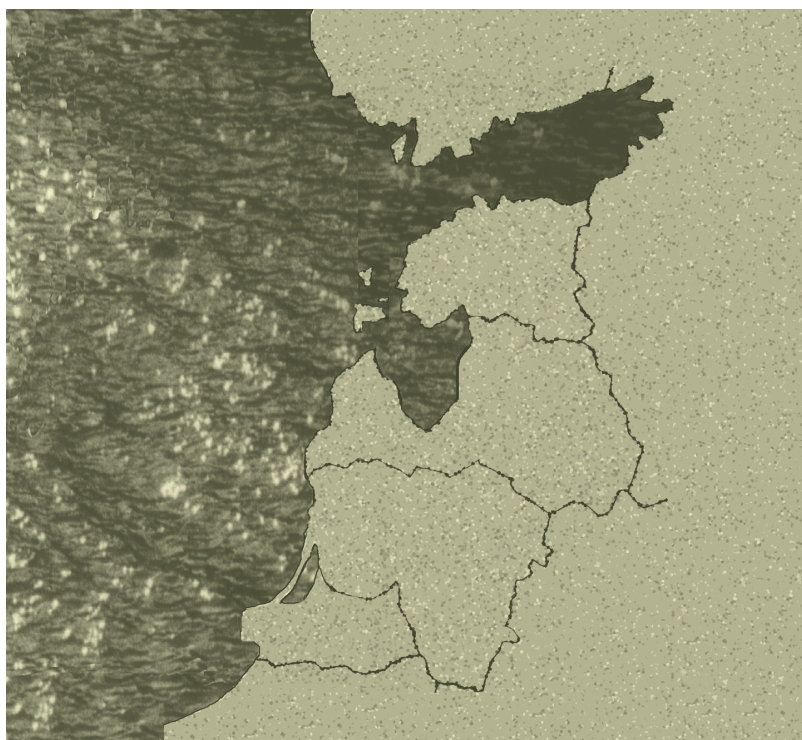


Aadne Aasland and
Vida Cesnuiyte

Living Conditions in the Baltic Countries Compared

The NORBALT Living Conditions Project



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Vida Cesnūityte

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ISSN 0804-5135

Cover page: Premraj Sivasamy
Printed in Norway by: Falch Hurtigtrykk

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Preface

The NORBALT living conditions surveys in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were conducted in the late summer and autumn of 1994. The project has been a collaborative effort with Fafo Institute of Applied Social Science in Oslo as the coordinating institution, but with a great deal of responsibility for survey design, field work and analysis of the results shared with our cooperating partners in the Baltic countries. Among the large number of publications from the project we would like to draw attention to the three country reports published at Fafo in the beginning of 1996. We have been pleased to note that the interest in the NORBALT project in the Baltic countries has been great, and that the survey data have been used actively by policy-makers, researchers and others.

One of the aims of the NORBALT project was to provide comparative living conditions data covering the three Baltic countries. Thus, the questionnaires were made in a standardised format in all the three countries to enable such comparisons. From the beginning of the project, our cooperating partners in the Baltic countries have expressed a great interest in comparing living conditions in their own countries with those in the other two. The present report is the first attempt to give an overview of the main findings from the survey in a comparative perspective.

Comparative research involves a large number of rather complex methodological challenges. Many of these were discussed at the seminar «Comparative Baltic-Nordic Living Conditions Research» which was held at Fafo in December 1996. This report is also meant as a supplement to the seminar report to provide an overview of the available data and to prepare the ground for more in-depth and thorough-going comparative analyses based on the NORBALT data sets.

The present report summarises the main findings from the NORBALT survey along the living conditions dimensions presented in the country reports such as health, employment, social networks and attitudes and values. We have attempted to make the tables and figures easily comprehensible; and although they are followed by short comments, we have not attempted to explain the living conditions similarities and differences that are presented. This will be the task of future studies.

For information about sampling design, organisation of field work and the general set-up of the project, the NORBALT country reports should be consulted. Researchers who would be interested in carrying out independent analyses on the survey materials are recommended to read Vida !esnui tyt "s guidelines to the use of the NORBALT data sets in the aforementioned seminar report.

We are very grateful to the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs for funding this report and for their strong commitment to living conditions research in the Baltic countries. The Norwegian Ministry of Defence has also been an important contributor to the NORBALT project. Furthermore we would like to thank all our cooperating partners in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania for excellent and stimulating collaboration. Our Nordic colleagues have given useful advice, and Fafo researchers have given inspired contributions. David Drury in particular deserves warm thanks for very useful comments and suggestions. Finally, Premraj Sivasamy from Fafo's publishing department has done a tremendous job in transforming the many bits and pieces into a readable manuscript.

Oslo / Vilnius 20 June 1997

Aadne Aasland Vida !esnui tyt "

Population

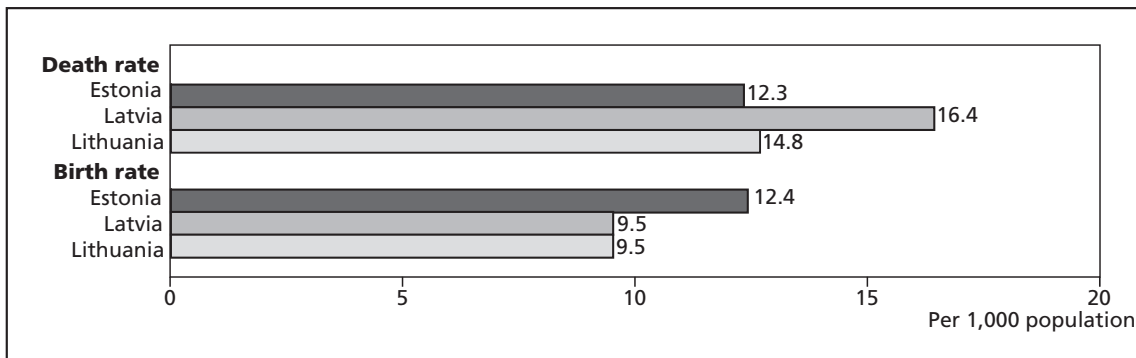
Readers of the NORBALT living conditions reports will have noted that at the beginning they all contain a description of the population in each country. Knowledge about the size and composition of the population is quite essential as a framework for a later discussion of people's living conditions. Thus, in this first chapter we will look at population size and life expectancy, and the distribution of the population according to living place, age, sex, ethnicity, citizenship status and educational level. Furthermore the chapter provides some NORBALT survey data on geographic mobility and migration plans.

Population size, fertility, mortality and life expectancy

The three Baltic countries are all relatively small in terms of population size, with a total population of 7.7 million people. This is, for example, a smaller smaller number than the population of Sweden (8.7 million). Lithuania has the largest population of the three (3.7 million in 1994), whereas Latvia at the time of the survey had 2.5 million people and Estonia 1.5 million.

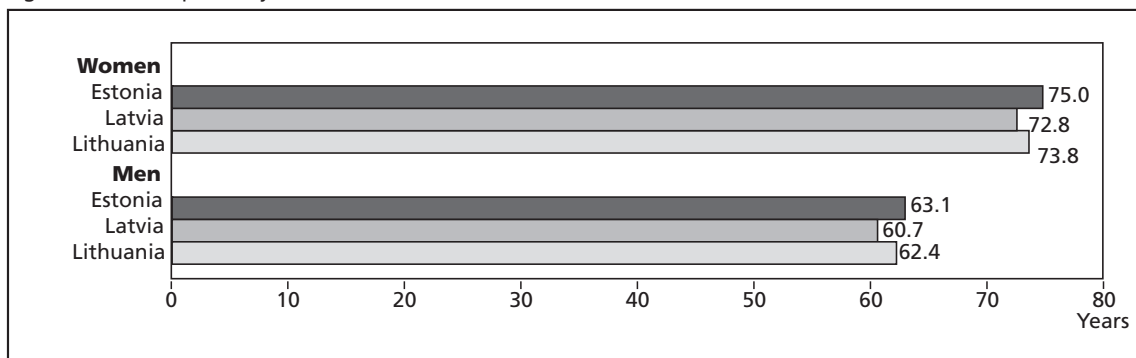
In 1994 both Latvia and Estonia were characterised by death rates exceeding birth rates by more than 4 per 1,000 population. In Lithuania birth and death rates in 1994 reached about the same level at 12.3-12.4 per 1,000. (Figure 1.1).

Figure 1.1 Birth and death rates per 1,000 population in the Baltic countries in 1994



These figures lead us to suggest an ageing of the population in all the three countries. Moreover, life expectancy has been decreasing during the 1990s and by 1994 had reached a relatively low level, especially for males. The lowest life expectancies are to be found in Latvia (60.7 years for males, 72.8 for females). People in Lithuania have the highest life expectancies (males 63.1 years and females 75.0 years). In Estonia life expectancy for males was 62.4 years in 1994, whereas for females it was 73.8 years. Common to all three countries is the fact that life expectancy for males is about 12 years lower than for females. (Figure 1.2).

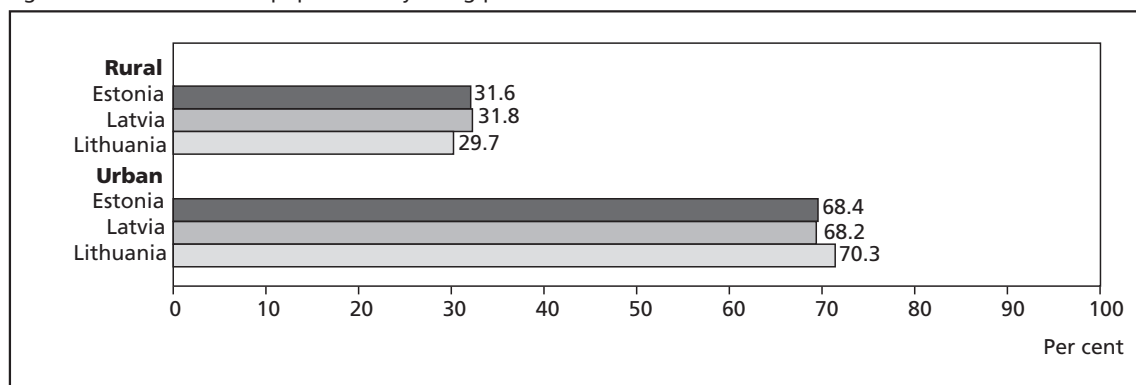
Figure 1.2 Life expectancy for males and females in the Baltic countries in 1994



Distribution by living place

Figure 1.3 shows that the distribution of the population in urban and rural areas is very similar in the three Baltic countries. In Latvia and Lithuania 68% of the population live in urban types of settlement, and in Estonia 70%.

Figure 1.3 Distribution of population by living place in the Baltic countries in 1994. Per cent



Sex and age

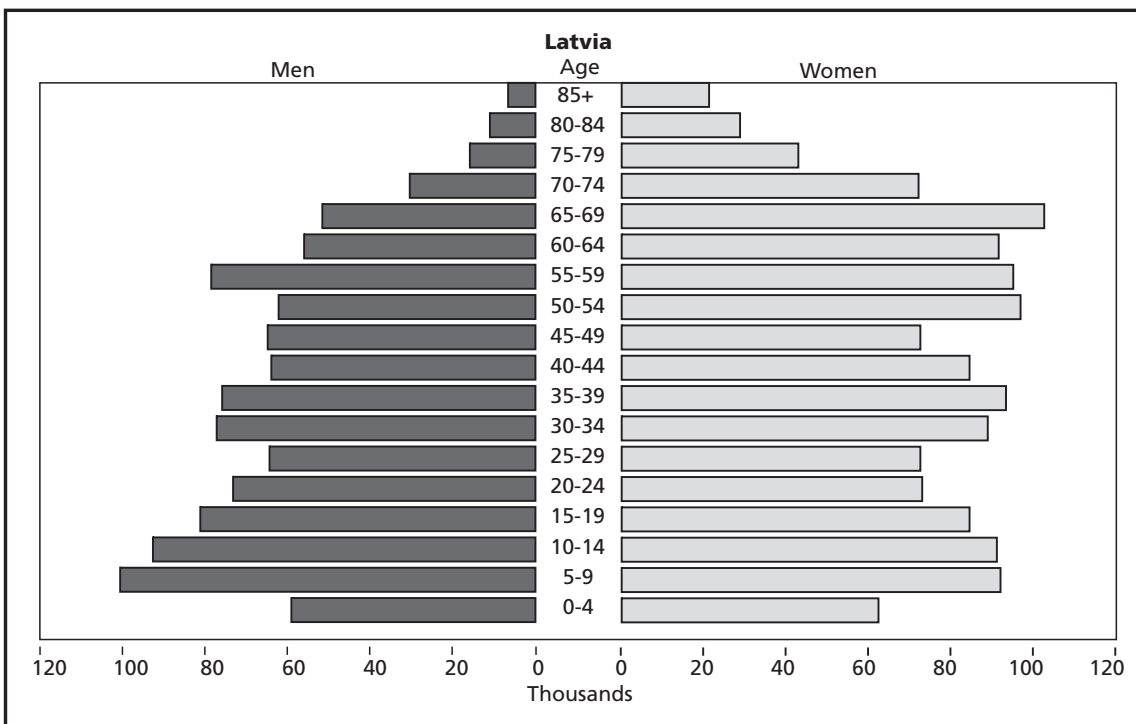
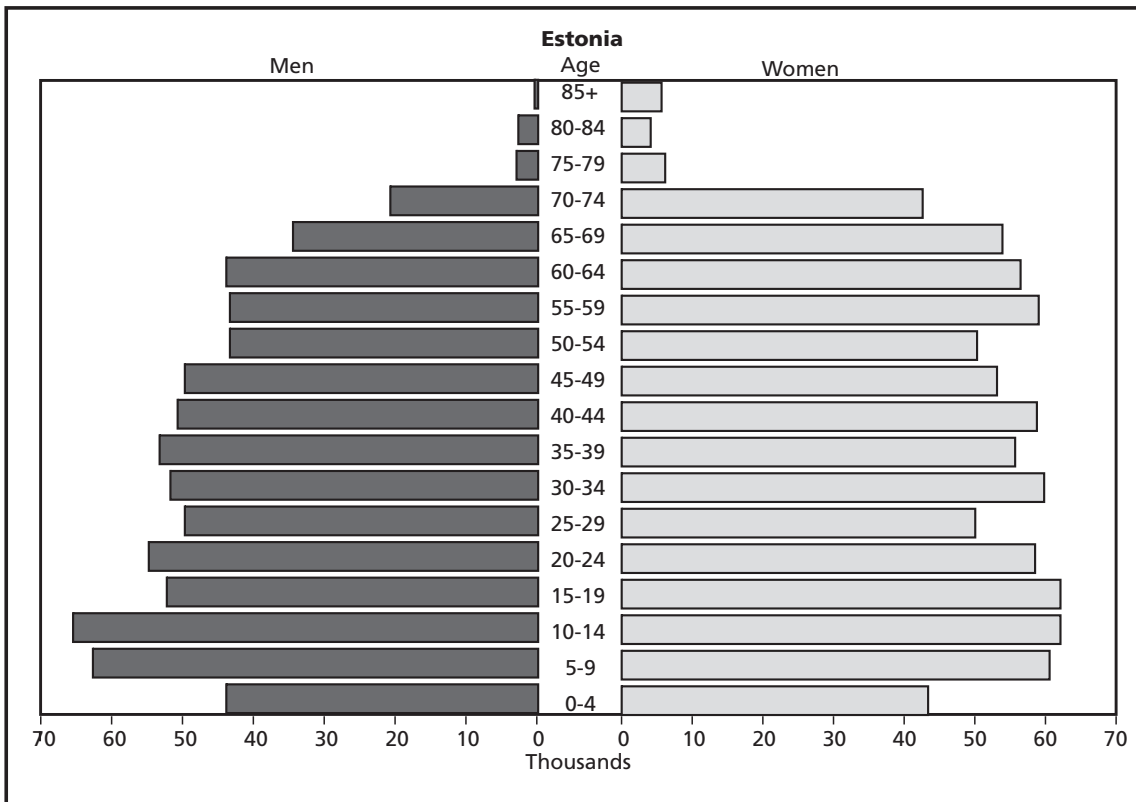
The proportion of males is smaller than the proportion of females in all the three Baltic countries. In Estonia and Lithuania the sex gap is quite similar, whereas in Latvia it is considerably larger, as shown in Table 1.1.

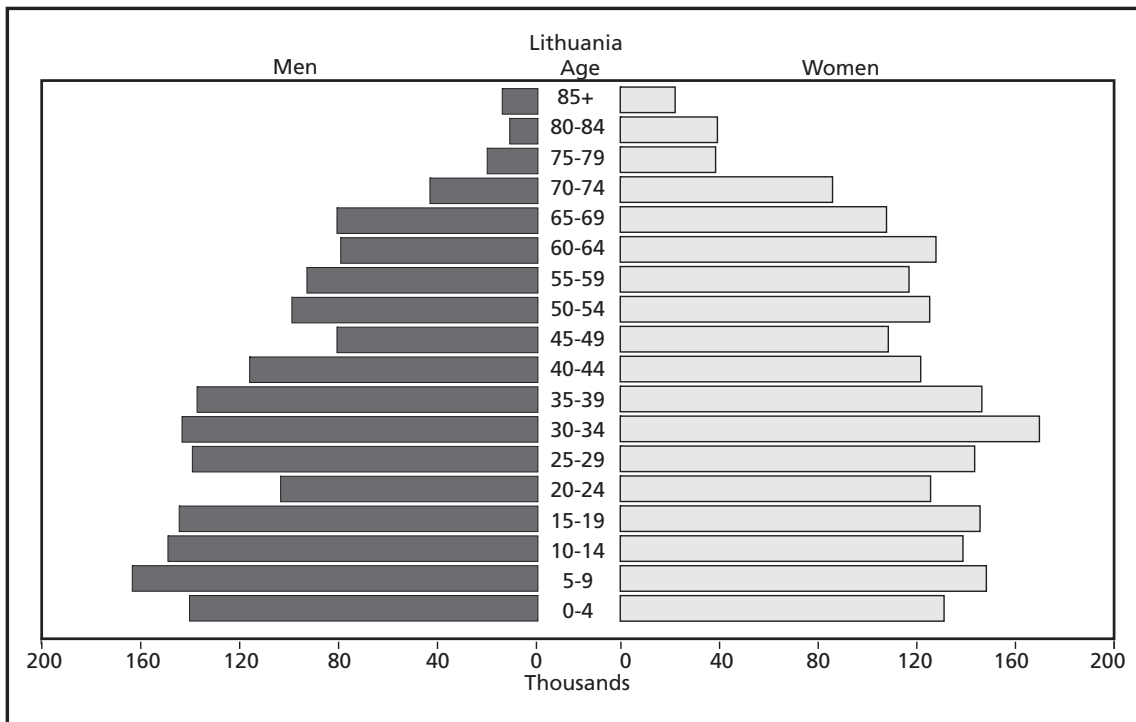
Table 1.1 Distribution of population by sex in 1994. Per cent

	Males	Females
Estonia	46.4	53.6
Latvia	43.7	56.3
Lithuania	46.3	53.7

The distribution of the population by age and sex shows similar trends in all three countries (Figure 1.4). The proportion of males is greater than the proportion of females in the youngest age group, i.e. until the age of 15. After this age the proportion of males gradually decreases as compared to that of females, and for the age groups 70 years and above the proportion of females is more than double the proportion of males.

Figure 1.4 Distribution of the population by age groups by sex in 1994. In thousands

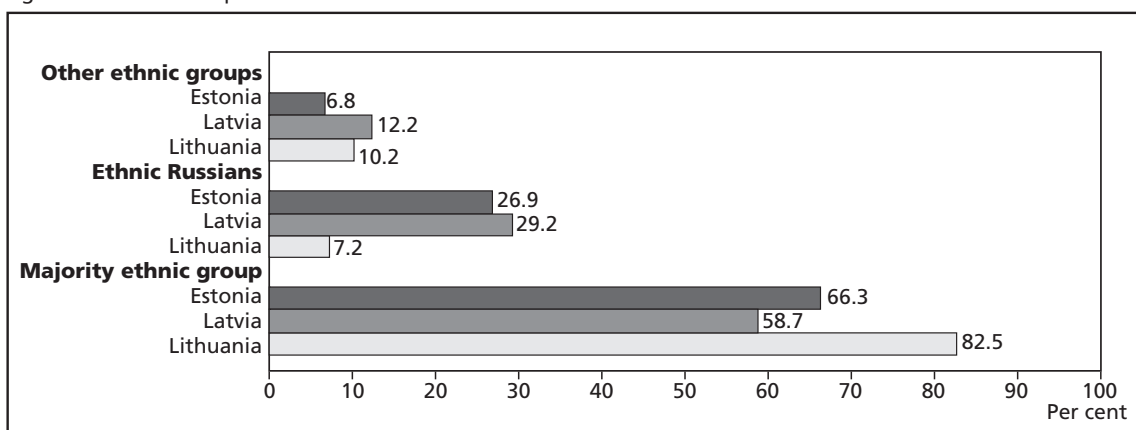




Ethnicity and citizenship

The Baltic countries are not ethnically homogeneous. However, people of local (Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian) ethnicity make up the largest proportion of the population in all the three countries. The ethnic distribution is quite different in the three countries, with the proportion of the majority ethnic group varying between 59% in Latvia, 66% in Estonia and 83% in Lithuania (Figure 1.5) In all the three countries Russians make up the largest ethnic minority. There are about 30% Russians in Estonia and Latvia, but only 7 % in Lithuania.

Figure 1.5 Ethnic composition in the Baltic countries in 1994. Per cent



With the exception of the Poles in Lithuania, comprising more than 6% of the population, the proportions of other ethnic groups in the Baltic countries is relatively small. None of the other ethnic groups make up more than 3% of the total population in each country. In Latvia and Estonia, after

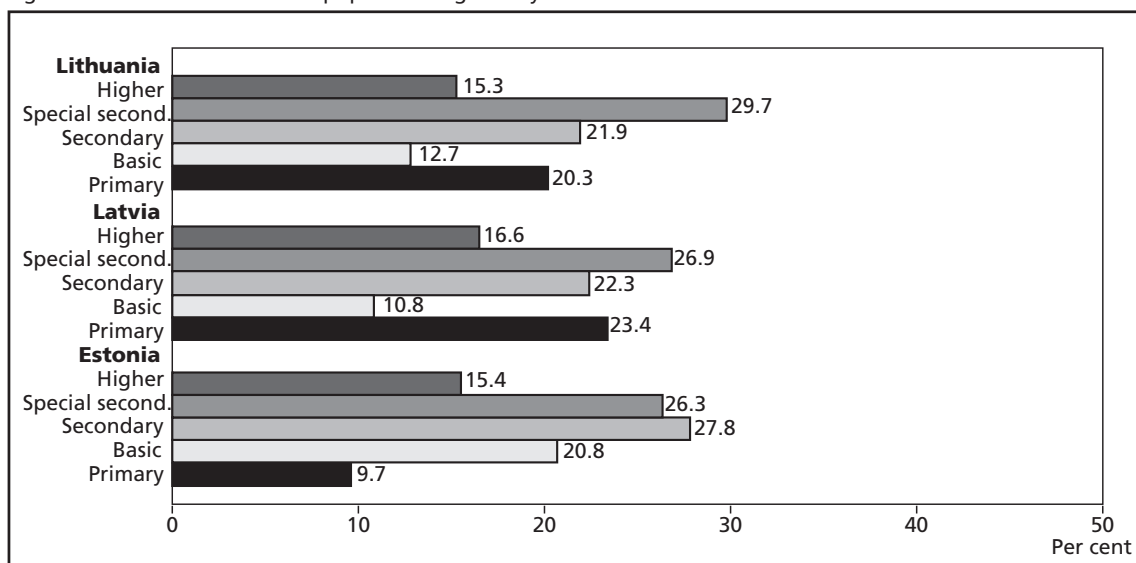
the ethnic Russians the largest proportions are made up by Ukrainians and Belarusians. The numbers of Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians are very small outside the countries where they represent the majority ethnic group. The largest group is comprised by Lithuanians in Latvia, although their share of the total population is no more than one per cent.

Different citizenship legislation and the ethnic make-up of the populations gives rise to variations in the proportion of the population with citizenship of their country of residence. However, in Estonia and Latvia this proportion was the same in 1994 - 73% - whereas in Lithuania the proportion without local citizenship was negligible.

Education

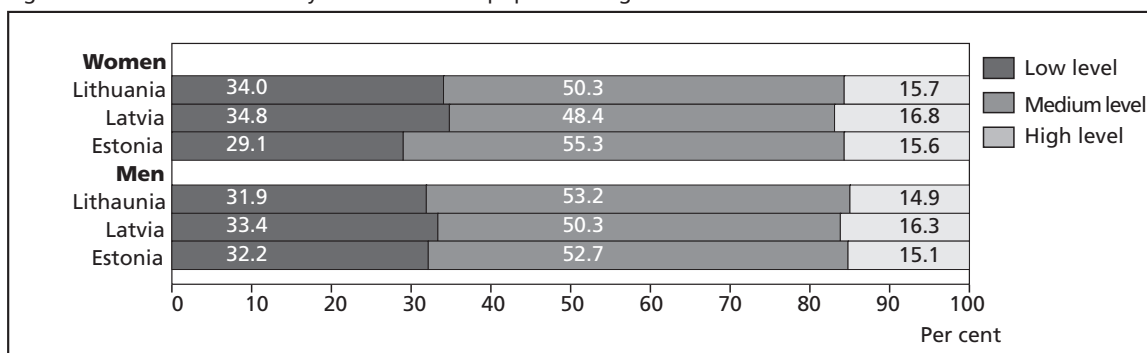
In looking at the population distribution according to education level, we include only the population 18 years of age and older in the analysis. This analysis shows that the largest group is made up of people with ordinary secondary or secondary specialised education. In Estonia this group makes up 54% of those above 18 years of age, in Latvia 49% and in Lithuania 52%. About two thirds of the remaining part of the population have lower than secondary educational level. Finally, 15-17% have unfinished higher or higher education, including scientific degrees (Figure 1.6).

Figure 1.6 Educational level of population aged 18 years and above. Per cent



In the following figures, a low level of education is defined as no education, primary or basic educational level, a medium level refers to secondary and secondary specialised education, and a high level refers to uncompleted or completed higher education. Figure 1.7 shows that the educational distribution is very similar for males and females in all the three countries.

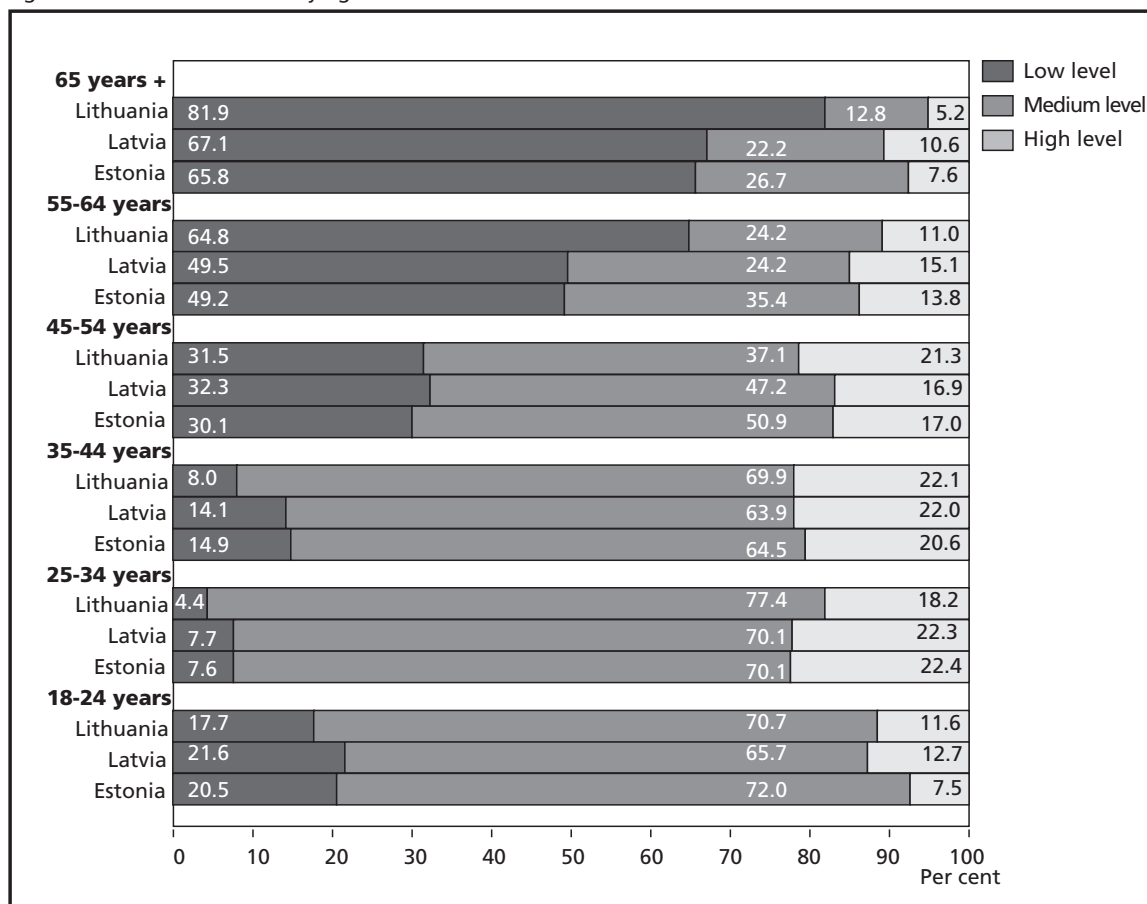
Figure 1.7 Educational level by sex. Per cent of population aged 18 and above



(Explanation: Low level-No education, primary and basic, Medium level-Secondary and specialized secondary, High level-Unfinished higher, higher and scientific degree).

Educational level is closely associated with age. Again there are similar trends in all the three countries. A medium educational level dominates in the age groups between 18 and 54. The youngest have naturally not yet had the chance to gain a higher educational level, and they therefore show a trend with a lower educational level than those who are 24 and older. In the age groups above 55 years, a low level of education dominates with relatively few having attained a high educational level. (Figure 1.8).

Figure 1.8 Educational level by age. Per cent

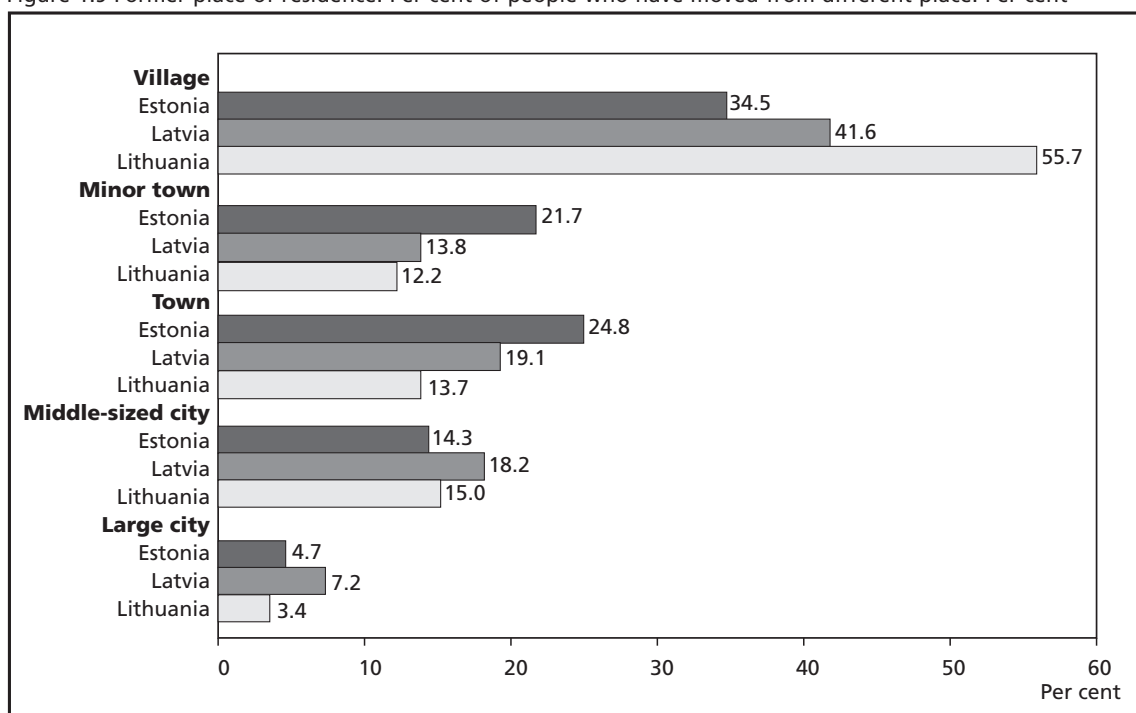


(Explanation: Low level-No education, primary and basic, Medium level-Secondary and specialized secondary, High level-Unfinished higher, higher and scientific degree).

Migration and geographical mobility

In the NORBALT survey there were questions about where the respondents had lived before they moved to the present community. As Figure 1.9 shows, most people had moved from villages, and this proportion is particularly large in Lithuania. Only a small fraction of those who had not lived in their present community their whole life had come from a large city with more than 1 million inhabitants. Since there is no such large cities in the Baltic countries, they must have moved in from outside the republics. Naturally, this proportion is lowest in Lithuania with the smallest influx of immigrants.

Figure 1.9 Former place of residence. Per cent of people who have moved from different place. Per cent



Explanation: Large city: More than 1 million inhabitants; Middle-sized city: 100,000 - 1 mill. inhab.; Town: 10,000-100,000 inhab.; Minor town: less than 10,000 inhab.

Plans to leave present community

Only about 6% to 7% of the respondents in each country plan to move out of their present community. Most of them plan to move to a different region in the same country, as shown in Figure 1.10. A surprisingly small proportion want to move out of the present country of residence. The most important potential countries of destination are Russia and the other CIS countries. This is particularly the case for people living in Estonia and Latvia, and should be seen in relation to the higher proportion of Russians and other Slavs in these countries. The Scandinavian countries are not very attractive as destination countries; only in Estonia is the proportion of potential migrants who want to go to a Scandinavian country higher than one per cent (in Estonia it is 3%). The most frequent foreign destination is Russia or another state of the CIS: in Estonia - 17%, in Latvia - 14%.

Figure 1.10 Directions for potential moves. Per cent of people planning to move out of present community

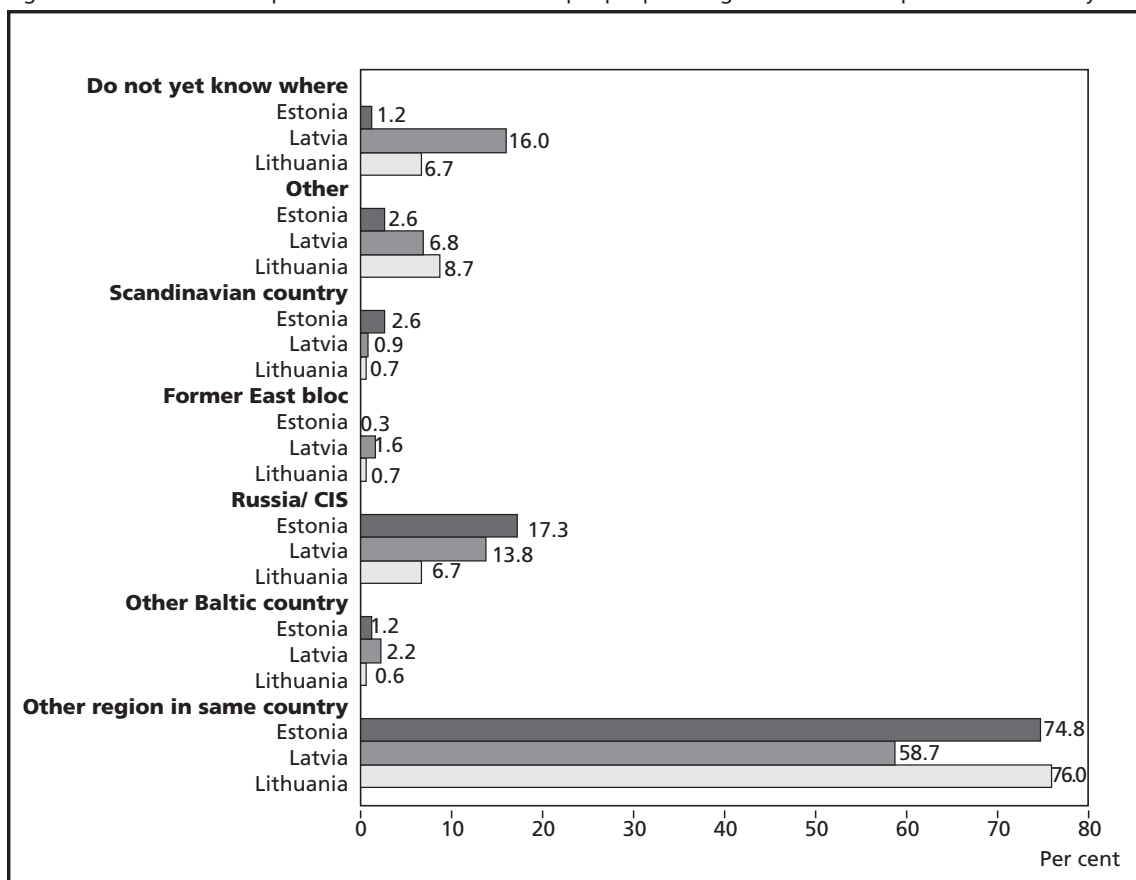
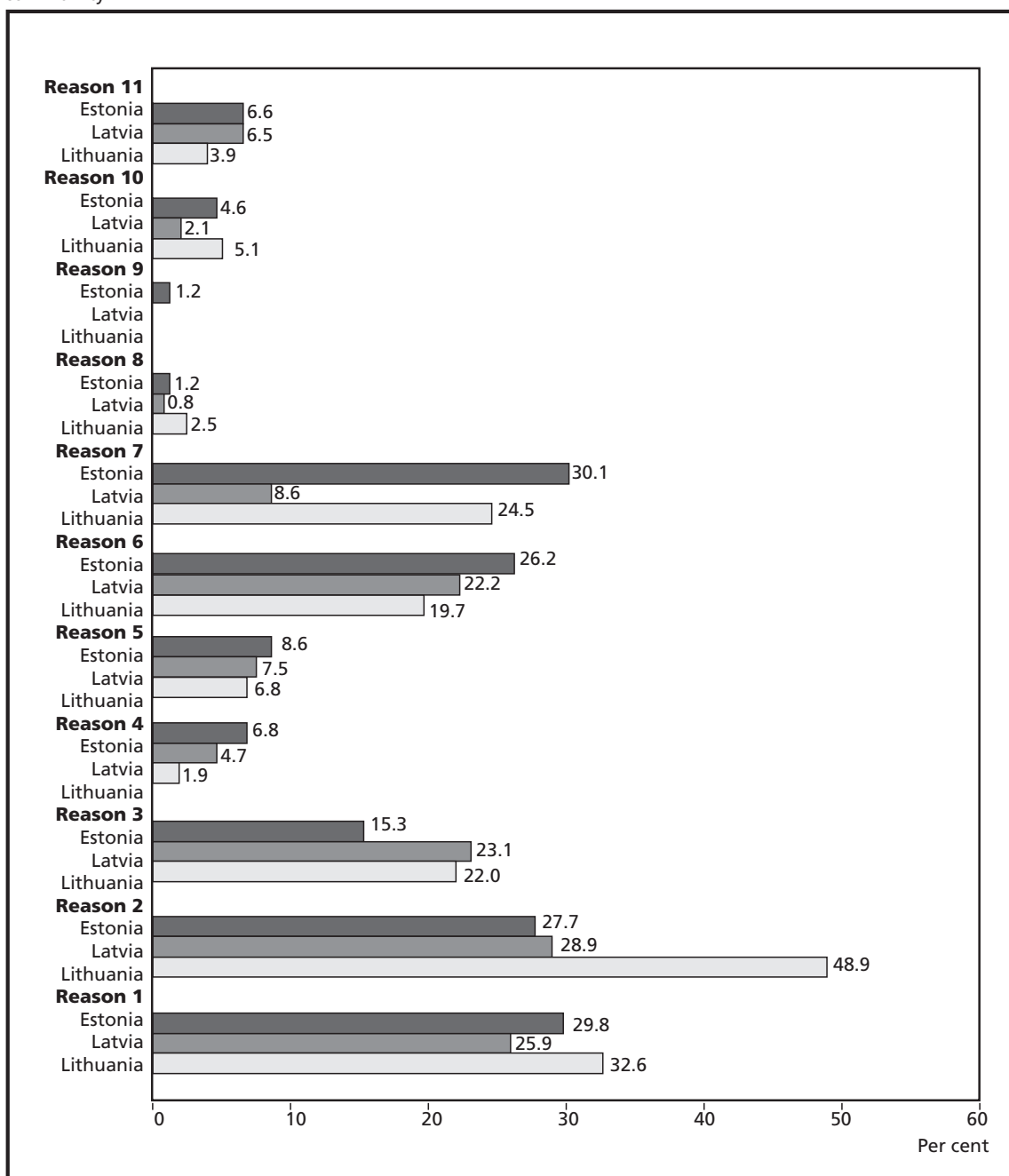


Figure 1.11 shows the distribution of reasons given by those who said that they plan to leave their present community. The most frequently mentioned reasons were bad housing conditions, that life is unaffordable, and difficulties with finding work in one's profession. In Estonia and Latvia «political reasons» were included as options in the questionnaire, but relatively few gave this as a reason for moving. However, the proportion was significant (up to 25% of those wanting to move) among the non-majority ethnic groups.

