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RUSSIA'S HEALTH AND DEMOGRAPHIC SITUATION

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Analysis

A Habit That's Hard To Kick: The Evolution of Tobacco Control Policy in Russia

By Judy Twigg, Richmond, Virginia

Abstract

Today approximately 60 percent of Russian men and 20 percent of Russian women smoke. Although there have been some official efforts to limit smoking, the tobacco lobby has been able to block the adoption of strong laws and the implementation of the regulations that are adopted. The Duma is currently considering new legislation and President Vladimir Putin has publicly denounced smoking, so there is hope for improvement in the future. Reducing smoking is key for Russia's ability to address its health and demographic crises.

Brave Words, But Little Action

At the 56th World Health Assembly in 2003, the delegation from Russia welcomed a landmark Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC). To date 168 countries have signed this treaty, which went into force in February of 2005 and commits signatories to six provisions: enacting a comprehensive ban on tobacco advertising, promotion, and sponsorship; placing health warnings on tobacco packaging that cover at least 30 percent of the surface; banning the use of deceptive terms such as "light" and "mild"; protecting citizens from exposure to tobacco smoke in public areas and the workplace; combating smuggling; and increasing tobacco taxes. Despite its initial declaration of support, however, the Russian Federation has neither signed nor ratified the treaty. Politicians remain wary of restrictions on tobacco, and the Ministry of Health has not yet developed sufficient bureaucratic and administrative muscle to counter the heavyweight domestic and international tobacco lobbies. The calls to action of a fledgling coalition of non-governmental anti-smoking groups, led by the Russian Public Health Association, resonate more loudly in international circles than at home.

Meanwhile, around 60 percent of Russian men and 20 percent of Russian women smoke – more than twice the prevalence in the United States or the UK. And the numbers are rising, with the percentage of women who smoke doubling from 1992 to 2003, and an even greater increase among rural women. Almost half of boys and 40 percent of girls in the senior classes of Russian high schools call themselves smokers. Around 300,000 Russians die annually of smoking-related ailments. The World Bank has called smoking the single most preventable cause of disease and death in Russia, linking it with cardiovascular disease, many cancers, and chronic lung disease. A recent Bank report esti-

mated that reducing cardiovascular disease in Russia would add five years to male life expectancy, which continues to hover around 58–60 years (about the same as Pakistan or Bangladesh). A pack of low-end cigarettes in Russia costs the equivalent of around fifty cents, compared with seven dollars in Europe.

Restrictions on smoking are not new in Russia. The Czar declared a prohibition on tobacco from 1613–1676, with a first offense punishable by whipping, a slit nose, and deportation to Siberia, and the second punishable by death. In an environment where advertising was nonexistent in any case, the Soviet government officially banned tobacco advertising in 1980, and sales of cigarettes to children under the age of 16 were prohibited in 1981. Soviet law forbid smoking in many public places (restaurants and public transportation, for example), and the government conducted extensive anti-smoking campaigns and required health warnings on cigarette packages.

Confusion over the status of Soviet-era legislation during the early post-Soviet transition period dangled an irresistible bonanza of opportunity before the international tobacco industry. A significant surge in advertising and promotion was considered essential to the establishment of brand identity; by the mid-1990s, it was estimated that around half of all billboards in Moscow, and three-quarters of the ubiquitous plastic shopping bags, carried tobacco ads. Tobacco transnationals ranked among the top three advertisers in the country.

The Russian Duma approved yet another ban on advertising in 1993, but the Association of Russian Advertisers, supported by the tobacco industry lobby and the press ministry – both concerned about loss of revenue – effectively blocked implementation. Their task was an easy one, given the law's scant enforcement mechanisms. New federal legislation prohibiting

tobacco (and alcohol) advertising on television between 7 AM and 10 PM went into effect on January 1, 1996. Sponsored by the State Anti-Monopoly Committee, it also stipulated that advertisements and domestically produced cigarette packs should carry a health warning; imported cigarettes were exempt. Once again, compliance and enforcement were anemic, as they were based on the industry's voluntary code of conduct.

Yet another round of law-making in 2001 was intended by its drafters to limit smoking to the same extent as the European Union and Canada, with some provisions even more severe. Its first reading forbid the sale of tobacco products to people under 18, banned TV and radio ads altogether, required health warnings on all cigarette packs, prohibited the sale of cigarettes in packs of less than 20 and from vending machines, and made smoking illegal in health, cultural, governmental, and educational facilities, except for designated smoking areas. All airline flights under three hours' duration were to be non-smoking. Maximum tar and nicotine levels were specified for the first time: 12 mg of tar and 1.1 mg of nicotine per cigarette (the European Union limits tar to 10mg). Smoking was not to be depicted on television or in films.

Lobbyists Gut Legal Provisions

As the law was debated in its initial stages in mid-2001, the lack of protest from the tobacco industry led to speculation that it would be significantly watered down. Those predictions were accurate. Industry influence diluted or deleted most of its provisions. A reporter for the St. Petersburg Times called the changes between the first and second draft law "a textbook demonstration of the lobbyist's art." The changes that emerged are summarized in the table on page 5.

Because of the toothlessness of this legislation, the only existing tobacco-related penalties were in the Administrative Code: a fine of ten percent of the minimum wage for smoking on city transportation, and a larger fine for vaguely defined "illegal trade in tobacco." In addition to the obvious omissions of restrictions in the 2001 law's final version, the amendments opened more subtle loopholes. Who, for example, would determine what constitutes an "integral element of the artistic design" of a film or TV show? A director or producer could continue to have performers light up, virtually without restriction. Even the remaining reductions in the levels of tar and nicotine benefit the international tobacco companies, whose Russian competitors produce cheaper, stronger cigarettes. Furthermore, this federal law replaced a patchwork of regional smoking laws, some of which – such as Dagestan's forbidding of cigarette sales during Ramadan, or the Moscow City fine of ten minimum wages for smoking in an ele-

mentary school – were stronger than the federal code but could be now challenged under the Kremlin's drive to achieve regional conformity. At the end of the day, the most useful observed provisions of the bill were the ban on the sale of single cigarettes and vending machine sales (which results in decreased use by minors), and stepped-up enforcement of the insistence on health warning labels. Smoking in public places remains the norm, and the streets of major cities are still plastered with cigarette ads.

Greater Will to Deal with the Problem in the Future?

A new round of legislation is currently under discussion, with the Duma approving a draft bill in mid-2007 that would prohibit smoking in restaurants, trains, ships, and municipal government offices, except for designated smoking areas, and would ban smoking on all airline flights regardless of duration. The bill also contains enforcement mechanisms for the ban on outdoor advertising. Smoking areas would be limited to half the area of the establishment for restaurants, and one-quarter the space in other places, with the explicit intent to limit exposure and harm from secondhand smoke. Violations of the new rules would incur a fine of 1,000 times the minimum wage. As this bill slowly makes its way through the legislative process, an optimist would detect hopeful signals of a possible emergence of new tobacco control possibilities: an early 2007 ROMIR study indicated that half of Russians support a ban on smoking in public places, and the last few years' surge of interest in health and fitness among the young and successful further fuels nascent anti-smoking sentiments. Putin has made explicit anti-tobacco statements, including these remarks on World No Tobacco Day on May 31, 2007: "The damage caused by smoking is obvious, affecting not only smokers, but also the people around them and, most seriously, the young generation. We can only successfully address this serious issue if the state, civic organizations, and the business community join forces. There is a need for more legislative measures as well as more intensive prevention and education work." As the Kremlin's words continue to define the magnitude and direction of political will, it would seem that there is greater potential than ever before to combat this ongoing health threat.

Yet as Western sentiment continues to coalesce against them, the international tobacco companies view Russia, together with China, as their most accessible and essential markets for growth. According to Duma deputy Dr. Nikolai Gerasimenko, they have invested around \$2 billion over the last few years in the courtship of the Russian smoker, and they will not sacrifice the current pro-smoking legislative, industrial, and mar-

keting environment without a fight. Women and youth are their major targets. The success of future tobacco control legislation and policy – and the outcome of the

ongoing battle between the tobacco industry and public health – will in part determine Russia's chances to overcome its ongoing health and demographic crisis.

