



"POPULATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT IN TURKMENISTAN: MYTHS AND REALITY"

REPORT

DEMOCRATIC CIVIL UNION OF TURKMENISTAN

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Introduction

Turkmenistan is between 42°48' and 35°08' north latitude and 52°27' and 66°41' east longitude. Its territory stretches some 1,100 kilometers from west to east and 650 kilometers from north to south. Area of Turkmenistan is about half a million square kilometers (488 thousand sq km). Much of it is the Karakum desert (350 thousand sq km, 72 % of the country). It starts from the Kopetdag piedmont plains and Paropamiz slopes in the south to the Khorezm lowlands in the north; from the valley of the Amu Darya in the east to the old Uzboi riverbed in the west. The desert stretches from west to east for about 800 km and from north to south for about 450 km

The mountains occupy the south and southeast of Turkmenistan. The most important of them: the Kopetdag (its highest peak in the territory of Turkmenistan is the mount Shah-Shah of 2912 m), Kugitangtau (the mount Ayrybaba 3139 m is the highest point of Turkmenistan). The mountain groups Large and Small Balkhans has the greatest height of 1881 m and 774 m, respectively. The elevations of different nature and origin relate to mountainous relief. They are found throughout Turkmenistan. The most prominent of them are the northern spurs of Paropamiz in the southernmost Turkmenistan between the rivers Amu Darya and Tedzhen. The Murghab river divides these mounts into two parts. The area between the Murghab and Tedzhen is called Badkhyz, and the area between the rivers Amu Darya and Murghab is called Karabil. The absolute height of Badkhyz is about 1262 meters, Karabil - 980 meters.

A very significant part of Turkmenistan is occupied by barren takyrs and salt marshes (shors). The usable lands, including arable gore, present and future residential areas and industrial buildings, the undeveloped virgin land, come up to not more than 10 % or about 70 thousand sq km. To date, only half of them can be attributed to the developed and settled lands. At that, the crop acreage is just over 1.5 % of the country territory or about 750 thousand hectares, and the area that is considered suitable for agriculture is a little over one million hectares as well as forty years ago

The number and quality of the population of Turkmenistan within its current borders underwent significant changes in the different periods of history. This is due to the Peri-Caspian habitat of Turkmens, that was the global focus of the active ethnogenesis of Eurasian peoples for thousands of years. This territory was repeatedly overflowed by the great migration of peoples. It was the scene of occurrence, prosperity, glory and

death of civilizations, unending wars for supremacy in the region of the ancient world empires, medieval states, military expansion and social and political upheavals of the modern and contemporary times.

Tectonic shifts in the numerical and qualitative composition of the current population of Turkmenistan took place in the background of constant clashes between natives, their movement and external migrations from Europe, the Middle East, Central, South and East Asia. In the consolidated actions, these processes to the beginning of the twentieth century have formed on the basis of a common genesis, which occurred in the geographical boundaries of the permanent, the steady psychogenetic type of culture, lifestyle and economic way of life of the Turkmen - the representatives of the titular nation of modern Turkmenistan. However, the anthropological "similarity" of the Turkmens with each other has not yet been formed due to the isolation of diverse tribes and their often unfriendly contact with each other for centuries. The variety of external features and behavioral differences between the Turkmens were formed inside the heterogeneous tribes for a long time. The blood ties grew in number and became more complicated inside the tribes. Many of them who have one "Old Testament" Turkic founder with the whole mass of their fellow tribesmen had the separated from other tribesmen genealogic tree from the nations glorified in the history: Arabs, Persians, Mongols and others. In relations with the neighboring Turkmen tribes, the ethnic subgroups of the Turkmen selectively sustained the members of their ethnic community. This legacy is not obsolete yet.

The tribal differences that are set in the language dialects, crafts, household characteristics are preserved inside the modern Turkmen community. These differences are legitimized as historical realities in the Constitution of Turkmenistan and the emblems of the State Flag of Turkmenistan. According to the official version, the emblems in the shape of ornamental carpet patterns (gels) symbolize the five velayats (regions, states) of the country. In fact, the people and the prevailing authorities adjoin the five largest Turkmen tribes with these emblems. This fact, as well as the country's relief¹, are directly relevant to the subject of the report.

¹ Tribal associations of Turkmens located in a variety of landscapes with the sharply differing terrain. It was the river valleys, protected from the incursions of sands and rapid rivers, hard sands of the Karakum desert, piedmont plains, highlands, and valleys. The places for the settlement were often selected on steep plateaus and the sea coast within the natural limits, access to which was blocked by impassable and almost waterless steppes and semi-deserts. In this geographical environment, the certain differences in the behavior and genotypes of the eastern, northern, western, central and southern Turkmen were formed. Currently, the differences between tribes are deliberately used by those who have the power to patronage their fellow tribesmen to advance their career, promotion to managerial positions and favorable location. The ethnic environment appropriate to the supervisor is formed very quickly around reference "positions" without taking into account the training and personal or moral qualities of the encapsulated members. The tribal placement increases the tension on the labor market, giving rise to the poorly concealed dislike of the local ethnic communities by the titular nation when hiring, not only to the "foreigners", but also to the Turkmens of other genera and tribes.

For centuries the Turkmen lived surrounded by "islands" of Indo-Iranian autochthonous peoples who lived in the area of the later Turkic-Mongol settlement since ancient times. Over two millennia of a new era, the population of Turkmenistan varied within wide limits sometimes rising to one and a half or two million, then dropping to a few hundred thousand. In the case of a positive scenario, there was a positive trend of growth of urban population in the ancient and medieval cities of Turkmenistan. However, it never exceeded the 5-10 percent even in the best of times. In peaceful times of great empires, that boosted trade, crafts, science, culture, the construction of cities and the economy, the well-being of people was growing and their number was increasing. Devastating wars and destructive civil strifes led to the opposite result, often putting people on the brink of extinction.

The population of Turkmenistan was from 400 to 500 thousand people in the XVII century according to the non-system sources. By this time the cities have been leveled to the ground after external invasions and internal strifes. Their remains eked out a miserable existence as a caravanserai or dilapidated adobe fortresses surrounded by handicraft quarters, that were providing services to the passing merchants and neighborhood in rural areas.

