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SOTSIAALTEADUSTE DISSERTATSIOONID

TALLINN UNIVERSITY
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MARTIN KLESMENT

FERTILITY DEVELOPMENT IN ESTONIA DURING
THE SECOND HALF OF THE XX CENTURY:
THE ECONOMIC CONTEXT AND ITS
IMPLICATIONS

Tallinn 2010

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**FERTILITY DEVELOPMENT IN ESTONIA DURING THE SECOND HALF
OF THE XX CENTURY:
THE ECONOMIC CONTEXT AND ITS IMPLICATIONS**

Estonian Institute for Population Studies, Tallinn University

The dissertation is accepted for the commencement of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (demography) by the Doctoral Committee of Social Sciences of Tallinn University on August 30, 2010.

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PREFACE

Economic growth affects issues recurrently addressed in scholarly as well as public debate. Steady economic growth is generally regarded as a desirable feature of a country's development, especially in the light of the recent economic crisis that escalated to a global scale. Popular belief seems to favour the notion that higher per capita incomes and rising living standards are the foundation upon which the other domains of society, including demographic developments, rest. Such a view conforms with daily life experience in which economic conditions in their various manifestations (income, availability of jobs, housing etc.) are perceived as factors that facilitate or constrain the choices of individuals. The role of economic factors has also attracted considerable interest in demographic research. The relationship between economic conditions and demographic outcomes has been studied from a variety of theoretical perspectives, drawing on both macro- and micro-level data and applying a broad range of analytical methods. The findings from such studies reveal the salience of economic underpinnings but also point to a noticeable variation in specific relationships between economic and demographic phenomena in different societal contexts and over time.

This study aims to complement that research by addressing the implications of the economic context for fertility developments in Estonia since the end of the Second World War. It is assumed that the successive and profound transformations in the country's economic system over that period offer favourable ground for analysing the relationship. The study focused on the dynamics of the Gross Domestic Product at the macro-level and on differentials in economic well-being across subgroups of the population at the micro-level as plausible correlates with childbearing trends. An analysis of educational differentials in childbearing was included in the study in order to cast further light on the role of economic factors in family formation decisions.

The results of the study indicate that the economic context, especially an abrupt change in the level of well-being, is likely to play a role in fertility development, but its importance should not be overestimated. In a comparative perspective, similar macro-economic developments have not produced identical fertility trends, which suggests that the phase of population development and demographic path dependency may be more important than short-term economic influences. The wealth of a society and its members is one element in a complex array of factors that influence demographic behaviour. It therefore seems unlikely that a universal cure for low fertility will be found among economic variables. Measures and policies that are targeted towards increasing fertility must be considered in a broader framework.

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LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

- I Klesment, Martin; Puur, Allan (2010). Effects of Education on Second Births before and after Societal Transition: Evidence from the Estonian GGS. *Demographic Research*, 22 (28), 891–932.
- II Klesment, Martin; Sakkeus, Luule (2010). *Estonian Household Income Surveys in the 1950–1980s. Feasibility Study and Standard Tabulations*. RU Series C, 29. Tallinn: Eesti Kõrgkoolidevaheline Demouuringute Keskus.
- III Klesment, Martin; Puur, Allan; Valge, Jaak (2010). *Childbearing and Macro-economic Trends in Estonia in the XX century*. RU Series B, 63. Tallinn: Eesti Kõrgkoolidevaheline Demouuringute Keskus.
- IV Klesment, Martin (2009). The Estonian Economy under Soviet Rule: A Historiographic Overview. *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 40 (2), 245–264.
- V Klesment, Martin (2008). Estonian Agricultural Production Data: An Interpretation through Comparison. *Acta Historica Tallinnensia*, 12 (1), 145–162.
- VI Klesment, Martin; Valge, Jaak (eds.) (2007). *Eesti rahvastiku majandustegevuse näitarve XX sajandil*. RU Sari D, 6. Tallinn: Eesti Kõrgkoolidevaheline Demouuringute Keskus.

Additional publications related to the dissertation

- A Klesment, Martin (2010). A Comparison between Native and Immigrant Population in Estonia Regarding the Effect of Education on Second Births. In: *European Population Conference 2010. Programme and Abstracts*.
- B Klesment, Martin; Puur, Allan (2010). *Education and Second Births: Analysis of the Estonian GGS*. RU Series B, 62. Tallinn: Eesti Kõrgkoolidevaheline Demouuringute Keskus.
- C Klesment, Martin (2009). Interpretation and Adjustment of Foreign Concepts in Soviet Estonia: the Discussion and Adaptation of Management Theories. *European Review of History = Revue européenne d'Histoire*, 16 (1), 151–167.
- D Klesment, Martin (2008). Eesti majandusarengu dünaamika näitajaid sõdadevahelisel perioodil. *Tuna. Ajalookultuuri ajakiri*, 38 (1), 25–37.
- E Klesment, Martin (2009). Trends of Household and Personal Income: the case of Estonia from the 1950s to 1980s. In: *XXVI IUSSP International Population Conference. Programme and Abstracts*.
- F Klesment, Martin (2008). Historical Household Income and Expenditure Surveys in Estonia: A Feasibility Study. In: *European Population Conference 2008. Programme and Abstracts*.

The author's contribution to co-authored publications

Klesment, Martin; Puur, Allan (2010). Effects of Education on Second Births before and after Societal Transition: Evidence from the Estonian GGS. *Demographic Research*, 22 (28), 891–932. – The author performed the Estonian GGS data analysis and event history modelling, and wrote the respective sections of results on the findings.

Klesment, Martin; Sakkeus, Luule (2010). *Estonian Household Income Surveys in the 1950–1980s. Feasibility Study and Standard Tabulations*. RU Series C, 29. Tallinn: Eesti Kõrgkoolidevaheline Demouuringute Keskus. – The author conducted the feasibility study, archival data collection, data quality analysis, post-stratification analysis, wrote the respective sections, and produced the standard tabulations.

Klesment, Martin; Puur, Allan; Valge, Jaak (2010). *Childbearing and Macro-economic trends in Estonia in the XX Century*. RU Series B, 63. Tallinn: Eesti Kõrgkoolidevaheline Demouuringute Keskus. – The author analysed post-WWII macro-economic trends and their implications for fertility, participated in the analysis of fertility trends and wrote the respective sections.

Klesment, Martin; Puur, Allan (2010). Education and Second Births: Analysis of the Estonian GGS. *RU Series B*, 62. Tallinn: Eesti Kõrgkoolidevaheline Demouuringute Keskus. – The author was responsible for data preparation and event history modelling, and for writing sections on theoretical perspectives and results.

Klesment, Martin; Valge, Jaak (eds.) (2007). *Eesti rahvastiku majandustegevuse näitarve XX sajandil*. RU Sari D, 6. Tallinn: Eesti Kõrgkoolidevaheline Demouuringute Keskus. – The author wrote the chapter on statistics in the state socialist period, reconstructed and harmonised the time series of production indicators in the appendix, and produced the tabulations and international comparisons.

INTRODUCTION

Following the completion of the transition to the modern demographic regime in developed nations, childbearing trends have repeatedly taken unexpected turns, and the future course of fertility continues to be difficult to foresee. European fertility reached its lowest point since the Second World War early in the 21st century, and despite a recent upward trend in period fertility rates, a substantial percentage of childbearing aspirations remains unrealised. Furthermore, there is recent evidence for several countries of Europe that young people are increasingly adopting sub-replacement fertility ideals. In the countries concerned, particularly in Southern and Eastern Europe and German-speaking countries, the persistence of contemporary fertility levels may eventually lead to a long-term population decline, and a degree of demographic ageing with which modern welfare systems can hardly be sustained. On the other hand, some countries, mainly in the northern and western parts of the continent, have fared better and managed to avoid the decline of fertility rates to very low levels.

Against the backdrop of the diversity of fertility regimes in contemporary Europe, this doctoral study focuses on childbearing trends and patterns in Estonia during the second half of the 20th century, in a changing economic context. Previous research (e.g. Katus 1997; 2000, Katus *et al.* 2002) has documented the general trajectory of post-transitional fertility in the country; however, the elements underlying the observed changes remain quite obscure. This study attempts to take a further step towards filling this knowledge gap and gaining insight into economic development as a plausible correlate of the observed childbearing patterns.

The timeframe of the study spans the aftermath of the Second World War to the beginning of the 21st century. From the socio-economic point of view, the timeframe of the study encompasses two profound transformations – Sovietisation in the late 1940s and 1950s, and the return to a market economy after the beginning of the 1990s. Both transformations have far-reaching implications for societal institutions and the lives of the individuals they frame. In a demographic perspective, the period of the study almost completely covers the stages and turning points since the completion of the transition to controlled fertility and the slow alteration of generations. The latter fact is particularly appealing from the methodological viewpoint as both transformations occurred in the context of the modern demographic regime. In comparative perspective, such a configuration appears quite unique, since most countries of Central and Eastern Europe were still at the stage of secular fertility decline when the post-war political and economic changes commenced. In planning the study, we expected that the characteristics of the Estonian setting described above would allow us to highlight the role of the demographic stage in conditioning the alleged response to changes in the economic context, thus adding value to the study.

In addressing childbearing patterns, the economic context and their interactions, the study combines research at two complementary levels – the macro-level and the micro-level. The approach is supported by the choice of appropriate data sources and analytical methods. In implementing the study, it was discovered that the availability of information pertaining to economic development lagged seriously behind that which existed in the demographic domain. Therefore, although the study is guided by demographic questions, more research effort has been applied to the economic domain. In particular, this refers to the retrieval and harmonisation of comprehensive archival materials and preparing them for scholarly use.

The doctoral study has been organised as a collection of articles and books. A historiographic overview (Klesment 2009) describes the available literature on Estonian economic development during the state socialist period. The physical production volume indicators have been published in Klesment and Valge (2007) and aggregated to a certain extent in Klesment (2008b). The general trends of demographic and economic development in Estonia have been summarised in Klesment *et al.* (2010). The collection of micro-economic data is described, and the results are included as standard tabulations, in Klesment and Sakkeus (2010). The individual-level research on fertility differentials is published in Klesment and Puur (2010b). Some of the results, and the synthesis of the main findings, however, appear first in this analytical summary.

This text has five sections. Section 1 describes the theoretical perspectives of the study, introduce the Estonian context, and explain the research objectives. In Section 2, the data and methodology used in the dissertation are introduced. Following the division into macro- and micro-level issues, the main results of the study are explained in Section 3. The interpretation of results is provided within the discussion in Section 4. Section 5 completes the study by identifying the main results and some prospects for future research.

1. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

1.1 THEORETICAL VIEWS ON THE ROLE OF ECONOMIC FACTORS IN FERTILITY DEVELOPMENTS

The scholarly interpretation of economic conditions as a factor influencing demographic patterns has a long history. Economic progress has fuelled sustained growth in productivity and brought society from the subsistence level to modern urban-industrialism. Along this path, rising incomes and improving standards of living exert an influence on virtually every aspect of human activity. Therefore, it is not surprising that socio-economic factors have received careful consideration in developing the theory of demographic transition – the most prominent overarching framework for the description and explanation of changes that have occurred in human populations in the course of modernisation (Chesnais 1992, Kirk 1996).

The progression towards low fertility and mortality has been thoroughly documented and the empirical record is beyond dispute. The causes of the transition, however, have been a subject of serious debate. Arguably the most influential statement concerning the role of economic development in fertility decline was formulated by Frank Notestein (1953). According to his formulation, the emergence of the small family ideal was intimately linked to the rise of urban industrial society. Economic change and urban life stripped the family of many production, consumption, recreation and education functions. Rapidly developing technology made education increasingly important, and, as a consequence, the cost of childrearing increased and the opportunities for economic contributions from children decreased. At the same time, declining infant mortality rates increased the size of the family to be supported and further lessened the motivation to have many children. In other words, the rising costs and dwindling economic value of children were the central forces Notestein believed to be driving fertility declines: a diminished desire to have children combined with decreased child mortality led to the adoption of parity-specific fertility control.

Notestein's formulation of the impact of socio-economic modernisation on demographic behaviour came to be referred to as the classical theory of demographic transition, and stimulated a great deal of empirical research. A comprehensive test of the theory was the Princeton European fertility study, which used data from more than 600 provinces of European countries for the period 1870–1960 (Coale and Watkins 1986). Unexpectedly, the results uncovered no systematic and universally binding relationship between the onset of the fertility decline and socio-economic variables such as the proportion of non-agricultural employment and level of urbanisation. Another key finding drew attention to the role of cultural boundaries in the process of fertility decline: once a region of a country had begun a decline, neigh-

bouring regions with the same culture usually followed suit in a short time, even when they were economically less developed.

Thus the Princeton study called into question the primacy of socio-economic factors as the single engine of fertility transition. To account for this, Ansley Coale (1973) identified three preconditions for fertility decline to occur (summarised as “ready”, “able” and “willing”): i) fertility must be within the calculus of conscious choice, ii) reduced fertility must be advantageous, and iii) effective techniques to control fertility must be available. Among certain subgroups (e.g. groups with higher socio-economic status, urban dwellers) these preconditions may be fulfilled earlier than in the rest of the population (Livi-Bacci 1986). These early adapters can be seen as fore-runners whose innovative demographic behaviours diffuse to other groups. Demographic transition theory in its early formulation had primarily focused on the second precondition, namely, that there must be a perceived economic gain to motivate couples to want fewer children. By adding the first and third preconditions, Coale underscored the cultural legitimization of behaviours that disseminate knowledge and challenge traditional values. Coale’s assertion was supported by solid empirical evidence (e.g. Bongaarts and Watkins 1996, Lesthaeghe 1983, Lesthaeghe and Wilson 1986).

In the countries that completed the transition to low fertility in the 1920s–1930s, the conventional description usually divides the postwar fertility trend into two distinct periods. The first period – the baby-boom – extended for nearly two decades and featured fairly high levels of childbearing: in several countries which had experienced sub-replacement fertility in the interwar years, the period TFRs amounted to three children or more per woman in the peak years of the baby-boom (Macunovich 2002). After the mid-1960s, a new wave of changes in family formation and fertility came to the fore. It began in the countries of north-western Europe, spread to the southern part of the continent in the late 1970s and 1980s, and reached central and eastern Europe mainly after the fall of the Iron Curtain. With regard to childbearing patterns, the contrast with the baby-boom was so vivid that it gave rise to the term baby-bust to characterise the new phase that was distinguished by fertility rates that were far below replacement levels. In the late 1980s, an increasing awareness that advanced industrialised countries might be entering a new stage in their demographic history led Ron Lesthaeghe and Dirk van de Kaa (Lesthaeghe and Van de Kaa 1986) to introduce the concept of a second demographic transition (SDT). In their view, the SDT constitutes a major transformation in demographic patterns, with interrelated changes in childbearing, family formation and dissolution (decline of marriage, rising non-marital cohabitation and divorce), and living arrangements (increased frequency of single habitation) at its core.

The observed shifts in demographic patterns are seen as a result of the interplay of structural, cultural and technological factors during a complex process of social change (van de Kaa 1987). With regard to the economic drivers, the theory refers to changes that have improved the well-being of individuals and families: the rise of the modern service economy, the expansion of advanced levels of education, an increase in living standards,

consolidation of the welfare state, which protects citizens from the vagaries of life, etc. In the cultural domain, extensive changes in value systems are regarded as an equally important mainspring of the SDT. These ideational transformations accentuate higher-order non-material needs and individual autonomy, involve the rejection of various forms of institutional authority and controls, and exhibit a surge in expressive values connected with self-fulfilment, which compete with more traditional values (Lesthaeghe and Surkyn 2002). As regards technological innovation, the theory of the SDT underlines the role of highly efficient contraceptives and easier access to abortion and sterilisation as catalysts of the demographic change. It should be noted that in its three main pillars – structural, cultural and technological change – the explanatory framework of the SDT bears a close resemblance with the concept of the “first” demographic transition, as restated in the 1970s and 1980s. In this interpretation, economic progress is seen as conducive to demographic modernisation, but the complexity of interactions and the relative independence and systemic nature of the phenomena cautions against the deterministic interpretation that was inherent in the early formulation of the demographic transition theory.

Although the SDT concept has its critics (e.g. Cliquet 1991, Coleman 2004), it nevertheless constitutes the mainstream theoretical framework among population scientists studying contemporary demographic patterns in European societies. Despite the centrality of the SDT, however, there are other theoretical constructs that are relevant to this study. For several decades, various economic theories have held prominent positions in the low fertility debate (for an overview, Robinson 1997).

At a macro-level, Easterlin (1975) and colleagues (Easterlin and Crimmins 1991) have advanced a theory of relative economic deprivation that links childbearing decisions to economic opportunities. These opportunities are related to cohort size and judgements based on expected levels of economic well-being that are driven by demographic and economic cycles. According to this theory, small cohorts would have better employment and income opportunities, and, therefore, earlier marriage and higher fertility, whereas large cohorts would have less favourable life chances and inverse demographic responses. Easterlin’s theory accounted relatively well for the baby-boom of the 1950s and 1960s, and also for the subsequent baby-bust of the 1970s. The theory also predicted further cycles, and hence a return of fertility to higher levels when smaller cohorts reach the reproductive years. However, the course of fertility in recent decades has offered little support for Easterlin’s assertions.

At a micro level, the economic theory of fertility dates from the attempt by Leibenstein (1957) to formalise the turning point at which fertility declines in the demographic transition. Later Becker (1960; 1993) reformulated this approach into a more general model of completed fertility, based on the neo-classical assumptions of fixed preferences, utility-maximising behaviour and the existence of equilibrium solutions for all decisions. Becker adapted his model to a household production function paradigm, linking the fertility decision to household economic processes, including labour force participation

and consumption. At the core of the theory is the proposition that children are a particular type of capital goods that produce utility and entail costs for parents. In the micro-economic framework, fertility decisions rely on the balance between the former and the latter. Although the static aspect of the theory has been criticised – it conceptualises demographic processes as the results of decisions of atomised individuals operating under a set of fixed preferences (e.g. Lesthaeghe 1983, Mason and Jensen 1995) – micro-economic theory has provided a starting point for much of the research on fertility and family dynamics in the recent decades.

Much of the work guided by micro-economic theory has focused on increased female autonomy, the movement of more women into the labour force, the rise in their educational attainment, and its implications on the direct and indirect costs of childbearing in the family economy. The time spent caring for and raising children could be used for gainful employment, and staying at home means a loss of potential income, slower career advancement, and human capital depreciation. Thus, with growing earning opportunities for women, the theory predicts the substitution of other activities for childbearing and child-rearing at the individual level. Yet at the national level, the correlation between the levels of female employment and fertility reversed from negative in the 1960s to positive since the 1990s (Kögel 2004, Morgan 2003). To explain the reversal, it has been argued that the inhibiting effect of employment on fertility has been at least partially removed by social and institutional arrangements such as the provision of publicly funded and easily accessible childcare, parental leave arrangements and labour market flexibility (Engelhardt and Prskawetz 2004, Rindfuss *et al.* 2003).

Additional evidence contesting the predictive ability of micro-economic theory comes from empirical studies focusing on childbearing differentials. Elevated second and third birth intensities among highly educated women has become a standard finding in the Nordic countries (Gerster *et al.* 2007, Hoem and Hoem 1989, Kravdal 2007, Vikat 2004). Similar results have also been found in several countries of Western Europe (Ermisch 1989, Hoem *et al.* 2001, Köppen 2006, Kreyenfeld 2002, Kreyenfeld and Zabel 2005). The positive gradient of educational differences in these settings is commonly attributed to family- and gender-related welfare state policies. Public policies supporting the compatibility of work with family life and gender equity are believed to be capable of modulating the relationship between women's education, labour market participation and fertility (Esping-Andersen 1999, Gornick *et al.* 1998, McDonald 2000, Morgan 2003). This is further corroborated by international comparisons showing that countries which disburden women of some of the costs associated with parenthood are typically experiencing higher fertility rates. The salience of this finding is also acknowledged by SDT theorists who have recognised a need for sub-narratives of the SDT that take into account contextual features of the countries and the historical path dependency of demographic development (Lesthaeghe 2010).

A third stream of reasoning links the emergence of new demographic patterns characteristic of the SDT to various forms of economic hardship. With regard to Western Europe, for instance, it was at first thought that the eco-

conomic recession ensuing from the oil crises in the early 1970s was responsible for decreasing marriage rates and postponement of childbearing (Lesthaeghe and Van de Kaa 1986). In a somewhat different formulation, globalisation is believed to influence individuals through changes in the labour market, which increase uncertainty and consequently lead to lower fertility levels (Blossfeld and Hofmeister 2006, Blossfeld *et al.* 2005). These plausible links were supported by the experience of Eastern Europe after the beginning of the 1990s, when a direct connection was established between the rapid fall of marriage and fertility rates on the one hand, and the effects of a difficult economic transition on the other. According to the “economic crisis” argument, these demographic changes were attributed to rising unemployment and labour market uncertainty, the end of lifelong employment guarantees, the sudden drop in household incomes and the enhanced risk of poverty (e.g. UNECE 1999; 2000). However, the course of fertility has provided only partial support for this hypothesis. By the late 1990s the economies of several former state socialist countries were recovering along with per capita incomes. But there was no return to earlier patterns of childbearing and family formation. The verdict seems to be that the economic crisis had indeed destabilised the earlier demographic pattern, but the root cause is related to a wider range of structural and ideational changes that were underway in the region (Frejka 2008, Sobotka 2008). It has also been noted that several features of the SDT were nascent in eastern Europe before the 1990s.

Finally, after the turn of the millennium the analysis of childbearing trends led to the identification of yet another factor – a systematic postponement of childbearing to older ages – that emerges as an essential determinant of cross-country variation in period fertility levels. To underscore the universality of the phenomenon in contemporary demographic settings, Kohler, Billari and Ortega introduced the term “postponement transition” (Kohler *et al.* 2002). This dissertation tests these theoretical perspectives against empirical evidence from Estonia since the Second World War.

1.2 THE ESTONIAN SETTING

Historically, the demographic development in Estonia has shared several commonalities with the countries of Northern and Western Europe. In terms of nuptiality, the country formed the eastern boundary of the so-called European marriage pattern (Hajnal 1965). This pattern of relatively late marriage, with a remarkably high proportion never marrying, became established in the country by the 18th century and persisted until the Second World War (Palli 2004).

Although the emergence of a new marriage pattern is in itself not regarded as a transition to a modern demographic regime, it is generally agreed that the European marriage pattern paved the way towards a subsequent more radical development, the shift to controlled marital fertility. The indices derived from the Princeton European fertility study reveal

that the decline of marital fertility had reached the point of no return in Estonia by the late 1880s. In comparative perspective, modern reproductive patterns emerged first in Estonia among the nations of the Russian Empire, and synchronously with the forerunners of the fertility transition in Western and Northern Europe (Coale *et al.* 1979, Coale and Watkins 1986). Consequently, fertility first fell below replacement levels in the late 1920s, and, as is typical of a pattern of demographic transition with rather limited growth in the size of the population, the country experienced its first peacetime negative natural increase in the 1930s.

The similarity of fertility trends in Estonia and Northern and Western Europe ended in the aftermath of the Second World War, when Estonia was incorporated into the Soviet Union. The general trends of Estonian fertility development in the postwar period are relatively well documented (Katus and Puur 2006, Katus *et al.* 2002); however, attempts to link this discontinuity of demographic patterns to the changing societal context have been rather limited, and more speculative than based on empirical evidence. The differentials in childbearing across subgroups of the Estonian population have received less attention than the general trends. In previous studies, the main focus has been on comparison of the native and foreign-origin populations (e.g. Katus *et al.* 2002; 2000, Sakkeus 2000). These analyses revealed systematic differences in fertility patterns between the two major sub-populations from the beginning of the period of demographic transition. Because of the relative size of the foreign-origin population, these differences produce an aggregate of rather divergent and sometimes contrasting elements that may cancel each other out. Therefore, to obtain a more precise description of behavioural patterns, the authors of earlier studies opted to analyse the native and foreign-origin populations separately.

Against that backdrop, however, differentials in fertility by economic status have not been studied in any significant detail. A plausible contributing cause is the limited information on Estonia's economic development during the 20th century. In that timeframe, the economic system of the country as well as the system of national accounting and recording economic statistics changed repeatedly and profoundly. This makes the investigation of long-term economic trends a rather complicated and demanding endeavour. The first major economic re-orientation occurred after Estonia gained independence from the Russian Empire (Valge 2006) and in the 1920–30s the country developed a new structure of the national economy (for a general description see Kahk and Tarvel 1997). The economic policy and industrial development of that time is relatively well researched (Kõll and Valge 1998, Pihlamägi 1991; 1999, Valge 1991; 1995). In the 1940s, following the incorporation of Estonia into the Soviet Union, Sovietisation moulded the Estonia economy to the Soviet model. This included the full-scale nationalisation of businesses, collectivisation of agriculture and extensive development of heavy industry (e.g. Mertelsmann 2003; 2006). From the perspective of the local population, collectivisation and forced industrialisation were unwarranted and unwelcome developments that could be viewed as colonialism (Kukk 2005).

The historiography of economic development in Estonia during the Soviet period is discussed in Klesment (2009), an article prepared within the framework of this dissertation. The historiographic overview revealed that a general account of the macro-economic trends in Estonia in the 20th century is largely missing. The periods covered by previous research and/or data were limited to the interwar period (Valge 2003) and the transition to a market economy after the beginning of the 1990s. The only estimate for the intervening comes from A.Maddison, who had constructed per capita GDP series for a large number of countries. With regard to the USSR in 1945–1989, Maddison provided an estimate for just one year (1973).¹ The 1973 estimate by Maddison suggests that per capita GDP in the USSR was higher than in Hungary and Poland, but lower than in Czechoslovakia. Maddison’s estimates for Estonia in 1973 and in 1990, however, surpassed even that of Czechoslovakia (Maddison 2006), which seems to be an obvious overstatement.

Analyses systematically focusing on the economic well-being of the population during the Soviet period are fairly limited. Reference can be made primarily to research carried out in the West that aimed to provide insights into living standards and incomes in the Soviet Union (e.g. Bergson 1984, McAuley 1979, Ofer 1981, Ofer and Vinokur 1992, Vinokur and Ofer 1987). Some studies addressed differentials by gender, educational attainment, and other socio-demographic characteristics (Alexeev 1988, Echols 1980, Ofer and Vinokur 2008, Pugh and Lewin 1990, Schwartz 1979, Yanowitch and Dodge 1968; 1969). As a comprehensive account of the economic well-being at the level of households and individuals, however, the value of such studies is limited, overwhelmingly due to the narrow scope of the secondary data to which the authors had access. Moreover, the main focus of these studies was the situation in the Soviet Union at large, which was not necessarily identical to the situation in individual republics, such as Estonia.

1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVE AND ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

The objective of this study is to investigate fertility trends and patterns in Estonia during the second half of the 20th century, in the context of the country’s economic development.

Within the timeframe of this study, Estonia experienced two major transformations in its economic system. In the aftermath of the Second World War, the country underwent Sovietisation, which was characterised by the forced rearrangement of the entire system of societal organisation by means of terror and deportations. Although the methods of the regime became

¹Maddison uses the Geary-Khamis international dollar as the unit of measure, which is equal to the purchasing power of the US\$ in 1990. According to Maddison, per capita GDP in the USSR in 1973 was 6,059 international dollars, but he found considerable variation among the republics, e.g. Estonia 8,657, Latvia 7,846, Lithuania 7,593, Russia 6,582, Belarus 5,233, and Ukraine 4,924 international dollars.

less harsh after Stalin's death, the authorities introduced uniform models in virtually all sectors of administration (Kahk and Tarvel 1997, Mertelsmann 2003). The application of centralised models extended to the institutions that framed the daily life and influenced the life courses of the population, such as the functioning of the labour market, the organisation of the educational system, health care, social security and the like. Starting from the 1960s, Estonia and the other Baltic republics developed the image of the "Soviet West" because of their allegedly higher standard of living than the other provinces of the USSR (Misiunas and Taagepera 1993).

The second transformation in Estonia occurred at the beginning of the 1990s, following the dissolution of the Soviet Union. As elsewhere in Central and Eastern Europe, the collapse of the former system was accompanied by a significant decrease in production, a rise in economic uncertainty, and a decline in the standard of living. Estonia's transition to a market economy featured relatively major adjustments and rapid restructuring. In retrospect, the chosen path of radical reforms and a liberal economic environment seems to have paid off in the vigorous economic growth that occurred following the mid-1990s (UNECE 2010).

Against the backdrop of theoretical considerations outlined in the previous section, the study explored the extent to which the stages and turning points in the country's economic development may have modulated the patterns of childbearing in Estonia. To address this issue, the study was organised into four inter-related streams, each of which is characterised by specific objectives, data sources and analytical methods:

1. *Trends and patterns in childbearing.* The first stream of research focused on fertility trends and patterns in Estonia. By revisiting the results of earlier studies in the field and adding new evidence from the most recent period, the analysis aimed to map the trajectory of the country's post-transition fertility development, and identify the principal turning points in the trend. Furthermore, the analysis applied a comparative lens and sought to pinpoint the characteristic features of Estonian fertility development.
2. *Macro-economic trends.* The second stream of research aimed to provide a generalised macro-level account of the country's post-war economic development by constructing, for the first time for Estonia, a continuous series of estimates of the gross national product. The comparison of the newly developed national estimates with those available for other countries allowed Estonia's development to be placed in comparative perspective and its performance monitored relative to other European countries and regions.
3. *Differentials in economic well-being across the population groups.* The third stream of research sought micro-level evidence concerning the variation in levels of economic well-being among the population. As the data to support this type of analysis were not readily available, the task involved a comprehensive archival search and the computerisation of household income surveys conducted in Estonia from the

1950s to the 1980s. Following careful quality assessment, these newly available data were used to explore shifts in the economic status of major subgroups of the population, defined by age, number of children, educational attainment and other characteristics, and the changes in their respective patterns over time. Owing to the focus of the surveys, differentials in economic well-being were operationalised mainly in terms of net equivalised household income and its derivatives.

4. *Differentials in childbearing associated with socio-economic characteristics.* The fourth stream of research focused on differentials in childbearing associated with education. In the context of demographic research, the relationship between female education, which can be regarded as a proxy for earnings capacity and economic resources, and fertility has attracted considerable scholarly attention. This is the first time that kind of analysis has been conducted for Estonia, and its specific objective was to cast light on the role of economic opportunities and constraints in family formation decisions, and in transforming the social and economic environment of the country. The analysis focused on second births, as the transition to the first child had become fairly universal in the cohorts covered by the study, and in these circumstances, the decision to have a second child is critical to setting contemporary fertility levels and the ultimate family size of the population. As the educational differentials related to second births have been found to vary considerably across the countries and regions of Europe, the analysis also sought to ascertain the position of Estonia with respect to the education-childbearing nexus. To ensure the homogeneity of the target population, discussed in the preceding section, the analysis focuses on the native population.

The following section provides a concise overview of the data sources and methods used in the study, and the main findings. A summary of results is provided in the concluding section.

2. DATA AND METHODS

2.1 DATA SOURCES

The study draws on multiple sources of demographic and economic information. The analysis of fertility trends and patterns is based on vital and census statistics, compiled by the Estonian Statistics Office. Since the beginning of the 1990s, the Estonian Demographic Association has been carrying out systematic work to recalculate and harmonise national demographic data from the state socialist period, in order to overcome the statistical discontinuity between the Soviet period and the preceding and subsequent periods (Anderson *et al.* 1994, Katus and Puur 2006, Katus *et al.* 1997). The results have been entered into the Estonian Population Databank and also used in this dissertation. Publications and databases of the European Population Committee and Eurostat have been used to place Estonian trends into comparative perspective with other countries and regions (Council of Europe 2006, Eurostat 2010).

Regarding comparative macro-economic data, the compilation of macro-economic statistical series of European countries began in the interwar period (Maddison 2004). Major international projects were launched in the second half of the 20th century to render national series comparable (Kravis 1984, Kravis *et al.* 1978); the refinement of this data is still in progress and the coverage of different countries and regions remains uneven (Heston *et al.* August 2009). The lack of comparable economic data for the state socialist period in the former USSR and several CEE countries is mostly due to their methods of national accounting, but there are also errors in the statistics (e.g. Bergson 1947, Davies 2004, Kornai 1992). The western world invested considerable effort in researching the accounting system of the USSR (Studenski and Wyler 1947) and estimating its economic development (Bergson 1950a;b, Chapman 1954, Jasny 1947), but internationally comparable GDP series have not yet been established. The same issues apply to Estonia.

Thus, the study of the economic development and standard of living during the state socialist period presents serious challenges. This led the author of this dissertation to employ the least problematic economic indicators – measures of the physical volume of key agricultural and industrial production – in order to construct a time-series of Estonian physical output from 1920 to 2000. Inclusion of the pre-WWII period provides a longer time perspective and the context to evaluate development during the state socialist period. Production volume data was collected from different sources (statistical publications of the interwar period, unpublished materials from the archives of the Bureau of Statistics for the Soviet period, and its database) and harmonised according to contemporary definitions to the extent possible. Complete harmonisation, however, was not feasible due to gaps in

the series and irregularities in data collection for some time periods. The agricultural series are reasonably well covered, but industrial production includes only a basic series of the main sectors of industry. Services were mostly omitted due to measurement issues. The validity of agricultural production figures was investigated (for possible inflated production figures) by comparing them to data from neighbouring countries (see Klesment 2008b, Klesment and Valge 2007).

To gain insight into the economic well-being of the population at the micro-level, a special feasibility study was conducted to collect household income data from the Soviet period. The study started with the exploration of materials pertaining to the social statistics section of the Statistics Office, stored in the State Archive (funds R-10-17, R-10-18, R-10-27 – more than 8,000 volumes in total). As a result, two major collections were identified and examined: family budget surveys (conducted annually since 1952) and household income surveys (since 1958, but carried out systematically since 1967). After the preliminary mapping of the collections and weighing the advantages/disadvantages of both sources, the household income survey collection was selected for further research. The choice resulted from three main considerations: a significantly larger sample size in the household income surveys (more than 3,000 households), better comparability of subsets of the data over time, and feasibility in terms of the amount of work and resources. Also, Western observers had noted that this series of surveys was arguably the best source of micro-level income data in the USSR (McAuley 1979).

At the next stage, a detailed inventory of archival materials related to the household income surveys was compiled, including questionnaires, meta-data (methodological materials, sample descriptions, interviewer's manuals) and results (tabulations, analytical reports, etc.). The inventory revealed that the collection was fairly complete. Most importantly, the full sets of questionnaires were located in the archive for six rounds of the survey (1958, 1972, 1975, 1978, 1981 and 1984). Despite the inability to locate the questionnaires for two rounds (1967 and 1987), it became obvious that the archival material had great potential to provide unique insight into the economic well-being of the population under the state socialist regime. Computerisation of the household income survey data was carried out in the archives, followed by data quality analysis and compilation of standard tabulations containing the main indicators for the years 1958 (n=8,630), 1975 (n=12,533), and 1981 (n=10,552) (published in Klesment and Sakkeus 2010). The main demographic value of the household income surveys is that it allows economic well-being to be linked to population variables. In addition to the income figures for members of the household, the surveys collected detailed information on household composition, the educational attainment of household members, housing conditions, and the availability of consumer durables.

The comparison of well-being during the state socialist era with that of the period of transition to a market economy required additional data sources. For that purpose, the Estonian Labor Force Survey (LFS) from 1995 was

considered appropriate due to its fairly large sample size (n=29,202).

Table 2.1.1: Data sources and methods by research directions

Objective	Data source	Methods
1. Trends and patterns in childbearing	Vital statistics; census data 2000; Estonian GGS 2004–2005.	Descriptive measures of period and cohort fertility, parity progression ratios, fertility intentions.
2. Macro-economic trends	Archival data: physical measures of production volume.	Harmonisation of time series, composite indices, backward extrapolation.
3. Differentials in economic well-being	Archival data: Household income surveys 1958, 1975, and 1981; Estonian LFS1995.	Descriptive statistics; linear regression modeling.
4. Differentials in childbearing	Estonian GGS 2004–2005.	Descriptive measures, parity progression ratios, event history analysis, piecewise constant intensity regression.

The analysis of childbearing differentials by socio-economic characteristics drew on the Estonian Gender and Generations Survey (GGS) from 2004–2005, carried out in the context of the international Gender and Generations Programme (Vikat *et al.* 2008). The GGS is a demographic survey (n=7,855) that uses the event history approach. As a result, time-dependent processes can be modelled using this data. The Estonian GGS questionnaire covers all the main demographic processes (parental home, home-leaving, partnering, birth career, migration, education, work career etc.) and also includes an additional module for health-related questions. A description of the Estonian GGS and standard tabulations is published in Katus *et al.* (2008a).

2.2 METHODS

Several analytical methods were used in this study. Fertility trends were analysed by means of period and cohort total fertility rates and parity progression ratios. Shifts in the timing of childbearing were ascertained by age of first birth and the age pattern of childbearing. Due to important changes in the timing of childbearing, the calculation of tempo-adjusted TFRs was deemed necessary. Fertility trends in Estonia were compared to those of major European regions.

Reconstructing the per capita GDP series combined backward extrapolation with physical volume indicators (not to be confused with the physical indicator regression method, which compares data from several countries to obtain an estimate of GDP¹). In order to evaluate economic development during the state socialist period in Estonia, the Soviet period data

¹The physical indicator regression method would require a country with similar eco-

was anchored to post-Soviet data. Fortunately, internationally comparable, purchasing power parity-adjusted estimates of GDP are available for the period since 1990 (UNECE 2010). These are probably the best figures for Estonia that have ever been produced, in terms of international comparability. In order to produce a time series matching the historical series calculated by A. Maddison (Maddison 2006), UNECE series were converted from 2005 US\$ to 1990 US\$. Furthermore, the GDP estimates prepared by the Estonian Statistics Office for the period 1980–1990² were linked to the UNECE series, resulting in a per capita GDP time series for 1980–2008 expressed in 1990 US\$.

Figures for the earlier part of the state socialist period were estimated on the basis of physical volume indicators for key products. All product series were calculated per capita. Broad simplifications were necessary for the aggregation of single product series into more generalised indices. For instance, agricultural production was aggregated according to energy content, as explained by Klesment (2008b). To calculate industrial production, sectoral indices were constructed for industry, transport, and construction.³ A weighted average was used to aggregate single product volume indices to create an economic sector index. Finally, the four sector indices were aggregated into a composite index using weights for each sector (according to its proportion of national income as reported in official statistics). This derived composite index was used as an estimate of economic growth for the period 1950–1980, and linked at 1980 to the 1990 US\$ series, as noted above. For the interwar period, the study used calculations by Jaak Valge (2003), who estimated the series in relation to Maddison’s figures. Valge’s estimates were later adjusted by sectoral deflators (Klesment 2008a), which improved the precision of the growth rate to a certain extent. Regarding backward extrapolation from 1990, the relationship between the interwar period and the beginning of the 1950s was not established due to poor data availability for the 1940s.

The GDP estimates obtained in this manner for 1950–1979 rest on the assumption that growth in the so-called non-material production sector (the bulk of the tertiary sector that was not included in the material product system) was more or less comparable to growth in material production. The technical details of the estimation process are described in Klesment *et al.* (2010).

A different array of methods was used for the micro-data from the household

nomie structure and known GDP for comparison with a country with unknown GDP. This method is shortly explained in Harrison (1994).

²Material product system accounts were converted to a system of national accounts by the Statistics Office using methods suggested by United Nations’ document F.20 “Comparison of the System of National Accounts (SNA) and the System of Balances of the National Economy (MPS).” These series are inflation-adjusted and include all sectors of an economy. See Eesti Statistika (1992).

³Industry includes energy production, heavy and light industry, the timber and paper industry, and the production of construction materials. Transport includes the transport of freight by rail, road and sea. Construction refers to square meters per capita of new construction.

income surveys; a methodological description of this part of the study is included in Klesment and Sakkeus (2010). The first step was to analyse the programme of household income surveys and procedures from different survey rounds and to identify variations in the methodology. Three household income surveys were selected for computerisation, processing and tabulation (1958, 1975, and 1981). Due to slight variations in the questionnaires, a data entry program was tailored for each survey round. Raw data were converted to Stata statistical program files for further processing. The processing for analysis included systematic data quality checks (for data entry errors and other inconsistencies) and cleaning. The analytical aspect required computation of a set of derived variables, from both the individual and household perspective (standardised household size, net equalised household income, etc.) that are observable in standard tabulations. As a result, the household income data yielded income distribution indicators that are internationally comparable.

Another analytical approach, called event history analysis (e.g. Blossfeld and Rohwer 2002), was applied to analyse the data from the 2004–2005 Estonian GGS. Event history analysis is a method that makes it possible to follow the transition of subjects from one status to another, which reveals a demographic process at the macro-level. Furthermore, it is possible to take into account the changes of covariates during the period of the process that are expected to have an effect on the transition. A study that examined the transition to second child was carried out employing these techniques. The study focused primarily on the effect of educational attainment on women's decisions to have a second child. The event history approach combined with regression analysis allowed the influence of education on reproductive behaviour to be estimated. Since the Estonian GGS sample includes generations born since 1924, it was possible to study the effect of education under different societal regimes and at different stages of an individual's life. Piecewise constant-intensity regression was used for modelling purposes, including a number of time-dependent (e.g. educational level, activity status, marital status) and fixed-time covariates. The methodological details of the intensity regression models are explained in Klesment and Puur (2010a;b).

3. RESULTS

Macro and micro level results were obtained within the framework of this dissertation. Both types of results are further subdivided into demographic and economic issues. The first part of this section describes the findings from the macro level analyses, both with regard to fertility development and the economic context, and is followed by the findings from the micro level analyses. The interpretation and synthesis of the results pertaining to fertility trends and the economic context is provided in Section 4.

3.1 MACRO LEVEL RESULTS

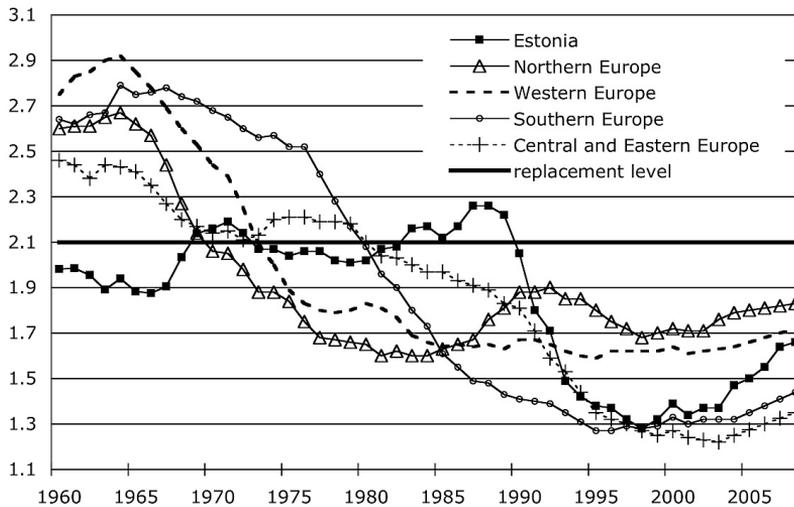
3.1.1 Childbearing trends

Modern demographic patterns emerged in Estonia and Latvia earlier than in the other nations of the Russian Empire and simultaneously with the forerunners of the fertility transition in Europe (Coale *et al.* 1979, Coale and Watkins 1986). With regard to the period addressed in this study, the analysis of childbearing trends and patterns (Klesment *et al.* 2010) corroborates the main finding of previous studies – that the similarity of fertility development in Estonia to that of Northern and Western Europe ended in the aftermath of the Second World War.

Unlike other nations that experienced sub-replacement fertility in the inter-war years, Estonia did not experience a baby boom in the 1950s and 1960s. Instead, fertility remained below replacement level during that period, and was one of the lowest in the world (Figure 3.1.1). In the late 1960s, contrary to the trends emerging in the countries that were pioneering the second demographic transition, Estonian fertility rates increased and stayed close to replacement level for the two following decades, until the beginning of the 1990s. The increase in fertility levels was corroborated by the trend in completed cohort fertility that increased from 1.8 children per woman among the generations of the native population born in the late 1920s to 2.1 in the birth cohorts of the late 1950s and early 1960s. Examination of parity progression ratios allows us to conclude that the upward trend in completed fertility in that cohort range was driven by several concurrent shifts in parity progression. On the one hand, these cohorts experienced a decrease in the proportions of childless women and women with only one child. At the same time, there was an increase in the relative number of women with two and three children, and, to some extent, also in higher parities.

In comparative perspective, the analysis revealed that the combination of these two features – the absence of both a baby boom and a baby bust – resulted in noticeable stability of the post-war Estonian fertility levels

Figure 3.1.1: Total fertility rate in Estonia and European regions, 1960–2008.



Source: Council of Europe (2006), Eurostat (2010).

up until the 1990s. Somewhat paradoxically, it was precisely this stability that, by the end of the 1980s, brought about the reversal of the country’s position from the bottom to the top – relative to the fertility levels of the major regions of Europe.

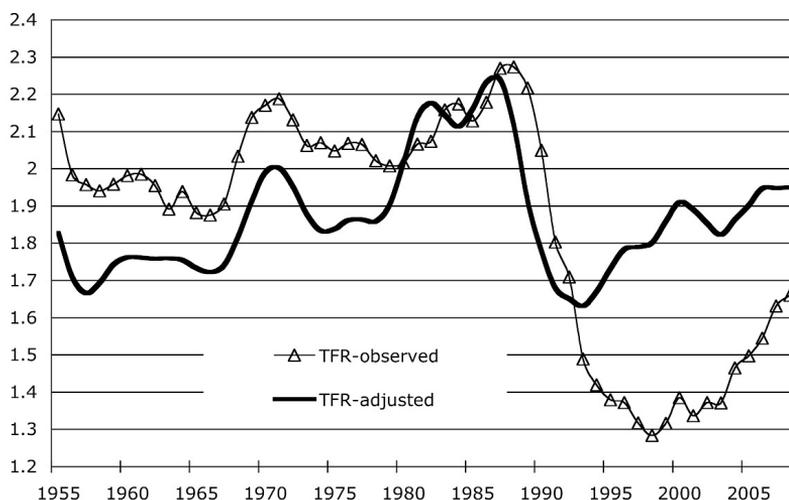
As elsewhere in Central and Eastern Europe, the 1990s witnessed a steep downturn in fertility rates. In less than a decade, an almost twofold reduction in the number of births occurred in Estonia, and the period TFR fell below 1.3 children per woman in the late 1990s. In relative terms, the decline in Estonia appeared to be one of the most precipitous among the countries of the CEE region. However, the analysis showed that for several reasons the scale of fertility decline in the 1990s tends to be overstated.

First, it was the relatively high fertility level in the preceding decades rather than the low level in the 1990s that exaggerated the scale of fertility decline in the country. Second, the analysis revealed the salient role of the “postponement transition” – the term coined by Kohler *et al.* (2002) to emphasise the universality of the phenomenon – that started in Estonia after the beginning of the 1990s. The adjustment of the fertility rate indicates that the change in the tempo of childbearing accounts for approximately half of the decrease that occurred in the period TFR in the early 1990s. The synchronicity of the start of fertility postponement and the onset of societal transformation leaves little doubt about the causal link between the two.

For earlier periods, the results indicate the opposite gradient of the tempo effect, with the prolonged advancement of childbearing pushing fertility lev-

els persistently upward. The consideration of tempo-effects¹ over a longer time-span yielded a novel and rather unusual perspective on the post-war fertility trend in Estonia (Figure 3.1.2). It turns out that the opposite shifts in the tempo of childbearing account for a major share of the contrast between fertility levels observed before and after the societal transformation. Except for the 1980s and early 1990s, the tempo-adjusted fertility levels appear fairly similar during the period of state socialism and the contemporary societal regime.

Figure 3.1.2: Observed and tempo-adjusted TFR in Estonia 1955–2008.



Source: census 2000, own calculations.

After reaching its lowest point in 1998 with a TFR between 1.2 and 1.3, period fertility gradually began to increase at the beginning of the 21st century. With some fluctuations, Estonia has witnessed a parallel increase in tempo-adjusted and non-adjusted period TFRs. In 2008, the observed total fertility rate reached 1.66, and the tempo-adjusted measure reached 1.95. The analysis revealed that in comparative perspective, Estonia has demonstrated a stronger recuperation of fertility levels than most countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Since 2005, Estonia has exhibited the highest total fertility rate in the region.

Finally, a significant amount of uncertainty remains regarding future trends in completed fertility and generation replacement involving the cohorts born in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Nonetheless, the analysis allows us to sketch a tentative outline of these trends. Although a gradual downward drift from replacement level is certain, its scale is likely to be much smaller than indicated by the drop in period fertility rates in the late 1990s and early

¹The formula for calculation of the tempo-adjusted total fertility rate is offered by Bongaarts and Feeney (1998).

2000s. The evidence drawn from childbearing intentions and age-cumulative fertility rates indicates that among the native population, completed fertility may approach 1.8–1.9 for the generations born in the mid- and late-1970s. This constitutes a considerable decline in comparison with the birth cohorts of the late 1950s and early 1960s, who had more than 2.1 children on average, but at the same time it is on par with the cohorts born in the late 1920s and 1930s. However, as is the case with any prediction, such an assertion depends on the extent to which the younger generations will recuperate their delayed births, particularly second births, in their thirties.

3.1.2 Economic trends

The analysis of macro-economic trends can be regarded as a major contribution of this study, because generalised quantitative accounts of long-range economic development are severely intermittent for Estonia. As noted earlier, for the 20th century, such accounts are available only for the 1920s–1930s (Valge 2003) and for the transition from the state socialist system to a market economy (Eesti Statistika 1992; 2004). Between these two periods, comparable time series for the state socialist period are still virtually missing. Angus Maddison – one of the most frequently cited (but also criticised²) contemporary authors in economic history, who estimated the per capita GDP series for most of the countries in the world – has provided only an occasional estimate (year 1973) for the USSR and its republics.

The main results from the reconstruction of the GDP per capita series are portrayed in Figure 3.1.3. The results show that in the interwar period, Estonia's economic growth was relatively slow, similar to other European countries at that time. A closer look at the analysis revealed a rapid advancement in the first half of the 1920s, followed by a slowdown and the Great Depression. The second episode of interwar economic growth in Estonia began after the economic crisis. Due to fairly strong growth in the 1930s, the average annual growth rate from 1923 to 1938 was 3.2%.

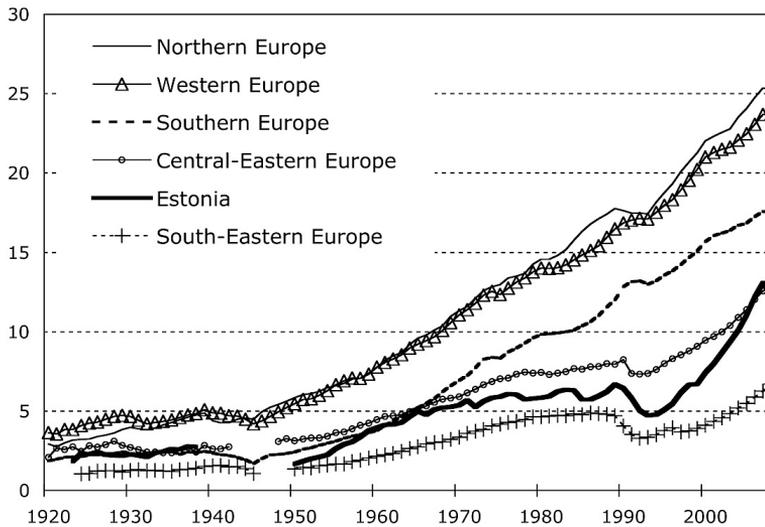
In comparative perspective, the analysis revealed that in the interwar period, Estonia's GDP level was rather close to the average for Central-Eastern Europe and Southern Europe, but clearly above South-Eastern Europe. On the other hand, the levels in Northern and Western Europe were much higher than in Estonia. With regard to individual countries, Estonia's per capita GDP was comparable to Finland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and above that of Poland and the USSR.³ The vigorous economic growth towards the end of the 1930s contributed to the gradual improvement of the country's position in international rankings.

The results disclose a major setback in the level of economic development

²For criticism of Maddison's estimates see Clark (2009).

³For other estimates about CEE and the USSR in the interwar period see for example Harrison (1994). For the post-WWII period CEE countries, estimates are offered by Alton (1962; 1963), Alton and Korbonski (1965), Marer (1985).

Figure 3.1.3: GDP per capita in thousand 1990 US\$. Estonia and European regions, 1920–2008.



Sources: A.Maddison. Statistics on World Population, GDP and Per Capita GDP, 1-2008 AD, electronic file available at <http://www.ggd.net/maddison/>, last accessed June 20, 2010; Maddison (2007); UNECE Statistical Division Database; Valge (2003); Eesti Statistika (1992); Klesment and Valge (2007). Author's calculations.

Note: 1990-2008 are PPP-adjusted UNECE figures. The regions are defined as follows: Northern Europe – Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden; Western Europe – Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Netherlands, Switzerland, United Kingdom, Ireland; Southern Europe – Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain; Central-Eastern Europe – Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland; South-Eastern Europe – Bulgaria, Romania, Albania, Yugoslavia until 1989.

in Estonia following the Second World War. Although gaps in the input data did not allow the reconstruction to be extended to the 1940s, in the early 1950s the estimated per capita GDP is still below the level attained towards the end of the interwar period. The analysis suggests that despite high rates of economic growth – judging from the composite volume index, annual growth rates in the 1950s and 1960s reached 9–10%, pre-war per capita GDP was achieved in Estonia no earlier than the late 1950s. However, bearing in mind the nature of economic development in the USSR, which strongly favoured the military and heavy industries, it seems likely that in terms of the standard of living, GDP parity with the late interwar period was reached only in the 1960s.

The setback caused by WWII and its aftermath is substantiated by international comparison. The results show that in the early 1950s, the per capita GDP in Estonia had fallen below the levels observed in all the major regions of Europe, except the South-Eastern. The relatively strong economic growth, which is probably parallel to the USSR's at that time (Allen 2001),

was found to continue in Estonia until the 1960s, when Estonia closed the gap with Central-Eastern and Southern Europe. However, the analysis revealed that the convergence in per capita GDP levels was short-lived. In the 1970s and 1980s, a marked slowdown occurred and negative annual growth rates recurred in Estonia. During that period, the disparity between the levels of economic development in Estonia and the CEE countries reappeared. Especially pronounced is the growing disparity with Southern Europe, which in a broader framework reveals the difference in economic performance between centrally planned and market economies in Europe. Our estimates also suggest that Maddison's estimate for Estonia in the 1970s is unrealistically high and should be corrected downwards.

The trajectory of per capita GDP since 1990 confirms the efficiency of economic reforms conducted in Estonia since the beginning of the 1990s. Despite the steep decline in per capita GDP at the early stage of transition, the recovery has proven to be vigorous and the GDP levels have risen more rapidly than in most countries of the former Eastern bloc. As a result, Estonia has closed the gap – for the second time since the end of the Second World War – with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. It is assumed that the long-range trajectory of Estonia's per capita GDP revealed by this analysis offers not only a generalised description of the country's economic performance but is also valid as an approximation of the changes in the standard of living.

3.2 MICRO LEVEL ANALYSIS

3.2.1 Data quality of household income surveys

This section presents the results of an archival study that investigated the possibility of retrieving the individual records (micro-data) of household surveys administered by Soviet authorities in Estonia from the 1950s to the 1980s, and assessed their value for contemporary demographic and social research. The detailed results of the study have been published in the TLÜ EDI series (Klesment and Sakkeus 2010). The computerised datasets were subjected to systematic data quality analysis, guided by the findings from the analysis of the metadata, and covering all key aspects of survey data.

The surveys collected information on basic socio-demographic characteristics and various types of incomes (e.g. wages, salary, pensions, stipends, family allowances) for all household members, the dwelling, consumer durables, and small-scale agricultural production for the household. Among these items, the reliability and accuracy of income data often poses a problem in survey statistics; however, this concern seems fairly minor in the case of Soviet income surveys – the analysis revealed that the information on salaries (the main source of income) was not self-reported but retrieved from the bookkeeping of enterprises/organisations in which the respondents were employed. Furthermore, a short time reference (the preceding month) and the limited variability of incomes in a state socialist setting contributed

to the accuracy of the data. The analyses also show that the data collection procedure included various features to minimise errors caused by unobservant interviewers, ranging from simple checksums in the questionnaire to systematic re-interviewing. Consequently, conceptual and reporting errors appear minor.

Table 3.2.1: Household income survey data quality

Type of error	Assessment
1. Conceptual error	Minor: measurement of incomes generally conforms the concept of disposable net income; with minor adjustment, the income data and socio-demographic characteristics are comparable to contemporary statistical standards.
2. Reporting error	Minor: incomes are reported with high accuracy; item-specific non-response and digit preference are very low; data are internally consistent.
3. Processing error	Minor: the prevalence of errors in editing, coding, data entry and processing is low and does not imply systematic bias.
4. Coverage error	Major: households with all members economically inactive, particularly elderly households are underrepresented; in 1958 survey the agricultural population is grossly underrepresented. To account for the problem, post-stratification is applied; the data for older age groups (60+) should be treated with caution.
5. Non-response error	Minor: non-response rates are very low
6. Sampling error	Minor: sample sizes are sufficiently large to provide reliable estimates.

Source: Klesment and Sakkeus (2010).

In the context of today's concern about persistently growing reluctance towards survey participation, the analysis revealed very low unit non-response to the Soviet income surveys in Estonia. Refusals were almost exceptional, and non-participation occurred mainly due to changes in residence, employment or ill health. However, an obvious problem was found in the coverage of the survey. Income surveys employed a two-stage procedure with the samples of responding households. In the first stage, instead of sampling area units – a standard approach in household surveys – the Soviet income surveys selected enterprises/organisations from a list of economic entities, stratified by sectors of the national economy. In the second stage, employees were selected from enterprises/organisations sampled in the first stage. Although both stages were carefully implemented, from the population perspective, the procedure prevented the inclusion of households in which all members were economically inactive. To address this problem, since 1975

special subsamples of retirees were added to the surveys. Also, it was established that the samples of two earlier surveys (1958 and 1967) did not include collective farmers.

The tests performed against the population censuses corroborated the findings from metadata analysis with regard to coverage error. In particular, the analysis revealed an underrepresentation of the elderly population: although the introduction of subsamples of retirees had alleviated the problem, they were evidently too small to completely remove the bias. Due to the sampling procedure, economically active persons and those residing with adult children were found to be overrepresented among the older respondents in the surveys. To account for the observed coverage error and reduce the resulting bias, a post-stratification procedure was deemed necessary. Using external weights from censuses, the procedure adjusts the proportions of the sample population with respect to 5 key demographic characteristics (Klesment and Sakkeus 2010). In regard to other types of survey error (e.g. item non-response, digit preference, internal consistency), the micro-data analysis confirmed the high quality of the data. The main findings from the data quality analysis are summarised in Table 3.2.1.

The overall assessment of the quality of the newly computerised micro-data is good. With the main caveats identified, the material household surveys provide a unique insight into the variation in economic well-being across population groups since the late 1950s.

3.2.2 Economic well-being across population groups

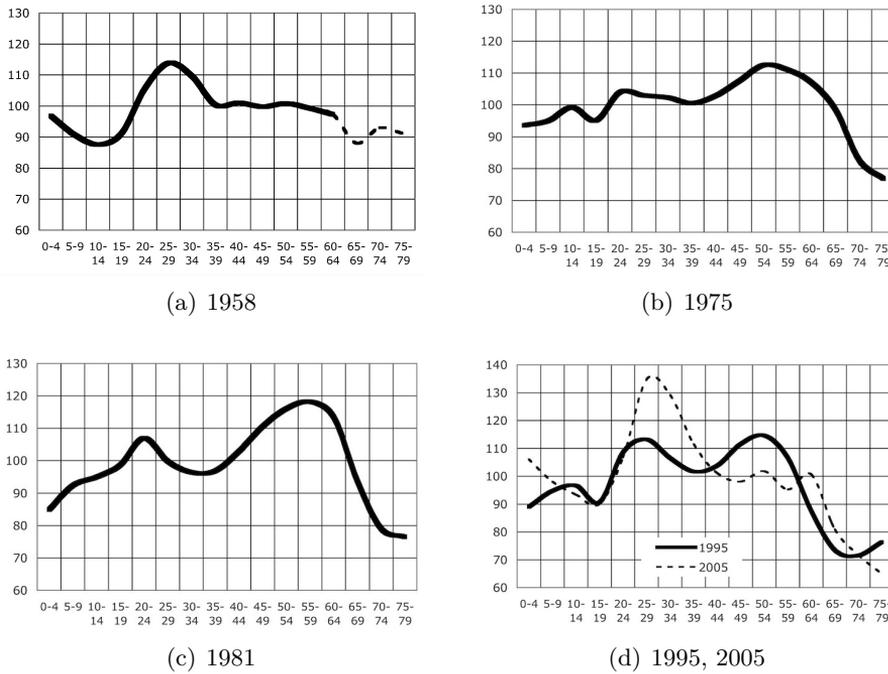
This section summarises the first results of the analysis of household income surveys carried out in Estonia during the state socialist period and computerised in the framework of the doctoral project. As explained above, the main scholarly value of these surveys stems from their capacity to document the differentials in economic status and well-being among the population, and the changes in their respective patterns that have evolved over time.

Detailed results of the analysis are available in the volume of standard tabulations published in the TLÜ EDI series (Klesment and Sakkeus 2010). The tabulations systematically map the distribution of economic well-being and its main components (income, housing conditions, consumer durables, etc.) across subgroups of the population defined by age, gender, educational attainment, settlement type, native/foreign origin, partnership status, activity status and employment sector and household type. This material can be explored from a wide range of analytical viewpoints; the presentation in this section draws attention to aspects that are considered to be of central importance in the demographic framework.

Figure 3.2.1 presents the age profiles of net equivalised household income constructed from the micro-data of the 1958, 1975 and 1981 income surveys. To allow for comparison with the transition and market economy settings, the results from the Estonian Labour Force Survey (1995) and the

Estonian component of the EU-SILC (2005) are added. These profiles indicate how economic well-being was distributed and re-distributed across major demographic segments of the population – children, young adults, the middle-aged and the elderly – in the changing societal environment. In analyses of well-being, such an overarching view is often missing. The institutional age segregation and the concomitant split between the research and policy communities addressing the needs of the young and their families, on the one hand, and those focusing on the aged, on the other hand, entails a considerable risk of neglecting some vital welfare implications of different societal regimes.

Figure 3.2.1: Age profiles of net equivalised household income. Average income in each survey = 100%.



Sources: Individual data from the Estonian household income surveys 1958, 1975, and 1981; Estonian Labor Force Survey 1995. Aggregate data from Estonian Social Survey 2005 provided by Statistical Office. Author's estimates.

Perhaps the most unexpected finding pertains to the strong variability of age profiles, across as well as within the two socio-economic regimes that have followed each other in Estonia since the Second World War. A brief glance is enough to reveal that there are no identical age profiles in the figure – the shape of the income curve is transformed in each successive decade. Overall, this finding seems to pinpoint the remarkable dynamism of the age pattern of economic well-being.

At a more specific level, the results allow us to identify the demographic

segments of the population that have fared better or worse in different periods since the middle of the 20th century in Estonia. In the late 1950s, young adults in their late 20s and early 30s seem to have outperformed all other age groups in terms of household income, whereas the lowest incomes were characteristic of teenage children and their families. By the mid-1970s, the income peak had shifted from young adults to the older population of pre-retirement age, in their 50s and early 60s. Compared to the earlier period, the largest relative losses were sustained by the elderly; however, this part of the findings probably represents a statistical artefact rather than a true deterioration in the income maintenance of older persons.⁴ The 1980s witnessed the emergence of a twin-peak profile with a minor peak for young adults in their early 20s and a major peak around the statutory retirement age.

The analysis corroborates the popular notion about “winners” and “losers” during the transition to a market economy. The age profiles show a considerable weakening in the relative economic position of the middle-aged population and a rise in the well-being of young adults. As a result of these shifts, by the mid-1990s, the earlier and later peaks of the income profile had become almost equal. The evidence for the early 21st century, presented in the fourth panel of Figure 3.2.1, reveals a further re-distribution of economic well-being along the age scale, with further significant gains made by young adults in their late 20s and 30s. In part, these improvements are mirrored among young children who are exhibiting – possibly for the first time ever – household income above the population average.

From the analytical perspective, the transformation of income profiles portrayed by our analysis constitutes the combined outcomes of a host of demographic, social and economic factors. In the demographic domain, these influences include patterns of childbearing, union formation and dissolution, longevity and generational co-residence that mould the size and composition of households. The socio-economic domain is comprised of patterns of male and female employment, levels of unemployment, labour market entry and retirement, the role of seniority in wage-setting mechanisms, transfers and income support schemes for various segments of the non-active population, etc. The access to micro-data allows us to further elaborate on the role of different factors in bringing about the observed transformations in income profiles.

Given the demographic underpinning of the study, special attention was paid to the economic well-being of children. The evidence in Figure 3.2.1 shows that at any time – with the possible exception in the case of 2005 – children have persistently exhibited household incomes below the population average. In line with our expectation, the contribution of children to the economic well-being of households turned out to be strongly parity-specific (Table 3.2.2).

⁴The 1958 income survey, unlike the later surveys, does not include non-working pensioner households. This biases the level of income in age groups 65+ upwards, marked as dotted line in Figure 3.2.1(a).

Table 3.2.2: Net equivalised household income by number of children

1958	Coeff.	Std. Err.	1975	Coeff.	Std. Err.
0	0.124**	(0.011)	0	0.136**	(0.009)
1	Reference category		1	Reference category	
2	-0.140**	(0.011)	2	-0.052**	(0.009)
3+	-0.263**	(0.034)	3+	-0.313**	(0.024)
Intercept	4.429**	(0.023)	Intercept	4.162**	(0.020)
N	8,630		N	12,531	
R ²	0.256		R ²	0.192	
F (14,8615)	211.512		F (15,12515)	198.798	

1981	Coeff.	Std. Err.	1995	Coeff.	Std. Err.
0	0.190**	(0.010)	0	0.098**	(0.008)
1	Reference category		1	Reference category	
2	-0.110**	(0.009)	2	-0.103**	(0.009)
3+	-0.281**	(0.022)	3+	-0.344**	(0.025)
Intercept	4.094**	(0.020)	Intercept	4.518**	(0.022)
N	10,549		N	28,415	
R ²	0.292		R ²	0.257	
F (15,10533)	289.664		F (13,28401)	755.203	

Sources: Household Income Surveys 1958, 1975 and 1981; Estonian Labor Force Survey 1995.

Note: dependent variable is the logarithm of household income index (average net equivalised household income at given year taken as 100%). Controlled for gender, age group, educational attainment, type of settlement, nativity, and the number of employed in the household. For 1995, outliers (household income less than 15% of the average) were excluded for better fit.

Significance levels: † : 10% * : 5% ** : 1%

Controlling for the influence of other factors, the regression models indicate a prevalingly inverse association between parity and equivalised per capita household income. The effect mainly operates through the varying ratio between income earners and dependent household members. Model estimates for successive surveys reveal some variation in parameter estimates; however, the general pattern remains unaltered and there seems to be no clear trend towards an increase or decrease in economic risks associated with the presence of children. In other words, our analysis suggests that there have been no major changes in the ways the number of children has affected the relative level of family income under different societal regimes.

Beyond the issues and details that have been omitted in this summary, in our view, the main thrust of the achieved results is that the range of factors affecting economic well-being and the numerous ways in which these factors interact make it very difficult, if not impossible, to predict the ultimate outcome of the distribution of well-being across population groups. In a broader framework, these results underscore the value of systematically applying a demographic perspective to the analyses of economic well-being.

3.2.3 Effects of education on second births

The results presented in this section focus on socio-economic differentials in childbearing behaviour. The analysis employed data from the Estonian GGS, conducted in 2004–2005. The results have been published in the TLÜ EDI series (Klesment and Puur 2010a), and in a journal article in *Demographic Research* (Klesment and Puur 2010b).

The analysis focused on the progression from first to second births, which is known to play a salient role in shaping the childbearing levels and parity distribution in contemporary low-fertility settings. Socio-economic status was represented by female education, which, for a number of reasons, has attracted considerable scholarly interest among demographers. First, women with advanced education are regarded as trendsetters who introduce novel behaviours that are subsequently adopted by other groups. Second, the comparison of fertility patterns among women with different levels of schooling contributes to the understanding of opportunities and constraints within which family formation decisions are made. And third, as the proportion of young people who attain higher education has been rising with each successive cohort, educational differentials are increasingly influencing fertility trends on the aggregate level. The ways in which educational attainment and enrolment have influenced the transition to second births as the country moved from one social system to another was of particular interest to this analysis.

To analyse the effect of education on the likelihood of second births, the differences in the ultimate number of children and the cohort parity progression ratios were examined, and a series of piecewise constant intensity regression models were estimated. The analysis focused on native women in the birth cohorts 1924–83. Post-war immigrants and their descendants were excluded from the analysis for reasons explained in Section 1.

The descriptive analysis drew additional evidence from the 2000 population census, which allowed us to include generations born after the turn of the 20th century, who have shaped the fertility trend since the 1930s. The analysis revealed a convergence in completed fertility among women with different educational attainment born from the 1900s to the end of the 1930s, and the stability of educational differentials in the following generations. The descriptive analysis also revealed that the rise in fertility that followed the secular decline characteristic of the demographic transition was found to be positively associated with educational attainment – in relative terms, it was most pronounced for women with tertiary education. Similar findings emerged from the analysis of parity progression ratios (Klesment and Puur 2010a). In particular, with regard to the transition to second births, women with tertiary education almost equalled their counterparts with vocational and general secondary education. In comparative perspective, the observed patterns resemble the findings recently reported for the Nordic countries (Andersson *et al.* 2009).

The relationship between educational attainment and the propensity of second births was further elaborated in the multivariate framework, by esti-

inating a series of intensity regression models. Unlike previous studies on the countries of Eastern Europe, the modelling resulted in a consistently positive and relatively strong effect of high educational attainment on second births in Estonia. The elevated intensity of second births for women with vocational and tertiary education appears to be a genuine result and is not due to misspecification of the model. In fact, the effect grew stronger after controlling for age at the onset of childbearing, partnership status and partner's education, and socio-demographic background characteristics (Table 3.2.3).

Table 3.2.3: Effect of educational attainment on transition to second birth. Initial and final main effects model.

	Initial model		Final model	
Educational level				
Basic	1.09	(0.220)	1.08	(0.326)
Secondary	1		1	
Vocational	1.17	(0.005)	1.22	(0.001)
Tertiary	1.19	(0.016)	1.52	(0.000)
Activity status				
Studying	0.89	(0.460)	0.75	(0.062)
Working	1		1	
Home	1.16	(0.008)	1.14	(0.027)
Log-likelihood 0	-4681		-4681	
Log-likelihood	-4414		-4112	

Note: Both models controlled for years since first birth. The final model is controlled for age at first birth, partnership status, partner's education, calendar period, residence type of parental home, and number of brothers-sisters.

Note: Parameter estimates are presented as relative risks, reference category = 1; p-values are in parentheses. Source: Estonian GGS 2004–05.

The strengthening of the effect suggests that the later onset of childbearing, because of decreased fecundity at later ages and/or other reasons, partially offsets the higher rate of progression to second births characteristic of highly educated women. The effect of low educational attainment remained marginally positive in the final model; however, it failed to reach the level of statistical significance and does not approach the effect observed for higher levels of education. The results for educational participation indicate an inverse association between the incidence of second birth and school enrolment.

To gain insight into changes in the effect of education, the analysis examined interactions between calendar period and education variables. Contrary to expectations based on the micro-economic theory, however, the data revealed that the largest differences associated with educational attainment occurred during the period of state socialism.⁵ In addition, the pattern is

⁵According to author's calculations based on the 1958, 1975 and 1981 household income surveys, during the state socialist period, the wage premium for having higher education compared to secondary education was about 18% for both sexes, 25% if only female wage income is considered. However, wage differentials due to education had a decreasing trend from the 1950s to 1980s, which is revealed by household income survey data. In the post-socialist period, on the other hand, the relative income potential of the highly educated increases substantially.

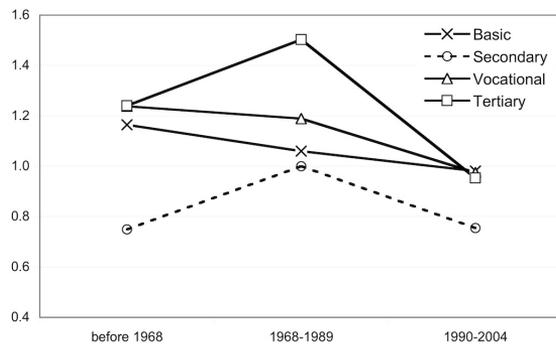
not uniform, but changes from one sub-period to another (Figure 3.2.2).

In the 1950s and 1960s, the relationship between women’s level of education and progression to second births appeared U-shaped. The propensity to have a second child was lowest among women with general secondary education, while both lower and higher educational attainment were associated with an elevated incidence of second births. In the 1970s and 1980s, the pattern transforms from a U-shape to an inverse L-shape. The effect of tertiary education maintained its strong positive gradient, whereas a pronounced reduction was characteristic of women with vocational education, and low education ceased to have a positive effect on second birth rates. For the period since 1990, the analysis indicated that the positive gradient of incidence of second births became weaker for women with high educational attainment. On the other hand, it neither disappeared nor reversed direction.

As the relative incidence of women with lower levels of education grew stronger, the relationship between educational attainment and transition to second births returned to the U-shape observed in the earlier stages of state socialism. Contrary to the prevailing notion of societal transformation – a period of sharply rising contrasts and inequality among social groups – our results indicate that since 1990, there has been a noticeable contraction of educational differences in the propensity to have a second child. Neither did the analysis reveal an increase in incompatibility between educational enrolment and the likelihood of having a second child, as

compared to the status of other activities (working or being at home). In the concluding sections, Klesment and Puur (2010a;b) offer some plausible explanations for the observed patterns.

Figure 3.2.2: Interaction of educational attainment and calendar period.



Source: Estonian GGS 2004–05.

Note: controlled for years since first birth, age at first birth, partnership status, partner’s education, calendar period, residence type of parental home, and number of brothers-sisters.

4. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

This study has addressed the childbearing trends and patterns in Estonia in the second half of the 20th century, in the context of the economic development of the country during the same period. As shown in the preceding sections, the similarity of fertility trends in Estonia and other countries of the early demographic transition was lost in the aftermath of the Second World War. The lack of a baby boom in the 1950s and early 1960s, and the rise of fertility to near replacement levels in the 1970s and 1980s were found to account for the observed deviance from the latter regions. Estonia's post-war fertility trends also did not conform to the developments in most countries of Central and Eastern Europe, a feature that was further highlighted by an analysis of educational differentials in childbearing.

In search of possible explanations, the study examined the concurrent economic development of the country, combining the evidence from both macro-level (reconstructed internationally comparable time series of the national GDP) and micro-level (newly computerised data from Soviet household income surveys). To what extent, then, can this new evidence on the country's economic performance and the distribution of economic well-being among subgroups of the population account for the observed features in the patterns of childbearing in post-war Estonia?

Starting from the low fertility during the immediate post-war decades, the estimates produced in the study did indeed indicate a pronounced setback in per capita GDP in Estonia in the aftermath of WWII. Although the estimates did not cover the late 1940s, a crude interpolation, based on the experience of countries for which continuous data are available, is enough to reveal the severity of the decline that inevitably translated into a sharp downturn in the standard of living. The evidence thus lends support to the "economic crisis" hypothesis and points to the hardship caused by Sovietisation as a plausible correlate of Estonia's low fertility in the early post-war decades. This inference appears to be in line with an earlier viewpoint expressed by Frejka and Sardon (2004) who, in their comprehensive account of childbearing trends in the low-fertility countries, pointed out that "post-war fertility developments in the Baltic countries have to [be] viewed in light of the political developments, namely the Soviet occupation and the extremely violent reorganisation /.../ of the society."

Despite the plausible contribution of the economic downturn to the lack of a baby boom in Estonia, its role should not be overstated. If it had been the deciding factor, then in comparative perspective, the effect of an economic downturn on fertility levels should also be visible in other state socialist countries (CEE states or south-east European countries) in the post-WWII period. The latter, however, experienced fertility levels considerably higher than Estonia's in the post-WWII years, although their level of economic

development at that time was fairly close to that of Estonia. In the Baltic countries, for instance, Lithuania experienced an economic downturn and transformation very similar to Estonia's, but its fertility rate remained significantly higher until the 1960s (Katus *et al.* 2009). It is therefore plausible that in Estonia, as well as in Latvia, the demographic stage reached in the 1920s and 1930s – the wide spread of parity-specific fertility control in particular – was an essential precondition for sub-replacement fertility in these countries during the early postwar decades. In a broader perspective, this draws attention to the modulating effect of the stage of population development on the demographic outcomes of external influences, including macro-economic.

Obviously, it is difficult in hindsight to disentangle the influence of economic changes from that of direct repression and the overall rise in uncertainty. To address the issue, one requires a set of micro-data that would provide information pertaining to different aspects of life for generations who were in their prime childbearing years in the 1940s and 1950s. Although potentially feasible by means of retrospective surveys, such an endeavour is beyond the scope of this study.

The study reveals no macro-economic underpinnings for the rise in child-bearing that brought Estonian fertility rates close to the replacement level during the 1970s and 1980s. The evidence drawn from reconstructed macro-economic trends corroborates the notion that the latter decades of state socialism were a period of slackening growth in Estonia. In comparative perspective, the country's economic performance lagged behind concurrent developments in other countries, including not only advanced market economies but also, to a certain extent, the former socialist countries of Central Europe. Neither did the analysis of fertility and macro-economic development reveal a connection between the two domains in other major regions of Europe during the same period. For instance, the steady upward trend in per capita GDP provides no clue to the reasons for the shift towards lower fertility that has predominated since the late 1960s, starting in Northern Europe.

From the micro-economic perspective, it was hypothesised that there might have been some changes in the centrally administered income distribution mechanisms that could have contributed to the economic well-being of families with children, and thus potentially account for the observed increases in fertility rates in the 1970s and 1980s. Such an assertion, however, was not supported by evidence from the household income surveys. The age-income profiles showed that during the period since the late 1950s, households with children appeared persistently economically disadvantaged in comparison to the average of the Estonian population. Perhaps, then, were families with a larger number of children somehow assisted by the state? Yet again, the results did not support such an assertion – an increase in the number of children was associated with systematically lower levels of per capita household income, a pattern virtually unchanged from one survey to the next. And finally, it was the age groups not actively engaged in childbearing or -rearing whose economic well-being improved in the 1970s and 1980s, rather

than families with children.

The inability to directly associate higher fertility levels in the 1970s and 1980s with specific developments in the economic domain does not necessarily imply that the idea of some economic correlates operating in the background of the demographic trends during that period must be completely abandoned. In our view, the higher fertility observed in the 1970s and 1980s may be considered in the context of a gradual “normalisation” of the standard of living after the turmoil of Sovietisation and the hardship it entailed. A plausible, albeit imperfect, trajectory of such normalisation is visible in the series of national GDP estimates developed as part of this study. In essence, this series exhibits a reasonable similarity to the dynamics of cohort fertility rates over the same period. Among the native population, these figures dropped to the lowest point (ca 1.8 children per woman) in generations born around the mid-1920s, followed by a gradual increase over the next 30 years. In such an interpretation, both of the observed features of the post-war childbearing trend in Estonia – comparatively low levels until the late 1960s and the ensuing rise – may be related to Sovietisation. In the immediate post-war decade, this process operated through direct negative influences, ranging from a marked downturn in the standard of living to overt political repression. Such influences lessened around the mid-1950s; however, the legacy of the early post-war years plausibly survived as a new benchmark against which the dynamics of social and economic conditions began to be evaluated.

The early phase of societal transition in the 1990s witnessed a pronounced deterioration in the country’s economic performance and a parallel decline in fertility rates. This lends some support to the “economic crisis” hypothesis; however, the plausibility of the connection should not be overstated. In particular, the study highlighted the salient contribution of the “postponement transition” that began in Estonia shortly after the beginning of the 1990s and markedly swelled the scale of the fertility decrease in annually reported measures. In the mid- and late 1990s, the latter was driven exclusively by the shift towards later childbearing; the tempo-adjusted TFR never dropped below 1.6 children in Estonia. In interpreting these developments, we subscribe to the view that relates the onset of the fertility postponement transition in Central and Eastern Europe to the removal of mechanisms that upheld the pattern of comparatively early family formation in the state socialist setting, including the rules of housing allocation, limited enrolment in tertiary education, high job security and structured career paths etc. (Frejka 2008). As noted by Sobotka (2004), societal transformation noticeably increased economic uncertainty but it also expanded the possibilities for self-realisation, including enrolment in advanced education and career building. In such a context, postponement of childbearing can be seen as a rational response to profoundly transformed structure of opportunities and constraints (Kohler *et al.* 2006).

The study indicates a marked improvement in the country’s macro-economic performance since the mid-1990s, coupled with a gradual recovery of fertility levels. At first, the recovery was restricted to tempo-adjusted measures but

subsequently the rise also became apparent in non-adjusted fertility indicators. Can these developments be accounted for by vigorous economic growth and the ensuing improvement in the standard of living? A positive contribution from economic trends seems plausible and in accord with conventional wisdom. At the same time, however, economic growth can hardly offer a sufficient explanation. This becomes evident when Estonia is compared to other countries. As revealed by the study, despite the postponement of childbearing strongly in progress, since 2005 Estonia has exhibited persistently the highest period TFRs of all the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. In the context of the latter region, neither Estonia's economic performance nor standard of living fully justifies the country's high ranking in terms of fertility.

What else then might underlie the observed pattern? This study cannot pretend to provide a definite answer but it points to some correlates that plausibly make a positive contribution to fertility levels and for which Estonia catches the eye in international comparisons. As pointed out in the article on childbearing differentials, an essential contributing factor may be gleaned from the institutional framework, which significantly reduced the opportunity costs of childbearing for families.

This factor relates to public childcare, which had already reached high coverage by the 1960s, and the availability and affordability of which deteriorated only temporarily for a short period after 1990. An advanced degree of reconciliation of work and parenthood can be judged from the levels of female employment, according to which Estonia has ranked close to the top in international comparisons, at least since the 1970s. Following a downturn in the early stages of the economic transition, the country has featured the highest rates of women's employment among the EU member states in the 2000s (European Commission 2009). Combined with a long-established pattern of female educational attainment, Estonia demonstrates an advanced degree of gender equity in the public sphere. In the private sphere, although it is difficult to establish each country's standing in this sector, gender equity seems less advanced in Estonia. Based on a PPA survey conducted in the early 2000s, in terms of prevailing gender role attitudes, Estonia is positioned in the middle of the countries included in the analysis (Philipov 2008).

Although the above argument seems valid, it still may not completely account for the childbearing patterns observed in this study. The insufficiency of the gender equity argument, particularly with regard to the public sphere, can be highlighted by the comparison of Estonia to other countries of Eastern Europe that shared basically similar institutional frameworks in the 1970s and 1980s. As revealed by the analysis of childbearing differentials, none of these countries have reported a persistently positive gradient of incidence of second births for highly educated women.

In search of additional correlates, we looked for commonalities between Estonia and the countries in which a positive effect of higher education on second and higher-order births has been found. As pointed out in the study, in this context, Estonia captures attention because of its advanced position

in terms of the spread of new family forms and the far-reaching disconnection of childbearing from marriage. Thus, with respect to the proportion of extra-marital births, Estonia has belonged to the leading nations in Europe since 2001, and is second after Iceland (Eurostat 2010). In a broader framework, it seems quite conceivable that the latter ranking and Estonia's comparatively high fertility are not accidental, as over the past decade or more in Europe, higher fertility has tended to accompany the decline of marriage and an increasing diversity of living arrangements. Shortly after the turn of the millennium, Lesthaeghe and Surkyn (2002) envisaged a similar scenario for the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. They posited that "those countries with the faster rate of transition in household structures will be the first to move to fertility recuperation /.../, and hence to be the first to recover to more acceptable levels of sub-replacement fertility." The evidence presented in this study indicates that for Estonia, Lesthaeghe and Surkyn's assertion has become a fact of life.

This brings us to the idea of the continuity or path dependency of demographic development that may manifest itself over long periods of time, notwithstanding intervening changes in socio-economic regimes. If the disconnection of childbearing from marriage and the spread of new family forms represent the hallmarks of the Second Demographic Transition, then Estonia, with its contemporary pattern of family formation and childbearing, obviously qualifies for inclusion among the forerunners of the SDT. In support of the latter argument, recent research on union formation has indicated that in Estonia the onset of the shifts towards new pathways of family formation dates back to the late 1960s – the same period in which the SDT came to the fore in Europe (Katus *et al.* 2007; 2008b, Rahnu 2009). It has been suggested that unlike in the latter countries, in Estonia the emerging behavioural patterns were partly disfavoured in the state socialist setting and became fully manifested only after the beginning of the 1990s. This reasoning would also help us to understand how it was possible for Estonia to catch up so quickly with the forerunners of the SDT in this regard.

In the longer-term historical perspective, the idea of path dependence draws on the synchronism between Estonia and other forerunner countries in the transition to a modern demographic regime and parity-specific family limitation, which started a century earlier (Coale 1994, Coale and Watkins 1986). In this light, the comparatively high fertility levels observed in recent years and the positive effect of high educational attainment on the incidence of second births may represent a characteristic of the fertility regime that is commonly associated with the countries of Northern and Western Europe.

To conclude, the proposed interpretations of the findings obtained in this study are not exclusive and should be further elaborated in the future. By the same token, the features of contemporary Estonian fertility trend continue to attract scholarly attention and merit careful monitoring and research.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The main conclusions drawn from the study can be summarised as follows:

1. In the aftermath of the Second World War, childbearing trends in Estonia lost their earlier similarity to the forerunner countries of the demographic transition in Europe. The lack of a postwar baby boom and the rise of fertility to near replacement levels in the 1970s and 1980s exemplify this divergence in both a period and cohort perspective; the divergence is also mirrored in the prolonged shift towards earlier childbearing that reversed only at the beginning of the 1990s. The timeframe in which these observed peculiarities in demographic patterns emerged and receded points to the effects of a changing societal context.
2. Macro-economic developmentst, reconstructed as part of the study, plausibly moulded fertility trends in post-war Estonia. Lending some support to the “economic crisis” hypothesis, this influence operated through a downturn in the standard of living in the immediate post-war decade, although it is difficult to isolate the role of economic conditions from other adverse influences of Sovietisation. In the context of the latter phenomenon, the gradual “normalisation” of the standard of living can be viewed as an economic underpinning of the somewhat higher fertility characteristic of the latter decades of state socialism in Estonia.
3. In comparative perspective, the salient role of the stage of population development must be acknowledged; it has been seen to modulate the demographic outcomes of external influences, including those arising from economic factors. In particular, the completion of the fertility transition by the 1930s formed an essential demographic antecedent for low fertility during the early post-war decades, when Sovietisation was occurring in Estonia. This helps to clarify why fertility rates below the replacement level did not emerge in most of the other countries of Central and Eastern Europe, such as Lithuania among the Baltic republics, that underwent similar economic changes.
4. Evidence from the newly computerised household income surveys provides no specific support for the economic argument in explaining the rise in fertility rates in the 1970s and 1980s. Since the late 1950s, households with children have been persistently economically disadvantaged relative to the average of the Estonian population. In general, a noticeable redistribution of economic well-being across population subgroups occurred during the state socialist period; however, it was the older middle-aged population, which was not engaged in childbearing and child-rearing, whose incomes improved in the 1970s and 1980s.

5. The rise in fertility rates since the 1990s has brought Estonia to the top-ranking position among the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Although the positive contribution of successful reforms should not be downplayed, the recent fertility trends cannot be fully accounted for by the country's economic performance. In search for additional explanations, the study lends support to the arguments that underscore the role of gender equity and mechanisms that favour the reconciliation of parenthood and paid employment.
6. In the micro-economic framework, the positive gradient for higher education in the propensity to have a second child suggests that income effects supersede price effects in childbearing decisions among the native population of Estonia. The account derived from the study conforms to the notion that the more highly educated are the trendsetters of demographic behaviour.
7. In comparative perspective, the educational differentials in childbearing observed in Estonia exhibit a noticeable similarity to those prevailing in the countries of Northern and Western Europe. In addition to the remarkable spread of new family forms and the widespread disconnection of childbearing from marriage, this similarity can also be interpreted as evidence of a demographic path dependence which is manifesting itself over long periods of time, notwithstanding the intervening changes in societal regime.

In the policy context, one central conclusion seems to emanate from the different parts of this study. Sound economic performance and a decent standard of living should be regarded as essential prerequisites for the demographic sustainability of modern societies. At the same time, however, economic performance on its own is not a *panacea*. It must be coupled with a set of measures for different policy sectors that support couples and families in fulfilling their childbearing intentions. Although Estonia has been fairly successful in implementing such measures, efforts to strengthen the existing package of family-friendly policies should be continued.

In summary, several interpretations of the findings proposed in this study are not conclusive and should be further elaborated in the future. There are several avenues along which such prospective research could and should be pursued.

With regard to childbearing patterns in the early post-war decades, analyses drawing on life history surveys could be undertaken to provide a direct micro-level account of the alleged fertility impact of Sovietisation in Estonia. The analysis of educational fertility differentials, based on the Estonian GGS, could be extended to other parities (1st, 3rd) on the one hand, and to the population of foreign origin, on the other hand. An exploratory analysis has already indicated that the positive educational gradient observed for the native population may not be characteristic of post-war immigrants and their descendants in Estonia. A third direction of prospective fertility analysis should explore the rise in fertility since the late 1990s; in this regard, the

use of register data in particular could provide interesting new insights into the role of economic position and policy measures in childbearing decisions.

The GDP estimates for the state socialist period are also in need of further elaboration. In particular, the exercise of converting the MPS accounts into internationally comparable estimates, undertaken by the Statistics Office for the 1980s, should be extended to earlier periods. Finally, only modest use of the collection of Soviet household income surveys was made in this study. These unique datasets have the potential to provide novel insights into the welfare outcomes of Soviet economic and social policies. They could be instrumental in placing developments since the 1990s into a longer-term historical perspective and investigating the factors that may have influenced childbearing decisions under state socialism.

Eesti sündimusareng XX sajandi teisel poolel: majanduslik taust ja selle mõju

Kokkuvõte

Käesolev doktoritöö käsitleb Eesti sündimusarengut ja selle majandusliku tausta 20. sajandi teisel poolel. Teoreetilistes käsitlustes on arutletud majanduslike mõjude olulisuse üle demograafilisele käitumisele ning erinevad koolkonnad on selles osas eri seisukohtadel. Eesti demograafiline ja majanduslik areng 20. sajandil pakub hea võimaluse sedalaadseid probleeme analüüsida, sest suhteliselt lühikese aja jooksul on majanduskeskkond läbinud kardinaalseid muutusi. Töös vaadeldakse demograafilist ja majanduslikku arengut ajaloolises perspektiivis nii makro- kui mikrotasemel. Vastavalt on käibesse toodud andmeallikaid, mis selliseid analüüse teha võimaldavad. Eesti majanduse makrotrendi koostamiseks on kasutatud füüsilise toodangu aegridasid; isiku- ja leibkonnatasandi uurimiseks on individuaalandmetena käibesse toodud rida nõukogudeaegseid leibkonna tulu-uuringuid.

Sündimus- ja majandusarengu seose selgitamiseks seati doktoritöös neli peamist ülesannet. Esiteks, uurida Eesti üldist sündimustrendi demograafilise ülemineku järgsel perioodil. Teiseks, üldistada Eesti makro-majanduslikku arengut 20. sajandi teisel poolel. Kolmandaks, vaadelda leibkonnatasandil majandusliku heaolu erinevusi rahvastikurühmade vahel. Neljandaks, sündmuslooliselt analüüsida sotsiaalmajanduslike tegurite mõju sündimusele, täpsemalt teisessünnile.

Püstitatud ülesannete lahendamise tulemused on lühidalt järgnevad. Eesti demograafilise trendi omapära Teise maailmasõja järel leidis kinnitust, võrreldes nii Lääne-Euroopa riikide kui Kesk- ja Ida-Euroopa maadega. Sellele otsiti selgitusi sotsiaalamajanduslikes tegurites. Leiti, et makromajanduslik trend väljendatuna sisemajanduse kogutoodangus elaniku kohta on elatus-taseme kaudu üks võimalik sündimustrendi mõjutaja, kuid ühest determineerivat seost nende kahe vahel näha on raske. Võrdlused teiste riikidega osutavad rahvastikuarengu faasile antud seose võimaliku modulaatorina. Argumenti elatus-tasemest kui sündimuse määravast mõjutajast Eestis ei toeta ka leibkondade tulu analüüs, mis näitab, et lastega pered on alates 1950. aastatest olnud majanduslikult halvemas seisus kui keskmine leibkond. Kõrvutatades Eesti kuni 1980. aastate teise pooleni tõusva sündimustrendi lastega perede suhtelise majandusliku heaoluga, on raske leida puhtmajanduslikke põhjusi, mis võinuks soodustada kasvavat sündimustaset.

Pikaajalise rahvastikuarengu kontekstis huvipakkuvana tõuseb esile sündmusloolise analüüsi tulemus, mis eristab Eestit teistest Kesk- ja Ida-Euroopa riikidest. Teisessünni ja haridustaseme seoste poolest sarnaneb Eesti põlisrahvastiku sündimuskäitumine pigem Põhjamaadele. Eesti kõrgharidusega naiste teisessünni tõenäosus on nõukogude perioodil ja ka hiljem kõrgem kui madalama haridustasemega naiste oma. See viitab teatud pioneerrühma olemasolule rahvastikus ja käitumisele, mis vastandub sündimuse majandusliku teooria argumentidele.

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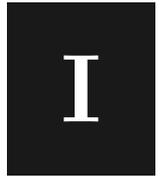
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THE ESTONIAN ECONOMY UNDER SOVIET RULE: A HISTORIOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW

Martin Klesment

In order to evaluate our current knowledge of some aspects of the Estonian economy under Soviet rule, this historiographic article reviews a number of available treatments, divided into three subgroups (works by authors in Soviet Estonia, publications by Estonians in exile and recent studies). The article demonstrates that different and contradictory interpretations of the economic development of the ESSR can be found. The author concludes that more detailed estimates of the living standard and economic growth during the Soviet years, which would be the basis of economic history writing, have yet to be established.

Keywords: historiography; Estonia; economy; Soviet; development

Economic development in the Soviet Union and the entire Soviet bloc has been a challenging issue for historians and other social scientists. It is a well-known fact that historical representation of this era has varied considerably, mostly depending on ideological viewpoints. Estonia's economic development under Soviet rule is no exception, and the relevant research has yielded a wide diversity of approaches to the issue. Readers and researchers alike usually face the problem of whether to discard outdated treatments or, at least to a certain degree, confirm the plausibility of their arguments. Historiographies are to highlight the material available on the subject and the positioning of the various academic and non-academic treatments. Also, an attempt to register the current state of knowledge on the issue is probably instrumental in preparing further research.

This article is designed as an overview of publications, in order to exemplify the different approaches and their diverse course of argumentation regarding the economic development of Estonia under Soviet rule. It seems convenient to divide the publications into three subgroups. The first group includes texts by authors working

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in Soviet Estonia, the second section covers works by Estonians in exile, and the third group incorporates recent studies carried out after the collapse of the Soviet Union. There are some issues which have garnered heightened attention, such as Sovietization in 1940–1941, post-war collectivization and industrial development; also present are the more general problems of the standard of living and economic growth.

The history of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic (ESSR) begins with the establishment of Bolshevik rule in June 1940, followed by the so-called first Soviet year, which lasted until the German occupation in the fall of 1941. Soviet rule, or occupation, was re-established in the fall of 1944 and lasted until 1991. The periodization of the latter era distinguishes late Stalinism (1945–1955), the period of territorial councils of national economy (1956–1965), and the recentralization or stagnation period (1965 onwards). Owing to the uneven concentration of significant events within these time slots, the present article puts a greater focus on interpretations of the first decades of Soviet rule in Estonia.

Publications in the ESSR

Although historical writing in the ESSR was, typically, heavily colored by propaganda, its intensity during the first decades of Soviet rule was unsurpassable, taking the form of almost childish exaggerations while praising the marvels of the Soviet economy. During the 1970s and 1980s, propaganda seems to have become more concealed. Another feature of Soviet scholarship was that it rarely offered corrections, which means that even obviously illogical statements made by the communist leadership for propaganda purposes were later picked up and reiterated by historians. Political statements about the current situation were thus converted into historical facts.

The transformation of Estonia into a Soviet-type economic system in 1940–1941 has mostly been described by Soviet authors as a success. In order to emphasize this change, the preceding period of the independent Republic of Estonia was depicted as an anomaly in the nation's history. A typical claim was that the period of independence discontinued the natural economic relations between Estonia and Russia (Brandt 1955, pp. 3–4). In this sense, the events of 1940 were interpreted as a return to normality. The Baltic economies were commonly characterized as an integral part of Russia, performing the functions that had developed through relations with that country. According to this rhetoric, the formation of independent republics discontinued the normal relations which had been the foundation of the Baltic area's economic development for more than two centuries (Ansberg & Tarmisto 1960, p. 23).

For Soviet authors it was important to demonstrate that the changes, such as land reform, nationalization of enterprises, price and wage reforms, that took place during the first year of Soviet rule represented an utterly positive development. It was usually underscored that transition to the socialist system was the result of a local initiative implemented in a revolutionary manner and inspired by the difficult situation of workers in bourgeois Estonia (Krinal *et al.* 1979, p. 166). It goes without saying that this kind of interpretation predominantly borrowed from the political leaders of the time. For example, a propagandistic statement made by the Bolsheviks in Estonia claimed that during the first months of the Soviet government, the real wages of

workers increased by more than one-third (Sepre 1941, p. 44). The statement was repeated in post-war writings (Vares 1945, pp. 58–9; Sepre 1945, pp. 114–15). A similar argument was circulated about economic growth, stating that industrial production increased by 60% during the first Soviet year of 1940–1941 (Veimer 1945, p. 73). More recent authors claimed that in the first quarter of 1941 Estonian industrial output posted a 64.9% growth compared to the first quarter of the previous year (Krinal *et al.* 1979, p. 171), but the provenance of this ‘historical fact’ seems to be the same. During the post-war years, the transition to socialism and the reforms of the first year were described in an even more idealistic manner, in a style that could be termed ‘Stalinist’ (see Brandt 1955, pp. 3–4). The statements were not accompanied by explanations of how industrial production was measured or how other conditions had changed, which leaves the basis for such a dramatic growth unclear.

Soviet Estonian authors later asserted that Estonia, having adopted the course of socialism, was able to benefit from the experience and assistance of other Soviet republics. As a result of the rapid transformation, benefits such as free medical care and lowered rents on housing improved the well-being of the population (Juursoo & Pullat 1981, pp. 81–5). Another issue, constantly reiterated by Soviet authors, was the increase in wages in the fall of 1940. Even in the 1980s it was argued that workers’ wages experienced a 30–40% rise in 1940, accompanied by the equalization of male and female workers’ wages (Kahk & Siilivask 1984, p. 107). Eduard Brandt devoted a whole chapter to praising the support provided by other Soviet republics to Estonia in the process of building socialism (Brandt 1956, pp. 27–39). Unfortunately, facts about the practical experiences of building socialism shared by the older Soviet republics are not easy to find, and the latest research speaks against this argument. Also, the frequently repeated statement about wage growth was not correctly explained in the context of increasing prices.

Nevertheless, it was clear that economic life changed dramatically during the first year, and some later publications implied that the changes were not always well designed. Vilmar Ruus described how in August 1940 the Estonian economy was run by eight peoples’ commissariats, which comprised 22 departments and dozens of sub-departments (Ruus 1980, pp. 37–8), thus referring to vastly increasing bureaucracy. As shown below, massive bureaucratization of economic management was later mentioned by Estonian authors in exile as an extremely inefficient feature of Sovietization.

The German occupation of Estonia, which followed the Soviet withdrawal in the fall of 1941, was discussed to a much lesser extent by Soviet Estonian authors. As a rule, the German occupation was treated as a deliberate destruction of the achievements of the first Soviet year. A monumental volume on the German occupation begins with a statement about the Estonian people having fought against the German invaders for over 700 years since the thirteenth century (Kruus 1947, p. 11). The total sum of damages caused by the German occupation to Soviet Estonia was declared to be 16.1 billion rubles in 1941 prices. This figure was included in publications probably without any critical consideration (Jõeäär 1947, pp. 182, 189). According to a later statement, Estonia was the most damaged Soviet republic, considering the losses per capita (Krinal *et al.* 1979, p. 180). Another allegation made by Soviet authors was that the German occupation authorities cancelled Soviet land

reform and nationalization, which meant returning the land to *kulaks* (Juursoo & Pullat 1981, pp. 92–4). In short, the German occupation was presented as a total opposite to the first Soviet year, a process that reversed the previous success and was an impediment to the rapid advancement of socialist economy in Estonia, and as such provided a comfortable explanation for anything that failed during the first Soviet year.

Publications during the immediate post-war years had a highly ideological character, and mostly served as carriers of propaganda. The primary task of historians and economic researchers during the first decade after the war seemed to be to explain and justify the decisions made by the government. Propaganda assumed paramount importance, seeing that several issues (collectivization through deportations, declared industrial growth but a deficit of goods) were bound to raise questions among the local population. This led to the publication of works explaining that the transition from capitalism to socialism in Estonia occurred under circumstances that dictated, for instance, an emphasis on the development of the oil shale industry, as well as collectivization, etc. The nature of the research in economic history conducted during these years has been outlined in a compilation of presentations made at a conference in Tallinn in 1955. The issues addressed were, for example, support provided by the friendly Soviet republics to Estonia during Sovietization, the importance of the oil shale industry, collectivization of agriculture, and the agricultural situation prior to Sovietization (see Lõpp 1956).

Agriculture was a rather problematic issue. As prescribed by the five-year plan, the pre-war production level was to be exceeded in multiple spheres of agriculture already by 1947 (Veimer 1946, pp. 29–31), a goal which later turned out to be unattainable. In a similar vein, Endel Vint, whose research specialized in grain production, wrote in 1948 that grain production was supposed to exceed the pre-war level in 1950, an assertion which was, of course, in accordance with the guidelines of the official five-year plan (Vint 1948, pp. 20–2). Vint later corrected his optimistic statements, showing that in the 1940s, and even in the 1950s, grain yields per hectare were still considerably lower than the 1939 level (Vint 1971, p. 168). Such corrections were rare, however. For obvious reasons, the Soviet establishment was not interested in revealing the actual yields per hectare or the real production figures. Ideological dictates required authors to focus on the success of collectivization. Among the spectacular examples of Stalinist-style writing, Eduard Brandt's publications from this particular period are well worth considering. Brandt stated that collectivization in Estonia was carried out with ultimate success, collective farms achieved superior results already in their first years of existence, and poor peasants embraced collective farms on a massive scale. Without any foundation Brandt claimed that the overall grain production in 1950 was higher than that of 1940 (Brandt 1955, pp. 51–60). Later, even Soviet Estonian statistical yearbooks showed a considerably lower grain output for 1950.

Nikolai Buzulukov for his part argued that collectivization was initiated by peasant farmers, who were convinced that small farms could not achieve increasing levels of productivity (Buzulukov 1950, pp. 189–90). Such publications may have left the impression that it was actually the peasantry that initiated collectivization. Further light was shed on the issue in a book by Valentin Matin and Mihhail Bronštein, which

mentioned that the plenary session of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee held in April 1947 endorsed the ‘intensification of agricultural co-operation’, referring to collectivization, as the collective farm was considered to be the highest form of agricultural co-operation. This so-called intensification mostly targeted *kulaks*, and introduced higher taxes, compulsory deliveries and other repressive measures (Matin & Bronštein 1959, pp. 65–6, 71–5). The deportation of *kulaks*, which coincided with the collectivization campaign, was not covered up in Soviet literature, but was quite explicitly described in some publications as a necessary component of collectivization (Murel 1950, p. 17).

Several academic dissertations were dedicated to collectivization, including those by Evald Laasi and Ants Ruusman. Laasi in his works pointed out some interesting facts. He argued that the amount of fertilizer applied to the open agricultural fields of Estonia in post-war years posted a considerable decline when compared to 1939. It was only in 1947 that fertilization of fields was stepped up (Laasi 1980, pp. 29–30). This seemingly insignificant fact was one of the fundamental arguments of Laasi’s paper (unpublished) that questioned the reliability of the Soviet agricultural statistics of post-war years. Official agricultural statistics claimed that the overall production of grain as well as yield per hectare in 1947 surpassed the average levels of the pre-war period. Laasi challenged this claim, arguing that there was no particular reason for growth in yields as, beside the fields actually receiving a lesser amount of fertilizer, other possibly favorable conditions (such as climate or new agricultural techniques) were not present either. According to Laasi, the increase in production was attributable to the technique for measuring (in fact, estimating) grain production. Laasi presented examples of how officials at different levels deliberately manipulated production estimates upwards, eventually showing production figures inflated by approximately 30% (Laasi 1971, pp. 157–9, 164).

Later descriptions of post-war agricultural success were less ostentatious. A perceptive reader would realize that the need for collectivization was created by the Soviet regime – first by cutting down the size of private farms, thus rendering them inefficient, as a result of which they had to be pooled into collective farms. The first collective farms were, admittedly, rather weak, in terms of both economy and organization (Krinal *et al.* 1979, pp. 181–3, 188–9). Production statistics moved closer to reality. Collectivization in Estonia and the respective reforms in other socialist countries merited some comparative treatment (Kahk 1965, pp. 7–57). Despite these moderate adjustments, Soviet authors consistently upheld the belief, bolstered by the relative economic success of collective farms in the 1960s, that collectivization had been the correct option (Tõnurist 1967, p. 22).

Despite statistical compilations (in the 1970s, for example) presenting agricultural production figures with a higher degree of realism and accuracy, contradictory arguments were not easy to banish. For instance, Edgar Tõnurist argued that Estonian agriculture had reached the pre-war level by the end of the first post-war five-year plan, i.e. in 1950, while by 1953 agricultural gross production exceeded the pre-war level by 4% (Tõnurist 1974, pp. 10–11). Some other contributions on this issue, however, implied that the pre-war level was not reached until the 1960s (Vint 1971, p. 168; Krinal *et al.* 1979, pp. 188–198), an argument well supported by official statistics (Eesti NSV Statistika Keskvalitsus 1974).

A few authors writing on the post-war Estonian economy were economists whose careers had been launched during the Republic of Estonia. For example, Arkadi Rannes had published extensively during the independence period. In his post-war works Rannes described the first five-year plan in Estonia as an enormous success. It was a commonly applied method to contrast the Soviet period with the bourgeois economy. The latter was described as wasteful, whereas the former was expected to boost industrial production to unprecedented levels (Rannes 1948, p. 100). Unfortunately, Rannes' treatments retained the character of propaganda even during subsequent decades, leaving less space for analysis (Rannes 1966). In their research on industrial development Soviet authors typically focused on the specific field that was then in the spotlight of official government policy. During the first post-war decade the focus was mainly on the energy and chemical industries, the presumed mainstay of further industrialization (Kull 1955, p. 6). Also, the machine-building industry, which had purportedly suffered greatly in the bourgeois republic, was regarded as one of the main pillars of the economy of the ESSR. However, it was typical of the Soviet writing that research interests shifted according to changes in the official economic policy. An author who in the mid-1950s gave prominence to the machine-building and metalworking industries would hail the importance of the electro-technical and radio equipment industry during the period of the Council of National Economy (see Kull 1960, pp. 84–5).

In general, historical writing viewed the post-war decade as a period of massive industrial growth. Performance was usually expressed in terms of overall growth. Some authors, for example, insisted that industrial production increased 17-times between 1940 and 1965 (Linnuse 1965, p. 6). Another author argued that Estonia's industrial output in 1959 exceeded the 1940 figures by 10.3-times (Renter 1961, pp. 5–6). The credibility of such indices is, of course, questionable and hardly verifiable.

It has to be noted that the Khrushchev era witnessed a slight revision of earlier positions, which was also accompanied by a relative reduction in preposterous propaganda. The immediate post-war years became less glorified, which was a natural result of the de-Stalinization campaign. Instead, praise was lavished on the administrative reforms carried out by the Khrushchev administration (the establishment of the Council of National Economy). As a rule, commentators cited various reasons for the abandonment of previous development strategies and the adoption of new policies. Veimer stated that the new territorial management system, the result of administrative reforms, allowed enhanced planning and exploitation of productive capacities (Veimer 1958, p. 111). The previous period was now dismissed for its exceedingly disintegrated management of industry, whereas the period of the Council of National Economy was deemed to have concentrated industrial production and made it more specialized (Renter 1964, pp. 30–2). To showcase the contrast with the previous era, the industrial growth posted in the second half of the 1950s was attributed to administrative reforms (Renter 1961, pp. 5–6).

Agricultural development during the period of the Council of National Economy received mostly positive coverage. The effects of reforms (liquidation of machine-tractor stations, transition to money wages in collective farms) were expressed in growing yields per hectare and in an increase in livestock (Karu 1968, pp. 4–5).

Tõnurist spoke of a 2.2–2.4-fold increase in the productivity of collective farms between 1958 and 1967 (Tõnurist 1967, pp. 80–1). What was usually overlooked, however, was the very low productivity of collective farms until the mid-1950s, which, understandably, set the comparison level rather low. Probably inspired by the relative success in industry and agriculture, some authors later suggested that Estonia was already experiencing the stage of developed socialism in the second half of the 1950s. Rapid urbanization, electrification of agriculture, and an increase in the number of industrial workers were listed as positive aspects of socialism. The latter aspect had the side effect of boosting the immigration of workers from other Soviet republics, whereas several authors insisted that an amalgam of different nationalities was a characteristic of socialism (Juursoo & Pullat 1981, pp. 102, 104, 107).

Attempts were made to demonstrate the successful economic performance of Soviet Estonia by placing it in a comparative context, because nothing could exemplify the triumph of the socialist system better than superiority over market economies. Relying on family budget data, Henrik Allik concluded in 1957 that the average income of industrial workers was 57% higher in 1955 than it had been in 1938 (Allik 1957, p. 40). Valter Klauson developed this approach further and argued that in 1966 the real income of a worker's family in the ESSR was 2.5-times higher than that of a bourgeois Estonian family in 1938 (Klauson 1967, pp. 31–4). Klauson also compared wages and consumption expenditures in Soviet Estonia and Finland, concluding that in 1966 workers' real wages in Estonia were 34% higher than in Finland. The progress made by the ESSR would have appeared even more dramatic, considering that Finland's standard of living had exceeded that of Estonia in 1940 (Klauson 1967, pp. 57–8). Other comparisons were made on the basis of per capita production of certain products. For example, it was stated that in terms of per capita consumption of meat, eggs, butter and milk, the ESSR exceeded the level of Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway and the UK in 1961 (Kaufmann 1964, pp. 20–1).

With the end of the Council of National Economy, interpretations of economic development and economic policy changed accordingly. Those authors who had previously applauded the territorial administrative system and the councils of national economy revised their statements, now postulating that specialization of industry and industrial co-operation were more important than territorial management, wherefore it would be perfectly justified to return to the old industrial branch management system. Focus on specialization and co-operation also intensified research on economic relationships with other Soviet republics, as greater specialization required more frequent contacts with suppliers and consumers. Veimer admitted in 1967 that the system of councils of national economy had become a hindrance to specialization and co-operation (Veimer 1967, p. 12). Specialization of industry was supposed to occur in parallel with the concentration of industry, whereas concentration was considered an objective principle of the socialist economic system securing increasing productivity (Veimer 1971, pp. 3–4).

Frequent reforms and policy changes required relevant explanations in the literature. At some points, permutations in economic policy were explained as logical reactions to rapid industrialization. The typical plotline regarding the metal and machine-building industries stated that during the first post-war decade the machine-building industry was instrumental in establishing general productive capacities, while

the next stage, that of the Council of National Economy, initiated the concentration and specialization of industry with a focus on less raw-material-intensive electro-technical industry. The year 1965 witnessed the onset of the third stage in the development of the ESSR's metal and machine-building industries, namely the intensification of production processes (Eigi 1978, pp. 45–9). It goes without saying that these turns were presented as the results of natural evolution rather than the effects of political changes.

The decades of the 1970s and 1980s exposed growing criticism towards the economic management and administrative system. Kalev Kukk admitted that Estonian exports had gone into decline in 1971, mostly due to shrinking exports of meat and dairy products. Total exports slumped despite the amount of industrial products sent to other Soviet republics posting healthy growth. The author concluded that one major reason for the decline in exports was the deteriorating quality of products, very much a problem faced by the entire Soviet Union, and particularly relevant to industrial goods, which were quality-dependent to a large extent. (Kukk 1984, pp. 6–17). In another publication Kukk analysed the problems of exporting the production of the machine-building industry, the bulk of which went to socialist states abroad. He reiterated his earlier statement blaming the decline in exports on reduced product quality. Industrial establishments were not interested in competing quality-wise (Kukk 1985, pp. 10–13). Both publications were only available for restricted use. Another brochure exploring similar issues was published by Uno Sepp, who noted that intensification of production had a relatively insignificant effect on Soviet Estonian industry, and that industrial development during 1970–1985 had been primarily extensive, with efficiency of production in the industrial sector decreasing during 1980–1985 (Sepp 1987, p. 22).

Contradictory statements and the obvious tendency towards propaganda are anything but conducive to the academic treatment of Soviet publications. For instance, while some writings boasted about the remarkably high levels of food production per capita (according to Ansberg and Tarmisto, Estonian meat and milk production per capita was among the highest, compared to Finland, Sweden, Denmark and the Netherlands) (Ansberg & Tarmisto 1960, pp. 82–3; Kaufmann 1964, pp. 20–1), others would discuss the targets set by the forthcoming five-year-plan for securing food supplies for the population (Kirsipuu 1981, p. 3).

Contribution from Exile

The picture painted by expatriate Estonian authors was quite different from the above-mentioned treatments of history and contemporary development in the ESSR. Those who had fled abroad possessed good knowledge of the previous developments in the country to contrast with later events. In the post-war years, authors in exile were restricted to limited sources such as newspapers and official statistical compilations, but they also had access to the oral records of émigrés from the ESSR and radio broadcasts (Kaelas 1958, p. 19). Unlike Soviet authors, Estonian expatriates described the years of the Republic of Estonia as an economically successful period (Maasing *et al.* 1965, p. 107). The authors generally agreed that economic conditions

deteriorated considerably after the onset of the Soviet rule. A general historical treatment issued in 1946 spoke of the declining standard of living brought about by the transition to the Soviet ruble (Ojamaa *et al.* 1946, p. 402).

Sovietization of agriculture during the first Soviet year was regarded as having almost catastrophic consequences. An expert on Estonian agriculture, Joosep Nõu, stated that the crisis in agricultural production was mainly expressed in declining yields per hectare. The reasons behind the decline were obvious: the Soviet land reform liquidated larger and more profitable (30 hectares and up) farmer households, while private farms were burdened with taxes in kind, which in turn discouraged farmers from obtaining higher yields (Nõu 1956, pp. 94–5). Arthur Ekbaum even spoke of a modern form of slavery. As proof of agricultural decline, he mentioned the manifold increase in the slaughter of cattle during the winter of 1940–1941. Cattle numbers had decreased to 400,000 by the spring of 1941, which was one-sixth lower than before (Ekbaum 1949, pp. 29, 55). Endel Kareda provided more detailed information on the Sovietization of agriculture; as a result of land reform, the cultivated acreage in 1941 had slipped to 2.77 million hectares as opposed to 3.18 million hectares in 1939. The average size of farm households dropped from 22.7 hectares to 16.7. Besides lowering their production capacities, farmers were forced to sell products to the state at fixed prices, which were lower than the actual production costs. This, combined with an increase in the price of agricultural machinery, contrived to reduce the purchasing power of the agricultural population by 45% by the end of 1940 (Kareda 1947, pp. 42–3, 52–3). Another problem accompanying the land reform was the differentiated taxation of private farmers, which, combined with the cultivation of collective farming (in the form of machine-tractor stations), inflicted a heavy blow to agriculture, as stated by Elmar Järvesoo (1973b, p. 138). The fact that agricultural producers had to sell their products below production cost was also emphasized by William Tomingas (1973, p. 240).

Although the first setbacks were manifested most conspicuously in agriculture, other aspects of economic life suffered similarly. Nationalization of the industrial and banking sectors transferred about 1000 enterprises from private ownership to the state sector. Management of state enterprises was not carried out in the interests of local people. Kareda was convinced that a large part of industrial production was exported to other Soviet republics without equivalent returns (Kareda 1961, pp. 19–20). Nationalization of enterprises was chaotic; former owners were usually ousted, but were sometimes reappointed as managers as the new commissars lacked the relevant experience and knowledge required to actually run the enterprises (Kareda 1947, pp. 62–4). In his overview of the first year under the Soviet regime, Harald Nurk stated that upon attachment to the Soviet Union, Estonian industry experienced a transition to low-quality mass production. Political decisions put the heaviest emphasis on the oil shale industry, and the machine-building and construction material industries. The interests of the Soviet market represented the main incentive for the opening of new production units and for the intensification of production. Industrial investment programs mostly ignored local needs (Nurk 1956, pp. 116–19). Nurk concludes that the overall effect of the first Soviet year on the Estonian economy was destructive: a large number of managers and entrepreneurs were deported or

murdered, people's savings were wiped out and vast amounts of goods were exported to the Soviet Union without reciprocation (Nurk 1956, p. 127).

The transition during the first Soviet year provoked many questions about its impact on the nation's living standard. The wage increases in the fall of 1940, hailed by the Soviets, were not denied by observers in exile. However, it was usually pointed out that Soviet authors showed only one side of the coin, as the wage increases were always accompanied by an escalation in commodity prices. Tomingas shows that in August 1940 money wages were raised by 20%, which was promptly followed by a 50% surge in prices. In September 1940, money wages grew by 40%, but commodity prices were doubled immediately (Tomingas 1973, p. 236). In terms of people's living standard, an additional negative effect was brought about by the currency reform of November–December 1940. Toivo Raun has estimated that the exchange rate prescribed for the conversion of kroons to rubles devalued the kroon by a factor of approximately eight, which lowered the population's purchasing power even further. Additionally, all savings accounts exceeding 1000 rubles were confiscated in January 1941 (Raun 2001, pp. 151–3).

Kaelas has pointed out that during the late 1930s the purchasing power of an Estonian worker was approximately 7–10-times higher than that of a worker in the Soviet Union. Thus, in 1940 the standard of living of Estonian workers had to be gradually reduced to the level of Soviet workers. However, until the outbreak of war, an Estonian worker's living standard remained higher than that of a Soviet worker (Kaelas 1947, pp. 23–4). Social conditions deteriorated, and the new labor legislation prohibited unauthorized change of jobs, etc. (see Kaelas 1956c, p. 77).

The German occupation, as it was represented by expatriate Estonian authors, did not differ much from the first Soviet year. Kareda argues that the German authorities were not eager to introduce any alterations to the economic structure created by the Bolsheviks. By way of substantiation, Kareda points to the fact that by the end of the occupation only 12% of the land confiscated by the Bolsheviks had been returned to previous owners (Kareda 1947, pp. 111–14). Harald Nurk states that although the Soviet land reform was cancelled, confiscated farms were not returned to their lawful owners. Enterprises nationalized by the Bolsheviks were taken over without any consideration of property restitution. Nurk's verdict was that the administration of economy under the German occupation turned out to be extremely inefficient and bureaucratic (Nurk 1959, pp. 72–5). At the same time, the Germans' demands, especially related to Estonian agriculture, were rather high. Demand for grain exceeded the market supply of normal years (Nurk 1959, pp. 83–4). The slight modification of the Bolshevik social and labor legislation by the Germans failed to bring any relief (Kaelas 1959, pp. 127–36). Probably most Estonian authors in exile considered both occupations to be equally devastating.

The immediate post-war years not only re-established the situation of the first Soviet year, but further implemented the Soviet system. A brochure issued in Stockholm summed up the situation as follows: 'The free and flourishing Republic of Estonia, one of Europe's happiest small countries, is subjugated and enslaved by totalitarian terror, the remarkable progress it made during its independence reduced to nought and its bright hopes for the future dashed to the ground' (Kareda *et al.* 1948, p. 16). Authors in exile observed the situation as closely as possible, mostly

relying on newspapers and other publications issued in the ESSR, and first-hand experience of refugees.

The agricultural situation emerged as one of the most sensitive issues because collectivization was to have a profound impact on life in the countryside. Unlike Soviet authors, Estonians in exile perceived collectivization as a violent and economically destructive process. It was observed that during the first post-war years the Soviet rulers denied plans of collectivization until the official declaration by communist leaders in 1948 (Purre 1964, p. 8). Prior to that, the pre-war compulsory deliveries and taxation system were put into effect again (Ekbaum 1949, p. 34). Land holdings of individuals suspected of collaboration with the Germans were dramatically cut down. Along with the redistribution of land, socialist farming was introduced in the form of *sovkhozes* and machine-tractor stations. The first *kolkhozes* were established in the fall of 1947 (Misiunas & Taagepera 1997, pp. 96–9). Foreign authors generally agreed that the actual reason behind the farmers' joining the collectives was not enthusiasm, but rather fear of being branded as *kulaks*, and of deportation. Taagepera's research indicated that the massive establishment of collective farms began in 1949, shortly after the second wave of deportation. Taagepera pointed out that before the deportation approximately 40 farmer households joined collective farms every day, whereas the number of daily accessions leaped to thousands after the deportation in March 1949 (Taagepera 1980, p. 387). The Soviet authorities' official explanation that collective farms were organized because of their higher productivity was proven to be false quite early on by Eduard Poom's study which compared agricultural productivity levels in the Republic of Estonia and the Soviet Union during the interwar period. Poom concluded that the productivity of Estonian farms was superior to that of Soviet collective farms, thus rejecting the Soviet authorities' rationale as totally groundless (Poom 1949, pp. 255–73).

Soviet authors spoke about rapid industrial growth during the immediate post-war years. Estonians in exile did not deny that certain developments took place in the industrial sector, but they had doubts about its success in terms of scale and quality. Industrial growth figures could have been the result of massive investment in the shale oil industry, as Raun suggested (Raun 2001, p. 176). Others questioned the ability of the Soviet economic system to ensure fast growth, pointing out, for instance, that an oil shale worker of the ESSR produced less in 1950 than an Estonian worker had produced in 1939 (Misiunas & Taagepera 1997, pp. 109–110). Aleksander Kaelas was quite aware of the bureaucratic nature of the Soviet management system as well as of the very moderate improvement in some branches of industry, for example, the food and light industries. Kaelas characterized heavy industry as Moscow's colonial industry, which served the interests of the central administration (Kaelas 1956a, pp. 44–51). Industrial capacities had been employed mostly for the benefit of Soviet Russia. Industrial products as well as foodstuffs were exported to Russia despite a shortage of these products in the local Estonian market (Kaelas 1956b, p. 4).

In general Estonian authors in exile were not convinced by Soviet publications that boasted of rising living standards. It was evident that although the rationing of food was abandoned in 1947, food shortages persisted. The population's purchasing power was undermined by the currency reform of 1947, which wiped out savings. As an unfavorable result of forced industrialization, over 180,000 immigrants were

relocated to Estonia from other parts of the Soviet Union (Misiunas & Taagepera 1997, pp. 107–10). Kaelas argued that the average income of a worker in 1941 had been 307 rubles before taxes, which, according to the real exchange rate, was twice as low as a worker's income before the occupation (30.7 kroons against 79.6 kroons). During the first post-war years, the ratio between wages and prices stayed on the level of the first Soviet year. However, food became rationed, the black market flourished and, with prices remaining high, workers could hardly afford anything (Kaelas 1947, pp. 25, 31–2).

The reforms of the mid-1950s, carried out by the Khrushchev administration, were regarded by Estonian authors in exile as a reaction to poor economic performance. Arnold Purre pointed out that Khrushchev had admitted problems with meeting food needs (Purre 1964, pp. 14–15). Agriculture had experienced constant degeneration, expressed in a decline in the acreage of cultivated land, number of livestock and production figures. The downfall of agriculture was acknowledged by everyone who had fled from Estonia, and was discernibly manifest in any critical analysis of the sources published in the ESSR. On the other hand, authors in exile admitted to certain improvements *vis-à-vis* the Stalinist period. Purre noted that the reorganization of collective farms in 1955 and the liquidation of machine-tractor stations in 1958 resulted in increased agricultural production (Purre 1964, pp. 16–18). Raun calls attention to major reforms in agriculture (money wages for collective farm workers from 1958 and the liquidation of machine-tractor stations). However, he acknowledges that from the mid-1960s the growth of agricultural production was relatively slow, and that by the mid-1970s food shortages had become common (Raun 2001, pp. 198–203). As for industrial growth, it was acknowledged that the gross production of industry exceeded the pre-war level in the 1960s. Yet the growth figures provided by Soviet publications were widely perceived as objects of statistical manipulation (Maasing *et al.* 1965).

Understandably, there was no immediate improvement in social conditions. Living standards in collective farms varied considerably, depending on whether a farm was supported by the authorities as a model enterprise or whether it functioned inefficiently, having been left to fend for itself. The shortage of goods persisted. Even as late as 1957 free market prices were considerably higher than official prices. Kaelas calculated that the workers' and officials' purchasing power was much lower in 1955 than it had been in 1939. Since goods were not available for official prices, workers had to buy from the black market, which further undermined their situation (Kaelas 1958, pp. 101–2).

The period of recentralization from the mid-1960s, later also known as an era of stagnation, somehow inspired a more relaxed treatment on the part of authors in exile. Despite being an occupied country, Estonia was regarded as experiencing certain positive developments. The situation appeared optimistic in comparison with the other Soviet republics, especially in the field of agriculture. While exile authors understandably lacked reliable information, it would be too naive to assume that they took the Soviet statistics and economic data at face value, without critical evaluation.

Official Soviet statistics claimed that in 1968 overall industrial output exceeded the 1940 level by a factor of more than 20. Elmar Järvesoo attributed such enormous growth to a statistical manipulation, which set the 1940 level very low, suggesting an

8–10-fold growth instead (Järvesoo 1970). This growth ought to have had its effect on the living standard. The calculations of Allik and Klauson, which compared the standards of living in the ESSR and Finland and bourgeois Estonia, were not convincing enough for Järvesoo (1970, pp. 29–30, 35).

Increasing agricultural productivity in Estonia required an explanation other than that provided by Soviet authors. Järvesoo admitted that Estonian collective farms had achieved relative success, which translated into a higher level of performance than that exhibited by other Soviet republics. He cited several factors, one of which was the less harmful impact of collectivization on the Baltic economies due to its later implementation. Later collectivization also meant that a transition to money wages on collective farms, and thus a certain improvement in the farmers' conditions, occurred much sooner. Moreover, the Baltic states had the advantage, to some extent, of having retained agricultural education and the knowledge accumulated during the independence period. Järvesoo also believed that newer advanced and experimental technologies were applied in the Baltic states (Järvesoo 1973b, p. 147). He later concluded that while agriculture in the ESSR had sunk to its lowest point by the mid-1950s, the 1960s witnessed some noteworthy development, based on the use of chemical fertilizers, the introduction of money wages in collective farms and a rise in living standards in the countryside. Järvesoo's optimism about agriculture was also transferred to the realm of industry, as he held that '[a] considerable part of light industrial output is of high quality and attractive design; Estonian products are in strong demand all over the Soviet Union and are even marketed abroad' (Järvesoo 1978, pp. 144–55).

One noteworthy aspect of Soviet Estonian agriculture was the relatively large scale of private farming. Järvesoo argued that although private enterprise was discouraged, the Soviet regime tolerated and even approved of private production in agriculture for obvious reasons. For example, in 1960 the private sector in Estonia provided 28% of overall agricultural production. In the 1960s, the share of private farming decreased, but even in the first half of the 1970s approximately 20% of agricultural production still came from the private sector. The importance of private farming in Estonia was much higher than in the rest of the Soviet Union. Also, efficiency and yields were higher in the private sector (Järvesoo 1973a, pp. 1–22). Thus, although the communist ideology envisaged the liquidation of private enterprise, the private sector's contribution to gross production justified its perpetuation.

In general, the texts of expatriate authors seem to exhibit greater diversity from the 1970s onwards. Some Estonians in exile expressed unprecedented optimism. Andres Küng stated that in its economic development of the 1960s, measured by income per capita, Estonia had outperformed several Nordic countries. Moreover, in his view, the Baltic states had become an industrial region using modern high-end technology, mostly due to the efforts of some local communist leaders in modifying Moscow's economic policy in a favorable direction. Küng seemed quite impressed by the results of the economic reforms carried out in the mid-1960s (Küng 1960, pp. 74–7). In his discussion of Soviet republics, Taagepera pointed out certain aspects of autonomy which allowed limited trade relationships, for example with Finland and Hungary (Taagepera 1973, pp. 78–9). On the other hand, Agu Kriisa's publication of

1984 upheld the criticism of earlier decades, arguing that living standards in Soviet Estonia remained low. His calculations demonstrated that the purchasing power of a worker living in the ESSR in the 1980s was lower than that of an Estonian worker in 1939 (Kriisa 1984, pp. 53–4). Eduard Poom made calculations of Estonian national income in 1974, pointing out that the Estonian population was able to use only a small part of the national income produced in Estonia, whereas a much larger part was channeled out of the country by the central administration (Poom 1980, pp. 97–8).

Recent Research

Research on the economic history of the ESSR carried out within the last 15 years should be qualitatively different from the relevant Soviet scholarship (which was ideologically influenced) and studies conducted in exile (which could not use archival sources). Current research is expected to take advantage of the removal of these barriers and fill in the gaps. Many of the recently issued publications tend to expose the damages caused by the Soviet regime. These damages are evaluated either in terms of specific losses (e.g. unequal trade, human losses, and ecological damage) or in comparison with market economies and the interwar republic. General consensus is that, in view of the level of Estonian economic development until 1940, Soviet reconstruction of the economy had a severely detrimental effect. Questions have been posed as to whether forced industrialization actually had any modernizing impact at all.

The first Soviet year has recently been studied by Maie Pihlamägi, who concludes that in 1940–1941 the socialist command economy model was implemented in all major sectors of economy – agriculture, industry, banking and finance – resulting in a complete loss of economic independence. However, her account remains rather descriptive, with a focus on legislative actions taken by Soviet authorities, leaving less room for analysis. Although she argues that economic planning was implemented in agriculture and industry in 1941, it remains unclear to what degree it was actually functioning (Pihlamägi 2005, pp. 187–208).

Olaf Mertelsmann insists that transition to the socialist economic system during the first Soviet year was largely improvisatory in nature. He suggests that Moscow provided no specific instructions or assistance regarding the reorganization of the economic system, and that it was mostly bourgeois Estonian experts who were used to introduce changes (Mertelsmann 2006, pp. 32–5). Speaking of trade relations with the Soviet Union, Mertelsmann refers to price differences of imported and exported goods in favor of the Soviet Union (2006, pp. 42–3), which supports the argument of many authors about unequal economic relations. As regards developments in rural areas, Mertelsmann supports the argument that due to the price system, farmers were treated unfavorably, which led to a decline in production. Rather than improving production, the land reform had the opposite effect (Mertelsmann 2006, pp. 58–64).

Another important issue that Mertelsmann addresses is industrial growth during the first year, repeatedly cited by Soviet authorities and researchers. He suggests that during the first quarter of 1941 industrial production actually decreased compared to the previous period, due to the deteriorating work culture, chaotic management, and insufficient investment (Mertelsmann 2006, pp. 68–71). These statements provide

solid support to expatriate Estonian authors' arguments about the declining standard of living, work conditions, and general economic situation during the first year of Soviet rule.

Probably all recent authors agree that economic life in Estonia during the first Soviet year and the German occupation underwent extensive destruction. Eve Tomson's textbook provides some statistics on economic decline during the Soviet and German occupations, yet is lacking in source references (Tomson 1999, p. 79). A volume published in 1991 and edited by Juhan Kahk estimates the damages caused by the war and occupations (Kahk 1991). An update to this volume appeared in 2005, including a chapter on economic losses written by Kalev Kukk. Similarly to many Estonian expatriates, Kukk defines the Soviet Estonian economic system as a colonial economy. Colonialism was expressed in an extensive use of local natural resources in favor of all-union industrial branches and the destruction of a nation-centered economic structure. Exports of natural resources to the Soviet Union were to Estonia's disadvantage from the very start (Kukk 2005, pp. 127–8). The primary target of industrial investment during the first post-war decade, oil shale industry and gas production, was to maintain the heating and power supply for Leningrad (Kukk 2005, p. 132).

A treatment of the Baltic countries' economic history by Juhan Kahk and Enn Tarvel offers a long-term overview of economic development, but only briefly discusses the first Soviet year. The authors dwell on industrialization and collectivization as major economic policy issues during the post-war period, and maintain that the peasantry's resistance to collectivization was broken with deportation (Kahk & Tarvel 1997, pp. 120–3), as was stated by the earlier research conducted by Estonian authors in exile. The issue of *kulaks* and their liquidation has been recently studied by Anu-Mai Kõll, whose research on one of the counties of Estonia demonstrates that it was also taxation that made the situation of some *kulaks* unbearable, often resulting in the loss of the entire household (Kõll 2003, pp. 127–49). Her study contests the claims of some Soviet authors about *kulak* taxes not being very high (see Laasi 1965, pp. 214–5).

Kahk and Tarvel point out that one of the aim of the Soviet authorities was to use industrialization as an opportunity to encourage immigration from other Soviet republics to the Baltic republics. Investments were made mostly in favor of industries producing for the Soviet market (Kahk & Tarvel 1997, pp. 123–4). Regarding the industrial development, Mertelsmann has questioned the actual presence of Stalinist-type industrialization in post-war Estonia, concluding that there was no evidence of considerable advancement in Estonia. Mertelsmann shows that the industrial output of 1955 remained below pre-war levels, while the high growth figures can be attributed to the fact that the implementation of fixed prices in 1940 set the calculation base 4.8-times lower. (At this point he also proposes an alternative explanation for the low index base: while some authors in exile believed the index was based on only half of the year 1940, Mertelsmann suggests that the index was based on the entire year, but was artificially lowered by the official kroon–ruble exchange rate and fixed prices.) Thus, while there was no considerable industrial production growth, the entire campaign was more about reconstruction than industrialization (Mertelsmann 2003, pp. 151–69). This, however, does not prevent him from speaking about forced

industrialization (Mertelsmann 2005, p. 41), which implies a question of terminology. Mertelsmann has summarized Estonian economic degradation during the Stalinist period by pointing out the major differences between the Republic of Estonia and the Soviet Union at the end of the 1930s: real income in Estonia was approximately three-times higher than in the Soviet Union, the average life span was 58 years against the Soviet Union's 41 years, etc. In general, his research supports Misiunas and Taagepera's argument that in the mid-1950s the standard of living was considerably lower than it had been in independent Estonia (Mertelsmann 2005, pp. 31–44).

Kahk and Tarvel attribute the agricultural progress achieved in the 1960s to the use of artificial fertilizers. The authors refer to the concentration and intensification of agriculture, which, although giving a temporary boost to production, had some negative effects, such as a reduction of the arable area. Consequently, agricultural growth did not prove to be sustainable and the last years of Soviet rule witnessed a constant decline of agriculture. Relating to industrial development, Kahk and Tarvel refer to 'forced over-industrialization' that had unfavorable consequences. Not only was industry built up in a way that made it dependent on other regions of the Soviet Union, but its scale posed a threat to the local environment. In terms of economic rationale, the extensive growth of the 1960–1970s could only work for a limited period (Kahk & Tarvel 1997, pp. 126–30), as was also observed by the Soviet researchers quoted above.

A comparative study on Estonian and Finnish economic development, published a couple of years after Estonia regained independence, offered new perspectives to assessing the recent past. For instance, it was indicated that although Estonian post-war industrial development had been faster than that of Finland, the standard of living remained much lower than that of Finland (Lugus & Vartia 1993, pp. 107–9). The differences in living standards were expressed by the purchasing power of wages, which were more or less equal in 1938, but largely in favor of Finland in 1988 (Lugus & Vartia 1993, p. 328). The authors believed that the roots of over-industrialization lay in the late 1950s, an era when industrialization was at its peak, but which was also the period of a relatively high degree of freedom (Lugus & Vartia 1993, p. 71).

In terms of estimating losses by taking into account the nation's wasted economic potential (the hypothetical status of economic development if Estonia had continued existing as a market economy), the Estonian–Finnish comparison is certainly thought-provoking. As suggested recently by Kukk, Estonia could have had a 4–5-times higher gross domestic product per capita in 2003, had it developed under similar conditions to Finland (Kukk 2005, p. 150).

To summarize the current state of knowledge on the Soviet period of Estonian economic history, the following should be highlighted. As demonstrated above, diametrically different interpretations of the economic development of the ESSR can be found. With just a few exceptions, the Soviet interpretation and observations made abroad have a strong tendency to contradict one another. Recent studies, which should be superior to earlier works in terms of objectivity and usage of sources, generally seem to support the arguments of Estonian authors in exile. The fact that recent research is usually less emotional about the issue and more focused on calculating the gain–loss basis should only bolster the reliability of its findings.

However, major gaps still remain with respect to the historical treatment of Estonia's economic development, and more detailed estimates of the living standard and economic growth during the Soviet years have yet to be established. As long as the lack of reliable estimates of general economic indicators for the Soviet period persists, a complete economic history of twentieth-century Estonia cannot be written.