Figure 1.11 Reason for potential move from community. Per cent of people planning to move out of present community



Explanation: 1-Bad housing conditions, 2-Life unaffordable, 3-Going to live with family, 4-Climate does not suit me, 5-Bad health - own or family member's, 6-Cannot find work according speciality, 7-Better job in other region, 8-Termination of job contract, 9-Termination of military service, 10-Go to study in other city, 11-Feel menaced by crime.

Household Composition

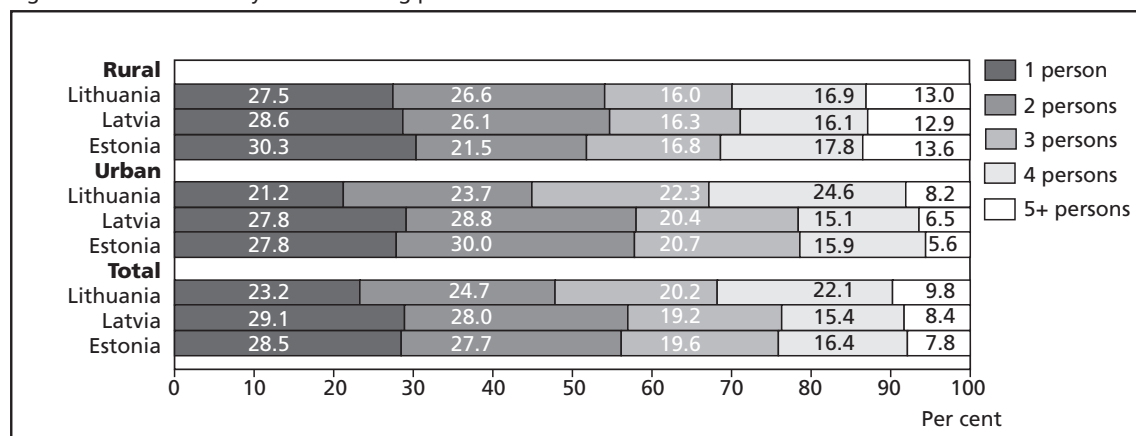
Household size

In Estonia and Latvia the distribution of households by size is very similar: 29% of the households are one-person households, 28% consist of two persons, 19-20% of three persons, 15-16% of four persons and 8% of the households comprise five or more persons (Figure 2.1). In Lithuania the distribution is somewhat different, with a slightly smaller proportion of one-person households (25%) and a larger share of the households consisting of four and more persons.

A comparison of the size of urban and rural households shows that the proportion of households consisting of five or more persons is largest in rural areas in all the three countries. In Lithuania there is a larger proportion of one-person households in rural than in urban areas. In Estonia and Latvia these proportions are quite equal.

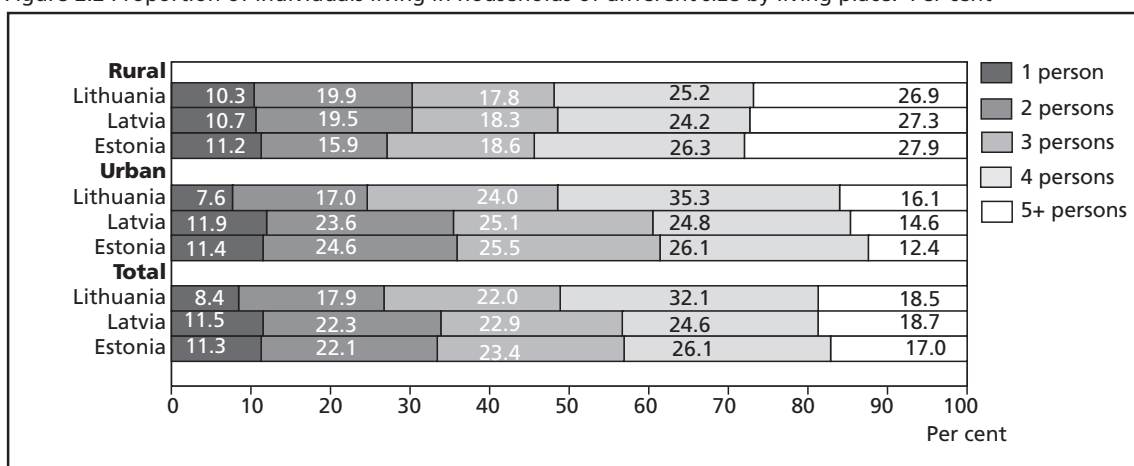
The overall differences between the three countries in terms of household size are not dramatic, however. The average household size in Estonia and Latvia is 2.5 persons, while in Lithuania it is somewhat larger 2.8. The average urban household size is in Estonia is 2.3 persons, in Latvia it is 2.4, and in Lithuania 2.8 persons. In rural areas the average household size is the same in all countries; an average rural household consists of 2.7 persons.

Figure 2.1 Households by size and living place. Per cent



Another way of looking at household size is to find the proportion of individuals living in households of different sizes. The largest proportion of the individuals in all the three countries live in four-person households. In Latvia 25% of the individuals live in households of this size, while the corresponding figures for Estonia and Lithuania are respectively 25% and 32%. As expected, Lithuania is the country with the smallest proportion of the population living in one-person households (8%, as opposed to 11% in Estonia and 12% in Latvia). Figure 2.2 shows that between 17% and 19% of the population in the Baltic states live in households comprising five or more persons. The proportion is larger in rural than in urban areas.

Figure 2.2 Proportion of individuals living in households of different size by living place. Per cent



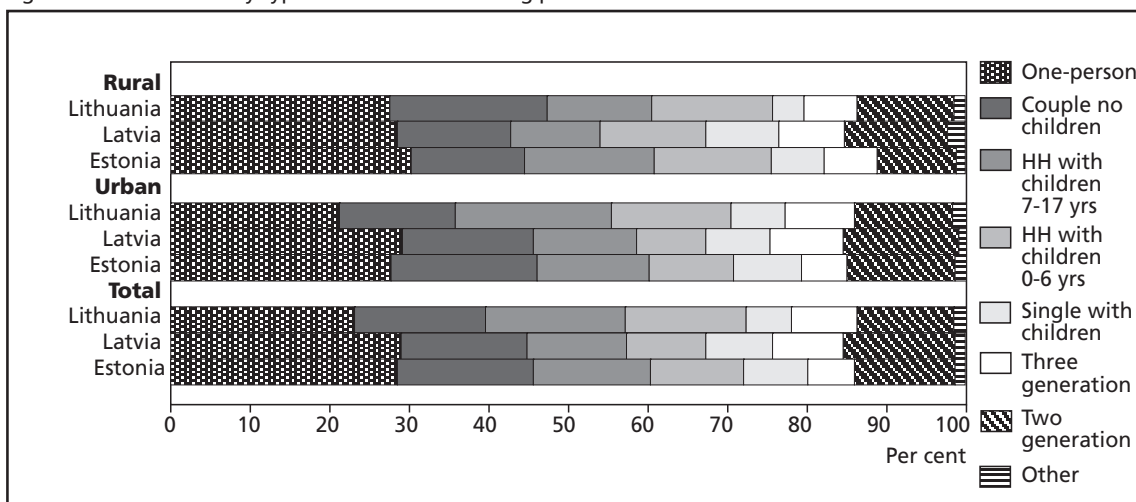
Household type

As was said above, in the three Baltic countries, one-person households make up between 25% and 29% of all households. Let us now take a look at different types of households according to the classification made for the NORBALT survey and their distribution in the Baltic countries. The following eight categories were applied:

1. One-person households
2. Households where a couple lives alone with no children
3. Households with dependent children 7-17 years of age
4. Households with dependent children where at least one child is 6 years or younger
5. Households with a single head and dependent children
6. Three-generation households
7. Two-generation households with no dependent children
8. Other type of household (typically siblings or non-relatives living together)

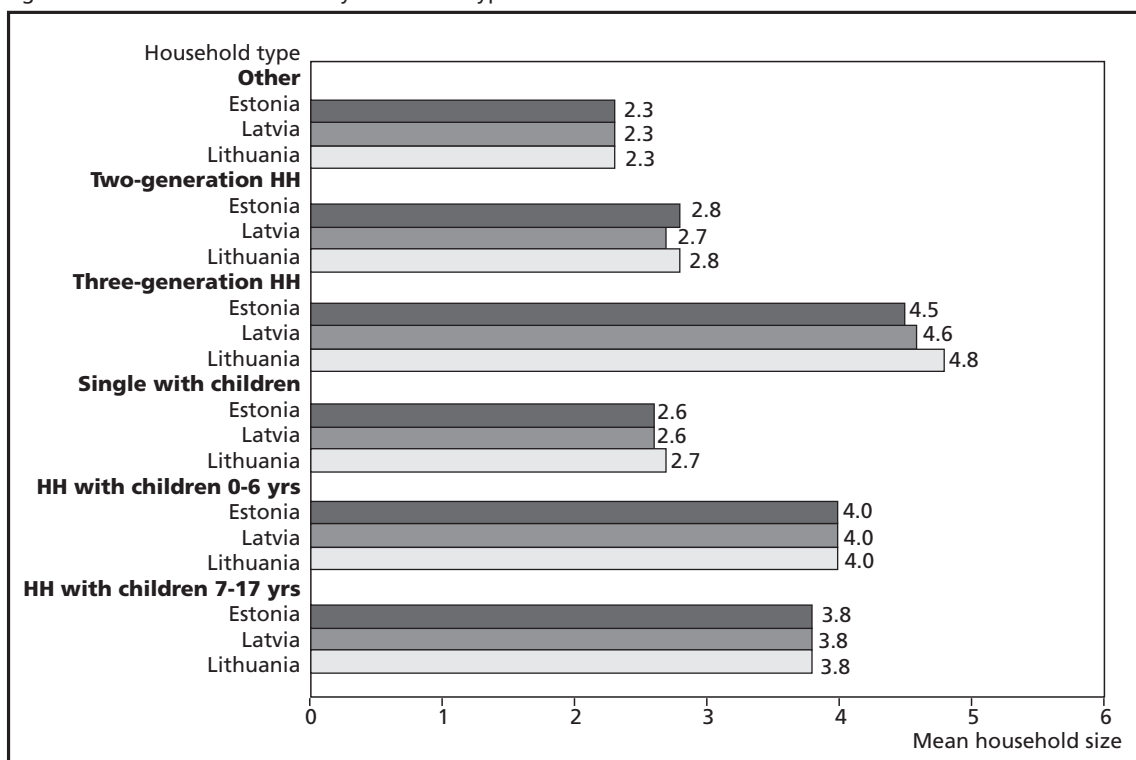
The distribution of these types of households can be seen in Figure 2.3. Lithuania has a larger proportion of households with two parents and children, and a smaller proportion of households with a single parent than Estonia and Latvia. Three-generation households appear to be more common in Latvia and Lithuania than in Estonia.

Figure 2.3 Households by type and urban-rural living place. Per cent



Let us then combine the information above, by looking at average household size in each of the household types mentioned above. As expected, we find that the largest households are those with three generations, and this is true in all countries. In Lithuania such households are slightly larger than in Estonia and Latvia (Figure 2.4). The smallest households (if we disregard single person households and the hybrid «other» category) are those with a single parent and children, and the average size of these households is slightly above 2.5 persons in all the Baltic countries.

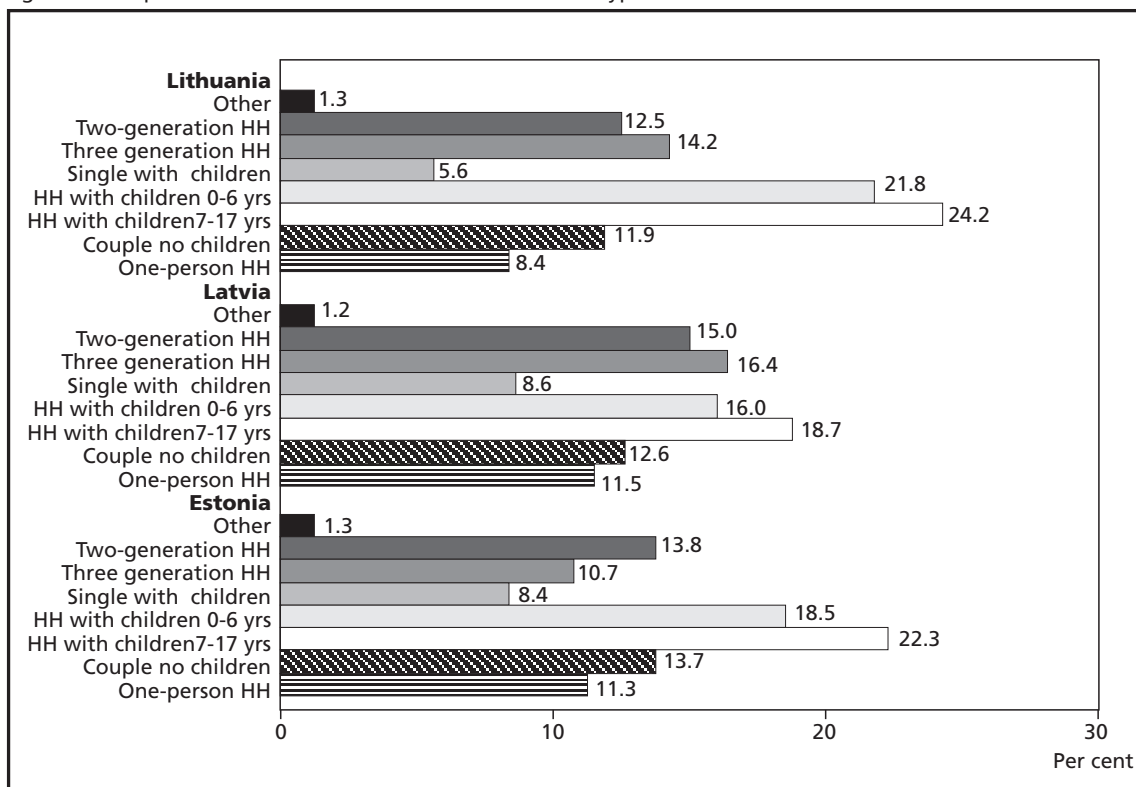
Figure 2.4 Mean household size by household type



Only a minority of individuals live in so-called nuclear families with two parents and children: in Latvia this is the case of only 35% of the population, in Estonia 41%, and 46% in Lithuania. The proportion

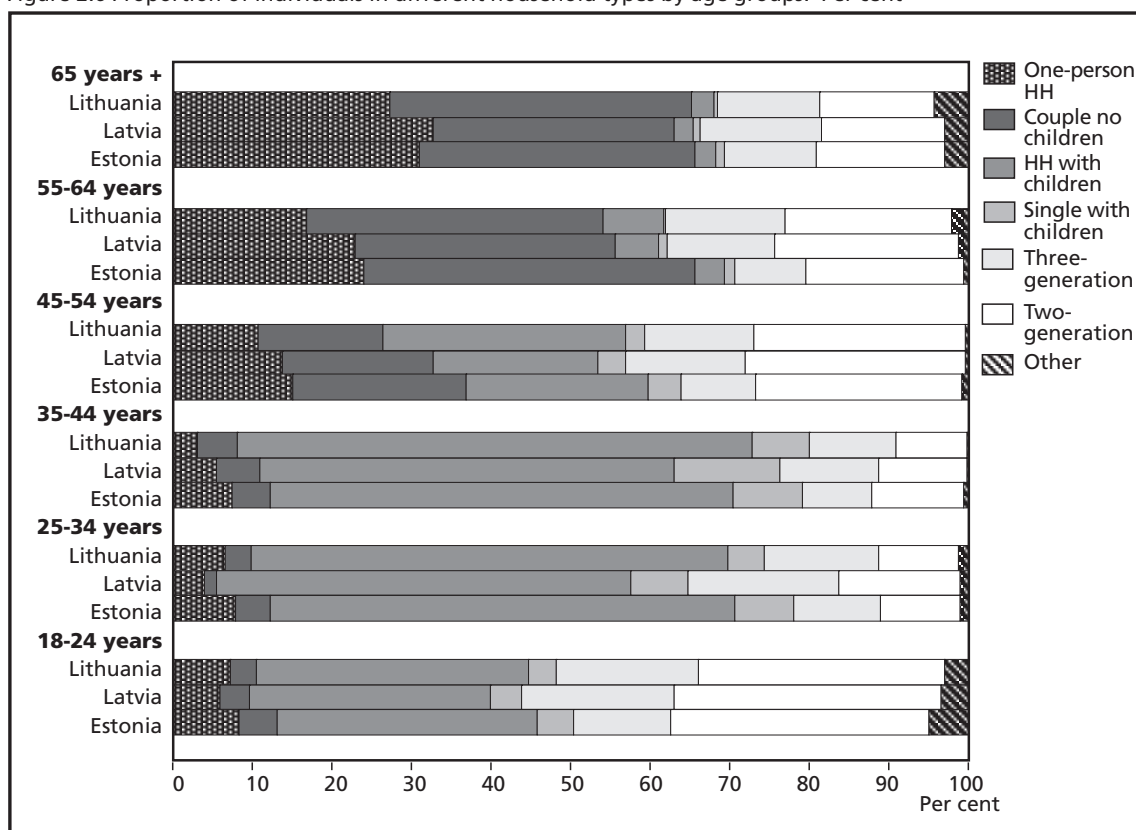
of individuals living in households with a single head varies from a low 6% in Lithuania to a high 9% in Latvia (Figure 2.5). The situation is similar in urban and rural areas (not shown in the figure).

Figure 2.5 Proportion of individuals in different household types. Per cent



Household type also varies across the individual's life span. The trends can be observed in Figure 2.6. One can see that while the most common household types vary significantly by age group, there is not a very marked difference between the countries in this respect. People from 18 to 44 years of age usually live in households with dependent children of different types, as the figure shows. After this age it gradually becomes more common to live as couples without children or in two generation households. One-person households are also much more common among the older age-groups. The highest proportion of single-headed households is found among individuals in the age-group between 25 and 44. Not unexpectedly, three-generation households are about equally common among all age groups.

Figure 2.6 Proportion of individuals in different household types by age groups. Per cent



Children of preschool age

How are children taken care of before they enter school? The percentage of children of pre-school age is very low in all countries. In Estonia it is 9% of the total population, in Latvia 8%, and in Lithuania 10%. The majority of the children at that age are looked after during the day by relatives at home. As shown in Figure 2.7, this is most common in Lithuania (78%) and least common in Estonia (51%). Public kindergartens are much less commonly used for child care, but they are still quite wide-spread, especially in Estonia where 42% of the children attend public kindergartens. Private kindergartens were not yet common at the time of the survey. It is noteworthy that the proportion of children being looked after at home by relatives is higher in rural than in urban areas in all countries.

Figure 2.7 Day care of children in preschool age. Per cent of children 0-6 years

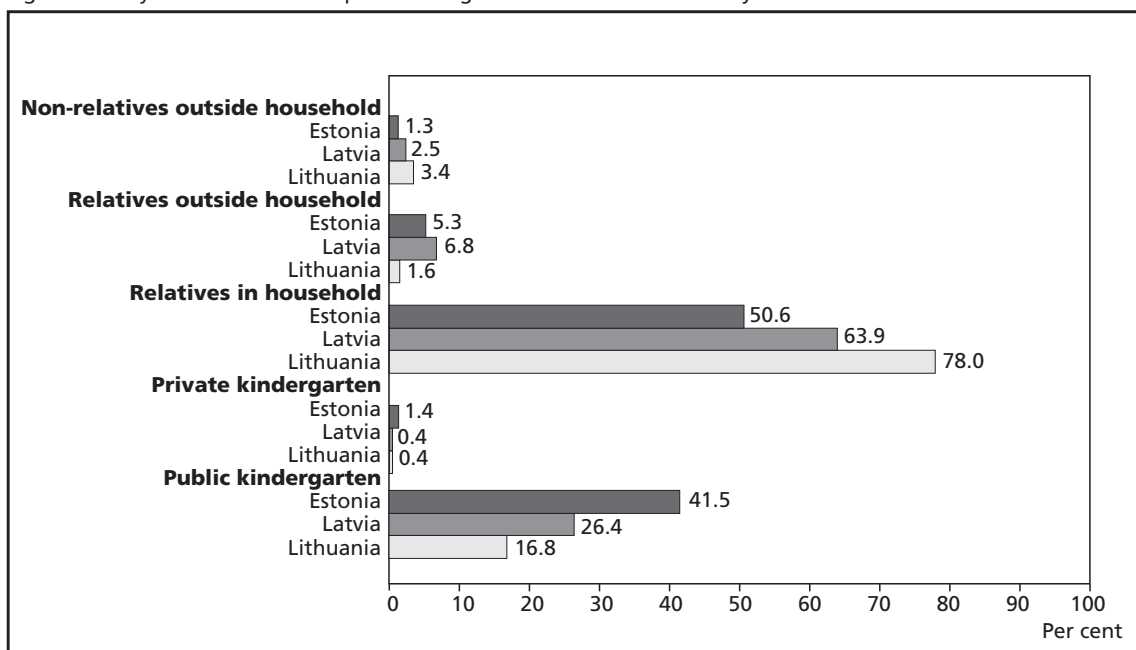
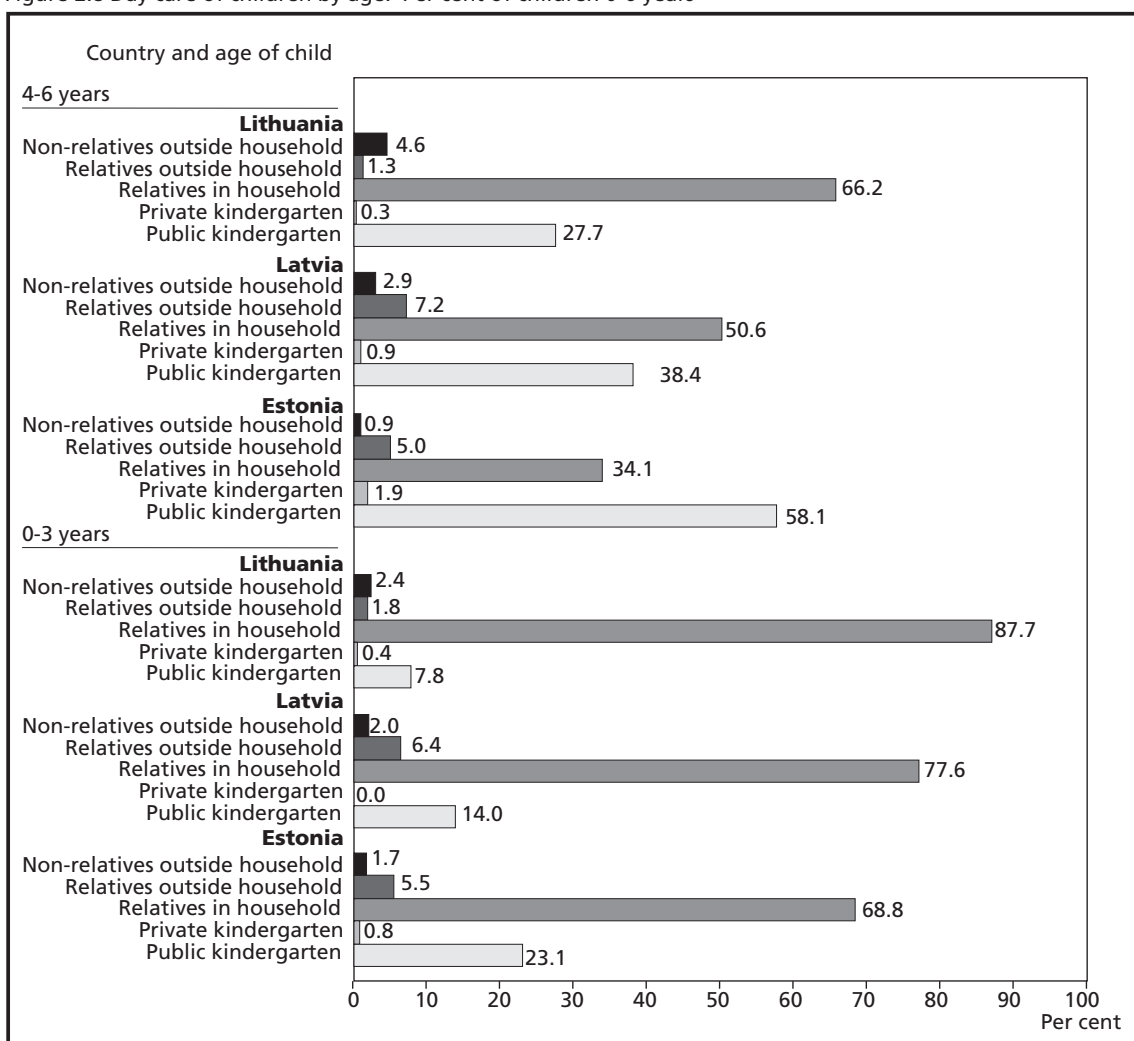


Figure 2.8 shows that the proportion of children being looked after by relatives at home decreases with increasing age of the child. For children below 4 years of age between 69% (Estonia) and 88% (Lithuania) of the children are being looked after by relatives at home. The proportion is much lower for children 4 years old or above, and in Estonia public kindergartens is the most common way of child care for this age group.

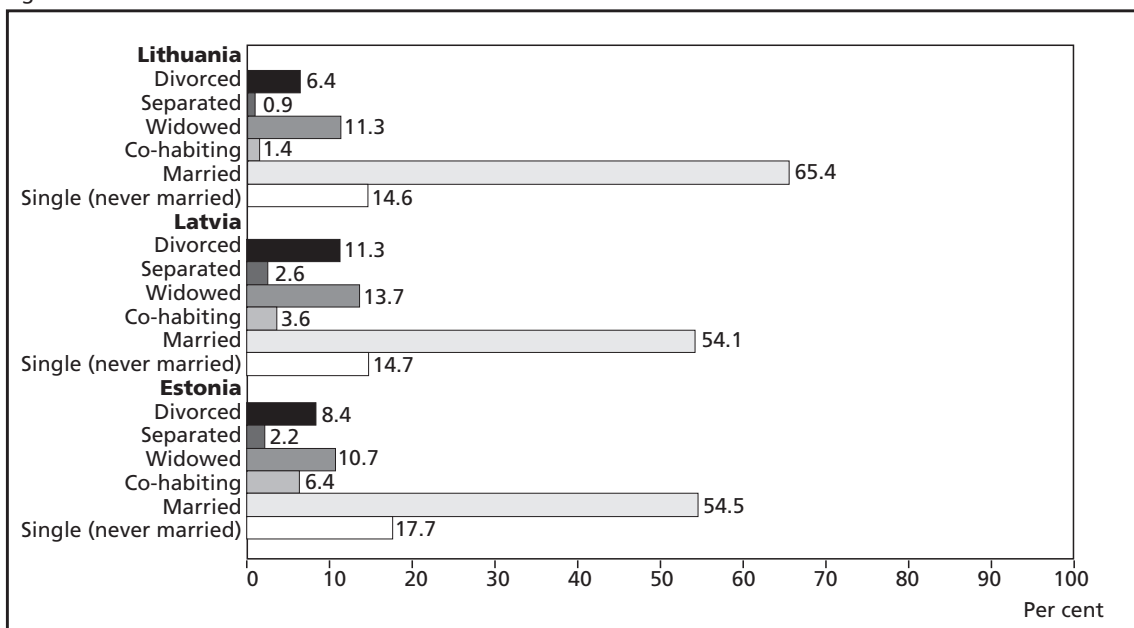
Figure 2.8 Day care of children by age. Per cent of children 0-6 years



Marital status

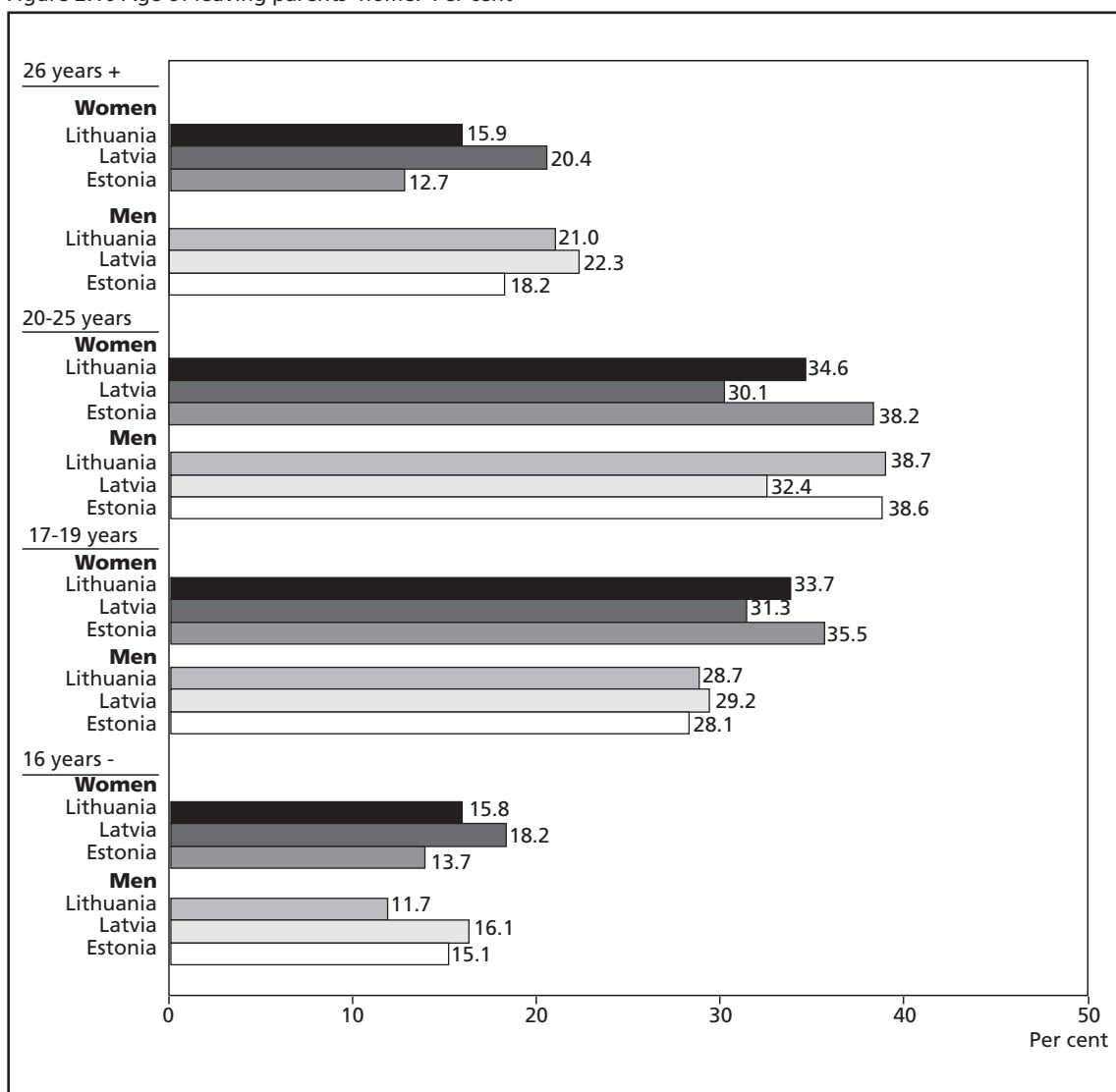
As shown in Figure 2.9, in the three Baltic countries most people above the age of 18 are married (54% in Latvia, 55% in Estonia, and 65% in Lithuania). The proportion living alone is also considerable, varying from 15% to 18%. The figure shows that co-habiting is more common in Estonia (6.4%) than in Latvia (3.6%) and Lithuania (1.4%).

Figure 2.9 Marital status. Per cent



The age at which people leave the parents' home is quite similar for all the three countries as shown in Figure 2.10. By the age of 25 almost eight in ten have left their parents' home. There is a tendency in all the countries that men leave at an older age than women.

Figure 2.10 Age of leaving parents' home. Per cent



The distribution of marital status by age is shown in Figures 2.11a and 2.11b. The figures show that in the 18-24 years age group the most common status is to be single, while for the remaining age-groups the majority of the population are married. The exception is women above the age of 65, the majority of whom are widowed. The figures further show that women tend to get married at an earlier age than men in all the Baltic countries. Divorce rates are low in the younger age groups, but reach a higher level in the age groups between 35 and 54, then gradually decrease with increasing age. The rates of divorce are higher among women than men. The reason for this is likely to be that men more often re-marry after a divorce or after becoming widowers. It is noteworthy that the proportion of divorced people is considerably lower in Lithuania than in the other two countries. Also, mostly due to the longer life expectancy of women, the proportion of widowers is much smaller than the proportion of widows in the older age groups.