About the author

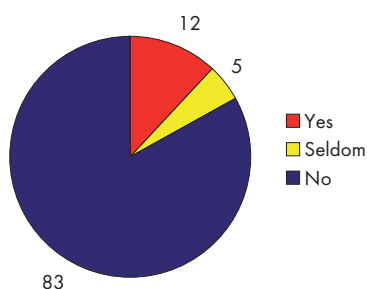
Judy Twigg is Associate Professor in the Wilder School of Government and Public Affairs at Virginia Commonwealth University.

Further reading

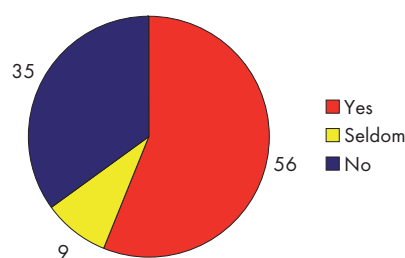
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Do You Smoke (at least One Cigarette a Day)? (%)

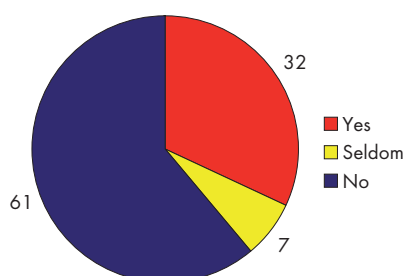
Women



Men



Total



Source: Russian Public Opinion Research Center; opinion poll conducted on 16–17 June 2007
<http://wciom.ru/arkhiv/tematicheskii-arkhiv/item/single/8448.html>

Changes in the Anti-Smoking Law from First to Second Reading

First reading	Second reading
The manufacture and sale of tobacco products containing more than 12 mg of tar and 1.1 mg of nicotine per cigarette is forbidden.	The manufacture and sale of <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • filter cigarettes containing more than 14 mg tar and 1.2 mg nicotine • filterless cigarettes (Papirosi) containing more than 16 mg of tar and 1.3 mg nicotine is forbidden.
Text on hazards of smoking must cover not less than 25 percent of the large side of the package.	The large side of the pack must bear a main and additional warning on the hazards of smoking. Each warning must take up not less than 4 percent of the area of the side.
The sale of tobacco products is forbidden in health care organizations, cultural centers, and sports centers, as well as within 100 meters of such organizations	The sale of tobacco products is forbidden in health care organizations, cultural centers, and sports centers.
The sale of cigarettes to minors shall entail a fine of 3 to 25 monthly minimum wages, and in the event of a repeat violation shall result in a termination of the license.	Omitted.
Limiting the advertising of tobacco products: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Complete ban on advertising of tobacco products • Banning of sponsorship of all types of events • Punishment of violations 	Tobacco and tobacco product advertising shall be realized in accordance with the Legislation of the Russian Federation on Advertising.
Smoking in the workplace, in forms of transport, sports facilities, cultural, healthcare, and educational institutions, the premises of state departments, and trading premises shall be banned.	Smoking is banned on city and suburban transport, on airborne forms of transport, in closed sports facilities, cultural, healthcare, and educational institutions, and premises occupied by state bodies of authority, with the exception of smoking in specially designated areas.
Individuals smoking in areas where smoking is banned shall be subject to a fine of 10 minimum monthly wages.	Omitted.
Employers may set lower levels of bonuses and premiums for workers using tobacco products.	Omitted.
It is forbidden to show well-known public figures smoking in the media, films, and spectacles.	It shall be forbidden to show smoking in new films if such activity is not deemed to be an integral element of the artistic design as well as showing the smoking of tobacco by well-known public figures in the media.
The government shall annually approve the program for limiting tobacco usage and shall set aside appropriate funds for the implementation of such from the budget.	The Russian Federation government shall develop measures to limit tobacco usage and shall ensure their implementation.
The retail price of tobacco products shall be not less than 200 percent of its production cost including excise. The excise rate shall be not less than 80 percent of its release price.	Omitted.
Tax benefits for the manufacturers and sellers of tobacco products shall be forbidden.	Omitted.

Analysis

The Role of Alcohol in Russia's Violent Mortality

By William Alex Pridemore, Bloomington, Indiana

Abstract

The levels of homicide and suicide in Russia are among the highest in the world, even though the numbers have improved in recent years. There is a strong association between alcohol consumption and violent mortality. This connection is particularly strong because Russians often drink vodka or illegally produced spirits in large quantities and in private or semi-private settings where fights are more likely to become deadly than in public places. Despite the improving situation, one-third of all deaths in Russia are directly or indirectly related to alcohol, requiring intervention at a variety of levels.

Russia a Leader in Homicide and Suicide

Homicide and suicide pose a serious public health threat in Russia. Although rates of both have declined markedly in the last couple of years, levels of homicide and suicide mortality in the country are still among the highest in the world. The annual standardized death rate for homicide in 2006 was about 19 per 100,000 residents, or about 10–20 times higher than in most Western European nations and about three times higher than in the United States, which most observers usually consider the most violent industrialized country in the world. The annual standardized death rate for suicide is nearly 28 per 100,000 residents, which again ranks Russia among the highest in the world. Although several other Slavic and former Soviet nations have high rates of these forms of external mortality, Russia is usually ranked first or second among them.

There are many reasons for Russia's high rates of violence directed at the self and at others. The collapse of the Soviet Union played a major role, and will be discussed briefly later in this article, but relative to Western Europe and many other parts of the world, Russian homicide and suicide rates were already high before that time. One factor that is increasingly implicated in high violence rates in the country is heavy drinking. Annual alcohol consumption in Russia is estimated to be as much as 15 liters per person, which again places Russia among the highest in the world, and alcohol poisoning in and of itself is a serious health threat, with an elevated annual standardized death rate of about 22 per 100,000 residents in 2006.

Temporal Patterns

Figure 1 on p. 10 shows standardized death rates due to homicide, suicide, and alcohol-related causes from 1956 to 2006. The latter category includes alcoholic liver disease, alcohol poisonings, chronic alcoholism, alcoholic psychosis, encephalopathy, and dementia. The

trends follow each other closely, and there are a few time periods of note. The first is the sharp decrease in all three series in 1985. This drop corresponds with the implementation of Gorbachev's anti-alcohol campaign. The campaign ended in 1988 and the rates of these causes of death appear to move up towards its end. There were other social, political, and economic forces at work in the late 1980s, however, as well as the collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s, and the trends in violent and alcohol-related mortality increased dramatically during this period. There are sharp declines in the three series following the 1994 peak, but the period around the 1998 financial collapse again brought another peak. Since that time, all three series have drifted down. While my data on alcohol-related deaths end in 2002, the data I have on deaths due to alcohol poisonings show a decline similar to that of homicide and suicide in recent years.

The repeated political and economic crises of the 1990s left Russians facing an uncertain future right when paradigmatic changes in social, cultural, economic and political norms were creating anomic conditions. Social and individual stress resulting from the reforms are widely recognized as the main causes of increased demand for alcohol during this period. This demand was met by several supply-side factors. First, the earlier anti-alcohol campaign created a sizeable black market for illegally produced alcohol. Second, when the state monopoly on legal alcohol was repealed in 1992, domestic and international companies quickly began to compete for the new lucrative market. The increased supply, together with poor tax collection, meant that alcohol prices rose at a fraction of food and other staples. The result: David Leon and Vladimir Shkolnikov provided evidence that alcohol played a central role in the 1990s mortality crisis, Francis Notzon and colleagues showed that 12% of the decline in life expectancy in the early 1990s was directly due to alcohol-

related mortality, and Peder Walberg and colleagues found an association between regional levels of alcohol consumption and decline in life expectancy. Beyond these direct effects of alcohol on mortality, the trends in Figure 1 suggest a strong indirect effect on mortality via associations with homicide and suicide.

The Association between Alcohol and Violence

The association between alcohol and violent mortality has been the focus of much of my work in Russia. Several studies employing different analytical techniques, using different levels of analysis, and examining data from widely divergent time periods all lead to the conclusion that there is a strong association between heavy drinking and violence in Russia.