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**Eesti rahvastiku majandustegevuse näitarve XX
sajandil**

Estonian 20th Century Economic Indicators

Toimetanud / Edited by

Martin Klesment Jaak Valge

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EESSÕNA

Hinnanguid ühiskonna majandusarengu kohta antakse tavaliselt statistilise teabe põhjal. Ka majandusajaloolisi analüüse, võrdlusi ja üldistusi ei saa teha ilma võrreldava statistikata. Paraku on Eesti XX sajandi statistika usaldusväärsus poliitilise ja majandusliku elu murrangute ning veneaegse andmekorralduse nõrkuse tõttu olnud kõikum. Tulemusena puudub ühtlustatud majandusstatistika lõppenud sajandi kohta, mis omakorda oluliselt raskendab Eesti majandusarengu hindamist rahvusvahelises kontekstis.

Sajandi majandusstatistikat nii andmekorralduse kui arvude poole pealt ühes raamatus kokku võtta ei tohiks olla stabiilse arenguga riigi puhul suur probleem. Eesti lähiajalugu silmas pidades selline arusaam aga ei kehti. Erinevate perioodide majandusstatistika isesugusus on hoopis viinud ühtlustamisest hoidumisele, olgu siis poliitilistel või praktilistel põhjustel. Loomulikult ei ole ühtlustamine lihtne ülesanne, kuna meil kehtinud majandussüsteemid on olnud kardinaalselt erinevad ja nende tulemused erinevalt mõõdetud. Sellest hoolimata peaks see olema üks peaesmärke, kui soovitakse majandusarengu analüüsimisel tõsiseltvõetavaid tulemusi saada.

Käesolev raamat märgib esimest etappi autorite töös majandusstatistika ühtlustamise ja pikaajalise arengu uurimise suunal. Tulemuseks on esmane ülevaade majandusstatistika andmekorraldusest, millele on lisatud arvandmed valitud majandusnäitajate kohta. Lisades avaldatud aegread koondavad peamiselt mahunäitajaid, seetõttu on ka tekstis püütud keskenduda mahunäitajatele. Majanduse mõõtmise seisukohalt on käsitlus loomulikult mittetäielik, sest välja on jäänud rahaliselt mõõdetavad näitajad, mille osakaal sajandi jooksul järjest kasvas. Kahjuks puudub seni oskusteave vastava veneaegse statistika käsitlemiseks, kuid on selge, et see osutub hilisemates uuringutes vajalikuks.

Peatükkide koostamisel on silmas peetud kahte peamist eesmärki. Esimeseks neist on andmekorralduslike institutsioonide ja nende konteksti kirjeldamine, sest andmekogumine, standardtöötlus ja statistika avaldamine, samuti andmekvaliteet on alati omavahel seoses. Teine, Eesti oludes keerukam eesmärk on kirjeldada statistikainstitutsioonide poolt kasutatud meetodeid, mis määrab arvustiku usaldusväärsuse. Eriti kehtib see viimase okupatsiooniperioodi kohta, sest selle aja teabe kvaliteeti peavad paljud uurijad halvaks või vähemalt halvasti võrreldavaks. Seetõttu on ka Moskva poolt rakendatud statistika metodoloogiale suuremat tähelepanu pööratud. Rõhk on asetatud sõjajärgse perioodi kahele esimesele aastakümnele, kui toimusid peamised statistika korraldust puudutavad reformid. Mõistagi tuleb juttu ka taasiseseisvunud Eestist, kus statistikaamet järgib vormiliselt küll rahvusvahelisi standardeid, kuid paraku ei taga see veel iseenesest statistika kvaliteeti.

Raamatu tekstiosa on jagatud kolmeks. Eraldi käsitletakse Eesti Vabariigi, okupatsioonide ja taasiseseisvusaega. Maailmasõdadevahelise Eesti Vabariigi perioodi on kaasatud ka rahvastikustatistikat. Majandusstatistika osas on rohkem

IV

tähelepanu pööratud põllumajandusele ja tööstusele.

Lisas 1 avaldatud aegread on esitatud valdavalt 1920. aastate algusest, kui Eesti ala oli ühendatud üheks administratiivüksuseks ja oli loodud oma riik. Tuleb märkida, et tegemist on mitmest allikast kokku koondatud, kuid ühtlus-arvutamata ja harmoneerimata aegridadega. Sellest ka hulk viiteid tabelite järel, selgitamaks arvuridade ebähtlust.

Lisas 2 on esitatud tabelid, mis võrdlevad Eesti näitajaid lähemate välisriikide näitajatega. Kuigi kitsad võrdlused, mis kõrvutavad üksikuid mahunäitajaid, annavad harva alust üldistusteks, leidub siin loodetavasti materjali edasiste majandusajalooliste uurimisprobleemide sõnastamiseks.

Esimese peatüki ja sõdadevahelise Eesti Vabariigi andmerealad pani kokku Jaak Valge. Teise peatüki koostas Martin Klesment ja kolmanda Kelli Arusaar. Tabelid koostas ja võrdlusandmed arvutas Martin Klesment. Autorid tänavad Erika Sisaskit, kes sisestas aastate 1940–2000 arvud, ja Eesti Statistikaametit, kes lubas sisestamiseks lahkelt kasutada oma ruume ja asutuses asuvaid arhiiviallikaid. Kõik raamatus leiduda võivad vead jäävad siiski autorite vastutusele. Töö teostati Eesti Vabariigi Haridus- ja Teadusministeeriumi sihtteema nr 0132703s05 ja Eesti rahvastikustatistika ühtlusarvutuste programmi raamides.

PREFACE

Statistical data are generally necessary to estimate country's economic development, either in present day or historical perspective. Historical analyses of economy can not be done without reliable statistical data. However, reflecting the political and economic development of Estonia, the reliability of Estonian statistics has fluctuated heavily. Definitions and methods of data collection have been subject of discontinuities, which poses a serious challenge to data comparability. Thus, harmonisation of Estonian long-term economic statistics has not been attempted.

This volume marks the first stage in an endeavour the authors have taken to reach at comparable economic statistics of XX century Estonia. The result is an examination of the organisation of economic statistics under different regimes that existed since the establishment of the Republic of Estonia in 1918. In addition to that, data series of production volumes of main agricultural and industrial goods, as well as a few services, have been included. From the perspective of economic statistics the data series are not comprehensive, as they include physical volumes only. Unfortunately we still lack methods to deal with financial indicators of the post-war Russian statistics, though it will be necessary for further analyses.

The text has been composed with two main goals in mind. The first was to describe institutions that have dealt with national statistics in the XX century Estonia, in periods of independence as well as occupations. The second was shedding light on reliability of statistical data by exploring the methods statistical institutions used for data collection. The latter is particularly important in case of Estonian statistics under the Russian rule as the international comparability of statistical figures has been estimated to be very poor due to specific methods that were applied. Therefore, more attention has been paid to the period 1945–1991. While statistical methods of the interwar Estonia and the years since 1991 can be described using secondary sources, Soviet Estonian statistical methods require more attentive approach and use of archival sources. More detailed observation was applied to statistical methods concerning physical output volumes, in line with the scope of statistical data series published in this volume.

Statistical data series, presented in Appendix 1 of this volume, focus mainly on physical indicators such as agricultural and industrial output. The data series, however, are not strictly harmonised, resulting in a number of endnotes to explain data irregularity. There are many obstacles that make data harmonisation difficult. Some data definitions during one era appear as too general or diverge a lot from other period's definitions, for some indicators there are gaps in data collection. As of quality of statistics, World War II and the immediate post-war years seem as one of the weakest period. Similarly, there are several problems with combining pre- and post-1991 statistics.

Additionally, tables comparing Estonian figures to some foreign

countries' data have been included in Appendix 2. The data for foreign countries originated or has been calculated based on that from Brian R. Mitchell's International Historical Statistics, 2003 edition. Per capita figures have been calculated using mid-year population estimates.

Chapter 1 was prepared by Jaak Valge, who also compiled data series for the interwar Estonia. Chapter 2 was written by Martin Klesment and Chapter 3 by Kelli Arusaar. Tables in Appendix 1 as well as comparative data in Appendix 2 were compiled by Martin Klesment. The authors thank Erika Sisask for performing the data input and the Statistical Office of Estonia who provided easy access to archival data at their disposal. All errors that may appear are, of course, the authors'. The volume was prepared under the Programme for Estonian Population Data Comparability and supported by research theme no. 0132703s05 of Estonian Ministry of Education and Research.

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2. OKUPEERITUD EESTI

2.1. Esimene nõukogude ja saksa okupatsioon

Esimesel nõukogude aastal kasutati mitmetel elualadel Eesti Vabariigi aegseid spetsialiste, säilitades nii valdkonna teatava professionaalsuse. Kuigi Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo likvideeriti ja andmekorraldust reguleerinud seadus kaotas kehtivuse 1. oktoobril 1940, hakati üsna pea moodustama Eesti NSV Riikliku Plaanikomisjoni juurde Riiklikku Arvestusvalitsust (RAV).⁷³ Osa Statistika Keskbüroos töötanud inimesi tuli RAV-i üle.

Moodustatud RAV allus otseselt üleliidulisele NSVL Plaanikomisjoni Rahvamajandusarvestuse Keskvalitsusele. RAV-i põhikirja kohaselt tuli asutuse põhiülesande täitmiseks, st arvestuse ja statistika korraldamiseks kogu ENSV-s, teostatada üleriiklikke loendusi, läbi viia statistilisi uurimusi ja statistiliste materjalide töötlust. Samuti pidi RAV varustama Riiklikku Plaanikomisjoni vajaliku teabega ning abistama vabariigi keskasutusi arvestuse ja aruandluse sisseviimisel. RAV-i juhataja ja tema asetäitjad määras ENSV Rahvakomisсарide Nõukogu. RAV-i juures oli ka kolleegium põhimõttelisteks seisukohavõtudeks arvestustööde korraldamise alal. Kolleegiumi liikmed määras Riikliku Plaanikomisjoni esimees.⁷⁴

RAV-i loomise ettevalmistamine ja koosseisu komplekteerimine algas 1940. aasta oktoobris. Mitmed RAV-i struktuuriüksused jätkasid endise Statistika Keskbüroo struktuuriüksuste ehk büroode baasil. Esialgu jäi RAV-i juhatajaks Anatol Tooms, kuid juba 1941. aasta veebruariks oli sellele kohale määratud Roman Martšenkov, kelle aadressiks oli märgitud võõrastemaja "Kuld-Lõvi" tuba nr 345.⁷⁵ Osa RAV-i koosseisust jäi eestiaegseks. Lembit Tepp märgib, et 1. veebruaril 1941 oli RAV-is ametis 186 inimest, kellest 66 oli varem töötanud Riigi Statistika Keskbüroos ning 18 endises Põllumajandusliku Raamatupidamise Talituses.⁷⁶

Võrreldes Eesti Vabariigiga toimus esimese nõukogude aasta jooksul oluline muutus, nimelt endise riigiandmekorralduse kui ühtse süsteemi killustamine ja keskendumine üksikutele, suhteliselt lühiajalistele ülesannetele. Esimesel aastal oli ülesandeks Eesti majanduslike ressursside arvestamine, et neid majandusplaanide ja maksustamise sisseviimisel kasutada. Alates 1940. aasta oktoobrist esitas RAV Riikliku Plaanikomisjoni esimehele aruandeid oma tegevuse kohta regulaarselt igal 5., 15. ja 25. kuupäeval. RAV-i allüksused pidid

⁷³ ENSV Rahvakomisсарide Nõukogu määrus Riikliku Arvestusvalitsuse asutamise kohta. ERA f. R-10, n. 1, s. 1, l. 1.

⁷⁴ Vt. ENSV Riikliku Arvestusvalitsuse põhimäärus ja töökava. ERA f. R-10, n. 1, s. 4.

⁷⁵ RAV-i koosseis ja elukohad 1941. ERA f. R-10, n. 1, s. 17, l. 55.

⁷⁶ L. Tepp. Statistika Eestis, 1940–1944. – Eesti Statistika. Kuukiri. 2001, nr. 2 (110), lk. 5.

sama tihedusega esitama aruanded RAV-i direktorile.⁷⁷ RAV-i aruannete järgi olid olulisemad tegevused järgmised.

Oktoobri esimesel poolel saadeti välja ankeetlehed väiketööstusettevõtete 1939. ja 1940. aasta tegevuse kohta. Tööstusbüroo tegeles Riikliku Plaanikomisjoni ülesandel Eesti NSV tööstuse 1941. aasta plaani koostamisega. Põllumajandusbüroo tegi samal ajal arvutusi kõlvikute seisu kohta põllumajanduskorrespondentide andmete alusel. Veel arvutati 1939. aasta põllumajandusloenduse materjalide alusel põllumajanduslike masinate suhtarvused põllumaa, külvipinna, talundite ja lehmade kohta. Põllumajandusbüroo tegeles 1940. ja 1941. aasta põllumajanduse arendamise plaaniga. Rahandusbüroo arvestas kokku pankade hoiuseid omanike tegevusala ja summa suuruse järgi. Demograafia- ja tervishoiubüroo arvutas rahvastiku vanuselist koostist 1939. aasta kohta ja keskmist aastate 1935–39 kohta ning rahvaarvu linnades ja valdades. ENSV Ülemnõukogu jaoks esitati eraldi ENSV rahvaarv ja kuni 18 aastaste arv jaanuariks 1941. NSVL Riikliku Keskarvestusvalitsuse ülesandel analüüsiti võrdlevalt ENSV ja NSVL-i rahvastikuandmeid. Väliskaubanduse ümberkorraldamise seadusega 24. augustist 1940 sätestati, et kõikide väliskaubanduslike küsimustega tegelevate asutuste väliskaubanduslikud funktsioonid antakse üle NSVL Väliskaubanduskomissariaadi volinikule.⁷⁸ Sellealane statistika ei olnud seega enam Eesti halduses. Siiski RAV koostas veel novembris oktoobrikuu kohta väliskaubandusbilansi ja kokkuvõtted üksikute kaupade, rühmade ja riikide järgi.⁷⁹ Oktoobri teisel poolel saadi NSVL Plaanikomisjoni Keskarvestusvalitsuselt hulk formulare uuele arvestus- ning statistikasüsteemile üleminekuks. Nende hulgas olid üleliiduliselt kasutatavad vormid põllumajanduse, saakide, transpordi ja side, tööstuse, kapitaalehituse jms kohta. Samal ajal kaasati kogu RAV-i personal ka 1941. aasta majandusplaani koostamisse.⁸⁰ Põllumajanduse alal tegeleti viljasaakide hindamisega korrespondentide andmeil. RAV esitas Moskvale aruande statistika korraldamise meetodika kohta ja taime- ning loomakasvatustatistika tabelid.⁸¹

NSVL Riikliku Plaanikomisjoni Rahvamajandusarvestuse Keskvalitsus saatis 26. novembril Eestisse voliniku seltsimees Plešivini, kes pidi kindlustama arvestus- ja statistikakorralduse lõpliku lülitamise NSVL-s kehtinud arvestussüsteemi. Püüti välja selgitada, millised arvestustööd saab kohe keskvalitsuse vormidele üle viia.⁸² Samal ajal, rahvakomissariatidega peetud

⁷⁷ Riikliku Arvestusvalitsuse direktorilt büroode juhatajatele. 21. oktoober 1940. ERA f. R-10, n. 1, s. 6, l. 1.

⁷⁸ Riikliku Arvestusvalitsuse tegevusaruanne 9.–15. oktoobri 1940. a. tegevuse kohta. ERA f. R-10, n. 1, s. 6, l. 3–7.

⁷⁹ RAV-i tegevusaruanne 15.–25. novembri 1940. a. kohta. Konfidentsiaalne. ERA f. R-10, n. 1, s. 6, l. 25.

⁸⁰ RAV-i tegevusaruanne 15.–25. oktoobri 1940. a. kohta. Konfidentsiaalne. ERA f. R-10, n. 1, s. 6, l. 9.

⁸¹ Samas. L. 10.

⁸² RAV-i tegevusaruanne 25. november kuni 5. detsember 1940. a. Konfidentsiaalne. ERA f. R-10, n. 1, s. 6, l. 28.

nõupidamiste tulemusena ja Rahvamajandusarvestuse Keskvalitsuse eeskirjade alusel, töötati välja ja kehtestati kaks uut tööstusettevõtetele määratud vormi toodangu ja töötajate arvu kohta igakuise statistika kogumiseks (vormid "A" ja "B"), mis said ka neljaleheküljelise juhendi. Esimesi andmeid nende järgi loodeti saada detsembri keskel ja edaspidi iga kuu 5. kuupäeval.⁸³ Detsembri keskel asuti N Liidu liiduvabariikide eeskujul kuukirja "Rahvamajanduse näitarvused" esimese vihiku koostamisele, mis pidi ilmuma trükist detsembri teisel poolel. Kuukiri oli ette nähtud vaid ametialaseks kasutamiseks juhtivatele ametiisikutele.⁸⁴ Kuukiri ilmus 1941. aasta juunini, kokku seitse numbrit.

20. detsembril 1940. aastal toimus RAV-i ja rahvakomissariaatide esindajate nõupidamine kvartaliaruande sisseseadmise kohta tööstusettevõtetes. Leiti, et kuna andmed toodangu omahinna kohta on veel puudulikud, tehakse 1940. aasta IV kvartali aruanne katseviisiliselt, kuid 1941. aasta I kvartali kohta juba täielikult.⁸⁵

1940. aasta detsembris kohustas ENSV Rahvakomissariade Nõukogu määrus alates 1. jaanuarist 1941 kõigis rahvakomissariatides ja riiklikes keskasutustes organiseerima aruandluse nende alluvuses olevate ettevõtete ja asutuste kohta. Aruandlus tuli korraldada N Liidus kehtivate aruandevormide ja juhendite kohaselt. RAV pidi seejuures rahvakomissariaate ja keskasutusi arvestuse sisseviimisel abistama ja läbi vaatama ning kinnitama esitatud aruanded. Tallinna, Tartu, Narva ja Pärnu linnavalitsuse ning maavalitsuste juures pidi loodama arvestusinspektuurid. Inspektuuride üle teostasid järelevalvet vastavate linnade ja maakondade täitevkomiteed. Lisaks tuli maal organiseerida jaoskonnainspektuurid, mis tähendas keskmiselt ühte inspektorit 3–4 valla kohta.⁸⁶

1941. aasta esimesel poolel jõuti läbi viia veel mõned muudatused statistika organisatsioonis. Näiteks lõpetati põllumajandusbüdjéti statistika, kuna talude käsitlemist ei peetud enam vajalikuks. 27. märtsil 1941. aastal nimetati RAV ümber Eesti NSV Statistika Valitsuseks.

On põhjust arvata, et N Liidus kehtinud aruandevormide rakendamine ei läinud ilma takistusteta. Seda kinnitavad Eesti NSV Kergetööstuse Rahvakomissariaadi mitmed kirjad RAV-le, kus märgitakse, et täpne aruandlus ei ole mitmetel põhjustel saavutatav. 1940. aasta aruanne ettevõtete toodangu kohta ei andvat rahalises väljenduses õiget ettekujutust tegelikkusest, nimelt aasta jooksul toimunud hindade muutuste tõttu (teatavasti toimus 1940. aasta teisel poolel koos laialtreklaamitud palkade tõusuga ka hindade tõstmine). Samuti oli natsionaliseerimisel tehtud mitmed ümberhindamisi, mis "omakorda täiesti võimatuks teevad ülevaate saamise ettevõtte tegevusest". Seetõttu palus Kergetööstuse Rahvakomissariaat 1. jaanuari 1941. aasta bilansi seisus ära jätta

⁸³ Samas.

⁸⁴ RAV-i tegevusaruanne 5.–15. detsember 1940. a. Konfidentsiaalne. ERA f. R-10, n. 1, s. 6, l. 34.

⁸⁵ RAV-i tegevusaruanne 15.–25. detsember 1940. a. Konfidentsiaalne. ERA f. R-10, n. 1, s. 6, l. 40.

⁸⁶ ENSV Rahvakomissariade Nõukogu määrus. ERA f. R-10, n. 1, s. 1, l. 6–7.

rahalise väärtuse märkimise nõude.⁸⁷ Tegelik põhjus võis siiski peituda mitte-toimivas administratiivses hinnasüsteemis. Hindade määramisel toetuti ministeeriumides peamiselt ettevõtete poolt antud informatsioonile, muutes seega tootmisest rahalises väljenduses adekvaatse pildi saamise võimatuks. On loomulik, et sellises situatsioonis toetuti aruandluses ja plaanimises pigem toodangu mahunäitajatele.

Ettevõtete peamised mured 1940. aasta lõpul sisse seatud vormide “A” ja “B” täitmisel olid järgmised. Valmis- ja poolvalmistoodangu koguseline hindamine mingil kindlal ajahetkel oli võimatu, sest tootmisprotsessi iseloomu tõttu oli jagunemine valmis- ja poolvalmistoodanguks raskesti määratletav (toodangu kvaliteet ja sellest tulenev väärtus selgus alles pärast toodangu sorteerimist). Uute aruandlusvormide täitmine varem kehtinud raamatupidamise süsteemi alusel ei olnud võimalik. Kergetööstuse Rahvakomissariaat edastas need ettevõtete probleemid RAV-ile ja palus juhiseid probleemide lahendamiseks.⁸⁸

Andmekorralduse lagunemisest annab tunnistust näiteks tegevus ENSV Kohaliku Tööstuse Rahvakomissariaadis, kus võeti kasutusele NSVL Kohaliku Tööstuse Rahvakomissariaadi (*Narkomat Mestprom*) ametkondliku aruandluse vormid kogutoodangu kuupõhiseks arvestamiseks. Rahvakomissariaat sai ankeetid 1940. aasta novembris, kohandas ja tõlkis need eesti keelde. Ankeet koosnes vähemalt 10 vormist. Vorm nr 1 kujutas endast ettevõtte kuuaruannet tootmisplaani täitmise kohta, milles tuli märkida toodangu väärtus kroonides nii 1940. kui ka 1939. aasta hindades. Vorm nr 2 mõõtis toodangut koguseliselt ja ära tuli märkida kõik valmistatud toodanguartiklid.⁸⁹ Juhises oli selgitatud, kuidas kogutoodangut väärtuseliselt määrata, kuid, nagu eelpool märgitud, jäi see sisuliselt ettevõtte otsustada.⁹⁰

Põllumajanduse sotsialistlikuks ümberkujundamiseks leiti novembris 1940, et vajalike andmete saamine vabatahtlike korrespondentide kaudu “ei õigusta ennast”, mistõttu peeti vajalikuks eraldi usaldusmeeste või volinike võrgu loomist kohtadel. Optimaalseks arvuks peeti umbes 10 inimest valla kohta. Usaldusmehed pidanuks täitma üle 20 aruandevormi aastas. Loomulikult tuli usaldusmeeste võrk komplekteerida poliitiliselt vastuvõetavatest, st mittekulaklikest kodanikest.⁹¹ Endise korrespondentide võrgu hulgamine tuleneski tõenäoliselt usalduse puudusest korrespondentide vastu.

Omaette uueks ettevõtmiseks oli järgmise aasta majandusplaani koostamine. Aprillis 1941 korraldati ENSV Riiklikus Plaanikomisjonis (RPK) linna ja maakonna täitevkomiteede esindajate instrueerimine täitevkomiteede

⁸⁷ Kergetööstuse Rahvakomissariaadilt Riiklikule Arvestusvalitsusele. ERA f. R-10, n. 1, s. 2, l. 11–11p.

⁸⁸ Kergetööstuse Rahvakomissariaadilt Riiklikule Arvestusvalitsusele. ERA f. R-10, n. 1, s. 2, l. 44–45.

⁸⁹ Vt. ERA f. R-10, n. 1, s. 2, l. 208–209.

⁹⁰ Samas. L. 203–207.

⁹¹ Aruanne usaldusmeeste võrgustiku rajamise vajalikkusest. Dateerimata. Tõenäoliselt november 1940. a. ERA f. R-10, n. 1, s. 11, l. 18.

plaaniosakondade töö alal. Teiste seas võtsid sõna RPK esimees Oskar Sepre ja tema asetäitja Juhan Janusson. Viimane selgitas, kuidas käib planeerimine. Plaan pidi koostatama alt üles, ettevõtetelt läbi täitevkomiteede rahvakomissariatideni ja sealt RPK-ni, sealt aga N Liidu RPK-ni. Janussoni sõnul koostati ENSV 1941. aasta plaan hädapärastel ning ülalt alla, kuid tulevikus pidi see tegevus kujunema normaalselt, st alt üles.⁹²

Põllumajanduse plaani koostamise kohta instruksioone andes hoiatati, et põllumaa ei tohtinud langeda alla 1939. aasta taseme. Ei jäetud ka märkimata, et kõigele vaatamata oli loomade arv viimasel ajal vähenenud, seda osaliselt söödapuuduse tõttu.⁹³ Tööstuse plaanist rääkinud Arkadi Rannes märkis, et partei direktiivide järgi tuli tööstustoodang tõsta 1,5–2 kordseks, et jõuda ette arenenud kapitalistlikest maadest. Toodangu plaanimisel tuli anda näitarvud nii väärtuse kui koguse järgi, lähtudes N Liidu 1926/27. aasta püsihindadest.⁹⁴ Plaanimise olemus aga jäi paljudele tõenäoliselt segaseks. Sama aasta juunis toimunud koosolekul märkis Rannes plaanimise sisseviimise kohta järgmist: “Kui ma viimati olin Moskvas, siis seal vastavate isikutega kokku puutudes oli korduvalt juttu sellest, et meie peame ise oma majanduse arendamise perspektiivid välja töötama, mis esitatakse Liidu vastavatele asutustele läbivaatamiseks. Mis puutub sellesse, et meie peame enne ära määrama kapitalisummad, mis võiks jaotamisele tulla vastavate alade vahel, siis minu arvates nii ei saa küsimust lahendada. Esiteks meie ei oska seda summat hinnata. Summad tulevad sellest, missugused reaalsed võimalused on rahvamajanduse arendamiseks ja siin ei ole tegemist mitte ainult ühe ala, vaid kogu rahvamajanduse koordineeritud alade arendamisega”. 1942. aasta plaani esitamise tähtajaks määrati 1. september.⁹⁵

Jaanuaris 1941 toimuma pidanud üleliiduliseks loomade loenduseks hakati Eestis juba varakult ettevalmistusi tegema. Novembris 1940 alustas ENSV RAV loenduse skeemi väljatöötamist ja kulude kalkuleerimist.⁹⁶ Loenduse juhendid ja vormid saadi Rahvamajandusarvestuse Keskvalitsuselt, need tõlgiti ja valmistati trükkimiseks ette. Loendusjaoskondi oli valdadesse ja linnadesse kokku kavandatud 1966. Ootamatult selgus 23. novembril 1940, et ENSV Rahvakomisaride Nõukogu soovib loenduse ära jätta ning uute korraldusteni ettevalmistustööd peatati.⁹⁷ Eeltööd loenduse teostamiseks jätkusid novembri lõpus ja detsembri alguses, kuigi loenduse uus toimumisaeg oli selgumata.⁹⁸

⁹² Koosolek Riiklikus Plaanikomisjonis 2. aprillil 1941. a. ERA f. R-10, n. 1, s. 19, l. 5–6.

⁹³ Samas. L. 9–10.

⁹⁴ Samas. L. 11–12.

⁹⁵ Nõupidamine 1942. a. plaani ja viisaastaku perspektiivplaani koostamise asjus Majanduslike Uurimiste Instituudis 20. juunil 1941. a. ERA f. R-10, n. 1, s. 19, l. 39–40.

⁹⁶ RAV-i tegevuse aruanne 5.–15. november 1940. Konfidentsiaalne. ERA f. R-10, n. 1, s. 6, l. 18.

⁹⁷ RAV-i tegevusaruanne 15.–25. november 1940. a. Konfidentsiaalne. ERA f. R-10, n. 1, s. 6, l. 23.

⁹⁸ RAV-i tegevusaruanne 25. november kuni 5. detsember 1940. a. Konfidentsiaalne.

Maakonnainspektorite koolitamiseks põllumajandusstatistika alal töötati 1941. aasta kevadel RAV-is, uue nimetusega ENSV Statistika Valitsuses, välja instrueerimiskava, mida taheti rakendada 1941. aastal. Õppus pidi olema kuuepäevane ja sisaldama järgmisi teemasid: arvestus ja statistika sotsialistlikus plaanimajanduses; sotsialistliku põllumajanduse ülesehitus ja teaduslikud saavutused; mehaanilised töövahendid arvestusmaterjalide läbitöötamisel; arvestus-praktilised tööd tehniliste abinõudega; arvestusteooria ja metodoloogia; maakasutuse arvestus; loomade arvu statistika; külvipindade arvestussüsteem; loomasaaduste toodangu arvestus; põllutööriistade ja masinate arvestus.⁹⁹

1941. aastal oli Eesti NSV-s planeeritud läbi viia ka tööstusloendus, mille tarbeks lasti välja eraldi juhised. Loenduse eesmärgiks oli andmete saamine töötajate arvu, töötasu, põhivara maksumuse, masinate võimsuse, toodangu väärtuse ja koguse kohta.¹⁰⁰

Sõda N Liidu ja Saksamaa vahel ning selle kandumine Eestisse katkestas ENSV Statistika Valitsuse tegevuse. 8. juulil 1941 vabastati töötajad teenistusest. Moskva nägi ette kahe viimase aasta statistiliste materjalide evakueerimise, mis toimus koos üheksa statistikavalitsuse töötaja lahkumisega N Liidu tagalasse. Materjalide asukoht või saatatus on siiani teadmata.

Venelaste lahkudes taastas omaaegne statistika juhtkond asutuse ja alustas tööd juba enne saksa tsiviilvõimude saabumist. Hiljem hakkas statistikavalitsus tööle Eesti Omavalitsuse Majandus- ja Rahandusdirektooriumi finants- ja pangandusvalitsuse koosseisus. Tegutses kaheksa osakonda (üld-; demograafia-; põllumajandus-; tööstus-; kaubandus-, finants-, krediidi-; transport-, side-, kooperatiiv-; töö- ja hindade-; plaani- ja uurimisosakond). Eesti Statistika Valitsust juhtis endine Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo direktor Albert Pullerits ja ametis olid ka palju teisi endisi keskbüroo töötajad. Nõukogudeaegsed linna-, maakonna ja jaoskondade inspektorid likvideeriti.

1941. aasta 1. detsembril viidi läbi rahvaloendus, sõjaolude tõttu küll lühendatud programmi alusel. Põllumajanduse alal jätkati üldist loomade arvestust, maakasutuse ja saakide hindamist, metsandus- ja kalandusstatistika kogumist jne. Tööstuse üle peeti arvestust ettevõtete kuaruannete abil, hõlmates kõiki vähemalt viie töötajaga ettevõtteid. Andmeid koguti toodangu, energia-tarbimise, töötajate arvu jne kohta.¹⁰¹ Tööstusstatistikasse oli vastavalt Ida-ala Riigikomissari 1941. aasta oktoobri eeskirjale haaratud kokku umbes 1400 käitist. Kuupõhiselt koguti andmeid toodangu, toorainete ja energia tarbimise, töötajate arvu ja makstud palkade kohta. 1941. aasta novembris viidi läbi evakueerimise ja sõja tagajärjel tekkinud kahjude hindamine. Samal kuul toimus ka kaubandusettevõtete loendus. Finantsstatistika oli 1942. aasta alguses veel nõrgal järjel, viidati bolševike-aegsetest nõudmistest ja kohustustest tekkinud

ERA f. R-10, n. 1, s. 6, l. 28.

⁹⁹ Maakonnainspektorite instrueerimine 1941. aastal. ERA f. R-10, n. 1, s. 21, l. 18.

¹⁰⁰ Tööstusloenduse juhend Eesti NSV-s. Kinnitatud NSVL Riikliku Plaanikomisjoni Rahvamajandusarvestuse Keskvalitsuse poolt 28. jaanuaril 1941. Publitseerimisaeg teadmata, lk. 1.

¹⁰¹ L. Tepp. Statistika Eestis, 1940–1944, lk. 6–8.

segadusele.¹⁰² Teraviljakasvatuse ja muu põllumajandusliku tootmise arvestamine toimus põllumajandusliku korrespondentvõrgu abil, mille tarvis koostati spetsiaalsed korrespondentide vihikud. Loomse toodangu arvestamine toimus töötleva tööstuse statistika põhjal.¹⁰³

1942. aasta lõpust jätkati Eesti Statistika kuukirja sarnase statistika-kogumiku väljaandmist, mis “Statistische Monatshefte” nime all. 1943 nimetati väljaanne ümber ja pealkirjaks sai “Statistische Berichte”. Kuukiri oli mõeldud ainult ametialaseks kasutamiseks. Kuupõhiselt avaldati piima kokkuostu ja piimast toodetud saaduste andmeid, arvestati ka piimasaaduste müüki, liha ja loomade kokkuoste, metsatöid, tähtsamate tööstustoodete toodangut, müüki ja laoseisu, elektrienergia tarbimist jne. Esitati loomade arvestuse andmed seisuga 15. detsember 1942 linnade ja valdade jaotuses.¹⁰⁴ Vahendati põllumajandus-saaduste kokkuostu ja müügi, tähtsamate tööstustoodete toodangu ja müügi andmeid, tööolude ja palkade seisud, jae- ja hulгимüügihindade statistika. Rahvastikusündmuste registreerimist jätkati varasemal alusel. Abiellumiste, sündide ja surmade üle peeti kuupõhist arvestust perekonnaseisuametilt saadud andmete põhjal.

Tööstustoodete ja toorainete arvestus avaldati kuukirjades pea sama põhjalikult kui Eesti Vabariigi ajalgi. Suur osa esitatud andmetest on esitatud kuupõhistena ja aasta andmeid oli võimalik summeerida vaid 1942. aasta kohta. Viimase kohta anti 1943. aastal Eesti Statistika Valitsuse poolt välja aastaraamat, millesse oli koondatud rahvastiku-, põllumajandus-, tööstus-, kaubandus-, transpordi-, palga- ja hinnastatistika.¹⁰⁵

2.2. Statistika korraldus sõjajärgsel perioodil

Statistikute ettevalmistus tulevase Eesti NSV jaoks algas N Liidu tagalas Moskva Majandusstatistika Instituudis 1943. aastal. Eksamitega lõpetas 13 inimest.¹⁰⁶ 1944. aastal asutati Moskvas NSVL Rahvakomissaride Nõukogude juures Riikliku Plaanikomisjoni Eesti NSV Voliniku institutsioon ning üheks selle üksuseks kinnitati Eesti NSV Statistika Valitsus. Pärast Tallinna taashõivamist septembris 1944 alustas Statistika Valitsus tööd NSVL Rahvakomissaride Nõukogu Riikliku Plaanikomisjoni ENSV Voliniku juures. Loodud olid ka Valga, Viljandi, Võru, Viru, Läänemaa, Saaremaa, Tartu, Harju, Järvamaa, Petserimaa ja Pärnumaa ENSV Statistika Valitsuse maakondlikud

¹⁰² Statistische Monatshefte für den Generalbezirk Estland. 1942, Nr. 1/2, S. 9–10.

¹⁰³ Ibid., S. 8.

¹⁰⁴ Vt. Statistische Berichte für den Generalbezirk Estland. 1943, Nr. 11 (1), S. 7.

¹⁰⁵ Statistischer Jahresbericht für den Generalbezirk Estland 1942. Reval, Estländische Statistische Amt, 1943.

¹⁰⁶ L. Tepp. Statistika NSV Liidu Riigiplaani teenistuses, 1944–1948. – Eesti Statistika, 2001, nr. 3 (111), lk. 5.

inspektorid. Samuti loodi Statistika Valitsuse linnainspektorid Tallinnas, Narvas, Pärnus ja Tartus. Tallinna inspektoris oli neli rajooni-inspektorit, kes haldasid Kesk-, Kopli, Mere- ja Nõmme rajooni.

1945. aasta detsembris määrati Eesti NSV Statistika Valitsuse juhatajaks ja Riigiplaani Eesti voliniku asetäitjaks Vassili Satanin.¹⁰⁷ 1948. aasta augusti NSVL Ministrite Nõukogu määrusega, mis eraldas NSVL Statistika Keskvalitsuse Riigiplaanist, likvideeriti ka NSVL Rahvakomissaride Nõukogu Riikliku Plaanikomisjoni ENSV Voliniku aparaat ning Statistika Valitsus sai NSVL SKV-le otseselt alluvaks asutuseks – ENSV Statistika Valitsuseks, mis koosnes harusektoritest. Eesti NSV Statistika Valitsuse juhiks määrati Serafim Timakov, kes tegutses sellel kohal kuni 1968. aastani.¹⁰⁸ Statistika kohalikeks organiteks sel ajal olid Tallinna Linna Statistikavalitsus; Tartu, Pärnu, Narva, Kohtla-Järve ja Paldiski linnainspektorid; Virumaa, Järvamaa, Harjumaa, Läänemaa, Hiiumaa, Saaremaa, Pärnumaa, Viljandimaa, Tartumaa, Valgamaa ja Võrumaa maakondlikud inspektorid. Kopli rajooni inspektorist sai 1949. aasta ümbernimetamise tulemusel Kalinini rajooni inspektor.

Seoses Eesti jaotamisega oblastiteks moodustati vahepeal koguni Tallinna, Pärnu ja Tartu oblasti statistikavalitsused ja 39 rajooni-inspektorit; samuti Pärnu, Tartu, Narva ja Kohtla-Järve linna-inspektorid. Oblastid säilisid veidi üle aasta ja koos nende kadumisega likvideeriti ka oblastite statistikavalitsused.

1956. aastal, vastavalt NSVL Ministrite Nõukogu määrusele 19. juunist 1956 “NSVL Statistika Keskvalitsuse töö parandamisest, struktuuri ja funktsioonide täpsustamisest ja kohalikest organitest”, nimetati ENSV Statistika Valitsuse sektorid ümber osakondadeks. Sisulise muutusena tuleb arvestada, et 1957. aasta mais moodustati ENSV Statistika Valitsuse Masinarvutusjaam, mille osakonnad pidid tegelema ettevõtete ja asutuste algaruannete kogumise ja töötlemisega, samuti andma välja operatiivseid bülletääne. Masinarvutusjaam, samuti tema järeltulijad, säilis veel peale Eesti taasiseseisvumist ja kogu nelja kümnendi jooksul kahestas statistikaasutust.¹⁰⁹

NSVL Ministrite Nõukogu määrusega 11. jaanuarist 1960 ja ENSV Ülemnõukogu Presiidiumi määrusega 4. aprillist 1960 korraldati ENSV Statistika Valitsus ümber ENSV Ministrite Nõukogu juures asuvaks Statistika Keskvalitsuseks (ENSV SKV). Kinnitatud põhimääruse kohaselt oli ENSV SKV liidulis-vabariiklik asutus, alludes üheaegselt nii ENSV Ministrite Nõukogule kui ka NSVL Ministrite Nõukogu juures asuvale Statistika Keskvalitsusele. Tegelikult ENSV SKV juhiks oli siiski NSVL SKV ja kogu töö käis ühtsete põhimõtete alusel. Uus kord muutis aga rajoonide ja linnade statistika-inspektoride ning Tallinna Linna Statistikavalitsuse alluvust. Kui varem olid

¹⁰⁷ Samas.

¹⁰⁸ L. Tepp. Statistika NSV Liidu statistikaorganisatsiooni otsealluvuses, 1948–1960. – Eesti Statistika, 2001, nr. 4 (112), lk. 5.

¹⁰⁹ B. Anderson, K. Katus, B. Silver. Developments and prospects for population statistics in the countries of the former Soviet Union. – Population Index, vol. 60, No 1, pp. 4–20.

need allunud NSVL SKV-le, siis nüüd allutati nad ENSV SKV-le.¹¹⁰ Mitmesuguseid struktuurilisi ümberkorraldusi tehti 1960.-70. aastate jooksul veel mitmeid. 1966. aastal oli statistika keskvalitsuses 21 struktuuriüksust, lisaks veel allasutused.¹¹¹ 1961. aastal loodi kolhooside raamatupidamise osakond – põhjendusega paremini kolhooside tegevust jälgida. Omal moel taastati sellega 20 aastat tagasi likvideeritud statistika valdkond.

1961. aastal töötas ENSV SKV struktuuris 534 inimest. Neist 138 oli ametis keskvalitsuses, 169 inimest masinarvutusjaamas ja 227 inimest inspektuurides.¹¹² 1957. aastaga võrreldes, mil statistika süsteemis töötas kokku 258 inimest, oli personal kasvanud üle kahe korra. Juurdekasv oli toimunud peamiselt masinarvutusjaama ja inspektuuride töötajate osas. Samas mainiti, et statistika aparaat kannatas pideva alakomplekteerituse all.¹¹³

Veelkord muudeti nime 1978. aastal, kui senine Eesti NSV Ministrite Nõukogu juures asuv Statistika Keskvalitsus nimetati Eesti NSV Statistika Keskvalitsuseks, kuigi mingeid muutusi alluvuses see kaasa ei toonud. Mõistagi oli kogu aja jooksul toimunud mitmeid sisestruktuuri muutusi. 1980. aastate alguses toimus veel mõningaid muutusi struktuuris – osakondade jagunemisi, ümbernimetamisi ja likvideerimisi.¹¹⁴

Struktuurimuutuste kõrval olid tunduvalt olulisemad muutused, mis toimusid statistika korralduses, andmekogumisest arvestuse ja avaldamiseni välja. Eesti NSV Rahvakomissaride Nõukogu määrusega 12. oktoobrist 1944 oli rahvakomissariaate kohustatud taastama statistiline aruandlus 1941 kehtinud vormide järgi. Sündmusstatistika lisaks tuli läbi viia mitmesuguseid loendusi. Vastandina statistika põhimõtetele kohustati statistikavalitsust ettevõtete ja asutuste aruannete õigsust kontrollima, muutes niimoodi statistika võimuaparaadi käepikenduseks.

Kohe pärast Eesti uuesti hõivamist 1944. aasta septembris-oktoobris toimus tööstusettevõtete sisseade ja materjalide ühekordne arvestus. 1. jaanuari 1945. aasta seisuga korraldati tööstusloendus saksa okupatsioonikahjude kindlaksmääramiseks. 1945. aasta 1. mai seisuga toimus linnade elamufondi ühekordne arvestus.

Järgnevatel aastatel oli plaanitud ja ettevalmistatud mitmeid üldarvestusi, mida nimetati tol ajal loendusteks: 1946. aastal väiketööstuse loendus, 1947. aastal tööstusloendus, 1948. aastal nii suur- kui väiketööstuse loendus, lisaks seadmete loendus. Arvestusi toimus ka teistes valdkondades, nt loomade ja külvipindade arvestused toimusid igal aastal. Korraldati ühekordseid loendusi (kaubandusloendus 1949, elamufondi loendus 1950, põllumajandusmasinate

¹¹⁰ L. Tepp. Statistika Keskvalitsus Eesti NSV Ministrite Nõukogu juures, 1960–1978. – Eesti Statistika, 2001, nr 11, lk. 5–6.

¹¹¹ Vt. samas. Lk. 7–8.

¹¹² Aruanne Eesti NSV Statistika Keskvalitsuse olukorrast arvestuse alal. ERA f. R-10, n. 22, s. 12, l. 117.

¹¹³ Samas. L. 118.

¹¹⁴ L. Tepp. Eesti NSV Statistika Keskvalitsus, 1978–1987. – Eesti Statistika, 2002, nr. 11 (131), lk. 5–6.

loendus 1956) ja tööliste ning töötasu uuringuid.¹¹⁵ Kuigi efektiivsemaks muutmise eesmärgil oli 1948. aastal statistika eraldatud riiklikust plaanikomisjonist ning tehtud iseseisvaks asutuseks, jätkus andmete kogumine ja arvestus endisel viisil. Statistilisi analüüse ning üldistusi Eestis ei tehtud, valdavaks oli materjalide saatmine keskasutusele Moskvas.

Kuni 1956. aastani oli statistiline aruandlus N Liidus reeglipäraselt rangelt salastatud ning statistiliste materjalide avalikustamine praktiliselt puudus. Ilma NSVL Statistika Keskvalitsuse nõusolekuta oli materjalide avaldamine keelatud.¹¹⁶ Igatahes oli viimaseks statistiliseks väljaandeks Moskvas 1944 välja antud masinakirjaline aastaraamat "Statistilisi andmeid Eesti NSV kohta".

NSVL Ministrite Nõukogu määruks maist 1956 "Statistiliste materjalide publitseerimise laiendamisest ja riikliku ning ametkondliku aruandluse ning statistika kasutamisest teadusuuringutes" tõdeti, et statistiliste aastaraamatute ja teiste materjalide publitseerimine oli lõpetatud ning aruandlus salastatud 1939. aastast. 1956. aasta määrus kohustas Statistika Keskvalitsust taastama statistilised aastaraamatud rahvamajandusharude ja kultuuri kohta ning tegi nende väljaandmise ülesandeks ka kohalikele statistikaga tegelevatele organitele. Tõepoolest, 1957 ilmus esimene Eesti rahvamajanduse statistikakogumik, kuid analüüsiv statistika selles avalikkuse ette ei jõudnud. Kogumik jäi ühekordseks ning sari taastus alles 1968. aastal.

Sisulist väärtust omava statistika kohta, mida endiselt ei võinud publitseerida, seati sisse eraldi publitseerimissüsteem – kogumikud ametkondlikuks kasutamiseks. Viimaste kasutamise õigus anti vormiliselt ka teadus- ja õppeasutustele.¹¹⁷

1950. aastate keskel tehti NSVL Statistika Keskvalitsuse poolt katseid ülepaisutatult administreerimise eesmärke teenivat statistilise aruandluse süsteemi "lihtsustada" ja ressursimahukust vähendada. Sellest annab tunnistust NSVL Ministrite Nõukogu määrus 16. oktoobrist 1956. aastast "Liialduste kõrvaldamisest ettevõtete ja majanduslike organisatsioonide arvestuses ja aruandluses". Toodi välja, et ettevõtetes kehtiv raamatupidamise, statistilise aruandluse, materiaal-tehnilise varustamise ja töötasu arvestamise süsteem oli keeruline ja kohmakas. Arvestuse ja aruandluse edasiseks koondamiseks ja korrastamiseks seadis NSVL Ministrite Nõukogu järgmised kohustused. Ministeeriumid ja keskasutused pidid järsult koondama ettevõtetes kehtivat aruandlust ja tehnilist dokumentatsiooni. Ettevõtete ja organisatsioonide juhatajatel tuli läbi vaadata kehtiv ettevõttesisene aruandlus, arvestada ministeeriumitelt ja keskasutustelt saadud koondatud vorme, vähendada rakendatavate töönormide ja -hinnete arvu jne. Ministrite Nõukogu määruse alusel käskis SKV juhataja Starovski vabariiklike statistikavalitsuste juhatajatel

¹¹⁵ L. Tepp. Statistika NSV Liidu statistikaorganisatsiooni otsealluvuses, 1948–1960, lk. 7.

¹¹⁶ L. Tepp. Statistika NSV Liidu Riigiplaani teenistuses, 1944–1948, lk. 6–8.

¹¹⁷ NSVL SKV määrus, 25. mai 1956. ERA f. R-10, n. 18s, s. 135, l. 31. Salastatud aruandlus varasema perioodi kohta on Statistikavalitsuse arhiivifondis koondatud nimistusse 18s.

võtta tarvitusele abinõud aruandluse piiramiseks. Tuli tühistada ettevõtete tsehhide igapäevane, viiepäevane ja kümnapäevane aruandlus kogutoodangu ja kaubatoodangu väljalaske kohta rahalises väljenduses ja normitundides. Nende näitajate esitamise lühimaks perioodiks pidi jääma üks kuu. Tsehhides tuli piirata tootmise mahu arvestust kaubatoodangu näitajaga, kogutoodangu arvestust tsehhides tuli teostada vaid vajalikel juhtudel. NSVL SKV pidi ühe kuu jooksul läbi vaatama ministereeriumide ja keskasutuste poolt tehtud ettepanekud üldriikliku ja ametkonnasisese statistilise aruandluse koondamiseks.¹¹⁸

N. Hruštšovi teesides, mis sätestasid rahvamajanduse nõukogude loomise põhimõtted, märgiti, et kommunistlik ülesehitustöö ilma tsentraliseeritud arvestus- ja statistikasüsteemita ei ole mõeldav. Kogu töö aruandandmete kogumise ja läbitöötamise alal pidi olema koondatud Statistika Keskvalitsuse kätte. Arvestuses ja statistikas toimuv paralleelne tegutsemine tuli likvideerida. "Tarvis on niisugust arvestuse ja statistika organiseerimist, mille juures tööstusettevõtted ja ehitused esitaksid minimaalse hulga näitajatega aruandeid üksnes NSV Liidu Statistika Keskvalitsuse organitele. Edaspidi tuleb teostada abinõusid arvestuse ja statistika tsentraliseerimiseks ka teistes rahvamajandusharudes, eriti põllumajanduses, kaubanduses ja tervishoiu alal".¹¹⁹ Statistika edukas tsentraliseerimine sai olla võimalik aga ainult arvutus- ja statistikatöö mehhaniseerimise baasil, mille tõttu tuli SKV süsteemis luua ulatuslik masinarvutusjaamade võrk.¹²⁰ Nagu eespool öeldud, masinarvutusjaam hakkas tööle 1958. aasta mais.

Seoses ametkondliku aruandluse vähendamise ja statistika tsentraliseerimisega kohustas NSVL Ministrite Nõukogu oma määrusega NSVL SKV-d kinnitama uued kärbitud statistilise aruandluse vormid tööstuse ja ehituse alal. Edasises töös pidi tähelepanu pööratama just aruandluse lihtsustamisele ja vähendamisele. Samas pidi toimuma aruandluse tsentraliseerimine, st rahvamajandusnõukogule alluvad ettevõtted ja organisatsioonid pidid oma aruandluse esitama vabariigi statistikavalitsusele. Vabariikide statistikavalitsused omakorda pidid andmed esitama rahvamajandusnõukogule ja plaaniorganitele ning NSVL Statistika Keskvalitsusele ja tööstuslikele ministereeriumidele.¹²¹ Statistilise aruandluse vormide koostamisel määras NSVL SKV vormides kasutatava üleliidulise miinimumi, kuid kohalikel statistikavalitsustel oli õigus neid täiendada vajalikuks peetavate näitajatega.¹²² Rahvamajanduse nõukogude süsteemile üleminekul muudeti NSVL SKV poolt statistilise ja raamatupidamisaruandluse esitamise korda ja tähtaegu.¹²³

¹¹⁸ NSVL SKV käskkiri, 23. oktoober 1956. ERA f. R-10, n. 11, s. 356, l. 193–199.

¹¹⁹ Tööstuse ja ehitustegevuse juhtimise organiseerimise edasisest täiustamisest. Sm. N. S. Hruštšovi ettekande teesid. Tallinn, Eesti Riiklik Kirjastus, 1957, lk. 32–33.

¹²⁰ Samas. Lk. 33.

¹²¹ NSVL SKV käskkiri, 16. september 1957. ERA f. R-10, n. 11, s. 367, l. 27–28.

¹²² Samas. L. 29.

¹²³ Vt. Rahvamajanduse nõukogude, liiduliste ja liidulis-vabariiklike ministereeriumide ja keskasutuste tööstusettevõtete, ehituste ja majanduslike organisatsioonide statistilise aruandluse uute vormide loetelu (tabel). Väljavõte lisast NSV Liidu SKV käskkirjale 2.

Masinarvutusjaama tekitamine võimaldas senises rohkem algandmestikku statistikavalitsusse koondada ja vähendada vahepealseid koondeid. Kui enne tsentraliseerimist töötles Eesti NSV SKV peamiselt ministeeriumitelt ja keskasutustelt saadud koondaruandeid, siis 1958. aastast hakkas statistika institutsioon töötlema algaruandeid, mis saadi vahetult ettevõtetest ja organisatsioonidest. Mõistagi tähendas see aruannete vormide muutmist. Mitmed tööstuse aruandevormid unifitseeriti ja likvideeriti mõned spetsiaalsed aruandevormid. Üldiselt vormide hulk ei muutunud, kuid neis sisalduvate näitarvude hulk suurenes. Seega läbis Eesti teist korda nimetatud muutuse. Statistikutel arvates oli tsentraliseerimiseelset statistilist aruandlust suhteliselt raske kõrvutada uuega sel põhjusel, et kuni tsentraliseerimiseni olid mitmetes ministeeriumites ja asutustes oma spetsiaalsed aruandevormid, millest suuremat osa kohalikule riiklikule statistikale ei esitatud, vaid töödeldi kohapeal.¹²⁴ Vabariigi statistikavalitsus pidi ettevõtete aruanded töötlema tööstusharude kaupa ja esitama koondid NSVL SKV-le, vabariigi ministeeriumidele ja plaanikomisjonile. Ettevõtete algarvestus oli seega statistikavalitsuse korraldada. L. Teppi väitel kehtis 6. septembril 1957 NSVL Ministrite Nõukogu määrusega kehtestatud statistilise aruandluse kord nõukogude perioodi lõpuni.¹²⁵

Statistilised tööd ning arvepidamine võtsid järjest suuremaid mõõtmeid, mis nõudsid kasvavat arvutusvõimsust. Masinarvutusjaamade võrku hakati arendama juba 1961. aastal. Septembris 1971 andis Eesti NSV Ministrite Nõukogu välja määruse, mis kohustas ministeeriume ja asutusi mehhaniseerima tsentraliseeritud raamatupidamise arvepidamistööd kahe järgmise aasta jooksul. Arvestuse mehhaniseerimise osakond oli ENSV SKV-s moodustatud 1960. aastal ja 1963. aastal oli see muudetud Arvestustööde Mehhaniseerimise Valitsuseks. Arvestustööde edasisel mehhaniseerimisel moodustati 1966. aastal senise Masinarvutusjaama baasil Vabariiklik Arvutuskeskus.¹²⁶

Võrreldes 1950. aastate algusega hakkas 1960. aastatel aeglaselt taastuma analüütiline töö statistikaasutustes. Ennekõike hõlmas see majandusharude kogutoodangu ja rahvatulu arvestust ning rahvaarvu loendusvahelist arvestust.¹²⁷

1970. aastate lõpus hakkas ka Eesti NSV Ministrite Nõukogu vajama statistilisi analüüse, mis tõi statistikavalitsusele juurde mitmeid ühekordseid arvestusi. 1974. aastal kinnitatud põhimääruse alusel täideti mahukamaid ülesandeid kui 1960. aasta põhimääruse järgi. Rohkem oli õigusi omaalgatuseks. SKV pidi juhtima statistilisi töid, töötlema ja analüüsima statistilist materjali, samuti materjale avaldama ning arvestuse ja aruandluse andmeid kontrollima.¹²⁸

okt. 1957. a. nr. 630. Tallinn, Riikliku Statistikakirjastuse Eesti Osakond, 1958.

¹²⁴ Aruanne NSVL MN 6. septembri 1957. a. ja 20. juuni 1958. a. määruse "Statistilise aruandluse korra ja tähtaegade muutmisest ning tsentraliseerimisest" täitmisest. ERA f. R-10, n. 22. s. 12, l. 85–86.

¹²⁵ L. Tepp. Statistika Keskvalitsus Eesti NSV Ministrite Nõukogu juures, 1960–1978, lk. 5.

¹²⁶ Samas. Lk. 7.

¹²⁷ Samas. Lk. 6.

¹²⁸ L. Tepp. Eesti NSV Statistika Keskvalitsus, 1978–1987, lk. 5.

Hakkas kujunema materiaalsete ressursside arvestus 1. jaanuari seisuga.

Kuna Eesti oli 1991. aastani osa tsentraliseeritud valitsemispõhimõtetege liitriigist ning kohalik statistika oli otse Moskva alluvuses, siis ei olnud ka kohapeal märkimisväärset otsustusõigust statistikasüsteemi osas. 1990. aastani tehti kogu metodoloogiline ja metoodiline töö NSV Liidu Statistikaakomitees, Eestis toimus vaid andmekogumine ning nende esmatöötlus. Eesti Statistika Keskvalitsus teostas loendusi, statistilisi uuringuid, ühekordseid arvutusi ja muid statistilisi töid vastavalt NSV Liidu Statistika Keskvalitsuses kinnitatud aastaplaanile. Peale üleliidulistes plaanides fikseeritud ülesannete täitis kohalik Statistika Keskvalitsus ka ENSV Ministrite Nõukogu tellimusi. Küllalt mahuka kohustusena lisandusid mitmesugused Plaanikomitee nõudel teostatud lisatöötused ning mõningates piirkondades korraldatud täiendav andmekogumine.¹²⁹

2.3. Põllumajandusstatistika

Esimestel sõjajärgsetel aastatel taastati 1940/41. aastal alustatud statistikorraldust. Naasti endiste vormide juurde, samaaegselt viidi läbi mitmeid ühekordseid arvestusi ja uuringuid.¹³⁰ Küllaltki tihti toimusid loomade üleskirjutused, mida kutsuti loenduseks.

Tolle ajajärgu põllumajandusstatistika korraldamise juhistest on säilinud eesti keelde tõlgitud NSVL Riikliku Plaanikomisjoni Statistika Keskvalitsuse instruksioon kontrollbrigaadidele loomade arvu kindlaksmääramiseks 1. jaanuariks 1944. aastal. Arusaadavalt sellel ajal Eestis tegelikult arvestust ei rakendatud, kuna nõukogude võim siia ei ulatunud. Juhise järgi tuli kontrollbrigaadidel kohe pärast majapidamisraamatute täitmist maakohtades ja loomade arvestamist linnades teha ringkäigud, et füüsilise kontrolli käigus loomad üle lugeda. Eesmärgiks oli avastada vahelejäetud või varjatud karja. Maakohtades kinnitas kontrollbrigaadi juhataja rajooni täitevkomitee, brigaadi liikmed aga külanõukogu. Brigaad pidi oma töö läbi viima 1–2 ööpäeva jooksul. Talu külastamisel pidi brigaad alguses vestluse käigus karja suuruse välja selgitama, seejärel aga karja üle lugema. Samuti tuli arvestust pidada müüdüd loomade kohta. Kahtluse korral pidi brigaad naabertaludest lisainformatsiooni küsima. Kontrollkäigu tulemused anti üle rajooniinspektorile.¹³¹ Analoogiline arvestusmeetod oli kasutusel ka pärast sõda.

Majapidamisraamatud ei olnud tähtsad ainult maaperekondade majandusliku seisuhindamisel, vaid neid kasutati sõjajärgsel perioodil ka kui üht

¹²⁹ Samas.

¹³⁰ Vt. L. Tepp. Eesti statistikorralduse kujunemine. – Eesti rahvastikuarengu raamat. Esimene väljaanne, koostanud K. Katus, A. Puur. Tallinn, EKDK, 2006, lk. 50–51.

¹³¹ Instruksioon 1. jaanuari 1944. a. karja loenduse kontrollimise brigaadidele. Tõlge. ERA f. R-10, n. 2, s. 16, l. 2–3.

allikat (ajutiselt valla territooriumil elavate isikute nimekirja kõrval) maal elava rahvastiku soovanuskoostise määramiseks valdade (hiljem külanõukogude) poolt. 1945. aasta algas sellise aruande iga-aastane koostamine valdade täitevkomiteede poolt ja esitamine Statistika Keskvalitsuse maakonnainspektorile, kes kontrollis andmete kogumise õigsust ja täpsust.¹³² Sarnaseid ühekordseid aruandeid koostati ka hilisematel aastatel. Juhis tegi vahet kolhoosnike, tööliste ja koopereerunud käsitöölise majapidamisraamatutel ning eratalupidajate ja mittekoopereerunud tootjate majapidamisraamatutel. Andmete kontrollimisel tuli soo, sünniaasta, õppimise ja töötamise kõrval erilist tähelepanu pöörata ka ühiskondlikule grupile, kuhu inimene kuulus.¹³³

Loomade arvu kohta on esimesed üleriiklikud andmed olemas 1945. aasta 1. jaanuari seisuga. Juhendi järgi pidid maakohtades loomade loenduse läbi viima kohalike täitevkomiteede inimesed, koondama majapidamisraamatutesse kantud loomad. 1945. aasta arvestuse läbiviimiseks oli Statistika Keskvalitsuse poolt kinnitatud rida aruandevorme. Näiteks vorm nr 1 “Loomade arv 1. jaanuaril 1945. a.”, mida kasutati riiklike ja kooperatiivsete majapidamiste puhul. Taludes ning tööliste-teenistujate majapidamistes, mille kohta peeti majapidamisraamatuid. Linnades pidi loomade arvestust teostama linnanõukogu koos Statistika Keskvalitsuse organitega, täites vormi nr 4. Erikorra järgi loendati Riigikaitse Rahvakomissariaadile kuuluvaid loomi. Nende andmeid Statistika Keskvalitsuse maakonnainspektoritele ei saadetud.¹³⁴ 1947. aasta juhend täpsustas protseduuri ja selle järgi lasus loomade arvu kindlaksmääramise ülesanne kohtadel maakondade ja valdade täitevkomiteede esimeestel, kes pidid tagama, et kõik majapidamised käiakse läbi ja et külanõukogude majapidamisraamatud saaksid vastavalt täiendatud. Valdade täitevkomiteede esimehed pidid esitama Statistika Keskvalitsuse maakondlikele inspektoritele aruande loomade arvu kohta üksiktalupoegade, tööliste, teenistujate ja teiste elanikkonna rühmade majapidamistes külanõukogude järgi, kooskõlas majapidamisraamatutega. Linnades toimus loendus erivormi järgi ja andmed esitati linnade inspektoritele, Tallinnas aga Linna Statistika Valitsusele. Riiklike, ühiskondlike ja kooperatiivsete majandite juhatajad pidid esitama andmed maakondade või linnade inspektoritele.¹³⁵

Majapidamisraamatutesse sissekantud andmete ning ka linnades teostatud loomade loenduste kontrollimiseks võeti ette kontrollkäike talupoegade, tööliste ja teiste elanikkonnarühmade majapidamistes. Kontrollkäikudega hõlmati umbes kümnendik kogu majapidamistest. Kui kontrollkäikudel leiti karja varjamist või

¹³² Juhend “Valdade rahvastiku soolise ja vanuselise koostise ühekordne aruanne seisuga 1. Jaanuriks 1945. a.” (vorm S) koostamiseks, lk. 3–5.

¹³³ Vt. nt. Juhend maarahvastiku vanusliku ja soolise koostise ühekordse aruande koostamiseks seisuga 1. jaanuariks 1950. a. Tallinn, Rakendustrükiste Kirjastus, 1949, lk. 3.

¹³⁴ Juhend loomade arvu kindlaksmääramise kohta 1. jaanuariks 1945. a. Trükkimisele antud 23. detsembril 1944, lk. 1–2.

¹³⁵ ENSV MN määrus nr 844, 25. oktoobrist 1946. a. loomade arvu kindlaksmääramise kohta ENSV-s 1. jaanuariks 1947. a. ERA f. R-10, n. 11, s. 35, l. 30.

suuremaid ebatäpsusi, viidi statistika keskaparaadi nõusolekul läbi kordusarvestus. 1947. aastal viidi selliseid kordusloendusi läbi 44 vallas (237-st) ja kolmes linnas. Eraldi määruse järgi teostati loomade arvestus sõjaväe territooriumil. Andmed sõjaväe käes olevate loomade kohta ei kajastunud Eesti statistika, vaid saadeti NSVL Riikliku Plaanikomisjoni voliniku eriosakonda.¹³⁶

Kuigi kolhooside majandustegevus ja loomakasvatus oli aastaaruannetega jälgitav, pidasid kolhoosides olevate loomade üle arvet ka NSVL SKV maakonnainspektorid, teatades iga kuu loomakasvatuse seisuga telegraafi kaudu posti teel Eesti NSV Statistikalitsusesse.¹³⁷ Maakonna ja jaoskonna inspektorite töö tulemusena avastati nii loomakasvatuse kui piimatoodangu arvestuse puudusi. 1950. aastal kontrollitud kolhoosidest esines ebatäpsete andmete esitamist enam kui pooltes.¹³⁸ Et kolhooside loomade arvestamine terves N Liidus probleeme tekitas, võib järeldada NSVL Ministrite Nõukogu ja ÜKP KK määrusest 2. septembrist 1951 “Abinõudest loomade arvestuses esinenud puuduste kõrvaldamiseks ja ühiskarja säilitamise kindlustamiseks kolhoosides”. 1952. aasta mais tuvastati kontrolli käigus, et Eesti NSV kolhooside loomakasvatuse aruandlus oli veiste osas tegelikkusele vastav 74 protsendis kolhoosides, sigade osas 80 protsendis ja lammaste osas 91 protsendis kolhoosides. Samas leidis kolhoose, mis ei pidanud üldse loomade üle arvestust.¹³⁹

Loomade arvestusest veelgi küsitavama tulemusega oli põllumajandus- ja saakide arvestamine, kuna aja jooksul vastavad meetodid muutusid. Üheks probleemiks on erinevate kaalumismeetodite kasutamine. Nõukogude statistika poolt kasutatud nn “punkrikaal” andis koguseliselt tulemuseks suurema näitaja kui “aidakaal”, sest esimesel juhul kaaluti vilja enne puhastamist ja sorteerimist. 1954. aastani kasutusel olnud saagi määramise meetodid aga eirasid täielikult tegelikult saadud saaki ja hindasid tulemust koristamata saagi järgi.

Sõjajärgses Eestis levinud juhistes saagi hindamiseks rakendati 1940. aastast pärit külanõukogudele määratud aruandlusvormi “Aruanne teraviljade, tehniliste kultuuride ja heinte saagi hinnanguist talumajapidamistes”. Eesti NSV Statistika Keskvalitsus võttis selle aluseks, et 1946. aasta saagimääramise kord ja tähtajad kindlaks määrata. NSVL Rahvakomissaride Nõukogu korraldusega oli lubatud teha hinnanguid saakide kohta üks kord aastas iga saagikultuuri kohta eraldi tähtajal. Saagi hindamisel tuli kasutada nn faktilisi saagiandmeid. “Põllumajanduslikkude kultuuride faktiliseks saagiks ühelt ha-lt arvatakse saak kõrrel-juurel, mis määratakse ligikaudu 1 nädal enne selle kultuurigrupi koristamise algust. Saak määratakse kvintalites.”¹⁴⁰ Edasi sätestas juhend: “Saagihindamisel kategooriliselt on keelatud kasutada saaki, mis saadakse peksmisel – ‘aida saak’. Peksul saadud saak ehk aida saak nagu teda ka

¹³⁶ Samas. L. 4, 13, 30p.

¹³⁷ ENSV Statistikalitsuse käskkiri, 21. august 1950. ERA f. R-10, n. 11, s. 11, l. 117.

¹³⁸ ENSV Statistikalitsuse käskkiri, 5. september 1950. ERA f. R-10, n. 11, s. 11, l. 122.

¹³⁹ ENSV Statistikalitsuse käskkiri, 24. juuni 1952. ERA f. R-10, n. 11, s. 110, l. 80.

¹⁴⁰ Tähtaegadest ja töökorrast saagimääramisel talumajapidamistes Eesti NSV-s 1946. a. Eesti NSV Statistika Keskvalitsuse väljaanne, lk. 1.

nimetatakse, on vähem faktilisest saagist, sellevõrra, kuivõrd kõik kõrrelvalmiv saak ei sattu mitte aita ega saada kätte peksmisel; peksul saadud ehk aida saak on vähem faktilisest saagist kadude võrra, mis tekivad koristamisel, säilitamiseks hakkides või rõukudes peksmisel ja jääb õlgedesse ja peadesse jne. Kõik saagihindeid teostajad, nagu külanõukogud, vallataitevkomiteed, agronoomid, Statistika Keskvalitsuse inspektorid jne. peavad arvestama ainult faktilisi saagi andmeid”.¹⁴¹

Sellise saagimääramise süsteemiga püüti vältida saagi varastamist. Nii arvestati saagi hulka ka koristamisel tekkivad kaod, tulemusena hektarilt saadud saaki suuremana näidates. Tegelikku saaki ei suudetud kindlaks teha. Saagiandmete esitamiseks tuli kasutada vorme nr 3 (külanõukogude, valla täitevkomiteede ja maakondade osakondadele), 1-e, 2-e, 3-e (NSVL Riikliku Plaanikomisjoni Statistika Keskvalitsuse inspektoritele saagisuse kontrollhinnangute tegemiseks) ja 4-e (maakonna inspektoritele saagi hinnangute sissekandmiseks).¹⁴²

Saagihindamine kohtadel oli pandud külanõukogudele, kes omakorda saatsid kogutud andmed valla täitevkomiteele. Valla täitevkomiteed pidid koostama terve valla koondi, millest kaks eksemplari saadeti edasi maakonna maaosakonnale. Viimane oli kohustatud kontrollima valdadest saadud andmeid ja andma hinnangud kõigi kultuuride saakide kohta, edastades need SKV maakonna inspektorile. Maaosakonna hinnangute täpsust pidi kontrollima SKV jaoskonna inspektor. Kontrollhinnanguid pidi tehtama 5–15 protsendis valla majapidamistest.¹⁴³ Juhiseid anti välja ka külvide teostamise ja külvipindade suuruse kontrollimiseks.¹⁴⁴

Seda, kuidas nn faktilise saagi andmete kasutamine põllumajandusstatistikale mõjus, on lähemalt analüüsinud Evald Laasi. Peamiselt väljendus see olulises saakide ülehindamises saagimääramise inspektorite poolt, nii et saadud tulemus võis tegelikult koristatud saagist tunduvalt suurem olla.¹⁴⁵ Võib arvata, et eratalupidajate viljatoodangu üle muud kokkuvõtlikku arvestust ei peetud, mis teeb nende aastate saakide suuruse uurimise raskeks. Kolhoosides pidanuks tegeliku saagi statistika eksisteerima, kuid tegelikkus oli pigem vastupidi. Samas, kuni 1954. aasta keskpaigani kehtis NSVL Rahvakomissaride Nõukogu ja ÜK(b)P KK määrus 6. detsembrist 1942. aastast, mis keelas NSVL Riiklikul Plaanikomisjonil ja NSVL Põllutöö Rahvakomissariaadil koguda andmeid tegeliku viljapeksu kohta kolhoosides. Nimetatud määrus tühistati alles koos

¹⁴¹ Samas.

¹⁴² Samas.

¹⁴³ Samas. Lk. 2–3.

¹⁴⁴ Juhis Statistika Keskvalitsuse inspektoritele lõpulikest külvitulemustest 1946. a. lõikuseks ja sordikülvide pindade arvestuse teostamiseks 1946. a. Eesti NSV-s. Statistika Keskvalitsuse väljaanne. Tallinn, 1946; Juhis vorm nr. 17-a “Lõpparuanne külvipindadest 1947. a. lõikuseks” täitmiseks talu töölis-teenistujate ja muude elanikgruppide majapidamises Eesti NSV-s. Statistika Keskvalitsuse väljaanne. Tallinn, 1947.

¹⁴⁵ Vt. E. Laasi. Mõnedest korrigeerimist vajavatest arvudest, avaldamata artikkel sarjast Eesti NSV TA Toimetised. Ühiskonnateadused, 1971, nr 2, lk. 164–165.

saagimääramise institutsiooni kaotamisega.¹⁴⁶

Nn faktiliste saagiandmete kasutamine kestis kuni 1954. aastani, kui NSVL Ministrite Nõukogu määrusega 5. juulist kehtestati uus külvipindade ja saakide arvestamise kord. Ühtlasi likvideeriti 1. augustist 1954 saagimääramise inspeksioon ja NSVL Põllumajanduse Ministeeriumi rajoonidevahelised saagimääramise riiklikud inspeksioonid. Inspeksioonidest vabanevaid inimesi tuli kasutada kolhoosides, sovhoosides ja MTJ-des. Edaspidi pidi kehtima tegeliku saagi kogumise arvestus.¹⁴⁷ See aga ei tähenda, et oleks kasutatud nn aidakaalu. Statistika Keskvalitsuse inspektorid pidid kolhoosidelt saama väljavõtte aastaaruandest külvipindade ja saagi kohta ning neid ka kontrollima. Teraviljakultuuride arvestamine aastaaruannetes toimus jätkuvalt nn punkrikaalus, st arvestati puhastamata ja sorteerimata vilja.

Kehtestati ka uued põllumajanduskultuuride saagi kogumise aruandluse vormid: kolhoosidele vorm nr 29 “Aruanne teravilja, tehniliste kultuuride, köögiviljade, söödakultuuride ja kartuli toodangu kogumise üle”, NSVL Sovhooside Ministeeriumi, NSVL Toidukaupade Tööstuse Ministeeriumi ja NSVL Liha- ja Piimatoodete Tööstuse Ministeeriumi sovhoosidele vorm “Aruanne teravilja, tehniliste kultuuride, aedviljade, söödakultuuride ja kartuli toodangu kogumise üle” ja MTJ-dele vorm nr 14 “Aruanne teravilja, tehniliste kultuuride, aedvilja, söödakultuuride ja kartuli kogumise üle”.¹⁴⁸ Kuigi arvestati n-ö tegelikku saaki, koostati siiski jooksvaid aruandeid ka loodetava saagi kohta.

Siiski ei saa väita, et edaspidi arvestati saake instruksioonikohaselt. Kontrollides kolhoosides, MTJ-des, sovhoosides ja SKV rajooni-inspektuurides teraviljakultuuride ja heina tegeliku koristamise arvestust seisuga 15. september 1954, tegi Eesti NSV Statistikalitsus kindlaks, et enamikus rajoonides oli teravilja ning eriti heinte arvestus halvas seisukorras. Kombineeritud koristatud pindala ei mõõdetud alati üle, vaid määrati “silma järgi”.¹⁴⁹ Kõigis kontrollitud kolhoosides oli koristatud hein arvele võtmata.¹⁴⁹

Esimised Eesti NSV kolhooside aastaaruannete täitmise juhendid pärinevad 1948. aastast.¹⁵⁰ Aastaaruanded tuli esitada rajooni põllumajandusosakondadesse. Rajoonide põllumajandusosakonnad pidid nende põhjal koostama rajooni koondaruande, eelnevalt kontrollides esitatud andmeid ja kõrvutades neid varasemate aastate või NSVL SKV poolt esitatud andmetega. ENSV Põllumajandusministeerium tegi koondaruande terve Eesti kohta, mis esitati NSVL Põllumajandusministeeriumi kolhooside osakonnale ja vabariiklikule statistikavalitsusele. Põllumajandusministeeriumis tehtav andmete analüüs tähendas tulemuste võrdlemist varasemate aastatega. Kuna Eestis

¹⁴⁶ Vt. NSVL Statistika Keskvalitsuse käskkiri nr 311, 7. juuli 1954. ERA f. R-10, n. 11, s. 231, l. 51.

¹⁴⁷ Samas. L. 49–50.

¹⁴⁸ Samas. L. 51.

¹⁴⁹ ENSV Statistikalitsuse käskkiri nr 602, 30. september 1954. a. ERA f. R-10, n. 11, s. 23, l. 139.

¹⁵⁰ Vt. NSVL SKV juhised ja kolhooside 1948. a koondaruanded. ERA f. R-10, n. 11, s. 72.

varasem kolhoosikogemus puudus, tuli võrdluseks võtta N Liidu eesrindlikke kolhoose. Eesti tasemele tehtud koondaruanne pidi sisaldama ka selgitav-kirjeldavat tekstilist osa.¹⁵¹ Aastaruanded koos Eesti kolhooside kirjeldustega on olemas Statistikaavalitsuse arhiivifondis.

Sovhooside statistiline aruandlus oli alates esimestest sõjajärgsetest aastatest suhteliselt sarnane ettevõtete raamatupidamisaruandlusele. Seda tõestab näiteks Eesti NSV Sovhooside Ministeeriumi sovhooside aastaruannete vormide loetelu 1946. aastast, mis sisaldas järgmisi aruandeid: lõpubilanss; kasumi ja kahjumi kokkuvõte; aruanne põhivahendite arvu ja muutuse kohta; saaduste realiseerimise ja kasutamise aruanne; teated töötajate arvu ja töötasu fondi kohta; kaadrite ettevalmistuse aruanne; lasteaeade ülalpidamise aruanne; elamu kommunaalmajanduse aruanne; lisakulude aruanne; põhikirjalise fondi muutmise aruanne; kõrvaltöõnduse aruanne; aruanne energetika kohta; aruanne taimekasvatussaaduste omahinna kohta; aruanne loomakasvatussaaduste omahinna kohta; karja käibe aruanne; karja tõuline koosseis; ehitustööde teostamise aruanne; kapitaalremondi teostamise aruanne; kulutused kapitaal-mahutusteks ja eriüritusteks ning nende finantseerimiseks; inventariseerimise kokkuvõtted (põhivahendite olem).¹⁵²

Üks võimalus põllumajandustoodangu arvestamiseks oli varumisorganisatsioonidest läbikäinud toodangu mõõtmine. 1956. aastal, seoses NSVL Liha- ja Piimatööstuse Ministeeriumi määrusega, korregeeriti karja ja piima arvestamise aruandlust. Selle järgi pidi SKV rajooniinspektor iga kolhoosist äraantud toodangu aruande saama ka varumisorganisatsioonidelt. Vastavalt juhendile tuli põllumajandussaaduste varumist ja kokkuostu arvestada momendist, kui nad tegelikult laekusid varumisorganisatsioonide ladudesse. Ettekirjutused tehti samuti madalamakvaliteedilise toodangu arvestamise kohta, nt prügi ja niiskuse mahaarvamiseks vilja kaalust.¹⁵³ Rajooniinspektor pidi saama varumisorganisatsioonidelt aruande iga kümne päeva tagant. Asja tegi keerukaks see, et kolhooside tegevusvabaduse laiendamise käigus oli neile antud luba asendada mingi plaanis ettenähtud toodanguliik mõne muu toodanguga (näiteks anda vilja asemel loomi), vastavalt kehtestatud ekvivalendile. Arvutused selle kohta, kui suur oli põhisaaduse asendamine mingi teise saadusega, jäid aga rajooniinspektori teha.¹⁵⁴

Seoses loobumiseega statistilistest vahekokkuvõtetest 1958. aastal kehtestati majandite põllumajandussaaduste arvestamiseks uued vormid ja juhendid, mis mõistagi muutusid detailsemaks. Näiteks ainuüksi taimekasvatuse kohta eksisteeris 22 erinevat aruannet. Mõnda neist tuli esitada iga kuu. Muuhulgas olid sellised prognoosivad aruanded nagu "Aruanne põllumajandus-

¹⁵¹ NSVL Põllumajandusministeeriumilt vabariiklikele ja liidulistele põllumajandusministeeriumitele. 3. jaan 1949. ERA f. R-10, n. 11, s. 7, l. 4–5, 8.

¹⁵² Vt. ENSV Sovhooside Ministeeriumi sovhooside 1946. a. aastaruanded. ERA f. R-10, n. 11, s. 23, l. 1.

¹⁵³ NSVL SKV-lt statistikavalitsustele 2. märts 1956. ERA f. R-10, n. 11, s. 356, l. 59, 62–63.

¹⁵⁴ Samas. L. 71–73.

kultuuride loodetavast saagist¹⁵⁵. Enamus aruannetest tuli esitada NSVL SKV rajooniinspektorile, teised otse statistikavalitsusele, kolmandad kõrgemale oma ametkondlikku liini pidi. Põllumajanduskultuuride saagi kogumise aruandevormis, mis esitati kolhooside ja sovhooside poolt NSVL SKV rajooniinspektorile kord aastas, arvestati pekstud vilja tsentnerites punkrikaalus. Viljapeksmisel viljapeksumasinatega arvestati kõik pekstmisest saadud terad enne täiendavat puhastamist ja sorteerimist (kaasa arvatud II ja III sordi vili ja teravilja jäätmed). Lina, kanepi ja suhkrupeedi toodang tuli näidata füüsilises, mitte arvestuskaalus. Aruandesse kantavad andmed koristatud pindade ja saagi suuruse kohta pidid olema tõendatavad arvestusdokumentidega (koristamise ja viljapeksupäevikud kolhoosides, söötade vastuvõtuaktid jne). Kartulite osas arvestati kõigi mugulate kogumist – suuri, väikesi, kolhoosnikele ja teistele kartulivõtmise eest antud, samuti järelnopitud kartuleid. Aruanne saagi kohta tuli majandi juhil esitada SKV rajooni-inspektorile isiklikult päev pärast aruande koostamist.¹⁵⁶

Hilisemad juhendid jätavad põllukultuuride statistilise aruandluse sisuliselt samaks. Käesolevas raamatus esitatud andmeridades on teraviljakultuuride saakide puhul aastate 1955–90 kohta kasutatud Statistikaameti poolt punkrikaalust aidakaalu ümber arvutatud andmeid.¹⁵⁷ Vastavat uurimust ning arvutusi aastate 1945–54 kohta tehtud ei ole.

Põllumajandusstatistika usaldusväärsuse ja täpsuse paranemises nõukogude perioodil ei saa kindel olla. 1960. aastate alguses märkis Eesti NSV SKV mitmeid põllumajandusliku tootmise aruandlusega manipuleerimise juhusid ja avastatud juurdekirjutusi. Levinumad olid karja arvu ja selle tootlikkuse kunstlikult suuremana näitamine ja haritava maa pindala mittetäielik arvestamine. Näiteks kolhoosi lihatoodangu plaani täitmist suurendati elanikkonnalt ostetavate elusloomade arvel, kuigi loomad müüdi hiljem riigile edasi. 1960. aastal oli selliseid juhtumeid mitmetes kolhoosides. Ainuüksi Võru lihakombinaat oli seotud 13 juhtumiga, kus oli tegemist kolhoosile väljakirjutatud fiktiivsete vastuvõtukviitungitega, millega oleks pidanud üle antama üle saja tonni loomi eluskaalus.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ Kolhooside, sovhooside, RTJ-de ja MTJ-de statistilise aruandlusvormide album ja juhend nende täitmiseks. Tallinn, Riiklik Statistikaamet, 1959, lk. 8.

¹⁵⁶ Kolhooside, sovhooside, RTJ-de ja MTJ-de statistilise aruandlusvormide album ja juhend nende täitmiseks. Tallinn, Riiklik Statistikaamet, 1959, lk. 66–67, 69.

¹⁵⁷ Vt. Eestis kasvatatud tera- ja kaunviljakultuuride külvipind, kogutoodang ja saagikus (aidakaalus) 1955–1990.a. Tallinn, Eesti Statistikaamet, 1991.

¹⁵⁸ Aruanne Eesti NSV Statistika Keskvalitsuse olukorrast arvestuse alal 1961. ERA f. R-10, n. 22, s. 12, l. 126–127.

2.4. Tööstusstatistika

Sõja ajal ja vahetult sõjajärgsel perioodil olid majandustegevuse arvestamiseks kasutusel ettevõtete lühendatud igakuised aruanded plaanitaitmise kohta ("1-ap"). Need olid kinnitatud NSVL Riikliku Plaanikomisjoni Statistika Keskvalitsuse poolt juba 1939. aastal. Nendes oli välja toodud toodangu maht nii väärtuselises (jooksvates hindades ning N Liidu 1926/27. aasta püsihindades) kui mahu väljenduses. Arvestust peeti ka ettevõtte personali ja töötasu kohta. Kuuaruanded on siiski säilinud vaid väikese hulga ettevõtete kohta.¹⁵⁹ G. I. Baklanov märgib oma raamatus, et aastatel 1940–41 viidi N Liidus läbi statistiliste aruandluse vormide revideerimine.¹⁶⁰ On raske hinnata, kui suurel määral enne sõda uusi vorme Eestis jõuti rakendada. 1939. aasta vormide kasutamine näitab, et osaliselt olid endised aruandevormid veel kasutusel.

30. novembril 1944 kinnitas NSVL SKV tööstusosakond üleliidulise väiketööstuse loenduse organisatsioonilise plaani. Eesmärgiks oli kindlaks määrata sõjategevusest vabastatud alade tööstuse seisund.¹⁶¹

Tööstusettevõtete statistilise aruandluse võib jagada kahte liiki – aasta-põhiseks ning operatiivseks ehk omaaegse nimega konjunktuurseks. Viimane käis nii kuu- ja dekaadi- kui ka igapäevaste aruannete kohta. Operatiivaruandlus edastati peamiselt posti ja telegraafi teel. Igakuiseks aruandeks plaanitaitmise ja peamiste töötulemuste näitajate esitamiseks oli tööstusettevõtetele määratud tüüpvorm "1-p", mis tuli esitada oma kõrgemalseisvale asutusele, statistika-valitsusele ja linna või maakonna statistika inspektorile. Tööjõuplaani täitmise igakuine aruandlus toimus tüüpvormi "2-p" alusel. Tüüpvormi "3-p" kasutati omahinna plaani täitmise arvestamiseks. Lisaks olid veel eraldi vormid ehitusmaterjalide tootmise, väiketööstuse ja artellide kohta. Kõiki neid edastati posti teel nii statistikaorganitele kui ka ametkondlikult kõrgemale asutusele. Telegraafi teel edastati aruandeid ainult kõrgemalseisvale asutusele, seda näiteks päeva ja dekaadi jooksul toodetud peamiste kaupade koguse ja sortimendi kohta.¹⁶²

Tööstusettevõtete perioodiliste aruandevormide täitmiseks oli Statistika Keskvalitsuse tööstusosakond andnud instruksiooni 16. detsembrist 1943. Tüüpvorme "1-p" "2-p" ja "3-p" pidid täitma kõik tööstusettevõtted. Vormis "1-p" tuli ettevõtte kogutoodang näidata rahaliselt N Liidu 1926/27. aasta püsihindades. Kogutoodang määrati nn tehase meetodil, arvestades kõikide tsehhide toodangut (valmistoodang, poolfabrikaadid, detailid). Mõningate toodanguliikide puhul (nt masinaehituses, metsakasutuses, turbatööstuses ja viinatööstuses) arvestati ka lõpetamata toodangu kasv või kahanemine kogu-

¹⁵⁹ Vt. Ettevõtete kuuaruanded 1944. ERA f. R-10, n. 2, s. 8.

¹⁶⁰ G. I. Baklanov. Tööstusstatistika. Tallinn, Eesti Riiklik Kirjastus, 1953, lk. 28.

¹⁶¹ Üleliidulise väiketööstuse loenduse organisatsiooniline plaan. ERA f. R-10, n. 2, s. 12, l. 10.

¹⁶² Tööstusettevõtete perioodilise aruandluse vormid. ERA f. R-10, n. 2, s. 12, l. 43–44.

toodangu sisse.¹⁶³ Tüüpvormi "1-p" alajaotuses tuli ära näidata ka peamiste toodanguartiklite ja poolfabrikaatide koguseline toodang. Andmed tuli esitada nii valmistoodete kui ka poolfabrikaatide kohta, sõltumata sellest, kas nad läksid edasisele töötlemisele või kasutati samas ettevõttes tootmise otstarbel. Praaki ei arvestatud.¹⁶⁴

Sellest võib järeldada, et nende ettevõtete tegevuse kohta, mis esitasid kuuaruandeid, oli nii rahvakomissariaatidel (ministeeriumitel) kui ka statistika-asutustel olemas informatsioon tootmistevõime kohta. Valmistatud toodangu kvantiteet näidati ära vähemalt kord kuus, kuigi tõenäoliselt esitas suurem osa ettevõtetest seda veelgi tihedamini, sest kasutusel olid ka kümne päeva ja viie päeva toodangu aruandlusvormid. Samas leidub märke sellest, et operatiivne perioodiline aruandlus vähemalt esimestel nõukogude statistika taasjuurutamise aastatel ei toiminud täpselt vastavalt võimude soovile. 1944. aasta lõpus viidi Tallinnas asuvatele ettevõtetele sisse igapäevane aruandlus toodangu üle, kuid isegi tööstuslikel peavalitsustel oli raskusi nii tiheda intervalliga aruannete edastamisega rahvakomissariaadile. Samas, kümnapäevane aruandlus 1945. aastal väidetavalt toimus.¹⁶⁵ Kuigi n-ö dekaadipõhiseid aruandeid esitati mõnedes tootmisharudes ka hiljem, sai valdavaks kuupõhine perioodiline aruandlus.

NSVL Statistika Keskvalitsuse jaoks koostati koondaruanded. Selle tarvis olid välja töötatud koondaruandevormid "T-1", "T-2" ja "T-3", vastavalt kogutoodangu väljendamiseks 1926/27. aasta püsihindades, toodangu koguse ning tööliste arvu ja tööaja kasutamise kohta.¹⁶⁶ 29. juuni 1942. aasta instruksiooni kohaselt võis koondaruandevorme "T-1" ja "T-2" kasutada nii oblastite kui vabariikide tööstuse koondaruande esitamiseks.¹⁶⁷

Eraldi juhendid ning aruandevormid olid aastaaruannete esitamiseks. Juhendid kinnitati igal aastal uuesti. Aastaaruandele lisati enamasti seletuskiri aasta jooksul ettevõtte majandustevõimust enam mõjutanud asjaolude ning tegevuse tulemuste kohta. NSVL Rahanduse Rahvakomissariaadi ja NSVL Riikliku Plaanikomisjoni Statistika Keskvalitsuse poolt käskkirjaga antud instruksioonid tööstusettevõtete aastaaruannete täitmiseks olid kohe 1944. aastal Eestis rakendamisel. Kui täielikult oli suudetud aruandlus sisse viia, on teadmata.¹⁶⁸ Samuti oli rakendatud instruksioon tööstusettevõtete 1944. aasta aastaaruannete töötlemise kohta. Selle kohaselt tuli 1944. aasta tööstusettevõtete aruanded ja väiketööstuse loenduse andmed töödelda NSVL Riikliku Plaanikomisjoni volinikel ehk kohalikel statistikaasutustel. Neil tuli koostada

¹⁶³ Instruksioon tööstusettevõtete kuuaruannete tüüpvormide 1-p, 2-p ja 3-p täitmiseks. ERA f. R-10, n. 2, s. 12, l. 65.

¹⁶⁴ Instruksioon tööstusettevõtete kuuaruannete tüüpvormide 1-p, 2-p ja 3-p täitmiseks. ERA f. R-10, n. 2, s. 12, l. 75–76.

¹⁶⁵ Vt. Kohaliku Tööstuse rahvakomissari määrus. 27. oktoober 1945. ERA f. R-12, n. 3, s. 7, l. 129–130.

¹⁶⁶ Tööstusettevõtete perioodilise aruandluse vormid. ERA f. R-10, n. 2, s. 12, l. 44.

¹⁶⁷ Instruksioon koondaruandevormide T-1, T-2 ja T-3 kasutamise kohta oblastites ja vabariikides. ERA f. R-10, n. 2, s. 12, l. 47.

¹⁶⁸ Vt. ERA f. R-10, n. 2, s. 12, l. 132.

suurtööstusettevõtete nimekiri ning eraldi nimekirjas välja tuua ettevõtte, mis 1944. aastal ei tegutsenud. Eraldi oli olemas aruandevorm tööstustoodangu koguseliseks väljendamiseks.¹⁶⁹ Suurtööstusettevõtteks loeti instruksiooni järgi vähemalt 16 töötajaga ettevõtet, kui tehasel oli kasutada mootoreid, ja vähemalt 30 töötajaga ettevõtet, kui mootoreid ei olnud. Tööstuslikele rahvakomissariaatidele allunud ettevõtteid kuulusid suurtööstuse hulka olenemata töötajate arvust.¹⁷⁰ 1944. aasta instruksioonis mainitud aruandevormid olid kasutusel ka järgnevatel aastatel. Teatud aruandevormidele pöörati rohkem tähelepanu. Peamiseks kontrollimeetodiks märkis instruksioon võrdluse eelneva aasta andmete ning jooksva aruandlusega.¹⁷¹

Toodangu koguseline arvestamine aastaaruandes toimus üldise raamatupidamis põhise aruandluse sees. Viimane koosnes reast aruandevormidest, mille hulk võis vastavalt ettevõtte profiilile erineda. Pärast sõda rakendati Eesti tööstuses järgmist aastaaruandlusvormide põhistruktuuri:

- vorm nr 1 – põhitegevuse bilanss (põhi- ja käibelt eraldatud vahendid, aktiivpassiva, valmistoodang ja lõpetamata toodang rahalises väljenduses);
- vorm nr 2 – aastaaruande lisa (toodete ja teenuste realisatsioon, amortisatsioon, üldtootlikud kulud, põhi- ja täiendav töötasu);
- vorm nr 3 – lasteaiakulud;
- vorm nr 5 – tootmiskulud;
- vorm nr 6 – turutoodangu omahind;
- vorm nr 7 – omahinna kalkulatsioon;
- vorm nr 8 – toodang (kogutoodang ettevõtte plaanimismeetodi järgi 1926/27. aasta püsihindades; lõpetatud tooted koguse järgi, st toodanguartiklite nimekiri ja toodang füüsilistes ühikutes);
- vorm nr 9 – tööjõu plaani täitmine (töölise arv ettevõttes kokku, sh õpilasi, insener-tehnilist personali ja teenistujaid; kõigi tööliste poolt tehtud inimtööpäevade arv aastas (tuhandetes päevades); aasta keskmine toodang töölise kohta rublades püsivhindades; aasta keskmine töötasu; töötasufondi koosseis);
- vorm nr 19 – elamu-kommunaalmajanduse aruanne;
- vorm nr 20 – tulemusbilanss (kasum ja kahjum);
- vorm nr 21 – ettevõtete ja tööstuste nimekiri (tähtsamate toodete nimetused ja mõõtühikud);
- vorm nr 22 – kütte bilanss;
- vorm nr 24 – elektrienergia bilanss;
- vorm nr 25 – seadmete koosseis;

¹⁶⁹ Tööstusettevõtete aastaaruannete ja väiketööstuse loenduse materjalide töötlemise instruksioon 1944. ERA f. R-10, n. 2, s. 12, l. 1.

¹⁷⁰ Samas. L. 2–3.

¹⁷¹ Samas. L. 4.

vorm nr 26 – põhinäitarvud sideasjanduse kohta.¹⁷²

Toodangu koguse näitamine toimus vormis nr 8, milles loeti üles toodetud artiklid ning vastavalt nende kogused. Oluline on siiski silmas pidada, et toodangu kogus tuleb välja ka teistes vormides, näiteks omahinna kalkulasioonis, kus oli esitatud toodangu väärtuse ja koguse suhe. Aruande täitmise juhis andis täpsemaid juhtnööre selle kohta, milliseid toodangu liike arvestati kogutoodangu hulka ning kuidas arvestati poolfabrikaate, tellija toorainest valmistatud toodangut jne.¹⁷³ 1945. aasta aruandevormide hulka kuulus ka lisa sõjategevusest tekkinud kahjude hindamiseks.¹⁷⁴ Sellist aruandevormide ja juhendite süsteemi järgiti ka edaspidi, kuigi juhend ning vormid kinnitati NSVL Rahandusministeeriumi ja NSVL Riikliku Plaanikomisjoni Statistika Keskvalitsuse poolt igal aastal uuesti ja vormide sisus võis toimuda väiksemaid muutusi.¹⁷⁵

Seisuga 1. jaanuar 1947 pidi toimuma üleliiduline tööstusarvestus. Sarnane arvestus oli toimunud ka 1946. aastal. Arvestusi korraldati NSVL Rahvakomissaride Nõukogu juures oleva Majandusnõukogu 1939. aasta 20. aprilli määruse alusel. Eesmärgiks oli kõigilt aastaaruandeid mitteesitavalt ettevõtetelt andmete saamine, mis koos aastaaruande materjalidega oleks võimaldanud täielike andmete saamist kogu N Liidu tööstuse kohta. Arvestus oli eeskätt mõeldud väikeettevõtete loendamiseks, kuid laienes ka neile suureettevõtetele, mis ei olnud kohustatud aastaaruandeid esitama.¹⁷⁶ Ettevõtete nimestikust olid välja jäetud siseministeeriumi ettevõtted, mida pidi loendatama erijuhendi alusel.¹⁷⁷ Loendamisele kuulus kogu ettevõtte toodang koguse ja väärtuse järgi: valmistooted, poolfabrikaadid ja edasiseks töötlemiseks mõeldud toodang.¹⁷⁸ Kummalisel kombel oli Eesti NSV arvestuse juhendis ära toodud ka kolhooside juures olevate tööstusettevõtete loenduseks mõeldud vormi nr 5 juhised,¹⁷⁹ kuigi 1947. aasta alguses ei olnud kolhooside massiline moodustamine veel alanud.

Väiksemad muutused vormides olid võimalikud aastate lõikes, kuna igal aastal kinnitati NSVL Rahandusministeeriumi ja SKV poolt ettevõtete

¹⁷² Tööstusettevõtete aastaaruanded 1945. a. tegevuse kohta. ERA f. R-10, n. 9, s. 22, l. 6–24.

¹⁷³ Vt. Juhend tööstusettevõtete 1945. a. aastaaruande vormide täitmise korra kohta (põhitegevuse alal). Kinnitatud NSVL Rahanduse RK ja NSVL RPK Statistika Keskvalitsuse poolt 10. IX 1945. a. Tallinn, Rakendustrükiste Kirjastus, 1946, lk. 16–24.

¹⁷⁴ Samas. Lk. 32.

¹⁷⁵ Vt nt Juhend tööstusettevõtete 1947. a. aasta-aruande vormide täitmise korra kohta (põhitegevuse alal). Tallinn, Rakendustrükiste Kirjastus, 1948, lk. 3.

¹⁷⁶ Organisatsiooniplaan üleliidulise tööstusloenduse korraldamiseks Eesti NSV-s seisuga 1. I. 1947. NSVL Riikliku Plaanikomisjoni Statistika Keskvalitsuse Tööstusosakonna väljaanne. Lk. 3.

¹⁷⁷ Samas. Lk. 6.

¹⁷⁸ Samas. Lk. 13–14.

¹⁷⁹ Samas. Lk. 21.

aastaruannete nomenklatuur uuesti. Eraldi kinnitati need kohaliku alluvusega ettevõtetele (rajoonide ja linnade alluvuses, oblastite ja kraide alluvuses) ja tööstuskooperatiividele. Põhitegevuse aruandluse kohta kehtisid tüüpvormid, spetsiaalsed vormid olid loodud vastavalt tööstusharude spetsiifikale.¹⁸⁰ Rahvamajandusnõukogu aastatel toimus, nagu varemgi, tööstusettevõtete aastaruannete ja igakuiste toodanguplaani täitmise aruannete kontrollimine, mis viidi läbi statistikavalitsuse töötajate poolt.¹⁸¹

Statistilise aruandluse piiramiseks anti välja määrus ebaseadusliku aruandlusega võitlemise kohta. NSVL Ministrite Nõukogu määrusega 28. aprillist 1964 tehti vabariiklike statistikakeskvalitsuste juhtidele ülesandeks korraldada kontroll ettevõtetes, kolhoosides, sovhoosides, ehitustel jne, vältimaks ebaseaduslikku aruandlust ja arvestust.¹⁸² Eesmärgiks oli paralleelse statistilise arvestuse vähendamine. Olgu öeldud, et Eesti NSV Statistika Keskvalitsus oli statistilistes vormides kasutatavate aruandluse näitajate vähendamist soovitavate ettepanekutega pöördunud NSVL Statistika Keskvalitsuse poole juba 1960. aasta keskel. Näiteks soovitati pikendada statistiliste aruannete esitamise intervalli 17 tööstusettevõtet ja 25 põllumajandust ning varumist puudutava aruandlusvormi puhul. ENSV SKV tõi põhjenduseks statistilise aruandluse suure kasvu. Ettepanek esitati koos vabariikliku rahvamajandusnõukogu, Põllumajandusministeeriumi, Kaubandusministeeriumi ja teiste asutustega.¹⁸³

Aruandluse piiramine, eriti nn ebaseadusliku ehk statistikavalitsusvälise aruandluse keelamine, võis kujuneda statistilises töös takistuseks, mida ka 1960. aastate teisel poolel statistikud tunnistasid. Samas, SKV koormus rahvamajanduse andmete kogumisel ja töötlemisel tõusis pidevalt. 1950. aastate lõpust tehti tööjõuresursside, tootmise, tarbimise, toodangu jaotamise jms bilansside iga-aastaseid arvutusi. 1970. aastatest alates koostati majandusharudevahelisi bilansse.¹⁸⁴

2.5. Statistika kvaliteet

Pole kahtlust, et võrreldes Eesti Vabariigi perioodiga majandusstatistika usaldusväärsus nõukogude okupatsiooni tingimustes langes. Mitmed puudused, mis alguses võisid olla tingitud üleminekusituatsioonist, sõjast vms, kippusid

¹⁸⁰ Vt. NSVL SKV määrused 1960. a. kohta. ERA f. R-10, n. 9, s. 1216.

¹⁸¹ Vt. Tööstusharude aruandluse kontrollimise materjalid 1958 ja 1959 kohta. ERA f. R-10, n. 9, s. 1178.

¹⁸² NSVL Statistika Keskvalitsuse määrus 28. aprill 1964. ERA f. R-10, n. 9. s. 1259, l. 93–94.

¹⁸³ Aruanne Eesti NSV Statistika Keskvalitsuse olukorrast arvestuse alal. ERA f. R-10, n. 22. s. 12, l. 121.

¹⁸⁴ L. Tepp. Eesti statistika ajaloost. Statistika Keskvalitsus Eesti NSV Ministrite Nõukogu juures, 1960–1978. – Eesti Statistika, 2001, nr. 12, lk. 8.

säilima rahuajal. Lisaks sellele, et sotsialistlik majandussüsteem mõõtis mitmeid majandusprotsesse omapäraselt ja erinevalt rahvusvahelisest süsteemist, kasvõi näiteks ebafunktsionaalsest hinnasüsteemist tulenevalt, genereeris süsteem endasse paratamatult moonutuse. Moonutuste tekkimise põhjusena tuleb arvestada asjaolu, et statistikal oli nõukogude süsteemis märkimisväärne kontrollifunktsioon plaani täitmise üle, mis omakorda mõjutas uute plaanide koostamist ja ressursside jagamist. Viimast silmas pidades võib eeldada, et motivatsioon andmete moonutamiseks oli olemas madalamal, st ettevõtte tasandil. Riigivõim lisis omalt poolt salastatuse, mis tegi sisuliselt kvaliteedianalüüsi võimatuks.

Kogu nõukogude majandusstatistika ette ebausaldusväärseks kuulutamine või isegi mittekasutatavaks ei oleks aga õige. Seetõttu tuleks jõudumööda selgitada, milliseid andmeid ja milliste mõõndustega võib kasutada. Käesolevas väljaandes on keskendunud peamiselt toodangu mahunäitajatele, eeldades, et vastavate andmete tekkimine oli läbipaistvam ja kergemini kontrollitav kui rahalises või muus väljenduses mõõdetavatel näitajatel.

Osa põllumajandusstatistika ebatäpsusi on teada. Nagu eespool kirjeldatud, kehtis kuni 1950. aastate keskpaigani saagimääramise süsteem, mis suurendas näitajaid tunduvalt ja tegi täiesti võimatuks tegelike teravilja- ja kartulisaakide hindamise. Asjakohasemad andmed põllukultuuride saakide kohta on olemas alles 1955. aastast.¹⁸⁵ Selle perioodi teabe usaldusväärsus paranes seetõttu, et kolhoosides ja riiklikes majandites peeti arvestust nii tegeliku toodangu kui ka selle realiseerimise kohta, mida varem ei tehtud, ning vähenes erapõllumajanduse osakaal, kus toodangu hindamine oli vähem korraldatud. Mõningaid hinnanguid teravilja- ja kartulitoodangu kohta kuni 1955. aastani on võimalik teha külvipindade järgi, kasutades ligikaudseid saagikuse näitajaid.

Koduloomade ja -lindude koguarv, mida praegu kättesaadav nõukogudeaegne statistika pakub, on tõenäoliselt suhteliselt täpne. Loomade arvestus toimusid sõjajärgsel ajal regulaarselt. Arvestada tuleb siiski loomade varjamist, mida esines ulatuslikumalt vahetult sõjajärgsetel aastatel. Nagu eespool kirjeldatud, püüti kontrollmeetmetega varjamisi avastada, kuid kontrollle viidi läbi pisteliselt, mis jätab siiski ruumi teatavateks ebatäpsusteks.

Hoopis raskem on aga välja selgitada loomsaaduste toodangu andmetäpsust ja eratootmises arvestamata jäänud saaduste hulka. Kuigi nõukogude statistika tegi arvestusi eratootmise kohta, tuleks loomsaaduste toodangu andmete kasutamisel, eriti kuni 1960. aastateni, arvestada alakaetusest tulenevate kõikumistega. Vastavaid andmeid 1960.–70. aastate kohta on siiski piisavalt usaldusväärseks peetud näiteks väliseestlaste poolt Eesti NSV-s toimunud erapõllumajanduse osakaalu analüüsimiseks.¹⁸⁶

Tööstustoodangu koguselise toodangu statistika õigsuse hindamine on osalt lihtsam kui põllumajandustoodangu oma. Esiteks, tööstustoodangu koguse

¹⁸⁵ Vt. Eestis kasvatatud tera- ja kaunviljakultuuride külvipind, kogutoodang ja saagikus.

¹⁸⁶ Vt. E. Järvesoo. Private Enterprise in Soviet Estonian Agriculture. Baltic Scientific Conference. Stockholm, 1973.

puhul oli kaheldava väärtusega meetodite (vrld. saagimääramine) kasutamine ebatõenäolisem. Paljude kaupade tootmine erasektoris enamasti puudus, mistõttu toodangu kaudseks hindamiseks vajadust ei olnud. Teiseks, kui jätta kõrvale kvaliteedi küsimus, siis toodangu koguselisel mõttmisel suuri probleeme ei saanud tekkida, kasutusel olid traditsioonilised ühikud – tükk, tonn, ruutmeeter, jne. Veelgi enam, kuna turumajandusele omane toimiv hinnasüsteem puudus, oligi vajalik nii planeerimisel kui plaanitäitmise kontrollimisel kasutada just mahunäitajaid. Vastasel juhul võis juhtuda, et ettevõtte hakkas tootma rahaliselt tulusamat, kuid samas plaani järgi mittevajalikku kaupa. Koguselise ja rahalise toodangu üle peeti raamatupidamislikku arvestust, näiteks oli iga kauba toodangumaht seotud omahinna arvestusega. Toodangu mahuline arvestus oli seetõttu sees nii operatiivses kui aastaaruandluses. Kui võtta arvesse, et tulevase plaaniperioodi tootmismahut oli tavaliselt seotud jooksva perioodi mahuga, on ebatõenäoline, et ettevõtte tasandil mahunäitajatega vassimist massiliselt ette tuli. Seda eriti hilisematel kümnenditel, kui pidevalt korraldati seadmete ja ressursside arvestust, uuriti ülejääke ja toorainete varusid ning analüüsi ettevõtete rentaablust.¹⁸⁷

Tööstustoodangu andmeridade puhul tekib mitmeid küsimusi, mis ühelt poolt on seotud aruandluse täpsusega ja teiselt poolt kaetusega. Näiteks statistika andmetel oli nii malmi- kui terasevalu toodang kuni 1955. aastani alla 500 tonni aastas. Tõenäoliselt oli siiski informatsioon malmivalu toodangumahtude kohta 1954. aastani halvasti kogutud või arvestati osade ettevõtete toodang alluvuse tõttu väljaspool Eestit toodetuks, vahetarbimise sisse või jäi see mingil muul moel väljaspoole arvestust. Korraliku aruandluse puudumine kuni 1960. aastani paistab silma ka rõivatööstuse toodangu arvestamises.

Probleemid on hoopis teravamad toodangu kvaliteedi hindamisel. Näiteks, kuigi me teame, et Eestis NSV-s toodeti tsementi rohkem kui Eesti Vabariigis, on raske öelda, kas erinevatel aegadel toodetud tsement oli oma kvaliteedilt samaväärne. Eesti Vabariigis võidi madalakvaliteedilist toodangut kogutoodangu hulka mitte arvestada, kuna seda ei saanud turustada, Nõukogude Eestis aga oli olukord pigem vastupidine. Mitmete statistiliste aegridade puhul tuleb toodangu kvaliteedierinevusi ja sellest sõltuvaid asjaolusid meeles pidada.

Jättes kõrvale kvaliteediprobleemid, on Eesti NSV aegsete andmete võrdlemine eelneva ja järgneva perioodi andmetega ikkagi mitmes kohas keerukas. Üheks põhjuseks on tootmise erinev korraldus. Kui Eesti Vabariigis toimis mitme tööstusharu (nt toiduainete, rõivakauba) puhul väiketootmine, mis jooksvasse statistikasse ei jõudnud, siis ENSV-s analoogne tootmisvorm enamasti puudus või oli marginaalne. Samuti toimis Eesti Vabariigis aktiivne ühistegevus, mis alati statistikas ei kajastunud, samas kui Eesti NSV-s sellist raskestihinnatav tootmisvormi ei olnud. Ühtse andmerea koostamine põhjustaks seega Eesti Vabariigi tootmismahutude alaarvestust võrreldes Eesti NSV perioodiga. Näiteks puidu väljavedu metsadest arvestati Eesti Vabariigi

¹⁸⁷ Vt. Tepp. Eesti statistika ajaloost. Statistika Keskkvalitsus Eesti NSV Ministrite Nõukogu juures, 1960–1978. – Eesti Statistika, 2001, nr. 12, lk. 8–9.

perioodil vaid riigimetsade kohta ja välja jäi erametsade osakaal, mis oli kahtlemata suur. Taasiseseisvumisjärgse perioodi kohta on olemas raiemahud, mida aga väljaveoga otseselt seostada ei saa. Sarnaste probleemide tõttu ei ole ühildatavad ka toiduainetetööstuse ja tarbekaupade tootmise aegread.

Ära võib märkida veel mitmeid probleemküsimusi, mis Eesti NSV statistika käsitlemisel esile kerkivad. Näiteks ei tea me kuigi palju siinsetel sõjaväelistel territooriumidel toimunud tootmistegevusest ja selle arvestusest. Umbes samasuguse probleemi tõstatab liidulise alluvusega tehaste olemasolu ja on raske väita, et nendes toodetu sajabrotsendiliselt Eesti statistikas kajastamist leidis. Probleemne on transpordi- ja sidestatistika tõlgendamine. Näiteks raudtee veosekäibe mõõtmise meetodid ning nende järjepidevus Teisest maailmasõjast kuni 1992. aastani on jäänud ebaselgeks (veosekäibe arvestamisel võeti väidetavalt arvesse ka väljaspool Eestit teostatud veod, kasutades arvestuseks keskmisi veokaugusi¹⁸⁸). Loomulikult on nende näitajate korrigeerimine Eesti territooriumile vastavaks raskendatud.

¹⁸⁸ Vt. Eesti Statistikaamet. Transport. Side 1996. Tallinn, 1997, lk. 13.

III

Klesment, Martin (2008). Estonian Agricultural Production Data: An Interpretation through Comparison. *Acta Historica Tallinnensia*, 12 (1), 145–162.

ESTONIAN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION DATA: AN INTERPRETATION THROUGH COMPARISON*

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This article is about Estonian agricultural production data series from 1920 to 2000. The data are used for international comparisons. The author assumes that possible errors in the statistics of Soviet years, such as unrealistic agricultural yields, may be exposed if the data are used for international comparisons. Also, the author attempts a simple agricultural output aggregation and speculates with the figures of Estonian agricultural labour force after World War II.

Measuring agricultural production of the 20th century Estonia is not an easy task due to serious shortcomings in historical statistics. The largest problem is the Soviet period which produced statistical data of questionable quality¹ and this appears as a major impediment to historical research in general. Agriculture is no exception here. Estonian agriculture during the Soviet years has been dealt with in many works.² However, none has concentrated on creating long-term comparable

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¹ Soviet statistics and its reliability have been widely discussed by economists and historians throughout several decades. To mention only a few of the important works in this category: **Gerschenkron, A.** The soviet indexes of industrial production. – Review of Economics and Statistics, 1947, 29, 4; **Bergson, A.** The Real National Income of Soviet Russia since 1928. Harvard UP, Cambridge, 1961; **Davies, R. W. et al.** The Economic Transformation of the Soviet Union, 1913–1945. CUP, Cambridge, 1994. Statistical problems of the Soviet system are also present in the discussion on historical national accounts of the Soviet bloc. See **Marer, P. et al.** Historically Planned Economies. A Guide to the Data. The World Bank, Washington, D.C., 1992.

² See for instance **Ekbaum, A.** Destruction of Independent Farming in East Europe. Estonian Information Centre, Stockholm, 1949; **Järvesoo, E.** Progress despite collectivization: agriculture in Estonia. – In: **Ziedonis, A. et al.** (eds). Problems of Mininations. Baltic Perspective. California State University, San Jose, 1973; **Järvesoo, E.** Die Estnische Landwirtschaft während der Sowjetperiode 1945–1972. – Acta Baltica, 1974, XIII; **Laasi, E.** Mõnedest korregeerimist vajavatest arvudest. Manuscript for Eesti NSV TA Toimetised. Ühiskonnateadused, 1971, 2; **Poom, E.** The productivity of collective and private enterprise in agriculture. A comparative study of soviet and Estonian achievements. – In: Societas Litterarum Estonica in Svecia. Stockholm, 1949; **Purre, A.** Soviet Farming Failure Hits Estonia. Estonian Information Centre, Stockholm, 1964; **Purre, A.**

data series. The latter is due to lack of consistent statistical data. Some agricultural production series of Soviet Estonia have been corrected later by statisticians,³ but the accuracy of the data still needs testing. This article compares Estonian agricultural output series from 1920 to 2000 with five other countries. The author believes that comparisons help to expose large-scale errors in statistical data which is the main purpose of the present article. The secondary purpose is to offer some thoughts for analysis of agricultural development in Estonia using a comparative perspective. From the analytical aspect, there are serious gaps in available data, such as investment in agriculture that make fully acceptable comparisons impossible at this point. However, the present focus is on the organisation and consistency of available data. Comparison countries are Finland, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.⁴

A short note on Estonian agricultural profile should be presented first. Estonian agriculture of the 20th century evolved mainly around grain and potato production as well as animal husbandry (dairy farming and pig breeding). Debates on specialisation of agriculture occurred notably in the interwar period, characterised as competition between extensive and intensive farming. While grain production was the traditional field of agriculture, it was mostly related to extensive use of land. Dairy farming as a more intensive way of farm production was advocated by many and ideologically supported by examples of Danish agricultural success. Estonian agriculture of the interwar period has been analysed by Anu-Mai Kõll.⁵ Post-World War II agricultural politics is not as easy to outline and this will not be done here. The problems of agricultural production under Soviet rule are well known. Farming during the 1950s was seriously undermined by the collectivisation campaign, but after reorganisations relative success was achieved during the 1960s and 1970s.⁶ It is difficult to assess how efficient collective farming in Estonia became, whether it was actually developing towards more intensive production

Die Landwirtschaft Estlands im Rahmen der allgemeinen Agrarpolitik der Sowjetunion. – *Acta Baltica*, 1966, V; **Taagepera, R.** Soviet collectivization of Estonian agriculture: the taxation phase. – *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 1979, X, 3; **Taagepera, R.** Soviet collectivization of Estonian agriculture: the deportation phase. – *Soviet Studies*, 1980, XXXII, 3; **Kõll, A.-M.** Tender wolves. Identification and persecution of kulaks in Viljandimaa 1940–1949. – In: **Mertelsmann, O.** (ed.). *The Sovietization of the Baltic States, 1940–1956*. Kleio, Tartu, 2003; **Mertelsmann, O.** *Der stalinistische Umbau in Estland. Von der Markt- zur Kommandowirtschaft*. Verlag Dr. Kovač, Hamburg, 2006; **Vint, E.** *Intensiivse põllumajanduse majanduslik efektiivsus Eesti NSV-s*. Valgus, Tallinn, 1971.

³ Eestis kasvatatud tera- ja kaunviljakultuuride külvipind, kogutoodang ja saagikus (aidakaalus) 1955–1990. a. Eesti Statistikaamet, Tallinn, 1991.

⁴ Choice of foreign countries is made on the basis of geographic proximity, agricultural profile and data availability. All foreign statistics are from **Mitchell, B. R.** *International Historical Statistics. Europe 1750–2000*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2003.

⁵ **Kõll, A.-M.** *Peasants on the World Market. Agricultural Experience of Independent Estonia 1919–1939*. Almqvist & Wiksell, Stockholm, 1994.

⁶ About the discussion on Estonian agriculture after World War II and for an overview of Estonian economy during the Soviet rule see **Klesment, M.** *The Estonian economy under soviet rule: a historiographic overview*. – *Journal of Baltic Studies*, forthcoming.

or remained extensive. Something can be said on the basis of crop yields and output/labour ratios presented in this paper, but these are not conventional productivity estimates. Agricultural labour force decreased substantially after regaining independence which should indicate that large-scale farming was inappropriate for a small country's transitional economy. This meant decreasing output volumes. Also, lower yields are not uncommon, because of lesser amounts of chemical fertilisers used.⁷

The discussion in this article relies heavily on information presented in the form of graphs. Many assumptions made in the text are interpretations of included graphs.⁸

GRAIN AND POTATO OUTPUT

Average land used for grain and potato growing as well as their average output and yields in Estonia over decades are expressed in Table 1. There is a significant gap in the series between 1940 and 1955, because the revised post-World War II crop growing data begin in 1955. The relevant statistics from 1941 until 1954 is considered unreliable to be used at the moment.⁹ However, there are

Table 1. Average grain and potato production in Estonia 1920–1999

Area: 1000 hectares; crop: thousands of tons; yield: hundredweights per hectare ¹⁰												
	Rye			Wheat			Barley			Potato		
	Area	Crop	Yield	Area	Crop	Yield	Area	Crop	Yield	Area	Crop	Yield
1920–1929	151.0	155.1	10.3	24.4	24.2	9.9	120.1	112.9	9.7	67.9	706.0	103.9
1930–1939	146.7	196.0	13.3	57.0	67.3	11.9	100.7	100.0	9.9	73.3	912.3	125.0
1955–1959	96.9	88.4	9.1	61.4	52.4	8.8	57.0	51.7	9.1	94.4	1033.8	109.4
1960–1969	76.4	98.9	13.2	26.3	35.5	13.9	134.5	230.3	16.4	87.3	1283.6	148.5
1970–1979	40.7	75.9	18.3	37.1	78.3	21.0	234.6	470.0	19.9	75.7	1207.7	159.4
1980–1989	55.1	113.7	20.5	34.8	76.0	21.9	265.5	554.6	21.0	62.1	924.8	149.3
1990–1999	42.8	90.8	20.2	44.7	87.5	20.4	207.4	370.7	17.7	39.8	517.6	130.0

Calculation based on: **Klesment, M., Valge, J.** (eds). Eesti rahvastiku majandustegevuse näitarve XX sajandil. EKDK, Tallinn, 2007.

⁷ The transition of agriculture has been dealt with in **Jørgensen, H.** Continuity or Not?: Family Farming and Agricultural Transformation in 20th Century Estonia. Umeå University, Umeå, 2004.

⁸ All graphs have the same sources: foreign data are from **Mitchell, B. R.** International Historical Statistics. Europe 1750–2000; Estonian agricultural production data are from **Klesment, M., Valge, J.** (eds). Eesti rahvastiku majandustegevuse näitarve XX sajandil. EKDK, Tallinn, 2007; all Estonian population related data are from Table 3.

⁹ This has been described in **Klesment, M., Valge, J.** (eds). Eesti rahvastiku majandustegevuse näitarve XX sajandil, 30–36.

¹⁰ Average yields are based on annual data, not area and crop averages.

estimates for this period made by historians on the basis of archival documents.¹¹ Smaller crop cultures have been excluded in this paper, therefore the total arable land is not presented.

Average area of crops should be observed to follow the changes in plant growing, which can be summarised as follows. During the eighty years, rye fields in Estonia diminished three times, wheat area fluctuated but stayed generally lower than rye fields, and barley fields approximately doubled. Acreage for potato increased during the post-war decades compared to the interwar period, but decreased later. For grain and potatoes, traditional unit of yield measurement in Estonia has been hundredweight (100 kilograms), though tons are more common lately.

Obviously it is neither acreage nor total output which provide a basis for comparison, but yield per hectare. This indicator is important not only for estimating the efficiency of crop growing, but also assessing the reliability of statistical data. It is practical to assume that Soviet statistics of product output was more likely to be upward biased, not downward. If yields per hectare in post-WWII Estonia would have been substantially higher than those in, say, Denmark, the possible explanation would be biased data. Since the Estonian interwar grain yields were below of those in Denmark, one would not expect them to exceed Denmark's results during the post-WWII period, unless any radical agricultural techniques were adopted in Estonia. On the other hand, if yield figures of Estonia were fluctuating in parallel with other countries' figures, it could be an indication of similar climatic influence on yields (weather conditions as a variable is not considered in this article), which would support the credibility of the Estonian data. Thus comparisons may be of some assistance when organising available data and checking for consistency of figures.

Yield dynamics of crops in all comparison countries can be followed on respective graphs of this article. For each grain type and potato, two graphs have been composed. One which plots absolute numerical figures of yield per hectare (Figs 1–4), and another that employs the country's 1920–1939 average yield as an index base to measure post-WWII development. The latter (which will be called relative yield growth) demonstrates how well each country has improved against its own previous level (Figs 5–8). This has been done to decrease, at least to some extent, the regional differences in comparisons.¹²

The graphs suggest that Estonian grain and potato yields, in absolute terms, generally stayed relatively low in comparison to more successful countries. Whether this was due to climate, soil or agrotechnical techniques used, cannot be discussed here. Differentiation between countries is less evident during the interwar years and more pronounced in the post-WWII period, when some countries (Denmark, Sweden, and Czechoslovakia) show considerably higher yield levels. This should

¹¹ See **Mertelsmann, O.** *Der stalinistische Umbau in Estland, 187–196.*

¹² Index based graphs use data series that are calculated as 3-year moving average of absolute yield figures. This is used to decrease the intensity of periodical fluctuations.

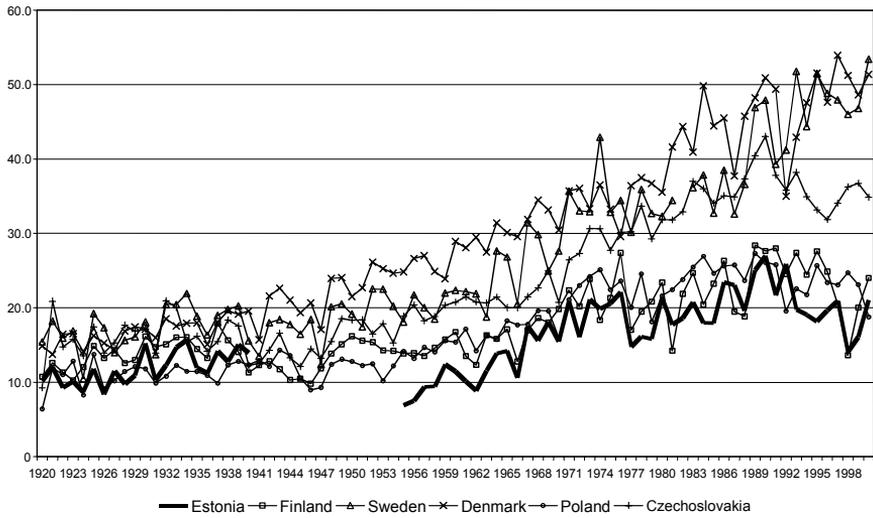


Fig. 1. Rye yield per hectare (hundredweights).

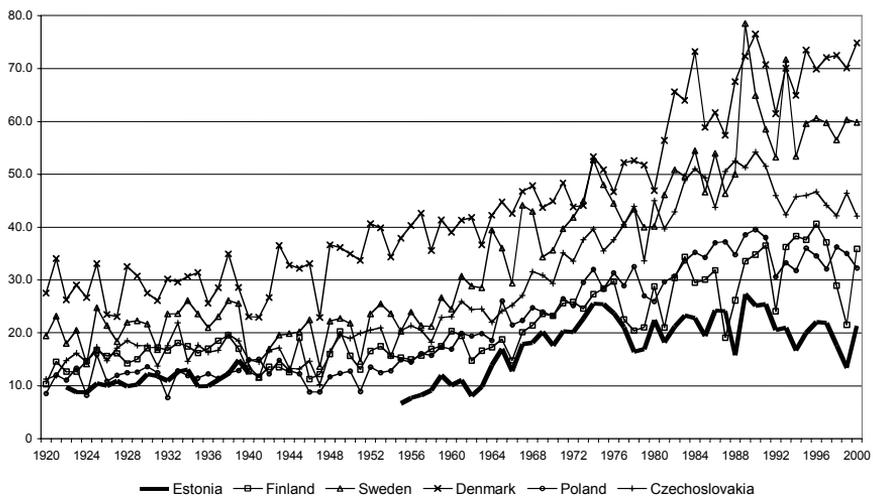


Fig. 2. Wheat yield per hectare (hundredweights).

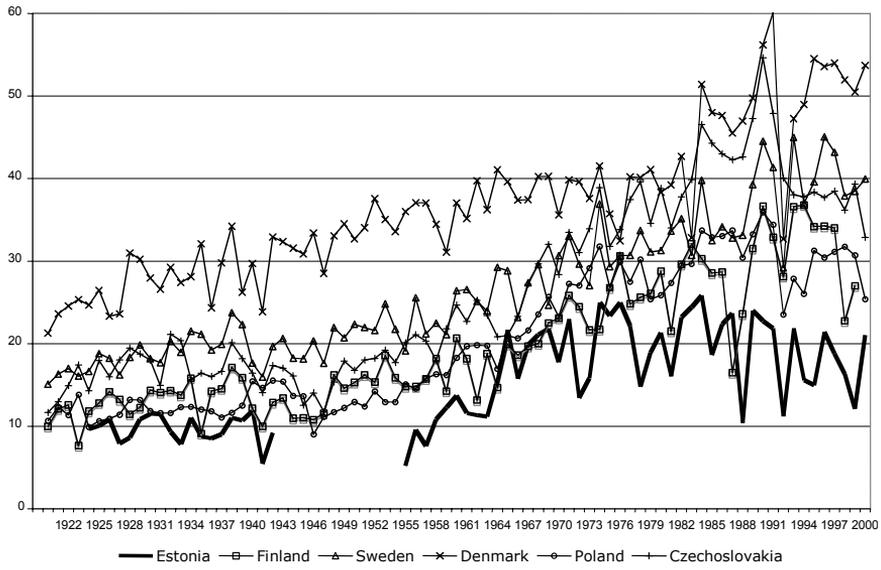


Fig. 3. Barley yield per hectare (hundredweights).

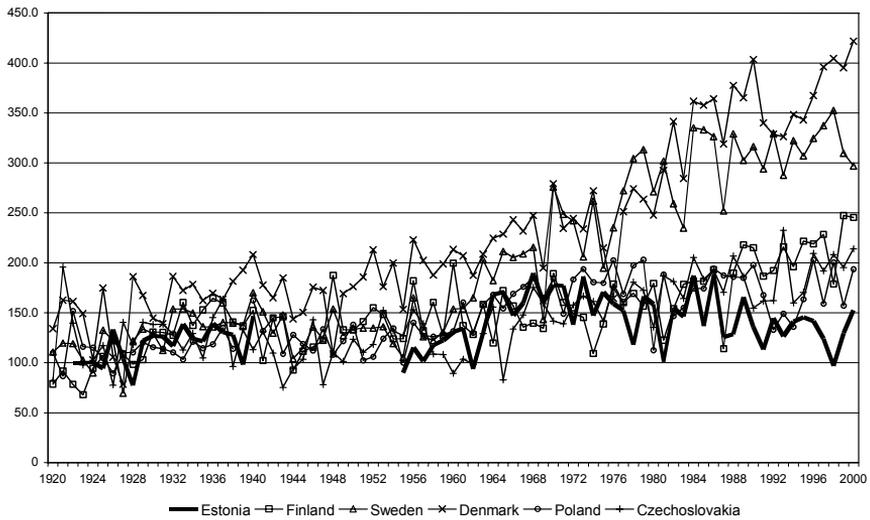


Fig. 4. Potato yield per hectare (hundredweights).

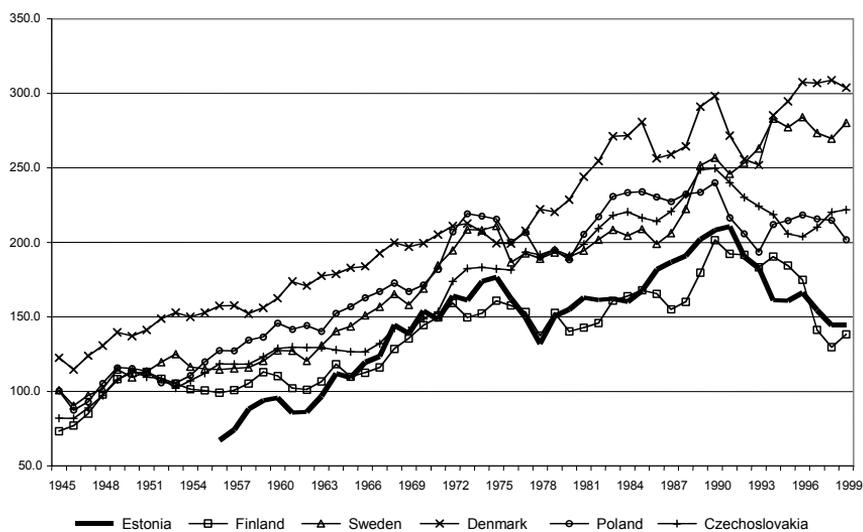


Fig. 5. Relative growth of rye yield (average yield of 1920–1939 = 100).

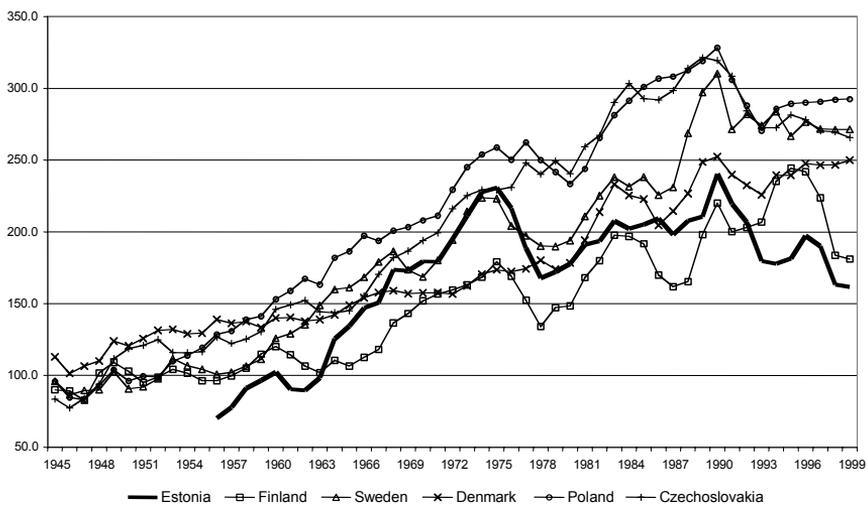


Fig. 6. Relative growth of wheat yield (average yield of 1920–1939 = 100).

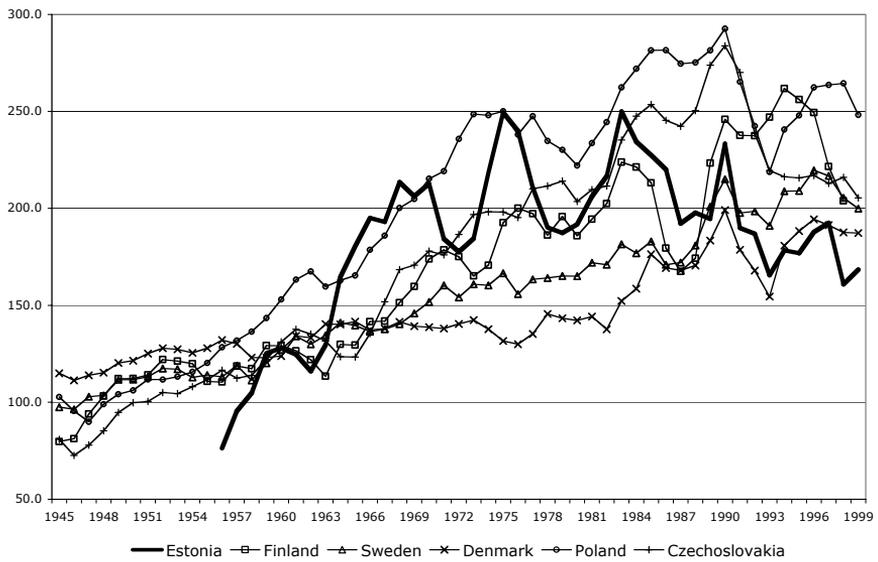


Fig. 7. Relative growth of barley yield (average yields of 1920–1939 = 100).

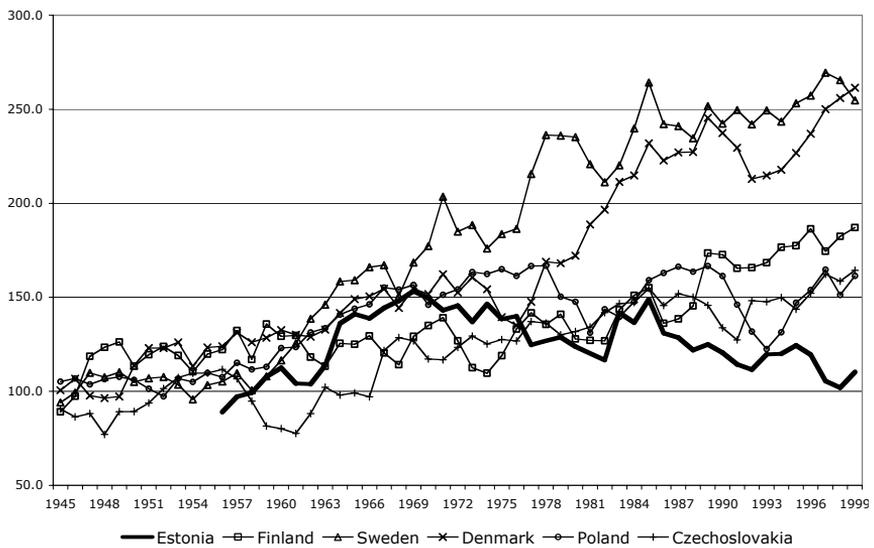


Fig. 8. Relative growth of potato yield (average yield of 1920–1939 = 100).

not be regarded as an indicator of productivity, because this simple output/land ratio does not include other costs of production such as labour. However, it shows that some countries were consistently able to achieve higher yields per land unit as time elapsed.

In order to make this comparison a bit fairer, regarding possible soil and climatic differences, benchmarking should be made in every country's own perspective and not in absolute terms. That is, a country's progress during the post-WWII period must be compared to the country's average results in the interwar period. The results are presented in Figs 5–8. If the comparison is made this way, Estonian grain and potato yield growth in the post-WWII period seems more competitive with other countries.

It also shows that Estonian grain yields in 1955 were considerably below the interwar average. Other countries restored their average interwar level sooner, which suggests that it was not unfavourable weather conditions that kept Estonian yields low. As Mertelsmann describes, Estonian grain yields had been falling mainly during the first half of the 1950s.¹³ The lowering yields coincided with the first years of collective farming, a period that was soon reported as being destructive to agriculture.¹⁴ However, since the mid-1950s there is a general improvement of grain yields and this has been related to reorganisation of collective farm system and the liquidation of machine-tractor stations.¹⁵ Also, extensive use of chemical fertilisers is regarded as one factor that caused rapid yield growth in the 1960s. It is more difficult to explain why rye, wheat and potato yields dropped in the 1970s. The graphs indicate that the same happened in other countries as well. For instance, the rye yield trend is quite similar in Estonia and Finland, the wheat yield trend in Estonia is also quite close to the Finnish and Swedish trend. This would suggest that there may be other reasons than institutional constraints (collective farming) behind decreasing Estonian yields, but of course it is not possible to identify them without considering other variables (use of fertilisers, local weather conditions).

Although the recovery from the low point of the 1950s was relatively rapid, yield growth in the long term was less impressive than in some comparison countries. While Denmark, for instance, was able to triple its rye yields, Estonia only doubled; wheat yields in Poland and Czechoslovakia reached over 300% of the interwar average, Estonia remained below 250%. One noticeable improvement for Estonian grain production concerned the barley yield, which periodically (creating a rather hectic trend) reached 250% of the interwar average. Estonian post-WWII potato yields peaked at approximately 150% of the interwar average. Compared to Sweden or Denmark this was a modest improvement.

¹³ **Mertelsmann, O.** *Der stalinistische Umbau*, 193–194.

¹⁴ See for example **Purre, A.** *Soviet Farming Failure Hits Estonia*. It should be noted that later even Soviet publications admitted poor agricultural performance in the mid-1950s. See **Vint, E.** *Intensiivse põllumajanduse majanduslik efektiivsus Eesti NSV-s*, 168.

¹⁵ See **Purre, A.** *Die Landwirtschaft Estlands im Rahmen der allgemeinen Agrarpolitik der Sowjetunion*.

It would probably be safe to state that in terms of land-saving techniques Estonian agriculture has not been a serious contestant to those comparison countries that managed to substantially increase their yield per hectare. As for the statistics, there does not seem to be any large upward bias in the post-WWII grain and potato yield figures, if judged by relative yield growth. The credibility of figures is probably fostered by the dynamics of yield per hectare numbers that demonstrate the same, presumably climate dependent, fluctuations as in other countries (note the decline in rye and wheat yields in the 1970s, which occurred quite simultaneously in Estonia, Sweden and Finland). It is the heavy fluctuation of Estonian barley yield that remains somehow out of context.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Assessment of animal husbandry output data is more complicated than that of crop growing, due to wider possibilities of product specialisation (for instance, cattle breeding specialising either in milk or meat makes comparisons of output per cattle unit difficult). Therefore, this can be only examined to a limited extent here. It seems reasonable to present these data as ratio of production to inhabitants, because the absolute number of animals in a country is not informative for international comparisons. Production data of milk and meat per capita are presented in Figs 9 and 10. Speaking of animal husbandry, the Estonian trend to enhance dairy farming is quite evident during both the pre- and post-WWII period, but during the latter period it is accompanied by significant growth in pig breeding.