Figure 2.11a Marital status by age. Per cent of men

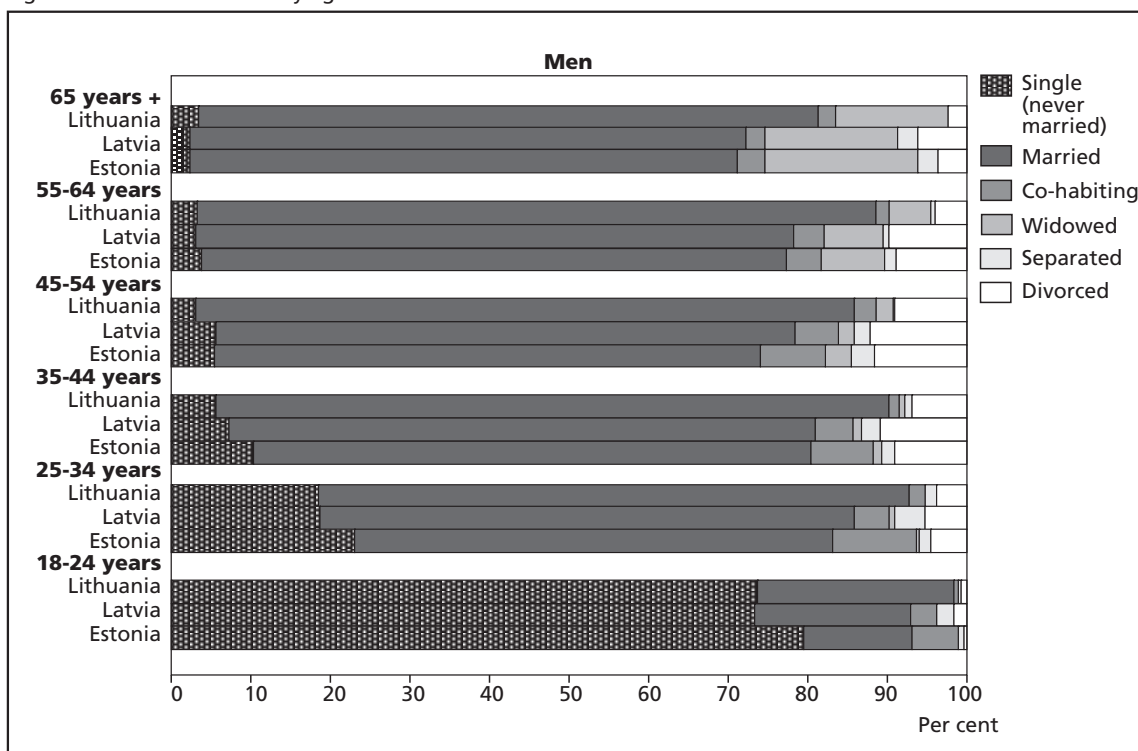
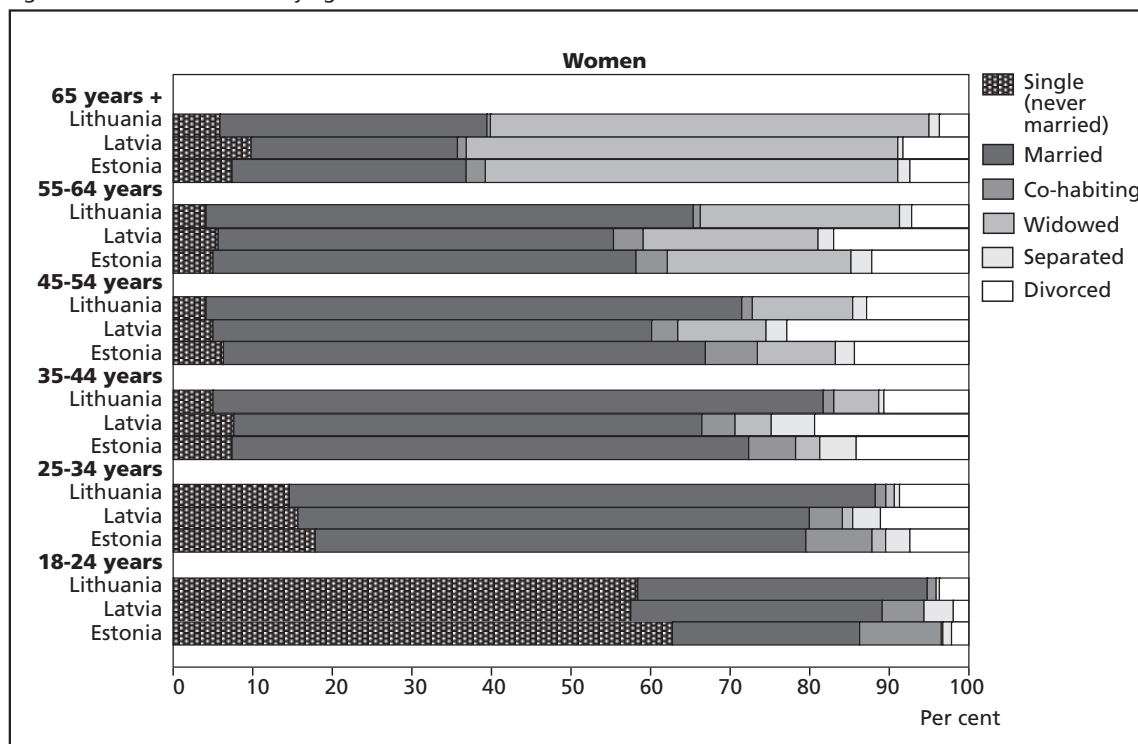


Figure 2.11b Marital status by age. Per cent of women

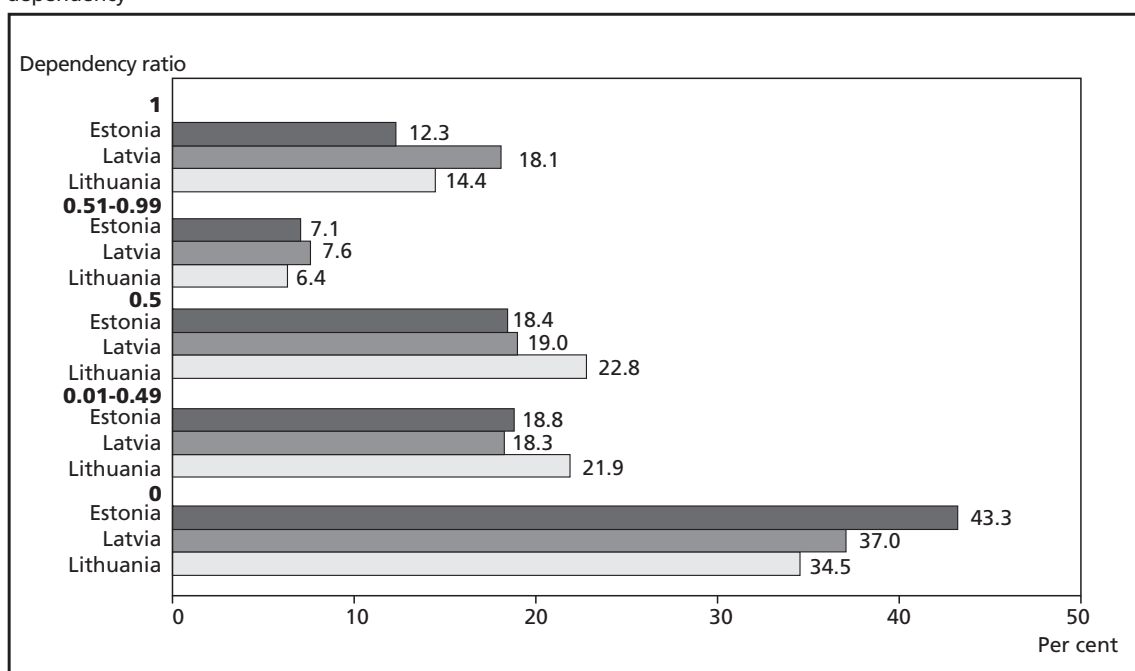


Dependency and consumer ratios

In the NORBALT survey two ratio variables were constructed to get an overview of the level of economic dependency in the households based on information about age and labour force activities of each member in the household. The *dependency ratio* measures the proportion of household members not of regular working ages. Dependents were defined as household members under 16 years of age or over 65. The age of 65 was chosen instead of the official working age, partly because many people continue working after regular retirement age. A dependency ratio of 0 means that there are no household members in the dependent age groups. The closer the dependency ratio approaches 1, the greater the proportion of dependent members in the household.

Figure 2.12 shows relatively small but still significant differences in dependency ratios among the Baltic countries. Latvia has a larger proportion of households in which all the household members are of dependent age (dependency ratio 1) than Lithuania and Estonia. Estonia is the country with the least dependency burden in the households of the three countries. The mean dependency ratio in Estonia is 0.32, in contrast to 0.37 in Lithuania and 0.38 in Latvia.

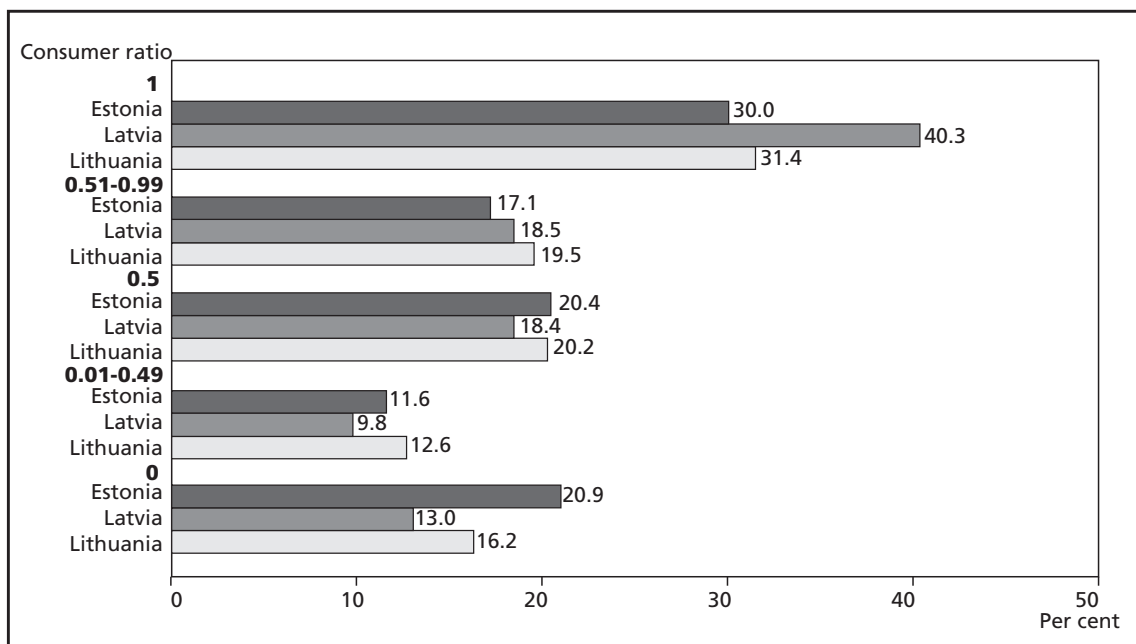
Figure 2.12 Distribution of dependency ratios in households. Percentage of households within a given range of dependency



The *consumer ratio* probably gives a better estimate of the economic dependency in the household, since it takes into account labour force activities. The consumer ratio measures the proportion of consumers (or non-producers) in the household. It is defined as the proportion of household members who are unemployed, outside the labour force, or below working age: in other words, those who depend on help and support from other household members, or private/public transfers of income for their welfare. The dependency ratio and the consumer ratios are constructed in the same way, so that a high consumer ratio (1 or close to 1) implies that there are many consumers and few producers in the household, while a household with a consumer ratio of 0 consists solely of persons active in the labour market.

Again we find that Latvia is worse off than Lithuania and Estonia in terms of the proportion of household with few producers. This is clearly illustrated in Figure 2.13, which shows that more than four in ten households in Latvia do not have *any* producers, while the same is true of about three in ten in the other two countries. The mean consumer ratio is 0.56 in Estonia, 0.59 in Lithuania and 0.66 in Latvia.

Figure 2.13 Distribution of consumer ratios in households. Percentage of households within a given range of consumer ratio



Housing Conditions

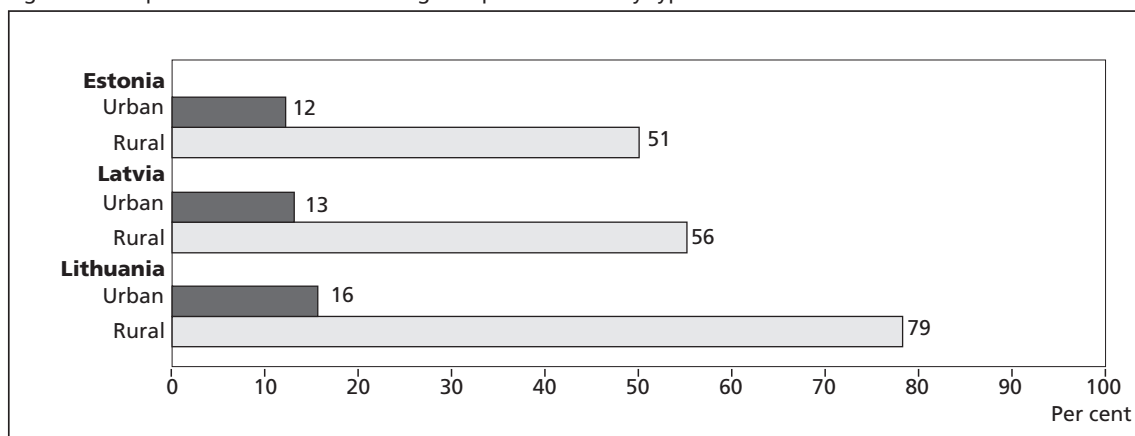
Baltic housing conditions and the policies that influence them have been undergoing a process of rapid change since independence, but the present situation is still to a large extent a legacy of housing policies dating from the Soviet period. During the Soviet years housing policies were directed from Moscow and based on Soviet laws. All houses over a minimum size were nationalised, and private property was expropriated by the state without compensation. Only individuals who could somehow obtain building materials were permitted to erect their own dwellings.

Housing type

Most of the housing in the Baltic states consist of flats in high-rise buildings. The tendency for a household to live in a separate house is greater in Lithuania (36%) than in Latvia (26%) or Estonia (23%).

When we analyse urban and rural areas separately, we see that in cities and towns only 12% to 16% of the households live in a separate house. The situation is quite different in the countryside, and especially in Lithuania, where almost four in five households in rural types of settlement live in separate houses. In Latvia and Estonia this proportion is significantly smaller, at 56% and 51% respectively.

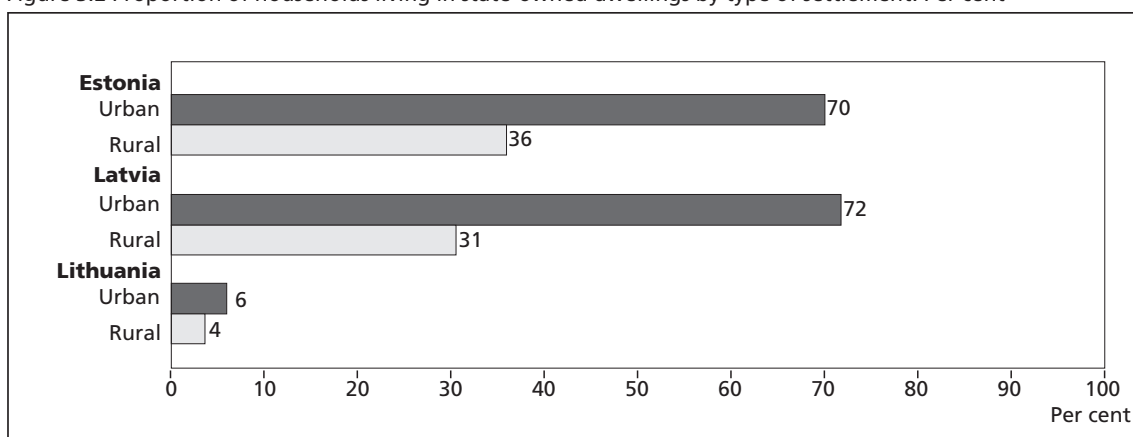
Figure 3.1 Proportion of households living in separate house by type of settlement. Per cent



Privatisation of dwellings

By 1994 the speed of privatisation of dwellings had reached very different levels in the three Baltic countries. Privatisation had taken place much more rapidly in Lithuania than in Latvia and Estonia. There is great evidence for this in the NORBALT study. Figure 3.2 shows that while in Lithuania only 6% of urban households lived in state-owned dwellings, in Estonia and Latvia the proportion was between two thirds and three quarters. In the countryside approximately one third of Latvian and Estonian households lived in dwellings owned by the state, while in Lithuania the corresponding proportion was almost negligible.

Figure 3.2 Proportion of households living in state-owned dwellings by type of settlement. Per cent

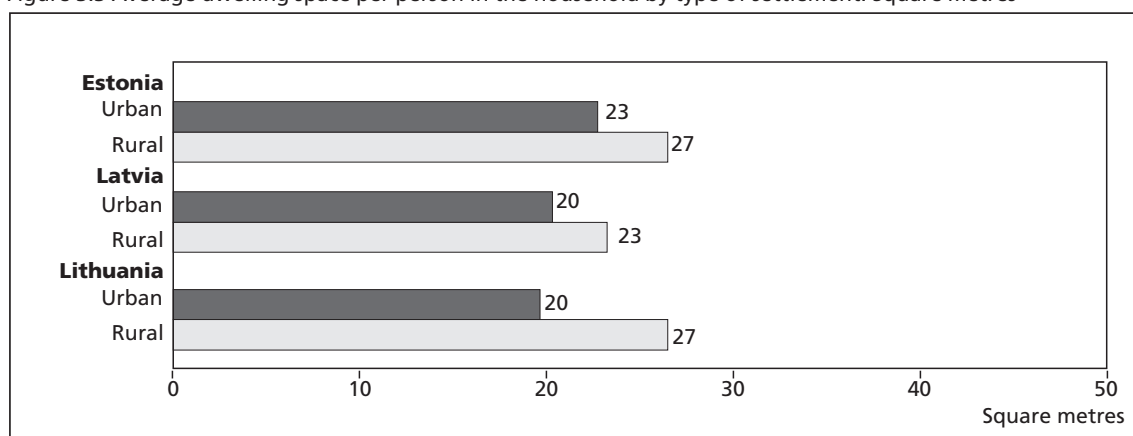


Dwelling space

In 1955 a Soviet dwelling-space norm of nine square meters per person was declared. The NORBALT survey shows, however, that in all the three Baltic states the average dwelling space per person exceeds this level significantly. The average space per household is 55 m² in Estonia and Lithuania, while in Latvia it is 49 m². Because of somewhat different average household size (see the section on household composition), the average per capita dwelling space is 24 m² in Estonia, 22 m² in Lithuania and 21 m² in Latvia.

The average dwelling space is naturally larger in rural than in urban areas. This is illustrated in Figure 3.3. The figure shows that Estonia has a somewhat larger average dwelling space than the two other countries in urban areas, whereas Latvia's average dwelling size is a bit smaller in the countryside.

Figure 3.3 Average dwelling space per person in the household by type of settlement. Square metres

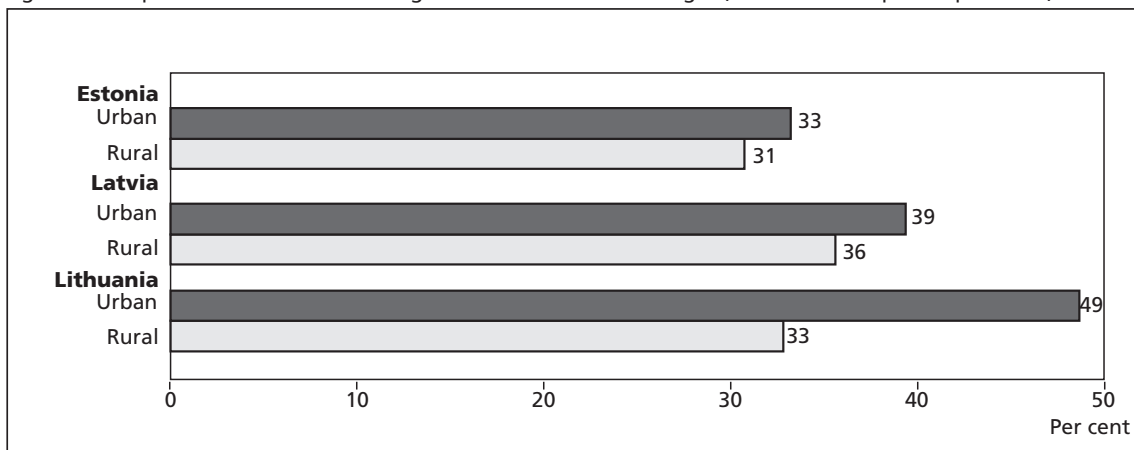


Number of rooms in dwelling

The Norwegian Central Bureau of Statistics defines over-crowded dwelling as a dwelling with less than one room per person. According to data from the NORBALT survey a large proportion of Baltic households are over-crowded according to this standard. Living densities are highest in Lithuania, where 44% of the dwellings are over-crowded. Latvia is slightly better off (38%), whereas Estonia has the smallest proportion of over-crowded dwellings (33%). As illustrated in Figure 3.4, the difference is largest

in urban areas. In Lithuania nearly half the urban dwellings are over-crowded according to the Norwegian definition.

Figure 3.4 Proportion of households living in «over-crowded dwellings» (more than one person per room). Per cent

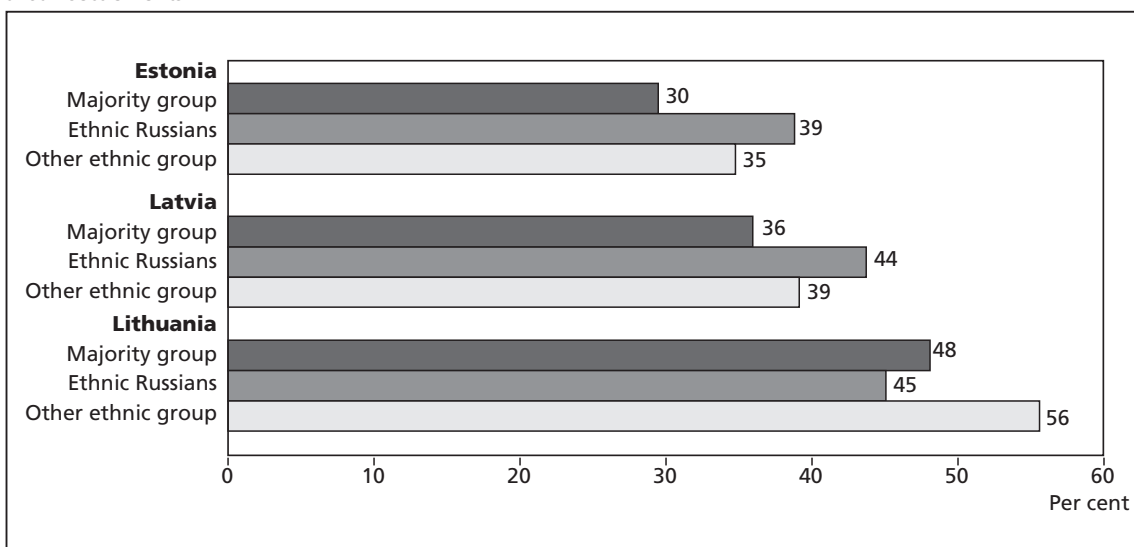


Ethnicity and housing

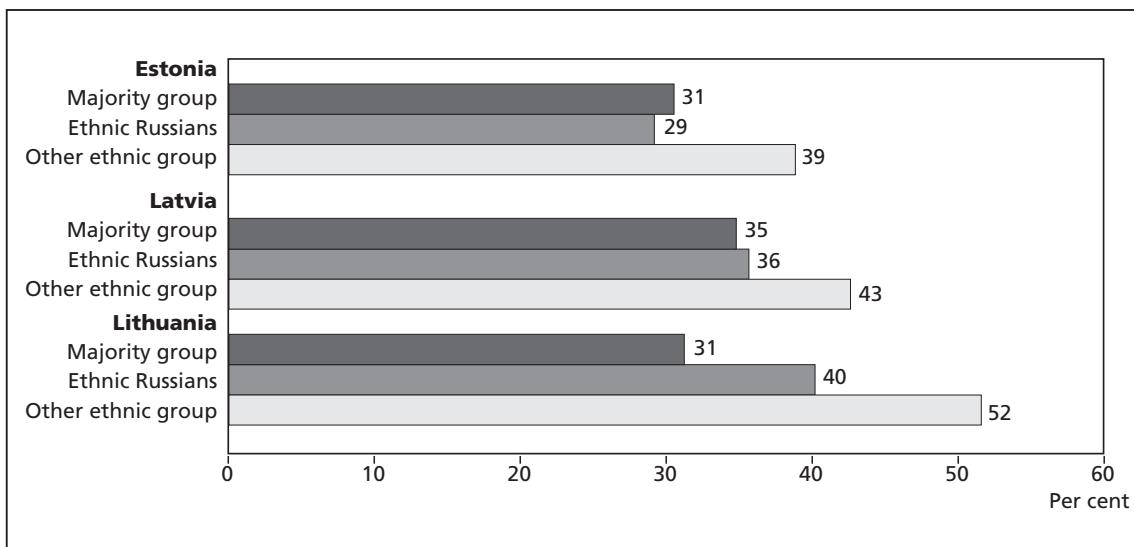
In the Baltic states there have been different opinions on which ethnic groups have been privileged in terms of housing. If we look at dwelling size, it appears that the majority ethnic groups have a tendency to live in slightly less crowded dwellings than people of other ethnic groups. The pattern varies somewhat from one country to another and also in urban and rural types of settlement, as shown in Figures 3.5A and 3.5B. In urban areas the majority groups are somewhat underrepresented in over-crowded flats, except in Lithuania, where ethnic Lithuanians live more often in cramped dwellings than Russians. On the other hand, in Estonia's and Latvia's rural areas Russians are not significantly worse off than Estonians and Latvians, while those with a different ethnic affiliation (Ukrainians, Belarusians, Poles, etc.) are in the least privileged position. In Lithuania's countryside more than a half of those who are neither Russians nor ethnic Lithuanians (mostly Poles) live in over-crowded flats, as opposed to less than one third of the ethnic Lithuanians.

Figures 3.5A and 3.5B.

A: Proportion of dwellings with more than one person per room by ethnic affiliation. Per cent of households in urban settlements



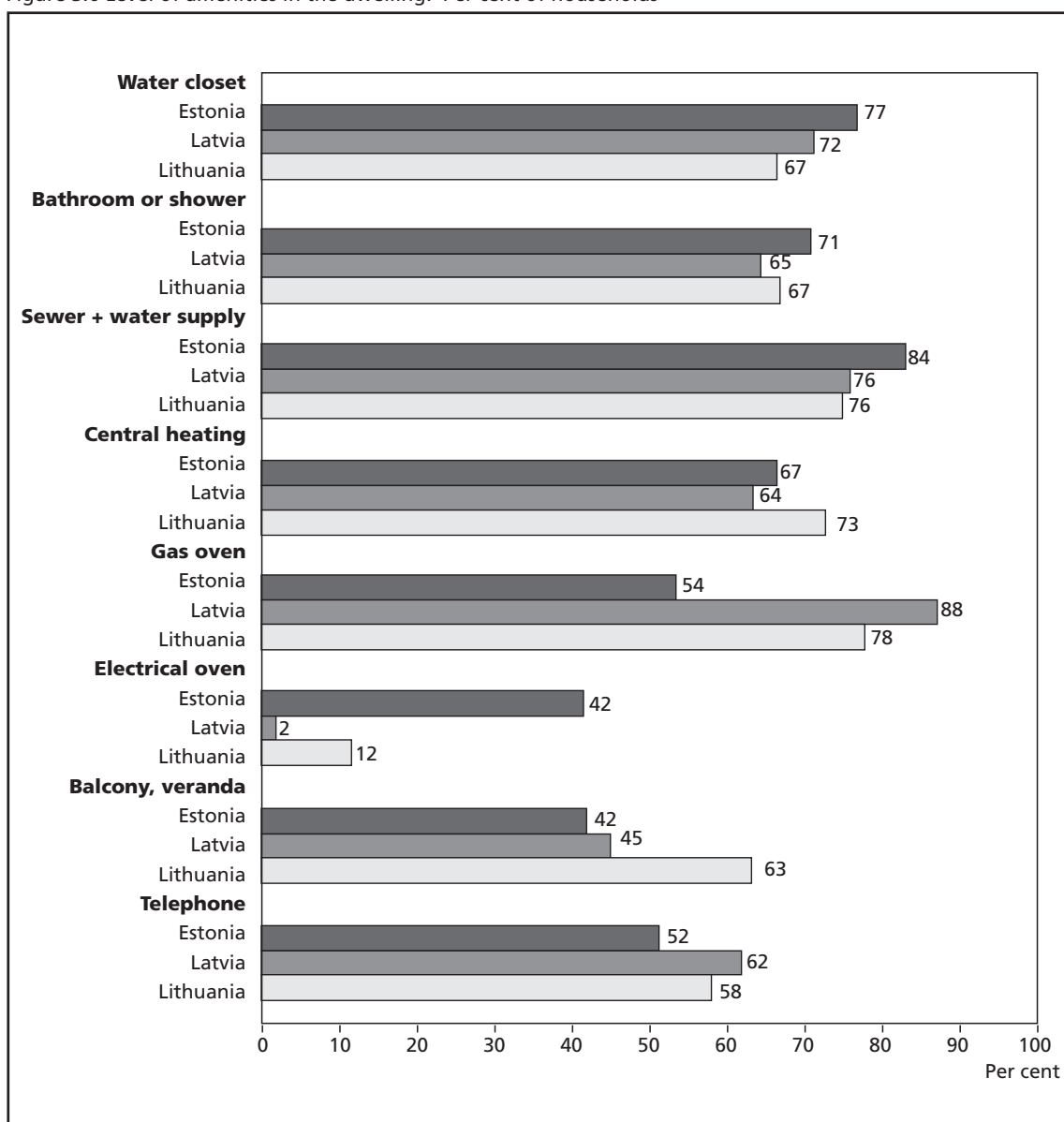
B: Proportion of dwellings with more than one person per room by ethnic affiliation. Per cent of households in *rural* settlements



Level of amenities

Let us now take a look at the level of amenities in the dwellings in the Baltic countries. Figure 3.6 shows the small variation between the three countries in terms of conveniences such as toilets, a shower or bathroom, central heating and being connected to a public sewage and water supply system. Estonia has fewer dwellings connected to a gas supply system which makes gas ovens less common, but this is compensated for by a greater share of dwellings having electrical ovens. Further analysis (figures not presented here) shows state- or municipality owned dwellings offer almost all of their inhabitants a toilet and a bathroom, whereas privately owned dwellings have a much lower level of amenities.

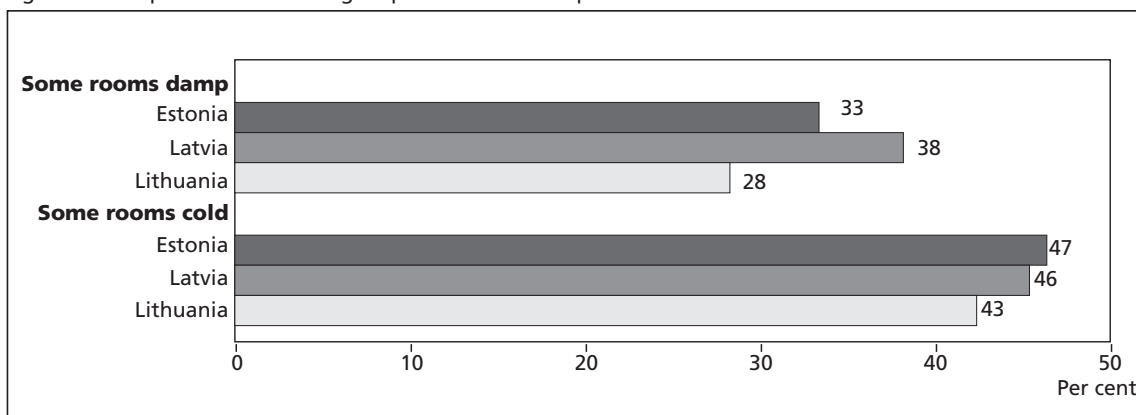
Figure 3.6 Level of amenities in the dwelling. Per cent of households



Dampness in the dwelling

Other aspects of housing conditions which have been studied in the NORBALT survey are the dampness of and disturbances in the dwelling. The respondents in the survey were asked if their dwelling is cold and difficult to heat, and if it is damp. Such problems are relatively common in all the Baltic countries, as Figure 3.7 shows. The Lithuanian population seems to suffer somewhat less from cold and damp flats than their neighbours to the north. The dampest dwellings are found in Latvia, according to the survey.

Figure 3.7 Proportion of dwellings reported to be damp and cold. Per cent of households



Disturbances in the dwelling

Let us then take a look at the extent to which people in the Baltic countries are disturbed by noise from a variety of sources. As shown in Figure 3.8, the pattern is striking: people in Estonia seem to suffer from much more noise disturbances than do people living in Latvia and Lithuania. Estonians also report far higher levels of other environmental disturbances. Pollution in terms of car exhaust and industrial smoke seems to be much more common in Estonia than in Latvia and Lithuania, as seen in Figure 3.9. The industrialised areas in North East Estonia are particularly affected by pollution.

Figure 3.8 Proportion of households disturbed by noise from different sources. Per cent

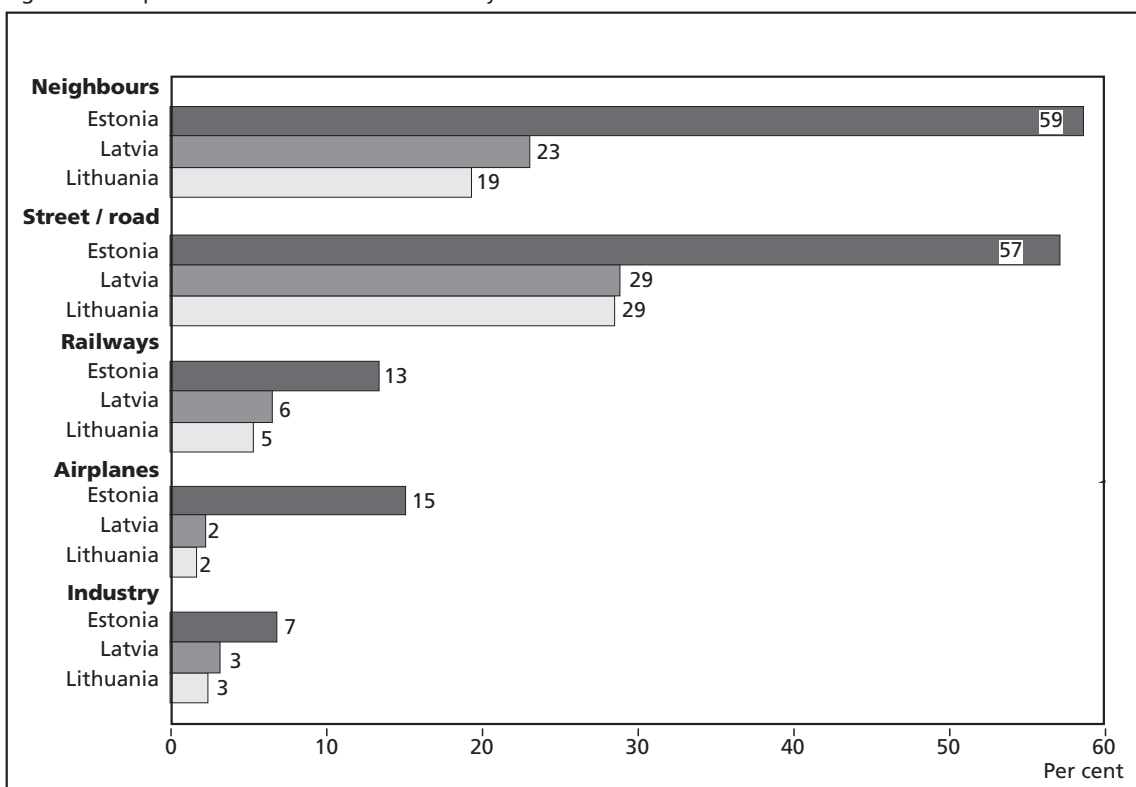
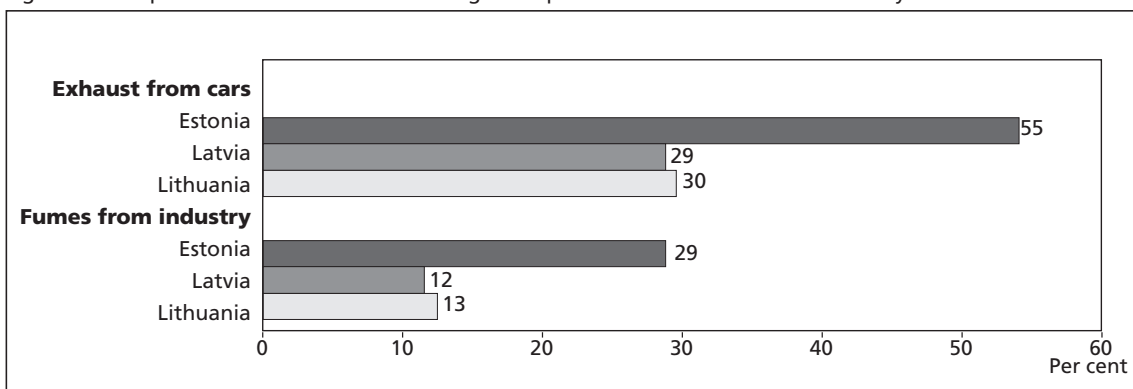


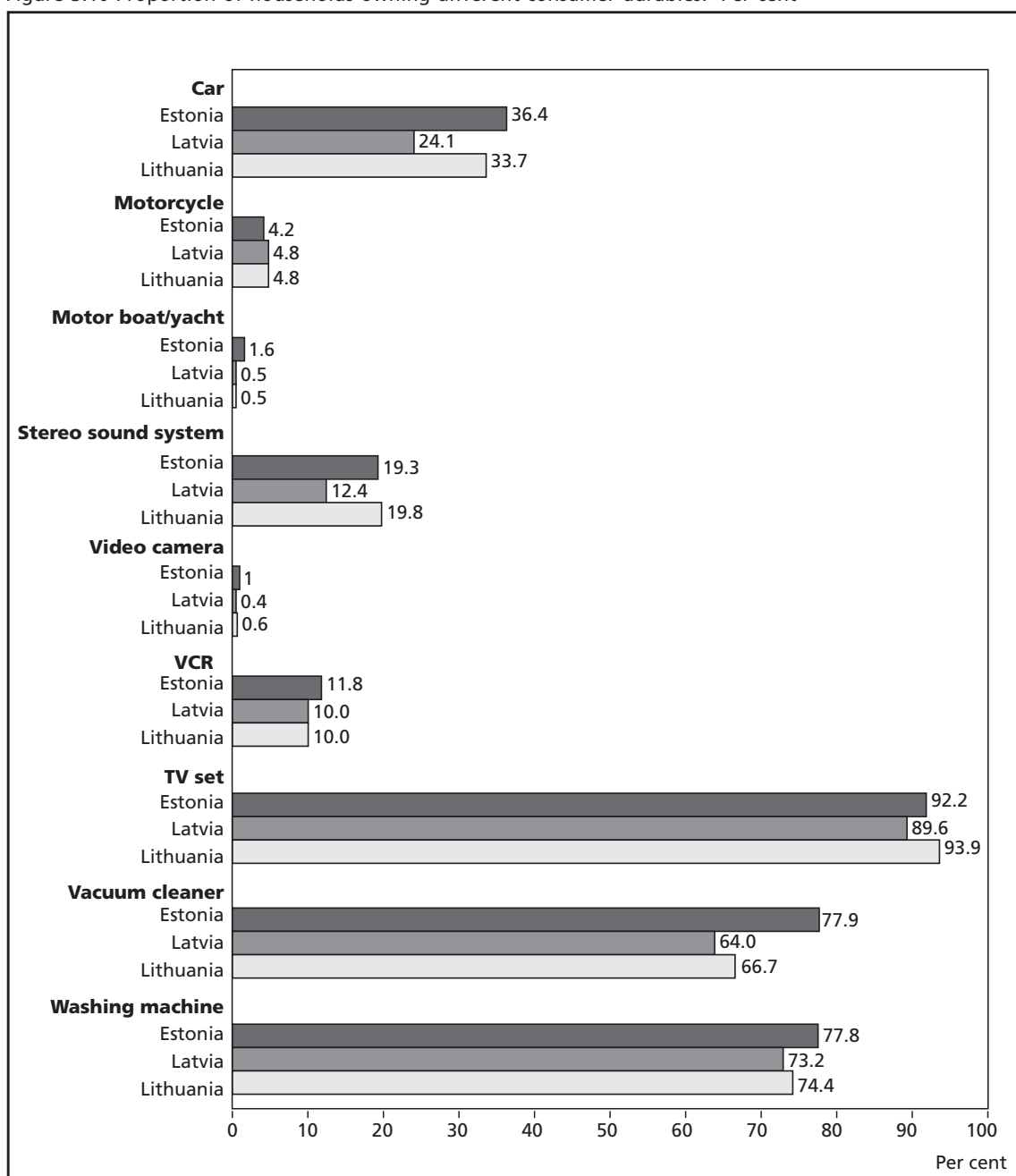
Figure 3.9 Proportion of households suffering from pollution from traffic and industry. Per cent



Consumer durables

The respondents in the survey were asked to state whether a member of their household owned different types of home equipment. The distribution of the answers is summarised in Figure 3.10. TV sets, vacuum cleaners and washing machines are owned by a majority of households in all countries. Cars are owned by between one quarter (Latvia) and one third (Lithuania and Estonia) of the households. Luxury goods, such as video cameras and yachts are not common in Baltic households.