One of our studies looked at the level of alcohol consumption in each region of Russia and compared it to regional homicide rates, controlling for several other structural covariates of homicide. We used the alcohol poisoning rate as a proxy for heavy drinking (a common approach in Russia given questionable estimates of consumption from sales, tax, and production data) and found that alcohol's association with homicide was the strongest of all variables in the model. In several other studies where I examined social structural factors associated with homicide (e.g., poverty, socioeconomic change, political change, etc.), the control for alcohol always exhibited the highest association with homicide rates.

Another study used data from one specific region (the Udmurt Republic) to compare the daily distribution of alcohol-related deaths with the daily distribution of homicide mortality. There was a close correspondence between the two. In an entirely different type of analysis, we used unique narrative data drawn from court and police records of homicide events in the Udmurt Republic to compare alcohol-related and non-alcohol-related incidents with respect to victim, offender, and event-level characteristics. These analyses revealed distinct characteristics about alcohol-related homicides in the country. While there were no significant differences between the drinking and non-drinking homicides in terms of the gender of the victim, the primary weapon used, or the location of the event, alcohol-related homicides were significantly more likely to occur between 6:00pm and 6:00am, to occur during the weekend, and to result from an acute argument, and were significantly less likely to occur between strangers, to be profit-motivated or premeditated, and to have been carried out to hide another crime.

The association between drinking and violence in Russia is not simply an artifact of post-Soviet conditions. For example, using time series data for Russia

as a whole between 1956 and 2002, we employed autoregressive integrated moving average (ARIMA) techniques and found a significant contemporaneous association between alcohol and homicide. In other words, those years in which heavy drinking increased/decreased were those years in which homicide mortality increased/decreased. In yet another analysis, we used historical information from Tsarist Russia. Looking at data from 50 European Russian provinces in 1910, and controlling for other structural covariates of homicide, we again not only found an association between alcohol and homicide, but that this association was the strongest of all variables in the model.

The basic alcohol-homicide associations discussed above hold for alcohol and suicide. For example, an analysis using a proxy for heavy drinking revealed a strong association between regional levels of heavy drinking and regional levels of suicide. Similarly, the time series analysis discussed above was repeated using suicide data and showed a significant contemporaneous association between heavy drinking and suicide in Russia between 1956 and 2002. In a careful analysis using different data for 1965–1999, Aleksandr Nemtsov not only found a similar result, but was able to show that blood alcohol content (BAC) positive suicides in Russia are associated with changes in alcohol consumption, but BAC negative suicides are not.

Finally, while not focusing on homicide and suicide, it is important to briefly mention the results of a very recent study we carried out that reveals the impact of drinking on mortality among a specific set of vulnerable Russian citizens who face economic deprivation and social isolation. In this study we focused on mortality among homeless Russian men aged 25–54. We found that alcohol played an important role in the deaths of these men. Indirectly, relative to men of the same age who died but who were not homeless, alcohol is associated with several forms of mortality at which this population is at higher risk, such as exposure to cold and violence. More directly, these men were at heightened risk of death due to alcoholic liver disease and alcoholic cardiomyopathy. This is no small issue, since the proportion of all men of these ages who die that appear to be homeless or in very similar circumstances is over 10 percent in large Russian cities. This is a frighteningly high number, and one that has been increasing in recent years despite a strengthening Russian economy.

Russian-Specific Issues Related to Alcohol

Alcohol poisoning. With an annual standardized rate in 2006 of about 22 deaths due to alcohol poisoning per 100,000 residents, the level of alcohol poisoning in Russia is extremely high relative to other countries, and reached frightening levels in the years following the

collapse of the Soviet Union. Although it is likely true that a portion of this is explained by recording practices – specifically, some deaths recorded in this category are due to chronic drinking and not to acute poisoning – the rate of deaths due to true poisoning is still exceedingly high.

A combination of several proximate factors likely contributes to such high levels of alcohol poisoning. The first is the volume of alcohol consumed, since the modal pattern of consumption in Russia is binge-drinking (see next section). The effect of this form of drinking is heightened in Russia because the preferred type of alcohol is distilled spirits (mainly vodka). Whether consumed straight or mixed with another beverage, it is generally easier to consume a greater amount of pure alcohol in a shorter time in the form of distilled spirits relative to beer or even wine. Second, there is a history of consumption of illegally produced alcohol (*samogon*) in the country. The demand for this type of cheap alcohol expanded greatly in the mid- to late 1980s during Gorbachev's anti-alcohol campaign and remained high following the campaign's demise due to other factors, such as rising prices in the early 1990s. There is no way of regulating the quality and content of these illegal alcohols, making them dangerous to consume, especially in greater volume. A final related cause is the consumption of inexpensive alcohol substitutes. These surrogate alcohols may include alcohol-containing medicines, aftershave, industrial alcohol, or any number of other liquids containing alcohol but not meant for consumption. These alcohol surrogates contain either toxic contaminants or extremely high concentrations of ethanol, their consumption is much more common than often realized, and the outcome can be dangerous and even fatal.

Culture and context. Although Russian rates of alcohol consumption and homicide mortality are both among the highest in the world, and while the evidence presented thus far suggests a strong association between the two, there are many places and countries where alcohol consumption is relatively high but where rates of homicide are not. I have argued elsewhere that the strength of the relationship between alcohol and violence in Russia may be due to cultural factors associated with drinking, namely (1) social tolerance for heavy drinking and (2) what, how, and where Russians drink. Due to the role that alcohol, especially vodka, plays in the culture and to the long history of heavy drinking in the country, there is likely more tolerance in Russian culture for those who drink to excess, and Russians are more accustomed to the personal and social ills that follow. This does not equate to cultural acceptance of these behaviors, but this tolerance too often results in no one stepping in when people drink dangerously.

What, how, and where Russians drink might also result in situational contexts that heighten the risk of violence. First, distilled spirits, mainly vodka, are the preferred form of alcohol. Second, the prevailing drinking pattern in the country is one of heavy consumption (relative, say, to drinking with meals or casual social drinking), and research has shown that binge drinking is common. The mixture of binge drinking and distilled spirits can result in quick and deep intoxication, likely increasing the possibility of a violent encounter. Finally, although currently changing somewhat, in the past Russia did not have a developed bar or pub culture as in many Western nations. Instead, Russians were more likely to drink frequently in unregulated private or semiprivate settings. Such settings do not provide as many external social controls (disinterested bystanders, bouncers, police) that could serve to stop a fight before an assault escalates to a homicide. In sum, heightened social tolerance for heavy drinking, together with what, how, and where Russians drink, may create cultural and situational contexts that increase the strength of the association between alcohol and violence in the country.

Conclusion

Violent mortality in Russia has decreased in recent years. The annual suicide mortality rate is back to where it was just before the collapse of the Soviet Union, though the homicide rate is still considerably higher than it was at that time. Alcohol-related deaths, especially poisonings, have also decreased sharply in recent years. Many argue that these decreases are the result of the implementation in Russia in 2005 of an alcohol policy meant to regulate production and sale of products containing ethyl alcohol. While the validity of such claims remains to be seen, there are likely multiple reasons for the drop, some methodological, some substantive, some due to the policy.

It is premature, however, to declare victory. Russian rates of mortality due to homicide, suicide, and alcohol are still among the highest in the world. David Leon and colleagues estimate that over 40 percent of all deaths of working-age males in the average Russian city are due to hazardous drinking, and Aleksander Nemtsov estimates that about one-third of all deaths in Russia are directly or indirectly related to alcohol. As outlined here, moreover, the research literature provides compelling evidence that the level of heavy drinking is among the strongest and most consistent predictors of homicide and suicide rates in the country even after controlling for a host of other social and economic factors. Thus, while the recent declines in alcohol-related and violent mortality are welcome, the mounting evidence of the damaging effects of hazardous drinking on the Russian social fabric reveals the need for meaningful and sustained intervention at multiple levels.

