%, while in countries with developed market economies, the proportion was more than 75% of the total income households. While in rural areas the share of wages - less than 20%. At the same time, the revenue accruing to the family in the form of social transfers (pensions and benefits) are quite high - about 20%, including pensions accounted for about 13% of all household income. Excessively high as compared with other states, the income from the sale of products produced on peasant farms - about 35% of the total household income²¹. But, according to experts, such a high level could be justified in the 1990s in the early stages of economic reform when dehqon farms use tax preferences to support household incomes during the economic downturn. However, at the present stage of economic development the share of this type of income should be reduced, giving way to the income from business in the form of wages. The proportion of income from entrepreneurial activity, then it during the study period was quite high - about 20%. However, excessive growth it may indicate an enhancement of differentiation by income as income from business concentrated only in a minority of households²². It should take into account regional differences. This applies, above all, the relation of these indicators. In Tashkent and Navoi region, for example, the highest share of income from wages.

In order to identify social attitudes and self-perception of citizens Center for the Study of Public Opinion "Ijtimoiy Fikr" conducted a rapid survey of citizens on the topic "Social Monitoring - social self-awareness of citizens." According to the study, the level of material support of 33.1% of respondents identified themselves as average and 54% - to the layers "below average" (Table 4)²³.

To what social class you belong and your family? (% of respondents)

1,4	33,1	53,9	7,4	4,2
Rich	Middle layer	Below average	Poor	Refusal

Judging by the results of the study, it can be argued that the indicators Self-assessment of respondents for this period are quite high. Promote positive changes in reforms implemented in Uzbekistan, the favorable situation on the world market resources (from the beginning of the XXI century.), Which resulted in a gradual increase in national income, which is the result of increased productivity and, as a rule, evidence of employment growth or an increase in salary board. According to research conducted by UNICEF since the mid-1990s in Uzbekistan, there is increase in the average level of real wages, and by the end of the 1990s she was stabilized, indicating that people with low wages also benefited from economic growth in country.

2.1 ²⁰ Doklad o chelovecheskom razvitii. Uzbekistan 1998. (UNDP., CER.). Tashkent, 1998. S. 17.

2.1 ²¹ Ubaydullaeva R. A. Glavnaya strategicheskaya tsel zkonomicheskix reform v Uzbekistane // Materialo' konferentsii «Transformatsiya zkonomicheskoy sistemo' i problemo' formirovaniya konkurentnoy sredo' v Uzbekistane» (23 fevralya 2003 g.). Tashkent, 2005. S. 18.

2.1 ²² Tam je.

2.1 ²³ Ubaydullaeva R. A. Sotsialno'y monitoring i sotsialno'e samochuvstviya grajdan Uzbekistana // Zkonomika i klass sobstvennikov. Tashkent, 2004. № 3. S. 7.

About the latest developments in income and financial situation of the population in Uzbekistan since independence can be judged by the results of the study "Resource mobilization household» (FAM - Family Assets Mobilization), conducted in 2009 by the Center for Economic Research in cooperation with the United Nations Development Programme "Support to Reform Process in Uzbekistan"²⁴. For the period 2003-2009. total assets households in the country (in Uzbekistan over five million households) increased three times and was estimated at \$ 87 billion analysis of data on household income leads to the main conclusion in Uzbekistan has been an increase in income, both nominal and real. Whereas in 2003 the total value of all assets of the surveyed households was less than \$ 6,400 per family on average, or a scale republic around \$ 35 billion (roughly estimated), while in 2009, excluding the size of savings, the cost of home appliances and unevaluated the value of land, the total assets of the main country's households (real estate, vehicles, equipment, livestock) amounted to about \$ 17,000 per household²⁵.

In addition to real estate and technology in Uzbekistan on the growth of incomes and living standards of the population affected by domestic animals. In terms of durable goods, available in working condition in families also have been significant changes. In 2003, most of the durable goods available to the families had from age 10 to 20 years, is in a strong state of disrepair and needed constant repair and investing. In 2009, more than 30% of the property at the basic heading (televisions, audio, video, etc.) has been acquired in the period from 2003 to 2009 has undergone substantial renovation and park personal vehicles - according to the survey, over 66% of cars were purchased by families for not more than 7 years. Twice as increased fleet of trucks. Sharp increase occurred at positions that in 2003 almost not been claimed population because of high prices - mobile phones, satellite dishes, computers, microwave ovens, DVD, etc²⁶.