In XVIII-XIX centuries the influx of migrants from Asia had increased. They were dominated by Azeris (a mixture of ancient Iranian Medes, Caucasian mountaineers, and posterior Turco-Mongols), Armenians, Afghans, Indians, Baluchis, Bukharan Jews (descendants of the Khazar Jews), Kazakhs, Persians, Tatars, Tajiks, Uzbeks. At the end of XIX - early XX century they were joined by immigrants from Eastern Europe: Russian, Ukrainians, Belarusians, and Ashkenazi Jews. There were a smaller number of Germans, Poles, Moldavians, inhabitants of the Baltic States and other Europeans among them. At the beginning of the XX century, when the Russian Empire annexed the territory of modern Turkmenistan, this demographic stratum in the population of Turkmenistan increased noteworthy.

After 1917, the agricultural² ethnic groups, especially the Uzbeks, stayed to live on the part of Khanate of Khiva and Bukhara Emirate that was included in the Turkmen SSR in 1924. In today's Turkmenistan they are the second ethnic group after the titular nation.

The structure of the employment before 1917

Turkmenistan has the harsh natural conditions, its climate is sharply continental. The population of Turkmenistan at all times lacked water, and that's why the overwhelming part of it settled in the arable and pasture areas. This explains the extremely uneven settling of people until 1917 and more recently, when the bulk of the population was

² On the territory of the current Dashoguz and Lebap velayats.

concentrated in the river valleys and plains of the foothills, that provides people with stable yields of crops and fodder.

Relatively densely populated areas were the basins of Tedzhen, Murghab and Amu Darya. The delta of the great Central Asian river, its middle reaches and the southern part at the border with Afghanistan have the highest population density. Today, within the framework of the administrative division of Turkmenistan's territory, the most populated territories are Mary, Lebap and Dashoguz velayat. The Akhal velayat was densely populated, it was the breadbasket of the nation and, as the historians say, the birthplace of the first wheat cultivated in the world (Ak Bugdai).

The irrigation and dry farming, nomadic and distant-pasture cattle raising were widely used in these regions and were the main form of farming. The fields in the plains were irrigated by river channels and aryks. The cereals, leguminous plants: wheat, beans, peas, rice were sown; the cotton was cultivated; white durra, clover, alfalfa were harvested, as well as other food and fodder crops for the own consumption and animal feed in the form of hay and silage. The soil of mountain valleys, that was absorbing moisture during floods and rains, gave low but stable yields of grain crops (oats, wheat), melons, roots, grapes and other fruit plants, that provided people a living wage and even prosperity. The handicrafts brought some small income: carpet weaving, felting of matting, jewelry and pottery, hand forging of bladed weapons and instruments of labor: shovels, hoes, sickles, openers, etc. Turkmen craftsmen made musical instruments, wooden bowls, spoons, tawed the leather for the papakhas (telpeks), sheepskins, horse harness, shoes (charyks) and other items of service and household items for themselves and on a by-order basis.

The anhydrous territory of the present Balkan velayat was sparsely populated. The Turkmen seaside had no surface flow of the more or less permanent rivers, except the low water Atrek and its tributaries in the mountains on the border with Persia (Iran). The population was engaged in nomadic cattle raising, moving with herds of mainly sheep and camels on the territory of the Western Region and beyond. The cattle provided meat, hides, karakul fur, wool, which were for domestic consumption and for export as a commodity in relations with the Caspian countries. The life of Balkans was radically different from the neighboring Turkmen, but the lack of water and lack of fertile land have stimulated the search for additional sources of income. At the seaside the semi-settled residents of coastal villages have long been engaged in fishing, they dried and salted fish, built fishing and cargo boats using the Iranian timber brought to the southern shores of the Caspian Sea, traded mineral resources, developing exposed salt deposits, oil, mineral wax, lime, semiprecious stones and other minerals. The merchants often hired young horsemen to accompany their caravans.

All this was not enough to ensure the comfortable life of the people, who were in constant need of food and especially bread. There was an acute shortage of metal, wood, textile, business, household utensils and other goods necessary for the house and the organization of handicraft production. Harsh climatic conditions, tribal

fragmentation, primitive instruments of labor, poor trade and commodity-money relations have limited the livelihood and Turkmens were forced to engage in armed robbery and slave trafficking.

Constant attacks on the close and distant neighbors, robbery, theft and bloody violence, including one over the other, formed in Turkmens the genetic predisposition to bossing, permissiveness, lack of respect for life and dignity of people fallen under their sway³.

By the mid 80's of the XIX century, after a bloody war in Akhal, the annexation of Turkmenistan by the Russian Empire was completed. With the accession of Turkmenistan as part of the Trans-Caspian region of Russia, the employment structure of the population has undergone great change primarily associated with the industry development. In 1913, textile products (cotton gin) industry accounted for 42.9 % of the entire industry. Food industry provided 37.3 % of the total volume. Power plants - 0.1 %, the mining and chemical industry - 0.4 %. The share of construction materials, petroleum, printing and other industries accounted for 19.3 %. By the beginning of 1917, the share of oil production, mining and fishing industries has increased.

³ Today, this complex is resuscitated with terrible force and turned into an instrument of enslavement of socially vulnerable people. It is clearly manifested today in the corporate governance system, including power structures, which is replicated the strict hierarchical subordination from the top down, made each supervisor to feel himself the complete nonentity before the chief superior. But inside the perimeter of his powers, each of such "chief" feels like a complete master of the situation, trying to get the most out of his temporary command. Newly appeared "bais" and "khans" hire and fire people at their discretion. The latter are socially transformed to clever opportunists, who is often intriguing against their "master", or to dumb animals. This is evident everywhere. As in the theater, it is particularly evident in upscale hotels, which are now in great demand in Turkmenistan

Despite the repressions in the central apparatus against officials who do not know the extent of embezzlement, theft, and extortion, arbitrariness tradition continues to exist without undergoing any change. Following it at the local level has a negative impact on solving the problems of employment and reduction of unemployment in the country. Persecution of malpractice does not change the situation. This is explained by the nature of purges, the essence of which lies in the same tradition of excellence in power over the masses.

This tradition takes even more heinous forms in enterprises of the private sector, regardless of their type of activity. The labor laws and regulations are actually canceled there and perverted rules and morality act in relations between employers and wage earners. These enterprises have no workers' unions, but there are the entrepreneurial unions. The oral contracts of employment that employers shamelessly violated are proliferated under its shadow. The fines for violations flimsy introduced at the initiative of the firms' owners. The cash collection sucks the beggarly wage of workers, they often got dismissed without any payment for the work done. This practice is common to all private business segments. Especially it thrives splendidly in cafes, restaurants, bakeries, retail outlets of all kinds of household service establishments, entertainment centers, service stations, in catering and other service facilities.