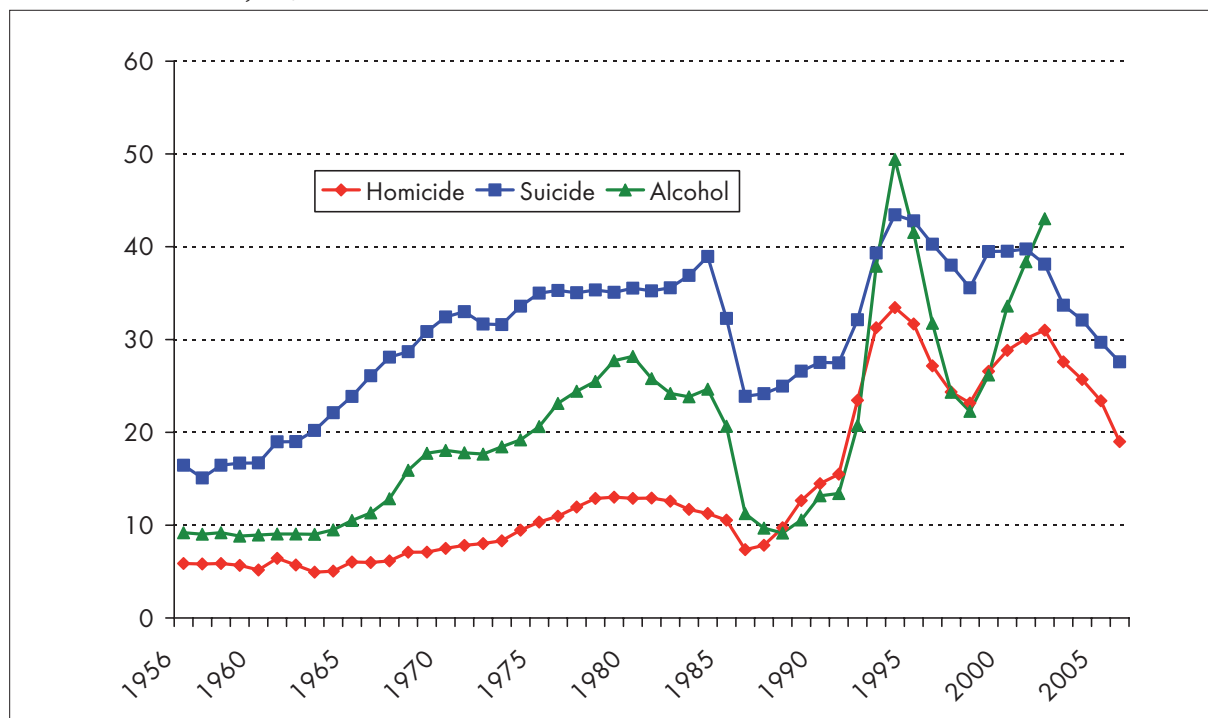
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Figure 1. Annual standardized homicide, suicide, and alcohol-related mortality per 100,000 residents in Russia, 1956–2006.

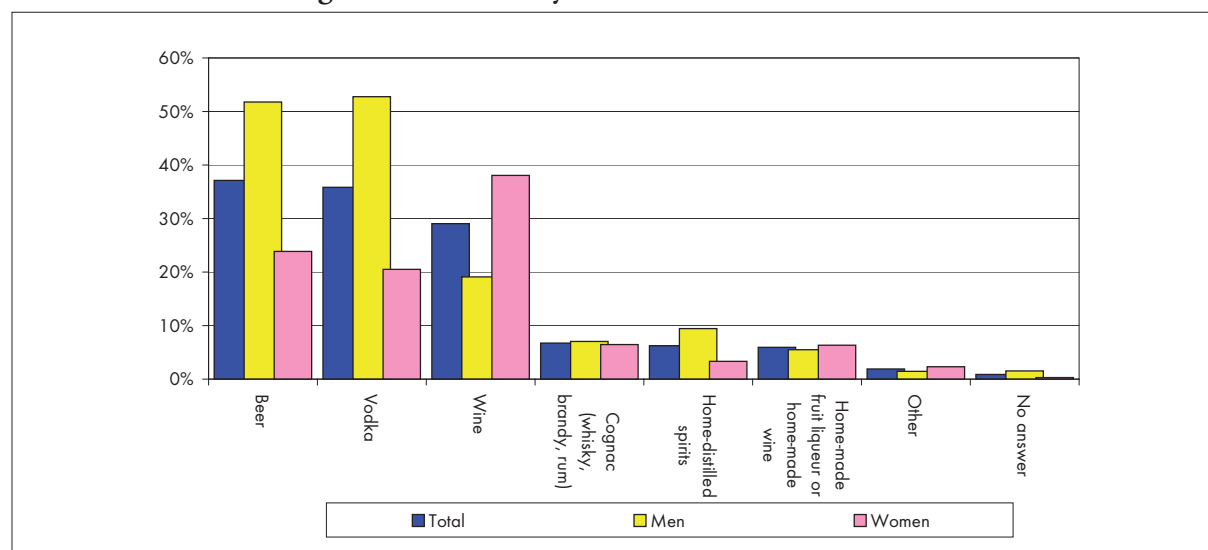


Source: Russian Ministry of Public Health

Opinion Poll

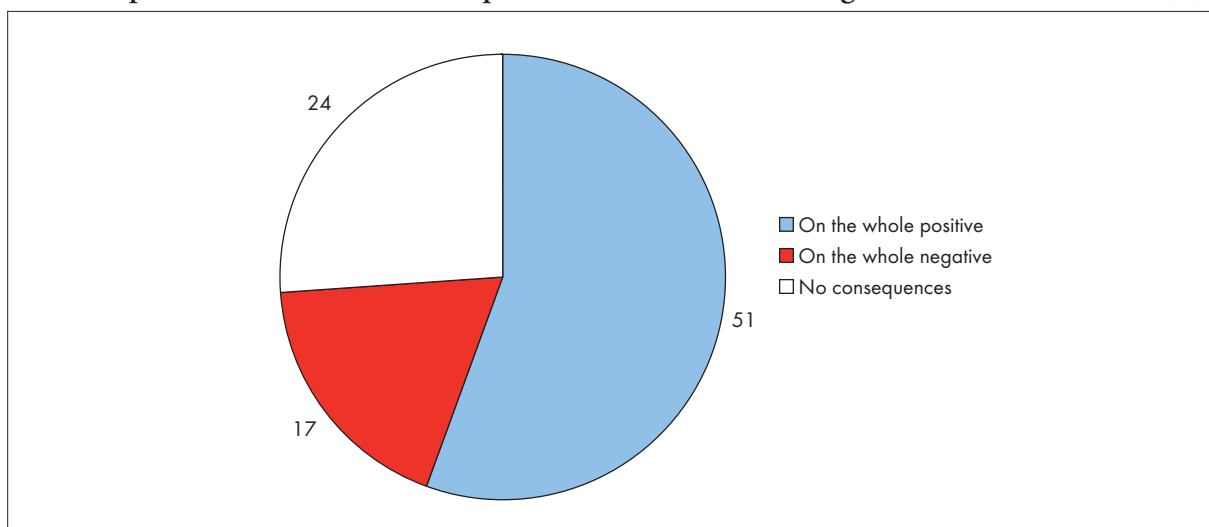
Alcohol Consumption

Which Alcoholic Beverages Do You Usually Consume?