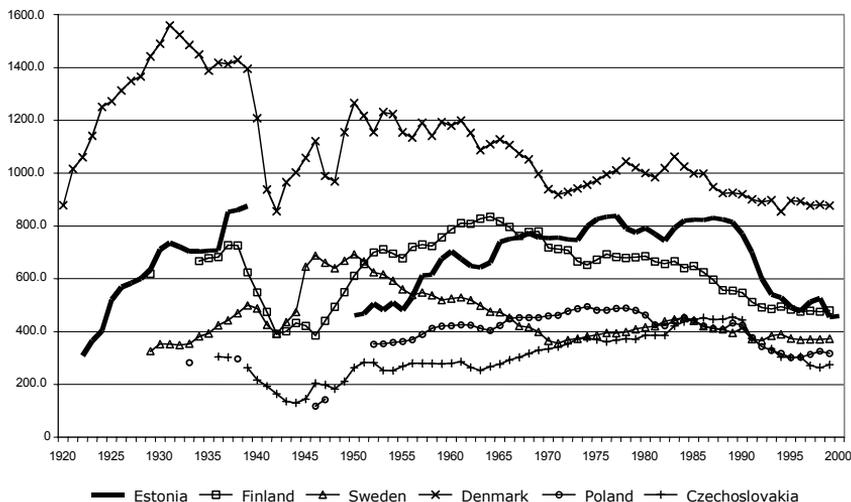


Fig. 9. Milk output per capita (kg).

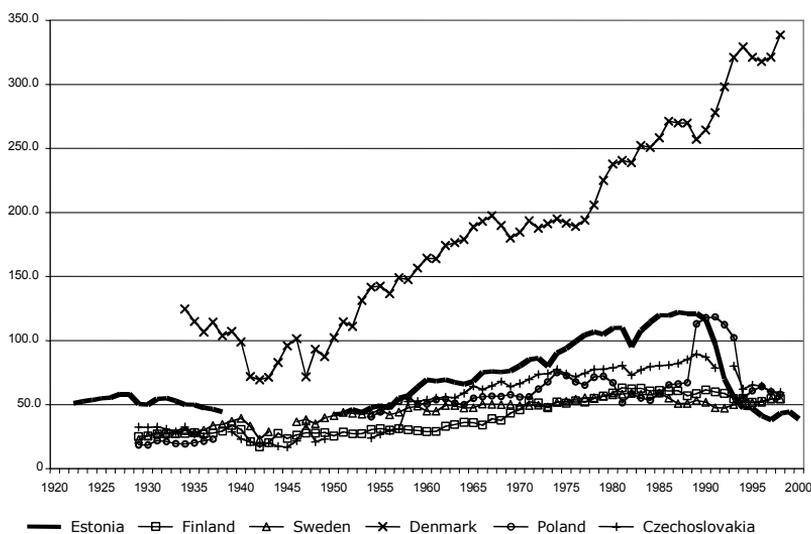


Fig. 10. Meat output per capita (kg).

While the number of cattle in Estonia per inhabitant exceeded that in Denmark in the 1980s for a short period, milk output per capita always stayed behind (see also Table 2). Yet, the increasing animal husbandry production was probably one reason why even authors in exile started speaking about the relative success of collective farming in Estonia during the 1960s and 1970s.¹⁶

Table 2. Average milk output per cattle unit (tons)

	Estonia	Czechoslovakia	Finland	Denmark	Poland	Sweden
1920–1929	1.0	1.5
1930–1939	1.2	...	1.3	1.7	...	0.8
1950–1959	1.4	0.8	1.6	1.7	1.3	1.7
1960–1969	1.6	0.9	1.8	1.6	1.3	1.6
1970–1979	1.4	1.2	1.8	1.6	1.3	1.7
1980–1989	1.5	1.3	1.9	1.9	1.4	2.0
1990–1999	1.9	1.5	2.1	2.2	1.7	1.9

Calculation based on: **Klesment, M., Valge, J.** (eds). Eesti rahvastiku majandustegevuse näitavate XX sajandil. EKDK, Tallinn, 2007; **Mitchell, B. R.** International Historical Statistics. Europe 1750–2000. Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2003.

¹⁶ See **Järvesoo, E.** Progress despite collectivization: agriculture in Estonia. – In: **Ziedonis, A. et al.** (eds). Problems of Mininations. Baltic Perspective; **Järvesoo, E.** Die Estnische Landwirtschaft während der Sowjetperiode 1945–1972.

AGGREGATED PLANT AND ANIMAL PRODUCTION

It is obvious that the composition of overall agricultural production varied throughout the years, therefore it is not easy to estimate the change in general agricultural output by using the series of single products. Market economies use prices to aggregate different products. For Soviet type economies this is more complicated due to the lack of real market prices. For agriculture, it is possible to aggregate by energy content of products, which is an interesting intellectual exercise but, due to varying consumer preferences (towards low-calorie food), not a very practical application. For instance, specialisation on milk and meat production will yield lower calorie output than concentration on grain production. Therefore, the calorie output level has a limited value for estimates of agricultural performance, but it could work as a very rough aggregate indicator of agricultural production.

The author used common calorie values of grain, potato, milk and meat¹⁷ to aggregate products considered previously in this article. Everything else, including vegetables, fruits etc. is ignored. The results for Estonia suggest that the pre-WWII level of total calories produced was reached in the middle of the 1960s, just like grain and potato yields returned to the pre-war level at the same time (barley yield a bit earlier). Comparison of total calorie output with other countries is pictured on Fig. 11. It is quite striking that Estonian calorie output of these

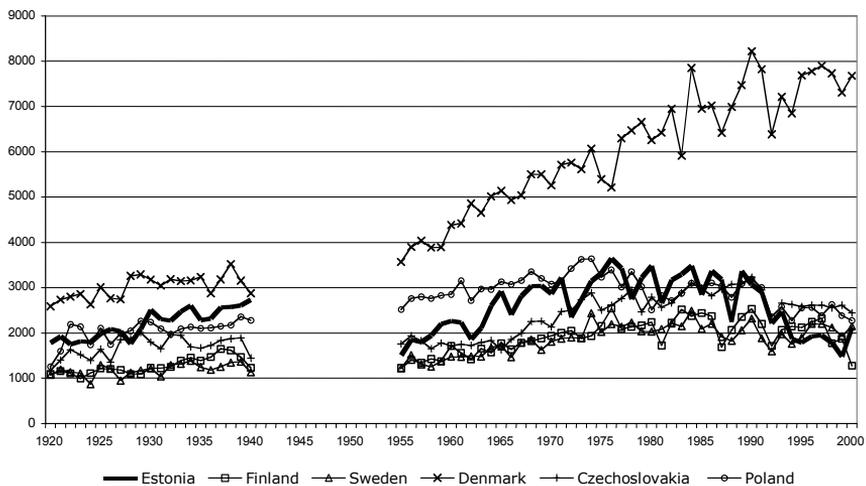


Fig. 11. Output of grain, potato, meat and milk per capita (thousand kCal).

¹⁷ Calorie values used (kCal/kg): rye 3350, wheat 3390, barley 3520, potato 860, all meat combined 3113, milk 660. The data were obtained from or estimated on the basis of US Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Research Service: USDA National Nutrient Database for Standard Reference. Accessed on 24 August 2007 at <http://www.nal.usda.gov/fnic/foodcomp/search/>

products per capita in 1955 was only 56.5% of the 1939–1940 level (compared to Finland's 90.7%, Sweden's 97.6%, Denmark's 118.3%, Czechoslovakia's 105.2% and Poland's 108.5%). Estonia reached the 1939–40 level of calorie output again in 1965. Thus, if one ignores the possibility that Estonia specialized its immediate post-WWII agriculture to lower calorie products only, one should agree that the total agricultural production had significantly fallen by the 1950s. The latter argument is also supported by severely declined crop yields and animal product output.

By such calculation Estonian agricultural output in 1955 was below the level of the 1920s. Later it was lower than that only in 1999, but this is explained by the variation in agricultural workforce (410 thousand in 1922 against 47 thousand in 1999). The question emerges whether the very low production volume of the 1950s and in the beginning of the 1960s can be explained by rapidly falling labour in agriculture. Assuming, for instance, that agricultural labour force had fallen significantly by 1955, its shortage could explain low yields per hectare and low total calorie output. On the other hand, if the labour force figures remained at a relatively high level, explanation should be found in bad management, machinery, low working morale etc. It must be pointed out that agricultural labour force decreased also in the comparison countries, but none of them experienced that steep decline in the overall calorie output during the post-WWII years.

LABOUR FORCE IN AGRICULTURE

The period under observation has generally witnessed a dramatically declining share of agricultural labour force in many countries. This was not caused by diminishing needs for agricultural products, but by improving agricultural techniques and technology.

The proportion of agricultural labour force in the total economically active population can be extracted from population censuses. In Estonia the census years were 1922, 1934, 1959, 1970, 1979, 1989 and 2000. Agricultural occupation generally includes forestry and fishing, although there may be slight variations. For instance, the results of the Estonian 1922 population census divided labour force into major occupational groups and the agricultural group consisted of agriculture, horticulture, forestry and fishing. Overall, 650.8 thousand people qualified as belonging to the agricultural group, 410 thousand of them were economically active. These 410 thousand people constituted 65.6% of the total economically active population. Table 3 presents the agricultural labour force figures.

The interwar period demonstrates a significant differentiation between countries regarding the share of agricultural labour force in the total economically active population. Compared to interwar Estonia, Finland and Poland showed a similar or higher share of economically active population in agriculture (Finland 68.8% in 1920 and Poland 76.6% in 1921), but Czechoslovakia, Denmark and Sweden were considerably lower in this respect. The post-WWII years show less

Table 3. Employment in agriculture

Total number (thousands) and percentage of agricultural labour force in the total economically active population												
	Estonia		Czechoslovakia		Finland		Denmark		Poland		Sweden	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
1920					1 032	68.8					1 059	40.7
1921			2 425	39.1			474	34.9	10 270	76.6		
1922	410	65.6										
1930			2 484	36.9	1 107	64.6	560	35.3			1 041	36.0
1931									9 752	65.9		
1934	446	63.0										
1940					1 158	57.4	562	28.5				
1945											733	24.5
1947			2 207	37.7								
1950					912	45.9	518	25.1	7 090	57.2	632	20.4
1959	194	31.5										
1960					721	35.5	367	17.5	6 636	47.7	447	13.8
1961			1 452	23.5								
1970	125	17.3	1 143	16.4	429	20.3	244	11.9	6 544	38.7	277	8.1
1978									5 419	30.2		
1979	114	14.3										
1980			1 026	13.1	279	12.6					226	5.6
1981							194	7.2				
1989	150	17.0										
1990					197	8.5					149	3.3
1991			993	12.4			161	5.6				
1992									3 758	24.8		
1999	47	8.1										
2000					136	5.7	89	3.3			99	2.4
2001			226	4.8					2 719	19.1		

Sources: **Mitchell, B. R.** International Historical Statistics; Rahva tööala ja ühiskondline kihitus. 1922 a. üldrahvalugemise andmed, vihk III. Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo, Tallinn, 1925; Tööharud ja leibkonnad. I.III 1934 rahvaloenduse andmed, vihk III. Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo, Tallinn, 1935; Распределение населения по общественным группам, источникам средств существования и отраслям народного хозяйства. Всесоюзная перепись населения 1959 года. Том V. ЦСУ ЭССР, Таллин, 1962; Занятое население Эстонской ССР. Статистический сборник. ЦСУ ЭССР, Таллин, 1974; census data from 1979, 1989 and 2000.

differentiation, perhaps only Poland stands out with a relatively high share of agricultural workers. Official figures, however, must be regarded with reservation, at least in the Estonian case.

The problem is that during the Soviet rule, considerable share of overall agricultural production originated from private plots, but the private producers were not consistently counted by statistics. After independent farming was suppressed in the 1940s, small plots were used to grow potato or other crops, keep a small number of animals and so on. While part of private producers were members of collective farms, thus included in agricultural labour force, a number of producers either had non-agricultural regular jobs or were pensioners. Their production was included in the total production by procurement statistics. Therefore, while statistical figures for active population in agriculture are relatively low, the actual number of agricultural producers may be higher. Relying on archival sources, Olaf Mertelsmann suggests that private production in the mid-1950s was approximately half of the value of total agricultural production.¹⁸ Elmar Järvesoo has argued that in 1960 private producers provided 28% of overall agricultural production. Later their share decreased, but even in the 1970s it was around one fifth of the overall output.¹⁹ Consequently, in calculating the output/labour ratios, official agricultural labour force figures should be adjusted to obtain realistic results.

First, data series of official agricultural labour force figures should be calculated. For the present paper, this series was achieved simply by doing linear interpolation of census years' figures (Table 3). The results for Estonia are most questionable for the 1950s, as for this decade there is only the 1959 census. Interpolation for 1950–59 was therefore performed using the same rate of agricultural labour force decline as it appeared in the 1960s, and as a result the official agricultural labour force in 1950 was estimated to be 250 thousand people (and 219 thousand in 1955). There could be a problem, as the decline rate may have been actually higher in the 1950s. However, if calculated this way, Estonian agricultural labour force in 1955 would be only 55% of the 1940 level (the 1940 level is estimated to be 400 thousand²⁰). Obviously, this is a vast decline for a 15-year period. Using the same interpolation technique to create labour force series for the comparison countries, agricultural labour force in 1955 would be in Finland 70%, in Sweden 64%, in Denmark 79%, in Czechoslovakia 77%, and in Poland 81% of the 1940 level.

In a simple way, output/labour ratio can be expressed as total calorie output divided by total agricultural labour force. Using the obtained labour force data series, calorie output per agricultural worker was calculated (plotted as census data labour force on Fig. 12). In 1955, the latter appears to be 106% of the 1939–1940 level. Yet it is hard to believe that the output per worker in the middle of the

¹⁸ **Mertelsmann, O.** *Der stalinistische Umbau in Estland, 199–200.*

¹⁹ **Järvesoo, E.** *Private Enterprise in Soviet Estonian Agriculture.* Baltic Scientific Conference. Stockholm, 1973; **Järvesoo, E.** *Privatunternehmen in der sowjetestnischen Landwirtschaft.* – *Acta Baltica*, 1977, **XVI**.

²⁰ For labour force estimates in interwar Estonia see **Klesment, M.** *Eesti majandusarengu dünaamika näitajaid sõdadevahelisel perioodil.* – Tuna, forthcoming.

1950s, which was rather an unfortunate decade for Estonian agriculture, was higher than during the years of private farming. Although one could argue about spread of machinery in the 1950s, it is still more likely that there is a problem of labour force statistics. That is, private producers who contributed to overall production were not counted as agricultural labour force. The lower labour force figure consequently leads to higher output per worker.

Encouraged by Mertelsmann's and Järvesoo's arguments about the share of production coming from private farming, the author opted for another exercise and arbitrarily adjusted the number of agricultural workforce by factor of 1.3 in 1950, 1.25 in 1964, 1.2 in 1978 and 1.0 in 1989.²¹ Multiplication factor for the years between those was linearly interpolated. As a result, agricultural labour force estimate was changed to 325 thousand in 1950, 281 thousand in 1955, 245 thousand in 1959, 153 thousand in 1970, and 134 thousand in 1979 (compare with Table 3). The adjusted output/labour ratio results together with census data results can be observed on Fig. 12. Calculated with the adjusted labour force, Estonian total calorie output per agricultural worker in 1955 was 83% of the 1939–40 level,

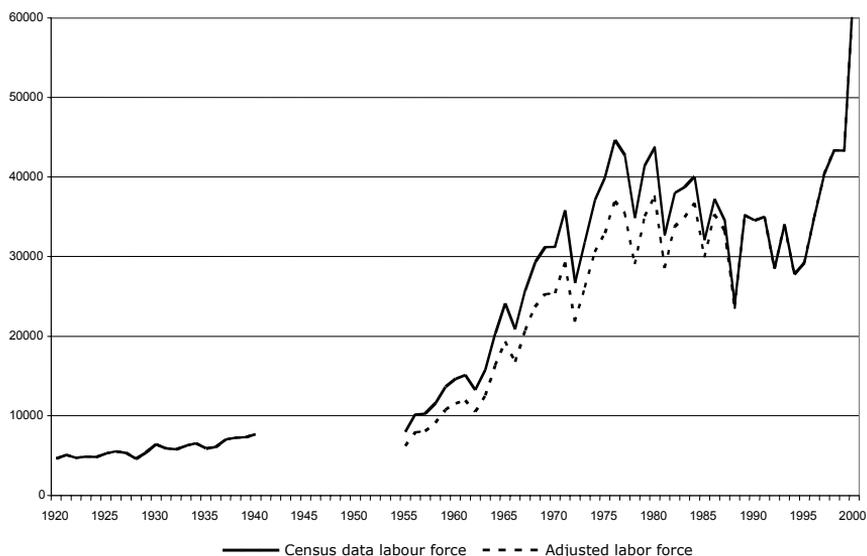


Fig. 12. Output of grain, potato, meat and milk per agricultural worker in Estonia (thousand kCal).

²¹ This simulates a situation where 23% of total agricultural producers would appear not counted by statistics in 1950, 20% in 1964, 16% in 1979, and 0% in 1989. This share in the 1960s is lower than private sector's share in total output suggested by Järvesoo. However, it is assumed that a part of private producers were also officially working in agriculture. Moreover, bearing in mind the calorie output calculation it is regarded that private sector was more focused on potato growing, which has lower calorie content than grain.

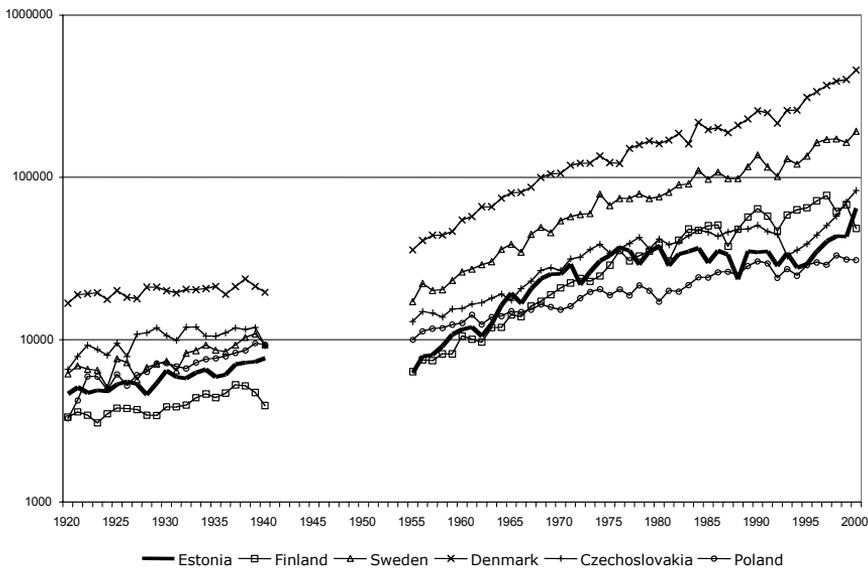


Fig. 13. Output of grain, potato, meat and milk per agricultural worker (thousand kCal).

which is still quite high, if exceptionally low levels of crop yields and low milk output per capita of 1955 are considered. The adjusted series is used for Fig. 13 which compares the total calorie output per agricultural worker in Estonia to other countries' respective data. It must be emphasised that the above labour force adjustments are completely subjective and performed only for this short exercise.

If the adjusted labour force figures were used, the number of Estonian agricultural labour force in 1955 would appear to be 70% of the 1940 level (compared to Finland's 70%, Sweden's 64%, Denmark's 79%, Czechoslovakia's 77%, and Poland's 81%). Nowhere else in comparison countries did the decline of agricultural labour force cause such a sharp reduction of total calorie output as in Estonia (see Fig. 11). Of course, these are rough calculations.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

As suggested in this paper, the long-term historical statistics of Estonian agricultural production is not an easy topic. Some of the data appears more reliable, some of it may remain the object of debates for a longer time. Figures of grain and potato output are probably not as acutely debatable as agricultural labour force statistics. However, both are necessary in order to estimate the efficiency of Estonian agriculture or compare it to other countries. While it is possible to interpret available statistics and reach some limited conclusions, it is very difficult to build

solid argumentation on ill-organised and not very reliable figures. The question remains about how thorough data proofing should be. It is obvious that simple comparisons may foster belief in the quality of the data, but only for a limited number of cases. A lot more rigorous investigation must be done to obtain data that would describe agricultural labour force of the post-WWII period. As speculative calculations in this article suggest, there is too much space for interpretation if the data is based on indirect estimates. Tested and reliable statistical data remain necessary if Estonian 20th century socio-economic problems are studied.

EESTI PÕLLUMAJANDUSTOODANGU ANDMETE VÕRDLUSI JA TÕLGENDUSI

Martin KLESMENT

On käsitletud Eesti põllumajandusliku toodangut aastail 1920–2000 iseloomustavaid andmeridu. Selle perioodi suurimaks probleemiks on aastad 1940–1990, mille statistika on teadaolevatel põhjustel küsitava väärtusega. Autor on seisukohal, et andmete usaldusväärsuse kontrollimiseks ja suuremate vigade paljastamiseks on hea kasutada võrdlust teiste riikidega. Sel eesmärgil on mitmeid põllumajandusliku toodangu näitajaid võrreldud Soome, Rootsi, Taani, Tšehhoslovakkia ja Poolaga. Osalt on võrdlused kergemini teostatavad, näiteks saagikuse puhul. Saagikuse võrdluse tulemuste põhjal võiks järeldada, et praegu kasutada olevaid taimekasvatuse statistilisi andmeid pole ebareaalses ülepaisutatuses mõtet kahtlustada. Mõnevõrra keerulisem on sama väita loomakasvatuse tulemuste kohta, kuna otsest väljundit mõõta on raskem.

Hoopis suurema probleemi moodustab põllumajandusliku tööhõive küsimus. Autor on kasutanud rahvaloendustega kogutud andmeid tööhõive kohta ja tekitanud artiklis tehtud arvutuste jaoks nende põhjal põllumajandusliku tööjõu andmerea. Viimast on üsnagi spekulatiivsete meetoditega korrigeeritud, kuna eeldatakse, et Nõukogude Liidu statistika ei loendanud kõiki Eesti inimesi, kes põllumajandusliku eratootmisega tegelesid. Tööjõu ja toodangu suhte arvutamiseks on teravilja, kartuli, piima ja liha toodang ümber arvutatud energeetilisse väärtusse (kaloritesse). Tulemused näitavad, et 1955. aastal oli nimetatud põllumajanduslike toodete energeetiline koguväärtus vaid 56,5% 1939/40. aasta tasemest. Samal ajal moodustas põllumajanduslik tööjõud 1955. aastal autori spekulatiivse arvestuse põhjal 70% sõjaeelsete aastate tasemest. Selle järgi tootis põllumajandustöötaja 1955. aastal 83% 1939/40. aasta põllutöölise nimetatud toodete energeetilisest koguväärtusest, mida autor peab siiski üsna kõrgeks. Probleemaatiliseks jääb põllumajandustöötajate koguarv sõjajärgsel perioodil. Üldisem järeldus on, et ajalooline majandusstatistika vajab täpsemat uurimist ja süstemaatilist korrastamist. Vastasel juhul on väga raske Eesti XX sajandi majandusajaloost tõsiselt võetavaid uurimusi teha.

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CHILDBEARING AND MACRO-ECONOMIC TRENDS IN
ESTONIA IN THE XX CENTURY

Martin Klesment

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Introduction

Great changes have taken place in European societies during the 20th century. In the demographic arena, the modern pattern of reproduction gained ground as a result of the demographic transition. The average number of children born to a woman during her lifetime was substantially reduced, leading to many instances of sub-replacement level fertility in the 1920s and 30s. Interrupted by a post-war baby boom, the trend towards low fertility resumed in the late 1960s, and spread to all major areas of the continent by the 1990s. During the same period, economic development in many countries was driven by continuing industrialisation, technological advancement and an increase in the standard of living. Whereas several downturns due to world wars and the Great Depression occurred in the first half of the century, the second half of the century witnessed sustained economic growth for most European market economies. Economic performance was less pronounced in the state socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe; the century closed amid economic stagnation and a change of societal regime. The parallel evolution of demographic and economic processes has led to questions about their possible inter-relationship. This article presents an account of childbearing trends and economic development in Estonia over the course of the 20th century.

The availability of data related to Estonian demographic and economic development is quite different. In general, Estonian demographic trends have been relatively well documented and analysed. There are some gaps in the statistical series, for instance, those pertaining to the period from World War II until the first post-war census in 1959. Estimates for these years are provided in this article. However, evidence of the economic development in Estonia is much more scarce. Internationally comparable macro-economic indicators have been readily available only since 1990. For the inter-war period, the gross domestic product and rates of economic growth estimated by Jaak Valge (2003) have been used in this article. Such calculations for the state socialist period are hampered by differences in statistical and accounting systems. This article presents new national GDP series for Estonia during the state socialist period based on a series of measures of physical output.

The main focus of this article is on describing trends in childbearing and macro-economic performance; however, we also pose the question of whether the latter might have exerted an influence on the former. In theoretical discussions, demographic and economic trends have been connected at the macro level. For instance, the “economic crisis hypothesis” posits a link between temporary economic hardship and a change in the level of fertility (Lesthaeghe and Van de Kaa 1986). Another macro-level theory relates the size of a cohort, and the economic opportunities available to it, to the childbearing decisions of that cohort (Easterlin 1975). In the Estonian context, the economic crisis theory is arguably more pertinent, as the country has gone through profound economic restructuring at least twice in the second half of the 20th century. The second theory is probably less relevant in the case of Estonia, because the concept of the market responding to changes in cohort size is not applicable to the state socialist period.

Concentrating on macro-economic development was necessitated by the relative absence of knowledge about Estonia’s economic performance until the 1990s. This lack of context has been troublesome not only for studies of population processes, but also for other studies that relate to economic development and the well-being of the population. In this article, we estimate the economic performance of Estonia since the 1920s, but its impact on the country’s fertility trends is much more difficult to gauge. We make some suggestions about the relationship between economic and fertility trends, but testing the validity of this relationship is beyond the scope of this article.

The article is structured as follows: fertility trends are described in the first section, especially those for the period following World War II. The section includes a

discussion of general fertility levels, parity-specific fertility, and the timing and family context of childbearing. Cohort measures and the progression to different parities are presented, as well as a description of the fertility intentions of the younger cohorts. Economic trends are outlined in the second section and, as in the section on fertility, the main focus is on the poorly researched state socialist time period in Estonia. The availability of data for estimating Estonian macro-economic development during the 20th century and the methods used in formulating the estimate are described. A new national income time series (which we propose as a subject for further refinement in the future) is presented. Both sections include a brief comparison of Estonia with other countries and regions of Europe. The article concludes with a discussion of the possible inter-connections between macroeconomic trends and fertility levels in Estonia.

1 Childbearing trends and patterns

1.1 Until the end of the Second World War

Research in historical demography has shown that the transition towards the modern demographic regime started relatively early in Estonia.

The first symptoms of a change in traditional reproductive behaviour emerged in the 18th century. These symptoms pertain to the spread of a new marriage pattern, characterised by high age at first marriage (particularly for females) and a high proportion of people who would never marry. According to John Hajnal, who was the first to identify the new nuptiality pattern, the late-marriage/low prevalence pattern was characterised by the mean age at first marriage above 23, and usually above 24 years for females, the proportion of single women around age 50 amounted to 10% or above (Hajnal 1965). With regard to geography, according to Hajnal an approximate dividing line of the west European marriage pattern runs from St. Petersburg at the Baltic Sea to Trieste at the Mediterranean. The areas west of this line shared the late-marriage/low prevalence pattern whereas the populations on the eastern side were characterised by earlier marriage and lower proportions remaining single, termed as the east European pattern.

The family reconstitution studies based on parish registers from Estland and Livland by Heldur Palli indicate a gradual increase in male and female mean age at marriage throughout the 18th century. In the Otepää parish the female mean age at first marriage rose from 22.1 years in 1725–49, and 22.8 years in 1750–74 to 24.2 years in 1775–99 (Palli 1988). An even greater increase was observed in the male mean age at first marriage, from 23.2 in 1725–49 to 27.1 years in 1775–99. Estimates for the Karuse parish in the last quarter of the 18th century were 27.0 for males and 24.4 for females (Palli 1984). There is some evidence that the pattern of late marriage became established in Estonia even earlier. Drawing on the reconstituted parish records from Rõuge in 1661–1696, Palli has proposed that the mean age at first marriage could have been 23–24 among females (Palli 1973; 1996). This conjecture would extend the emergence of the West European marriage pattern in Estonia back to the late 17th century. In this light, the somewhat earlier marriage in the first half of the 18th century may be interpreted as a response to favourable economic conditions, particularly to the availability of farmland, after the devastation of the Great Northern War.

The spread of west European marriage pattern in Estonia is also reflected in the results of June Sklar (1974) who elaborated the eastern boundary of the European marriage pattern around the turn of 20th century. According to Sklar, the percentage of those remaining single at age 40–49 was at the level 12–13%, and the singulate mean age of marriage for women was between 26.3–26.6 years in Estland and Livland gubernias. Comparative indices for Denmark and Finland fall into the same range, in Sweden and Norway the pattern appears only slightly more pronounced. Thus, leaving aside Ingria, which was inhabited by Finno-Ugrians but re-populated after the establishment of St. Petersburg, the Baltic countries and Finland formed north-eastern boundary of the west European marriage pattern.

Although the introduction of a new marriage pattern itself is not regarded as a transition to a modern demographic regime, it is generally agreed that the west European marriage pattern paved the way towards a subsequent more radical move, the switch to controlled marital fertility. This relation may seem surprising since the transition to the new marriage reduced general fertility to relatively low levels and thus eased the pressures within marriage. In Ansley Coale's interpretation (Coale 1992), this suggests that social norms that lead to a high mean age at marriage are more conducive to the initiation of voluntary control of marital fertility than are the norms that promote early marriage. In a broader framework, attention has also

been drawn to the positive impact of the west European marriage on socio-economic modernisation, family relations and the status of women (Hajnal 1965; 1982). These features, Hajnal argues, fostered individual responsibility, self-reliance beyond the support of one's family of origin, and economic behaviour, which must have differed fundamentally from joint household populations. It has been hypothesised that the mere presence of a large number of adult women not involved in childbearing and -rearing activities must have been a considerable advantage to contemporary economies.

The series of crude birth rate (CBR) allows to follow the dynamics of fertility since the late 18th century (Katus 1990). This simple measure reveals that fertility level started to decrease in Estonia in the first half of the 19th century. At the beginning of the 1800s, CBR increased to over 40 per 1000, but then with some fluctuations declined to around 35 per 1000 in the 1840s. It can be assumed that the main factor causing the early decrease in the 19th century was the strengthening of the west European marriage pattern. Judging from the dynamics of the CBR, the rapid and irreversible decline in fertility level started in the late 1860s and by the 1880s crude fertility rate had dropped below 30 per 1000.

The patterns of fertility transition in the second half of the 19th century have been comprehensively documented and analysed in the framework of the Princeton European fertility study (Coale and Watkins 1986). Measuring fertility with a set of specially developed indices – overall fertility index, marital fertility index, non-marital fertility index and nuptility index, comparing fertility levels to those observed among the Hutterites – the study documented and analysed the trajectory of secular fertility decline in most countries of Europe at the provincial level (altogether more than 600 territorial units of analysis). In the framework of the project, special case studies were prepared for many countries. The main results of the project pertaining to Estland and Livland gubernias (1870 and 1897) are available from the study on Russian Empire (Coale *et al.* 1979). Using the methodology of Princeton project, similar indices with more refined territorial breakdown have been calculated for Estonia (at the county level) as well as for other Baltic countries (Katus 1991; 1994).

The Princeton fertility indices have proved to be very useful in highlighting the trajectory of demographic transition in comparative perspective. The analyses by Kalev Katus (1994; 1997a) indicate that in the late 19th century, Estonia clearly belonged to the group of forerunners with respect to fertility decline in Europe. In the 1880s, only France and Ireland had overall fertility index noticeably lower than Estonia. With regard to marital fertility, France and Hungary featured a lower level. Thus, only France – the well-known pioneer of fertility transition in Europe – had both overall and marital fertility index lower than in Estonia. Among the neighbouring countries Sweden bore the closest resemblance to Estonia, although Swedish marital fertility remained a little higher. This evidence suggests that in the 1880s the spread of parity-specific fertility limitation was well in progress in Estonia.

The more or less continuous decline of fertility persisted in Estonia until the interwar period. In the late 1920s, for the first time in peacetime conditions fertility dropped below replacement. In the demographic history, the latter event is frequently regarded as a dividing line which marks the completion of fertility transition and the beginning of the post-transitional stage of demographic development. In comparative perspective, Estonia crossed this threshold in the same period as other forerunners of fertility transition in Europe. Among the neighbouring countries, sub-replacement fertility emerged somewhat earlier (in the early 1920s) in Sweden and somewhat later (in the early 1930s) in Latvia. Finland, Lithuania and Russia fertility experienced below replacement for the first time several decades later.

The lowest level of fertility was reached in 1934, according to the estimates of Katus the total fertility rate was 1.83 children per woman in that year (Katus and

Puur 2006). This was followed by a gradual recovery that returned to 2.02 children per woman in 1938. The data on the number of live births by age of mother, that would allow the computation of total fertility rates are not available for Estonia in 1939–1945. Judging from the number of registered live births, however, a slight increase in fertility rates continued until 1942.¹ Considering a sharp decrease in the population between the beginning of 1939 and the census 1.12.1941 – altogether more than 116 thousand persons or 10.2%, caused by the departure of the German minority in 1939–1941, deportations and political arrests in 1940–1941, the evacuation to the Soviet Union and first casualties of war 1941, – the relative stability in the number of births meant the rise in fertility rates. According to the unpublished estimates by Katus, the period TFR amounted to 2.11 in 1942.

For the following war-years 1943–1945, statistical accounts on the number of births are available only for the first half of 1943. In January–June, 7984 live births were reported (Reichskommissar für das Ostland 1944). A recent study drawing on the civil registration archive showed a sharp decrease in the number of births that bottomed in 1944 – the number of birth records² stored in the archive is as follows: 1943 - 15904, 1944 - 10843 and 1945 - 16134 (Katus *et al.* 2004). The study also revealed that for 1944 the number of archival records plausibly understates the actual number of births by ca 15%. The absence of archival records stems from a temporary discontinuation of registration activities in many local governments in 1944, and the loss of documentation caused by military operations.

1.2 Trends and patterns in the postwar period

Compared to the interwar decades, the account of fertility trends in Estonia during the late 1940s and 1950s is hampered by the availability and reliability of the existing demographic data.

Starting from the late 1944, the system of statistics and civil registration were moulded to the Soviet model. The national statistical institution was replaced by a subordinate branch office charged with the implementation of instructions from central authorities in Moscow. Similarly to other areas of administration, extensive changes were made in the staff, and from 1944 onwards only a few statisticians remained in service who had worked earlier in the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS).

Regarding the organisation of civil registration, the Family Code of the Russian Federation was enforced in Estonia.³ It set forth the same provisions about the reporting and recording of vital events that had been developed in the Soviet Union in the 1920s and 1930s. According to the latter, the vital registration forms were compiled in two identical copies. On a monthly basis, county registration offices collected the forms and transmitted the second copies to the central civil registration office in Tallinn. The first copy of the record was retained in the county civil registration archive. Before being stored in the central archive at the Ministry of Interior, the second copies of the forms were sent to the Statistical Office for centralised data processing. The processing was based on a programme of standard tabulations, defined by central statistical authorities (for a concise overview of the tabulations produced for Estonia, see Katus and Puur 2003).⁴ Due to censorship

¹The time series compiled from different sources provide the following account: 1938 - 18453 live births, 1939 - 18,475, 1940 - 18,407, 1941 - 19,574, 1942 - 19,226.

²These number refer to total number of births, including stillbirths.

³For the first time, the Family code of the Russian Federation was enforced in 1941. During the German occupation of 1941–1944, however, the civil registration operated according to the principles established before 1940.

⁴When comparing the content of registration forms and tabulations, it becomes evident that several characteristics are not systematically represented. For example, educational attainment,

imposed on statistical information in the Soviet Union, only strongly aggregated data could be published openly. The unpublished primary tabulations, therefore, represent the source of most appropriate and complete information available on vital statistics.

As in the CBS, the Sovietisation implied a drastic change in the staff of local registrars – the above mentioned study of archival records shows that already in 1941, some 87.5% of the registrars were new in their job (Katus *et al.* 2004). Fortunately, the analysis revealed no major deterioration in the completeness and quality of registration of vital events. It should be noted that this is quite different from the experience of the Russian Federation, Ukraine and Belorussia, where severe underreporting of birth and deaths persisted well into the 1950s (Andreev *et al.* 1998).

Against the backdrop of fairly complete registration of vital events, the problems of data reliability pertain to the stock of population. Unlike other countries that sustained heavy human losses in the Second World War, the Soviet Union opted not to conduct a census shortly after the war that would provide a comprehensive and trustworthy account of the population. In the Soviet Union, the first census was taken only in 1959. Such a major delay cannot be explained by economic difficulties or other “objective” reasons. Publications that have appeared in Russia since the turn of the 1990s relate the postponement to serious problems the Soviet regime experienced with the 1937 population census.⁵

In the situation where the census was out-ruled, statisticians had to resort on other means to estimate the size and structure of population, including the processing of electoral lists in 1946, 1947, 1948, 1950 and 1954, and the local registers kept in rural municipalities (e.g. Puur and Uuet 2010, Tepp 1995). A comprehensive and critical analysis of the population estimates for the late 1940s and 1950s, involving the different data sources is yet to be undertaken. Therefore the evidence pertaining to years preceding the 1959 census may be subject to some adjustment in the future. At the same time, however, the scale of these possible adjustments is not expected to affect the overall trajectory of demographic trends. For the intercensal periods 1959-1970, 1970-1979 and 1979-1989, the analysis draws on the age structures harmonised by the Estonian Interuniversity Population Research Centre in the early 1990s (EKDK 1994a;b).⁶ For the years since 1990, the estimates come from the Statistical Office of Estonia.

The following sub-sections address four major aspects of childbearing – the level, order-specific fertility, timing of childbearing and age pattern of fertility, and marital status of mother at childbearing. Each subsection examines the trends in the postwar period and places Estonia, in the context of concurrent developments in other parts of Europe.

1.2.1 Dynamics of fertility level

Table 1.1 outlines the dynamics of population number and basic measures of fertility level in Estonia prior to the 1959 census. The rapid increase in the population – by that time more than 300 thousand persons or 37% of the 1945 number – primarily

economic activity and social class are tabulated only for a few years. Even ethnicity for births is not available for the entire period but starts from the late 1950s. Limitations also relate to the detail of scales used in tabulations; for instance, five-year age groups were often used instead of single-year.

⁵The 1937 census revealed a marked discrepancy between the unrealistic population numbers announced by Stalin at the 17th congress of the CPSU and the true figures revealed by the enumeration (Vzesojuznaja 2007). To cover up the story, the 1937 census was declared a failure. In 1939, a new census gave “correct” results.

⁶These harmonised age structures are also used by Statistical Office and available from their website at <http://www.stat.ee>.

reflects the large-scale immigration to Estonia that started already in the late 1944 and was particularly intensive in the late 1940s and the 1950s.

Although fertility increased in the postwar decades, the increase appears relatively modest and is of short duration. The number of births and the crude birth rate peaked in 1947; the delayed response evidently reflected the fact that demobilisation was not immediate at the end of the war but was spread over several years. Following the peak, from 1948 the fertility rate turned to slow but persistent decline and by the late 1950s it returned to the level observed in the end of the 1930s. Overall, the CBR for the years 1945–1958 is 19.3 per 1000 that does not markedly exceed the average level observed in Estonia during the interwar period 1920–1939 (17.7 per 1000). Low intensity of childbearing is corroborated by the series of total fertility rates which reached replacement level in the early 1950s but did not noticeably exceed it.⁷

Table 1.1: Population number and basic fertility indicators, Estonia 1945–1958.

	Population January 1st	Live births	Crude Birth Rate (per 1000)	Total Fertility Rate
1945	856,269	14,968	17.5	-
1946	850,293	19,408	21.5	-
1947	957,144	22,721	22.9	-
1948	1,023,392	21,777	21.2	-
1949	1,029,222	21,770	21.3	-
1950	1,012,687	20,279	20.0	2.23
1951	1,019,689	20,730	20.1	2.22
1952	1,040,442	21,111	20.2	2.22
1953	1,051,152	20,146	18.4	2.11
1954	1,133,540	20,909	18.4	2.16
1955	1,142,210	20,786	18.2	2.12
1956	1,147,138	19,160	16.6	1.99
1957	1,158,582	19,509	16.8	1.95
1958	1,168,811	19,598	16.6	1.94

Sources: Estonian Statistical Office, unpublished tabulations; Katus 1997; own calculations.

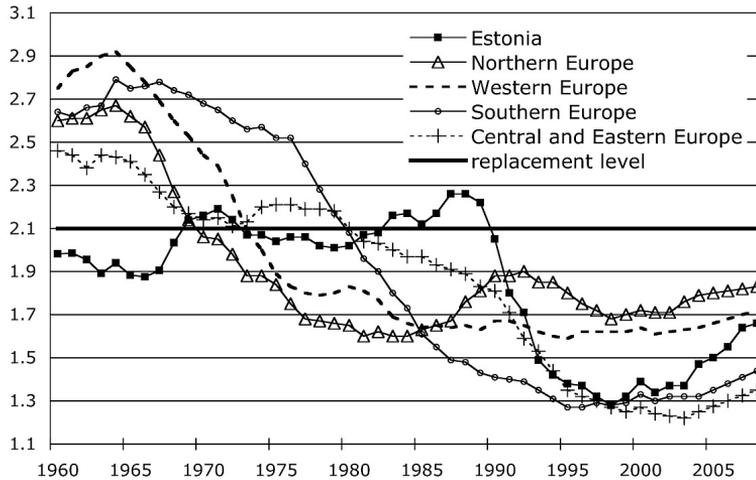
The relatively small difference between the prewar and postwar fertility levels catches eye particularly in the light of massive immigration inflow that brought large numbers of young people in the prime childbearing age to Estonia in these years. Unfortunately, the birth statistics for the early postwar years does not allow for distinction between children born to native population (mainly Estonians) and the immigrants (mainly non-Estonians) who had arrived in Estonia in the aftermath of the war.

Although the ethnicity of parents was included on registration forms, the characteristic was included in statistical processing only from 1958. In that year, slightly less than 65.8% or 12,903 children were born to Estonian mothers, 34.2% or 6,695 children were born to non-Estonian mothers respectively. However, the evidence from the 1953–1954 birth records, computerised by the Estonian Interuniversity Population Research Centre, shows that despite somewhat higher proportion of Estonians among the total population in these earlier years, the proportion of births to Estonian mothers was even lower (60.7%) in 1953–1954 (Katus *et al.* 2004). In absolute numbers, the size of the cohorts of Estonians born in the early 1950s did not exceed 12.5 thousands. The fact that only 8–9 years since the onset of postwar immigration, almost 2/5 of children were born to non-Estonians highlights the intensity of immigration in the early postwar years.⁸ On the other hand, these results

⁷The series of TFRs presented in Table 1.1 is based on age structures derived from the 1959 census by the method of reverse projection.

⁸It has been estimated that after the annexation of Petsrimaa and trans-Narva areas to the

Figure 1.1: Total fertility rate. Estonia and major European regions 1960–2008.



Source: Council of Europe (2006), Eurostat (2010); own calculations.

indicate persistently low levels of childbearing among the native population 8-9 years after the end of the Second World War. It seems quite plausible that in the height of Sovietisation, fertility of Estonians was lower than in the war years (perhaps with the exception of 1944).

From 1960 onwards, the dynamics of childbearing is presented by means of total fertility rate (Figure 1.1). The data reveal that period fertility continued to be below replacement in Estonia until the late 1960s. As discussed in the following sections, the observed level – the average value of the TFR around 1.95 – appears modest in particular against the background of ongoing shift towards earlier childbearing that was well in progress during the 1960s, pushes the period measures upwards. The figure also places fertility development in Estonia into European context, by comparing it to the trends in major regions of the continent. To allow for a concise comparison of large amounts of information, the data are summarised as unweighted means for four distinctive geographical regions – Northern, Western, Southern and Central Europe. The definition of these regions applied in the article follows a delineation, which has been often used in demographic studies to outline the patterns of fertility and family development in Europe (Sobotka 2004, Van de Kaa 1999).⁹

The comparison draws attention to the fact highlighted in earlier studies that Estonia experienced no baby boom in the aftermath of the Second World (Ka-

Russian Federation in the late 1944, ethnic Estonians consisted ca 97% of the civilian population in Estonia (Katus *et al.* 2000).

⁹Northern Europe represents Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden. Western Europe is used to denote Ireland, Austria, Belgium, France, Germany (West Germany prior to reunification), Ireland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Switzerland and the United Kingdom. Southern Europe encompasses Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain. Central Europe refers to Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, East Germany (until reunification), Hungary, Poland, the Slovak Republic and Slovenia. The CIS and Balkan countries were left out of the comparison primarily for the reason of limited data availability. Comparative data are drawn from international demographic collections (Council of Europe 2006, Eurostat 2010).

tus 1997b). The absence of postwar baby-boom was an exceptional feature among the forerunners of fertility transition. Almost all such countries – in Figure 1.1 represented by Northern and Western Europe – having experienced fertility below replacement during the 1920s–1930s, witnessed a post-war baby-boom. Fertility increases lasted for nearly two decades, up to the middle of the 1960s. Fertility increases were quite considerable and in several countries fertility levels approached three children per woman (Calot and Sardon 1997, Festy 1984). Also, the countries that had not experienced under-replacement fertility before the Second World War featured (still) relatively high fertility during that period. Estonian fertility, on the contrary, remained below replacement. From the late 1940s through the mid-1960s, the native populations of Estonia and Latvia had plausibly the lowest fertility in the world (Frejka and Sardon 2004).

In the late 1960s a new wave of changes in demographic patterns, termed as the Second Demographic Transition by Ron Lesthaeghe and Dirk van de Kaa (Lesthaeghe and Van de Kaa 1986), set in. It started in Western and Northern Europe after the mid-1960s, gradually spreading to other parts of the continent in the following decades. Among multiple changes in demographic processes, brought together in the concept of the second demographic transition, fertility decrease was substantial in most, if not all countries. Unlike the general trend in the major regions of Europe, Estonian (and Latvian) period fertility increased rather than decreased in the late 1960s. In the 1970s and 1980s, fertility in Estonia was close to replacement, being somewhat higher compared to the earlier postwar as well as the interwar decades. As a result of these trends, in the late 1980s fertility in Estonia turned out higher than in any major region of the continent. In these years, the total fertility rate amounted to 2.2–2.3 children per woman.

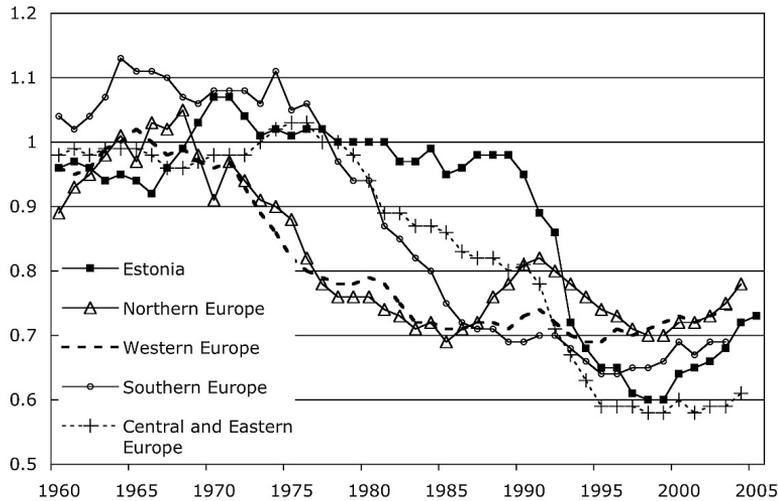
The onset of a third stage in the postwar Estonian fertility trend coincides with the beginning of societal transition. As elsewhere in central and eastern Europe, the 1990s witnessed a steep downturn in fertility level. In about a decade, a more than twofold reduction in the number of births occurred in Estonia, from a maximum of 25,086 in 1987 to a mere 12,167 in 1998. The decline in the number of births was strengthened by the partial return of the postwar immigrants during the early 1990s.¹⁰ The period total fertility rate dropped from 2.26 in 1987–1988 to 1.28 in 1998, amounting to a reduction by nearly one child per woman in a matter of a decade.¹¹ Against the backdrop of the general experience of the CEE region, the decline appears more pronounced in Estonia. However, it should be noted that it was the high fertility level in the later stages of state socialism rather than the low level attained in the 1990s that swells the scale of Estonia fertility decline in a comparative perspective. From the methodological point of view, this underscores the salience of a longer view for putting the rapid shifts in demographic patterns into perspective.

After reaching its lowest point in 1998, period fertility in Estonia began to gradually increase at the beginning of the 21st century. In 1998–2003, the recovery of fertility rates was slow and intermittent – a rise at the turn of Millennium was followed by a setback, and in 2002–2003, the period TFR was slightly lower than in 2000. A persistent rise started in 2004, and in a matter of 3–4 years the total fertility rate reached 1.66 children per woman (2008). Plausibly reflecting the influence of global economic recession, the upward trend was broken in 2009 (period TFR 1.63). Against the background of rapidly rising unemployment and the growth in economic uncertainty, however, the observed decline in fertility rate seem fairly limited: in

¹⁰Between the 1989 and 2000 population censuses, the net migration of non-Estonians amounts to -144 thousands, 23.8% of their number in January 1989.

¹¹In the 1990s, demographers coined a new term – the lowest-low fertility – to denote the levels below 1.3 children per woman. Very low fertility is defined in terms of TFR between 1.3–1.5.

Figure 1.2: First order total fertility rate. Estonia and major European regions 1960–2005.



Source: Council of Europe (2006), Eurostat (2010); own calculations.

2009 the TFR was 1.63 children per woman.¹²

In comparative perspective, Estonia has witnessed a vigorous recovery of fertility rates. Since 2005, the country has featured the highest period TFR among the CEE countries, closing much of the gap in fertility levels with the west European countries.

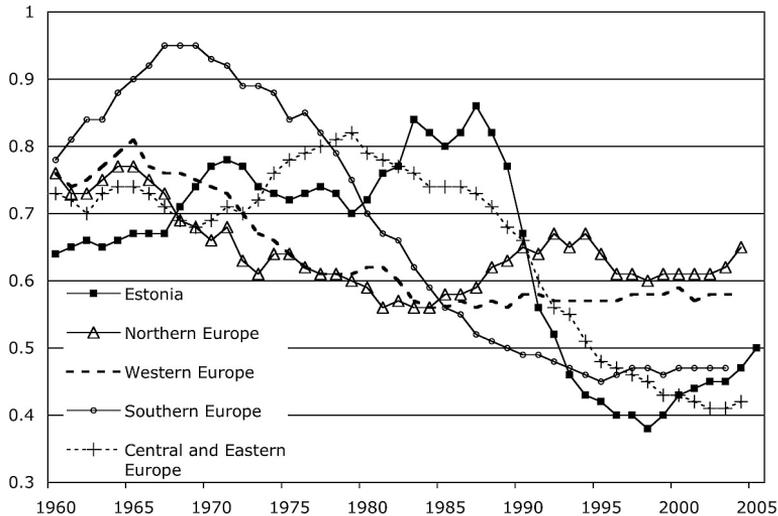
1.2.2 Order-specific fertility rates

Childbearing constitutes a sequential process whereby women move from one stage to the next. At the beginning of the reproductive career, childless women enter motherhood. In the following stage, some first-time mothers go on to have a second child, then some women with two children opt for a third child, etc. Behavioural changes at successive stages of family growth exert a major influence on the overall fertility level. This holds true for the transition from pre-modern high to modern low fertility in which course the prevailing large family model was gradually replaced by the small family model. But similarly, the examination of order- or parity-specific fertility rates¹³ – separately for first births, second births, and third births combined with all higher-order births – contributes to the understanding of shifts in fertility level in the post-transitional stage of demographic development, described in the previous section. Since order- and age-specific data for the late 1940s and 1950s are difficult to obtain for all countries included in the analysis, the observation starts from 1960.

¹²According to Statistical Office electronic database available at www.stat.ee. Accessed 21.07.2010.

¹³Order-specific fertility rates are calculated as a sum of age-specific fertility rates for a given birth order (parity). Order-specific fertility rates over different parities sum up to the total fertility rate.

Figure 1.3: Second order total fertility rate. Estonia and major European regions 1960–2005.



Source: Council of Europe (2006), Eurostat (2010); own calculations.

Leaving aside some fluctuations in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the data reveal fairly high levels of first-order total fertility rate in Estonia (Figure 1.2). This suggests the strong majority of people were having at least one child, and consequently, a rather low level of childlessness. In several years, the TFR exceeded 1.0 that appears neither realistic nor possible in the cohort perspective. The reasons forcing the first-order total fertility rate above the “normal” range are twofold. As in many other countries, the unrealistically high levels of TFR relate to the shift towards earlier childbearing that was well in progress in Estonia in the 1960s and 1970s. However, this explanation alone is insufficient as the unrealistically high level persists even after converting the period fertility rates to cohort data. It is assumed that an additional effect may derive from a very high migration turnover in Estonia during the period of Soviet rule: it has been estimated that in 1947–1991 the sum of migration in- and outflows exceeded the total population of Estonia more than twofold (Sakkeus 1991). This implies that a considerable proportion of young immigrants who had arrived in Estonia, left one time or another. If they gave birth to children (most frequently to the first child) in the meantime, the birth remained in the registers of Estonia although the child and their parents had left the country. In particular, the described pattern of chain migration relates to the families of the Soviet army officers who were rotated to a new place of service in every 3–5 years.¹⁴

For the 1990s, the data reveal an extensive decrease in the first-order total fertility rate: TFR1 dropped from about 1.0, close to which it had stayed for a long period, to the level of ca 0.60. From the demographic point of view, just like the high levels observed prior to societal transition, the low levels reached in its aftermath

¹⁴A recent study drawing on archival birth records revealed that in the 1950s, close to 30% of children born to non-Estonian parents had father engaged in military occupation (Katus *et al.* 2004). The size of the latter group is sufficiently large to introduce the described bias in the national data.

are not realistic. In face value, the latter implies that 35–40% of women will remain childless. As it will be shown in the sections to follow, the observed decline in the TFR1 largely stems from the shifts in the age-pattern of childbearing.

In comparative perspective, the stability of first-order total fertility rate in Estonia up to the 1990s made a significant contribution to repositioning of the country vis-à-vis major regions of Europe. In earlier decades, the first-order fertility in Estonia was comparable to other parts of Europe, but from the 1970s onwards one region after another dropped below the Estonian level, and consequently, in the 1980s Estonia emerged as a country with one of the highest first-order fertility rates in the continent. Owing to the latter, the decline in TFR1 in the early 1990s appeared sharper than in any major region of Europe. The figure also shows that against the high rate in the late 1980s, the decline brought Estonia closer to the patterns observed in other parts of the continent.

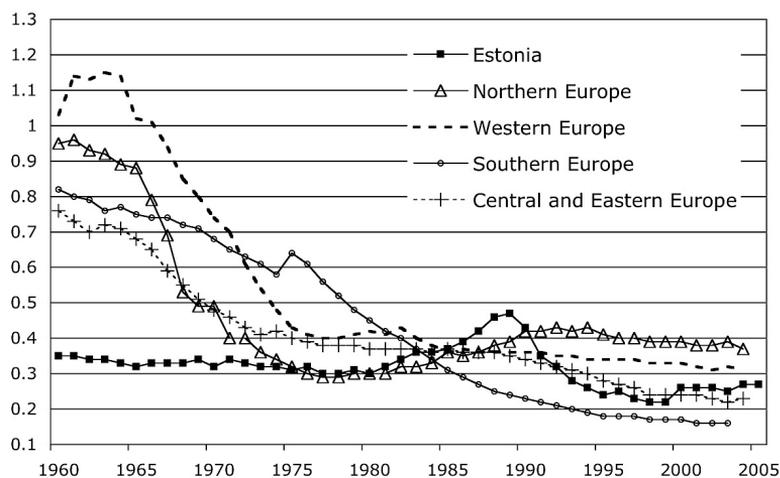
Turning to second-order fertility, despite marked fluctuations the TFR2 contributed strongly to the increase in total fertility rate (Figure 1.3). The rise in the late 1960s completed an approximately 40-year period of persistent below-replacement fertility among the native population. A further increase in the 1980s brought the second-order total fertility rate to the level above 0.80. This suggests that about four fifths of women did not stop family formation after first birth but proceeded to have a second child. In the 1990s, the decline of the second-order total fertility rate was particularly intensive and exceeded the decrease observed for the first parity. Compared to the 1980s, TFR2 decreased about two times, from 0.8 to around 0.4.

In the European context, the second-order total fertility rate has driven repositioning of Estonia in terms of fertility level vis-à-vis major regions of the continent: until the late 1960s Estonia featured a comparatively low TFR2, then gradually moved to the top-ranking position by the early 1980s, stayed at this position throughout the 1980s, and dropped to the bottom once again by the mid-1990s. Since the late 1990s, both the second- and first-order total fertility rates have recovered significantly, contributing to the overall rise in fertility level in Estonia.

Compared to lower parities, the changes in third- and higher order total fertility rate exhibit a more stable trajectory (Figure 1.4). During two decades, from 1960 to the early 1980s, TFR3+ fluctuated in a fairly narrow margin between 0.30 and 0.35. In fact, the decrease in TFR3+ observed in the early 1960s could be regarded as a tail end of a long downward trend in the frequency of higher order births that goes back to the times of demographic transition. Compared to TFR2, there is no rise in the third and higher order total fertility in the late 1960s and early 1970s. A clear upward shift in TFR3+ starts in 1982–83, culminating in 1988–1989 at the levels 0.46–0.47. Similar to lower parities, the 1990s witness a decrease in third and higher order fertility. Although the fall from the peak of the late 1980s is indeed sharp, the drop below the levels characteristic of the mid-1960s or the late 1970s is fairly limited (less than 0.1 children per woman).

In comparative perspective, third and higher order births emerge as a main factor contributing to Estonia's low fertility in the 1950s and 1960s. In the early 1960s, for instance, the Estonian TFR3+ was more than nearly three times lower than that in Western Europe (region with the highest level at that time). Like for first and second births, Estonia changed its lowest position for third births for the highest in the 1980s but with regard to TFR3+ the top ranking position was held for a very short period – only a few years in the late 1980s. On the other hand, it is important to note that unlike for 2nd births, the decrease of the 1990s never brought the indicator back to the lowest levels in the European context. In Southern Europe, the TFR3+ has been systematically lower compared to the Baltic region since the late 1980s, and in the 2000s also the Central and Eastern Europe has featured a slightly lower level of 3+ order fertility.

Figure 1.4: Third and higher order total fertility rate. Estonia and major European regions 1960–2005.



Source: Council of Europe 2006; Eurostat 2010; own calculations.

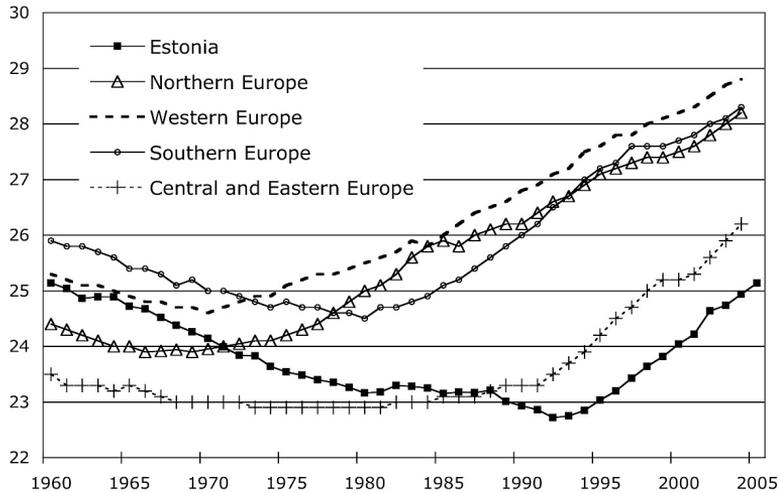
1.2.3 Timing of childbearing

A salient feature of the change in fertility patterns in the 1990s relates to the timing of childbearing. The age at which women enter parenthood has lasting implications on their life course and interplay with other careers. From the viewpoint of fertility trends, the shifts towards earlier or later childbearing have significant consequences on period fertility level.

Figure 1.5 summarises the long-term trend in the timing of childbearing in terms of the mean age of women at first birth. As elsewhere in the areas west of Hajnal line, the decades following the Second World War introduced a clear break in demographic patterns that had prevailed for about two centuries. With respect to timing, the disappearance of the European marriage pattern entailed a marked shift towards younger ages in all reproductive events, including sexual initiation, union formation and childbearing. Figure 1.5 suggests that in comparative perspective Estonia featured a relatively late entry into motherhood in the early 1960s. At that period, Estonian women entered motherhood at the same age as their counterparts in Western Europe but later than in Northern Europe. This implies a change compared to the situation around the turn of the century when Estonian women tended to have children somewhat earlier than in the Nordic countries (Sklar 1974).

Comparatively late motherhood observed in Estonia and other Baltic countries in the early postwar decades may be hypothesised to share a common root – the war and societal discontinuity in its aftermath – with the absence of baby boom noted in the previous section. Among others, this conjecture is supported by the cohort data from the 2000 census of Estonia that indicate a temporary reversal of the rejuvenation of motherhood. Among native population, the shift towards earlier motherhood temporarily stopped in the 1917 birth cohort and moved upwards until the 1925 birth cohort. Moreover, it was not until women born in 1929 that the

Figure 1.5: Mean age of mother at first birth. Estonia and major European regions 1960–2005.



Source: Council of Europe 2006; Eurostat 2010; own calculations.

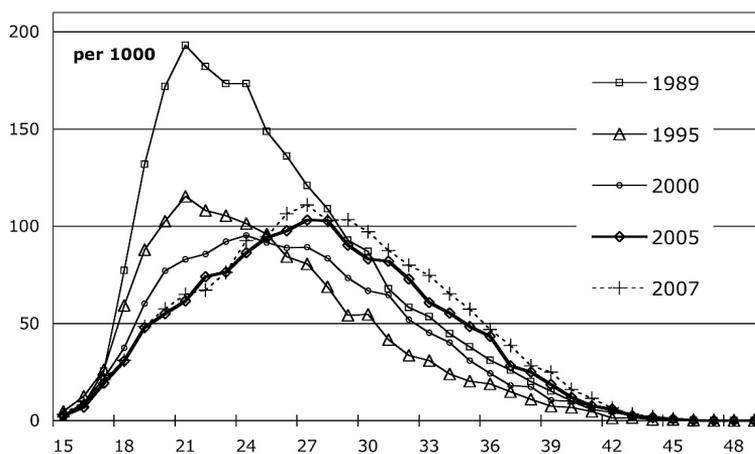
mean age at first birth dropped below the level achieved by the 1917 cohort.¹⁵ In a comparative perspective it seems quite plausible that the observed discontinuity accounts for the higher age at childbearing among Estonian women in the 1950s and 1960s, compared to their counterparts in Northern Europe.

Another, an even more pronounced peculiarity came to the fore in the late 1960s and 1970s: unlike in most other countries that had experienced the European marriage pattern, in Estonia the trend towards earlier entry into motherhood did not reverse but persisted noticeably longer. It was not until the 1980s that the decline in the age at first (as well as subsequent) birth finally came to a halt. In a comparative perspective, the turnaround of the trend and the return of postponement in the West – starting from Northern Europe in the late 1960s, followed by Western Europe in the early 1970s and Southern Europe around 1980 – led to a rapidly growing divergence in the timing of childbearing between Estonia and the above mentioned regions of Europe. From another angle, prolonged advancement of childbearing in Estonia implied an increasing similarity with the pattern that prevailed in Central and Eastern Europe in that period. In the early 1990s, the scale of divergence in the timing of fertility, along with related features, led some scholars to conceptualise the situation as the appearance of a new “East-West” divide in fertility and family behaviour (e.g. Monnier and Rychtarchikova 1992, Roussel 1994). Apart from the historical delineation along the Hajnal line, the new cleavage was thought to follow the boundaries that separated state socialist regimes from the rest of Europe.

Among the factors that upheld early family formation and childbearing until the “meltdown” of the Iron Curtain, researchers have pointed to various institutional mechanisms, in particular the system of housing allocation (Frejka and Sardon 2004, Ni Brolchain 1993). In the state socialist system, new dwellings were distributed ac-

¹⁵Considering mean age at first birth around 26–27 years in these birth cohorts, the disturbance relates to calendar period 1944–1956.

Figure 1.6: Age pattern of childbearing. Estonia 1955–2009.



Source: Eesti Statistika (2010); own calculations.

According to administrative rules: typically, in order to become eligible for a dwelling, a couple was expected to have housing conditions (in particular per capita floor space) below a certain minimum standard. In such context, the birth of a child helped young couples to increase their chances to move up in the housing queue. The persistence of these mechanisms until the turn of the 1990s helps to understand why the turn to postponement of childbearing emerged so late in Estonia.

The data presented in Figure 1.5 reveal that the turning point in the trend of mean age at first birth was reached in 1992–1993. Before the mid-1990s, the mean age at first birth turned to a steady increase that has persisted until today. The shift towards later childbearing gained considerable momentum, pushing the mean age at first upwards about 0.25 years per annum. According to the latest statistics, in 2009 mean age at first birth amounted to 26.1 years – a pattern that was seen in Estonia last time in the late 1940s (Eesti Statistika 2010). However, as revealed by the comparison with major regions of Europe, there is still a strong potential for further postponement of childbearing in Estonia. The extrapolation of recent trends shows that it will likely take additional 10–15 years to reach the levels currently exhibited by the forerunners of the “postponement transition”.

An additional account of the ongoing transformation in the timing of childbearing is presented by means of age curves for 1989–2008 (Figure 1.6). Up to the early 1990s, the data indeed show a very youthful pattern of childbearing in Estonia. On the eve of societal transition, childbearing had become strongly concentrated into young adulthood, with more than two fifths of all children born between age 20 and 24. Consistent with the observation based on total fertility rates, there was no clear-cut postponement during the first half of the 1990s but rather a fertility prevailing in almost all ages. The only exception were women in age group 15–19 who demonstrated a moderate rise in fertility rates up to 1990–1991 (not shown in the figure). The referred increase in teenage motherhood represents a tail end in the long-term rise in teenage childbearing, pointing out some non-synchronism in switching to new behavioural patterns.

The transformation of age pattern between 1995 and 2000 leaves no doubt

about the switch to postponement although the decrease of fertility rates among younger women was not yet offset by the increase in older groups in that period. This new situation emerges from the comparison of the 2000 and 2005 curves – the rise of childbearing after age 25 has fully compensated for the concurrent reduction in younger ages. Also, among Estonian women aged 30 and older, the age-specific fertility rates from 2005 clearly exceed those observed in the late 1980s. From another angle, the progress of fertility postponement is highlighted by the changing contribution of women in different age groups to overall fertility level. Since 2000, women aged 25–29 outperform the 20–24-age group in terms of the contribution to total fertility rate. Starting from 2005, also the 30–34-year-olds feature a greater input to total fertility than the 20–24-age group. The comparison of the age curves data for the very recent years conforms the view that the shift towards further postponement of childbearing is well in progress and yet far from the saturation point.

1.2.4 Tempo-effects in fertility measures

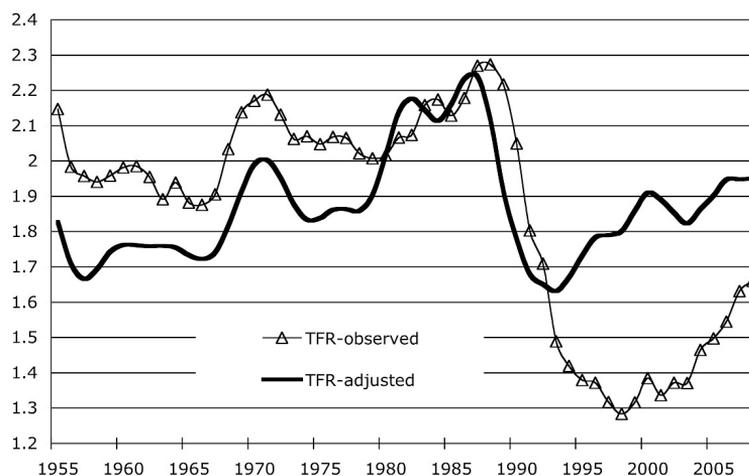
It is a well-known demographic fact that in the situation where the age-specific fertility schedules are moving toward older age, this shift tends to depress the observed number of birth and all the period fertility measures to a lower level than it would reach in the absence of such shift. The parallelism of the postponement and decrease in fertility rates raises a question to what extent the fall in the period TFR, discussed in the previous sections, may be driven by the changes in the age pattern of childbearing and to what extent it reflects a “real” reduction in the quantum of fertility.

To address the issue, we apply the adjustment method proposed by John Bongaarts and Griffith Feeney (Bongaarts and Feeney 1998). A typical interpretation of the adjusted TFR is that it is period indicator that would be observed in the absence of changes in the timing of childbearing. Although more sophisticated methods of period fertility adjustment have been developed later (e.g. Kohler and Ortega 2002, Philipov and Kohler 2001), lack of age- and order-specific exposure data yet prevents the application these more advanced techniques in case of Estonia. To overcome the relatively large fluctuations resulting from the sensitivity of tempo-adjusted measures, this contribution presents values that are smoothed over a period of three successive years (Figure 1.7).

A brief glance at the figure is enough to show that the tempo-adjusted TFR provides much less dramatic account of the decline in fertility levels in the 1990s than its non-adjusted counterpart. The comparison of tempo-adjusted and non-adjusted measures reveals two distinct stages in the dynamics of fertility in Estonia since the turn of the 1990s. The first, a fairly short period – from 1988–1989 to 1992 – was dominated by a sharp decrease in fertility level. In that period, the adjusted total fertility rate was lower than the observed total fertility rate. Such configuration derives from the fact that mean age at childbearing still shifted towards a younger age in Estonia in these years.

In 1993, the fertility postponement emerges as a factor shaping the observed fertility levels in Estonia. This claim is supported by the dynamics of the tempo-adjusted TFR that reaches a bottom and rises above the observed total fertility rate. The further decrease of the observed fertility rates to lowest-low level in the late 1990s seems to be mainly driven by the vigorous postponement of motherhood. The effect of fertility postponement on fertility measures is visualised by the gap between the observed and tempo-adjusted measures. On average, since 1993 the shift towards later childbearing has pushed the observed period TFR downwards by ca 0.4 children per woman. This implies that the timing effect accounts for about half of the decline in fertility rates that occurred in Estonia after the turn of the 1990s.

Figure 1.7: Observed and tempo-adjusted total fertility rate. Estonia 1955–2007.



Source: Eesti Statistika (2010); own calculations.

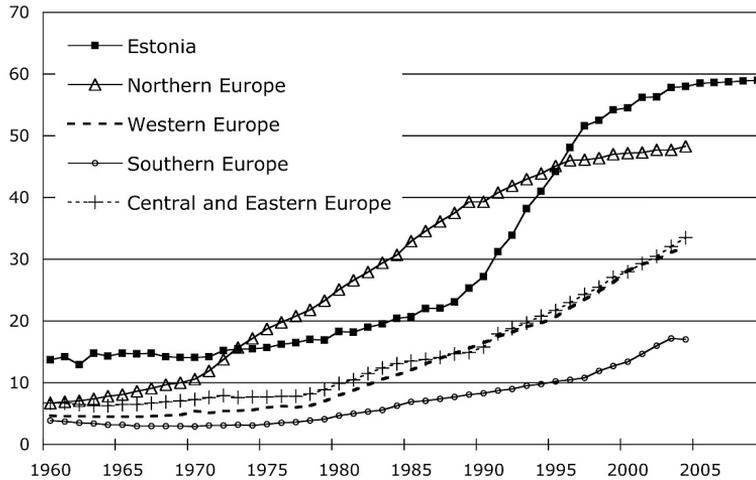
To this end it should be noted that the tempo-adjusted measures do not provide a straightforward prediction of the level to which fertility will return once the postponement approaches its completion in Estonia, plausibly after the mid-2020s. The main reason for such reservation stems from the uncertainty related to fertility recuperation in the cohorts who are currently postponing their childbearing towards ever higher ages. The recuperation depends on the extent to which women in their early and mid-20s will have the births, foregone in early stages of reproductive career, at a later age. But as anything in the future, the completeness of such recuperation should not be taken for granted. Drawing on the evidence from the survey data, this issue is elaborated in the following sections.

1.2.5 Spread of non-marital childbearing

Another salient feature of contemporary fertility patterns pertains to the family context of childbearing. Marriage as an institution has been transformed significantly in the course of demographic transition, but the ordering of events in family formation – first marriage and after some time the first birth – did not change considerably up to the decades following the baby boom era. The post-transitional period has witnessed a remarkable shift away from the traditional unity of reproduction and marriage that until recently used to be the only socially accepted context for childbearing.

In the present section, non-marital childbearing is analysed by means of general proportion of children born out of wedlock. Figure 1.8 draws attention to the spectacular growth in the proportion of children born to unwed mothers in Estonia since the beginning of the 1990s. The shift towards increased non-marital childbearing appears particularly strong in comparative perspective, against the background of major regions of Europe. In particular, as the upward slope of the curve strengthened around the turn of the 1990s, in a matter of just 5–6 years Estonia closed the gap with the Nordic countries which are known as the European forerunners in this

Figure 1.8: Proportion of non-marital births. Estonia and major regions of Europe 1960–2009.



Source: Council of Europe 2006; Eurostat 2010.

regard. Since 1996, in terms of the proportion of non-marital births Estonia exceeds the average of the Nordic countries.

The exploration of longer trends shows that in Estonia the relatively high incidence of births to unwed women is definitely not a new phenomenon that came into being during the societal transformation of the 1990s. In the postwar decades, until the end of 1960s, Estonia surpassed all major regions of Europe with respect to the proportion of children born to unmarried mothers. The proportion of non-marital births was particularly high (up to 22–23%) in the late 1940 and early 1950s, Katus relates such exceptionally high incidence of non-marital to the effects of societal discontinuity. The return to more “normal” conditions after Stalin’s death implied a gradual decrease in the prevalence of non-marital birth to the level of 14–15% in the 1960s. To this point it is interesting to note that even in its lowest point, the average proportion of non-marital births in Estonia persistently exceeded that in Western, Central and Eastern Europe, let alone the countries of Southern Europe. As regards the spread of non-marital childbearing in individual countries across Europe, in the 1960s Estonia ranked second in Europe, following Iceland (Council of Europe 2006).

The temporary plateau was followed by a new upward trend in the 1970s that gained momentum in the following decade. In the late 1980s, slightly more than a quarter of children were born to unmarried women in Estonia. Since 1997 non-marital births have outnumbered marital births, since 2003 births to unwed mothers have constituted 58–59% of all births in Estonia. With such a proportion, the country again ranks second in Europe, and again next to Iceland (Eurostat 2010). It is interesting to note that together with Norway and Sweden, only in the referred four countries non-marital births currently constitute a majority among all births. Evidently, these populations have come rather close to a saturation point after which hardly any further increase can be expected.

The evidence from demographic survey has revealed that the observed rise stems primarily from the increase in childbearing among cohabiting couples who

have become less inclined to convert their partnership into marriage upon the arrival of a child (Puur *et al.* 2009b). In a broader framework, the dynamics of non-marital childbearing corroborates the evidence from previous studies that the shift towards family patterns characteristic of the Second Demographic Transition can be traced back several decades in Estonia (Katus *et al.* 2002; 2008b). Among the native population, the shift from (direct) marriage to cohabitation as a prevailing mode of union formation started well before the fall of the Soviet regime and followed a trajectory rather similar to the Nordic countries.

1.2.6 Completed cohort fertility

Cohort data have the advantage of reflecting the lifetime developments that are free from the distortions introduced into period measures by the changes in the tempo of childbearing. At the same time, definite conclusions about lifetime fertility can be drawn only for the generations who have reached the end of their reproductive life span. To provide an account of the trends in completed cohort fertility, the present section draws from different sources of demographic information.

Figure 1.9 draws on the 1989 and 2000 population census and presents the dynamics of the cohort total fertility rate (number of ever-born children) starting from generations born at the beginning of the 20th century who were in the prime childbearing during the interwar period.¹⁶ This extends the timeframe of the analysis backwards and places the childbearing trends in a longer perspective. In Estonia, like in other contemporary low-fertility countries, childbearing is almost completed by about age 40. Therefore, from another end the census data allow to draw conclusions about completed fertility for generations born until the late 1960s. The evidence for childbearing patterns in younger generations should be sought from other sources, discussed below.

The census data are presented for the native population of Estonia, leaving aside immigrants, who have settled in the country after the Second World War. Such an analytic strategy is required because of the distinct demographic patterns among the native and foreign-origin populations that mirror the divergent paths of long-term population development in Estonia, on the one hand, and the regions of the Russian Federation and other parts of the former Soviet Union, on the other hand. Historically, the latter areas did not share the experience of the west European marriage pattern and featured a noticeably later timing of demographic transition (Coale 1994, Coale *et al.* 1979, Katus 1994). Although these facts relate to a rather distant past, analyses have shown that systematic differences between the native and foreign origin populations persist (Katus *et al.* 2002; 2000). The relative size of the foreign-origin population, accounting at present for nearly 30 per cent of the total population,¹⁷ meaning that the total population is an aggregate of two rather divergent elements. The demographic patterns can be understood better through focusing on each subpopulation separately, whenever the data allow.¹⁸

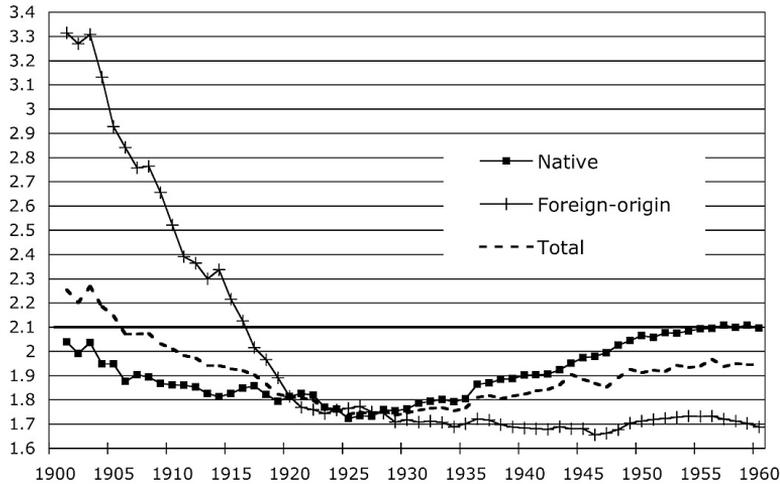
The evidence drawn from the censuses corroborate the main findings of earlier analyses of cohort fertility and the position among the European forerunners of fertility transition (Katus 1997b; 2000). Among the native population, completed

¹⁶The data for generations born before 1935 are derived from the 1989 census, the data for other generations come from the 2000 census. The combination of two censuses was preferable since it reduces the bias caused by selective survival of women in older generations. The examination of the data quality of the two censuses reveals that the 2000 census may slightly overestimate the level of cohort fertility (ca 0.05 children in the merging point of the two data series).

¹⁷According to estimates based on the 2000 census, foreign-origin population accounted for 29.7 per cent of the total population, with the first generation constituting 15.8 and the second and succeeding generations 13.9 per cent (Puur and Rahnu 2008).

¹⁸The demographic patterns among the foreign-origin population are systematically discussed elsewhere (Katus *et al.* 2000; 2003).

Figure 1.9: Completed cohort fertility. Estonia, birth cohorts 1900–1960.



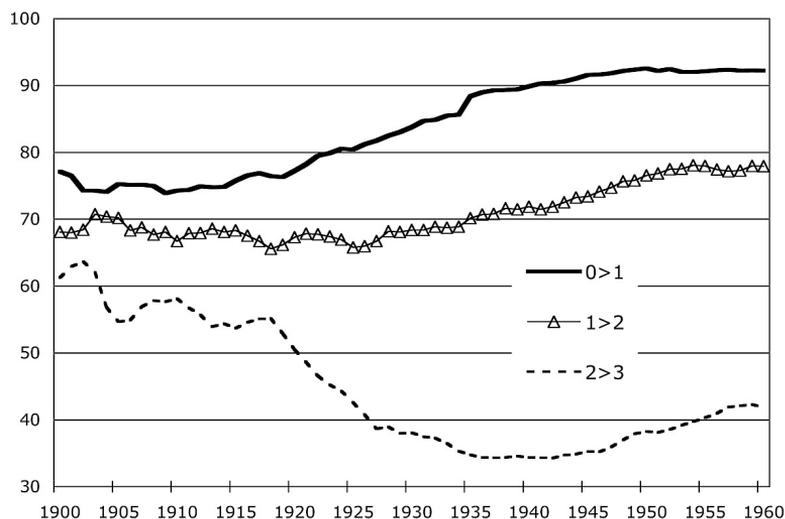
Source: Census 1989 and 2000; own calculations.

cohort fertility had fallen below replacement in the cohorts of native women born at the turn of the 20th century. The decrease observed in a few oldest generations evidently represents a tail end of the transition from uncontrolled high to controlled low fertility that commenced in the middle of the 19th century. In generations born in the late 1910s, the decline showed signs of stabilisation at the level 1.80–1.85 children per woman. This was followed by a further decrease that took fertility down to 1.72–1.75 children among women born in the late 1920s. The prime childbearing years (roughly age 20–35) of these generations fell into the period 1945–1965, i.e. childbearing patterns in these birth cohorts have made a decisive contribution to low period fertility and the absence of baby boom discussed in the earlier sections. In other trendsetter countries of the fertility transition, these generations carried the baby boom and brought fertility substantially above replacement up to the middle of the 1960s.¹⁹

From the birth cohorts of the late 1920s, a gradual increase in completed cohort fertility began in Estonia. The upward trend continued for about three decades and took fertility back to replacement level (ca 2.1 children per woman) among women born in the 1950s and early 1960s. Overall, the increase appears quite pronounced, and as revealed in Figure 1.9, these generations featured the highest number of children since the birth cohorts of the late 1890s. Return to replacement-level fertility to a large extent underlies the rise in period fertility rates observed during the 1980s and Estonia's high position in international comparisons in that period. On the other hand, however, it should be underlined that the rise in fertility levels among the native population of Estonia was not limited to a few cohorts with perhaps specific experience but was driven by a large number of successive generations born between the early 1930s and early 1960s.

¹⁹Among the forerunners of fertility transition, neighbouring Latvia also missed the baby boom (Frejka and Sardon 2004).

Figure 1.10: Cohort parity progression ratios. Estonia, native population, birth cohorts 1900–1960.



Source: Census 1989 and 2000; own calculations.

1.2.7 Parity progression ratios and ultimate family size

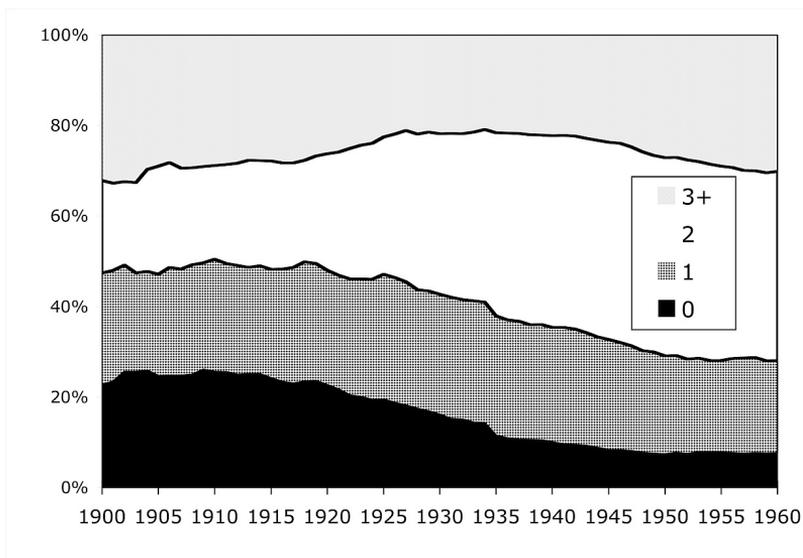
An additional insight into childbearing patterns in cohort perspective can be obtained from parity progression ratios, these measures illuminate the propensity of women to progress from one parity to the next. To offer a parallel to the account of order-specific fertility discussed in the previous sections, parity progression ratios are analysed for transitions from childlessness to having a first child, from the first to a second child, and from the second to a third and higher order (Figure 1.10). The examination of the probabilities of these moves yields an understanding of demographic mechanisms driving the shifts in completed fertility and ultimate family size distribution of the generations.

In general, the parity progression ratios disclose several rather extensive shifts in the pattern of childbearing which have partly cancelled out each other. To start with parity 0, the propensity to have a first child has increased considerably since generations born before the First World War. The percentage of childless women decreased about three times, from a maximum of 25–26 per cent in these oldest cohorts to a minimum of 7–8 per cent in the cohorts born in the 1950s. The observed rise in the $0>1$ parity progression ratio reflects the disappearance of the west European marriage pattern (Hajnal 1965). The dynamics of the PPR $0>1$ suggests that a shift away from the historical pattern of family formation and childbearing started in generations who reached adulthood in the 1930s in Estonia. From another angle, the data also reveal that neither the Second World War nor the societal discontinuity in the 1940s and 1950s disrupted the secular decline in childlessness.

The propensity to move from the first to a second child changed relatively little among women born between 1900 and the early 1930s. In these generations, between 66–71% continued from first to second birth, with a slightly lower propensity in the cohorts born in the 1920s. This was followed by a rise that took the PPR $1>2$ close to 80% women born in the 1950s.

An opposite shift is characteristic of the transition from a second to third birth. Despite fluctuations caused from a limited number observations, the census data reveal a marked decrease in the propensity of women to proceed to a third birth among older generations. This evidently represents a tail end of a more prolonged downward trend that reflects the spread of parity-specific family limitation and started around the mid-19th century in Estonia. In the birth cohorts of early 1900s, the secular decrease in the progression to higher parities was not yet complete as more than 60% of two-child mothers went on to have a third child. In generations of the early 1920s, the proportion dropped below 50%, the decrease accelerated among women born in the early and mid-1920s. Finally, the downward trend came to a halt among the cohorts born in the late 1940s and early 1950s, at the level of 34-35%. Thus the analysis confirms the evidence obtained from order-specific fertility rates that the absence of the postwar baby boom and low fertility in comparative perspective results from the accelerated decrease in the propensity to have large families rather than from a tendency to forego childbearing. In the following generations the probability of having a third child turned to moderate increase. Like the progression to a second birth, the 2>3 parity progression ratios peaked among women born around the turn of the 1960s. In these generations, more than two-fifths (41-42%) of women with two children went on to have a third child.

Figure 1.11: Parity distribution. Estonia, native population, birth cohorts 1900-1960.



Source: Census 1989 and 2000; own calculations

To sum up, the examination of parity progression ratios allows us to conclude that the upward trend in completed fertility that began in the birth cohorts of the late 1920s and continued until the birth cohorts of the early 1960s resulted from the cumulation of several concurrent shifts in parity progression. On the one hand, these cohorts experienced a marked decrease in the proportion of childless women; in fact, the onset of the decrease in childlessness can be traced back to generations born in the 1910s. Further, there was an increase in the relative number of women

with one child who went on to have a second child from birth cohorts of the late 1920s. From the latter generations onward, the effect of rising PPR $0 > 1$ and PPR $1 > 2$ exceeded the impact of decreasing progression to higher parities and turned completed fertility to rise. In terms of calendar periods, the referred turning point seems to have occurred sometime in the late 1950s. At a later stage, in the birth cohorts of the late 1940s and early 1960s, the upward trend in completed fertility was driven by the rise in PPR $1 > 2$ and PPR $2 > 3$. In these generations, the childlessness had reached a level – the lowest observed in Estonia since at least the mid-18th century – from which a further decline is hardly imaginable.

The described shifts in parity progression ratios determine the ultimate family size of generations (Figure 1.11). The cohorts born until the 1920s feature a relatively similar proportion of women with 0, 1, 2, and 3+ children, and it was still the most common for women in these generations to have large families with three or more children. It implies that below replacement fertility in these cohorts embedded a remarkable diversity in reproductive outcomes. A fairly high proportion of women with large number of children was offset by an almost equally high proportion of childless women: in fact, in the birth cohort of the 1900s and the 1910s childless women ranked second among our four family size categories. In a broader framework, the observed diversity again draws attention to the salient role of the west European marriage pattern in bringing about the sub-replacement fertility early in the interwar decades. This observations holds for Estonia but can be extended to other forerunners of fertility transition.

Figure 1.11 pinpoints a noticeable acceleration of shifts in parity distribution in generations born around 1920. These shifts led to the consolidation of the two-child family model in Estonia. In the cohorts born at the turn of the 20th century, women with two children accounted for only 20% of the generation. In the birth cohorts of the late 1940s and early 1950s, the corresponding percentage reached 43–44%. In generations born between the mid-1940s and early 1960s, 3+ children emerged as the second most common family model (up to 30%), followed by a one-child family (down to 20%). Childlessness indeed had become rather infrequent in these generations.

1.2.8 Cohorts completing childbearing in the late 20th and early 21st century

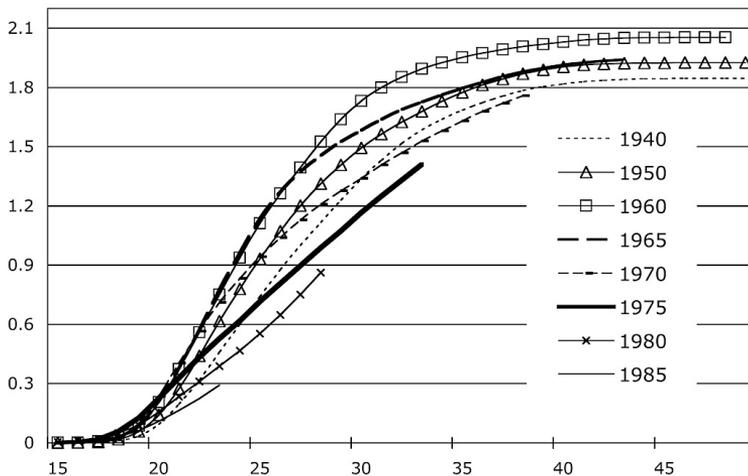
In the previous section, the data from the 1989 and 2000 censuses was used to provide an account of completed fertility and parity distribution in the cohorts born until the turn of the 1960s. Given the pattern of relatively early childbearing that prevailed in Estonia in the 1970s and 1980s, women in these generations formed their families largely before the onset societal transition.

To get an idea of the change of childbearing patterns in the following generations, we have used age-specific fertility rates reported in vital statistics since the early 1950s and on that basis constructed the profiles of age-cumulative fertility rates for the cohorts born between 1940 and 1985. Although these cohorts have reached different stages in their reproductive careers by the time the analysis was performed, the applied method renders the cumulative number of children comparable at specific ages, and permits us to draw some tentative conclusions before the process of childbearing is complete for the younger generations. It should be noted that unlike the census data, age-cumulative fertility rates presented in Figure 1.12 pertain to the total population of Estonia, including the postwar immigrants and their descendants. For differences in the reference population and analytical approach, the evidence presented in the present and the previous section are not identical but the match between two sources of information is rather good. Due to systematically lower fertility among the foreign-origin population in cohorts born in the late 1920s

and later, the estimates for the total population are shifted downwards by 0.1–0.2 children.²⁰

For generations that have completed childbearing, the data corroborates the findings reported in the previous section. Following the low point in the birth cohorts of the late 1920s, completed fertility increased in Estonia until generations born around the turn of 1960s, reaching the replacement level among the native population and somewhat less for the total population (2.05). In the following generations completed fertility starts to decrease but the decline appears less dramatic than suggested by sharp fall in period fertility rates discussed in the earlier sections. Thus, the 1965 birth cohort ends up with ca 1.95 children, i.e. about 0.1 children less than the top-ranking 1960 cohort. The comparison of the curves of the 1960 and 1965 cohorts reveals that the deficit of births in the 1965 cohort emerges after the mid-point of childbearing career, around age 27. In terms of the calendar time, this coincides rather well with the beginning of the most turbulent phase of societal transformation in Estonia: women born in 1965 turned 27th birthday in 1992.

Figure 1.12: Age-cumulative fertility rate. Estonia, native population, birth cohorts 1940–1985.



Source: Vital statistics 1950–2008; own calculations.

The 1970 cohort can be followed up until age 38, by that age women belonging to this generation had 1.76 children on average. It is interesting to note that for the 1970 cohort, the shift in childbearing clearly points to the influence of transforming societal context. Until age 22, the age-cumulative number of children 1970 cohort is closely similar to that in the 1960 and 1965 cohorts. The difference from preceding generations starts to emerge from age 23, i.e. from the calendar year 1993. Assuming that after age 38, the 1970 generation will feature the rates of childbearing similar to the 1965 cohort, it will likely end up with ca 1.85 children per woman. This appears

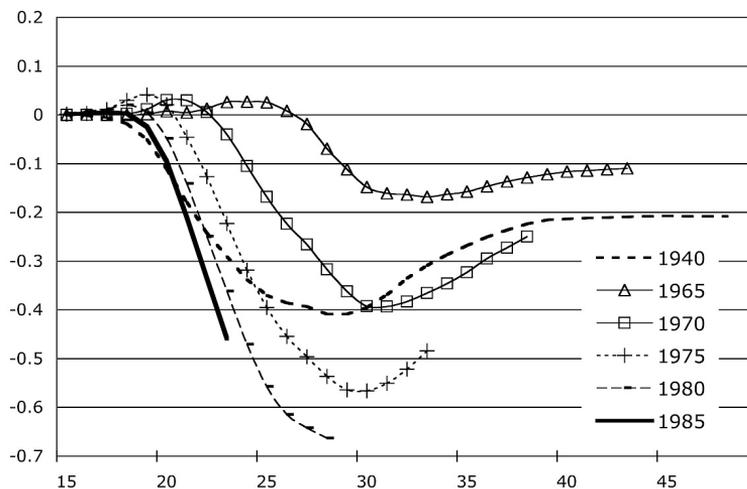
²⁰For the 1940 generation, the cohort TFR constructed from vital statistics was 1.84 children per woman. A comparable measure derived from the 2000 census was 1.82 (native 1.90, foreign-origin 1.68). For the 1950 birth cohort, the vital statistics yielded a CTFR 1.92 children per woman, the census gave 1.91 (native 2.07, foreign-origin 1.71).

ca 0.2 children or 10% less than the 1960 generation; a similar level of completed fertility was attained by the 1940 birth cohort.

The three younger cohorts in Figure 1.12 have from the onset developed their reproductive careers in the transformed societal context. Women in the 1975 generation turned 15 in 1990, women born in 1980 turned 15 in 1995 and those in the 1985 cohort reached their 15th birthday at the turn of the Millennium. Compared to their predecessors, these cohorts are characterised by a pronounced shift towards later childbearing that has not yet reached a saturation point and pushes age-cumulative fertility measures strongly downwards. By the time of our analysis, women born in 1975 were 33 and had on average 1.41 children. Women in the 1980 birth cohort had reached their 28th birthday, with 0.86 children on average.

The most prominent demographic mechanism determining the levels of completed fertility in these generations has been the extent to which childbearing postponement is counterbalanced by birth recuperation. If the amount of childbearing that was presumably postponed by a cohort early in its reproductive period is fully recuperated when these women are older, cohort fertility remains stable. Alternatively, if only a portion of the postponed births is recuperated later in reproductive career, cohort fertility is bound to decline. The rate of cohort fertility decline will thus depend on the degree to which delayed fertility is eventually recuperated. Figure 1.13 casts some additional light on the interplay between fertility postponement and recuperation in the cohorts born since 1960. The figure presents a change in the age-cumulative fertility rates, with the 1960 generation used as a benchmark.

Figure 1.13: Change in cumulative fertility rate. Estonia, native population, birth cohorts 1960–1985.



Source: Vital statistics 1950–2008; own calculations.

In the 1965 cohort, the pattern is dominated by the decrease in the quantum of childbearing, although the signs of recuperation are also visible. In fact, until age 25–26, the fertility of women born in 1965 appears even higher than that of the previous cohort. Compared to the 1960 generation, however, starting from the age 27 a deficit of birth occurs. The difference in the cumulative number of births with the 1960 cohort reaches a maximum between age 30 and 35. At that point the

deficit amounts to -0.17 children. However, at later stages of reproductive career, the gap described starts to narrow, indicating a “catching up” with the 1960 cohort.

In the following cohorts, the postponement is well in progress, although at very early stages, women born in 1970 and 1975 demonstrate a marginally higher fertility than their counterparts in the 1960 generation. Among women born in the 1970, the deficit of births increases until age 30–31, reaching -0.40 children per woman. By age 38, however, these women make up nearly half of the deficit and it seems quite realistic to assume that the ultimate decline in completed fertility does not exceed 0.2 children in the 1970 cohort. In the 1975 cohort, a more pronounced postponement leads to a greater deficit (more than -0.55) but at the same time, recuperation starts earlier and seems more vigorous. Due to the latter fact women born in the mid-1970s may come quite close to the 1970 cohort in terms of completed fertility. From the life course perspective, the postponement observed implies a “flattening” of the fertility schedules, bringing an end to the strong concentration of childbearing into a few age groups. In other words, the childbearing patterns are becoming more heterogeneous, reflecting an increasing diversity in behavioural strategies among the population.

For the two youngest generations – women born in 1980 and 1985 –, the censoring before the turning point from postponement to recuperation leaves the extent of the forthcoming fertility recuperation to a matter of guess. Nonetheless, to cast some light on future fertility trends in these generations, the following section explores childbearing intentions drawing on the evidence from the 2004/2005 Estonian GGS.²¹

1.2.9 Childbearing intentions and fertility prospects in the younger generations

Figure 1.14 presents the number of intended children for the female respondents who belonged to reproductive age groups at the time of data collection (native population).²² The number of children expected is not directly comparable between the cohorts at different stages of their family careers – young women in their early 20s are usually still childless or have just entered motherhood while older women in their late 30s and early 40s are often not inclined to have more children. In order to overcome this shortcoming, the number of children expected in the future and those already born are combined. This manner of presentation also allows for a convenient comparison with the evidence presented in previous sections on generations that have their reproductive careers completed.

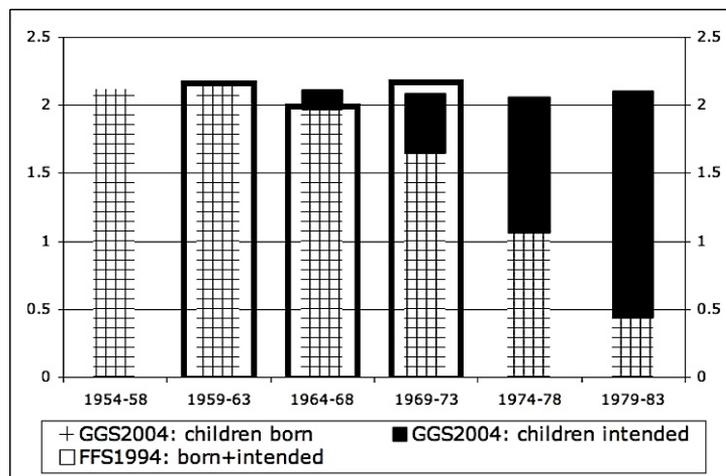
By the time of the survey in 2004–2005, women born in the late 1950s and early 1960s had basically finished childbearing, and the number of ultimately expected children is almost entirely determined by the children already born. In the younger generations, this number consists of two components with an increasing contribution of the number of children expected in the future. It should however be noted that only in the youngest cohort of 1979–1983 does the number of children expected in the

²¹Estonian GGS is a national survey in the framework of the Generations and Gender Program, coordinated by United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE 2005). The target population of the survey covered men and women born in 1924–1983 (Katus *et al.* 2008a, Puur *et al.* 2009a).

²²In the Estonian GGS, the respondents in reproductive age were asked whether they intended to have a(nother) child in the future. Alongside the definite answers “yes, certainly” and “no, certainly not”, the questionnaire included two intermediate categories, “yes, probably” and “no, probably not”. If the answer to the first question was not definitely negative, the respondents were asked about the number of (additional) children they expected to have and the age at which the first/next child was expected. In the present section, the operationalisation of childbearing intentions follows a conservative approach. Responses concerning prospective childbearing were taken into account only if the respondent gave a definite positive answer (“yes, certainly”) to the question about the intention to have (more) children. If the respondent was uncertain about her/his intentions or answered negatively, the information about intended childbearing was ignored.

future exceed the number of children already born. The highest number of children ultimately expected can be found in the 1959–1963 birth cohort, in which this figure amounts to 2.2 children. In younger cohorts, this number is declining somewhat but remains above the level of two children per woman. On average, women born in 1974–1978 expect to have 2.04 children, while their counterparts in the 1979–1983 birth cohort expressed a preference towards an even somewhat higher number.

Figure 1.14: Childbearing intentions. Estonia, native population, birth cohorts 1954–1983.



Source: Estonian FFS and GGS; own calculations.

Of course, such relatively high levels of intended fertility should be regarded with reservation since numerous studies have documented a tendency of desired fertility often substantially exceeding the observed and achieved fertility in post-transitional settings. Nonetheless, as the number of expected children is anchored to the specific life situation of an individual, it may be considered more realistic than the ideal family size, the latter reflecting primarily a normative context in which fertility intentions are formed and expressed (Hagewen and Morgan 2005).

A further insight into childbearing plans can be obtained from the examination of the intended parity. The data, not shown here in detail, indicate that in the youngest GGS generations, only a small fraction of women (5-6 per cent) look forward to remaining permanently childless. This percentage, which appears quite close to the levels actually observed among women born in the 1940s and 1950s, reveals the persistence of fairly strong norms against childlessness in Estonia. By the same token, the preference towards the one-child model remains at the levels characteristic of previous generations (slightly below 20 per cent). On the other hand, the two-child family model seems to be gaining somewhat greater popularity among the younger generations. Thus, in the 1969-1983 birth cohorts, 51-57 per cent of women mentioned the two-child “target”, compared to 40-47 per cent among women born in the 1950s and 1960s. The rise in the prevalence of the two-child model occurs at the expense of those women who prefer larger families. In the 1974-1978 and 1979-1983 birth cohorts, 23 and 20,5 per cent of women expect to have three or more children respectively.²³ For the sake of comparison, in the 1959–1963 cohort the actual share

²³In the calculation of intended parity distribution, we have rounded the answers “one or two

of women with three or more children accounted for 31.5 per cent.

All in all, these findings suggest a noticeable continuity of fertility intentions in Estonia.²⁴ Although the expectations reported in the survey are to a certain extent too optimistic to turn into reality, the observed intentions do not reveal any significant shift towards a greater acceptance of childlessness or a rising preference for one-child families in the younger generations. Although Estonia does not have long data series on fertility intentions, a comparison with the evidence from Fertility and Family Surveys (FFS) program conducted in the mid-1990s provides evidence about the relative stability of childbearing intentions over the past decade.

Alongside the GGS results, for the 1959–1963, 1964–1968 and 1969–1973 birth cohorts Figure 1.14 presents the average number of intended children (already born plus expected) as they were reported in the FFS 10 years earlier. The data reveal that the two older cohorts out of the three have achieved their reproductive targets with great accuracy. In 1994, women born in 1959–1963 intended to have on average 2.16 children. By the time of the GGS, the average number of children in the same cohort had reached 2.15. In the FFS, women in the 1964–1968 cohort stated an intention to have 1.99 children on average, in 2004–05 their achieved parity amounted to 1.97.²⁵

Compared to previous generations, the 1969–73 cohort demonstrates a different pattern. The comparison of the GGS and FFS reveals a certain decrease in the intended number of children, from 2.17 in 1994 to 2.09 in 2004–2005. This reduction of family size intentions can be given different interpretations. On the one hand, it can be regarded as adjustment of intentions in response to various constraints encountered in the course of life. On the other hand, it could also be seen as a part of an emerging shift towards smaller family preferences (Goldstein *et al.* 2003). Also, at the time of the interview in 2004–05, the 1969–1973 birth cohort was relatively far from their reproductive target (2.17) stated in 1994 (their average parity achieved was 1.65).

One obvious reason behind the latter discrepancy relates to the fact that women born in 1969–1973 had not yet completed their family formation. By the time of the GGS, the older members of the cohort had turned 35–36 while younger ones were still 30–31 years old. This translates into an average age of 33, at which the expectation for additional children is well justified. By analogy, women in the 1959–1963 cohort, who had reached the same point in the course of their lives 10 years earlier, at the time of the FFS added on average 0.20 births to the later stages of their childbearing careers. A similar increment would take the completed fertility of the 1969–1973 cohort to a level around 1.85.²⁶ In light of progressive fertility postponement however, the increment expected at the later stages of their reproductive careers could be slightly greater than 0.2 births.

children”, “two or three children”, etc downwards. This conservative approach to rounding is partly responsible for the decrease in the proportion of women intending to have large families. In the calculation of the average number of expected children, no rounding was applied (“one or two children” was interpreted as 1.5 children, “two or three children” as 2.5 children, etc).

²⁴A similar conclusion can be drawn from the ideal number of children representing norms endorsing fertility decisions (Katus *et al.* 2008a).

²⁵It is interesting to note that this corroborates quite closely with the results of Quesnel-Vallée and Morgan (2003) who showed that the US 1959–60 cohorts realised their childbearing intentions almost exactly.

²⁶This figure corroborates the estimate drawn from age-cumulative fertility rates in the previous section. Also, it coincides with the tempo-adjusted total fertility rate calculated for the total population of Estonia (Frejka and Sobotka 2008).

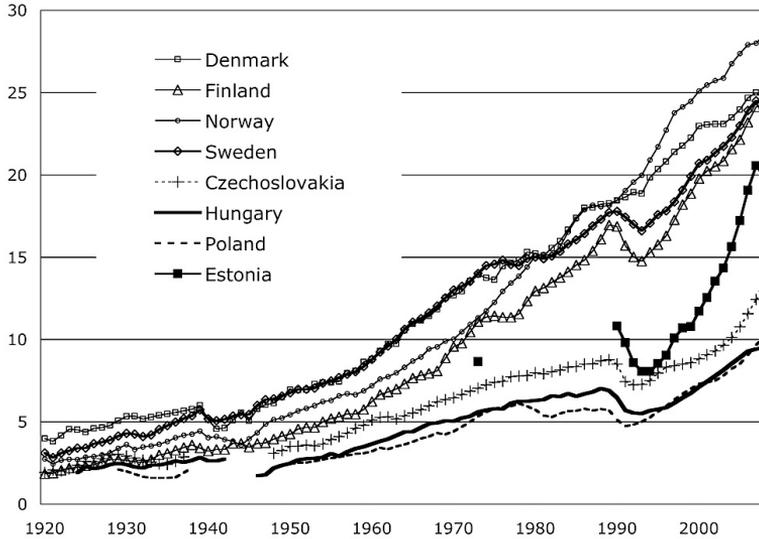
2 Macro-economic trends in Estonia

Contemporary economic development is commonly expressed in terms of gross domestic product (GDP) per capita. The GDP is calculated according to the international System of National Accounts (SNA), which is “a conceptual framework that sets the international statistical standard for the measurement of the market economy”, as described by the United Nations (UN 1993). In historical perspective, application of the SNA framework has been somewhat difficult due to the limited availability of data needed for such calculations. Several countries have nevertheless been able to establish relatively long series of national accounts (e.g. Krantz 1988). Another issue concerns the international comparability of national data. Scholarly interest in international comparisons has largely been influenced by the work of Colin Clark since the inter-war period (Maddison 2004). One of Clark’s major contributions was the development of a methodology for international comparison of economies by means of an “international unit”. After the Second World War, several large research projects were carried out to improve the comparability of economic performance between different countries. In 1968, the International Comparison Project (ICP) was initiated to facilitate international comparisons; the Geary-Khamis method of purchasing power adjustment was developed for this purpose (Kravis *et al.* 1978; 1982). This work has been undertaken and the GDP time-series since 1950 has been periodically updated and published as the *Penn World Table* (Heston *et al.* August 2009, Summers and Heston 1991).

The first comprehensive estimates of the economic development of Estonia were produced by Dresden Bank in 1930. These estimates were later used and made internationally comparable by Colin Clark (1938). Clark estimated the national income of European countries according to his international units, which were related to the value of the US dollar in 1925–34. According to Clark, Estonia’s per capita national income was at that time approximately half of that of Sweden and Germany, similar to that of Poland and Hungary, and a little lower than that of Finland. After the Second World War, the national income during the inter-war period was estimated by Paul Bairoch, who treated the Baltic States as one unit (Bairoch 1976). According to his calculations, the Baltic States’ national income per capita in 1938 was about 500 US\$ (in 1960 prices), which was much lower than Finland’s (913), Denmark’s (1045), Sweden’s (1097), and Norway’s (1298), similar to Italy’s (551), and higher than Spain’s (337), Portugal’s (351), Hungary’s (451), and Poland’s (372). Bairoch had reservations about the reliability of some of his figures, however, including those for the Baltic States. A more recent effort to estimate Estonian macro-economic figures for the inter-war period was made by Jaak Valge, who provided estimates of economic growth for the period 1923–38 (Valge 2003).

Estonia appears in the macro-economic statistics of the USSR for the post-Second World War period; these statistics pose serious comparability problems. Scholars developing international macro-economic measures had difficulty including the data from the USSR in their calculations of PPPs and comparisons of GDP. Calculations using a standard methodology were not feasible for the USSR and the bloc of state socialist countries. The state socialist economy was a system characterised by centrally controlled prices, labour and production (e.g. Kornai 1992). Prices were, for instance, differentiated for consumer and producer goods, the former being relatively high and the latter relatively low. Measurement of economic performance, i.e. accounting, was based on the material product system (MPS), rather than the SNA. These practices rendered the macro-economic statistics of the state socialist countries incomparable to market economies. Nonetheless, numerous studies were conducted in the Western world to gain insight into the performance of state socialist economies (e.g. Alton 1962; 1963, Alton and Korbonski 1965, Marer 1985).

Figure 2.1: GDP per capita in Estonia and some European countries. 1990 Geary-Khamis \$.



Source: A.Maddison. Statistics on World Population, GDP and Per Capita GDP, 1-2008 AD. <http://www.ggdc.net/maddison/>; Maddison (2007).

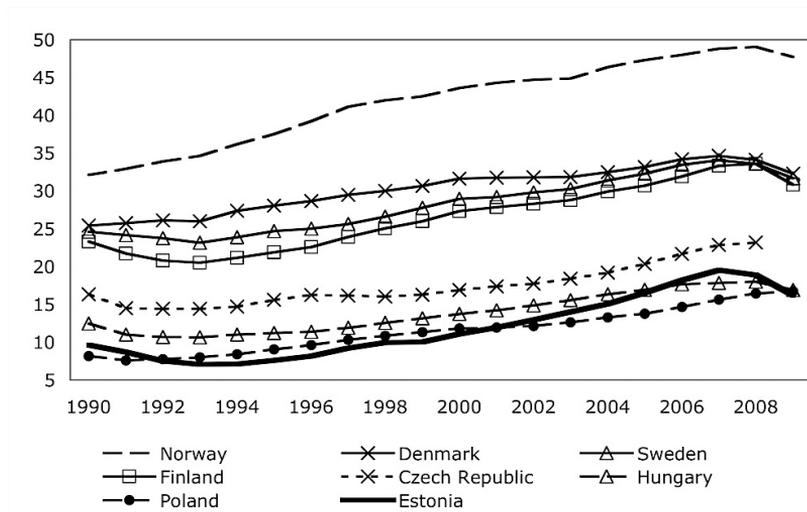
Western scholarly investigation of the economic growth of the USSR was initiated by Abram Bergson, under the aegis of the RAND corporation and the CIA. Arguably the best known estimates of economic growth in the USSR were produced by the CIA; these attracted both criticism (e.g. Moskoff 1981) and praise (e.g. Maddison 1998). The CIA methodology centred around physical volume indicators weighted by adjusted factor cost to reduce the price system bias. The results revealed that the economy of the USSR grew at the fastest rate in the 1950s–1960s (Maddison 1998). The CIA estimates conform with the general consensus about the stagnation of the economy of the USSR in the 1970s and 1980s.

Comparing international GDP proved to be a more difficult problem to solve. To illustrate the complexity of the issue, Angus Maddison, who reconstructed GDP per capita series for a large number of countries, was able to offer an estimate for just one year (1973) of the period 1945–1989 for the USSR and its constituent republics.²⁷ The comparative position of Estonia in 1973 and post-1990 according to Maddison's estimates is shown in Figure 2.1. Maddison's 1973 estimate suggests that GDP per capita in the USSR was higher than in Hungary and Poland, but lower than in Czechoslovakia. Maddison's estimate for Estonia in 1973 and 1990, however, surpasses even that of Czechoslovakia (Maddison 2006), which is probably indicative of overestimation.²⁸ It is difficult to believe that Estonia's GDP per capita

²⁷Maddison used the Geary-Khamis international dollar as a unit of measure, which is equal to purchasing power of the US\$ in 1990. According to Maddison, the USSR GDP per capita in 1973 was 6,059 international dollars, but he noted that there was considerable variation within the USSR, e.g. Estonia 8,657, Latvia 7,846, Lithuania 7,593, Russia 6,582, Belarus 5,233, and Ukraine 4,924 international dollars.

²⁸It is difficult to ascertain Maddison's methodology for arriving at these estimates and it has

Figure 2.2: GDP per capita 1990–2009. Estonia and some European countries. Thousand 2005 US\$, PPP-adjusted.



Source: UNECE (2010).

in 1973, let alone in the 1990s, exceeded that of Czechoslovakia, or the combined Czech Republic and Slovakia after 1990.

Figure 2.2 plots GDP per capita for selected developed market economies and former state socialist countries post-1990, based on United Nations Economic Commission for Europe estimates. It shows that in the 1990s, Estonia's GDP per capita was the lowest almost every year. The average GDP per capita difference in 1990–2000 compared to the other countries (as a percentage of the Estonian figure) is: Finland 267%, Sweden 293%, Norway 438%, Denmark 326%, Czech Republic 181%, Hungary 136%, and Poland 108%. On average, the other countries exceed the GDP of Estonia by 150 percentage points. These proportions vary significantly from Maddison's estimates. We are unable to explain why Maddison's figures for Estonia are so high. In the next section, we will attempt to create a new GDP estimate for Estonia that covers most of the 20th century, by piecing together the available statistical evidence.

2.1 Estimates of Estonian economic development

2.1.1 Prior to the First World War

It has been claimed that on the eve of the First World War, the population of Western and Northern Europe consumed approximately 27.6% of the world's national income, but accounted for only 11.5% of its total population. Eastern and Southern Europe, on the other hand, comprised 8.2% of the world's population and consumed 8.5% of its total income. The income/population ratio for the Russian Empire was even lower (Aldcroft 1994). Thus, despite efforts at modernisation, czarist Russia was still a less developed country than many European states.

received some criticism. See Clark (2009).

Estonia was considered to be one of the more developed regions of the czarist empire at the beginning of the 20th century, although industrialisation had begun only at the end of the 19th century and was spreading slowly. The tempo of industrialisation in Estonia accelerated before the First World War and, as a result, the province of Estland ranked 4th for industrial output per capita in the Russian Empire in 1908, followed by Livland (Varvzar 1912). Indirect estimates have shown that Estonia's national income in 1913 was at the level of Finland's (Aldcroft 1997), but comprehensive statistical data on Estonia for this period is missing.

The path of industrialisation in Estonia up until the First World War contained some serious pitfalls for sustainable economic growth. The industries were largely dependent on imported raw materials, and their goods were produced for the czarist empire's domestic market, which was highly protected from the world market. Market protection guaranteed quick industrial development – Estonian industrial production increased from 20.8 million roubles in 1890 to 38 million in 1900. There were approximately 21.6 thousand industrial workers in 1900 (Pihlamägi 1999). Industrialisation was heavily influenced by war preparations, which consisted of building ports, shipyards and military installations. In 1917, about one half of all industrial workers were involved in the metals industry; approximately 40% of capital stock had been invested in the machinery and metals industries, which mainly served the empire's needs (Karma 1963, Normak 1923, Pihlamägi 1999).

Whereas industrialisation was promoted by the czarist empire, agriculture remained relatively undeveloped. Indentured service had been abolished by regulations in 1816 and 1819, but the limitations of the old regime continued throughout the 19th century. Farms began to be privatised in the second half of the 19th century, but on the eve of WWI, only 40% of land was owned by peasants. The rest was owned and rented by approximately 1200 estate holders, thus precluding a large part of peasantry from owning land (Nõu 1955, Rosenberg 1998). The agricultural market, like the industrial, was tied to czarist Russia.

2.1.2 The inter-war period

The GDP calculations made by Jaak Valge (2003) use a simplified production approach to estimate economic growth in the primary, secondary, and tertiary sectors. We will briefly outline the problems he encountered and the methods he used to overcome them.

The original agricultural production statistics included only the annual net yield of private farms larger than 1 hectare. Therefore, in order to obtain information about the entire agricultural sector, some components had to be added, such as the yield of small and state-owned farms, farmers' secondary income, income from fishing or hunting, and agricultural capital depreciation. Some of these missing elements, such as state-owned farm production, farmers' secondary income, and income from fishing, were estimated on the basis of the 1929 agricultural census (Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo 1930). Survey data from farmers' budgets (from the ledgers of farms included in the continuous survey) were used to estimate the depreciation of agricultural capital stock, i.e. construction projects carried out on farms. Income from hunting was estimated indirectly.

The secondary sector posed several problems, because the inter-war annual statistics only dealt with large industry (enterprises with more than 20 employees). However, the 1937 economic census (Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo 1939a;c) recorded the production of all manufacturing and industrial enterprises. Large industry, as defined above, but excluding construction and manufacturing, represented about 81% of all industrial production in 1937. The 1937 economic census made it possible to include small industry and manufacturing production. The output of the construction sector was calculated on the basis of J.Janusson's 1928–1929 construction

volume estimates (Janusson 1932), annual cement consumption, and large industry production dynamics.²⁹

Table 2.1: Estonian GDP and GDP per capita in 1929 constant prices, 1923–1938.

	GDP million kroons	Population million	GDP per capita kroons	GDP per capita 1929=100
1923	408	1.11	368	81
1924	496	1.11	446	98
1925	499	1.12	446	98
1926	552	1.12	492	108
1927	504	1.12	450	99
1928	495	1.11	446	98
1929	510	1.12	455	100
1930	551	1.11	497	109
1931	517	1.12	462	101
1932	492	1.12	440	97
1933	528	1.12	472	104
1934	559	1.12	499	110
1935	603	1.13	533	117
1936	612	1.13	542	119
1937	640	1.13	567	124
1938	654	1.13	578	127

Source: Klesment (2008a), Valge (2003).

The statistician J. Janusson (1932) estimated the dimensions of the tertiary sector (transport, commerce, social services etc.) for 1928–30. Additional data pertaining to commerce and transport can be derived from the 1937 economic census (Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo 1939b). Due to the lack of detailed data, the size of the tertiary sector was estimated on the basis of demographic data. Information on the life events of individuals gleaned from the population censuses of 1922 and 1934 and vital statistics (births, deaths, marriages), was used to estimate the size of the tertiary sector (Valge 2003).

Indirect taxes were added to the three sectoral series, in order to produce time series at current producers' prices. The series was then converted to fixed prices by means of a deflator. The first option was to use the consumer price index. The second option applies the change in sectoral wholesale prices as a deflator (Klesment 2008a). Whereas different deflators produced variations in sectoral output, the change in the annual growth rate for the entire period was not substantially affected. The results of these calculations are presented in table 2.1.

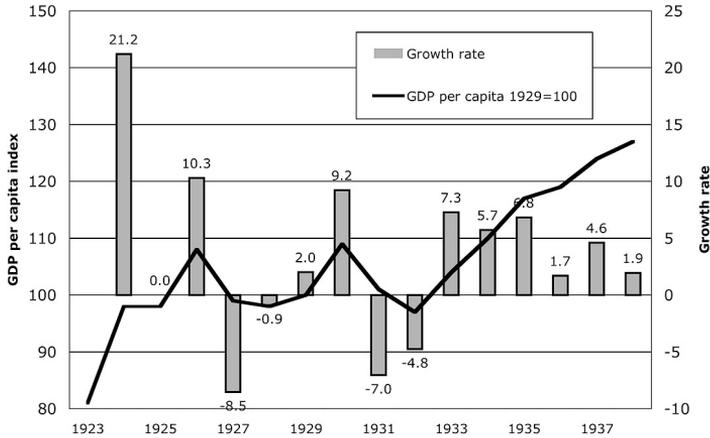
The results point to uneven economic development in the 1920s. Years of high growth alternate with those of zero or negative growth. Predictably, the years 1931–32, when the Great Depression reached Estonia, are characterised by negative growth. Since 1933, however, there has been a reasonably stable positive trend (Figure 2.3).

In addition to determining the growth dynamics, we were also interested in comparing Estonia to other European countries during that period. This was a difficult exercise, because calculating the purchasing power of the *kroon* compared to other currencies would have required a large amount of detailed data. J. Valge has accepted the estimate made by C. Clark, who deduced that the Estonian GDP per capita in 1925–34 was 341 international dollars, while that of Finland was 380 international dollars. Assuming that Clark's margin of error was not significant, the Estonian GDP would be approximately 90% of the Finnish national income. Since the average Finnish national income in international units is known for that period,

²⁹It is assumed that construction correlates with industrial production to a large extent, and its deviation from the industrial index can be tracked by cement consumption.

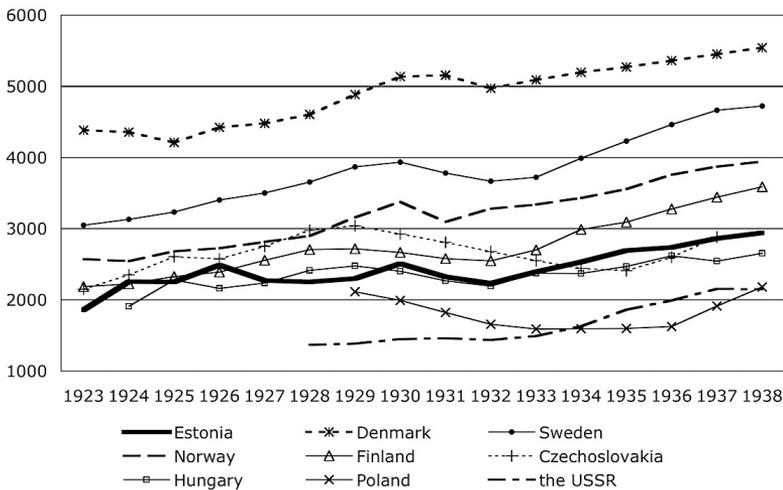
one is able to make a rough estimate of the Estonian level (Valge 2003). It must be emphasized, however, that such results should be viewed with discretion, since they rely on the validity of Clark's estimates.

Figure 2.3: Estonian GDP per capita index and annual growth 1923–1938.



Source: Klesment (2008a), Valge (2003).

Figure 2.4: GDP per capita 1923–1938. Estonia and some European countries. 1990 Geary-Khamis \$.



Source: Maddison (2006), Valge (2003).

Figure 2.4 indicates that Estonia's economic performance during the inter-war period was relatively close to Hungary's and Czechoslovakia's, lagged somewhat

behind Finland's, and was considerably behind Denmark's and Sweden's, but ahead of that of Poland and the USSR. The average difference between Estonia's output per capita and that of the other countries during this period was: Denmark 209%, Norway 135%, Sweden 162%, Czechoslovakia 115%, Finland 113%, and Hungary 93%. The figures for Poland were 75% and for the USSR 69%, but the time-series for these countries are shorter. Although these calculations are only rough estimates, there is less than a 1.5-fold difference between Estonia's per capita output and that of the other countries, with the exception of Denmark. The average difference is 28 percentage points in favour of the other countries, excluding the USSR. As we mentioned at the beginning of this section, Estonia's position relative to the other countries deteriorated considerably between the inter-war period and the 1990s. The widening of the gap between Estonia's economic performance and that of the other countries from 28 to 150 percentage points can be viewed as the economic price of the 1940–1990 regime (see also Kukk 2005).

2.1.3 The state socialist period

The problems associated with the Soviet national accounting system (MPS) are well known and difficult to overcome by methods of monetary conversion. Therefore, this study took a different approach and drew evidence from physical volume indicators, which are more objective and easier to compare over time and between countries. To facilitate the GDP estimation process, long-term (1920–2000) time-series of agricultural and industrial production and selected services were constructed, using published statistical materials for the inter-war and contemporary periods, as well as unpublished archival sources from the state socialist period. The time series were critically evaluated and harmonised to the extent possible; the results of this trend reconstruction were published by Klesment and Valge (2007). That publication also delineates the organisation of economic statistics in Estonia during the inter-war, Soviet and contemporary periods.

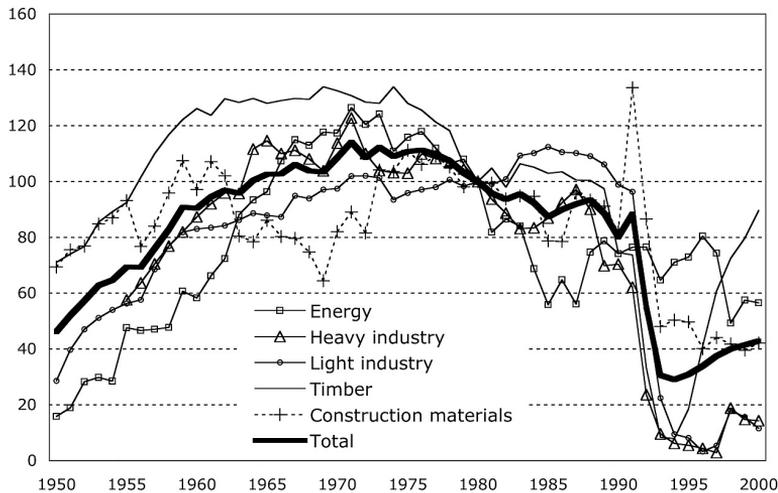
Production volume time-series serve as a basis for estimating growth, but they entail making some assumptions. First, it must be assumed that the structure of the economy does not change substantially (that the share of industrial and agricultural production in the economy is not displaced by services, for instance). Another assumption is that a change in the volume of a group of "key products" of a sector of the economy reflects a change in the output of the entire sector. Because of the extensive profile of the economy of the USSR, we were reasonably confident that time-series agricultural and industrial production would provide fairly accurate indications of overall economic growth. Therefore, we constructed indices of production for the main sectors of the economy (agriculture, industry, construction and transport) for the state socialist period in Estonia. We focused mainly on the state socialist period until 1980, because a better series is available as of that time and was used in this study.

One of the important issues connected with the use of physical volume data is the aggregation of single product series into sectoral series. Agricultural production was aggregated by calculating the per capita energy content of different products (grain, potatoes, milk, and meat) as described by Klesment (2008b). Industry was divided into five sub-sectors – energy (oil shale, shale oil, peat, peat briquette, gas, electricity), heavy industry (pig iron, steel, electric motors, power transformers), light industry (cotton cloth, linen cloth, woollen cloth, cotton yarn), timber (lumber, veneer, paper, cardboard, cellulose), and the production of construction materials (bricks, cement, lime, window glass, roof tiles). An index was calculated for each key product; the sectoral index was then computed as a geometric average³⁰ of the individual key product indices. An example of the industrial sub-sector

³⁰An arithmetic average would have overstated the contribution of a single volatile key product.

indices, summarised as an arithmetic average, is given in Figure 2.5. The industrial indices reflect the major changes in the Estonian economy, e.g. forced industrialisation after the Second World War and the marginalization of several industrial sectors after the fall of the state socialist regime in the 1990s. Because of the major structural changes, the industrial index is of little use for comparing the inter-war or contemporary periods to the state socialist period.

Figure 2.5: Indices of industrial production and unweighted total. 1980 = 100.



Source: Klesment and Valge (2007).

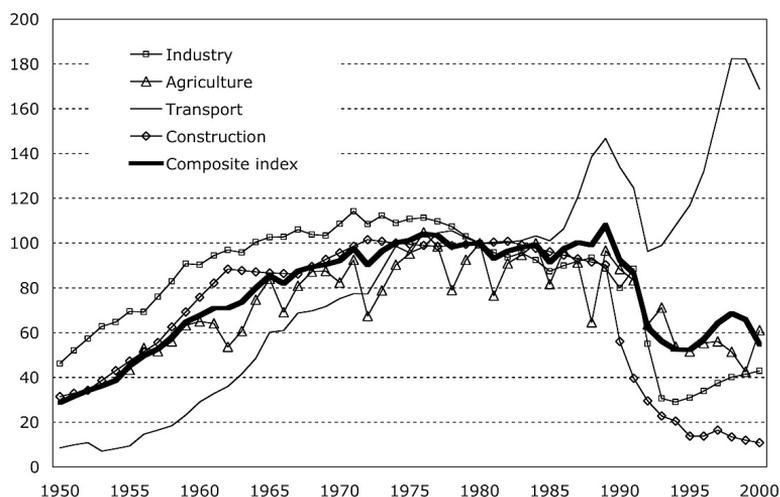
Like the industrial index, the sectoral transportation index was calculated on the basis of key products (transport of freight by road, rail, and sea). The construction index was based on the number of square metres in new buildings (in 5-year period averages). Because all the key product series were calculated per capita, the sectoral indices are standardised by the size of the population.

The four sectoral indices were aggregated into a composite index, shown in Figure 2.6. Bearing in mind that each sector had a different share of the economy, weights were used to calculate the composite index. Each sector's share of the national income for each year from 1955 to 1980 was used as a weight to calculate the composite index. The shares were obtained from official statistics (ENSV SKV 1981) and extrapolated to cover the 1950s. These shares ranged from 47–53% for industry, 17–27% for agriculture, 7.2–9% for construction, and 4–5% for transport during this period.

Together, the four sectors accounted for approximately 85% of national income, and the other sectors that are not included in these calculations (commerce, marketing, procurement, etc.) comprised the other 15% (ENSV SKV 1981). Components of the non-material sphere, such as education, social services and culture were not included in national income in the Soviet statistics. Consequently, it is likely that the composite index in Figure 2.6 is biased upwards in the earlier decades as compared to the 1970s–1980s, because of the omission of the non-material sphere and some sectors of the material sphere (which most likely increased their share of the total economy during the state socialist period). Another caveat exists with

regard to the 1950s – there is no reliable agricultural production data until 1955, so the pre-1955 index is less reliable than that of the later period.

Figure 2.6: Production indices by sector and weighted composite index. 1980 = 100.



Source: Klesment and Valge (2007).

The derived composite index can be taken as a rough estimate of economic growth during the state socialist period. The approach described above is not the only possible use of physical volume data. An alternative method involving physical indicators is to compare similar economies and to calculate the effect of physical volume changes on the GDP of an economy for which the GDP is known, and then to apply the coefficients to an economy for which the GDP is not known.³¹ It would have been complicated to find appropriate “benchmark” countries with a similar economic structure to that of Estonia, but with internationally comparable macro-economic statistics, so we did not explore this option further and instead used the derived composite index for the following calculations.

Applying a composite index of economic growth to estimate GDP requires a benchmark. Fortunately, for the period since 1990, internationally comparable and purchasing power parity-adjusted GDP estimates are available from the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE).³² These are arguably the best figures that have ever been produced for Estonia, in terms of international comparability. As the data includes the year 1990, which marks the end of the state socialist period, we have the required benchmark to develop estimates of GDP for the state socialist period.

Before discussing the use of the calculated composite index further, we want to introduce another source of information. When Estonia regained its independence in 1991, its Statistics Office recalculated the country’s national income for the 1980s.³³ However, this data was never used, which probably implies that it was

³¹Cited in Harrison (1994).

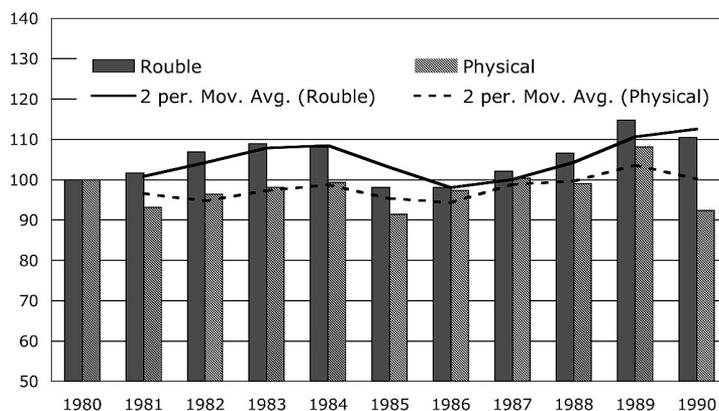
³²Available at <http://w3.unece.org/pxweb/DATABASE/STAT/Economics.stat.asp>

³³The Statistics Office used methods described in the United Nations’ document F.20 “Comparison of the system of National Accounts (SNA) and the system of Balances of the national economy

incompatible with national accounts for the 1990s. Although the method recommended by the UN minimised the differences between the MPS and SNA forms of accounting, there was no method of currency conversion but the official and commercial rouble/US\$ exchange rates (0.6 and 1.6 rouble per US\$ respectively). It was important for the purposes of this paper to convert the 1980–1990 MPS series into SNA series, including adjusting them for inflation. We therefore obtained a GDP index in constant rouble prices from the Statistics Office recalculations, which includes both the material and non-material spheres.

This makes the two index series for 1980–1990 – the physical volume indicators and the rouble index calculated by the Statistics Office – comparable. Both indices are displayed in Figure 2.7.

Figure 2.7: Per capita physical and rouble output 1980–1990. 1980 = 100.

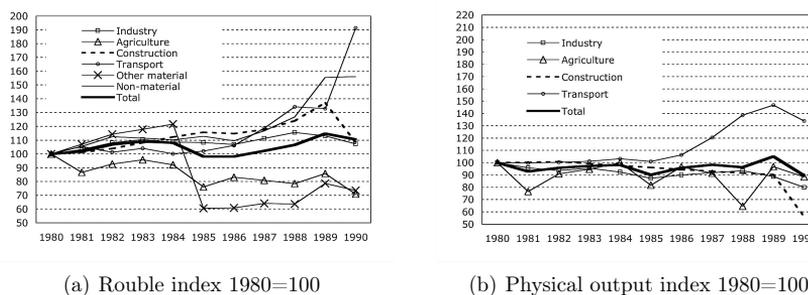


Source: Eesti Statistika (1992), Klesment and Valge (2007), own calculations.

There is a noticeable difference in the indices – the rouble index indicates higher economic growth than the index based on physical volume data. This can be explained partly by the increased share of the non-material sphere, and also by the changing composition of sector output due to the diversification of industry. According to Eesti Statistika (1992) calculations, the share of the material sector fell from 81% to 74% in the 1980s. Therefore, an increasing proportion of non-material output does not appear in the physical volume index. If the rouble index and physical volume index are both partitioned into sectoral indices, as shown side by side in Figure 2.8, considerable differences between the rouble and physical volume indices for industry and construction are revealed. On the other hand, the agriculture and transport indices are relatively similar. It is obviously preferable to use the rouble index for the 1980s, because of the omission of the non-material sphere from the physical volume index. The physical volume index is probably more reliable for the earlier decades of the state socialist period, due to the smaller share of non-material output and less diverse industrial production.

(MPS)” to convert data from the material product system to the system of national accounts. The resulting series are adjusted for inflation and include all sectors of economy. See Eesti Statistika (1992).

Figure 2.8: Sectoral per capita rouble and physical output 1980–1990. 1980 = 100.



Source: Eesti Statistika (1992), Klesment and Valge (2007), own calculations.

2.2 A new national income series

We have already described the aggregate macro-economic series that are available for 20th century Estonia, and will now discuss how we attempted to integrate these series using the GDP per capita (in 2005 US\$) series by UNECE, which places Estonia into an international context for 1990–2008. We assumed that the UNECE series was the best available estimate of Estonian GDP per capita in 1990. In order to simplify further comparisons, the UNECE series was converted from 2005 US\$ to 1990 US\$ by means of changes in the consumer price index.³⁴

Backward extrapolation was the next step. The 1980–1990 rouble index was linked to the UNECE 1990–2008 series, which produced an estimate of 1980–2008 GDP per capita in 1990 US\$. This series was further extended from 1980 to 1950 using the physical volume composite index described above. Details of the calculations are shown in Table 2.2. The results are illustrated in Figure 2.9 (1950 to 2008) and Figure 2.10 (for the state socialist period only).

To validate our results, we compared the growth rate estimates for Estonia with earlier estimates for the USSR. According to V.Kudrov, the USSR's rate of annual economic growth in 1950–1978 was 7.7% (on the basis of net material product and gross output); the CIA estimates for the same period were 4.4% (Maddison 1998). Our newly calculated series for Estonia revealed an annual compound growth rate of 4.4% in 1950–1978, which is very close to the CIA estimate. Broken down into shorter periods, Estonia's annual compound growth rate is 8.5% in the 1950s, 2.9% in the 1960s, 0.8% in the 1970s, and 1.4% in the 1980s.

Kudrov's figures show 2.4% annual growth for 1978–1990, whereas the CIA estimates point to a 1.2% annual growth rate over the same period. The new Estonian series indicate a 0.9% annual growth rate for 1978–1990. If the year 1990, in which there was significant negative growth, is excluded, the annual growth rate would be approximately 1.3% for 1978–1989.