The growth of the Turkmen population in the period of industrial growth in the Russian Empire is of particular interest. Population growth has been one of the major factors and sources of development of the industry at that time.

In 1913, the population of Turkmenistan was about 620 thousand people, of which there were 540 thousand villagers and 60 thousand or 9.7 % urban residents. During this period, unemployment as a social evil was observed only in the cities, but it had a seasonal character and never took the catastrophic proportions. In rural areas, the patriarchal economy management continued to dominate, preventing a sharp income inequality of clan members.

By 1917, the number of inhabitants of the country reached 950,000 people, including more than 100,000 people or 10.5 % of urban population, and continued to increase. The laying of the Turkestan Military railway played a big part in the positive demographic shifts. They stimulated the construction of new and revitalization of old towns and townships: Krasnovodsk, Ashkhabad, Merv (Mary), Kushka, Omul (Chardzhou), Kerka, and others. The shops were opened in cities and railway stations serving steel trunk laid across the territory of Turkmenistan, churns, hatchels, spinning mills, and other cotton workhouses, wool scutching and wool weaving factories, a slaughterhouse, plants for ice production, diesel power plants, etc. The oil fields, the primary processing of oil and other minerals were opened on an industrial scale, the quarries for the production of building materials were developed, an artisanal fish catch, salt, mineral wax, iodine production were carried out, the production of agricultural and other equipment was developing.

There was no unemployment in the modern sense of the word because most of the Turkmen lived on subsistence farming. The exception was the indigenous people of the Western Region - Cheleken, Krasnovodsk - involved in the industrial development of the country. This process also involved other regions. Among them, the most intensively developing were Akhal and Lebap, the centers of which, as it is now, became once again established Ashgabat and revived to life Chardjou (Turkmenabat). The economic development of the latter was stimulated by the railway bridge across the Amu Darya and the river shipping.

The structure of the employment in the Soviet period, 1917 - 1991

The radical socio-economic changes underwent and ensured the growth of production, economy, and culture in the affected period in Turkmenistan, which until 1917 had only artisanal farming and nomadic cattle raising with industry and transport in the initial stage of development.

Turkmenistan was rich in various mineral resources: oil, gas, mineral wax, mirabilite, potassium and sodium chloride, sulfur, limestone and other mineral resources. Their development was carried out even during the period when Turkmenistan was part of the Russian Empire. Laying of the railway from Krasnovodsk in the west to the eastern border of the country has accelerated these processes, involving the representatives of the local elite, wealthy part of the rural population and the merchants in the business. During the period of the empire, along with State-owned enterprises in Turkmenistan increased the number of private small factories, mainly light and food industries, owned by representatives of the indigenous nation. But the time of development of the natural resources in modern industrial scale occurred in the 20's of the twentieth century.

At this time, the production of oil and gas has been increasing in volumes in Cheleken, Nebit Dag, Kum-Dag, Koturdep, Kamyshldzha, Okarem and other places of Western Turkmenistan. In the previous period, the oil production was only 1.2 million tons from 1876 to 1917, or an average of slightly more than 29 thousand tons per year. For comparison, it was produced 129,000 tons of oil in 1913, 587,000 tons in 1940, three million 430 tons in 1956, about 10 billion tons in 1965. The annual volume of oil production was close to 20 million tons in the late 1980's - early 1990's. This is almost twice as much as the modern oil production in Turkmenistan.

Turkmenistan's gas industry was equally rapidly developing. Huge reserves of combustible gas were developed in the Central Karakum, Gaurdak, Kugitang, Karabil, Badkhyz fields⁴. The well near the village Darwaza gave the first powerful gas blowout on May 16, 1959. On April 12, 1962, the gas blowout opened in the Uchdepe area in the delta of Murghab river. The development of valuable non-metallic ores in the Gulf of Kara Bogaz Gol began in the affected period: barite and witherite in Western Kopetdag, Glauber's salt (mirabilite), magnesium, bromine, iodine, potassium. A large plant "Karabogazsulfate" **with two thousand jobs** was created to obtain marketable products on the Gulf's shore. The sulfate workers' village Bekdash was rebuilt for the arrangement of their families.

The reserves of uranium ore, celestite, phosphorite, bentonite, mudstone were intensively developed in the Turkmen seaside. Rich deposits of lead, zinc, sulfur were mined in eastern Turkmenistan - Kugitangtau. Granite, limestone, marl, dolomite, andesite, porphyry, alabaster, basalt and gravel-pebble rocks were widely used for the production of building materials. Even sands of the Karakum desert have been in demand. Quartz and blown sands were used to manufacture glass and silica bricks, wall constructions, thermal insulation, roofing, cladding and other materials. Field development and commissioning of new plants, mills, factories, quarries and other industrial facilities created **hundreds of thousands of new jobs**. The same purpose was

⁴ In the fields "Galkynysh" and other huge gas storage rooms on the left bank of the Amu Darya supposedly opened in the period of independence of Turkmenistan.

served by the newly constructed facilities of construction, consumer, food, fishing industry.

Tens of **thousands of citizens of Turkmenistan** worked on the rail, road transport, communications, energy plants, that received great strides after the Second World War. A large number of jobs were provided by trade, health care, education and culture facilities, which were in their infancy before 1917.

Great work on the creation of jobs has been carried out in the rural and water sectors. The most important role in the development of these sectors played the construction of a transnational Karakum Channel Amu Darya - Ashgabat of 800 km in 1962 and laying the pioneer channel to Kazandzhik, that fed Krasnovodsk and Atrek with water through the pipes of large diameter. In the years 1959-65 more than 300 thousand tons of fine-fiber cotton only were produced in the land, irrigated by man-made river waters⁵. The channel stimulated the growth of acreage and higher yields of fine-fiber cotton, alfalfa, fruit, grapes, vegetables, melons and other crops. In this regard, the capacity Murghab-Tejen oasis was increased greatly. The channel created favorable conditions for irrigation of about 15 million hectares of pastures and provided water needs for livestock over vast areas. The area along the channel was quickly built up, many new rural and urban settlements were built, the state and collective farms were created, the industrial plants for processing of agricultural products were opened.