Source: Opinion poll conducted by the Public Opinion Foundation (FOM) on 4–5 November 2006 <http://bd.fom.ru/zip/tb0644.zip>

In Your Opinion, What Will the Consequences of the Ban on Drinking Beer in Public Places Be? (%)



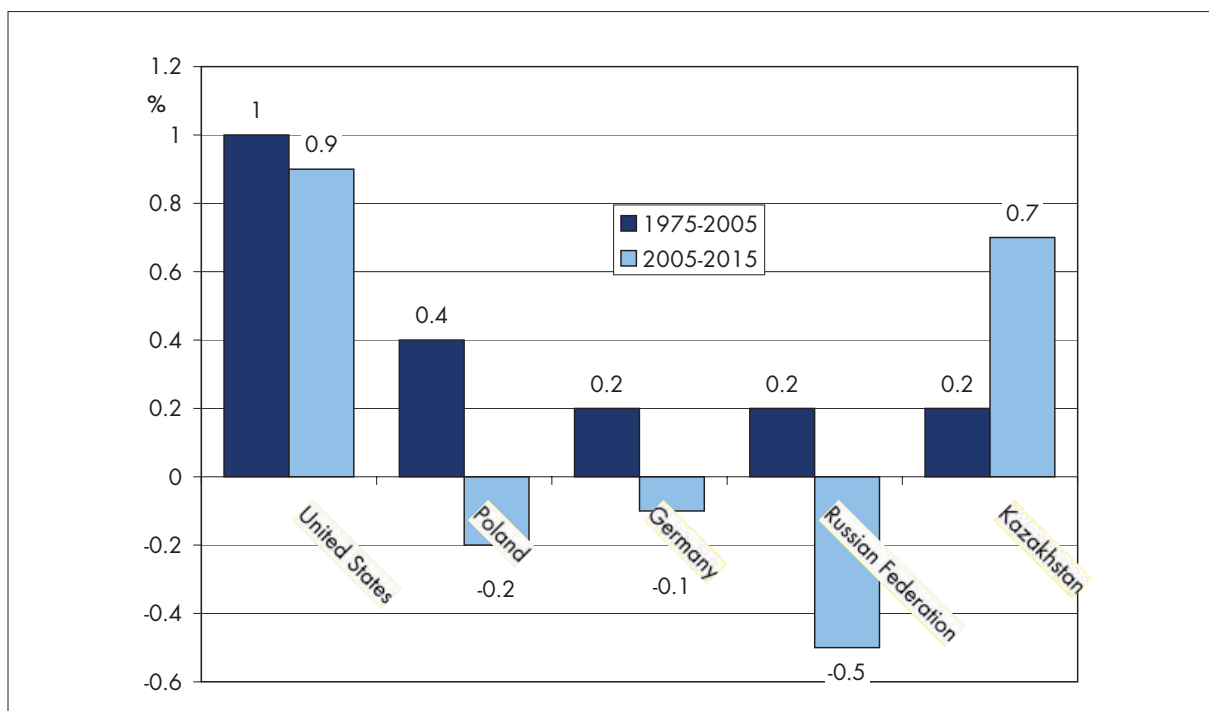
Source: Russian Public Opinion Research Center, opinion poll conducted on 9–10 June 2007
<http://wciom.ru/arkhiv/tematicheskii-arkhiv/item/single/8389.html>

Documentation

Demography and the Health Care System in Russia

Part 1: Demography

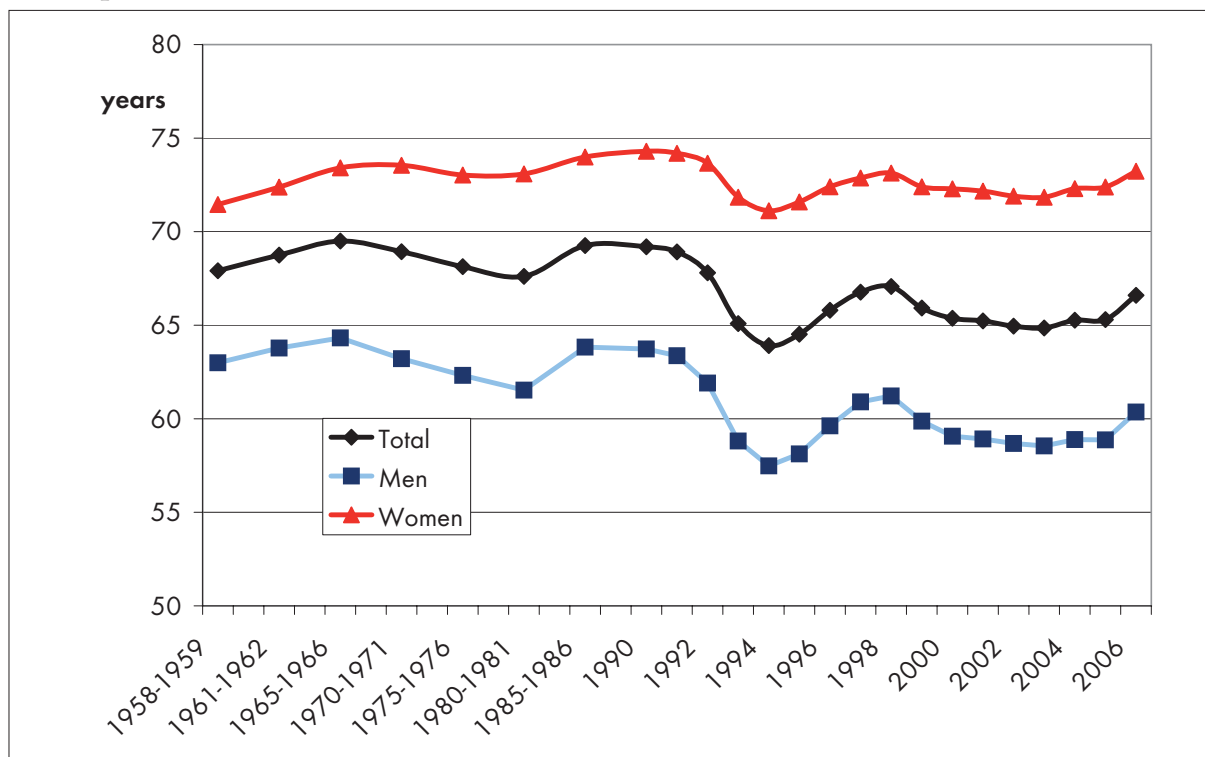
Population, Annual Growth Rate (%)



NB: Data for 2005–15 refer to medium-variant projections.

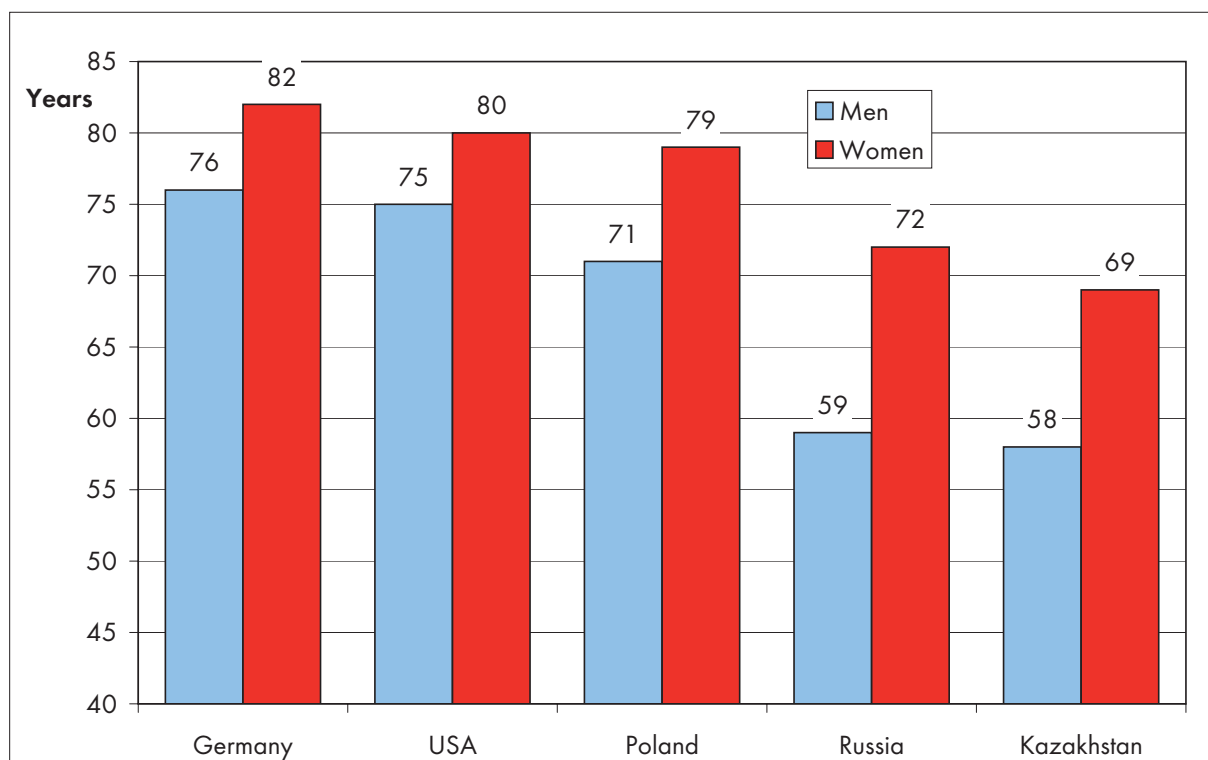
Source: UNDP Human Development Data, <http://hdrstats.undp.org/indicators/39.html>