On the basis of annual growth rates, the Estonian economy during the state socialist period seems to have developed rapidly in the 1950s and 1960s. Considering the setbacks caused by the war and Sovietisation, centralised industrialisation and the rapid increase in agricultural production in the 1950s–1960s, the high growth rates seem quite realistic. At the same time, the output data is least reliable for the early 1950s; therefore, the 1950s level of income per capita might need to be revised after time series for that period are improved. There is probable cause to be sceptical of the extremely high rate of growth in 1954–1955 (17%); as mentioned

³⁴Source: <http://www.measuringworth.com/ppowerus/>.

Table 2.2: Estimation of the new GDP per capita series 1950–1989.

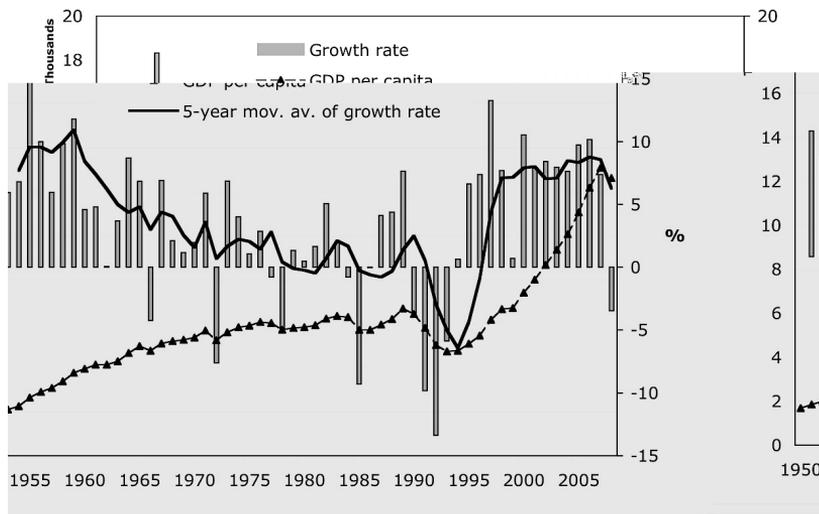
	UNECE series	Rouble index		Composite physical	New series	Growth rate %
	1990 US\$	1990=100	1980=100	1980=100	1990 US\$	
1950				28.7	1,676	–
1951				31.6	1,844	10
1952				34.1	1,991	8
1953				36.2	2,110	5.9
1954				38.6	2,253	6.8
1955				45.2	2,637	17.1
1956				49.7	2,901	10
1957				52.7	3,074	6
1958				57.9	3,377	9.8
1959				64.7	3,775	11.8
1960				67.7	3,949	4.6
1961				70.9	4,139	4.8
1962				71.0	4,141	0.1
1963				73.6	4,294	3.7
1964				80.0	4,668	8.7
1965				85.5	4,986	6.8
1966				81.9	4,775	-4.2
1967				87.5	5,106	6.9
1968				89.4	5,213	2.1
1969				90.4	5,273	1.1
1970				92.2	5,377	2
1971				97.6	5,694	5.9
1972				90.2	5,260	-7.6
1973				96.4	5,621	6.9
1974				100.2	5,848	4
1975				101.3	5,909	1.1
1976				104.2	6,079	2.9
1977				103.4	6,031	-0.8
1978				98.2	5,729	-5
1979				99.5	5,806	1.3
1980		90.5	100	100	5,834	0.5
1981		92.0	101.7	93.1	5,931	1.7
1982		96.7	106.8	96.4	6,232	5.1
1983		98.6	108.9	98.1	6,355	2
1984		97.9	108.1	99.3	6,305	-0.8
1985		88.8	98.0	91.4	5,719	-9.3
1986		88.7	98.0	97.3	5,718	0
1987		92.4	102.1	100.4	5,955	4.1
1988		96.5	106.6	99.0	6,216	4.4
1989		103.8	114.7	108.1	6,692	7.6
1990	6,444	100	110.5	92.3	6,444	-3.7
1991	5,810			86.5	5,810	-9.8
1992	5,033			62.3	5,033	-13.4
1993	4,739			56.2	4,739	-5.8
1994	4,769			52.5	4,769	0.6
1995	5,084			52.3	5,084	6.6
1996	5,460			57.1	5,460	7.4
1997	6,184			64.3	6,184	13.3
1998	6,661			68.6	6,661	7.7
1999	6,708			65.8	6,708	0.7
2000	7,415			54.7	7,415	10.5
2001	8,002				8,002	7.9
2002	8,674				8,674	8.4
2003	9,365				9,365	8
2004	10,079				10,079	7.6
2005	11,059				11,059	9.7
2006	12,185				12,185	10.2
2007	13,086				13,086	7.4
2008	12,632				12,632	-3.5

Sources: UNECE (2010); Valge (2003); Eesti Statistika (1992); Klesment and Valge (2007), own calculations.

above, there are no reliable agricultural series for the state socialist period prior to 1955.

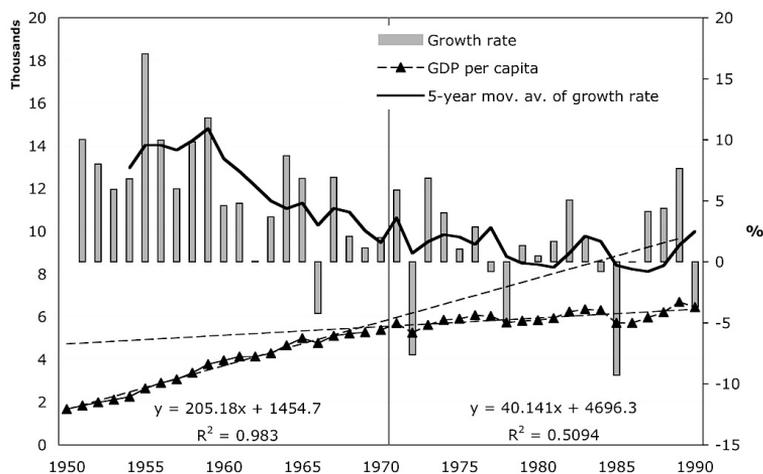
Although economic growth decelerated in the later decades in the USSR in general, some questions arise about the intermittent years of negative growth in the 1960s and 1970s. By our calculations, these are attributable to agricultural failures, such as those of 1965–66, 1971–72, and 1977–78, when the output of grain and potatoes fell considerably compared to the previous year. It is interesting that

Figure 2.9: GDP per capita in thousand 1990 US\$ and annual growth in Estonia, 1950–2008.



Source: Table 2.2.

Figure 2.10: GDP per capita in thousand 1990 US\$ and annual growth in Estonia, 1950–1990.



Source: Table 2.2.

Note: trend lines are for the period 1950–1969 and 1970–1990.

many industrial indices also contain slumps in 1971–71, so the negative growth might not only be due to poor agricultural production. There is also a sharp decline in 1984–85, which lowered the rouble index by 10 percentage points. Both agriculture and industry declined in that year, but the main cause has not yet been identified.³⁵

The Estonian data supports the premise of periods of growth and stagnation in the economy of the USSR. Dividing the state socialist period into halves at 1970 produces markedly different growth trends for the two periods, as shown in Figure 2.10. The years prior to 1970 exhibit relatively vigorous increases throughout the two decades, but the pattern of growth in the second half of the Soviet period remains more or less flat and justifies the application of the term “stagnation”, which has been widely used to characterise the economy of the USSR in the 1970s and 1980s.

The 1990s ushered in a massive restructuring of the economy, which resulted in negative growth for 4 years and more than a 25% decline in per capita output by 1994 as compared to the 1990 level. The contraction of the country’s economy was even greater than the per capita drop, because the population decreased at the same time due to considerable return migration of Soviet era immigrants after re-establishment of the country’s independence. Positive economic growth resumed in 1995.

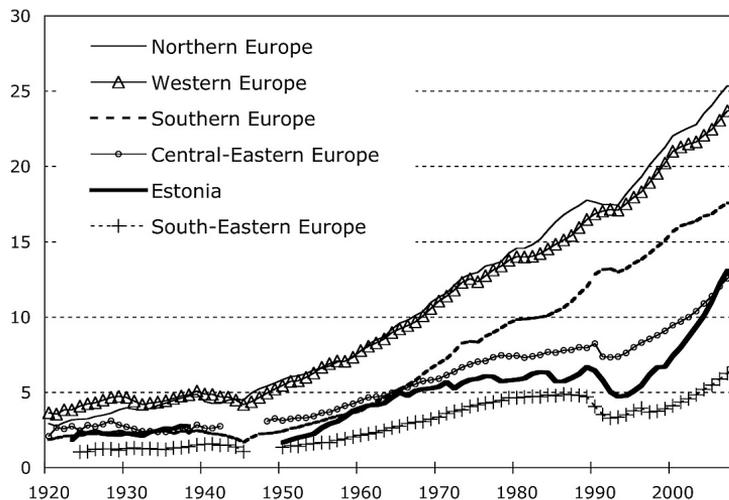
2.3 Estonian economic development in international perspective

The data that showed Estonia’s position in the inter-war period relative to the post-1990 period disclosed a major setback in the level of the country’s economic development following the Second World War. This deterioration is partly attributable to damage and slow recovery from the war. Although gaps in the physical volume data did not allow the reconstruction of the volume index to be extended to the 1940s, the estimated per capita GDP in the early 1950s was still below the level attained towards the end of the inter-war period. Analysis suggests that despite high rates of economic growth – judging from the composite volume index, annual growth rates in the 1950s and 1960s reached 9–10% – pre-war levels of per capita GDP were not achieved in Estonia until the late 1950s. However, bearing in mind the nature of economic development in the USSR, which strongly favoured the military and heavy industries, it seems likely that in terms of the standard of living, GDP parity with the late inter-war period was reached only in the 1960s.

The setback caused by WWII and its aftermath is substantiated by the international comparisons presented in Figure 2.11. The results show that in the early 1950s, the per capita GDP in Estonia had fallen below the levels observed in all the major regions of Europe, except the South-Eastern. Relatively strong economic growth, which is probably parallel to that of the USSR at that time (Allen 2001), continued until the 1960s, at which time Estonia closed the gap with Central-Eastern and Southern Europe. However, the analysis indicated that the convergence in per capita GDP levels was short-lived. In the 1970s and 1980s, a marked deceleration occurred and negative annual growth rates recurred in Estonia. During that period, the disparity between the levels of economic development in Estonia and the CEE countries reappeared. In addition, a pronounced contrast with Southern Europe became visible, which in a broader perspective reveals the difference in economic performance between centrally planned and market economies in Europe. Our estimates also suggest that Maddison’s estimate for Estonia in the 1970s was unrealistically high and should be adjusted downwards.

³⁵There was a steep decline in the so-called “other material production sector”, which lowered the rouble index substantially. We have not yet determined whether this was caused by the closing of a production unit or a change in the system of measurement.

Figure 2.11: GDP per capita in thousand 1990 US\$. Estonia and major European regions, 1920–2008.



Source: Tabel 2.2; A.Maddison. Statistics on World Population, GDP and Per Capita GDP, 1-2008 AD. <http://www.ggdc.net/maddison/>. Author's calculations.

Note: 1990-2008 are PPP-adjusted UNECE figures. The regions are defined as follows: Northern Europe – Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden; Western Europe – Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Netherlands, Switzerland, United Kingdom, Ireland; Southern Europe – Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain; Central-Eastern Europe – Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland; South-Eastern Europe – Bulgaria, Romania, Albania, Yugoslavia until 1989.

The trajectory of per capita GDP since 1990 in Estonia confirms the efficiency of economic reforms conducted since the beginning of the 1990s. Despite the steep decline in per capita GDP at the early stage of transition, the recovery has proven to be vigorous and the GDP has risen more rapidly than in most countries of the former Eastern bloc. As a result, Estonia has closed the gap – for the second time since the end of the Second World War – with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. It is assumed that the long-range trajectory of Estonia's per capita GDP revealed by this analysis offers not only a fairly accurate description of the country's economic performance but is also evidence of changes in the standard of living, and places Estonia in a broader comparative perspective.

3 Discussion

This article describes two major 20th century processes in Estonia. The first – childbearing trends – has been relatively well researched and a summary of these results produces a sufficiently serviceable overview of fertility development. The second – economic development in the 20th century – has been under-researched and indirect measures are necessary to place Estonia’s development in international perspective. As shown in the article, a combination of different time series can be useful for this type of exercise. However, the derived GDP per capita series should be seen as a first attempt at such calculations.

By providing a new estimated national income series, this paper has taken a step closer to the possible integration of fertility trends and economic development into one analysis. A few features of the derived data should be pointed out. Starting from the decades of low fertility that immediately followed WWII, the estimates of economic development developed during the study do indeed indicate a substantial setback in per capita GDP in Estonia in the aftermath of that war. Although our estimates did not extend to the late 1940s, a crude interpolation, based on the experience of countries for which continuous data is available, is enough to reveal the severity of the decline that inevitably produced a sharp downturn in the standard of living. This evidence thus lends some support to the hypothesis that temporary economic hardships influence fertility trends.

However, in the case of Estonia, the hardships extended beyond economic factors and involved other societal changes, such as political repression, the Stalinist deportations, etc., which may collectively be termed Sovietisation. Although evidence about the effects of Sovietisation is difficult to find and measure, it is a plausible correlate with Estonia’s low fertility in the early post-war decades. Such an inference is in line with an earlier viewpoint expressed by Frejka and Sardon (2004) who, in their comprehensive account of childbearing trends in low-fertility countries, pointed out that “post-war fertility developments in the Baltic countries have to [be] viewed in light of the political developments, namely the Soviet occupation and the extremely violent reorganisation /.../ of the society.”

It is important to note that despite the plausible contribution of the economic downturn to the lack of a baby boom in Estonia, its role should not be overstated. It is very difficult in hindsight to disentangle the influence of economic changes from that of the direct human costs of repression and uncertainty. In comparative perspective, the effect of an economic downturn on fertility levels should also be visible in other state socialist countries (CEE states or countries of South-Eastern Europe) following WWII. The latter, however, exhibit considerably higher fertility levels than Estonia during the post-WWII years, although their level of economic development at that time is more similar to Estonia’s than to that of western or northern European countries. Perhaps it was the economic downturn combined with the non-economic elements of Sovietisation that precipitated the low fertility in Estonia in the decades immediately following WWII.

It has been shown in this article that Estonian fertility rose from one of the lowest to one of the highest in Europe from the 1950s to 1980s. Unlike the absence of a baby boom, the study revealed no economic underpinnings for the rise in childbearing that brought Estonian fertility rates close to the replacement level during the 1970s and 1980s. The evidence drawn from reconstructed macro-economic trends corroborates the assumption that the latter decades of state socialism were a period of slackening growth in Estonia. In comparative perspective, the country’s economic performance lagged behind concurrent developments in other countries, including not only advanced market economies but also, to a certain extent, the former socialist countries of Central Europe.

The inability to directly associate higher fertility levels in the 1970s and 1980s with specific developments in the economic domain does not necessarily imply that

the idea of some economic correlates, operating in the background of the demographic trends of that period, must be completely abandoned. In our view, the higher fertility observed in the 1970s and 1980s may be regarded in the context of a gradual “normalisation” of the standard of living after the turmoil of Sovietisation and the hardship it entailed. A plausible, albeit imperfect, trajectory of this normalisation is visible in the series of national GDP estimates developed as part of the framework of this study. In essence, this series exhibits a reasonable similarity to the cohort fertility rate dynamics of the same period. Among the native population, these figures dropped to the lowest point (ca 1.8 children per woman) in the generations born in the mid-1920s, followed by a gradual increase over the next 30 years.

According to this interpretation, both peculiarities of the post-war childbearing trend in Estonia – comparatively low levels until the late 1960s and the ensuing rise – may be related to Sovietisation. In the immediate post-war decade, this process operated through direct negative influences, ranging from a marked decline in the standard of living to overt political repression. Such influences lessened around the mid-1950s; however, the legacy of the early post-war years plausibly survived as a new benchmark against which social and economic dynamics began to be evaluated.

Finally, a few thoughts on post-socialist development can be shared. The early phase of transition in Estonia witnessed a pronounced deterioration of the country’s economic performance and a parallel decline in fertility rates. This lends some support to the economic crisis hypothesis; however, the connection should not be overestimated. In particular, the study highlighted the salient contribution of the “postponement transition” that began in Estonia shortly after the beginning of the 1990s and markedly accelerated the fertility decrease according to annually reported measures. In the mid- and late 1990s, this phenomenon was driven exclusively by the shift towards later childbearing; the tempo-adjusted TFR never dropped below 1.6 children in Estonia. In interpreting these developments, we share the view that relates the onset of the fertility postponement transition in Central and Eastern Europe to the removal of mechanisms that upheld the pattern of comparatively early family formation in the state socialist setting. As noted by Sobotka (2004), the societal transformation noticeably increased economic uncertainty but it also expanded the possibilities for self-development, including enrolling in advanced education and building a career. In such a context, the postponement of childbearing can be seen as a rational response to a profoundly transformed structure of opportunities and constraints (Kohler *et al.* 2006).

The marked improvement in the country’s macro-economic performance since the mid-1990s, coupled with a gradual recovery of fertility levels, was observed in this study. The recovery was initially restricted to tempo-adjusted measures but the rise subsequently became apparent according to non-adjusted fertility indicators as well. Can these developments be explained by vigorous economic growth and the ensuing improvement in the standard of living? A positive contribution from economic trends seems plausible and in accord with conventional wisdom. However, economic growth cannot provide the complete explanation. This becomes evident when Estonia is compared to other countries. As revealed in the study, despite the continuing prevalence of postponement of childbearing, Estonia has persistently exhibited the highest period TFRs of all the countries of Central and Eastern Europe since 2005. In the Eastern European context, neither Estonia’s economic performance nor standard of living fully justify the country’s high fertility ranking.

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**Effects of education on second births
before and after societal transition:
Evidence from the Estonian GGS**

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Effects of education on second births before and after societal transition: Evidence from the Estonian GGS

Martin Klesment¹
Allan Puur²

Abstract

This article examines the influence of educational attainment and enrolment on second births in Estonia, comparing the patterns before and after the onset of the societal transformation of the 1990s. While many Northern and Western European countries have shown a positive relationship between female education and second births, this pattern has not been found in Central and East European countries. Against that background, Estonia offers an interesting case with noticeably high second birth intensities for highly educated women. In the state socialist period, after controlling for the influence of other characteristics, including the partner's education, women with tertiary education were found to have higher second birth intensity than women from any lower educational strata. In the postsocialist period, the difference has grown smaller, but women with tertiary education still display a significantly higher transition rate to second birth than their counterparts with secondary education. Following the presentation of empirical findings, the article discusses the mechanisms that could underlie the observed relationship between education and fertility decisions in the changing societal context. The analysis employs microdata from the Estonian Generations and Gender Survey (GGS), conducted in 2004-05.

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1. Introduction

Contemporary fertility in Europe is characterised by sizeable contrasts that have emerged over the past two decades. Larger regions of the continent seem to form relatively coherent units within which countries experience similar levels and trends of childbearing (Frejka and Sardon 2004; Frejka and Sobotka 2008). To an important extent, the crystallization of these new divides relates to variations in parity distribution, and the progression to second (and third) births. In this context, for a number of reasons the relationship between female education and higher order births has attracted considerable scholarly interest. In the diffusionist framework, women with advanced education are regarded as trendsetters who introduce novel behaviours that are subsequently adopted by other groups. From another angle, the comparison of fertility patterns among women with different levels of schooling contributes to the understanding of opportunities and constraints within which childbearing decisions are made. Last but not least, as the proportion of young people who attain higher education has been rising with each successive cohort, educational differentials are influencing fertility trends on the aggregate level.

The prevailing explanatory framework in research focusing on the relationship between education and fertility originates in microeconomic theories that predicted largely negative consequences of women's increased educational attainment and economic autonomy (Becker 1993; Cigno 1994). From the late 1980s, however, the evidence has been accumulating showing that highly educated women exhibit elevated second birth intensity compared to their less educated counterparts. Geographically, these results pertain to countries of Northern Europe (Gerster et al. 2007; Hoem and Hoem 1989; Kravdal 2007; Vikat 2004) and Western Europe (Hoem, Prskawetz, and Neyer 2001; Kreyenfeld 2002; Köppen 2006). At the same time, virtually all findings obtained from Central and Eastern Europe (e.g., Koytcheva 2006; Muresan 2007; Oláh 2003; Perelli-Harris 2008; Rieck 2006) have failed to demonstrate a similar pattern and conform with the argument of economic theory.

This article aims to complement the aforementioned body of research by analysing the transition to second birth in Estonia. In comparative perspective, Estonia is worth attention particularly for its location at the boundary of varying institutional and cultural influences. In terms of long-term demographic development it resembles Northern and Western Europe (Coale and Watkins 1986; Coale 1994). On the other hand, political and socio-economic arrangements following the Second World War fostered the demographic patterns characteristic to state socialist regimes. With respect to childbearing pattern, in the 1970s and 1980s fertility was close to replacement level and children were born to women of relatively young ages. This was followed by an abrupt decline after the fall of Communism, but in recent years, Estonia has witnessed a

noticeable recovery that brought fertility rates to one of the highest levels among the postsocialist countries (Eurostat 2009).

Given the significance of second births in setting contemporary fertility levels, this article focuses on the transition from the first to second parity, with particular interest in the ways in which educational attainment and enrolment status have influenced progression from first to second birth as the country has moved from one social system to another. Although there are numerous analyses published on various aspects of fertility development in Estonia (e.g., Katus 1991; 1994; 1997; 2000; 2003; Katus et al. 2009), the educational differences in childbearing have not been systematically explored. The study employs microdata from the Estonian Generations and Gender Survey of 2004-05. Structurally, the article consists of six sections. Following the introduction, the article provides a brief discussion of the theoretical framework. The third section describes the general fertility trend of the country and contextual features that are relevant for the analysis. The fourth section presents the data, hypotheses and analytic approach. The fifth section focuses on empirical findings, obtained by means of multivariate event-history models. A summary and discussion of the findings rounds out the study.

2. Theoretical perspectives

Education can be seen as a measure of personal achievement, income potential, and social status since more highly educated people usually earn more than those with less education. It is also a signal of individual autonomy, for one would expect highly educated individuals to be more independent from others, and perhaps also from the general norms of society. In the life course perspective, the discussion of the relationship between education and childbearing is facilitated by the distinction between the effects of the educational level or attainment and school enrolment.³

Most studies of the relationship between educational attainment and fertility consider in some form the microeconomic theory of the New Home Economics as a starting point (Becker 1993; Cigno 1994). The theory posits that as women receive education on an equal footing with men and have an access to improved opportunities in the labour market, the costs of childbearing increase. Primarily this relates to opportunity costs, in the form of lost earnings, slower career advancement, and the depreciation of professional skills. Assuming that the education level of a woman reflects her career prospects and income potential, a negative relationship between

³ Hoem, Neyer, and Andersson (2006a; 2006b) have recently demonstrated sizeable variation in childbearing patterns among women who opted for different fields of education.

female education and fertility is expected. In addition, it has been suggested that higher educational attainment entails stronger preference for the “quality” of children, which under the limited resources available, leads to a lower number of offspring (Becker 1993; Gustafsson and Kalwij 2006).

The inverse relationship between educational attainment and fertility is also predicted by the theory of the Second Demographic Transition (SDT), though the latter points to a different mechanism, the shift in cultural values, as the driving force behind the changes in demographic behaviour (Van de Kaa 1987). Doubting that a purely economic explanation would prove adequate, the framework of the SDT emphasises a move away from traditional family-oriented values toward individualisation and self-realisation, coupled with the shift from religious attachments toward secularism. In this context, Lesthaeghe (1995) regards 'female emancipation' as a central element in his theory of secular fertility decline. As the highly educated strata of the population form an avant-garde in all these developments, it leads to the notion that more highly educated women strive for greater independence from family life and want to have fewer children than others.

Despite the wide appeal of these theoretical frameworks, over the past years the assumption of a negative association between women's educational attainment (economic independence) and fertility has proven increasingly controversial from both theoretical and empirical points of view. The view that gender-specific division of work and family life are favourable to the family has been criticized on the grounds that it entails considerable risks to the well-being of the family. Oppenheimer (1994; 1997) has pointed out that a dual-income family is less vulnerable to economic risks if one of the partners should be unable to provide his/her contribution. In a modern dual-income context, highly educated women should be particularly attractive partners and women's employment can be viewed as a highly adaptive strategy rather than a threat to the family as a social institution. With regard to the SDT, for instance Hoem, Prskawetz, and Neyer (2001), contest the notion that a higher degree of individualism must lead to a lower level of natality at the life stage addressed in the present study. Furthermore, the authors express doubt that highly educated women have necessarily less family-oriented values.

The evidence from a growing number of empirical studies reveals a pattern opposite to the prediction of the aforementioned theories. Indeed, the elevated second and third birth intensities among highly educated women has become a standard finding in the Nordic countries (e.g., Gerster et al. 2007; Hoem and Hoem 1989; Kravdal 1992; 2007; Vikat 2004). Similar results are also found in several countries of Western Europe, including Austria (Hoem, Prskawetz, and Neyer 2001), France (Köppen 2006), Germany (Kreyenfeld 2002; Köppen 2006), and Great Britain (Ermisch 1989; Kreyenfeld and Zabel 2005). The positive gradient of education in these settings may

be attributed to family- and gender-related welfare state policies. Today, it is widely acknowledged that the stance of public policies supporting the compatibility of work with family life and gender equity in the domestic sphere can play an important role in modulating the relationship between women's education, labour market participation, and fertility (e.g., Gornick, Meyers, and Ross 1998; Esping-Andersen 1999; McDonald 2000; Morgan 2003). As has been shown, countries which disburden women of some of the costs that accompany parenthood, are currently experiencing higher fertility rates.

By contrast, Central and Eastern Europe has demonstrated prevalingly negative, or in part non-positive, association between women's educational attainment and second birth intensities. This finding appears common in recent country studies pertaining to Bulgaria (Koytcheva 2006), Hungary (Oláh 2003), Romania (Muresan 2007), Russia (Rieck 2006), and Ukraine (Perelli-Harris 2008). Kreyenfeld (2004) for East-Germany has reported reduced second birth rates among women with low education, but also in that study second birth intensities for highly educated women do not exceed those among women with medium level of education. Thus, quite interestingly, the most unequivocal support for the assertion of microeconomic rational choice theory comes from the group of countries which only recently opted for the market economy. Authors of these studies have attributed the negative educational gradient to the outcomes of rapid societal change that involved the deterioration of living standards, downscaling the policies meant to facilitate the combination of employment and parenthood, reduction of child-care benefits on the one hand, and increased returns from education, and exposure to new ideas on the other. While the proposed mechanism is plausible for the years after 1990, the argument stemming from microeconomic theory appears less convincing for the period of state socialism.⁴

The effect of educational enrolment on childbearing appears consistently negative in the empirical literature. This effect has been reported for many countries and many different levels of the educational system, including a number of studies on second births referred to in this section. The mechanisms by which participation in education is thought to suppress childbearing, temporarily or permanently, may be diverse. First of all, as a child needs to be cared for and the care is time-consuming in the early stage of parenthood, family formation could threaten the successful completion of a study programme and put the whole career strategy of young adults in jeopardy (e.g., Hoem 1986; Liefbroer and Corijn 1999). Furthermore, childbearing entails short-term costs that may be difficult to meet for students and therefore, it may be regarded as economically advantageous to postpone childbearing until a decent family income can

⁴ Of the studies focusing on the Central and East European countries that have separately analysed the period before and after the onset of societal transition, for highly educated women only Rieck (2006) in her study of the Russian Federation has reported an elevated second birth intensities in a short interregnum 1989-1992.

be secured. The latter motive can be strengthened by the institution of earnings-related parental leave (e.g., Andersson et al. 2009; Rösén 2004; Vikat 2004). Finally, there may be norms against childbearing while being a student, as suggested by, for instance, Blossfeld and Huinink (1991).

Based on these theoretical and empirical considerations, we will investigate the influence of both main aspects of education, educational attainment, and participation, on the progression from first to second birth in Estonia. Aside from the general pattern, we are interested in the transformation of the relationship during transition from state socialism to a market economy context. Our hypotheses and analytic approach are presented in the fourth section of the article, but before that, the next section briefly outlines some general features of demographic, economic, and cultural developments of the setting that are relevant to the analysis.

3. The Estonian setting

The demographic development of Estonia shared several commonalities with the countries of Northern and Western Europe. Fertility indices derived from the Princeton project show that the onset of the fertility transition dates back to the mid-19th century (Coale, Anderson, and Härm 1979; Coale and Watkins 1986). The similarity of fertility trends in Estonia, and in Northern and Western Europe, disappeared in the aftermath of the Second World War, when Estonia was incorporated into the Soviet Union. In the 1950s and 1960s, unlike other nations that had witnessed low fertility in the prewar years, Estonia failed to experience a baby-boom (Frejka and Sardon 2004). In that period, Estonia was characterised by one of the lowest fertility levels in the world. In the late 1960s, contrary to the trends emerging in the pioneering countries of the second demographic transition, Estonian fertility rates increased and stayed close to replacement level until the turn of the 1990s (Katus, Puur, and Sakkeus 2000).

These two features — the absence of a baby-boom as well as of a baby-bust — translated into a noticeable stability of the postwar Estonian fertility level up to the 1990s (see Figure I in the Appendix). The second-order total fertility rate (TFR) shows an upward trend rising from the 1960s until the late 1980s.⁵ Apart from the increase in the progression ratios from first to second birth, at least two additional factors contributed to this trend. First, the observed rise reflected the changes in lower parities in the parity distribution, in particular the decline in the proportion of childlessness that

⁵ The second-order total fertility rates are computed as the sum of age-order-specific fertility rates (i.e., the ratio of 2nd births to women of a given age group to all women in a particular age group, without regard to the number of children they have had) by single years of age from 15 to 49 in a given year.

followed the fall of the European marriage pattern.⁶ Second, the upward trend was strengthened by the prolonged shift towards earlier childbearing and shorter birth intervals. As a consequence, in the 1980s Estonia featured very high second-order fertility rates in the European context (Figure II in the Appendix).

Turning to the institutional framework, the Soviet authorities followed a strategy of far-reaching centralisation and introduced uniform models in virtually all sectors of administration (Kahk and Tarvel 1997; Mertelsmann 2003). With regards to education, the decades until the late 1960s witnessed a rapid expansion of enrolment in upper secondary and tertiary levels.⁷ The previously existing gender gap was closed relatively early in Estonia — in tertiary education, this occurred in the cohorts born at the beginning of the 1940s, who completed their studies mainly in the 1960s; in upper secondary education, a reversed gender gap can be traced back to the birth cohorts of the 1930s. In subsequent generations the proportion of university graduates appeared systematically higher among women, with female advantage expanding towards younger generations (Katus, Puur, and Sakkeus 2000). In the 1970s and 1980s, replacement-level fertility coexisted with very high levels of female labour force participation. In international comparison, Estonia ranked top with respect to female employment, and women were overwhelmingly to be found in full-time jobs (Puur 1995).

The societal context included various provisions to facilitate the reconciliation between women's employment and family. A central element in this field was the provision of public childcare that expanded rapidly following the early postwar decades. From 1968, women were entitled to take unpaid leave until the child's first birthday, without losing their jobs and also to maintain an uninterrupted employment record. Further extension of provisions, which started in some parts of the USSR in 1981, came to Estonia in 1984 when the duration of partly paid parental leave (at a flat rate of benefits, less than 20% of the average wage) was extended to one year, and unpaid leave to 18 months (Katus, Puur, and Põldma 2002).

With respect to demographic trends, the 1990s witnessed a period of plunging fertility level to a new low. In Estonia, the period TFR fell to a maximum low of 1.28 in 1998. Roughly half of the observed decline in the TFR is attributable to the sudden postponement of childbearing (Katus et al. 2009). Regarding second order births, the slump of the 1990s appears more extensive compared to the Central and East European average (Figure II in the Appendix). The scale of decline stems from the combination of a very high level of second order fertility in the 1980s on one side, and the steepness

⁶ Among the native population, the proportion of childless women decreased from 25% in the cohorts born in the early 20th century to 7-8% in the birth cohorts of the 1950s (Katus, Puur, and Põldma 2002).

⁷ In the 1970s and 1980s, the increase of tertiary education enrolment ceased reflecting the stagnation of the centrally planned economic system.

of decrease in the 1990s on the other. After reaching the lowest point, however, fertility rates began to increase at the beginning of the 21st century. Despite the postponement in childbearing well in progress, in 2008 the TFR had reached 1.66. With these levels, Estonia has featured the highest fertility among the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

As elsewhere in the countries of the Eastern bloc, shifts in demographic behaviour progressed in the context of an extensive societal transformation. In Estonia, these changes were perhaps even more dramatic than was the case in the countries of Central Europe (Aslund 2007). The abolition of mechanisms that sustained full employment during state socialism and subsequent large-scale re-allocation of labour implied a reduction in employment opportunities. After reaching bottom in the year 2000, employment rates have significantly recovered, reaching 73% among working age males and 66% among females on the eve of the current recession. As part-time employment is not widely practised, in terms of the full-time equivalent employment rate (64% in 2007), Estonian women have the strongest attachment to the labour market among the EU member states (European Commission 2008). In the field of education, the 1990s witnessed a sharp rise in educational participation at postsecondary and tertiary levels. The transition period has also witnessed a further feminisation of higher education, with more than 61% female students Estonia ranks close to the top among the EU member states.

In the early 1990s, it was widely feared that the facilities supporting the reconciliation of employment and parenthood would be cut in the course of institutional transformation. Part of these concerns materialised, but after reaching the lowest point in 1993, the enrolment rates have been continuously increasing and before the turn of the 21st century, they had breached the ceiling attained in the 1980s. In 2008, 61.2% two-year olds, 87.6% three-year olds and more than 90% three-to-six-year olds attended public childcare. Parental leave with guaranteed return to previous employment was extended to three years in 1989 but the degree of income compensation remained rather low. A major change to the programme was introduced in 2004. The renewed scheme foresaw the payment of earnings-related parental benefit amounting to 100% of the income earned during the year preceding childbirth, since 2008 the duration of eligibility is 18 month. Following the model of Nordic countries, the parents of more than one child have been entitled to benefits at least as high for subsequent children as for the previous, without returning to the labour market in-between birth, if the births interval was 30 months at least.

4. Data and analytic approach

Our empirical analysis is based on data extracted from a national survey carried out in Estonia in 2004-05, in the context of the Generations and Gender Programme (UNECE 2005; Vikat et al. 2007). Of the 11,197 eligible respondents sampled, 5,034 women and 2,821 men were interviewed. The overall response rate was 70.2%, with the response rate for females (73.4%) being somewhat higher than it was for males (65.9 %). Further information on the survey methodology, data quality, and the results, are available in the two volumes of standard tabulations (Katus, Puur, and Põldma 2008; Puur, Põldma, and Sakkeus 2009).

As the present study focuses on second births in the female population, we consider respondents who appear 'at risk' of a second birth, i.e., women who have had at least one biological child recorded. Further selection is made on the basis of country of origin. We exclude postwar immigrants and their descendants, because demographic, structural, and cultural contexts in which respondents belonging to foreignborn populations experience family formation and childbearing may have been substantially different from the native Estonian population. We do not intend to address the differences between native and foreign-born Estonians in this article.⁸ Finally, we also exclude cases of multiple first births (23 cases).

After these manipulations our working sample includes 2,923 women with one child, being at risk of having another child. Of these respondents, 2,060 gave birth to a second child before the time of interview. In addition, we also included the second births expected by women who were pregnant during the survey and reported the date of childbirth (28 cases). As a result, our final dataset contains 2,923 individuals and 2,088 events. The proportion of respondents who had a second child during the period of observation is 71.4%.

4.1. Variables, hypotheses, and operationalisation

The event under study in this article are second births, and the intensity of its occurrence during the life course is analysed as the dependent variable. To analyse the transition from first to second birth a series of multiplicative intensity regression models were estimated. In the models, the duration from first birth to second birth constitutes the time axis, along which the transition from the origin to destination state occurs. We start measuring the time of being at risk from the moment of the first (live) birth; the

⁸ Previous analyses have revealed systematic differences in the demographic patterns between native and foreign-born populations in Estonia. The patterns among the foreign-born population are discussed, for example, by Katus, Puur, and Sakkeus (2000, 2002); Sakkeus (2000); Puur (2000).

exposure is measured in monthly precision, as is the timing of the following events and changes in the value of time-varying covariates. In most cases, the process time variable is identical with the age of the first child, but not necessarily, as the analysis does not account for the death of a child.⁹ The respondents are followed until the birth of the second child, or until censoring at the interview, whichever comes first. For a more realistic representation of time at risk we also censor women at parity one at 15 years after the first birth (and lose two second births out of 2,088 by doing this).

We use piecewise constant exponential models, i.e., the basic time factor is defined as a categorical variable, with process time being divided into smaller units. In this article, we apply yearly intervals until the 10th ordinal year since the first birth. We assume that the second birth intensity is constant within each of our preselected intervals, but let it vary between intervals. In accordance with the theoretical considerations outlined in the previous sections, the independent variables of main interest in this study relate to educational attainment and enrolment. When analysing the effect of women's education on the intensity of second birth, we control for a set of demographic factors, partner's characteristics and social background of the respondent. In the following, we briefly discuss the specification of our covariates and hypotheses attached to them.

4.1.1. Educational attainment

Previous research has revealed that the association between education and childbearing depends very much on how and when educational characteristics are measured (e.g., Hoem 1996; Kreyenfeld 2002; Kravdal 2001; 2007). Taking advantage of the complete educational histories collected in the Estonian GGS, with the exact time for starting and ending studies at successive levels of education, and interruptions in the educational career, educational attainment is operationalised as a time-varying covariate. Although only a relatively small minority of women complete their schooling after entering parenthood¹⁰, several authors have emphasised the importance of using the current rather than final educational level. Analyses employing the latter approach tend to be anticipatory, involving a risk of yielding biased estimates on the effects of educational attainment (Hoem and Kreyenfeld 2006a; Hoem and Kreyenfeld 2006b).

For the classification of different educational qualifications that have existed in Estonia during the lifetimes of the birth cohorts covered by our data, we have grouped them into four categories, as follows:

⁹ In our working sample, 35 women (1.6%) lost the first child before having the next one.

¹⁰ In the Estonian GGS, in younger cohorts 12-13% of women completed their educational career after first birth.

- “Basic” means compulsory general education at the levels which are inferior to upper secondary education. Since the late 1980s, the duration of basic education has been nine years, earlier in the postwar period it was seven or eight years.
- “Secondary” means general education at the upper secondary level (high-school, gymnasium). The duration of such education is currently 12 years, earlier it was 11 years.¹¹
- “Vocational” means education that followed the graduation from lower levels of general education (primary or basic) or from upper secondary general education (high-school, gymnasium). With reference to the period before 1990s, the so-called specialised secondary education (technical schools, medical schools, music and arts schools, etc.) are also included in this category. The duration of such education currently ranges between 10-15 years.
- “Tertiary” means academic education that followed upper secondary education. All are holders of an academic degree in this category, as are graduates from non-academic higher education programmes which have emerged in the 1990s. The minimum duration of such education is currently about 15 years.

In formulating our hypotheses with respect to educational attainment, we considered the transformation of the societal context in which childbearing occurs. As discussed earlier in the article, before the 1990s the labour market returns to education were low (Noorkõiv et al. 1998). The earnings were set according to centrally administered wage grids which tended to favour blue-collar workers and left little room for individual variation. Somewhat simplifying the matter, higher wages could be attained through employment in the privileged sectors of economy (e.g., heavy industry) rather than from individual effort (McAuley 1981). Under state-guaranteed full employment and highly structured employment tracks, work interruptions related to childbirth were rarely punished in terms of career options or depreciation of human capital.

Against this background we assume that before the 1990s the cost of having children was not markedly differentiated; which translates into a weak association between educational attainment and the likelihood of second birth. A similar assertion, in an explicit or implicit form, can be found in most previous studies addressing the relationship between female educational attainment and fertility in the state socialist

¹¹ In the schools with Russian as the main language of instruction, the duration of secondary education was limited to 10 years before the 1990s. In these schools, the curricula followed the model of the Russian Federation.

settings. However, should a significant difference between educational groups occur, the findings from previous studies (Koytcheva 2006; Muresan 2007; Oláh 2003; Perelli-Harris 2008) would lead one to assume an inverse relationship with higher second birth intensities among the less educated strata of the population.

Extending the hypothesis to the 1990s, it is logical to expect an increasing differentiation across educational level. In the postsocialist period, the importance of education increased dramatically and new opportunities opened up, above all for highly educated people. This change is perhaps best exemplified by labour market returns to education: in comparison to basic education, higher education translated into a 69% wage premium in 1994, whereas in 1989 the difference had been only 11% (Noorkõiv et al. 1998). Together with their greater impact on household income and the higher risk of skill depreciation, these shifts imply increasing opportunity costs of childbearing among the highly educated, and hence a negative association between educational attainment and childbearing.¹² The inverse relationship could also be strengthened by the deterioration of the relative labour market position among the less educated women. With poor prospects on the labour market, they may seek uncertainty reduction in motherhood, which brings order and stability to the life course. A strengthening negative education gradient of second birth intensities seems to be a common finding in the studies on Eastern Europe, which have compared the situation before and after societal transition (Koytcheva 2006; Muresan 2007; Perelli-Harris 2008; Rieck 2006).

4.1.2. Educational enrolment

Our second explanatory variable measures educational enrolment. This time-varying variable draws on activity histories of the respondents which provide information on the spells of employment, unemployment, and economic inactivity. In the survey, the activity history started from the month the respondent turned 14 and considered all changes in the status of the respondent on a monthly basis.¹³

In the present specification, different activities are grouped into four categories/statuses. The status of the primary interest in this study, the enrolment in education, refers to studying as the main activity of the respondent. The reference category in our multivariate models is employment, with no distinction between full-

¹² In the microeconomic framework, a competing hypothesis could be derived from the strengthening income effect. The income effect implies that higher earnings help highly educated people to cope better with the direct costs of childbearing and rearing. However, empirical studies have found little support to this hypothesis in transition countries.

¹³ According to the interviewers instructions, activity spells with duration of three months or longer had to be recorded. Shorter spells were merged with longer episodes (EKDK 2004).

and part-time employment work (as the latter has not been widespread in Estonia).¹⁴ Regarding non-employment, the distinction was made between two statuses which are associated with strongly differentiated intensities of second birth. Home attachment combines maternity and parental leave as well as other spells of economic inactivity during which women stayed out of employment, taking care of children and the family. The residual category combines all other statuses of non-employment, including unemployment, economic inactivity for health reasons, retirement etc.

In accordance with a common finding from previous studies, we expect a negative effect of educational enrolment on second birth intensities. Compared to educational attainment, relatively fewer studies have analysed the change in the effect of educational enrolment during societal transition at that stage of the life course. For Bulgaria, Koytcheva (2006) observed that the negative impact of being enrolled in studies became stronger in the 1990s, which she interprets as support for the notion that childbearing was more compatible with studying during the state socialist regime. Indirectly, these results have been corroborated by the analyses by Kreyenfeld (2004) who compared the transition to first birth in East and West Germany before the fall of the Berlin wall and found that educational participation and parenthood were more compatible in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) than in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). In another article, she observes the strengthening negative effect of educational enrolment on first birth intensities in the GDR after 1990 (Kreyenfeld 2006). For the Czech Republic a similar finding pertaining to first births is reported by Kantorova (2006).¹⁵

Against that background it seems plausible that the compatibility between educational enrolment and childbearing has (further) decreased compared to the period of state socialism that existed in Estonia. In the market economy setting, there is a strong motivation for young people to complete their education and attain a secure footing in the labour market before having children, particularly before getting beyond the first parity. In Estonia's case, this argument may be strengthened by the strongly market-centred stance of housing policies and the relatively high cost of tuition in tertiary education¹⁶.

¹⁴ In our dataset, with the cut-off level of 35 working hours per week a mere 6.6% of employment episodes could be regarded as part-time work.

¹⁵ In the referred studies focusing on first births, the authors have combined educational attainment and enrolment into a single covariate which hampers the comparability between their results and ours. The same is true for the study by Rieck (2006) on Russia and Muresan (2007) on Romania.

¹⁶ The share of students fully paying tuition themselves exceeded 50% in 2003 in Estonia (ESA 2004). The Estonian system of higher education has been critically evaluated for shifting a large part of the costs to students and for not sufficiently taking into account their economic situation (OECD 2006).

4.1.3. Other covariates

Other covariates included in our models include a calendar period, age at first birth, partnership status, partner's educational attainment, and selected characteristics pertaining to the background of respondents.

Calendar period is used to contrast childbearing behaviour before and after the onset of societal transition. In Estonia, the political shift started to gain momentum in 1987-88 and culminated with dissolution of the Soviet Union in August 1991; in turn, the fall of the old political regime removed the roadblocks for major systemic reforms to follow. From the range of options, we chose 1990 as a borderline. Among other factors, our delineation is grounded in the fact that 1990 marks the beginning of the decline in period fertility measures in Estonia.¹⁷ In addition to contrasting the two societies, we were keen to see whether the period of state socialism represents a homogeneous time period, or if we were able to detect significant shifts in the association between education and childbearing. For that purpose, we split the Soviet period into two subperiods: before 1968 and 1968-1989. In terms of fertility, 1968 witnessed the sharpest annual increase of the period TFR (on average +6%, more among the native population) since the end of the Second World War. As noted earlier in the article, in that year women in the former Soviet Union became entitled to (unpaid) childcare leave until the child's first birthday, which followed maternity leave (eight weeks in case of delivery without medical complications). But it is obvious that the variable picks up not only the changes in the specific policy sector but more general shifts in society. The calendar period is operationalised as a time-varying covariate: if exposure time extends to more than one calendar period, it is split at the beginning of the calendar year, dividing the periods. Analytically, we employ this variable to build interactions and test the hypotheses related to our education variables.

With the age at first birth we intend to control for indirect influence of educational attainment. This indirect influence stems from the fact that, partly or entirely due to longer participation in education, women with different educational levels tend to start childbearing at different ages. In our dataset, the median age of first birth is 22.3 years among native women with basic education, 22.6 years among those with upper secondary education and 24.9 years among university graduates. It has been hypothesised that given the time left until the biological limit of the reproductive period, women with higher education tend to have their children in a shorter time-span than their less educated counterparts. Kreyenfeld (2002) has termed the corresponding phenomenon a "time-squeeze" that could provide an explanation for elevated second birth intensities among highly educated women. An alternative explanation for the

¹⁷ In 1990 the number of live births was 8.3% less than in the preceding year. It was the largest decline of fertility in a single year since the Second World war.

same pattern relates to work accelerated childbearing. As suggested by Ní Brolcháin (1986a; 1986b) in order to minimise both missed earnings and the risks of a depreciation of human capital, it might be rational for career-oriented women to space their births close together. Whatever the mechanism, in the event history models the described effect could be detected as a reduction in the strength of the effect of educational attainment on birth intensities that follows the inclusion of the age at first birth among the covariates. From a technical point of view, Britta Hoem (1996) elaborated this approach by proposing the use of relative instead of absolute age at first birth in this context.¹⁸ Although a significant time-squeeze effect seems not very likely in the Estonian context with comparatively early onset of childbearing, we include the age at first birth in our models, with absolute as well as relative specification. In the case of the former, the age of the mother is grouped into six categories (under 18, 19-22, 23-26, 27-30, 31-35, and 36+); in the latter case, the distinction is made between younger and older ages of childbearing, relative to the mean of each educational group.

The chance that a woman has a child depends in part on her partnership status, which in turn is influenced by education. For instance, an earlier study based on the Estonian Family and Fertility Survey (FFS) revealed that women with university education had a somewhat lower propensity to start a conjugal union than their less educated counterparts (Katus et al. 2007). Further, the type of partnership may also be important. There are no recent analyses focusing on the effects of partnership status on the likelihood of second birth in Estonia, but to account for plausible differences, we include partnership status as a control in our models.

The need to consider a partner's education stems from the educational homogamy in couple formation. There is a tendency for better educated women to form partnerships with better educated men, and vice versa (Blossfeld and Timm 2003; Schwartz and Mare 2005). Educational homogamy can be very important when analysing the role of women's education in fertility decisions. Analyses pertaining to countries with persistent male breadwinner traditions have revealed that without considering a partner's characteristics one might easily overestimate the role of the woman's educational attainment for the transition to second birth (Hoem, Prskawetz, and Neyer 2001; Kreyenfeld 2002; Köppen 2006). Although a male breadwinner model has been rare in Estonia both before and after the societal transition, we choose to include the partner's education as a control variable in our models. The variable has been specified as a time-varying covariate with three levels (low, medium, and high)

¹⁸ According to B. Hoem's argument, educational groups may hold different standards with respect to the appropriate age of childbearing — for one group childbearing at a certain chronological age may be completely normal, while for the another group the same behaviour could be very unusual. In her study of second and third births in Sweden, positive educational gradients for highly educated women disappeared when the age at first birth was respecified. Similar result was achieved by Hoem, Prskawetz, and Neyer (2001) for third births in Austria.

that changes from one partnership to another.¹⁹ Spells without a partner were coded as missing information.

Additionally we introduce some background characteristics that refer to the respondents' childhood experiences and are known to have an influence on fertility decisions. Our background characteristics include number of siblings (0, 1, 2, 3+) at the parental home and the type of settlement in which they grow up (urban vs. rural).²⁰ From the analytical point of view, some background factors may simultaneously affect the educational attainment and fertility and thus contribute to spurious relationship between education and fertility. In principle, such factors may capture unobserved heterogeneity and push the education-fertility relationship in either direction (Kravdal 2007). Any major change in the model estimates for education that follows the inclusion of background characteristics signals the possibility of such confounding influence.

Appendix Table I provides information on the number of events and exposure time at different levels of covariates included in the models.

4.2. Model fitting

We apply a piecewise constant-hazard regression model to analyse the relationship between the above described education variables and the transition from first to second parity. The process time starts at first birth and defines the baseline hazard (risk) of conceiving a second child. The process time ends eight months before the second birth; it may also end 15 years after first birth. The specification of our main effects model can be written as follows:

$$r(t) = h(t) \exp\{\alpha x_1 + \beta x_2(t)\}$$

where r is the hazard rate, h is the baseline hazard, αx_1 is the vector of coefficients for time-constant covariates (age at first birth, number of siblings, settlement type of parental home) and βx_2 for time-varying covariates (educational attainment, activity status, calendar period, partner's education).

¹⁹ For partners, the information is limited to highest education attained. We proceed as if the partner's education had been completed before conceiving a child. Although this is not necessarily true for all male partners, we assume that the bias introduced by this misspecification is harmless for a second child.

²⁰ At the stage of exploratory analyses, we experimented with a broader range of background characteristics. However, the inclusion of additional characteristics did not affect the gradients of our main independent variables for educational attainment and enrolment.

Our modeling strategy is straightforward. We start with examining the main effects, for that purpose we estimate a series of hierarchical models. The initial model includes only duration, educational attainment, and enrolment, to which we then stepwise add other covariates, monitoring the changes in the effects of education variables. The main effects models are estimated for the entire dataset and do not distinguish between the patterns before and after the societal transition. To account for the latter, we proceed with interactions between calendar period and the main independent variables.

Statistical software used to fit the event history models is Stata version 10. The results, produced as maximum likelihood estimates of the effect parameters of the model, are presented in the form of relative risk.

5. Results

5.1. Main effects

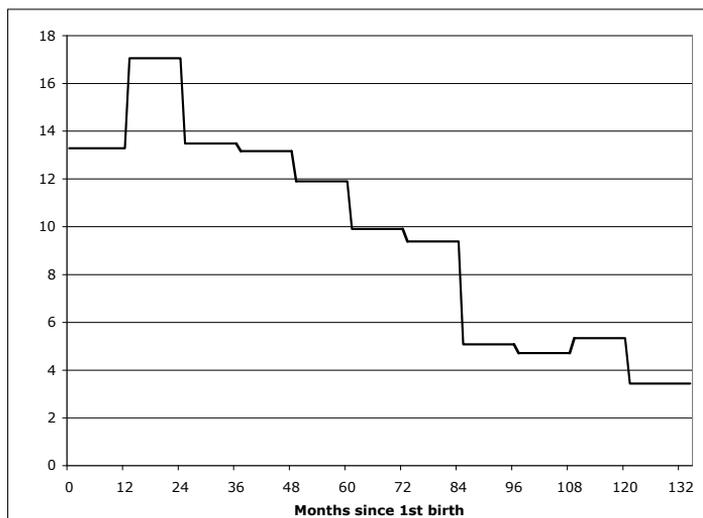
Figure 1 displays the overall baseline hazard — the absolute intensity of second conception per 1000 person months; the scale of the figure measures process time elapsed since the birth of the first child. The presented data reveal that in Estonia, women have conceived a second child, overwhelmingly, after a short first birth time period. The baseline hazard peaks between 24 and 36 months after the first birth. After 48 months, the likelihood of having a second child decreases with a particularly steep decline occurring 7-8 years after a first birth. The introduction of independent and control variables in the model somewhat reduces the rate of decline at longer durations, however, the general shape of the baseline hazard remains unaltered.

Table 1 summarises the results from a series of multiplicative main effects models. The initial model includes, besides the duration variable, educational attainment and activity status, to which we then stepwise add other covariates.

Unlike other countries in Eastern Europe for which similar analyses have been conducted, and upon which we formulated our hypothesis, the model fails to reveal a prevalently negative association between educational attainment and the intensity of second birth. Although women with basic education demonstrate a slightly (9%) elevated risk of having a second birth compared to their counterparts with upper secondary education (the reference group), the difference between the groups is statistically insignificant. Having vocational and tertiary education, however, tends to increase the likelihood of second birth, and in both cases the effect is statistically significant. In the initial model, vocational education is associated with a 17% higher and tertiary education with a 19% higher rate of progression to second birth. This also

implies that women with tertiary or vocational degrees have a higher propensity to have a second child than women with the least schooling.

Figure 1: Intensity of second conception per 1000 person-months



Source: Estonian GGS, authors' estimates.

A further unanticipated finding is the relatively weak association between educational enrolment and our dependent variable. Being enrolled in education implies only an 11% lower risk of having a second child than for the reference group (employed). Given the size of our working sample, the effect does not reach the level of statistical significance. Being on maternity leave with the first child or being a homemaker has a slight positive influence on the likelihood of second birth but we do not discuss the findings pertaining to this category in detail since the issue falls beyond the central interest of the article.

In the second step, we added women's age at first birth and partnership status. As expected, the propensity of having a second birth is inversely associated with the age at which women start childbearing. In the first two groups (under age 18 and 19-22 years), the risk is higher than in the reference category (23-26 years), while a later onset, particularly after age 30, is associated with a markedly reduced chance of progressing beyond the first parity. Regarding the other control variable inserted in this step, the chance of having a second child appears much lower among women currently

without a partner than for the reference category (married). Living in a consensual union is associated with a slightly higher likelihood of a second birth than marriage, signalling advanced disconnection of procreation from registered marriage.

Table 1: Main effects models of transition to second birth in Estonia

	M1		M2		M3		M4	
Years since 1st birth								
1	0.75	(0.000)	0.75	(0.000)	0.75	(0.000)	0.72	(0.000)
2	1.00		1.00		1.00		1.00	
3	0.81	(0.005)	0.82	(0.009)	0.82	(0.009)	0.84	(0.019)
4	0.80	(0.008)	0.83	(0.019)	0.83	(0.021)	0.85	(0.051)
5	0.73	(0.000)	0.76	(0.002)	0.76	(0.003)	0.79	(0.008)
6	0.61	(0.000)	0.65	(0.000)	0.65	(0.000)	0.67	(0.000)
7	0.57	(0.000)	0.62	(0.000)	0.62	(0.000)	0.64	(0.000)
8	0.31	(0.000)	0.34	(0.000)	0.34	(0.000)	0.35	(0.000)
9	0.28	(0.000)	0.31	(0.000)	0.31	(0.000)	0.32	(0.000)
10	0.32	(0.000)	0.34	(0.000)	0.34	(0.000)	0.36	(0.000)
11+	0.19	(0.000)	0.22	(0.000)	0.22	(0.000)	0.23	(0.000)
Educational level								
Basic	1.09	(0.220)	1.13	(0.073)	1.14	(0.059)	1.08	(0.326)
Secondary	1.00		1.00		1.00		1.00	
Vocational	1.17	(0.005)	1.23	(0.000)	1.24	(0.000)	1.22	(0.001)
Tertiary	1.19	(0.016)	1.53	(0.000)	1.42	(0.000)	1.52	(0.000)
Activity status								
Studying	0.89	(0.460)	0.73	(0.047)	0.69	(0.019)	0.75	(0.062)
Working	1.00		1.00		1.00		1.00	
Home	1.16	(0.008)	1.06	(0.290)	1.06	(0.280)	1.14	(0.027)
Age at first birth								
14-18			1.36	(0.001)	1.37	(0.000)	1.43	(0.000)
19-22			1.25	(0.000)	1.26	(0.000)	1.29	(0.000)
23-26			1.00		1.00		1.00	
27-30			0.72	(0.000)	0.72	(0.000)	0.71	(0.000)
31-35			0.42	(0.000)	0.42	(0.000)	0.41	(0.000)
36+			0.33	(0.000)	0.32	(0.000)	0.30	(0.000)
Partnership status								
Married			1.00		1.00		1.00	
Cohabiting			1.06	(0.276)	1.07	(0.211)	1.18	(0.005)
No partner			0.21	(0.000)	0.24	(0.050)	0.22	(0.037)

Table 1: (Continued)

	M1	M2	M3	M4
Partner's education				
Basic			1.01 (0.824)	0.95 (0.380)
Secondary			1.00	1.00
Tertiary			1.23 (0.002)	1.23 (0.002)
Calendar period				
Before 1968				0.88 (0.030)
1968-1989				1.00
1990-2004				0.74 (0.000)
Parental home				
Urban				1.00
Rural				1.13 (0.010)
Siblings				
0				0.97 (0.637)
1				1.00
2				1.18 (0.006)
3+				1.20 (0.002)
LL0	-4681	-4681	-4681	-4681
LL	-4414	-4149	-4144	-4112

Source: Estonian GGS, authors' estimates.

Notes: p-values in parentheses. Missing values not shown but controlled for.

After controlling for these two variables, women with a university degree have a risk that is 53% higher than those with (upper) secondary education. The strengthening of the effect is also observed for women who have a vocational education but it remains on a smaller scale (23%). For women with low educational attainment, the change in the relative risk appears marginal. The strengthening of the effect suggests that in the case of Estonia the positive gradient of educational attainment, observed in the initial model, does not result from the "time-squeeze effect" or accelerated childbearing among highly educated women, hypothesised in some studies (Kreyenfeld 2002; Gerster et al. 2007). On the contrary, the strengthening of the effect suggests that the later onset of childbearing, because of fecundity decreasing at later ages and/or other reasons, partially offsets the higher rate of progression to second births characteristic among highly educated women. Also, the effect of educational participation strengthens

and reaches the level of statistical significance in the second model.²¹ The stepwise insertion of control variables (not shown in Table 1) revealed that the strengthening of the effects of independent variables primarily relates to women's age at first birth. Adding partnership status to the model implied only a marginal change in the estimates.²²

In the third model, we additionally include a control for partner's education. Like women, highly educated men at parity one have a higher chance of having a second child: it is 23% higher than for the reference group (upper secondary education), the difference being statistically significant. Being without partner, i.e., no partner's education available (coded as missing, not shown in the table), did not show any statistical significance. Regarding women, the consideration of partner's education removes some of the effect of a woman's own educational attainment among the highly educated. For women with tertiary education, the positive effect is reduced from 53% to 42%. In other words, part of the strongly positive effect of women's high level of education stems from educational homogamy, i.e., the fact that highly educated women tend to have better educated partners which stimulates fertility (e.g., Kreyenfeld 2002). Despite its importance, the comparison of models 2 and 3 shows that the partner's education accounts for less than one quarter of the overall effect of women's own educational attainment. This finding complies with the expectation that in the institutional context of Estonia, characterised by the dual-earner family model, very high levels of female labour force participation, and female advantage in tertiary education, both the woman's education as well as the partner's education has its own role as a predictor for the second birth rate. Similar results have been reported in previous studies for Denmark, France and Norway (Gerster et al. 2007; Kravdal 2007; Köppen 2006). Unlike educational attainment, the effect of participation in education is further strengthened in the third model.

In the final model, we include calendar period and two covariates pertaining to the parental home and childhood environment. The effect of the calendar period is fully in accord with our expectation and the general account of Estonian fertility trend presented earlier in the article. For the period 1990-2004, the model shows a noticeable reduction in the second birth risks, but at the same time, also in the early postwar

²¹ Alternatively, following the suggestion by B. Hoem (1996) we used a relative specification of age at first birth. We partitioned women's ages into two groups for each level of education, those having first birth at a younger age than average and those having it at an older age than average. With this specification, the effect of educational attainment did not strengthen but remained unaltered. The effect of educational enrolment grew stronger as it was the case for the model with absolute age at first birth.

²² Following the inclusion of partnership status in the model, the relative risk associated with tertiary education decreased from 55% to 53%. For basic and vocational education the relative risk increased from 11% to 13% and from 22 to 23% respectively (Klesment and Puur 2010).

decades, fertility was lower than that in the reference period 1968-1989.²³ Women who have three or more siblings have a 20% higher chance of having a second child than those who come from a two-child family. For those who have been socialised in the rural milieu, the transition rate to second birth is 13% higher. The inclusion of background characteristics slightly reduces the effect of educational enrolment and attainment, except for tertiary education which again reaches over 50%. In the stage of exploratory analysis, we experimented with a wider range of background characteristics (e.g., education of parents, religiosity) but their inclusion did not introduce any further change into the effects of our independent variables.

To sum up the main findings, contrary to our hypothesis on educational attainment, the findings from the main effects models reveal a consistently positive and statistically significant effect of vocational and tertiary educational level. For the latter, the association is also relatively strong: in the final model, highly educated women have a risk that is 52% higher than for the reference group with (upper) secondary education. No less importantly, with some alteration across successive models, the effect persists after the inclusion of controls for the age at the onset of childbearing, partnership status, partner's education, calendar period, and socio-demographic background. On the other hand, the effect of low educational attainment appears less consistent; although the gradient remains marginally positive in the final model, it fails to reach the level of statistical significance and is no match for the effect observed for higher levels of education. The results for educational participation are generally in line with our expectation, indicating an inverse association between the second birth risk and school enrolment: studying indeed appears less compatible with having an additional child than other common activity statuses.

5.2. Interaction effects

To gain insight into the changes in the effect of education, we employ an interaction between a calendar period and education variables, instead of considering them separately as in the previous section. The results of the interaction for educational attainment are plotted in Figure 2 and the values of relative risks can be seen in Table 2; women with (upper) secondary education in 1968-1989 constitute the reference category.

²³ We have also fitted a model with a more detailed division of calendar periods. In that model, not presented here, we were able to pick up a recovery in the second birth rates that followed the turn of the 21st century. In 2000-2004, which constitutes the beginning of fertility increase, second birth risks were still much lower than in the 1980s; however, the difference in relative risks compared to the 1950s was reduced to six percentage points.

There are two ways of reading the table, and interpreting the figure. As our main interest lies with patterns before and after the societal transition, we first look at them column-wise in order to see how second birth risk is affected by educational attainment in each period. In the previous sections, we assumed fairly small differences during state socialism. Low returns to education in the labour market, state-guaranteed full employment, highly structured career paths, and the broad coverage of public childcare were thought to translate into relatively low and similar opportunity costs across women with low and high educational attainment. Quite contrary to our expectation, however, the data reveal the largest differences associated with educational attainment during the period of state socialism. In addition, the pattern is not uniform but alters from one subperiod to another.

Table 2: Interaction of educational attainment and calendar period

	before 1968	1968-1989	1990-2004
Basic	1.16	1.06	0.98
Secondary	0.75	1.00	0.75
Vocational	1.24	1.19	0.97
Tertiary	1.24	1.50	0.95

Source: Estonian GGS, authors' estimates.

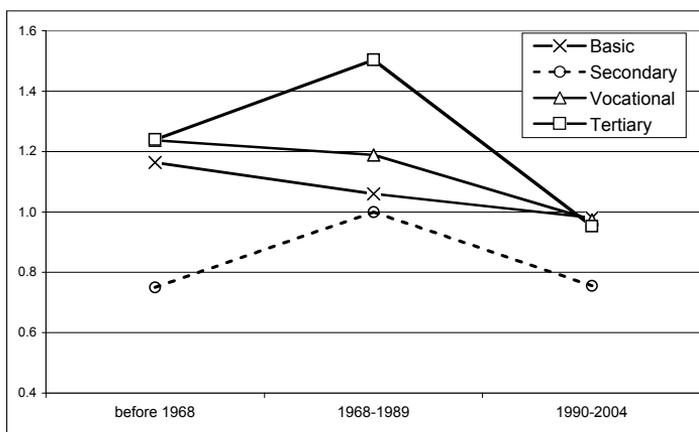
Note: Missing values not shown but controlled for. Control variables as in M4 in Table 1.

In the first period, before 1968, the relationship between women's level of education and progression to second birth appeared U-shaped. The propensity to have a second child was lowest among women with general secondary education, while both lower and higher educational attainment were associated with elevated second birth risks. The differences with reference category are, in fact, quite extensive: women with basic education had 55%, women with tertiary education 65%, and those with vocational education a 65% higher risk of having a second child as compared to women with secondary education. In the 1970s and 1980s the pattern transforms from the U-shape to an inverse L-shape. The effect of tertiary education maintains its strong positive gradient on second births, although the difference from the reference category is somewhat smaller (50%) than in the earlier decades. A more pronounced reduction is characteristic of women with vocational education, they feature a 19% higher risk of having a second child. Finally, low education basically ceases to have a positive effect on the rates of second birth. A row-wise examination of the results indicates the reason behind the observed transformation of the pattern related to divergent trends in the second birth risks. Among women with secondary and tertiary education the propensity

to have a second child increased as compared to previous decades, while the opposite was true for those with basic and vocational education.

Regarding the period since 1990, our assumption was that after the transition, educational differences will increase, and possibly, a negative gradient for the educational level could emerge as more educated women will encounter the increasing opportunity costs of childbearing. This assertion is partly confirmed as women with tertiary education experienced the sharpest decrease in second birth risks. At the same time, however, the relative risk for higher education did not change in respect to sign and a moderate positive effect (25%) persists. If we examine the change of the pattern row-wise, then we can observe strengthening of a positive gradient in relative risks for women with basic (to 29%) and vocational education (28%). As a result, we can observe a re-emergence of the U-shaped pattern but, contrary to our expectation, with less overall variation in relative risks than during the state socialist regime.

Figure 2: Interaction of educational attainment and calendar period



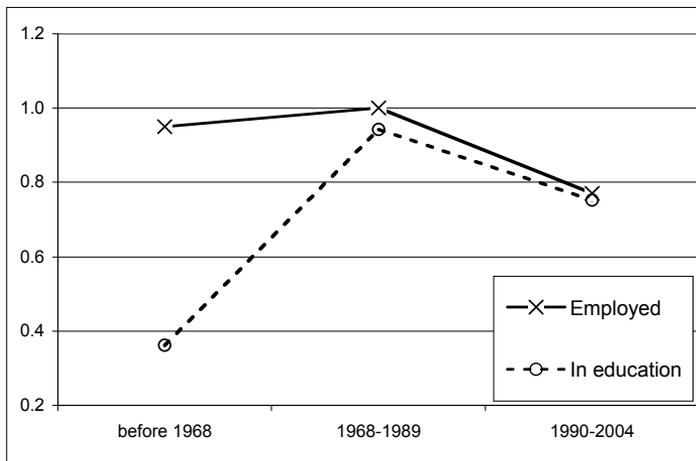
Source: Estonian GGS, authors' estimates.

Note: Missing values not shown but controlled for. Control variables as in M4 in Table 1.

Figure 3 and Table 3 present the interaction between a calendar period and activity status; employed women in 1968-1989 serve as the reference category. Our assumption, inspired by some earlier studies on East European countries, was in favour of the increasing incompatibility between educational enrolment and childbearing. This assertion, however, does not gain further support from our analysis. The data reveal that the negative association between educational enrolment and the propensity to have

a second child was strongest in the first period. Before 1968, women currently enrolled in education had 62% lower likelihood of having a second birth than employed women. In the 1970s and 1980s, most of this incompatibility ceased to exist as the difference dwindled to 6%. After 1990, the risk of having a second child fell for both employed and studying women. For the latter, the decline was slightly less steep, reducing the difference in relative risks to a mere 3%. However, regarding educational enrolment the interaction results should be taken with caution, as the exposure time and number of occurrences in this category are very limited (see Table I in the Appendix).

Figure 3: Interaction of educational enrolment and calendar period



Source: Estonian GGS, authors' estimates.

Note: Missing values and category "Home attached" not shown. Control variables as in M4 in Table 1.

Table 3: Interaction of educational enrolment and calendar period

	before 1968	1968-1989	1990-2004
Employed	0.95	1.00	0.77
In education	0.36	0.94	0.75

Source: Estonian GGS, authors' estimates.

Note: Missing values and category "Home attached" not shown. Control variables as in M4 in Table 1.

6. Summary and discussion of the findings

In this article, we have addressed the transition to second birth in Estonia using the data from the 2004-2005 GGS. The central focus of the article was on the relationship between women's current educational attainment and enrolment, and the propensity to have a second child. Aside from the general pattern, we were interested in the shifts in childbearing patterns before and after the societal transition of the 1990s. To analyse the effect of education on second birth risks, we estimated a series of piecewise constant-intensity regression models. The major findings from the empirical investigation can be summarised as follows:

- Unlike previous studies of Eastern European countries, we found a positive and relatively strong effect of high educational attainment on second birth risks in Estonia. The elevated intensity of second births for women with vocational and tertiary education appears to be a genuine result and is not due to misspecification of the model. The effect persists after controlling for the age at the onset of childbearing, both in absolute and relative terms, partnership status, and partner's education, and socio-demographic background characteristics.
- In the main effects models, women with low educational attainment exhibited a slightly positive gradient of second birth risks. However, it did not reach the level of statistical significance.
- Participation in education has a prevalingly negative effect on the propensity to have a second child, indicating that school enrolment is less compatible with childbearing than other major activity statuses (employment, home attachment) of women.
- Comparing the patterns before and after societal transition, the positive gradient of second birth risks became weaker for women with high educational attainment. Although the decrease in second birth risk was largest among the highly educated, it neither disappeared nor reversed in direction, as we had initially postulated. As the relative risk of women with a low level of education grew stronger, the relationship between educational attainment and the transition to second birth returned to the U-shape, observed in the earlier stage of state socialism. The range of educational differences in terms of second birth risks appears largest not in the aftermath of the recent societal transition but in the 1950s and 1960s.
- Contrary to our expectation, we did not observe any increase in the incompatibility between educational enrolment and the likelihood of having a second child in the 1990s, as compared to other activity statuses. In fact for

this aspect of education, the largest differences were once again characteristic of the period before 1968.

How then have these patterns arisen and how might we interpret them in the light of our theoretical considerations?

The increasing compatibility between educational enrolment in the 1970s and 1980s, compared to the earlier decades, may in part reflect the trends in the timing of childbearing and the duration of education. Within the Estonian GGS cohort range, there was a prolonged shift towards earlier childbearing that reached its lowest point in the generations born in the late 1950s and early 1960s. In these cohorts the median age of mother at second birth was slightly below 26 years of age. It seems plausible that the concurrent increase in the duration of education facilitated an increasing overlap between the educational and family transitions. Consequently, the proportion of women who completed their education after having a first child rose from 3% in the earliest GGS cohorts to 13% among those born around the turn of the 1960s. Among those who attained tertiary education, this sequence of the life course events was characteristic for nearly one in three women in these generations. Aside from the factors that drove the shift towards earlier childbearing, the compatibility between school enrolment and family formation was evidently facilitated by the relatively low cost of being in education at that period.

In interpreting the developments after 1990, it is important to note that the overall risk of second birth significantly declined for all activity statuses, though the reduction was not disproportionately greater among those currently participating in education. This result may seem somewhat unexpected and difficult to interpret given the noticeable increase in the costs of education. In our opinion, other factors, including the marked rise in educational enrolment among young people in their 20s and early 30s that has occurred after 1990 and a vigorous shift away from the highly standardised career tracks characteristic of state socialism have evidently offset the effect of the former.

The explanation for the reduction in the positive effect of tertiary (and to a lesser extent vocational) education after 1990 appears quite straightforward. The societal transition dramatically increased the economic returns to education, and in the context of micro-economic theory, the rise in opportunity costs seems to have exerted a stronger influence on the decision to have a second child than increasing incomes and improving living standards among the highly educated. In the light of the theory of the Second Demographic Transition, a more rapid reduction of second birth risks among women with tertiary education could be seen as a reflection of their position as forerunners in the move towards stronger individualisation, and a wider range of pathways for self-realisation beyond the family, particularly after the societal transition.

Evidently, the jobs of highly educated women are demanding and require stronger commitment. An indirect support for this argument comes from the somewhat longer working hours of the highly educated, more frequent incidence of multiple jobholding among them and a more pronounced shift towards shorter durations of home attachment that emerged over the past decade (Klesment and Puur 2010).

The strengthening or re-emergence of the positive gradient of the low educational attainment lends some support to the uncertainty reduction hypothesis. According to the latter, women with poor prospects in the labour market seek uncertainty reduction by motherhood, which offers the possibility for self-realisation in the family sphere. This notion gains some further support from the higher value attached to children among women with a low level of schooling (Katus, Puur, and Põldma 2008). It is important to note that the re-emergence of the positive gradient does not stem from an increase in the second birth risks among the less educated but rather from a somewhat slower decline of second birth rates compared to women who attained more schooling.

Perhaps the most intriguing finding in this article is the persistence of the positive gradient of second birth risks among highly educated women — it was remarkably strong in the decades of state socialism and did not fade away after 1990. An essential contributing factor may be sought from the institutional framework, which has evidently reduced the opportunity costs of childbearing for highly educated women. First of all, this relates to public childcare, which had already reached remarkably high coverage by the 1960s, of which availability and affordability deteriorated only temporarily, for a short period after 1990. Though the policy impact argument seems valid, it is not sufficient on its own to account for the observed pattern. The incompleteness of the policy argument can be highlighted by the comparison of Estonia to other countries of Eastern Europe that shared basically similar features in respect of the institutional framework; however, none of the studies on these countries referred to in this article, have reported a positive gradient of second birth risks for highly educated women.

In search of an additional explanation, we need to look for commonalities between Estonia and the countries in which a positive effect of the higher education on second- and higher-order births has been found. In our opinion, the general timeframe of demographic development, both distant and more recent transformations, deserves attention in this context. As noted earlier in the article, according to the accounts of the Princeton project, the transition to a modern demographic regime and parity-specific family limitation began relatively early in Estonia (Coale and Watkins 1986; Coale 1994). Furthermore, the transformation of nuptiality patterns since the 1960s fits quite well with the idea of the synchronism with Northern and Western Europe, although the emergence of the new phenomena was partly suppressed by the prevailing societal norms. The international compendia of demographic statistics (Council of Europe

2006; Eurostat 2009) and comparative studies drawing on the FFS programme (e.g., Macura and Klijzing 1997; Prioux 2006; Sobotka 2004; Sobotka and Toulemon 2008) point to the advanced position of Estonia in terms of the spread of the new family forms and the disconnection of childbearing from marriage, which is considered a hallmark of the second demographic transition.

The similar position of Estonia in both transitions may not be incidental but may instead reflect the path dependence or continuity of demographic development, notwithstanding the intervening shifts in societal norms. The country's current international ranking with respect to female labour force attachment, retreat of marriage, and diversity of living arrangements, which goes hand-in-hand with the highest fertility levels in the former state socialist countries, seems to corroborate the same notion. A few years ago, the same connection was noted by Lesthaeghe and Surkyn (2002: 216). They wrote that “those countries with the faster rate of transition in household structures will be the first to move to fertility recuperation ..., and hence to be the first to recover to more acceptable levels of subreplacement fertility.” The evidence presented in this article for Estonia indicates that the latter assertion has become a fact of life. It appears quite conceivable that the observed positive effect of high educational attainment on second birth risks also represents a characteristic of new fertility regimes that have come to the fore in the countries of Northern and Western Europe in recent decades. For instance, in their recent analysis of fertility patterns in the Nordic countries Andersson et al. (2009: 339) pay considerable attention to education, concluding that “small or declining educational differences in completed fertility in all countries, is one indication in this direction.”

Our study is among the first that uses data from the 2004-2005 Estonian Gender and Generations Survey, with the aim of highlighting the relationship between women's education and transition to second births. To obtain a more comprehensive account of childbearing patterns, one would need to examine the transitions preceding and following the second birth. Future research on fertility in Estonia should preferably address these transitions with joint modeling of births of different order and by including parameters for unobserved heterogeneity (e.g., Kravdal 2007; Kreyenfeld 2002). Another aspect that needs to be addressed in the future relates to childbearing patterns among members of the immigrant population who have settled in Estonia in the postwar decades, including the second and the emerging third generations. This would allow us to cast additional light on the role of structural and cultural factors that facilitate or inhibit the progression towards higher parities in transforming societal contexts. The present article offers a good starting point for such studies.

7. Acknowledgements

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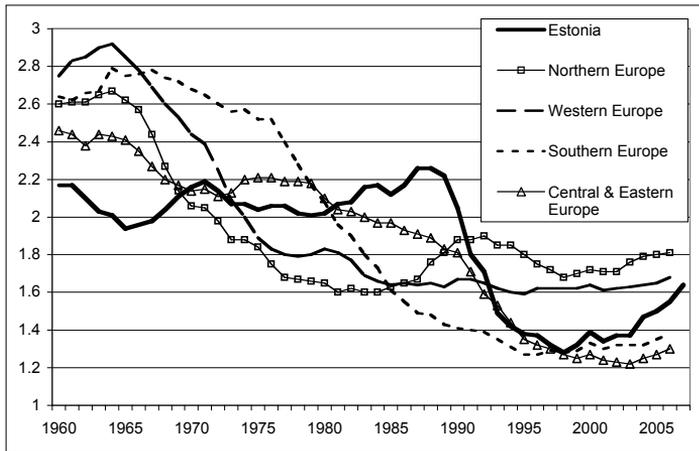
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Appendix

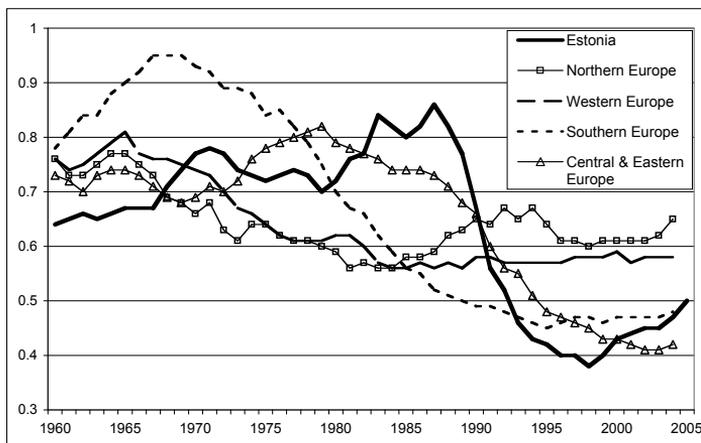
Figure I: Total fertility rate. Estonia and major European regions 1960-2005



Source: Council of Europe 2006; Eurostat 2009.

Note: Northern Europe represents Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden. Western Europe is used to denote Ireland, Austria, Belgium, France, Germany (West Germany prior to reunification), Ireland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Switzerland and the United Kingdom. Southern Europe encompasses Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain. Central Europe refers to Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, East Germany (until reunification), Hungary, Poland, the Slovak Republic and Slovenia. The CIS and Balkan countries were left out of the comparison primarily for the reason of limited data availability. The data are summarised as unweighted arithmetic means.

Figure II: Total second order fertility rate. Estonia and major European regions 1960-2005



Source: Council of Europe 2006; Eurostat 2009.

Note: see the note for the previous figure.

Table I: Time at risk distribution

Variable	Exposure		Occurrences	
	person-months	%	count	%
Years since 1st birth				
1	33122	16.29	440	21.09
2	26435	13.00	451	21.62
3	21587	10.61	291	13.95
4	18023	8.86	237	11.36
5	15231	7.49	181	8.68
6	13062	6.42	129	6.18
7	11367	5.59	106	5.08
8	10374	5.10	52	2.49
9	9562	4.70	44	2.11
10	8764	4.31	45	2.16
11+	35857	17.63	110	5.27
Total	203384	100.00	2086	100.00
Educational level				
Basic	39477	19.41	398	19.08
Secondary	53686	26.40	507	24.30
Vocational	75710	37.23	822	39.41
Tertiary	30033	14.77	308	14.77
Missing information	4478	2.20	51	2.44
Total	203384	100.00	2086	100.00
Activity status				
Studying	4202	2.07	45	2.16
Working	152735	75.10	1386	66.44
Home attached	43152	21.22	634	30.39
Other	3295	1.62	21	1.01
Total	203384	100.00	2086	100.00
Age at 1st birth				
14-18	13582	6.68	170	8.15
19-22	54797	26.94	729	34.95
23-26	70999	34.91	801	38.40
27-30	35778	17.59	278	13.33
31-35	20184	9.92	84	4.03
36+	8044	3.96	24	1.15
Total	203384	100.00	2086	100.00

Table I: (Continued)

Variable	Exposure		Occurrences	
	person-months	%	count	%
Partnership status				
Married	132143	64.97	1558	74.69
Cohabiting	33039	16.24	441	21.14
No partner	38202	18.78	87	4.17
Total	203384	100.00	2086	100.00
Partner's education				
Basic	53596	26.35	601	28.81
Secondary	86956	42.75	1053	50.48
Tertiary	24524	12.06	343	16.44
No partner or missing information	38308	18.84	89	4.27
Total	203384	100.00	2086	100.00
Calendar period				
Before 1968	42783	21.04	501	24.02
1968-1989	93200	45.82	1016	48.71
1990-2004	67401	33.14	569	27.28
Total	203384	100.00	2086	100.00
Number of siblings				
No siblings	30012	14.76	258	12.37
One	67837	33.35	650	31.16
Two	44014	21.64	490	23.49
3+	59917	29.46	668	32.02
Missing information	1604	0.79	20	0.96
Total	203384	100.00	2086	100.00
Location of parental home				
Rural	107844	53.02	1158	55.51
Urban	95540	46.98	928	44.49
Total	203384	100.00	2086	100.00

VI

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Population Research Centre

ESTONIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME SURVEYS IN THE
1950–1980s

Feasibility study and standard tabulations

MARTIN KLESMENT LUULE SAKKEUS

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Preface

Household budget surveys are one of the most important sources of information for studies of personal income, expenditure, and standard of living. In Western Europe and the United States, the collection of this kind of statistical material began as early as the second half of the 19th century. In the 20th century, such surveys became universal. This research is based on Estonian household income surveys from the Soviet period. This data needs to be re-examined due to the secrecy and lack of transparency of the Soviet statistical system. Aggregate Soviet statistical data is rarely considered reliable and its poor comparability with non-socialist countries is one of the major obstacles for those trying to estimate the standard of living in state socialist countries. The lack of reliable statistical data related to the development of the economy and standard of living in the USSR has long been problematic.

This study is the result of a research project to determine the feasibility of computerising the individual data from Estonian household income surveys from the state socialist era. These surveys originated in 1958, resumed in 1967, and were conducted regularly at 3-year intervals beginning in 1972. Western researchers regarded these household income surveys as one of the best sample surveys in the USSR. The regularity of the surveys allowed the creation of data sets that describe long-term developments. Fortunately, the individual questionnaires from the Estonian surveys have been archived, with the exception of the 1967 survey. This feasibility study targeted three years of the survey – 1958, 1975 and 1981. A methodology for computerising the questionnaires was developed, data entered, and individual data derived and prepared for analysis. The main objective of the study was to demonstrate that some aspects of Soviet micro-data could be adapted to international standards and thus made comparable to the rest of the world.

The contents of this publication is divided into two parts: the first part contains background information and deals with methodological questions. Its opening chapter discusses the organisation of household income surveys in the USSR. Information has been obtained from archival sources, including interviewer's manuals and the statistics office's instructions. A separate section describes how the data was used during the Soviet period, how the information was disseminated, and what kind of indicators were developed.

The second chapter is a methodological report on the feasibility study. It describes the scope of the individual income surveys and the data that can be derived from them. Technical issues related to preparing, entering, computerising, and cleaning the data are briefly summarised. The representativeness of the data was also tested and weights calculated to compensate for over- or under-represented population groups. The overall conclusion is that the household income surveys had relatively good sample selection, within the Soviet context. Nevertheless, there are a few deficiencies, such as the under-

representation of the rural population in the 1958 survey, that are difficult to overcome.

The second part comprises standard tabulations of the survey data that was computerised during the study. The tabulations employ contemporary statistical indicators: household size and composition, individual employment status, individual and household income, poverty risks, housing, availability of consumer durables, etc. The indicators are expressed in terms of standard variables, including sex, nativity, educational attainment, partnership status, household type, residence, employment status, sector of the economy, and income quintiles. The data used for the standard tabulations was not weighted.

This study required extensive data from archival sources and could not have been realised without appropriate funding. Financial support from the Estonian Science Foundation (grant Nos. 7619 and 7624) and the Estonian Ministry of Education and Sciences (target funding theme 0132703s05) made this project possible. The authors thank Kalju Jurkatamm for computer programming, Loona Kütt and Kristiina Vilbaste for data entry, Irene Kivimaa, Mariliis Kivimaa and Elle Tanner for help with data cleaning.

One of the authors participated in summer schools organised by the ESF GlobalEuroNet economic history network. Financial support from the ESF (GlobalEuroNet) for travel and accommodation expenses is gratefully acknowledged.

Eessõna

Perekonna või leibkonna eelarve uuringud on tähtsaks teabeallikaks rahvastiku sissetulekute, tarbimise ja elustandardi analüüsimisel. Lääne-Euroopas ja Ameerika Ühendriikides algas sellise statistika kogumine juba 19. sajandi teisel poolel. 20. sajandil on vastavaid uuringuid läbiviidud paljudes maailma riikides ja erinevate maade uuringute metoodikaid on kirjeldatud Rahvusvahelise Tööorganisatsiooni poolt (International Labour Office 1992). Käesolev töö käsitleb Eestis nõukogude perioodil organiseeritud leibkondade sissetulekute uuringuid, mille meetodeid, analüüsi ja kõiki tulemusi omal ajal ei avalikustatud. Tänu sellele, et Eesti uuringute algmaterjal on küsitluslehtede kujul säilinud, on võimalus individuaalandmete arvutiseerimiseks ning kaasaegsete meetoditega analüüsimiseks.

Käesoleva teostuvusuuringu eesmärgiks on näidata, et NLiidu statistika poolt korraldatud leibkondade tulu-uuringute andmeid on individuaaltasandil võimalik rakendada kaasaegsetes analüüsid. Vajadus selliste andmete järgi on suhteliselt suur, sest nõukogude periood, nii Eestis kui teistes endistes NLiidu osades, on jätnud sotsiaalmajanduslikku statistikasse arvestatava lõnga. Puuduvad rahvusvaheliselt võrreldavad majandusarengu ja elatusaseme indikaatorite trendid. Omaaegsete mikro-andmetike, nagu seda on leibkondade uuringud, kasutussevõtmine on üks võimalus selliste lünkade täitmiseks. Uuringute perioodilisus annab võimaluse pikaajaliste protsesside käsitlemiseks. Lisaks sissetulekute tasemele ning struktuurile ja eluaseme tingimustele selgub uuringutest vastavate nähtuste jaotus rahvastikurühmade vahel. Selline teave on keskseks allikaks elatusaseme ebahütluse ja suhtelise vaesuse leviku käsitlemisel. Viimane on huvipakkuv teema, sest vaesust kui sellist NLiidus üldiselt ei uuritud ning selle hindamine oli keeruline ka välismaiste teadlaste jaoks. Teadaolevalt ei ole seni nõukogude perioodi tulu-uuringute andmestikke pärast NLiidu lagunemist individuaaltasandil teadustööks rakendatud, seega on praegune töö esimene katsetus. Teostuvusuuring on vajalik, et saada ettekujutus leibkonna tulude uuringute metoodikast, korjatud andmete kvaliteedist, andmete arvutiseerimise probleemidest ning sellest, millist teavet tulu-uuringute mikroandmestik uurijatele annab. Loomulikult annab algandmete juurde tagasipöördumine võimaluse omaaegse agregeeritud statistika kontrollimiseks.

Käesolev väljaanne on jaotatud kaheks suuremaks osaks. Esimene, tekstiline osa, sisaldab peamiselt tulu-uuringute andmete uurimise taustinformatsiooni ning teostuvusuuringu metoodilisi küsimusi. Teine osa koosneb teostuvusuuringu käigus läbitöötatud tulu-uuringute andmete standardtabelitest. Esimene osa on jaotatud kaheks peatükiks, millest esimene käsitleb tulu-uuringute korraldamise metoodikat nõukogudeaegses Eestis. Selle eesmärgiks on anda üldisem ülevaade sellest, kuidas nimetatud uuringuid organiseeriti. Oluline on seejuures tähelepanu pöörata uuringu valimi moodustamise protseduuridele, küsitlusmeetoditele ning sellele, mida saadud andmetega peale hakati. Peatükis on lühidalt vaadeldud ka omaaegsete analüüside tulemusi ja saadud teabe levitamist.

Teine peatükk moodustab käesoleva teostuvusuuringu metoodilise raporti, kus kirjeldatakse teostuvusuuringu jaoks valitud kolme aasta uuringu (1958, 1975 ja 1981) andmestiku kasutuselevõtu üksikasju. Tähelepanu on pööratud valimi esinduslikkusele ja ning võimalustele seda paremini kogurahvastikule laiendada. Samuti on analüüsitud andmekvaliteeti ning võimalikke arvestus- ning sisestusvigasid.

Töö teise ja mahukama osa moodustavad standardtabelid. Tabelite komplekti koostamisel on lähtutud kaasaajal levinud statistilistest indikaatoritest, mis kirjeldavad muuhulgas isikute ja leibkondade sissetulekute jaotust, hõivatust, vaesuse levikut ning eluasemetingimusi. Valdav enamus tabelleid kasutab sama standardlõiget, milles näidatakse mingi indikaatori väärtus lisaks vanusele veel soo, päritolu, haridustaseme, perekonnaseisu, leibkonnatüübi, hõivestaatuse, elukoha ja leibkonna sissetulekukvintiili lõikes.

Käesolev töö ei oleks valminud mitmete isikute ja institutsioonide abita. Andmesisestuse ettevalmistuse, sisestuse enda ja töötluste tegid võimalikuks Eesti Teadusfondi grant nr 7619 ja nr 7624 ning Haridus ja Teadusministeeriumi sihtfinantseering nr 0132703s05. Autorid tänavad sisestusprogrammi koostajat Kalju Jurkatamme, sisestajaid Loona Kütti ja Kristiina Vilbastet, ning andmepuhastusel abiks olnud Irene Kivimaad, Mariliis Kivimaad ja Elle Tannerit. Üks autoritest on projekti jooksul külastanud Euroopa Teadusfondi projekti GlobalEuroNet suvekoole ja on tänulik selle ettevõtmise teadusliku panuse ja suvekoolidega seotud kulude katmise eest.

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Part I
Methodological Overview

Income Surveys in the USSR

1.1 General overview of household income statistics in the USSR

A large number of surveys were conducted in the USSR throughout the years of its existence. A list of materials archived in the office of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Central Administration of Statistics (*ENSV Statistika Keskvallitsus*, hereafter ENSV SKV) includes numerous examples of surveys on topics such as the use of vacation time, savings and banking services, the amount of time spent on household chores, the clothes and footwear in one's possession, stocks of farm animal feed, the purchase of manufactured goods, and opinions about service establishments and the quality of domestic light industry products. There were also some rather peculiar surveys that are outside the realm of standard statistics (for example, "Families' opinions about the reasons for the loss of food products and animal feed in October–November 1983"). The main purpose of this study is to examine surveys related to income. For this reason, the use of survey statistics from the USSR is confined to household income and budget surveys.

Beginning with readily available information, I. Matyukha, the former Head of the Department of Family Budget Statistics for the Central Administration of Statistics of the USSR (*Центральное Статистическое Управление СССР*, hereafter TsSU SSSR) published an overview of the development of household budget surveys (Matyukha 1967). According to this overview, the first income survey of workers and employees was conducted in 1918 in Petrograd. Several similar local surveys were conducted shortly thereafter in different parts of Soviet Russia and the practice later became widespread in the USSR. According to Matyukha, those early surveys played an important part in planning production and determining salaries. A new era of budget survey statistics commenced in 1951 when it was decided to conduct household budget surveys on a regular basis. Although regularity increased the data collection rate and a great deal of information was collected by means of these surveys, their main deficiency was considered to be their sampling methodology. Households were selected from the enterprises and other institutions where people were employed. As a result, not all sectors were included and the sample was mainly drawn from the industrial sectors of the economy (Levin 1969).

The representativeness of the surveys was compromised by the exclusion of households consisting exclusively of retirees or students and the under-representation of the tertiary sector. Such methods of sample selection produced obvious deviations and the

results over- or underestimated some aspects of economic well-being. Western researchers who studied Soviet household budget surveys in order to estimate the standard of living in the Soviet Union also identified issues with sample selection (McAuley 1977; 1979, Wädekin 1975).¹ The sample size of the household budget surveys was relatively small – for example, even after doubling the size of the sample in 1968 and expanding the coverage of the rural population, the Estonian survey still only comprised about one thousand households. These households were surveyed continuously during the year.

To its credit, the household budget survey covered a whole year and recorded both revenues and expenditures (including the type of expense, the amount of purchases and sums spent). A family obliged to participate in the budget survey had to record all revenues and expenditures monthly. Expenditures were described in great detail; for example, expenditures on a large number of food products and a series of finished and semi-finished industrial products were itemised. Collective farmers accounted for farming expenditures and household income from plant and animal products. Each family kept a journal of revenues and expenditures, and twice a month this data was collected by a statistician who also interviewed the household. Since the survey was rather detailed, the questionnaire form was lengthy – amounting to approximately 50 pages of detailed information per year. This material represents the bulk of Fund R-10 List 17 in the State Archive. In a side note, one of the family budget publications of the Office of Statistics mistakenly stated that the research data was not preserved, because the data was processed in Moscow and only a summary of the information was returned (Grauberg *et al.* 2003; p 5). This was probably the case for certain years, but a large collection of the original questionnaire sheets is still kept in the State Archives.

Income surveys may be considered a sub-category of the household budget survey. It was probably due to issues associated with the sample size of the household budget survey in the USSR that one-time (rather than continuous) income surveys were initiated. The first income survey of this type was conducted in 1958 and the subsequent one in 1967. It appears that this kind of survey was found to provide useful information, because the USSR Council of Ministers regulations of 3 September, 1966 and 25 September, 1974 declared that such surveys were to be organised on a regular basis.² Although family budget surveys were continued, income surveys were found to be of particular importance. Beginning in 1972, the income survey was conducted at 3-year intervals for the entire USSR.

The sample size for the income survey was substantially larger than that for the family budget survey. The 1958 income survey, which covered only the households of workers and employees in the non-agricultural sectors, included 240,000 households throughout the Soviet Union. A classified report on the results of the survey was issued by the TsSU USSR and it briefly describes the indicators that were calculated on the basis of the collected individual data.³ The next income survey was carried out in 1967 with a sample size of 250,000 households. For unknown reasons, the individual records from this survey were not retained in the Estonian archives, unlike those from the 1958 or subsequent surveys. One possible explanation could be the secrecy that surrounded individual income

¹For more research on income distribution in the USSR see Bergson (1984), Ofer (1981), Vinokur and Ofer (1987).

²Estonian State Archives, hereafter ERA. ERA R-10-17-6814, 10.

³ERA R-10-27-23.

data; another reason, suggested by Grauberg *et al.* (2003), could be that the processing was done in Moscow. While the statistical compilations of the 1970s and 1980s were marked “For official use only” (*для служебного пользования*), the files containing the 1950s and 1960s survey data were stamped “Secret” (*секретно*). The latter designation was obviously more restrictive than the former.

The last income survey data maintained in the Estonian Archives is from 1984. According to the published statistical data, at least one more study was conducted at a later date. The March 1989 study covered 310,000 households from the entire Soviet Union. The results of the 1989 income survey are available in a statistical compilation in aggregated form (Goskomstat SSSR 1990).

The unit of the income survey was the household. The survey was justified by the importance of its key data for examining the factors related to income in light of the size and socio-economic characteristics of the family.⁴ Although the studies were called “family surveys”, the units examined are better described as households. The questionnaire instructions stated that the family was defined as all persons “connected by kinship or marriage and with a common budget”. Incomes in the Soviet Union were also studied by means of the so-called income census, which, unlike the household budget and income surveys, was based on data obtained from the accounting offices of enterprises, institutions and organisations and therefore reflected only employees’ incomes. However, these censuses were all-encompassing (the sample was made up of all working individuals) and conducted at intervals of a few years, and thus provided the monthly earnings of all paid employees (Rabkina and Rimashevskaya 1972). The income survey, on the other hand, included other types of earnings besides income from wages.

It is difficult to determine to what extent the findings of the income and family budget surveys were available to the scientists of the USSR, and at what level of accuracy they were allowed to disseminate them. Some research describing and using the related statistics did exist (Matyukha 1973, Zhutkovskaya 1966). In later years, collections of statistics based on those surveys were released for departmental or official use (for example TsSU ESSR 1972; 1980; 1986). Regardless of the deficiencies mentioned above, those surveys were considered to be the most reliable income data for the USSR by numerous Soviet economists (cited in McAuley 1979; p 55).

Finally, it should be noted that surveys of Soviet emigrants have been widely used by Western scientists. Emigration from the USSR mainly refers to that of the Jewish people, which began at the end of the 1960s. A family budget survey was conducted in the mid-1970s among former citizens of the USSR living in Israel, in which data was collected from 1,250 families. More information is available about the so-called *Soviet Interview Project* (SIP) conducted in the USA. In that project, approximately 2,800 people who had immigrated to the USA in 1970–1980 were surveyed. Since in both cases only one particular population was questioned, the data cannot be considered characteristic of the entire Soviet Union (Vinokur and Ofer 1987). Several studies of the economic development and structure of the population of the USSR have been performed using data from the SIP (Gregory 1982, Gregory and Collier Jr 1988, Gregory and Kohlhasse 1988, Gregory and Stuart 1990, Mokhtari and Gregory 1993).

⁴ERA R-10-17-7783, 50.

1.2 Sample of the income survey

One of the main issues with income surveys and family budget surveys in the USSR is sample formation. According to the wording of Soviet statistics, the sample was “mechanically” selected in two phases: in the first phase, enterprises were selected, and in the second, people whose households were included in the sample were chosen from those enterprises. Consequently, sample formation greatly depended on the enterprises that were selected. The main criterion for selecting the enterprises as well as the individual participants was salary. This section describes the process of sample formation for selected Estonian income surveys.

The sample for the 1958 survey was comprised of 150 enterprises and institutions, from which 3,100 households of workers and employees⁵ were selected. The economic sectors which were represented among those who were selected is as follows: 1,302 from industry, 245 from construction, 360 from transportation, 200 from health care, 30 from research institutions, and 135 from government offices.⁶ No collective farmers or pensioner households were included in the 1958 and 1967 surveys. In later surveys, however, collective farmers and retirees were included as separate groups. It is instructive to note that the division of the sample into different social groups of the Soviet system (workers-employees, collective farmers, retirees) was decided by the TsSU SSSR. For example, a total of 3,670 households was mandated for the 1978 survey, including 2,500 of workers and employees, 1,012 of collective farmers, 70 of retirees- workers and 88 of retirees-collective farmers.⁷ The proportion of each group in the sample was determined centrally (see also Table 1.4).

Selecting the participating enterprises was the responsibility of the ENSV SKV Department of Budget Statistics (DBS) and the town or county statistics offices. Additional information necessary for the selection was obtained from the Work and Salary Statistics departments. The Department of Agricultural Statistics helped to select the collective farms. A chart which contained information about the number of employees and their average salary was created for each enterprise, institution and organisation in the specified economic sector. Industrial enterprises were subdivided into groups according to the

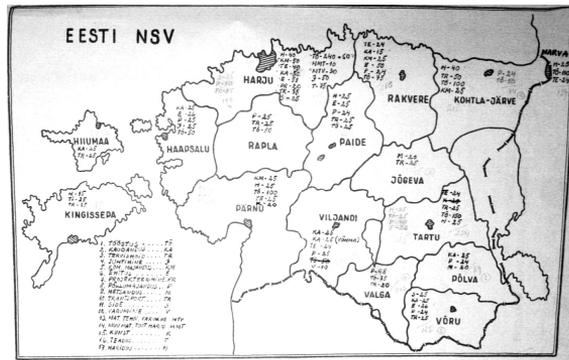


Figure 1.1: Selection of enterprises by economic sector for Estonia’s 1967 income survey.

Source: ERA R-10-17-4639, 25.

⁵In addition to collective farmers, workers and employees formed two distinct groups in the USSR. The former refers to “blue-collar” and the latter to “white-collar” workers.

⁶ERA R-10-18-167, 25.

⁷ERA R-10-17-6814, 10.

number of employees in order to identify large enterprises. The charts were sorted by average salary and number of employees and the participating enterprises were selected according to a predetermined interval.⁸ It was thereby ensured that the full salary scale from the highest- to the lowest-paying institutions was represented among the selected enterprises. We can therefore conclude that the enterprises were not chosen randomly. The selection of enterprises, institutions and organisations was made by local statistics organisations in cooperation with the ENSV SKV; the final inclusion decision was made by the town or county executive committee.

Interviewers were then chosen from the selected enterprises, institutions and organisations by the inspectors of the ENSV SKV and the managerial staff of the enterprises. The potential interviewers were usually bookkeepers or accounting office employees who were trained to conduct the surveys in households. Their help was then solicited to create the lists of workers and employees who would participate in the survey.⁹

Due to security restrictions, several economic sectors and some localities of the USSR were excluded from the surveys, at least during the earlier years. According to a secret TsSU SSSR report, all households connected with the Ministries of Defence, Internal Affairs, and International Trade, the KGB and the project survey organisations were excluded from the 1958 survey. Also excluded were households in remote areas, for example, the far north.¹⁰ This is basically true for the 1967 survey as well (TsSU SSSR 1969). These instructions were eliminated in later surveys. Households of military personnel and employees of other classified institutions could be included in the survey and there are several such examples in the surveys of the 1970s.

The inclusion criteria for enterprises and institutions are difficult to identify from the survey documentation. The head of the DBS compiled a list of enterprises by economic sector, including the number of employees and participants to be selected. The list was then presented to the head of the ENSV SKV for approval. The representativeness of the sample had to be demonstrated from a salary perspective. Table 1.1 is the summary table of such a process for Estonia, compiled from the representativeness tables of various economic sectors and work and salary statistics. The representativeness table was composed for each enterprise by comparing the average salary of the participants with the average salary for the particular economic sector and that of employees not selected for the survey.

The practice of using salary accounting records for sampling purposes entailed some risks. As seen in table 1.2, the representation of some areas of business was relatively small (10–20 individuals selected) and it might happen that all the individuals were employed by the same enterprise. In 1967, the Pärnu Drama Theatre was included, where the average April wage (89.2 roubles) varied considerably from the sector average (100.1 roubles – see table 1.1). The discrepancy resulted from the fact that the average sector's payroll included income from a second workplace, whereas sampling data was only drawn from the salary earned at the main workplace.¹¹ In this case, a letter of explanation that probably resolved the issue was sent to the TsSU SSSR. However, if the problem had

⁸ERA R-10-17-4638, 241–250.

⁹ERA R-10-17-6814, 71–75.

¹⁰R-10-27-23, 1.

¹¹Letter from G.Kimask, head of the ENSV SKV to I.Matyukha, head of the TsSU SSSR budget department. ERA R-10-7-6814, 81.

Table 1.1: Control chart of the enterprise selection for the 1967 income survey

Branch of economy	Average salary		N	Average salary*no. of selected		No of employees		II Q wage fund	Average salary	
	Considered	Selected		Total	Considered	Selected	Total			Total
Industry	112.8	113.4	1200	135411	136088	130991	214457	74421.9	115.7	
Construction	133.8	135.1	230	30765	31072.8	31627	39572	16380.4	138.0	
Project & design	112	112.1	20	2240	2242	2228	4114	1631.4	132.2	
Agriculture	90.9	89.9	390	35440.3	35042.6	32886.4	57776	14987.2	86.5	
Forestry	81	83.1	40	3242	3322.8	3176	8207	2021	82.1	
Transport	122.8	122.3	320	39287.5	39041.5	39303	56107	20733.7	123.2	
Communication	74.3	75.9	50	3715	3795	3962.5	9006	2176.1	80.5	
Commerce & catering	90.1	89.7	215	19379.7	19278.3	18933	39605	10824.6	91.1	
Procurement	89.3	89	10	893	890	893	2058	548.9	88.9	
Technical procurement	101.8	103	30	3054	3090	3053	5410	1630.3	100.4	
Other material prod.	110.2	110	10	1102	1100	1098	6841	1586.5	77.3	
Housing & services	80.9	81.2	125	10109.5	10151.2	10994.3	22030	5960.9	90.2	
Health care	85	85.4	170	14449.4	14523.4	14741.6	29183	7772.1	88.8	
Education	105.6	106.6	220	23234.3	23454.9	23866.5	41170	12920.3	104.6	
Science & research	117.1	117.1	75	8785.5	8784.5	8607.5	14512	4787.5	110.0	
Art	78.6	78.4	20	1572	1568	1784	2928	879.4	100.1	
Government	110.6	110.1	75	8297.5	8255	8092.5	14823	5023	113.0	
Total	106.6	106.8	3200	340977.7	341720.8	336217.3	588022	188872.2	107.1	

Source: ERA R-10-17-4639, 15.

Notes : Considered – all employees charted in an enterprise; Selected – employees selected for the sample based on the selection charts; Total – all employees of all enterprises; II Q wage fund – 2nd quarter payroll fund in thousands of roubles. Number of employees in an economic sector and the sums of the 2nd quarter payroll were obtained from the statistics of work and salary.

Table 1.2: Distributions of the sample by sector of economy in the USSR, the 1967 survey

Sector	Total	Rus.	Ukr.	Byelor.	Uzb.	Kazakh.	Georg.	Azerb.	Lith.	Mold.	Lat.	Kyrg.	Tajik.	Arm.	Turkm.	Est.
Industry	89965	57590	16180	2445	1570	2490	1060	920	1085	890	1225	790	785	1025	700	1200
Construction	19110	10470	3145	565	590	1225	345	270	300	300	230	280	400	345	415	230
Project & design	1705	1055	290	25	60	70	30	20	25	10	20	20	25	20	15	20
Agriculture	30695	16655	3745	1380	1280	3500	460	490	470	380	350	590	310	440	255	390
Forestry	1345	810	240	90	0	50	20	0	25	20	20	15	0	15	0	40
Transport	23735	13755	4230	670	535	1390	360	340	270	310	320	290	315	235	395	320
Communication	3395	2025	520	120	85	180	50	50	40	40	50	45	45	40	55	50
Trade	15905	9375	2840	495	425	695	245	205	185	225	210	200	205	170	215	215
Procurement	1960	890	395	50	120	160	35	40	25	60	20	40	40	15	60	10
Tech. procurement	2355	1305	400	55	70	150	35	30	35	30	30	40	45	40	60	30
Other material prod.	625	350	70	40	20	35	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	20	10	10
Housing	8005	4925	1295	165	185	345	155	120	90	85	125	70	95	110	115	125
Health care	14435	7955	2725	465	450	655	310	240	180	230	180	215	230	160	270	170
Education	22425	12125	3805	775	895	1145	465	380	285	430	240	365	495	365	435	220
Schience	7190	5135	925	115	100	150	85	70	70	70	115	115	55	100	55	75
Art	1260	695	220	40	30	60	25	20	20	20	20	20	25	20	25	20
Government	5890	3285	975	195	185	300	110	95	85	90	80	95	120	80	120	75
Total	250000	148400	42000	7700	6600	12600	3800	3300	3200	3200	3200	3200	3200	3200	3200	3200

Source: ERA R-10-17-4638.

been addressed on a more superficial level, the Pärnu Theatre would probably have been replaced by another cultural institution that paid higher salaries.

The principles for selecting individuals from the designated enterprises, institutions and organisations were relatively simple. The selection processes of workers-employees and collective farmers were different. Initially, a service record was created for each worker and employee working in an enterprise's principal activity. The record included the individual's wages for April of that year. It is difficult to define precisely what was meant by working in the institution's principal activity, but the guidelines prohibited, for example, the enterprise's subsidiary farm workforce participating in the survey. Temporarily employed persons were also excluded. However, students employed by the company were included as working in the field of principle activity. The second criterion for a service record was that the individual had received wages for the entire month of April. The service records were compiled from information obtained from the enterprise's accounting department.¹²

The next step in the sampling process was similar to the selection of enterprises. Workers' service records were sorted in descending order according to salaries, and those to be included in the survey were selected at equal intervals, which were calculated by dividing the number of employees by the number to be selected.¹³ The first name was drawn from the middle of the highest interval, so that the most highly paid person was not selected. This ensured that the entire pay scale was represented in the sample.

The selection of collective farmers was restricted by household characteristics. For example, only households in which there were "family members who had worked at least one day on a collective farm in 1977" were eligible to participate in the 1978 income survey. "If no members of the household were able to work, but they had nevertheless worked at least 40 days on a collective farm during the year, they were also considered to be a collective farm household."¹⁴ A selection chart similar to that for workers and employees was created for each collective farm household. It was called "the collective farm household selection record", and it contained information about the household drawn from village council records, collective farm personal book-keeping journals and collective farm members' lists. The chart included the name of the head of household, the number of family members as of the beginning of the year, the number of individuals able to work, the number of animals (separately listed as cattle, cows, pigs, sheep and goats) and the total number of person-days the members of the household had worked on the collective farm during the preceding year. The amount and type of pension of any retired members of the household was recorded. A pensioners' household was considered to be one in which there were no members of working age and whose members participated in collective farm work for less than 40 person-days per year.

The next step in the selection process was to determine whether or not the families of collective farmers owned cattle. Families were divided into two groups – those with cattle and those without. The Collective Farm Board or the Village Soviet was responsible for the correct categorisation of households into these groups. The household charts of both groups were then arranged in descending order by the number of person-days worked on a collective farm. The charts were selected at intervals, similar to the selection process for workers and employees. However, if a household was selected that had no

¹²ERA R-10-17-7783, 65.

¹³ERA R-10-17-6812, 147–148.

¹⁴ERA 10-17-6812, 148.

members able to work, it was replaced with a household that had the least person-days worked on a collective farm. A statistical form called “The Characteristics of Collective Farm Households Selected for the Income Survey” was completed by the local statistics organisation for each collective farm and submitted to the ENSV SKV DBS. Pensioners’ households were not selected locally, their household charts were sent directly to the DBS for selection.¹⁵

Table 1.3: **Distribution of the sample in various areas of the USSR, the 1967 income survey, %**

	Total USSR	Russia	Ukraine	Lithuania	Latvia	Estonia
Industry	35.99	38.81	38.52	33.91	38.28	37.5
Construction	7.64	7.06	7.49	9.38	7.19	7.19
Project & design	0.68	0.71	0.69	0.78	0.63	0.63
Agriculture	12.28	11.22	8.92	14.69	10.94	12.19
Forestry	0.54	0.55	0.57	0.78	0.63	1.25
Transport	9.49	9.27	10.07	8.44	10	10
Communication	1.36	1.36	1.24	1.25	1.56	1.56
Trade & catering	6.36	6.32	6.76	5.78	6.56	6.72
Procurement	0.78	0.6	0.94	0.78	0.63	0.31
Technical procurement	0.94	0.88	0.95	1.09	0.94	0.94
Other material production	0.25	0.24	0.17	0.31	0.31	0.31
Housing	3.2	3.32	3.08	2.81	3.91	3.91
Health care	5.77	5.36	6.49	5.63	5.63	5.31
Education	8.97	8.17	9.06	8.91	7.5	6.88
Science	2.88	3.46	2.2	2.19	2.19	2.34
Art	0.5	0.47	0.52	0.63	0.63	0.63
Government	2.36	2.21	2.32	2.66	2.5	2.34
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Table 1.2

The time elapsed between preparing the sample and interviewing the selected households might have been about a month. It was therefore possible that the sample population could change during this period, and the survey organisers had to be prepared for such situations. Possible reasons for changes in the sample included the selected respondent leaving the enterprise, being hospitalised due to illness, or refusing to participate in the survey. In such cases, special reports were prepared that stated how many participants had dropped out of the sample and for what reason. The respondents that left were replaced with employees who had approximately the same salary as those they were replacing.¹⁶ Based on 1978 reports, the primary reason for replacing respondents was the selected person having left the residence; other reasons included illness, death, and incompatibility of the type of residence (e.g. an individual worked in town, but lived in a rural area). The instructions manual stipulated that employees selected for the survey had to live in the same town where their workplace was situated. When an enterprise was located in a city, but the selected employee lived out of town, the employee had to be

¹⁵ERA R-10-17-6812, 148–152.

¹⁶Examples: ERA R-10-17-6812, 1–5.

replaced with someone living in the same city. The same rule applied to rural workplaces and employees who lived in urban areas.¹⁷

The sample population was checked for representativeness during the sample formation process. In the case of workers and employees, this was done on the basis of individual wages at the level of the enterprise. If the difference between the average salary of respondents selected from a workplace and the average salary of all workers at that workplace was less than 3%, the sample was considered to be representative.¹⁸ Special statistical forms (P-3) that had to be submitted to the ENSV SKV were used for such purposes. The criteria for collective farmers was the number of person-days worked rather than wages earned. The individual's number of working-days was compared to the average number of working-days on a particular collective farm, and the difference had to be less than 3%.

It must be borne in mind that in the case of workers and employees, the sample formation and relevant quality checks pertained only to the members of the household who were selected at their workplace. However, it is also important to note how other members of selected households were included in the survey. Instructions accompanying the 1967 survey specified those who should be considered members of a household. For instance, family members studying at a university and living in a dormitory were to be listed as members of the household, and their stipends were included in the household income; however, their living conditions were disregarded because only the main residence was included in the study. The criteria were based on family ties and the individual was regarded as temporarily absent from the household. More complex situations arose for which the ENSV SKV DBS had to give specific instructions to interviewers. A few examples are provided below.

Question 3. If a household/family consists of a young boy and an elderly woman who has taken care of the boy throughout his school years and they have lived in the same apartment and are on the same budget, should the boy be considered as a member of the household even if they are not related?

Answer: Treat as one family in the questionnaire.

In this case, a common budget served as the basis for the decision, rather than the relationship. Even though the questionnaire refers to the family, the context is obviously the household. Questions could also arise when members of a household lived in separate residences, but were nevertheless considered one household:

Question 4. If a woman lives with a child in their own house or apartment, but her husband lives in a dormitory, how should the questions about the family's living conditions be answered?

Answer: According to the residence of the larger number of people.

...

¹⁷ERA 10-17-6812, 148.

¹⁸ERA 10-17-6812, 148-148.

Question 6. If there are two men and one woman in a household, but the woman is not married to either of them, should a husband be indicated in Part VI of the questionnaire?

Answer: A husband should not be indicated in Part VI of the questionnaire unless the woman considers him to be a member of her family. Casual and temporary relationships are not considered to constitute a family.

Table 1.4: **Distribution of the sample by social groups, the 1978 income survey**

	Workers and employees	Collective farmers	Workers–pensioners	Collective farmers–pensioners	Total
Russia	142,000	19,775	5,000	1,700	168,475
Ukraine	43,000	14,099	1,600	1,201	59,900
Byelorussia	8,000	2,288	300	212	10,800
Uzbekistan	8,000	3,864	150	136	12,150
Kazakhstan	13,000	2,904	300	96	16,300
Georgia	3,500	1,920	120	80	5,620
Azerbaijan	3,500	1,440	70	60	5,070
Lithuania	3,000	1,035	80	115	4,230
Moldova	2,500	1,320	60	80	3,960
Latvia	2,500	1,012	90	88	4,190
Kyrgyzstan	2,500	1,344	60	56	3,960
Tajikistan	2,500	1,368	25	32	3,925
Armenia	2,500	1,248	45	27	3,820
Turkmenistan	2,500	1,368	30	32	3,930
Estonia	2,500	1,012	70	88	3,670
USSR total	242,000	55,997	8,000	4,003	310,000

Source: ERA R-10-17-6814, 31.

It appears that the interviewers were supposed to consider other forms of family than traditional marriage, and this could be rather complicated due to the individual life experiences of the participants. Most of the problems resulted from one part of the survey that requested information about a woman's previous marriages and number of children. For example, the following problem emerged:

Question 7. A woman lives separately from her husband, but has not divorced him, and lives with another man. How should Part VI of the questionnaire be answered?

Answer: In Part VI of the questionnaire, the current cohabitation should be considered as a marriage. The data about the man with whom she is cohabiting is entered irrespective of the existence of children.

...

Question 18. A woman has 3 children, each of them by a different father, none of whom were married her. The woman is now married. How should the

previous relationships be recorded?

If the woman says that she has lived with the man for a couple of months and considers that it is a marriage, the year and month when the couple began their co-habitation should be recorded . . .¹⁹

Members of the household who were serving in the army, travelling for business reasons, in a sanatorium or hospital, as well as children who were studying in boarding or vocational schools, or temporarily staying with relatives were included among the total number of members of the household.

1.3 Organisation of the survey

A directive to conduct the survey was received from the TsSU SSSR, including interviewer instructions and questionnaires that were translated into Estonian. In later years, data processing instructions were added, which outlined the procedure for entering data onto punched cards. This was done in collaboration with the Statistical Computation Centre. The data collected from the survey was prepared for computing by local statistical offices, but the processing was centralised – performed on a Minsk-32 computer in the TsSU SSSR.²⁰ The TsSU SSSR also issued an agenda, which specified the dates by which certain stages of survey had to be completed.

The TsSU SSSR issued instructions to the ENSV SKV, and the DBS forwarded them to the lower echelons of the statistical administration – town and county statistical inspectors who managed the survey at the local level. Qualified staff from the selected enterprises (typically book-keepers and accountants) were employed as interviewers; they had to prepare lists of respondents, interview householders on site and complete other tasks related to the survey. According to the directive of September 1966 issued by the Council of Ministers of the USSR, the interviewers were released from their principal employment for 10 days while retaining their normal wages.

According to the survey agenda, the enterprises had to be selected in June. In July, the DBS instructed local statistics offices regarding the procedures for conducting the survey. In early August, the participating enterprises were notified of the survey and in the next couple of weeks, local statistical bodies selected interviewers from the enterprises. In late August, interviewer training took place. The first half of September was spent on preparing the lists of employees, selecting respondents and validating representativeness. Local statistical offices reported on the representativeness of the sample to the ENSV SKV. Household interviews had to be completed by mid-October, and after that, random checks of the questionnaires were conducted. The interviewers then submitted the questionnaires to the local statistical offices, who delivered them to the ENSV SKV by 31 October. This department checked the questionnaires again and sent them to the Computation Centre in Estonia for data entry onto the punched cards. At the end of the year, the survey data was sent to the central USSR computing centre in computer-readable form. During the whole time of the survey, local statistical offices and enterprises were obligated to conduct

¹⁹ERA R-10-17-4640, 11–13.

²⁰ERA R-10-17-6814, 53–53.

information sessions for the households selected for the survey regarding the purpose of the survey.²¹

The income surveys were not limited to collecting data on monetary income – payments in kind received by collective farmers were also recorded. The cash value of these products had to be calculated, and the retail prices of the most common agricultural products and foodstuffs (e.g. grain, potatoes, vegetables, hay, fruit, dairy products, meats and fish) were appended to the questionnaire. Subsidies received for the expenses of students at vocational and boarding schools and children attending kindergartens had to be recalculated according to stipulated prices. The cost of services received from the state was therefore included in the total monetary income, although it was not disposable income. For example, the cost of a student at an urban boarding school in 1978

was 37 roubles; the cost of a child in a nursery was 44 roubles. If part of the costs was covered by the parent, the difference between that sum and the “state cost” indicated in the instructions was entered in the questionnaire as the amount of the subsidy.²²

The number of polls and surveys increased considerably in the 1970s, so statisticians started to combine surveys and make simultaneous use of samples. For example, the 1978 income survey was combined with a survey of professional activities. The latter survey was administered to every tenth household participating in that year’s income survey.²³ The 1984 income survey was carried out in tandem with the survey of young families, the purpose of which was to collect data on the formation and development of young families. A family, with or without children, in which at least one spouse was younger than 36, was considered to be a young family. It was the task of the interviewer to select young families during the income survey.²⁴ This was probably one reason why no questions regarding female cohabitation and children were included in the 1984 income survey. Another reason may have been that the micro-census conducted during the same period covered the same range of issues.

As mentioned above, there was also an ideological aspect to the income survey.

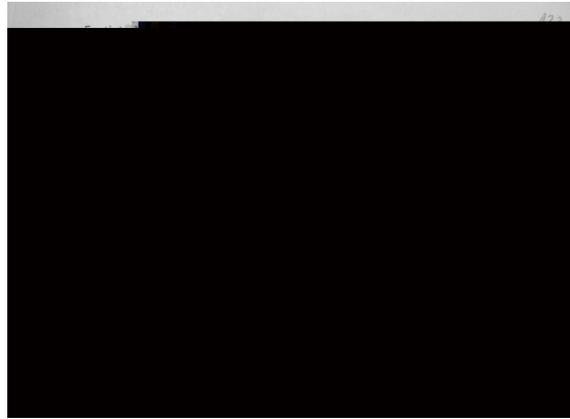


Figure 1.2: Correspondence from the Academy of Sciences Institute of History to the ENSV SKV concerning their inability to provide accounting personnel for the income survey.

Source: ERA R-10-17-6812, 133.

²¹ERA R-10-17-6814, 77–80.

²²ERA R-10-17-6812, 33–34.

²³ERA R-10-17-6814, 71.

²⁴ERA R-10-17-7783, 70.

The survey directives emphasised the need to inform the public of the importance of the survey. It was not promoted as a way to collect statistical data but rather as a means of constantly improving the well-being of the population. According to this reasoning, statistics collected from the survey were used for formulating the next five-year plan, i.e. for increasing wages and raising the income of the most disadvantaged groups.²⁵

It is possible that the survey respondents were subject to a certain amount of pressure to answer questions. In the circulars of the 1967 survey the head of DBS tells the inspectors that “firm measures will be taken in case of refusals to complete questionnaires; support from local party organisations must be sought in order to influence families.”²⁶ Because the party organisations of enterprises (so-called party cells) meddled in the private lives of employees to a considerable extent, this could indeed have been an effective way of exerting pressure (a few examples are given in Tarvel 2009). However, there are reports that refusals to take part in the survey did occur, indicating the existence of individual freedom not to participate in the survey.

We will now briefly describe the initial quality checks. Usually one interviewer had 20–25 households to survey. The interviewers were supposed to check the arithmetic and logic of all questionnaires that they had completed during the survey. Checks of the logic included the relationships between education and age, employment and benefits, age and pension, number of household members, concurrence of data pertaining to the kitchen garden, and so forth.²⁷ In addition, some of the households were visited after the completion of the survey. According to the instructions, the local statistical inspector was supposed to choose at least two households at random, and visit them in the company of the interviewer who had conducted the survey. They repeated some of the questions and also checked the accuracy and logical connections between the responses that had been provided earlier (e.g. correlation of studies with level of education, links between occupation and age). This practice assessed the diligence of the interviewer as well as the consistency of the responses. In the 1978 survey, post-interview visits were made to at least 5% of the households included in the survey. When an error was found, all the households surveyed by that interviewer had to be re-visited. Because the data was being prepared for computer processing that year, the checks were more rigorous. The 1978 questionnaire data was coded for punched card computer entry, and the quality of the data was therefore checked once more at a later stage.²⁸

1.4 Data processing and analysis

This section examines how data collected during the income surveys was used and analysed. The data was analysed both by the TsSU SSSR and the local ENSV SKV, but information about the statistical methods is still quite difficult to obtain because of the secrecy surrounding them. Most of the results of the analyses of that time were published in documents that were used only for administrative purposes. Some of the results also found their way into published statistics that were accessible to everyone. In general,

²⁵“Elamistingimuste valikuurimine” [Survey of living conditions]. Valga newspaper *Kommunist*, 23.09.1978.

²⁶ERA R-10-17-4639, 60

²⁷ERA R-10-17-6812, 17–22.

²⁸ERA R-10-17-6814, 75.

however, materials containing household budget or income survey data were restricted to administrative use. Materials that included data about the income and expenditures of the population were “classified”.²⁹ In the 1970s, computer processing of questionnaire data was introduced and regulations were enacted to keep the processing procedures secret.

One of the unfortunate outcomes of the secrecy surrounding Soviet statistics is that many definitions of indicators and methods of aggregating data are not known. This renders large amounts of published statistical collections unusable. The authors of this study have the advantage of access to newly computerised individual data from the Estonian income surveys, which provides an opportunity to divine the methods that Soviet statisticians used to obtain their results.

Documentation pertaining to the 1958 income survey is scarce. There are no instructions for the organisers or reports about the results to be found in the archives. Therefore, some important questions about this survey have to be answered indirectly. For instance, there is no information on whether salaries reported in the 1958 survey were gross or net, since income tax was not recorded on the questionnaires. The method the TsSU SSSR used to compute average household and individual income is also not known. One of the first results of the 1958 data analysis is found in a report that V.Starovski, head of the TsSU SSSR, sent to S.Timakov, who was the head of the ENSV SKV. The report contained average income by economic sector, the distribution of worker and employee income, average total household income, and other similar indicators.³⁰

Table 1.5: **Income per household member in Estonia – 1958, %**

Rouble	Household average (TsSU SSSR 1959)	Individual average (newly processed 2010)
0-150	1	2
150-250	7	10
250-350	15	18
350-500	25	27
500-750	31	29
750-1000	14	10
1000+	7	4

Sources: ERA R-10-27-23, 28; 1958 income survey data.

The distribution of households by average income according to Starovski’s report corresponds to the results obtained from the newly computerised individual data. The average income of an individual household member in Estonia, 508 roubles, was the highest compared to other Soviet republics, although the average household income – 1,417 roubles, – was not: in the Russian Federation, the figure was 1,501 roubles per household and 448 roubles per household member; in Latvia, 1,448 and 499; the average for the USSR was 1,438 and 428). This was partly due to the fact that the size of the average Estonian household was the smallest in the Soviet Union (2.79 as compared to the USSR average of 3.36). On the other hand, the percentage of working individuals in Estonia was one of the highest compared to other republics (59%, which was second only to Latvia’s

²⁹Letter from the deputy head of TsSU SSSR, 1972. ERA R-10-18-430, 34.

³⁰ERA R-10-27-23, 27.

60%) and the percentage of dependents was one of the lowest (36%, which was again the second lowest, after Latvia).³¹ However, discrepancies appear when the average household income of households in Starovski's report is compared with that in the individual data. The comparison indicates that the TsSU SSSR calculated the average at the household level ($N=3,100$), rather than at the level of individual household members ($N=8,630$). The difference between the two processing methods is illustrated in Table 1.5. Since the survey includes both individual and household data, there is more than one way to calculate the average income per household member. Because the choice of the method of calculation could be one of the reasons why the results of the original processing differ from those in this study, the methods merit attention.

The simplest way of determining the arithmetic average of total individual income \bar{x} is by dividing the sum of the total income x_k of n individuals by n . However, the Soviet statistical approach focused on the household: in order to find the average of total individual income \bar{x}_{ind} , they first calculated each household's average total income per member (\bar{x}). These results were tallied and divided by the number of households:

$$\bar{x}_{ind} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^m \bar{x}_i}{m} \quad \text{where} \quad \bar{x} = \frac{x_{1k} + x_{2k} \dots + x_{lk}}{l} \quad \text{and} \quad l * m = N \quad (1.1)$$

where k represents the total income of individuals, l is the number of members in a household and m stands for the number of households. Since the number of households is much smaller than the number of individuals, it is easier to use household averages in calculations, especially when considering the limited processing capacity at that time. The calculation illustrated in formula 1.1 is a possibility that has been taken into account for analysing the individual data from the income surveys of later years.

Starovski's report was not a comprehensive overview, as some aspects – probably those of most interest for policy purposes – received more attention than others. For instance, the distribution of total household income was indicated by the number of children in households where both parents worked outside the home. Special attention was paid to individuals who graduated from high school in 1958, even though their numbers were very small. Their activities after finishing school (starting working, continuing to study, or neither) were shown by their field of work – either as a worker or an employee. The latter information is fairly useless in terms of statistics, as the sample size was far too small for such an analysis (for example, in the Moldova survey, 4 individuals started working, 100% of them as employees; in the Estonian survey there were 9 individuals who began to work, 78% of them as employees).³² It could have been something of particular interest to political leaders and therefore was featured in the report.

Another notable aspect of the 1958 survey report is the tables indicating the type of dwelling. According to these tables, only 8% of households in Estonia lived in private homes (73% lived in state or collectively owned apartments, 5% rented from the state and 14% from other people), which was the lowest figure for the whole Soviet Union. The average percentage of people living in private homes in the USSR was 30% (in Kyrgyzstan

³¹ERA R-10-27-23, 22–28.

³²ERA R-10-27-23, 32.

it was 52%, in Tajikistan 45%, in Ukraine and Belorussia 35%, in Lithuania 18%, and in Latvia 9%). This raises a question whether the Estonian sample was biased against private home owners.

A classified report on the 1958 Estonian survey was found in the archives – a document sent by the head of the ENSV SKV Timakov to the head of the ESSR Council of Ministers and the secretary of the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party. In the report, Timakov explains that a one-time household income survey of non-agricultural workers and employees had been conducted in Estonia, for which households had been selected from 150 enterprises, institutions and organisations. In his words, the collected data could be used to describe the composition of households, employment, total individual and household income, type of dwelling etc. He refers to several tables that are similar to those in Starovski's report, but which are somewhat more detailed (for example, they distinguish between the urban and rural population). In the preface to the document, there are some indications that the survey used gross salary in recording wages. According to Timakov, the analysis presented the distribution of household members by the "gross" earnings of parents (*распределение членов семей по совокупному заработку родителей*)³³, but this can also be interpreted as total earnings. Tables were added that showed the distribution of household income by economic sector. It was not a thorough analysis, but no other, more detailed statistical overviews of the 1958 survey have yet been found.

The ENSV SKV (e.g. TsSU ESSR 1980; 1986) and the TsSU SSSR compiled much more detailed and extensive statistical collections from the data of later surveys. The most comprehensive collection about the 1967 survey was prepared by the TsSU SSSR in 1969 (TsSU SSSR 1969) and it provides a good overview of the indicators that were calculated from the data of that year's survey. The collection consists of two parts: the first part compares the 1967 data with that of the 1958 survey, and the second part contains the results of the 1967 study according to the administrative units of the Soviet Union. The first part presents comparative data about the size of households and the distribution of individuals according to their employment status and education. Since the individual data from the 1967 income survey has not been retained in the Estonian archives, this publication probably provides the most detailed information about household income in the 1960s. For that reason, we examined the tables in the collection and tried to identify the data processing procedures at that time.

First of all, there is an unusual division of age groups. In the table showing the age composition of households, the age distribution is by 3-year intervals and does not specify gender. In the section pertaining to adults, there is separate data for men and women that identifies 16-17-year-olds, individuals of working-age, and retirees. The age groups of men and women thus cannot be compared since the retirement age for men was different from that for women. Although the age composition of individuals is presented, their absolute number is not disclosed. It is stated, however, that 3,200 households participated in the 1967 survey in Estonia, 2,464 of them in urban and 736 in rural areas. The distribution by economic sectors is presented in a similar way – by the number of households in a given economic sector (which was probably defined by the survey respondent in the household) and the distribution of individuals in each sector by age and employment.

For some reason, the statisticians used two different methods of showing distribution

³³ERA R-10-18-167, 5–29.

– by percentages, and by individuals per 100 households. For example, the table on the employment status of households contains the following information: 1,200 households were selected from the industrial sector in the 1967 Estonian sample; the average for 100 households was 311 persons, of whom 191 were working, 14 were retired, 3 were receiving state scholarships, 3 were studying in vocational schools and 100 were dependents. The distribution of dependents, however, was given in percentages: 82.5% were under-age, 4.1% were men aged 16–59 (including 3.5% students), 0.2% were men over 60 years of age, 3.1% were women with no children under the age of 16, 2.1% were women who were not students and who had no children under the age of 16, 1.7% were women who were not students and who had children under the age of 7, 0.7% were women who were not students who had children aged 7–16, and 5.6% were women over the age of 55. This type of data is presented for each industrial sector. Thus, the household and individual data are combined in the table, which makes them rather difficult to decipher. A similar form of table is also used to show the size of households.³⁴

One of the explanations for this practice could have been insufficient human resources assigned to perform the computations or calculations. Consequently, the presentation of the data focused only on certain core issues. That would explain why the full range of age groups was rarely shown in the tables. Issues that were of higher importance were probably treated in more detail. For example, the age distribution of unemployed individuals was calculated in 5-year groups for both sexes and separately for urban and rural areas. A lot of attention was also paid to the employment of newly graduated youth. Another reason for the limited presentation of data was probably secrecy, although that particular statistical collection was not classified, but merely restricted to administrative use only.

Some of the income data in the 1967 statistical collection was presented per household. The average total individual income was probably calculated on the basis of household averages (similarly to the processing of the 1958 survey), and not at the individual level. The average total household income in the USSR in 1967 was 214 roubles, of which 193.1 was salary or wages, 9.9 pensions, 1.5 scholarships, 0.3 social benefits, 6.7 support from state organisations, and 2.6 other types of income (the corresponding numbers for Estonia were 220, 198.2, 9.0, 1.2, 0.1, 7.7 and 4.2). The average income per household member in the USSR was 59.6 roubles, whereas in Estonia it was 72.8. The average income per household member working in agriculture was 42.5 roubles in the USSR and 64.5 in Estonia, 43.7 in Ukraine and 34.2 in Belorussia.³⁵ The presentation of parts of this data is rather unusual, such as the cross-tabulation of average total income of a household with the average total income per household member (see Figure 1.3). In other tables, the average individual income from wages was cross-tabulated with the average total income of a member of the household, and the average wage income of the household was represented by the average total income of the household.

With regard to the living conditions of the population, the availability of amenities was portrayed. According to the data, electricity was available in 99.4% of households in the USSR (99.8% in Russia and Belorussia, 100% in Azerbaijan and Armenia, and 99.5% in Estonia). Central heating was available in 60.3% of households in the USSR (including 65% in Russia, 58% in Georgia, 82% in Armenia and 21% in Estonia). The sewer system

³⁴ERA R-10-27-135, 48–69.

³⁵ERA R-10-27-135, 236–268.

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РАСПРЕДЕЛЕНИЕ СЕМЕЙ РАБОЧИХ И СЛУЖАЩИХ С РАЗЛИЧНЫМ СРЕДНЕДУШЕВЫМ ДОХОДОМ ПО РАЗМЕРУ
С С С Р ДЕНЕЖНОГО ДОХОДА НА СЕМЬЮ (в процентах)

	Все семьи	В том числе с денежным доходом на семью - рублей												
		до 50,0	50,1-70,0	70,1-90,0	90,1-110,0	110,1-130,0	130,1-150,0	150,1-180,0	180,1-210,0	210,1-250,0	250,1-300,0	300,1-350,0	350,1-450,0	450,1 и выше
Все обследованные семьи	100	1,2	3,0	4,5	5,5	6,1	7,0	12,5	14,0	16,5	13,8	7,5	5,8	2,6
из них семьи со средне-душевым денежным доходом - рублей:														
до 20,0	100	9,8	19,9	22,9	19,3	12,9	7,3	5,7	1,4	0,7	0,1	0,0	0,0	0,0
20,1 - 25,0	100	8,5	7,2	12,3	17,3	19,0	17,1	9,7	5,4	2,8	0,6	0,1	0,0	0,0
25,1 - 30,0	100	0,2	8,3	13,3	9,3	16,1	20,2	19,2	7,3	4,0	1,6	0,4	0,1	0,0
30,1 - 35,0	100	0,2	9,1	-	14,2	11,6	14,5	26,0	15,0	6,0	2,3	0,8	0,2	0,1
35,1 - 40,0	100	1,3	-	9,5	5,2	10,7	14,2	21,3	20,1	12,2	3,8	1,1	0,5	0,1
40,1 - 50,0	100	4,1	-	4,7	5,2	5,2	13,1	16,2	23,8	18,1	7,0	1,7	0,8	0,1
50,1 - 60,0	100	-	4,9	-	5,5	5,8	-	24,4	9,8	27,4	15,7	4,2	1,9	0,4
60,1 - 75,0	100	-	4,2	2,6	-	4,2	8,7	0,0	22,8	18,1	25,0	8,0	5,7	0,7
75,1 - 100,0	100	-	-	7,4	4,9	-	-	13,1	7,8	16,5	21,0	14,3	11,6	3,4
100,1 - 125,0	100	-	-	-	10,0	11,2	-	-	8,6	22,8	-	24,3	14,6	8,5
125,1 и выше	100	-	-	-	-	5,1	12,0	8,8	4,0	2,1	19,6	8,9	17,9	21,6

Figure 1.3: A table in the 1967 income survey statistical collection.