Figure 3.10 Proportion of households owning different consumer durables. Per cent



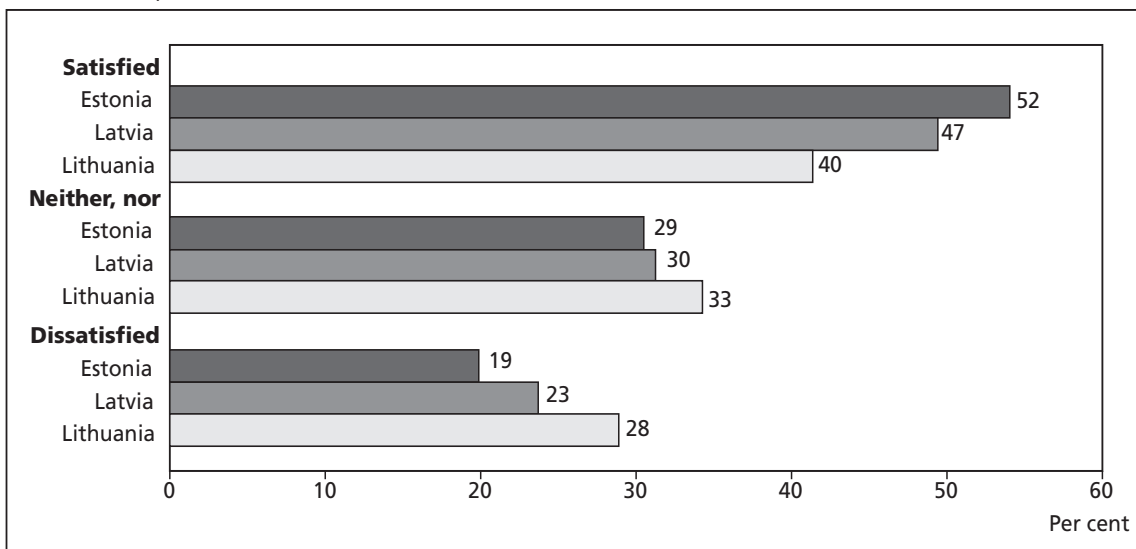
Most households own more than three of the listed consumer durables. The average number of durables is 3.2 in Estonia, 3.0 in Lithuania and 2.8 in Latvia. The proportion of households who do not have any consumer durables on the list is highest in Latvia (6%), and lowest in Estonia (3%).

Degree of satisfaction with housing conditions

Our final figure (Figure 3.11) shows the overall level of satisfaction with housing conditions in the three Baltic countries. Taking into account the general description of housing conditions outlined in this section, one cannot but conclude that people in general show a surprisingly high degree of satisfaction with regard to their housing conditions. The figure shows that people are somewhat more satisfied in

Estonia than in the other two countries, with Latvia in a medium position and Lithuania showing slightly lower satisfaction figures.

Figure 3.11 Degree of satisfaction with housing conditions. Proportion of respondents being satisfied, neither satisfied nor dissatisfied; and dissatisfied. Per cent

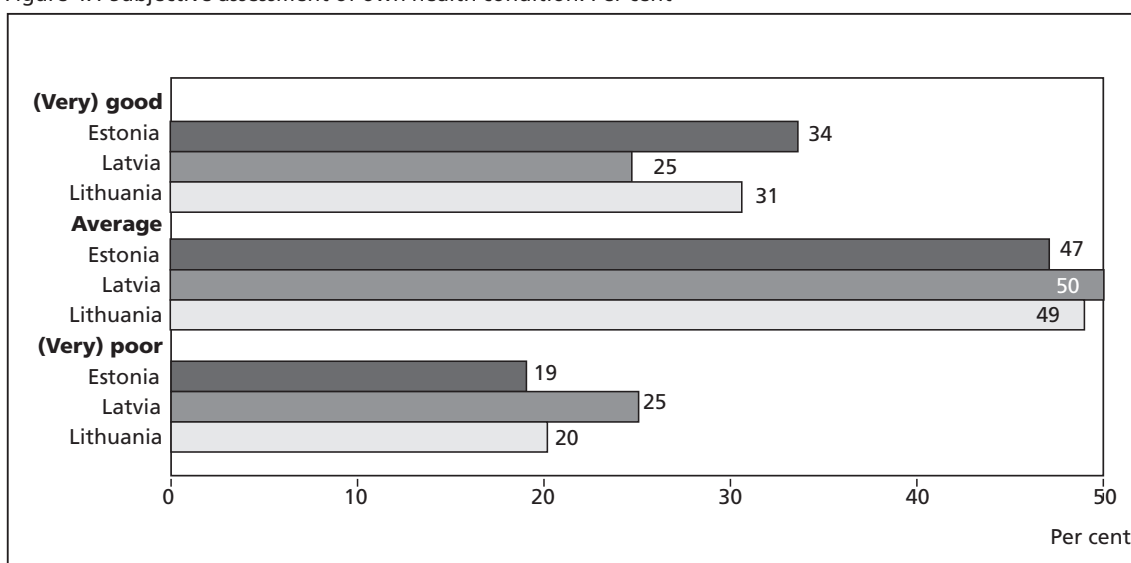


Health

Subjectively perceived health condition

The respondents in the NORBALT surveys were asked to assess their own health. The responses in the three countries are shown in Figure 4.1. It can be seen from the figure that approximately half the respondents in all countries report their health condition to be average, while the rest of the responses are distributed between good or very good and poor or very poor. In Latvia the positive and negative groups are the same size, but in Lithuania and especially in Estonia, a larger proportion give a positive assessment of their own health. The difference between the three countries is statistically significant.

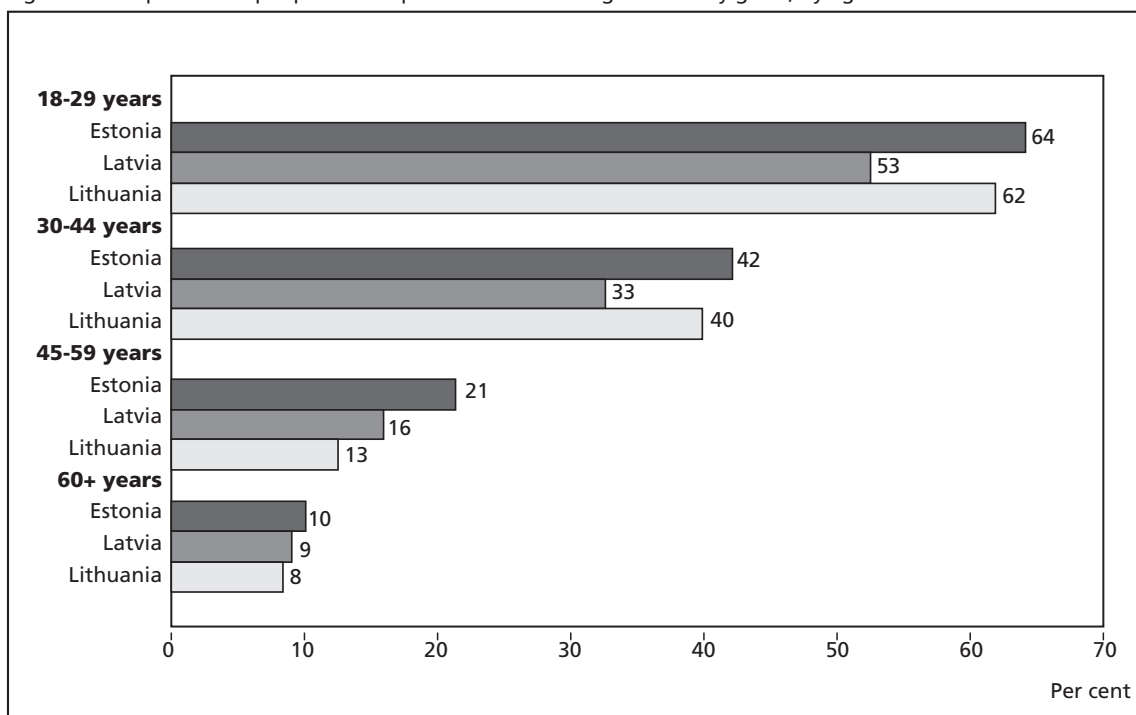
Figure 4.1 Subjective assessment of own health condition. Per cent



Subjective health condition by age and sex

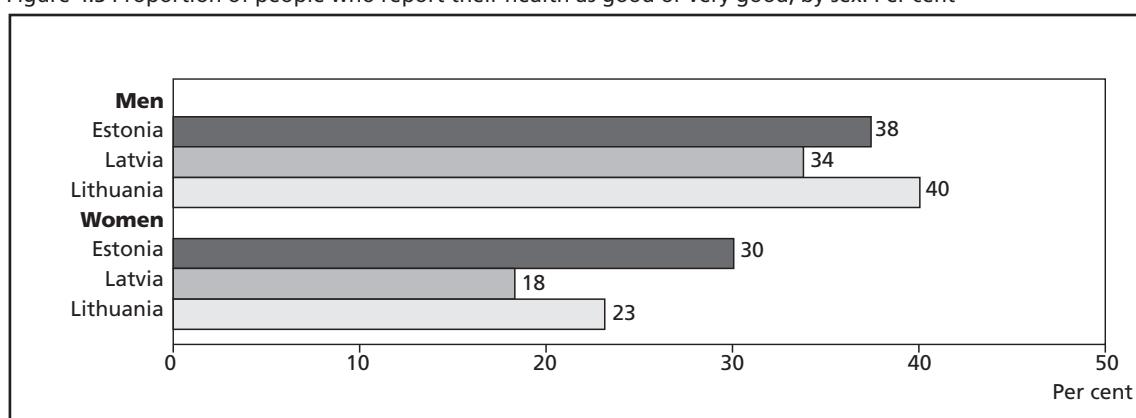
It comes as no surprise that health condition deteriorates with increasing age. Figure 4.2 shows that the three Baltic states are no exception in this respect. For the younger age groups Estonia and Lithuania show quite similar patterns, with Latvia having a clearly smaller proportion of younger respondents reporting a good or very good health. However, in Lithuania there is a relatively large drop in the proportion reporting good health within the 45 to 59 age-group, and from this age onwards Lithuania is the country where fewest people say that their health is good. The difference between the age groups evens out among the oldest segment of the population.

Figure 4.2 Proportion of people who report their health as good or very good, by age. Per cent



Men and women tend to perceive their health differently, as illustrated in Figure 4.3. Women seem more skeptical about their health than men, and this is true for all age groups. The difference between the sexes is much more pronounced in Lithuania and Latvia than in Estonia. In fact, Lithuanian men report a better subjective health condition than Estonian men, but the women are significantly more negative than their Estonian sisters. The poorest subjective health is reported among Latvian women, of whom only 18% consider their health to be good.

Figure 4.3 Proportion of people who report their health as good or very good, by sex. Per cent

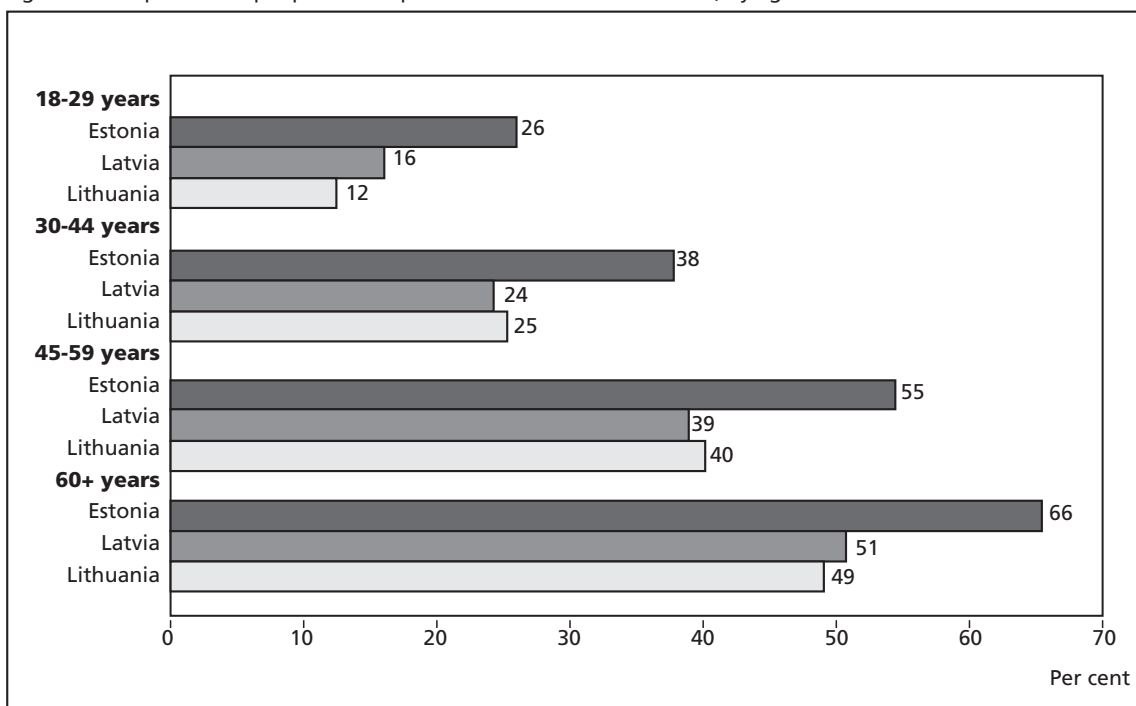


Chronic illness

One of the most important factors influencing health appraisal is the presence of chronic illness or disease. Naturally, having a permanent handicap or lasting disease normally reduces one's subjective assessment of health. The relationship is not straightforward, however, as shown in Figure 4.4. The graph shows the distribution of chronic illness in the three Baltic countries for the various age groups. It reveals that

although Estonians on average report better subjective health condition than Latvians and Lithuanians, they also report higher levels of chronic illnesses and afflictions. It is noteworthy that in Estonia as many as two thirds of the population above 60 years of age report an illness or affliction, whereas in Latvia and Lithuania the corresponding proportion is approximately one half.

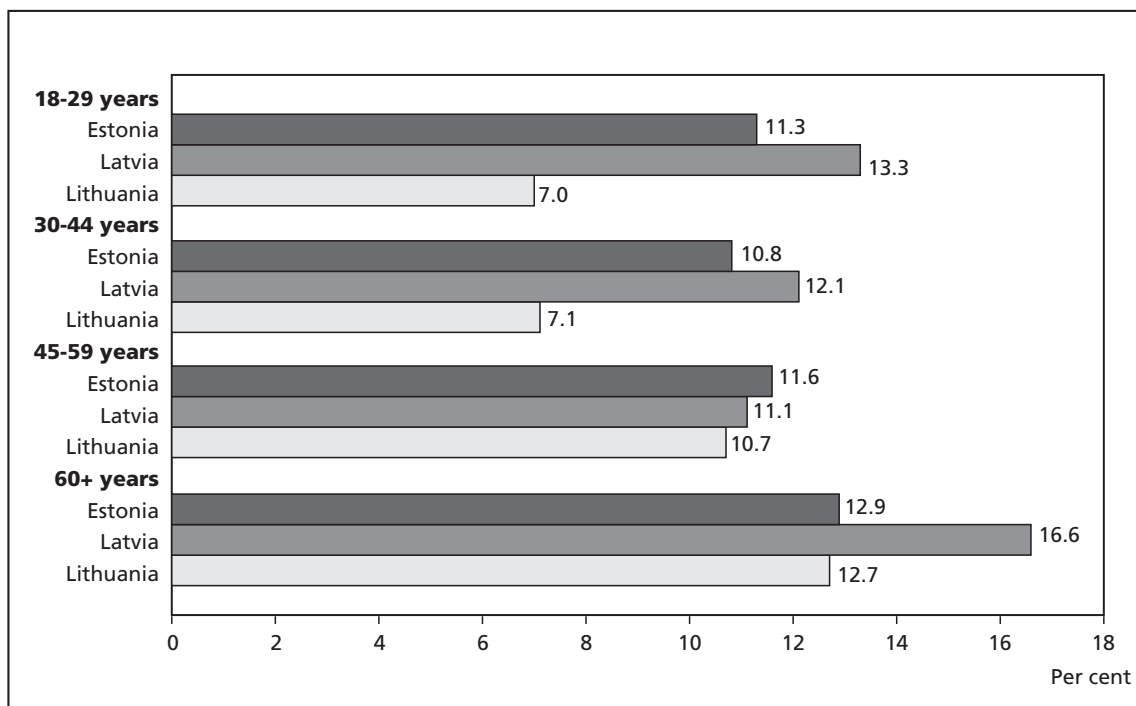
Figure 4.4 Proportion of people who report chronic illness or affliction, by age. Per cent



Acute illness

While chronic illnesses were most frequently reported in Estonia, Latvian respondents reported slightly more acute illnesses or injuries which had lasted for more than three days during the previous two weeks, as illustrated in Figure 4.5. Lithuanians between 18 and 29 years of age reported significantly fewer incidents of such illnesses than in the other two countries, and Latvians were somewhat more vulnerable among the older age groups. The graph clearly shows that acute illnesses are more evenly distributed in all age groups than is the case with chronic illnesses.

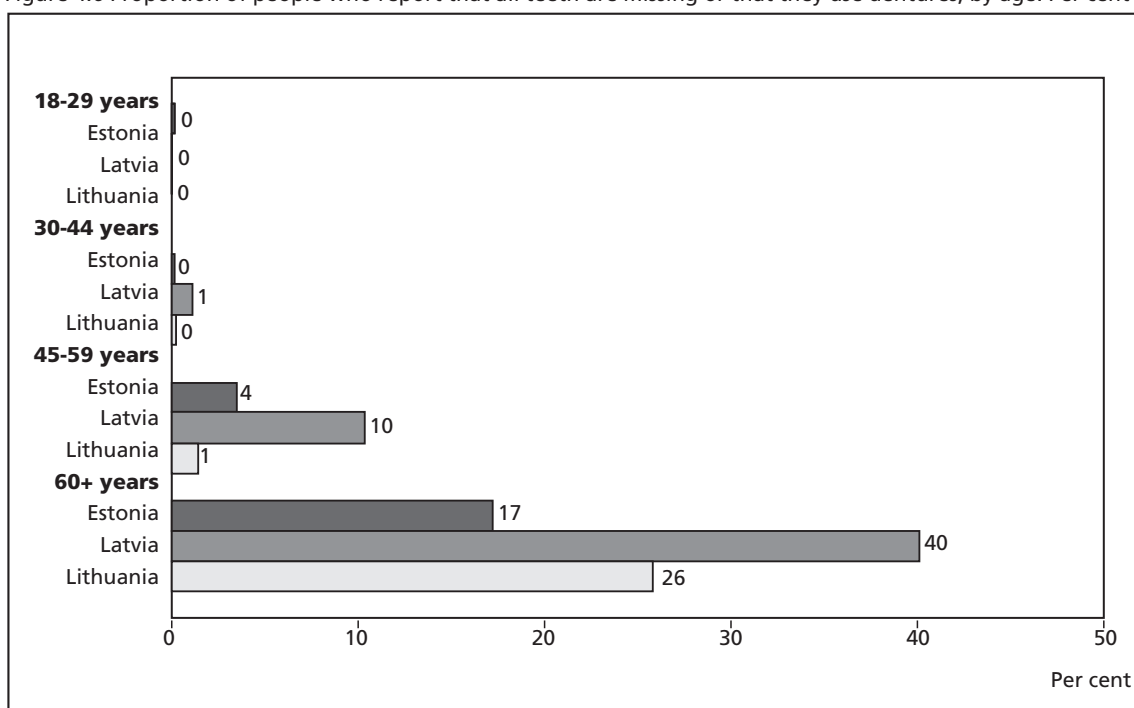
Figure 4.5 Proportion of people who have had acute illness or injury during the previous two weeks, by age. Per cent



Dental health

The respondents in the survey were asked to evaluate the condition of their teeth. It should be stressed that Figure 4.6 is based on a subjective assessment, and does not necessarily reflect objective dental condition as measured by levels of tooth decay, etc. The figure shows the proportion of the respondents in various age groups reporting that all teeth are missing or that they use dentures. As can be seen, the condition of the teeth deteriorates with increasing age. The figure also shows significant variation between the three countries, with Latvia having a considerable proportion without their own teeth already at the age between 45 and 59 and also a much higher proportion than Estonia and Lithuania among people in the oldest age group.

Figure 4.6 Proportion of people who report that all teeth are missing or that they use dentures, by age. Per cent

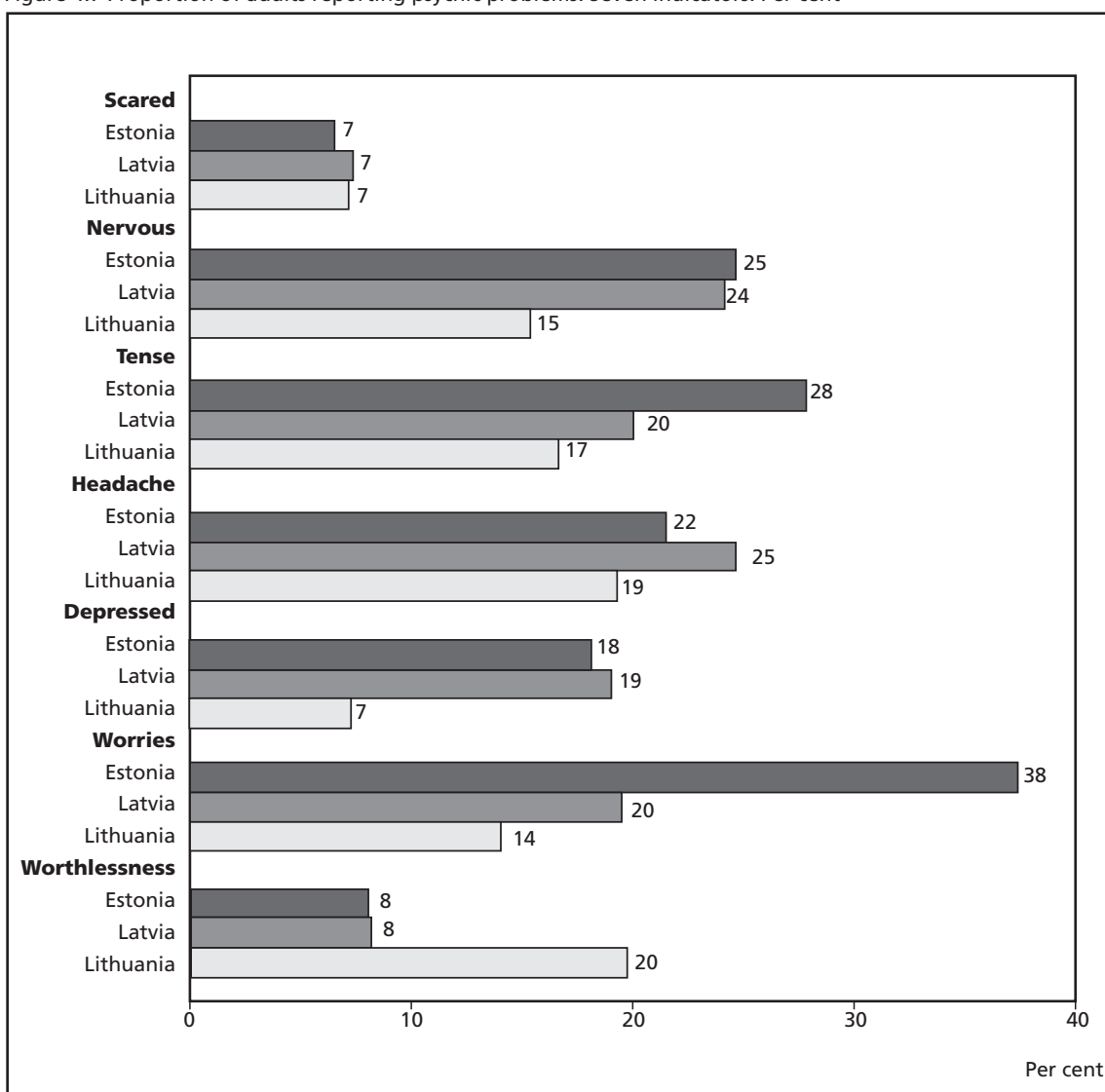


Mental health

To get an overview of the self-perceived mental health of people in the Baltic states in the period of transition, the following questions were put to the respondents: «Do you feel suddenly scared for no reason?», «Are you suffering from nervousness or shakiness inside?», «Are you feeling tense or keyed up?», «Do you have headaches?», «Are you feeling depressed?», «Do you worry too much about things?», and, «Do you have a feeling of worthlessness?». This set of symptoms is based on international standards worked out by the World Health Organisation. The answer categories were as follow: «Not at all», «A little», «Quite a bit», or «Extremely».

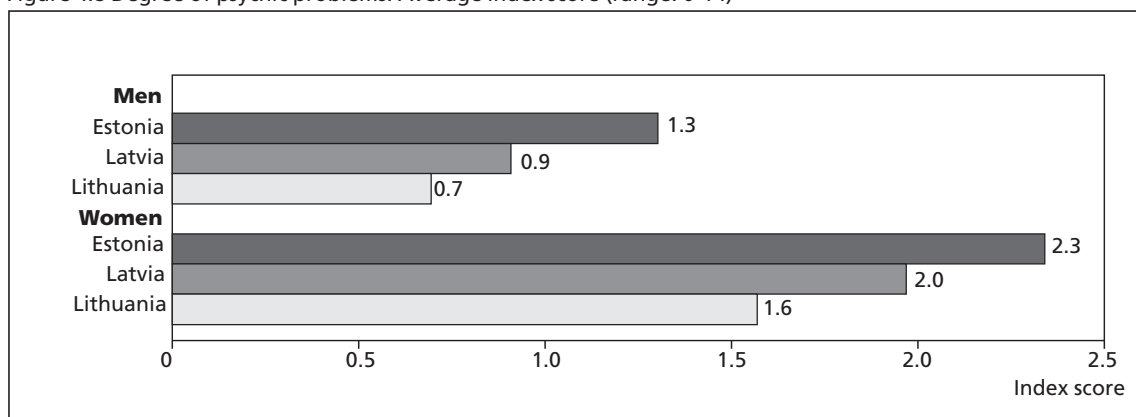
Figure 4.7 shows the proportion of respondents reporting «Quite a bit» or «Extremely» for each symptom, defined here as a mental problem. The patterns are relatively similar in the three countries, with a few exceptions: Estonians have a greater tendency to worry too much about things. Lithuanians are not so nervous and are clearly less depressed than the others, but at the same time they are more likely to report feeling of worthlessness than Estonians and Latvians.

Figure 4.7 Proportion of adults reporting psychic problems. Seven indicators. Per cent



The list of indicators was used to make an index over mental problems. Each time a respondent answered «extremely» on a symptom he or she was given two points, while the answer «quite a bit» was assigned one point. Thus, each respondent could get a number of points ranging from 0 (respondents who answered «not at all» or «a little» to all symptoms) to 14 (those who answered «extremely» to all symptoms). The average index score varied significantly in the three countries, ranging from 1.18 in Lithuania, to 1.53 in Latvia and 1.84 in Estonia. Figure 4.8 shows the average score for respectively men and women in each country. As can be seen from the figure, men report mental problems much less frequently than women. Thus, even Estonian men, who report the most problems, have a lower average score on the index than Lithuanian women, who for their part report fewer problems than women in Latvia and Estonia. A tendency which is not shown in the graph is that the average index score increases with increasing age. The highest average score is found among Estonians 60 years of age and older (2.28), whereas young adults in Lithuania (18-29 years old) had the lowest score (0.61).

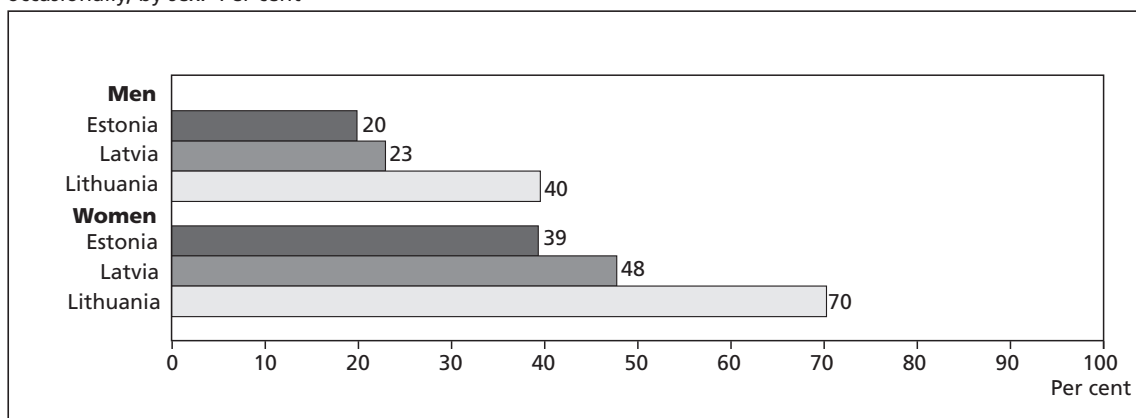
Figure 4.8 Degree of psychic problems. Average index score (range: 0-14)



Use of sedatives

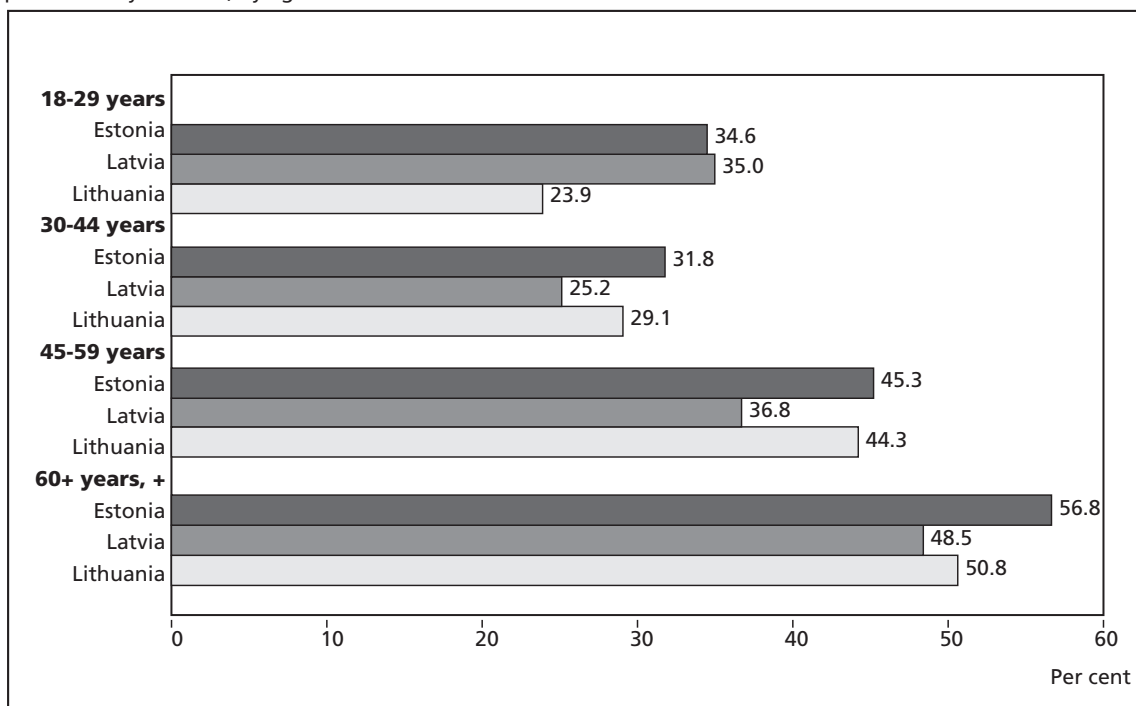
Despite less frequently reported mental problems, Lithuanians tend to use more sedatives and medicines for the nerves than Latvians and Estonians, at least if we are to trust the self-reporting of the NORBALT survey. This applies both to men and women. In all the three countries there is a significant difference between the sexes; reporting having used sedatives is much more common among women than among men. However, the difference between Estonia on the one extreme and Lithuania on the other is so great that Lithuanian men actually report taking more sedatives than Estonian women (Figure 4.9).

Figure 4.9 Proportion of people who report that they have taken sedatives during the past six months, regularly or occasionally, by sex. Per cent



Who prescribes these medicines? Figure 5.10 shows the proportion of respondents taking sedatives reporting that a doctor prescribes all the medicaments. We see that this is the case for less than half the respondents of all ages except for Estonian and Lithuanian respondents in the oldest age group. The likelihood that the respondent's medicines are prescribed by a doctor increases with increasing age. In Latvia, however, the youngest age groups are more likely to have their sedatives prescribed by a doctor than those between 45 and 59 years of age. In general, in Estonia the medicaments are more likely to be prescribed by a doctor than in the other two countries, but the difference is not very large.

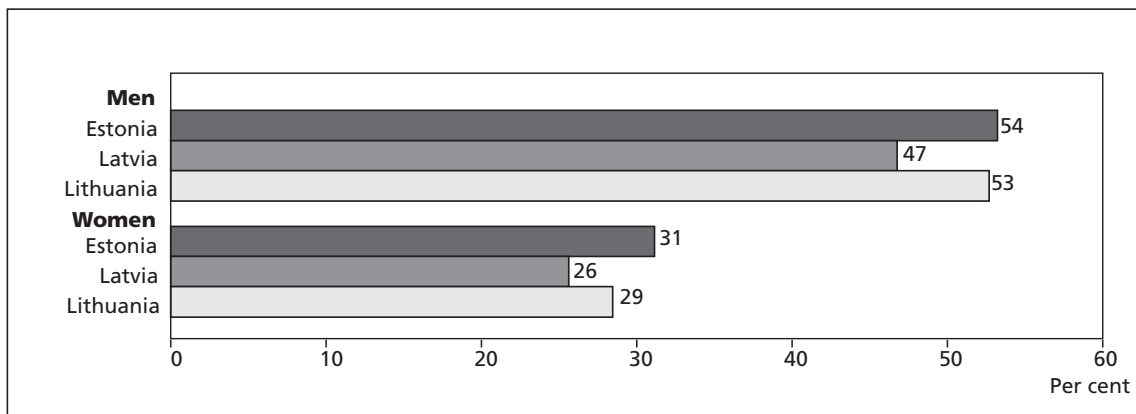
Figure 4.10 Proportion of those who took sedatives during the previous six months who report that they were all prescribed by a doctor, by age. Per cent



Alcohol consumption

It is well known in responding to surveys, people tend to underestimate their consumption of alcohol. However, a question asking respondents when they last had an alcoholic drink can give a relatively reliable indication of consumption patterns. Figure 4.11 shows the proportion of men and women who had an alcoholic drink during the previous week. Although Latvians report drinking slightly less often than the others, the difference between the sexes is much greater than differences between the three countries. Further analysis shows that in all three countries people in the age groups below 45 generally drink more often than those who are older.

Figure 4.11 Proportion of respondents reporting that they had an alcoholic drink during the previous week by sex. Per cent



Smoking habits

While in Lithuania smoking is most common among the younger age groups, in Estonia and Latvia smoking patterns are quite similar for all age groups. This is illustrated in Figure 4.12, which shows the proportion of respondents smoking either regularly or occasionally. The level of smoking in the Baltic states can be considered as high, with between 35% (Lithuania) and 43% (Estonia) smoking in the age group between 30 and 44 years.

Figure 4.12 Proportion of respondents who smoke regularly or occasionally by age. Per cent

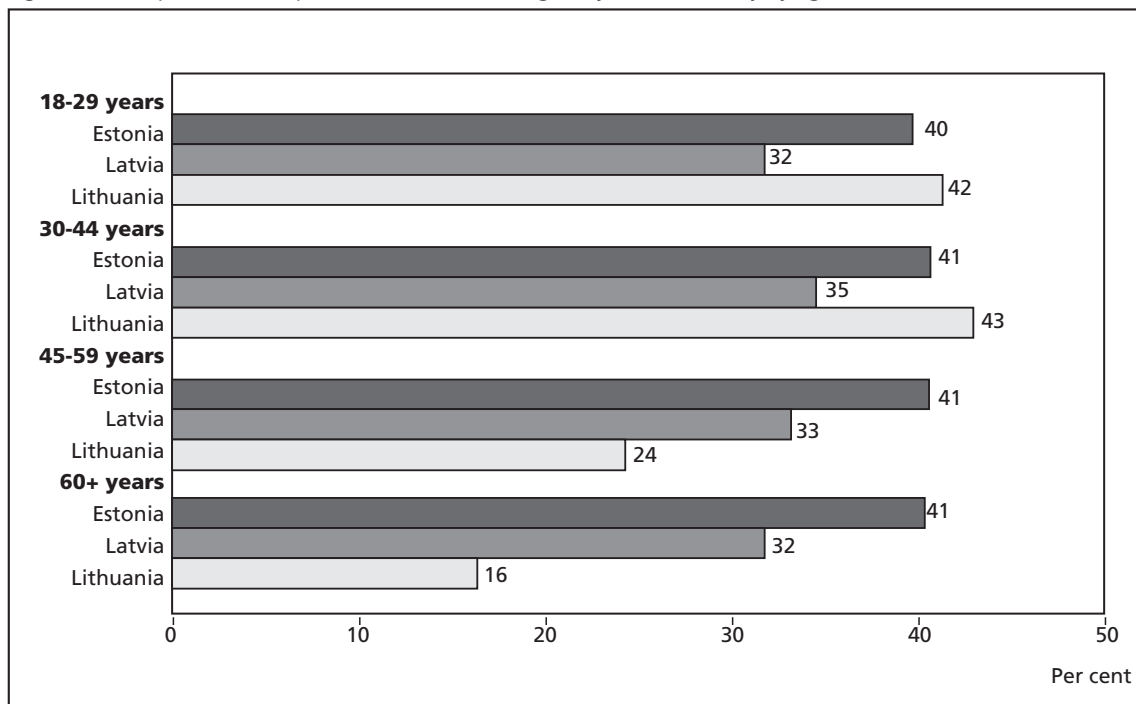
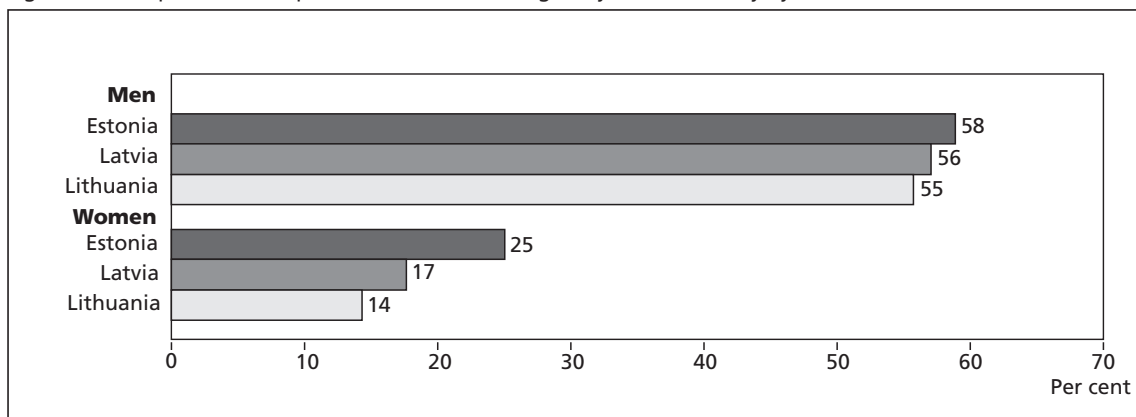


Figure 4.13 shows that while there are only small variations between Baltic men in terms of smoking habits, considerably fewer women smoke in Lithuania (14%) than in Estonia (25%), giving Estonia significantly higher total figures for smoking. It is noteworthy that Lithuanian men smoke almost four times more often than Lithuanian women, while the ratio in Estonia is one female smoker per 2.3 male smokers (1 : 2.3) and in Latvia 1 : 3.3.