Life Expectancy at Birth 1958–2006



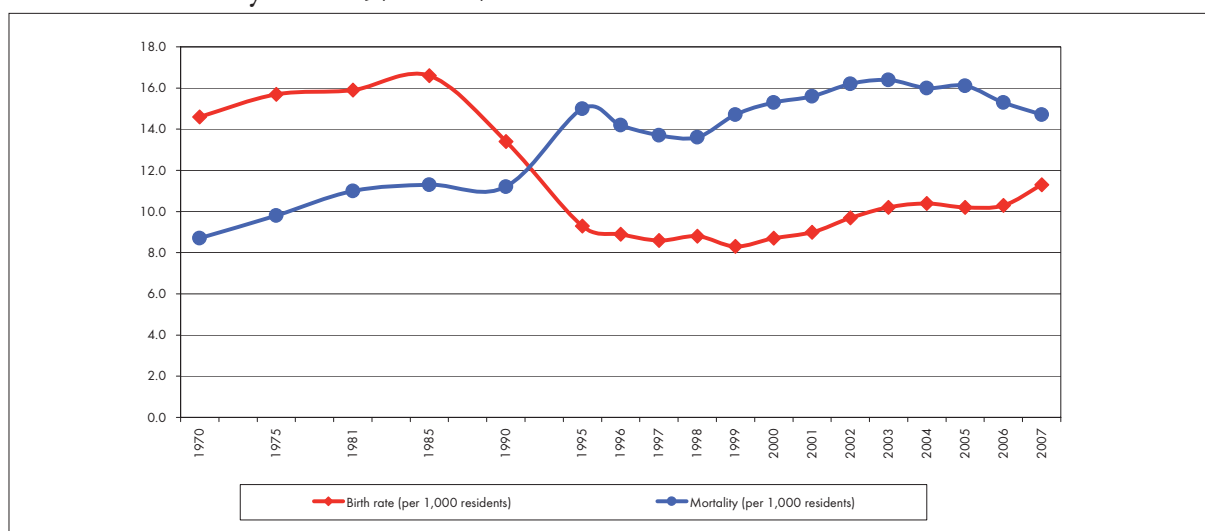
Source: Rosstat, http://www.gks.ru/bgd/regl/b07_13/lssWWW.exe/Stg/d01/04-23.htm

Life Expectancy at Birth: International Comparison (2005)



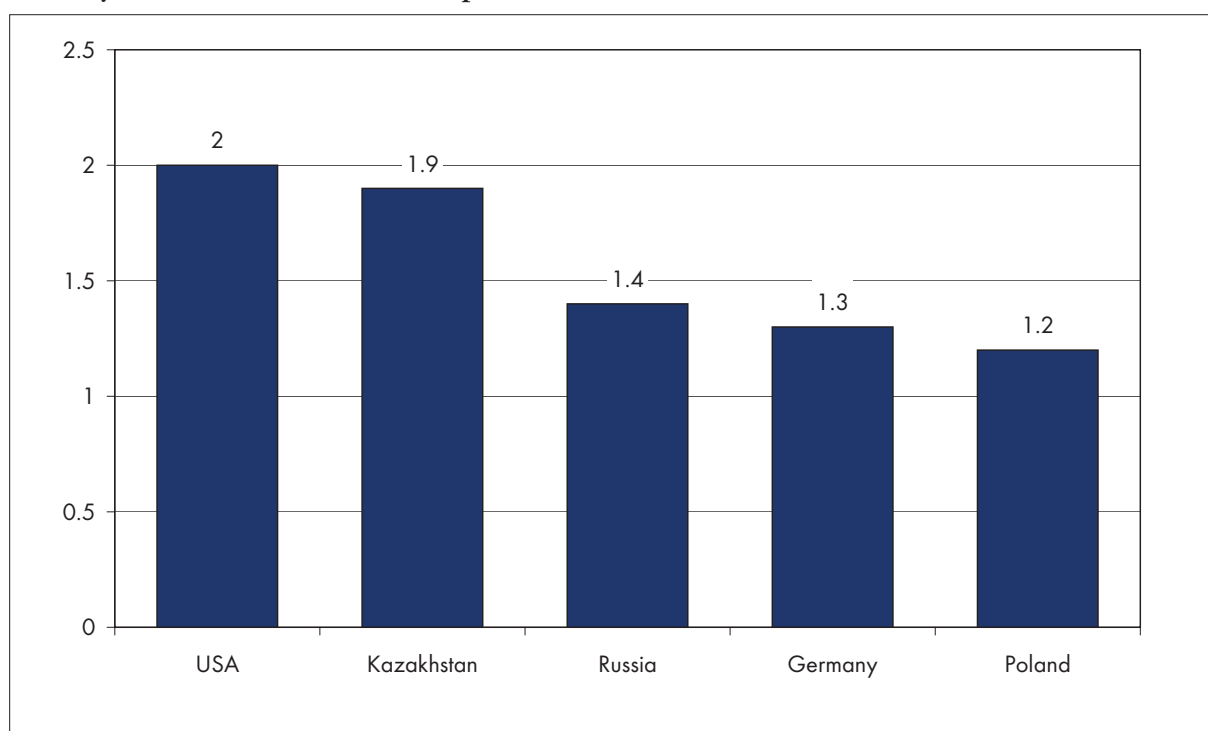
Source: World Health Organization, <http://www.who.int/whosis/whostat2007/en/index.html>

Birth and Mortality Rates 1970–2007



Source: Rosstat, http://www.gks.ru/bgd/free/b07_00/lssWWW.exe/Stg/d120/8-0.htm

Fertility Rate in International Comparison (2005)



Source: World Health Organization, <http://www.who.int/whosis/whostat2007/en/index.html>

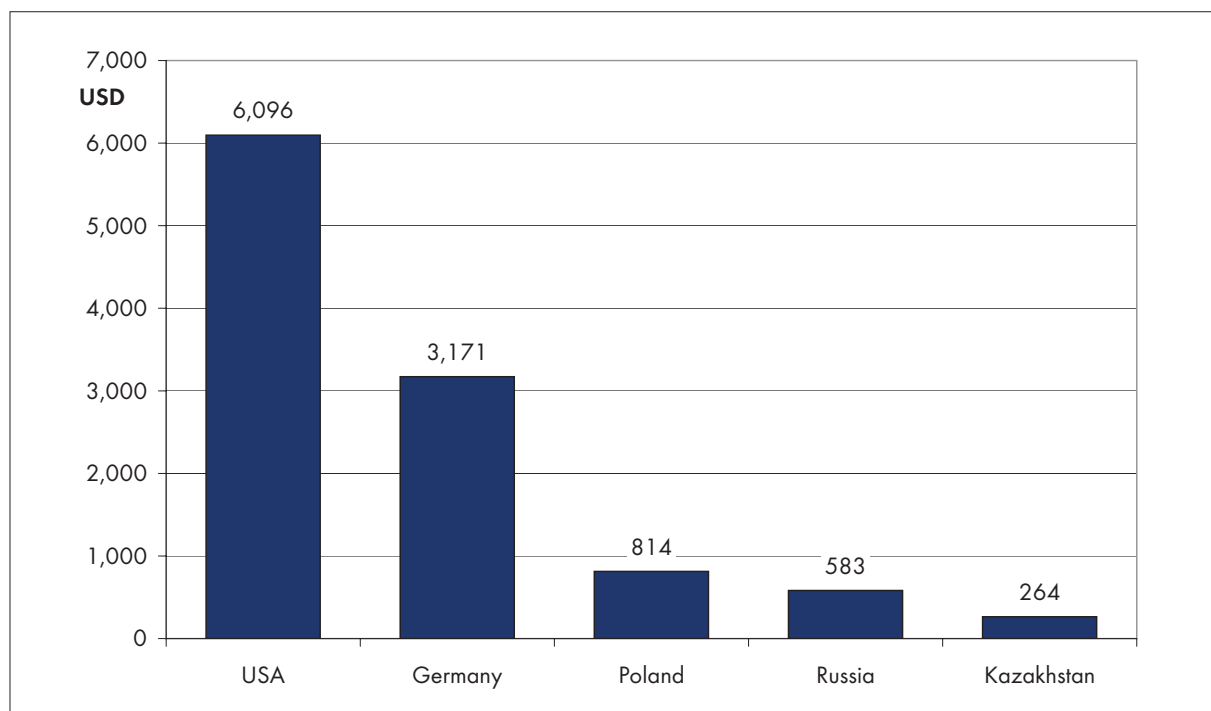
Mortality Rates in International Comparison (2005)