Source: ERA R-10-27-135, 326.

was best developed in Armenia, where 85% of households had access to a central sewer, but in Estonia the percentage was 67.5. Telephones were available in 41% of Armenian households; the average for the USSR was 12.8% and for Estonia 12.9%. According to these results, the Armenian standard of living appeared to be the highest in the USSR. The data also indicated that 76.1% of Armenian, 74% of Moldovan, 87% of Georgian and 89% of Azerbaijani households lived in private homes, while the number for Estonia was only 33.4% and the average for the USSR was 60%. Such figures, which display a relatively large variance across the administrative units of the USSR, raise questions of sampling bias.

In the mid-1970s, L. Tepp, Deputy Head of the ENS SKV, made a classified summary analysis of the relationship between the wage income of workers and employees and their level of education. The report was sent to the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party, the Council of Ministers, the budget department of the TsSU SSSR and the ESSR Gosplan (State Planning Committee).³⁶ In this report, Tepp describes the selection of the survey population by a mechanical sampling method (in the two phases described above – the identification of enterprises and institutions followed by the selection of workers and employees from the participating enterprises), which in his opinion ensured the appropriate representation of all population groups. His analysis, however, focused on workers and employees, and did not include collective farmers. Part of his analysis compared the results of the 1967 and 1975 surveys.

In the report, evidence of the quality of the survey sample was provided by demonstrating that the participants' average monthly wages (153.1 roubles) calculated during

³⁶ERA R-10-18-492, 1.

the survey corresponded to the 1975 third quarter accounting of average wages (157.5 roubles) in Estonia, resulting in a 2.8% margin of error. Tepp also mentioned that the 1967 survey margin of error was in a similar range – 2.7% (the average wage according to the survey was 108 roubles, and the third quarter average salary accounting figure was 111 roubles). According to the statisticians, the income survey reflected the status of the whole population exceptionally well. Regarding wage differentials by education, the report showed how wage income had changed between 1967 and 1975 according to educational attainment. The results were calculated using a weighted arithmetic average and median. The average wage had increased by 41.8% during the eight years between the surveys and the increase had been inversely related to the level of education – the lower the level of education, the more wages had increased during the period (20.5% for individuals with higher education and 53.2% for those with primary education). According to Tepp, this demonstrated the levelling (as the report was in Russian, the word *сглаживание* was used) of educational differences, and was interpreted as a weakening connection between level of education and wages. The wage-education relationship remained strong only in the income groups at the extreme ends of the scale (below 70 and over 250 roubles per month).³⁷

Such documents did not usually explain the method of reporting wage income, i.e. whether it was gross or net salary. Nor did they describe the components of the total individual or household income. To shed some light on these issues, we compared the ENSV SKV reports with the individual data.

The April 1976 ENSV SKV report³⁸ on gross wage income distribution in Estonia (based on the wage income census) indicated that gross wage income included premiums and one-time stimulus premiums. According to the report, the average gross wage income for the month of April 1976 was 156 roubles. This roughly corresponded to what Tepp had reported for September 1975 (153.1 roubles). An analysis of the individual data from the 1975 income survey reveals that the average total wage income of workers and employees in September 1975 was 154.4 roubles (153.9 if weighted to accommodate the difference in age composition between the sample and the total population). The difference between the average of the accounting-based gross wages (157.5 roubles) and the ENSV SKV income survey calculations (153.1 roubles) is minimal. This implies that the ENSV SKV and TsSU SSSR statisticians probably used gross wage income in their reports.

To take another example, a classified report submitted to senior government officials in December 1976, which included an analysis of the distribution of population by average total income, stated that a substantial rise in the standard of living had occurred during the 1970–1975 five-year period. Average per capita income had increased to 118.1 roubles by September 1975, based on income survey data. To illustrate this development, a chart was created showing the distribution of total individual income, with the median and quartiles specified (see Figure 1.4). The lower quartile was 83.2, the median 108.8, and the upper quartile 141 roubles.³⁹ When these figures are computed from the 1975 household-level individual data, the median is 104.6 roubles. If the calculation is per-

³⁷ERA R-10-18-492, 4–8.

³⁸*О распределении численности рабочих и служащих в народном хозяйстве республики по размерам заработной платы* [Concerning the distribution of workers and employees in the national economy by wage income]. November 1976. ERA R-10-18-498.

³⁹ERA R-10-18-497, 3–4, 18.

formed at the level of the individual, the median is 97.6 roubles. Both are lower than the median calculated by the ENSV SKV (108.8 roubles), which indicates a problem with the definition of total individual income used by the ENSV SKV.

If one compares the arithmetic averages instead of using the median, the average total individual income (excluding non-monetary benefits) in 1975 according to the individual data is 105.6 roubles. Adding the non-monetary benefits increases the average to 108.1 roubles. If the average is calculated on a household basis, the respective figures are 115.4 and 117.6 roubles. The latter figure is closest to that provided by the ENSV SKV (118.1 roubles). We concluded that the statisticians performed the calculation of average income at the level of the household, rather than at the level of the individual. It also appears that non-monetary benefits were included. Taking into account the individual data from the income surveys, there is no other explanation for the corresponding indicators in the ENSV SKV reports being so high.

This process of reconstruction leads us to conclude that the methodology of Soviet statisticians at that time involved totalling all possible household income and then dividing it by the number of members of the household. The resulting averages were used to calculate quartiles. The discrepancies described above would not have occurred had the calculations been done at the individual level from the start.

According to the recently processed individual data from the 1975 survey, the average total wage for employees who worked for the entire month was 154.4 roubles (153.9 if the data is weighted for age composition). This does not differ significantly from the accounting-based gross salary (157.5 roubles) or from the ENSV SKV calculations based on the income survey data (153.1 roubles), both of which are mentioned in Tepp's report. This is another indication that gross wage income was used by the ENSV SKV to analyse the income survey data. It therefore appears that the Soviet statistical collections which present individual income data used gross income figures that probably included non-monetary benefits.

It is also worth noting that, according to a public statistical collection published in 1981, the average monthly salary of workers and employees in 1975 was 160 roubles. The average monthly salary including benefits and disbursements from public consumption funds was estimated to be 219 roubles (ENSV SKV 1981; 227) This suggests that the statistics available to the public used poorly defined (but otherwise accurate) data, and included the figures from the public consumption funds in the representation of gross

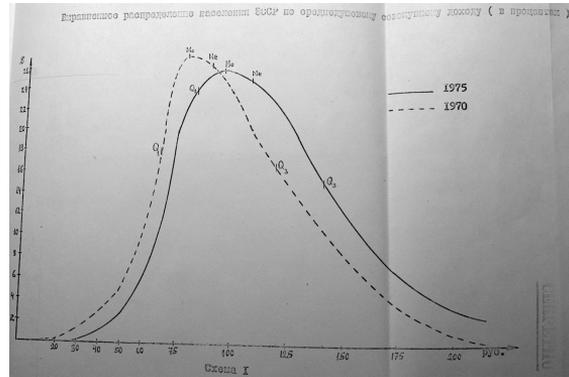


Figure 1.4: Comparison of total individual income distribution in 1970 and 1975 by the ENSV SKV.

Source: ERA R-10-18-497, 5.

income. This demonstrates the ease with which Soviet statistics ignored disputable aspects such as net income vs. gross income and non-monetary income vs. disposable income.

In the 1970s, separate collections of statistical data for internal use were published on the topic of the “increase in economic and cultural prosperity of the population of the ESSR” (TsSU ESSR 1972; 1976; 1981; 1987). The source of the data for these collections was the annual family budget surveys, since indicators for consumption and living conditions were used to portray prosperity. Earnings were also described according to the macroeconomic indicators of that time, including gross national income, the average earned income by economic sector, income from private households etc. The individual data from the income surveys provides the opportunity to verify some of those macro indicators.

2

Feasibility Study

2.1 The need for a feasibility study

This publication is the result of a feasibility study which was designed to determine if Soviet-era household budget survey data could be computerised, and if it could, to evaluate the quality of the data and ascertain its possible uses. Another reason for recovering the individual data was the general unreliability of Soviet socio-economic statistics. The broader aim of the feasibility study was to determine whether the initial data collected during the income surveys could be used for modern scientific analysis. It would then be possible to use the data to draw conclusions about the economic conditions of households and individuals during that time.

In designing the feasibility study, we had the option to choose between two primary types of household budget surveys. The family budget surveys, which recorded income and spending in great detail throughout the year, were larger in terms of volume. The second type was known as a one-time income survey (usually referred to in this text as an income survey), which recorded data only for one month. The advantages and disadvantages of both types of surveys were considered with regard to detail, temporal coverage, consistency and representativeness. The time and financial constraints of the feasibility study were also taken into account, and these set limits on extensive technical work.

The advantages of the family budget surveys included a somewhat broader time coverage (starting from 1952) and an extremely detailed account of household expenditures. However, insufficient consistency between surveys of different years (the questionnaires were changed relatively frequently) and smaller and presumably less balanced samples were identified as the negative aspects of these surveys. The advantages of income surveys were the greater number of households surveyed, better recording of socio-demographic characteristics, more consistency and significantly easier preparation for data entry. The shortcomings of the income surveys, as compared to the family budget surveys, included a lack of information regarding specific household expenses. But for this very reason, the income survey questionnaires were relatively simple and much shorter (2–4 pages) than those of the family budget surveys (up to 50 pages). Moreover, the income survey forms were uniform for all households, whereas the budget surveys used different forms for workers and collective farmers.

In addition to examining the questionnaires, the authors also took into account other

relevant studies about the Soviet Union. According to A. McAuley, who has researched income and poverty in the USSR, income surveys were one of the best that had been conducted in the former Soviet Union (McAuley 1979). Neither McAuley nor any other Western researcher had had the opportunity to study the individual survey data, so his opinion was based on the aggregated data and the research methods used by Soviet statisticians.

After careful consideration, the one-time income survey material was chosen for the feasibility study. One of the main justifications was the smaller number of questions, which required less time for data entry and consequently entailed lower cost. This also allowed more than one point in time to be selected, which was an important factor in the ability to compare surveys from different years. The questionnaire data from the 1958, 1975 and 1981 income surveys was chosen for data entry in the feasibility study. The information based on these results is sufficiently thorough to reveal the possibilities and limitations of the individual data. The quality and implications of the data were also significant. The following section contains an explanation of the issues related to the execution of the feasibility study. The income survey program is described as well as the questionnaires used in various years. The computerisation of the data and the technical problems are discussed. Separate sections are devoted to the quality and representativeness of the data.

2.2 The income survey program

Income surveys were carried out periodically; the first survey took place in 1958 and the second in 1967. Starting from 1972, the survey was conducted every third year. The last survey was conducted in 1989 and a collection of its statistical data published, but none of the original materials are still in the Estonian archives. The last original survey material stored in the Estonian State Archives dates from 1984. The individual data from the 1967 survey are also not in the archives, which implies that the questionnaires were retained by the TsSU SSSR or destroyed after processing. Three of the six studies in the archives were selected for data entry and processing.

The income survey questionnaires did not change substantially throughout the years. According to the instructions, the interviewers had to personally interview all members of the household. If this was not possible (an individual was absent or ill), the information was obtained from other members. Information regarding children was provided by parents. Some of the questions required underlining the answers (for limited options such as gender, relation to the head of the family, etc.) or blanks to be filled in for a written or numerical answer. Some answers were expressed in words and also coded by the interviewer. Codes were assigned by the interviewer to such items as branch of the economy, city or region of residence, and social group. This was probably intended to simplify the subsequent processing of the questionnaires, but the coding was not always explained in detail in the survey instructions.

The header of the questionnaire contained detailed information about the household and the enterprise from which the individual had been selected for the survey. The town or village, street name, house number and apartment number (or in the case of rural residence, the region, village council, street, farm or house number) were recorded for the place of residence. The name and economic sector of the enterprise or institution were also recorded.

The individuals selected from their places of work were also assigned to a Soviet era social group, although this practice was not consistent throughout the years. This could be an (albeit weak) indication of which social groups were considered to be of more value for the survey. In 1958, the groups were comprised of workers, employees, and co-operating craftsmen. Collective farmers were not surveyed and pensioners were not considered to be a separate group at that time. The retired worker and employee group does not appear in the questionnaire until 1975. Collective farmers and collectivised fishermen were included in the questionnaire as social groups in 1972; in 1978 these two groups were merged into one group – collective farmers. As of 1975, no differentiation was made between manual labourers (workers) and white-collar workers (employees). The last surveys also include households consisting only of pensioners. The relevance of the social group is minimal, because this category cannot be used in international comparisons. In addition, the social groups of the members of the respondent's household were not recorded.

The most important part of the questionnaire relates to the individual members of the household. Fortunately, the questions were identical for all members, whether or not they were the individuals selected from an enterprise. Information about the head of the household was entered first. The members determined who was the head of the household. If they could not do so, the interviewer selected the member who contributed the most to the household income. Because there was a significant difference (ca 30%) between the wages paid to men and women at that time due to gender inequality, we have illustrated the gender distribution of heads of households comprised of two or more members in Table 2.1).

Table 2.1: **Percentage of heads of household by gender**

	1958	1975	1981
Male	76	73	73
Female	24	27	27
Total	100	100	100

Source: income survey data 1958, 1975, 1981.

Note: single-person households no included.

The personal questions can be divided into socio-demographic and socio-economic categories. The first category includes questions pertaining to the age, education, and marital and activity status of the respondent. The second contains questions related to income and benefits.

The socio-demographic questions included the given name, surname and name of the father of the individual. The recording of the relationship with the head of the household is especially important. The position of the individuals in the household was established on the basis of their relationship to the head of the household and not to the person selected from an enterprise. Gender and age were recorded next. The question regarding age changed over the years. In 1958, the age of respondents older than one year was recorded in years and for infants less than one year of age, it was recorded in months. Starting from 1972, the number of months was not recorded for children younger than one year – all children under the age of one year were coded 99. Thus, the code 99 came to indicate a child of less than one year of age, which probably prompted later interviewer instructions to cross out the actual age of persons aged 99 and older and to replace it

with the number 98. Although the proportion of individuals of such advanced years is extremely small in the total population, it should be taken into account that the age of those 100 years of age and older has been adjusted downwards. As of 1981, the month and year of birth were recorded, which is much more accurate than the previous practice.

The question regarding the level of education is very important and the following instructions were provided. Incomplete higher education was recorded for those who had completed at least half of the required period of study in an institution of higher education. If less, the previous level of education was recorded. The level of education of those who had studied at polytechnic schools and other institutions of vocational secondary education was recorded as general secondary education or incomplete secondary education. Incomplete secondary education characterised those who had completed a 7- or 8-form school, students at vocational secondary schools or secondary schools (or who had not finished the latter), graduates of “pre-revolutionary” or “bourgeois” pro-gymnasiums, higher basic, or urban schools. Distance learning and evening schools equated with day-time study according to the survey.¹ In 1958, the lack of primary education in the Soviet Union was probably quite widespread, and therefore the questionnaire of that year included a request to record whether the individual was able to read and write, read, or was illiterate. In the later surveys, a lack of primary education was recorded as the lowest level of education.

In addition to educational attainment, the name of the school was also recorded in the survey. The name of the educational institution recorded in 1958 did not expressly indicate the level of the student (e.g. a pupil at a primary school that was part of a secondary school). This deficiency was corrected in 1972, and the type of educational institution was recorded instead of the name. The 1978 survey questionnaire, in which no questions were asked about the educational institution, is an exception to the other surveys.

The recording of the socio-demographic question about marital status requires some explanation. A separate field for recording marital status was provided in 1984, when all persons aged 18 and older were asked about their marital status. This question had not previously been included, which complicates ascertaining the marital status of members of the household. Based on the question about the relationship to the head of household, the marital status of the head of household and his or her spouse can be established, but the marital status of other members of the household members cannot be derived from the questionnaire. The 1972 survey questionnaires contained a separate field for coding married couples, but the system used for completing this field does not function well for identifying marital status. According to the instructions, one or both parents were considered married if they provided maintenance for children younger than 18 years of age. In such cases, the married couple was recorded in the questionnaire by a two digit code.² This means that marital status was not directly revealed by the questionnaires up until 1984 and must be established indirectly. The listing of the father’s name for every individual facilitates establishing relationships between parents and children, and determining the relationship to elderly persons in the household. Parents of the head of household or his or her spouse were interpreted as being married or cohabiting. Other marital relationships in the household were determined by the relationship to the head of

¹ERA R-10-17-6812, 134–135.

²ERA R-10-17-6812, 133.

household (son-in-law, daughter-in-law, brother-in-law, sister-in-law). Uncles and aunts in the household were treated as unmarried, unless their spouse was also listed on the questionnaire. Establishing marital status was the task of data entry clerks.

Occupation and the name of their workplace were recorded for working respondents. Workplace and occupation were not subject to classification or coding. Surveys differed with regard to employment status. The 1958 survey focused on the sources of income of unemployed individuals. Identifying the source of income of unemployed individuals in a separate field implies that they were recorded as being supported by other members of the household. The 1972 survey included a question regarding the reasons for the lack of employment: taking care of children or other members of the household, being occupied with duties in the home, high family income, seasonal work, etc. In 1972, respondents were also questioned about the conditions that would allow them to work. The options included the availability of child care, a shorter working day, special service, a workplace near the place of residence, and other conditions. No questions directed towards the unemployed were posed in later surveys.

The most essential part of the surveys – questions related to income – also underwent changes over the years. The set of questions was simplest in the 1958 survey, which only specified six types of income, and these were not further divided into subcategories. The six types were monthly wages, pensions, stipends, allowances for multi-child families, income from state organisations, and other financial income (See Table 2.2). It is not known whether part-time work was recalculated into a full month in this survey. It would have been reasonable to distinguish between monetary and non-monetary income such as benefits or goods, etc. However, only income received from state organisations was considered to be non-monetary. This was likely to include goods or services received from consumer and public organisations, and these were re-calculated into monetary terms. Such revenues are not monetary income, however, because they were not disposable.

In later surveys, income from wages is distinguished by whether or not the individual was employed on a collective farm, and whether wages were received for the whole month or for a shorter period. The 1972 survey questionnaire contained a separate field for entering the number of days worked by respondents who had worked less than a month. Later, the number of days worked was not specified and therefore calculating the daily salary of those who worked less than a month is impossible. However, as the prevailing system did not encourage part-time work, this is not a serious shortcoming. In 1984, a separate field was added to the questionnaire to record income received from a second job.

Based on the interviewer instructions, the information about the wages of the respondent was obtained from the accounting department at the workplace; this was made easier by the fact that the selected respondents worked in the same enterprise. Wages included lump-sum and other types of bonuses, material incentives, the cost of a rent-free flat and utilities, income tax withheld by the enterprise, the tax on childlessness, and alimony. Thus, gross income was recorded in the questionnaire, which in some cases included expenditures on housing and utilities (although this is not specified in the survey instructions, it probably applied to individuals who lived in flats belonging to the enterprise or institution).

Starting from the 1972 survey, income included compensation for temporary incapacity for work. Those who were receiving this type of compensation were considered as

Table 2.2: Questions regarding income in different surveys

Type of income	1958	1972	1975	1978	1981	1984
Wage income, full-time	x	x	x	x	x	x
Wage income, not full-time	0	x	x	x	x	x
Wage income, secondary job	0	0	0	0	0	x
Number of days worked	0	x	0	0	0	0
Number of days supposed to work	0	x	0	0	0	0
Wage income from collective farm	0	x	x	x	x	0
Temporary disability benefit	0	x	x	x	x	x
Pension, any kind	x	x	0	0	0	0
Pension, old-age	0	0	x	x	x	x
Pension, disability	0	0	x	x	x	x
Pension, for loss of parents	0	0	x	x	x	x
Pension, other	0	0	x	x	x	x
Stipend	x	x	x	x	x	x
Social benefit for large families	x	x	x	x	x	x
Social benefit for low-income families	0	0	x	x	x	x
Social benefit for single mothers	0	0	0	x	x	0
Social benefit for children below 1 year	0	0	0	0	0	x
Social benefit at birth of a child	0	0	0	0	0	x
Income from private household	0	x	x	x	x	x
Income from craftsmanship and services	0	0	0	0	0	x
Other income from state organisations	x	x	x	0	0	0
Alimentary	0	x	x	x	x	x
State support for pre-schoolers	0	x	x	x	x	x
State support as vacation vouchers	0	x	0	x	x	x
State support for schoolchildren	0	0	x	x	x	0
Other money income	x	x	x	x	x	x

Source: ERA R-10-17.

Note: X indicates the presence of a question.

employed and their workplace and occupation were recorded as for other employed persons. Up until 1981, three types of benefits were distinguished – those for pregnancy and childbirth, child care, and illness. In 1984, temporary incapacity for work was not subdivided by category. This was because questions on childbirth and child care allowances had been allotted separate fields.

Four types of pensions were distinguished after the 1958 survey: old-age, disability, survivor's (an individual who had lost one or both parents) and "other". Therefore, the pensioner category could encompass individuals of all ages. "Other" pensions referred to personal pensions, those for military personnel, and pensions paid by collective farms. The recipients of survivor's pensions were usually children, and this was recorded in the questionnaire. For this reason, the total individual income of very young age groups is presented in the standard tabulations of this study.

We examined child allowances separately; these reveal the spread of state social welfare. In 1958 and 1972, there was only one type of child allowance – a benefit allocated to single mothers and those with multiple children. In 1975, a child allowance for low-income families was added, and in 1978, allowances for single mothers and families with multiple children were recorded in separate fields, but in 1984, they were again merged

into one. The 1984 survey included the childbirth allowance and an allowance paid until the child was a year old, increasing the number of types of child allowances to four. Under some conditions, subsidies for pre-school children attending kindergartens and the expenses of students at boarding and vocational schools could also be accounted as child allowances, but these were not disposable income. Subsidies are therefore not recorded as financial income in later processing and are not included with individual income (similarly to the income received from state institutions mentioned previously). The various types of subsidies were included in the questionnaires as of 1972.

The field “other income” was included in all income surveys. According to the instructions for the 1978 survey, this item included lump-sum benefits and allowances, daily allowances, daily allowances for business trips, disability benefits, lottery prizes, holiday pay upon graduation from a vocational school, disability benefits paid by collective farms, income received for leasing a residence, cash received from relatives and acquaintances, income from self-employment, and income from the sale of objects. It was stated in the instructions that the occasional receipt of large sums (received from the sale of a house or car, a lottery prize etc.) should not be recorded in the questionnaire.³ Although the instructions with regard to other income are somewhat vague, it was monetary income and thus should be accounted as disposable income.

Income from state, cooperative and public organisations could, unlike “other income”, be in the form of goods or services. Their value was estimated in roubles and recorded in the questionnaire. The interviewers were supplied with a list of retail prices of agricultural and food products to facilitate conversion into monetary form. The questionnaires did not include this type of income after 1975. It is possible that statisticians decided that payment in kind had become marginal due to the increase in the proportion of monetary wages, therefore a separate question on non-monetary income was no longer necessary.

In 1984, a new category of income was introduced – the proceeds from cottage industry, handicrafts and services provided to citizens. The nature of the services provided to citizens is not known, because the interviewer instructions for that year’s survey have not been found. The cottage industry and handicraft categories, however, probably captured income generated in private households and handicraft co-operatives.

In addition to income, the surveys also recorded information pertaining to the household dwelling, modern amenities available to the household, and some durable goods. In 1958, the questions were only related to the dwelling, and they included ownership status, type of dwelling, number of households living in the dwelling, number of rooms, and the size of the area used by the household. In later surveys, information about living conditions (items considered “amenities” at that time) was added. It included the availability of electricity, plumbing, sewer, hot water, gas, bathtubs or showers, and telephone. The following are some examples from the 1978 interviewer instructions on how these conditions were to be defined:

A dwelling is considered to have a sewer system if it has an interior sewer pipeline, regardless of whether waste waters are directed to a sewer or to a septic field.

³ERA R-10-17-6812, 140–141.

...

A dwelling is considered to be supplied with gas if it has any gas-operated equipment (stove, oven, hot water boiler) or gas heating.

...

An apartment with a telephone for personal or public use is considered to be equipped with a telephone.⁴

In the case of shared apartments and apartment buildings, this approach to recording amenities could be somewhat misleading, as several of them could be for common use (one shower or toilet per corridor, a shared kitchen with a gas stove, etc.). This makes it difficult to compare amenities for personal or shared use. The problem can be partially solved if the type of dwelling (house, apartment, shared flat, dormitory) is taken into account when ascertaining the amenities.

The type of dwelling was defined differently in various surveys and it would be complicated to harmonise it across all surveys. No codes for the type of dwelling were used in the 1958 questionnaire – the interviewer had to describe in words where the household lived. Preset options were provided in the later surveys, but these were somewhat limited. In 1972, the options were: a separate apartment, shared apartment, corridor-type house, cellar, barracks, and dormitory. Only in 1978 was the private house introduced as an option. The deficiency of such a system for recording the type of dwelling was caused by peculiar approaches to ownership of a dwelling and type of dwelling that can be seen in the 1975 survey documents. Ownership of the dwelling was recorded for all households. The options were: the local administration (a town or village council), a housing cooperative, a collective farm, a private house, or a leasehold in a dwelling owned by a local administration or collective farm or enterprise. However, the type of dwelling was only recorded in the case of households living in a house owned by the state, enterprise or collective farm – i.e. only those not living in their own house. Because apartment houses were not privately owned under the Soviet system, we assumed that the cases in which the dwelling type is missing refer to households living in private houses. The question about ownership was eliminated in 1978 and only the type of dwelling was recorded.

An important issue to note is that amenities were not recorded for households who were sub-leasing any type of apartment. The statisticians may have been trying to differentiate between ownership of and the temporary availability of amenities.

The household's private garden was also included in the survey. The income from the sale of produce from a personal subsidiary farm or private garden was taken into account in the income section of the questionnaire, but the size and type of garden or field had to be recorded separately. The questionnaire contained this information as of 1972. For instance, the area of land in use and the number of domestic animals was also recorded. A distinction was made between kitchen gardens and gardens. A kitchen garden was considered as personal land given to employees by an enterprise or collective farm. A garden referred to the land around a summer house or a plot of land in the gardening association.⁵ Agricultural and horticultural land were recorded separately. The amount

⁴ERA R-10-17-6812, 145–146.

⁵ERA R-10-17-6812, 143.

of land used for fruit-trees and bushes, potatoes, vegetables, cereals and other arable crops was recorded. Due to restrictions imposed by the state, a personal subsidiary farm could not be larger than 0.5 hectares, so the area was measured to the 0.01 hectare, i.e. 100 m².

In addition to the area of land, domestic animals and fowls belonging to the household were also counted. The number of cattle, swine, sheep, goats, rabbits, domestic fowl and beehives had to be recorded as of September 30 of the survey year. The income from the sale of products from a personal subsidiary farm was recorded under the income of the head of household.

Finally, the income survey also collected information that was not directly related to income and residence. This information was mainly concerned with working-age females living in the household. The surveys from 1972 to 1981 included questions with regard to their nationality, year of marriage (both previous and current) and number of children. The 18–44 age group was also asked about the number of children they would like to have. In 1978, the date of their first marriage and the birth years of their children were added. Questions with regard to the total number of children born and still alive were added, as well as the nationality of the spouse. After 1981, this so-called female block of questions was discarded. Probable reasons were the micro-census and survey of young families that were carried out in conjunction with the 1984 survey.

2.3 Data entry

The first step in preparation for data entry was to study the survey questionnaires of different years. In principle, it was decided to enter all directly available data from a questionnaire as well as any derivative information. In order to do this, the range of the questions was examined and it was then determined what additional information could be derived during the process of data entry. For example, the nationality (origin) of members of the household was not asked in some years or it was only asked of women of specified ages. In the absence of information, the data entry clerk divined the origin from the first and last name of the person, even though this method does not yield absolutely accurate results. The work that preceded data entry mainly consisted of gathering the variables to be entered and elaborating the classifications. Since one of the goals of the study was international and current comparability, it was expedient to use the international and current classifications that are briefly described below.

One of the challenges was naming the location where the household lived. Both the names and boundaries of municipalities have changed since 1950, which makes it difficult to reconcile the place of residence for different years. For that reason, the address was entered twice – first according to the boundaries and names of localities in 1970 and then according to those of a newly independent Estonia. This entailed extra work for the data entry clerks since the address first had to be coded according to the Soviet “town/district/village council/village” nomenclature and then according to the present “town/county/parish/village” system. Matching the Soviet era village council and name with the correct existing community proved to be a time-consuming task.

Another serious obstacle was coding the sectors of enterprises and occupations of individuals. One option was to use the Soviet taxonomy for economic sectors, and another was to apply the modern international classifications. Since changing the codes from one system to another in the future could be problematic, it was decided to enter the economic

sectors according to both coding systems. Two codes – one for the Soviet classification of economic sectors and the other according to present ISIC standards (*International Standard Industrial Classification of All Economic Activities* used by the UN) – were entered for each enterprise. The occupation of the respondents was also entered according to the Soviet classification system as well as the approximate matching code used by the ISCO-88 (*International Standard Classification of Occupations* used by the ILO). The remaining variables were coded by the clerks in the course of data entry. For example, the level of education, type of educational institution, living conditions and other variables requiring a small number of categories were entered according to the codes in the questionnaires.

After compiling the list of variables and equipping them with the required parameters, the work was given to a programmer who wrote the data entry program. To make the data entry as convenient as possible, it was necessary to consider the ease with which the questionnaire could be read and the program navigated on the screen. Therefore, the data entry program, which was based on FoxPro, followed the design of the questionnaire as much as possible. Variations in the questionnaires for different surveys, such as the order of questions and question blocks, prompted the design of a separate data entry program for each one.

From the very beginning, a great deal of attention was paid to the quality of the data. To ensure that the least number of errors occurred during data entry, error checks were built into the program. Logical controls were designed to alert the data entry clerk to a potential mistake. For example, the spouse of the head of household cannot be of the same sex, a preschooler cannot be employed, a person with basic education cannot study at an institution of higher learning, etc. Some of the checks were applied in a form that allowed the questionable value to be entered, but the program signalled a possible mismatch. Such controls were mostly connected with age, education and occupation. Questionnaires from different surveys naturally had their own nuances, so the control mechanisms had to be adjusted for each one.

The output of the data entry program was a file with a .dbf extension which was later converted to a statistical program (Stata 10) for data cleaning and processing. The data were then cleaned of any mistakes that the program controls had not detected. The aim of data cleaning at this point was to minimise mistakes. The checks made use of logical connections between members of the household and between characteristics of an individual. Cleaning was therefore carried out on two levels. On the household level, the conformity of the members' characteristics with their position in the household was checked, as well as the links between household members. For example, the children of the head of the household cannot be older than their parent, and the age difference between parents and their children cannot be too great or small. On the individual level, educational attainment and employment status were checked against the age of respondents; unrealistically large or small incomes were examined; congruency between the workplace and occupation was checked, etc. One issue concerned the coding of participants' occupations and workplaces (for example, an unknown abbreviation or simply a number was sometimes given as the name of the enterprise). Because ISCO-88 uses relatively detailed divisions in determining occupations, (for example, a distinction is made between drivers of large and small vehicles), it was not always possible to derive the correct codes from the income survey data.

2.4 Representativeness of the sample

The newly created datasets were subjected to further quality assessment. Guided by the findings from the analysis of the metadata, the main focus was placed on the representativeness of the samples. Other data quality issues usually include item non-response, and measurement and processing errors. Since the issue of item non-response is not relevant to the income surveys, because the subjects eliminated from the study were simply replaced, we focused on the three remaining issues, starting with representativeness.

It is only possible to verify the representativeness of indicators for which the available data pertains to the entire population. According to the socio-demographic characteristics of the income survey questionnaires, the sample can be compared to a survey of the entire population, such as a census. Obviously, there is no income data that covers the entire population against which the sample could be assessed – the income survey itself contains the most precise and detailed information on that subject. However, because the sample is representative according to socio-demographic characteristics, it can be assumed that it also represents the entire population with regard to income indicators. The methods of sampling described previously give some idea about the representativeness of the income indicators, even though they only applied to one person from the selected household. In future analyses, it would be possible to compare the income survey data to accounting indicators, which were published for internal use by the ENSV SKV for each five-year period.

The representativeness of the sample was evaluated according to demographic and social indicators such as age composition, average size of household, the proportion of married respondents, of one-member households, of employed household members and of the urban population in the sample. Since this type of socio-demographic data about the whole population was not collected on a regular basis, we have to rely on data from the national censuses of 1959 and 1979. One of those censuses was sufficiently close to the income survey of 1958 and the other to the surveys of 1975 and 1981. The age composition of the whole population is available on an annual basis.⁶

First, we compared the age composition of the survey sample (both men and women) with the age composition of whole population. In Figure 2.1, all age groups of the sample were weighted to match the size of whole population and then the ratios were calculated for each age group. The variance from 1 indicates the over- or under-representation of the corresponding age group in the sample compared to the same age group in the whole population.

All of the survey data is characterised by the underrepresentation of males aged 15–25, as shown in Figure 2.1(a), whereas females in the same age groups are somewhat overrepresented. Older individuals (65+) are underrepresented in the survey samples. Of the three surveys discussed here, the income survey of 1958 seems to deviate most from the total population – the working age population is considerably underrepresented as are individuals of advanced ages. The fact that the age-groups 4–19 are slightly underrepresented reveals the sample bias in favour of the employed population. In the 1975 and 1980 surveys, children are overrepresented, whereas the proportion of the working age population is closer to the total population as compared to 1958. The predominance of the urban population in the 1957 survey may be one reason that the age composition

⁶The data for whole population in 1975 and 1981 were derived from Katus *et al.* (2005).

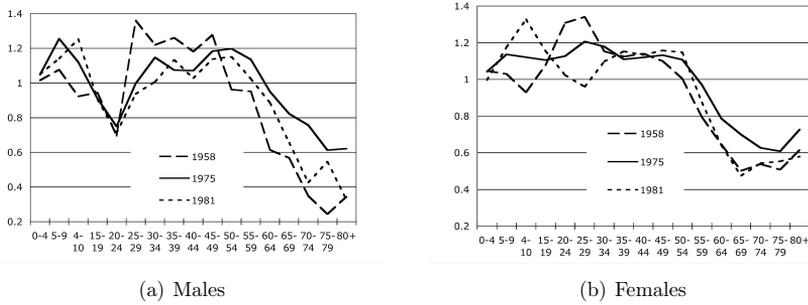


Figure 2.1: Representativeness of the sample by age composition

deviates most significantly from the total population in that year.

Next, we examined how the sample corresponds to the total population with regard to marital status. It should also be mentioned that when comparing the 1975 income survey with the 1979 population census, we have to consider the *ca* 4-year time gap which is significant in the case of a five-year age distribution. Figure 2.2 illustrates the deviance of the proportion of the married population in the sample from the total population. The married population is underrepresented mainly in the age groups 15–19 and 70+. Again, the 1958 survey is distinguished by a larger deviation – the proportion of young married males is somewhat higher, whereas the proportion of older married women is considerably lower as compared to the total population. However, if both extremes of the age scale are excluded, conformity with the total population is quite reasonable.

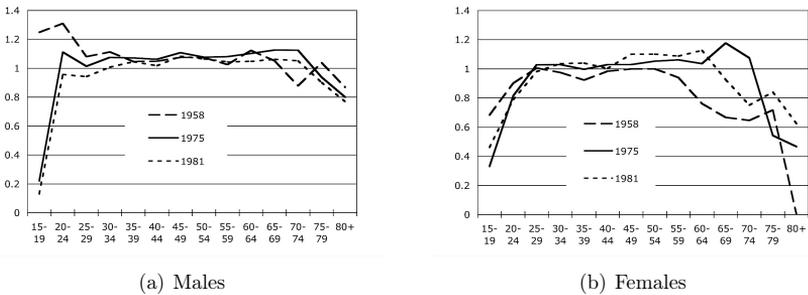


Figure 2.2: Representativeness of the sample by marital status

We then studied the differences between the income survey samples of various years and the total population with regard to household composition. As sampling was based on the place of work, it is possible that certain types of households were underrepresented (e.g. unemployed persons living alone, which would include students). Unfortunately, the data from the 1959 census was not tabulated by household composition, so it cannot be used for our purposes. The comparison of data was therefore limited to the 1979 census. Figure 2.3 illustrates the proportion of one-member households in the total population at the time of the 1979 census and in the income survey samples of various years. The

underrepresentation in the survey samples of single males in all age groups except the oldest, and especially in the 15–24 age group, is striking. For females, underrepresentation mainly occurred in the older age groups, but also among respondents aged 15–24 and 60+.

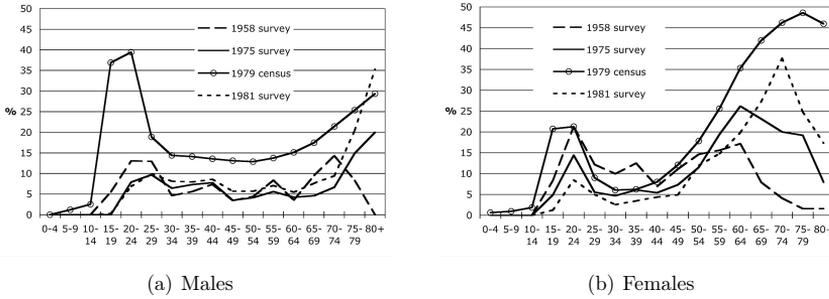


Figure 2.3: Representativeness of the sample by percentage of one-person households

In addition to the proportion of one-member households, the average household size should also be examined. In Figure 2.4, the size of household for each individual has been taken into account and the averages computed for all age groups. The average size of the households in the samples somewhat exceeds that of the total population, probably due to the lower proportion in the sample of persons living alone. This is especially noticeable among males in the 15–24 age group. For females, the difference is more visible in the older age groups.

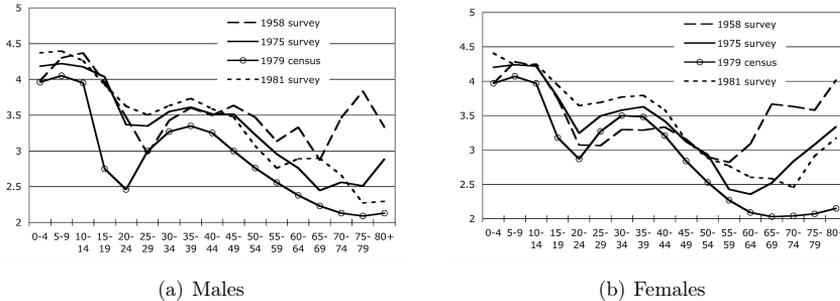


Figure 2.4: Representativeness of the sample by average size of household

The proportion of the working population also merits attention. The 1959 census tables do not contain a detailed age distribution of the employed population. Employment rates are only indicated in 10-year age groups up to age 65. The employment rates in the 1959 and 1979 censuses and the income survey samples are depicted in Figure 2.5. The percentage of employed males and females shown in the survey sample exceeds the respective indicators for the total population. This is most evident among the older age groups, but, in the 1958 survey, it applies to females in the 25–35 age group as well. Except for the latter, there are no major deviations in the working-age population. Employees of

retirement age are largely overrepresented in the 1975 and 1981 survey samples for both sexes. This should be kept in mind when analysing earnings or applying weights.

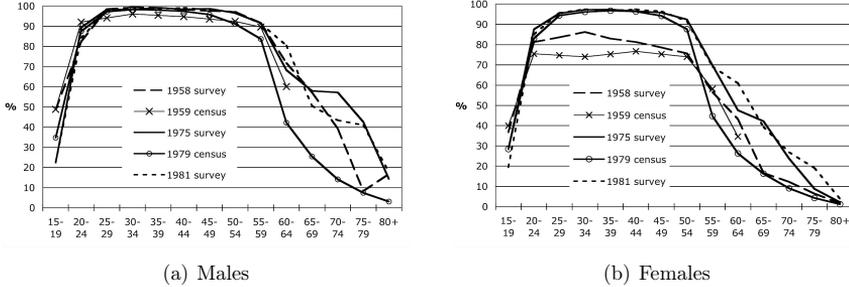


Figure 2.5: Representativeness of the sample by percentage of employed individuals

Finally, we examined the representativeness of the urban and rural populations. We compared the proportion of the urban population recorded in the census with that in the income survey sample. The ratio of the two figures is shown in Figure 2.6. Because we know that the households of collective farmers were not included in the 1958 income survey, it is to be expected that the urban population is overrepresented in the sample. The rural population included households of individuals working in enterprises or agencies that were located in rural areas, state farm workers, and those employed in forestry and mines. Collective farm households were included in the 1975 and 1981 surveys and therefore a significant proportion of the rural population was represented. This might explain why the urban population was somewhat underrepresented in the two later surveys. It should be noted that the rural population does not represent only those engaged in agriculture and forestry.

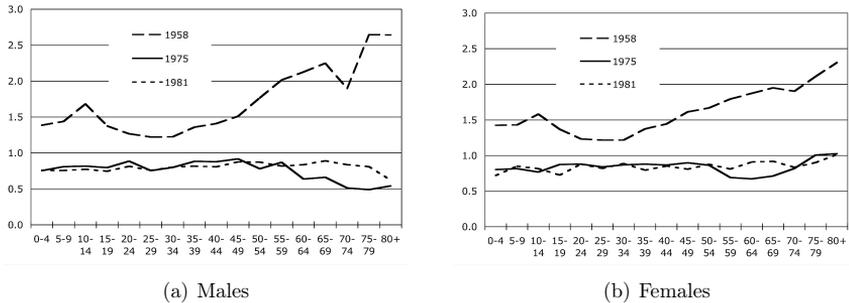


Figure 2.6: Representativeness of the sample by proportion of the urban population (Ratio of proportions of the urban population in the sample and the census.)

These 6 pairs of graphs sum up the major issues with the income surveys. First, the underrepresentation of older age groups is visible in all the surveys examined. This is also true for some of the younger age groups who had recently left their parents' households but could not included in the sample because they were unemployed (conscripts,

university students, temporary employees). The second issue concerns the overrepresentation of employed older individuals, as mentioned previously. This should be taken into account when analysing income distribution as well as its associated indicators, such as the distribution of poverty (i.e. to estimate the income of individuals of retirement age with and without wages). These shortcomings can be eliminated by weighting.

2.5 Weighting of the sample

It has been shown that the income survey samples tended to underrepresent some population groups in terms of social and demographic variables. In this section, we will address the question of whether this problem can be resolved by weighting. We will use a probability (sampling) weight that is inverse to the likelihood that a specific observation was sampled. Weights are applied according to the sex of the respondents and 5-year age groups. The probability weight w has been calculated as follows:

$$w_{ij} = \frac{N_{ij}}{n_{ij}} \quad (2.1)$$

where the weight for an individual belonging to age group i and distinguished by the indicator j equals the quotient of the number of individuals in the total population N and the sample n . The absolute numbers N and n can also be replaced by the proportions of i and j groups.

The first step was to increase the weight for older age groups of males and females, and also for males aged 15–24. The methods are similar to those used for sample comparison. The sample was first enlarged to the size of total population, based on sex and age composition. Then, these groups were divided by the respective sample group to obtain the probability weight coefficient. The second step was to increase the weight of one-member households so that these would correspond to their proportion of the total population. The main issue was that there were no tabulations of household composition in the 1959 census. Therefore, the number of single individuals had to be derived from the number of unmarried persons (calculated only for those 20 years of age and older, since younger individuals might still have been living in their parents' household). Third, the weight for marital status was added in order to adjust the number of married individuals in the sample. Individuals aged 15 and older were included in this calculation. Fourth, we weighted for employment to balance the proportion of employees 15 years of age and older in the sample. Due to incomplete employment data in the 1958 survey, weighting could only be applied up to age 65; we were able to weight the proportion of older employees for the other surveys. Fifth, the ratio of urban and rural population had to be adjusted, especially for the 1958 survey.

Finally, the sum of the different weights was calculated, because it is impossible to apply several weights at the same time in an analysis. The sum is derived by adding the weights and dividing the sum by the number of weights. The summary weights must then be recalculated so that the average of the weight across the sample is equal to 1. While the previous examples were mainly related to increasing the weight of underrepresented population groups, the average of the summary weights was higher than 1, thereby increasing the sample size in the analysis when tabulating the weighted data. The summary weights were recalculated as follows:

$$w_{j1} = \frac{w_{j0}}{c} \quad \text{where} \quad c = \frac{n_1}{n_0} \tag{2.2}$$

According to this formula, the initial summary weight w_{j0} of an individual j is divided by the factor obtained as a result of dividing the number of individuals in the weighted sample n_1 by the number of individuals initially included in the sample n_0 . The average of the adjusted summary weight must in all instances equal 1. For example, the average of the adjusted summary weights of the weighted sample of 1958 equals 1.000009, which increases the sample of 8,630-individuals by 0.075.

Next, we examined the impact of sample weighting on the data set. Comparing some of the less complicated income indicators for weighted and un-weighted samples achieved this objective. The sum of an individual’s monetary income and the net equivalised household income before social transfers were selected as income indicators. For both indicators, the arithmetical mean of the weighted indicator was divided by the arithmetical mean of the un-weighted indicator; the difference between the result and 1 yields the approximate positive or negative impact of the weights. One of our objectives was to examine the impact of different weights on these two indicators and the sum of weights. The impact of one weight on either of the indicators might differ from the impact of weights on various other types of income. In the case of net equivalised income, the impact is a function of the standardised household size and the sum of the types of income.

Graph 2.7 depicts the impact of single weights and summary weights on total individual income in the 1958 survey. The most important effects of weighting occur for 20-year-olds and older individuals – these are the age groups for which the difference between the sample and the total population is the greatest. The weighting of single individuals portrayed in Figure 2.7(a) increases the total individual income of males in the 20–24 age group by *ca* 10%. This is because the weight of single males in this age group was increased in the sample by a factor of 6.2 due to their low incidence, and also because the average total income per person for these individuals (32 in total) is 99.7 roubles as opposed to 72.6 roubles for non-single individuals (213 in total). As a result of weighting the single individuals, the average total individual income of 20–24-year-old males rises from 76.1 to 85.6 roubles.

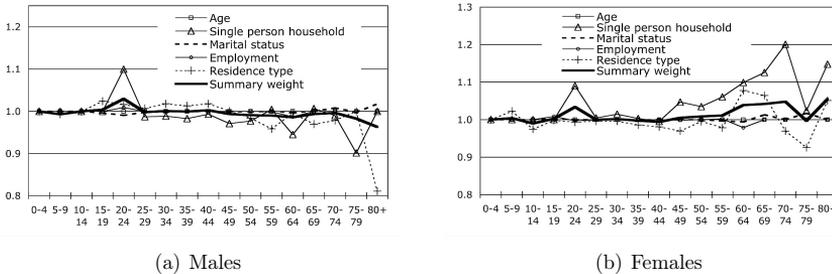


Figure 2.7: The impact of weighting on total individual income in 1958
 Note: the unweighted total individual income = 1

The impact of weighting single individuals on the total individual income of elderly females (see Figure 2.7(b)) can be explained by the fact that the unemployed were not

included in the 1958 survey, i.e. a single individual of retirement age had to be employed to be included in the survey (and that also implied a larger total individual income), while an elderly person in a multimember household could simply be counted as an old-age pensioner. Weighting the relatively smaller number of single individuals with higher income so that they were proportionate to the total population increased the average total individual income (as a result of weighting single individuals, the average total individual income of 70–74-year-old females increased from 13.2 to 21.2 roubles).

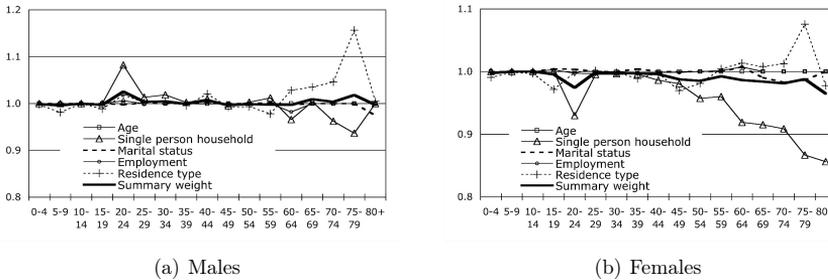


Figure 2.8: The impact of weighting on the net equivalised household income before transfers in 1958

Note: the unweighted net equivalised household income before transfers = 1

Figure 2.8 depicts the impact of the same weighting on net equivalised household income before social transfers. Comparing figures 2.7 and 2.8 illustrates the peculiarities of the impact of weighting. Let us examine the impact of the weighting of one-member households on females (the weight of the three oldest age groups of single females has been increased or lowered by a rate in the range of 10–25%). This weight has increased the total individual income of elderly single females relative to elderly females with a family. However, it has decreased their income on the net equivalised household income before transfers indicator, because the net equivalised income of non-singles is larger due to the income of other members of the household.

Figures 2.9 and 2.10 illustrate the impact of weighting on total individual income and net equivalised household income before transfers in the 1975 survey. The proportion of older employees in the 1975 sample is larger than in the total population, as was discussed in the section on the representativeness of the sample. Decreasing the weight of the employed elderly population has an impact of up to 20% on the total individual income of males and females in these age groups. On the other hand, the weighting of single individuals increases the average total individual income.

Despite the relatively strong impact of weighting single individuals (a difference of 15–25% as shown in previous examples) on the average income, the magnitude of the effects disappears when the different weights are aggregated. The actual impact of weighting on the income indicators remains within *ca* 5%. The application of weights is justified and necessary for data analysis. However, the decision whether to use single weights or the sum of weights requires discussion. It may also be necessary to set an upper limit for weighting.

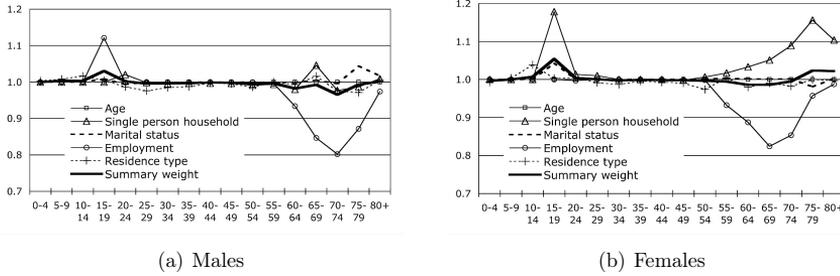


Figure 2.9: The impact of weighting on total individual income, 1975
 Note: the unweighted total individual income = 1.

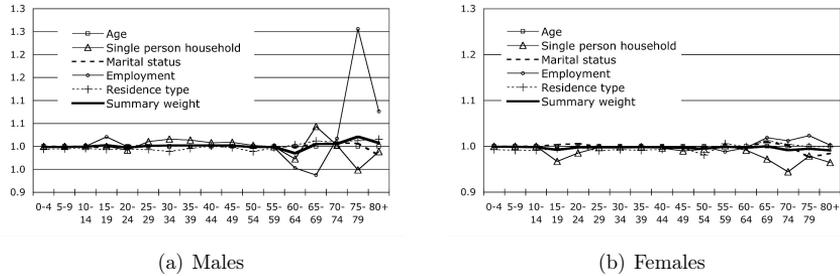


Figure 2.10: The impact of weighting on net equivalised household income before transfers, 1975
 Note: the unweighted net equivalised household income before transfers = 1.

2.6 Assessing measurement and processing errors

In this section, we focus on the data issues that resulted from imperfections in the survey methodology or that have emerged in the process of entering the data. These issues can be divided into two groups – problems arising from the coding of household and individual variables, and those related to the measurement and classification of income.

There are several possible sources for the coding problems. Some parts of the income survey questionnaire must be examined to verify that they were completed correctly. One of the most glaring issues was the use of initials instead of first and father’s names, which made it difficult during the data cleaning process to determine the sex of the individual. The same problem exists with regard to workplaces and positions – these are occasionally illegible or the interviewer has used unknown abbreviations and acronyms. This has complicated the work of the data entry clerks in coding the occupation and branch of economy variables, and in cleaning and checking the employment variable. Some of the Soviet types of production such as co-operatives and production associations are not reflected in the name of the enterprise, or are difficult to classify under current international categories. In the 1958 survey, the area of activity of some of the co-operatives is still questionable, and these have therefore been classified under the category of “others”. Nevertheless, taking into account the size of the sample, the number of such errors is relatively small, so

this issue has not been treated in detail.

One of the main questions that arose while analysing the income surveys with regard to measuring income was related to the uniform accounting of income and classification of income. The methods used in the surveys to account for income were not consistent – wages were recorded as gross income (including extra income, bonuses, single lump-sum incentives, free accommodation and public utilities, income tax withheld by the enterprise, tax on childlessness, and alimony), but other monetary income was recorded as net income. Therefore, for the purposes of data analysis, gross salary had to approximate to the extent possible the amount actually received. With the exception of the 1958 survey, this was achieved by deducting the taxes that were recorded. This operation was based on the prerequisite that the data on wages and taxes had been collected uniformly for all respondents, so this assumption had to be verified.

The 1978 survey guidelines expressly state that “for each employed family member, the gross salary for the month of September is to be recorded. Data on wages is to be obtained from the accounting department of the respondent’s workplace.”⁷ This meant that the interviewer had to visit the accounting department of each respondent in order to obtain their wage information. Although it is likely that the interviewers did follow these instructions, we still had to check whether it was possible to disallow adherence to the salary recording guidelines empirically. For this purpose, we formed a working hypothesis that interviewer error could have resulted in the household members’ wages being accounted as net income. Considering the level of individual taxes in the Soviet Union in the 1970s, failing to take into account the tax on childlessness would produce an error of at least 6%, and neglecting to account for income tax could result in a 12% difference in gross salary, at least.

In order to check the hypothesis, a wage equation that included the main demographic indicators was formulated, in which one independent dichotomous variable was the effect of the *modus vivendi* of the respondent on inclusion in the sample (as a member of a household or selected from an enterprise). If the wage level of the selected individual was significantly higher than that of the other members of the household, this could indicate a different method of recording gross salary. In regression equation 2.3 the gross salary y of an individual i is regressed with the vector of the regressors X (sector of the economy, sex, age, place of origin, educational attainment, place of residence, status in the household). Coefficient β shows the amount and direction of the impact of the variables on the gross salary of an individual with the constant α and error term ϵ .

$$y_i = \alpha + X_i\beta + \epsilon_i \quad (2.3)$$

Table 2.3 contains the results of the wage equation. It shows that the gross salary of the selected individuals is higher than that of the other members of the household, but still remains below the 6% pre-set criterion. Taking 177.5 roubles as the constant of the wage regression, the positive impact on gross salary of being the selected individual is about 9 roubles, which differs *ca* 5% from the constant.

Although a difference of 5% is not very large, it does indicate that the wages of the individuals selected for the sample from the enterprises were higher than the wages of the other working members of the household. The cause likely had to do with the process

⁷ERA R-10-17-6812, 137.

Table 2.3: Data quality: the wage equation for 1975

Variable	Coefficient	(Std. Err.)
Primary sector	8.065**	(2.916)
Secondary sector	reference category	
Tertiary sector	-17.790**	(2.209)
Female	-57.946**	(2.156)
Age 15-24	-24.432**	(3.093)
Age 25-34	reference category	
Age 35-44	7.376**	(2.432)
Age 45-54	-1.228	(2.628)
Age 55-64	-41.337**	(3.717)
Foreign origin	-4.882*	(2.202)
Higher education	30.105**	(3.102)
Secondary education	reference category	
Basic education	8.916**	(2.297)
Primary education	3.460	(2.568)
Rural residence	-2.949	(2.362)
Head of household	16.609**	(2.289)
Selected person	9.061**	(1.925)
Constant	177.474**	(3.214)
N	6,451	
R ²	0.258	
F (15,6435)	149.349	

Level of statistical significance : † : 10% * : 5% ** : 1%

Note: excluding single person households and age groups below 15 and over 65+.

for selecting the individuals, or more broadly, for selecting the enterprises, companies, or collective farms, which is not accounted for in the wage equation. Our working hypothesis regarding the incorrect accounting by interviewers of the wages of the household members was not confirmed.

The same check cannot be applied to the 1981 survey, as a different method for selecting the respondent was used that year. The heading of the questionnaire contained a separate field in which the sequence number of the person selected for the sample was recorded. For some reason, this field was not filled in for the majority of collective farmers, and therefore, selected individuals and household members can be distinguished only if they were not collective farmers. The households containing the sequence number of the selected person included 8,159 persons, 4,927 of whom were receiving income from wages. The same wage equation was applied as for the 1975 survey, and the results are presented in Table 2.4. As it indicates, the impact of being sampled on the gross salary variable remains the same (9.7 roubles comprises ca 4.5% of the constant), which supports the above-mentioned potential selectivity hypothesis. The coefficient remains the same when wages in roubles are replaced by the wage logarithm.

It was also necessary to verify from the income tax and tax on childlessness recorded in the questionnaire that the gross salary of the household members had actually been obtained from the employers' accounting departments. Following is a brief overview of

Table 2.4: Data quality: the wage equation for 1981

Variable	Coefficient	(Std. Err.)
Primary sector	6.561 [†]	(3.838)
Secondary sector	reference category	
Tertiary sector	-18.654**	(2.613)
Female	-69.696**	(2.761)
Age 15-24	-21.927**	(4.044)
Age 25-34	reference category	
Age 35-44	15.840**	(3.112)
Age 45-54	11.079**	(3.243)
Age 55-64	-27.318**	(4.550)
Foreign origin	-0.581	(2.517)
Higher education	15.447**	(3.490)
Secondary education	reference category	
Basic education	3.108	(2.887)
Primary education	-5.367	(3.521)
Rural residence	-1.098	(3.180)
Head of household	16.545**	(2.903)
Selected person	9.754**	(2.390)
Constant	214.916**	(3.824)
N	4,435	
R ²	0.286	
F (15,4419)	118.098	

Level of statistical significance : † : 10% * : 5% ** : 1%

Note: excluding single person households and age groups below 15 and 65+.

the Soviet tax system; individual data was checked to establish possible reasons for the income tax and tax on childlessness fields not having been completed.

Individuals in the Soviet Union were taxed on agriculture, income and for being unmarried, single, or having too few children. The tax on agriculture mainly applied to the rural population (collective farmers and individual landholders) and was based on the area of land in use. The land tax rate for households of collective farmers was determined by the location (in the 1970s, it was highest in the Harju and Viljandi districts – 50 kopecks per 0.01 ha, and lowest in the Hiiumaa and Saaremaa districts – 20 kopecks per 0.01 ha). Those who did not belong to collective farms were subject to the same tax rates as collective farmers. Up until 1972, they were still considered to be working for pay. Standard legislated limits governed the size of the plot of land and the number of farm animals. A farmer who was not a member of a collective had to pay the agricultural tax at twice the normal rate. These restrictions were abolished as of 1972. Military personnel, the disabled, and employed teachers were entitled to a number of exemptions with regard to the agricultural tax (Kont 1973). The agricultural tax, as well as taxes on buildings and other taxes, were only included in the 1972 income survey; therefore, this tax does not merit further discussion.

Income from the state, co-operative or public organisations or enterprises, arts and handicrafts, rents, and agriculture in urban areas, was subject to income tax. The tax

rate depended on the source of income and this underwent changes over the years, as did the basic income tax exemption (260 roubles in 1954 (Vinokur and Mogilevič 1954) and 61 roubles in the mid-1970s (Kont 1973)). Some individuals (military personnel and disabled veterans) and types of income were wholly or partially exempt from income tax: the income collective farmers received from collective farms, student grants up to the tax-free minimum, rental income up to a set limit, wages and salaries of the disabled and old-age pensioners up to a set limit, pensions, and a portion of income from handicrafts. If a labourer or white-collar worker had to support more than 3 individuals, the income tax rate was decreased by 30%. Income tax was withheld by the employer, and the calculation, according to a progressive income tax system, was quite complicated, relative to the present time. For example, 5.92 roubles + 12% of the amount exceeding 81 roubles was deducted from wages in the range of 81–100 roubles. Above 100 roubles, the rate was 8.20 roubles + 13% of the amount exceeding 100 roubles. Separate tax rates were applied to income from second jobs (Kont 1973).

The tax collected from unmarried or single individuals and those with too few children was applied to all childless males in the 20–50 age group and to married childless females in the 20–45 age group who had an independent source of income. The tax on childlessness was calculated and withheld in the same way as the tax on income. The tax rate on 80 roubles was 6%, and less for salaries in the 61–80 rouble range. Some groups were exempt from the tax, including military personnel and their wives, the disabled, individuals with earnings below the minimum tax rate, individuals with restricted growth, and several other groups (Kont 1973). Marjahhin (1951) provides an overview of the former system of taxation with regard to collective farmers and workers.

We examined the incidence of income and childlessness tax applied to the selected respondents and their households in the 1975 survey. Only individuals who had received wages from an enterprise or collective farm for the whole month were taken into account. Table 2.5 shows that the tax on income or the tax on childlessness was recorded for 77.8% of the selected respondents, and for 85% of other members of the household.

Table 2.5: **Incidence of income and childlessness taxes, 1975**

Selected person	Income and childlessness tax recorded		
	No	Yes	Total
No	440	2,494	2,934
Yes	815	2,859	3,674
Total	1,255	5,353	6,608

Source: 1975 income survey

Note: only full-time employed considered.

The majority of cases of missing taxes can be explained by the above-cited exemptions. 1,205 of the 1,255 individuals in Table 2.5 were collective farmers, individuals whose earnings were below the tax-exempt minimum, or of pensionable age. The reasons for the missing income and childlessness taxes for the remaining 50 individuals cannot be specified on the basis of the socio-demographic data in the questionnaire.

The incidence of unrecorded income and childlessness tax was considerably lower in the 1981 survey than in 1975. The ratio of unrecorded tax was 1 to 12.7 for individuals selected for the survey, and 1 to 9.8 for the other members of the household (taxes were

recorded for 92.7% of the selected respondents and for 90.7% of other members of the household). Contrary to the 1975 results, the selected individuals have a higher incidence of recorded taxes than other members of the household (see Table 2.6).

Table 2.6: **Incidence of income and childlessness taxes, 1981**

Selected person	Income and childlessness tax recorded		Total
	No	Yes	
No	203	1,982	2,185
Yes	177	2,257	2,434
Total	380	4,239	4,619

Source: 1981 income survey

Note: only full-time employed considered.

Of the 380 individuals who had no tax data in the 1981 survey, ca 70 required closer examination. Several of them were retired and receiving disability compensation, who were thus eligible for tax exemptions, thereby reducing the number of individuals for whom the reason for tax exemptions cannot be established. This is an indication that the 1975 and 1981 questionnaires were completed correctly. The majority of the missing tax data can be explained by tax exemptions that can be verified on the basis of information in the questionnaires.

Because income and childlessness taxes were not recorded in the 1958 income survey, it is difficult to translate that year's earnings into net income. The fact that gross wages were recorded in 1958 was discussed in the previous chapter. One way to convert the recorded amounts to net wages would be to use the taxation manual for that period and compute the tax rates accordingly. This was not undertaken for this study and the standard tables contain only the gross wages for 1958.

There are some additional issues that result from poorly defined types of income. It is not known whether earnings received from subsidies or from state organisations were in monetary or other form. Therefore, such types of income could not be included, although they must have been of unquestionable value to several population groups, including single mothers and families with several children. The incidence of such types of income was relatively low and their impact on the average total income indicators of households and individuals minimal.

Complications occur with regard to types of income for which the qualifying parameters of potential recipients are difficult to establish. Specific guidelines were provided for income derived from selling the products of personal subsidiary farms. These were recorded as income belonging to the head of household. However, other monetary income could have been entered for a household member of any age, e.g. benefits for individuals who were disabled from childhood were recorded as other monetary income. Cash received from relatives or acquaintances could also belong to an individual of any age. Performing logical checks with regard to the recording of other monetary income was therefore difficult.

2.7 Conclusions

The main results of the feasibility study can be summarised as follows. The surveys collected information about basic socio-demographic characteristics and various types of income (e.g. wages, salary, pensions, stipends, family allowances) for all members of the household, and about the dwelling, consumer durables, and small-scale agricultural production for the household. With regard to data quality and measurement error, the reliability and accuracy of income data often poses a problem in survey statistics; however, this seems to be a minor concern in the case of Soviet income surveys – the analysis revealed that the information on salaries (the main source of income) was not self-reported but retrieved from the bookkeeping departments of enterprises or organisations in which the respondents were employed. Furthermore, a short time frame (the preceding month) and the limited variability of incomes in a state socialist setting contributed to the accuracy of the data. The analyses also showed that the data collection procedures included various features, ranging from simple checksums in the questionnaires to systematic re-interviewing, to minimise errors which could have been caused by carelessness.

Table 2.7: **Summary: the quality of household income survey data**

Type of error	Assessment
1. Conceptual error	Minor: the calculation of income generally conformed to the concept of disposable net income; with minor adjustment, the income data and socio-demographic characteristics are comparable to contemporary statistical standards.
2. Reporting error	Minor: incomes were reported with high accuracy; item-specific non-response and digit preference are very low; data is internally consistent.
3. Processing error	Minor: the incidence of errors in editing, coding, data entry and processing is low and does not indicate systematic bias.
4. Coverage error	Major: households whose members were all economically inactive, households of elderly individuals in particular were underrepresented; in the 1958 survey, the agricultural population was grossly underrepresented. To address the problem, post-stratification was applied; the data for older age groups (60+) should be treated with caution.
5. Non-response error	Minor: non-response rates were very low.
6. Sampling error	Minor: sample sizes were sufficiently large to provide reliable estimates.

In the context of today's concern about the growing reluctance to participate in surveys, the analysis revealed very low unit non-response to the Soviet income surveys in Estonia. Refusals were almost exceptional, and the reasons for non-participation were mainly due to changes in residence, employment or ill health. However, an obvious prob-

lem was the coverage of the survey. Income surveys employed a two-stage sampling procedure. In the first stage, instead of using sampling area units – a standard approach in household surveys – the Soviet income surveys selected enterprises or organisations from a list that was stratified by sectors of the national economy. In the second stage, employees were selected from enterprises or organisations that had been identified in the first stage. Although, from the population perspective, both stages were carefully implemented, the procedure excluded households in which all members were economically inactive. To address this problem, special subsamples of retired individuals were added to the surveys as of 1975. It was also established that the samples of two earlier surveys (1958 and 1967) had not included collective farmers.

Comparison with the population censuses corroborated the findings from the meta-data analysis with regard to coverage error. In particular, the analysis revealed an underrepresentation of the elderly population: although the introduction of subsamples of retirees had alleviated the problem, they were evidently too small to completely eliminate the bias. The sampling procedure had caused economically active individuals and those residing with adult children to be overrepresented among the older respondents in the surveys. To account for this coverage error and reduce the resulting bias, a post-stratification procedure was deemed necessary. Using external weights from the censuses, this procedure adjusted the proportions of the sample population according to 5 key demographic characteristics. Micro-data analysis confirmed the high quality of the data with regard to other types of survey error (e.g. item non-response, digit preference, internal consistency). The main findings of the data quality analysis are summarised in Table 2.7.

The overall assessment is that the quality of the newly computerised micro-data is good. With the main caveats having been identified, the household survey material provides unique insight into the economic wellbeing of the various population groups since the late 1950s.

One of the critical data analysis issues is the extent to which the income survey data can be used for international comparisons. The main issue in studying the economic history of the Soviet Union is the well known inability to compare the national accounts with the approaches used in market economies. The direct conversion of personal cash incomes into other currencies in order to compare standards of living is equally unfeasible. This comparison is hampered both by the lack of an authentic rate of exchange as well as differences in consumer options. The computation of purchasing power parity (PPP) required for obtaining a workable exchange rate is extremely labour-intensive.

Some indicators can be compared without establishing the PPP. These are mainly related to the distribution of income among the population (*The World Income Inequality Database* compiled by the U.N. Development Programme assembles income quintiles and deciles and Gini coefficients for different countries). Two aspects of international comparability must be addressed: the socio-demographic variables and income. With regard to the former, one must ensure that the codes used in the income surveys in the Soviet Union correspond to international classifications. As for the latter, the usefulness of indicators based on the income survey data must be determined.

Comparability over time, i.e. with modern income and household budget surveys, is another important aspect. The educational level of the respondents can be adjusted without major difficulty by means of the ISCED (International Standard Classification of Education – used by UNESCO to determine levels of education). Some issues remain to be

resolved, such as the status of incomplete higher education. Establishing the educational level of some students in the 1958 survey was also problematic, because the name of the educational establishment was recorded, but not the level of the student. The income survey employment field was coded dually for individuals using internationally accepted ISIC codes as well as the available Soviet codes. Only the international ISCO-88 code and the name of the profession were entered with regard to occupation. Thus, international (and also temporal) comparability was achieved for a relatively large number of individual and household indicators, such as the proportion of employed individuals and income recipients in the household, the main field of activity, sector of the economy, sources of income etc.), which could be translated into demographic variables.

Comparability issues also arose in connection with the classification and accounting of income. Of most interest was individual disposable income. As described above, gross salary was entered in the questionnaire as gross income (including all taxes withheld by the employer). Pensions, grants, income from private subsidiary farms and state financial aid are all net amounts. As a result, with regard to disposable income, salary income was overstated as compared to other types, and households deriving their main income from salaried work appeared to be better off than households that depended on transfers. One solution was to deduct income and childlessness taxes, if recorded, from wages. This improves the correspondence between the gross salary variable and the amount of actual net disposable income. Alimony should have been deducted from the gross salary of the person paying it, and included in the total monetary income of the recipient. Generally, the payment and receipt of alimony are clearly distinguishable in the questionnaires, with the exception of the 1958 income survey, in which no questions were asked about paying or receiving alimony, and the 1984 survey, in which alimony was included in the other monetary income of the recipient. The latter situation is of minor importance, because alimony and other monetary income are both part of disposable income.

Total individual income also included other types of monetary income - temporary disability compensation, pensions, grants, child benefits and income from the sale of products of private subsidiary farms. Subsidies and incomes received in non-monetary form (goods and services from agencies, enterprises and consumer cooperatives etc.) were excluded. An issue arose as a result of excluding non-monetary income in cases in which this type of income constituted a large portion of the total income of a particular population group. For example, the state's subsidising the boarding school expenses of children of a low-paid single mother substantially decreased the risk of poverty for that household, but this would not be discernible if non-monetary income was not recorded. However, the incidence of non-monetary income was quite low in the income surveys and therefore did not have a major impact on the actual distribution of income.

An internationally comparable analysis of the total income of individuals and households was based on the distribution of income among population groups, and not on the international comparability of the amount of income. Therefore, we had to deal with indicators that were comparable to the relative indicators of other countries. It is important to identify the indicators that can be demonstrated by curves and coefficients. One of the most widely used indicators is income distribution among income recipients. It is graphically represented by the Lorenz curve, which illustrates the cumulative distribution of income by recipient. If the distribution is perfectly equal, the curve becomes a straight line. The more pronounced the curve, the greater the variation in the distribution of

income. When individual income is the basis for accounting, the inequality gap is larger; it decreases for consumer units or households. For example, the lower curve in Figure 2.11(a) depicts the distribution of total individual income in 1975, and the lower curve in Figure 2.11(b) shows the distribution of income of household members in the same year. The numerical value of the gap between the Lorenz Curve and perfectly equal distribution is known as the Gini coefficient.

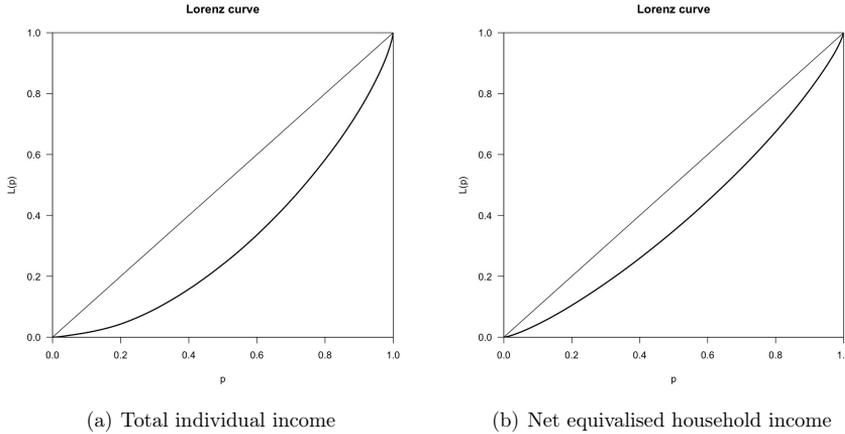


Figure 2.11: Income distribution in 1975
 Note: Data is unweighted. Figure (a) represents income earners only.
 Source: 1975 income survey, authors' estimates.

The distribution of relative poverty can be assessed on the basis of income distribution. In modern socioeconomic statistics, 60% of the net equivalent income of the household member is considered to be the relative poverty limit. In order to assess the efficacy of social policies, relative poverty should be assessed by both including and excluding transfer income. Income distribution and relative poverty can also be examined according to the demographic variables recorded in the income surveys.

In addition to income, the well-being of households can also be evaluated based on the housing and durable goods indicators and compared internationally. However, differences in quality can be subjective and tend to distort the evaluation and comparison of the latter indicator. The substantial lack of certain durable goods widely used in households does indeed indicate a low level of well-being, but making a valid comparison is quite complicated. Housing indicators, such as the square meters and number of rooms and a description of living conditions, on the other hand, can furnish good material for comparison. Square metres and the number of living rooms per inhabitant provide an eloquent indicator of living conditions.

Part II

Standard Tabulations of the Income
Surveys

Explanation of standard tabulations

Standard tabulations have been prepared as individual level calculations. They include nine standard variables, which are sex, nativity, educational attainment, partnership status, type of household, residence, employment status, sector of economy, and income quintiles. Sex, nativity, educational attainment, partnership status, employment status, and sector of economy are individual variables; type of household, residence, and income quintiles are shared by the entire household. Sector of economy applies only for employed individuals.

Some income indicators must be treated as subject to limitations. Since 1958 data do not include taxes, net wage income cannot be calculated. Therefore, net equivalised household income of 1958 includes gross wage income. For 1975 and 1981, both gross and net wage income have been calculated, and in these cases net equivalised household income includes net wage income, as required by definition. Non-monetary income has been excluded from total income, as explained in the first part of the study. The 1958 rouble income has been divided by 10 for comparability with the rouble income after the currency reform.

The number of respondents is shown as 5-year age groups. The rest of the tables use larger intervals (0–14, 15–24, 25–34, 35–44, 45–54, 55–64, 65–74, 75+). Σ at the end of the age scale has the same meaning as “Total.” The N denotes the number of persons in the calculation base of an indicator.

As of the educational attainment variable, higher education group includes incomplete higher education, and primary group includes those without primary education.

The calculation of equivalent household size uses OECD modified scale, which assigns the following weights to household members: 1 to the first adult household member, 0.5 to every next adult, and 0.3 to children.

The cutoff line for the at-risk-of-poverty rate is defined as 60% of the median net equivalised household income. Social transfers include pensions, stipends and parental benefits.

At this stage, all standard tabulations use unweighted data. Statistically unreliable results (N less than 20) have not been excluded or marked in any way.

Tabelite selgitus

Tulu-uuringu tabelikomplekt sisaldab andmete isikupõhist töötlust. Lisaks vanuselisele jaotusele on siin üheksa standardlõiget. Indikaatoreid näidatakse soo, põlisuse, haridustaseme, kooseluseisu, leibkonnatüübi, elukoha, hõivestaatuse, majandussektori ning leibkonna sissetulekukvintilide lõikes. Sugu, põlisus, haridustase, kooseluseis ja hõivestaatus on individuaalsed lõiked, st nad tulevad konkreetset isikult. Leibkonnatüüp, elukoht ja sissetulekukvintiliid on leibkonnast tulenevad ning on ühe leibkonna liikmete puhul samad. Majandussektorit arvestatakse ainult töötavate isikute kohta.

Mõnede sissetulekuindikaatorite kasutamine on tinglik. Praeguse seisuga ei ole 1958. aasta andmete pealt võimalik arvutada netopalka. Seega netoekvivalentsissetulek ning sellest sõltuvad indikaatorid (suhteline vaesusmäär) sisaldavad 1958. aasta puhul brutopalka. 1975. ja 1981. aasta puhul on netopalk arvatud maksude mahaarvamise teel. Mitterahalisi sissetulekuid ei ole kogutulude hulka arvatud, mille põhjuseid on selgitatud töö esimeses osas. 1958. aasta rublad on jagatud 10-ga, et lihtsustada võrdlemist rahareformi järgsete rubladega.

Valimi üldkogumi jaotus on esitatud 5-aastase vanusskaalaga, muude näitajate puhul on kasutatud pikema intervalliga skaalat (0–14, 15–24, 25–34, 35–44, 45–54, 55–64, 65–74, 75+). Σ vanusskaala lõpus on sama tähendusega, mis “Kokku.” Täht N tähistab indikaatori arvutusaluseliseks olevat isikute arvu.

Haridustaseme puhul sisaldab kõrghariduse rühm ka lõpetamata kõrgharidust ja alghariduse rühm algharidust mitteomavaid isikuid. Kutseharidust omavad isikud on jaotatud vastavalt nende kutsehariduse tasemele.

Leibkonna ekvivalentsuuruse arvutamine on tehtud OECD modifitseeritud skaalat kasutades, mis omistab leibkonna esimesele täiskasvanule kaalu 1, igale järgmisele täiskasvanule kaalu 0.5 ja igale lapsele 0.3.

Suhtelise vaesuse piiriks on 60% leibkonnaliikme netoekvivalentsissetulekute mediaanist. Siirdetulude hulka on loetud pensionid, stipendiumid ja lastetoetused.

Kõik praeguse väljaande standardtabelid kasutavad kaalumata andmeid. Statistiliselt ebausaldusväärseid andmeid (N alla 20) ei ole tabelitest välja jäetud ega vastavalt tähistatud.

1

The 1958 Income Survey

Tabel 1.1: *Küsitlute arv - Number of respondents*

	Vanusrühm - Age group																	Σ
	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	70-74	75-79	80+	
Tegevusala - Activity status																		
Töötav - Working	0	0	0	265	584	910	772	577	460	573	441	302	134	55	23	5	3	5,104
Õpilane - Studying	0	387	548	321	73	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,335
Pensionär - Pensioner	0	0	0	1	7	3	2	2	5	9	12	43	59	60	44	23	23	293
Eelkooliealine - Preschooler	709	323	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,032
Kodune - At home	0	1	1	40	51	86	63	64	56	77	72	78	61	62	59	46	49	866
Majandusharu (ISIC) - Branch of economy (ISIC)																		
Mittetöötav - Not working	709	711	549	362	131	93	67	66	61	86	84	121	120	122	103	69	72	3,526
Põllumajandus - Agriculture	0	0	0	2	6	5	9	3	2	6	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	38
Kalandus - Fishing	0	0	0	1	0	3	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
Kaevandus - Mining	0	0	0	14	32	48	27	32	20	18	8	5	2	1	0	0	0	207
Tööstus - Industry	0	0	0	129	242	383	306	219	184	232	180	115	33	18	3	0	1	2,045
Elektri-veevarusus - Electricity and water supply	0	0	0	3	4	9	11	3	9	4	5	0	3	0	0	0	0	51
Ehitus - Construction	0	0	0	42	50	83	69	56	47	50	36	41	15	7	0	0	0	496
Kaubandus - Trade	0	0	0	16	33	39	35	28	25	28	25	12	5	0	1	0	0	247
Hotellid-restaurantid - Hotels-restaurants	0	0	0	1	16	21	23	19	15	25	17	8	6	1	1	0	1	154
Transport - Transportation	0	0	0	31	70	104	90	55	44	61	35	33	13	6	3	0	0	545
Rahandus - Finance	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	4
Kinnisvara ja äri - Real estate and business	0	0	0	4	13	21	18	19	11	21	21	20	4	5	2	2	0	161
Avalik teenistus - Public service	0	0	0	4	32	64	51	40	26	36	21	14	9	0	2	0	0	299
Haridus - Education	0	0	0	5	25	66	60	43	29	31	32	18	14	7	4	1	1	336
Tervishoid - Health care	0	0	0	7	44	42	45	35	26	28	27	14	11	4	4	1	0	288
Muud teenused - Other services	0	0	0	6	16	22	27	25	21	32	32	19	16	6	3	1	0	226
Sugu - Sex																		
Mees - Male	353	367	274	290	245	478	366	267	217	290	204	179	85	63	28	12	12	3,730
Naine -Female	356	344	275	337	470	525	473	376	304	369	321	244	169	114	98	62	63	4,900
Põlisus - Nativity																		
Põline - Native origin	433	413	349	455	470	630	486	407	342	470	401	315	178	133	95	53	63	5,693
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	276	298	200	172	245	373	353	236	179	189	124	108	76	44	31	21	12	2,937
Haridustase - Educational level																		
Kõrgem - Higher	0	0	0	0	39	110	97	65	36	38	31	32	10	6	1	0	0	465
Kesk - Secondary	0	0	0	98	250	207	188	181	123	124	117	55	39	14	15	3	2	1,416
Põhiharidus - Basic	0	0	29	393	259	320	235	132	89	64	37	26	16	2	4	4	1	1,611
Algharidus - Primary	709	711	520	136	167	366	319	265	273	433	340	310	189	155	106	67	72	5,138
Kooseluseis - Partnership status																		
Kooselus - In partnership	0	0	0	14	235	713	684	495	395	488	354	259	126	73	30	13	5	3,884
Mittekooselus - No partnership	709	711	549	613	480	290	155	148	126	171	171	164	128	104	96	61	70	4,746
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type																		
Lastega - W/children	635	612	481	213	228	534	531	387	234	244	137	91	74	0	0	0	0	4,401
Vanuritega - W/elderly	0	0	0	52	36	22	20	25	51	66	61	46	33	109	75	47	52	695
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	74	99	68	31	22	43	73	62	38	52	12	5	9	68	51	27	23	757
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly	0	0	0	331	429	404	215	169	198	297	315	281	138	0	0	0	0	2,777
Elukoht - Residence																		
Linn - Urban	572	568	474	527	588	823	694	549	440	554	445	369	221	157	103	68	67	7,219
Maa - Rural	137	143	75	100	127	180	145	94	81	105	80	54	33	20	23	6	8	1,411
Kokku Total	709	711	549	627	715	1,003	839	643	521	659	525	423	254	177	126	74	75	8,630

Tabel 1.2: Leibkonnaliikmete arv - *Number of household members*

Leibkonnaliikmete arv % Number of household members %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N	
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+			
1	0.0	13.1	10.3	8.5	9.0	12.6	7.6	2.0	7.9	683	
2	4.9	15.1	18.2	16.2	23.8	28.7	21.5	15.4	16.1	1,388	
3	26.1	24.6	33.6	29.0	28.3	24.7	26.1	29.5	28.1	2,424	
4	37.7	22.4	25.5	28.7	21.4	18.3	21.8	25.5	27.0	2,328	
5+	31.3	24.7	12.4	17.6	17.5	15.8	23.1	27.5	20.9	1,807	
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	8,630	
Keskmine leibkonnaliikmete arv											
Mean number of household members											
Sugu - Sex											
Mees - Male	4.2	3.7	3.2	3.6	3.6	3.2	3.1	3.6	3.6	3,730	
Naine -Female	4.2	3.4	3.2	3.3	3.0	2.9	3.7	3.8	3.4	4,900	
Põlisus - Nativity											
Põline - Native origin	4.2	3.5	3.1	3.3	3.2	2.9	3.3	3.5	3.4	5,693	
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	4.2	3.5	3.3	3.5	3.5	3.4	4.0	4.6	3.7	2,937	
Haridustase - Educational level											
Kõrgem - Higher			3.2	3.0	3.6	3.2	2.8	3.1		3.1	465
Kesk - Secondary			3.2	3.2	3.3	3.2	3.0	3.6	4.2	3.2	1,416
Põhiharidus - Basic	3.9	3.6	3.2	3.5	3.3	2.8	3.3	3.0	3.4	1,611	
Algharidus - Primary	4.2	3.7	3.1	3.4	3.3	3.1	3.5	3.8	3.6	5,138	
Kooseluseis - Partnership status											
Kooselus - In partnership		3.4	3.4	3.8	3.6	3.3	3.5	3.6	3.5	3,884	
Mittekooselus - No partnership	4.2	3.5	2.4	2.2	2.3	2.7	3.5	3.8	3.5	4,746	
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type											
Lastega - W/children	4.0	4.6	3.6	3.9	4.2	4.5			4.0	4,401	
Vanuritega - W/elderly		3.9	3.5	3.2	3.3	3.0	2.6	3.1	3.1	695	
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	5.2	5.8	4.8	5.0	5.1	5.4	4.8	5.1	5.1	757	
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		2.6	2.0	2.2	2.5	2.4			2.4	2,777	
Elukoht - Residence											
Linn - Urban	4.2	3.5	3.2	3.4	3.2	3.0	3.4	3.8	3.5	7,219	
Maa - Rural	4.1	3.4	3.2	3.5	3.3	3.1	3.6	3.8	3.5	1,411	
Hõive - Employment											
Töötav - Employed		3.2	3.1	3.3	3.2	2.7	2.3	1.9	3.1	5,104	
Mittetöötav - Not employed	4.2	4.0	3.6	3.9	3.8	3.6	3.9	3.9	4.0	3,526	
Majandussektor - Sector of economy											
Primaar - Primary		4.8	3.9	3.4	3.8	4.5			4.0	46	
Sekundaar - Secondary	3.3	3.1	3.3	3.2	2.8		2.0	3.0	3.2	2,650	
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		3.1	3.1	3.4	3.1	2.6	2.4	1.7	3.1	2,408	
Mittetöötav - Not employed	4.2	4.0	3.6	3.9	3.8	3.6	3.9	3.9	4.0	3,526	
Sissetuleku kvintiilid - Income quintiles											
I	4.2	3.4	3.3	3.5	3.2	2.6	3.0	3.5	3.5	1,652	
II	4.5	3.9	3.4	3.7	3.6	3.0	3.7	3.8	3.8	1,856	
III	4.2	3.3	3.3	3.6	3.2	3.2	3.6	3.5	3.5	1,751	
IV	3.9	3.4	3.1	3.3	3.2	3.1	3.8	4.1	3.4	1,715	
V	3.9	3.4	2.9	3.1	3.1	3.2	3.6	4.2	3.2	1,656	
Kokku Total	4.2	3.5	3.2	3.4	3.3	3.0	3.5	3.8	3.5	8,630	
N	1,969	1,342	1,842	1,164	1,184	677	303	149	8,630		

Tabel 1.3: Leibkonnaliikmete ekvivalentarv - *Equivalent number of household members*

Leibkonna ekvivalentsuurus % Equivalent household size %	Vanusrühm - Age group								\sum	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
1	0.0	13.1	10.3	8.5	9.0	12.6	7.6	2.0	7.9	683
1.3-1.9	31.7	22.2	46.9	34.0	31.9	32.3	24.4	16.1	33.3	2,878
2-2.9	60.3	49.3	39.3	52.5	50.8	48.9	58.7	70.5	51.0	4,400
3-5	7.9	15.4	3.5	5.0	8.2	6.2	9.2	11.4	7.8	669
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	8,630
Keskmine leibkonna ekvivalentsuurus Mean equivalent household size										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	2.2	2.3	1.9	2.0	2.1	2.0	2.0	2.2	2.1	3,730
Naine -Female	2.2	2.1	1.9	2.0	1.9	1.9	2.2	2.3	2.0	4,900
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	2.2	2.2	1.9	2.0	2.0	1.9	2.0	2.2	2.0	5,693
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	2.2	2.2	1.9	2.0	2.1	2.1	2.3	2.6	2.1	2,937
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		2.1	1.9	2.0	2.0	1.9	2.0		1.9	465
Kesk - Secondary		2.0	1.9	2.0	2.0	1.9	2.2	2.6	2.0	1,416
Põhiharidus - Basic	2.2	2.2	1.9	2.0	2.1	1.9	2.1	1.9	2.1	1,611
Algharidus - Primary	2.2	2.2	1.9	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.1	2.3	2.1	5,138
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		2.1	2.0	2.2	2.2	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.1	3,884
Mittekooselus - No partnership	2.2	2.2	1.6	1.5	1.6	1.8	2.1	2.3	2.0	4,746
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	2.2	2.6	2.0	2.1	2.3	2.5			2.2	4,401
Vanuritega - W/elderly		2.4	2.2	2.1	2.1	2.0	1.8	2.0	2.1	695
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	2.7	3.1	2.6	2.7	2.8	2.9	2.6	2.7	2.7	757
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		1.8	1.5	1.6	1.7	1.7			1.7	2,777
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	2.2	2.2	1.9	2.0	2.0	1.9	2.1	2.3	2.1	7,219
Maa - Rural	2.2	2.1	1.9	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.2	2.3	2.1	1,411
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		2.0	1.9	2.0	2.0	1.8	1.6	1.4	1.9	5,104
Mittetöötav - Not employed	2.2	2.4	2.0	2.2	2.3	2.2	2.3	2.3	2.2	3,526
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		2.8	2.2	2.1	2.2	2.6			2.4	46
Sekundaar - Secondary		2.0	1.9	2.0	2.0	1.9	1.5	2.0	1.9	2,650
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		2.0	1.9	2.0	2.0	1.8	1.7	1.4	1.9	2,408
Mittetöötav - Not employed	2.2	2.4	2.0	2.2	2.3	2.2	2.3	2.3	2.2	3,526
Sissetuleku kvintiidid - Income quintiles										
I	2.2	2.1	1.9	2.0	1.9	1.7	1.9	2.1	2.0	1,652
II	2.3	2.3	2.0	2.1	2.2	1.9	2.2	2.3	2.2	1,856
III	2.2	2.1	2.0	2.1	2.0	2.0	2.2	2.2	2.1	1,751
IV	2.1	2.1	1.9	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.3	2.4	2.0	1,715
V	2.2	2.1	1.8	1.9	2.0	2.1	2.2	2.5	2.0	1,656
Kokku Total	2.2	2.2	1.9	2.0	2.0	1.9	2.1	2.3	2.1	8,630
N	1,969	1,342	1,842	1,164	1,184	677	303	149	8,630	

Tabel 1.4: Leibkonnaliikmed - *Household members*

Leibkonnaliikmed % Household members %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Üksik - Single	0.0	13.1	10.3	8.5	9.0	12.6	7.6	2.0	7.9	682
Perepea või abikaasa - Household head or spouse	0.0	18.4	80.2	88.1	85.5	61.7	28.4	4.7	49.5	4,273
Laps - Child	93.9	56.5	7.0	1.3	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	31.9	2,752
Vanem - Elderly	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	2.7	15.7	42.9	63.8	4.3	370
Muu sugulane - Other relative	3.7	7.2	2.1	1.4	2.4	9.5	19.5	28.9	4.9	419
Mittesugulane - Non-relative	2.4	4.8	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.6	1.7	0.7	1.6	134
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	8,630
Üksikute osakaal % Proportion of single-person households %										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	0.0	9.0	9.2	6.4	3.8	6.8	11.0	4.2	5.5	3,730
Naine - Female	0.0	15.9	11.1	10.0	12.8	16.2	6.1	1.6	9.7	4,900
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	0.0	11.8	10.9	8.5	9.5	14.6	9.2	2.6	8.3	5,693
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	0.0	16.1	9.2	8.4	7.7	7.1	2.7	0.0	7.1	2,937
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		15.4	12.1	5.9	10.1	21.4	0.0		11.4	465
Kesk - Secondary		15.2	9.4	9.5	9.5	8.5	10.3	0.0	10.8	1,416
Põhiharidus - Basic	0.0	12.9	9.2	9.0	8.9	14.3	16.7	0.0	10.6	1,611
Algharidus - Primary	0.0	10.9	11.1	8.2	8.8	12.4	7.3	2.2	5.9	5,138
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3,884
Mittekooselus - No partnership	0.0	16.1	42.5	36.1	31.3	29.1	11.5	2.3	14.4	4,746
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0			0.0	4,401
Vanuritega - W/elderly		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	12.5	3.0	3.7	695
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	757
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		23.2	30.5	27.0	17.5	20.3			23.6	2,777
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	0.0	13.0	10.5	8.4	8.6	12.7	7.3	2.2	7.9	7,912
Maa - Rural	0.0	13.7	9.2	9.1	11.4	11.5	9.3	0.0	7.9	1,411
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		20.7	11.2	9.5	10.6	19.5	29.5	37.5	13.4	5,104
Mittetöötav - Not employed	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3,526
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0			0.0	46
Sekundaar - Secondary		23.1	11.7	9.3	9.8	16.2	32.0	0.0	13.5	2,650
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		18.1	11.0	10.0	11.4	22.6	28.3	42.9	13.5	2,408
Sissetuleku kvintiidid - Income quintiles										
I	0.0	15.9	10.7	10.6	17.2	24.1	18.1	7.5	10.7	1,652
II	0.0	12.5	10.7	8.4	8.1	11.0	5.5	0.0	7.1	1,856
III	0.0	16.7	11.6	7.0	5.6	11.5	5.0	0.0	8.1	1,751
IV	0.0	11.6	9.9	9.0	7.9	7.9	2.2	0.0	7.2	1,715
V	0.0	8.3	9.1	7.5	6.4	7.4	0.0	0.0	6.5	1,656
Kokku Total	0.0	13.1	10.3	8.5	9.0	12.6	7.6	2.0	7.9	8,630
N	1,969	1,342	1,842	1,164	1,184	677	303	149	8,630	

Tabel 1.5: Leibkonna vanuskoostis - *Household age composition*

Leibkonnaliikmed % Household members %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Laste arv - No. of children										
0	0.0	63.2	35.9	38.1	62.4	73.6	60.7	66.4	40.2	3,472
1	43.2	27.9	40.8	31.4	25.9	18.0	21.8	18.8	33.2	2,866
2+	56.8	8.9	23.3	30.5	11.7	8.4	17.5	14.8	26.6	2,292
Tööealiste arv - No. of working-age										
0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	13.9	5.4	0.6	52
1	9.3	13.8	13.8	14.1	13.3	16.7	23.1	20.8	13.4	1,158
2+	90.6	86.2	86.2	85.9	86.7	83.3	63.0	73.8	86.0	7,420
Vanemaealiste arv - No. of old-age										
0	87.8	89.5	91.4	84.9	83.9	86.3	0.0	0.0	83.2	7,178
1	11.3	9.9	8.0	13.4	15.5	13.6	83.2	82.6	15.2	1,311
2+	0.9	0.6	0.5	1.7	0.6	0.1	16.8	17.4	1.6	141
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	8,630
Tööealiste osakaal leibkonnas % Working-age in household %										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	54.8	86.2	76.2	68.8	79.0	89.0	44.3	41.0	71.2	3,730
Naine -Female	55.0	87.2	71.3	72.0	85.4	86.1	45.7	55.3	72.5	4,900
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	55.0	87.5	74.7	72.2	83.2	88.1	44.7	52.4	73.1	5,693
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	54.7	85.2	71.7	67.8	81.5	85.1	47.1	55.0	69.6	2,937
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		89.5	78.2	63.3	81.3	89.2	51.4		77.0	465
Kesk - Secondary		88.9	73.3	70.2	81.9	88.6	46.0	54.3	78.3	1,416
Põhiharidus - Basic	59.1	86.2	72.3	71.3	81.3	91.8	48.4	33.0	78.4	1,611
Algharidus - Primary	54.8	85.1	73.3	72.0	83.4	86.5	45.0	53.6	67.7	5,138
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		81.1	69.3	68.1	81.6	87.1	45.0	31.1	73.4	3,884
Mittetöötav - No partnership	54.9	88.0	86.9	78.9	85.6	87.4	45.4	56.0	70.8	4,746
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	56.6	70.7	61.4	58.6	66.0	68.9			60.7	4,401
Vanuritega - W/elderly		71.1	64.6	63.0	65.9	63.6	46.1	56.4	59.3	695
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	42.8	56.3	46.9	43.5	51.3	55.4	44.1	46.2	45.8	757
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		100	100	100	100	100			100	2,777
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	55.2	86.7	73.8	71.0	82.8	87.3	44.9	52.9	72.2	7,219
Maa - Rural	53.5	87.2	72.1	68.6	82.8	86.9	47.8	53.5	70.8	1,411
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		88.2	74.6	70.7	82.2	90.0	31.3	18.7	78.1	5,104
Mittetöötav - Not employed	54.9	84.2	62.7	70.2	86.2	82.2	50.2	54.9	63.0	3,526
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		81.3	70.1	81.0	85.6	71.2			77.0	46
Sekundaar - Secondary		88.2	75.0	72.8	80.7	89.8	31.3	66.7	78.7	2,650
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		88.5	74.1	68.3	83.5	90.6	31.2	11.9	77.5	2,408
Mittetöötav - Not employed	54.9	84.2	62.7	70.2	86.2	82.2	50.2	54.9	63.0	3,526
Sissetuleku kvintiliid - Income quintiles										
I	49.3	81.9	62.1	64.9	76.3	84.7	35.3	40.8	63.8	1,652
II	52.9	83.5	66.3	66.3	78.8	85.1	42.7	54.4	67.3	1,856
III	56.5	88.5	71.3	68.6	84.3	86.3	49.7	58.3	72.8	1,751
IV	58.8	88.4	75.7	73.9	85.8	87.7	51.8	58.4	75.2	1,715
V	61.4	91.7	82.5	79.3	89.0	93.4	56.2	62.5	81.0	1,656
Kokku Total	54.9	86.8	73.5	70.6	82.8	87.3	45.3	53.0	71.9	8,630
N	1,969	1,342	1,842	1,164	1,184	677	303	149	8,630	

Tabel 1.6: Põlvkondade arv leibkonnas - *No. of generations in household*

Põlvkondade arv leibkonnas % Number of generations in household %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
1	0.0	56.2	31.9	32.0	54.6	63.1	39.9	22.8	34.1	2,943
2	84.6	36.3	58.1	59.9	38.3	23.0	30.7	49.7	54.4	4,698
3+	15.4	7.5	9.9	8.2	7.0	13.9	29.4	27.5	11.5	989
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	8,630
Keskmine põlvkondade arv leibkonnas Mean number of generations in household										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	2.2	1.5	1.7	1.8	1.6	1.4	1.5	2.0	1.8	3,730
Naine -Female	2.2	1.5	1.8	1.7	1.5	1.6	2.1	2.1	1.8	4,900
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	2.1	1.5	1.7	1.7	1.5	1.4	1.8	2.0	1.7	5,693
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	2.2	1.6	1.8	1.8	1.6	1.7	2.2	2.4	1.9	2,937
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		1.3	1.7	1.9	1.5	1.3	1.7		1.7	465
Kesk - Secondary		1.4	1.8	1.8	1.5	1.4	1.9	1.6	1.6	1,416
Põhiharidus - Basic	2.1	1.5	1.8	1.8	1.6	1.3	2.0	1.6	1.7	1,611
Algharidus - Primary	2.2	1.6	1.8	1.7	1.5	1.6	1.9	2.1	1.9	5,138
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		1.7	1.9	1.8	1.5	1.4	1.5	1.7	1.7	3,884
Mittekooselus - No partnership	2.2	1.5	1.4	1.5	1.5	1.7	2.1	2.1	1.8	4,746
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.0	2.1	2.5			2.1	4,401
Laste või vanuritega - WO/children or elderly		1.6	1.5	1.8	1.6	1.3	1.4	1.7	1.5	695
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	2.7	2.8	2.8	2.6	2.7	3.1	2.7	2.8	2.7	757
Laste või vanuritega - WO/children or elderly		1.1	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.1			1.1	2,777
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	2.2	1.5	1.8	1.8	1.5	1.5	1.9	2.1	1.8	7,219
Maa - Rural	2.1	1.5	1.8	1.8	1.5	1.6	1.9	2.1	1.8	1,411
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		1.5	1.8	1.8	1.5	1.3	1.2	1.1	1.6	5,104
Mittetöötav - Not employed	2.2	1.6	1.9	1.8	1.6	1.9	2.1	2.1	2.0	3,526
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		1.6	1.9	1.4	1.4	2.2			1.7	46
Sekundaar - Secondary		1.5	1.8	1.7	1.5	1.3	1.2	2.0	1.6	2,650
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		1.5	1.8	1.8	1.5	1.3	1.2	1.0	1.6	2,408
Mittetöötav - Not employed	2.2	1.6	1.9	1.8	1.6	1.9	2.1	2.1	2.0	3,526
Sissetuleku kvintiidid - Income quintiles										
I	2.2	1.6	2.0	1.9	1.7	1.6	1.8	2.0	1.9	1,652
II	2.2	1.6	1.9	1.8	1.6	1.5	1.8	2.2	1.8	1,856
III	2.2	1.5	1.9	1.8	1.5	1.5	2.0	1.9	1.8	1,751
IV	2.1	1.5	1.8	1.7	1.5	1.5	2.0	2.2	1.8	1,715
V	2.1	1.4	1.6	1.6	1.4	1.4	1.9	1.9	1.6	1,656
Kokku Total	2.2	1.5	1.8	1.8	1.5	1.5	1.9	2.1	1.8	8,630
N	1,969	1,342	1,842	1,164	1,184	677	303	149	8,630	

Tabel 1.7: Töötajate arv leibkonnas - *Number of employed in household*

Töötajate arv leibkonnas % Number of employed in household %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
1	32.8	31.3	29.2	35.1	32.9	41.2	44.9	40.9	33.3	2,878
2	58.5	40.6	61.2	56.0	47.8	41.9	44.2	47.7	52.5	4,532
3+	8.7	28.1	9.6	8.9	19.3	16.8	10.9	11.4	14.1	1,220
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	8,630
Töötavate osakaal leibkonnas %										
Proportion of employed in household %										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	45.4	65.4	66.8	57.5	60.5	65.6	60.8	47.7	58.5	3,730
Naine -Female	43.9	67.6	63.1	58.7	69.2	66.0	51.1	49.0	59.6	4,900
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	44.2	65.1	66.0	58.7	65.1	67.3	54.9	49.1	59.5	5,693
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	45.3	70.4	62.9	57.3	66.8	61.9	51.4	47.9	58.4	2,937
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		61.7	71.4	55.0	62.1	65.1	41.8		64.6	465
Kesk - Secondary		71.8	65.3	59.0	65.6	66.6	56.8	39.3	65.4	1,416
Põhiharidus - Basic	46.0	63.7	63.6	58.8	62.7	72.2	65.1	43.0	62.8	1,611
Algharidus - Primary	44.6	68.1	63.5	58.1	66.2	65.2	53.8	49.3	55.8	5,138
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		69.2	60.6	54.8	61.3	62.5	54.5	40.0	59.9	3,884
Mittekooselus - No partnership	44.7	66.2	77.9	69.4	75.9	70.3	53.7	50.0	58.5	4,746
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	45.5	50.6	51.8	46.5	47.8	47.6			48.0	4,401
Vanuritega - W/elderly		54.2	63.3	55.3	56.7	56.6	62.5	53.4	57.7	695
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	38.7	45.0	43.5	38.5	44.5	42.7	40.8	39.8	40.8	757
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		79.1	91.2	83.9	80.6	75.6			82.2	2,777
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	45.3	66.5	65.4	58.6	65.4	65.7	54.4	48.9	59.5	7,219
Maa - Rural	41.7	67.9	61.8	56.2	66.3	66.6	51.8	47.7	57.5	1,411
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		79.6	67.9	61.0	68.7	76.2	77.9	83.3	69.5	5,104
Mittetöötav - Not employed	44.7	44.6	31.6	35.1	46.4	47.2	45.7	46.8	44.1	3,526
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		61.1	61.2	66.7	65.2	50.0			61.7	46
Sekundaar - Secondary		79.5	67.2	61.6	67.8	75.1	79.0	100	69.2	2,650
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		80.3	68.9	60.3	69.7	77.5	77.4	81.0	70.0	2,408
Mittetöötav - Not employed	44.7	44.6	31.6	35.1	46.4	47.2	45.7	46.8	44.1	3,526
Sissetuleku kvintiliid - Income quintiles										
I	34.5	53.1	46.8	45.0	54.1	59.8	53.6	44.1	46.4	1,652
II	42.0	59.3	55.6	53.1	56.8	59.6	51.9	45.7	52.3	1,856
III	47.1	69.4	61.7	56.3	66.5	68.0	54.9	52.5	60.0	1,751
IV	52.4	74.2	68.9	64.1	73.5	67.1	55.4	57.2	65.6	1,715
V	54.1	78.4	76.7	71.6	77.8	75.6	55.6	48.6	72.0	1,656
Kokku Total	44.7	66.7	64.8	58.2	65.5	65.8	54.0	48.8	59.1	8,630
N	1,969	1,342	1,842	1,164	1,184	677	303	149	8,630	

Tabel 1.8: Tulusaajate arv leibkonnas - *No. of income recipients in household*

Tulusaajate arv leibkonnas %		Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
Number of income recipients in household %	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+			
1	26.4	23.5	26.7	28.9	24.7	24.7	22.1	18.8	25.7	2,218	
2	57.8	38.5	58.0	53.7	46.5	45.1	42.9	47.7	51.1	4,406	
3+	15.8	37.9	15.3	17.4	28.7	30.3	35.0	33.6	23.2	2,006	
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	8,630	
Tulusaajate osakaal leibkonnas %											
Proportion of income recipients in household %											
Sugu - Sex											
Mees - Male	49.1	73.0	69.4	61.3	65.2	76.0	81.2	69.2	63.6	3,730	
Naine -Female	47.6	73.3	65.9	63.8	76.7	77.7	65.9	61.9	65.6	4,900	
Põlisus - Nativity											
Põline - Native origin	47.8	71.9	68.6	63.4	71.6	78.5	72.9	65.0	65.5	5,693	
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	49.3	75.8	65.8	61.5	72.8	73.2	63.2	56.2	63.3	2,937	
Haridustase - Educational level											
Kõrgem - Higher		80.6	75.5	61.2	69.9	76.7	72.4		72.0	465	
Kesk - Secondary		79.6	68.0	63.8	73.2	81.0	76.9	66.0	71.9	1,416	
Põhiharidus - Basic	53.3	69.9	66.4	63.1	70.4	84.2	73.0	53.0	67.8	1,611	
Algharidus - Primary	48.3	71.7	65.7	62.4	71.9	75.7	69.7	63.3	61.2	5,138	
Kooseluseis - Partnership status											
Kooselus - In partnership		72.4	62.6	58.5	67.0	76.0	77.5	65.0	65.0	3,884	
Mittekooselus - No partnership	48.4	73.3	82.7	76.7	84.0	78.5	66.9	62.8	64.6	4,746	
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type											
Lastega - W/children	48.5	55.1	53.8	49.3	52.1	55.6			51.1	4,401	
Vanuritega - W/elderly		71.5	77.5	72.8	75.2	82.0	82.8	71.1	76.8	695	
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	47.6	54.8	51.4	48.7	52.2	54.3	51.5	47.2	49.9	757	
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		85.1	93.3	87.2	85.6	85.3			87.4	2,777	
Elukoht - Residence											
Linn - Urban	48.9	73.3	68.2	63.2	72.0	76.8	71.3	63.3	65.3	7,219	
Maa - Rural	45.7	72.2	64.0	60.2	71.3	78.8	65.7	61.3	62.2	1,411	
Hõive - Employment											
Töötav - Employed		82.7	70.4	65.5	74.7	83.2	88.6	89.6	73.7	5,104	
Mittetöötav - Not employed	48.4	56.7	36.4	40.2	55.0	65.9	64.3	61.6	51.8	3,526	
Majandussektor - Sector of economy											
Primaar - Primary		69.8	65.8	73.8	69.4	66.2			68.5	46	
Sekundaar - Secondary		82.2	69.9	65.5	73.7	82.2	87.7	100	73.1	2,650	
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		83.8	71.1	65.4	75.8	84.3	89.0	88.1	74.5	2,408	
Mittetöötav - Not employed	48.4	56.7	36.4	40.2	55.0	65.9	64.3	61.6	51.8	3,526	
Sissetuleku kvintiiid - Income quintiles											
I	38.8	59.2	49.6	50.1	58.7	67.7	63.4	57.5	51.7	1,652	
II	46.0	67.2	58.0	57.3	64.0	71.1	69.8	57.6	58.4	1,856	
III	51.1	76.3	65.6	61.0	74.7	80.1	73.7	75.6	66.6	1,751	
IV	55.5	81.5	71.4	69.3	79.8	81.9	75.6	68.5	71.3	1,715	
V	56.5	81.8	78.8	75.3	83.3	85.2	75.8	61.2	76.1	1,656	
Kokku Total	48.4	73.1	67.5	62.8	71.9	77.1	70.5	63.1	64.8	8,630	
N	1,969	1,342	1,842	1,164	1,184	677	303	149	8,630		

Tabel 1.9: Haridustase - *Educational attainment*

Haridustase % Educational attainment %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Kõrgem - Higher	0.0	0.9	8.9	6.5	4.3	4.9	2.0	0.0	4.0	342
Lõpetamata kõrgem - Incomplete higher	0.0	2.0	2.3	2.1	1.5	1.3	0.3	0.0	1.4	123
Keskeri - Specialised secondary	0.0	9.3	11.1	9.8	5.3	3.0	2.6	0.7	6.2	535
Kesk - Secondary	0.0	16.6	10.4	16.3	15.0	10.9	6.9	2.7	10.2	881
Põhiharidus - Basic	1.5	48.6	30.1	19.0	8.5	6.2	2.0	3.4	18.7	1,611
Algharidus - Primary	15.2	20.9	35.0	42.8	55.2	55.5	57.8	54.4	34.8	3,007
Alghariduseta - No primary	83.3	1.6	2.2	3.4	10.1	18.2	28.4	38.9	24.7	2,131
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	8,630
Vähemalt keskharidust omavate isikute osakaal %										
Proportion having at least secondary education %										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	0.0	20.2	28.3	35.1	26.7	23.5	18.7	8.3	19.6	3,730
Naine -Female	0.0	34.6	36.4	34.6	25.8	17.9	9.0	2.4	23.5	4,900
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	0.0	28.3	39.2	36.8	27.7	21.1	11.0	2.6	23.7	5,693
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	0.0	30.0	22.6	31.1	22.0	17.4	14.7	6.1	18.1	2,937
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		100	100	100	100	100	100		100	465
Kesk - Secondary		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	1,416
Põhiharidus - Basic	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1,611
Algharidus - Primary	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5,138
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		32.1	31.6	35.1	26.5	21.0	15.5	5.6	29.7	3,884
Mittekooselus - No partnership	0.0	28.1	36.0	33.9	25.4	18.8	10.0	3.1	15.3	4,746
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	0.0	22.4	30.1	33.7	19.4	13.3			16.5	4,401
Vanuritega - W/elderly		34.1	54.8	48.7	37.0	31.6	12.5	5.1	27.3	695
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	0.0	26.4	40.5	45.0	43.8	7.1	10.9	0.0	19.6	757
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		32.1	34.1	31.1	26.3	21.0			29.5	2,777
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	0.0	28.9	34.1	36.8	26.6	20.5	11.2	3.0	22.5	7,219
Maa - Rural	0.0	28.6	25.8	23.4	23.8	17.2	16.3	7.1	18.2	1,411
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		31.7	33.7	36.6	27.7	21.8	16.7	0.0	31.4	5,104
Mittetöötav - Not employed	0.0	23.9	21.9	19.7	17.1	17.0	10.2	3.5	7.8	3,526
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		20.0	58.8	42.9	25.0	50.0			41.3	46
Sekundaar - Secondary		21.8	21.0	24.9	17.1	14.2	8.0	0.0	20.6	2,650
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		45.8	48.2	49.4	38.2	27.7	20.8	0.0	43.2	2,408
Mittetöötav - Not employed	0.0	23.9	21.9	19.7	17.1	17.0	10.2	3.5	7.8	3,526
Sissetuleku kvintiliid - Income quintiles										
I	0.0	17.3	15.3	20.9	16.3	5.9	8.3	0.0	10.6	1,652
II	0.0	25.1	21.3	29.9	18.7	18.0	5.3	2.4	15.8	1,856
III	0.0	30.7	30.8	36.6	23.2	13.4	12.3	11.1	21.2	1,751
IV	0.0	33.3	37.9	37.4	33.9	26.8	8.9	4.0	26.8	1,715
V	0.0	38.1	43.8	48.5	39.5	40.2	34.1	0.0	35.1	1,656
Kokku Total	0.0	28.8	32.7	34.8	26.2	20.1	11.9	3.4	21.8	8,630
N	1,969	1,342	1,842	1,164	1,184	677	303	149	8,630	

Tabel 1.10: Põhitegevus - *Main activity*

Tegevusala % Activity status %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Töötav - Working	0.0	63.3	91.3	89.1	85.6	64.4	25.7	5.4	59.1	5,104
Õpib - Studying	47.5	29.4	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	15.5	1,335
Pensionär - Pensioner	0.0	0.6	0.3	0.6	1.8	15.1	34.3	30.9	3.4	293
Eelkooliealine - Preschooler	52.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	12.0	1,032
Kodune - At home	0.1	6.8	8.1	10.3	12.6	20.5	39.9	63.8	10.0	866
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	8,630
Töötavate isikute osakaal % Proportion of employed %										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	0.0	64.1	98.9	98.8	97.4	85.2	51.6	12.5	64.7	3,730
Naine - Female	0.0	62.7	84.9	82.2	77.2	51.1	14.6	4.0	54.9	4,900
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	0.0	57.8	91.2	88.5	86.7	70.0	27.2	6.9	59.5	5,693
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	0.0	75.3	91.5	90.1	82.7	49.5	21.3	0.0	58.5	2,937
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		43.6	97.1	97.0	94.2	78.6	57.1		89.9	465
Kesk - Secondary		72.4	92.7	92.8	89.6	66.0	31.0	0.0	83.8	1,416
Põhiharidus - Basic	0.0	55.5	89.9	87.8	84.2	66.7	33.3	20.0	72.7	1,611
Algharidus - Primary	0.0	71.9	89.9	86.1	83.8	62.7	24.1	5.0	45.3	5,138
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		81.9	89.7	86.3	82.8	68.6	40.8	16.7	83.2	3,884
Mittekooselus - No partnership	0.0	59.0	96.4	98.2	92.7	58.9	18.0	3.8	39.5	4,746
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	0.0	58.0	87.7	86.0	82.9	43.0			48.0	4,401
Vanuritega - W/elderly		42.0	95.2	96.1	92.9	68.4	38.6	8.1	57.7	695
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	0.0	62.3	94.8	95.0	92.2	35.7	5.9	0.0	40.8	757
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		68.8	96.6	91.3	85.1	73.0			82.2	2,777
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	0.0	62.8	92.1	89.4	85.5	64.7	26.2	5.9	59.5	7,219
Maa - Rural	0.0	65.6	87.7	87.4	86.5	62.1	23.3	0.0	57.5	1,411
Sissetuleku kvintiilid - Income quintiles										
I	0.0	43.6	75.3	78.6	83.7	66.2	39.3	15.0	46.6	1,652
II	0.0	53.8	90.5	84.7	85.5	61.2	21.1	0.0	52.1	1,856
III	0.0	64.7	90.5	97.1	82.2	65.0	22.8	3.7	59.9	1,751
IV	0.0	77.8	95.7	90.6	85.7	63.4	24.4	4.0	65.8	1,715
V	0.0	77.5	95.4	95.0	91.4	66.4	12.2	0.0	71.8	1,656
Kokku Total	0.0	63.3	91.3	89.1	85.6	64.4	25.7	5.4	59.1	8,630
N	1,969	1,342	1,842	1,164	1,184	677	303	149	8,630	

Tabel 1.11: Majandusharu - *Branch of economy*

Majandusharu (ISIC) % Branch of economy (ISIC) %	Vanusrühm - Age group							Σ	N
	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Põllumajandus - Agriculture	0.9	0.8	0.5	0.8	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.7	38
Kalandus - Fishing	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	7
Kaevandus - Mining	5.4	4.5	5.0	2.6	1.6	1.3	0.0	4.1	207
Tööstus - Industry	43.7	41.0	38.9	40.6	33.9	26.9	12.5	40.1	2,045
Elektri-veevarusustus - Electricity and water supply	0.8	1.2	1.2	0.9	0.7	0.0	0.0	1.0	51
Ehitus - Construction	10.8	9.0	9.9	8.5	12.8	9.0	0.0	9.7	496
Kaubandus - Trade	5.8	4.4	5.1	5.2	3.9	1.3	0.0	4.8	247
Hotellid-restaurantid - Hotels-restaurants	2.0	2.6	3.3	4.1	3.2	2.6	12.5	3.0	154
Transport - Transportation	11.9	11.5	9.5	9.5	10.6	11.5	0.0	10.7	545
Rahandus - Finance	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.1	4
Kinnisvara ja äri - Real estate and business	2.0	2.3	2.9	4.1	5.5	9.0	25.0	3.2	161
Avalik teenistus - Public service	4.2	6.8	6.4	5.6	5.3	2.6	0.0	5.9	299
Haridus - Education	3.5	7.5	6.9	6.2	7.3	14.1	25.0	6.6	336
Tervishoid - Health care	6.0	5.2	5.9	5.4	5.7	10.3	12.5	5.6	288
Muud teenused - Other services	2.6	2.9	4.4	6.3	8.0	11.5	12.5	4.4	226
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	5,104
Sekundaarsektoris hõivatud isikute osakaal %									
Proportion employed in secondary sector of economy %									
Sugu - Sex									
Mees - Male	63.0	62.4	59.4	56.3	57.3	40.4	33.3	59.7	2,412
Naine -Female	54.2	44.9	45.4	42.6	32.2	19.4	0.0	44.9	2,692
Põlisus - Nativity									
Põline - Native origin	47.5	46.8	51.6	46.8	41.7	32.3	12.5	47.0	3,386
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	75.2	64.0	52.4	56.0	58.2	31.3		61.7	1,718
Haridustase - Educational level									
Kõrgem - Higher	5.9	14.4	20.4	13.8	21.2	25.0		16.0	418
Kesk - Secondary	42.1	43.7	40.4	35.2	33.9	11.1		40.3	1,187
Põhiharidus - Basic	62.2	57.7	53.6	48.2	53.6	50.0	0.0	57.6	1,171
Algharidus - Primary	72.5	68.8	64.8	57.4	49.2	34.9	14.3	61.5	2,328
Kooseluseis - Partnership status									
Kooselus - In partnership	52.5	54.3	52.0	50.4	48.5	35.7	0.0	52.0	3,231
Mittekooselus - No partnership	59.4	51.3	51.7	46.4	40.1	27.8	20.0	51.7	1,873
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type									
Lastega - W/children	60.2	53.6	51.1	50.9	47.9			53.2	2,111
Vanuritega - W/elderly	45.9	47.5	53.4	55.1	44.4	32.4	12.5	46.9	401
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	54.5	50.9	38.9	47.5	40.0	28.6		46.3	309
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly	57.6	54.3	56.4	46.8	44.8			52.4	2,283
Elukoht - Residence									
Linn - Urban	57.9	52.9	50.2	48.7	44.2	32.4	12.5	51.2	4,293
Maa - Rural	57.0	56.8	61.4	51.3	51.9	30.0		56.0	811
Sissetuleku kvintiidid - Income quintiles									
I	43.4	37.7	37.9	34.5	36.7	24.2	0.0	36.7	766
II	54.7	50.7	51.1	51.5	41.2	31.3		50.5	971
III	56.6	50.7	57.3	52.0	48.0	46.2	0.0	53.0	1,050
IV	60.6	57.1	57.3	53.3	46.2	54.5	100	56.4	1,125
V	66.7	59.5	53.3	54.0	54.3	0.0		57.8	1,192
Kokku Total	57.7	53.6	51.9	49.1	45.2	32.1	12.5	51.9	5,104
N	849	1,682	1,037	1,014	436	78	8	5,104	

Tabel 1.12: Isikutulu allikad - *Income sources*

Isikutulu allikad % Personal income sources %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Palgatulu - Wage income	0.0	63.0	91.4	89.0	85.3	64.4	26.1	5.4	59.1	5,098
Pension - Pension	1.8	2.8	2.0	5.7	6.8	27.5	39.9	32.9	7.1	614
Sitpendium - Stipend	0.0	6.4	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	89
Abiraha - Social benefits	0.0	1.9	4.5	6.1	3.6	2.4	1.0	0.0	2.8	241
Muu tulu - Other money income	0.5	1.0	2.1	3.0	3.1	1.9	1.3	3.4	1.8	154
Üldse tulu saajaüd - Total income earners	2.3	72.0	92.3	90.5	87.9	79.9	61.4	37.6	64.8	5,586
Tulusaajate osakaal % Proportion of income recipients %										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	2.1	74.2	99.4	99.4	98.8	96.2	93.4	70.8	69.2	3,730
Naine -Female	2.5	70.4	86.3	84.1	80.1	69.5	47.2	31.2	61.3	4,900
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	2.1	67.4	92.1	89.9	88.5	83.8	63.2	40.5	65.4	5,693
Mittepõline - Foreign origin	2.6	82.0	92.6	91.6	86.3	69.6	54.7	27.3	63.4	2,937
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		82.1	98.6	98.0	95.7	95.2	85.7		96.1	465
Kesk - Secondary		87.1	93.2	94.1	91.7	87.2	79.3	60.0	90.8	1,416
Põhiharidus - Basic	6.9	62.0	90.3	89.1	86.1	88.1	50.0	20.0	76.5	1,611
Algharidus - Primary	2.2	74.6	91.5	87.5	86.3	76.6	58.6	37.4	51.0	5,138
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		83.1	90.5	87.9	85.2	83.1	78.6	66.7	87.1	3,884
Mittekooselus - No partnership	2.3	69.4	98.0	98.9	94.7	75.7	52.0	33.6	46.4	4,746
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	2.4	64.6	88.7	87.9	85.3	64.2			51.1	4,401
Vanuritega - W/elderly		64.8	95.2	97.4	93.7	84.8	72.3	43.4	76.7	695
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	1.2	67.9	94.8	96.0	93.8	57.1	43.7	26.0	49.9	757
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		77.2	97.7	91.8	87.7	85.9			87.4	2,777
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	2.1	72.0	93.0	90.9	87.9	80.0	61.9	38.5	65.2	7,219
Maa - Rural	3.1	71.4	88.9	88.0	88.1	79.3	55.8	28.6	62.1	1,411
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	5,104
Mittetöötav - Not employed	2.3	23.5	11.3	12.6	15.9	43.6	47.6	34.0	13.7	3,526
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0			100.0	46
Sekundaar - Secondary		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	2,650
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	2,408
Mittetöötav - Not employed	2.3	23.5	11.3	12.6	15.9	43.6	47.6	34.0	13.7	3,526
Sissetuleku kvintiid - Income quintiles										
I	3.2	50.8	78.5	80.3	86.6	73.0	57.8	40.0	51.7	1,652
II	2.4	64.5	90.0	89.7	85.5	76.5	54.8	31.7	58.4	1,856
III	1.5	77.6	93.3	93.4	86.3	80.9	63.3	51.9	66.5	1,751
IV	2.3	86.9	95.7	92.7	89.4	82.5	73.3	30.8	71.3	1,715
V	1.6	79.3	95.8	95.8	91.9	87.6	61.9	33.3	76.1	1,656
Kokku Total	2.3	71.9	92.3	90.5	87.9	79.9	61.1	37.6	64.7	8,630
N	1,969	1,342	1,842	1,164	1,184	677	303	149	8,630	

Tabel 1.13: Isikutulu allikate arv - *Number of income sources*

Isikutulu allikate arv % Number of personal income sources %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0	97.7	28.0	7.7	9.5	12.1	20.1	38.6	62.4	35.2	3,042
1	2.3	68.9	84.7	77.5	77.5	64.5	54.5	34.2	58.0	5,003
2+	0.0	3.1	7.5	13.0	10.4	15.4	6.9	3.4	6.8	585
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	8,630
Keskmine isikutulu allikate arv										
Mean number of personal income sources										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	0.0	0.8	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1	0.8	0.8	3,730
Naine -Female	0.0	0.7	1.0	1.0	0.9	0.9	0.5	0.4	0.7	4,900
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	0.0	0.7	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.7	0.5	0.7	5,693
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	0.0	0.8	1.0	1.1	1.0	0.8	0.6	0.3	0.7	2,937
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		0.9	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.1		1.1	465
Kesk - Secondary		0.9	1.0	1.1	1.0	1.2	0.9	0.6	1.0	1,416
Põhiharidus - Basic	0.1	0.6	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.7	0.6	0.8	1,611
Algharidus - Primary	0.0	0.8	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.9	0.6	0.4	0.6	5,138
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		0.9	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.9	0.8	1.0	3,884
Mittekooselus - No partnership	0.0	0.7	1.1	1.2	1.1	1.0	0.6	0.4	0.5	4,746
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	0.0	0.7	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.7			0.6	4,401
Vanuritega - W/elderly		0.7	1.0	1.1	1.0	0.9	0.8	0.5	0.9	695
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	0.0	0.7	1.0	1.1	1.1	0.6	0.5	0.3	0.5	757
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		0.8	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.1			1.0	2,777
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	0.0	0.8	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.7	0.4	0.7	7,219
Maa - Rural	0.0	0.8	1.0	1.1	1.0	1.0	0.6	0.4	0.7	1,411
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		1.0	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.5	1.1	5,104
Mittetöötav - Not employed	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.1	3,526
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		1.1	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.0			1.1	46
Sekundaar - Secondary		1.0	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.0	1.1	2,650
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		1.1	1.1	1.2	1.1	1.3	1.3	1.6	1.1	2,408
Mittetöötav - Not employed	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.1	3,526
Sissetuleku kvintilid - Income quintiles										
I	0.0	0.5	0.9	1.0	1.0	0.9	0.6	0.5	0.6	1,652
II	0.0	0.7	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.9	0.7	0.3	0.7	1,856
III	0.0	0.8	1.0	1.0	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.6	0.7	1,751
IV	0.0	0.9	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.8	0.3	0.8	1,715
V	0.0	0.8	1.0	1.1	1.0	1.1	0.7	0.3	0.8	1,656
Kokku Total	0.0	0.8	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.7	0.4	0.7	8,630
N	1,969	1,342	1,842	1,164	1,184	677	303	149	8,630	

Tabel 1.14: Isiku kogutulu suurus - *Size of total individual income*

Isiku kogutulu suurus, rubla % Total individual income, rouble %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0-39	91.1	23.4	7.6	11.4	19.0	27.4	55.7	83.9	18.1	1,013
40-59	8.9	27.9	16.5	16.0	18.3	24.4	27.0	8.9	19.7	1,101
60-79	0.0	24.2	22.8	22.1	17.0	18.3	8.1	5.4	20.6	1,149
80-99	0.0	13.6	20.8	16.3	17.0	14.4	2.7	1.8	16.4	917
100-119	0.0	6.9	14.1	13.5	12.1	6.8	3.2	0.0	11.0	617
120+	0.0	3.9	18.2	20.6	16.5	8.7	3.2	0.0	14.1	789
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	5,586
Isiku kogutulu mediaan, rubla										
Median total individual income, rouble										
Mees - Male	16.5	65.0	100	105.0	98.1	79.0	50.0	32.5	91.5	2,582
Naine -Female	20.0	54.1	66.1	62.5	55.0	44.3	30.0	30.0	56.5	3,004
Kokku Total	17.6	58.5	81.8	80.0	74.5	57.2	36.0	30.0	70.1	5,586
Keskmine isiku kogutulu, rubla										
Mean total individual income, rouble										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	16.5	69.7	108.9	112.6	105.2	86.4	57.6	40.4	97.8	2,582
Naine -Female	22.5	56.1	68.8	67.4	61.4	51.5	30.6	26.7	60.9	3,004
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	19.8	59.1	87.5	85.4	82.0	69.4	43.3	31.3	76.4	3,724
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	19.5	66.4	90.2	92.7	81.8	63.0	42.1	28.6	81.1	1,862
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		63.1	106.6	126.5	153.7	143.9	120.3		118.4	447
Kesk - Secondary		56.7	86.6	87.5	86.1	73.2	49.5	42.9	78.0	1,286
Põhiharidus - Basic	19.9	61.4	86.6	91.0	82.6	63.9	57.8	48.9	77.9	1,232
Algharidus - Primary	19.7	68.7	85.5	79.1	73.4	59.2	38.7	29.8	71.1	2,621
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		70.6	90.9	92.7	88.2	75.6	55.5	46.2	87.0	3,383
Mittekooselus - No partnership	19.7	59.3	81.9	74.7	68.1	56.7	33.3	26.7	64.0	2,203
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	19.9	62.5	88.8	92.8	84.5	55.9			83.0	2,249
Vanuritega - W/elderly		47.9	99.8	90.0	85.1	68.3	45.9	33.1	66.8	533
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	16.7	62.0	87.5	92.5	101.1	51.2	35.6	23.4	77.9	378
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		62.6	87.7	78.7	77.5	71.7			75.7	2,426
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	19.3	61.1	87.7	87.7	82.5	68.2	42.9	31.6	77.6	4,710
Maa - Rural	20.9	64.4	93.1	89.8	78.8	65.5	43.7	21.7	79.8	876
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		66.6	89.2	89.1	83.3	74.8	55.0	40.4	82.4	5,104
Mittetöötav - Not employed	19.7	25.7	34.7	20.7	31.5	39.3	34.3	29.3	30.9	482
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		53.0	88.0	63.6	73.8	75.7			73.2	46
Sekundaar - Secondary		73.2	97.9	95.3	90.4	77.1	62.1	32.5	89.5	2,650
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		57.7	78.9	82.7	76.4	72.8	51.6	41.6	74.8	2,408
Mittetöötav - Not employed	19.7	25.7	34.7	20.7	31.5	39.3	34.3	29.3	30.9	482
Sissetuleku kvintiiidid - Income quintiles										
I	16.1	39.6	51.7	55.2	50.6	44.1	32.5	27.8	47.3	854
II	21.9	51.5	66.7	70.0	68.3	56.8	40.9	29.0	62.2	1,084
III	21.0	58.5	78.0	86.5	77.6	62.2	41.8	31.9	71.7	1,164
IV	19.4	66.0	92.1	96.0	89.9	75.2	47.0	32.7	84.1	1,223
V	25.1	85.1	118.5	125.5	121.7	100.8	62.6	39.7	112.0	1,261
Kokku Total	19.7	61.7	88.6	88.0	81.9	67.9	43.0	30.9	78.0	5,586
N	45	965	1,700	1,053	1,041	541	185	56	5,586	

Tabel 1.15: Isiku palga suurus - *Size of individual wage income*

Isiku palga suurus, rubla % Individual wage income, rouble %	Vanusrühm - Age group							Σ	N
	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0-39	14.3	7.8	11.0	18.5	24.5	50.6	100	13.9	708
40-59	31.1	16.8	17.2	18.4	21.6	25.3	0.0	20.1	1,024
60-79	27.1	23.2	22.5	17.8	20.4	7.6	0.0	22.1	1,127
80-99	15.7	20.6	17.0	18.1	17.9	8.9	0.0	18.1	924
100-119	7.3	13.7	13.1	11.7	6.9	2.5	0.0	11.4	579
120+	4.5	17.9	19.2	15.4	8.7	5.1	0.0	14.4	736
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	5,098
N	846	1,683	1,036	1,010	436	79	8	5,098	
Isiku palgatulu mediaan, rubla Median wage income, rouble									
Sugu - Sex									
Mees - Male	72.2	100	102.8	96.0	80.0	50.0	31.0	93.0	2,407
Naine -Female	57.1	65.5	62.0	55.0	41.1	31.0	31.0	59.7	2,691
Kokku Total	60.3	80.7	79.0	74.4	61.8	38.0	31.0	73.9	5,098
Keskmine isiku palgatulu, rubla Mean wage income, rouble									
Sugu - Sex									
Mees - Male	76.4	108.2	109.9	103.5	87.6	61.3	31.2	100.2	2,407
Naine -Female	59.4	68.3	67.1	61.3	52.7	36.0	31.4	63.3	2,691
Põlisus - Nativity									
Põline - Native origin	64.1	87.2	84.8	81.5	71.7	52.1	31.3	79.4	3,380
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	70.0	89.6	90.5	80.5	67.1	46.9		83.3	1,718
Haridustase - Educational level									
Kõrgem - Higher	83.6	105.3	126.2	149.4	151.3	107.2		119.8	418
Kesk - Secondary	62.7	85.7	85.5	85.0	77.1	50.5		79.9	1,186
Põhiharidus - Basic	65.5	86.0	89.4	82.6	67.5	60.6	30.0	79.4	1,172
Algharidus - Primary	70.2	85.7	78.3	73.0	61.2	47.3	31.5	74.7	2,322
Kooseluseis - Partnership status									
Kooselus - In partnership	70.6	90.7	91.9	87.7	79.0	61.1	31.7	87.7	3,226
Mittekooselus - No partnership	64.9	80.8	72.4	67.2	58.1	39.6	31.1	68.8	1,872
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type									
Lastega - W/children	66.0	88.3	91.6	83.7	63.1			84.9	2,108
Vanuritega - W/elderly	59.7	99.3	86.7	82.6	71.4	51.5	31.3	74.8	402
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	66.8	86.6	91.8	100.4	57.3	46.8		87.4	308
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly	66.8	87.4	77.9	77.3	72.6			77.0	2,280
Elukoht - Residence									
Linn - Urban	66.0	87.2	86.6	82.0	71.4	51.2	31.3	80.5	4,289
Maa - Rural	67.2	92.9	88.3	77.3	65.7	49.9		81.9	809
Hõive - Employment									
Töötav - Employed	66.2	88.2	86.9	81.3	70.7	51.3	31.3	80.7	5,096
Mittetöötav - Not employed		32.5				32.8		32.6	2
Majandussektor - Sector of economy									
Primaar - Primary	52.2	88.0	63.6	73.1	75.7			72.9	46
Sekundaar - Secondary	72.9	97.0	92.6	88.8	74.6	59.6	32.5	88.1	2,644
Tertsiaar - Tertiary	57.3	77.8	80.9	74.1	67.4	47.4	31.1	72.9	2,406
Mittetöötav - Not employed		32.5				32.8		32.6	2
Sissetuleku kvintiliid - Income quintiles									
I	42.1	52.2	53.4	50.7	43.7	35.4	31.2	48.8	763
II	55.7	65.8	69.9	67.4	57.7	47.3		64.4	970
III	64.5	77.7	85.5	77.8	65.7	56.2	31.0	75.3	1,050
IV	69.6	92.0	94.9	89.3	79.0	77.8	32.5	86.9	1,125
V	87.8	117.1	122.0	118.8	112.6	94.5		113.5	1,190
Kokku Total	66.2	88.1	86.9	81.3	70.7	51.0	31.3	80.7	5,098
N	846	1,683	1,036	1,010	436	79	8	5,098	

Tabel 1.16: Isiku pensioni suurus - *Size of individual pension income*

Isiku pensioni suurus, rubla % Size of individual pension income, rouble %	Vanusrühm - Age group							Σ	N	
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74			75+
0-14	33.3	13.2	37.8	28.8	19.8	7.5	9.1	8.2	15.5	95
15-24	44.4	47.4	35.1	34.8	30.9	39.8	34.7	34.7	37.1	228
25-34	11.1	28.9	13.5	15.2	29.6	21.5	22.3	40.8	23.0	141
35-44	5.6	7.9	8.1	6.1	11.1	8.6	12.4	4.1	8.8	54
45+	5.6	2.6	5.4	15.2	8.6	22.6	21.5	12.2	15.6	96
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	614
Isiku pensionitulu mediaan, rubla Median pension income, rouble										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	16.5	20.2	21.0	21.0	26.2	33.5	42.5	31.5	26.5	253
Naine -Female	17.9	21.8	17.6	15.0	23.8	25.0	23.0	24.6	21.5	361
Kokku Total	16.8	20.5	18.4	19.2	24.1	26.4	30.0	30.0	23.0	614
Keskmine isiku pensionitulu, rubla Mean pension income, rouble										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	17.1	22.3	22.3	33.0	34.3	40.0	42.9	39.6	34.2	253
Naine -Female	21.8	24.7	18.6	17.3	24.9	26.8	25.3	24.2	24.6	361
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	20.0	24.3	20.1	23.4	25.6	28.3	31.1	29.0	27.2	422
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	18.8	22.1	21.2	31.4	37.0	37.0	34.9	28.6	31.7	192
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher				15.8	47.7	47.6	73.2		46.9	33
Kesk - Secondary		17.4	16.2	34.6	30.7	30.0	39.7	42.9	31.5	114
Põhiharidus - Basic	19.9	27.1	17.6	31.0	17.9	38.8	52.0	7.2	27.6	66
Algharidus - Primary	19.4	19.7	24.2	20.1	27.1	27.8	28.8	28.5	26.4	401
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		30.9	22.4	29.7	31.5	37.0	42.8	40.7	34.1	281
Mittekooselus - No partnership	19.5	22.2	15.3	19.3	25.2	25.2	25.8	25.5	23.9	333
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	19.7	23.8	21.2	29.4	30.3	30.7			26.6	177
Vanuritega - W/elderly		21.7	19.0	25.6	38.1	35.9	31.0	30.5	31.2	158
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	16.7	16.0	18.6	27.2	23.1	40.9	33.7	24.0	30.0	75
Laste või vanuritega - WO/children or elderly		24.2	19.2	23.0	28.1	29.5			27.8	204
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	19.3	23.7	20.2	28.1	30.2	29.7	31.7	29.7	28.5	525
Maa - Rural	20.0	22.9	24.6	21.1	26.7	37.1	33.9	19.6	29.0	89
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		18.6	19.3	27.6	27.5	20.3	16.1	20.4	23.1	264
Mittetöötav - Not employed	19.5	25.1	28.4	22.4	35.8	39.1	34.8	29.5	32.7	350
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		8.7							8.7	1
Sekundaar - Secondary		20.7	19.0	32.1	20.3	21.0	15.9		23.6	115
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		18.5	19.7	21.4	34.8	20.0	16.1	20.4	22.8	148
Mittetöötav - Not employed	19.5	25.1	28.4	22.4	35.8	39.1	34.8	29.5	32.7	350
Sissetuleku kvintiilid - Income quintiles										
I	14.9	17.0	15.4	20.8	24.1	19.1	19.5	20.5	19.2	101
II	23.9	27.7	16.1	19.7	22.4	28.7	29.1	30.5	26.0	125
III	20.1	21.8	20.8	21.5	21.2	30.8	29.5	29.1	27.0	124
IV	17.9	31.7	24.0	29.6	26.4	37.2	31.2	32.7	31.3	129
V	26.8	20.5	23.7	36.0	41.7	31.7	50.2	39.7	36.8	135
Kokku Total	19.5	23.6	20.5	27.0	29.7	30.7	32.0	28.9	28.6	614
N	36	38	37	66	81	186	121	49	614	