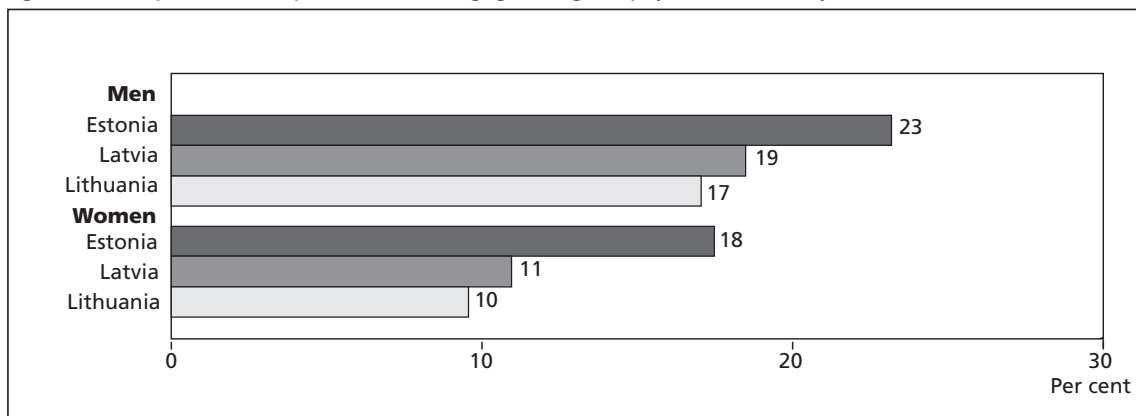
Figure 4.13 Proportion of respondents who smoke regularly or occasionally by sex. Per cent



Physical exercise

Finally, to a question on whether the respondents engaged in any regular physical activity, such as jogging, cycling, etc. at least once a week, 12% of Lithuanians, 13% of Latvians and 20% of Estonians said that they did so. Men are more prone to do regular exercise than women, as shown in Figure 4.14. However, Estonian women seem to be more active than Lithuanian men. Not unexpectedly, activity levels decrease with increasing age.

Figure 4.14 Proportion of respondents who engage in regular physical exercise, by sex. Per cent



Employment and Income Sources

Labour force

The employment section of the NORBALT questionnaire uses the standards and definitions recommended by the International Labour Organisation (ILO). The main labour force categories in this system are *employed*, *unemployed* and *not in the labour force*. The labour force is made up of the employed and the unemployed.

Our first task is to calculate the size of the population being of working age as a proportion of the total population. To be able to compare the three countries, we have defined the same working ages for all the countries: for women the ages between 16 and 54, and for men between 16 and 59.¹

Table 5.1 Proportion of population below, within, and above working age (16 - 54/59) by gender.

	Men			Women			Total		
	Below	Within	Above	Below	Within	Above	Below	Within	Above
Estonia	25.2	60.3	14.5	21.2	51.7	27.1	23.0	55.7	21.3
Latvia	25.4	58.6	16.0	19.2	47.5	33.3	21.9	52.3	25.7
Lithuania	25.5	60.8	13.7	21.5	54.2	24.3	23.4	57.3	19.3

The table shows that Lithuania has the highest proportion of its population within working age, while Latvia has the smallest. Less than half of Latvian women are of working age, while one third are above working age. In the other two countries only approximately one quarter of women are above working age.

Table 5.2 gives the size of the labour force in relation to the population of working age (16-54/59). Differences between the countries are relatively small, as the following results show:

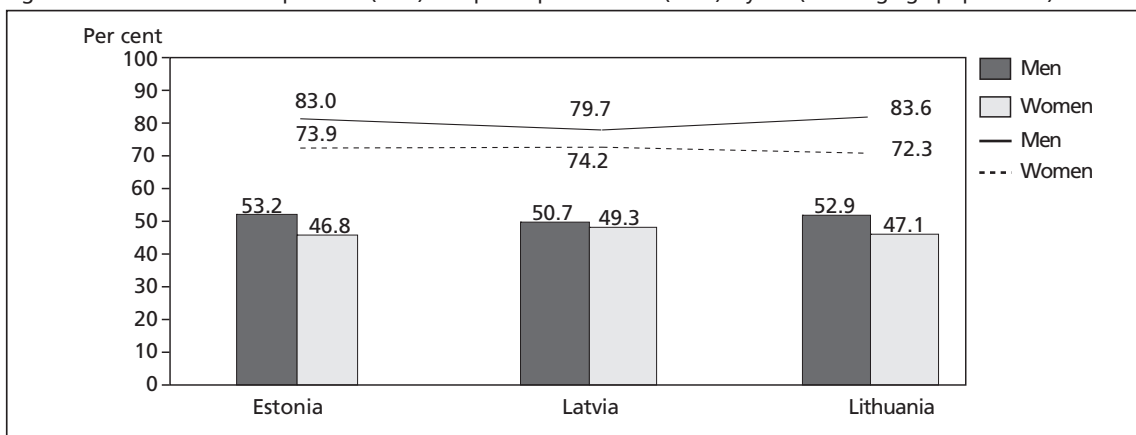
Table 5.2 Proportion of the population between 16- 54/59 being part of the labour force. Per cent.

Estonia	78.5
Latvia	76.9
Lithuania	77.9

Looking at the composition of the labour force distributed by sex, Figure 5.1 shows that the labour force consists of more men than women in all the three countries, although the difference is very small in Latvia. Figure 5.1 also gives the proportions of men and women of working age who are part of the labour force. Latvia has the highest participation rate of the three countries among women, but clearly the lowest among men.

¹ The definition of working age varies slightly among the three countries. In Latvia working age is defined as the age between 15 and 54/59.

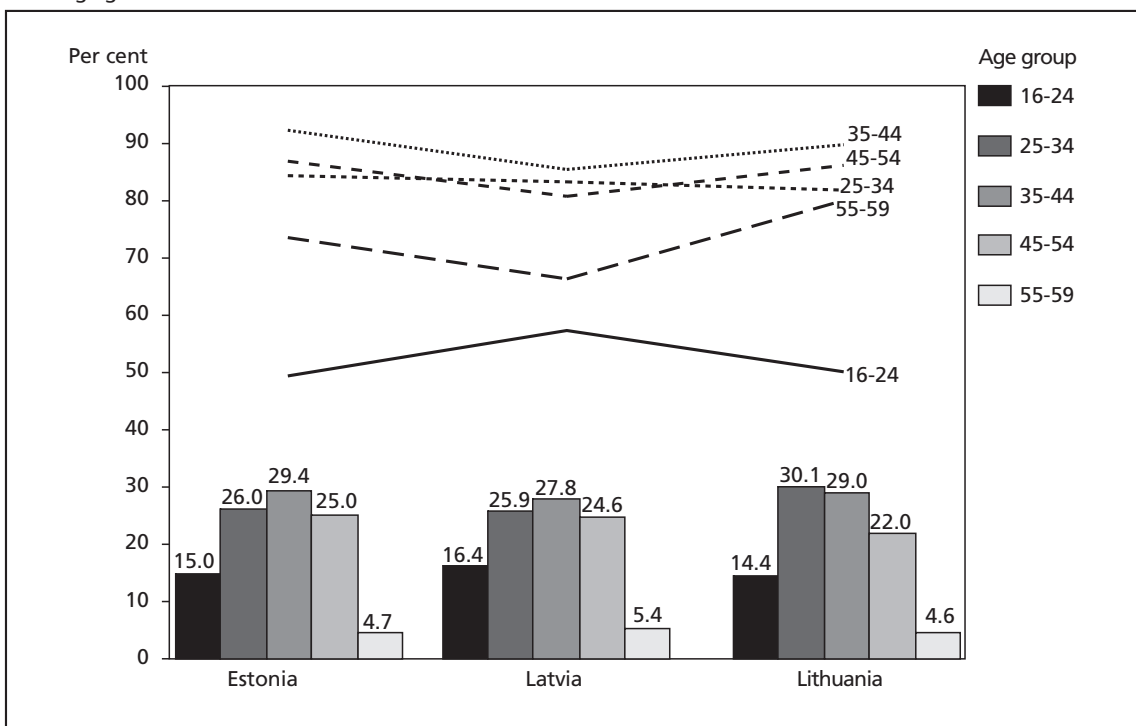
Figure 5.1 Labour force composition (bars) and participation rates (lines) by sex (working age population). Per cent



Explanation: Columns show composition, lines - participation rates

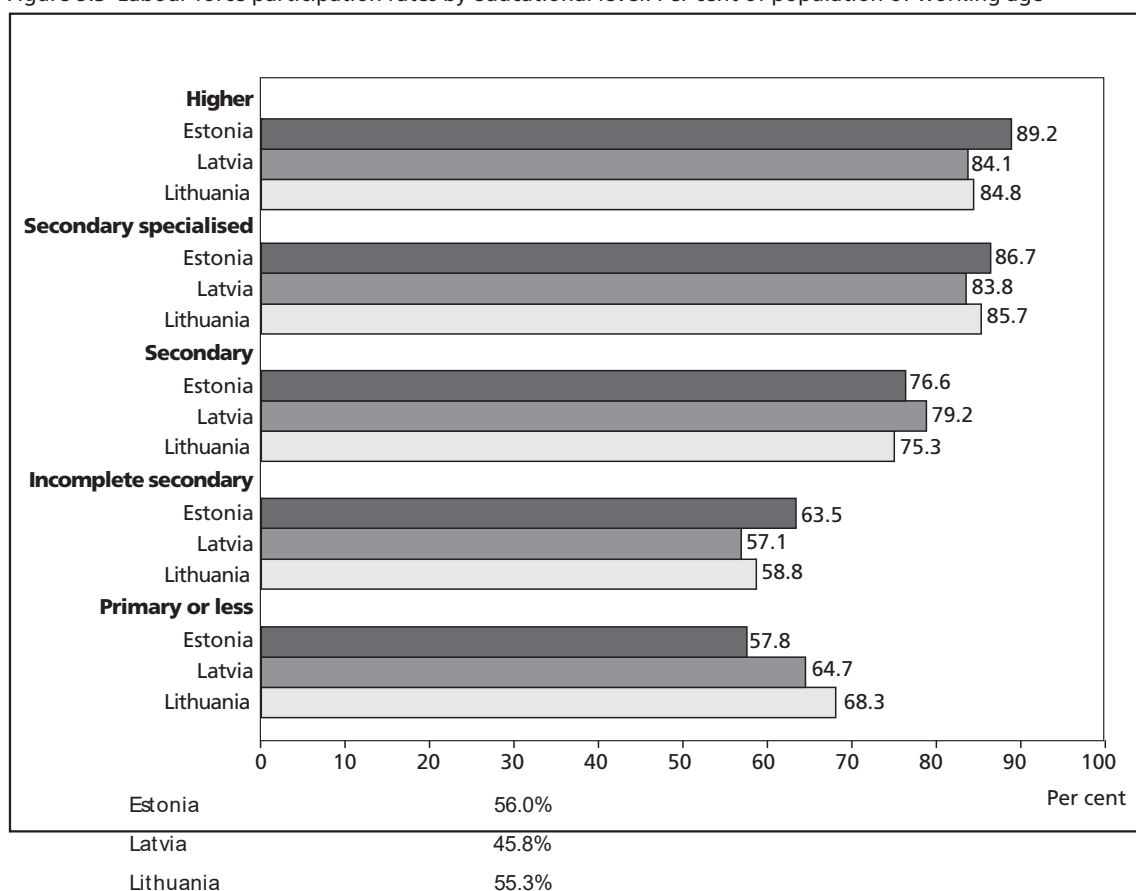
The composition of the labour force was also broken down by age group, and results are presented in Figure 5.2.

Figure 5.2 Labour force composition (bars) and participation rates (lines) by age groups. Per cent of population of working age



Participation rates are strongly affected by educational level, as shown in Figure 5.3. Although participation rates vary between 85% and 90% among people with higher education, people with primary or incomplete secondary education have participation rates as low as 57% - 58%. In Estonia people with primary education or less are those with lowest participation rates, while in Latvia and Lithuania it is those who have not completed secondary education who are least likely to participate in the labour force.

Figure 5.3 Labour force participation rates by educational level. Per cent of population of working age



Employment

There are different ways of calculating employment rates. If the employment rates are calculated by estimating the proportion of the employed population in relation to the total population 16 years of age and older, then the NORBALT survey gives the following employment rates:

If, however, we look at the employed as a proportion of the population of working age instead of all people above 16 years old, the employment rates are considerably higher:

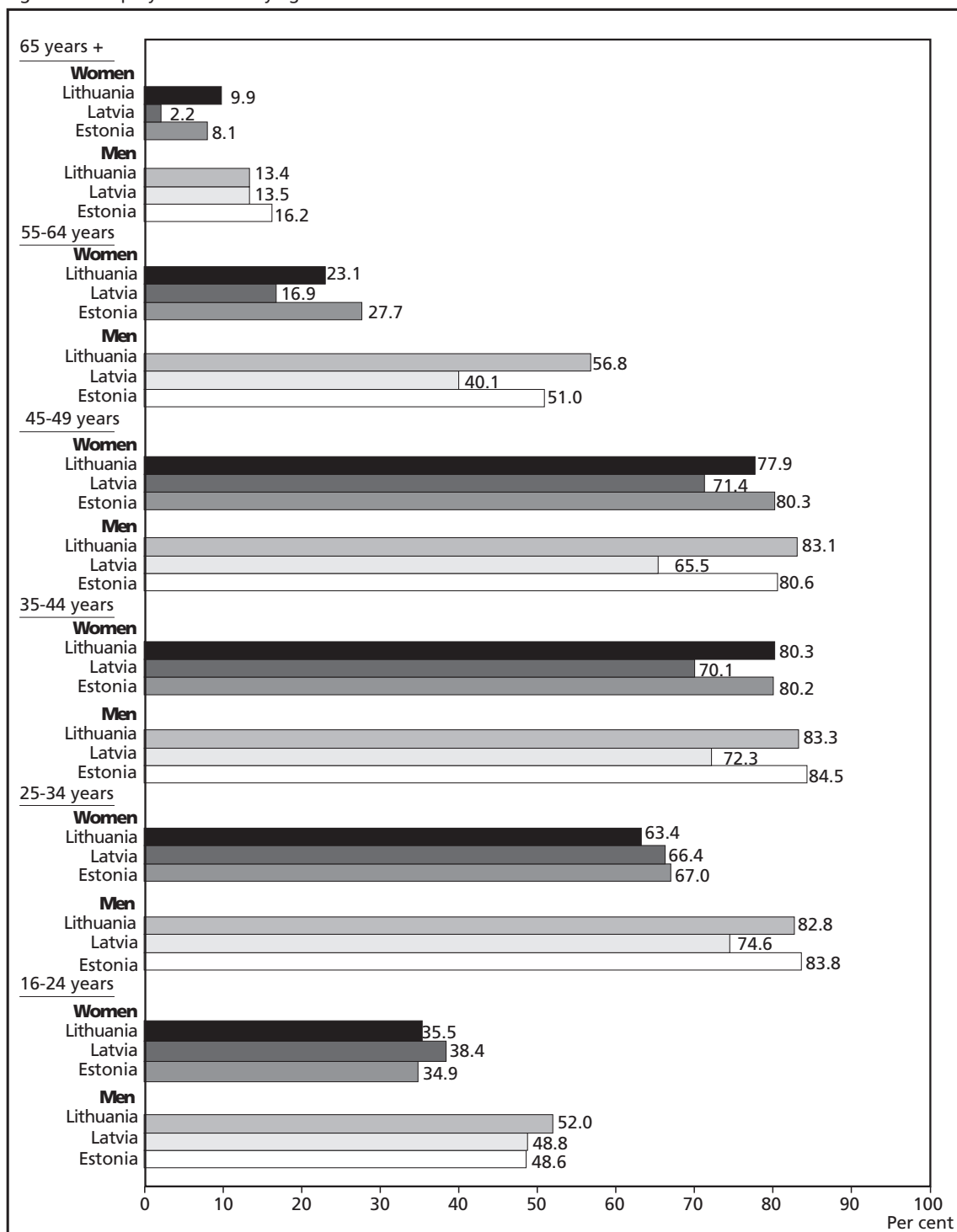
Estonia	69.7%
Latvia	63.3%
Lithuania	69.6%

In the following discussion we will take the whole population 16 years of age and above as the basis of analysis. Let us first look at the sex structure of the employed. In Estonia and Lithuania about 52% of employed population are males, but in Latvia males make up only 48.9% of the employed. However, as shown in Table 6.3, employment rates are higher for men than for women; that is, a higher proportion of men are working. This is partly due to the fact that the age of retirement is 5 years higher for men in all countries.

Table 5.3: Employment rates by sex. Per cent.

	Men	Women
Estonia	64.2	49.3
Latvia	53.6	40.2
Lithuania	65.1	48.1

Figure 5.4 Employment rates by age and sex. Per cent



More interesting is the breakdown of employment rates by sex and age-groups, which is presented in Figure 5.4. Not surprisingly, employment rates are lowest among young people in the age group between 16 and 24, as well as among people above the age of retirement. Women have clearly lower employment rates than men in the youngest age groups (up to 34 years), after which the difference becomes smaller. Indeed, in Latvia women have higher employment rates than men in the 45-54 age group, and in Estonia and Lithuania employment rates are about equal in this age group. After this age, however, men have higher employment rates.

If we compare the three countries, it can be seen from the figure that Latvians have lower employment rates than Estonians and Lithuanians for most of the age-groups and for both sexes. However, there are some exceptions. Employment rates among young people are rather similar for the three countries, although among women, Latvians have lower employment rates beginning from the age of 25. Women above 65 years old have rather similar employment rates in all the countries.

Employment structure

Analysis of the distribution of employment by the ownership status of enterprises and companies shows rather similar patterns for all countries. However, a larger proportion of people work in the private sector (i.e. in share-holding or privately owned companies) in Estonia and Lithuania than in Latvia. In Latvia more than half the employed still worked in the government sector at the time of the survey. In all three countries there is a higher proportion of women working in the state sector (Figure 5.5).

Figure 5.5 Distribution of employed by ownership types of enterprises and companies. Per cent

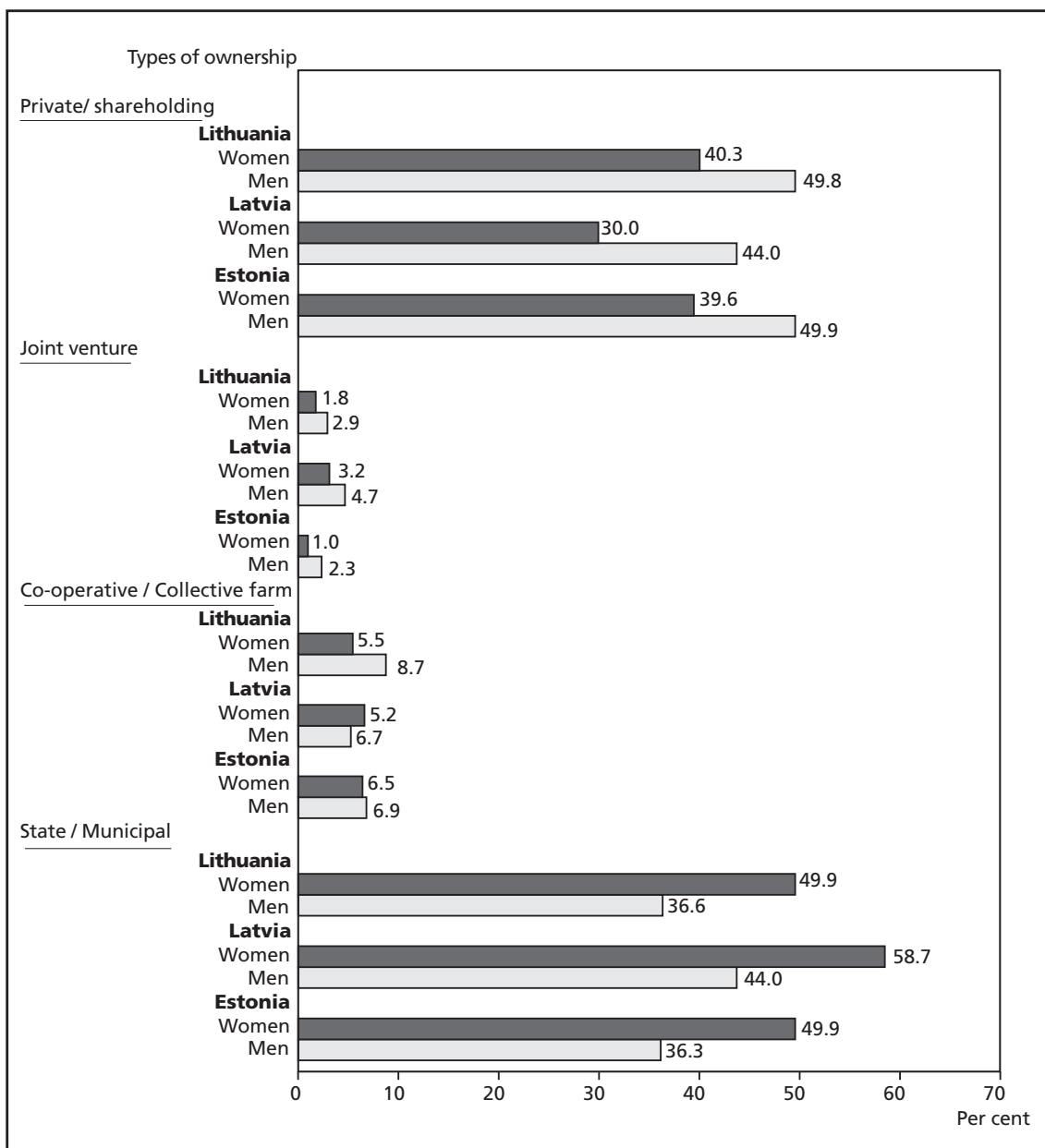
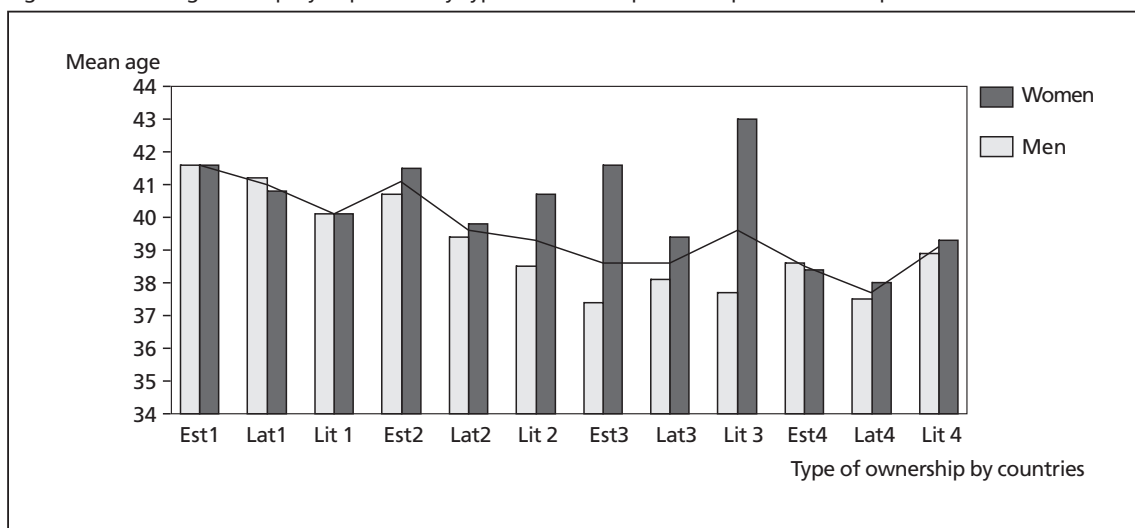


Figure 5.6 shows the average age of those employed in the different ownership types of enterprises and companies. As can be seen, differences are rather small, although the average age is lower in private companies than in the state sector. It is noteworthy, however, that joint ventures on average have younger men and older women than is the case within other types of ownership forms.

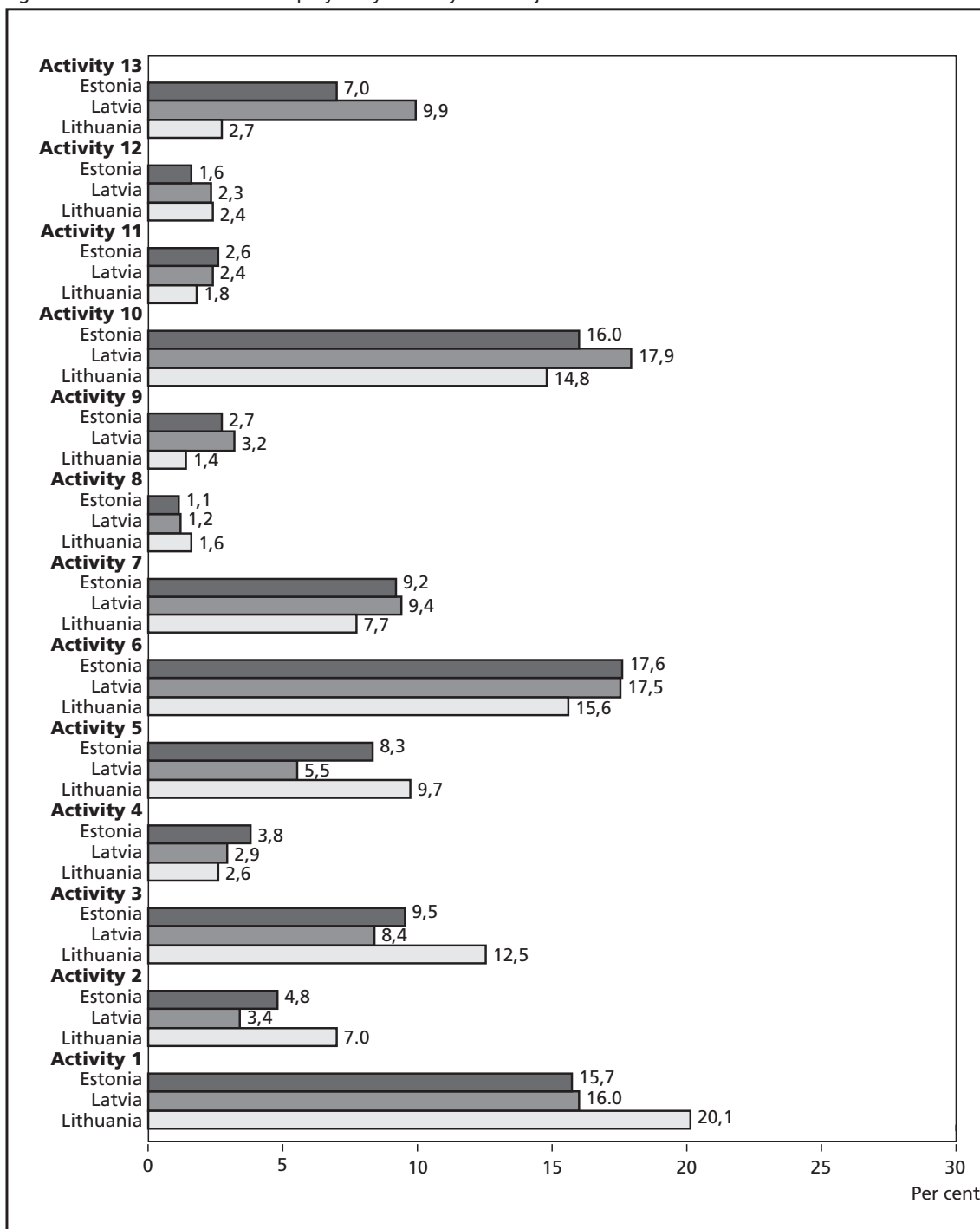
Figure 5.6 Mean age of employed persons by type of ownership of enterprises and companies



Explanation: 1 - State/municipal enterprises, 2 - Co-operative/collective farm, 3 - Joint venture, 4 - Share-holding/private.

The types of industries that Baltic people are engaged in are similar across the three countries (Figure 5.7). There are three dominating types of activities: (a) agriculture, forestry and fishery, (b) health and social care, education and science, and (c) trade and everyday services. Lithuania has the highest proportion among the three engaged in the primary sectors of the economy, and Estonia and Latvia have higher proportions in trade and services. Further analysis presented in Table 5.4 shows the great differences between men and women in terms of their type of employment. While men dominate in the primary sector of the economy, women are clearly over-represented in health and education.

Figure 5.7 Distribution of the employed by industry in main job. Per cent



Explanation: 1-Agriculture, forestry; fishery; 2-Mining/heavy industry; 3- Light industry/food processing; 4-Power-gas and water supply; 5-Construction industry; 6-Trade and services; 7-Transport, post; 8-Finance, insurance, brokerage; 9-Public administration; 10-Health and social care, education/science; 11-Culture and art; 12-Armed forces, police; 13-Other).

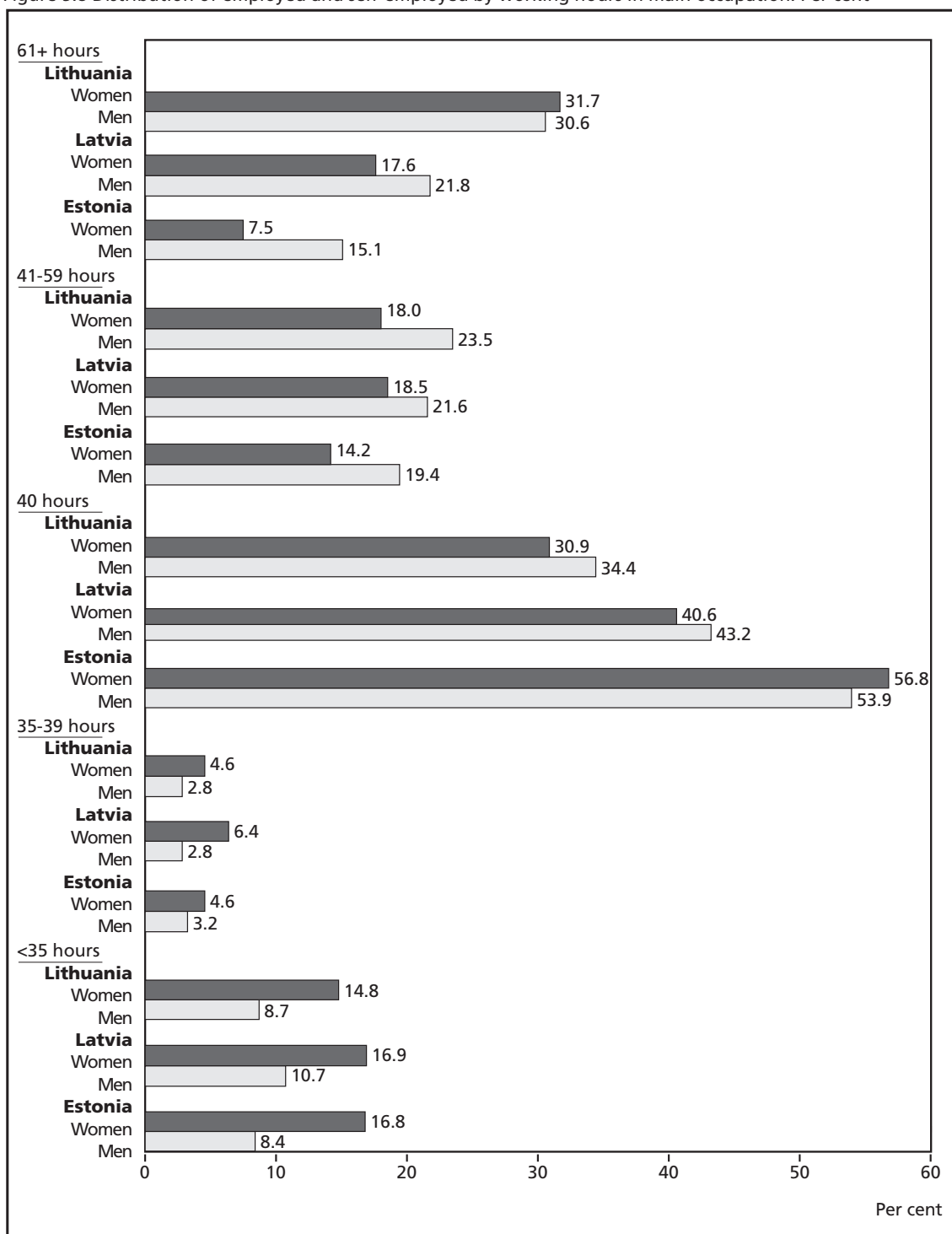
Table 5.4 Distribution of the employed and self-employed by industry of main job and sex. Per cent

	Males			Females		
	Estonia	Latvia	Lithuania	Estonia	Latvia	Lithuania
Agriculture, forestry, fishery	19.0	21.0	23.5	12.2	11.2	16.1
Mining/heavy industry	6.9	4.4	8.8	2.5	2.5	4.8
Light industry/food processing	6.7	6.9	10.0	12.6	9.9	15.5
Power, gas and water supply	5.3	4.0	4.3	2.3	1.8	0.7
Construction industry	13.4	10.0	15.2	2.8	1.1	3.3
Trade and services	13.7	14.1	13.0	21.8	20.9	18.7
Transport, post	12.4	12.0	9.9	5.7	6.8	5.1
Finance, insurance, brokerage	0.8	1.0	1.1	1.3	1.4	2.2
Public administration	2.0	2.6	1.0	3.5	3.8	1.9
Health and social care, education/science	6.3	6.6	5.0	26.5	29.0	26.3
Culture and art	2.2	2.0	1.3	3.2	2.8	2.4
Armed forces, police	2.4	3.5	3.9	0.7	1.0	0.6
Other	8.9	11.9	3.0	5.1	7.0	2.3

Working hours, additional jobs and hidden unemployment

Only a small proportion of the working population in the Baltic countries work less than 35 hours per week. Indeed, less than 20% of the employed have a working week in their main job which is shorter than the normal work time, which is 40 hours in all the three countries. Figure 5.8 shows that men on average work longer hours than women. If we compare the three countries, Lithuania has the highest proportion of people who work more hours than normal work week, and the lowest proportion is found in Estonia.

Figure 5.8 Distribution of employed and self-employed by working hours in main occupation. Per cent

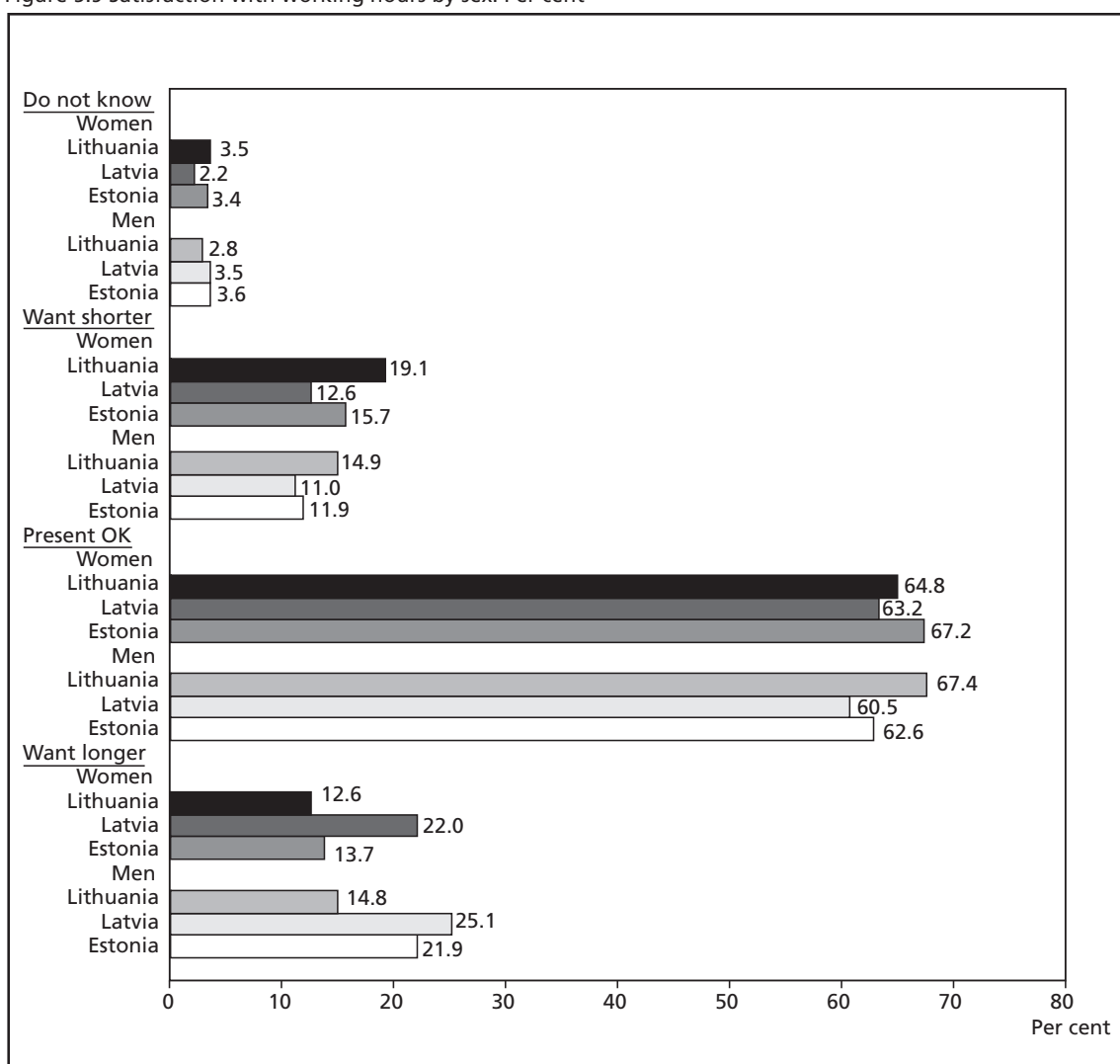


Of those who are temporarily absent from work, more than half are on vacation or absent due to illness (Figure 5.9). Two categories of temporary absence represent a form of hidden unemployment: people who were absent due to layoff for more than 30 days *with pay* and people who were absent due to layoff for more than 30 days *without pay*. Estonia has a particularly high proportion of absent workers who belong to one of these two groups (37% in total). It should be noted, however, that the Estonian

questionnaire did not contain all the answer categories that were included in the Latvian and Lithuanian questionnaires for this item, so an exact comparison is not possible.