	USA	Germany	Russia	Poland	Kazakhstan
Infant mortality rate (per 1000 life birth) in 2005					
	7	4	11	6	27
Probability of dying aged <5 years per 1000 in 2005					
	8	5	14	8	31
Probability of dying aged 15 – 60 years per 1000 population in 2005					
Male	137	110	470	208	437
Female	81	57	173	79	194

Source: World Health Organization, <http://www.who.int/whosis/whostat2007/en/index.html>

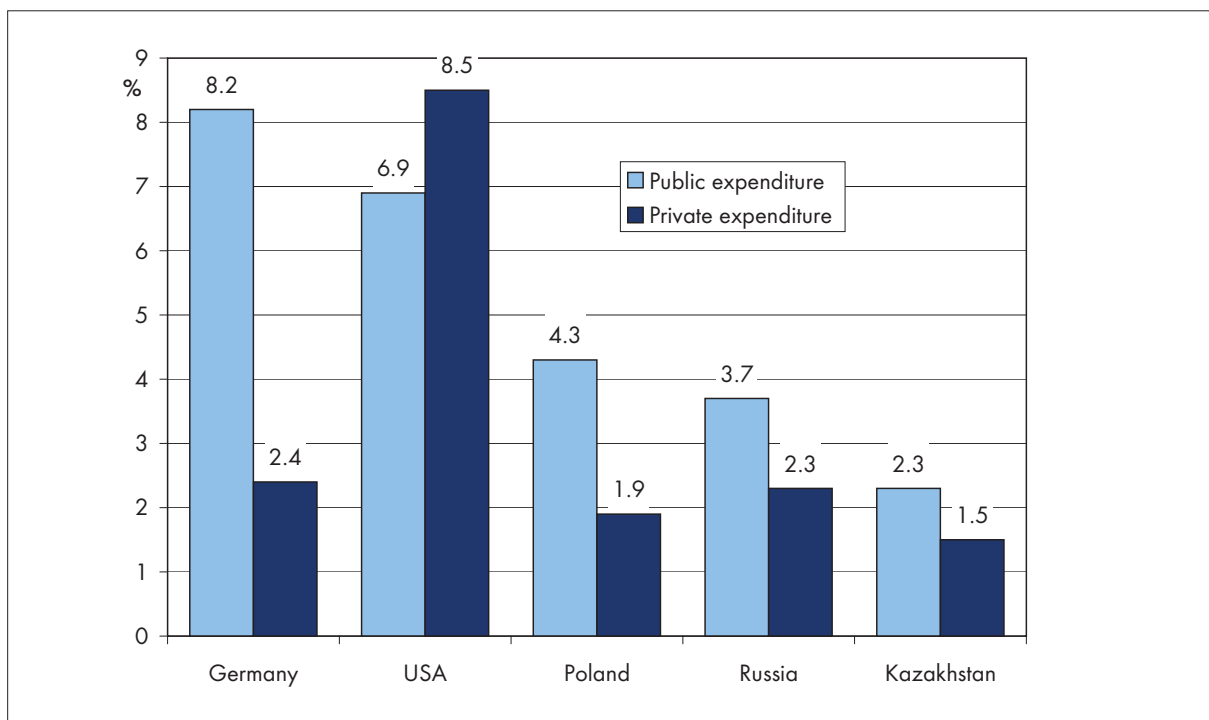
Part 2: Health care system

Expenditure on Health Care in USD (Purchasing Power Parity), International Comparison (2004)



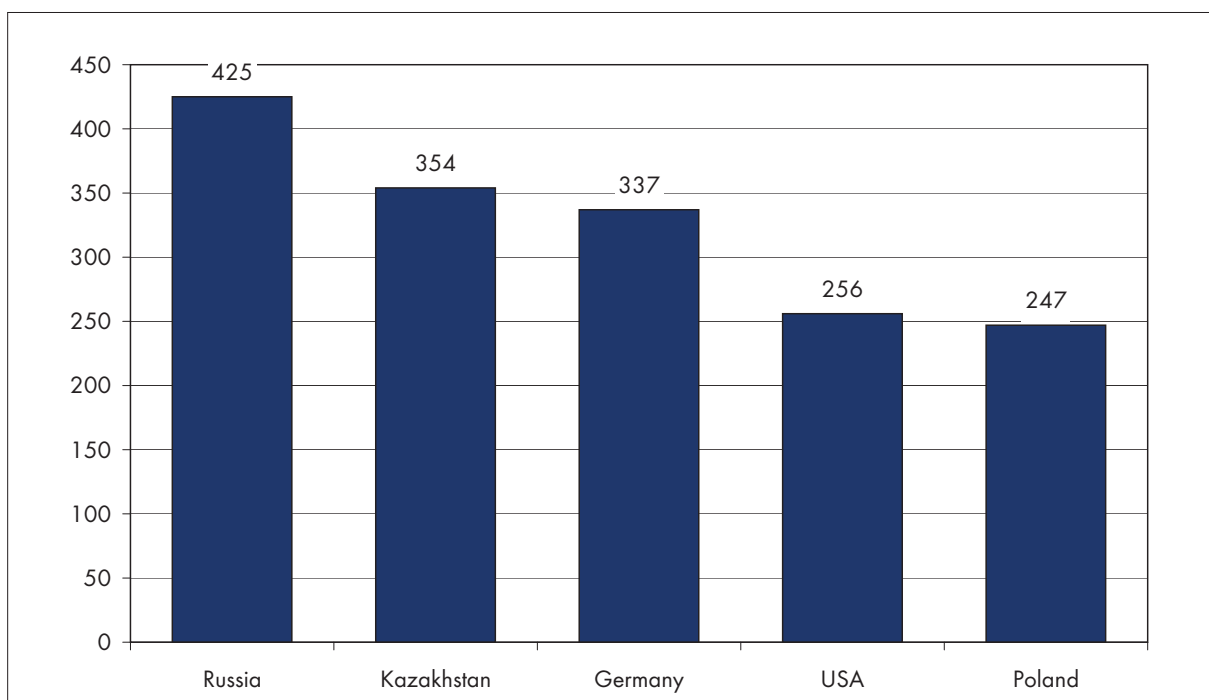
Source: World Health Organization, <http://www.who.int/whosis/whostat2007/en/index.html>

Expenditure on Health Care as Share in GDP, International Comparison (2004)



Source: World Health Organization, <http://www.who.int/whosis/whostat2007/en/index.html>