Tabel 1.17: Isiku abiraha suurus - *Size of individual social benefit*

	Vanusrühm - Age group					Σ	N
	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64		
Isiku abiraha suurus - Size of individual social benefit							
0-9	88.9	88.9	80.8	100	100	88.0	81
10-19	0.0	8.9	15.4	0.0	0.0	8.7	8
20+	11.1	2.2	3.8	0.0	0.0	3.3	3
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	92
N	9	45	26	11	1	92	
Isiku abiraha mediaan, rubla							
Median size of individual social benefit, rouble	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	92
Isiku abiraha keskmine suurus, rubla							
Mean size of individual social benefit, rouble							
Sugu - Sex							
Mees - Male		4.0				4.0	1
Naine -Female	7.7	6.1	7.5	5.2	5.0	6.5	91
Põlisus - Nativity							
Põline - Native origin	5.0	6.8	10.3	5.4	5.0	7.1	48
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	17.2	5.2	5.4	5.0		5.8	44
Haridustase - Educational level							
Kõrgem - Higher		5.0	5.0			5.0	3
Kesk - Secondary	5.0	9.2	6.2	5.8		7.0	15
Põhiharidus - Basic	16.0	6.1	7.8	5.0		7.8	16
Algharidus - Primary	5.8	5.4	7.7	5.0	5.0	6.1	58
Kooseluseis - Partnership status							
Kooselus - In partnership	5.0	6.7	8.4	5.0		6.8	34
Mittekooselus - No partnership	8.1	5.5	7.1	5.4	5.0	6.3	58
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type							
Lastega - W/children	5.3	6.1	7.2	5.0	5.0	6.2	80
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	27.0	5.8	8.6	5.8		8.8	12
Elukoht - Residence							
Linn - Urban	8.1	6.1	7.5	5.3	5.0	6.5	72
Maa - Rural	5.0	6.1	7.5	5.0		6.5	20
Hõive - Employment							
Töötav - Employed	7.7	6.2	7.0	5.2	5.0	6.4	83
Mittetöötav - Not employed		5.4	13.5	5.0		7.2	9
Majandussektor - Sector of economy							
Primaar - Primary				5.0		5.0	1
Sekundaar - Secondary	5.5	5.6	6.2	5.5	5.0	5.8	48
Tertsiaar - Tertiary	10.5	6.8	8.3	5.0		7.4	34
Mittetöötav - Not employed		5.4	13.5	5.0		7.2	9
Sissetuleku kvintiliid - Income quintiles							
I	10.5	6.2	8.3	5.0	5.0	7.0	35
II	5.8	5.8	7.7	6.2		6.7	30
III	5.0	6.5	5.0	5.0		6.1	18
IV		5.0	5.0	5.0		5.0	4
V	5.0	5.0	5.0			5.0	5
Kokku Total	7.7	6.1	7.5	5.2	5.0	6.5	92
N	9	45	26	11	1	92	

Tabel 1.18: Isiku muu tulu suurus - *Size of other individual income*

Isiku muu tulu suurus, rubla % Size of other individual income, rouble %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0-9	11.1	7.7	28.9	17.1	32.4	53.8	50.0	40.0	27.3	42
10-19	11.1	38.5	23.7	37.1	21.6	23.1	0.0	40.0	26.6	41
20-29	55.6	23.1	15.8	17.1	13.5	15.4	50.0	0.0	18.8	29
30+	22.2	30.8	31.6	28.6	32.4	7.7	0.0	20.0	27.3	42
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	154
Isiku muu tulu mediaan, rubla Median size of other individual income, rouble	22.0	20.0	16.5	16.0	16.0	9.0	13.8	11.5	16.0	154
Isiku muu tulu keskmine suurus, rubla Mean size of other individual income, rouble										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	12.5	34.6	28.9	30.4	23.9	10.5	22.5		25.4	51
Naine -Female	24.6	17.0	24.0	18.9	16.5	15.4	5.0	12.3	19.3	103
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	19.1	27.9	21.2	17.9	19.8	14.2	13.8	12.3	19.5	115
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	22.5	10.0	32.6	27.7	23.6	13.0			26.7	39
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		13.8	44.1	29.7	4.2				32.1	12
Kesk - Secondary		23.3	31.3	19.4	16.2	9.5	7.5		22.3	30
Põhiharidus - Basic		19.3	17.5	25.0	17.6	7.5		11.7	18.9	27
Algharidus - Primary	20.6	50.2	16.6	20.0	21.8	15.4	15.8	12.5	20.2	85
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership			17.7	24.1	22.7	18.0	15.8	11.7	20.9	75
Mittekooselus - No partnership	20.6	26.5	32.4	18.7	13.8	9.2	7.5	12.5	21.7	79
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	20.6	25.0	25.6	22.6	21.2				23.2	84
Vanuritega - W/elderly		12.0		26.0	11.3		15.8	15.2	16.7	13
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly		20.0	14.0	12.0	17.1		7.5	8.0	13.1	9
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		29.2	25.9	9.8	21.5	13.9			20.9	48
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	19.4	27.0	23.3	22.3	18.0	14.7	15.8	17.7	20.7	124
Maa - Rural	25.0	20.0	30.1	18.3	32.3	5.0	7.5	4.2	23.8	30
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		28.9	23.7	21.6	20.6	9.1		11.7	21.3	112
Mittetöötav - Not employed	20.6	23.6	40.8	21.0	18.3	24.8	13.8	12.5	21.3	42
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Sekundaar - Secondary		38.8	19.9	20.3	31.0	20.0			24.4	53
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		15.8	27.8	23.4	12.5	7.7		11.7	18.6	59
Mittetöötav - Not employed	20.6	23.6	40.8	21.0	18.3	24.8	13.8	12.5	21.3	42
Sissetuleku kvintiilid - Income quintiles										
I	20.9	24.9	13.3	16.4	15.0	10.1		11.7	15.6	45
II	16.0	12.0	14.4	23.9	31.9	8.8	15.8	20.8	21.3	42
III	25.0	20.0	23.3	20.0	14.4	10.0		4.2	17.2	23
IV	30.0	22.5	27.8	18.5	20.7	7.0	7.5		21.7	24
V	20.0	38.1	45.8	56.8	11.7	40.0			38.4	20
Kokku Total	20.6	26.5	25.1	21.5	20.3	13.9	13.8	12.3	21.3	154
N	9	13	38	35	37	13	4	5	154	

Tabel 1.19: Leibkonnatulu allikad - *Sources of household income*

Leibkonnatulu allikad % Household income sources %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Palgatulu - Wage income	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	8,630
Pension - Pension	17.1	18.3	12.5	19.5	19.6	40.3	51.8	45.0	20.5	1,768
Stipendium - Stipend	1.1	8.6	0.7	2.5	5.9	4.3	4.0	3.4	3.4	296
Abiraha - Social benefit	14.7	8.0	8.0	10.0	7.9	5.8	4.0	8.7	9.5	819
Muu tulu - Other income	7.9	5.7	4.1	5.9	5.8	5.9	5.0	6.7	5.9	511
Leibkonna tuluallikate arv %										
Number of household income sources %										
1	64	65	77	65	66	51	43	44	65	5,619
2	32	30	21	32	29	43	51	48	31	2,648
3+	5	5	2	3	5	6	7	8	4	363
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	8,630
Keskmine leibkonna tuluallikate arv										
Mean number of household income sources										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	1.4	1.4	1.2	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.7	1.8	1.4	3,730
Naine -Female	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.4	4,900
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.6	1.7	1.7	1.4	5,693
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	1.4	1.4	1.2	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.4	2,937
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		2.0	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.6	1.9		1.5	465
Kesk - Secondary		1.5	1.2	1.5	1.5	1.8	1.9	2.4	1.4	1,416
Põhiharidus - Basic	1.7	1.4	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.6	1.5	1.8	1.4	1,611
Algharidus - Primary	1.4	1.3	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.4	5,138
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		1.2	1.2	1.4	1.4	1.6	1.8	2.0	1.4	3,884
Mittetöötav - No partnership	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.4	4,746
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.6			1.4	4,401
Vanuritega - W/elderly		1.8	1.6	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.6	1.7	695
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	1.7	1.7	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.7	1.6	1.6	1.6	757
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		1.3	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.5			1.3	2,777
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.6	1.7	1.6	1.4	7,219
Maa - Rural	1.4	1.3	1.2	1.4	1.4	1.6	1.5	1.8	1.4	1,411
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		1.3	1.2	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.3	5,104
Mittetöötav - Not employed	1.4	1.7	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.7	1.7	1.6	1.5	3,526
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		1.7	1.4	1.4	1.2	1.5			1.5	46
Sekundaar - Secondary		1.2	1.2	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.0	1.3	2,650
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		1.3	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.6	1.5	1.6	1.4	2,408
Mittetöötav - Not employed	1.4	1.7	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.7	1.7	1.6	1.5	3,526
Sissetuleku kvintiliid - Income quintiles										
I	1.5	1.4	1.3	1.4	1.3	1.5	1.4	1.6	1.4	1,652
II	1.4	1.5	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.5	1.8	1.6	1.4	1,856
III	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.6	1.7	1.9	1.4	1,751
IV	1.3	1.4	1.2	1.4	1.4	1.6	1.7	1.5	1.4	1,715
V	1.3	1.4	1.2	1.4	1.4	1.6	1.8	1.6	1.4	1,656
Kokku Total	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.4	8,630
N	1,969	1,342	1,842	1,164	1,184	677	303	149	8,630	

Tabel 1.20: Leibkonnatulu koostis - *Composition of household income*

Leibkonnatulu koostis % Composition of household income %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Palgatulu - Wage income	94.4	93.6	97.0	94.6	93.7	88.0	85.1	86.8	93.8	8,630
Pensionitulu - Pension income	3.4	3.5	2.1	3.7	4.1	10.0	13.2	11.3	4.3	8,630
Stipendium - Stipend	0.2	1.6	0.1	0.4	1.1	0.8	0.9	0.6	0.6	8,630
Abiraha - Social benefit	0.6	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.3	8,630
Muu rahaline tulu - Other money income	1.4	1.1	0.7	1.1	1.0	1.0	0.7	1.0	1.0	8,630
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	8,630
N	1,969	1,342	1,842	1,164	1,184	677	303	149	8,630	
Keskmine palgatulu osakaal % Mean proportion of wage income %										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	94.4	92.7	97.7	95.4	94.7	88.6	78.8	78.7	94.2	3,730
Naine - Female	94.4	94.3	96.4	94.0	93.0	87.6	87.8	88.3	93.5	4,900
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	94.5	93.0	97.1	94.9	93.7	88.0	83.5	85.9	93.5	5,693
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	94.2	95.1	96.7	93.9	93.8	87.9	90.0	89.9	94.3	2,937
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		81.8	95.8	94.4	93.6	87.1	70.9		92.8	465
Kesk - Secondary		93.1	96.9	94.1	92.7	85.3	79.5	76.6	93.4	1,416
Põhiharidus - Basic	90.5	93.7	97.1	95.2	93.1	87.1	94.1	81.4	94.8	1,611
Algharidus - Primary	94.5	95.6	97.2	94.7	94.1	88.7	85.9	87.3	93.7	5,138
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		96.7	97.7	95.3	93.9	86.2	76.9	72.4	94.5	3,884
Mittekooselus - No partnership	94.4	93.0	94.6	92.1	93.3	90.3	89.3	88.7	93.3	4,746
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	95.0	94.1	97.2	94.6	94.1	91.3			95.2	4,401
Vanuritega - W/elderly		84.7	89.3	87.1	86.5	78.5	81.9	84.4	84.1	695
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	90.3	88.4	92.9	91.1	92.7	85.5	90.0	91.3	90.8	757
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		94.8	97.8	97.0	95.1	88.6			94.9	2,777
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	94.8	93.5	97.0	94.7	93.7	88.2	84.7	86.2	93.8	7,219
Maa - Rural	92.9	94.2	96.8	93.8	93.7	86.9	87.7	92.0	93.7	1,411
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		96.6	97.1	94.9	94.1	90.4	87.1	83.7	95.2	5,104
Mittetöötav - Not employed	94.4	88.6	95.4	92.3	91.4	83.6	84.4	86.9	91.7	3,526
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		88.8	97.3	97.3	97.2	86.8			94.5	46
Sekundaar - Secondary		96.9	97.3	95.4	94.7	92.3	91.6	100	95.9	2,650
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		96.4	96.9	94.2	93.5	88.9	84.9	81.3	94.5	2,408
Mittetöötav - Not employed	94.4	88.6	95.4	92.3	91.4	83.6	84.4	86.9	91.7	3,526
Sissetuleku kvintiilid - Income quintiles										
I	91.2	90.8	95.9	91.6	93.4	88.4	87.9	83.6	91.5	1,652
II	94.1	91.6	96.7	94.4	91.4	86.1	80.5	88.3	92.6	1,856
III	95.7	95.6	96.3	96.3	94.7	88.4	85.3	83.0	94.5	1,751
IV	96.5	94.0	97.5	95.3	94.3	87.4	88.5	92.1	95.0	1,715
V	96.0	96.2	97.6	95.4	95.0	89.8	83.7	88.3	95.4	1,656
Kokku Total	94.4	93.6	97.0	94.6	93.7	88.0	85.1	86.8	93.8	8,630
N	1,969	1,342	1,842	1,164	1,184	677	303	149	8,630	

Tabel 1.21: Leibkonna kogutulu suurus - *Size of total household income*

Leibkonna kogutulu suurus, rubla % Size of total household income, rouble %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0-99	19.9	24.7	18.8	23.2	24.5	30.7	30.7	22.8	22.8	1,965
100-149	27.9	23.8	26.0	27.3	25.8	23.8	23.4	28.2	26.0	2,243
150-199	27.1	20.0	27.2	24.7	22.8	20.2	22.8	24.2	24.4	2,103
200-249	15.4	16.0	17.2	14.3	14.7	13.7	12.2	11.4	15.3	1,323
250+	9.7	15.5	10.9	10.4	12.2	11.5	10.9	13.4	11.5	996
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	8,630
Leibkonna kogutulu mediaan, rubla Median total household income, rouble	153.0	153.4	158.9	148.0	149.5	140.0	142.1	145.4	151.4	8,630
Keskmine leibkonna kogutulu Mean total household income										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	161.0	178.7	173.5	171.6	169.4	165.4	147.7	151.0	168.8	3,730
Naine -Female	161.3	161.2	160.7	147.6	153.5	148.1	157.3	168.8	157.1	4,900
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	153.9	161.2	163.3	152.2	153.1	149.9	146.6	154.3	155.9	5,693
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	172.3	183.7	171.6	167.4	179.8	168.0	177.9	206.9	174.1	2,937
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		186.9	211.4	225.5	244.6	231.8	207.1		219.1	465
Kesk - Secondary		174.1	175.6	161.1	172.0	175.2	205.0	202.2	172.2	1,416
Põhiharidus - Basic	146.9	165.1	162.6	158.2	156.8	149.2	202.0	152.1	162.1	1,611
Algharidus - Primary	161.4	165.7	151.0	142.6	149.3	145.0	146.2	165.2	154.2	5,138
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		185.2	177.4	175.0	175.5	170.2	158.1	130.1	175.5	3,884
Mittekooselus - No partnership	161.1	164.3	132.7	101.0	122.2	134.6	152.5	170.9	151.2	4,746
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	157.4	184.5	169.8	160.6	161.3	183.0			164.9	4,401
Vanuritega - W/elderly		179.8	205.5	171.4	175.1	155.5	133.3	150.2	160.3	695
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	187.7	226.3	199.1	188.4	222.1	206.7	187.0	197.2	196.0	757
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		153.3	152.3	141.3	149.8	141.9			149.0	2,777
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	162.8	170.0	166.0	158.2	162.0	153.7	152.0	165.4	162.8	7,219
Maa - Rural	153.8	159.2	169.1	154.4	149.9	162.8	168.9	171.8	159.0	1,411
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		170.7	168.8	160.0	158.6	146.3	103.8	72.2	162.2	5,104
Mittetöötav - Not employed	161.1	163.9	143.1	138.2	169.4	170.4	171.9	171.3	162.0	3,526
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		170.0	190.3	152.1	145.2	175.6			170.9	46
Sekundaar - Secondary		178.2	174.2	161.3	163.3	152.0	95.6	188.1	167.9	2,650
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		160.1	162.0	158.7	154.1	140.9	107.7	55.6	155.8	2,408
Mittetöötav - Not employed	161.1	163.9	143.1	138.2	169.4	170.4	171.9	171.3	162.0	3,526
Sissetuleku kvintiliid - Income quintiles										
I	86.9	79.5	76.5	78.8	73.7	66.1	70.6	82.2	78.8	1,652
II	137.5	137.8	117.0	123.7	128.6	113.8	130.2	136.2	129.0	1,856
III	167.6	156.4	148.6	154.5	152.5	154.0	161.3	168.9	156.6	1,751
IV	200.5	201.7	178.0	182.6	188.0	186.6	210.7	227.5	190.4	1,715
V	279.2	274.2	238.5	244.8	261.6	269.5	291.7	359.0	259.0	1,656
Kokku Total	161.1	168.2	166.6	157.6	160.1	154.9	154.4	166.0	162.1	8,630
N	1,969	1,342	1,842	1,164	1,184	677	303	149	8,630	

Tabel 1.22: Leibkonnaliikme kogutulu suurus - *Size of per capita household income*

Leibkonnaliikme kogutulu, rubla %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
Size of per capita household income, rouble %	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0-29	32.4	15.1	12.4	19.2	16.0	12.1	21.1	22.1	19.3	1,662
30-44	33.6	27.8	23.3	29.5	28.1	29.0	34.0	36.9	28.9	2,494
45-59	20.8	24.4	23.9	21.1	23.1	26.7	20.5	24.8	22.9	1,975
60-74	8.9	17.3	17.4	14.7	15.5	16.0	17.5	10.1	14.6	1,257
75+	4.3	15.4	23.0	15.5	17.4	16.2	6.9	6.0	14.4	1,242
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	8,630
Leibkonnaliikme kogutulu mediaan, rubla										
Median per capita household income, rouble	36.7	49.3	53.8	45.5	49.2	50.0	42.7	41.6	45.9	8,630
Keskmine leibkonnaliikme kogutulu, rubla										
Mean per capita household income, rouble										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	39.8	53.0	60.9	54.0	51.9	55.4	48.9	44.7	51.3	3,730
Naine -Female	40.3	52.4	55.6	48.5	54.1	52.6	45.0	44.7	49.8	4,900
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	38.5	50.9	58.3	50.6	52.6	53.9	46.2	44.5	49.9	5,693
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	42.4	56.7	57.6	51.3	54.6	53.2	46.1	45.5	51.5	2,937
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		63.2	76.6	67.2	83.1	88.9	67.6		75.4	465
Kesk - Secondary		57.6	58.5	52.8	57.4	61.4	56.5	49.4	57.0	1,416
Põhiharidus - Basic	37.2	50.6	55.6	50.7	50.8	55.5	64.5	44.0	52.3	1,611
Algharidus - Primary	40.1	50.1	54.1	46.6	49.5	49.2	44.0	44.6	45.8	5,138
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		56.7	55.7	49.9	52.0	53.4	46.3	37.5	53.1	3,884
Mittekooselus - No partnership	40.0	51.7	65.3	53.6	55.9	54.2	46.1	45.7	48.3	4,746
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	40.5	40.7	47.8	42.5	39.0	40.2			42.4	4,401
Vanuritega - W/elderly		45.7	59.6	54.5	53.6	51.3	50.7	48.0	51.2	695
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	36.8	38.2	41.7	38.7	42.6	38.6	39.1	38.2	38.9	757
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		61.4	78.5	67.5	63.0	60.0			66.2	2,777
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	40.3	52.8	58.0	50.9	53.8	53.4	45.7	44.7	50.6	7,219
Maa - Rural	38.6	52.0	58.0	50.2	49.6	55.6	49.0	44.9	49.5	1,411
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		58.3	59.6	52.5	54.4	56.9	46.4	36.4	56.4	5,104
Mittetöötav - Not employed	40.0	42.9	41.2	37.0	45.9	47.9	46.1	45.2	41.8	3,526
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		37.2	54.6	46.3	41.4	38.8			45.9	46
Sekundaar - Secondary		61.3	61.9	54.3	56.1	58.6	49.4	62.7	58.8	2,650
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		54.7	57.0	50.6	52.9	55.9	44.9	32.7	54.1	2,408
Mittetöötav - Not employed	40.0	42.9	41.2	37.0	45.9	47.9	46.1	45.2	41.8	3,526
Sissetuleku kvintiidid - Income quintiles										
I	21.0	26.2	24.7	24.8	26.1	28.1	26.5	25.1	24.5	1,652
II	31.6	39.0	37.2	36.5	38.3	40.6	38.3	37.3	36.3	1,856
III	41.0	51.9	48.5	46.5	50.2	51.8	47.8	49.6	47.7	1,751
IV	52.3	63.0	61.6	60.2	63.4	63.9	58.7	57.1	60.0	1,715
V	72.6	86.1	88.8	85.0	89.4	89.4	83.0	87.0	85.3	1,656
Kokku Total	40.0	52.7	58.0	50.8	53.2	53.7	46.2	44.7	50.5	8,630
N	1,969	1,342	1,842	1,164	1,184	677	303	149	8,630	

Tabel 1.23: Leibkonnaliikme ekvivalentkogutulu suurus - *Size of net equivalised household income*

Leibkonnaliikme suurus, rubla % Size of net equivalised household income, rouble %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0-49	23.0	17.2	11.0	18.0	19.0	19.5	26.4	26.2	18.2	1,571
50-69	30.7	27.5	20.6	27.1	25.5	25.1	29.4	30.2	26.4	2,275
70-89	20.9	23.9	23.5	20.6	22.1	25.3	20.5	22.1	22.4	1,934
90-109	14.0	17.5	21.1	17.5	17.0	15.4	14.2	12.8	17.0	1,470
110+	11.4	13.9	23.8	16.8	16.4	14.8	9.6	8.7	16.0	1,380
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	8,630
Leibkonnaliikme mediaan, rubla Median net equivalised household income, rouble	67.0	73.9	85.4	75.0	75.2	73.8	66.2	64.9	74.7	8,630
Keskmine leibkonnaliikme ekvivalentkogutulu, rubla Mean net equivalised household income, rouble										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	72.4	80.1	91.9	85.9	80.7	81.2	71.6	69.4	81.4	3,730
Naine -Female	73.0	76.8	85.5	75.0	78.1	75.7	71.0	71.6	77.3	4,900
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	69.7	75.4	87.6	78.0	77.6	76.9	69.9	69.3	77.0	5,693
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	77.4	84.3	89.8	82.3	83.7	80.5	75.2	78.2	83.0	2,937
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		90.2	113.8	109.8	122.4	122.6	100.7		112.8	465
Kesk - Secondary		84.0	90.4	82.2	85.2	88.6	88.8	78.9	86.0	1,416
Põhiharidus - Basic	66.2	75.7	85.8	79.4	76.3	78.3	94.8	69.2	79.7	1,611
Algharidus - Primary	72.8	75.1	81.8	72.4	73.8	72.1	67.9	71.1	73.9	5,138
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		88.9	90.7	83.2	81.7	80.6	71.1	57.8	85.2	3,884
Mittekooselus - No partnership	72.7	75.7	81.5	67.6	73.1	74.3	71.2	73.1	74.0	4,746
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	73.3	72.5	83.7	76.1	69.1	72.4			75.7	4,401
Vanuritega - W/elderly		72.2	90.7	82.0	81.1	75.7	71.1	71.6	76.0	695
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	68.8	70.4	75.7	71.5	77.9	70.8	71.3	70.7	71.7	757
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		82.6	98.9	87.1	85.2	80.7			87.1	2,777
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	73.2	78.5	88.3	79.7	80.2	77.4	70.4	71.1	79.3	7,219
Maa - Rural	70.5	76.0	89.2	78.6	73.5	80.9	75.9	72.9	77.9	1,411
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		83.3	90.1	81.6	80.2	78.7	61.1	46.5	83.8	5,104
Mittetöötav - Not employed	72.7	69.2	70.9	62.7	73.1	76.4	74.7	72.7	72.2	3,526
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		63.3	89.4	73.9	67.0	67.4			75.6	46
Sekundaar - Secondary		86.8	93.1	83.4	82.9	81.5	62.7	94.1	86.9	2,650
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		78.9	86.6	79.7	77.8	76.6	60.4	39.8	80.5	2,408
Mittetöötav - Not employed	72.7	69.2	70.9	62.7	73.1	76.4	74.7	72.7	72.2	3,526
Sissetuleku kvintiliid - Income quintiles										
I	39.2	38.6	40.0	39.6	38.2	38.1	37.6	38.3	38.9	1,652
II	58.9	59.6	59.4	59.1	59.3	58.8	59.2	59.7	59.2	1,856
III	75.0	75.2	75.9	75.2	75.6	75.7	74.3	76.7	75.4	1,751
IV	93.7	93.7	94.5	93.3	93.8	93.6	93.2	93.0	93.8	1,715
V	128.8	128.0	130.8	128.8	131.1	130.8	130.2	143.6	129.9	1,656
Kokku Total	72.7	78.1	88.5	79.5	79.2	77.9	71.2	71.3	79.1	8,630
N	1,969	1,342	1,842	1,164	1,184	677	303	149	8,630	

Tabel 1.24: Leibkonnaliikme ekvivalentkogutulu suurus enne siirdeid - *Size of net equivalised household income before transfers*

Leibkonnaliikme ekvivalentkogutulu suurus enne siirdeid, rubla % Size of net equivalised household income before transfers, rouble %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0-49	26.5	22.0	12.8	20.6	23.7	30.1	40.3	37.6	22.7	1,955
50-69	30.4	27.9	21.6	28.4	25.3	26.1	28.4	33.6	26.8	2,314
70-89	20.2	22.4	22.7	21.3	21.5	20.7	17.8	12.1	21.2	1,832
90-109	13.0	15.7	20.6	14.9	16.3	12.7	8.3	11.4	15.5	1,340
110+	9.9	12.0	22.3	14.9	13.2	10.3	5.3	5.4	13.8	1,189
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	8,630
Leibkonnaliikme ekvivalentkogutulu mediaan enne siirdeid, rubla Median net equivalised household income before transfers, rouble	65.0	70.0	84.0	71.0	70.7	64.5	58.4	56.8	70.3	8,630
Keskmine leibkonnaliikme ekvivalentkogutulu enne siirdeid, rubla Mean net equivalised household income before transfers, rouble										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	69.7	75.8	90.1	82.6	77.2	73.5	56.5	55.6	77.7	3,730
Naine - Female	70.4	73.5	83.3	71.5	73.7	67.1	63.0	64.3	73.4	4,900
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	67.3	71.6	85.8	75.1	73.8	69.0	59.2	60.6	73.3	5,693
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	74.2	80.6	87.4	78.0	78.8	71.3	66.8	70.9	79.0	2,937
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		77.5	109.9	103.3	115.5	109.9	67.0		105.9	465
Kesk - Secondary		79.2	88.4	77.9	79.4	77.0	71.3	60.9	81.1	1,416
Põhiharidus - Basic	61.8	72.2	83.9	76.5	72.8	69.5	90.2	54.6	76.6	1,611
Algharidus - Primary	70.1	73.4	80.2	69.9	70.5	64.8	59.1	63.3	70.4	5,138
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		86.5	88.9	80.0	77.8	71.0	54.8	41.1	81.4	3,884
Mittekooselus - No partnership	70.0	71.7	78.5	63.5	68.8	67.9	64.3	65.9	70.2	4,746
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	71.0	69.9	82.2	73.4	66.0	67.1			73.4	4,401
Vanuritega - W/elderly		62.6	82.3	71.3	71.0	59.7	58.9	60.9	64.8	695
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	62.8	64.4	70.0	65.6	73.6	61.1	64.3	66.8	65.8	757
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		79.1	97.1	84.5	81.9	72.8			83.5	2,777
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	70.5	74.6	86.2	76.2	76.1	69.6	60.3	62.3	75.4	7,219
Maa - Rural	67.9	73.3	87.5	75.7	70.0	70.1	65.7	68.4	74.6	1,411
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		81.3	88.2	78.1	76.4	72.4	53.5	39.7	80.7	5,104
Mittetöötav - Not employed	70.0	62.6	68.0	59.9	67.8	64.6	63.7	64.2	67.4	3,526
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		58.5	87.6	71.9	64.6	58.3			72.4	46
Sekundaar - Secondary		84.9	91.2	80.2	79.6	76.3	57.6	94.1	84.2	2,650
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		76.8	84.6	75.9	73.4	69.4	51.6	31.9	77.0	2,408
Mittetöötav - Not employed	70.0	62.6	68.0	59.9	67.8	64.6	63.7	64.2	67.4	3,526
Sissetuleku kvintiilid - Income quintiles										
I	37.0	35.7	39.0	37.4	36.2	34.4	33.2	32.5	36.5	1,652
II	56.3	55.7	57.9	56.8	55.4	50.9	48.7	53.5	55.7	1,856
III	72.4	72.2	73.5	72.7	71.8	67.3	63.4	63.7	71.7	1,751
IV	90.9	88.6	92.5	89.2	89.3	82.5	82.6	85.9	89.6	1,715
V	124.7	124.3	128.3	122.9	125.0	120.2	111.0	128.5	124.9	1,656
Kokku Total	70.0	74.4	86.4	76.1	75.2	69.6	61.1	62.9	75.3	8,630
N	1,969	1,342	1,842	1,164	1,184	677	303	149	8,630	

Tabel 1.25: Leibkonnaliikme ekvivalentkogutulu vaesusmäära suhtes - *Size of net equivalised household income as relative to poverty line*

Leibkonnaliikme ekvivalenttulu %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
Size of net equivalised household income %	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Allpool vaesuspiiri - Below poverty line	16.5	12.6	8.2	12.7	14.3	15.5	21.1	20.8	13.5	1,161
1-1.9 vaesuspiiri - poverty line	58.2	56.0	46.9	52.9	52.4	54.4	55.1	57.7	53.5	4,617
2-2.9 vaesuspiiri - poverty line	21.7	26.9	36.6	28.6	26.9	25.8	20.8	15.4	27.5	2,375
3+ vaesuspiiri - poverty line	3.7	4.5	8.4	5.8	6.4	4.3	3.0	6.0	5.5	477
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	8,630
N	1,969	1,342	1,842	1,164	1,184	677	303	149	8,630	
Allpool suhtelise vaesuse piiri olevad leibkonnaliikmed %										
Household members below relative poverty line %										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	16.0	10.7	6.4	8.1	11.1	12.5	19.8	25.0	11.3	3,730
Naine -Female	16.9	13.9	9.7	16.0	16.5	17.4	21.7	20.0	15.1	4,900
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	18.7	14.5	9.2	13.9	15.0	16.4	22.4	22.4	15.0	5,693
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	13.0	8.4	6.6	10.6	12.1	13.0	17.3	15.2	10.5	2,937
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher	0.0	7.7	1.4	2.0	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.9	465
Kesk - Secondary	0.0	6.6	5.3	7.9	10.8	6.4	17.2	0.0	7.4	1,416
Põhiharidus - Basic	10.3	14.1	8.5	8.6	12.9	7.1	16.7	60.0	11.2	1,611
Algharidus - Primary	16.5	16.8	11.7	19.1	16.7	19.2	22.2	20.1	16.9	5,138
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		7.6	6.7	9.3	11.0	11.7	17.5	44.4	9.3	3,884
Mittekooselus - No partnership	16.5	13.7	12.8	3.7	22.2	20.5	23.0	17.6	16.9	4,746
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	15.9	15.0	9.1	13.4	17.8	17.6	0.0	0.0	14.0	4,401
Vanuritega - W/elderly	0.0	14.8	7.1	11.8	12.6	11.4	23.4	19.2	16.1	695
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	20.3	20.8	14.7	17.0	14.1	7.1	17.6	24.0	18.1	757
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly	0.0	10.4	5.5	10.6	12.4	15.8	0.0	0.0	10.6	2,777
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	15.4	11.7	7.7	12.4	13.4	15.8	21.5	20.7	12.9	7,219
Maa - Rural	21.4	17.2	10.5	14.3	18.9	13.8	18.6	21.4	16.4	1,411
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		7.4	6.7	11.1	13.6	16.3	33.3	75.0	10.4	5,104
Mittetöötav - Not employed	16.5	21.5	23.8	26.0	18.2	14.1	16.9	17.7	17.8	3,526
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary	0.0	30.0	5.9	0.0	25.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	13.0	46
Sekundaar - Secondary	0.0	4.3	4.7	7.6	8.0	12.2	28.0	0.0	6.6	2,650
Tertsiaar - Tertiary	0.0	11.2	9.2	15.0	18.9	20.0	35.8	85.7	14.6	2,408
Mittetöötav - Not employed	16.5	21.5	23.8	26.0	18.2	14.1	16.9	17.7	17.8	3,526
Sissetuleku kvintiliid - Income quintiles										
I	68.2	68.7	70.6	67.9	70.7	76.6	77.1	77.5	70.3	1,652
II	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1,856
III	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1,751
IV	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1,715
V	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1,656
Kokku Total	16.5	12.6	8.2	12.7	14.3	15.5	21.1	20.8	13.5	8,630
N	1,969	1,342	1,842	1,164	1,184	677	303	149	8,630	

Tabel 1.26: Leibkonnaliikme ekvivalentkogutulu vaesusmäära suhtes enne siirdeid - *Size of net equivalised household income before transfers as relative to poverty line*

Leibkonnaliikme ekvivalenttulu %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
Size of net equivalised household income before transfers %	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Allpool vaesuspiiri - Below poverty line	17.0	15.7	7.7	13.5	16.5	22.5	32.7	30.2	15.5	1,335
1-1.9 vaesuspiiri - poverty line	55.8	52.2	43.7	52.6	49.5	50.4	50.5	49.7	50.6	4,369
2-2.9 vaesuspiiri - poverty line	23.1	27.0	38.2	27.5	27.4	23.0	14.5	14.8	27.7	2,388
3+ vaesuspiiri - poverty line	4.2	5.1	10.4	6.4	6.6	4.1	2.3	5.4	6.2	538
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	8,630
N	1,969	1,342	1,842	1,164	1,184	677	303	149	8,630	
Allpool suhtelise vaesuse piiri olevad leibkonnaliikmed %										
Household members below relative poverty line %										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	16.3	14.4	5.5	7.6	12.6	19.3	38.5	41.7	12.9	3,730
Naine -Female	17.6	16.9	9.6	17.6	19.4	24.7	30.7	28.0	17.6	4,900
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	19.0	18.2	8.3	14.2	16.9	23.5	36.8	32.8	17.2	5,693
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	13.8	10.8	6.7	12.3	15.7	20.1	21.3	21.2	12.3	2,937
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		30.8	1.9	2.0	4.3	9.5	0.0		5.4	465
Kesk - Secondary		9.5	5.6	10.9	12.0	12.8	27.6	40.0	9.8	1,416
Põhiharidus - Basic	13.8	17.5	7.6	10.0	19.8	16.7	16.7	60.0	13.2	1,611
Algharidus - Primary	17.0	17.8	10.8	18.6	18.6	26.1	34.9	28.8	18.7	5,138
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		7.6	5.7	8.9	13.7	20.8	36.9	66.7	10.9	3,884
Mittekooselus - No partnership	17.0	17.7	14.2	28.5	23.7	25.0	31.0	25.2	19.3	4,746
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	15.6	17.7	8.2	13.0	19.4	18.2			14.1	4,401
Vanuritega - W/elderly		28.4	11.9	19.7	22.0	26.6	39.7	29.3	28.2	695
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	27.0	32.1	18.1	22.0	21.9	28.6	22.7	32.0	24.6	757
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		12.2	4.7	10.6	13.1	23.4			12.2	2,777
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	15.6	14.9	7.1	13.2	15.6	22.4	33.5	30.4	14.8	7,219
Maa - Rural	23.4	20.7	10.8	14.9	21.6	24.1	30.2	28.6	19.1	1,411
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		8.4	6.5	11.9	15.4	21.1	46.2	75.0	11.6	5,104
Mittetöötav - Not employed	17.0	28.8	20.0	26.8	23.5	25.3	28.4	27.7	21.2	3,526
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		40.0	11.8	0.0	25.0	25.0			19.6	46
Sekundaar - Secondary		6.1	4.2	7.6	10.0	12.2	32.0	0.0	7.2	2,650
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		10.6	9.2	16.7	20.5	28.5	52.8	85.7	16.4	2,408
Mittetöötav - Not employed	17.0	28.8	20.0	26.8	23.5	25.3	28.4	27.7	21.2	3,526
Sissetuleku kvintiidid - Income quintiles										
I	64.0	71.5	59.8	65.1	70.3	77.4	81.9	90.0	68.3	1,652
II	5.9	11.1	2.9	5.0	8.9	25.0	34.2	19.5	9.3	1,856
III	0.0	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.9	5.1	11.7	3.7	1.3	1,751
IV	0.0	0.8	0.7	0.0	0.9	3.2	0.0	0.0	0.6	1,715
V	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.4	0.8	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.4	1,656
Kokku Total	17.0	15.9	7.7	13.5	16.6	22.6	33.0	30.2	15.5	8,630
N	1,969	1,342	1,842	1,164	1,184	677	303	149	8,630	

Tabel 1.27: Eluaseme tüüp - *Dwelling type*

	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Eluaseme tüüp - Dwelling type										
Peremaja - Family house	19.5	20.3	19.0	21.2	23.1	23.9	24.1	32.9	21.0	1,809
Korter - Apartment	45.4	40.2	34.6	46.4	45.2	40.5	44.6	44.3	42.0	3,622
Osa korterist - Part of apartment	27.1	27.0	35.2	25.8	24.8	29.5	25.1	20.8	28.3	2,445
Ühisealamu - Dormitory	0.5	5.8	3.3	0.8	0.7	0.9	0.7	0.0	2.0	172
Muu - Other	2.0	1.6	2.1	2.2	2.3	3.1	3.0	0.7	2.1	184
Barakk - Barracked	5.6	4.8	5.8	3.6	3.7	1.9	2.3	1.3	4.5	388
Teadmata - No data	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.0	0.1	10
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	8,630
N	1,969	1,342	1,842	1,164	1,184	677	303	149	8,630	
Peremajas elavate osakaal %										
Proportion living in family house %										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	20.2	20.7	18.2	22.3	23.3	27.3	28.6	45.8	21.4	3,730
Naine -Female	18.7	20.0	19.6	20.4	22.9	21.8	22.2	30.4	20.6	4,900
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	29.8	27.2	28.5	30.0	28.4	29.2	28.1	39.7	29.0	5,693
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	3.5	4.8	4.4	5.3	8.3	9.8	12.0	9.1	5.3	2,937
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		38.5	12.6	18.8	14.5	21.4	0.0		17.0	465
Kesk - Secondary		20.4	25.3	21.7	21.2	23.4	31.0	40.0	22.7	1,416
Põhiharidus - Basic	20.7	20.6	18.4	17.2	19.8	9.5	33.3	20.0	19.1	1,611
Algharidus - Primary	19.4	17.2	17.8	23.0	24.8	25.5	23.8	33.1	21.4	5,138
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		16.1	18.7	21.7	23.4	25.7	31.1	44.4	21.4	3,884
Mittetöötav - No partnership	19.5	21.2	20.0	19.7	22.2	21.6	20.5	31.3	20.6	4,746
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	18.7	19.0	17.1	19.0	22.8	23.0			18.9	4,401
Vanuritega - W/elderly		20.5	33.3	21.1	27.6	34.2	25.0	32.3	27.1	695
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	24.9	18.9	23.3	23.0	25.0	28.6	22.7	34.0	24.3	757
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		21.1	20.5	24.5	22.1	22.2			21.8	2,777
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	17.1	17.0	16.7	18.4	20.1	21.5	21.9	29.6	18.4	7,219
Maa - Rural	30.1	36.1	29.5	37.1	38.9	40.2	37.2	64.3	34.2	1,411
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		18.6	18.5	19.7	22.8	26.4	24.4	12.5	20.4	5,104
Mittetöötav - Not employed	19.5	23.1	23.8	33.9	24.7	19.5	24.0	34.0	21.8	3,526
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		60.0	35.3	28.6	50.0	75.0			45.7	46
Sekundaar - Secondary		13.5	17.0	19.9	22.5	27.4	32.0	0.0	18.9	2,650
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		24.6	20.0	19.3	22.6	24.7	20.8	14.3	21.6	2,408
Mittetöötav - Not employed	19.5	23.1	23.8	33.9	24.7	19.5	24.0	34.0	21.8	3,526
Sissetuleku kvintiliid - Income quintiles										
I	29.1	28.9	27.6	28.0	34.7	29.2	28.9	40.0	29.8	1,652
II	18.9	21.6	24.6	18.4	24.2	28.7	23.3	34.1	22.1	1,856
III	16.2	19.4	15.4	19.2	22.2	19.1	23.3	29.6	18.4	1,751
IV	16.9	15.8	16.9	18.5	18.9	19.0	17.8	34.6	17.7	1,715
V	11.2	15.7	16.5	22.6	14.8	24.0	23.8	13.3	16.9	1,656
Kokku Total	19.5	20.3	19.0	21.2	23.1	23.9	24.1	32.9	21.0	8,630
N	1,969	1,342	1,842	1,164	1,184	677	303	149	8,630	

Tabel 1.28: Eluaseme kuuluvus - *Dwelling ownership*

Eluaseme kuuluvus % House ownership %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Riik - State	79.5	78.0	79.9	77.1	75.3	74.9	74.9	65.1	77.7	6,703
Kooperatiiv - Co-operative	0.7	1.2	0.5	0.9	0.7	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.7	60
Eraisik - Private	19.6	20.5	19.3	21.6	23.6	24.4	24.4	34.9	21.3	1,839
Kolhoos - Kolkhoz	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	5
Omanikuta - W/o owner	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.2	13
Teadmata - Unkown	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.0	0.1	10
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	8,630
Eramajas elavate osakaal % Proportion living in private house %										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	20.5	20.7	18.7	23.1	24.1	27.7	27.5	50.0	21.8	3,730
Naine -Female	18.7	20.3	19.7	20.6	23.3	22.3	23.1	32.0	20.9	4,900
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	30.1	27.6	28.8	30.8	28.8	29.6	28.9	42.2	29.5	5,693
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	3.4	4.8	4.7	5.1	9.3	10.3	10.7	9.1	5.4	2,937
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		38.5	13.5	18.8	14.5	21.4	0.0		17.4	465
Kesk - Secondary		20.7	25.3	22.0	22.8	24.5	31.0	40.0	23.2	1,416
Põhiharidus - Basic	17.2	21.0	18.7	16.7	20.8	11.9	33.3	40.0	19.4	1,611
Algharidus - Primary	19.6	16.8	18.0	24.0	25.1	25.7	24.1	34.5	21.7	5,138
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		17.3	19.0	22.2	24.1	26.2	30.1	55.6	21.9	3,884
Mittekooselus - No partnership	19.6	21.2	20.0	19.7	22.5	21.9	21.5	32.1	20.8	4,746
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	18.6	18.8	17.2	18.7	22.6	23.6			18.8	4,401
Vanuritega - W/elderly		20.5	33.3	23.7	27.6	32.9	24.5	35.4	27.5	695
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	26.6	20.8	23.3	25.0	28.1	28.6	24.4	34.0	25.8	757
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		21.4	21.2	25.3	23.0	22.9			22.5	2,777
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	17.3	17.4	16.9	18.9	20.6	21.7	22.3	31.9	18.7	7,219
Maa - Rural	29.9	35.7	30.5	37.1	40.0	42.5	37.2	64.3	34.5	1,411
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		19.2	18.8	20.1	23.4	26.6	23.1	25.0	20.8	5,104
Mittetöötav - Not employed	19.6	22.7	23.8	34.6	25.3	20.3	24.9	35.5	22.1	3,526
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		60.0	35.3	28.6	50.0	75.0			45.7	46
Sekundaar - Secondary		13.9	17.1	20.3	22.5	26.9	28.0	0.0	19.0	2,650
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		25.5	20.5	19.7	23.8	25.5	20.8	28.6	22.3	2,408
Mittetöötav - Not employed	19.6	22.7	23.8	34.6	25.3	20.3	24.9	35.5	22.1	3,526
Sissetuleku kvintiilid - Income quintiles										
I	29.7	29.3	27.6	29.8	34.7	29.2	30.1	45.0	30.4	1,652
II	18.5	20.9	24.6	17.6	23.8	28.7	23.3	34.1	21.8	1,856
III	16.4	19.7	15.6	19.2	22.6	19.7	21.7	29.6	18.7	1,751
IV	16.9	16.2	17.1	19.3	19.8	19.0	17.8	38.5	18.1	1,715
V	11.6	16.5	17.1	23.0	16.9	25.6	26.2	13.3	17.8	1,656
Kokku Total	19.6	20.5	19.3	21.6	23.6	24.4	24.4	34.9	21.3	8,630
N	1,969	1,342	1,842	1,164	1,184	677	303	149	8,630	

Tabel 1.29: Leibkonna kasutatavate elutubade arv - *No. of living rooms in use*

Leibkonna elutubade arv % Number of living rooms in use %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Alla 1- Less than 1	5.3	14.5	11.1	6.4	6.8	9.7	3.0	2.7	8.6	738
1	52.7	48.1	60.6	54.0	49.2	52.4	50.5	44.3	53.1	4,586
2	33.3	27.0	23.3	30.2	32.4	26.9	30.0	37.6	29.1	2,513
3	7.7	8.0	4.4	8.2	9.9	9.5	14.9	12.8	7.9	679
4	0.9	1.6	0.4	1.0	1.0	1.3	1.0	2.0	1.0	86
5+	0.1	0.6	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.0	0.3	0.7	0.2	18
Teadmata - No data	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.0	0.1	10
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	8,630
Keskmine elutubade arv										
Mean number of living rooms										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	1.5	1.5	1.2	1.5	1.6	1.5	1.6	1.5	1.5	3,724
Naine -Female	1.5	1.3	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.4	1.7	1.7	1.4	4,896
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	1.5	1.5	1.3	1.5	1.6	1.5	1.6	1.7	1.5	5,687
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	1.4	1.1	1.2	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.6	1.8	1.3	2,933
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		1.8	1.6	1.9	1.9	1.8	2.1		1.8	464
Kesk - Secondary		1.4	1.4	1.5	1.7	1.8	1.9	1.8	1.5	1,415
Põhiharidus - Basic	1.5	1.4	1.2	1.4	1.6	1.4	1.7	1.8	1.4	1,607
Algharidus - Primary	1.5	1.3	1.1	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.6	1.7	1.4	5,134
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		1.2	1.3	1.6	1.7	1.5	1.7	1.6	1.5	3,880
Mittekooselus - No partnership	1.5	1.5	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.6	1.7	1.4	4,740
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	1.4	1.5	1.3	1.5	1.6	1.7			1.4	4,401
Vanuritega - W/elderly		1.8	1.7	1.6	1.8	1.6	1.5	1.5	1.6	694
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	1.9	2.2	1.8	1.9	2.2	2.1	1.8	2.1	1.9	757
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		1.2	1.0	1.3	1.4	1.3			1.2	2,768
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	1.5	1.4	1.2	1.5	1.5	1.4	1.6	1.7	1.4	7,214
Maa - Rural	1.5	1.4	1.3	1.5	1.6	1.7	1.8	1.7	1.5	1,406
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		1.2	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.4	1.3	1.1	1.3	5,096
Mittetöötav - Not employed	1.5	1.7	1.3	1.7	1.7	1.5	1.7	1.7	1.6	3,524
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		1.6	1.5	2.0	2.0	2.2			1.7	46
Sekundaar - Secondary		1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.3	1.4	1.0	1.3	2,644
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		1.3	1.3	1.6	1.5	1.4	1.3	1.1	1.4	2,406
Mittetöötav - Not employed	1.5	1.7	1.3	1.7	1.7	1.5	1.7	1.7	1.6	3,524
Sissetuleku kvintiidid - Income quintiles										
I	1.4	1.3	1.2	1.4	1.4	1.2	1.3	1.6	1.3	1,652
II	1.5	1.5	1.3	1.5	1.6	1.4	1.6	1.6	1.5	1,853
III	1.5	1.4	1.3	1.5	1.5	1.3	1.7	1.7	1.4	1,750
IV	1.4	1.3	1.2	1.4	1.5	1.6	1.7	1.7	1.4	1,710
V	1.6	1.4	1.3	1.5	1.6	1.7	2.1	2.3	1.5	1,655
Kokku Total	1.5	1.4	1.3	1.5	1.5	1.4	1.6	1.7	1.4	8,620
N	1,969	1,339	1,840	1,164	1,181	676	302	149	8,620	

Tabel 1.30: Leibkonna eluaseme üldpind - *Total floor area*

Eluaseme üldpind % Total floor area %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0-9	4.3	11.0	10.0	6.8	6.8	8.1	6.9	2.7	7.6	656
10-19	43.1	40.1	49.0	44.5	40.5	45.1	37.3	38.9	43.6	3,762
20-29	28.7	22.3	23.6	25.3	29.4	25.0	29.0	28.2	26.0	2,241
30-39	15.8	13.3	9.1	15.5	14.1	12.4	15.5	17.4	13.5	1,162
40-49	5.2	4.2	3.0	4.9	5.6	4.9	6.3	8.7	4.7	403
50+	1.6	2.7	1.2	1.7	2.1	3.0	3.6	4.0	2.0	171
Teadmata - No data	1.3	6.3	4.1	1.4	1.5	1.6	1.3	0.0	2.7	235
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	8,630
Keskmine üldpinna suurus m^2 Mean size of total floor area m^2										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	22.4	22.2	19.0	22.6	23.7	22.5	24.0	23.5	21.9	3,634
Naine -Female	22.5	20.6	19.6	21.3	21.3	20.8	23.5	25.4	21.2	4,761
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	22.9	21.7	19.5	22.3	22.4	21.7	23.6	24.6	21.9	5,609
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	21.7	20.0	19.0	21.0	21.9	21.0	23.9	26.9	20.8	2,786
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		24.6	23.4	29.7	30.1	28.7	31.6		26.5	463
Kesk - Secondary		21.1	21.5	22.4	24.5	26.3	28.7	29.4	22.6	1,376
Põhiharidus - Basic	21.6	22.0	18.8	21.3	22.9	23.1	22.5	26.0	20.9	1,548
Algharidus - Primary	22.5	19.4	17.2	20.2	20.8	19.8	22.9	24.9	21.0	5,008
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		16.5	20.0	23.6	24.5	23.4	24.7	23.4	22.0	3,829
Mittekooselus - No partnership	22.5	22.4	17.0	15.9	16.9	19.1	23.1	25.4	21.1	4,566
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	21.7	22.6	20.0	22.6	23.7	24.9			21.8	4,341
Vanuritega - W/elderly		25.3	25.4	21.7	24.0	24.4	21.4	22.0	23.1	689
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	28.2	31.5	26.9	29.7	31.5	29.2	27.1	31.3	28.7	757
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		19.0	16.0	18.3	20.1	19.3			18.6	2,608
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	22.6	21.3	19.2	21.8	22.3	21.5	23.1	25.3	21.5	7,041
Maa - Rural	21.9	20.7	19.9	21.9	22.5	21.9	27.0	23.3	21.5	1,354
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		19.0	19.2	21.5	21.7	20.7	19.5	15.0	20.3	4,906
Mittetöötav - Not employed	22.5	24.7	20.3	24.4	25.8	23.0	25.0	25.7	23.2	3,489
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		22.0	22.8	29.3	23.5	32.0			24.6	45
Sekundaar - Secondary		18.8	18.5	19.7	21.0	19.9	18.0	18.5	19.4	2,508
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		19.3	20.0	23.3	22.3	21.2	20.2	14.4	21.2	2,353
Mittetöötav - Not employed	22.5	24.7	20.3	24.4	25.8	23.0	25.0	25.7	23.2	3,489
Sissetuleku kvintiilid - Income quintiles										
I	20.7	19.6	17.4	20.0	20.0	18.3	18.6	21.2	19.6	1,607
II	23.3	22.9	19.1	23.1	22.9	20.1	22.7	24.7	22.2	1,821
III	22.8	20.3	20.1	21.8	21.7	20.8	24.3	26.4	21.5	1,706
IV	22.4	20.6	19.2	21.1	22.4	23.6	25.5	25.4	21.4	1,661
V	23.7	22.8	19.8	22.8	24.5	25.4	32.1	33.9	22.8	1,600
Kokku Total	22.5	21.2	19.3	21.8	22.3	21.5	23.7	25.1	21.5	8,395
N	1,943	1,257	1,767	1,148	1,166	666	299	149	8,395	

Tabel 1.31: Eluaseme suurus elaniku kohta - *Floor area per dweller*

Eluaseme suurus elaniku kohta % Floor area per dweller %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0-4.9	45.7	36.4	33.9	30.3	24.1	24.2	24.8	25.5	33.9	2,928
5-9.9	47.6	46.3	50.1	52.6	53.4	49.0	52.8	59.1	49.9	4,304
10-14.9	4.9	9.5	9.4	12.3	15.9	17.1	17.5	12.1	10.6	915
15-19.9	0.4	1.4	1.7	2.1	4.4	5.9	3.0	2.7	2.2	187
20+	0.1	0.0	0.8	1.4	0.8	1.9	0.7	0.7	0.7	57
Teadmata - No data	1.4	6.3	4.2	1.4	1.5	1.8	1.3	0.0	2.8	239
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	8,630
Keskmine eluaseme suurus elaniku kohta m²										
Mean size of floor area per dweller m²										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	5.5	6.2	6.3	6.9	7.2	7.8	8.5	7.4	6.4	3,633
Naine -Female	5.6	6.3	6.6	7.0	7.8	8.0	7.1	7.0	6.7	4,758
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	5.7	6.5	6.8	7.2	7.7	8.2	7.8	7.4	6.9	5,605
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	5.4	5.5	6.0	6.5	7.0	7.0	6.3	6.0	6.0	2,786
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		8.0	8.3	8.8	9.9	11.0	10.7		8.9	463
Kesk - Secondary		6.7	6.9	7.3	8.3	9.5	8.7	6.9	7.4	1,374
Põhiharidus - Basic	6.0	6.3	6.3	6.7	7.7	9.7	7.8	9.6	6.6	1,548
Algharidus - Primary	5.6	5.3	5.7	6.5	7.1	7.2	7.2	7.0	6.2	5,006
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		5.1	6.1	6.6	7.2	7.6	7.8	7.0	6.6	3,827
Mittekooselus - No partnership	5.6	6.5	7.8	8.3	8.3	8.3	7.3	7.1	6.6	4,564
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	5.6	5.0	5.6	6.0	5.9	5.8			5.6	4,337
Vanuritega - W/elderly		6.6	7.5	7.2	7.5	8.4	8.7	7.5	7.8	689
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	5.6	5.5	5.7	6.0	6.2	5.7	5.7	6.2	5.8	757
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		7.1	8.1	8.9	8.7	8.8			8.2	2,608
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	5.6	6.2	6.4	7.0	7.5	7.9	7.4	7.2	6.6	7,037
Maa - Rural	5.5	6.3	6.5	7.0	7.7	7.9	8.3	6.3	6.6	1,354
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		6.1	6.5	7.0	7.6	8.5	9.3	8.7	7.0	4,904
Mittetöötav - Not employed	5.6	6.5	5.7	6.7	7.3	6.8	6.9	7.0	6.1	3,487
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		4.9	6.7	9.0	6.6	7.2			6.7	45
Sekundaar - Secondary		5.8	6.2	6.5	7.3	8.0	9.3	6.2	6.6	2,506
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		6.4	6.9	7.5	7.9	9.0	9.2	9.0	7.4	2,353
Mittetöötav - Not employed	5.6	6.5	5.7	6.7	7.3	6.8	6.9	7.0	6.1	3,487
Sissetuleku kvintiidid - Income quintiles										
I	5.2	6.2	5.6	6.4	7.5	7.9	7.2	6.9	6.2	1,607
II	5.4	6.1	6.0	6.9	7.0	7.6	6.7	6.6	6.3	1,821
III	5.6	6.1	6.5	6.6	7.1	7.3	7.7	8.2	6.5	1,706
IV	5.8	6.2	6.4	6.9	7.9	8.2	7.2	6.4	6.7	1,657
V	6.1	6.7	7.1	7.9	8.4	8.8	9.2	8.2	7.4	1,600
Kokku Total	5.6	6.2	6.5	7.0	7.5	7.9	7.5	7.1	6.6	8,391
N	1,942	1,257	1,765	1,148	1,166	665	299	149	8,391	

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Tabel 2.1: *Küsitlute arv - Number of respondents*

	Vanusrühm - Age group																Σ	
	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	70-74	75-79		80+
Tegevusala - Activity status																		
Töötav - Working	0	0	0	229	778	962	935	1019	943	977	727	390	288	190	104	31	8	7,581
Õpilane - Studying	0	213	989	648	85	9	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1,947	
Pensionär - Pensioner	0	0	0	1	5	4	7	6	9	12	22	89	197	184	170	130	968	
Koolieelik - Preschooler	988	794	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,782	
Kodune - At home	0	0	2	18	13	20	13	12	16	17	24	13	27	20	15	11	255	
Majandusharu (ISIC) - Branch of economy (ISIC)																		
Mittetöötav - Not working	988	1007	991	667	103	33	22	18	25	29	46	102	224	204	186	141	166	4,952
Põllumajandus - Agriculture	0	0	0	46	149	217	241	233	242	228	214	150	161	103	78	23	6	2,091
Kalandus - Fishing	0	0	0	0	4	4	0	4	8	7	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	30
Kaevandus - Mining	0	0	0	4	10	21	9	15	14	20	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	99
Tööstus - Industry	0	0	0	64	200	189	214	249	246	270	189	84	41	26	7	1	1	1,781
Elektri-veevarustus - Electricity and water supply	0	0	0	4	7	6	12	11	10	13	2	1	3	0	0	0	0	69
Ehitus - Construction	0	0	0	12	80	110	127	101	81	87	49	34	10	5	0	0	0	696
Kaubandus - Trade	0	0	0	32	54	67	56	58	42	69	48	18	11	7	2	2	0	466
Hotellid-restaurantid - Hotels-restaurants	0	0	0	6	13	11	6	6	13	9	8	4	4	4	1	0	0	85
Transport - Transportation	0	0	0	21	93	113	79	86	82	83	55	23	7	8	1	0	0	651
Rahandus - Finance	0	0	0	0	4	3	1	0	1	3	4	0	1	2	0	0	0	19
Kinnisvara ja äri - Real estate and business	0	0	0	6	28	39	29	39	35	22	21	3	6	5	0	1	0	234
Avalik teenistus - Public service	0	0	0	4	21	31	17	32	25	22	18	4	2	1	0	0	0	177
Haridus - Education	0	0	0	11	47	59	59	60	58	70	40	20	12	6	4	1	0	447
Tervishoid - Health care	0	0	0	9	25	28	34	61	50	31	30	21	12	10	3	3	1	318
Muud teenused - Other services	0	0	0	8	31	43	26	38	15	26	21	12	8	6	4	0	0	238
Eramajapidamised - Private household	0	0	0	2	12	21	25	26	21	17	21	14	10	7	4	0	0	180
Sugu - Sex																		
Mees - Male	504	533	504	423	367	454	466	494	450	460	313	214	214	152	105	47	35	5,735
Naine - Female	484	474	487	473	514	541	491	543	518	546	460	278	298	242	185	125	139	6,798
Põlisus - Nativity																		
Põline - Native origin	777	791	751	672	615	741	783	796	747	727	592	404	447	353	254	145	147	9,742
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	211	216	240	224	266	254	174	241	221	279	181	88	65	41	36	27	27	2,791
Haridustase - Educational level																		
Kõrgem - Higher	0	0	0	2	82	154	151	169	135	100	43	22	19	13	13	1	2	906
Kesk - Secondary	0	0	0	191	446	442	360	351	251	235	171	80	49	39	21	12	9	2,657
Põhiharidus - Basic	0	1	48	625	280	323	312	325	281	254	158	90	58	29	7	10	3	2,804
Algharidus - Primary	988	1006	943	78	73	76	134	192	301	417	401	300	386	313	249	149	160	6,166
Kooseluseis - Partnership status																		
Kooselus - In partnership	0	0	0	13	376	757	798	848	798	833	608	366	336	236	137	40	19	6,165
Mittekooselus - No partnership	988	1007	991	883	505	238	159	189	170	173	165	126	176	158	153	132	155	6,368
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type																		
Lastega - W/children	916	906	877	331	320	682	712	709	501	314	161	63	64	0	0	0	0	6,556
Vanuritega - W/elderly	0	0	0	60	70	35	23	36	57	102	111	75	86	332	222	134	129	1,472
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	72	101	114	41	26	28	67	94	74	66	23	8	10	62	68	38	45	937
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly	0	0	0	464	465	250	155	198	336	524	478	346	352	0	0	0	0	3,568
Elukoht - Residence																		
Linn - Urban	536	561	527	540	592	601	592	669	622	663	464	253	215	161	115	83	90	7,284
Maa - Rural	452	446	464	356	289	394	365	368	346	343	309	239	297	233	175	89	84	5,249
Kokku Total	988	1007	991	896	881	995	957	1037	968	1006	773	492	512	394	290	172	174	12,533

Tabel 2.2: Leibkonnaliikmete arv - *Number of household members*

Leibkonnaliikmete arv % Number of household members %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
1	0.0	7.1	6.5	6.6	6.9	15.2	15.6	14.2	6.5	816
2	3.9	11.9	12.2	11.7	25.6	44.5	46.1	27.7	16.9	2,115
3	23.7	28.5	33.1	28.6	30.4	20.9	17.8	20.8	27.0	3,378
4	41.9	30.8	32.8	35.7	22.2	10.5	9.5	17.9	30.2	3,780
5+	30.5	21.7	15.4	17.5	14.9	8.9	11.0	19.4	19.5	2,444
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	12,533
Keskmine leibkonnaliikmete arv										
Mean number of household members										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	4.2	3.7	3.4	3.6	3.4	2.9	2.5	2.7	3.6	5,735
Naine - Female	4.2	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.0	2.4	2.7	3.2	3.4	6,798
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	4.2	3.6	3.4	3.5	3.1	2.4	2.5	3.0	3.5	9,742
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	4.1	3.7	3.6	3.6	3.5	3.5	3.3	3.8	3.7	2,791
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		3.3	3.2	3.5	3.4	3.2	2.7	2.7	3.3	906
Kesk - Secondary		3.3	3.5	3.4	3.2	2.7	2.8	2.3	3.3	2,657
Põhiharidus - Basic	4.2	3.8	3.6	3.6	3.2	2.5	2.6	2.6	3.5	2,804
Algharidus - Primary	4.2	3.7	3.6	3.7	3.2	2.5	2.6	3.2	3.6	6,166
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		3.5	3.8	3.8	3.4	2.8	2.5	2.5	3.5	6,165
Mittekooselus - No partnership	4.2	3.6	2.5	2.2	2.1	2.1	2.7	3.2	3.5	6,368
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	4.1	4.3	3.8	3.9	4.1	4.6			4.0	6,556
Vanuritega - W/elderly		4.0	3.1	3.2	3.3	2.5	2.1	2.5	2.7	1,472
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	5.0	5.4	5.1	4.8	5.0	4.8	4.6	4.9	4.9	937
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		2.9	2.1	2.3	2.6	2.2			2.5	3,568
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	4.0	3.5	3.4	3.4	3.2	3.0	3.1	3.5	3.5	7,284
Maa - Rural	4.5	3.7	3.6	3.8	3.1	2.3	2.2	2.7	3.5	5,249
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		3.3	3.5	3.5	3.2	2.5	2.1	1.9	3.2	7,581
Mittetöötav - Not employed	4.2	4.0	3.9	4.1	3.5	2.8	3.0	3.2	3.9	4,952
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		3.2	3.6	3.7	3.1	2.2	1.9	1.9	3.1	2,220
Sekundaar - Secondary		3.4	3.5	3.5	3.2	2.9	2.5	1.5	3.3	2,546
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		3.3	3.4	3.5	3.2	2.7	2.4	2.1	3.3	2,815
Mittetöötav - Not employed	4.2	4.0	3.9	4.1	3.5	2.8	3.0	3.2	3.9	4,952
Sissetuleku kvintiilid - Income quintiles										
I	4.4	3.1	3.6	3.7	2.9	2.2	2.0	2.2	3.3	2,136
II	4.3	3.8	3.6	3.8	3.2	2.5	2.8	3.7	3.7	2,605
III	4.1	3.8	3.6	3.7	3.5	2.9	2.9	3.7	3.7	2,738
IV	4.1	3.6	3.5	3.5	3.3	2.8	3.0	3.8	3.5	2,608
V	4.1	3.6	3.3	3.1	3.0	2.5	2.7	3.5	3.3	2,446
Kokku Total	4.2	3.6	3.5	3.5	3.2	2.6	2.6	3.1	3.5	12,533
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533	

Tabel 2.3: Leibkonnaliikmete ekvivalentarv - *Equivalent number of household members*

Leibkonna ekvivalentsuurus % Equivalent household size %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
1	0.0	7.1	6.5	6.6	6.9	15.2	15.6	14.2	6.5	816
1.3-1.9	27.9	20.5	41.1	30.1	32.9	47.3	49.1	28.9	32.7	4,098
2-2.9	64.9	61.1	47.3	59.3	53.9	33.5	31.1	50.0	54.4	6,815
3+	7.3	11.4	5.1	4.0	6.3	4.0	4.1	6.9	6.4	804
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	12,533
Keskmine leibkonna ekvivalentsuurus Mean equivalent household size										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	2.2	2.3	2.0	2.0	2.1	1.9	1.7	1.8	2.1	5,735
Naine -Female	2.2	2.1	2.0	2.1	1.9	1.7	1.8	2.0	2.0	6,798
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	2.2	2.2	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.7	1.7	1.9	2.0	9,742
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	2.2	2.2	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.0	2.3	2.2	2,791
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		2.1	1.9	2.0	2.1	2.1	1.8	1.7	2.0	906
Kesk - Secondary		2.1	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.8	1.8	1.6	2.0	2,657
Põhiharidus - Basic	2.3	2.3	2.0	2.1	2.0	1.7	1.7	1.8	2.1	2,804
Algharidus - Primary	2.2	2.2	2.0	2.1	2.0	1.7	1.7	2.0	2.1	6,166
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		2.1	2.1	2.2	2.1	1.9	1.7	1.7	2.1	6,165
Mittetöötav - No partnership	2.2	2.2	1.7	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.8	2.0	2.0	6,368
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	2.2	2.4	2.1	2.1	2.3	2.5			2.2	6,556
Vanuritega - W/elderly		2.5	2.0	2.1	2.1	1.8	1.6	1.8	1.8	1,472
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	2.6	2.9	2.7	2.6	2.7	2.6	2.5	2.6	2.7	937
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		2.0	1.5	1.7	1.8	1.6			1.7	3,568
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	2.2	2.2	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.9	2.0	2.1	2.1	7,284
Maa - Rural	2.3	2.2	2.0	2.1	2.0	1.6	1.6	1.8	2.0	5,249
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.7	1.5	1.4	2.0	7,581
Mittetöötav - Not employed	2.2	2.4	2.2	2.3	2.2	1.8	1.9	2.0	2.2	4,952
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		2.0	2.0	2.1	1.9	1.6	1.4	1.4	1.9	2,220
Sekundaar - Secondary		2.1	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.9	1.8	1.2	2.0	2,546
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.8	1.7	1.5	2.0	2,815
Mittetöötav - Not employed	2.2	2.4	2.2	2.3	2.2	1.8	1.9	2.0	2.2	4,952
Sissetuleku kvintiidid - Income quintiles										
I	2.2	1.9	2.0	2.1	1.8	1.6	1.5	1.6	1.9	2,136
II	2.2	2.3	2.0	2.1	2.0	1.7	1.8	2.2	2.1	2,605
III	2.2	2.3	2.0	2.1	2.1	1.9	1.9	2.2	2.1	2,738
IV	2.2	2.2	2.0	2.0	2.1	1.9	1.9	2.3	2.1	2,608
V	2.2	2.3	2.0	1.9	2.0	1.7	1.8	2.2	2.0	2,446
Kokku Total	2.2	2.2	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.8	1.7	2.0	2.1	12,533
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533	

Tabel 2.4: Leibkonnaliikmed - *Household members*

Leibkonnaliikmed % Household members %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Üksik - Single	0.0	7.1	6.5	6.6	6.9	15.2	15.6	14.2	6.5	816
Perepea või abikaasa - Household head or spouse	0.0	17.7	80.0	90.0	89.8	76.5	60.2	23.4	52.2	6,538
Laps - Child	94.1	69.2	9.6	2.5	1.3	0.3	0.3	0.6	34.4	4,308
Vanem - Elderly	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	4.6	12.6	34.1	2.1	261
Muu sugulane - Other relative	5.2	4.6	3.2	0.8	1.2	3.3	9.2	21.7	4.1	508
Mittesugulane - Non-relaive	0.8	1.5	0.7	0.0	0.2	0.1	2.0	6.1	0.8	102
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	12,533
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533	
Üksikute osakaal %										
Proportion of single-person households %										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	0.0	3.7	8.0	7.5	3.8	4.9	5.4	17.1	4.4	5,735
Naine -Female	0.0	9.8	5.1	5.7	9.2	22.9	21.8	13.3	8.3	6,798
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	0.0	6.6	7.3	7.1	7.4	17.3	16.5	15.8	7.2	9,742
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	0.0	8.4	3.7	4.8	5.2	3.9	9.1	5.6	4.3	2,791
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		7.1	6.9	8.6	3.5	2.4	11.5	33.3	7.0	906
Kesk - Secondary		11.8	6.4	7.3	5.2	10.1	11.7	28.6	8.2	2,657
Põhiharidus - Basic	0.0	4.4	6.0	5.9	8.5	16.2	16.7	38.5	6.6	2,804
Algharidus - Primary	0.0	3.3	8.1	5.3	7.5	16.8	16.2	12.0	5.7	6,166
Algharidus - Primary	2.2	2.2	1.9	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.1	2.3	2.1	5,138
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6165
Mittekooselus - No partnership	0.0	9.1	32.0	36.8	36.1	50.7	34.4	17.1	12.8	6368
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0			0.0	6,556
Vanuritega - W/elderly		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	19.3	18.6	10.6	1,472
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	937
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		13.6	31.4	24.7	12.2	21.9			18.5	3,568
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	0.0	7.9	6.7	6.6	6.1	10.3	9.8	11.6	5.7	7,284
Maa - Rural	0.0	5.7	6.2	6.6	8.1	19.6	19.6	16.8	7.6	5,249
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		12.4	6.7	6.7	7.1	19.8	25.5	33.3	9.6	7,581
Mittetöötav - Not employed	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	1.3	5.8	8.2	11.7	1.8	4,952
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		9.9	6.5	7.2	9.5	25.6	30.9	27.6	12.6	2,220
Sekundaar - Secondary		10.9	5.8	5.9	6.2	13.9	13.2	50.0	7.3	2,546
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		15.0	7.6	7.2	6.1	15.6	18.7	50.0	9.3	2,815
Mittetöötav - Not employed	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	1.3	5.8	8.2	11.7	1.8	4,952
Sissetuleku kvintiidid - Income quintiles										
I	0.0	16.8	10.9	8.5	17.0	27.3	29.6	29.9	13.7	2,136
II	0.0	9.3	5.6	6.8	8.3	17.6	14.0	2.4	6.4	2,605
III	0.0	4.1	4.9	4.9	5.6	9.3	7.0	3.8	4.0	2,738
IV	0.0	5.1	7.1	6.8	5.2	10.2	7.1	2.4	5.0	2,608
V	0.0	2.0	5.8	6.9	3.1	13.2	8.9	4.0	4.7	2,446
Kokku Total	0.0	7.1	6.5	6.6	6.9	15.2	15.6	14.2	6.5	12,533
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533	

Tabel 2.5: Leibkonna vanuskoostis - *Household age composition*

Leibkonnaliikmete arv % Number of household members %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N	
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+			
Laste arv - Children in household											
0	0.0	59.6	23.7	31.3	68.3	85.6	81.0	76.0	40.2	5,040	
1	37.5	30.8	36.5	36.4	24.5	10.3	12.6	15.3	30.2	3,789	
2+	62.5	9.6	39.8	32.3	7.2	4.2	6.4	8.7	29.6	3,704	
Tööealiste arv - Working-age in household											
0		0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	42.3	29.2	3.1	392	
1		8.7	8.2	11.5	12.1	11.3	26.0	29.8	18.8	1,602	
2+		91.3	91.8	88.5	87.9	88.7	74.0	27.9	52.0	84.1	10,539
Vanemaealiste arv - Old-age in household											
0		90.4	88.9	92.2	87.0	83.0	82.2	0.0	0.0	80.8	10,124
1		9.0	10.3	6.9	12.0	16.2	17.1	63.6	77.5	15.9	1,993
2+		0.6	0.8	0.9	1.0	0.7	0.7	36.4	22.5	3.3	416
Kokku Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	12,533	
Tööealiste osakaal leibkonnas % Working-age in household %											
Sugu - Sex											
Mees - Male	53.43	85.71	68.36	68.27	83.84	90.93	32.25	24.13	68.24	5,735	
Naine - Female	53.49	84.59	63.53	70.05	85.85	86.41	27.14	45.00	67.71	6,798	
Põlisus - Nativity											
Põline - Native origin	52.22	84.98	65.22	68.73	85.18	88.57	27.81	37.35	66.87	9,742	
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	57.75	85.38	67.89	70.82	84.38	87.03	38.89	54.70	71.73	2,791	
Haridustase - Educational level											
Kõrgem - Higher		88.80	69.88	66.58	83.69	89.72	31.19	13.33	72.31	906	
Kesk - Secondary			87.09	66.20	68.77	86.29	90.36	32.46	31.35	75.00	2,657
Põhiharidus - Basic	58.47	83.89	64.45	71.07	84.43	88.33	33.10	32.31	75.70	2,804	
Algharidus - Primary	53.37	81.75	62.47	69.10	84.82	87.87	28.34	41.23	60.76	6,166	
Kooseluseis - Partnership status											
Kooselus - In partnership		77.18	61.88	67.88	85.07	87.32	26.43	17.09	70.19	6,165	
Mittekooselus - No partnership	53.46	87.31	81.18	75.33	84.56	90.70	32.21	44.78	65.79	6,368	
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type											
Lastega - W/children	54.50	69.67	57.62	59.20	68.23	69.93			58.83	6,556	
Vanuritega - W/elderly		70.76	59.28	62.01	65.05	56.54	25.85	37.32	44.50	1,472	
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	43.64	56.77	44.10	47.46	52.89	50.28	42.72	48.72	46.64	937	
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		99.95	1000	1000	1000	1000			99.99	3,568	
Elukoht - Residence											
Linn - Urban	56.31	87.08	68.17	71.30	85.50	89.42	39.61	49.13	71.53	7,284	
Maa - Rural	50.05	81.59	62.09	65.43	84.07	87.39	21.92	30.99	62.98	5,249	
Hõive - Employment											
Töötav - Employed		85.61	65.76	69.23	85.02	89.76	21.37	10.21	73.76	7,581	
Mittetöötav - Not employed	53.46	84.41	67.28	68.53	83.94	85.38	34.85	43.85	59.06	4,952	
Majandussektor - Sector of economy											
Primaar - Primary		82.62	61.11	66.10	83.98	88.95	14.36	6.32	68.64	2,220	
Sekundaar - Secondary		87.33	67.09	71.04	86.07	92.47	40.04	25.00	76.93	2,546	
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		85.62	67.66	69.69	84.78	88.63	28.84	20.62	74.95	2,815	
Mittetöötav - Not employed	53.46	84.41	67.28	68.53	83.94	85.38	34.85	43.85	59.06	4,952	
Sissetuleku kvintilid - Income quintiles											
I	47.38	81.82	57.76	63.21	78.57	86.41	16.25	24.90	57.75	2,136	
II	52.19	81.06	60.12	65.10	81.03	84.78	30.19	49.88	63.65	2,605	
III	54.83	84.70	65.31	66.53	83.70	85.97	34.33	51.51	67.64	2,738	
IV	57.11	87.09	68.45	72.83	85.35	90.01	36.38	54.85	72.12	2,608	
V	56.10	90.47	73.80	76.56	91.12	92.92	40.36	46.19	77.35	2,446	
Kokku Total	53.46	85.09	65.81	69.21	84.97	88.34	29.06	40.06	67.95	12,533	
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533		

Tabel 2.6: Põlvkondade arv leibkonnas - *No. of generations in household*

Põlvkondade arv leibkonnas % Number of generations in household %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
1	0.0	56.1	22.1	28.7	62.7	80.1	72.8	50.6	36.7	4,596
2	89.9	34.8	70.4	65.0	29.1	11.6	15.4	32.7	54.5	6,833
3+	10.1	9.1	7.5	6.3	8.2	8.4	11.8	16.8	8.8	1,104
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	12,533
Keskmine põlvkondade arv leibkonnas Mean number of generations in household										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	2.1	1.5	1.8	1.8	1.5	1.3	1.2	1.3	1.7	5,735
Naine -Female	2.1	1.5	1.9	1.8	1.4	1.3	1.5	1.8	1.7	6,798
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	2.1	1.5	1.8	1.8	1.4	1.2	1.3	1.6	1.7	9,742
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	2.2	1.6	2.0	1.8	1.6	1.7	1.8	2.0	1.8	2,791
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		1.4	1.7	1.8	1.5	1.3	1.4	1.7	1.7	906
Kesk - Secondary		1.5	1.9	1.8	1.4	1.3	1.5	1.2	1.6	2,657
Põhiharidus - Basic	2.1	1.6	1.9	1.7	1.5	1.2	1.4	1.5	1.7	2,804
Algharidus - Primary	2.1	1.6	1.8	1.8	1.5	1.3	1.4	1.7	1.8	6,166
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		1.8	2.0	1.8	1.5	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.7	6,165
Mittekooselus - No partnership	2.1	1.5	1.4	1.5	1.4	1.4	1.6	1.8	1.8	6,368
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	2.1	2.2	2.1	2.0	2.2	2.5			2.1	6,556
Vanuritega - W/elderly		1.5	1.2	1.5	1.5	1.2	1.1	1.4	1.3	1,472
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	2.6	2.7	2.6	2.5	2.7	2.8	2.6	2.7	2.6	937
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0			1.0	3,568
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	2.1	1.5	1.9	1.8	1.5	1.4	1.7	1.9	1.8	7,284
Maa - Rural	2.1	1.6	1.8	1.8	1.4	1.2	1.2	1.5	1.7	5,249
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		1.5	1.9	1.8	1.5	1.2	1.2	1.1	1.6	7,581
Mittetöötav - Not employed	2.1	1.6	1.8	1.8	1.5	1.4	1.5	1.8	1.9	4,952
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		1.5	1.8	1.8	1.4	1.1	1.1	1.0	1.5	2,220
Sekundaar - Secondary		1.5	1.9	1.8	1.5	1.3	1.2	1.0	1.6	2,546
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		1.5	1.9	1.8	1.5	1.3	1.5	1.4	1.7	2,815
Mittetöötav - Not employed	2.1	1.6	1.8	1.8	1.5	1.4	1.5	1.8	1.9	4,952
Sissetuleku kvintiidid - Income quintiles										
I	2.1	1.6	1.9	1.9	1.5	1.2	1.2	1.4	1.7	2,136
II	2.1	1.6	2.0	1.9	1.5	1.4	1.5	2.0	1.8	2,605
III	2.1	1.6	1.9	1.8	1.5	1.4	1.6	1.8	1.8	2,738
IV	2.1	1.5	1.9	1.7	1.5	1.4	1.5	2.0	1.8	2,608
V	2.1	1.4	1.7	1.6	1.3	1.1	1.2	1.6	1.5	2,446
Kokku Total	2.1	1.5	1.9	1.8	1.5	1.3	1.4	1.7	1.7	12,533
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346		12,533

Tabel 2.7: Töötavate arv leibkonnas - *No. of employed in household*

Töötajate arv leibkonnas %		Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
Number of employed in household %	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+			
0	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.2	3.6	9.6	15.3	1.3	169	
1	14.7	17.4	15.6	16.9	19.6	48.5	53.5	37.9	21.7	2,725	
2	77.3	52.3	73.7	73.8	53.7	33.5	29.4	37.9	62.0	7,776	
3+	7.9	30.1	10.8	9.2	26.5	14.4	7.5	9.0	14.9	1,863	
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	12,533	
Töötavate osakaal leibkonnas %											
Proportion of employed in household %											
Sugu - Sex											
Mees - Male	48.9	66.0	65.2	61.4	70.8	68.9	54.9	43.5	60.6	5,735	
Naine -Female	48.6	68.0	60.8	59.4	73.5	66.0	55.5	44.9	60.4	6,798	
Põlisus - Nativity											
Põline - Native origin	47.6	65.3	62.4	59.9	71.7	66.8	56.5	43.8	59.6	9,742	
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	52.8	71.7	64.7	61.8	74.1	69.6	45.6	48.8	63.6	2,791	
Haridustase - Educational level											
Kõrgem - Higher		68.3	66.6	60.4	64.9	72.2	49.3	30.0	64.1	906	
Kesk - Secondary		75.6	63.4	60.9	73.8	73.4	51.1	41.7	67.4	2,657	
Põhiharidus - Basic	51.4	61.6	61.6	61.2	72.5	68.9	62.5	50.0	63.3	2,804	
Algharidus - Primary	48.7	63.8	59.4	58.6	72.9	65.4	55.5	44.7	55.7	6,166	
Kooseluseis - Partnership status											
Kooselus - In partnership		72.8	59.5	58.5	71.4	64.6	52.0	43.9	62.8	6,165	
Mittekooselus - No partnership	48.8	65.5	76.3	68.8	76.4	73.4	59.2	44.7	58.2	6,368	
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type											
Lastega - W/children	49.5	54.0	55.1	51.5	57.4	52.6			52.1	6,556	
Vanuritega - W/elderly		58.2	65.7	58.9	59.3	51.3	57.6	45.0	55.4	1,472	
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	42.2	44.5	45.0	43.9	47.2	43.5	45.3	43.2	44.0	937	
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		79.2	93.4	85.9	84.4	74.2			82.3	3,568	
Elukoht - Residence											
Linn - Urban	52.1	70.8	65.3	63.0	74.1	72.3	56.8	46.7	63.8	7,284	
Maa - Rural	44.8	60.6	59.1	55.6	69.3	62.8	54.2	42.4	55.8	5,249	
Hõive - Employment											
Töötav - Employed		80.4	63.6	61.0	73.6	79.0	76.6	75.7	69.4	7,581	
Mittetöötav - Not employed	48.8	49.6	38.4	28.7	43.8	42.7	39.2	40.6	46.9	4,952	
Majandussektor - Sector of economy											
Primaar - Primary		75.3	59.0	57.0	70.9	75.6	72.7	69.5	66.2	2,220	
Sekundaar - Secondary		82.4	65.3	62.7	76.1	83.5	77.9	100	71.1	2,546	
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		81.3	65.1	62.3	73.3	80.5	85.4	91.9	70.3	2,815	
Mittetöötav - Not employed	48.8	49.6	38.4	28.7	43.8	42.7	39.2	40.6	46.9	4,952	
Sissetuleku kvintilid - Income quintiles											
I	40.4	58.2	52.1	48.4	59.0	55.7	46.0	37.2	49.0	2,136	
II	46.4	58.8	56.9	53.5	64.0	58.3	54.5	46.5	54.2	2,605	
III	50.6	66.4	61.4	59.0	68.7	65.3	58.4	54.2	59.9	2,738	
IV	54.2	72.7	66.8	65.5	75.3	72.5	59.0	51.0	65.8	2,608	
V	53.0	78.3	72.5	71.1	84.2	79.7	68.9	49.4	72.3	2,446	
Kokku Total	48.8	67.1	62.9	60.3	72.4	67.2	55.3	44.6	60.5	12,533	
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533		

Tabel 2.8: Tulusaajate arv leibkonnas - *No. of income recipients in household*

Tulusaajate arv leibkonnas %		Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
Number of income recipients in household %	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+			
0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2
1	8.3	11.2	12.8	10.0	10.8	20.5	19.7	16.2	11.9	1,488	
2	65.8	37.8	65.3	61.1	46.2	49.1	48.5	35.5	55.1	6,908	
3+	25.8	50.9	22.0	28.8	42.9	30.4	31.7	48.3	33.0	4,135	
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	12,533	
Tulusaajate osakaal leibkonnas %											
Proportion of income recipients in household %											
Sugu - Sex											
Mees - Male	56.0	77.5	69.5	67.4	79.4	88.1	92.4	91.0	70.7	5,735	
Naine -Female	56.5	77.6	66.7	70.8	84.4	91.7	89.3	85.4	73.6	6,798	
Põlisus - Nativity											
Põline - Native origin	54.7	76.6	67.2	68.9	82.1	90.7	91.2	87.7	71.9	9,742	
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	61.5	80.2	71.1	70.3	82.7	87.4	84.9	81.9	73.7	2,791	
Haridustase - Educational level											
Kõrgem - Higher		88.1	71.9	69.6	78.3	91.2	91.4	86.7	75.1	906	
Kesk - Secondary		84.6	69.0	70.1	84.1	91.9	88.3	93.7	77.0	2,657	
Põhiharidus - Basic	58.9	72.6	65.4	70.0	81.8	93.0	90.7	86.8	72.9	2,804	
Algharidus - Primary	56.2	72.1	66.8	66.8	82.3	89.2	90.6	86.3	69.6	6,166	
Kooseluseis - Partnership status											
Kooselus - In partnership		74.2	62.1	64.5	80.3	89.4	92.8	95.3	73.0	6,165	
Mittekooselus - No partnership	56.2	78.5	91.2	90.9	90.5	92.0	87.6	85.0	71.6	6,368	
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type											
Lastega - W/children	55.5	60.8	58.4	58.0	62.7	69.0			57.9	6,556	
Vanuritega - W/elderly		86.8	93.5	92.7	90.3	93.1	95.7	93.4	93.1	1,472	
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	63.2	69.3	64.2	65.1	65.7	70.6	68.3	65.8	65.4	937	
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		88.6	98.4	91.8	91.3	93.9			92.0	3,568	
Elukoht - Residence											
Linn - Urban	60.3	80.5	71.1	71.8	83.9	90.2	86.0	84.4	74.4	7,284	
Maa - Rural	51.4	72.4	63.2	64.5	79.4	90.2	93.4	89.1	69.4	5,249	
Hõive - Employment											
Töötav - Employed		84.6	68.3	69.6	82.9	91.0	95.1	97.3	77.3	7,581	
Mittetöötav - Not employed	56.2	68.4	59.0	50.9	66.6	88.5	86.9	85.4	64.6	4,952	
Majandussektor - Sector of economy											
Primaar - Primary		81.7	63.4	66.2	80.9	90.5	96.0	97.7	76.5	2,220	
Sekundaar - Secondary		85.8	70.1	70.3	84.5	91.0	89.8	100	77.6	2,546	
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		85.0	70.0	71.2	82.9	91.8	95.6	95.0	77.7	2,815	
Mittetöötav - Not employed	56.2	68.4	59.0	50.9	66.6	88.5	86.9	85.4	64.6	4,952	
Sissetuleku kvintiidid - Income quintiles											
I	48.9	70.0	57.8	60.9	74.7	87.9	93.1	90.8	67.6	2,136	
II	56.6	73.0	63.0	66.4	77.3	86.3	88.4	80.8	68.7	2,605	
III	57.9	77.3	67.2	67.1	79.5	89.8	87.1	85.3	70.6	2,738	
IV	59.7	80.6	71.5	72.7	83.3	89.8	90.8	84.5	74.5	2,608	
V	57.5	85.9	76.1	76.0	90.1	95.4	92.5	90.5	79.7	2,446	
Kokku Total	56.2	77.6	68.0	69.2	82.2	90.2	90.5	86.8	72.3	12,533	
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533		

Tabel 2.9: Haridustase - *Educational attainment*

Haridustase % Educational attainment %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Kõrgem - Higher	0.0	1.6	13.6	14.0	6.9	3.3	2.6	0.6	6.0	749
Lõpetamata kõrgem - Incomplete higher	0.0	3.2	2.0	1.2	1.1	0.8	1.2	0.3	1.3	157
Keskeri - Specialised secondary	0.0	9.2	17.6	19.0	11.4	4.5	2.3	1.4	9.2	1,157
Kesk - Secondary	0.0	26.6	23.5	11.0	11.4	8.4	6.4	4.6	12.0	1,500
Põhiharidus - Basic	1.6	50.9	32.5	30.2	23.2	14.7	5.3	3.8	22.4	2,804
Algharidus - Primary	30.9	8.3	10.7	23.7	44.8	64.3	70.0	66.8	31.2	3,906
Alghariduseta - No primary	67.4	0.2	0.1	0.9	1.2	4.0	12.1	22.5	18.0	2,260
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	12,533
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533	
Vähemalt keskharidust omavate isikute osakaal %										
Proportion having at least secondary education %										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	0.0	31.0	47.1	39.4	30.5	20.1	14.4	13.4	24.8	5,735
Naine -Female	0.0	48.2	65.3	50.3	31.1	14.6	11.5	4.9	31.5	6,798
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	0.0	38.3	56.0	47.0	31.1	14.8	11.0	7.9	27.7	9,742
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	0.0	46.5	59.3	39.2	30.2	28.8	24.7	1.9	31.0	2,791
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	906
Kesk - Secondary		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	2,657
Põhiharidus - Basic	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2,804
Algharidus - Primary	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6,166
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		55.8	57.1	44.5	32.2	19.4	12.6	11.9	40.4	6,165
Mittekooselus - No partnership	0.0	36.3	55.2	48.5	25.1	11.3	12.5	5.9	16.8	6,368
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	0.0	33.5	56.1	45.1	27.4	14.2			25.8	6,556
Vanuritega - W/elderly		47.7	50.0	38.7	32.4	13.0	12.3	7.6	20.7	1,472
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	0.0	28.4	58.9	56.0	37.1	38.9	13.8	4.8	24.7	937
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		45.4	59.3	43.1	31.6	17.8			37.4	3,568
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	0.0	46.8	64.3	52.7	40.7	29.9	25.0	9.8	36.6	7,284
Maa - Rural	0.0	29.6	44.8	31.5	13.8	5.6	4.2	4.0	17.1	5,249
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		54.7	56.7	45.8	31.2	18.3	10.9	12.8	42.5	7,581
Mittetöötav - Not employed	0.0	22.1	56.4	16.3	22.7	14.1	13.8	6.2	6.9	4,952
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		37.1	39.6	27.3	12.2	4.5	2.2	6.9	22.2	2,220
Sekundaar - Secondary		52.6	56.8	42.6	32.5	30.1	23.7	50.0	44.1	2,546
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		65.3	67.9	61.6	44.7	30.2	25.3	25.0	56.9	2,815
Mittetöötav - Not employed	0.0	22.1	56.4	16.3	22.7	14.1	13.8	6.2	6.9	4,952
Sissetuleku kvintiliid - Income quintiles										
I	0.0	34.6	52.2	40.4	23.7	5.7	9.4	6.9	20.4	2,136
II	0.0	34.3	57.7	46.1	29.6	13.6	12.8	6.0	26.2	2,605
III	0.0	40.7	59.8	47.9	34.9	17.6	10.9	5.7	30.2	2,738
IV	0.0	46.9	57.3	46.5	33.7	19.8	12.2	7.3	32.1	2,608
V	0.0	45.4	54.4	42.8	30.0	24.8	22.2	12.0	31.9	2,446
Kokku Total	0.0	40.6	56.7	45.2	30.9	16.9	12.6	6.9	28.4	12,533
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533	

Tabel 2.10: Põhitegevus - *Main activity*

Tegevusala % Activity status %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Töötav - Working	0.0	56.7	97.2	97.9	95.8	67.5	43.0	11.3	60.5	7,581
Õpilane - Studying	40.3	41.2	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	15.5	1,947
Pensionär - Pensioner	0.0	0.3	0.6	0.7	1.9	28.5	51.8	75.7	7.7	968
Koolieelik - Preschooler	59.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	14.2	1,782
Kodune - At home	0.1	1.7	1.7	1.4	2.3	4.0	5.1	13.0	2.0	255
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	12,533
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533	
Töötavate isikute osakaal %										
Proportion of employed %										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	0.0	53.5	98.3	98.8	97.8	79.9	57.6	30.5	61.6	5,735
Naine - Female	0.0	59.2	96.2	97.0	94.2	58.3	34.2	5.3	59.6	6,798
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	0.0	52.5	97.0	97.6	95.9	67.6	46.3	13.0	59.7	9,742
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	0.0	67.6	97.9	98.7	95.4	67.3	16.9	1.9	63.1	2,791
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		54.8	96.1	100	98.6	80.5	38.5	0.0	91.3	906
Kesk - Secondary		79.3	97.6	98.8	96.3	70.5	36.7	23.8	90.0	2,657
Põhiharidus - Basic	0.0	41.4	97.3	97.2	94.7	75.7	55.6	30.8	75.2	2,804
Algharidus - Primary	0.0	53.6	96.7	96.1	95.6	64.4	43.1	9.7	36.6	6,166
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		94.9	97.7	97.7	95.8	67.1	46.9	35.6	89.9	6,165
Mittekooselus - No partnership	0.0	46.0	95.2	98.6	95.6	68.5	38.3	6.3	32.0	6,368
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	0.0	53.3	97.7	97.7	95.4	57.5			52.1	6,556
Vanuritega - W/elderly		53.1	89.7	96.8	94.4	60.2	48.4	14.4	55.4	1,472
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	0.0	41.8	96.8	98.8	97.8	66.7	20.0	1.2	44.0	937
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		60.6	96.5	98.1	96.1	71.1			82.3	3,568
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	0.0	59.6	97.6	98.8	97.1	70.9	36.6	5.2	63.9	7,284
Maa - Rural	0.0	51.5	96.6	96.1	93.6	64.6	47.3	17.3	55.8	5,249
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	2,220
Sekundaar - Secondary		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	2,546
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	2,815
Mittetöötav - Not employed	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4,952
Sissetuleku kvintiidid - Income quintiles										
I	0.0	46.3	92.3	92.7	91.7	56.8	40.4	18.1	49.0	2,136
II	0.0	45.2	97.4	98.6	93.5	56.8	42.1	6.0	54.2	2,605
III	0.0	56.2	96.4	99.4	94.9	64.8	42.6	9.4	59.9	2,738
IV	0.0	64.3	98.9	98.4	97.5	76.1	35.7	4.9	65.8	2,608
V	0.0	69.9	98.7	98.0	98.4	78.8	58.9	4.0	72.3	2,446
Kokku Total	0.0	56.7	97.2	97.9	95.8	67.5	43.0	11.3	60.5	12,533
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533	

Tabel 2.11: Majandusharu - *Branch of economy*

Majandusharu (ISIC) % Branch of economy (ISIC) %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Põllumajandus - Agriculture		19.4	24.1	24.2	25.9	45.9	61.6	74.4	27.6	2,091
Kalandus - Fishing		0.4	0.2	0.6	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	30
Kaevandus - Mining		1.4	1.6	1.5	1.4	0.3	0.0	0.0	1.3	99
Tööstus - Industry		26.2	21.2	25.2	26.9	18.4	11.2	5.1	23.5	1,781
Elektri-veevarustus - Electricity and water supply		1.1	0.9	1.1	0.9	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.9	69
Ehitus - Construction		9.1	12.5	9.3	8.0	6.5	1.7	0.0	9.2	696
Kaubandus - Trade		8.5	6.5	5.1	6.9	4.3	3.1	5.1	6.1	466
Hotellid-restaurantid - Hotels-restaurants		1.9	0.9	1.0	1.0	1.2	1.7	0.0	1.1	85
Transport - Transportation		11.3	10.1	8.6	8.1	4.4	3.1	0.0	8.6	651
Rahandus - Finance		0.4	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.7	0.0	0.3	19
Kinnisvara ja äri - Real estate and business		3.4	3.6	3.8	2.5	1.3	1.7	2.6	3.1	234
Avalik teenistus - Public service		2.5	2.5	2.9	2.3	0.9	0.3	0.0	2.3	177
Haridus - Education		5.8	6.2	6.0	6.5	4.7	3.4	2.6	5.9	447
Tervishoid - Health care		3.4	3.3	5.7	3.6	4.9	4.4	10.3	4.2	318
Muud teenused - Other services		3.9	3.6	2.7	2.8	2.9	3.4	0.0	3.1	238
Eramajapidamised - Private household		1.4	2.4	2.4	2.2	3.5	3.7	0.0	2.4	180
Kokku Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	7,581
N		2986	1,007	1,897	1,962	1,704	678	294	39	7,581
Sekundaarsektoris hõivatud isikute osakaal kogu hõivatutest %										
Proportion of working people employed in secondary sector of economy %										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male		42.8	37.8	39.9	39.3	33.3	15.5	0.0	37.6	3,531
Naine -Female		31.8	31.8	31.7	33.0	17.6	10.3	14.3	30.0	4,050
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin		29.7	30.0	29.8	30.4	21.6	12.1	5.3	28.1	5,818
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin		50.2	51.3	54.5	51.5	47.6	30.8	0.0	51.6	1,763
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		28.3	29.7	28.3	19.9	33.3	50.0		27.8	827
Kesk - Secondary		35.6	36.7	35.5	43.5	45.1	18.2	20.0	37.4	2,392
Põhiharidus - Basic		38.4	35.0	37.5	39.7	30.4	30.0	0.0	36.8	2,108
Algharidus - Primary		37.0	33.5	38.0	32.9	19.7	9.5	3.3	28.7	2,254
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		36.3	35.4	36.4	36.9	28.5	14.3	0.0	34.7	5,544
Mittekooselus - No partnership		36.5	31.7	31.9	31.3	18.8	10.9	11.1	30.5	2,037
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children		34.3	33.5	35.0	34.4	34.2			34.2	3,417
Vanuritega - W/elderly		26.1	44.2	23.3	34.8	13.4	13.4	5.3	22.5	815
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly		53.6	43.5	33.7	37.9	25.0	7.7	0.0	36.2	412
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		38.2	35.5	39.5	36.4	26.6			35.5	2,937
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban		46.4	46.5	49.1	50.3	47.0	32.7	22.2	47.8	4,651
Maa - Rural		16.3	16.0	10.3	9.8	4.9	2.6	0.0	11.1	2,930
Sissetuleku kvintiliid - Income quintiles										
I		16.7	24.9	25.3	24.1	5.0	4.9	3.8	19.7	1,044
II		39.2	34.7	31.5	33.6	16.8	8.7	0.0	31.3	1,414
III		39.8	34.3	39.3	38.0	28.0	16.4	20.0	36.1	1,639
IV		40.4	39.7	41.4	40.1	32.0	11.4	0.0	39.0	1,716
V		38.8	34.8	35.3	37.6	34.5	28.3	0.0	36.0	1,768
Kokku Total		36.4	34.7	35.6	35.8	25.5	12.9	5.1	33.6	7,581
N		0	1,007	1,897	1,962	1,704	678	294	39	7,581

Tabel 2.12: Isikutulu allikad - *Income sources*

Isikutulu allikad % Personal income sources %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Palgatulu - Wage income	0.0	53.9	94.1	96.6	94.6	66.8	40.4	10.4	59.0	7,396
Töövõimetustoetus - Diasbility benefit	0.0	4.1	6.4	4.1	5.1	2.1	1.6	0.0	3.2	401
Pension - Pension	2.1	2.1	1.1	2.4	5.7	68.5	89.6	85.5	14.9	1,868
Stipendium - Stipend	0.0	11.7	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.7	219
Lastetoetus - Parental benefit	0.0	0.9	1.5	1.8	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.7	84
Alimendid - Alimony	6.9	3.3	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.3	2.1	269
Abimajapidamisest - Private plot	0.0	0.3	3.2	5.2	8.3	17.4	20.0	7.5	5.3	658
Muu rahaline tulu - Other money income	0.2	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.7	0.9	0.4	54
Üldse tulusaajaid - Total income receivers	9.2	71.4	96.9	98.6	97.5	96.3	94.6	87.0	72.3	9,060
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533	
Tulusaajate osakaal % Proportion of income recipients %										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	8.4	70.3	99.6	99.6	99.2	99.1	99.2	96.3	70.9	5,735
Naine -Female	10.0	72.3	94.5	97.6	96.2	94.3	91.8	84.1	73.5	6,798
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	8.7	68.6	96.8	98.5	97.2	96.4	95.2	88.4	72.0	9,741
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	10.9	78.8	97.2	98.7	98.5	96.1	89.6	79.6	73.2	2,792
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		92.9	96.4	99.0	98.6	100	92.3	100	97.4	906
Kesk - Secondary		91.2	96.9	99.5	98.3	94.6	93.3	95.2	96.1	2,657
Põhiharidus - Basic	6.1	57.6	96.7	98.7	96.4	99.3	94.4	84.6	82.9	2,804
Algharidus - Primary	9.2	58.9	98.1	97.0	97.6	95.8	94.8	86.4	53.5	6,166
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		91.8	96.4	98.4	97.3	95.4	95.4	96.6	96.7	6,165
Mittekooselus - No partnership	9.2	65.7	98.7	99.4	98.5	98.3	93.6	85.0	48.7	6,368
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	9.3	65.1	96.3	98.5	97.5	96.9			57.9	6,556
Vanuritega - W/elderly		74.6	96.6	97.8	97.2	97.5	95.8	88.2	93.1	1,472
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	8.4	64.2	93.7	98.8	100	94.4	89.2	83.1	65.4	937
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		75.9	99.5	98.7	97.4	96.0			92.0	3,568
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	9.7	74.5	97.6	99.1	98.8	97.2	92.8	85.5	74.4	7,284
Maa - Rural	8.5	66.0	95.8	97.6	95.2	95.5	95.8	88.4	69.4	5,249
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		97.0	98.4	99.6	99.8	100	99.7	100	99.1	7,581
Mittetöötav - Not employed	9.2	37.9	43.6	48.8	46.7	88.7	90.8	85.3	31.3	4,952
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		96.7	98.8	99.4	99.6	100	99.4	100	99.1	2,220
Sekundaar - Secondary		97.8	98.3	100	99.7	100	100	100	99.2	2,546
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		96.5	98.3	99.5	100	100	100	100	98.9	2,815
Mittetöötav - Not employed	9.2	37.9	43.6	48.8	46.7	88.7	90.8	85.3	31.3	4,952
Sissetuleku kvintiiidid - Income quintiles										
I	14.2	59.7	88.9	93.8	94.9	93.8	94.6	88.2	67.7	2,127
II	10.5	64.3	97.2	99.3	96.0	96.5	94.5	79.5	68.6	2,614
III	8.2	70.7	97.8	99.6	97.5	96.2	93.8	86.8	70.6	2,738
IV	7.3	76.9	98.1	99.3	98.3	97.0	94.9	90.2	74.5	2,608
V	4.8	83.8	99.0	98.8	99.2	97.6	95.6	100	79.7	2,446
Kokku Total	9.2	71.4	96.9	98.6	97.5	96.3	94.6	87.0	72.3	12,533
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533	

Tabel 2.13: Isikutulu allikate arv - *Number of income sources*

Isikutulu allikate arv % Number of personal income sources %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0	90.8	28.6	3.1	1.4	2.5	3.7	5.4	13.0	27.7	3,473
1	9.2	66.2	87.1	87.1	81.5	48.9	49.7	72.0	59.2	7,425
2+	0.0	5.2	9.8	11.5	16.1	47.4	44.9	15.0	13.0	1,635
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	12,533
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533	
Keskmine isikutulu allikate arv %										
Mean number of personal income sources %										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	0.1	0.7	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.5	1.8	1.5	0.9	5,735
Naine -Female	0.1	0.8	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.6	1.3	0.9	0.9	6,798
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	0.1	0.7	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.6	1.6	1.1	0.9	9,741
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	0.1	0.8	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.3	1.0	0.8	0.8	2,792
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		1.0	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.4	1.2	1.0	1.1	906
Kesk - Secondary		1.0	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.1	2,657
Põhiharidus - Basic	0.1	0.6	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.6	1.5	1.2	1.0	2,804
Algharidus - Primary	0.1	0.6	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.6	1.6	1.0	0.7	6,166
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		1.0	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.5	1.6	1.5	1.2	6,165
Mittetöötav - No partnership	0.1	0.7	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.8	1.4	1.0	0.6	6,368
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	0.1	0.7	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.3			0.7	6,556
Vanuritega - W/elderly		0.8	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.6	1.6	1.1	1.3	1,472
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	0.1	0.7	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.1	0.9	0.8	937
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		0.8	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.6			1.1	3,568
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	0.1	0.8	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.4	1.2	0.9	0.8	7,284
Maa - Rural	0.1	0.7	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.7	1.7	1.2	0.9	5,249
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		1.0	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.8	2.2	2.0	1.2	7,581
Mittetöötav - Not employed	0.1	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.5	1.0	1.0	0.9	0.3	4,952
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		1.1	1.2	1.2	1.4	2.1	2.3	2.2	1.5	2,220
Sekundaar - Secondary		1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.5	1.8	2.0	1.1	2,546
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		1.0	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.6	1.9	1.5	1.1	2,815
Mittetöötav - Not employed	0.1	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.5	1.0	1.0	0.9	0.3	4,952
Sissetuleku kvintiliid - Income quintiles										
I	0.1	0.7	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.4	1.4	1.1	0.8	2,127
II	0.1	0.7	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.5	1.5	0.9	0.8	2,614
III	0.1	0.8	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.5	1.5	1.1	0.8	2,738
IV	0.1	0.8	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.6	1.6	1.1	0.9	2,608
V	0.0	0.9	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.7	1.8	1.1	1.0	2,446
Kokku Total	0.1	0.8	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.6	1.5	1.0	0.9	12,533
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533	

Tabel 2.14: Isiku brutokogutulu suurus - *Size of total gross individual income*

Isiku brutokogutulu suurus, rubla % Total gross individual income, rouble %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0-49	89.4	23.7	2.1	1.6	2.2	13.0	35.5	75.4	13.7	1,239
50-99	10.2	28.5	19.1	15.1	19.1	23.1	26.3	15.6	20.1	1,821
100-149	0.4	26.2	28.9	27.1	26.9	22.1	18.5	6.0	24.7	2,234
150-199	0.0	12.7	23.7	26.6	23.7	17.4	9.7	0.7	19.6	1,778
200-249	0.0	5.4	12.9	14.2	13.4	10.1	3.7	1.3	10.5	951
250-349	0.0	2.7	9.5	10.3	9.8	10.2	4.9	0.7	7.9	720
350+	0.0	0.7	3.8	5.1	5.0	4.0	1.2	0.3	3.5	317
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	9,060
Isiku brutokogutulu mediaan, rubla Median total gross income, rouble										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	25.0	125.0	189.0	191.0	192.0	165.0	112.0	55.0	170.0	4,066
Naine -Female	24.0	83.0	115.0	125.5	122.0	104.0	51.0	30.0	104.0	4,994
Kokku Total	25.0	95.0	149.0	159.0	150.0	128.0	67.0	36.0	130.0	9,060
Keskmine isiku brutokogutulu, rubla Mean total gross income, rouble										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	27.4	129.4	207.6	218.1	212.4	184.2	139.2	75.4	185.2	4,066
Naine -Female	28.5	87.4	126.8	138.7	138.6	120.4	75.0	37.1	114.4	4,994
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	27.8	104.3	170.7	179.5	177.3	149.7	104.8	49.4	149.0	7,016
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	28.4	109.1	149.2	166.6	154.0	141.1	62.9	33.6	136.3	2,044
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		91.6	162.9	192.4	218.1	217.7	148.1	71.3	177.3	882
Kesk - Secondary		105.8	149.7	155.2	153.7	157.5	112.9	66.4	140.5	2,554
Põhiharidus - Basic	30.0	103.5	180.3	181.3	160.5	164.8	130.9	45.2	157.4	2,325
Algharidus - Primary	28.0	130.9	188.9	187.2	177.0	138.7	94.9	45.5	134.2	3,299
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		134.7	169.2	178.8	175.7	153.7	114.1	74.0	165.3	5,960
Mittekooselus - No partnership	28.0	94.5	153.7	166.1	152.2	136.4	83.4	40.9	109.3	3,100
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	27.0	106.5	167.7	181.0	184.5	140.9			156.9	3,795
Vanuritega - W/elderly		102.9	153.4	163.2	152.0	126.2	107.7	50.2	112.0	1,371
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	38.7	95.5	174.3	176.2	165.5	149.0	66.6	36.9	126.1	613
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		106.4	160.2	168.7	169.5	154.9			151.7	3,281
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	30.8	103.3	152.2	168.4	157.8	147.2	94.2	40.2	139.8	5,417
Maa - Rural	24.2	110.7	188.1	191.3	195.2	149.5	104.3	53.9	155.6	3,643
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		126.9	167.4	177.6	173.5	179.1	150.7	89.5	166.2	7,509
Mittetöötav - Not employed	28.0	35.2	54.8	69.3	60.7	76.3	58.6	40.9	49.2	1,551
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		142.1	199.9	207.1	212.7	188.6	148.4	88.4	191.6	2,201
Sekundaar - Secondary		139.0	176.5	183.3	174.2	193.5	191.0	106.5	173.8	2,525
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		108.7	137.8	152.0	142.7	150.6	135.9	89.2	139.1	2,783
Mittetöötav - Not employed	28.0	35.2	54.8	69.3	60.7	76.3	58.6	40.9	49.2	1,551
Sissetuleku kvintiiidid - Income quintiles										
I	25.2	70.3	105.7	109.0	96.5	68.7	54.8	41.4	79.3	1,441
II	28.1	83.9	132.0	138.0	132.6	104.8	87.5	43.8	112.9	1,793
III	28.0	97.2	154.9	159.4	151.2	127.9	98.6	56.3	134.9	1,934
IV	30.7	116.2	176.5	189.1	176.3	160.1	110.1	51.5	160.0	1,943
V	32.2	143.2	232.0	264.3	239.4	242.1	217.0	62.4	223.6	1,949
Kokku Total	28.0	105.8	166.0	176.5	171.2	148.4	100.3	47.2	146.2	9,060
N	274	1,269	1,891	1,976	1,735	967	647	301	9,060	

Tabel 2.15: Isiku netokogutulu suurus - *Size of total net individual income*

Isiku brutokogutulu suurus, rubla % Total gross individual income, rouble %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0-49	89.8	24.0	2.4	1.9	2.4	13.0	35.5	75.4	13.9	1,258
50-99	9.9	34.6	25.7	21.0	24.0	24.5	26.6	15.9	24.7	2,241
100-149	0.4	24.8	31.8	33.2	30.1	24.6	18.9	5.6	27.3	2,474
150-199	0.0	11.0	20.3	22.4	22.0	15.9	9.3	0.7	17.2	1,561
200-249	0.0	3.5	10.2	10.6	9.9	10.1	4.2	1.3	8.2	746
250-349	0.0	1.7	6.9	7.1	7.7	8.1	4.3	0.7	5.9	533
350+	0.0	0.5	2.9	3.8	3.9	3.7	1.2	0.3	2.7	248
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	9,061
Isiku netokogutulu mediaan, rubla Median total net income, rouble										
Mees - Male	25.0	110.0	167.0	166.0	172.0	154.0	110.0	55.0	153.0	4,066
Naine -Female	24.0	78.0	105.0	115.0	111.0	102.0	51.0	30.0	96.0	4,995
Kokku Total	25.0	86.0	133.0	141.0	137.0	122.0	67.0	36.0	118.0	9,061
Keskmine isiku brutokogutulu, rubla Mean total gross income, rouble										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	27.2	117.2	187.0	194.3	194.1	175.2	136.5	75.3	168.8	4,066
Naine -Female	28.5	81.4	117.1	127.4	129.1	117.6	74.4	37.0	107.1	4,995
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	27.7	96.0	156.2	162.6	164.4	144.7	103.3	49.3	138.2	7,017
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	28.4	99.5	132.6	148.0	139.2	132.6	62.2	33.6	123.1	2,044
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		84.0	145.3	167.8	194.8	200.8	141.3	71.3	157.7	883
Kesk - Secondary		97.1	136.3	140.1	140.0	148.0	109.7	66.2	128.3	2,554
Põhiharidus - Basic	30.0	95.4	165.2	164.5	147.1	157.2	126.9	44.2	144.5	2,325
Algharidus - Primary	27.9	118.2	172.4	171.0	165.5	135.0	94.1	45.5	126.8	3,299
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		122.3	154.4	161.6	161.5	147.0	112.3	73.8	152.0	5,960
Mittekooselus - No partnership	27.9	87.2	138.1	148.3	142.4	133.3	82.5	40.8	101.7	3,101
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	26.9	98.5	154.0	165.3	169.9	134.0			144.3	3,795
Vanuritega - W/elderly		94.1	138.5	145.0	140.6	123.3	106.1	50.1	106.9	1,371
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	38.7	89.0	159.2	158.1	151.0	139.4	65.9	36.8	116.1	613
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		97.1	140.9	148.3	156.4	149.1			139.0	3,282
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	30.6	93.9	135.6	148.7	141.9	138.0	91.2	40.0	125.9	5,418
Maa - Rural	24.2	103.2	175.6	178.5	186.5	147.1	104.0	53.9	147.9	3,643
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		115.6	152.2	160.2	159.8	171.2	147.6	88.7	152.5	7,510
Mittetöötav - Not employed	27.9	35.1	54.8	69.3	60.2	76.2	58.6	40.9	49.2	1,551
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		134.6	190.7	196.2	205.4	186.5	148.0	88.4	184.4	2,201
Sekundaar - Secondary		123.9	155.5	160.0	155.6	176.9	179.8	104.5	154.1	2,525
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		98.8	123.9	135.5	129.1	141.2	130.3	86.0	125.7	2,784
Mittetöötav - Not employed	27.9	35.1	54.8	69.3	60.2	76.2	58.6	40.9	49.2	1,551
Sissetuleku kvintiliid - Income quintiles										
I	25.2	65.5	95.7	98.7	89.7	63.2	52.2	39.7	74.2	1,440
II	26.8	78.3	119.9	123.0	120.9	97.7	84.9	43.9	104.1	1,785
III	28.3	90.7	140.3	146.2	134.4	121.0	87.3	55.8	123.1	1,939
IV	31.5	104.0	161.9	171.8	160.6	148.9	111.5	52.4	145.7	1,949
V	32.2	131.3	218.1	244.2	226.1	222.7	202.6	67.0	208.4	1,948
Kokku Total	27.9	97.1	151.0	159.2	157.8	142.8	98.9	47.1	134.8	9,061
N	274	1,269	1,891	1,977	1,735	967	647	301	9,061	

Tabel 2.16: Isiku brutopalgasuurus - *Size of individual gross wage income*

Isiku brutopalgasuurus, rubla % Individual gross wage income, rouble %	Vanusrühm - Age group							\sum	N
	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0-99	39.2	22.3	18.1	23.5	47.1	71.7	97.2	28.1	2,080
100-149	33.0	29.0	27.9	28.7	20.6	19.2	2.8	27.9	2,063
150-199	16.6	24.3	26.9	25.1	18.2	7.2	0.0	22.9	1,691
200-249	6.9	12.6	13.3	12.2	7.2	1.4	0.0	11.0	814
250-299	3.7	9.0	9.8	7.6	5.2	0.4	0.0	7.5	553
350+	0.6	2.8	4.0	2.9	1.8	0.0	0.0	2.6	195
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	7,396
Isiku brutopalgamediaan, rubla									
Median gross wage income, rouble									
Mees - Male	143.0	186.0	184.0	180.0	145.0	78.0	22.0	171.0	3,492
Naine -Female	92.0	112.0	123.0	120.0	80.0	60.0	60.0	110.0	3,904
Kokku Total	113.0	146.0	155.0	144.0	105.0	60.0	30.5	137.0	7,396
Keskmine isiku brutopalk, rubla									
Mean gross wage income, rouble									
Sugu - Sex									
Mees - Male	156.2	201.3	207.4	191.3	153.4	83.0	31.8	184.9	3,492
Naine -Female	100.7	121.2	133.6	127.9	88.0	59.3	48.8	118.0	3,904
Põlisus - Nativity									
Põline - Native origin	125.8	164.2	170.4	158.8	119.2	71.1	38.5	150.6	5,682
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	123.6	147.0	164.6	147.6	130.1	83.6	16.0	146.2	1,714
Haridustase - Educational level									
Kõrgem - Higher	123.5	161.1	186.2	213.8	204.3	145.0		179.1	801
Kesk - Secondary	114.5	144.5	147.5	142.2	140.8	107.7	57.6	138.0	2,334
Põhiharidus - Basic	135.3	172.2	174.3	150.8	123.0	107.6	38.2	158.9	2,058
Algharidus - Primary	145.7	183.1	178.7	154.9	109.9	61.5	34.2	142.3	2,203
Kooseluseis - Partnership status									
Kooselus - In partnership	133.4	162.5	171.1	161.2	135.0	74.2	32.9	157.3	5,396
Mittekooselus - No partnership	120.7	151.9	159.5	133.5	88.9	67.1	43.5	128.6	2,000
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type									
Lastega - W/children	127.1	160.6	171.8	168.9	138.0			162.1	3,303
Vanuritega - W/elderly	127.3	158.4	158.6	140.6	106.0	70.1	37.2	111.5	787
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	122.0	160.7	169.9	155.8	146.5	84.2	63.0	155.2	402
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly	123.9	159.7	164.4	152.9	120.6			144.9	2,904
Elukoht - Residence									
Linn - Urban	121.2	150.7	165.7	153.9	134.7	100.3	69.1	149.0	4,561
Maa - Rural	133.2	175.9	175.2	159.4	107.3	55.5	27.5	150.4	2,835
Hõive - Employment									
Töötav - Employed	125.0	160.4	169.0	155.9	121.3	71.2	37.9	149.6	7,386
Mittetöötav - Not employed	184.0				82.0	96.5		95.1	10
Majandussektor - Sector of economy									
Primaar - Primary	138.5	180.1	183.1	165.0	104.9	53.0	26.2	151.5	2,137
Sekundaar - Secondary	137.7	173.2	180.5	168.2	156.3	113.0	67.5	166.8	2,497
Tertsiaar - Tertiary	107.4	136.0	148.6	137.0	115.6	90.7	68.8	132.6	2,752
Mittetöötav - Not employed	184.0				82.0	96.5		95.1	10
Sissetuleku kvintiiidid - Income quintiles									
I	85.7	103.2	105.6	93.4	52.2	30.0	29.6	87.4	971
II	105.2	130.0	134.4	127.2	78.7	56.6	49.0	119.9	1,379
III	115.4	152.9	154.8	142.7	105.5	82.0	63.8	140.4	1,608
IV	131.9	171.2	183.8	166.9	125.0	80.3	45.0	161.9	1,690
V	160.2	215.0	243.1	201.4	183.1	127.3		203.9	1,748
Kokku Total	125.1	160.4	169.0	155.9	120.9	71.4	37.9	149.6	7,396
N	957	1,836	1,937	1,683	671	276	36	7,396	

Tabel 2.17: Isiku netopalga suurus - *Size of individual net wage income*

Isiku netopalga suurus, rubla % Individual net wage income, rouble %	Vanusrühm - Age group							Σ	N
	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0-99	47.5	29.5	24.7	29.2	51.4	74.6	100	34.5	2,553
100-149	31.2	31.9	33.9	32.0	23.0	18.1	0.0	30.9	2,285
150-199	14.2	20.5	22.3	22.6	13.6	5.4	0.0	19.4	1,432
200-249	4.2	9.7	9.9	8.4	6.6	1.4	0.0	8.1	600
250-299	2.5	6.5	6.6	5.9	4.0	0.4	0.0	5.4	399
350+	0.3	1.9	2.6	1.8	1.5	0.0	0.0	1.7	128
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	7,397
Isiku netopalga mediaan, rubla Median net wage income, rouble									
Mees - Male	127.0	165.0	162.0	163.0	135.0	75.0	22.0	153.0	3,492
Naine -Female	84.0	101.0	113.0	109.0	75.0	60.0	60.0	100	3,904
Kokku Total	102.0	131.0	137.0	131.0	97.0	60.0	30.5	122.0	7,396
Keskmine isiku netopalk, rubla Mean net wage income, rouble									
Sugu - Sex									
Mees - Male	140.1	180.4	183.3	172.7	142.2	78.2	31.4	165.9	3,492
Naine -Female	92.8	111.3	122.2	118.3	83.4	57.7	47.1	108.8	3,904
Põlisus - Nativity									
Põline - Native origin	114.5	149.3	153.2	145.8	112.0	67.9	37.7	137.3	5,682
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	111.9	130.4	145.8	132.2	118.2	77.4	16.0	130.5	1,714
Haridustase - Educational level									
Kõrgem - Higher	110.1	142.8	161.6	190.4	183.3	128.7		157.8	802
Kesk - Secondary	104.2	130.7	132.2	128.6	128.2	99.5	56.6	124.7	2,333
Põhiharidus - Basic	123.2	156.9	157.2	137.2	113.3	100.3	35.5	144.4	2,058
Algharidus - Primary	131.1	166.4	162.2	143.1	104.4	59.7	33.7	131.3	2,203
Kooseluseis - Partnership status									
Kooselus - In partnership	120.3	147.5	153.7	146.7	125.5	70.3	32.5	142.8	5,395
Mittekooselus - No partnership	110.1	135.8	141.3	123.4	84.6	64.7	42.2	116.8	2,001
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type									
Lastega - W/children	116.1	146.7	155.8	154.0	126.4			147.6	3,303
Vanuritega - W/elderly	114.9	142.4	140.2	128.8	101.1	66.8	36.4	102.6	787
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	111.6	145.7	151.7	141.0	132.9	81.0	62.0	140.0	402
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly	112.2	139.8	143.8	139.7	112.7			130.6	2,904
Elukoht - Residence									
Linn - Urban	109.1	133.9	145.8	137.7	122.3	92.5	65.9	132.7	4,561
Maa - Rural	123.0	163.1	162.1	150.5	103.8	54.8	27.5	140.6	2,835
Hõive - Employment									
Töötav - Employed	113.6	145.1	151.5	142.3	113.3	67.9	37.1	135.8	7,386
Mittetöötav - Not employed	184.0				80.9	96.5		94.3	10
Majandussektor - Sector of economy									
Primaar - Primary	130.7	170.8	172.1	157.7	102.6	52.6	26.2	144.2	2,137
Sekundaar - Secondary	122.5	152.0	157.1	149.5	139.7	101.8	65.5	147.0	2,497
Tertsiaar - Tertiary	97.4	122.0	132.0	123.6	106.2	84.9	65.5	119.2	2,752
Mittetöötav - Not employed	184.0				80.9	96.5		94.3	10
Sissetuleku kvintiliid - Income quintiles									
I	78.7	93.6	95.8	86.3	49.6	29.7	25.6	81.4	984
II	96.0	117.0	120.1	115.3	72.3	52.8	53.0	108.9	1,405
III	106.0	138.4	141.0	126.9	97.4	71.9	54.8	127.3	1,600
IV	119.3	156.7	166.6	151.6	110.5	82.1	60.7	146.6	1,681
V	145.1	199.6	220.7	186.6	165.1	112.1		185.8	1,726
Kokku Total	113.6	145.1	151.5	142.3	112.9	68.2	37.1	135.7	7,396
N	957	1,836	1,938	1,682	671	276	36	7,396	

Tabel 2.18: Isiku töövõimetustoetuse suurus - *Size of disability benefit*

Isiku töövõimetustoetuse suurus % Size of disability benefit %	Vanusrühm - Age group						Σ	N
	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74		
0-49	63.9	57.3	56.1	47.3	71.4	63.6	56.9	228
50-99	26.4	25.8	26.8	22.0	19.0	36.4	25.2	101
100+	9.7	16.9	17.1	30.8	9.5	0.0	18.0	72
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	401
Isiku töövõimetustoetuse mediaan, rubla Median disability benefit, rouble								
Mees - Male	29.5	58.0	48.0	103.5	45.0	35.5	52.0	129
Naine -Female	21.5	34.0	41.0	40.0	34.0	57.0	36.0	272
Kokku Total	24.0	36.0	44.5	58.0	36.0	44.0	41.0	401
Keskmine isiku töövõimetustoetus, rubla Mean disability benefit, rouble								
Sugu - Sex								
Mees - Male	44.5	72.2	62.7	108.3	61.5	34.5	74.6	129
Naine -Female	43.2	53.3	59.6	55.9	39.2	49.8	52.5	272
Põlisus - Nativity								
Põline - Native origin	43.7	59.8	64.7	80.0	55.0	41.5	62.0	290
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	43.3	50.9	50.4	72.3	13.0		53.3	111
Haridustase - Educational level								
Kõrgem - Higher	18.5	90.1	81.7	65.2	18.5		78.1	42
Kesk - Secondary	47.7	48.0	60.1	50.8	103.5	12.0	50.7	146
Põhiharidus - Basic	40.2	60.6	61.5	81.0	45.9		58.1	120
Algharidus - Primary	38.5	43.6	44.5	90.0	58.7	44.4	67.3	93
Kooseluseis - Partnership status								
Kooselus - In partnership	53.7	56.7	59.8	80.3	60.9	42.8	62.2	314
Mittekooselus - No partnership	26.5	65.1	63.6	68.3	33.5	38.0	50.4	87
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type								
Lastega - W/children	48.5	53.3	58.2	99.9	57.0		56.8	209
Vanuritega - W/elderly	8.7	95.5	62.2	76.8	50.5	41.2	59.3	38
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	45.7	60.9	95.4	66.8	24.0	44.0	69.1	25
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly	40.5	93.5	51.4	73.5	54.5		62.4	129
Elukoht - Residence								
Linn - Urban	41.5	52.8	53.7	65.8	46.7	44.4	53.6	271
Maa - Rural	46.0	68.7	82.2	100.9	68.8	33.7	72.1	130
Hõive - Employment								
Töötav - Employed	43.5	57.7	60.7	77.8	53.0	41.5	59.6	401
Majandussektor - Sector of economy								
Primaar - Primary	58.2	76.8	85.0	106.0	86.7	44.0	84.7	85
Sekundaar - Secondary	39.3	55.2	49.2	77.6	52.5	46.7	55.8	178
Tertsiaar - Tertiary	39.3	51.7	63.1	45.3	39.6	38.9	49.1	138
Sissetuleku kvintiidid - Income quintiles								
I	30.7	47.1	48.5	44.2	25.0	43.5	43.1	59
II	44.6	52.2	73.4	43.2	51.5	61.0	54.3	72
III	32.7	47.7	56.8	89.4	45.2	30.3	53.0	109
IV	44.3	70.7	55.9	99.9	150.0		68.0	79
V	71.2	75.3	77.1	87.9	54.9	39.0	76.8	82
Kokku Total	43.5	57.7	60.7	77.8	53.0	41.5	59.6	401
N	72	124	82	91	21	11	401	

Tabel 2.19: Isiku pensioni suurus - *Size of individual pension income*

Isiku pensioni suurus, rubla %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
Size of individual pension income, rouble %	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0-24	37.1	39.5	14.3	34.7	20.8	6.4	16.2	37.5	17.8	333
25-49	53.2	47.4	47.6	28.6	30.7	33.1	49.8	50.7	42.2	789
50-74	8.1	7.9	19.0	20.4	23.8	31.4	21.4	9.1	22.5	420
75-99	1.6	5.3	14.3	10.2	6.9	14.7	7.8	2.0	9.3	173
100+	0.0	0.0	4.8	6.1	17.8	14.4	4.9	0.7	8.2	153
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	1,868
Isiku pensionitulu mediaan, rubla										
Median pension income, rouble										
Mees - Male	27.0	28.0	42.0	47.0	60.0	72.0	51.0	38.0	52.0	679
Naine -Female	28.0	25.0	45.0	22.5	45.0	51.0	38.0	27.0	44.0	1,189
Keskmine isiku pensionitulu, rubla										
Mean pension income, rouble										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	27.7	34.6	56.3	55.4	70.7	75.1	58.9	42.5	60.9	679
Naine -Female	31.8	28.6	45.4	29.8	48.0	56.4	39.7	31.2	44.6	1,189
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	29.9	32.7	48.9	43.9	51.8	60.6	46.5	34.3	49.2	1,610
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	29.0	27.4	95.0	52.3	79.8	73.2	53.5	33.0	58.3	258
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher			120.0	53.2	73.2	89.0	97.7	71.3	86.6	58
Kesk - Secondary		37.0	51.2	48.1	73.9	78.9	59.4	50.1	66.8	197
Põhiharidus - Basic	30.0	31.5	47.6	45.4	40.4	67.0	62.8	31.4	54.9	215
Algharidus - Primary	29.8	28.0	38.0	34.9	55.4	57.6	43.3	32.7	46.0	1,398
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership			57.2	50.6	64.5	65.1	51.7	39.2	58.2	949
Mittekooselus - No partnership	29.8	31.6	45.5	32.0	42.3	57.7	41.9	33.0	42.6	919
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	28.2	29.2	54.4	57.1	60.8	66.5			52.0	202
Vanuritega - W/elderly		21.8	57.0	31.8	60.5	55.1	48.1	33.9	45.6	893
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	39.0	35.5		36.0	46.5	67.9	43.9	34.9	41.5	212
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		34.6	44.4	34.5	59.1	63.6			61.2	561
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	33.7	32.8	53.1	49.1	66.9	72.9	57.7	37.0	57.9	817
Maa - Rural	25.0	28.9	49.6	39.8	45.9	55.0	41.0	31.5	44.7	1,051
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		18.0	34.8	37.1	61.6	64.2	51.0	38.5	57.1	806
Mittetöötav - Not employed	29.8	32.4	61.2	62.7	53.9	59.8	44.6	33.6	45.4	1,062
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary			42.0	39.0	52.9	58.1	43.4	38.1	50.8	465
Sekundaar - Secondary		10.0	29.0	34.3	61.7	84.7	86.1	39.0	74.2	137
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		26.0	39.0	38.8	67.8	64.0	57.9	41.0	60.2	204
Mittetöötav - Not employed	29.8	32.4	61.2	62.7	53.9	59.8	44.6	33.6	45.4	1,062
Sissetuleku kvintiliid - Income quintiles										
I	28.0	28.4	51.6	42.9	38.5	43.7	38.5	33.5	38.3	490
II	36.7	33.0	55.1	37.6	43.1	57.6	44.9	33.2	46.8	430
III	26.2	26.7	53.5	41.5	68.1	61.7	49.6	37.4	51.5	337
IV	28.4	42.6		63.7	81.5	69.3	49.2	33.8	57.7	292
V	26.4	24.7	40.0	36.8	68.0	75.5	65.8	34.3	66.5	319
Kokku Total	29.8	31.6	51.1	44.9	59.0	62.4	47.3	34.1	50.5	1,868
N	62	38	21	49	101	688	613	296	1,868	

Tabel 2.20: Isiku lastetoetuse suurus - *Size of individual parental benefit*

Isiku lastetoetuse suurus % Size of parental benefit %	Vanusrühm - Age group					Σ	N
	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64		
0-24	93.8	73.3	91.7	100	100	85.7	72
25-49	6.2	20.0	8.3	0.0	0.0	11.9	10
50+	0.0	6.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4	2
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	84
Isiku lastetoetuse mediaan, rubla Median size of parental benefit, rouble							
Naine -Female	5.0	17.0	5.5	5.0	5.0	10.0	84
Kokku Total	5.0	17.0	5.5	5.0	5.0	10.0	84
Keskmine isiku lastetoetus, rubla Mean size of parental benefit, rouble							
Sugu - Sex							
Naine -Female	10.4	20.9	11.8	5.0	5.0	14.6	84
Põlisus - Nativity							
Põline - Native origin	10.3	19.5	11.6	5.0	5.0	14.1	72
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	10.5	30.0	14.5			17.7	12
Haridustase - Educational level							
Kõrgem - Higher	27.0	4.8	5.0			7.6	8
Kesk - Secondary	10.2	17.9	9.7	5.0		12.6	34
Põhiharidus - Basic	7.4	25.0	13.1			16.9	24
Algharidus - Primary		35.5	14.2		5.0	18.4	18
Kooseluseis - Partnership status							
Kooselus - In partnership	16.2	24.3	15.8			19.3	44
Mittekooselus - No partnership	8.4	15.8	5.5	5.0	5.0	9.4	40
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type							
Lastega - W/children	9.1	21.0	12.0		5.0	14.7	73
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	19.5	19.3	10.2	5.0		13.9	11
Elukoht - Residence							
Linn - Urban	12.8	20.5	7.7	5.0		13.9	35
Maa - Rural	8.0	21.2	13.8		5.0	15.1	49
Hõive - Employment							
Töötav - Employed	9.6	20.2	10.5	5.0	5.0	13.8	76
Mittetöötav - Not employed	16.0	30.0	21.8			22.4	8
Majandussektor - Sector of economy							
Primaar - Primary	8.0	23.5	12.0		5.0	16.1	28
Sekundaar - Secondary	11.3	4.7	4.8	5.0		6.1	15
Tertsiaar - Tertiary	9.7	20.8	12.8			15.3	33
Mittetöötav - Not employed	16.0	30.0	21.8			22.4	8
Sissetuleku kvintiidid - Income quintiles							
I	9.3	27.9	12.5			18.7	39
II	14.5	10.4	10.4	5.0		10.6	20
III	12.3	11.0	8.6			10.3	12
IV	7.3		4.0		5.0	6.2	5
V	11.0	17.5	18.2			16.2	8
Kokku Total	10.4	20.9	11.8	5.0	5.0	14.6	84
N	16	30	36	1	1	84	

Tabel 2.21: Isiku muu tulu suurus - *Size of other individual income*

Isiku muu tulu suurus % Size of other individual income %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0-24	33.3	55.6	37.5	36.4	66.7	0.0	80.0	66.7	48.1	26
25-49	33.3	22.2	37.5	9.1	11.1	33.3	20.0	33.3	22.2	12
50+	33.3	22.2	25.0	54.5	22.2	66.7	0.0	0.0	29.6	16
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	54
Isiku muu tulu mediaan, rubla Median size of other individual income, rouble										
Mees - Male	38.0	34.0	5.0	56.5	62.0	40.0	8.0	15.0	21.0	25
Naine -Female	32.5	20.0	43.0	95.0	12.5	60.0	13.0	20.0	28.0	29
Kokku Total	32.5	20.0	33.0	92.0	20.0	50.0	8.0	15.0	26.5	54
Keskmine isiku muu tulu, rubla Mean size of other individual income, rouble										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	38.0	34.0	14.5	73.9	60.7	40.0	16.3	15.0	44.8	25
Naine -Female	31.2	31.9	54.0	84.3	14.2	60.0	13.0	20.0	35.4	29
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	33.5	36.0	34.9	80.1	30.9	40.0	15.0	18.3	39.8	48
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin		3.0	30.0	61.5	20.0	60.0			39.3	6
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		50.0	50.7	100.3	34.2				58.2	11
Kesk - Secondary		100	29.7	100.2	20.0				67.8	9
Põhiharidus - Basic		20.1	3.0	16.7	12.0				17.2	12
Algharidus - Primary	33.5		30.0	92.0	32.7	46.7	15.0	18.3	31.4	22
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		75.0	32.3	80.9	34.7	45.0	20.7		51.1	28
Mittekooselus - No partnership	33.5	20.1	40.0	58.0	19.7	50.0	6.5	18.3	27.5	26
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	33.5	42.8	34.2	92.9	31.3				49.6	28
Vanuritega - W/elderly							16.8	18.3	17.4	7
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly				79.0	100		8.0		66.5	4
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		24.0		18.0	14.6	46.7			24.6	15
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	35.2	29.6	40.2	76.7	37.6	30.0	28.0		48.5	34
Maa - Rural	30.0	35.8	16.5		19.8	55.0	6.3	18.3	24.9	20
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		52.5	32.7	76.7	30.9	40.0	28.0		49.0	34
Mittetöötav - Not employed	33.5	16.2	45.0		20.0	60.0	6.3	18.3	24.1	20
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		100	16.5	21.5	25.0	40.0			33.1	10
Sekundaar - Secondary		50.0	40.0	50.0					45.6	9
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		30.0	36.0	120.2	34.4		28.0		61.7	15
Mittetöötav - Not employed	33.5	16.2	45.0		20.0	60.0	6.3	18.3	24.1	20
Sissetuleku kvintiliid - Income quintiles										
I		22.7	26.0		35.0	46.7		15.0	31.0	10
II		21.5	33.0		100		13.5		33.7	7
III	50.0			43.0	27.7				37.4	7
IV	28.7	50.0	26.5	42.7	4.0		5.0	20.0	28.2	13
V	32.5	43.3	51.5	117.4	15.0		21.5		57.2	17
Kokku Total	33.5	32.3	34.2	76.7	29.7	46.7	15.0	18.3	39.8	54
N	6	9	8	11	9	3	5	3	54	

Tabel 2.22: Isiku abimajapidamisest saadud tulu suurus - *Size of private plot income*