These opinion polls are confirmed by statistical data authorities (see Table. № 5).

Provision of the population durables (the amount of goods per 100 households) units.

Durable goods	1990 y.	2000 y.	2010 y.
TVs	90	88	132
Refrigerators and freezers	80	86	99
Conditioners	9	11	18,5
Vacuum cleaners	29	30	37
PCs	-	0,2	12
Cameras and video cameras	21	21	24
VCRs, DVD players and video players	1	31	64
Washers	67	69	75
Mobile Phones	-	18	145
The number of cars per 1000 population, units.	21,9	38,9	51,5
The number of cars per 100 households, ed.	11,9	20,1	27,1

Note: See: Major trends and indicators of economic and social development of the Republic of Uzbekistan for years of independence (1990-2010 gg.) And forecasts for 2011-2015. Statistical compilation. Tashkent, 2011. Pp. 86.

However, the steady growth of material reserves indicates the presence of significant reserves to boost incomes and living standards of the population and the growth of the middle strata in their

2.1 ²⁴ «FAM–2009» po svoim masshtabam raboto' yavlyaetsya samo'm krupno'm issledovaniem v Uzbekistane v poslednie godo' (analogichnoe issledovanie provodilos v 2003 g. – R. Sh.). V xode obsledovaniya bo'li oprosheno' 2997 domoxozyaystv (v ix sostav vxodili 16743 che-loveka), v tom chisle oprosom bo'lo oxvacheno 302 domoxozyaystva pred-prinimateley (1648 chelovek). Sredniy sostav oproshenno'x domoxozyaystv – 5,6 cheloveka. Sredniy vozrast chlenov obsledovanno'x domoxo-zyaystv – 27,9 goda. (Aktivo' domoxozyaystv kak vajneyshiy investitsionno'y resurs // Zkonomicheskoe obozrenie. Tashkent, 2010. № 3. S. 20).

2.1 ²⁵ Aktivo' domoxozyaystv kak vajneyshiy investitsionno'y resurs // Zkonomicheskoe obozrenie. 2010. № 3. S. 23.

2.1 ²⁶ Tam je. S. 23-24.

composition. An important role to play in enabling measures of household assets, taken at the level of the center, and in the field. Most effective in this regard runs microcredit for development of family business.

Evolutionary approach consistent and gradual transition to a market economy, political and macroeconomic stability enabled Uzbekistan intense than in many post-Soviet countries with economies in transition, to overcome the effects of large-scale decline in production and since the mid-1990s to resume economic growth and rising living standards.

Clear evidence of the effectiveness of successive Uzbekistan and socio-oriented economic reforms is sustained growth of per capita indicators of socio-economic development and living standards. GDP per capita, calculated (based on World Bank data) at purchasing power parity (PPP) in 1990 was \$ 1328 in 2000 - \$ 1431 and in 2010 reached \$ 3271. Thus, Uzbekistan still in the 90s of the last century on this important indicator exceeded the pre-reform level, and by 2010 it increased 2.5-fold (compared with 1990)²⁷.

It should be noted that a high demographic pressure causes the relatively low levels of per capita income. If you take the comparison of GDP per person employed in the economy, you can see her real qualitative differences. So, if in 1990, each employee in the economy accounted for the equivalent of \$ 3412 of GDP, in 2000 - \$ 3928, and in 2010 - an average of \$ 7940, or 2.3 times more than in 1990²⁸. We can assume that if the composition of families Uzbekistan would match the level of developed countries, the income increased to approximately twice that would be reflected favorably on the standard of living of the population.

Parallel measures to mitigate the negatives sharp polarization of society undertaken by the republic's leadership to increase the income of the population, allowed to form the country's growing middle class. According to official estimates, in 1990 in the country at a fraction of the population with middle income countries accounted for about 18% of the population, and in 2000, from a survey of households - 24%, in 2010 60% of households had no cash income stable below average²⁹.

The experience of developed countries shows that in a market way out of this situation is to create favorable conditions for the formation and development of the middle strata through the creation of a class of owners-entrepreneurs. This postulate is reflected in the priority areas of economic reforms in Uzbekistan. Uzbek President Islam Karimov, seeing them as a prerequisite to assess the effectiveness of reforms, pointing to the stability of the entire system of economic, social and political institutions, noted that "... small business and entrepreneurship... are an important part of the process of establishing in Uzbekistan middle class of owners, foundations and supports socio-political life of the country"³⁰.