When asked if they are satisfied with their present working hours, most respondents in all countries replied that their present working hours suited them. The proportions who want longer and shorter working hours are rather similar. However, in Latvia longer working hours are desired by more people, and the same is true for Estonian men. For Lithuanian women the situation is the opposite; a larger proportion want a shorter work week (Figure 5.9).

Figure 5.9 Satisfaction with working hours by sex. Per cent



Unemployment

There are different ways of calculating unemployment rates. If the labour force is defined as the sum of employed people aged 16 and above, plus unemployed people of working age (16-54/59), and the unemployment rate is calculated as a percentage of that sum, then the NORBALT surveys give the following unemployment rates for the Baltic countries:

Estonia	10.1%
Latvia	16.6%
Lithuania	9.8%

When, on the other hand, the labour force is defined as the sum of employed and unemployed of working age (16-54/59), and the unemployment rate is calculated as a percentage of that sum (as will be done in the analysis to follow), unemployment rates are slightly higher:

Estonia	11.1%
Latvia	17.6%
Lithuania	10.7%

In the Baltic countries as a whole more than 52% of the unemployed are males. However, unemployment rates show about equal unemployment among males and females in Estonia and Lithuania but higher unemployment rates among males in Latvia (Table 5.5):

Table 5.5: Unemployment by sex. Per cent.

	Men	Women
Estonia	11.1	11.2
Latvia	19.6	15.6
Lithuania	10.6	10.7

Unemployment rates are highest within among the age-group between 16 and 24 as shown in Figure 5.10. In Latvia unemployment rates in this age group is as high as 25%. Unemployment rates are broken down by age and sex in Table 5.6.

Figure 5.10 Unemployment rates by age. Per cent

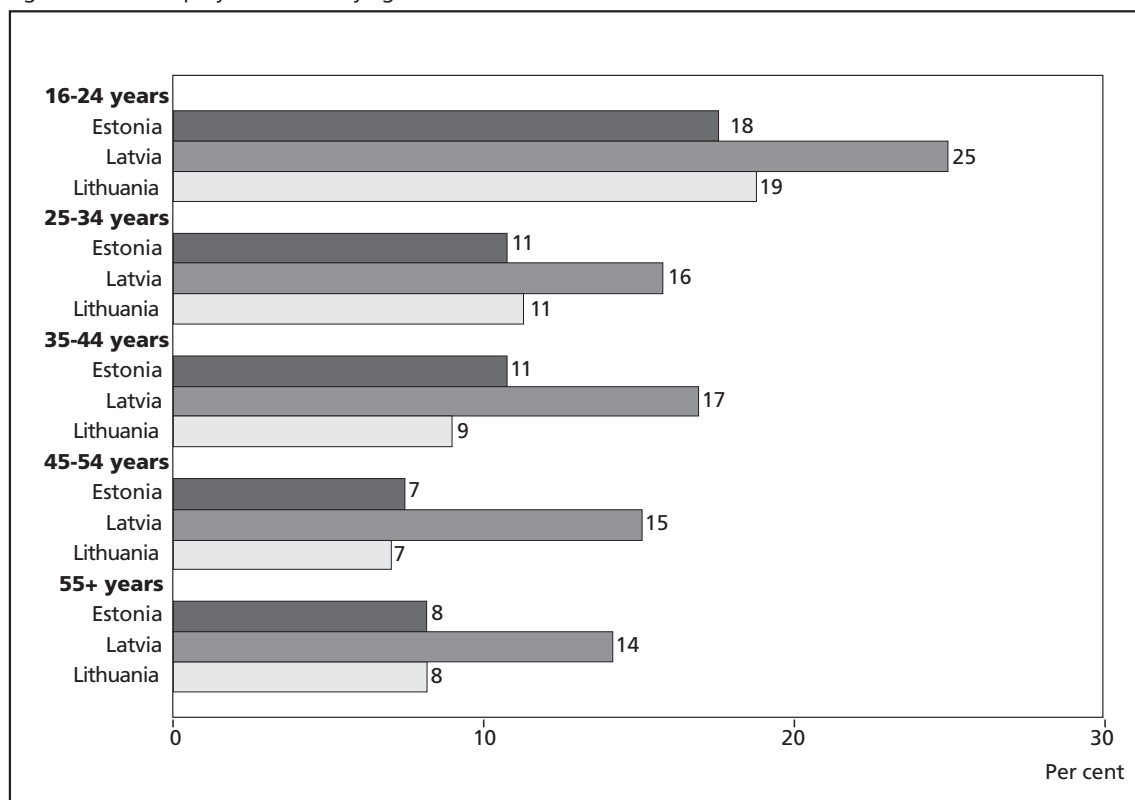
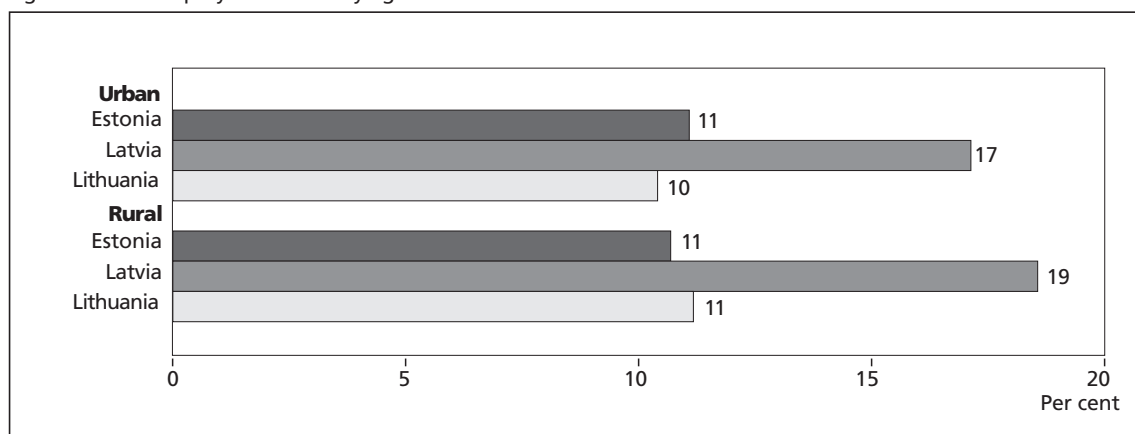


Table 5.6 Unemployment rates by age and gender. Per cent

		16-24 Years	25-34 Years	35-44 Years	45-54 Years	55 + Years
Estonia	Men	17.6	9.8	10.3	7.0	8.1
	Women	18.7	12.3	10.0	7.2	-
Latvia	Men	22.3	16.8	17.3	19.1	13.6
	Women	26.6	14.2	15.9	11.1	-
Lithuania	Men	20.5	10.2	9.1	6.5	8.2
	Women	16.9	13.2	8.5	6.9	-

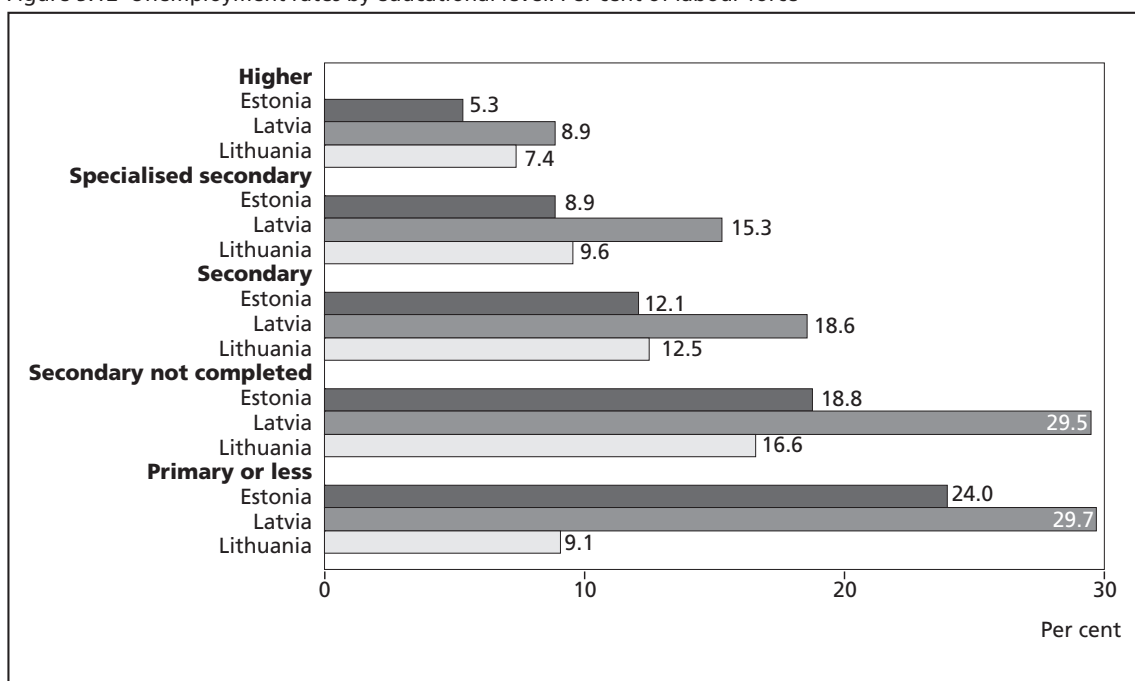
Unemployment is rather similar in rural and urban areas, as shown by Figure 5.11. It must be noted our survey was conducted in the harvest season, when many people living in rural areas were engaged in seasonal work.

Figure 5.11 Unemployment rates by age. Per cent of labour force



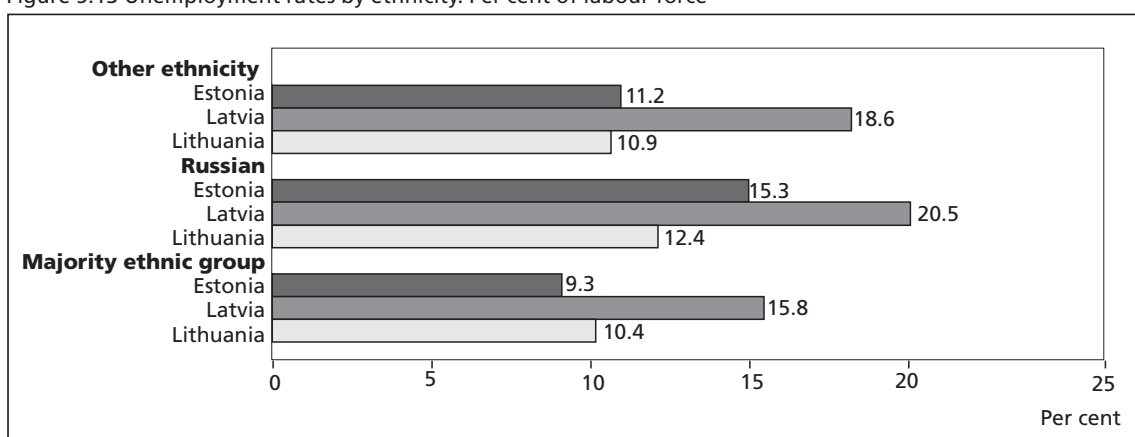
In all three countries people with higher education appear to be better protected against unemployment than others. The exception is in Lithuania among people with primary education, but the number of people with these characteristics is too small to be statistically reliable (Figure 5.12).

Figure 5.12 Unemployment rates by educational level. Per cent of labour force



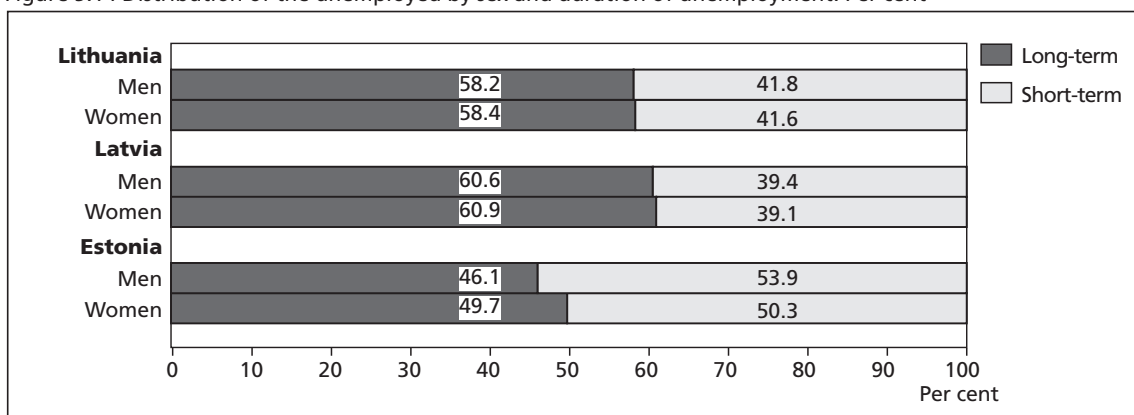
Unemployment levels are higher among Russians than among people of the majority ethnic groups. Differences are larger in Estonia and Latvia than in Lithuania. Ethnic Estonians have the lowest rates (9.3%) while Russians in Latvia have the highest (20.5%). The rates for other ethnic groups are higher than for ethnic Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians, but are lower than the rates for ethnic Russians (Figure 5.13).

Figure 5.13 Unemployment rates by ethnicity. Per cent of labour force



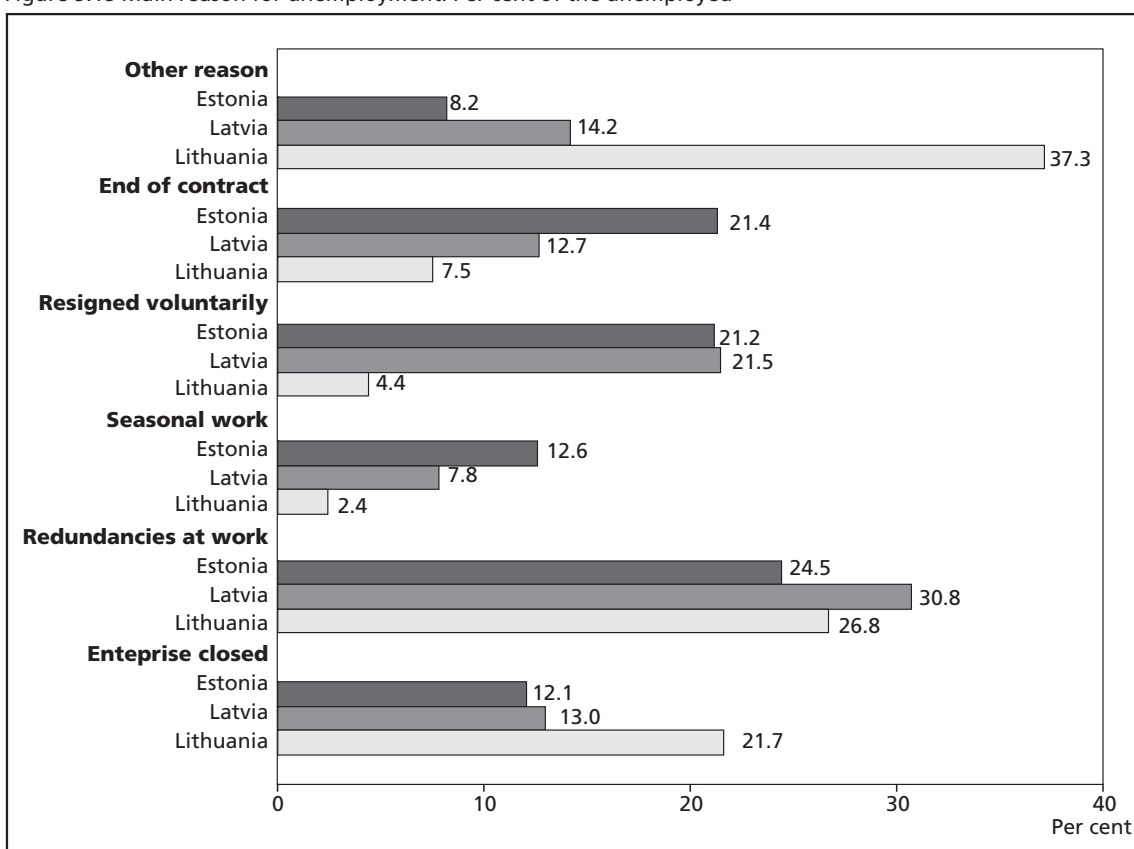
In Latvia and Lithuania 61% and 58% respectively of the unemployed are so-called «long-term unemployed» which means that they have been looking for work for more than 6 months. In Estonia 48% of the unemployed are in this situation. The distribution of long-term and short-term unemployment is similar for men and women in all countries. (Figure 5.14). The mean time of looking for work is 8 months in Estonia, 10 months in Lithuania and 11 in Latvia.

Figure 5.14 Distribution of the unemployed by sex and duration of unemployment. Per cent



A question was asked to the unemployed about the main reason for their unemployment. The results are presented in Figure 5.15. It suffices to note here that Lithuania stands out in the sense that it has a higher proportion of people who became unemployed when the enterprise they worked in closed down, and a particularly small proportion reporting that they resigned voluntarily.

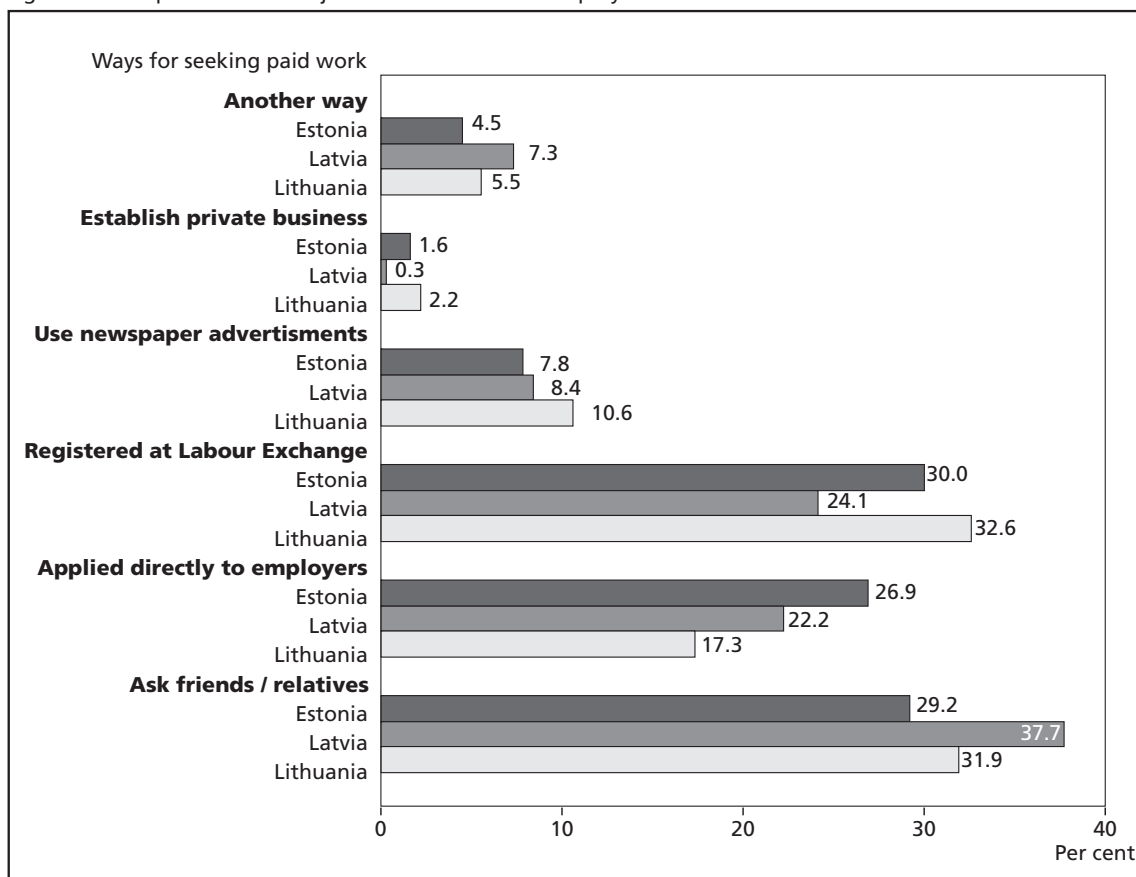
Figure 5.15 Main reason for unemployment. Per cent of the unemployed



What, then, do the unemployed in the Baltic countries do in order to find work? The main steps taken are quite similar in all the countries, with some variation which can be observed in Figure 5.17. It is noteworthy that a large proportion look for work only by asking friends (29% to 38%) while the proportion using newspaper advertisements is relatively low in all three countries (8 to 11%). Very few

try to establish their own business (2% or less). The proportion reporting registering at the Labour Exchange as their main measure in order to find work varies from one quarter to one third of the respondents.

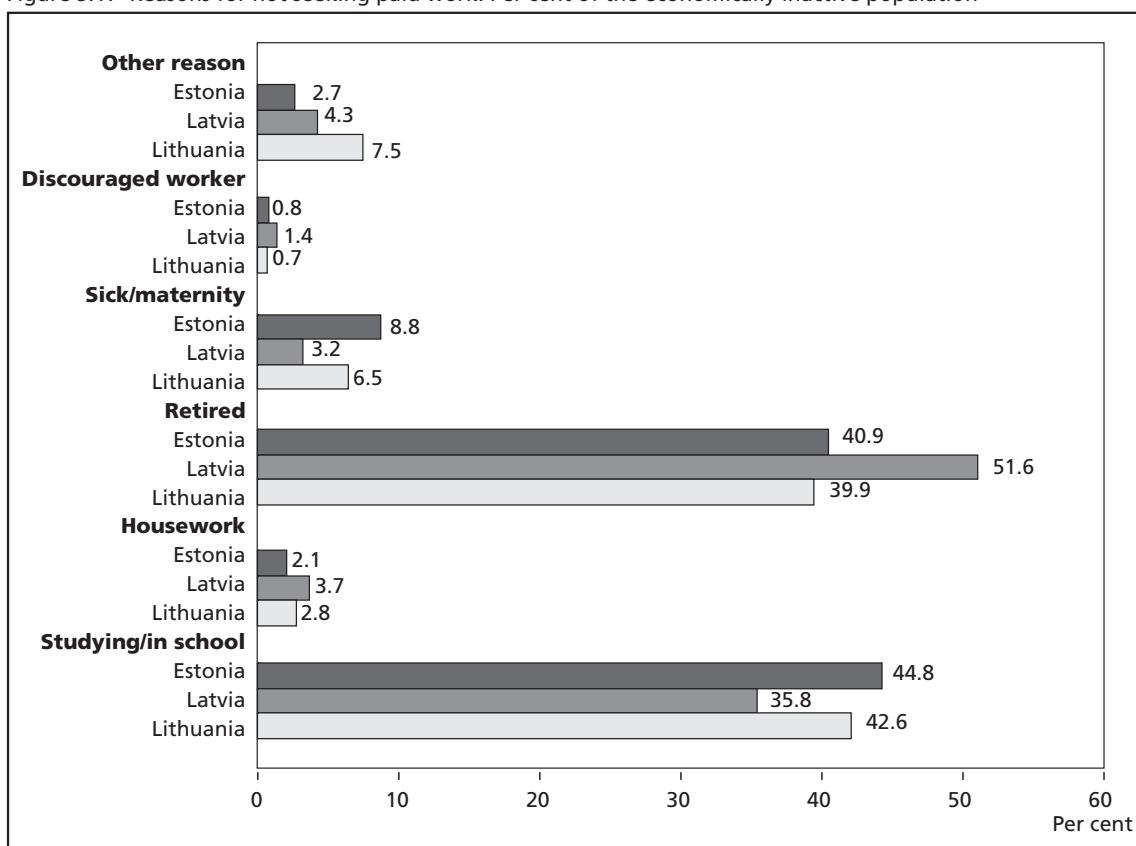
Figure 5.16 Steps taken to find job. Per cent of the unemployed



The economically inactive population

The majority of those who are not in the labour force are either studying or retired (Figure 5.17). The proportion of retired people is particularly high in Latvia, where such people make up more than 50% of the economically inactive population. Discouraged workers (people who are available for work but have given up looking) make up only 1% of the economically inactive in all three countries. There are also rather few homeworkers in the Baltic countries, the highest proportion found in Latvia where they make only 4% of the economically inactive population.

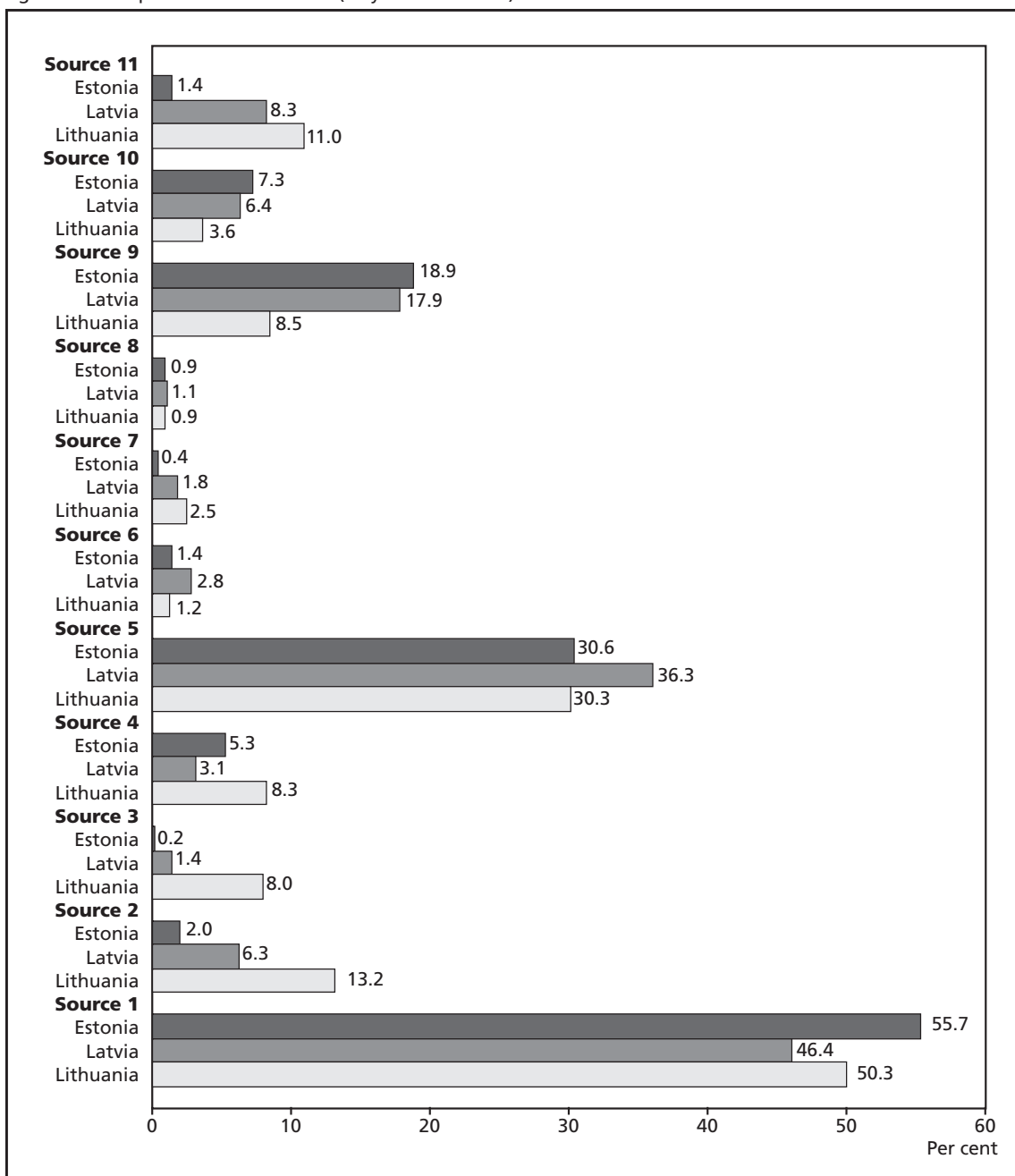
Figure 5.17 Reasons for not seeking paid work. Per cent of the economically inactive population



Sources of income

Figure 5.18 summarises the different types of income sources reported by our respondents. As the figure shows, the most common income sources are wages and pensions. Of the three countries Latvia has the lowest proportion of respondents reporting incomes from wages and salaries (46%), and the highest proportion receiving pensions (36%). The highest proportion of individuals receiving wages and salaries is found in Estonia (56%). In Lithuania the proportion is 50%. In Lithuania the proportion of people receiving incomes from private business, dividends from shares and selling products is higher than in the other two countries. Almost 20% of the respondents in Estonia and Latvia and almost 10% in Lithuania receive child benefits or family allowance.

Figure 5.18 Proportion of individuals (18 years and more) with different sources of income. Per cent



Explanation: 1-Wages and salaries, 2-Private business, 3-Dividends from shares, 4-Selling products, 5-Pensions, 6-Unemployment benefits, 7-Scholarship, 8-Alimony, 9-Child benefits, 10-Social aid, 11-Support from relatives.

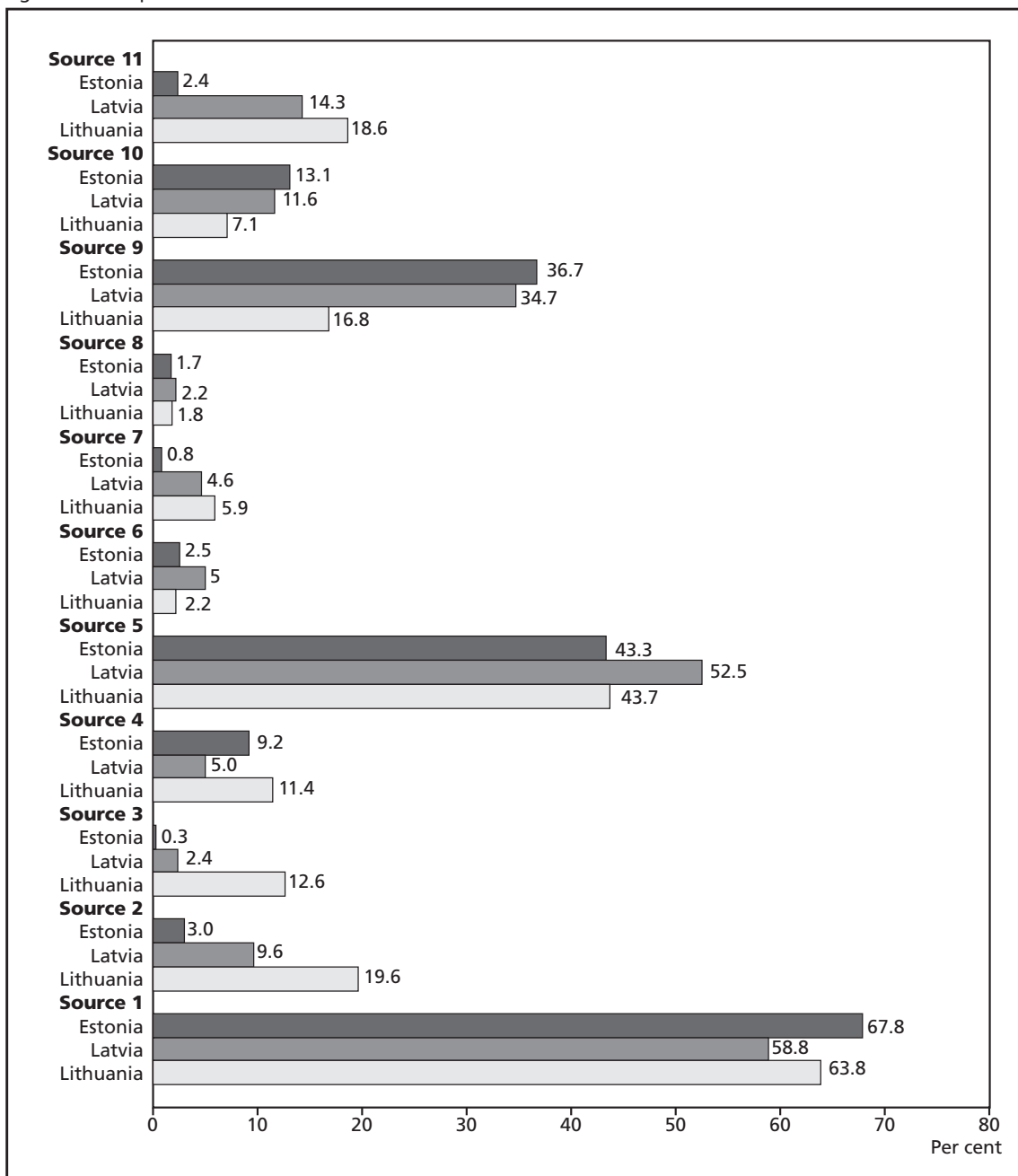
The proportion of the respondents receiving social aid is 7% in Estonia, 6% in Latvia and 4% in Lithuania. Table 5.7 shows the proportion receiving social aid by sex and age. While women generally receive social aid more often than men in the younger age groups, the opposite is the case for the older age groups. Latvia has a high proportion of social aid recipients in the older age groups. However, it has considerably fewer people receiving social aid within the younger age groups than in the other two countries.

Table 5.7 Proportion of individuals receiving social aid by sex and age. Per cent

Age group	Men			Women		
	Estonia	Latvia	Lithuania	Estonia	Latvia	Lithuania
18-24	10.3	6.1	4.8	18.3	6.5	14.6
25-34	14.8	5.9	13.5	33.3	17.7	33.6
35-44	21.7	15.6	25.3	22.8	18.6	21.6
45-54	20.3	9.2	30.9	7.8	9.0	12.7
55-64	16.9	28.1	18.9	9.8	20.0	12.4
65+	16.0	35.1	6.6	8.1	28.2	5.1

A similar trend is revealed when we look at the different sources of income for all household members combined. Figure 5.19 shows the proportions of households with different sources of income.

Figure 5.19 Proportion of households with different sources of income. Per cent

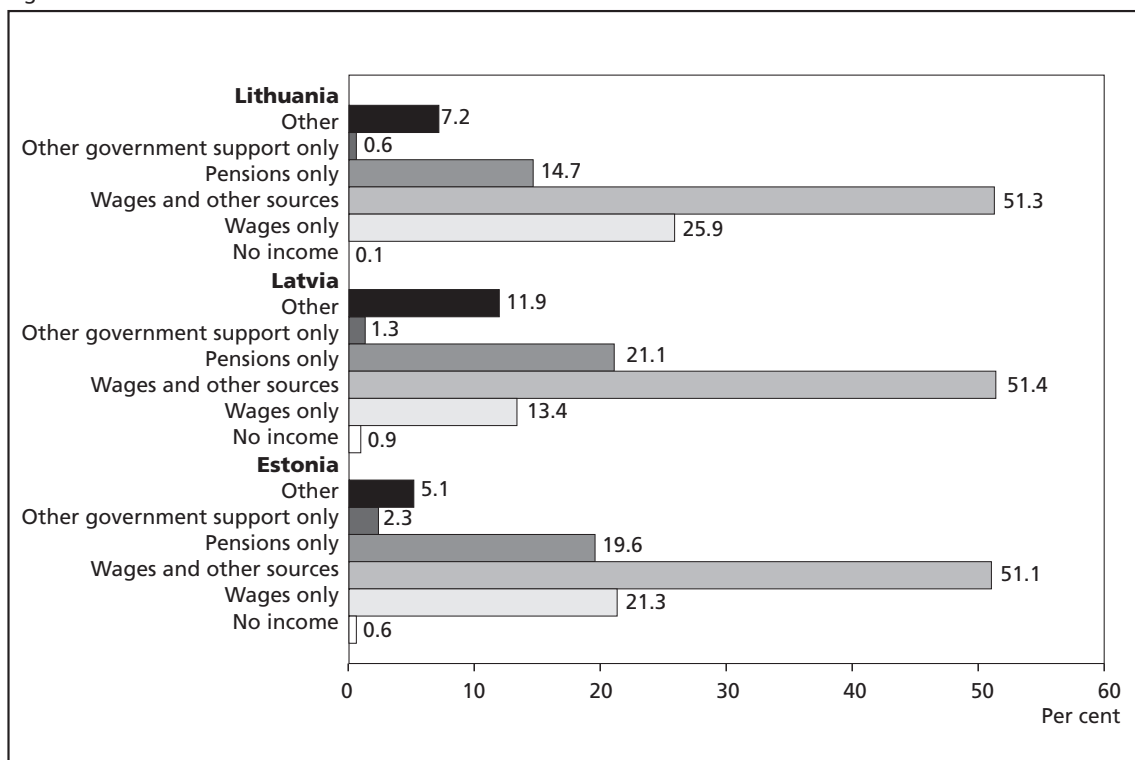


Explanation: 1-Wages and salaries, 2-Private business, 3-Dividends from shares, 4-Selling products, 5-Pensions, 6-Unemployment benefits, 7-Scholarship, 8-Alimony, 9-Child benefits, 10-Social aid, 11-Support from relatives.

Only few households report no income at all (0.6% in Estonia, 0.9% in Latvia, and 0.1% in Lithuania). Some of the households report only one source of income (41% in Estonia, 34% in Latvia, and 31% in Lithuania). Correspondingly, the rest of the households have more than one source of income (59% in Estonia, 65% in Latvia, and 69% in Lithuania).

Figure 5.20 shows the different combinations of income sources reported in the Baltic households. A majority of the households in all the three countries have a combination of wages and other types of incomes. Approximately one fifth of all the households in Latvia and Estonia receive only pensions.