Isiku abimajapidamisest saadud tulu suurus %	Vanusrühm - Age group								∑	N
Size of private plot income %	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+			
0-49	33.3	16.1	19.2	16.2	16.6	15.3	26.9	17.2	113	
50-99	50.0	38.7	39.4	41.2	47.4	51.1	42.3	44.5	293	
100-149	0.0	14.5	18.3	20.3	23.4	19.7	11.5	19.6	129	
150-199	0.0	4.8	9.6	7.4	6.3	5.1	7.7	6.7	44	
200+	16.7	25.8	13.5	14.9	6.3	8.8	11.5	12.0	79	
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	658	
Isiku abimajapidamisest saadud tulu mediaan, rubla										
Median size of private plot income, rouble	72.5	82.0	78.0	83.0	80.0	82.0	75.0	80.0	658	
Keskmine isiku abimajapidamisest saadud tulu, rubla										
Mean size of private plot income, rouble										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	189.2	148.3	128.1	147.3	100.8	117.4	96.9	125.3	387	
Naine -Female	66.0	176.2	114.5	140.2	106.1	110.2	120.7	120.9	271	
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	148.2	159.1	124.4	142.1	103.7	114.8	102.4	123.3	635	
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin		45.0	102.0	175.5	93.0	83.0		128.3	23	
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher	42.0	113.4	275.7	58.0	100	151.0		139.0	15	
Kesk - Secondary	233.3	167.1	150.0	160.5	84.0	146.9	44.0	154.6	77	
Põhiharidus - Basic	55.0	167.7	137.1	137.5	165.0	87.3	30.0	145.6	106	
Algharidus - Primary	92.0	139.3	91.8	144.1	95.2	113.5	110.6	112.6	460	
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership	197.2	166.5	128.3	138.8	102.6	113.1	110.3	126.5	463	
Mittekooselus - No partnership	50.0	109.5	99.9	163.1	104.7	116.7	94.5	116.3	195	
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	197.2	155.8	131.8	132.8	147.3			140.6	194	
Vanuritega - W/elderly	90.0	62.0	55.7	114.8	86.6	116.3	103.5	109.1	199	
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly		294.7	95.3	87.6	70.0	82.4	74.0	109.0	27	
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly	10.0	122.7	105.1	161.3	103.8			123.2	238	
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	55.0	194.3	207.0	95.5	176.0	265.0		158.3	23	
Maa - Rural	166.8	155.4	119.8	147.2	101.3	112.1	102.4	122.2	635	
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed	148.2	159.2	123.9	146.5	102.6	125.4	90.9	128.5	542	
Mittetöötav - Not employed		39.0	103.5	67.2	106.3	95.1	108.5	99.8	116	
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary	148.2	161.4	129.3	151.7	104.1	122.8	90.9	130.6	508	
Sekundaar - Secondary			72.7	100.4		500.0		115.9	15	
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		117.7	89.4	96.5	36.7	45.0		83.1	19	
Mittetöötav - Not employed		39.0	103.5	67.2	106.3	95.1	108.5	99.8	116	
Sissetuleku kvintiidid - Income quintiles										
I		58.8	45.6	53.1	42.3	46.8	52.4	47.6	82	
II	10.0	48.3	69.1	68.1	76.1	82.2	61.5	72.9	120	
III	42.0	69.3	68.9	75.7	87.8	85.3	96.2	79.5	108	
IV		118.0	83.2	87.6	94.6	113.5	174.7	99.3	117	
V	209.2	265.7	197.7	228.1	146.5	294.7	351.0	209.4	231	
Kokku Total	148.2	157.3	123.1	144.4	103.4	114.3	102.4	123.5	658	
N	6	62	104	148	175	137	26	658		

Tabel 2.23: Leibkonnatulu allikad - *Sources of household income*

Leibkonnatulu allikad % Sources of household income %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Palgatulu - Wage income	99.6	99.6	99.8	99.6	99.7	94.7	87.1	83.2	98.1	12,297
Töövõimetustoeetus - Disability benefit	11.7	12.9	12.4	8.7	10.5	6.2	6.6	6.9	10.5	1,313
Pension - Pension	16.5	22.8	16.5	19.3	27.2	79.9	94.2	92.5	30.8	3,857
Stipendium - Stipend	3.5	15.5	1.0	6.3	9.8	4.5	2.3	4.9	6.2	779
Lastetoetus - Parental benefit	6.9	2.3	2.3	3.1	0.7	0.2	0.6	2.0	3.0	379
Alimendid - Alimony	8.2	5.0	5.3	5.7	2.1	1.8	2.6	1.2	5.0	629
Abimajapidamisest - Private plot	13.6	10.9	8.0	10.3	14.7	29.7	33.2	20.8	14.5	1,823
Muu rahaline tulu - Other money income	1.7	1.0	1.5	1.2	1.2	0.9	1.0	1.4	1.3	165
Leibkonna tuluallikate arv % No. of household income sources %										
1	51	48	61	56	48	16	11	17	47	5,863
2	37	36	31	34	39	52	50	55	38	4,801
3+	12	15	8	10	12	32	38	27	15	1,866
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	12,533
Keskmine leibkonna tuluallikate arv Mean number of household income sources										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	1.6	1.8	1.5	1.5	1.6	2.1	2.4	2.2	1.7	5,735
Naine -Female	1.6	1.7	1.5	1.6	1.7	2.3	2.2	2.1	1.7	6,798
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	1.6	1.8	1.5	1.6	1.7	2.2	2.3	2.1	1.7	9,741
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	1.6	1.6	1.5	1.5	1.6	2.0	2.0	2.1	1.6	2,792
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		1.9	1.4	1.5	1.6	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.6	906
Kesk - Secondary		1.6	1.5	1.5	1.6	1.9	2.1	2.0	1.6	2,657
Põhiharidus - Basic	1.6	1.7	1.5	1.6	1.6	2.2	2.1	1.6	1.6	2,804
Algharidus - Primary	1.6	1.7	1.5	1.6	1.7	2.2	2.3	2.2	1.8	6,166
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		1.5	1.4	1.5	1.7	2.2	2.4	2.2	1.7	6,165
Mittekooselus - No partnership	1.6	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.6	2.2	2.1	2.1	1.7	6,368
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	1.5	1.7	1.4	1.5	1.6	2.2			1.5	6,556
Vanuritega - W/elderly		2.4	2.2	2.4	2.2	2.4	2.3	2.1	2.2	1,472
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	2.3	2.5	2.2	2.2	2.3	2.5	2.4	2.3	2.3	937
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		1.6	1.3	1.3	1.5	2.1			1.6	3,568
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	1.5	1.6	1.4	1.5	1.5	1.9	2.1	2.0	1.6	7,284
Maa - Rural	1.7	1.9	1.5	1.7	1.9	2.4	2.4	2.2	1.9	5,249
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		1.5	1.5	1.5	1.6	2.1	2.4	2.2	1.6	7,581
Mittetöötav - Not employed	1.6	1.9	2.0	2.0	2.1	2.3	2.2	2.1	1.8	4,952
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		1.7	1.6	1.7	1.9	2.5	2.5	2.3	1.9	2,220
Sekundaar - Secondary		1.4	1.4	1.5	1.5	1.7	2.1	2.0	1.5	2,546
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		1.5	1.4	1.5	1.5	1.9	2.1	1.8	1.5	2,815
Mittetöötav - Not employed	1.6	1.9	2.0	2.0	2.1	2.3	2.2	2.1	1.8	4,952
Sissetuleku kvintiliid - Income quintiles										
I	1.6	1.6	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.9	1.9	1.8	1.7	2,127
II	1.7	1.8	1.4	1.6	1.7	2.2	2.3	2.4	1.7	2,614
III	1.6	1.7	1.5	1.5	1.7	2.2	2.4	2.3	1.7	2,738
IV	1.5	1.6	1.4	1.5	1.6	2.2	2.5	2.3	1.6	2,608
V	1.7	1.8	1.5	1.5	1.7	2.3	2.5	2.5	1.8	2,446
Kokku Total	1.6	1.7	1.5	1.5	1.7	2.2	2.3	2.1	1.7	12,533
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533	

Tabel 2.24: Leibkonnatulu koostis - *Composition of household income*

Leibkonnatulu koostis % Composition of household income %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Sugu - Sex										
Palgatulu - Wage income	88.9	87.8	91.1	90.7	87.0	60.2	48.4	55.8	83.7	12,533
Pension - Pension	2.7	4.3	3.1	3.1	5.3	27.5	36.0	33.6	8.1	12,533
Stipendium - Stipend	0.3	1.7	0.2	0.5	1.1	0.6	0.2	0.6	0.7	12,533
Abiraha - Social benefit	0.7	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2	12,533
Alimendid - Alimony	1.4	0.8	0.7	1.0	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.1	0.8	12,533
Abiamajapidamisest - Private plot income	3.6	2.9	2.2	2.7	4.1	10.4	13.7	8.2	4.4	12,533
Muu rahaline tulu - Other money income	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	12,533
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	12,533
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533	
Keskmine palgatulu osakaal % Mean proportion of wage income %										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	89.6	87.6	91.3	92.2	88.5	68.0	42.1	38.1	85.4	5,735
Naine -Female	88.3	88.0	90.9	89.3	85.9	54.4	52.1	61.4	82.3	6,798
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	88.6	86.4	90.8	89.9	86.0	57.7	47.2	52.7	82.1	9,741
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	90.1	91.5	92.2	93.1	89.8	74.1	57.9	73.1	89.1	2,792
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		83.8	89.8	92.3	92.5	77.5	52.9	29.9	88.7	906
Kesk - Secondary		89.3	91.6	90.8	88.1	72.3	57.3	45.0	88.3	2,657
Põhiharidus - Basic	90.5	87.5	91.4	90.1	89.3	63.6	59.8	57.1	87.5	2,804
Algharidus - Primary	88.9	85.8	90.0	90.0	84.4	56.2	46.5	56.8	79.2	6,166
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		92.3	92.6	92.2	87.6	61.1	39.8	29.5	83.9	6,165
Mittekooselus - No partnership	88.9	86.6	85.0	83.7	84.7	58.2	58.6	61.3	83.5	6,368
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	89.9	89.2	92.2	91.3	89.7	75.7			90.3	6,556
Vanuritega - W/elderly		77.0	71.5	75.4	76.2	42.9	41.7	47.7	54.3	1,472
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	79.7	77.7	82.0	83.1	83.2	65.6	76.6	81.8	80.2	937
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		89.1	92.1	94.3	88.4	61.2			84.6	3,568
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	91.6	90.3	92.4	92.8	90.3	74.2	66.9	70.3	89.0	7,284
Maa - Rural	85.7	83.5	89.1	86.7	81.3	48.0	35.9	41.4	76.3	5,249
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		91.1	91.6	91.2	87.7	65.1	46.0	40.6	86.1	7,581
Mittetöötav - Not employed	88.9	83.5	75.2	65.9	70.7	50.1	50.2	57.8	79.9	4,952
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		86.2	88.0	86.6	80.8	50.2	31.9	26.8	75.3	2,220
Sekundaar - Secondary		92.8	93.0	93.8	90.8	82.1	69.2	75.0	91.5	2,546
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		92.2	92.6	92.0	90.0	74.1	68.1	81.7	89.9	2,815
Mittetöötav - Not employed	88.9	83.5	75.2	65.9	70.7	50.1	50.2	57.8	79.9	4,952
Sissetuleku kvintiilid - Income quintiles										
I	85.4	84.7	87.8	85.1	81.7	46.1	29.5	36.6	73.2	2,127
II	88.8	86.1	91.7	89.3	86.2	53.5	50.6	67.5	82.9	2,614
III	91.5	89.5	92.2	92.2	88.3	63.8	59.0	72.0	87.3	2,738
IV	91.7	91.8	92.7	93.3	90.7	66.9	59.4	73.3	88.6	2,608
V	85.8	86.3	89.4	90.9	86.3	67.6	59.6	65.2	84.4	2,446
Kokku Total	88.9	87.8	91.1	90.7	87.0	60.2	48.4	55.8	83.7	12,533
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533	

Tabel 2.25: Leibkonna brutokogutulu suurus - *Size of total gross household income*

Leibkonna brutokogutulu suurus, rubla %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Size of total gross household income, rouble %										
0-149	5.3	8.3	6.5	5.4	8.5	16.5	27.2	30.3	9.2	1,148
150-249	17.6	17.7	20.0	17.2	16.9	26.6	27.8	19.9	19.2	2,401
250-349	34.1	24.5	33.6	33.8	25.6	22.3	19.9	21.7	29.3	3,677
350-449	23.0	21.5	21.4	23.7	21.9	16.4	12.6	14.7	21.2	2,653
450+	20.0	28.0	18.6	19.9	27.2	18.1	12.6	13.3	21.2	2,654
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	12,533
Leibkonna brutokogutulu mediaan, rubla										
Median total gross household income, rouble	330.0	347.0	319.0	331.0	345.0	282.5	232.5	247.0	325.0	12,533
Keskmine leibkonna brutokogutulu										
Mean total gross household income										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	353.2	392.9	350.6	356.6	392.9	347.2	271.4	227.2	358.2	5,735
Naine -Female	354.8	352.0	339.4	342.2	348.4	283.4	258.4	272.5	333.8	6,798
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	356.0	367.8	342.7	348.5	366.0	298.3	259.5	250.6	341.5	9,741
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	346.8	376.4	351.7	350.5	372.6	378.8	293.0	322.0	357.4	2,792
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		372.3	339.2	362.1	415.1	461.1	315.3	279.0	366.6	906
Kesk - Secondary		371.4	341.4	325.8	356.3	346.9	293.5	236.3	345.7	2,657
Põhiharidus - Basic	383.3	367.6	351.9	365.5	349.1	321.4	304.8	200.3	357.1	2,804
Algharidus - Primary	353.5	379.9	343.5	348.9	374.5	292.4	255.0	265.9	336.0	6,166
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		360.8	358.5	375.3	400.5	342.8	259.6	205.7	363.7	6,165
Mittetkooselus - No partnership	354.0	372.8	290.7	228.2	228.1	235.5	267.6	273.3	326.9	6,368
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	349.0	384.1	346.1	356.4	404.8	430.0			358.8	6,556
Vanuritega - W/elderly		405.4	381.3	348.6	328.7	279.2	235.0	219.1	278.6	1,472
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	400.8	432.6	417.1	394.0	418.9	391.3	383.7	396.8	402.3	937
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		351.0	317.6	318.1	353.9	294.0			332.0	3,568
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	337.7	360.9	334.9	335.5	360.7	343.0	313.1	295.3	342.4	7,284
Maa - Rural	373.4	386.5	360.1	373.3	379.8	282.2	229.6	228.2	348.6	5,249
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		372.1	345.8	349.6	370.0	320.1	246.7	141.7	348.5	7,581
Mittetöötav - Not employed	354.0	367.7	305.8	319.2	316.8	290.7	275.7	277.0	339.6	4,952
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		370.4	359.5	373.0	387.1	293.3	206.0	129.3	344.8	2,220
Sekundaar - Secondary		393.9	352.9	353.0	380.3	384.0	357.5	170.0	367.5	2,546
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		354.1	330.6	330.4	346.5	306.2	288.8	179.4	334.4	2,815
Mittetöötav - Not employed	354.0	367.7	305.8	319.2	316.8	290.7	275.7	277.0	339.6	4,952
Sissetuleku kvintilid - Income quintiles										
I	193.4	172.1	169.9	186.8	161.4	123.9	109.2	115.8	164.1	2,127
II	284.1	284.7	253.8	270.6	256.8	216.9	224.5	279.6	265.6	2,614
III	345.6	355.3	319.0	327.3	333.0	295.8	296.7	346.8	332.2	2,738
IV	421.7	422.5	379.3	387.9	396.3	355.6	365.5	434.2	397.7	2,608
V	589.8	592.0	529.3	517.8	538.5	491.8	522.4	579.6	545.4	2,446
Kokku Total	354.0	370.2	344.7	349.0	367.7	310.6	263.3	261.7	345.0	12,533
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346		12,533

Tabel 2.26: Leibkonna netokogutulu suurus - *Size of total net household income*

Leibkonna netokogutulu suurus % Size of total net household income %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0-149	6.8	9.8	8.8	7.8	9.8	17.5	27.5	32.4	10.8	1,357
150-249	23.5	20.8	25.7	23.9	20.6	28.2	30.8	21.4	23.8	2,986
250-349	35.0	26.9	34.9	34.8	27.9	23.8	19.9	23.1	30.8	3,855
350-449	19.4	21.8	16.3	20.8	21.7	14.1	11.8	12.7	18.8	2,356
450+	15.2	20.7	14.3	12.7	20.1	16.3	9.9	10.4	15.8	1,979
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	12,533
Leibkonna netokogutulu mediaan, rubla Median total net household income, rouble	302.0	319.0	292.0	297.0	319.0	269.0	224.5	232.0	297.0	12,533
Keskmine leibkonna netokogutulu Mean total net household income										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	326.3	361.0	319.6	322.2	360.2	328.6	261.9	218.5	329.6	5,735
Naine -Female	327.4	323.4	309.8	313.0	321.6	270.3	244.5	252.9	308.1	6,798
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	330.7	339.9	314.1	318.2	338.7	285.4	248.8	236.5	316.5	9,742
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	313.6	340.8	315.4	314.4	337.4	349.4	269.4	288.9	323.0	2,791
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		339.3	305.4	321.4	374.6	424.3	291.1	261.7	329.7	906
Kesk - Secondary		338.6	310.6	295.4	324.3	320.7	274.9	224.0	314.9	2,657
Põhiharidus - Basic	354.8	339.4	323.2	333.8	319.3	305.0	284.1	184.7	328.6	2,804
Algharidus - Primary	326.4	351.7	315.5	321.4	348.7	280.5	244.6	248.5	312.7	6,166
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		326.8	326.6	341.2	367.8	326.0	252.5	200.7	334.4	6,165
Mittekooselus - No partnership	326.9	343.9	266.9	207.8	212.9	223.5	249.4	253.8	302.1	6,368
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	322.3	354.9	317.4	326.6	372.1	399.5			330.4	6,556
Vanuritega - W/elderly		374.2	354.3	317.7	304.2	270.6	226.4	207.8	263.0	1,472
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	369.7	395.7	381.9	358.8	383.8	363.6	356.5	361.7	369.5	937
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		321.0	282.7	283.2	325.7	280.1			304.3	3,568
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	304.6	326.1	300.2	299.4	325.3	317.6	289.1	269.1	308.9	7,284
Maa - Rural	353.4	364.7	336.8	349.8	361.0	275.5	225.3	220.3	330.6	5,249
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		339.8	315.2	317.7	340.2	303.6	237.2	139.5	319.8	7,581
Mittetöötav - Not employed	326.9	340.5	287.5	300.1	297.0	277.7	261.6	258.1	315.2	4,952
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		351.3	341.1	352.9	370.6	287.8	203.4	129.3	329.6	2,220
Sekundaar - Secondary		354.5	314.2	312.7	341.6	351.7	330.6	162.5	328.8	2,546
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		321.5	299.0	298.1	315.5	285.8	271.3	170.8	303.8	2,815
Mittetöötav - Not employed	326.9	340.5	287.5	300.1	297.0	277.7	261.6	258.1	315.2	4,952
Sissetuleku kvintiilid - Income quintiles										
I	178.8	162.1	159.7	165.9	149.4	115.5	104.7	109.3	153.1	2,128
II	257.1	259.8	226.9	247.3	234.6	204.0	210.8	250.9	242.1	2,607
III	318.3	323.9	294.4	298.3	303.3	266.4	267.4	327.0	304.1	2,740
IV	388.5	384.4	349.8	355.7	364.4	321.2	337.3	395.3	364.8	2,606
V	555.4	548.8	496.5	486.0	498.9	452.8	469.5	524.3	507.4	2,452
Kokku Total	326.9	340.1	314.4	317.3	338.4	295.2	251.1	244.7	318.0	12,533
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346		12,533

Tabel 2.27: Leibkonnaliikme brutokogutulu suurus - *Size of gross per capita household income*

Leibkonnaliikme brutokogutulu, rubla %	Vanusrühm - Age group									Σ	N
Size of gross per capita household income, rouble %	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+			
0-49	10.8	4.4	6.0	4.5	3.8	5.3	12.1	21.7	7.1	887	
50-99	60.7	45.1	47.3	50.0	36.9	32.6	43.3	53.2	47.9	6,005	
100-149	23.8	35.7	31.6	29.6	34.6	34.5	30.4	19.7	30.3	3,792	
150-199	3.3	11.8	10.2	10.5	17.1	15.7	9.4	3.2	10.0	1,255	
200+	1.4	3.0	4.8	5.4	7.6	12.0	4.8	2.3	4.7	594	
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	12,533	
Leibkonnaliikme brutokogutulu mediaan, rubla											
Median gross per capita household income, rouble	82.2	100.2	96.3	95.5	111.0	114.8	94.5	78.0	95.0	12,533	
Keskmine leibkonnaliikme brutokogutulu, rubla											
Mean gross per capita household income, rouble											
Sugu - Sex											
Mees - Male	87.1	111.3	112.4	112.3	124.8	128.6	112.7	84.3	108.0	5,735	
Naine -Female	86.6	104.4	102.1	103.4	121.9	128.7	101.1	82.2	103.7	6,798	
Põlisus - Nativity											
Põline - Native origin	87.1	107.6	108.4	108.4	126.6	130.7	107.8	82.8	106.8	9,741	
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	86.2	107.1	102.0	104.8	113.2	117.2	86.6	81.8	101.5	2,792	
Haridustase - Educational level											
Kõrgem - Higher		116.3	114.2	114.1	128.4	153.6	123.1	99.3	118.6	906	
Kesk - Secondary		114.5	103.9	102.0	118.6	134.9	110.4	98.2	109.9	2,657	
Põhiharidus - Basic	94.4	101.9	108.4	112.5	117.5	138.8	124.7	66.5	109.9	2,804	
Algharidus - Primary	86.8	106.2	103.8	104.3	127.4	123.8	102.9	82.2	100	6,166	
Kooseluseis - Partnership status											
Kooselus - In partnership		107.0	100.5	104.1	123.7	127.4	106.6	81.3	110.5	6,165	
Mittekooselus - No partnership	86.9	107.6	132.5	123.5	120.8	131.5	104.1	83.0	100.9	6,368	
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type											
Lastega - W/children	87.5	88.8	93.0	93.3	99.5	93.3			90.8	6,556	
Vanuritega - W/elderly		104.7	123.0	111.8	101.1	110.6	110.6	82.7	104.3	1,472	
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	81.3	79.7	83.8	83.3	84.1	83.9	83.4	82.6	82.5	937	
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		123.0	158.4	146.8	142.5	140.4			139.5	3,568	
Elukoht - Residence											
Linn - Urban	86.2	106.5	105.0	106.5	117.0	125.1	105.1	83.6	104.0	7,284	
Maa - Rural	87.7	109.1	110.1	109.6	133.8	131.7	105.7	81.8	108.0	5,249	
Hõive - Employment											
Töötav - Employed		117.5	107.8	108.2	124.6	138.3	120.0	73.4	116.0	7,581	
Mittetöötav - Not employed	86.9	94.4	79.6	81.9	91.3	108.5	94.5	83.9	89.8	4,952	
Majandussektor - Sector of economy											
Primaar - Primary		121.3	110.0	112.5	139.7	145.5	112.7	66.9	122.7	2,220	
Sekundaar - Secondary		122.6	110.3	110.3	125.4	147.9	145.2	112.0	118.8	2,546	
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		111.2	104.1	103.1	112.1	118.1	125.0	87.5	108.1	2,815	
Mittetöötav - Not employed	86.9	94.4	79.6	81.9	91.3	108.5	94.5	83.9	89.8	4,952	
Sissetuleku kvintiliid - Income quintiles											
I	46.0	59.9	52.2	54.4	60.0	59.8	55.0	51.0	53.7	2,127	
II	67.9	81.1	74.7	75.5	84.9	92.7	89.3	79.6	77.4	2,614	
III	84.9	98.9	94.5	93.9	101.3	111.0	108.9	99.4	95.3	2,738	
IV	104.6	123.6	117.6	119.5	126.6	135.8	132.1	120.2	119.2	2,608	
V	148.2	169.0	173.9	178.2	190.3	212.9	214.7	178.9	178.1	2,446	
Kokku Total	86.9	107.5	107.0	107.6	123.2	128.7	105.5	82.7	105.6	12,533	
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533		

Tabel 2.28: Leibkonnaliikme netokogutulu suurus - *Size of net per capita household income*

Leibkonnaliikme netokogutulu, rubla % Size of net per capita household income, rouble %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0-49	15.1	6.5	8.7	7.0	4.8	5.6	12.7	23.7	9.5	1,187
50-99	63.7	51.5	54.3	57.1	42.9	36.5	46.8	54.6	53.1	6,660
100-149	18.0	32.2	26.7	25.8	34.4	33.4	28.1	16.8	26.7	3,347
150-199	2.1	7.9	7.5	6.5	12.3	15.0	8.5	2.9	7.3	919
200+	1.1	1.9	2.8	3.5	5.6	9.6	3.9	2.0	3.4	420
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	12,533
Leibkonnaliikme netokogutulu mediaan, rubla Median net per capita household income, rouble	75.2	92.0	87.5	86.0	102.2	110.2	91.4	72.0	87.3	12,533
Keskmine leibkonnaliikme netokogutulu, rubla Mean net per capita household income, rouble										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	80.3	102.1	101.6	100.2	114.4	122.3	109.6	82.1	99.1	5,735
Naine -Female	79.8	95.9	92.9	94.4	112.9	124.0	97.0	77.2	96.0	6,798
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	80.7	99.3	98.7	98.1	117.4	125.9	104.4	79.2	99.1	9,742
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	77.9	97.0	90.9	93.6	102.5	108.5	80.6	73.9	91.6	2,791
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		105.6	102.1	100.4	115.5	141.5	115.0	95.9	106.1	906
Kesk - Secondary		104.4	93.9	91.9	107.9	125.5	104.4	94.4	99.9	2,657
Põhiharidus - Basic	87.0	94.0	99.2	102.2	107.7	132.4	117.7	62.6	101.0	2,804
Algharidus - Primary	80.0	98.5	94.5	95.2	119.0	119.8	99.8	77.8	93.4	6,166
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		96.6	91.0	94.2	113.8	121.8	104.2	79.9	101.7	6,165
Mittekooselus - No partnership	80.1	99.2	120.3	110.6	112.8	126.6	98.8	78.1	93.2	6,368
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	80.6	82.0	85.1	85.3	91.5	87.0			83.5	6,556
Vanuritega - W/elderly		97.1	114.5	102.2	94.1	107.7	107.4	79.3	99.5	1,472
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	75.0	73.2	76.9	75.8	77.4	78.6	77.6	75.3	75.9	937
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		112.4	140.0	129.7	131.4	134.6			127.8	3,568
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	77.7	96.3	93.6	94.3	105.4	116.3	97.8	76.9	93.6	7,284
Maa - Rural	82.9	102.8	102.4	102.2	127.6	129.3	104.4	79.8	102.7	5,249
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		107.2	97.6	97.5	114.8	132.3	116.3	72.3	106.4	7,581
Mittetöötav - Not employed	80.1	87.5	74.4	76.8	86.0	104.4	90.7	79.1	83.6	4,952
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		115.0	104.1	105.9	134.4	143.4	111.7	66.9	117.7	2,220
Sekundaar - Secondary		110.1	97.4	96.8	112.6	135.8	135.3	107.2	105.9	2,546
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		100.9	93.6	92.5	101.9	111.0	117.9	83.2	98.0	2,815
Mittetöötav - Not employed	80.1	87.5	74.4	76.8	86.0	104.4	90.7	79.1	83.6	4,952
Sissetuleku kvintiilid - Income quintiles										
I	42.8	55.6	49.2	52.1	55.3	55.6	52.2	47.5	50.2	2,128
II	62.1	74.6	69.8	68.7	78.1	85.1	83.9	75.5	71.3	2,607
III	77.5	90.5	85.0	86.5	93.4	102.1	100	89.9	87.1	2,740
IV	95.7	112.8	107.9	108.1	114.9	125.7	121.0	110.6	108.9	2,606
V	138.9	154.7	160.3	162.5	177.3	196.9	201.5	172.9	165.5	2,452
Kokku Total	80.1	98.7	97.0	97.1	113.6	123.3	101.7	78.4	97.4	12,533
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533	

Tabel 2.29: Leibkonnaliikme ekvivalentkogutulu suurus - *Size of net equivalised household income*

Leibkonnaliikme suurus, rubla % Size of net equivalised household income, rouble %	Vanusrühm - Age group									Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+			
0-99	17.5	16.7	13.3	13.1	13.4	15.4	27.2	39.6	16.4	2,058	
100-149	41.9	37.4	36.7	40.9	31.9	31.6	35.7	36.4	37.6	4,710	
150-199	26.7	27.5	31.5	27.8	28.8	26.0	22.8	16.5	27.5	3,445	
200-249	8.8	13.3	11.6	11.4	16.0	14.6	8.9	4.6	11.7	1,463	
250+	5.0	5.1	6.9	6.8	9.9	12.4	5.4	2.9	6.8	857	
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	12,533	
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533		
Leibkonnaliikme mediaan, rubla Median net equivalised household income, rouble	138.9	145.0	149.6	145.6	158.0	153.3	128.7	113.4	144.4	12,533	
Keskmine leibkonnaliikme ekvivalentkogutulu, rubla Mean net equivalised household income, rouble											
Sugu - Sex											
Mees - Male	147.9	159.9	161.6	160.7	174.5	174.9	151.9	116.1	159.2	5,735	
Naine -Female	147.5	148.0	154.9	152.9	164.8	163.0	134.4	117.1	151.4	6,798	
Põlisus - Nativity											
Põline - Native origin	149.8	154.4	160.3	157.7	173.2	168.9	143.1	116.4	156.7	9,742	
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	140.6	150.4	149.8	152.7	157.1	163.6	124.3	119.3	148.9	2,791	
Haridustase - Educational level											
Kõrgem - Higher		158.7	160.5	161.6	179.0	208.5	160.2	137.1	165.7	906	
Kesk - Secondary		157.6	154.5	148.0	160.7	175.9	148.9	127.9	155.4	2,657	
Põhiharidus - Basic	157.4	149.1	162.0	163.7	159.8	178.7	162.1	88.3	158.4	2,804	
Algharidus - Primary	147.6	157.2	155.8	155.2	176.0	161.9	137.9	117.1	151.6	6,166	
Kooseluseis - Partnership status											
Kooselus - In partnership		154.8	158.0	160.0	175.5	175.0	146.1	112.3	163.2	6,165	
Mittekooselus - No partnership	147.7	152.9	158.2	140.8	141.2	151.9	134.9	117.8	147.0	6,368	
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type											
Lastega - W/children	148.6	145.8	152.9	153.6	161.3	155.9			151.2	6,556	
Vanuritega - W/elderly		152.1	171.2	152.0	141.4	151.7	141.1	110.3	139.7	1,472	
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	139.7	133.6	142.6	138.6	139.5	139.6	140.2	137.5	139.2	937	
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		160.2	177.5	169.8	181.1	174.8			172.3	3,568	
Elukoht - Residence											
Linn - Urban	140.3	147.8	150.5	150.0	158.6	165.7	144.1	119.4	149.0	7,284	
Maa - Rural	156.5	162.9	169.8	168.4	187.0	170.1	138.8	114.3	163.3	5,249	
Hõive - Employment											
Töötav - Employed		161.2	158.9	157.1	170.5	176.9	151.0	91.8	162.3	7,581	
Mittetöötav - Not employed	147.7	143.0	126.9	130.9	133.9	149.8	133.4	120.0	143.7	4,952	
Majandussektor - Sector of economy											
Primaar - Primary		173.7	172.7	172.8	195.0	184.1	140.1	85.8	175.4	2,220	
Sekundaar - Secondary		165.7	157.4	155.2	168.2	188.1	186.2	125.7	163.1	2,546	
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		151.0	151.2	148.1	153.9	154.9	159.5	105.1	151.3	2,815	
Mittetöötav - Not employed	147.7	143.0	126.9	130.9	133.9	149.8	133.4	120.0	143.7	4,952	
Sissetuleku kvintiidid - Income quintiles											
I	80.5	81.8	81.3	82.8	79.1	72.1	67.3	63.2	78.0	2,128	
II	115.1	116.0	116.0	115.3	116.4	116.1	116.7	115.6	115.7	2,607	
III	143.2	143.0	143.6	142.9	143.1	143.6	143.3	142.6	143.2	2,740	
IV	174.9	174.7	174.6	174.4	175.0	175.1	175.2	174.3	174.8	2,606	
V	255.1	242.4	253.5	253.5	259.1	265.2	274.0	256.2	255.6	2,452	
Kokku Total	147.7	153.3	158.0	156.6	169.0	168.1	141.0	116.8	155.0	12,533	
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533		

Tabel 2.30: Leibkonnaliikme ekvivalentkogutulu suurus enne siirdeid - *Size of net equivalised household income before transfers*

Leibkonnaliikme ekvivalentkogutulu suurus enne siirdeid, rubla % Size of net equivalised household income before transfers, rouble %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0-99	23.7	24.3	17.3	19.4	19.6	41.5	56.6	60.1	25.7	3,226
100-149	39.5	35.4	37.7	39.2	31.4	28.6	26.3	26.6	35.5	4,448
150-199	24.0	25.2	29.1	24.4	26.5	16.1	11.4	8.4	23.6	2,963
200-249	8.1	10.9	9.5	10.7	13.9	6.4	2.5	2.9	9.4	1,175
250+	4.7	4.3	6.4	6.2	8.7	7.4	3.2	2.0	5.8	721
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	12,533
Leibkonnaliikme ekvivalentkogutulu mediaan enne siirdeid, rubla Median net equivalised household income before transfers, rouble	133.3	136.5	143.0	140.5	148.4	113.3	90.8	83.3	134.0	12,533
Keskmine leibkonnaliikme ekvivalentkogutulu enne siirdeid, rubla Mean net equivalised household income before transfers, rouble										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	141.8	149.2	155.2	155.7	166.3	139.1	98.9	78.0	147.5	5,735
Naine -Female	140.6	138.3	148.2	144.7	153.2	115.9	99.0	90.2	137.3	6,798
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	143.5	143.4	154.2	150.8	163.2	125.7	100.4	85.6	143.0	9,742
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	133.4	142.6	141.8	146.7	146.5	126.2	87.3	96.7	138.3	2,791
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		140.5	151.0	154.0	168.5	167.1	96.2	68.7	152.7	906
Kesk - Secondary		147.4	147.8	141.0	148.0	129.9	102.5	89.1	143.9	2,657
Põhiharidus - Basic	151.9	139.6	157.4	156.8	151.2	133.3	114.1	65.9	148.3	2,804
Algharidus - Primary	141.1	148.1	148.4	149.6	166.4	120.9	97.7	88.2	136.7	6,166
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		150.6	154.0	155.0	165.2	131.7	93.2	68.9	149.7	6,165
Mittekooselus - No partnership	141.2	141.1	141.6	126.2	132.0	112.0	105.8	91.1	134.5	6,368
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	143.4	139.1	149.0	148.9	155.4	130.6			145.8	6,556
Vanuritega - W/elderly		123.1	134.4	126.4	118.2	95.9	95.0	76.7	101.2	1,472
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	120.9	112.4	123.7	120.7	124.4	103.9	115.6	120.8	119.8	937
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		151.0	169.1	165.4	172.2	132.3			157.5	3,568
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	133.1	137.7	142.9	143.1	147.8	125.5	103.3	92.2	136.9	7,284
Maa - Rural	150.9	152.6	165.0	162.1	178.1	126.0	96.0	82.3	149.0	5,249
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		154.3	152.8	150.8	161.0	137.0	104.7	54.2	150.6	7,581
Mittetöötav - Not employed	141.2	128.5	105.5	108.2	110.2	102.4	94.6	91.5	128.8	4,952
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		167.2	168.0	167.1	186.3	139.0	95.1	43.6	160.0	2,220
Sekundaar - Secondary		158.8	151.3	149.2	158.0	155.0	133.4	94.2	153.4	2,546
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		144.1	144.2	141.0	144.5	117.5	113.3	82.8	140.6	2,815
Mittetöötav - Not employed	141.2	128.5	105.5	108.2	110.2	102.4	94.6	91.5	128.8	4,952
Sissetuleku kvintiilid - Income quintiles										
I	73.0	73.2	74.8	74.8	69.3	39.8	29.8	32.1	64.1	2,128
II	108.0	105.3	110.1	108.0	105.9	78.3	77.5	87.0	103.2	2,607
III	136.4	133.3	137.8	135.8	133.3	104.8	103.7	117.4	131.7	2,740
IV	169.1	165.3	168.9	167.6	165.7	130.4	129.5	141.7	162.7	2,606
V	250.2	230.2	244.4	248.9	248.2	213.7	220.6	227.4	240.1	2,452
Kokku Total	141.2	143.1	151.5	149.9	158.9	125.8	99.0	87.3	142.0	12,533
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533	

Tabel 2.31: Leibkonnaliikme ekvivalentkogutulu vaesusmäära suhtes - *Size of net equivalised household income as relative to poverty line*

Leibkonnaliikme ekvivalenttulu % Size of net equivalised household income %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Allpool vaesuspiiri - Below poverty line	10.1	8.7	7.6	6.6	7.9	11.2	20.9	31.2	9.9	1,240
1-1.9 vaesuspiiri - poverty line	63.2	58.8	59.0	61.2	51.0	48.7	54.1	53.2	57.9	7,260
2-2.9 vaesuspiiri - poverty line	22.3	28.1	27.4	26.3	32.3	28.6	20.0	13.0	26.1	3,271
3+ vaesuspiiri - poverty line	4.5	4.4	6.0	5.8	8.8	11.6	5.0	2.6	6.1	762
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	12,533
Suhteline vaesusmäär % At-risk-of-poverty rate %										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	9.5	7.0	6.4	5.4	4.9	8.2	17.1	39.0	8.0	5,735
Naine -Female	10.7	10.0	8.7	7.6	10.1	13.4	23.2	28.8	11.5	6,798
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	9.8	8.6	7.7	7.2	7.5	11.3	20.6	32.9	10.1	9,741
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	11.1	8.8	7.2	4.5	8.9	10.5	23.4	22.2	9.2	2,792
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher	0.0	3.6	4.9	4.9	3.5	2.4	11.5	0.0	4.6	906
Kesk - Secondary	0.0	8.0	8.1	6.0	6.4	4.7	15.0	33.3	7.5	2,657
Põhiharidus - Basic	4.1	9.0	7.9	6.3	10.4	6.1	8.3	53.8	8.3	2,804
Algharidus - Primary	10.2	12.6	9.0	8.7	8.1	14.0	22.8	30.4	12.4	6,166
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		8.7	5.6	4.5	4.1	8.7	19.0	50.8	6.7	6,165
Mittekooselus - No partnership	10.1	8.6	15.6	16.2	24.0	16.9	23.2	27.2	12.9	6,368
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	10.4	9.5	7.5	6.7	7.6	4.7	0.0	0.0	8.7	6,556
Vanuritega - W/elderly	0.0	8.5	10.3	11.8	16.0	16.8	24.4	38.0	22.0	1,472
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	7.7	14.9	9.5	4.2	11.2	5.6	6.2	9.6	8.0	937
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly	0.0	7.6	7.2	6.2	6.0	11.2	0.0	0.0	7.6	3,568
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	8.9	8.9	7.2	5.5	7.5	5.1	13.0	21.4	8.0	7,284
Maa - Rural	11.6	8.2	8.3	8.5	8.6	16.4	26.2	41.0	12.5	5,249
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		8.3	7.2	6.1	7.3	9.4	19.4	56.4	8.0	7,581
Mittetöötav - Not employed	10.1	9.1	23.6	27.9	20.0	14.7	22.1	28.0	12.8	4,952
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary	0.0	8.0	8.9	7.8	7.4	13.7	0.0	0.0	11.3	2,220
Sekundaar - Secondary	0.0	4.9	5.0	4.7	4.9	2.9	2.6	0.0	4.7	2,546
Tertsiaar - Tertiary	0.0	11.5	7.9	6.3	9.7	8.3	5.3	25.0	8.4	2,815
Mittetöötav - Not employed	10.1	9.1	23.6	27.9	20.0	14.7	22.1	28.0	12.8	4,952
Sissetuleku kvintiilid - Income quintiles										
I	55.0	51.7	61.1	50.8	55.3	63.6	70.4	75.0	58.3	2,127
II	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2,614
III	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2,738
IV	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2,608
V	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2,446
Kokku Total	10.1	8.7	7.6	6.6	7.9	11.2	20.9	31.2	9.9	12,533
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533	

Tabel 2.32: Leibkonnaliikme ekvivalentkogutulu enne siirdeid vaesusmäära suhtes - *Size of net equivalised household income before social transfers as relative to poverty line*

Leibkonnaliikme ekvivalenttulu enne siirdeid % Size of net equivalised household income before transfers %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Allpool vaesuspiiri - Below poverty line	12.0	11.9	8.5	8.8	10.5	28.9	42.3	47.1	14.7	1,842
1-1.9 vaesuspiiri - poverty line	56.7	52.2	52.6	54.3	44.5	44.5	42.3	41.0	51.1	6,400
2-2.9 vaesuspiiri - poverty line	24.7	29.2	30.2	28.5	33.6	17.9	11.8	9.2	26.4	3,307
3+ vaesuspiiri - poverty line	6.5	6.6	8.7	8.3	11.4	8.7	3.7	2.6	7.8	973
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	12,533
Suhteline vaesusmäär enne siirdeid % At-risk-of-poverty rate before social transfers %										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	11.8	10.5	7.2	5.9	6.0	21.0	45.5	57.3	12.0	5,735
Naine -Female	12.2	13.1	9.6	11.4	14.0	34.7	40.3	43.9	17.0	6,798
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	11.9	13.2	8.3	9.8	11.3	30.0	42.8	50.3	15.8	9,741
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	12.3	8.6	9.1	5.6	8.3	22.9	37.7	29.6	11.0	2,792
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		16.7	6.6	6.3	4.9	7.3	46.2	66.7	8.5	906
Kesk - Secondary		10.2	9.1	9.6	12.1	21.7	38.3	52.4	11.6	2,657
Põhiharidus - Basic	6.1	12.2	7.9	8.3	13.1	23.6	19.4	61.5	11.3	2,804
Algharidus - Primary	12.1	15.2	10.5	10.1	9.4	32.7	44.0	46.0	18.5	6,166
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		8.7	5.7	5.2	6.1	25.8	48.5	67.8	11.3	6,165
Mittekooselus - No partnership	12.0	12.8	19.4	25.6	29.3	36.1	34.7	42.9	18.0	6,368
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	11.9	11.1	8.3	8.8	7.2	21.3			10.3	6,556
Vanuritega - W/elderly		23.1	22.4	20.4	28.2	46.6	48.0	58.6	41.9	1,472
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	13.6	20.9	12.6	8.3	12.4	33.3	17.7	10.8	13.7	937
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		10.3	5.9	7.1	8.2	26.1			11.8	3,568
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	11.9	12.5	8.5	8.2	11.1	23.1	33.7	39.9	12.9	7,284
Maa - Rural	12.1	10.9	8.3	9.9	9.5	34.0	48.0	54.3	17.2	5,249
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		8.0	7.6	8.0	9.7	22.7	41.2	74.4	11.3	7,581
Mittetöötav - Not employed	12.0	17.0	36.4	46.5	28.0	41.7	43.1	43.6	20.0	4,952
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		8.0	8.1	8.5	7.1	27.8	52.5	79.3	15.3	2,220
Sekundaar - Secondary		4.1	6.2	6.7	7.4	5.8	23.7	50.0	6.6	2,546
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		11.5	8.6	8.8	14.1	29.7	22.7	62.5	12.3	2,815
Mittetöötav - Not employed	12.0	17.0	36.4	46.5	28.0	41.7	43.1	43.6	20.0	4,952
Sissetuleku kvintiidid - Income quintiles										
I	56.8	56.0	57.4	58.1	59.3	80.1	89.2	90.3	64.5	2,127
II	5.1	10.9	5.6	4.2	11.2	45.7	51.8	34.9	13.5	2,614
III	1.4	1.0	0.7	1.3	1.1	25.3	14.0	5.7	3.4	2,738
IV	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.5	0.5	6.1	5.1	2.4	0.9	2,608
V	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2,446
Kokku Total	12.0	11.9	8.5	8.8	10.5	28.9	42.3	47.1	14.7	12,533
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533	

Tabel 2.33: Eluaseme tüüp - *Dwelling type*

Eluaseme tüüp % Dwelling type %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Korter - Apartment	50.6	49.3	48.5	54.5	53.1	32.8	29.2	38.2	48.1	6,033
Üldkorter - Shared apartment	5.1	6.2	8.2	5.7	3.8	3.4	3.8	3.5	5.4	674
Koridorsüsteemiga maja - Corridor type house	1.5	1.5	2.3	1.8	1.2	1.4	1.0	0.9	1.6	200
Kelder - Cellar	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.1	10
Barakk - Barracked	0.5	0.2	0.7	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.1	0.0	0.4	49
Ühisealamu - Dormitory	1.1	3.7	3.0	0.9	0.2	0.5	0.0	0.0	1.5	183
Muu - Other	1.9	2.1	1.6	2.5	2.6	1.8	1.5	1.2	2.0	255
Isiklik - Private	19.1	22.3	13.5	19.8	31.2	50.9	53.7	46.2	25.7	3,221
Teadmata - No data	20.2	14.6	22.1	14.2	7.6	8.8	10.4	10.1	15.2	1,908
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	12,533
Peremajas elavate osakaal % Proportion living in family house %										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	18.8	24.2	14.7	19.6	32.2	51.4	64.6	70.7	26.1	5,735
Naine -Female	19.4	20.8	12.5	20.0	30.4	50.5	47.1	38.6	25.4	6,798
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	22.8	28.7	16.8	24.1	39.4	57.1	58.3	52.4	31.2	9,741
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	6.4	5.3	1.9	5.6	7.6	16.3	16.9	13.0	6.6	2,792
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		11.9	9.2	12.8	18.2	22.0	15.4	33.3	12.9	906
Kesk - Secondary		19.8	10.3	16.1	19.0	17.1	25.0	23.8	16.0	2,657
Põhiharidus - Basic	24.5	25.2	16.5	21.8	22.6	41.9	44.4	30.8	23.3	2,804
Algharidus - Primary	19.0	21.2	22.9	26.2	43.9	60.9	59.1	48.5	32.9	6,166
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		8.7	11.7	20.0	32.0	55.8	68.6	78.0	27.6	6,165
Mittekooselus - No partnership	19.1	26.1	20.7	18.7	27.8	39.4	35.7	39.7	23.9	6,368
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	18.3	20.4	10.8	19.5	29.1	31.5			18.2	6,556
Vanuritega - W/elderly		32.3	39.7	33.3	36.2	66.5	60.1	52.9	51.1	1,472
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	26.5	9.0	26.3	17.3	28.1	33.3	26.2	25.3	23.7	937
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		23.1	16.0	18.9	31.4	51.3			29.5	3,568
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	9.4	13.1	6.7	11.6	14.9	19.4	16.7	13.9	11.8	7,284
Maa - Rural	30.7	38.4	24.2	34.6	59.4	78.4	78.7	78.6	45.0	5,249
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		16.2	13.1	19.5	30.6	48.2	57.8	71.8	24.3	7,581
Mittetöötav - Not employed	19.1	30.3	29.1	32.6	45.3	56.4	50.5	43.0	27.9	4,952
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		29.6	26.4	37.4	59.9	79.2	79.6	96.6	49.1	2,220
Sekundaar - Secondary		10.6	5.3	10.9	18.4	19.1	18.4	0.0	11.9	2,546
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		14.3	11.1	15.2	20.1	24.0	25.3	0.0	15.9	2,815
Mittetöötav - Not employed	19.1	30.3	29.1	32.6	45.3	56.4	50.5	43.0	27.9	4,952
Sissetuleku kvintiliid - Income quintiles										
I	19.3	24.2	14.8	23.8	35.2	63.6	66.0	52.1	32.3	2,127
II	16.9	20.4	8.4	20.0	28.5	48.2	49.4	41.0	23.0	2,614
III	14.8	18.6	13.6	15.4	25.9	42.3	48.8	35.8	20.5	2,738
IV	21.4	20.6	13.7	18.5	29.7	45.2	44.9	39.0	23.7	2,608
V	26.4	28.6	17.5	23.6	35.7	54.8	50.0	64.0	30.8	2,446
Kokku Total	19.1	22.3	13.5	19.8	31.2	50.9	53.7	46.2	25.7	12,533
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533	

Tabel 2.34: Eluase kuuluvus - *Dwelling ownership*

Eluaseme kuuluvus % Owner of house %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Kohalik TSN - Local soviet	58.6	61.0	62.5	63.2	58.3	38.5	34.4	42.5	56.9	7,127
Elamukooperatiiv - Housing co-operative	3.0	1.1	4.0	3.2	1.1	1.0	1.0	2.3	2.4	297
Kolhoos - Kolkhoz	10.1	7.4	8.8	6.3	4.1	4.5	5.1	3.2	7.1	896
Isiklik - Private	20.8	24.0	15.0	21.7	33.6	52.4	55.3	47.1	27.4	3,439
üüripind TSN või kolhoosi majas - Rental apartment	7.4	6.5	9.6	5.5	2.9	3.6	4.2	4.9	6.1	766
Teadmata - No data	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	8
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	12,533
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533	
Eramajas elavate osakaal % Proportion living in private house %										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	20.2	26.2	16.1	21.6	34.4	53.7	66.5	70.7	27.8	5,735
Naine -Female	21.4	22.3	14.0	21.8	32.9	51.4	48.5	39.8	27.1	6,798
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	24.8	31.2	18.6	26.5	42.6	58.9	60.1	53.4	33.4	9,741
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	6.7	5.3	2.1	5.6	7.6	16.3	16.9	13.0	6.7	2,792
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		17.9	10.2	13.2	21.7	22.0	15.4	33.3	14.5	906
Kesk - Secondary		21.0	12.1	17.9	20.9	18.6	28.3	23.8	17.7	2,657
Põhiharidus - Basic	26.5	26.9	18.0	24.3	26.9	45.3	44.4	30.8	25.5	2,804
Algharidus - Primary	20.7	23.2	23.8	28.4	45.2	62.1	60.7	49.5	34.4	6,166
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		9.5	13.1	22.4	34.6	57.7	70.5	78.0	29.5	6,165
Mittekooselus - No partnership	20.8	28.1	22.2	18.7	29.3	40.1	37.0	40.8	25.4	6,368
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	20.0	21.7	12.5	21.4	30.7	33.9			19.9	6,556
Vanuritega - W/elderly		36.9	46.6	33.3	39.4	67.7	61.7	53.6	53.1	1,472
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	28.2	10.4	26.3	18.5	32.6	33.3	27.7	26.5	25.3	937
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		24.9	16.3	21.3	33.7	52.7			31.3	3,568
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	11.2	15.2	8.5	13.6	18.3	22.2	19.6	15.6	14.0	7,284
Maa - Rural	32.2	39.5	25.2	36.4	60.0	78.7	79.4	78.6	46.1	5,249
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		17.6	14.5	21.5	32.9	49.9	58.5	71.8	26.0	7,581
Mittetöötav - Not employed	20.8	32.5	29.1	32.6	49.3	57.7	52.8	44.0	29.6	4,952
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		30.5	27.4	38.0	60.3	79.6	79.6	96.6	49.7	2,220
Sekundaar - Secondary		11.2	6.1	12.6	19.7	22.0	18.4	0.0	13.1	2,546
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		16.6	13.5	18.3	24.8	26.6	28.0	0.0	19.0	2,815
Mittetöötav - Not employed	20.8	32.5	29.1	32.6	49.3	57.7	52.8	44.0	29.6	4,952
Sissetuleku kvintiiidid - Income quintiles										
I	20.8	24.8	16.4	25.0	36.8	63.6	66.5	52.1	33.3	2,127
II	18.6	23.2	9.4	22.6	31.8	50.3	53.0	42.2	25.2	2,614
III	16.5	20.4	15.8	17.5	27.6	45.6	49.6	37.7	22.5	2,738
IV	22.6	21.4	14.7	19.6	32.2	47.2	44.9	41.5	25.0	2,608
V	28.9	31.2	18.8	25.8	38.4	55.2	53.3	64.0	32.9	2,446
Kokku Total	20.8	24.0	15.0	21.7	33.6	52.4	55.3	47.1	27.4	12,533
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533	

Tabel 2.35: Leibkonna kasutatavate elutubade arv - *No. of living rooms in use*

Leibkonna elutubade arv % Number of living rooms in use %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Alla 1- Less than 1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.2	25
1	12.2	17.3	21.2	13.6	12.4	13.9	14.0	15.3	14.9	1,869
2	31.1	30.8	30.2	35.6	37.0	30.8	30.3	28.3	32.3	4,053
3	26.4	26.9	20.1	26.8	31.3	33.2	36.5	31.8	27.5	3,445
4	8.1	7.7	5.3	7.2	8.3	10.8	6.7	8.7	7.6	957
5+	1.8	2.5	0.9	2.1	3.2	2.5	2.0	5.5	2.2	276
Teadmata - No data	20.2	14.6	22.1	14.2	7.6	8.8	10.4	10.1	15.2	1,908
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	12,533
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533	
Keskmine elutubade arv										
Mean number of living rooms										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	2.5	2.5	2.2	2.4	2.6	2.7	2.5	2.7	2.4	4,848
Naine -Female	2.4	2.3	2.1	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.4	5,777
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	2.6	2.5	2.3	2.5	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.6	2.5	8,034
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	2.1	2.1	1.8	2.1	2.2	2.2	2.1	2.2	2.1	2,591
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		2.6	2.2	2.6	2.9	2.8	2.2	2.3	2.6	769
Kesk - Secondary		2.3	2.1	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.2	2.3	2,276
Põhiharidus - Basic	2.5	2.4	2.2	2.3	2.4	2.4	2.5	2.2	2.3	2,412
Algharidus - Primary	2.4	2.3	2.2	2.3	2.5	2.6	2.5	2.6	2.5	5,168
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		1.9	2.2	2.5	2.6	2.7	2.5	2.6	2.4	5,360
Mittekooselus - No partnership	2.5	2.5	2.0	1.9	2.0	2.1	2.4	2.6	2.4	5,265
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	2.4	2.4	2.2	2.5	2.6	2.6			2.4	5,311
Vanuritega - W/elderly		2.7	2.6	2.6	2.7	2.8	2.4	2.5	2.5	1,355
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	2.8	2.6	2.7	2.8	2.9	3.2	2.8	2.8	2.8	815
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		2.3	1.8	2.1	2.4	2.4			2.3	3,144
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	2.3	2.3	2.0	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.2	2.4	2.2	6,631
Maa - Rural	2.7	2.6	2.5	2.7	2.8	2.8	2.7	2.8	2.7	3,994
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		2.1	2.1	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.3	2.5	2.3	6,468
Mittetöötav - Not employed	2.5	2.7	2.4	2.5	2.6	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.5	4,157
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		2.3	2.6	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.6	2.7	2.7	1,626
Sekundaar - Secondary		2.0	2.0	2.3	2.3	2.2	2.0	1.0	2.2	2,344
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		2.2	2.1	2.4	2.5	2.2	2.0	1.2	2.3	2,498
Mittetöötav - Not employed	2.5	2.7	2.4	2.5	2.6	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.5	4,157
Sissetuleku kvintilid - Income quintiles										
I	2.2	2.1	2.0	2.3	2.3	2.4	2.3	2.2	2.2	1,738
II	2.4	2.3	2.1	2.4	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.6	2.4	2,221
III	2.4	2.4	2.1	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.9	2.4	2,341
IV	2.6	2.4	2.2	2.4	2.5	2.6	2.6	3.1	2.5	2,218
V	2.7	2.6	2.3	2.5	2.6	2.7	2.6	3.1	2.6	2,107
Kokku Total	2.5	2.4	2.2	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.6	2.4	10,625
N	2,384	1,518	1,520	1,720	1,643	916	613	311	10,625	

Tabel 2.36: Leibkonna eluaseme üldpind - *Total floor area*

Eluaseme üldpind, ruutmeetrit % Total floor area, square metres %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0-29	12.0	17.1	20.0	12.6	10.7	12.5	12.4	11.8	13.9	1,746
30-39	18.3	18.9	18.4	20.0	20.5	17.0	17.5	14.5	18.7	2,349
40-49	24.4	21.1	23.4	26.7	23.7	16.4	17.0	16.2	22.8	2,856
50-59	13.9	13.5	12.3	12.3	15.0	16.5	15.2	17.3	13.9	1,738
60-69	13.0	10.7	9.6	12.1	13.0	14.9	13.6	16.5	12.3	1,539
70+	11.0	12.2	6.6	10.7	14.2	18.9	20.0	18.8	12.2	1,535
Teadmata - No data	7.4	6.4	9.7	5.5	2.9	3.6	4.2	4.9	6.1	770
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	12,533
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533	
Keskmine üldpinna suurus m^2 Mean size of total floor area m^2										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	48.9	49.5	43.6	47.9	52.0	55.2	53.9	58.9	49.3	5,382
Naine -Female	48.8	45.6	43.5	48.0	49.3	50.6	51.9	53.2	48.0	6,381
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	51.6	50.8	45.5	50.6	53.6	54.2	54.1	56.7	51.3	9,031
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	40.0	38.9	36.9	39.5	41.8	44.1	41.9	43.5	39.9	2,732
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		50.3	46.0	51.4	57.1	56.2	45.5	47.3	50.6	840
Kesk - Secondary		45.6	42.8	48.3	49.2	47.3	47.4	45.9	46.1	2,492
Põhiharidus - Basic	50.7	48.4	43.1	46.8	48.5	52.1	52.0	51.5	47.2	2,637
Algharidus - Primary	48.8	46.9	44.6	46.8	51.0	53.5	53.6	55.4	50.1	5,794
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		38.2	44.4	49.8	52.3	55.3	55.9	59.9	49.6	5,853
Mittekooselus - No partnership	48.9	49.7	40.2	38.5	42.4	45.7	48.6	53.4	47.7	5,910
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	48.0	47.8	44.4	49.0	52.3	51.1			47.8	6,085
Vanuritega - W/elderly		53.3	49.5	50.9	53.4	59.0	52.1	53.8	53.3	1,413
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	56.4	55.0	53.2	54.8	57.2	64.7	55.1	56.9	55.8	907
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		45.6	37.0	42.9	48.4	51.0			46.2	3,358
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	44.8	44.5	40.4	45.0	46.6	45.9	45.2	47.6	44.5	6,888
Maa - Rural	53.9	52.4	48.5	53.5	57.3	58.5	57.8	61.4	54.4	4,875
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		42.5	43.4	47.9	50.4	51.1	50.9	60.3	47.2	7,104
Mittetöötav - Not employed	48.9	53.4	47.5	51.7	52.7	55.7	53.9	53.9	50.9	4,659
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		48.0	49.9	53.0	57.2	57.9	55.6	67.1	53.9	2,069
Sekundaar - Secondary		39.4	40.3	44.7	46.3	44.7	43.6	23.8	43.2	2,421
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		42.4	42.1	47.5	49.3	45.7	43.5	31.1	45.5	2,614
Mittetöötav - Not employed	48.9	53.4	47.5	51.7	52.7	55.7	53.9	53.9	50.9	4,659
Sissetuleku kvintiiidid - Income quintiles										
I	44.4	40.6	39.7	45.5	46.4	50.1	49.5	51.5	45.2	1,940
II	49.5	45.7	42.7	48.1	48.2	51.1	51.1	53.8	48.0	2,443
III	47.1	47.8	43.8	46.9	49.1	51.4	54.0	57.0	47.7	2,590
IV	51.1	49.2	44.2	48.9	52.2	53.0	59.0	57.7	50.0	2,446
V	53.0	52.2	45.5	49.6	53.4	56.1	54.0	63.7	51.7	2,344
Kokku Total	48.9	47.4	43.6	48.0	50.5	52.6	52.7	54.6	48.6	11,763
N	2,764	1,663	1,763	1,894	1,727	968	655	329	11,763	

Tabel 2.37: Leibkonna eluaseme elamispiind - *Total useful floor area*

Eluaseme elamispinna suurus, ruut-meetrit %	Vanusrühm - Age group									Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+			
Total useful floor area, square metres %											
0-9	0.5	2.3	1.7	0.9	0.5	0.5	1.5	0.9	1.1	136	
10-19	10.7	13.2	18.1	11.7	10.7	11.9	11.0	13.9	12.6	1,574	
20-29	24.3	24.0	26.3	25.3	24.4	20.7	20.9	17.1	24.1	3,018	
30-39	26.0	24.7	22.3	28.2	27.7	22.8	23.7	19.7	25.3	3,168	
40-49	19.1	17.8	14.1	17.9	20.2	22.0	19.6	24.9	18.5	2,323	
50+	11.9	11.6	7.7	10.4	13.5	18.5	19.2	18.8	12.3	1,544	
Teadmata - No data	7.4	6.4	9.7	5.5	2.9	3.6	4.2	4.9	6.1	770	
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	12,533	
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533		
Keskmine elamispinna suurus m^2											
Mean size of useful floor area m^2											
Sugu - Sex											
Mees - Male	35.1	35.4	31.1	34.1	36.9	39.2	37.4	41.1	35.1	5,382	
Naine -Female	35.1	32.5	31.1	34.2	34.7	35.6	36.4	36.6	34.1	6,381	
Põlisus - Nativity											
Põline - Native origin	36.7	35.7	32.3	35.6	37.3	38.1	37.4	38.8	36.1	9,031	
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	29.8	29.2	27.0	29.5	31.2	32.1	31.9	31.9	29.7	2,732	
Haridustase - Educational level											
Kõrgem - Higher		36.6	32.7	36.7	40.7	40.2	33.4	34.0	36.2	840	
Kesk - Secondary		32.5	30.5	34.3	34.9	34.6	33.3	32.6	32.8	2,492	
Põhiharidus - Basic	38.0	34.4	31.1	33.2	34.1	36.6	36.9	35.8	33.6	2,637	
Algharidus - Primary	35.0	34.0	31.5	33.4	35.9	37.6	37.3	38.2	35.5	5,794	
Kooseluseis - Partnership status											
Kooselus - In partnership		27.7	31.7	35.5	37.0	39.4	38.5	41.5	35.2	5,853	
Mittekooselus - No partnership	35.1	35.4	29.0	26.9	29.5	31.6	34.5	36.9	33.9	5,910	
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type											
Lastega - W/children	34.5	34.6	31.7	35.1	37.6	37.2			34.3	6,085	
Vanuritega - W/elderly		37.9	35.3	35.8	37.3	40.7	36.2	36.6	37.0	1,413	
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	40.6	40.0	39.4	39.1	41.1	47.1	39.2	41.1	40.2	907	
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		32.2	26.3	29.9	33.9	36.1			32.5	3,358	
Elukoht - Residence											
Linn - Urban	32.4	32.2	28.9	32.0	33.4	32.9	32.4	34.0	32.0	6,888	
Maa - Rural	38.4	36.7	34.6	38.0	39.8	40.9	39.7	41.4	38.2	4,875	
Hõive - Employment											
Töötav - Employed		30.6	31.0	34.0	35.6	36.2	34.9	41.3	33.5	7,104	
Mittetöötav - Not employed	35.1	37.8	33.9	37.3	36.8	39.3	38.2	37.3	36.2	4,659	
Majandussektor - Sector of economy											
Primaar - Primary		32.9	35.6	37.6	39.8	40.5	37.9	45.3	37.8	2,069	
Sekundaar - Secondary		29.1	29.1	31.9	33.3	31.7	28.7	17.8	31.1	2,421	
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		30.7	29.9	33.7	34.8	33.0	30.7	24.6	32.4	2,614	
Mittetöötav - Not employed	35.1	37.8	33.9	37.3	36.8	39.3	38.2	37.3	36.2	4,659	
Sissetuleku kvintiliid - Income quintiles											
I	32.0	28.6	28.5	32.2	32.4	35.7	35.3	34.4	32.0	1,940	
II	35.3	33.1	30.5	34.4	34.1	36.4	35.0	37.3	34.2	2,443	
III	33.8	33.8	31.4	33.3	34.9	36.2	38.0	40.3	34.0	2,590	
IV	36.7	35.5	31.3	34.9	37.3	37.1	41.9	41.4	35.7	2,446	
V	38.3	36.9	32.6	35.1	37.4	39.5	36.0	45.6	36.6	2,344	
Kokku Total	35.1	33.8	31.1	34.1	35.7	37.2	36.8	37.7	34.6	11,763	
N	2,764	1,663	1,763	1,894	1,727	968	655	329	11,763		

Tabel 2.38: Elamispinna suurus elaniku kohta - *Useful floor area per dweller*

Elamispinna suurus elaniku kohta % Useful floor area per dweller %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0-4.9	10.0	9.1	10.0	5.8	4.0	3.1	2.9	5.5	7.3	915
5-9.9	56.2	49.9	47.8	49.7	39.1	22.5	24.7	31.5	45.4	5,696
10-14.9	21.6	25.3	23.3	25.9	29.7	23.1	22.8	24.6	24.5	3,069
15-19.9	4.0	7.0	6.2	8.6	13.7	18.9	15.2	13.0	8.9	1,121
20+	0.7	2.4	3.0	4.3	10.3	28.7	30.1	20.5	7.7	959
Teadmata - No data	7.4	6.4	9.7	5.5	3.0	3.7	4.2	4.9	6.2	773
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	12,533
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533	
Keskmine elamispinna suurus elaniku kohta m² Mean size of useful floor area per dweller m ²										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	8.6	9.8	9.6	10.4	11.7	15.7	16.3	18.9	10.7	5,381
Naine -Female	8.6	9.4	9.4	10.3	12.8	17.6	17.5	13.0	11.3	6,379
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	9.0	10.2	10.0	10.9	13.3	17.9	17.7	15.5	11.8	9,028
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	7.5	7.9	7.7	8.6	9.7	11.0	11.9	8.8	8.5	2,732
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		11.1	10.6	11.3	12.3	13.3	14.1	15.6	11.4	840
Kesk - Secondary		9.8	9.3	10.6	11.8	14.2	13.3	15.8	10.5	2,492
Põhiharidus - Basic	8.9	9.3	9.2	10.0	11.9	16.3	16.7	20.3	10.4	2,637
Algharidus - Primary	8.6	9.4	9.5	9.8	12.9	17.6	17.6	14.1	11.5	5,791
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		7.9	8.7	9.6	11.4	15.5	16.6	18.2	10.9	5,851
Mittekooselus - No partnership	8.6	10.0	12.8	13.9	16.5	20.1	17.6	13.7	11.1	5,909
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	8.6	8.0	8.5	9.2	9.3	8.4			8.7	6,085
Vanuritega - W/elderly		9.8	11.9	11.7	12.0	16.8	19.0	16.4	15.7	1,413
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	8.3	7.4	8.0	8.3	8.4	10.8	8.7	8.5	8.3	907
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		10.8	12.9	13.5	14.2	18.5			13.9	3,355
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	8.3	9.1	8.9	9.9	11.1	12.6	11.5	10.7	9.7	6,886
Maa - Rural	9.0	10.4	10.5	11.1	14.6	20.5	20.8	18.2	12.8	4,874
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		9.3	9.5	10.3	12.4	17.0	19.1	22.9	11.5	7,101
Mittetöötav - Not employed	8.6	9.8	8.7	9.9	11.9	16.4	15.5	13.5	10.3	4,659
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		11.2	10.7	11.3	15.0	21.4	23.0	24.6	14.6	2,068
Sekundaar - Secondary		8.3	8.8	9.7	11.0	12.3	12.0	13.4	9.8	2,420
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		9.4	9.4	10.3	11.7	14.0	13.5	15.3	10.6	2,613
Mittetöötav - Not employed	8.6	9.8	8.7	9.9	11.9	16.4	15.5	13.5	10.3	4,659
Sissetuleku kvintiilid - Income quintiles										
I	7.7	9.5	9.1	9.6	13.1	19.2	20.4	17.9	11.9	1,940
II	8.5	9.1	8.9	9.9	12.0	16.7	15.6	11.5	10.5	2,442
III	8.4	9.0	9.4	9.7	11.1	14.9	15.2	12.5	10.1	2,590
IV	9.1	9.8	9.7	10.7	12.3	15.2	16.6	11.6	10.9	2,444
V	9.5	10.4	10.3	11.7	13.2	17.9	15.2	14.0	12.0	2,344
Kokku Total	8.6	9.6	9.5	10.3	12.4	16.8	17.0	14.5	11.0	11,760
N	2,764	1,663	1,763	1,894	1,725	967	655	329	11,760	

Tabel 2.39: Elutubade arv elaniku kohta - *Living rooms per dweller*

Elutubade arv elaniku kohta % Number of living rooms per dweller %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0-0.4	21.7	18.0	19.1	13.6	9.9	6.2	6.3	9.8	15.4	1,928
0.5-0.9	60.3	54.1	52.2	56.4	46.8	29.3	28.9	38.2	50.8	6,368
1-1.4	10.0	19.4	16.2	20.5	29.5	31.7	30.6	29.2	20.1	2,524
1.5-1.9	0.5	1.4	1.5	1.9	6.1	15.1	19.3	9.8	4.2	532
2+	0.0	0.6	1.2	2.0	4.6	14.0	10.7	8.1	3.2	399
Teadmata - No data	7.5	6.5	9.8	5.5	3.1	3.7	4.2	4.9	6.2	782
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	12,533
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533	
Alla 1 elutoa isiku kohta, % Less than 1 living room per person, %										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	81.5	71.6	69.5	70.7	62.1	40.7	31.9	29.3	67.8	5,377
Naine -Female	82.6	72.4	72.8	69.4	52.6	31.6	37.2	53.8	64.8	6,374
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	78.8	66.2	66.7	64.9	50.4	29.8	31.3	42.5	60.9	9,021
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	93.3	87.6	87.4	86.8	74.8	66.7	66.2	77.8	84.7	2,730
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		63.1	59.0	63.2	55.2	53.7	42.3	33.3	59.4	840
Kesk - Secondary		66.9	72.3	70.4	62.3	40.3	48.3	33.3	66.7	2,491
Põhiharidus - Basic	87.8	76.5	75.0	71.6	55.6	35.1	36.1	46.2	69.4	2,634
Algharidus - Primary	82.0	72.8	73.3	71.6	54.8	33.5	33.5	49.2	65.6	5,786
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		76.1	78.3	77.0	62.7	37.5	30.0	16.9	66.0	5,845
Mittekooselus - No partnership	82.0	71.0	43.6	37.6	31.1	30.8	41.5	54.4	66.4	5,906
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	81.2	87.3	79.1	80.2	80.4	86.6			81.2	6,079
Vanuritega - W/elderly		75.4	53.4	57.0	54.9	28.0	23.1	34.6	38.2	1,413
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	89.9	94.0	93.7	89.3	92.1	72.2	86.9	90.4	90.0	907
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		59.4	41.5	43.1	42.7	26.9			43.9	3,352
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	83.6	73.8	74.3	72.1	63.4	52.1	57.6	64.7	71.9	6,880
Maa - Rural	80.2	69.1	66.4	66.1	45.2	20.9	20.1	31.2	58.3	4,871
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		68.8	71.1	69.8	56.6	35.0	24.1	10.3	61.8	7,094
Mittetöötav - Not employed	82.0	76.4	76.4	76.7	58.7	36.5	43.6	52.8	72.9	4,657
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		61.0	64.0	64.7	46.4	19.8	13.8	3.4	49.0	2,065
Sekundaar - Secondary		77.7	78.1	74.2	62.6	52.0	50.0	50.0	71.1	2,419
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		65.1	69.5	69.3	58.6	44.3	36.0	25.0	63.6	2,610
Mittetöötav - Not employed	82.0	76.4	76.4	76.7	58.7	36.5	43.6	52.8	72.9	4,657
Sissetuleku kvintiliid - Income quintiles										
I	82.0	65.8	66.8	71.9	52.6	28.4	20.2	30.6	59.4	1,940
II	84.0	74.1	75.8	73.9	57.0	34.2	37.8	66.3	69.6	2,442
III	84.1	76.8	75.0	75.9	69.0	41.8	42.6	56.6	72.9	2,590
IV	79.8	73.5	69.4	68.8	59.4	44.7	45.9	63.4	67.8	2,444
V	78.8	68.5	67.2	59.0	47.6	29.6	42.2	44.0	59.2	2,335
Kokku Total	82.0	72.1	71.2	70.0	56.7	35.5	35.2	48.0	66.2	11,751
N	2,762	1,661	1,760	1,894	1,723	967	655	329	11,751	

Tabel 2.40: Mugavused - *Utilities*

Kasutatavad mugavused % Access to utilities %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Elekter - Electricity	99.7	99.6	99.7	99.7	99.7	99.6	99.2	99.1	99.6	11,725
Keskkiite - Central heating	44.6	43.8	48.5	48.4	38.7	21.3	20.9	25.2	41.0	4,828
Veevärk - Piped water	72.9	68.9	78.2	72.4	64.6	44.0	41.5	48.6	67.0	7,886
Kanalisatsioon - Sewer	69.6	66.7	75.2	70.0	62.1	41.6	39.4	45.0	64.3	7,567
Soe vesi - Hot water	34.2	31.5	36.1	37.6	27.7	13.6	14.7	21.3	30.6	3,597
Gaas - Gas	79.9	75.9	80.7	77.9	73.2	54.5	51.8	53.8	73.8	8,683
Vann-dush - Bath-shower	53.5	50.0	54.8	54.7	46.5	26.2	25.0	29.5	47.9	5,634
Telefon - Telephone	26.4	25.4	25.4	29.8	25.6	19.4	17.7	20.1	25.3	2,980
N	2,766	1,662	1,765	1,894	1,728	968	655	329	11,767	
Keskmine mugavusaste, 1-8 skaala Mean score of utilities, 1-8 scale										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	4.8	4.5	4.9	4.9	4.5	3.3	2.8	2.1	4.5	5,385
Naine -Female	4.8	4.7	5.1	4.9	4.3	3.1	3.3	3.8	4.5	6,382
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	4.6	4.2	4.7	4.5	3.9	2.9	2.8	3.1	4.1	9,035
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	5.6	5.7	5.8	6.0	5.6	5.0	5.3	5.0	5.7	2,732
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		5.4	5.9	6.1	6.4	5.6	5.5	4.7	6.0	840
Kesk - Secondary		5.0	5.2	5.3	5.2	5.2	4.9	4.0	5.2	2,493
Põhiharidus - Basic	4.6	4.4	4.6	4.6	4.7	3.7	4.0	4.4	4.5	2,636
Algharidus - Primary	4.8	4.2	4.2	4.0	3.5	2.6	2.7	3.3	4.0	5,798
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		5.1	5.2	5.0	4.5	3.2	2.6	1.9	4.5	5,855
Mittekooselus - No partnership	4.8	4.5	4.3	4.3	4.0	3.2	3.8	3.8	4.5	5,912
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	4.8	4.6	5.1	5.0	4.5	4.1			4.8	6,090
Vanuritega - W/elderly		4.5	3.9	4.2	4.2	2.8	2.7	3.0	3.3	1,413
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	4.8	4.8	5.1	5.3	4.7	5.0	4.9	4.9	4.9	907
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		4.6	4.7	4.7	4.3	3.1			4.3	3,357
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	5.6	5.4	5.5	5.6	5.3	4.7	5.2	5.0	5.4	6,896
Maa - Rural	3.8	3.3	4.2	3.5	2.7	1.9	1.7	1.8	3.2	4,871
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		4.7	5.0	4.9	4.4	3.3	2.6	2.0	4.6	7,106
Mittetöötav - Not employed	4.8	4.5	3.7	3.2	3.2	3.1	3.5	3.6	4.4	4,661
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		3.2	3.8	3.4	2.7	1.8	1.5	1.5	2.9	2,067
Sekundaar - Secondary		5.5	5.7	5.7	5.3	4.9	4.9	4.5	5.5	2,423
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		4.8	5.2	5.3	5.0	4.2	4.2	4.8	5.0	2,616
Mittetöötav - Not employed	4.8	4.5	3.7	3.2	3.2	3.1	3.5	3.6	4.4	4,661
Sissetuleku kvintiilid - Income quintiles										
I	4.1	3.9	4.4	4.1	3.6	2.3	2.2	2.8	3.6	1,939
II	4.9	4.3	5.1	4.7	4.1	3.2	3.0	3.4	4.4	2,446
III	5.1	5.1	4.9	5.4	4.7	3.3	3.5	4.1	4.9	2,592
IV	5.1	5.2	5.3	5.2	4.8	3.9	4.1	4.7	5.0	2,450
V	4.6	4.5	4.9	4.7	4.4	3.3	3.5	3.3	4.4	2,340
Kokku Total	4.8	4.6	5.0	4.9	4.4	3.2	3.1	3.4	4.5	11,767
N	2,766	1,662	1,765	1,894	1,728	968	655	329	11,767	

Tabel 2.41: Kultuurikaubad - *Recreational goods*

Kultuurikaupade olemasolu % Recreational goods %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Raadio - Radio	92.3	90.4	91.9	92.7	93.2	94.6	94.6	90.5	92.4	11,583
Televiisor - TV set	93.3	85.8	89.5	93.4	93.5	87.1	78.4	78.3	89.9	11,273
Magnetofon - Tape player	27.9	40.7	30.8	30.0	33.0	19.0	14.0	19.9	29.5	3,703
Fotoaparaat - Photo camera	46.3	47.6	46.6	47.1	43.2	27.9	21.2	25.7	42.8	5,365
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533	
Keskmine kultuurikaupadega varustus, skaala 1-4 Mean score of recreational goods, scale 1-4										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	2.6	2.8	2.6	2.6	2.7	2.4	2.0	2.0	2.6	5,735
Naine -Female	2.6	2.5	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.2	2.1	2.2	2.5	6,798
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	2.6	2.7	2.6	2.7	2.7	2.3	2.1	2.2	2.6	9,741
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	2.4	2.4	2.5	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.2	2.1	2.4	2,792
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		2.8	2.7	2.9	3.1	3.0	2.5	3.0	2.8	906
Kesk - Secondary		2.7	2.7	2.8	2.9	2.7	2.5	2.0	2.7	2,657
Põhiharidus - Basic	2.7	2.6	2.5	2.6	2.6	2.3	2.2	1.7	2.6	2,804
Algharidus - Primary	2.6	2.4	2.3	2.3	2.5	2.2	2.0	2.2	2.4	6,166
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		2.5	2.7	2.8	2.7	2.4	2.0	1.8	2.6	6,165
Mittekooselus - No partnership	2.6	2.7	2.2	2.0	2.2	2.0	2.2	2.2	2.5	6,368
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	2.6	2.7	2.6	2.7	2.7	2.7			2.6	6,556
Vanuritega - W/elderly		2.9	2.6	2.6	2.4	2.2	1.9	1.9	2.2	1,472
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	2.7	2.9	2.7	2.8	2.8	2.9	2.7	2.8	2.8	937
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		2.6	2.4	2.5	2.6	2.2			2.5	3,568
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	2.7	2.7	2.6	2.7	2.8	2.6	2.4	2.4	2.7	7,284
Maa - Rural	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.4	2.0	1.8	1.9	2.4	5,249
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		2.5	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.3	1.9	1.6	2.5	7,581
Mittetöötav - Not employed	2.6	2.8	2.6	2.5	2.4	2.3	2.2	2.2	2.6	4,952
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		2.4	2.5	2.5	2.4	2.0	1.7	1.7	2.3	2,220
Sekundaar - Secondary		2.6	2.6	2.6	2.7	2.6	2.5	2.0	2.6	2,546
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		2.5	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.4	2.2	1.2	2.6	2,815
Mittetöötav - Not employed	2.6	2.8	2.6	2.5	2.4	2.3	2.2	2.2	2.6	4,952
Sissetuleku kvintilid - Income quintiles										
I	2.2	2.1	2.3	2.3	2.2	1.8	1.6	1.7	2.1	2,127
II	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.4	2.1	2.4	2.5	2,614
III	2.7	2.8	2.7	2.8	2.7	2.4	2.4	2.5	2.7	2,738
IV	2.7	2.8	2.6	2.7	2.7	2.5	2.5	2.7	2.7	2,608
V	2.7	2.9	2.6	2.7	2.8	2.4	2.4	2.5	2.7	2,446
Kokku Total	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.3	2.1	2.1	2.5	12,533
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533	

Tabel 2.42: Kodumasinad - *Home appliances*

Kodumasinatate olemasolu leibkonnas % Availability of home appliances in household %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Külmkapp - Refrigerator	77.4	67.1	77.0	76.1	71.6	56.9	44.9	50.0	70.7	8,858
Pesumasin - Washing machine	81.1	71.4	70.8	77.5	77.5	71.0	60.1	59.8	74.5	9,334
Tolmuimeja - Vacuum cleaner	63.2	55.6	61.2	65.6	63.2	53.1	44.3	46.8	59.9	7,507
Õmblusmasin - Sewing machine	72.6	73.3	63.9	72.8	82.9	82.4	75.4	74.9	73.8	9,255
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533	
Keskmine kodumasinatega varustatus, skaala 1-4 Mean score of home appliances, scale 1-4										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	2.9	2.7	2.6	2.9	3.0	2.8	2.3	1.8	2.8	5,735
Naine - Female	3.0	2.6	2.8	3.0	2.9	2.5	2.2	2.5	2.8	6,798
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	3.0	2.7	2.8	2.9	2.9	2.6	2.2	2.2	2.8	9,741
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	2.8	2.6	2.6	2.9	3.0	2.8	2.7	2.7	2.8	2,792
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		3.0	2.8	3.1	3.3	3.4	2.7	1.0	3.0	906
Kesk - Secondary		2.7	2.9	3.0	3.2	3.2	2.6	2.3	2.9	2,657
Põhiharidus - Basic	3.0	2.7	2.6	2.9	2.9	2.7	2.7	2.2	2.8	2,804
Algharidus - Primary	2.9	2.6	2.5	2.7	2.8	2.5	2.2	2.3	2.7	6,166
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		2.5	2.9	3.1	3.2	2.8	2.2	2.0	2.9	6,165
Mittekooselus - No partnership	2.9	2.7	2.0	1.9	2.1	2.1	2.3	2.4	2.6	6,368
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastege - W/children	2.9	2.9	2.9	3.1	3.1	3.1			3.0	6,556
Vanuritega - W/elderly		3.1	2.6	2.7	2.9	2.7	2.0	2.1	2.4	1,472
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	3.1	3.2	3.2	3.3	3.1	3.0	3.2	3.1	3.2	937
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		2.4	2.0	2.5	2.9	2.5			2.5	3,568
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	3.0	2.8	2.7	3.0	3.1	2.9	2.8	2.7	2.9	7,284
Maa - Rural	2.9	2.5	2.8	2.8	2.7	2.4	1.9	1.9	2.6	5,249
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		2.4	2.7	2.9	3.0	2.6	1.9	1.6	2.7	7,581
Mittetöötav - Not employed	2.9	3.0	2.9	2.6	2.6	2.7	2.5	2.4	2.9	4,952
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		2.2	2.7	2.7	2.7	2.4	1.6	1.4	2.5	2,220
Sekundaar - Secondary		2.6	2.7	3.1	3.1	2.9	2.8	2.0	2.9	2,546
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		2.4	2.7	2.9	3.0	2.8	2.4	2.5	2.8	2,815
Mittetöötav - Not employed	2.9	3.0	2.9	2.6	2.6	2.7	2.5	2.4	2.9	4,952
Sissetuleku kvintiid - Income quintiles										
I	2.4	2.1	2.3	2.4	2.4	2.0	1.6	1.6	2.2	2,127
II	2.9	2.5	2.8	2.9	2.6	2.6	2.3	2.7	2.7	2,614
III	3.1	2.8	2.8	3.1	3.0	2.7	2.4	2.8	2.9	2,738
IV	3.1	2.9	2.7	3.1	3.2	2.8	2.7	3.4	3.0	2,608
V	3.1	3.0	2.9	2.9	3.2	2.9	2.8	2.6	3.0	2,446
Kokku Total	2.9	2.7	2.7	2.9	3.0	2.6	2.2	2.3	2.8	12,533
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533	

Tabel 2.43: Transpordivahendid - *Means of transportation*

Transpordivahendi olemasolu leibkonnas % Means of transportation in household %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Auto - Car	25.1	17.9	20.6	26.6	23.4	14.7	11.8	14.2	21.5	2,699
Mootorratas - Motorcycle	22.6	19.4	23.0	18.7	17.4	12.3	8.8	12.4	19.0	2,381
Mopeed - Moped	43.2	41.4	29.9	44.3	45.9	53.2	49.9	47.1	42.7	5,351
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533	
Auto omajate osakaal % Proportion of car owners %										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	24.6	19.9	19.8	27.8	28.2	19.6	9.7	9.8	22.9	5,735
Naine -Female	25.7	16.3	21.4	25.6	19.7	11.1	13.1	15.5	20.4	6,798
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	29.6	21.7	24.3	30.4	27.4	15.5	11.9	14.4	24.8	9,741
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	9.4	8.0	7.5	14.0	12.0	10.5	11.7	13.0	10.2	2,792
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		25.0	28.9	39.5	45.5	29.3	7.7	0.0	34.0	906
Kesk - Secondary		17.1	20.9	27.9	27.8	24.8	15.0	9.5	22.6	2,657
Põhiharidus - Basic	24.5	18.9	17.6	24.9	21.6	15.5	13.9	0.0	20.1	2,804
Algharidus - Primary	25.1	11.3	16.7	19.3	18.2	11.8	11.6	15.2	19.9	6,166
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		11.8	23.7	31.4	27.5	18.1	8.8	6.8	24.2	6,165
Mittekooselus - No partnership	25.1	19.6	8.6	4.7	5.9	7.0	15.4	15.7	19.0	6,368
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	24.6	18.3	21.9	29.5	24.6	16.5			24.2	6,556
Vanuritega - W/elderly		20.8	10.3	25.8	21.6	15.5	8.8	10.6	13.9	1,472
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	29.6	16.4	30.5	29.8	23.6	11.1	24.6	25.3	26.8	937
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		17.3	15.6	19.3	23.2	14.3			18.5	3,568
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	23.0	18.2	18.9	25.4	22.9	19.0	19.2	13.3	21.4	7,284
Maa - Rural	27.7	17.4	23.3	28.9	24.2	11.0	6.9	15.0	21.8	5,249
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		12.5	20.3	26.7	23.6	15.2	7.5	2.6	20.6	7,581
Mittetöötav - Not employed	25.1	24.9	32.7	23.3	18.7	13.8	15.1	15.6	22.9	4,952
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		11.7	23.4	25.4	22.3	12.8	3.9	3.4	19.1	2,220
Sekundaar - Secondary		10.4	16.7	24.1	22.6	13.3	10.5	0.0	18.9	2,546
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		14.8	21.4	30.1	25.6	20.8	14.7	0.0	23.3	2,815
Mittetöötav - Not employed	25.1	24.9	32.7	23.3	18.7	13.8	15.1	15.6	22.9	4,952
Sissetuleku kvintilid - Income quintiles										
I	13.3	8.7	10.7	18.5	10.3	4.0	3.0	4.2	10.2	2,127
II	21.5	12.8	20.1	18.6	13.0	15.6	11.6	7.2	17.2	2,614
III	27.8	17.6	23.0	28.9	22.5	13.2	14.0	24.5	23.4	2,738
IV	29.4	21.2	23.7	31.2	26.7	15.2	19.4	41.5	25.8	2,608
V	35.5	28.0	21.1	32.7	33.9	22.4	21.1	28.0	29.4	2,446
Kokku Total	25.1	17.9	20.6	26.6	23.4	14.7	11.8	14.2	21.5	12,533
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533	

Tabel 2.44: Aiamaa olemasolu - *Availability of private plot*

Maa omajaid aiamaa tüübi järgi % Plot owners by type of plot %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Viljapuud - Fruit garden	23.9	28.0	16.2	27.9	37.1	46.8	47.1	42.2	29.4	3,688
Kartul - Potato field	42.2	35.7	30.4	37.0	42.0	55.7	61.7	53.5	41.1	5,145
Köögiviljamaa - Vegetable field	29.4	26.2	21.3	27.8	30.9	41.1	43.6	35.8	29.5	3,700
Teraviljapõld - Grain field	18.0	13.7	13.5	13.3	17.4	29.0	34.8	26.3	17.9	2,243
Muud kultuurid - Other plants	9.0	10.4	5.3	9.7	13.2	20.7	23.8	21.4	11.4	1,432
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533	
Maakasutajate osakaal % Proportion of private plot users %										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	49.9	51.3	41.3	47.4	56.3	69.6	77.4	79.3	52.3	5,735
Naine -Female	52.0	43.1	37.1	47.3	53.1	63.7	65.3	54.2	49.8	6,798
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	58.1	55.6	45.7	54.7	63.5	72.7	74.6	65.4	58.6	9,741
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	26.1	23.3	15.4	22.9	28.5	30.1	32.5	31.5	24.3	2,792
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		35.7	28.9	40.8	44.1	39.0	30.8	33.3	36.4	906
Kesk - Secondary		39.7	35.5	37.5	41.4	39.5	36.7	28.6	38.1	2,657
Põhiharidus - Basic	65.3	52.5	46.0	52.1	47.6	57.4	63.9	38.5	50.8	2,804
Algharidus - Primary	50.7	47.7	46.7	57.4	66.3	74.8	75.6	63.4	58.7	6,166
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		30.3	39.8	50.0	57.7	71.2	81.5	86.4	52.7	6,165
Mittekooselus - No partnership	50.9	51.3	36.3	35.1	40.5	54.6	55.9	54.7	49.2	6,368
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	50.7	51.2	41.2	49.8	56.4	47.2			48.9	6,556
Vanuritega - W/elderly		59.2	60.3	54.8	53.1	80.7	74.4	63.1	66.8	1,472
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	53.3	58.2	34.7	54.8	60.7	55.6	50.8	50.6	52.2	937
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		41.0	29.9	38.2	53.3	66.6			47.8	3,568
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	22.9	27.5	15.9	27.0	33.0	32.7	32.2	25.4	25.8	7,284
Maa - Rural	84.4	80.5	75.5	84.2	91.6	95.5	95.3	94.8	85.8	5,249
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		36.7	38.6	46.8	54.0	64.7	72.1	76.9	47.8	7,581
Mittetöötav - Not employed	50.9	59.7	54.5	69.8	65.3	69.3	68.2	58.0	55.7	4,952
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		73.7	82.7	85.5	90.3	95.2	93.9	100	87.0	2,220
Sekundaar - Secondary		24.3	20.4	31.2	36.4	37.6	39.5	0.0	29.2	2,546
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		29.0	25.7	34.8	43.4	39.6	36.0	12.5	33.7	2,815
Mittetöötav - Not employed	50.9	59.7	54.5	69.8	65.3	69.3	68.2	58.0	55.7	4,952
Sissetuleku kvintiiid - Income quintiles										
I	52.3	39.6	41.8	47.7	51.0	76.7	76.4	56.9	53.2	2,127
II	48.7	50.1	32.8	49.9	53.1	65.8	70.1	60.2	50.2	2,614
III	43.3	39.7	35.9	41.6	47.0	62.6	65.9	54.7	44.3	2,738
IV	51.7	47.2	37.8	47.8	56.2	55.3	61.2	73.2	49.6	2,608
V	64.0	56.6	48.6	50.6	61.0	70.4	70.0	68.0	58.5	2,446
Kokku Total	50.9	46.7	39.1	47.3	54.5	66.2	69.9	60.1	50.9	12,533
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533	

Tabel 2.45: Aiamaa suurus *Size of private plot*

Aiamaa tüübi järgi, ha By type of private plot, ha	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Viljapuaaed - Fruit garden	0.05	0.06	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.07	0.07	0.08	0.06	3,688
N	715	498	317	560	660	470	322	146	3,688	
Kartulimaa - Potato field	0.15	0.14	0.15	0.13	0.13	0.17	0.18	0.15	0.15	5,145
N	1,261	635	593	742	748	559	422	185	5,145	
Köögiljamaa -Vegetable field	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.03	3,700
N	878	466	415	557	549	413	298	124	3,700	
Teraviljapõld - Grain field	0.21	0.20	0.22	0.20	0.20	0.18	0.20	0.17	0.20	2,243
N	538	244	264	267	310	291	238	91	2,243	
Muude kultuuride all - Other plants field	0.12	0.10	0.14	0.10	0.10	0.13	0.13	0.14	0.12	1,432
N	270	184	104	194	235	208	163	74	1,432	
Keskmine aiamaa suurus										
Mean size of private plot										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	0.26	0.26	0.25	0.22	0.25	0.31	0.37	0.39	0.27	2,998
Naine -Female	0.26	0.22	0.24	0.22	0.24	0.35	0.36	0.30	0.26	3,385
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	0.27	0.25	0.25	0.23	0.26	0.34	0.37	0.34	0.28	5,704
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	0.19	0.16	0.14	0.15	0.15	0.25	0.30	0.24	0.17	679
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		0.14	0.18	0.13	0.09	0.07	0.11	0.47	0.13	330
Kesk - Secondary		0.20	0.20	0.20	0.15	0.13	0.24	0.41	0.19	1,011
Põhiharidus - Basic	0.28	0.26	0.28	0.22	0.19	0.29	0.23	0.24	0.25	1,424
Algharidus - Primary	0.26	0.29	0.32	0.29	0.31	0.36	0.39	0.33	0.31	3,618
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		0.20	0.23	0.21	0.23	0.33	0.39	0.45	0.26	3,247
Mittekooselus - No partnership	0.26	0.25	0.28	0.30	0.30	0.32	0.33	0.29	0.27	3,136
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	0.26	0.25	0.24	0.24	0.24	0.25			0.25	3,205
Vanuritega - W/elderly		0.20	0.32	0.28	0.26	0.37	0.38	0.36	0.34	984
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	0.24	0.21	0.23	0.16	0.24	0.34	0.25	0.21	0.22	489
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		0.24	0.24	0.20	0.24	0.33			0.26	1,705
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	0.07	0.08	0.06	0.07	0.07	0.10	0.07	0.07	0.07	1,879
Maa - Rural	0.32	0.34	0.30	0.31	0.35	0.40	0.43	0.40	0.35	4,504
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		0.23	0.24	0.22	0.24	0.32	0.39	0.40	0.25	3,623
Mittetöötav - Not employed	0.26	0.24	0.32	0.34	0.39	0.35	0.35	0.32	0.28	2,760
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		0.34	0.32	0.33	0.37	0.41	0.46	0.41	0.36	1,932
Sekundaar - Secondary		0.14	0.11	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.05		0.11	743
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		0.17	0.16	0.13	0.13	0.12	0.16	0.08	0.14	948
Mittetöötav - Not employed	0.26	0.24	0.32	0.34	0.39	0.35	0.35	0.32	0.28	2,760
Sissetuleku kvintiliid - Income quintiles										
I	0.29	0.28	0.28	0.25	0.29	0.39	0.39	0.38	0.32	1,132
II	0.23	0.25	0.19	0.22	0.25	0.33	0.34	0.29	0.25	1,312
III	0.24	0.23	0.25	0.19	0.23	0.27	0.35	0.29	0.24	1,214
IV	0.25	0.18	0.23	0.21	0.19	0.34	0.41	0.25	0.24	1,293
V	0.31	0.26	0.27	0.26	0.27	0.31	0.34	0.36	0.28	1,432
Kokku Total										
N	0.26	0.24	0.24	0.22	0.24	0.33	0.37	0.33	0.27	6,383
	1,521	830	763	949	969	665	478	208	6,383	

Tabel 2.46: Koduloomade esinemine leibkonnas - *Livestock in household*

Koduloomade esinemine % Livestock in household %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Veised - Cattle	20.2	16.1	11.9	15.0	21.0	38.5	42.5	28.6	20.5	2,572
Sead - Pigs	17.5	15.5	9.5	14.4	19.3	30.3	34.4	22.0	17.8	2,233
Lambad ja kitsed - Sheep and goats	15.6	13.7	10.3	12.4	18.7	29.9	30.4	19.9	16.5	2,069
Küülikud - Rabbits	7.8	4.9	4.7	5.9	5.2	7.2	5.7	6.9	6.0	758
Kodulinnud - Poultry	15.4	13.8	9.3	12.6	19.9	33.3	37.9	27.7	17.4	2,181
Mesilastarud - Beehives	3.4	3.1	1.2	2.7	5.7	8.7	9.5	9.8	4.2	523
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533	
Koduloomapidajate osakaal % Proportion of livestock owners %										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	26.5	27.8	19.1	22.6	30.1	47.2	58.4	65.9	28.9	5,735
Naine - Female	27.2	20.3	16.4	22.1	29.9	48.4	46.6	34.8	27.5	6,798
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	32.0	29.1	21.5	26.7	37.2	53.7	55.2	47.6	33.6	9,741
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	8.8	9.2	4.2	8.0	9.3	15.7	18.2	13.0	8.8	2,792
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		8.3	8.2	5.6	6.3	7.3	11.5	33.3	7.2	906
Kesk - Secondary		15.1	13.2	13.5	12.8	9.3	15.0	19.0	13.5	2,657
Põhiharidus - Basic	34.7	30.2	23.5	26.1	22.8	36.5	27.8	23.1	27.0	2,804
Algharidus - Primary	26.7	29.1	31.0	38.9	46.3	60.1	58.2	44.7	38.0	6,166
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		8.0	17.2	23.1	31.4	51.4	66.5	78.0	29.0	6,165
Mittekooselus - No partnership	26.8	28.0	19.4	18.9	24.3	39.7	32.5	34.8	27.3	6,368
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	27.0	25.3	17.7	25.1	32.4	25.2			24.9	6,556
Vanuritega - W/elderly		26.9	39.7	32.3	30.0	64.0	57.6	48.7	47.7	1,472
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	25.1	22.4	17.9	13.7	29.2	33.3	23.1	21.7	22.1	937
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		22.1	14.3	17.0	28.9	48.7			27.6	3,568
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	2.3	3.8	0.7	2.6	5.2	6.0	2.2	5.2	3.1	7,284
Maa - Rural	56.1	58.4	44.4	58.0	72.9	84.5	84.1	79.2	62.9	5,249
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		17.5	17.1	21.5	29.2	45.1	54.4	59.0	25.2	7,581
Mittetöötav - Not employed	26.8	31.7	38.2	62.8	49.3	53.7	48.5	40.1	32.7	4,952
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		50.7	49.6	62.4	73.1	86.6	83.4	79.3	66.1	2,220
Sekundaar - Secondary		7.9	3.6	5.2	10.2	9.8	5.3	0.0	6.7	2,546
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		9.1	7.5	8.4	14.1	9.4	9.3	0.0	9.6	2,815
Mittetöötav - Not employed	26.8	31.7	38.2	62.8	49.3	53.7	48.5	40.1	32.7	4,952
Sissetuleku kvintiidid - Income quintiles										
I	34.6	23.5	23.4	30.8	32.4	58.0	58.6	43.8	35.9	2,127
II	20.7	25.1	10.7	21.4	30.7	50.8	49.4	37.3	25.6	2,614
III	23.2	19.6	18.5	17.7	22.5	40.1	48.1	35.8	23.4	2,738
IV	23.0	20.4	14.1	20.7	26.5	38.6	51.0	43.9	23.7	2,608
V	38.0	30.3	24.3	25.1	36.7	51.6	41.1	60.0	34.0	2,446
Kokku Total	26.8	23.6	17.7	22.3	30.0	47.9	51.0	42.2	28.1	12,533
N	2,986	1,777	1,952	2,005	1,779	1,004	684	346	12,533	

Tabel 2.47: Keskmine loomade arv - *Mean number of livestock*

Koduloomade tüübi järgi, keskmine arv Livestock by type, mean number	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Veised - Cattle	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.6	1.8	2,572
N	602	286	233	300	374	387	291	99		2,572
Sead - Pigs	1.5	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.4	1.5	1.4	1.3	1.4	2,233
N	524	275	186	289	344	304	235	76		2,233
Lambad ja kitsed - Sheep and goats	2.9	3.0	2.8	2.8	3.1	3.3	3.4	3.5	3.1	2,069
N	466	243	201	249	333	300	208	69		2,069
Küülikud - Rabbits	12.4	11.5	12.8	11.4	11.7	14.1	11.1	8.5	12.1	758
N	232	87	92	119	93	72	39	24		758
Kodulinnud - Birds	9.9	10.2	10.0	9.4	9.8	10.0	10.6	9.2	9.9	2,181
N	459	245	181	253	354	334	259	96		2,181
Mesilastarud - Beehives	4.6	6.5	3.1	4.9	4.5	4.2	3.6	4.1	4.5	523
N	101	55	24	55	102	87	65	34		523
Keskmine veiste arv										
Mean number of cattle										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	1.9	1.8	1.7	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.6	1.8	1,214
Naine -Female	1.8	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.9	1.8	1.7	1.6	1.8	1,358
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.6	1.8	2,432
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	1.9	1.9	2.1	1.6	2.0	2.0	1.4	1.8	1.9	140
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		2.5	1.9	1.8	2.4		3.0	2.0	2.0	39
Kesk - Secondary		1.8	1.6	1.9	2.2	2.2	1.7	2.0	1.8	229
Põhiharidus - Basic	1.5	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.6	1.9	1.7	2.0	1.8	511
Algharidus - Primary	1.9	1.7	1.8	1.7	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.6	1.8	1,793
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		1.3	1.7	1.8	1.9	1.9	1.8	1.7	1.8	1,324
Mittekooselus - No partnership	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.6	1.8	1,248
Leibkonnat..p - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	1.9	1.8	1.7	1.8	2.0	2.2			1.8	1,167
Vanuritega - W/elderly		1.7	2.0	2.0	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.6	1.7	525
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	1.9	1.7	1.8	2.1	1.8	2.0	1.9	1.8	1.9	185
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		1.8	1.9	1.5	1.8	1.8			1.8	695
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	1.3	1.1	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.0		1.5	1.2	38
Maa - Rural	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.6	1.8	2,534
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		1.7	1.7	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.7	1.8	1,351
Mittetöötav - Not employed	1.9	1.9	2.1	2.1	2.0	1.9	1.7	1.6	1.8	1,221
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		1.8	1.7	1.8	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.7	1.8	1,138
Sekundaar - Secondary		1.4	1.8	1.7	1.5	1.7			1.6	82
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		1.9	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.3	2.0		1.8	131
Mittetöötav - Not employed	1.9	1.9	2.1	2.1	2.0	1.9	1.7	1.6	1.8	1,221
Sissetuleku kvintiliid - Income quintiles										
I	1.9	1.7	1.6	1.8	1.8	1.7	1.6	1.5	1.7	544
II	1.9	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.9	1.8	1.7	1.5	1.8	506
III	1.6	1.6	1.7	1.6	1.6	1.8	1.9	1.7	1.7	466
IV	1.8	1.9	1.5	1.7	1.9	2.0	1.8	1.9	1.8	434
V	2.1	1.9	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.9	1.9	2.0	622
Kokku Total	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.6	1.8	2,572
N	602	286	233	300	374	387	291	99		2,572

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Tabel 3.1: *Küsitlute arv - Number of respondents*

	Vanusrühm - Age group																Σ	
	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	70-74	75-79		80-84
Tegevusala - Activity																		
Töötav - Working	0	0	0	159	599	787	825	722	837	790	788	421	192	105	60	38	7	6,330
Õpib - Studying	0	371	944	586	87	13	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2,002
Pensionär - Pensioner	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	11	82	65	114	114	88	81	556
Kodune - At home	0	3	5	14	21	14	13	18	15	22	38	34	17	18	17	23	33	305
Koolieelik - Preschooler	814	545	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,359
Majandusharu (ISIC) - Branch of economy (ISIC)																		
Mittetöötav - Not working	814	919	949	600	108	27	14	18	15	23	49	116	82	132	131	111	114	4,222
Põllumajandus - Agriculture	0	0	0	50	139	214	212	229	259	235	218	160	71	42	25	18	4	1,876
Kalandus - Fishing	0	0	0	0	2	2	3	3	3	3	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	22
Kaevandus - Mining	0	0	0	3	8	18	21	19	17	30	27	5	4	1	1	1	0	155
Tööstus - Industry	0	0	0	38	160	177	215	157	228	216	239	91	34	19	7	2	0	1,583
Elektri-veevarustus - Electricity and water supply	0	0	0	1	6	4	4	6	4	5	7	3	1	0	0	0	0	41
Ehitus - Construction	0	0	0	10	32	83	64	48	70	56	48	28	8	2	2	0	0	451
Kaubandus - Trade	0	0	0	17	51	41	45	42	24	31	35	17	11	3	4	1	0	322
Hotellid-restaurantid - Hotels-restaurants	0	0	0	1	16	8	11	6	8	6	7	8	3	3	1	0	0	78
Transport - Transportation	0	0	0	13	72	79	57	62	66	46	53	18	22	5	2	2	1	498
Rahandus - Finance	0	0	0	4	2	6	1	4	3	6	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	30
Kinnisvara ja äri - Real estate and business	0	0	0	0	9	22	12	15	16	11	13	4	0	0	1	0	0	103
Avalik teenistus - Public service	0	0	0	4	17	28	32	23	19	16	17	13	4	0	0	0	0	173
Haridus - Education	0	0	0	8	27	53	83	47	45	61	45	20	5	8	7	2	0	411
Tervishoid - Health care	0	0	0	6	25	21	19	23	37	38	37	21	12	9	8	3	1	260
Muud teenused - Other services	0	0	0	8	33	35	42	41	37	33	33	27	15	12	2	8	1	327
Sugu - Sex																		
Mees - Male	435	471	477	358	304	415	405	365	396	387	386	226	128	105	53	44	17	4,972
Naine -Female	379	448	472	401	403	399	434	375	456	426	451	311	146	132	138	105	104	5,580
Põlisus - Nativity																		
Põline - Native origin	645	708	757	587	487	584	609	603	616	602	591	419	219	203	167	128	102	8,027
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	169	211	192	172	220	230	230	137	236	211	246	118	55	34	24	21	19	2,525
Haridustase - Educational level																		
Kõrgem - Higher	0	0	0	6	61	137	156	100	123	116	85	37	12	9	6	2	2	852
Kesk - Secondary	0	0	0	187	492	452	408	313	300	221	174	127	47	29	14	12	8	2,784
Põhiharidus - Basic	0	0	10	519	135	186	217	238	289	223	230	103	53	28	12	7	4	2,254
Algharidus - Primary	814	919	939	47	19	39	58	89	140	253	348	270	162	171	159	128	107	4,662
Kooseluseis - Partnership status																		
Kooselus - In partnership	0	0	0	14	295	591	690	618	691	698	687	400	192	138	70	41	11	5,136
Mittekooselus - No partnership	814	919	949	745	412	223	149	122	161	115	150	137	82	99	121	108	110	5,416
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type																		
Lastega - W/children	767	861	875	311	280	541	668	531	457	296	166	73	37	0	0	0	0	5,863
Vanuritega - W/elderly	0	0	0	41	60	34	26	20	52	50	97	67	59	193	158	119	98	1,074
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	47	58	74	35	26	29	30	62	45	29	16	11	9	44	33	30	23	601
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly	0	0	0	372	341	210	115	127	298	438	558	386	169	0	0	0	0	3,014
Elukoht - Residence																		
Linn - Urban	414	505	503	401	456	480	527	435	521	495	528	292	153	126	89	71	65	6,061
Maa - Rural	400	414	446	358	251	334	312	305	331	318	309	245	121	111	102	78	56	4,491
Kokku Total	814	919	949	759	707	814	839	740	852	813	837	537	274	237	191	149	121	10,552

Tabel 3.2: Leibkonnaliikmete arv - *Number of household members*

Leibkonnaliikmete arv % Number of household members %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
1	0.0	4.2	6.4	6.0	7.2	12.1	23.6	21.9	6.1	639
2	3.0	8.8	9.2	11.7	25.8	40.4	37.1	28.5	14.6	1,538
3	17.8	29.6	25.7	22.7	31.1	25.2	14.5	17.0	23.9	2,523
4	45.0	32.7	39.1	38.6	23.2	11.1	9.1	15.9	33.2	3,504
5+	34.2	24.7	19.6	20.9	12.7	11.2	15.7	16.7	22.3	2,348
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	10,552
Keskmine leibkonnaliikmete arv										
Mean number of household members										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	4.3	3.8	3.6	3.7	3.3	2.8	2.8	2.3	3.7	4,972
Naine -Female	4.3	3.8	3.7	3.7	3.0	2.7	2.5	3.0	3.6	5,580
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	4.4	3.8	3.7	3.8	3.1	2.7	2.5	2.7	3.6	8,027
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	4.1	3.7	3.6	3.4	3.2	3.0	3.2	3.6	3.6	2,525
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		3.9	3.6	3.8	3.3	3.5	3.1	2.8	3.6	852
Kesk - Secondary		3.7	3.7	3.6	3.2	3.0	2.9	3.4	3.6	2,784
Põhiharidus - Basic	3.9	3.9	3.6	3.7	3.1	2.6	2.5	2.5	3.5	2,254
Algharidus - Primary	4.3	4.0	3.7	3.7	3.1	2.6	2.6	2.9	3.8	4,662
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		4.0	3.9	4.0	3.3	2.9	2.8	2.6	3.6	5,136
Mittekooselus - No partnership	4.3	3.7	2.7	2.2	2.1	2.3	2.4	2.9	3.6	5,416
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	4.3	4.4	4.0	4.1	4.1	4.7			4.2	5,863
Vanuritega - W/elderly		4.2	3.5	3.1	3.4	2.9	2.1	2.3	2.8	1,074
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	5.2	5.8	5.2	5.2	4.8	5.2	5.0	5.0	5.2	601
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		3.1	2.2	2.4	2.6	2.3			2.6	3,014
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	4.1	3.8	3.6	3.5	3.2	2.9	2.9	3.2	3.6	6,061
Maa - Rural	4.6	3.8	3.7	3.9	3.0	2.6	2.3	2.5	3.7	4,491
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		3.6	3.6	3.7	3.1	2.6	2.4	2.5	3.4	6,330
Mittetöötav - Not employed	4.3	4.0	4.1	3.9	3.2	3.1	2.8	2.9	4.0	4,222
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		3.5	3.8	3.8	3.1	2.5	2.4	2.5	3.4	2,053
Sekundaar - Secondary		3.7	3.5	3.5	3.2	2.8	2.7	4.5	3.4	2,075
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		3.6	3.6	3.7	3.1	2.7	2.3	2.3	3.4	2,202
Mittetöötav - Not employed	4.3	4.0	4.1	3.9	3.2	3.1	2.8	2.9	4.0	4,222
Sissetuleku kvintiilid - Income quintiles										
I	4.6	3.9	3.8	3.8	3.5	2.5	1.9	2.0	3.7	1,930
II	4.2	3.6	3.7	3.7	3.1	2.7	2.5	3.1	3.7	2,158
III	4.3	3.9	3.6	3.8	3.2	2.9	3.4	3.5	3.7	2,263
IV	4.4	3.9	3.6	3.6	3.2	2.9	3.0	3.7	3.6	2,184
V	4.2	3.7	3.5	3.4	2.9	2.7	3.0	3.7	3.4	2,017
Kokku Total	4.3	3.8	3.7	3.7	3.1	2.8	2.6	2.9	3.6	10,552
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	

Tabel 3.3: Leibkonnaliikmete ekvivalentarv - *Equivalent number of household members*

Leibkonna ekvivalentsuurus % Equivalent household size %	Vanusrühm - Age group								\sum	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
1	0.0	4.2	6.4	6.0	7.2	12.1	23.6	21.9	6.1	639
1.3-1.9	21.8	17.5	30.1	25.6	34.2	43.0	39.0	30.7	27.6	2,909
2-2.9	70.3	65.7	58.3	63.1	53.0	39.3	30.4	38.5	59.2	6,243
3+	7.9	12.6	5.3	5.3	5.6	5.5	7.0	8.9	7.2	761
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	10,552
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	
Keskmine leibkonna ekvivalentsuurus Mean equivalent household size										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	2.3	2.3	2.0	2.1	2.0	1.9	1.9	1.6	2.1	4,972
Naine -Female	2.2	2.3	2.1	2.1	1.9	1.8	1.7	2.0	2.1	5,580
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	2.3	2.3	2.0	2.1	2.0	1.8	1.7	1.8	2.1	8,027
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	2.2	2.2	2.1	2.0	2.0	1.9	2.1	2.2	2.1	2,525
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		2.3	2.0	2.1	2.0	2.1	1.9	1.9	2.1	852
Kesk - Secondary		2.2	2.1	2.1	2.0	2.0	1.9	2.1	2.1	2,784
Põhiharidus - Basic	2.1	2.3	2.0	2.1	2.0	1.8	1.7	1.7	2.1	2,254
Algharidus - Primary	2.2	2.3	2.0	2.1	2.0	1.8	1.7	1.9	2.1	4,662
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		2.3	2.1	2.2	2.1	1.9	1.9	1.8	2.1	5,136
Mittekooselus - No partnership	2.2	2.3	1.8	1.5	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.9	2.1	5,416
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	2.2	2.4	2.1	2.2	2.3	2.5			2.2	5,863
Vanuritega - W/elderly		2.6	2.2	2.1	2.2	1.9	1.6	1.7	1.9	1,074
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	2.7	3.1	2.8	2.8	2.7	2.8	2.7	2.7	2.8	601
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		2.0	1.6	1.7	1.8	1.6			1.8	3,014
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	2.2	2.3	2.1	2.0	2.0	1.9	1.9	2.0	2.1	6,061
Maa - Rural	2.3	2.3	2.0	2.2	1.9	1.7	1.6	1.7	2.1	4,491
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		2.2	2.0	2.1	2.0	1.8	1.7	1.7	2.0	6,330
Mittetöötav - Not employed	2.2	2.4	2.3	2.2	2.0	2.0	1.8	1.9	2.2	4,222
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		2.1	2.1	2.1	1.9	1.7	1.7	1.7	2.0	2,053
Sekundaar - Secondary		2.2	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.8	1.8	2.5	2.0	2,075
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		2.2	2.1	2.1	2.0	1.8	1.6	1.6	2.0	2,202
Mittetöötav - Not employed	2.2	2.4	2.3	2.2	2.0	2.0	1.8	1.9	2.2	4,222
Sissetuleku kvintilid - Income quintiles										
I	2.3	2.2	2.0	2.1	2.1	1.7	1.4	1.5	2.1	1,930
II	2.2	2.2	2.0	2.1	2.0	1.8	1.7	2.0	2.1	2,158
III	2.2	2.3	2.0	2.1	2.0	1.9	2.1	2.2	2.1	2,263
IV	2.3	2.3	2.1	2.1	2.0	1.9	2.0	2.3	2.1	2,184
V	2.2	2.3	2.1	2.0	1.9	1.8	2.0	2.3	2.0	2,017
Kokku Total	2.2	2.3	2.0	2.1	2.0	1.8	1.8	1.9	2.1	10,552
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	

Tabel 3.4: Põlvkondade arv leibkonnas - *No. of generations in household*

Põlvkondade arv leibkonnas % Number of generations in household %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
1	0.0	52.7	21.9	28.9	64.9	80.3	75.7	57.0	36.0	3,794
2	90.0	36.0	69.5	64.4	27.0	10.2	10.5	27.0	54.6	5,763
3+	10.0	11.3	8.6	6.7	8.1	9.5	13.8	15.9	9.4	995
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	10,552
Keskmine põlvkondade arv leibkonnas Mean number of generations in household										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	2.1	1.5	1.8	1.8	1.5	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.7	4,972
Naine -Female	2.1	1.6	1.9	1.8	1.4	1.3	1.4	1.7	1.7	5,580
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	2.1	1.6	1.9	1.8	1.4	1.3	1.4	1.6	1.7	8,027
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	2.1	1.6	1.9	1.7	1.4	1.4	1.6	1.9	1.7	2,525
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		1.5	1.9	1.8	1.5	1.4	1.5	1.2	1.7	852
Kesk - Secondary		1.6	1.9	1.8	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.6	1.7	2,784
Põhiharidus - Basic	2.1	1.6	1.8	1.8	1.4	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.6	2,254
Algharidus - Primary	2.1	1.6	1.8	1.7	1.4	1.2	1.4	1.6	1.8	4,662
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		2.0	2.0	1.8	1.4	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.7	5,136
Mittekooselus - No partnership	2.1	1.5	1.4	1.5	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.7	1.8	5,416
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	2.1	2.2	2.1	2.0	2.2	2.5			2.1	5,863
Vanuritega - W/elderly		1.4	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.2	1.1	1.3	1.3	1,074
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	2.7	3.0	2.6	2.7	2.7	2.6	2.7	2.8	2.7	601
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0			1.0	3,014
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	2.1	1.6	1.9	1.8	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.8	1.8	6,061
Maa - Rural	2.1	1.6	1.8	1.8	1.4	1.2	1.2	1.4	1.7	4,491
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		1.6	1.9	1.8	1.4	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.6	6,330
Mittetöötav - Not employed	2.1	1.6	1.7	1.7	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.6	1.9	4,222
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		1.6	1.9	1.8	1.4	1.2	1.3	1.5	1.6	2,053
Sekundaar - Secondary		1.6	1.8	1.7	1.4	1.3	1.7	2.5	1.6	2,075
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		1.6	1.9	1.8	1.4	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.7	2,202
Mittetöötav - Not employed	2.1	1.6	1.7	1.7	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.6	1.9	4,222
Sissetuleku kvintiidid - Income quintiles										
I	2.1	1.8	2.0	1.9	1.7	1.5	1.2	1.3	1.8	1,930
II	2.1	1.7	1.9	1.8	1.5	1.4	1.4	1.8	1.8	2,158
III	2.1	1.6	1.9	1.9	1.4	1.2	1.6	1.8	1.8	2,263
IV	2.2	1.6	1.8	1.7	1.5	1.3	1.5	1.9	1.7	2,184
V	2.1	1.3	1.7	1.6	1.3	1.2	1.3	1.8	1.5	2,017
Kokku Total	2.1	1.6	1.9	1.8	1.4	1.3	1.4	1.6	1.7	10,552
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	

Tabel 3.5: Töötavate arv leibkonnas - *No. of employed in household*

Töötajate arv leibkonnas %		Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
Number of employed in household %	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+			
0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	2.7	21.7	25.9	1.8	187	
1	13.1	15.6	13.6	17.3	16.4	35.4	37.6	28.5	17.8	1,877	
2	77.4	51.8	72.0	71.5	57.3	41.3	29.2	30.7	63.0	6,652	
3+	9.5	32.5	14.4	11.2	26.2	20.6	11.4	14.8	17.4	1,836	
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	10,552	
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552		
Töötavate osakaal leibkonnas %											
Proportion of employed in household %											
Sugu - Sex											
Mees - Male	47.1	65.1	65.1	59.7	72.9	75.2	51.7	42.3	60.5	4,972	
Naine -Female	48.9	63.3	58.3	58.1	76.2	69.3	49.1	43.6	59.5	5,580	
Põlisus - Nativity											
Põline - Native origin	46.8	61.6	60.7	57.0	73.3	70.7	48.1	41.8	58.2	8,027	
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	52.4	71.0	64.2	65.0	78.2	76.3	62.5	52.1	65.8	2,525	
Haridustase - Educational level											
Kõrgem - Higher		66.1	63.8	57.1	68.5	70.9	57.0	29.2	63.5	852	
Kesk - Secondary		71.0	61.2	58.5	73.9	73.4	65.8	43.0	65.5	2,784	
Põhiharidus - Basic	49.7	57.0	61.9	59.8	76.4	72.8	64.3	37.6	63.5	2,254	
Algharidus - Primary	48.0	62.2	58.9	59.5	75.8	71.0	46.0	43.9	54.4	4,662	
Kooseluseis - Partnership status											
Kooselus - In partnership		68.2	57.1	56.6	73.2	70.6	49.2	41.5	63.1	5,136	
Mittekooselus - No partnership	48.0	63.1	77.5	69.2	82.2	75.4	50.8	43.8	57.1	5,416	
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type											
Lastega - W/children	48.2	52.6	53.4	49.9	57.4	56.8			50.9	5,863	
Vanuritega - W/elderly		61.5	71.3	61.5	64.0	53.8	50.4	42.4	54.0	1,074	
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	44.6	50.4	47.9	45.4	49.6	49.5	48.5	47.2	46.9	601	
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		75.2	93.3	82.7	85.3	79.8			82.4	3,014	
Elukoht - Residence											
Linn - Urban	51.3	68.2	63.8	61.8	76.8	75.9	58.6	50.2	63.8	6,061	
Maa - Rural	44.2	58.4	58.4	54.5	71.2	66.9	41.5	36.4	54.9	4,491	
Hõive - Employment											
Töötav - Employed		77.0	62.2	59.4	76.0	80.8	80.7	83.9	69.2	6,330	
Mittetöötav - Not employed	48.0	50.4	39.5	32.9	43.8	44.1	30.9	35.2	46.2	4,222	
Majandussektor - Sector of economy											
Primaar - Primary		70.9	58.4	55.2	72.1	76.8	76.7	85.4	65.4	2,053	
Sekundaar - Secondary		80.2	64.8	63.6	78.6	83.5	79.0	80.0	71.8	2,075	
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		78.3	62.9	59.6	77.3	83.6	85.6	82.5	70.3	2,202	
Mittetöötav - Not employed	48.0	50.4	39.5	32.9	43.8	44.1	30.9	35.2	46.2	4,222	
Sissetuleku kvintiiidid - Income quintiles											
I	41.1	53.3	50.9	51.4	58.5	52.8	25.6	21.9	45.3	1,930	
II	48.0	57.7	57.1	55.7	64.9	65.0	55.0	51.2	55.2	2,158	
III	49.6	61.3	60.2	56.7	71.0	68.6	56.3	55.7	58.8	2,263	
IV	51.9	68.0	67.4	61.9	75.8	72.4	65.8	62.5	65.5	2,184	
V	53.4	77.2	74.4	69.3	86.4	82.5	68.9	66.6	74.5	2,017	
Kokku Total	48.0	64.1	61.7	58.9	74.6	71.9	50.1	43.3	60.0	10,552	
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552		

Tabel 3.6: Tulusaajate arv leibkonnas - *No. of income recipients in household*

Tulusaajate arv leibkonnas % Number of income recipients in household %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3
1	9.5	10.0	14.2	10.3	10.4	16.6	27.6	26.3	12.3	1,295
2	63.3	33.2	59.6	60.2	45.3	44.1	38.3	31.5	52.0	5,485
3+	27.0	56.9	26.1	29.5	44.3	39.2	34.1	42.2	35.7	3,769
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	10,552
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	
Tulusaajate osakaal leibkonnas % Proportion of income recipients in household %										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	54.6	78.0	68.6	66.2	82.0	91.6	90.4	94.0	70.3	4,972
Naine -Female	56.4	74.3	63.9	69.1	85.8	90.9	90.5	86.9	72.2	5,580
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	54.9	75.2	65.1	66.3	83.7	90.9	91.1	89.1	70.6	8,027
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	57.5	78.1	69.3	72.5	85.0	92.6	86.0	85.2	73.5	2,525
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		83.0	66.1	65.8	80.2	88.0	84.7	91.7	72.4	852
Kesk - Secondary		81.0	65.6	66.6	83.1	90.2	90.7	84.7	74.1	2,784
Põhiharidus - Basic	62.0	70.1	67.1	69.1	85.6	91.4	94.2	89.4	74.4	2,254
Algharidus - Primary	55.5	75.1	68.1	69.5	84.7	92.0	90.2	88.7	68.0	4,662
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		69.0	59.2	63.1	82.6	91.5	90.0	93.5	72.4	5,136
Mittekooselus - No partnership	55.5	77.8	90.4	88.9	91.5	90.5	90.9	87.3	70.3	5,416
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	54.9	60.9	56.2	56.6	64.4	67.0			57.0	5,863
Vanuritega - W/elderly		87.9	96.8	91.9	92.2	94.3	95.7	93.9	93.8	1,074
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	63.4	64.4	64.2	65.7	65.7	70.4	66.6	66.3	65.1	601
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		87.8	98.3	90.0	92.7	96.1			92.4	3,014
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	58.5	78.4	68.7	69.5	84.8	92.2	87.9	86.6	73.3	6,061
Maa - Rural	52.1	72.6	62.3	65.0	82.8	90.1	93.0	90.3	68.6	4,491
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		81.6	66.4	68.0	84.5	92.1	91.7	92.2	76.5	6,330
Mittetöötav - Not employed	55.5	70.0	58.6	55.3	73.2	88.4	89.7	87.7	63.6	4,222
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		78.3	63.3	66.0	83.3	90.9	93.5	91.9	75.1	2,053
Sekundaar - Secondary		82.8	68.4	70.9	84.6	94.0	88.3	80.0	77.5	2,075
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		82.7	67.1	67.1	85.8	92.1	91.3	93.8	76.7	2,202
Mittetöötav - Not employed	55.5	70.0	58.6	55.3	73.2	88.4	89.7	87.7	63.6	4,222
Sissetuleku kvintiidid - Income quintiles										
I	49.0	62.7	53.5	62.4	68.7	80.9	92.8	91.6	61.6	1,930
II	56.9	70.5	61.9	64.6	77.2	84.9	93.4	79.4	66.4	2,158
III	57.4	75.5	66.3	64.9	81.5	91.6	80.7	88.2	69.7	2,263
IV	58.8	81.2	73.8	71.6	86.6	93.4	92.2	89.2	76.9	2,184
V	57.3	86.6	77.1	76.2	91.8	95.4	91.5	89.9	81.8	2,017
Kokku Total	55.5	76.0	66.2	67.7	84.0	91.2	90.4	88.5	71.3	10,552
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	

Tabel 3.7: Haridustase - *Educational attainment*

Haridustase % Educational attainment %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Kõrgem - Higher	0.0	1.8	15.4	13.2	11.1	5.5	2.1	0.7	6.9	730
Lõpetamata kõrgem - Incomplete higher	0.0	2.8	2.3	0.8	1.1	0.5	1.4	0.7	1.2	122
Keskeri - Specialised secondary	0.0	14.6	23.3	21.8	15.6	11.7	3.3	1.9	12.5	1,317
Kesk - Secondary	0.0	31.7	28.7	16.7	8.4	9.7	6.8	5.6	13.9	1,467
Põhiharidus - Basic	0.4	44.6	24.4	33.1	27.5	19.2	9.3	4.1	21.4	2,254
Algharidus - Primary	21.8	4.3	5.8	14.2	34.8	51.5	70.3	72.2	23.3	2,458
Alghariduseta - No primary	77.9	0.2	0.1	0.2	1.6	1.7	6.8	14.8	20.9	2,204
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	10,552
Vähemalt keskharidust omavate isikute osakaal %										
Proportion having at least secondary education %										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	0.0	45.8	60.9	44.9	33.6	28.2	18.4	11.5	31.0	4,972
Naine -Female	0.0	55.1	78.5	59.4	38.3	26.9	10.7	8.1	37.6	5,580
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	0.0	45.8	66.8	51.9	37.7	26.0	12.2	7.8	32.4	8,027
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	0.0	64.8	77.4	54.4	31.9	32.9	22.4	15.0	41.0	2,525
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	852
Kesk - Secondary		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	2,784
Põhiharidus - Basic	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2,254
Algharidus - Primary	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4,662
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		78.3	71.9	54.2	36.8	29.7	15.9	17.3	50.6	5,136
Mittekooselus - No partnership	0.0	43.6	62.4	44.9	32.8	21.5	11.4	6.9	19.1	5,416
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	0.0	47.9	70.8	55.9	38.7	37.3			32.6	5,863
Vanuritega - W/elderly		57.4	70.0	45.8	42.9	27.8	13.1	8.8	27.6	1,074
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	0.0	42.6	74.6	52.3	40.0	40.0	15.6	9.4	28.1	601
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		53.2	64.9	45.9	33.7	25.0			41.8	3,014
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	0.0	58.8	77.1	60.7	44.2	37.8	26.0	14.7	42.2	6,061
Maa - Rural	0.0	39.7	58.4	40.3	23.0	15.0	0.9	3.0	24.0	4,491
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		72.8	70.0	52.8	36.2	30.5	18.2	8.9	52.1	6,330
Mittetöötav - Not employed	0.0	27.4	61.0	39.4	33.3	18.2	10.6	8.9	8.1	4,222
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		56.5	56.3	38.5	18.8	21.1	1.4	4.3	35.7	2,053
Sekundaar - Secondary		76.1	72.4	53.4	36.8	30.3	23.3	0.0	54.2	2,075
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		80.7	78.5	66.9	54.0	42.1	33.3	15.0	65.3	2,202
Mittetöötav - Not employed	0.0	27.4	61.0	39.4	33.3	18.2	10.6	8.9	8.1	4,222
Sissetuleku kvintiliid - Income quintiles										
I	0.0	45.6	67.0	47.7	33.6	17.2	5.4	6.4	27.0	1,930
II	0.0	44.4	69.9	60.1	38.7	15.4	15.9	9.3	34.0	2,158
III	0.0	48.3	76.1	54.1	41.8	35.2	16.7	12.8	36.9	2,263
IV	0.0	55.6	72.2	51.1	37.9	31.5	24.7	10.6	37.9	2,184
V	0.0	58.4	62.5	45.9	29.8	28.6	10.2	8.7	35.6	2,017
Kokku Total	0.0	50.9	69.8	52.5	36.1	27.5	13.6	8.9	34.5	10,552
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	

Tabel 3.8: Põhitegevus - *Main activity*

Tegevusala % Activity status %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Töötav - Working	0.0	51.7	97.5	97.9	95.6	75.6	38.6	16.7	60.0	6,330
Õpib - Studying	49.0	45.9	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	19.0	2,002
Pensionär - Pensioner	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	18.1	53.3	62.6	5.3	556
Kodune - At home	0.3	2.4	1.6	2.1	3.6	6.3	8.2	20.7	2.9	305
Koolieelik - Preschooler	50.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	12.9	1,359
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	10,552
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	
Töötavate isikute osakaal % Proportion of employed %										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	0.0	50.9	98.4	98.8	97.5	87.3	48.1	34.4	61.5	4,972
Naine -Female	0.0	52.4	96.6	97.1	94.0	66.5	33.0	11.5	58.7	5,580
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	0.0	48.1	97.1	97.7	95.3	75.5	39.5	17.8	58.2	8,027
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	0.0	61.5	98.7	98.7	96.5	75.7	32.8	10.0	65.7	2,525
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		49.3	98.0	100	97.0	87.8	53.3	0.0	92.6	852
Kesk - Secondary		76.4	97.8	97.9	95.4	82.8	51.2	20.0	90.1	2,784
Põhiharidus - Basic	0.0	27.1	97.5	97.5	97.4	75.0	57.5	18.2	74.0	2,254
Algharidus - Primary	0.0	43.9	93.8	96.9	94.0	71.5	33.9	16.6	29.3	4,662
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		93.9	98.2	97.7	95.1	74.7	43.3	30.8	91.4	5,136
Mittekooselus - No partnership	0.0	40.4	95.2	98.9	98.5	78.1	34.1	13.3	30.2	5,416
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	0.0	52.5	98.0	98.3	95.2	70.9			50.9	5,863
Vanuritega - W/elderly		51.5	95.0	97.2	94.6	67.5	39.3	18.0	54.0	1,074
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	0.0	50.8	100	98.1	97.8	50.0	35.1	11.3	46.9	601
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		51.2	95.7	97.2	95.9	79.3			82.4	3,014
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	0.0	55.2	98.0	99.1	97.0	78.2	43.7	17.6	63.8	6,061
Maa - Rural	0.0	46.8	96.7	96.2	93.5	72.4	33.3	15.7	54.9	4,491
Sissetuleku kvintiilid - Income quintiles										
I	0.0	45.6	94.9	96.7	91.3	55.9	20.8	11.8	45.3	1,930
II	0.0	42.2	98.4	97.8	93.1	73.1	39.8	18.6	55.2	2,158
III	0.0	43.7	98.3	97.9	94.9	71.7	51.3	19.1	58.8	2,263
IV	0.0	57.1	96.7	98.2	96.2	75.0	43.8	21.3	65.5	2,184
V	0.0	67.1	99.0	98.9	98.3	85.9	52.5	21.7	74.5	2,017
Kokku Total	0.0	51.7	97.5	97.9	95.6	75.6	38.6	16.7	60.0	10,552
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	

Tabel 3.9: Majandusharu - *Branch of economy*

Majandusharu (ISIC) % Branch of economy (ISIC) %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Põllumajandus - Agriculture		24.9	26.4	31.3	28.7	37.7	40.6	48.9	29.6	1,876
Kalandus - Fishing		0.0	0.2	0.4	0.4	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	22
Kaevandus - Mining		1.5	2.4	2.3	3.6	1.5	1.2	2.2	2.4	155
Tööstus - Industry		26.1	24.3	24.7	28.8	20.4	15.8	4.4	25.0	1,583
Elektri-veevarustus - Electricity and water supply		0.9	0.5	0.6	0.8	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.6	41
Ehitus - Construction		5.5	9.1	7.6	6.6	5.9	2.4	0.0	7.1	451
Kaubandus - Trade		9.0	5.3	4.2	4.2	4.6	4.2	2.2	5.1	322
Hotellid-restaurantid - Hotels-restaurants		2.2	1.2	0.9	0.8	1.8	2.4	0.0	1.2	78
Transport - Transportation		11.2	8.4	8.2	6.3	6.5	4.2	6.7	7.9	498
Rahandus - Finance		0.5	0.5	0.3	0.6	0.3	0.6	2.2	0.5	30
Kinnisvara ja äri - Real estate and business		1.2	2.1	2.0	1.5	0.7	0.6	0.0	1.6	103
Avalik teenistus - Public service		2.8	3.7	2.7	2.1	2.8	0.0	0.0	2.7	173
Haridus - Education		4.6	8.4	5.9	6.7	4.1	9.1	4.4	6.5	411
Tervishoid - Health care		4.1	2.5	3.8	4.8	5.4	10.3	8.9	4.1	260
Muud teenused - Other services		5.4	4.8	5.0	4.2	6.9	8.5	20.0	5.2	327
Kokku Total	-	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	6,330
N	0	758	1,612	1,559	1,578	613	165	45	6,330	
Sekundaarsektoris hõivatud isikute osakaal %										
Proportion employed in secondary sector of economy %										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male		36.2	37.1	33.1	40.6	32.4	23.7	0.0	35.8	3,056
Naine -Female		29.7	30.8	32.7	32.2	21.4	13.5	8.3	30.0	3,274
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin		24.2	26.4	26.7	30.0	22.0	13.0	2.4	26.0	4,672
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin		50.6	53.1	53.0	52.2	45.0	57.9	25.0	51.8	1,658
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		12.1	25.8	24.2	30.3	20.9	12.5		25.5	789
Kesk - Secondary		35.5	38.3	36.7	40.1	28.5	27.3	0.0	36.9	2,507
Põhiharidus - Basic		28.8	32.3	34.0	39.2	37.6	34.8	0.0	34.7	1,667
Algharidus - Primary		27.6	26.4	28.8	33.3	23.0	13.4	5.1	27.2	1,367
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		33.4	34.0	32.2	36.8	28.7	22.2	0.0	33.4	4,692
Mittekooselus - No partnership		32.1	33.6	36.1	33.3	22.2	13.3	6.9	31.0	1,638
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children		29.7	32.2	30.4	35.2	34.6			31.8	2,984
Vanuritega - W/elderly		32.7	35.1	35.7	31.7	24.7	16.7	2.6	26.0	580
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly		41.9	39.0	29.5	22.7	20.0	25.9	16.7	30.9	282
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		34.2	39.5	39.2	37.9	26.1			35.7	2,484
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban		44.4	44.6	47.1	50.1	40.2	29.8	8.3	45.6	3,865
Maa - Rural		13.0	17.1	10.9	12.6	9.4	2.8	0.0	12.7	2,465
Sissetuleku kvintiliid - Income quintiles										
I		27.0	31.1	28.8	26.5	13.5	14.8	0.0	27.2	875
II		36.2	35.5	38.9	38.1	18.4	14.3	0.0	35.2	1,192
III		30.5	38.6	35.4	38.4	26.0	15.0	11.1	35.0	1,330
IV		35.6	36.1	31.5	37.3	38.7	15.6	0.0	34.9	1,431
V		32.2	27.2	26.6	35.5	25.5	32.3	20.0	30.2	1,502
Kokku Total		32.6	33.9	32.9	36.2	26.9	18.2	4.4	32.8	6,330
N	0	758	1,612	1,559	1,578	613	165	45	6,330	