The increase in population in Turkmenistan in the 1917-1991 years was notable for positive dynamics and the growth of urban population. For example, in 1914 there were 900 thousand people who lived in Turkmenistan, including 810,000 rural and 90,000 urban, or 10 % of the total number of population⁶. The overall rate of population growth over the next 12 years was intermittent and not always with the "plus" sign. But the urban population in 1926 increased by 52 percent. The total number of citizens of Turkmenistan was 998,000 back then. Of these, the rural population remained at the level of 1914 - 810,000, and the townfolks have increased to 137,000 (13.7 % of the population). Low population growth from 1914 to 1926 is due to loss of life in the first world and civil wars, the postwar economic ruin, hunger, social disorder. However, the economic revival were much more efficient in urban areas in the recovery period. The commissioning of the old enterprises and construction of new facilities, housing, and social facilities required manpower. People from the villages started moving in cities and

⁵ According to specialists, 1.5 million tons of cotton, 500 thousand tons of rice, 330 thousand tons of corn, 770 thousand tons of milk, 200 thousand tons of meat and other products can be produced every year from each million hectares of land under irrigation in the desert.

⁶ The increase in the actual number of residents with a slight increase in their share in the total number of the population compared with 1913 is due to two factors. On the one hand, migrants from the Russian provinces settled in the cities, on the other hand - a mass return of ethnic Turkmen to their historic homeland of the Emirate of Bukhara, former Kokand and Khiva khanates and other Central Asian states. Arriving Turkmen settled in the historic homeland mainly in rural areas.

industrial towns, where there was a small but guaranteed income. However, they were few. The increase in the urban population was due to the inflow of labor from Central Russia, Eastern Ukraine, and the Caucasus. Russian, Ukrainians, Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Tatars constituted a significant part of the urban population. This trend continued until the end of the 70's of the last century⁷.

TABLE 1

Population growth in large cities (thousand people):

Cities	1917	1939	1959	1970	1991
Ashgabat	65	127	170	253	450
Chardzhou (Turkmenabat)	14	51	66	96	130
Mary	18	37	48	62	85
Krasnovodsk (Turkmenbashi)	13	21	39	49	68
Tashauz (Dashoguz)	3	15	38	63	90
Nebit-Dag (Balkanabat)	-	3.5	33	55	80

In 1939 the population of Turkmenistan were up to 1 million 252 thousand people. Of these, 416,000 lived in the cities, 836,000 - in rural areas. Over the years 1926-1939 with a total growth of population, the number of villagers in Turkmenistan declined slightly - only by 3 % - while the urban population increased by more than three times. In these

⁷ In 1970 the population of Turkmenistan consisted of 2,259,000. Turkmens made up 65.6 % or 1,417,000 people among them. Russian, occupying second place in number, counted to 313,000 or 14.5 %. Uzbeks - 179 thousand or 8.3 %. Kazakhs - 69 thousand or 3.2 %. Representatives of other nationalities - 181,000 or 8.4 %. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the associated massive outflow of the Russian-speaking population to their historic homeland radically changed the ethnic mosaic of Turkmenistan.

years, population dynamics was explained by natural increase and internal migration. There was no mass unemployment. The available manpower at low wages was absorbed by the new industrial buildings in the cities, a dense network of cultural institutions, education, health facilities. In rural areas, this mission was carried out by the newly formed collective and state farms, machine and tractor stations. A certain part of the rural population farmed plots of land that were in the personal use of the villagers.

By the beginning of World War II, after the completion of the industrialization and collectivization of the USSR economy, Turkmenistan has significantly strengthened its productive capacity and the technical equipment of the villages compared to the previous period. The large-scale socio-economic restructuring was carried out, as elsewhere in the Soviet Union, through administrative measures, but they never took massive and bloody repression forms⁸ in Turkmenistan, but these forms were typical for the central regions of the country and for some Soviet republics. Therefore, in Turkmenistan, there was no forced labor⁹ of millions of prisoners engaged in the construction of the century in other regions of the Union. On the contrary, the demand for labor, especially skilled, was significantly ahead of those years offer.

The postwar years were marked by further growth in Turkmenistan's population. In 1959, it was already 1,516,000 people in spite of the losses sustained on the battlefield. Of these, 700,000 were of urban population (46 %) and 815,000 of agricultural (54 %). In 1962, the population of Turkmenistan grew up to 1,682,800 people. If in 1959 the population of the republic was increased by 146 % in comparison with 1913, then in 1962 it increased respectively by 162 %. In 1970, the number of city dwellers is almost equal to the inhabitants of rural areas: the first was 1,034,000, the second - 1,125,000. The population of Turkmenistan has exceeded two million, and 2,159,000 people lived there in 1970. In 1980, the country has a population of 2,430,000 people. The rural population still prevailed over the city. It counts one million 248 thousand (51.4 %), while the city counts one million 182 thousand (48.6 %). According to the structural employment, Turkmenistan still remained an agricultural country, however, with the rapidly developing industries. The gap between rural and urban populations decreased for each five-year period by 2-3 %.

By the early 2000's the unemployment in Turkmenistan was zero among the urban population. In rural areas, it was leveled by providing villagers with adjoining estates, suburban parcels from the vacant land fund and restrained by government subsidies for

⁸ Except for a brief period of combat with the "basmachestvo" not supported by the broad masses of the Turkmen people.

⁹ Slave labor of prisoners with a specific stretch can be attributed to the hidden unemployment of colossal proportions, but it would be considered biased referring to the specific political realities of the time.

agricultural development in the public sector¹⁰. Unemployment of rural youth in the amount of 2-3 % corresponded to birth rate and was settled through the development of industrial centers, where young people rushed to the work. In the regions with a small rural population, such as in western Turkmenistan, the unemployment was never seen in the village.

Turkmenistan faced the mass unemployment in the mid 80's of the last century. It was provoked by stagnation in the Soviet Union's economy and, as a consequence, the collapse of the state.

The structure of the employment in modern Turkmenistan

This period is characterized by the actual destruction of the state statistics in the field of demography. This has led to an increase of the errors in the assessment of the total population of Turkmenistan and the employment structure of the population.

According to the Internet website data in 2015, Turkmenistan held the 52-th place in the world by area - 491.2 thousand square kilometers¹¹. The population of Turkmenistan totaled 5.37 million people¹². The citizens counted to 2.58 million people or 48 %. Ethnic composition was characterized by a predominance of the Turkmens (78.6 %), an increase in the proportion of Uzbeks (9.4 %) and a sharp decline in the number of Russian (3.2 %). According to the data in 2005, Ashgabat counted 900 thousand

¹⁰ At that time, most of the collective farms in the agricultural and livestock areas were abolished, and the state farms were organized on their basis in Turkmenistan.