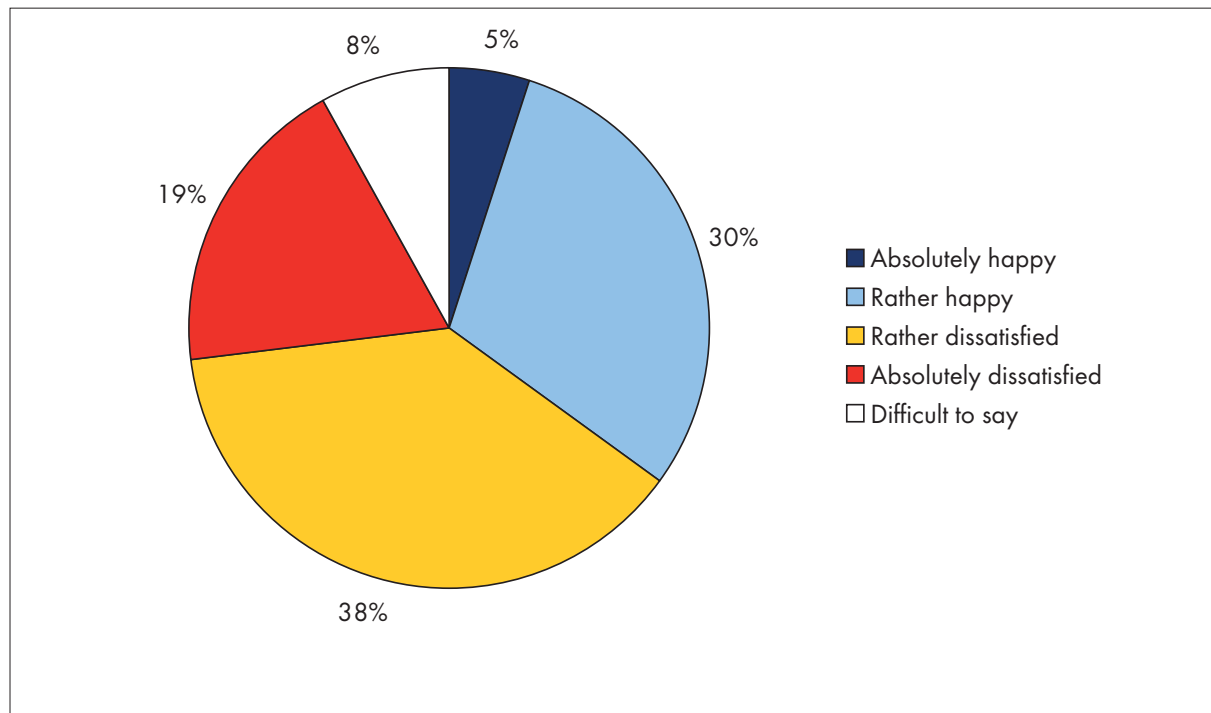
Physicians per 100,000 people (2000–2004)



Source: UNDP Human Development Data, <http://hdrstats.undp.org/indicators/58.html>

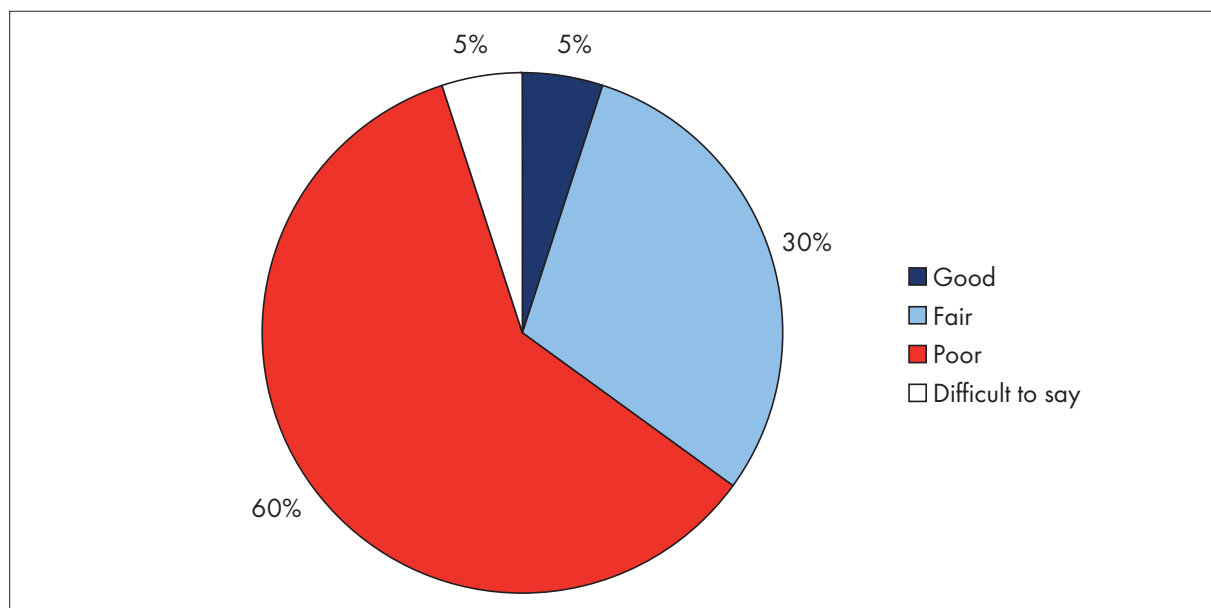
Assessment of the Russian Population

On the Whole, Are You Happy with the Health Services You Receive? (2006)



Source: Russian Public Opinion Research Center, <http://wciom.ru/arkhiv/tematicheskii-arkhiv/item/single/3493.html>

How Would You Rate the State of the Russians Healthcare System: Good, Fair or Poor? (2007)



Source: FOM. Public Opinion Foundation. http://bd.english.fom.ru/report/cat/societas/problem_soc/health/doctor/ed071620

Compiled by Stefan Langkabel

About the Russian Analytical Digest

The Russian Analytical Digest is a bi-weekly internet publication jointly produced by the Research Centre for East European Studies [Forschungsstelle Osteuropa] at the University of Bremen (www.forschungsstelle-uni-bremen.de) and the Center for Security Studies (CSS) at the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich (ETH Zurich). It is supported by the Otto Wolff Foundation and the German Association for East European Studies (DGO). The Digest draws on contributions to the German-language Russlandanalysen (www.russlandanalysen.de), the CSS analytical network on Russia and Eurasia (www.res.ethz.ch), and the Russian Regional Report. The Russian Analytical Digest covers political, economic, and social developments in Russia and its regions, and looks at Russia's role in international relations.

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Research Centre for East European Studies [Forschungsstelle Osteuropa] at the University of Bremen

Founded in 1982 and led by Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Eichwede, the Research Centre for East European Studies (Forschungsstelle Osteuropa) at the University of Bremen is dedicated to socialist and post-socialist cultural and societal developments in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

The Research Centre possesses a unique collection of alternative culture and independent writings from the former socialist countries in its archive. In addition to extensive individual research on dissidence and society in socialist societies, since January 2007 a group of international research institutes is participating in a collaborative project on the theme "The other Eastern Europe – the 1960s to the 1980s, dissidence in politics and society, alternatives in culture. Contributions to comparative contemporary history", which is funded by the Volkswagen Foundation.

In the area of post-socialist societies, extensive research projects have been conducted in recent years with emphasis on political decision-making processes, economic culture and the integration of post-socialist countries into EU governance. One of the core missions of the institute is the dissemination of academic knowledge to the interested public. This includes regular email service with nearly 15,000 subscribers in politics, economics and the media.

With a collection of publications on Eastern Europe unique in Germany, the Research Centre is also a contact point for researchers as well as the interested public. The Research Centre has approximately 300 periodicals from Russia alone, which are available in the institute's library. News reports as well as academic literature is systematically processed and analyzed in data bases.

The Center for Security Studies (CSS) at ETH Zurich

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The CSS is engaged in research projects with a number of Swiss and international partners. The Center's research focus is on new risks, European and transatlantic security, strategy and doctrine, state failure and state building, and Swiss foreign and security policy.

In its teaching capacity, the CSS contributes to the ETH Zurich-based Bachelor of Arts (BA) degree course for prospective professional military officers in the Swiss army and the ETH and University of Zurich-based MA program in Comparative and International Studies (MACIS), offers and develops specialized courses and study programs to all ETH Zurich and University of Zurich students, and has the lead in the Executive Masters degree program in Security Policy and Crisis Management (MAS ETH SPCM), which is offered by ETH Zurich. The program is tailored to the needs of experienced senior executives and managers from the private and public sectors, the policy community, and the armed forces.

The CSS runs the International Relations and Security Network (ISN), and in cooperation with partner institutes manages the Comprehensive Risk Analysis and Management Network (CRN), the Parallel History Project on NATO and the Warsaw Pact (PHP), the Swiss Foreign and Security Policy Network (SSN), and the Russian and Eurasian Security (RES) Network.

Any opinions expressed in Russian Analytical Digest are exclusively those of the authors.

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