Tabel 3.10: Isikutulu allikad - *Income sources*

Isikutulu allikad % Personal income sources %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Palgatulu - Wage income	0.0	46.9	93.2	96.9	94.5	73.4	36.4	15.2	58.0	6,121
Töövõimetustoetus - Disability benefit	0.0	3.5	5.8	5.0	4.2	3.0	0.7	0.4	3.1	325
Pension - Pension	2.2	2.8	0.5	2.1	7.8	65.7	93.2	87.0	13.6	1,439
Stipendium - Stipend	0.1	15.5	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.3	241
Lastetoetus - Parental benefit	1.3	0.7	1.4	0.6	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	79
Abimajapidamisest - Private plot	0.1	0.5	1.6	4.7	7.4	10.7	11.9	10.0	3.8	398
Muu rahaline tulu - Other money income	0.9	2.0	1.6	2.1	1.8	3.1	9.6	13.7	2.4	249
Üldse tulusaajaid - Total income earners	4.4	66.6	95.6	98.7	98.2	97.7	97.4	89.3	69.3	7,316
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	
Tulusaajate osakaal % Proportion of income recipients %										
Sugu - Sex										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	4.6	70.8	99.1	99.6	99.4	99.2	100	100	69.2	4,972
Naine -Female	4.1	63.2	92.1	98.0	97.1	96.5	95.9	86.1	69.4	5,580
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	5.1	65.9	95.7	98.6	98.2	97.3	97.8	89.6	68.8	8,027
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	1.7	68.6	95.2	99.2	98.0	98.8	94.8	87.5	71.1	2,525
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		85.1	94.2	99.6	98.5	100	100	100	96.4	852
Kesk - Secondary		88.1	95.6	98.7	98.0	100	95.3	90.0	95.0	2,784
Põhiharidus - Basic	20.0	43.7	97.3	98.7	99.1	95.5	97.5	100	82.0	2,254
Algharidus - Primary	4.3	54.5	92.8	98.3	97.5	97.2	97.6	88.5	42.9	4,662
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		84.5	95.3	98.5	97.9	97.0	95.7	94.2	96.4	5,136
Mittekooselus - No partnership	4.4	61.9	96.5	99.6	99.6	99.5	99.1	88.1	43.7	5,416
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	4.6	60.7	94.9	98.8	98.3	97.3			53.9	5,863
Vanuritega - W/elderly		76.2	96.7	98.6	98.0	96.8	97.2	89.4	93.8	1,074
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	0.6	49.2	93.2	99.1	100	100	98.7	88.7	63.2	601
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		71.7	98.5	98.6	98.1	97.8			91.9	3,014
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	3.3	67.7	95.9	99.2	98.7	98.9	96.7	86.0	71.2	6,061
Maa - Rural	5.6	65.2	95.0	98.1	97.3	96.2	98.1	92.5	66.8	4,491
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		93.3	97.0	99.7	99.7	100	100	100	98.3	6,330
Mittetöötav - Not employed	4.4	38.1	41.5	54.5	63.9	90.4	95.8	87.1	25.9	4,222
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		94.5	97.4	99.4	99.6	100	100	100	98.6	2,053
Sekundaar - Secondary		92.3	96.9	99.8	99.8	100	100	100	98.2	2,075
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		93.2	96.6	99.8	99.8	100	100	100	98.0	2,202
Mittetöötav - Not employed	4.4	38.1	41.5	54.5	63.9	90.4	95.8	87.1	25.9	4,222
Sissetuleku kvintiiidid - Income quintiles										
I	4.8	48.8	84.4	96.7	96.0	91.4	97.7	92.7	57.5	1,930
II	5.3	56.0	97.0	98.9	97.2	96.2	98.9	79.1	63.8	2,158
III	4.5	63.7	98.3	99.0	97.9	97.9	96.2	93.6	68.1	2,263
IV	4.7	76.6	97.7	98.8	98.7	97.3	91.5	75.7	2,184	
V	0.6	82.9	100	100	99.1	98.5	96.6	78.3	81.1	2,017
Kokku Total	4.4	66.6	95.6	98.7	98.2	97.7	97.4	89.3	69.3	10,552
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	

Tabel 3.11: Isikutulu allikate arv - *Number of income sources*

Isikutulu allikate arv % Number of personal income sources %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0	95.6	33.4	4.4	1.3	1.8	2.3	2.6	10.7	30.7	3,236
1	4.1	61.6	86.6	86.7	81.3	46.1	51.4	58.9	56.1	5,920
2+	0.3	5.0	9.0	12.1	16.8	51.5	46.0	30.4	13.2	1,396
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	10,552
Keskmine isikutulu allikate arv										
Mean number of personal income sources										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	0.0	0.8	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.5	1.7	1.7	0.8	4,972
Naine -Female	0.0	0.7	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.6	1.4	1.1	0.8	5,580
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	0.1	0.7	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.6	1.6	1.3	0.8	8,027
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	0.0	0.7	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.5	1.3	1.0	0.8	2,525
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		0.9	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.4	1.3	1.0	1.1	852
Kesk - Secondary		0.9	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.6	1.4	1.1	1.1	2,784
Põhiharidus - Basic	0.2	0.5	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.5	1.7	1.3	1.0	2,254
Algharidus - Primary	0.0	0.6	1.0	1.2	1.2	1.6	1.5	1.3	0.6	4,662
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		0.9	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.5	1.6	1.5	1.2	5,136
Mittekooselus - No partnership	0.0	0.7	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.7	1.5	1.2	0.5	5,416
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	0.0	0.7	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.5			0.6	5,863
Vanuritega - W/elderly		0.8	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.5	1.6	1.3	1.3	1,074
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	0.0	0.5	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.6	1.3	1.2	0.8	601
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		0.8	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.6			1.1	3,014
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	0.0	0.7	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.5	1.3	1.0	0.8	6,061
Maa - Rural	0.1	0.7	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.7	1.7	1.5	0.9	4,491
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		1.0	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.7	2.1	2.2	1.2	6,330
Mittetöötav - Not employed	0.0	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.7	1.0	1.2	1.1	0.3	4,222
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		1.1	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.9	2.4	2.5	1.3	2,053
Sekundaar - Secondary		1.0	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.6	1.8	2.0	1.1	2,075
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		1.0	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.6	1.9	1.9	1.2	2,202
Mittetöötav - Not employed	0.0	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.7	1.0	1.2	1.1	0.3	4,222
Sissetuleku kvintilid - Income quintiles										
I	0.0	0.5	0.9	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.3	0.7	1,930
II	0.1	0.6	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.5	1.5	1.0	0.7	2,158
III	0.0	0.7	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.5	1.6	1.4	0.8	2,263
IV	0.1	0.8	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.6	1.6	1.3	0.9	2,184
V	0.0	0.9	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.7	1.8	1.2	1.1	2,017
Kokku Total	0.0	0.7	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.6	1.5	1.3	0.8	10,552
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	

Tabel 3.12: Isiku brutokogutulu suurus - *Size of total gross individual income*

Isiku brutokogutulu suurus, rubla % Total individual gross income, rouble %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0-49	88.9	26.6	1.1	1.0	1.1	4.5	21.8	50.2	9.1	664
50-99	11.1	13.9	9.1	6.2	7.2	14.8	31.7	29.0	11.3	825
100-149	0.0	23.6	24.7	19.7	18.1	19.4	20.1	12.0	20.4	1,493
150-199	0.0	18.9	23.5	23.6	24.8	17.7	9.4	6.2	20.8	1,524
200-249	0.0	8.7	18.4	18.3	19.3	14.8	7.7	1.2	15.4	1,127
250-349	0.0	6.4	16.0	21.1	20.6	20.2	7.9	1.2	16.1	1,178
350+	0.0	1.7	7.1	10.1	8.9	8.6	1.4	0.0	6.9	505
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	7,316
Isiku brutokogutulu mediaan, rubla Median total gross income, rouble										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	22.0	150.0	224.0	247.0	242.0	235.0	131.0	80.0	220.0	3,442
Naine -Female	23.0	103.0	140.0	160.0	158.0	144.0	60.0	45.0	135.0	3,874
Kokku Total	23.0	117.0	180.0	198.0	195.0	180.0	87.0	49.0	170.0	7,316
Keskmine isiku brutokogutulu, rubla Mean total gross income, rouble										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	27.3	149.9	240.9	264.3	256.1	239.3	160.8	98.2	226.7	3,442
Naine -Female	24.3	104.0	150.3	176.8	172.8	161.2	91.4	58.3	146.0	3,874
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	25.2	122.4	199.0	221.6	214.1	197.7	117.6	70.7	183.7	5,520
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	33.5	135.6	191.5	210.4	207.6	188.8	118.0	55.0	185.0	1,796
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		103.7	181.4	219.5	231.5	240.3	144.1	82.8	200.7	821
Kesk - Secondary		136.4	190.1	200.2	196.0	214.5	144.9	77.3	181.3	2,645
Põhiharidus - Basic	20.0	108.1	217.5	229.6	218.5	197.6	146.8	66.1	200.0	1,848
Algharidus - Primary	26.0	132.1	216.5	244.4	211.7	182.2	109.5	67.5	165.9	2,002
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		167.2	199.2	219.7	214.9	204.8	144.5	97.2	204.6	4,950
Mittekooselus - No partnership	25.9	111.1	189.1	215.7	198.8	172.1	93.2	61.1	140.9	2,366
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	25.8	126.5	197.0	219.0	220.7	192.6			192.7	3,159
Vanuritega - W/elderly		132.5	201.5	204.6	209.8	174.8	122.3	70.4	142.3	1,007
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	42.0	130.1	189.5	225.4	221.9	152.7	96.9	60.3	161.8	380
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		124.5	197.2	219.9	208.3	202.7			192.2	2,770
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	27.4	124.8	183.9	204.3	205.9	191.9	119.0	64.7	178.3	4,316
Maa - Rural	24.9	127.9	217.4	241.3	222.8	200.6	116.4	71.9	192.1	3,000
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		159.5	198.5	220.7	216.1	227.2	186.9	139.6	206.2	6,221
Mittetöötav - Not employed	25.9	38.6	52.3	72.4	81.4	88.2	72.3	52.1	58.1	1,095
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		196.6	237.1	264.1	246.4	249.9	193.9	135.7	241.6	2,025
Sekundaar - Secondary		165.0	204.5	207.8	217.5	229.9	211.8	114.0	206.6	2,037
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		130.9	162.3	189.0	182.7	197.4	168.4	146.7	172.4	2,159
Mittetöötav - Not employed	25.9	38.6	52.3	72.4	81.4	88.2	72.3	52.1	58.1	1,095
Sissetuleku kvintiilid - Income quintiles										
I	18.1	89.6	143.9	141.6	137.0	99.3	65.4	56.9	112.6	1,110
II	33.4	101.0	165.8	175.9	168.3	146.0	109.7	70.6	150.9	1,376
III	20.5	114.3	188.0	218.9	187.1	162.4	134.2	79.4	175.2	1,540
IV	30.5	129.8	215.3	239.7	216.5	196.1	135.9	78.1	195.7	1,654
V	42.5	163.7	272.3	319.3	272.2	263.2	202.0	79.6	256.6	1,636
Kokku Total	25.9	126.1	196.9	219.0	212.3	195.8	117.7	68.4	184.0	7,316
N	117	977	1,580	1,572	1,620	792	417	241	7,316	

Tabel 3.13: Isiku netokogutulu suurus - *Size of total net individual income*

Isiku netokogutulu suurus, rubla % Total individual net income, rouble %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0-49	88.9	26.8	1.1	1.2	1.2	4.5	21.8	50.2	9.2	671
50-99	11.1	19.0	13.7	9.9	10.3	15.9	31.9	29.0	14.6	1,067
100-149	0.0	25.1	31.0	25.0	24.1	22.3	21.3	12.9	24.8	1,816
150-199	0.0	16.5	22.7	24.3	24.0	18.3	8.6	5.4	20.3	1,485
200-249	0.0	7.1	14.1	16.7	17.2	13.8	7.4	1.2	13.3	975
250-349	0.0	4.4	12.3	15.2	16.8	17.3	7.4	1.2	12.6	920
350+	0.0	1.1	5.0	7.7	6.4	7.8	1.4	0.0	5.2	382
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	7,316
Isiku netokogutulu mediaan, rubla Median total net income, rouble										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	22.0	135.0	197.0	217.5	221.0	217.0	127.5	80.0	194.0	3,442
Naine - Female	23.0	94.0	127.0	145.0	144.0	138.0	60.0	45.0	125.0	3,874
Kokku Total	23.0	107.0	157.0	176.0	178.0	172.0	87.0	49.0	153.0	7,316
Keskmine isiku netokogutulu, rubla Mean total net income, rouble										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	27.3	136.8	215.9	236.0	233.9	226.6	156.6	97.7	206.3	3,442
Naine - Female	24.3	96.8	137.5	163.3	160.2	155.9	90.1	57.9	136.3	3,874
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	25.2	113.2	181.0	202.2	197.6	189.5	115.6	70.3	170.0	5,520
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	33.5	123.3	169.7	185.8	188.6	179.1	112.9	54.3	166.9	1,796
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		96.4	164.3	195.6	206.0	224.0	138.3	82.8	180.8	821
Kesk - Secondary		124.6	170.9	181.0	178.3	202.3	139.4	76.2	164.8	2,645
Põhiharidus - Basic	20.0	100.7	197.0	208.7	201.8	187.4	143.2	65.2	183.7	1,848
Algharidus - Primary	26.0	125.6	199.4	224.0	197.4	176.7	107.7	67.1	157.0	2,002
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		152.3	180.9	200.5	197.5	195.5	141.1	96.7	188.3	4,950
Mittekooselus - No partnership	25.9	102.8	167.5	188.7	182.9	165.6	91.7	60.6	129.3	2,366
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	25.8	117.8	179.7	200.7	202.7	182.7			176.9	3,159
Vanuritega - W/elderly		119.4	177.7	181.2	192.8	167.3	119.9	69.8	134.0	1,007
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	42.0	118.8	173.4	204.4	206.5	149.7	94.6	60.2	150.3	380
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		114.1	172.1	194.4	191.4	194.0			175.9	2,770
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	27.4	112.0	162.4	178.9	184.5	179.9	115.1	63.8	159.8	4,316
Maa - Rural	24.9	121.9	202.2	227.9	212.7	196.5	115.5	71.9	182.8	3,000
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		145.6	179.2	199.8	198.4	216.2	180.8	137.2	188.8	6,221
Mittetöötav - Not employed	25.9	38.6	50.9	72.4	81.4	88.2	72.3	52.1	58.1	1,095
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		188.4	223.0	250.9	236.7	245.0	191.8	135.6	231.1	2,025
Sekundaar - Secondary		145.7	179.7	180.7	193.6	212.2	202.1	114.0	182.9	2,037
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		117.6	144.1	166.5	164.0	184.3	159.7	141.4	154.6	2,159
Mittetöötav - Not employed	25.9	38.6	50.9	72.4	81.4	88.2	72.3	52.1	58.1	1,095
Sissetuleku kvintiliid - Income quintiles										
I	18.1	82.8	128.4	123.5	122.2	95.7	65.1	56.6	102.1	1,110
II	33.4	92.5	147.7	155.7	153.8	139.2	106.7	69.4	136.7	1,376
III	20.5	104.6	170.3	197.4	170.1	153.5	130.5	79.1	160.0	1,540
IV	30.5	119.5	192.3	219.4	198.6	186.3	132.9	77.5	179.9	1,654
V	42.5	151.0	251.4	296.5	253.5	253.5	198.2	79.4	240.0	1,636
Kokku Total	25.9	116.0	177.9	198.4	195.1	187.3	115.3	68.0	169.2	7,316
N	117	977	1,580	1,572	1,620	792	417	241	7,316	

Tabel 3.14: Isiku brutopalgaa suurus - *Size of individual wage income*

Isiku brutopalgaa suurus, rubla % Individual gross wage income, rouble %	Vanusrühm - Age group							\sum	N
	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0-99	19.7	10.8	8.4	9.9	28.2	51.9	80.5	14.2	867
100-149	32.5	25.3	20.2	19.7	21.3	25.6	17.1	23.0	1,405
150-199	25.2	24.0	24.1	26.1	21.5	17.9	2.4	24.2	1,479
200-249	11.8	18.4	18.3	19.6	14.3	3.8	0.0	17.0	1,043
250-299	8.9	14.9	21.0	18.4	11.8	0.6	0.0	15.9	973
350+	2.0	6.6	8.0	6.3	2.9	0.0	0.0	5.8	354
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	6,121
Isiku brutopalgaa mediaan, rubla Median gross wage income, rouble									
Sugu - Sex									
Mees - Male	180.0	219.0	240.0	226.5	185.0	131.5	70.0	213.0	3,021
Naine -Female	116.0	139.0	157.0	152.0	105.0	79.5	76.0	140.0	3,100
Kokku Total	145.0	177.0	194.0	187.0	150.0	97.0	70.0	175.0	6,121
Keskmine isiku brutopalk, rubla Mean gross wage income, rouble									
Sugu - Sex									
Mees - Male	192.5	237.6	252.8	239.9	193.3	127.3	70.7	228.9	3,021
Naine -Female	124.1	146.2	169.4	164.0	125.0	87.7	75.6	150.2	3,100
Põlisus - Nativity									
Põline - Native origin	158.6	195.6	210.5	202.5	160.9	102.4	71.2	189.9	4,519
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	153.5	188.9	208.0	194.8	155.7	136.1	94.0	186.6	1,602
Haridustase - Educational level									
Kõrgem - Higher	144.3	178.0	213.6	226.4	203.3	118.8		199.8	763
Kesk - Secondary	157.6	187.1	193.9	185.4	171.3	135.9	74.2	181.2	2,411
Põhiharidus - Basic	156.9	213.8	220.6	204.3	170.2	105.3	116.5	203.1	1,622
Algharidus - Primary	161.3	215.7	224.9	198.4	143.9	99.5	70.9	179.9	1,325
Kooseluseis - Partnership status									
Kooselus - In partnership	167.4	195.1	211.6	203.4	171.3	116.8	68.3	196.4	4,538
Mittekooselus - No partnership	151.4	189.1	202.0	185.2	129.4	93.1	76.4	168.0	1,583
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type									
Lastega - W/children	153.7	192.5	209.6	209.9	160.3			196.6	2,849
Vanuritega - W/elderly	173.4	200.9	199.2	200.7	156.4	107.5	76.4	162.1	558
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	153.7	188.4	217.2	214.5	111.1	101.5	52.0	187.0	266
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly	157.1	197.8	210.4	195.3	161.5			186.7	2,448
Elukoht - Residence									
Linn - Urban	150.2	181.4	201.2	198.4	159.9	114.2	88.3	183.0	3,773
Maa - Rural	168.6	213.5	223.5	203.6	159.6	94.7	52.4	198.8	2,348
Hõive - Employment									
Töötav - Employed	157.0	193.7	209.9	200.4	159.8	106.1	73.4	189.1	6,119
Mittetöötav - Not employed				71.0		163.0		117.0	2
Majandussektor - Sector of economy									
Primaar - Primary	190.7	229.9	239.9	215.6	166.8	88.8	53.4	211.9	1,965
Sekundaar - Secondary	164.0	200.6	203.1	209.5	172.0	139.0	68.0	196.3	2,014
Tertsiaar - Tertiary	129.8	158.8	186.2	174.4	141.8	106.7	93.0	161.3	2,140
Mittetöötav - Not employed				71.0		163.0		117.0	2
Sissetuleku kvintiilid - Income quintiles									
I	108.1	145.3	135.7	135.4	83.9	57.7	52.8	128.8	781
II	129.1	161.7	174.1	162.6	124.1	90.9	98.9	158.1	1,158
III	153.2	185.2	209.5	180.7	129.6	116.6	89.4	181.1	1,301
IV	163.5	215.1	232.0	207.0	162.6	111.7	73.2	201.4	1,406
V	189.8	261.7	295.4	245.7	198.9	143.3	62.2	240.5	1,475
Kokku Total	157.0	193.7	209.9	200.4	159.8	106.5	73.4	189.0	6,121
N	687	1,540	1,543	1,559	595	156	41	6,121	

Tabel 3.15: Isiku netopalga suurus - *Size of individual net wage income*

Isiku netopalga suurus, rubla % Individual net wage income, rouble %	Vanusrühm - Age group							Σ	N
	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0-99	26.8	15.9	12.6	14.0	32.1	56.4	80.5	18.8	1,153
100-149	35.5	31.3	25.6	25.6	23.5	25.0	19.5	27.9	1,707
150-199	21.1	22.6	24.3	25.1	22.4	16.0	0.0	23.1	1,417
200-249	9.6	14.0	16.7	17.0	10.6	1.9	0.0	14.2	870
250-299	5.7	11.6	15.3	14.5	9.4	0.6	0.0	12.0	737
350+	1.3	4.5	5.6	3.8	2.0	0.0	0.0	3.9	237
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	6,121
Isiku netopalga mediaan, rubla Median net wage income, rouble									
Sugu - Sex									
Mees - Male	161.0	194.0	208.0	205.5	169.0	123.0	70.0	191.0	3,021
Naine -Female	105.0	125.0	142.5	140.0	98.5	76.5	74.0	127.0	3,100
Kokku Total	129.0	154.0	172.0	169.0	137.0	90.0	70.0	155.0	6,121
Keskmine isiku netopalk, rubla Mean net wage income, rouble									
Sugu - Sex									
Mees - Male	173.9	212.4	224.2	217.2	178.9	118.3	68.9	205.8	3,021
Naine -Female	114.2	133.1	155.7	150.8	117.1	83.5	72.3	138.1	3,100
Põlisus - Nativity									
Põline - Native origin	145.0	177.2	190.8	185.4	150.1	97.1	69.0	173.3	4,519
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	138.3	167.0	183.1	175.4	142.9	121.3	87.5	166.4	1,602
Haridustase - Educational level									
Kõrgem - Higher	131.3	160.4	189.6	200.4	184.7	107.9		178.5	763
Kesk - Secondary	142.8	167.6	174.5	167.1	157.0	125.8	69.2	163.2	2,411
Põhiharidus - Basic	143.7	192.9	199.1	187.1	156.8	99.1	111.5	184.5	1,622
Algharidus - Primary	152.9	198.4	204.0	183.4	136.1	94.1	68.7	166.6	1,325
Kooseluseis - Partnership status									
Kooselus - In partnership	151.7	176.5	192.1	185.3	159.0	109.1	66.7	178.7	4,538
Mittekooselus - No partnership	138.2	166.8	174.5	168.8	120.8	88.3	73.2	150.7	1,583
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type									
Lastega - W/children	141.7	175.0	191.0	191.2	147.2			179.1	2,849
Vanuritega - W/elderly	154.0	176.6	175.0	182.9	144.7	101.1	73.5	147.2	558
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	139.0	172.1	195.8	198.8	105.0	94.8	51.6	170.6	266
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly	142.4	171.7	184.7	177.8	150.5			168.3	2,448
Elukoht - Residence									
Linn - Urban	133.4	159.6	175.7	176.5	144.7	105.6	83.9	161.9	3,773
Maa - Rural	159.1	197.8	209.7	193.0	153.8	91.6	52.4	187.0	2,348
Hõive - Employment									
Töötav - Employed	142.9	174.3	189.0	182.7	148.5	99.6	70.8	171.5	6,119
Mittetöötav - Not employed				71.0		163.0		117.0	2
Majandussektor - Sector of economy									
Primaar - Primary	182.3	215.7	226.6	205.7	161.6	86.4	53.3	201.1	1,965
Sekundaar - Secondary	144.4	175.6	176.1	185.5	154.4	129.3	68.0	172.5	2,014
Tertsiaar - Tertiary	116.2	140.5	163.6	155.7	128.8	98.0	87.8	143.4	2,140
Mittetöötav - Not employed				71.0		163.0		117.0	2
Sissetuleku kvintiliid - Income quintiles									
I	98.8	129.1	117.2	119.7	77.8	56.0	50.8	114.1	781
II	116.6	143.4	153.7	147.4	114.7	83.0	92.7	141.2	1,158
III	137.9	167.3	187.6	163.1	117.6	109.6	87.9	163.3	1,301
IV	148.9	191.7	211.5	188.5	149.5	104.4	70.4	182.8	1,406
V	173.8	240.4	272.5	226.6	187.5	136.2	61.6	222.2	1,475
Kokku Total	142.9	174.3	189.0	182.6	148.5	100	70.8	171.5	6,121
N	687	1,540	1,543	1,559	595	156	41	6,121	

Tabel 3.16: Isiku töövõimetustoetuse suurus - *Size of disability benefit*

Isiku töövõimetustoetuse suurus % Size of disability benefit %	Vanusrühm - Age group							\sum	N
	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0-49	55.8	42.7	48.1	37.1	41.7	33.3	100	44.9	146
50-99	21.2	27.1	20.3	32.9	41.7	33.3	0.0	26.8	87
100+	23.1	30.2	31.6	30.0	16.7	33.3	0.0	28.3	92
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	325
Isiku töövõimetustoetuse mediaan, rubla Median disability benefit, rouble									
Sugu - Sex									
Mees - Male	32.0	60.0	51.0	81.0	67.0			62.0	125
Naine -Female	50.0	55.0	49.5	52.0	42.0	70.0	21.0	50.5	200
Kokku Total	38.5	56.0	50.0	69.5	60.0	70.0	21.0	55.0	325
Keskmine isiku töövõimetustoetus, rubla Mean disability benefit, rouble									
Sugu - Sex									
Mees - Male	49.7	83.6	79.9	110.2	87.8			85.2	125
Naine -Female	74.7	87.8	80.8	64.0	54.6	69.7	21.0	77.2	200
Põlisus - Nativity									
Põline - Native origin	54.5	88.9	86.9	90.3	87.4	69.7	21.0	83.3	242
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	92.0	78.4	59.6	62.3	50.2			71.5	83
Haridustase - Educational level									
Kõrgem - Higher	67.0	67.6	99.0	158.2	58.0			90.6	34
Kesk - Secondary	72.8	78.8	63.8	75.6	175.0		21.0	76.4	147
Põhiharidus - Basic	49.2	129.9	102.2	77.7	50.9	70.0		89.9	85
Algharidus - Primary		87.5	58.2	75.4	65.8	69.5		70.2	59
Kooseluseis - Partnership status									
Kooselus - In partnership	71.6	86.5	82.8	83.8	84.4	24.0		82.6	256
Mittekooselus - No partnership	59.7	86.5	72.1	79.6	46.5	92.5	21.0	71.6	69
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type									
Lastega - W/children	72.1	86.3	86.7	92.5	96.7			85.3	169
Vanuritega - W/elderly	69.7	46.0	136.5	91.9	77.7	92.5		87.2	24
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	68.5	45.0	22.0	32.0	88.0	24.0	21.0	45.9	10
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly	62.3	109.5	63.1	78.5	74.3			74.8	122
Elukoht - Residence									
Linn - Urban	61.5	68.7	63.1	78.7	89.6	47.0	21.0	69.4	201
Maa - Rural	76.3	120.5	105.7	90.1	62.0	115.0		97.8	124
Hõive - Employment									
Töötav - Employed	67.5	86.5	80.4	82.6	78.1	69.7	21.0	80.2	324
Mittetöötav - Not employed				118.0				118.0	1
Majandussektor - Sector of economy									
Primaar - Primary	88.8	132.3	111.7	83.2	67.0	92.5	21.0	100.7	93
Sekundaar - Secondary	61.9	91.6	66.6	82.3	96.9			79.1	130
Tertsiaar - Tertiary	57.4	59.0	62.5	82.4	61.5	24.0		62.6	101
Mittetöötav - Not employed				118.0				118.0	1
Sissetuleku kvintiidid - Income quintiles									
I	22.9	78.0	73.2	87.2				69.9	51
II	53.3	58.0	56.1	64.4	18.0	70.0		57.4	60
III	93.6	86.8	101.3	66.5	74.9	24.0		84.9	69
IV	56.4	48.2	81.9	72.7	38.0	115.0	21.0	64.3	60
V	95.4	144.0	77.2	112.0	103.0			110.1	85
Kokku Total	67.5	86.5	80.4	83.1	78.1	69.7	21.0	80.3	325
N	52	96	79	70	24	3	1	325	

Tabel 3.17: Isiku pensioni suurus - *Size of individual pension income*

Isiku pensioni suurus, rubla % Size of individual pension income, rouble %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0-24	22.0	22.0	22.2	0.0	1.6	0.4	2.0	8.1	3.8	55
25-49	61.0	53.7	44.4	52.9	18.6	10.7	29.3	61.7	29.4	423
50-74	16.9	22.0	11.1	17.6	14.7	25.9	36.3	23.4	26.6	383
75-99	0.0	0.0	22.2	5.9	12.4	20.8	14.8	4.7	14.0	201
100-124	0.0	0.0	0.0	23.5	35.7	40.5	16.8	2.1	23.8	342
125+	0.0	2.4	0.0	0.0	17.1	1.7	0.8	0.0	2.4	35
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	1,439
Isiku pensionitulu mediaan, rubla Median pension income, rouble										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	40.0	35.0	46.5	87.5	120.0	119.0	86.0	52.0	88.0	493
Naine -Female	29.5	31.5	27.0	44.5	87.0	80.0	50.5	40.0	55.0	946
Kokku Total	33.0	32.0	46.0	48.5	101.0	90.0	57.0	45.0	60.0	1,439
Keskmine isiku pensionitulu, rubla Mean pension income, rouble										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	39.2	39.2	51.5	84.6	113.0	100.7	84.9	57.3	85.3	493
Naine -Female	30.6	40.5	36.0	48.5	79.3	81.4	54.5	40.0	63.0	946
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	34.5	34.8	46.3	65.1	81.4	85.0	64.8	44.1	67.2	1,170
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	40.5	70.2		55.3	118.8	94.7	72.3	45.3	85.5	269
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher			46.0		91.9	109.8	101.0	82.8	100.2	44
Kesk - Secondary		68.8	16.3	48.1	102.9	93.0	79.7	59.6	85.1	222
Põhiharidus - Basic		36.7	64.4	82.2	103.4	91.7	74.9	42.6	79.6	216
Algharidus - Primary	35.2	28.4		57.8	87.9	82.1	61.8	42.3	63.9	957
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		189.0	44.3	65.6	98.8	90.1	77.3	58.6	85.0	738
Mittekooselus - No partnership	35.2	36.2	50.3	50.6	72.6	80.9	55.8	40.8	55.5	701
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	35.2	42.9	39.4	61.6	90.2	90.9			66.1	210
Vanuritega - W/elderly		31.7		59.0	80.1	83.5	66.6	45.1	62.5	623
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly				58.7	94.5	89.2	62.2	41.1	58.8	137
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		37.9	70.5	67.8	99.2	87.1			86.9	469
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	37.9	49.4	36.2	62.3	104.8	92.2	72.1	46.6	77.6	732
Maa - Rural	33.1	33.9	54.4	63.7	79.0	81.1	60.0	42.0	63.4	707
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		86.7	19.0	62.2	103.6	90.6	76.4	52.9	85.4	657
Mittetöötav - Not employed	35.2	36.3	68.2	64.5	77.8	80.1	59.6	42.3	58.2	782
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		46.0		76.8	109.4	92.9	75.6	50.5	86.9	286
Sekundaar - Secondary		189.0	10.0	37.4	115.3	93.6	91.0	46.0	94.4	148
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		25.0	22.0	64.7	83.6	85.3	71.0	56.5	77.6	223
Mittetöötav - Not employed	35.2	36.3	68.2	64.5	77.8	80.1	59.6	42.3	58.2	782
Sissetuleku kvintilid - Income quintiles										
I	34.8	34.7	36.0	57.2	45.5	70.2	52.1	43.1	51.7	314
II	36.3	35.0	25.0	54.3	72.2	72.3	65.1	46.9	60.7	249
III	27.3	33.3	71.0	65.8	85.1	84.0	68.7	43.4	66.8	262
IV	42.6	44.1	94.0	60.3	101.8	91.2	77.2	46.1	79.4	303
V	42.5	60.8	47.0	85.4	115.4	97.3	79.3	43.9	92.4	311
Kokku Total	35.2	40.0	46.3	63.4	95.0	87.1	65.8	44.3	70.6	1,439
N	59	41	9	34	129	533	399	235	1,439	

Tabel 3.18: Isiku lastetoetuse suurus - *Size of individual parental benefit*

Isiku lastetoetuse suurus, rubla % Size of parental benefit, rouble %	Vanusrühm - Age group					Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54		
0-24	100	100	91.3	100	66.7	96.2	76
25-49	0.0	0.0	8.7	0.0	0.0	2.5	2
50+	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3	1.3	1
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	79
Isiku lastetoetuse mediaan, rubla Median parental benefit, rouble							
Sugu - Sex							
Mees - Male	12.0		27.0		142.0	12.0	24
Naine -Female	12.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	55
Kokku Total	12.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	10.0	79
Keskmine isiku lastetoetus, rubla Mean parental benefit, rouble							
Sugu - Sex							
Mees - Male	12.0		27.0		142.0	18.0	24
Naine -Female	12.0	5.9	7.4	6.6	5.0	7.9	55
Põlisus - Nativity							
Põline - Native origin	12.0	5.4	8.2	6.8	50.7	11.1	77
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin		10.0		5.0		7.5	2
Haridustase - Educational level							
Kõrgem - Higher			5.0		5.0	5.0	2
Kesk - Secondary		6.0	5.7	5.6	5.0	5.7	23
Põhiharidus - Basic		5.8	9.9	10.0		8.5	15
Algharidus - Primary	12.0		12.7	10.0	142.0	15.3	39
Kooseluseis - Partnership status							
Kooselus - In partnership		8.0	11.7	7.0	142.0	18.1	17
Mittetöötav - No partnership	12.0	5.7	5.0	6.2	5.0	9.0	62
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type							
Lastega - W/children	12.0	6.0	8.5	7.1	5.0	9.7	72
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly		5.0	5.0	4.5	5.0	4.8	6
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly					142.0	142.0	1
Elukoht - Residence							
Linn - Urban	12.0	6.4	5.4	5.0		8.7	31
Maa - Rural	12.0	5.4	10.0	7.0	50.7	12.4	48
Hõive - Employment							
Töötav - Employed		5.9	7.7	6.6	50.7	10.0	43
Mittetöötav - Not employed	12.0		13.5			12.1	36
Majandussektor - Sector of economy							
Primaar - Primary		5.7	10.8	7.5	73.5	16.2	18
Sekundaar - Secondary			5.6	5.0		5.4	7
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		6.0	5.3	6.3	5.0	5.7	18
Mittetöötav - Not employed	12.0		13.5			12.1	36
Sissetuleku kvintiidid - Income quintiles							
I	12.0	6.4	7.2	6.3	5.0	9.4	43
II	12.0	6.0	11.2	5.0	5.0	10.1	19
III	12.0	5.0	9.5	7.0		8.9	11
IV		5.0	4.5	10.0		6.0	4
V				6.0	142.0	74.0	2
Kokku Total	12.0	5.9	8.2	6.6	50.7	11.0	79
N	34	10	23	9	3	79	

Tabel 3.19: Isiku muu tulu suurus - *Size of other individual income*

Isiku muu tulu suurus, rubla % Size of other individual income, rouble %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0-24	76.0	53.3	40.7	50.0	33.3	40.0	68.3	64.9	54.2	135
25-49	24.0	16.7	22.2	17.6	33.3	24.0	24.4	32.4	24.5	61
50+	0.0	30.0	37.0	32.4	33.3	36.0	7.3	2.7	21.3	53
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	249
N	25	30	27	34	30	25	41	37	249	
Isiku muu tulu mediaan, rubla Median other individual income, rouble										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	10.0	25.5	38.0	30.0	35.0	106.0	14.0	18.0	22.0	116
Naine -Female	7.5	15.0	29.0	14.5	35.0	15.0	17.0	23.0	17.0	133
Kokku Total	10.0	19.5	35.0	26.5	35.0	27.0	17.0	20.0	20.0	249
N	25	30	27	34	30	25	41	37	249	
Isiku keskmine muu tulu, rubla Mean other individual income, rouble										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	16.8	54.9	43.5	44.5	43.3	105.0	24.2	18.4	44.6	116
Naine -Female	13.0	31.3	32.8	35.4	47.6	18.3	17.5	21.2	26.2	133
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	15.1	45.6	48.1	41.4	45.8	65.0	19.6	20.5	35.7	231
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	10.0	20.0	20.5	34.3	50.0	25.0		9.0	22.8	18
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		9.0	38.1	48.0	24.0	239.0			53.1	30
Kesk - Secondary		32.1	34.7	28.8	53.8	61.8			40.4	45
Põhiharidus - Basic		59.3	51.5	46.1	48.6	31.2	73.5	25.0	51.3	44
Algharidus - Primary	14.7	3.0		29.7	41.6	49.0	16.9	20.1	23.0	130
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		13.2	38.5	35.0	50.4	68.3	20.5	20.4	39.7	119
Mittekooselus - No partnership	14.7	48.6	41.8	62.7	36.9	27.3	18.8	20.2	30.3	130
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	13.5	30.9	35.8	33.8	30.4	88.7			29.8	85
Vanuritega - W/elderly		18.0	2.0	83.0	98.5	17.2	20.0	19.3	22.6	85
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	42.0	28.0	100	60.0	23.0		15.3	27.5	37.6	17
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		53.6	47.4	42.0	48.5	84.4			57.5	62
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	10.0	15.6	47.2	33.2	32.6	110.7		25.0	40.5	69
Maa - Rural	15.1	56.0	33.2	54.5	59.2	45.0	19.6	20.1	32.6	180
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		29.9	39.8	40.7	46.4	90.8	16.7	12.3	42.8	133
Mittetöötav - Not employed	14.7	54.6	42.0		30.0	28.5	20.7	21.7	25.7	116
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		47.0	33.8	54.5	77.7	85.2	16.7	12.3	45.9	59
Sekundaar - Secondary		7.7	54.8	29.0	29.2	25.3			31.9	28
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		21.0	36.6	34.8	35.6	136.8			45.3	46
Mittetöötav - Not employed	14.7	54.6	42.0		30.0	28.5	20.7	21.7	25.7	116
Sissetuleku kvintiliid - Income quintiles										
I	5.0	17.0	34.7	47.7	32.7	25.0	14.6	18.5	20.4	53
II	29.0	20.0	46.1	12.0	33.0	13.4	43.7	25.0	31.4	33
III	9.9	26.0	28.4	41.6	46.2	42.8	15.7	16.9	26.5	51
IV	17.1	56.7	42.8	22.2	38.6	110.6	13.8	16.1	35.0	62
V		64.5	40.6	71.0	57.7	94.0	20.0	46.7	60.4	50
Kokku Total	14.7	43.9	39.9	40.7	45.9	63.4	19.6	20.2	34.8	249
N	25	30	27	34	30	25	41	37	249	

Tabel 3.20: Isiku abimajapidamisest saadud tulu suurus - *Size of individual private plot income*

Isiku abimajapidamisest saadud tulu suurus, rubla %	Vanusrühm - Age group									Σ	N
Size of private plot income, rouble %	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+			
0-49	100	14.3	34.6	9.3	19.7	14.9	17.6	25.9	18.3	73	
50-99	0.0	28.6	30.8	25.3	36.1	27.6	35.3	48.1	32.2	128	
100-149	0.0	42.9	15.4	36.0	29.5	24.1	31.4	7.4	27.4	109	
150-199	0.0	0.0	7.7	18.7	6.6	23.0	3.9	11.1	12.3	49	
200+	0.0	14.3	11.5	10.7	8.2	10.3	11.8	7.4	9.8	39	
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	398	
Abimajapidamistulu mediaan, rubla											
Median private plot income, rouble											
Sugu - Sex											
Mees - Male	30.0	91.0	81.5	108.0	80.0	120.0	110.0	70.0	100	245	
Naine -Female	36.0	110.0	77.5	115.5	108.0	90.0	75.0	77.0	96.0	153	
Kokku Total	30.0	110.0	80.0	110.0	86.5	105.0	87.0	70.0	97.5	398	
Keskmine abimajapidamistulu, rubla											
Mean private plot income, rouble											
Sugu - Sex											
Mees - Male	30.0	104.2	88.2	120.1	91.3	120.8	120.8	96.5	106.9	245	
Naine -Female	36.0	96.7	75.3	181.0	108.8	107.6	83.1	75.8	109.8	153	
Põlisus - Nativity											
Põline - Native origin	30.0	109.4	86.1	143.1	96.6	115.6	101.6	85.0	108.8	374	
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	36.0	80.0	64.0	54.0	109.9	120.8			95.1	24	
Haridustase - Educational level											
Kõrgem - Higher			102.2	74.4	77.9	136.7			91.2	21	
Kesk - Secondary		50.0	108.1	125.3	81.7	119.8			108.8	57	
Põhiharidus - Basic		124.4	61.2	122.2	105.6	84.5	78.8		101.1	100	
Algharidus - Primary	34.0	35.0	152.0	192.1	99.5	121.0	103.5	85.0	112.5	220	
Kooseluseis - Partnership status											
Kooselus - In partnership		108.0	85.1	123.4	99.4	124.0	122.0	102.1	111.3	288	
Mittekooselus - No partnership	34.0	91.7	86.3	204.3	90.5	93.5	72.4	77.8	99.4	110	
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type											
Lastega - W/children	34.0	112.4	85.1	127.7	94.8	113.2			106.0	138	
Vanuritega - W/elderly				70.0	105.1	165.8	102.5	79.3	102.3	88	
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly				122.4	68.2	113.0	90.5	110.2	103.6	23	
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		72.5	86.3	212.2	100.9	109.7			113.9	149	
Elukoht - Residence											
Linn - Urban	34.0		52.7		52.0	273.0			66.1	12	
Maa - Rural		101.0	89.5	139.6	99.7	114.1	101.6	85.0	109.3	386	
Hõive - Employment											
Töötav - Employed		112.0	85.2	139.5	97.8	118.9	108.1	94.6	111.7	334	
Mittetöötav - Not employed	34.0	35.0		143.0	91.0	99.2	95.3	80.2	88.7	64	
Majandussektor - Sector of economy											
Primaar - Primary		112.0	89.1	140.8	102.4	116.6	108.1	94.6	113.9	314	
Sekundaar - Secondary				50.0		243.0			146.5	2	
Tertsiaar - Tertiary			55.3		52.4	127.0			69.4	18	
Mittetöötav - Not employed	34.0	35.0		143.0	91.0	99.2	95.3	80.2	88.7	64	
Sissetuleku kvintiilid - Income quintiles											
I	42.0	52.0	46.0	82.0	75.1	53.7	35.5	49.5	55.4	38	
II	30.0	82.5	82.0	102.3	99.4	65.5	78.4	46.0	82.7	44	
III	30.0	130.0	80.0	106.7	74.7	82.2	101.4	99.1	90.0	78	
IV		50.0	73.7	106.0	80.9	116.4	83.0	157.2	95.4	83	
V		155.0	101.1	196.3	118.7	142.7	169.0	118.0	143.8	155	
Kokku Total	34.0	101.0	85.2	139.6	97.7	116.0	101.6	85.0	108.0	398	
N	3	7	26	75	122	87	51	27	398		

Tabel 3.21: Leibkonnatulu allikad - *Sources of household income*

Leibkonnatulu allikad % Household income sources %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Palgatulu - Wage income	99.4	99.9	99.7	99.7	99.8	96.1	76.4	72.6	97.8	10,315
Töövõimetustoetus - Disability benefit	11.2	11.8	11.4	8.5	9.4	8.0	3.3	7.0	10.0	1,051
Pension - Pension	15.5	27.4	16.9	18.2	27.7	77.8	96.0	91.1	29.7	3,132
Stipendium - Stipend	3.7	21.1	1.6	8.5	12.5	6.9	3.3	4.1	8.1	858
Lastetoetus - Parental benefit	5.1	1.8	2.2	1.3	0.7	0.2	1.2	0.7	2.3	242
Abimajapidamisest - Private plot	10.7	13.2	5.9	10.9	13.7	19.1	19.6	17.0	12.0	1,263
Muu rahaline tulu - Other money income	5.4	6.2	3.6	5.7	5.8	7.2	14.3	16.7	6.1	646
<hr/>										
Leibkonna tuluallikate arv % Number of household income sources %										
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
1	55	41	62	56	46	16	17	23	48	5,020
2	32	38	29	31	40	56	56	50	37	3,878
3+	13	21	9	13	14	28	27	27	16	1,651
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	10,552
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	
<hr/>										
Keskmine leibkonna tuluallikate arv Mean number of household income sources										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	1.6	1.9	1.5	1.5	1.7	2.1	2.2	2.1	1.7	4,972
Naine -Female	1.6	1.8	1.5	1.6	1.7	2.2	2.1	2.1	1.7	5,580
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	1.6	1.9	1.5	1.6	1.8	2.2	2.2	2.1	1.8	8,027
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	1.4	1.6	1.4	1.4	1.6	2.0	2.2	2.0	1.6	2,525
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		2.0	1.5	1.5	1.6	2.0	1.9	1.8	1.6	852
Kesk - Secondary		1.8	1.4	1.5	1.7	2.1	2.2	2.0	1.6	2,784
Põhiharidus - Basic	1.9	1.9	1.5	1.6	1.7	2.1	2.0	1.8	1.7	2,254
Algharidus - Primary	1.6	1.9	1.6	1.7	1.8	2.2	2.2	2.1	1.8	4,662
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		1.7	1.4	1.6	1.7	2.2	2.3	2.2	1.7	5,136
Mittekooselus - No partnership	1.6	1.9	1.8	1.7	1.6	2.0	2.0	2.1	1.7	5,416
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	1.5	1.8	1.4	1.5	1.7	2.1			1.5	5,863
Vanuritega - W/elderly		2.5	2.4	2.3	2.4	2.3	2.1	2.0	2.2	1,074
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	2.5	2.6	2.2	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.5	601
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		1.8	1.5	1.5	1.6	2.1			1.7	3,014
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	1.5	1.7	1.5	1.4	1.6	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.6	6,061
Maa - Rural	1.7	2.1	1.5	1.8	2.0	2.4	2.3	2.2	1.9	4,491
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		1.7	1.5	1.6	1.7	2.1	2.3	2.4	1.7	6,330
Mittetöötav - Not employed	1.6	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.2	2.4	2.1	2.0	1.8	4,222
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		1.9	1.5	1.8	2.0	2.4	2.7	2.7	1.9	2,053
Sekundaar - Secondary		1.6	1.4	1.5	1.5	2.0	2.2	2.0	1.5	2,075
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		1.6	1.5	1.4	1.6	1.9	2.0	2.0	1.6	2,202
Mittetöötav - Not employed	1.6	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.2	2.4	2.1	2.0	1.8	4,222
Sissetuleku kvintiliid - Income quintiles										
I	1.6	1.7	1.4	1.6	1.6	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.6	1,930
II	1.5	1.7	1.4	1.4	1.6	2.1	2.2	2.1	1.6	2,158
III	1.6	1.9	1.4	1.6	1.7	2.3	2.4	2.5	1.7	2,263
IV	1.7	2.0	1.5	1.7	1.7	2.2	2.4	2.5	1.8	2,184
V	1.7	2.0	1.6	1.7	1.8	2.3	2.6	2.6	1.9	2,017
Kokku Total	1.6	1.9	1.5	1.6	1.7	2.2	2.2	2.1	1.7	10,552
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	

Tabel 3.22: Leibkonnatulu koostis - *Composition of household income*

Leibkonnatulu koostis % Composition of household income %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Palgatulu - Wage income	89.3	86.6	91.3	90.7	88.1	66.1	49.4	53.1	84.9	10,552
Pensionitulu - Pension income	2.8	5.1	3.4	2.8	5.5	25.8	41.6	36.8	7.8	10,552
Stipendium - Stipend	0.3	1.8	0.2	0.7	1.0	0.6	0.3	0.4	0.7	10,552
Abiraha - Social benefit	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	10,552
Abimajapidamises - Private plot income	2.4	2.8	1.1	2.5	2.7	5.2	6.0	5.3	2.8	10,552
Muu rahaline tulu - Other money income	0.5	0.6	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.9	1.9	2.7	0.6	10,552
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	
Keskmine palgatulu osakaal % Mean proportion of wage income %										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	88.9	86.1	91.6	91.6	88.9	72.3	48.2	35.1	86.3	4,972
Naine - Female	89.7	87.1	91.1	89.9	87.5	61.2	50.1	58.3	83.8	5,580
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	88.3	85.2	90.9	89.7	87.4	65.1	45.9	49.2	83.4	8,027
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	92.8	90.6	92.4	93.9	90.0	69.7	71.5	75.4	89.7	2,525
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		86.3	91.8	92.4	90.7	78.5	62.5	46.8	89.8	852
Kesk - Secondary		87.8	92.1	92.0	88.4	70.9	68.4	57.0	88.6	2,784
Põhiharidus - Basic	87.5	85.7	90.5	89.6	88.8	66.2	54.0	46.5	86.0	2,254
Algharidus - Primary	89.3	84.8	87.0	88.2	86.5	62.6	45.7	53.2	81.4	4,662
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		89.2	93.6	92.3	88.2	66.6	46.4	35.0	86.0	5,136
Mittekooselus - No partnership	89.3	86.0	83.5	83.2	87.8	64.5	52.1	57.4	84.0	5,416
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	90.0	87.7	93.0	91.9	89.2	77.5			90.4	5,863
Vanuritega - W/elderly		75.3	72.2	76.1	78.8	52.8	43.3	45.6	56.6	1,074
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	79.7	81.6	81.0	81.4	84.7	61.4	77.2	83.5	80.1	601
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		87.8	90.5	92.8	89.2	66.9			85.4	3,014
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	91.9	90.2	92.2	93.7	91.2	72.2	62.0	66.1	88.8	6,061
Maa - Rural	86.3	81.7	90.1	86.2	83.2	58.6	36.6	39.9	79.8	4,491
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		89.0	91.7	91.1	89.0	70.2	60.7	59.4	87.4	6,330
Mittetöötav - Not employed	89.3	84.1	79.3	73.4	69.3	53.3	42.2	51.8	81.2	4,222
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		85.0	90.0	86.4	83.1	62.0	49.0	49.4	81.7	2,053
Sekundaar - Secondary		90.5	92.7	93.7	92.8	75.0	69.8	93.2	91.0	2,075
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		90.3	91.9	93.2	90.6	76.1	68.9	67.6	89.4	2,202
Mittetöötav - Not employed	89.3	84.1	79.3	73.4	69.3	53.3	42.2	51.8	81.2	4,222
Sissetuleku kvintiilid - Income quintiles										
I	86.1	87.5	90.2	87.1	87.0	50.1	21.9	25.8	77.6	1,930
II	90.6	87.5	92.3	93.2	88.4	66.5	51.3	67.3	87.5	2,158
III	90.3	86.7	91.9	90.9	89.2	63.3	65.1	69.0	87.0	2,263
IV	91.4	86.6	92.3	91.2	88.8	69.8	67.9	76.4	87.1	2,184
V	87.9	85.3	89.8	89.7	87.0	70.1	63.3	77.1	84.6	2,017
Kokku Total	89.3	86.6	91.3	90.7	88.1	66.1	49.4	53.1	84.9	10,552
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	

Tabel 3.23: Leibkonna brutokogutulu suurus - *Size of total gross household income*

Leibkonna brutokogutulu, rubla % Total gross household income, rouble %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0-249	13.3	12.6	14.8	13.0	11.1	20.0	41.6	42.2	15.4	1,630
250-349	21.0	15.3	23.6	19.2	16.5	18.7	18.0	15.9	19.2	2,028
350-449	28.7	21.3	26.4	26.8	25.1	18.5	14.0	11.5	24.6	2,600
450-549	18.2	18.4	15.8	19.7	21.7	16.5	11.9	12.6	18.1	1,909
550+	18.8	32.5	19.4	21.2	25.6	26.3	14.5	17.8	22.6	2,385
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	10,552
Leibkonna brutokogutulu mediaan, rubla										
Median total gross household income, rouble	401.0	454.0	385.0	417.0	439.5	402.0	295.0	289.5	408.0	10,552
Keskmine leibkonna brutokogutulu, rubla										
Mean total gross household income, rouble										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	415.9	503.2	433.1	432.2	474.2	465.6	370.5	237.1	441.8	4,972
Naine -Female	425.6	463.1	408.0	432.4	449.9	408.3	301.1	358.9	423.3	5,580
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	423.8	475.3	416.4	434.2	451.7	425.9	311.6	314.0	427.1	8,027
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	409.1	497.3	431.1	426.2	486.4	460.6	423.3	431.5	447.5	2,525
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		495.9	413.1	435.8	471.6	521.1	346.8	384.0	444.3	852
Kesk - Secondary		494.8	425.4	418.2	452.4	484.6	399.3	412.6	447.8	2,784
Põhiharidus - Basic	414.6	468.1	422.8	438.2	473.9	414.8	349.6	283.6	447.2	2,254
Algharidus - Primary	420.7	456.5	388.7	453.0	454.1	409.3	313.6	325.8	413.0	4,662
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		487.6	426.3	464.2	492.1	480.0	365.7	286.7	459.7	5,136
Mittekooselus - No partnership	420.6	479.5	400.3	284.7	300.0	307.1	289.8	342.0	405.7	5,416
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	413.8	462.3	410.1	430.1	480.5	536.0			428.2	5,863
Vanuritega - W/elderly		598.5	542.3	438.2	505.1	418.5	287.8	285.9	386.0	1,074
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	516.3	567.3	514.4	540.5	539.8	579.9	503.8	517.6	528.0	601
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		472.8	419.4	409.3	442.4	411.0			436.7	3,014
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	403.7	479.1	419.4	413.5	466.6	450.0	362.9	378.4	430.5	6,061
Maa - Rural	439.7	484.2	422.1	460.7	452.7	413.0	290.1	283.7	434.1	4,491
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		494.7	421.7	433.2	465.2	444.1	346.8	339.8	443.7	6,330
Mittetöötav - Not employed	420.6	466.7	373.1	391.2	375.3	399.9	314.1	329.7	414.4	4,222
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		490.4	439.0	469.4	470.0	440.2	354.6	347.5	455.9	2,053
Sekundaar - Secondary		514.6	417.8	422.7	483.6	471.6	408.4	648.5	453.0	2,075
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		481.7	411.6	406.4	438.8	426.3	310.5	300.0	423.6	2,202
Mittetöötav - Not employed	420.6	466.7	373.1	391.2	375.3	399.9	314.1	329.7	414.4	4,222
Sissetuleku kvintiliid - Income quintiles										
I	254.5	253.4	233.1	243.9	245.5	174.9	124.5	127.0	229.0	1,930
II	354.2	349.5	328.8	339.8	314.1	280.2	263.5	307.4	334.0	2,158
III	441.8	462.2	405.0	431.8	402.7	368.8	399.8	436.8	425.0	2,263
IV	543.8	554.6	507.0	498.5	487.8	448.7	459.7	524.8	510.0	2,184
V	679.7	723.6	657.8	647.1	624.7	605.0	605.2	742.7	654.6	2,017
Kokku Total	420.6	481.2	420.5	432.3	461.3	433.3	326.7	331.4	432.0	10,552
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	

Tabel 3.24: Leibkonna netokogutulu suurus - *Size of total net household income*

Leibkonna netokogutulu, rubla % Total net household income, rouble %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0-249	17.3	15.8	20.2	17.0	13.9	21.8	43.2	43.3	19.0	2,009
250-349	28.0	18.1	30.1	26.3	21.9	22.3	20.3	20.4	24.8	2,615
350-449	26.0	22.4	22.2	25.6	26.4	18.4	14.0	11.9	23.5	2,475
450-549	14.7	19.2	11.7	16.7	18.6	15.4	9.3	9.6	15.5	1,634
550+	14.1	24.5	15.8	14.4	19.2	22.1	13.1	14.8	17.2	1,819
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	10,552
Leibkonna netokogutulu mediaan, rubla Median total net household income, rouble	364.0	421.0	349.0	374.0	405.5	380.0	279.0	273.0	372.5	10,552
Keskmine leibkonna netokogutulu, rubla Mean total net household income, rouble										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	383.7	464.0	393.5	391.8	435.1	436.5	352.3	226.1	406.1	4,972
Naine - Female	393.0	427.1	372.1	397.5	414.3	386.0	283.0	333.8	390.7	5,580
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	393.4	441.2	381.4	399.1	417.4	403.6	296.1	295.1	396.0	8,027
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	369.1	450.6	386.0	380.6	441.4	424.4	388.3	391.9	404.2	2,525
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		453.4	375.6	391.6	423.7	482.2	320.4	353.8	402.3	852
Kesk - Secondary		452.6	385.2	380.0	412.7	452.0	370.2	383.6	408.3	2,784
Põhiharidus - Basic	369.4	434.9	387.5	402.1	437.2	388.8	329.0	262.8	413.0	2,254
Algharidus - Primary	388.3	430.9	362.3	420.3	421.7	388.9	297.6	304.6	383.6	4,662
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		443.6	387.7	425.1	452.5	452.1	349.0	277.0	422.8	5,136
Mittekooselus - No partnership	388.2	443.8	365.4	254.6	275.5	288.8	270.4	317.2	374.4	5,416
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	381.5	426.9	374.7	395.1	440.6	497.3			393.8	5,863
Vanuritega - W/elderly		553.7	497.4	396.9	467.6	397.0	272.8	268.9	360.5	1,074
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	481.5	524.3	477.7	500.2	502.8	553.5	471.7	475.6	491.0	601
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		435.2	374.0	367.1	406.4	387.6			400.7	3,014
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	361.5	430.2	374.5	366.2	419.2	414.2	334.9	343.8	386.4	6,061
Maa - Rural	418.4	462.8	395.4	437.8	431.9	400.6	282.1	274.6	413.5	4,491
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		452.7	383.5	395.2	427.2	416.9	327.8	323.4	406.9	6,330
Mittetöötav - Not employed	388.2	434.1	353.3	375.8	355.9	380.8	296.6	306.6	384.5	4,222
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		467.6	413.6	446.1	449.2	426.2	342.4	341.3	434.5	2,053
Sekundaar - Secondary		461.7	372.4	373.6	433.0	432.5	379.7	557.5	405.1	2,075
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		436.0	369.9	364.2	397.2	392.7	288.8	279.4	382.8	2,202
Mittetöötav - Not employed	388.2	434.1	353.3	375.8	355.9	380.8	296.6	306.6	384.5	4,222
Sissetuleku kvintiidid - Income quintiles										
I	230.8	229.4	210.2	215.8	219.6	166.1	120.6	119.8	207.6	1,930
II	320.3	319.7	295.1	303.8	288.0	262.2	249.2	284.7	303.0	2,158
III	406.5	424.8	368.5	392.7	367.5	345.9	377.7	402.2	389.8	2,263
IV	505.5	513.2	458.0	458.5	447.8	418.7	431.2	492.0	470.3	2,184
V	646.5	672.6	609.4	604.5	579.2	573.6	568.4	700.2	612.3	2,017
Kokku Total	388.2	443.7	382.7	394.8	424.0	408.0	308.6	309.4	397.9	10,552
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	

Tabel 3.25: Leibkonnaliikme brutokogutulu suurus - *Size of gross per capita household income*

Leibkonnaliikme brutokogutulu, rubla %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Gross p.c. household income, rouble										
0-99	54.0	28.6	39.2	34.7	14.4	14.7	34.8	48.1	35.1	3,701
100-149	36.2	40.4	33.8	38.9	36.0	28.9	36.4	31.9	36.1	3,812
150-199	8.4	20.1	17.2	16.0	28.4	29.8	18.9	15.6	17.9	1,892
200-249	1.2	8.5	6.6	6.4	13.8	16.5	7.2	3.3	7.3	770
250+	0.2	2.5	3.2	4.0	7.5	10.1	2.6	1.1	3.6	377
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	10,552
Leibkonnaliikme brutokogutulu me- diaan, rubla										
Median total gross per capita household income, rouble	96.1	126.7	112.7	115.8	149.0	160.0	118.6	103.0	117.5	10,552
Keskmine leibkonnaliikme brutokogutu- lu, rubla										
Mean total gross per capita household income, rouble										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	98.3	139.9	134.0	132.7	156.6	173.6	136.2	98.0	130.6	4,972
Naine -Female	102.2	127.3	114.9	125.9	159.9	161.7	118.1	110.8	126.3	5,580
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	99.5	131.0	124.1	126.9	158.0	167.1	123.0	106.0	126.9	8,027
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	102.7	138.5	125.2	136.3	159.4	165.9	136.4	118.6	132.9	2,525
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		134.2	123.1	123.3	152.2	170.3	116.9	117.9	133.5	852
Kesk - Secondary		139.2	122.5	125.3	151.1	172.2	145.6	118.2	134.7	2,784
Põhiharidus - Basic	107.6	127.3	130.3	132.9	164.9	166.2	141.0	109.0	139.4	2,254
Algharidus - Primary	100.2	125.2	120.9	136.5	160.3	164.6	120.5	106.8	118.2	4,662
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		125.0	113.4	123.1	156.5	171.6	131.1	106.7	135.5	5,136
Mittekooselus - No partnership	100.2	135.2	162.4	156.7	168.3	154.1	118.8	108.2	121.5	5,416
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	100.2	106.5	105.2	107.7	119.8	116.0			104.9	5,863
Vanuritega - W/elderly		142.0	156.0	142.3	151.3	143.2	129.7	109.1	133.5	1,074
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	100.2	99.8	100.3	105.7	112.0	110.5	102.5	103.0	102.9	601
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		156.6	194.5	182.7	179.4	184.4			177.0	3,014
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	99.9	131.3	122.7	127.2	154.7	165.1	128.9	113.6	127.8	6,061
Maa - Rural	100.5	135.5	127.0	132.0	164.3	169.0	120.6	102.1	129.0	4,491
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		144.2	125.1	129.6	159.9	177.1	151.1	133.0	142.9	6,330
Mittetöötav - Not employed	100.2	121.0	98.3	106.0	124.5	135.2	108.3	102.9	106.4	4,222
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		150.0	129.3	136.1	166.5	182.0	150.9	134.9	149.5	2,053
Sekundaar - Secondary		147.9	127.5	132.5	161.0	180.2	164.7	149.0	145.1	2,075
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		137.5	119.5	120.1	151.8	168.5	145.1	129.2	134.7	2,202
Mittetöötav - Not employed	100.2	121.0	98.3	106.0	124.5	135.2	108.3	102.9	106.4	4,222
Sissetuleku kvintiliid - Income quintiles										
I	57.7	69.4	67.2	71.3	79.5	76.6	67.8	60.9	65.9	1,930
II	86.0	101.2	95.3	99.8	108.2	114.3	114.7	104.0	97.3	2,158
III	105.8	123.4	118.0	120.4	132.2	139.3	127.2	131.3	119.9	2,263
IV	127.2	149.7	150.2	147.5	159.9	165.7	162.3	149.5	148.8	2,184
V	166.5	204.6	200.7	210.9	227.5	234.2	215.8	206.8	208.5	2,017
Kokku Total	100.2	133.0	124.4	129.1	158.4	166.9	124.8	107.9	128.3	10,552
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	

Tabel 3.26: Leibkonnaliikme netokogutulu suurus - *Size of net per capita household income*

Leibkonnaliikme neto kogutulu, rubla % Net p. c. household income, rouble %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0-99	63.0	34.6	47.6	43.6	18.4	15.9	39.5	51.5	41.9	4,419
100-149	30.1	40.4	32.8	36.1	41.9	34.3	37.4	33.3	35.4	3,738
150-199	5.8	18.2	13.1	13.9	24.1	27.0	15.0	11.5	14.9	1,573
200-249	0.9	5.1	4.4	4.1	10.4	14.3	6.1	3.3	5.3	560
250+	0.1	1.7	2.0	2.3	5.2	8.5	2.1	0.4	2.5	262
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	10,552
Leibkonnaliikme netokogutulu mediaan, rubla Median total net per capita household income, rouble	87.8	115.8	102.7	106.0	136.2	149.5	114.1	96.6	109.0	10,552
Keskmine leibkonnaliikme netokogutulu, rubla Mean total gross net capita household income, rouble										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	90.5	129.0	120.9	117.4	143.6	163.4	130.1	94.9	119.5	4,972
Naine -Female	94.1	117.5	104.4	115.5	147.7	153.6	112.5	103.9	116.8	5,580
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	92.2	121.6	113.0	115.2	146.1	158.9	117.9	100.8	117.5	8,027
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	92.6	125.8	111.5	120.4	144.8	154.0	125.7	108.4	120.0	2,525
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		122.6	111.2	109.8	136.9	157.9	108.4	109.8	120.4	852
Kesk - Secondary		127.4	110.3	113.3	137.9	161.3	135.6	110.9	122.6	2,784
Põhiharidus - Basic	96.3	118.3	118.5	119.5	152.1	156.5	134.4	101.4	128.2	2,254
Algharidus - Primary	92.3	118.0	112.0	124.3	149.1	157.0	115.4	101.0	110.0	4,662
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		113.6	102.7	112.2	144.2	162.3	125.9	103.9	124.8	5,136
Mittekooselus - No partnership	92.3	125.2	146.6	135.9	154.1	146.0	112.5	101.4	111.7	5,416
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	92.2	98.4	96.0	98.7	110.0	108.0			96.4	5,863
Vanuritega - W/elderly		131.8	143.1	129.2	140.6	136.3	124.0	103.6	125.8	1,074
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	93.3	92.3	93.0	97.6	104.5	105.5	95.9	94.7	95.6	601
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		144.2	172.2	160.3	165.0	174.6			162.0	3,014
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	89.5	117.9	108.9	111.4	139.1	152.7	120.2	104.2	114.6	6,061
Maa - Rural	95.5	129.6	118.3	124.0	156.8	164.2	117.7	99.6	122.8	4,491
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		132.1	113.1	116.7	147.1	167.0	143.8	128.1	130.9	6,330
Mittetöötav - Not employed	92.3	112.7	93.3	101.7	117.8	129.6	103.4	96.6	98.9	4,222
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		143.6	121.8	127.8	159.4	176.8	146.3	133.5	142.5	2,053
Sekundaar - Secondary		132.4	112.7	115.7	144.1	165.9	154.6	128.4	129.3	2,075
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		124.4	106.5	106.4	137.5	156.0	136.3	121.9	121.5	2,202
Mittetöötav - Not employed	92.3	112.7	93.3	101.7	117.8	129.6	103.4	96.6	98.9	4,222
Sissetuleku kvintiidid - Income quintiles										
I	52.2	62.9	59.4	62.3	70.8	73.5	66.7	58.9	59.9	1,930
II	77.9	92.4	84.9	87.8	99.4	107.7	109.7	97.2	88.2	2,158
III	97.0	113.1	106.9	107.9	120.2	131.2	121.1	122.4	109.5	2,263
IV	117.8	138.3	134.7	134.4	146.8	155.0	152.6	140.5	136.8	2,184
V	158.1	191.0	186.0	194.1	211.7	223.0	203.8	195.4	195.0	2,017
Kokku Total	92.3	122.7	112.6	116.4	145.8	157.9	119.0	101.9	118.1	10,552
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	

Tabel 3.27: Leibkonnaliikme ekvivalentkogutulu suurus - *Size of net equivalised household income*

Leibkonnaliikme suurus, rubla %	ekvivalentkogutulu	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
		0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0-149		38.6	27.7	33.0	29.3	18.2	19.1	44.4	51.5	30.7	3,236
150-199		33.2	28.9	30.3	33.5	26.6	23.3	25.0	23.7	29.8	3,147
200-249		17.3	24.6	20.1	21.5	28.8	25.8	18.5	16.7	21.9	2,309
250-299		7.2	11.9	10.1	9.2	15.6	15.8	7.5	4.1	10.5	1,110
300+		3.7	6.9	6.5	6.5	10.8	16.0	4.7	4.1	7.1	750
Kokku Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	10,552
Leibkonnaliikme mediaan, rubla	ekvivalentkogutulu										
Median net equivalised household income, rouble		166.1	189.1	177.8	183.5	205.8	213.3	162.1	141.1	182.9	10,552
Keskmine leibkonnaliikme ekvivalentkogutulu, rubla	Mean net equivalised household income, rouble										
Sugu - Sex											
Mees - Male		170.5	203.9	193.7	190.7	215.7	233.3	185.4	128.7	193.3	4,972
Naine -Female		175.6	187.9	179.2	189.7	214.9	212.4	153.9	154.6	187.4	5,580
Põlisus - Nativity											
Põline - Native origin		174.0	194.0	187.1	190.2	214.7	222.2	162.0	145.1	189.6	8,027
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin		169.1	198.3	184.5	190.1	216.8	218.8	188.0	169.6	192.0	2,525
Haridustase - Educational level											
Kõrgem - Higher			192.4	181.8	185.6	209.2	231.6	162.8	163.0	192.5	852
Kesk - Secondary			200.3	185.7	185.4	205.5	233.2	192.2	168.4	195.0	2,784
Põhiharidus - Basic		174.4	190.5	192.6	192.6	223.3	216.9	182.3	143.5	199.3	2,254
Algharidus - Primary		172.9	190.7	180.2	201.8	217.7	217.3	160.2	147.1	182.4	4,662
Kooseluseis - Partnership status											
Kooselus - In partnership			190.8	182.4	193.8	220.5	236.0	182.6	148.3	201.9	5,136
Mittekooselus - No partnership		172.9	196.3	200.0	173.3	187.9	182.5	149.4	148.8	179.0	5,416
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type											
Lastega - W/children		172.8	176.4	175.8	181.2	193.4	194.1			177.2	5,863
Vanuritega - W/elderly			210.9	218.5	190.0	212.9	197.9	163.1	143.1	179.3	1,074
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly		174.7	168.4	173.4	181.0	186.8	193.5	176.9	171.8	176.6	601
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly			210.7	222.3	213.4	227.0	233.3			221.9	3,014
Elukoht - Residence											
Linn - Urban		164.0	186.9	179.7	179.9	207.0	217.1	170.5	156.4	183.6	6,061
Maa - Rural		183.0	206.7	196.9	205.7	228.7	226.8	160.5	141.0	199.1	4,491
Hõive - Employment											
Töötav - Employed			205.5	187.2	190.6	217.0	231.3	191.1	174.4	201.9	6,330
Mittetöötav - Not employed		172.9	184.0	156.5	168.9	177.8	191.3	149.5	143.6	172.5	4,222
Majandussektor - Sector of economy											
Primaar - Primary			222.7	202.7	210.8	233.9	242.8	197.8	184.7	219.0	2,053
Sekundaar - Secondary			205.6	184.1	184.2	213.8	233.3	211.6	219.6	199.2	2,075
Tertsiaar - Tertiary			194.3	177.8	176.3	202.9	215.5	174.7	158.0	188.6	2,202
Mittetöötav - Not employed		172.9	184.0	156.5	168.9	177.8	191.3	149.5	143.6	172.5	4,222
Sissetuleku kvintilid - Income quintiles											
I		100	101.1	102.4	102.6	105.6	98.2	81.1	74.3	98.5	1,930
II		146.3	147.0	146.0	146.1	146.4	146.6	145.2	142.9	146.2	2,158
III		181.5	182.6	181.0	183.0	182.4	183.0	182.4	183.0	182.1	2,263
IV		220.2	220.9	220.3	219.8	220.7	220.9	220.1	216.9	220.3	2,184
V		292.7	299.1	295.0	302.9	305.1	314.3	292.0	306.2	301.3	2,017
Kokku Total		172.9	195.1	186.4	190.2	215.3	221.5	165.5	148.7	190.2	10,552
N		2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	

Tabel 3.28: Leibkonnaliikme ekvivalentkogutulu suurus enne siirdeid - *Size of net equivalised household income before transfers*

Leibkonnaliikme suurus enne siirdeid, rubla %	Vanusrühm - Age group									Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+			
Size of net equivalised household income before transfers, rouble %											
0-149	43.5	36.0	38.0	33.5	25.0	45.3	70.6	67.0	39.0	4,119	
150-199	31.4	29.8	30.4	34.4	29.3	24.5	17.5	20.7	29.8	3,142	
200-249	15.1	20.1	17.1	18.3	25.2	14.9	7.9	7.0	17.7	1,864	
250-299	6.5	8.9	8.9	7.9	11.8	8.3	2.6	3.3	8.2	860	
300+	3.4	5.3	5.6	6.0	8.7	7.0	1.4	1.9	5.4	567	
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	10,552	
Leibkonnaliikme mediaan enne siirdeid, rubla											
Median net equivalised household income before transfers, rouble	159.0	172.0	167.1	175.6	193.5	160.7	105.2	111.2	167.1	10,552	
Keskmine leibkonnaliikme kogutulu enne siirdeid, rubla											
Mean net equivalised household income before transfers, rouble											
Sugu - Sex											
Mees - Male	162.0	187.4	183.9	183.6	201.7	186.4	115.6	74.4	177.7	4,972	
Naine -Female	167.9	173.2	170.6	180.2	198.9	150.3	104.9	119.7	169.5	5,580	
Põlisus - Nativity											
Põline - Native origin	165.7	177.7	178.9	181.8	200.9	168.3	104.9	104.9	172.6	8,027	
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	161.5	185.1	172.9	181.8	198.5	157.8	133.9	135.6	175.7	2,525	
Haridustase - Educational level											
Kõrgem - Higher		172.2	173.2	177.2	194.8	193.4	101.3	102.6	178.8	852	
Kesk - Secondary		185.0	176.4	177.6	189.5	175.0	137.1	111.0	179.5	2,784	
Põhiharidus - Basic	163.5	175.4	183.7	183.9	209.5	158.0	116.4	101.2	183.1	2,254	
Algharidus - Primary	164.8	173.6	170.5	192.9	202.0	162.2	104.6	109.9	164.0	4,662	
Kooseluseis - Partnership status											
Kooselus - In partnership		181.0	177.3	187.5	204.7	178.7	112.0	83.0	184.1	5,136	
Mittekooselus - No partnership	164.8	179.3	177.0	155.5	177.0	131.9	105.8	115.8	163.2	5,416	
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type											
Lastega - W/children	166.0	165.7	170.4	176.0	182.9	161.0			169.8	5,863	
Vanuritega - W/elderly		170.3	170.4	159.2	181.9	129.7	100.9	99.0	129.3	1,074	
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	148.3	147.2	145.1	155.7	168.8	133.6	145.2	152.4	150.2	601	
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		195.3	209.7	205.8	212.4	176.5			200.5	3,014	
Elukoht - Residence											
Linn - Urban	155.5	172.4	169.4	171.8	191.8	160.4	114.4	118.2	167.0	6,061	
Maa - Rural	175.4	189.8	189.5	196.9	213.9	172.9	103.3	100.7	181.9	4,491	
Hõive - Employment											
Töötav - Employed		193.0	178.4	182.7	203.0	178.6	131.1	126.2	185.8	6,330	
Mittetöötav - Not employed	164.8	165.3	131.1	142.5	138.9	127.2	94.9	106.1	154.7	4,222	
Majandussektor - Sector of economy											
Primaar - Primary		208.6	194.7	202.1	217.1	186.3	134.4	134.4	199.9	2,053	
Sekundaar - Secondary		193.0	175.7	176.8	202.6	179.1	148.1	201.4	185.3	2,075	
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		183.0	168.1	168.5	188.7	168.8	119.9	109.3	173.0	2,202	
Mittetöötav - Not employed	164.8	165.3	131.1	142.5	138.9	127.2	94.9	106.1	154.7	4,222	
Sissetuleku kvintiidid - Income quintiles											
I	92.5	92.4	96.0	94.3	97.9	55.1	28.9	33.1	84.2	1,930	
II	137.8	133.7	139.5	138.7	134.3	101.6	86.3	107.1	132.9	2,158	
III	173.4	167.3	172.1	175.7	170.3	131.4	128.4	144.5	167.5	2,263	
IV	211.3	201.5	208.4	209.2	204.8	163.8	159.0	180.1	201.0	2,184	
V	285.3	280.1	282.3	294.3	284.9	249.7	230.6	263.5	278.6	2,017	
Kokku Total	164.8	179.6	177.2	181.8	200.2	166.1	108.8	109.5	173.3	10,552	
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552		

Tabel 3.29: Leibkonnaliikme ekvivalentkogutulu vaesusmäära suhtes - *Size of net equivalised household income as relative to poverty line*

Leibkonnaliikme ekvivalenttulu %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
Size of net equivalised household income %	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Allpool vaesuspiiri - Below poverty line	13.4	8.9	10.0	7.9	4.1	5.9	22.4	32.6	10.2	1,080
1-1.9 vaesuspiiri - poverty line	65.3	56.4	60.3	63.9	51.6	46.1	53.7	50.7	58.6	6,185
2-2.9 vaesuspiiri - poverty line	19.2	30.4	26.3	24.2	37.3	37.6	21.3	13.3	26.8	2,828
3+ vaesuspiiri - poverty line	2.2	4.2	3.4	4.0	6.9	10.4	2.6	3.3	4.3	459
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	10,552
Suhtelise vaesuse määr %										
At-risk-of-poverty rate %										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	14.3	6.9	8.7	7.8	3.2	4.0	15.2	41.0	9.3	4,972
Naine -Female	12.4	10.8	11.3	8.1	4.9	7.4	27.0	30.1	11.1	5,580
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	13.9	9.4	11.0	8.5	4.4	6.7	25.7	35.7	11.2	8,027
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	11.4	8.2	7.4	5.9	3.5	2.9	3.4	15.0	7.2	2,525
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher	0.0	6.0	8.9	6.3	2.5	2.0	6.7	0.0	6.1	852
Kesk - Secondary	0.0	9.3	9.1	7.5	5.1	2.9	4.7	15.0	7.8	2,784
Põhiharidus - Basic	20.0	9.0	10.9	8.9	4.2	7.7	12.5	27.3	8.5	2,254
Algharidus - Primary	13.4	10.6	17.5	8.3	4.0	6.9	27.0	34.5	13.4	4,662
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		11.3	9.4	6.0	2.5	3.7	13.9	28.8	6.5	5,136
Mittekooselus - No partnership	13.4	8.5	11.8	17.0	12.8	11.9	30.9	33.5	13.8	5,416
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	13.5	12.7	11.7	8.7	6.1	7.3	0.0	0.0	11.5	5,863
Vanuritega - W/elderly	0.0	5.0	3.3	6.9	2.0	10.3	25.6	36.4	18.3	1,074
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	12.3	18.0	10.2	7.5	15.6	0.0	9.1	17.0	11.6	601
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly	0.0	5.9	4.9	6.4	3.0	4.9	0.0	0.0	4.7	3,014
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	12.7	9.2	10.0	6.9	3.4	2.9	13.5	22.8	8.8	6,061
Maa - Rural	14.1	8.9	9.9	9.4	5.3	9.6	31.9	42.5	12.2	4,491
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		9.0	9.6	7.8	3.9	3.9	7.3	15.6	7.1	6,330
Mittetöötav - Not employed	13.4	9.2	26.8	12.1	8.3	12.1	32.3	36.0	15.0	4,222
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary	0.0	7.0	8.1	7.4	4.3	6.1	0.0	0.0	7.0	2,053
Sekundaar - Secondary	0.0	6.5	8.4	5.8	2.1	2.4	3.3	0.0	5.3	2,075
Tertsiaar - Tertiary	0.0	12.2	11.7	10.3	5.7	2.5	3.0	5.0	8.9	2,202
Mittetöötav - Not employed	13.4	9.2	26.8	12.1	8.3	12.1	32.3	36.0	15.0	4,222
Sissetuleku kvintiliid - Income quintiles										
I	56.1	52.8	52.4	52.3	45.6	51.6	74.6	80.0	56.2	1,930
II	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2,158
III	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2,263
IV	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2,184
V	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2,017
Kokku Total	13.4	9.1	10.0	7.9	4.1	5.9	22.7	32.6	10.3	10,552
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	

Tabel 3.30: Leibkonnaliikme ekvivalentkogutulu vaesusmäära suhtes enne siirdeid - *Size of net equivalised household income before transfers as relative to poverty line*

Leibkonnaliikme ekvivalenttulu enne siirdeid %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
Size of net equivalised household income before transfers %	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Allpool vaesuspiiri - Below poverty line	13.7	11.5	10.3	8.7	5.9	22.9	46.7	45.6	13.8	1,454
1-1.9 vaesuspiiri - poverty line	58.8	52.0	55.8	56.0	45.8	45.1	40.2	41.1	52.7	5,559
2-2.9 vaesuspiiri - poverty line	23.8	31.0	27.8	29.0	39.2	24.8	11.7	11.5	27.9	2,942
3+ vaesuspiiri - poverty line	3.6	5.5	6.0	6.3	9.1	7.2	1.4	1.9	5.7	597
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	10,552
Suhtelise vaesuse määr enne sotsiaalseid siirdeid %										
At-risk-of-poverty rate before social transfers %										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	14.7	9.7	8.5	7.6	4.8	12.4	45.6	65.6	11.8	4,972
Naine - Female	12.7	13.1	12.1	9.7	7.0	31.1	47.4	39.7	15.5	5,580
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	13.9	12.5	10.6	9.4	6.4	22.9	50.0	48.7	14.8	8,027
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	13.1	8.9	9.6	6.7	4.8	23.1	25.9	27.5	10.6	2,525
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		6.0	9.6	5.4	3.0	8.2	53.3	75.0	7.6	852
Kesk - Secondary		10.9	8.5	8.6	6.8	16.7	34.9	35.0	10.0	2,784
Põhiharidus - Basic	10.0	12.5	12.7	10.2	6.0	26.9	42.5	54.5	12.4	2,254
Algharidus - Primary	13.7	13.6	19.6	8.7	6.3	25.7	48.5	45.5	17.8	4,662
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		9.7	8.4	6.2	4.5	17.2	46.6	63.5	10.0	5,136
Mittekooselus - No partnership	13.7	12.0	17.2	20.5	13.6	38.4	46.8	41.3	17.4	5,416
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	13.5	13.4	11.2	8.8	6.9	15.5			11.7	5,863
Vanuritega - W/elderly		9.9	13.3	12.5	6.1	40.5	53.6	51.6	36.0	1,074
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	17.3	21.3	15.3	13.1	17.8	20.0	15.6	20.8	17.0	601
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		9.4	5.5	6.8	4.9	20.5			9.2	3,014
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	13.8	11.2	11.2	8.1	5.2	22.2	41.9	40.4	12.9	6,061
Maa - Rural	13.7	12.0	9.0	9.7	7.2	23.8	51.6	50.7	15.0	4,491
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		9.1	9.7	8.3	5.0	18.3	37.0	42.2	9.9	6,330
Mittetöötav - Not employed	13.7	14.1	34.1	27.3	26.4	37.4	52.9	46.2	19.6	4,222
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		8.0	7.9	7.0	5.8	18.7	36.2	39.1	9.7	2,053
Sekundaar - Secondary		5.7	9.5	5.5	2.6	13.3	26.7	0.0	6.7	2,075
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		12.5	11.4	12.6	6.9	21.8	42.4	50.0	13.1	2,202
Mittetöötav - Not employed	13.7	14.1	34.1	27.3	26.4	37.4	52.9	46.2	19.6	4,222
Sissetuleku kvintiilid - Income quintiles										
I	52.2	53.6	47.3	51.9	43.6	84.9	94.6	93.6	57.7	1,930
II	4.8	8.7	4.6	3.3	10.1	51.9	62.5	37.2	10.9	2,158
III	0.3	3.0	1.4	0.3	2.1	22.1	20.5	6.4	3.3	2,263
IV	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.3	0.2	10.5	8.2	2.1	1.4	2,184
V	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2,017
Kokku Total	13.7	11.5	10.3	8.7	5.9	22.9	46.7	45.6	13.8	10,552
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	

Tabel 3.31: Eluaseme tüüp - *Dwelling type*

Eluaseme tüüp % Dwelling type %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Korter - Apartment	72.4	63.6	71.8	71.0	64.2	48.8	48.8	43.0	66.1	6,974
Üldkorter - Shared apartment	3.4	2.5	5.1	3.5	1.9	3.1	2.6	2.6	3.2	342
Koridorsüsteemiga maja - Corridor type house	0.6	0.5	1.1	0.4	0.7	0.5	0.2	0.7	0.6	66
Kelder - Cellar	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	1
Barakk - Barracked	0.1	0.1	0.5	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.2	23
Ühisealamu - Dormitory	2.3	3.7	5.1	1.1	1.2	0.2	0.2	0.0	2.3	240
Isiklik maja - Private house	16.6	25.5	11.9	19.9	28.6	45.0	44.9	51.9	23.7	2,500
Ühiskondlik üüripind - State rental	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.6	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.0	0.5	53
Eraüüripind - Private rental	4.1	3.5	3.9	3.3	2.8	1.7	2.6	1.9	3.3	353
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	10,552
Peremajas elavate osakaal % Proportion living in family house %										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	16.6	30.7	13.8	20.2	27.2	48.3	50.6	72.1	24.2	4,972
Naine -Female	16.5	21.3	10.0	19.6	29.9	42.5	41.5	45.9	23.2	5,580
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	20.3	33.2	15.3	25.3	37.0	55.3	51.4	60.0	29.9	8,027
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	2.6	4.3	3.0	2.4	6.8	6.9	3.4	5.0	4.0	2,525
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		25.4	9.9	9.4	12.9	26.5	20.0	25.0	12.9	852
Kesk - Secondary		21.9	9.4	18.4	25.3	28.2	16.3	20.0	18.1	2,784
Põhiharidus - Basic	10.0	28.9	16.6	23.1	32.5	42.9	37.5	18.2	27.1	2,254
Algharidus - Primary	16.6	28.8	19.6	26.6	33.1	54.6	50.6	56.6	27.4	4,662
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		11.0	9.4	20.0	29.8	48.3	52.4	73.1	24.6	5,136
Mittetöötav - No partnership	16.6	29.4	20.2	19.4	22.3	36.1	37.7	46.8	22.8	5,416
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	14.7	22.3	8.9	16.5	27.9	35.5			16.0	5,863
Vanuritega - W/elderly		36.6	33.3	43.1	38.8	60.3	45.3	53.5	46.2	1,074
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	41.9	49.2	30.5	44.9	51.1	40.0	42.9	45.3	43.1	601
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		24.5	15.7	17.6	26.4	43.6			26.7	3,014
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	10.6	13.7	9.1	10.3	15.8	23.6	16.7	24.3	13.1	6,061
Maa - Rural	23.3	42.2	16.1	34.4	49.4	71.0	73.2	79.9	38.0	4,491
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		20.8	11.6	19.5	28.1	42.7	41.2	62.2	22.9	6,330
Mittetöötav - Not employed	16.6	30.5	22.0	39.4	40.3	52.0	47.1	49.8	24.9	4,222
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		32.5	16.0	32.1	46.9	67.1	73.9	91.3	38.4	2,053
Sekundaar - Secondary		11.7	6.0	9.7	12.4	26.7	10.0	0.0	11.1	2,075
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		20.6	13.3	16.3	26.5	26.2	21.2	35.0	19.6	2,202
Mittetöötav - Not employed	16.6	30.5	22.0	39.4	40.3	52.0	47.1	49.8	24.9	4,222
Sissetuleku kvintiiidid - Income quintiles										
I	14.5	18.3	10.2	19.5	20.1	55.9	51.5	55.5	22.2	1,930
II	12.7	18.2	10.2	15.2	26.2	39.4	38.6	46.5	18.0	2,158
III	15.1	25.0	8.1	18.9	24.8	43.4	41.0	48.9	20.8	2,263
IV	19.3	29.8	12.7	20.2	29.9	33.0	39.7	51.1	24.9	2,184
V	27.6	33.9	19.1	27.8	34.0	53.2	50.8	52.2	33.2	2,017
Kokku Total	16.6	25.5	11.9	19.9	28.6	45.0	44.9	51.9	23.7	10,552
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	

Tabel 3.32: Leibkonna kasutatavate elutubade arv - *No. of living rooms in use*

Leibkonna elutubade arv % Number of living rooms in use %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
1	8.8	10.5	17.2	9.4	7.8	9.6	18.2	13.0	10.8	1,142
2	32.0	34.7	37.2	35.2	38.4	39.8	33.2	31.1	35.3	3,726
3	37.0	34.4	29.9	34.4	36.0	31.4	30.4	34.8	34.2	3,613
4	13.9	11.7	8.6	13.0	10.8	12.6	10.7	11.9	11.9	1,251
5+	3.7	4.5	2.5	4.1	3.9	4.4	4.7	7.4	3.9	414
Teadmata - No data	4.6	4.1	4.5	3.9	3.2	2.1	2.8	1.9	3.8	406
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	10,552
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	
Keskmine elutubade arv Mean number of living rooms										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	2.7	2.7	2.4	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.6	2.7	2.7	4,761
Naine -Female	2.7	2.6	2.4	2.7	2.6	2.5	2.4	2.7	2.6	5,385
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	2.8	2.8	2.5	2.8	2.8	2.7	2.5	2.8	2.7	7,643
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	2.3	2.3	2.1	2.3	2.4	2.3	2.5	2.3	2.3	2,503
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		2.9	2.5	2.8	2.9	3.0	3.1	2.2	2.7	831
Kesk - Secondary		2.6	2.4	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.6	2.5	2.6	2,682
Põhiharidus - Basic	2.6	2.7	2.4	2.6	2.6	2.7	2.2	2.2	2.6	2,160
Algharidus - Primary	2.7	2.5	2.3	2.6	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.8	2.6	4,473
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		2.2	2.4	2.8	2.7	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.6	4,954
Mittekooselus - No partnership	2.7	2.7	2.3	2.1	2.1	2.3	2.4	2.7	2.6	5,192
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	2.7	2.7	2.4	2.8	2.9	3.0			2.7	5,600
Vanuritega - W/elderly		3.0	2.8	2.8	2.9	2.8	2.4	2.6	2.7	1,056
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	3.2	3.1	3.3	3.3	3.2	3.5	3.2	3.2	3.2	597
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		2.5	2.0	2.2	2.5	2.5			2.4	2,893
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	2.5	2.5	2.2	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.3	2.5	2.5	5,920
Maa - Rural	3.0	2.8	2.6	3.0	2.8	2.7	2.7	3.0	2.9	4,226
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		2.4	2.4	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.5	2.6	6,089
Mittetöötav - Not employed	2.7	2.9	2.5	2.7	2.7	2.6	2.5	2.8	2.7	4,057
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		2.5	2.7	3.0	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.7	2.8	1,939
Sekundaar - Secondary		2.3	2.1	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.3	3.0	2.4	2,028
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		2.4	2.4	2.6	2.7	2.5	2.2	2.3	2.5	2,122
Mittetöötav - Not employed	2.7	2.9	2.5	2.7	2.7	2.6	2.5	2.8	2.7	4,057
Sissetuleku kvintiilid - Income quintiles										
I	2.5	2.3	2.2	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.2	2.2	2.4	1,813
II	2.6	2.5	2.3	2.5	2.5	2.4	2.5	2.6	2.5	2,083
III	2.8	2.7	2.4	2.7	2.6	2.8	2.7	3.0	2.7	2,178
IV	2.9	2.8	2.5	2.7	2.7	2.5	2.7	3.2	2.7	2,114
V	2.9	2.8	2.6	2.8	2.7	2.8	2.7	3.5	2.8	1,958
Kokku Total	2.7	2.6	2.4	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.7	2.6	10,146
N	2,559	1,406	1,578	1,530	1,598	794	416	265	10,146	

Tabel 3.33: Leibkonna eluaseme üldpind - *Total floor area*

Eluaseme üldpind % Total floor area %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0-9	0.3	0.2	0.6	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.3	28
10-19	2.6	4.4	6.4	2.7	1.5	3.0	7.7	5.2	3.6	380
20-29	5.8	6.3	10.3	5.2	5.2	6.2	11.2	8.9	6.7	706
30-39	13.5	14.3	15.4	16.6	17.8	15.2	11.2	13.0	15.1	1,589
40-49	22.7	21.1	22.4	22.7	22.0	21.8	19.9	15.6	22.0	2,317
50+	50.6	49.6	40.4	48.6	50.4	51.7	47.2	55.6	48.6	5,126
Teadmata - No data	4.6	4.1	4.5	3.9	3.2	2.1	2.8	1.9	3.8	406
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	10,552
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	
Keskmine üldpinna suurus m^2										
Mean size of total floor area m^2										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	53.7	55.1	48.0	52.6	54.7	58.4	54.7	57.7	53.4	4,761
Naine -Female	53.1	51.7	47.8	53.5	53.7	52.4	49.6	55.0	52.1	5,385
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	56.0	56.2	50.4	55.7	57.0	57.8	51.9	57.2	55.3	7,643
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	44.5	45.3	41.6	44.9	47.1	45.1	48.3	46.1	44.8	2,503
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		58.2	51.3	54.7	59.1	61.9	61.2	46.0	55.4	831
Kesk - Secondary		50.1	47.1	53.8	54.2	55.4	51.2	52.1	50.9	2,682
Põhiharidus - Basic	50.6	56.0	47.0	52.5	54.5	56.5	49.1	49.5	53.1	2,160
Algharidus - Primary	53.5	52.7	47.8	51.0	52.2	53.5	51.3	56.3	53.0	4,473
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		44.4	48.5	55.5	56.1	57.7	55.6	56.3	53.5	4,954
Mittekooselus - No partnership	53.5	55.4	45.7	41.8	44.0	47.9	47.5	55.4	51.9	5,192
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	52.9	53.7	48.2	54.7	57.6	59.6			52.8	5,600
Vanuritega - W/elderly		62.6	57.4	60.3	60.8	60.2	49.4	54.6	55.8	1,056
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	61.1	59.3	61.7	62.8	63.4	65.7	60.7	59.4	61.4	597
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		50.9	41.8	45.6	51.1	52.5			49.6	2,893
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	48.3	49.1	44.0	48.7	50.6	49.0	46.2	50.0	48.2	5,920
Maa - Rural	59.5	59.3	54.1	60.0	60.3	62.4	56.8	61.2	59.0	4,226
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		48.6	47.9	53.1	54.0	54.6	49.8	51.8	51.5	6,089
Mittetöötav - Not employed	53.5	58.0	48.2	53.0	57.3	56.2	52.4	56.3	54.5	4,057
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		53.7	54.7	59.5	59.3	62.5	59.5	57.7	58.2	1,939
Sekundaar - Secondary		46.2	42.9	48.3	49.2	50.3	44.2	49.1	47.0	2,028
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		47.2	47.1	51.5	54.2	48.6	42.2	45.3	49.8	2,122
Mittetöötav - Not employed	53.5	58.0	48.2	53.0	57.3	56.2	52.4	56.3	54.5	4,057
Sissetuleku kvintilid - Income quintiles										
I	49.9	45.6	44.2	51.0	47.2	51.9	44.1	46.2	47.8	1,813
II	51.8	50.5	46.5	50.6	53.7	51.6	52.1	61.6	50.9	2,083
III	53.4	55.2	47.6	53.0	52.5	55.2	52.9	58.7	52.7	2,178
IV	56.0	56.9	49.1	53.8	56.1	52.6	56.6	61.2	54.7	2,114
V	60.4	55.5	52.3	57.4	55.9	59.1	58.0	71.4	56.9	1,958
Kokku Total	53.5	53.2	47.9	53.1	54.2	55.0	51.4	55.6	52.7	10,146
N	2,559	1,406	1,578	1,530	1,598	794	416	265	10,146	

Tabel 3.34: Leibkonna eluaseme elamispiind - *Total useful floor area*

Eluaseme elamispiind, ruutmeetrit % Total useful floor area, square metres %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0-9	0.5	0.8	1.3	0.9	0.4	0.7	0.5	1.5	0.7	79
10-19	7.9	9.6	15.5	8.2	6.2	8.8	17.8	13.3	9.7	1,026
20-29	21.0	21.1	25.7	22.9	23.4	23.1	21.3	17.4	22.5	2,373
30-39	25.0	22.2	22.7	24.6	25.3	25.2	20.1	22.6	24.0	2,531
40-49	25.4	25.4	20.1	23.9	24.2	18.7	17.8	20.4	23.2	2,450
50+	15.5	16.8	10.3	15.6	17.3	21.5	19.9	23.0	16.0	1,687
Teadmata - No data	4.6	4.1	4.5	3.9	3.2	2.1	2.8	1.9	3.8	406
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	10,552
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	
Keskmine elamispinna suurus m^2 Mean size of useful floor area m^2										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	37.5	38.8	33.4	36.6	38.3	40.4	38.3	38.6	37.2	4,761
Naine -Female	37.3	36.5	33.3	37.1	37.8	36.7	33.9	37.4	36.4	5,385
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	38.9	39.2	34.8	38.3	39.6	39.9	35.6	38.4	38.3	7,643
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	31.9	33.1	29.7	32.3	34.0	32.4	35.0	33.3	32.3	2,503
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		40.3	35.4	38.2	40.5	45.2	42.7	34.1	38.4	831
Kesk - Secondary		35.8	33.2	36.9	38.7	39.9	36.6	35.6	35.9	2,682
Põhiharidus - Basic	36.5	39.0	32.1	36.8	37.9	38.4	32.9	32.4	36.9	2,160
Algharidus - Primary	37.4	36.9	33.5	35.6	36.7	36.8	35.4	38.2	37.0	4,473
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		31.3	33.7	38.5	39.4	40.5	38.0	38.7	37.4	4,954
Mittekooselus - No partnership	37.4	39.1	32.0	28.8	30.5	32.5	33.1	37.5	36.2	5,192
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	36.9	37.6	33.7	38.0	40.4	42.7			36.9	5,600
Vanuritega - W/elderly		42.9	40.2	38.4	41.6	41.5	33.8	36.5	37.9	1,056
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	43.3	44.2	43.3	45.4	44.9	45.1	43.3	42.6	43.9	597
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		36.0	28.9	31.6	36.0	36.5			34.8	2,893
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	34.5	35.3	31.3	34.2	36.0	35.3	33.3	34.1	34.3	5,920
Maa - Rural	40.8	40.8	36.6	41.1	41.5	42.0	37.9	41.3	40.3	4,226
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		34.4	33.3	36.8	38.0	38.2	34.8	35.7	36.0	6,089
Mittetöötav - Not employed	37.4	40.7	34.7	38.7	38.9	38.8	36.0	38.1	38.0	4,057
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		37.3	37.3	40.9	40.9	42.3	39.7	40.6	39.9	1,939
Sekundaar - Secondary		33.2	30.0	33.5	35.0	35.4	32.6	36.2	33.1	2,028
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		33.5	33.3	36.1	38.4	35.3	30.7	30.1	35.2	2,122
Mittetöötav - Not employed	37.4	40.7	34.7	38.7	38.9	38.8	36.0	38.1	38.0	4,057
Sissetuleku kvintiiidid - Income quintiles										
I	34.9	32.3	30.8	34.4	33.6	35.6	31.0	31.5	33.3	1,813
II	36.2	35.3	31.9	35.3	37.5	35.7	36.4	38.9	35.4	2,083
III	37.1	38.1	32.9	36.7	36.4	37.8	35.6	40.0	36.4	2,178
IV	39.6	40.7	35.0	37.7	39.3	36.6	39.4	43.1	38.6	2,114
V	42.2	39.5	36.6	40.2	39.6	41.8	39.0	49.0	40.0	1,958
Kokku Total	37.4	37.5	33.3	36.9	38.0	38.3	35.5	37.7	36.8	10,146
N	2,559	1,406	1,578	1,530	1,598	794	416	265	10,146	

Tabel 3.35: Elamispinna suurus elaniku kohta - *Useful floor area per dweller*

Elamispinna suurus elaniku kohta, ruutmeetril % Useful floor area per dweller, square metres %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0-4.9	8.3	5.6	7.7	4.5	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.6	5.5	579
5-9.9	54.4	48.4	52.0	44.2	31.9	20.7	23.6	24.8	43.5	4,593
10-14.9	28.8	29.4	26.6	35.0	36.0	31.3	29.0	32.2	30.9	3,258
15-19.9	3.1	7.9	5.6	7.0	13.5	21.7	18.9	14.1	8.7	923
20+	0.7	4.6	3.4	5.4	13.1	21.8	23.4	24.4	7.5	787
Teadmata - No data	4.7	4.1	4.7	3.9	3.2	2.1	2.8	1.9	3.9	412
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	10,552
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	
Keskmine elamispinna suurus elaniku kohta m^2 Mean size of useful floor area per dweller m^2										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	8.8	10.7	10.2	11.0	12.5	15.9	15.5	20.1	11.1	4,758
Naine -Female	8.9	10.0	9.2	10.7	13.8	15.8	16.5	14.7	11.3	5,382
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	9.1	10.8	10.2	11.1	14.1	16.8	16.8	16.8	11.8	7,637
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	8.0	9.2	8.5	9.9	11.1	12.3	11.7	10.6	9.5	2,503
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		11.2	10.3	11.0	12.9	14.3	15.1	13.1	11.5	831
Kesk - Secondary		10.1	9.3	10.8	13.2	14.8	14.8	12.2	10.9	2,681
Põhiharidus - Basic	9.5	10.5	9.9	10.8	13.5	16.5	14.9	13.8	11.6	2,160
Algharidus - Primary	8.9	9.7	10.6	10.8	13.2	16.2	16.5	16.4	11.2	4,468
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		8.1	8.8	10.0	12.4	14.9	14.9	16.3	11.1	4,952
Mittekooselus - No partnership	8.9	10.9	13.0	14.9	17.4	18.3	17.2	15.8	11.3	5,188
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	8.9	8.6	8.6	9.4	10.1	9.6			9.0	5,594
Vanuritega - W/elderly		10.9	12.7	13.3	12.8	15.5	17.7	17.7	15.6	1,056
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	8.6	7.7	8.5	9.0	9.2	8.6	8.9	8.7	8.7	597
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		11.9	13.8	14.1	14.9	17.4			14.4	2,893
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	8.5	9.5	9.0	10.2	12.1	13.4	13.0	11.8	10.2	5,914
Maa - Rural	9.3	11.5	10.9	11.7	15.2	18.7	19.3	20.1	12.6	4,226
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		10.1	9.7	10.8	13.2	16.3	16.9	17.9	11.8	6,087
Mittetöötav - Not employed	8.9	10.5	9.2	10.7	13.3	14.3	15.6	15.5	10.3	4,053
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		11.7	10.9	11.8	14.6	19.5	19.7	21.7	13.6	1,939
Sekundaar - Secondary		9.5	9.0	10.2	11.7	14.1	13.4	7.9	10.6	2,027
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		9.6	9.5	10.4	13.5	14.3	15.5	14.7	11.3	2,121
Mittetöötav - Not employed	8.9	10.5	9.2	10.7	13.3	14.3	15.6	15.5	10.3	4,053
Sissetuleku kvintiliid - Income quintiles										
I	8.0	8.8	8.7	10.0	12.1	18.3	18.9	19.6	10.8	1,807
II	8.8	9.8	8.8	10.1	13.2	14.8	16.4	12.9	10.3	2,083
III	8.9	10.0	9.5	10.2	12.0	15.6	12.6	14.1	10.5	2,178
IV	9.3	11.2	10.5	11.2	13.0	14.0	15.7	13.0	11.5	2,114
V	10.1	11.4	11.3	12.9	14.7	16.7	14.6	13.7	13.0	1,958
Kokku Total	8.9	10.3	9.7	10.8	13.2	15.8	16.1	15.9	11.2	10,140
N	2,555	1,406	1,576	1,530	1,598	794	416	265	10,140	

Tabel 3.36: Elutubade arv elaniku kohta - *Living rooms per dweller*

Elutubade elaniku kohta % Living rooms per dweller %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
0-0.4	17.0	14.3	16.0	9.2	6.7	5.1	4.9	5.6	12.0	1,262
0.5-0.9	64.9	56.1	57.7	58.2	43.8	27.1	29.7	31.1	53.0	5,595
1-1.4	12.7	22.2	18.8	23.1	34.0	43.0	35.5	35.2	23.7	2,501
1.5-1.9	0.7	2.2	1.1	2.6	7.1	12.5	12.9	10.4	3.9	412
2+	0.1	1.2	1.8	3.0	5.3	10.2	14.3	15.9	3.5	370
Teadmata - No data	4.7	4.1	4.7	3.9	3.2	2.1	2.8	1.9	3.9	412
Kokku Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	10,552
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	
Alla 1 elutoa isiku kohta, % Less than 1 living room per person, %										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	15.8	13.3	15.6	9.7	7.2	3.7	7.0	1.6	11.9	4,972
Naine -Female	18.2	15.2	16.3	8.7	6.2	6.1	3.7	6.7	12.0	5,580
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	13.7	12.7	11.3	8.2	5.6	3.9	4.6	3.9	9.7	8,027
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	28.8	18.9	28.0	12.3	9.4	9.2	6.9	15.0	19.1	2,525
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		7.5	13.7	8.1	3.0	4.1	0.0	0.0	8.3	852
Kesk - Secondary		16.9	16.5	7.2	5.6	6.3	9.3	15.0	12.2	2,784
Põhiharidus - Basic	20.0	11.8	16.1	10.2	5.7	4.5	5.0	0.0	10.3	2,254
Algharidus - Primary	17.0	19.7	17.5	13.1	9.3	4.9	4.5	5.1	13.2	4,662
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		32.4	18.3	9.8	7.1	5.1	5.8	0.0	11.7	5,136
Mittekooselus - No partnership	17.0	9.5	7.8	6.4	4.5	5.0	4.1	6.9	12.2	5,416
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	16.5	22.5	19.4	10.6	12.6	23.6			16.5	5,863
Vanuritega - W/elderly		9.9	6.7	5.6	3.4	2.4	1.7	0.5	3.1	1,074
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	23.5	49.2	15.3	21.5	33.3	20.0	19.5	26.4	25.3	601
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		5.2	4.9	3.3	3.2	1.4			3.6	3,014
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	20.4	17.6	20.9	10.7	9.0	6.7	7.9	10.3	14.9	6,061
Maa - Rural	13.1	9.7	8.4	6.9	2.9	3.0	1.9	0.7	7.9	4,491
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		19.9	15.7	9.0	6.6	4.2	3.0	4.4	10.8	6,330
Mittetöötav - Not employed	17.0	8.3	26.8	15.2	8.3	7.6	6.1	5.8	13.7	4,222
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		12.5	7.2	7.4	3.9	3.7	1.4	4.3	6.3	2,053
Sekundaar - Secondary		23.9	22.1	10.5	8.1	3.6	3.3	0.0	13.8	2,075
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		21.5	16.4	9.3	7.7	5.4	4.5	5.0	12.1	2,202
Mittetöötav - Not employed	17.0	8.3	26.8	15.2	8.3	7.6	6.1	5.8	13.7	4,222
Sissetuleku kvintiilid - Income quintiles										
I	23.8	24.2	20.3	13.7	13.4	5.4	2.3	4.5	17.8	1,930
II	19.7	14.9	22.3	12.8	8.9	6.7	2.3	7.0	15.5	2,158
III	14.1	11.3	12.4	9.1	6.0	3.4	10.3	6.4	10.4	2,263
IV	14.0	13.4	13.4	7.0	6.4	7.0	8.2	8.5	10.3	2,184
V	7.3	9.7	10.5	3.0	4.1	3.7	3.4	0.0	6.1	2,017
Kokku Total	17.0	14.3	16.0	9.2	6.7	5.1	4.9	5.6	12.0	10,552
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	

Tabel 3.37: Mugavused - *Utilities*

Eluaseme mugavused % Utilities %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Elekter - Electricity	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	99.3	100	10,550
Keskküte - Central heating	52.6	47.5	58.5	53.3	47.1	33.9	27.3	25.2	48.9	5,159
Veevärk - Piped water	74.9	68.3	79.3	74.3	69.9	56.2	48.6	47.8	70.6	7,452
Kanalisatsioon - Sewer	74.6	67.5	79.1	74.1	69.0	55.0	48.4	47.0	70.1	7,397
Soe vesi - Hot water	43.1	36.8	47.0	42.5	37.0	23.1	19.6	20.4	38.7	4,085
Gaas - Gas	76.8	74.4	75.0	74.9	77.0	67.0	57.2	57.0	73.9	7,794
Vann-dušš - Bath-shower	60.4	51.9	63.4	60.6	52.9	40.0	30.4	28.5	54.9	5,797
Telefon - Telephone	33.3	32.9	29.8	33.3	36.2	34.8	20.3	24.4	32.5	3,430
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	
Keskmine mugavusaste, 1-8 skaala Mean score of utilities, 1-8 scale										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	5.2	4.5	5.1	5.0	5.0	4.2	3.3	2.5	4.9	4,972
Naine -Female	5.1	5.0	5.5	5.2	4.8	4.0	3.6	3.8	4.9	5,580
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	4.9	4.3	5.0	4.8	4.4	3.6	3.2	3.1	4.5	8,027
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	6.0	6.1	6.0	6.2	6.2	6.0	5.7	5.9	6.1	2,525
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		5.6	6.0	6.4	6.4	6.1	6.1	6.2	6.2	852
Kesk - Secondary		5.0	5.6	5.4	5.4	5.5	5.7	4.5	5.4	2,784
Põhiharidus - Basic	5.7	4.6	4.6	4.7	4.9	4.2	3.9	4.3	4.6	2,254
Algharidus - Primary	5.2	3.5	4.1	4.2	4.1	3.3	3.1	3.3	4.5	4,662
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		4.9	5.5	5.3	5.0	4.1	3.3	2.7	5.0	5,136
Mittekooselus - No partnership	5.2	4.8	4.6	4.5	4.3	4.1	3.8	3.7	4.8	5,416
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	5.2	4.9	5.5	5.3	5.0	5.0			5.2	5,863
Vanuritega - W/elderly		4.8	4.5	4.3	4.7	3.5	3.3	3.3	3.8	1,074
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	4.8	4.2	5.6	4.5	4.6	4.7	4.7	4.4	4.7	601
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		4.8	4.7	5.0	4.9	4.0			4.7	3,014
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	5.8	5.8	5.7	5.9	5.9	5.4	5.0	4.8	5.7	6,061
Maa - Rural	4.5	3.4	4.8	4.0	3.2	2.5	2.1	2.1	3.8	4,491
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		4.7	5.3	5.2	4.9	4.3	3.5	3.2	5.0	6,330
Mittetöötav - Not employed	5.2	4.9	4.3	3.5	4.2	3.6	3.5	3.6	4.8	4,222
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		3.3	4.7	4.1	3.5	3.0	2.2	2.1	3.8	2,053
Sekundaar - Secondary		5.4	5.8	5.9	5.9	5.2	5.0	6.5	5.7	2,075
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		5.0	5.4	5.5	5.3	5.1	4.1	4.1	5.3	2,202
Mittetöötav - Not employed	5.2	4.9	4.3	3.5	4.2	3.6	3.5	3.6	4.8	4,222
Sissetuleku kvintilid - Income quintiles										
I	4.8	4.5	5.0	4.6	4.2	3.0	2.6	2.6	4.4	1,930
II	5.4	5.3	5.5	5.5	5.0	3.8	3.8	4.0	5.2	2,158
III	5.1	4.9	5.5	5.1	5.1	4.3	3.8	4.0	5.0	2,263
IV	5.4	5.0	5.4	5.4	5.1	4.9	4.3	4.2	5.2	2,184
V	5.0	4.4	5.1	4.9	4.7	3.9	3.7	4.4	4.6	2,017
Kokku Total	5.2	4.8	5.3	5.1	4.9	4.1	3.5	3.5	4.9	10,552
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	

Tabel 3.38: Kultuurikaubad - *Recreational goods*

Kultuurikaubad % Recreational goods %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Raadio - Radio set	93.9	93.4	94.2	92.7	93.8	94.6	92.5	93.0	93.6	9,880
Mustvalge televiisor - TV set, black&white	86.4	85.7	81.5	85.4	85.0	87.5	81.1	75.9	84.8	8,944
Värviteleviisor - Color TV set	16.4	14.7	16.9	17.3	16.6	14.1	9.8	10.7	15.8	1,671
Magnetofon - Tape player	50.2	59.1	52.3	51.8	44.4	31.7	22.9	23.7	47.9	5,054
Fotoaparaat - Photo camera	48.5	46.6	47.7	50.1	39.5	34.4	25.9	27.8	44.4	4,686
Kell - Watch	100	100	99.9	100	100	100	100	100	100	10,550
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	
Keskmine kultuurikaupadega varustatus, skaala 1-6 Mean score of recreational goods, scale 1-6										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	4.0	4.1	4.0	3.9	3.8	3.7	3.4	3.0	3.9	4,972
Naine -Female	4.0	3.9	3.9	4.0	3.8	3.5	3.3	3.4	3.8	5,580
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	3.8	3.6	3.3	3.2	3.9	8,027
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	3.8	3.9	3.8	3.8	3.7	3.6	3.6	3.7	3.8	2,525
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		4.0	4.2	4.3	4.3	4.4	4.1	3.0	4.2	852
Kesk - Secondary		4.0	4.0	4.1	4.0	4.0	3.9	4.0	4.0	2,784
Põhiharidus - Basic	3.9	4.0	3.7	3.8	3.8	3.6	3.5	3.1	3.8	2,254
Algharidus - Primary	4.0	3.7	3.7	3.6	3.5	3.4	3.2	3.3	3.7	4,662
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		4.1	4.0	4.1	3.9	3.7	3.4	3.2	3.9	5,136
Mittekooselus - No partnership	4.0	4.0	3.6	3.3	3.2	3.3	3.2	3.3	3.8	5,416
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	3.9	4.1	4.0	4.1	3.9	4.2			4.0	5,863
Vanuritega - W/elderly		4.0	3.9	3.8	3.7	3.5	3.2	3.1	3.4	1,074
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	4.0	4.2	4.1	4.2	4.0	4.0	3.9	4.1	4.1	601
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		3.9	3.7	3.7	3.7	3.5			3.7	3,014
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	4.0	4.1	3.9	4.0	3.9	3.8	3.6	3.6	4.0	6,061
Maa - Rural	3.9	3.9	3.9	3.9	3.6	3.5	3.1	3.1	3.7	4,491
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		3.9	3.9	4.0	3.8	3.6	3.4	3.1	3.9	6,330
Mittetöötav - Not employed	4.0	4.1	3.5	3.7	3.7	3.7	3.3	3.4	3.9	4,222
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		3.8	4.0	3.9	3.6	3.5	3.2	3.2	3.8	2,053
Sekundaar - Secondary		4.0	3.9	3.9	3.9	3.7	3.5	3.5	3.9	2,075
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		3.9	4.0	4.2	3.8	3.6	3.4	2.9	3.9	2,202
Mittetöötav	4.0	4.1	3.5	3.7	3.7	3.7	3.3	3.4	3.9	4,222
Sissetuleku kvintiilid - Income quintiles										
I	3.7	3.6	3.7	3.6	3.4	3.1	2.7	2.7	3.5	1,930
II	3.9	3.9	3.8	4.0	3.7	3.4	3.2	3.4	3.8	2,158
III	4.1	4.2	4.1	4.1	3.9	3.8	3.7	3.9	4.0	2,263
IV	4.1	4.1	4.0	4.1	3.9	3.8	3.8	3.8	4.0	2,184
V	4.0	4.1	4.0	4.0	3.8	3.7	3.7	4.1	3.9	2,017
Kokku Total	4.0	4.0	3.9	4.0	3.8	3.6	3.3	3.3	3.9	10,552
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	

Tabel 3.39: Kodumasinad - *Home appliances*

Kodumasinatate olemasolu leibkonnas % Availability of home appliances in household %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Külmkapp - Refrigerator	92.2	85.9	89.1	89.9	88.1	80.0	67.5	67.8	87.3	9,211
Pesumasin - Washing machine	86.2	82.0	78.4	83.4	84.4	78.8	67.8	68.9	81.9	8,644
Tolmuimeja - Vacuum cleaner	75.1	70.7	72.1	78.0	76.1	68.2	53.3	49.3	72.5	7,652
Õmblusmasin - Sewing machine	75.5	78.1	69.3	76.8	81.0	79.0	75.9	74.1	76.2	8,040
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	
Keskmine kodumasinatatega varustatus, skaala 1-4 Mean score of home appliances, scale 1-4										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	3.3	3.2	3.1	3.2	3.3	3.1	2.8	2.4	3.2	4,972
Naine -Female	3.3	3.2	3.1	3.4	3.3	3.0	2.5	2.7	3.2	5,580
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	3.3	3.1	3.1	3.3	3.3	3.0	2.6	2.5	3.2	8,027
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	3.2	3.2	3.0	3.2	3.4	3.2	3.2	2.9	3.2	2,525
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		3.2	3.1	3.4	3.5	3.4	3.0	2.5	3.3	852
Kesk - Secondary		3.1	3.2	3.4	3.4	3.5	2.9	3.2	3.3	2,784
Põhiharidus - Basic	3.7	3.3	2.9	3.2	3.3	3.2	2.9	2.5	3.2	2,254
Algharidus - Primary	3.3	2.8	2.8	3.0	3.1	2.8	2.6	2.6	3.1	4,662
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		2.9	3.3	3.5	3.4	3.2	2.9	2.8	3.3	5,136
Mittekooselus - No partnership	3.3	3.2	2.5	2.4	2.6	2.7	2.4	2.6	3.1	5,416
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	3.3	3.2	3.2	3.4	3.4	3.3			3.3	5,863
Vanuritega - W/elderly		3.4	3.2	3.0	3.3	3.0	2.5	2.4	2.8	1,074
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	3.5	3.6	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5	601
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		3.1	2.4	2.9	3.2	3.0			3.0	3,014
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	3.3	3.3	3.1	3.3	3.4	3.2	2.9	2.8	3.3	6,061
Maa - Rural	3.2	3.0	3.1	3.2	3.1	2.9	2.3	2.4	3.1	4,491
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		3.0	3.1	3.3	3.3	3.1	2.7	2.4	3.2	6,330
Mittetöötav - Not employed	3.3	3.4	3.0	3.1	3.4	3.0	2.6	2.6	3.2	4,222
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		2.8	3.1	3.2	3.2	3.0	2.7	2.4	3.1	2,053
Sekundaar - Secondary		2.9	3.0	3.3	3.4	3.2	3.0	4.0	3.2	2,075
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		3.1	3.1	3.3	3.3	3.0	2.6	2.2	3.2	2,202
Mittetöötav - Not employed	3.3	3.4	3.0	3.1	3.4	3.0	2.6	2.6	3.2	4,222
Sissetuleku kvintiliid - Income quintiles										
I	3.0	2.6	2.8	2.9	2.6	2.4	1.8	1.7	2.7	1,930
II	3.3	3.1	3.1	3.3	3.2	2.7	2.8	3.1	3.2	2,158
III	3.4	3.3	3.2	3.3	3.3	3.2	2.9	3.0	3.3	2,263
IV	3.5	3.3	3.2	3.4	3.4	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.4	2,184
V	3.3	3.4	3.2	3.4	3.4	3.3	3.1	3.7	3.3	2,017
Kokku Total	3.3	3.2	3.1	3.3	3.3	3.1	2.6	2.6	3.2	10,552
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	

Tabel 3.40: Transpordivahendid - *Means of transportation*

Transpordivahendi olemasolu leibkonnas % Means of transportation in household %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Auto - Car	37.5	33.6	30.7	41.9	39.9	33.0	19.6	24.4	35.5	3,749
Mootorratas - Motorcycle	14.4	17.4	12.4	15.3	15.3	11.5	7.7	10.7	14.2	1,496
Mopeed - Moped	53.5	48.6	40.0	54.4	45.6	50.7	45.1	42.6	48.8	5,149
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	
Auto omajate osakaal % Proportion of car owners %										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	38.6	35.8	31.0	41.7	42.6	45.8	21.5	14.8	37.7	4,972
Naine -Female	36.3	31.8	30.5	42.1	37.5	23.2	18.5	27.3	33.6	5,580
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	41.4	39.0	34.8	47.9	44.2	36.1	20.3	22.6	39.6	8,027
Mittepõline - Foreign origin	23.1	18.9	20.2	22.3	28.7	22.0	15.5	35.0	22.7	2,525
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		35.8	33.8	54.7	47.3	61.2	20.0	25.0	43.9	852
Kesk - Secondary		29.0	32.4	44.2	49.4	37.4	25.6	30.0	36.8	2,784
Põhiharidus - Basic	70.0	39.9	28.8	36.8	43.3	37.8	20.0	9.1	37.4	2,254
Algharidus - Primary	37.4	16.7	14.4	34.9	28.6	26.4	18.8	24.7	32.4	4,662
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		20.4	33.6	48.8	45.1	39.7	23.1	17.3	39.9	5,136
Mittekooselus - No partnership	37.5	37.2	21.0	9.9	12.5	15.1	16.4	26.1	31.4	5,416
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	36.6	37.4	32.3	47.4	45.9	42.7			38.5	5,863
Vanuritega - W/elderly		35.6	20.0	23.6	34.7	27.8	14.2	17.5	22.3	1,074
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	49.7	42.6	42.4	58.9	57.8	45.0	44.2	52.8	49.9	601
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		29.5	24.6	28.0	37.0	31.9			31.7	3,014
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	35.0	32.1	27.7	38.7	38.9	32.1	21.9	25.7	33.7	6,061
Maa - Rural	40.3	35.8	35.4	46.7	41.5	34.2	17.4	23.1	38.0	4,491
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		23.5	30.6	41.9	39.9	34.3	19.4	15.6	34.8	6,330
Mittetöötav - Not employed	37.5	44.5	34.1	39.4	38.9	29.3	19.8	26.2	36.6	4,222
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		24.0	34.1	48.3	42.8	36.2	17.4	17.4	38.5	2,053
Sekundaar - Secondary		19.8	25.8	36.8	35.9	29.7	20.0	50.0	30.8	2,075
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		26.0	32.4	40.5	41.5	35.6	21.2	10.0	35.2	2,202
Mittetöötav - Not employed	37.5	44.5	34.1	39.4	38.9	29.3	19.8	26.2	36.6	4,222
Sissetuleku kvintiidid - Income quintiles										
I	23.8	19.0	23.5	25.3	24.8	16.1	4.6	5.5	20.7	1,930
II	31.1	29.8	19.9	39.9	32.7	16.3	18.2	27.9	29.4	2,158
III	43.8	38.3	31.5	46.6	38.8	35.2	26.9	34.0	39.5	2,263
IV	46.3	39.5	35.0	46.2	43.7	31.5	26.0	38.3	40.9	2,184
V	53.7	38.1	46.4	47.4	45.6	45.4	37.3	60.9	46.0	2,017
Kokku Total	37.5	33.6	30.7	41.9	39.9	33.0	19.6	24.4	35.5	10,552
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	

Tabel 3.41: Aiamaa olemasolu - *Availability of private plot*

Maa omajaid aiamaa tüübi järgi % Plot owners by type of plot %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Viljapuuaed - Fruit garden	23.7	32.9	18.0	27.5	37.5	44.1	43.5	45.2	29.7	3,139
Kartulimaa - Potato field	43.1	43.8	32.8	39.9	44.5	50.4	52.6	51.5	42.5	4,485
Köögiviljamaa - Vegetable field	29.9	31.2	22.5	29.2	32.2	38.6	37.9	38.5	30.4	3,208
Teraviljapõld - Grain field	19.3	18.8	14.3	17.8	18.1	23.3	29.4	23.3	18.9	1,992
Muu põllumajanduskultuur - Other plant field	12.2	15.4	8.7	15.1	18.2	23.2	23.4	23.3	15.1	1,589
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	
Maakasutajate osakaal % Proportion of private plot users %										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	55.2	57.1	44.1	50.5	56.0	64.4	65.2	78.7	54.3	4,972
Naine -Female	50.3	51.7	39.4	51.1	54.8	58.0	60.0	59.3	51.1	5,580
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	60.7	65.0	51.1	60.0	66.1	70.5	68.9	70.9	62.0	8,027
Mittepõline - Foreign origin	23.8	24.5	17.4	20.9	27.6	24.9	17.2	22.5	22.9	2,525
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		47.8	36.2	43.5	45.3	42.9	26.7	25.0	41.3	852
Kesk - Secondary		46.8	39.9	48.1	50.6	43.1	34.9	35.0	45.0	2,784
Põhiharidus - Basic	30.0	62.1	46.7	52.6	56.1	59.0	47.5	27.3	55.1	2,254
Algharidus - Primary	52.9	57.6	54.6	61.1	61.4	70.6	68.8	68.5	58.0	4,662
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		42.7	41.9	52.9	57.6	64.7	69.7	80.8	53.1	5,136
Mittekooselus - No partnership	52.8	57.2	41.1	41.3	43.8	50.2	54.5	59.6	52.1	5,416
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	52.4	56.9	42.2	51.1	58.4	54.5			51.0	5,863
Vanuritega - W/elderly		60.4	50.0	68.1	58.5	70.6	62.4	64.1	62.7	1,074
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	58.1	65.6	45.8	63.6	66.7	35.0	59.7	62.3	59.1	601
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		50.1	37.8	44.0	53.0	60.7			50.8	3,014
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	27.4	31.7	20.7	28.8	35.0	35.1	31.2	33.1	29.2	6,061
Maa - Rural	81.5	85.7	74.6	84.0	88.7	92.1	93.0	94.8	84.2	4,491
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		47.2	41.3	50.2	54.9	60.0	57.6	66.7	50.0	6,330
Mittetöötav - Not employed	52.8	61.6	61.0	81.8	66.7	63.1	64.6	63.1	56.6	4,222
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		77.0	74.4	81.1	84.7	91.5	95.7	95.7	82.0	2,053
Sekundaar - Secondary		31.6	22.1	30.4	35.0	38.2	23.3	0.0	30.1	2,075
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		40.5	32.7	38.0	46.6	39.6	33.3	40.0	38.9	2,202
Mittetöötav - Not employed	52.8	61.6	61.0	81.8	66.7	63.1	64.6	63.1	56.6	4,222
Sissetuleku kvintiliid - Income quintiles										
I	49.4	50.0	37.8	46.5	59.7	67.7	60.8	64.5	50.5	1,930
II	46.5	45.8	36.8	44.0	50.4	51.9	54.5	55.8	45.6	2,158
III	51.1	53.0	37.6	46.9	49.0	58.6	64.1	63.8	49.4	2,263
IV	57.4	54.1	44.1	54.7	55.4	45.5	64.4	66.0	53.6	2,184
V	69.5	66.1	54.3	64.8	61.2	74.3	69.5	69.6	64.8	2,017
Kokku Total	52.8	54.2	41.7	50.8	55.4	60.8	61.9	63.7	52.6	10,552
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	

Tabel 3.42: Aiamaa suurus - *Size of private plot*

Aiamaa tüübi järgi, ha By type of private plot, ha	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Viljapuaed - Fruit garden	0.04	0.05	0.04	0.05	0.05	0.07	0.08	0.06	0.05	3,139
N	636	483	297	438	619	358	186	122	3,139	
Kartulimaa - Potato field	0.13	0.13	0.11	0.12	0.12	0.13	0.14	0.15	0.13	4,485
N	1,157	642	542	636	735	409	225	139	4,485	
Köögiviljamaa - Vegetable field	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	3,208
N	803	457	372	465	532	313	162	104	3,208	
Teraviljapõld - Grain field	0.24	0.22	0.23	0.24	0.21	0.20	0.21	0.21	0.22	1,992
N	518	276	237	284	299	189	126	63	1,992	
Muude kultuuride all - Other plants field	0.06	0.07	0.05	0.06	0.07	0.08	0.08	0.11	0.07	1,589
N	327	226	143	241	301	188	100	63	1,589	
Keskmine aiamaa suurus										
Mean size of private plot										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	0.24	0.27	0.22	0.25	0.23	0.28	0.32	0.33	0.25	2,699
Naine - Female	0.24	0.23	0.20	0.23	0.24	0.29	0.32	0.29	0.25	2,854
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	0.25	0.26	0.23	0.25	0.25	0.30	0.33	0.31	0.26	4,975
Välispäritolu - Foreign origin	0.18	0.17	0.10	0.13	0.15	0.13	0.14	0.15	0.15	578
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		0.13	0.18	0.19	0.13	0.12	0.10	0.24	0.16	352
Kesk - Secondary		0.22	0.19	0.21	0.18	0.23	0.19	0.05	0.20	1,253
Põhiharidus - Basic	0.21	0.27	0.26	0.26	0.25	0.22	0.19	0.22	0.26	1,242
Algharidus - Primary	0.24	0.33	0.29	0.30	0.28	0.33	0.34	0.31	0.27	2,706
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		0.19	0.20	0.24	0.23	0.28	0.32	0.33	0.24	2,729
Mittekooselus - No partnership	0.24	0.26	0.26	0.27	0.26	0.30	0.32	0.29	0.26	2,824
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	0.24	0.26	0.20	0.24	0.24	0.22			0.23	2,993
Vanuritega - W/elderly		0.23	0.30	0.28	0.25	0.30	0.34	0.31	0.30	673
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	0.27	0.21	0.18	0.28	0.24	0.49	0.24	0.23	0.25	355
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		0.25	0.24	0.22	0.23	0.29			0.25	1,532
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.09	0.06	0.06	1,770
Maa - Rural	0.31	0.35	0.28	0.33	0.35	0.39	0.40	0.38	0.33	3,783
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		0.24	0.21	0.24	0.23	0.26	0.28	0.32	0.23	3,164
Mittetöötav - Not employed	0.24	0.26	0.32	0.34	0.32	0.35	0.34	0.29	0.26	2,389
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		0.34	0.29	0.34	0.35	0.36	0.36	0.42	0.34	1,683
Sekundaar - Secondary		0.10	0.09	0.10	0.08	0.09	0.04		0.09	625
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		0.19	0.13	0.12	0.14	0.11	0.13	0.06	0.14	856
Mittetöötav - Not employed	0.24	0.26	0.32	0.34	0.32	0.35	0.34	0.29	0.26	2,389
Sissetuleku kvintiilid - Income quintiles										
I	0.21	0.20	0.21	0.22	0.21	0.32	0.37	0.33	0.24	975
II	0.19	0.22	0.18	0.17	0.22	0.26	0.25	0.24	0.20	983
III	0.23	0.23	0.19	0.24	0.22	0.26	0.27	0.30	0.23	1,118
IV	0.29	0.26	0.22	0.27	0.22	0.24	0.31	0.25	0.25	1,170
V	0.31	0.30	0.26	0.29	0.28	0.31	0.39	0.34	0.29	1,307
Kokku Total										
N	0.24	0.25	0.21	0.24	0.24	0.29	0.32	0.30	0.25	5,553
	1,416	794	690	809	914	493	265	172	5,553	

Tabel 3.43: Koduloomade esinemine - *Livestock in household*

Koduloomade esinemine % Livestock in household %	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Veised - Cattle	14.9	18.8	9.3	14.1	18.1	24.8	24.3	18.9	16.2	1,708
Sead - Pigs	14.1	19.9	8.3	14.8	18.7	23.2	22.2	15.6	15.9	1,675
Lambad-kitsed - Sheep-goats	12.5	17.8	6.5	13.3	17.9	22.7	22.0	16.3	14.5	1,531
Küülikud - Rabbits	3.9	4.6	2.3	3.5	5.0	5.3	3.7	2.6	3.9	412
Kodulinnud - Poultry	13.3	17.1	7.4	12.4	17.1	25.3	26.2	24.1	15.1	1,592
Mesilastarud - Beehives	1.7	2.7	1.2	1.4	3.2	5.2	4.0	4.4	2.4	252
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	
Koduloomapidajate osakaal % Proportion of livestock owners %										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	23.3	33.8	16.7	21.6	29.6	36.4	39.9	39.3	26.0	4,972
Naine -Female	23.9	24.8	13.7	23.5	30.7	35.7	37.0	29.7	25.3	5,580
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	27.5	36.0	18.9	27.8	37.4	43.3	43.2	37.4	31.1	8,027
Mittepõline - Foreign origin	9.1	9.2	5.7	5.4	11.4	9.2	5.2	0.0	8.1	2,525
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		14.9	8.9	8.1	14.4	10.2	0.0	25.0	10.4	852
Kesk - Secondary		21.6	12.9	18.9	19.7	17.8	2.3	5.0	17.4	2,784
Põhiharidus - Basic	0.0	36.5	22.1	27.3	31.1	28.2	22.5	0.0	29.5	2,254
Algharidus - Primary	23.7	40.9	25.8	35.4	41.6	49.1	46.4	35.7	31.4	4,662
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		13.9	13.7	23.3	31.4	38.5	44.2	48.1	25.4	5,136
Mittekooselus - No partnership	23.6	32.8	20.2	19.1	23.8	29.2	32.3	28.0	25.8	5,416
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	23.3	27.6	14.6	22.0	31.0	28.2			22.4	5,863
Vanuritega - W/elderly		28.7	31.7	26.4	34.0	38.9	41.0	33.2	35.6	1,074
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	26.8	31.1	13.6	28.0	35.6	30.0	24.7	26.4	26.6	601
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		29.7	14.5	21.9	29.0	37.1			28.1	3,014
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	2.5	4.8	2.0	2.1	6.1	4.5	3.7	1.5	3.4	6,061
Maa - Rural	47.4	62.7	35.8	53.3	69.5	74.3	72.8	62.7	55.6	4,491
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		23.2	14.6	21.7	29.2	32.8	34.5	35.6	23.5	6,330
Mittetöötav - Not employed	23.6	34.9	39.0	60.6	51.4	46.0	40.3	31.1	28.9	4,222
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		48.0	36.5	51.5	64.3	67.1	73.9	69.6	53.8	2,053
Sekundaar - Secondary		10.5	4.0	4.7	6.7	10.9	0.0	0.0	6.2	2,075
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		17.4	7.0	8.1	18.5	8.9	9.1	0.0	11.5	2,202
Mittetöötav - Not employed	23.6	34.9	39.0	60.6	51.4	46.0	40.3	31.1	28.9	4,222
Sissetuleku kvintiliid - Income quintiles										
I	21.6	21.0	10.5	22.8	28.9	47.3	45.4	31.8	23.8	1,930
II	17.0	22.5	14.5	12.2	27.0	25.0	22.7	25.6	18.4	2,158
III	21.8	25.7	11.0	19.7	26.9	29.0	33.3	31.9	22.1	2,263
IV	29.3	31.3	17.3	26.3	28.8	25.5	39.7	31.9	27.4	2,184
V	36.8	41.3	23.7	35.9	36.0	48.0	49.2	43.5	37.1	2,017
Kokku Total	23.6	28.9	15.2	22.6	30.2	36.0	38.1	31.9	25.6	10,552
N	2,682	1,466	1,653	1,592	1,650	811	428	270	10,552	

Tabel 3.44: Loomade keskmine arv - *Mean number of livestock*

Koduloomade tüübi järgi, keskmine arv Livestock by type, mean number	Vanusrühm - Age group								Σ	N
	0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+		
Veised - Cattle	2.0	2.0	1.8	2.0	1.9	2.0	1.8	1.9	1.9	1,708
N	399	276	154	224	299	201	104	51	1,708	
Sead - Pigs	1.6	1.7	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.8	1.5	1.5	1.6	1,675
N	377	292	137	236	308	188	95	42	1,675	
Lambad ja kitsed - Sheep and goats	3.5	3.7	3.6	3.5	3.6	3.7	3.8	3.9	3.6	1,531
N	334	261	107	211	296	184	94	44	1,531	
Küülikud - Rabbits	10.0	11.0	12.0	7.6	14.3	11.9	10.4	9.9	11.1	412
N	104	67	38	55	82	43	16	7	412	
Kodulinud - Poultry	14.3	15.4	13.4	13.9	14.2	13.5	10.7	12.2	13.9	1,592
N	357	251	122	198	282	205	112	65	1,592	
Mesilastarud - Beehives	2.9	2.9	3.0	2.5	3.6	4.0	4.6	4.1	3.4	252
N	46	40	20	22	53	42	17	12	252	
Keskmine veiste arv										
Mean number of cattle										
Sugu - Sex										
Mees - Male	2.0	2.0	1.8	2.0	1.9	2.0	1.8	2.0	1.9	827
Naine -Female	2.0	2.0	1.9	2.0	1.9	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.9	881
Põlisus - Nativity										
Põline - Native origin	2.0	2.0	1.8	2.0	1.9	2.0	1.8	1.9	1.9	1,630
Väispäritolu - Foreign origin	1.9	2.1	2.1	1.7	1.9	1.9	1.0		1.9	78
Haridustase - Educational level										
Kõrgem - Higher		2.3	2.1	1.8	2.0	3.0			2.1	35
Kesk - Secondary		2.0	1.6	2.0	2.0	2.0			1.9	270
Põhiharidus - Basic		2.0	1.9	2.1	1.9	2.5	1.8		2.0	449
Algharidus - Primary	2.0	2.3	1.8	2.1	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.9	1.9	954
Kooseluseis - Partnership status										
Kooselus - In partnership		1.5	1.7	2.0	1.9	2.0	1.9	1.9	1.9	814
Mittekooselus - No partnership	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.7	1.8	1.7	1.9	2.0	894
Leibkonnatüüp - Household type										
Lastega - W/children	1.9	2.1	1.7	2.0	1.9	2.4			1.9	844
Vanuritega - W/elderly		2.1	1.8	2.0	1.5	2.0	1.8	1.7	1.8	249
Laste ja vanuritega - W/children and elderly	2.6	2.0	2.6	2.6	2.2	2.4	2.3	2.6	2.4	107
Laste või vanuriteta - WO/children or elderly		1.9	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.9			1.9	508
Elukoht - Residence										
Linn - Urban	1.5	1.4	1.7	1.7	1.2	1.0	1.0		1.4	30
Maa - Rural	2.0	2.0	1.8	2.0	1.9	2.0	1.8	1.9	2.0	1,678
Hõive - Employment										
Töötav - Employed		1.9	1.8	2.1	1.9	2.0	1.8	2.0	1.9	904
Mittetöötav - Not employed	2.0	2.1	2.2	1.7	2.0	1.9	1.8	1.9	2.0	804
Majandussektor - Sector of economy										
Primaar - Primary		1.9	1.8	2.1	1.9	2.0	1.8	2.0	2.0	743
Sekundaar - Secondary		1.5	1.8	1.9	2.0	2.7			1.9	42
Tertsiaar - Tertiary		2.0	1.6	1.9	1.8	1.7	1.0		1.8	119
Mittetöötav	2.0	2.1	2.2	1.7	2.0	1.9	1.8	1.9	2.0	804
Sissetuleku kvintiidid - Income quintiles										
I	1.9	1.4	1.6	1.9	1.6	1.8	1.6	1.6	1.7	242
II	1.8	1.9	1.7	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.5	2.0	1.8	227
III	2.0	2.0	1.6	1.9	2.0	2.0	2.1	1.8	1.9	334
IV	2.0	2.1	2.1	2.2	1.9	1.9	1.6	2.3	2.0	357
V	2.2	2.2	1.9	2.1	2.0	2.0	2.2	2.2	2.1	548
Kokku Total	2.0	2.0	1.8	2.0	1.9	2.0	1.8	1.9	1.9	1,708
N	399	276	154	224	299	201	104	51	1,708	

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Curriculum Vitae

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- Klesment, Martin; Puur, Allan; Valge, Jaak (2010). Childbearing and macro-economic trends in Estonia in the 20th century. Tallinn: Eesti Kõrgkoolidevaheline Demouuringute Keskus
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27. KRISTINA NUGIN. *3-6-aastaste laste intellektuaalne areng erinevates kasvukeskkondades WPPSI-r testi alusel*. Tallinna Ülikool. Sotsiaalteaduste dissertatsioonid, 27. Tallinn: TLÜ kirjastus, 2007. 156 lk. ISSN 1736-3632. ISBN 978-9985-58-473-6.
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35. AGU UUDELEPP. *Propagandainstrumentid poliitilistes ja poliitikalähistes telereklaamides*. Tallinna Ülikool. Sotsiaalteaduste dissertatsioonid, 35. Tallinn: TLÜ kirjastus, 2008. 132 lk. ISSN 1736-3632. ISBN 978-9985-58-502-3.
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