¹¹ It is not known by whose land the territory of Turkmenistan has increased by 3.1 thousand km²? In all sources, including academic publications, its territory does not exceed 488.1 thousand km².

¹² The UN estimates that 5,171,943 people lived in Turkmenistan in 2015. This figure is very different from other sources, in particular with the reports on the birth of 6 millionth inhabitant in Turkmenistan. There is no census data for 2012 for the comparative test - it was not made public and we can not trust them, even if they were close at hand. In 2015, it became known from the leaked information that there are 4,751,120 people lived in Turkmenistan. Due to the closeness of the statistical data on the composition and structure of employment in modern Turkmenistan, where local and regional bodies of state statistics abolished the collection of data on population and employment and prohibited references to the word "unemployment", it is necessary to use a comparative analysis of the data and their average values. Hereinafter we refer to only these values in order to facilitate text of the report.

inhabitants that days¹³. Turkmenabat¹⁴ (former Chardzhou) and previously small Dashoguz¹⁵ (former Tashauz) appeared in the category of the largest cities in the country. According to these sources, 650,000 and 210,000 people lived there, respectively. The positive dynamics of growth, as reflected in the official versions, is typical for other velayat (provincial) and district (regional) centers. But we cannot believe such information: it is not true and contradictory.

Let us compare the data from the internet websites above, according to which 5.37 million people¹⁶ lived in Turkmenistan in 2015, with the official estimates of population in Turkmenistan at different times, using available sources of Ashgabat population. According to it, 790 thousand people or 13 % of the population lived in the capital of Turkmenistan in 2003. Using simple calculation, we can obtain the number of inhabitants of Turkmenistan in 2003. It will amount to 6 million 76.9 thousand people. In 2005, Ashgabat population has increased to 900 thousand people (13.4 % of the population), which leads to a total number of 6 million 76.4 thousand people. This is 1 million 346.4 thousand more of the population in 2015, according to Internet websites. The difference between the number of people in Turkmenistan in 2005 and the UN data for 2015 is even more striking - 1,544,500. Government sources that deserve attention stated that **4,751,120 people lived in Turkmenistan in 2015**. That's 1,964,880 people less than the population according to the official version. The authors believe this figure is lowered at 0.5 million people. But, in any case, it turns out that the figures announced by or published in the mass media of Turkmenistan are flawed, biased.

Therefore, the comparative-analytical method for the assessment of all identified statistical data of national, regional and local scale, as well as the available frame of Internet websites on the subject were used to provide relatively accurate information on the size and structure of employment of the population of Turkmenistan in the report. The insiders' data and confidential information from persons close to the knowledgeable circles were brought to analysis of the collected materials. We investigated the indirect facts. For example, the number of voters participating in

¹³ According to the census in 1995, the population of Ashgabat was 604.7 thousand people, and according to the official assessment in 2001 - 712 thousand people. The officially estimated population was 743,000 people on July 1, 2002. In the middle of 2003, the Ashgabat population officially estimated at 790,000 people. On November 18, 2005, it was officially announced about reaching the 900,000th milestone. The dispersion of statistics data doubts the accuracy of the statistical information in Turkmenistan.

¹⁴ According to Turkmenstat data in 2013. NOTE: Turkmenabat crossed this bar (650,000) only by early 2015.

¹⁵ Information for 2004. The figure is too high. Only in January 2009, the Dashoguz came to this line (210,000). As of August 1, 370,000 people lived there.

¹⁶ According to the UN - 5,171,943 people

elections at various levels, the ratio of the contract price for construction projects¹⁷ and the number of workers employed in their realization. We take into account the extent of sales of everyday food products in the markets and the number of pensioners and students in the cities selected as a base for the development of verifiable index in the comparative analytical processing of the collected data.

So by the time of Turkmenistan gained independence in 1991, 3 million 159 thousand people lived there. Of these, 1 million 832 thousand (58 %) lived in rural areas. The cities had a population of 1 million 327 thousand (42 %). **About 390 thousand** people lived in Ashgabat.

With real growth of the urban population, the decline in its share in the total population of Turkmenistan is due to mass layoffs in city enterprises, partial reduction or a complete closure of the production facilities, reforms in the system of executive power, the abolition of institutions of culture, health, education, trade, consumer services, utilities and other structures of the Soviet era. Deprived of work in the city, people who were keeping in touch with the village, returned to the countryside, where it was easier to live than in the city at that time. Able-bodied population totaled 2,200,000 people (**69.6 %**) of which 286,000 were unemployed (**13 %**). The unemployment rate would be much higher, but it was reduced by the strong outflow of the non-indigenous population of Turkmenistan.

In 1995, the population in Turkmenistan counted to 3 million 506 thousand people. Of these, 1 million 962 000 were the villagers (56 %), 1 million 544 thousand (44 %) - the citizens. The able-bodied population were 2.6 million (**74 %**), of which 910,000 were unemployed (**35 %**). The unemployment almost did not decrease in the following 1996-1999. These were the years of its peak - Turkmenistan lived by a card system. The prevalence of rural over the urban population in this period was due to the restructuring of the economy, which has nominated the subsistence farming, commodity exchanges, barter, etc. In 1995, the population of the capital counted to **430 thousand** people.

In 2001, Turkmenistan's population was 3 million 856 thousand people. Of these, 54 % or 2 million 82 thousand people were the rural population. The urban population was 46 % or 1 million 774 thousand people. The number of able-bodied population was 2,750,000 (**71 %**), ff whom 610,000 were unemployed (22 %). The increase in the number of able-bodied population was due to the migration to Turkmenistan ethnic Turkmens and Uzbeks from neighboring countries. Reducing unemployment stimulated modernization and construction of new enterprises, the cooperative movement, the introduction of new and restoration of arable land neglected during the previous period. The population of Ashgabat was **480 thousand** people in 2001.

In 2002, the population in Turkmenistan was 4 million 48 thousand people, including 53.3 % or 2 million 157 thousand people of the rural population. The urban population

¹⁷ **Most projects were of the standard plan.**

was 46.7 % or 1 million 890 people, respectively. The able-bodied population numbered to 2,793,000 (**69 %**) of the total population. Of these unemployed were 558,000 people (**20 %**). Reducing the proportion of the working population was due to its aging and natural decline on the one hand, and an increase in the birth rate on the other. **510 thousand** people lived in Ashgabat in 2002.