Figure 5.20 Income sources. Per cent

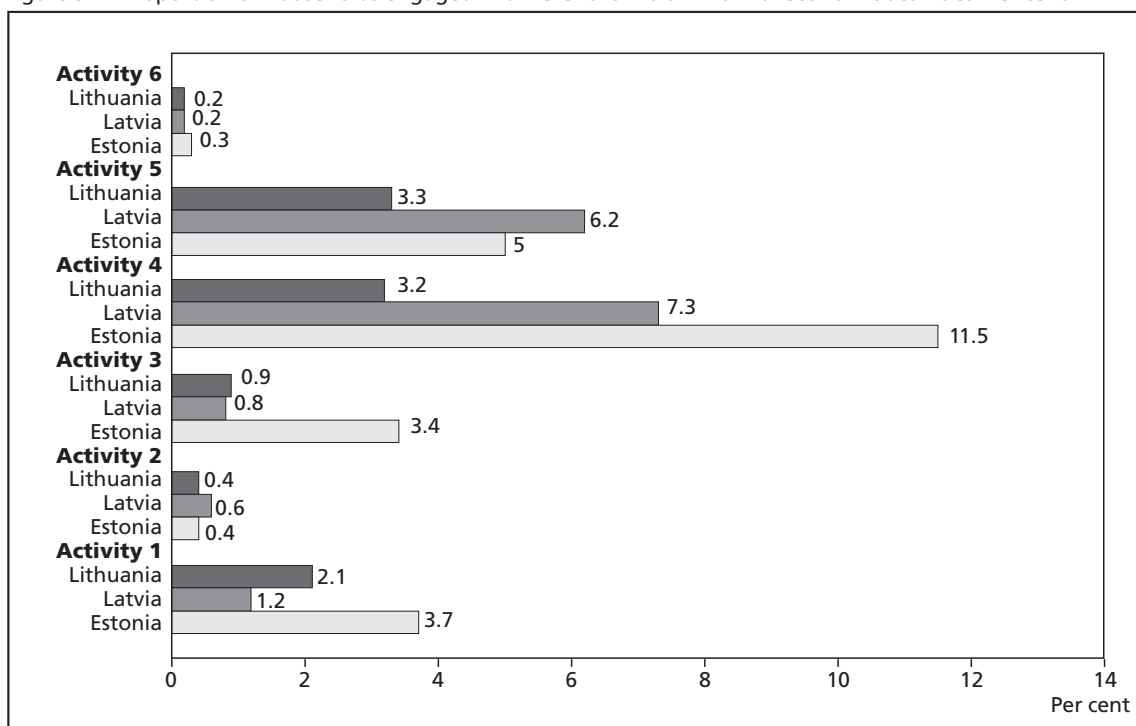


Informal economic activity

Household members were asked if they take part in any of a number of informal economic activities. A large majority of households had no members engaged in the informal economic sector (91% in Estonia, 85% in Latvia, and 79% in Lithuania). However, one should be aware of the risk of people underreporting this type of activity, which according to national legislation may be illegal or semi-legal. The proportion of households reporting that members take part in one informal activity was as follows: 7% in Estonia, 14% in Latvia and 18% in Lithuania. The proportion taking part in two or more activities was smaller (1% to 3%). Lithuania has the highest proportion of households engaged in this type of activities, while the smallest proportion is found in Estonia.

The most widespread types of informal activities are personal services for payment, and sale of vegetables, fruit or flowers from a garden or land plot in local markets. Both these types of activity are more popular in Lithuania and Latvia than in Estonia. Other types of activity are clearly less common, as shown in Figure 5.21.

Figure 5.21 Proportion of households engaged in different forms of informal economic activities. Per cent



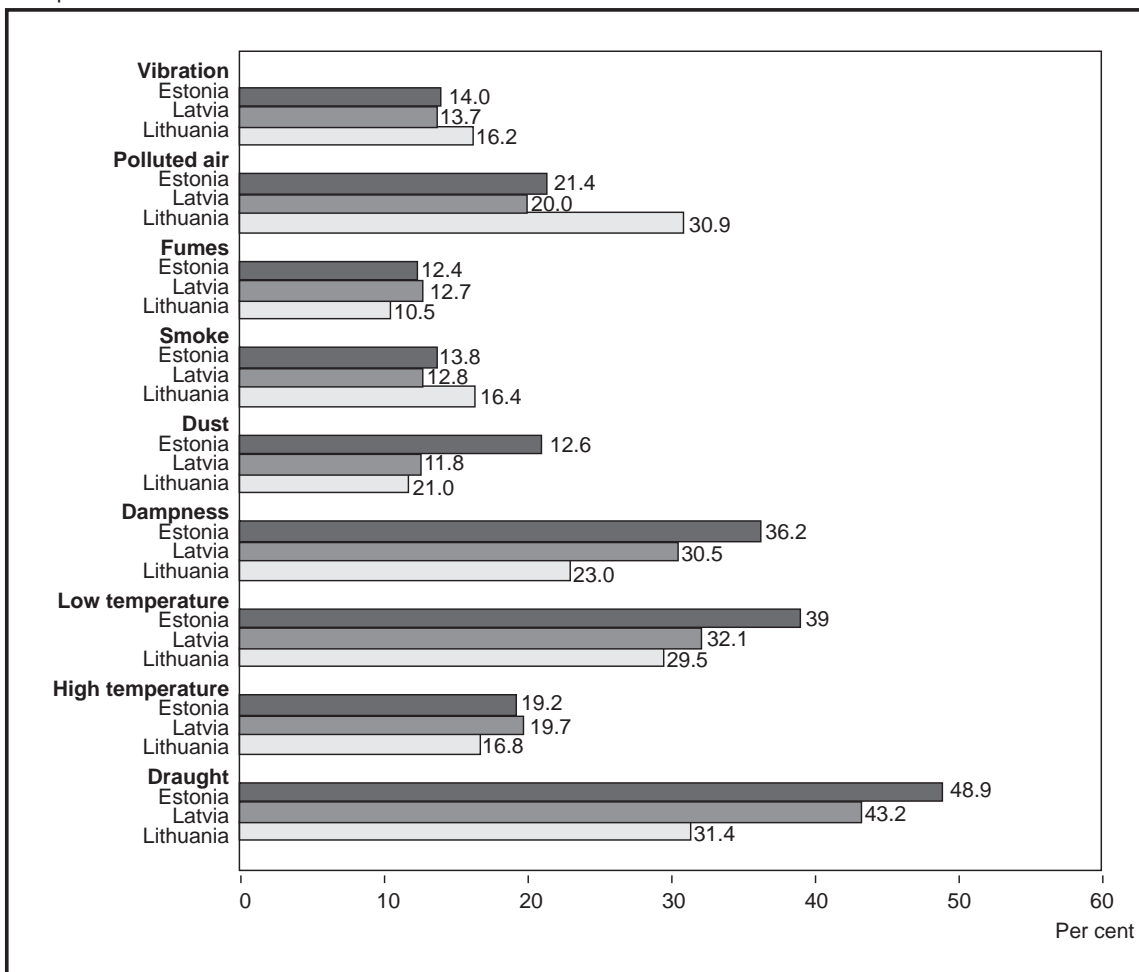
Explanation: 1- Purchase and resale of manufactured goods and/or foodstuffs for profit; 2-Taxidriving in personal car; 3-Travel to other countries in order to purchase items; 4-Carry out personal services for payment; 5-Sale of vegetables, fruit or flowers on local market/streets; 6-Sale of home-cooked foods on local markets/streets.

Workplace Conditions

Workplace conditions are often divided into two main areas - physical and organisational. The physical work environment includes safety, stresses and strains such as noise, pollution, climatic conditions and ergonomics. The organisational work environment concerns factors such as possibility of choosing one's work tasks, the degree of psychological stress and the feeling of job security. The NORBALT questionnaire contained questions both on physical and organisational workplace conditions, and we shall look at both areas, starting with the physical side.

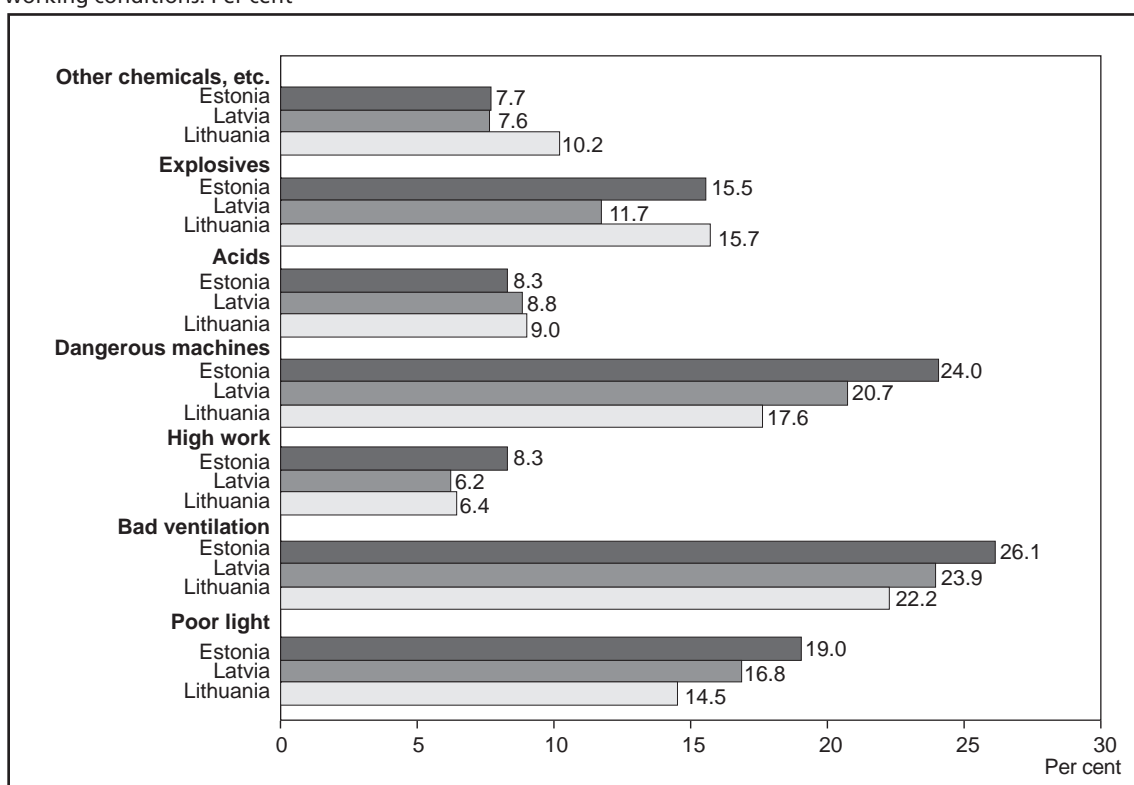
Figure 6.1 gives the proportion employed and self-employed respondents who report different forms of hazards in the workplace. The most frequently reported hazards are drafts, low temperatures, dampness and polluted air. The first three of these problems are encountered most often in Estonia, with Latvia as number two and Lithuania in the third place. Polluted air, on the other hand tends to be a more widespread problem in Lithuania than in the other two countries.

Figure 6.1 Proportion of employed and self-employed respondents reporting different forms of hazards at the workplace . Per cent



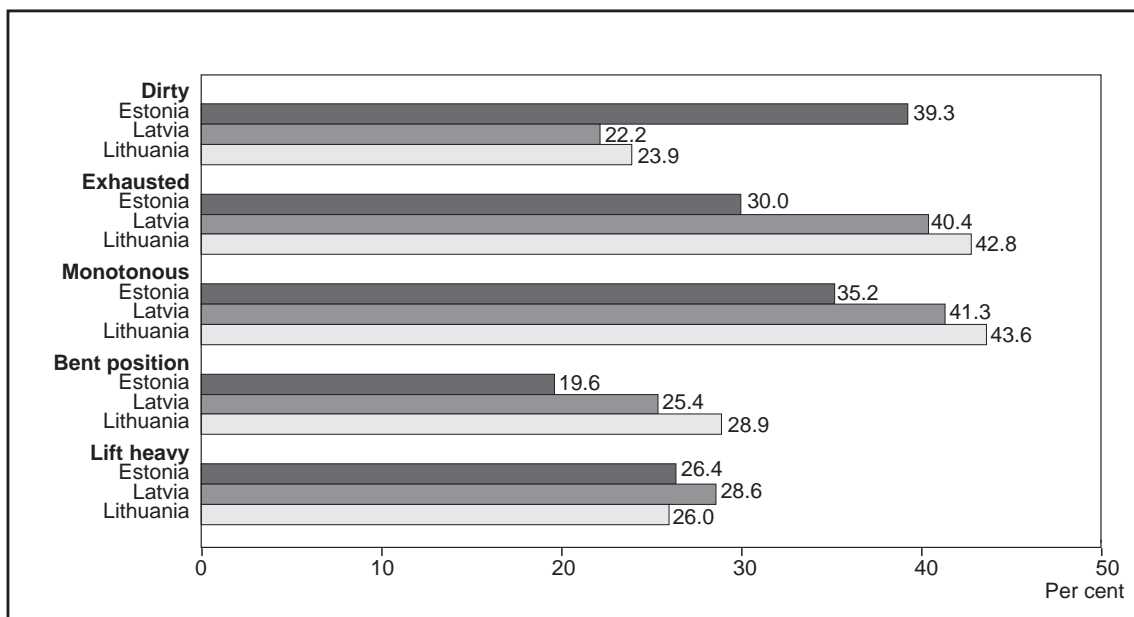
There are also slight differences between the three countries in the distribution of employed and self-employed people who report different forms of harmful and dangerous working conditions (Figure 6.2). Estonian respondents have a greater tendency than Latvians and, in particular, Lithuanians to report such problems. The figure shows that inadequate ventilation and work with dangerous machines represent the most frequently mentioned problems from the survey's prepared list of dangerous and harmful working conditions.

Figure 6.2 Proportion of employed and self-employed respondents reporting different forms of harmful and dangerous working conditions. Per cent



As shown in Figure 6.3, physical strains in the workplace appear to be quite common in the Baltic countries. A large proportion of the respondents (varying from 48% in Lithuania to 58% in Estonia) report that they often or sometimes have to engage in repetitious or monotonous work. Two thirds of the respondents in Estonia and Lithuania and three quarters in Latvia complain that they at least sometimes feel physically exhausted at the end of the working day. In the figure, however, we have only included the proportion of the respondents indicating that each type of strain happens often. While Estonians are less prone to complain about working in an uncomfortable or unnatural position as well as being exhausted at the end of the workday, they have a higher proportion who report that they become very dirty at work. Somewhat smaller proportions, however, say that it happens often, as shown in the figure.

Figure 6.3 Proportion of employed respondents reporting often being exposed to different forms of physical strains at work. Per cent



An index of the physical workplace conditions was constructed based on the distribution of all the types of problems listed in the three figures. The total number of problems could vary between 0 and 21. The average was lower than 10 in all countries. It was highest in Estonia, at 9.2, in Latvia it was 8.0, and 7.9 in Lithuania. If we look at workplace conditions according to a set of demographic parameters, we find that males, urban people, those between 45 and 59 years of age, those with basic education level, and ethnic Russians (except in Latvia) are overrepresented among those who report most problems with the physical work environment. In terms of professional status, the most exposed in Estonia and Lithuania are lower-level and ordinary employees, and in Latvia, ordinary employees and higher managers. Those with the best physical working conditions in Estonia and Lithuania are middle managers and the self-employed, while in Latvia they are lower managers and self-employed (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1 Self-reported physical work environment for different categories of the employed and self-employed. Average index score. (Range 0-21).

	Estonia	Latvia	Lithuania
Total	9.2	8.0	7.9
Sex			
Men	9.9	8.9	8.4
Women	7.7	6.8	7.0
Age groups			
16-24	8.3	7.8	7.0
25-34	8.6	7.8	7.6
35-44	9.3	8.3	8.3
45-54	9.8	8.1	8.6
55-64	9.6	8.4	7.9
65+	9.5	5.3	4.9
Living place			
Urban	9.4	8.1	8.5
Rural	8.8	7.9	6.3
Education			
Primary	9.4	7.5	7.2
Basic	10.2	9.1	8.4
Secondary	8.8	7.8	7.7
Specialized secondary	8.9	8.1	8.0
Higher	8.2	7.8	7.2
Professional status			
Ordinary employee	9.4	8.2	8.6
Lower management	9.6	7.1	7.1
Middle management	7.1	7.7	4.5
Higher management	8.1	8.7	6.0
Self-employed	7.6	7.5	4.3
Ethnicity			
Majority	8.6	8.0	7.6
Russian	10.4	8.0	9.7
Other	8.9	7.9	8.1

Let us then move on to look at some indicators characterising the organisational work environment. Employed and self-employed respondents were asked to indicate to what extent they considered their work to be mentally stressful. In Estonia and Latvia the largest group answered that they experienced their work as stressful, but not very frequently. In Lithuania the largest group did not consider their work to be mentally stressful at all. Among the three countries, Latvia is the country where the largest proportion frequently experience their work to be mentally stressful.

Figure 6.4 Percentage of employed and self-employed reporting that they experience their work as mentally stressful frequently, not so frequently, or not at all

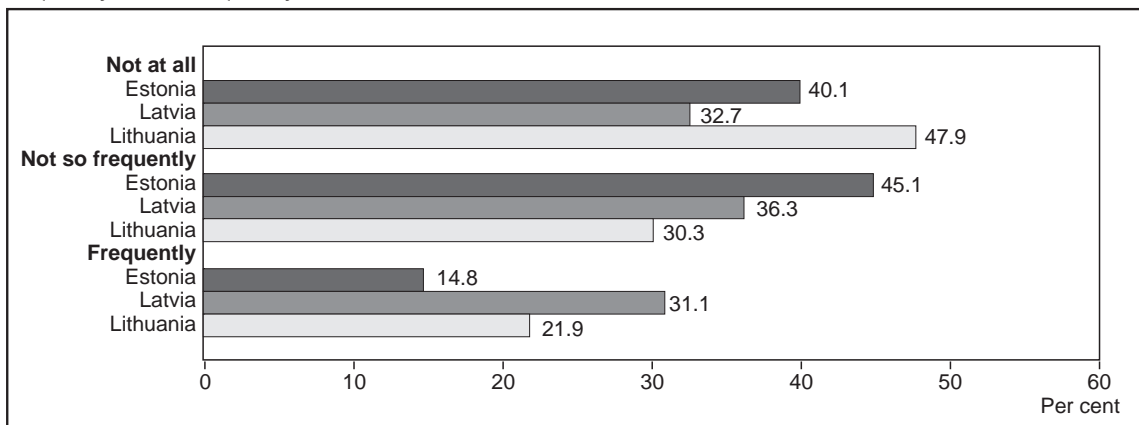


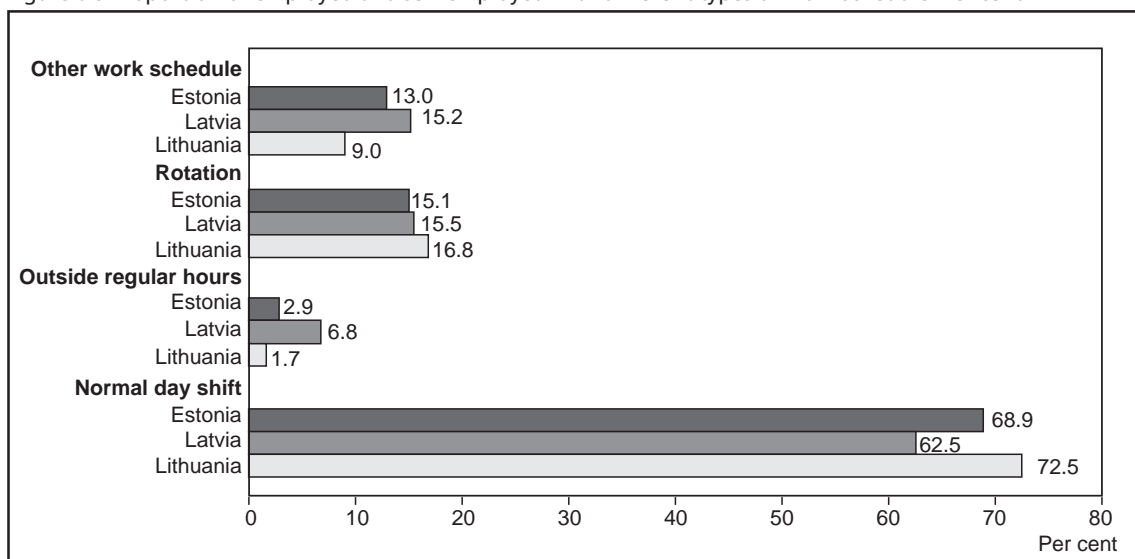
Table 6.2 shows the percentage of different categories of the employed and self-employed who frequently experience their work as mentally stressful. Mental stress is most common among people with a higher level of education and people in management positions are more at risk than ordinary employees. Middle aged people are more vulnerable to mental stress than others, with the exception of Lithuania, where such stress is also common in the oldest age groups. Differences between the sexes and the various ethnic groups are minimal.

Table 6.2 Percentage of (self-)employed who frequently experience their work as mentally stressful

	Estonia	Latvia	Lithuania
Total	14.8	31.1	21.9
Sex			
Men	14.2	28.7	21.6
Women	15.6	33.3	22.1
Age groups			
16-24	13.0	23.6	16.7
25-34	16.4	30.0	18.8
35-44	14.9	33.6	25.5
45-54	16.5	34.6	26.3
55-64	12.7	30.3	15.0
65+	4.3	17.4	27.5
Living place			
Urban	14.8	31.4	23.7
Rural	14.9	30.2	16.5
Education			
Primary	11.5	25.7	12.4
Uncompleted secondary	12.8	28.5	22.2
Secondary	12.6	21.9	15.9
Specialized secondary	13.6	31.5	20.6
Higher	22.3	45.2	34.2
Professional status			
Ordinary employee	12.6	27.9	19.6
Lower management	15.1	40.3	26.8
Middle management	24.3	42.3	29.3
Higher management	35.2	61.8	29.6
Self-employed	12.6	26.2	23.6
Ethnicity			
Majority	16.1	31.8	22.2
Russian	12.4	29.2	19.5
Other	12.5	33.7	21.0

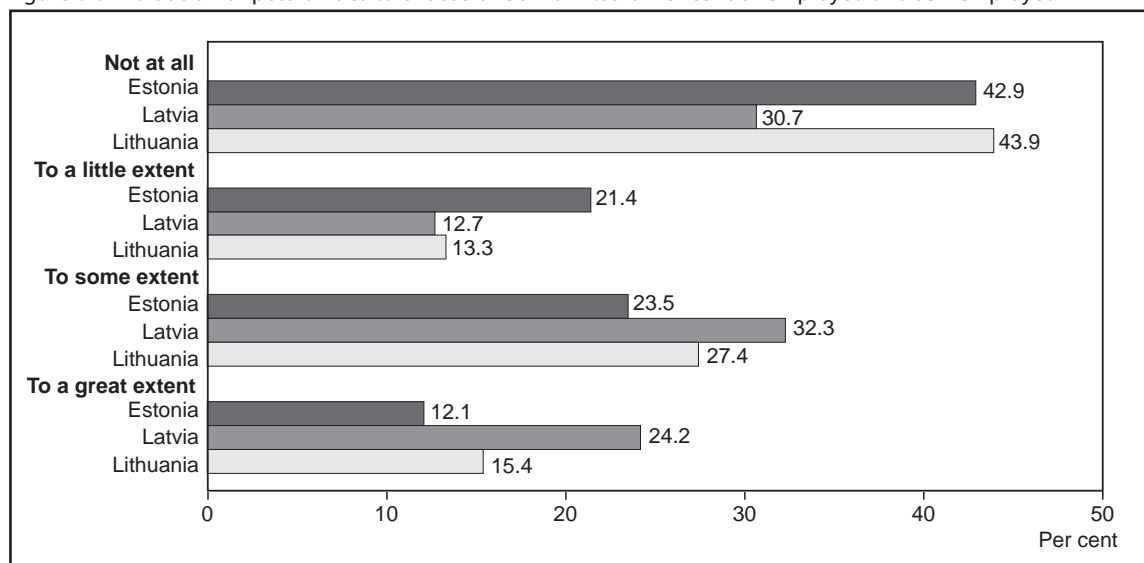
The distribution of employees by their working schedule shows that the most common work schedule is to work in the daytime, between 6 a.m. and 6 p.m. This is true for all countries. A relatively small proportion of employees in the Baltic countries work outside regular working hours, this being most common in Latvia (Figure 6.5).

Figure 6.5 Proportion of employed and self-employed with different types of work schedule. Per cent



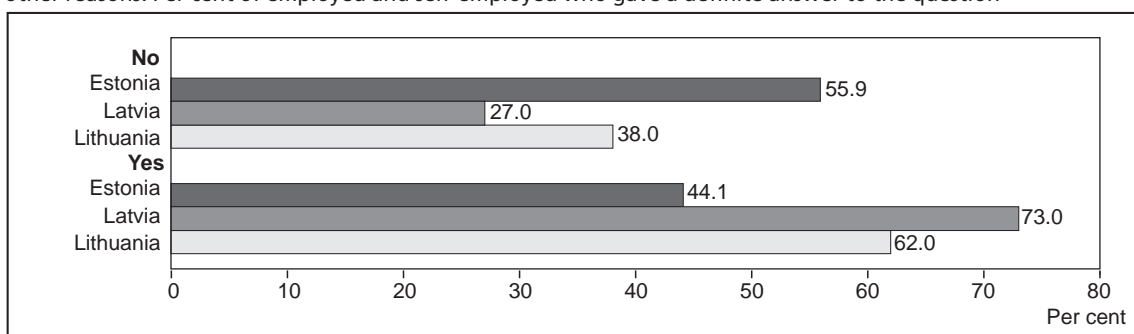
Respondents were also asked to what extent they can choose the tasks that they perform at work. Latvians seem to be in a somewhat favourable position in this respect, with the highest proportion among the three countries reporting that they can choose work tasks to a great or to some extent, and the smallest proportion reporting that they cannot influence their tasks at all (Figure 6.6).

Figure 6.6 Evaluation of possibilities to choose one's work tasks. Per cent of employed and self-employed



Finally, people in Latvia and Lithuania appear to be more afraid of losing their job due to closures, redundancies or for other reasons in the next 12 months than is the case for Estonia, as shown in Figure 6.7. In Latvia as many as 73% of those who gave a definite answer to the question believed that their job was in danger, while in Lithuania the corresponding proportion was 62%. In Estonia, however, only 44% believed that their job was in danger. The responses are not quite comparable, however, since the Estonian questionnaire did not include an option for people whose answer was «do not know». (In both Latvia and Lithuania 11% of the respondents opted for this answer.)

Figure 6.7 Belief that present job could be in danger during next two years due to closures, redundancies or for other reasons. Per cent of employed and self-employed who gave a definite answer to the question



Note: In Estonia there was no category for «do not know». In Latvia and Lithuania 11% answered «do not know» but they have been considered as missing values in this figure.

Social Contacts and Participation

Contacts with parents and family members

One indicator of social integration is the individual's frequency of contacts with other persons; family members, friends, neighbours and work colleagues. In this chapter we will present some results from the NORBALT survey where we have comparable data for at least some of these forms of contacts. First we will look at the frequency of contact with close relatives.

Latvia has a larger proportion of people living with their parents than is the case in the other two countries as shown in Figure 7.1. As a rule, contacts with brothers or sisters tend to be more rare than those with parents (Figure 7.2). The most striking difference between the Baltic countries is that in Estonia and Latvia the proportion who see their parents and siblings less than once every year is considerably larger than in Lithuania. One of the reasons for this is probably the fact that Estonia and Latvia have large Russian-speaking populations, many of whom have close relatives living in other parts of the former Soviet Union, who can not be reached very frequently.

Figure 7.1 Frequency of contacts with parents. Per cent of individuals 18 and more years with at least one parent alive

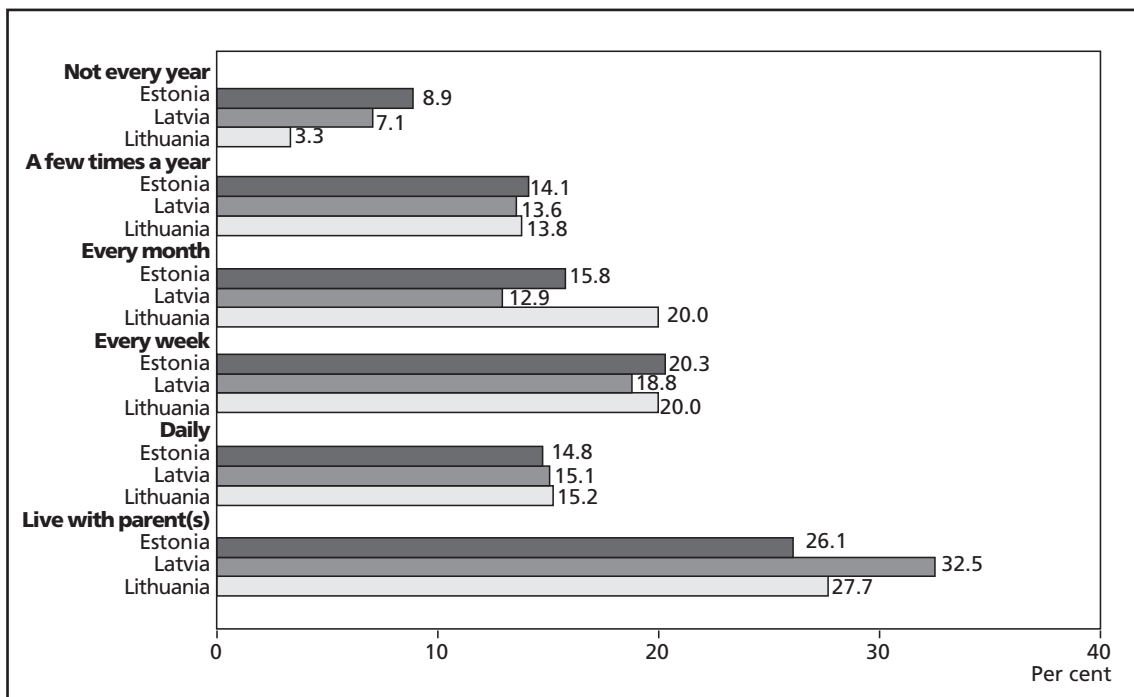
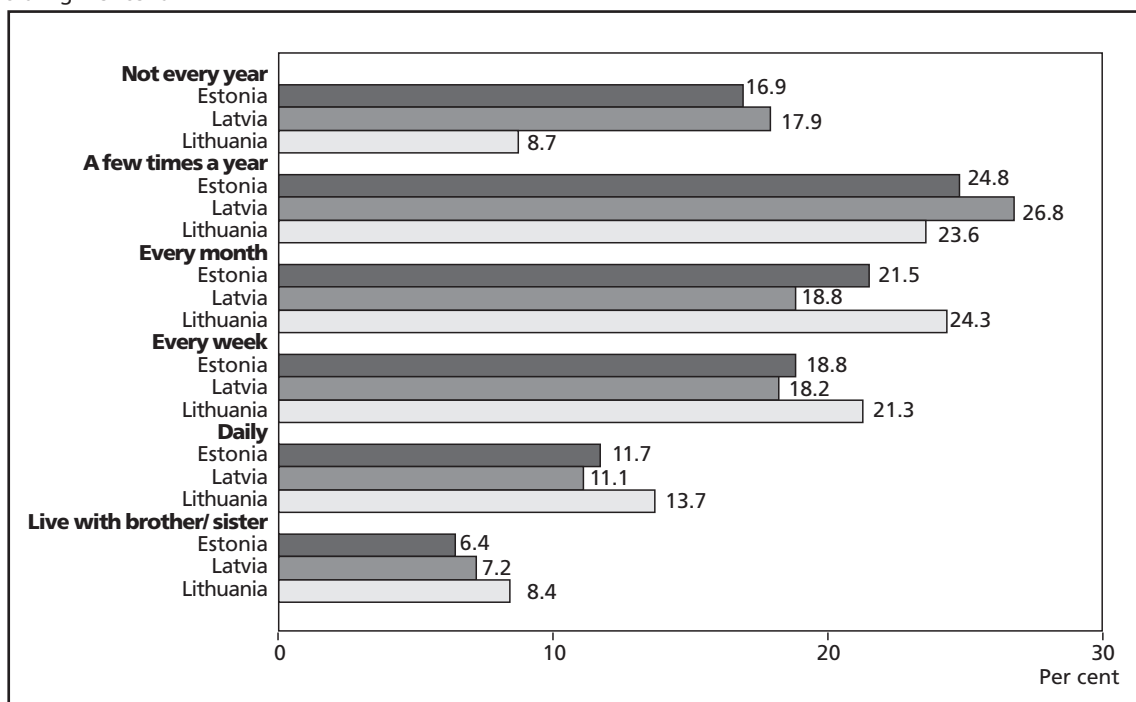
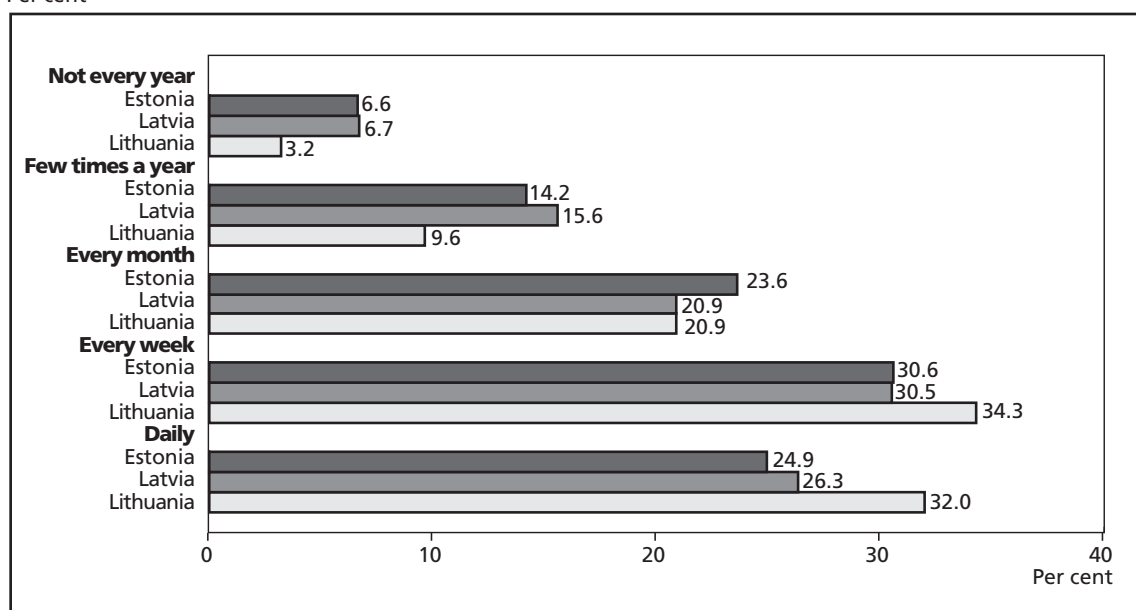


Figure 7.2 Frequency of contacts with brothers/sisters. Per cent of individuals 18 and more years with at least one sibling. Per cent



That family encounters are more frequent in Lithuania than in Latvia and Estonia is confirmed by the next figure, showing the frequencies of contact with the respondent's own children (Figure 7.3). In Lithuania only 3% of the parents do not see their children at least once every year, whereas in Estonia and Latvia the corresponding figure is 7%.

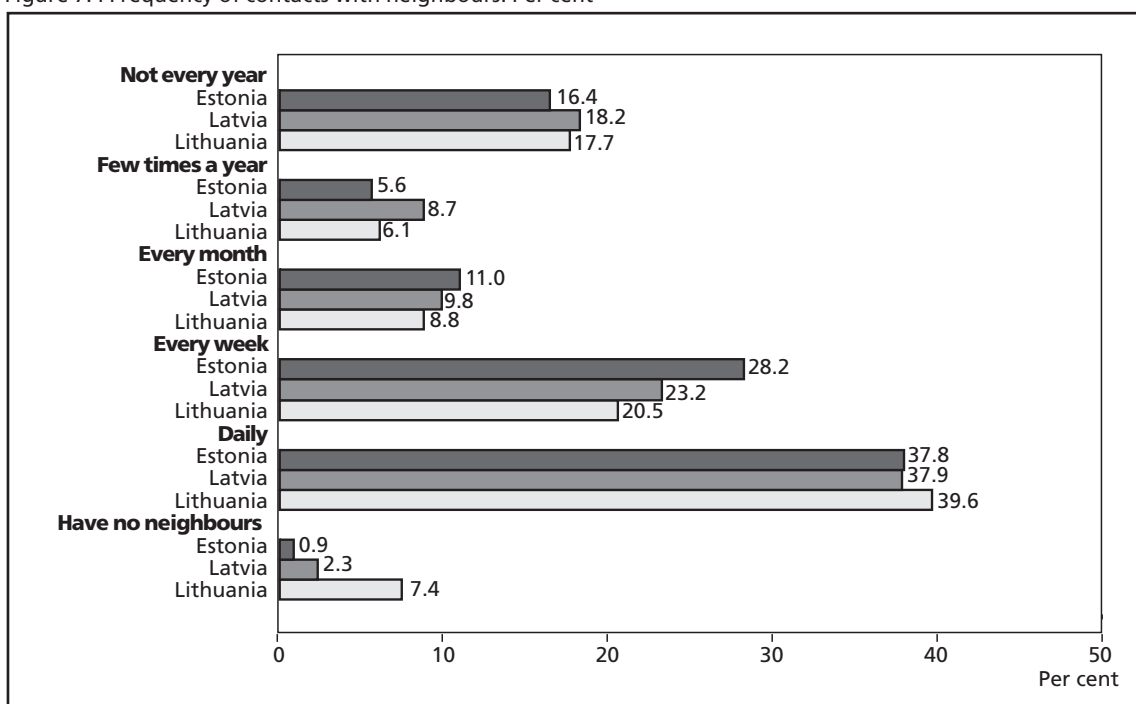
Figure 7.3 Frequency of contacts with children. Per cent of individuals 18 and more years with at least one child. Per cent



Contact with neighbours

While Lithuanians see their family members and relatives more often than Estonians and Latvians, in terms of the frequency of contacts with neighbours they are more in line with people in the other two countries. Figure 7.4 shows that the majority of the respondents socialise with their neighbours at least weekly. It is perhaps also worth noting that in Lithuania 7% of the respondents reported that they have no neighbours at all, while the corresponding figures in Estonia and Latvia were only 1% and 2% respectively.