A natural question arises: why the country's leadership pays special attention to limit sharp polarization of society (in the property plan)? According to experts, "inequality affects poverty reduction depends on economic growth." So exceeding a certain threshold of inequality, on the one hand, it may deepen the socio-political polarization of society, in the form of use of social benefits (health, education), opening their own business, participation in government (political life), on the other hand, has a negative impact on growth GDP (sots.ek. apathy, falling economic efficiency) and ultimately increases socio-political instability³¹. Particularly dangerous for any society is the sharp transitions from equality to inequality and vice versa.

2.1 ²⁷ Osnovno'e tendentsii i pokazateli... S. 70.

2.1 ²⁸ Tam je. S. 71.

2.1 ²⁹ Osnovno'e tendentsii i pokazateli... S. 80. Sleduet uchito'vat, chto statisticheskie dannoe privedeno' v korrelyatsii s mestno'm urovnem jizni – prim. avtora.

2.1 ³⁰ Karimov I. Konstitutsiya Uzbekistana – prochno'y fundament nashogo prodvijeniya na puti demokraticeskogo razvitiya i formirovaniya grajdanskogo obhestva; Doklad na torjestvennom sobranii, posvyahennom 17-letiyu Konstitutsii Respubliki Uzbekistan // <http://press-service,uz/#ru;riews/show/dokladi/ozbekiston komiitutsiyasi/>.

2.1 ³¹ Makrozkonomiceskaya stabilnost i bednost v Uzbekistane. CER. UNDP. – T., 2005. – S. 40.

In addition, the level of socio-political stability, economic development in the country affects the status of the various strata. Her deterioration or improvement respectively may affect the state especially the "temporary", regardless what position they occupy in the hierarchical social structure of the population axis. Thus, the need for temporary sale of its assets (land, houses, consumer durables), taking extreme steps go into "permanent". This trend is reflected in the permanent state of the next generations, handed "inherited."

In general, in the country the measures taken by the social protection of the population, prevent the possibility of a sharp polarization of the population by income level. According to President Islam Karimov "due to the rapid increase wages and incomes of socially vulnerable groups, providing them with support and tax incentives, with a total income growth in the last ten years by 8.1 times, the gap between the groups with the lowest and highest income, in other words, income differentiation ratio decreased from 21.1 to 8.3 times. This factor is one of the lowest among the CIS countries and a number of economically developed countries"³². The indicator for the whole country is at an acceptable level - the difference in incomes of the wealthiest 20% and the poorest 20% of citizens is 8.4 times³³.

Thus, the transformation processes of the last two decades in the socio-economic sphere of Uzbekistan have brought profound changes in the social structure of society. Undergone significant changes in the economic relations of countries, expressed in changing relations of property and power. Along with them is a restructuring mechanism stratification intensive change of elites. However, data such as social statistics, and polls show the stability of the market reforms in the country and increase the role of personality in their implementation. Since the second half of the 1990s. upward trend in material well-being of citizens, which is the result of quantitative and qualitative changes in the standard of living of the population of Uzbekistan. On the "stage" of social and economic life came new social groups, certain segments of the population are changing their social status, where the main trend of increasing acts of the middle strata of society. And finally, the difficult conditions of a transition period had a positive impact on the socio-economic mobility Uzbeks, on the one hand, reducing their dependency on the other, the growth of economic activity and independence.

2.1 ³² Doklad Prezidenta Respubliki Uzbekistan Islama Karimova na zasedanii Kabineta Ministrov, posvyahennom osnovno'm itogam 2011 goda i prioriteta sotsialno-zkonomicheskogo razvitiya na 2012 god // <http://president.uz/ru/news/show/dokladi/2012> god stanet godom podnyatiya na n 1/

2.1 ³³ Ubaydullaeva R. A. Glavnaya strategicheskaya tsel zkonomicheskix reform v Uzbekistane // Materialo' konferentsii «Transformatsiya zkonomicheskoy sistemo' i problemo' formirovaniya konkurentnoy sredo' v Uzbekistane» (23 fevralya 2003 g.). Tashkent, 2005. S. 18.