In 2003, the Turkmenistan's population increased by 120 thousand, reaching 4 million 168 thousand people. At that, the rural population was 52.5 % of the country's population or 2 million 188 thousand people, the urban population was 47.7 % or 1 million 980 thousand people. The able-bodied population was 2,843,000 (**68 %**); unemployed - 512,000 (**17 %**). Reduction of the number of unemployed was due to the mass exodus of able-bodied population of the non-titular nation of the country, and, in part, the creation of new jobs in Ashgabat, Balkan and Mary velayats in connection with the development of hydrocarbon deposits. The population of Ashgabat was **552 thousand** people in 2003¹⁸.

In 2005, the population of Turkmenistan numbered to 4 million 280 thousand people. Of these, 52 % or 2 million 225 thousand people lived in rural areas, 48 % or 2 million 55 thousand people - in the city. The able-bodied population numbered to 2,868,000 (**67 %**). The unemployed in the country was 450,000 (**15.7 %**) at that time. In practice, the number and proportion of working population had not changed for the past two years. In 2005, **642 thousand** people or 15% of the population lived in Ashgabat.

In 2007, Turkmenistan's population was 4 million 510 thousand people with minor changes in the ratio between the rural and urban populations. 2 million 345 thousand people (52%) lived in the village, 2 million 165 thousand people (48 %) - in the city. The ratio of the working population and the unemployed ones for this year were 2,954,000 (**65.5 %**) to 443,100 (**15 %**). The part of the unemployed in the mass of the working population remained at the same level. Ashgabat has **690 thousand** people in 2007.

In 2013, the urban and rural population in Turkmenistan was almost equal¹⁹. The country has a population of 4.86 million people. Of these, the rural population was 2 million 464 thousand people (50.7 %), the urban - 2 million 396 thousand people (49.3 %). The able-

¹⁸ According to official estimates in 2003, 790 thousand people or 13 % of the country's population lived in Ashgabat. According to this indicator, it turned out that the population in Turkmenistan in 2003 was of 6 million people. 76,923 people, which is absolutely not true. According to the same estimates, it was reported that in 2005 the capital's population reached 900 thousand people or 13.4 % of the population of the country. Based on this ratio, the Turkmen population in 2005 was 6 million 716 thousand 418 people. Thus, it has increased by 639 thousand 495 people in the two years with a growth rate of 110.5. It is basically impossible, even for prosperous countries, especially for Turkmenistan, which is experiencing difficult economic challenges at that time.

¹⁹ According to some websites, the rural population still dominates in Turkmenistan, but it is not true according to our research.

abled population was 3,305,000 (**68 %**), unemployed - 350,000 (**10.6 %**). **830** thousand people or 17 percent of the population lived in Ashgabat.

In 2015, Turkmenistan's population was 5 million 235 thousand people. The report's authors consider this number as the most correct. The rural population numbered 2 million 607 thousand people or 49.8 %. The urban - 2 million 628 thousand people (50.2 %) ²⁰. In the two years that have passed since 2013, the number of working-age population in the country increased by 150,000. It amounted to 3,455,000 in 2015 (**66 %** of the total population). Of these 340,000 (**9.8 %**) were unemployed. The reduction of unemployment to five percent over five years contributed, despite the population growth, the large-scale construction of irrigation systems, transport, communications, industrial, social, health resort and tourism, sports and other facilities in urban and rural areas, which given the status of urban settlements, that were developed in the country since 2007. In 2015, there has been a steady trend to an increase in the urban population. **916** thousand people lived in Ashgabat by the averaged estimates on January 1, 2015.

As of August 1, 2016, 5 million 620 thousand people lived in Turkmenistan. Of these, 2 million 360 thousand (42 %) lived in rural area; 3 million 260 thousand (58 %) - in cities. The able-bodied population of the country numbered to 3,833,000 people (**68.2 %**). The number of unemployed (*including 48,000 in Ashgabat*) was **470,000 (12 %)**. The increase in the number of unemployed is explained by a decrease in the rate of construction and the reduction of jobs at many sites due to the fall in prices for hydrocarbon resources and the reduction of foreign exchange earnings to the state budget. At the time, **1 million 20 thousand** people lived in Ashgabat, the unemployment rate in the city was **5 %**. The required number of jobs for the capital is **about 50,000**.

CONCLUSION

Currently, a large part of the community is engaged in agriculture, but the number of residents is more than peasants. The sector of small and medium-sized businesses is increasing, but private business plays a significant role in the system of employment in large and medium-sized cities. In rural areas, especially in the well-developed agro-industrial regions like Akhal and Lebap, the individual enterprises and business companies are opened, but the process is at an early stage of its development. Significant human resources are involved in the sphere of industrial production: energy, transportation, communications, food processing, consumer goods, light industry, construction and production of construction materials. At that, the construction takes almost the first place in employment today.

²⁰ In 2015, the urban population for the first time exceeded the number of villagers.

A large-scale construction of industrial and other facilities deployed in Turkmenistan that provide jobs during their construction and after commissioning do not always meet expectations. Many facilities are constructed without taking into account the economic characteristics of the regions. An illustration of this are the numerous factories and textile mills, shoe and other light industry plants, that are opened in almost every etrap (area) of the country. They are idle due to lack of raw materials and often produce products that are uncompetitive even on the domestic market.

The same is observed in the construction of the resort and sanatorium centers, such as the National Tourist Zone "Avaza". The expensive hotels and resorts with the modern resort and tourist infrastructure are working at full capacity in the swimming season - that is only three months a year. The staff - or rather day laborers - are recruited for their service during the summer season.

The jobs are cut in large enterprises of the industry, such as chemical plants in the east of the country, the Turkmenbashi oil refineries in the Turkmen seaside and others. The reason is the steady drop in oil production, poor quality of raw materials, the difficult financial situation of many companies and industries, including the fishing industry. In connection with the underfunding, the foreign construction firms are shut down, the pace of work is slowing down on many construction sites. All this is accompanied by many months of salary delays, labor release. The permanent jobs deficit puts pressure on the labor force market and people agree on everything to not lose their jobs. As in the case of loss of employment and lack of family, the citizens are doomed to a hungry and miserable existence.

The youth gets first under the press. Every year, from 2013 to 2016, on the average from 90,000 to 110,000 young workers under 18 years of age were splashed out on the labor market. That's not counting those who started their career before the age of 18. And all this new mass flows in the number of working-age population, which already has high unemployment rate.

Apart from the numbers recorded in the analytical table to identify significant dimensions of unemployment, it can be increased by the long-term unemployed, namely persons without fixed residence and registration, who are really hard to identify and are not officially registered in Turkmenistan. Due to strict control by the current "Sheets on accounting personnel", the guest workers²¹ can not get a job and scrape by doing odd jobs and begging on the everyday basis. The co-operatives of guest workers who come to work from the areas with regional labor surplus are not taken into account. Without patents, but enlisting the support of a reliable "roof" of the local government agencies, the heads of which get considerable sums for this, the cooperatives' foremen earn good money on private orders, but this can not be said about their ordinary performers. It is unlikely, that they are put to the lists of unemployed persons in places

²¹ Basically, those of non-indigenous nation.

of residence (registration) (they do not like to do so in the East), but they live without any right at the place of work, getting a miserable reward for their labor. This phenomenon, as well as the household, can be legitimately attributed to hidden unemployment.

The internal migration of manpower from provinces with the long-term unemployed - the Dashoguz velayat in the first place - became a huge problem. The unemployed people from this region are flooded the country construction sites. They are taken on short-term contracts with a payment of no more than 800 manat or not more than 160-200 dollars a month according to the real exchange rate on the "black market". The mass unemployment among this category has given rise to a massive violation of the rights of hired workers. These pariahs of "free labor" in Turkmenistan, without whom no construction site in the country can run, are working seven days a week, often for 12 hours or more per day. They are not protected by labor laws, have no unions. The influx of migrants is imposed on local employment problems of its own residents. After the construction of various facilities, a significant part of immigrants remains in places of temporary stay in the hope of finding a new job. At present, Turkmenistan is folding the construction programs, and a lot of problems associated with the unemployed newcomers places a heavy burden on the local population in matters of their employment.

Admission to work in public institutions of any type and level or in large enterprises of all forms of property is carried out by deep-rooted bribes. Their size varies depending on the place of work and its prestige from 500/1000 dollars (applicants for ordinary jobs) to several thousand dollars for candidates for managerial chair. In Turkmenistan, everyone knows about it and no one is surprised. The unspoken legalized lawlessness treated as the everyday business, hallowed by the national tradition of extortion (baksheesh, kickback).

Growing sector of private business, especially small and medium-sized businesses is a wild field of the arbitrariness of employers who willfully set the rules for wage earners. The owners come up with an internal schedule and arbitrary penalties systems. They introduce working time grid and forms of remuneration, which flagrantly violate the country's labor legislation²². In the service industry (private restaurants, hotels, shops,

²² To illustrate: the following charge of waitresses work is practiced among other conditions of bonded labor in restaurants "Ak Bugday" and "Zimin" in the city of Turkmenbashi - 5 % of the amount of orders made by her. However, the waitress salary per working day (shift) of arbitrary duration must not exceed an upper threshold. It is set by the employer in the amount of not more than 20 manats. On the black market (and currently there is no other currency market in Turkmenistan) it is less than \$4. For a month, if the waitress will be able to work through it, it will be about \$40, but even this sum fly apart under the weight of numerous fines brought by the master. Even "tipping" - the personal remuneration for waitresses from customers for exemplary service - falls under the control of employers and their lackeys. "Tipping" enters the "common pot" and divided among the entire staff, with the issuance of the lion's share to the masters of the situation.

cafes, etc.), the owners of service businesses and their managers hire young women with a trial period and then dismiss them without payment, replacing the dismissed with other victims of oppressive new employment system.

We should not have to pay attention to this, if the evil was not of mass character²³. In most cases, the criminal employment practices inherent the shameless abuse of young women and girls who are recruited in the onerous conditions, utter contempt for human dignity and impunity of homegrown employers - the nouveau riche - encouraged by a criminal patronage of law enforcement agencies and executive bodies in the field.

The work of local bodies of the Ministry of Labor and Social Protection of Turkmenistan is of particular note. Velayat, city and etrap departments of the Ministry virtually barred from public employment issues. The "job fairs" conducted by them and widely publicized in the media as an effective form of employment of citizens are actually the outright distortion of socially important work. Nowhere and never the candidates for the job find it in the farcically arranged "fairs of vacancies". These activities are valuable only for their organizers as another TV show allegedly confirming the social orientation of the internal policy subordinated to the slogan "the State for the people!".

These fairs are attended by the heads of personnel departments of enterprises, institutions and organizations with lists of alleged vacancies they had. Then, the certificates with the addresses of the employers are passed to the citizens in need of the job, and these employers then decide to take or not to take them to work by the approved scheme. The public reports in the media about the number of employed people on these fairs in most cases retroactively reflect people already accepted before the "Job Fair": for a bribe, an acquaintance or family ties, i.e. as usual.

The construction companies including foreign ones tend to predominate at job fairs. But they are present more for the surroundings because the real rather than flashy recruitment is conducted in the companies' offices and not at the fair and by the rules established by the employers. There are enough people wishing to get a job in endless queues before their doors and without labor exchange.

The professional schools of primary and secondary technical education at various departments are opened for the training of young personnel for the industries in Turkmenistan. Due to the impossibility for the majority of graduates of secondary

²³ It is significant that the state-owned enterprises of entertainment sphere are connected to this practice. In the National Tourist Zone "Avaza", in amusement parks «Deňiz merjeni» (State Committee for Tourism of Turkmenistan), «Jadyly kenar» (State Service of Maritime and River Transport of Turkmenistan) and «Älemgoşar» (Ministry of Nature Protection of Turkmenistan) the waitresses are working seven days a week without any regulations. Often young women are forced to stay the 10-hour shift from 06:00 pm to 04:00 am and step up to work again from 09:00. It would be interesting to find out if the Ministry of Environment officials are concerned about animal welfare as about the young working women in their entertainment facilities? If it's the same situation, then we should forget about the wildlife in Turkmenistan.

schools to enter universities in the country²⁴, the youth enters the vocational schools just to get some or what evidence (certificate, diploma) of special education. However, the overwhelming part of the certified young professionals (up to 80-90 %) joins the army of unemployed, because the companies and agencies that prepared boys can not or do not want to employ them. In fact, these schools from the forges of young cadres turned to mediocre cooperatives to draw money from the population a long time ago. Some of these prepare the so-called specialists²⁵ in quantities exceeding 10-20 times the needs of relevant enterprises and departments.

The situation with young people causes the young able-bodied men primarily of the Russian-speaking population to travel abroad. The bulk of them is the Great Russians. The parents are leaving together with the children, including minors, who do not have a hopeful future in the ethnocratic state - often also young people of 25-45 years. A small part of the elderly, who are adhered to their native land and the graves of their fathers and grandfathers, remains in Turkmenistan. According to observers, this may be the outcome of the latest wave of Russians from Turkmenistan. The favorable market conditions of prices for apartments privatized by the migrants and other property developed in the years 2015-2016 contributes to this, allowing migrants to acquire a more or less acceptable housing in their ethnic homeland. The Turkmen also leaving to the Turkey, the United Arab Emirates, and other countries, but mostly to Russia.

CONCLUSIONS AND PROPOSALS

Brushing aside any conspiracy theory, it should be noted that in Turkmenistan, despite the natural increase of the population and the opening of new jobs, almost the same number of unemployed constantly remains, as if to manipulate people via financial stranglehold of dependence on the state. There are no free labor market, impartial prosecutorial supervision, and unions really involved in the protection of legitimate rights and interests of workers and employees, rather than organization of shows about important dates, pompous meetings of the President - the nation support - Arkadag, preservation of cultural heritage with "kushdepi" dancing, creative contests and other amusements. This creates a fertile ground for abuse of authority and official position from top to bottom. Short time in prison for these and other crimes and the annual pardoning of convicts to the mutual benefit of the parties generate an uninterrupted chain of offenses in different areas of law. Pardons of prisoners from the President -

²⁴ Admission to universities is unofficially paid. The rate is from 10 to several tens of thousands of dollars. Prices are unthinkable for most families in Turkmenistan.

²⁵ They just sell diplomas, often even without a visible training on the courses.

Arkadag - is a kind of a tax of officials and court pettifoggers from the population, an echo of the ancient eastern states organization.

The corrupt elite derives criminal benefit from actual or latent jobs deficiency. It is an ordinary matter for the majority of the representatives of the titular nation, which is not meet the effective condemnation in the society. A fact which is not subject to any condemnation or praise. Its nature is rooted in the minds of tribal people. Feelings of kinship and tribal brotherhood help Turkmen overcome everyday difficulties and the blows of fate. They collectively help each other in the most extreme cases, including to find a job²⁶. For this reason, Turkmen are not begging - the members of the family, clan or tribe find it a disgrace to themselves and actively participate in mutual aid.

However, what is good for the Turkmen people is bad for another mentality. Turkmen perceive non-indigenous representatives as competitors and rivals in employment and do not sympathize them in their ordeal. Everyone is concerned about their problems and the desire to take their own place under the sun. The existing relationship between the titular nation and the foreign diaspora, the hopelessness of the future for members of non-indigenous communities provoke the exodus of the Russian-speaking population of the country.

However, the serious problem of unemployment relates primarily the Turkmen people. Its solution does not lie in the plane of radical break of existing stereotypes of social control and behavior of citizens, but in the long run. Currently, the country develops economically, the main institutions of the state are working: the financial and credit system, education, culture, social security, etc. Bilateral cooperation between Turkmenistan and the international organizations, including those in legislation, creates the preconditions for a truly lawful state. Distortions in the application of local laws will be overcome together with a change in people's thinking. This process of two-direction movement takes time. **But it is impossible to change the thinking of people without the real development of freedom and respect for the individual, the rights to freedom of movement and information, the development process for the effective participation of citizens in the government.**

Under these circumstances, the following can be recommended to the Government of Turkmenistan to solve the problem of unemployment:

- 1. Prepare a national employment program;**
- 2. Provide the organization of a special employment program with the national budget subsidizing;**

²⁶ Turkmen have managed to take to the assembly line the employment of pregnant women in order to obtain the benefits of postnatal and seniority. For this reason, in many state institutions and public sector enterprises the reception of young women to work on the "temporarily vacant positions" is carried out.

3. Develop a national program for the rehabilitation of the national construction industry of Turkmenistan, local industry and consumer cooperatives in rural areas as key elements to combat the unemployment;
4. The legislative development for the recognition of the status of the unemployed in Turkmenistan and giving him the right to a free trial in conflicts with employers are necessary;
5. Develop and adopt the Law "On Living Wage in Turkmenistan";
6. Establish the state financial support of the unemployed on the basis of the criteria of a living wage;
7. Establish monitoring and responsibility for opening new production facilities in places of mass unemployment;
8. Develop a system of public works in order to attract the unemployed to them;
9. It is necessary to reorganize the labor exchange, to make them transparent in order to increase efficiency and eliminate corruption. For this purpose it is necessary to use the wall advertisement of jobs in enterprises, establishments and organizations and outdoor electronic advertising;
10. Provide the effective support to the National Centre of Trade Unions of Turkmenistan for the effective execution of its direct and primary responsibilities for social protection of workers and protection of employees from the arbitrariness of employers;
11. Reports on vacancies at specific enterprises of any form of ownership, in public institutions and organizations must be made public through the national printed and electronic media to open the online departmental portals with free access that will offer the job vacancies;
12. It is necessary to give the new impulse to the intensive development of "small economy" based on the fair entrepreneurial businesses. Great progress in reducing the unemployment would have been brought by the replacement of permission for admission to self-employment and cooperation on the principle of registration, as it is done in most countries.

2016

Netherlands

APPENDIX:

TABLE 2:

"The final data on the population and the unemployed in the velayats of Turkmenistan on August 1, 2016" – NEXT PAGE.

TABLE 2

"The final data on the population and the unemployed in the velayats of Turkmenistan on August 1, 2016":

VELAYAT	BALKAN	AKHAL	MARY	LEBAB	DASHOGUZ
Number of population	393,000	1,770,000	1,108,000	1,383,000	966,000
The number of working-age population	290,820	1,239,000	731,280	926,610	645,290
The number of rural working-age population	43,660	377,720	386,760	431,610	410,710
The number of urban working-age population	247,160	861,280	344,520	495,000	234,580
The percentage of unemployed rural working-age population	5,239 12 %	30,218 8 %	88,955 23 %	69,058 16 %	110,892 27 %
The percentage of unemployed urban working-age population	24,716 10 %	60,290 7 %	27,562 8 %	59,400 12 %	49,262 21 %
Overall number of unemployed	29,955	90,507	116,516	128,458	160,154
The total number of unemployed, including hidden unemployment	52,348 18 %	148,680 12 %	131,830 18 %	185,322 20 %	225,852 35 %
TOTAL UNEMPLOYED, INCLUDING HIDDEN UNEMPLOYMENT:					721,893