Figure 7.4 Frequency of contacts with neighbours. Per cent



Exchange of help and services

Respondents in the NORBALT surveys were asked whether, during the previous 12 months, they had received unpaid help from someone outside their household in connection with a list of eight tasks. They were also asked whether they had given similar help to anyone. To give an impression of the frequencies of such help we present two figures which show the proportion of men and women who had given or received at least two different types of help from the prepared list (Figures 8.5 and 8.6). Three observations are noteworthy: First, people in general report giving more help to others than they receive themselves (!). Second, women are more likely to say that they receive help (except in Lithuania), while they are clearly underrepresented in terms of giving help to others. Whether it reflects the real situation or simply more modesty in responding is open to question. Third, Lithuanians report both giving and receiving help more often than people in the two other countries.

Figure 7.5 Proportion of individuals having given at least 2 forms of help during the past 12 months, by sex. Per cent

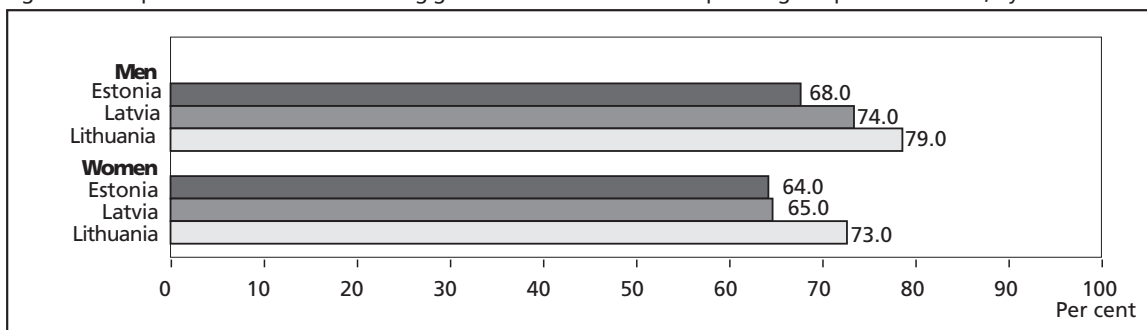
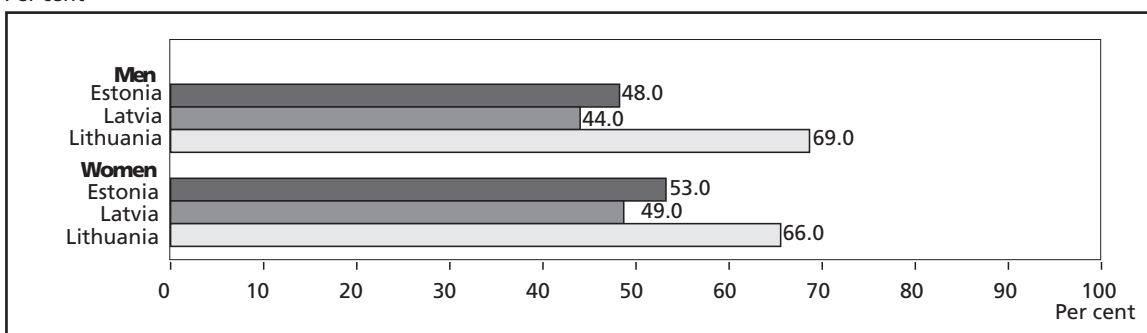


Figure 7.6 Proportion of individuals having received at least 2 forms of help during the past 12 months, by sex. Per cent



Next we look at the types of help that are given and received. Figure 7.7 confirms that Lithuanians report receiving more help than people in Estonia and Latvia, and this applies to all types of help received. Latvians are more likely to receive help with small services and shopping than Estonians, but Estonians are more frequently helped with car transport, house repair and gardening. Similar patterns, although with higher frequencies, are revealed when we look at types of help given (Figure 7.8).

Figure 7.7 Types of unpaid help received from any person not belonging to household. Per cent

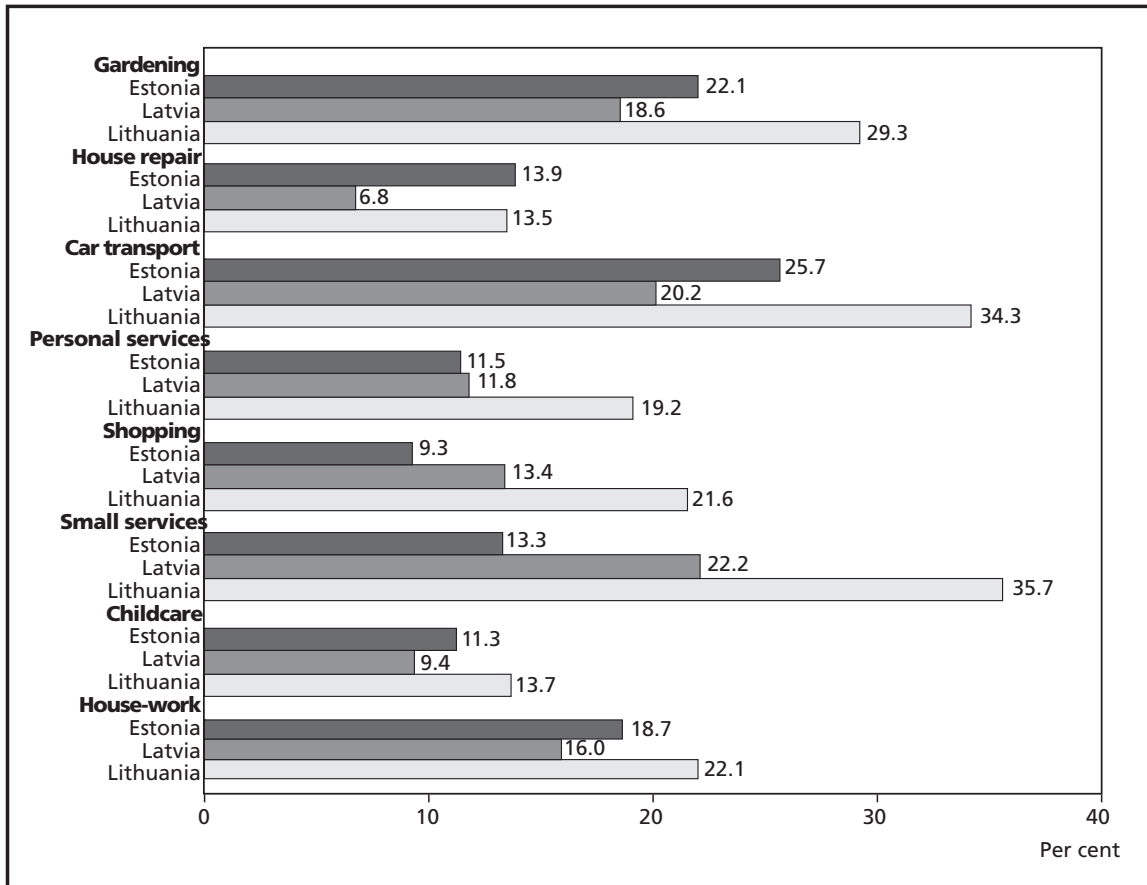
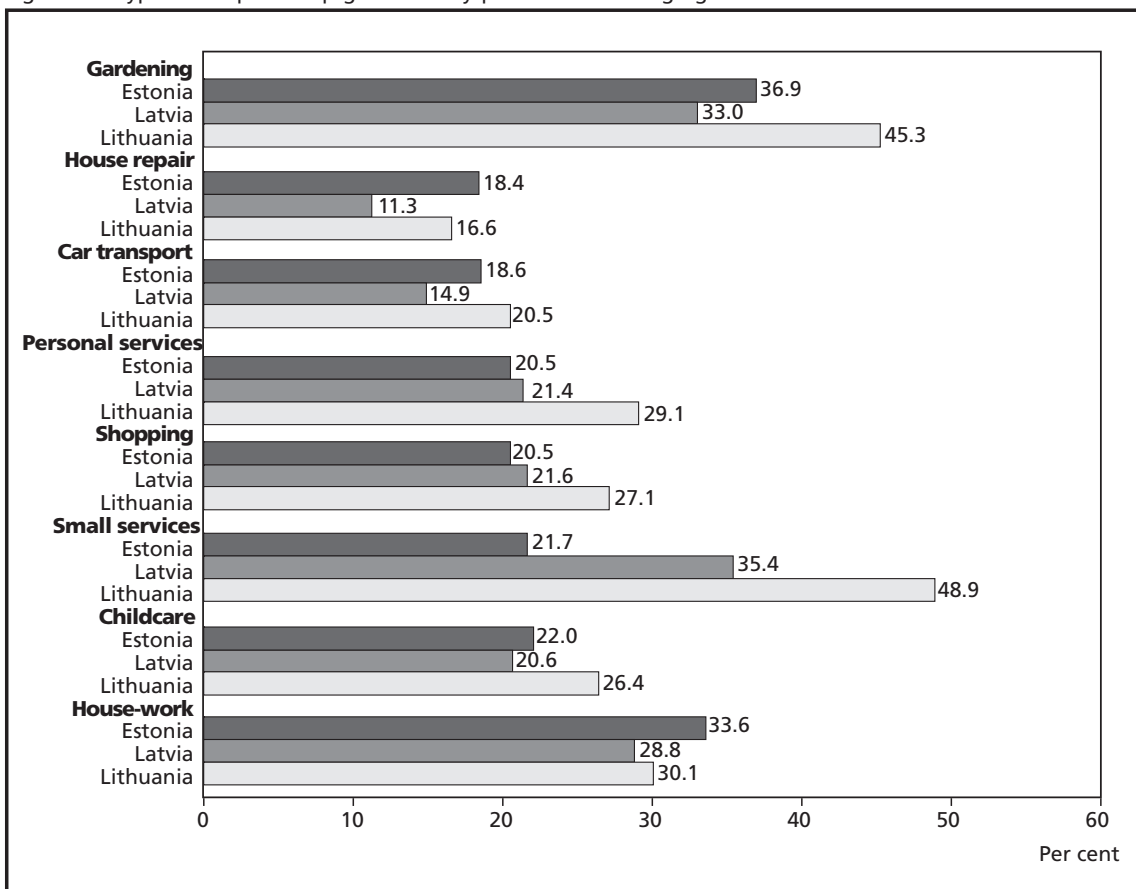


Figure 7.8 Types of unpaid help given to any person not belonging to household. Per cent



Let us now see from whom and to whom Baltic people normally receive and give help. Figure 7.9 and Figure 7.10 show similar trends in all the three countries, with neighbours, friends and close relatives dominating the exchange of help and services. In all countries people least frequently receive help from and give help to work colleagues. Friends are more involved in this type of exchange in Estonia than in Latvia and Lithuania, although there is more exchange going on between neighbours in Lithuania than in the other two countries.

Figure 7.9 Proportion of respondents who had received help from different types of people. Per cent

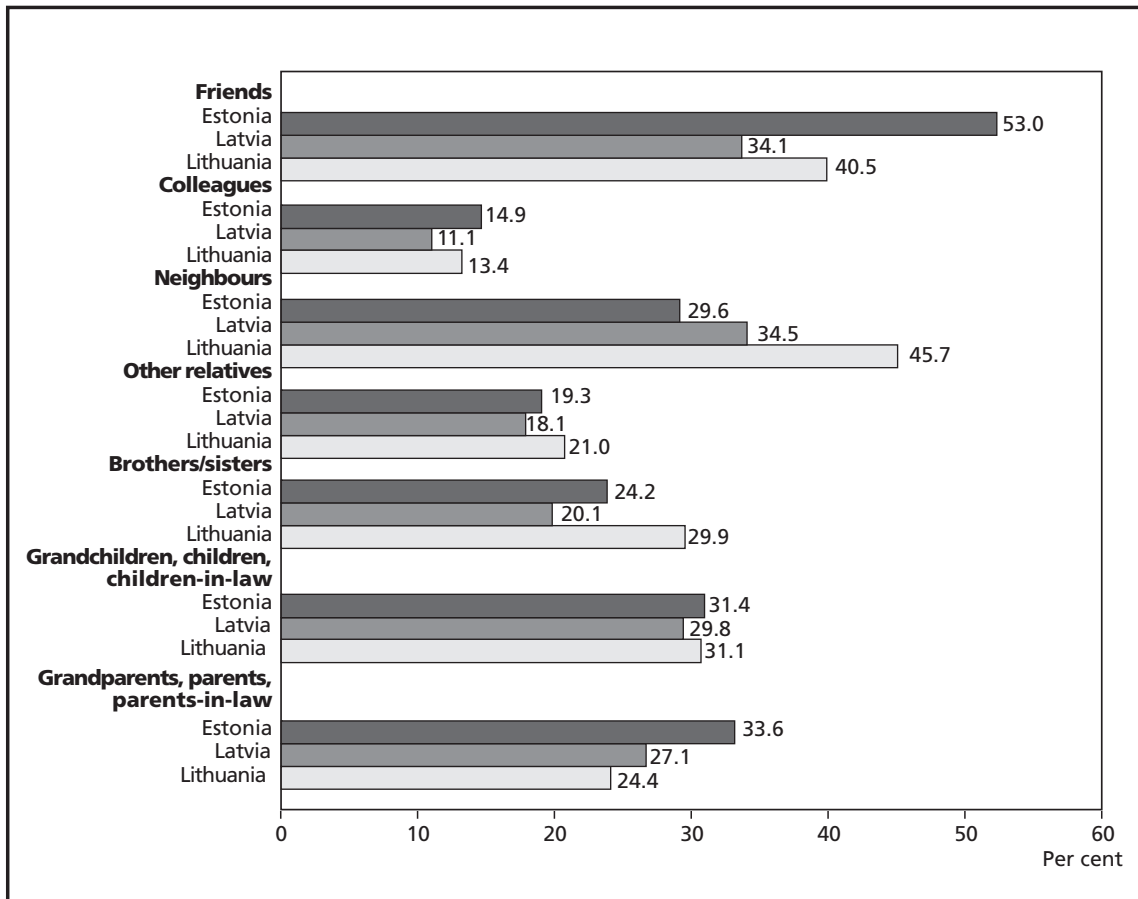
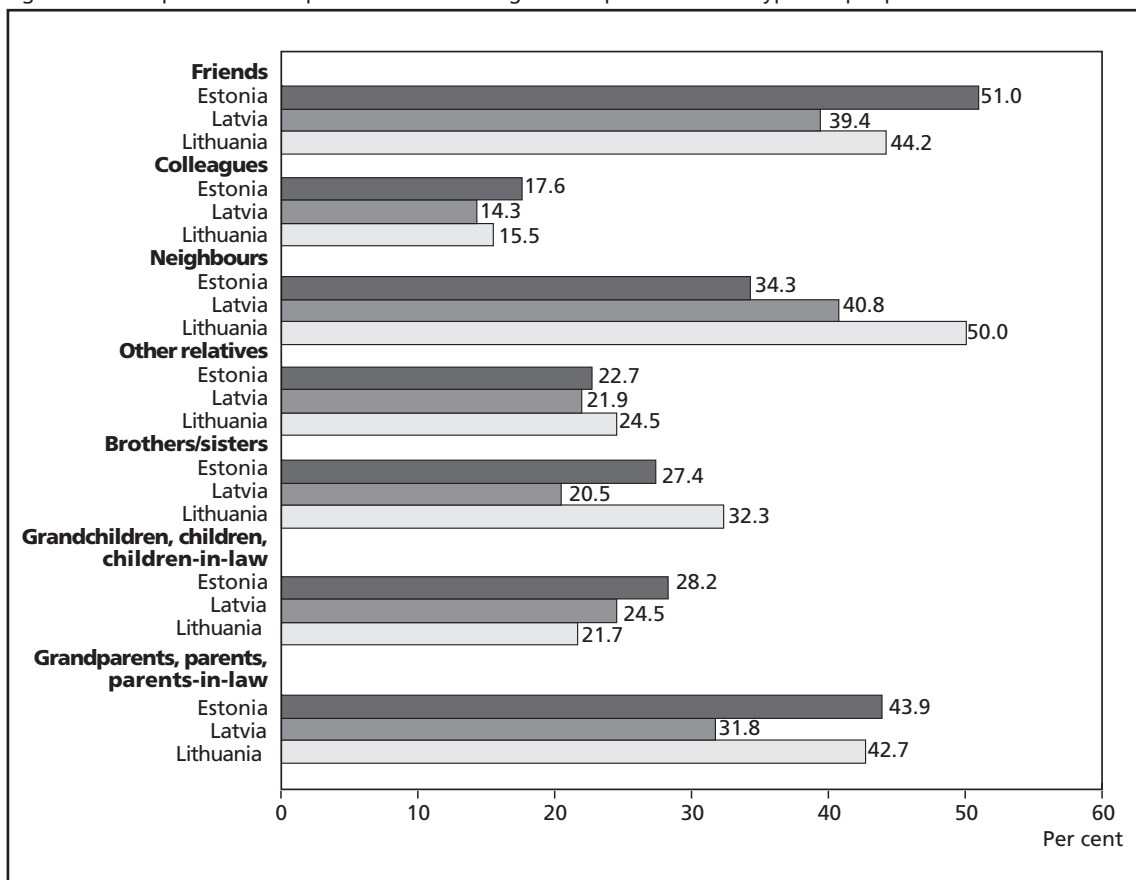


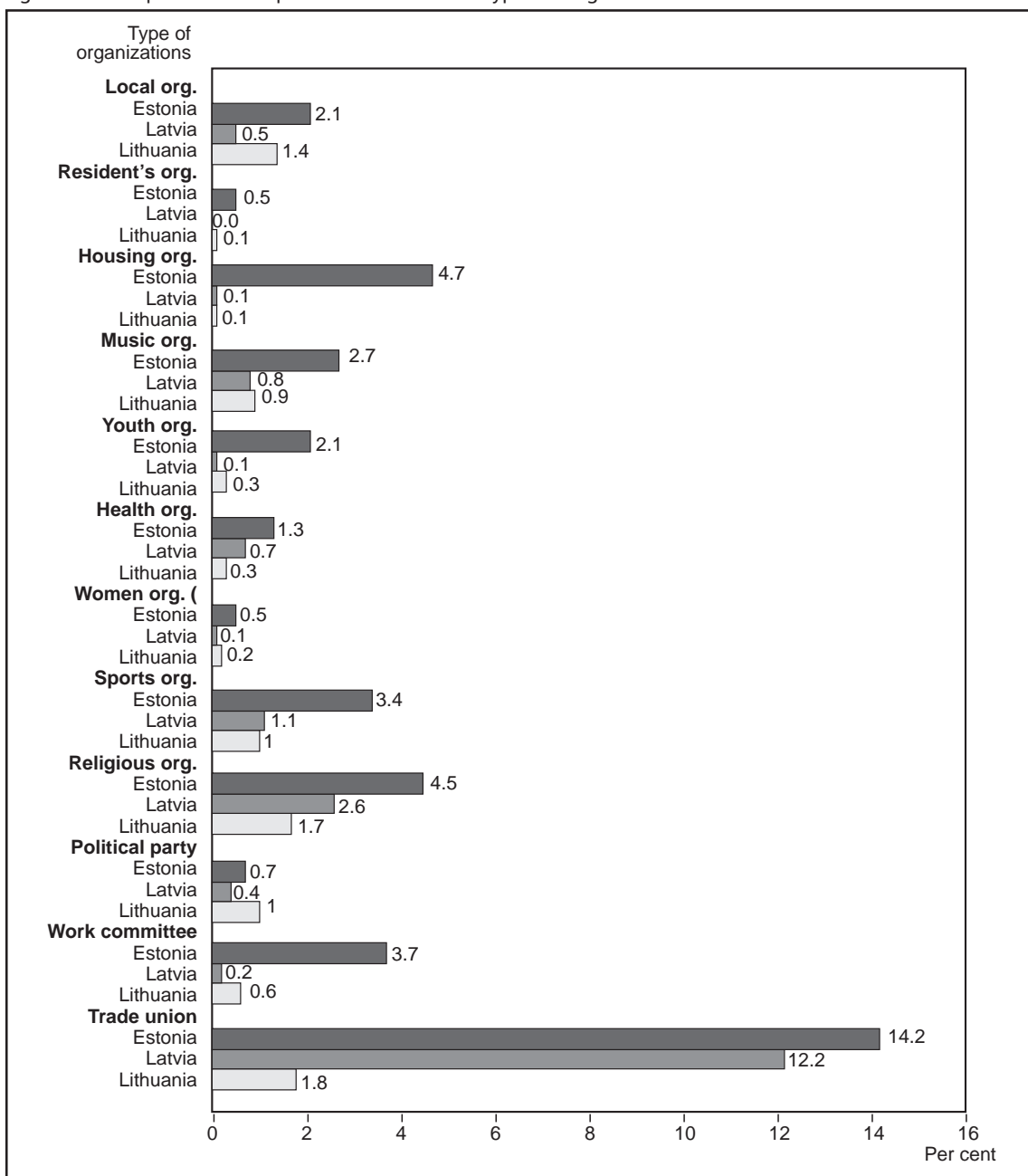
Figure 7.10 Proportion of respondents who had given help to different types of people. Per cent



Social participation

If membership in different types of organisations is an indication of the state of the civil society in a country, Estonia takes the lead among the Baltic states. While in Estonia 32% of respondents reported that they participate in at least one organisation, association or committee, this was the case of 19% in Latvia and only 9% in Lithuania. Figure 7.11 shows the distribution of memberships in different types of organisations. Most frequent in all countries is membership in a trade union. However, only 2% of the Lithuanian respondents reported being trade union members.

Figure 7.11 Proportion of respondents in different types of organisations. Per cent

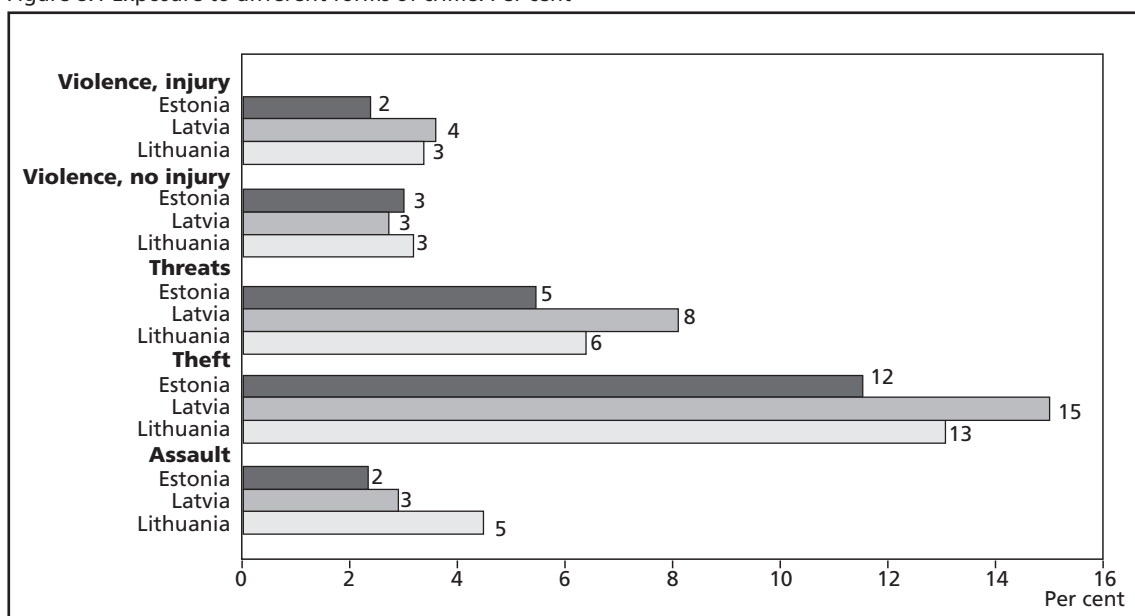


Crime and Security

Exposure to crime

The NORBALT survey contains information about exposure to crime and perceived fear of crime in the population. Let us first take a look at the individuals 18 years of age or older who reported that they had experienced different forms of crime during the past 12 months. Figure 8.1 shows that the largest proportion of those who have been exposed to crime in all the three Baltic countries have been victims of theft, and threats are second most common. Such offenses are slightly more widespread in Latvia than in the other two countries, but the difference is hardly big enough to be statistically significant. Assaults in the streets and violence with or without injuries are less common; nonetheless, between two and five per cent of respondents had been exposed to these forms of crime during the previous year. In looking at the total proportion of those who have been exposed to at least one of the listed forms of crime, we find that as many as 19% of Estonians, 23% of Lithuanians and 24% of Latvians reported being victims.

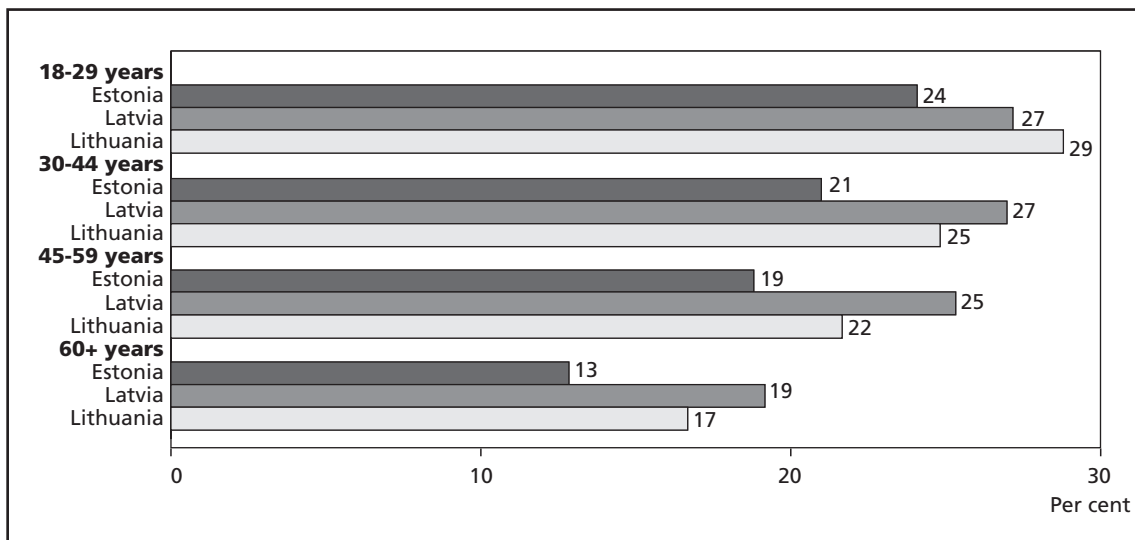
Figure 8.1 Exposure to different forms of crime. Per cent



Exposure to crime by age, sex and ethnicity

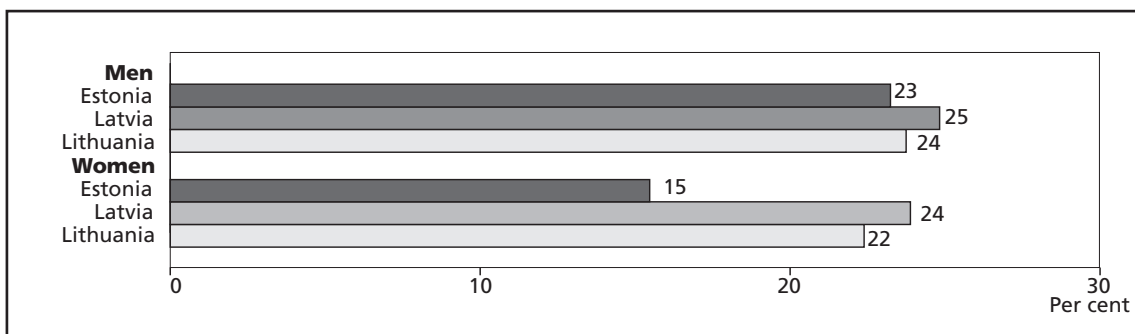
Young people have a greater risk of encountering crime than people who have lived longer. This is true in all the three Baltic countries, as shown in Figure 8.2. The figure further shows that Estonia has the lowest proportion of people who have been victims of crime within all age groups.

Figure 8.2 Proportion of individuals who have been exposed to at least one of the listed forms of crime, by age. Per cent



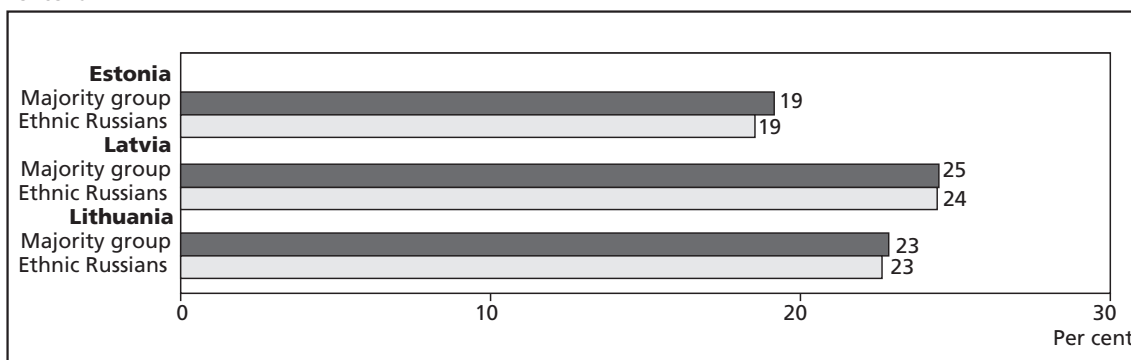
Men tend to have a greater risk of being exposed to crime than women, but while the difference between the sexes is very small in Latvia and Lithuania, it is quite significant in Estonia. As shown by Figure 8.3, the lower exposure to crime among Estonian women than men appears to be the main reason why Estonians report a lower level of victimisation than Latvians and Lithuanians. Estonian men are not much less vulnerable than men in the two other countries. If we look at types of crime, however, we find that women run a greater risk of being robbed or mugged in the street, while men more often than women report having personal belongings stolen from house or car.

Figure 8.3 Proportion of individuals who have been exposed to at least one of the listed forms of crime, by sex. Per cent



Finally, when controlling for ethnic affiliation, we find that ethnic Russians report no more exposure to crime than people belonging to the majority ethnic groups. Thus, the risk of encountering criminal offenses appears to be very similar, regardless of ethnic background (Figure 8.4).

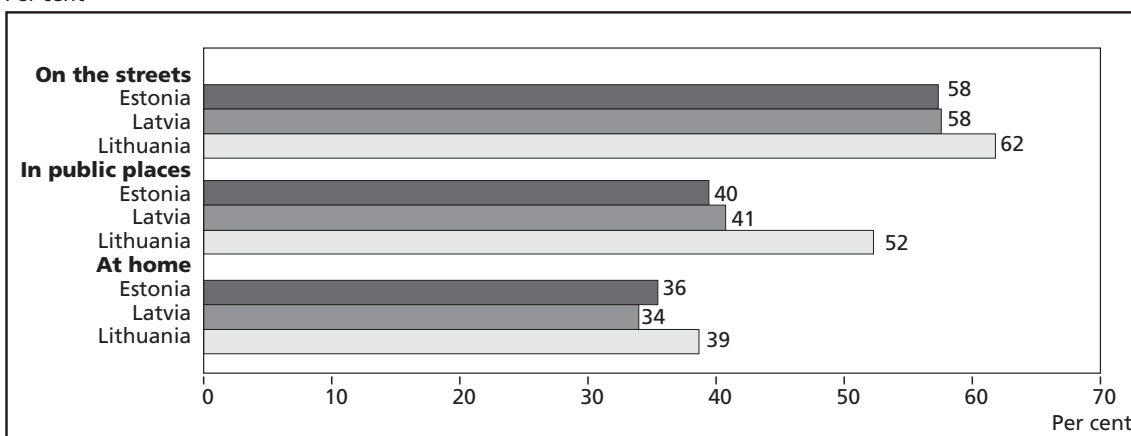
Figure 8.4 Proportion of individuals who have been exposed to at least one of the listed forms of crime by ethnicity. Per cent



Fear of crime

As we have seen, between one quarter and one fifth of Baltic people are victims of crime each year. The high levels of crime are also reflected in the high proportion of respondents saying that they fear becoming exposed to assaults or threats, whether it be in the street, in public places or at home. Figure 8.5 gives the proportion reporting that they experience either «great» or «some» fear, in each of the Baltic countries. We see from the figure that a majority in all the countries fear being victims of such offenses on the streets, and a bit less in public places. Even though the proportion who are afraid of exposure to assaults or threats at home is smaller than in public places and the street, it is still noteworthy that more than one in three in each of the countries report such a fear. Lithuanians are generally more afraid than Estonians and Latvians, especially in public places.

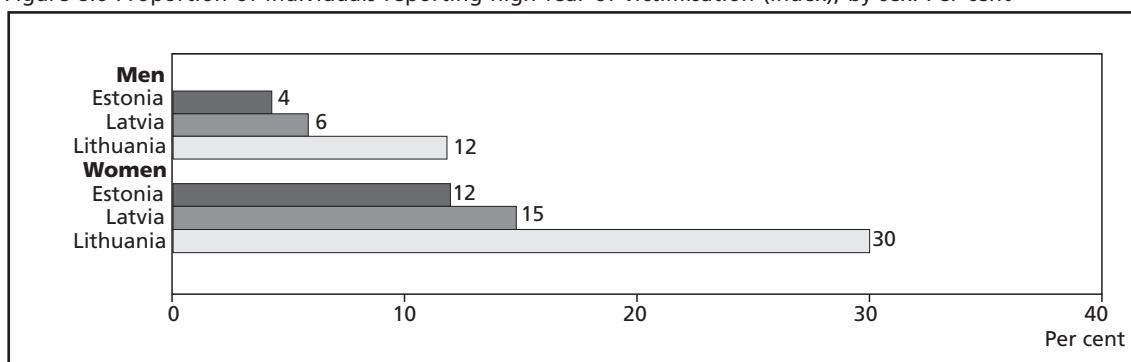
Figure 8.5 Proportion of individuals who report (great or some) fear of becoming exposed to assaults or threats. Per cent



Fear of victimisation by sex, age and ethnicity

It is not necessarily those who run the greatest risk of being exposed to crime who are most likely to report fear of becoming victims. Figure 8.6 reveals that women more often report high fear of victimisation than is the case for men. This and the following figures are based on an index in which a response of «no fear» is assigned zero points, «some fear» is given one point and «great fear» two points. The index is calculated by adding the points from each of the three questions. A score of four or more (meaning that the respondent has reported great fear in at least one of the places and some fear in the other two) is here considered a high fear of victimisation. The figure shows that a high fear of victimisation is more than twice as common among women than among men.

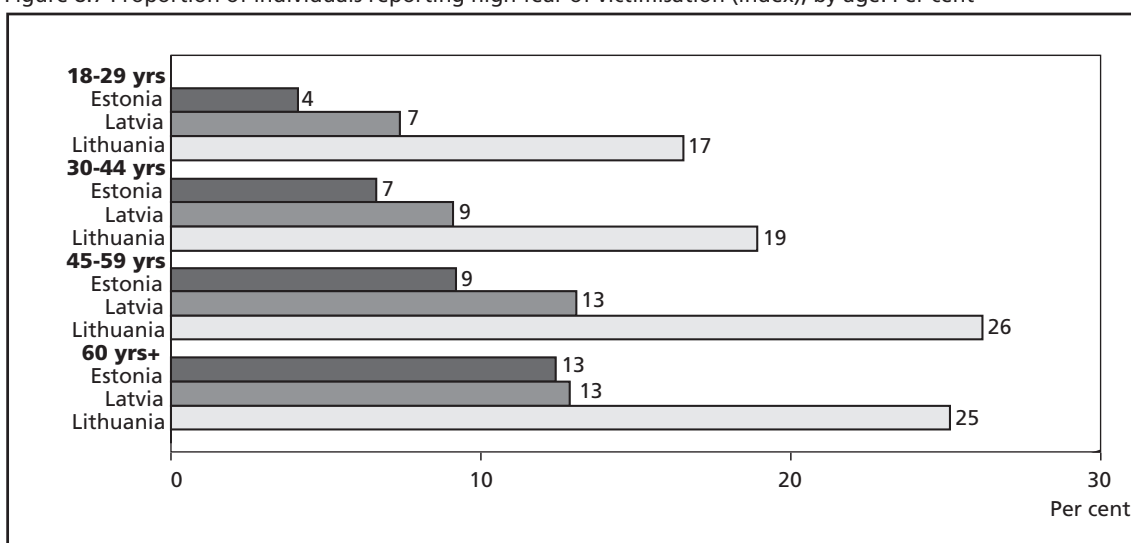
Figure 8.6 Proportion of individuals reporting high fear of victimisation (index), by sex. Per cent



However, the figure also reveals great variation between the three countries. Thus, women in Estonia do not have a higher fear of victimisation than Lithuanian men. Lithuania clearly stands out as the country with the highest fear of victimisation.

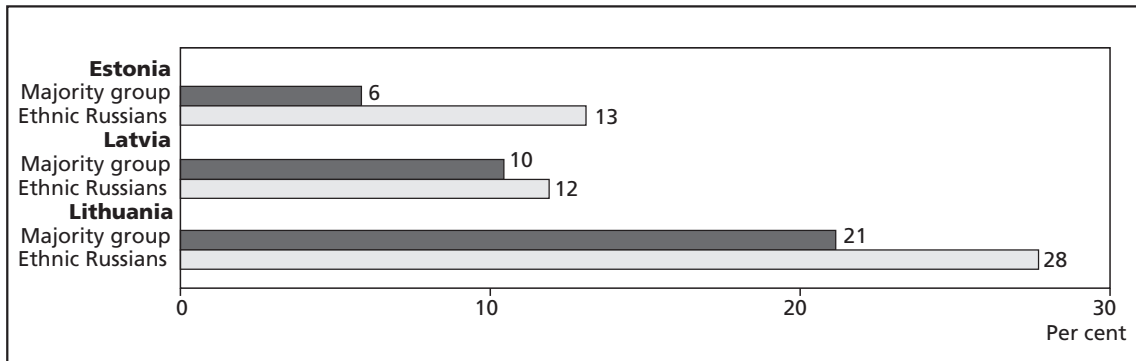
The next figure (Figure 8.7) shows that people in the older age groups have a greater tendency to be afraid than young people. However, once more we see that young people in Lithuania report a higher fear of victimisation than people in even the oldest age groups in Estonia and Latvia.

Figure 8.7 Proportion of individuals reporting high fear of victimisation (index), by age. Per cent



The last figure is based on the same index and shows differences between people of the majority ethnicities and ethnic Russians living in the Baltic states. While the actual level of exposure to crime appears to be similar among Russians and those of the majority ethnicities, Figure 8.8 suggests that ethnic Russians have a higher fear of victimisation than the others in each country. This is particularly the case in Estonia, where Russians report a high fear of victimisation more than twice as often as ethnic Estonians. However, it is worth noting that Russians in Estonia still report significantly less fear than ethnic Lithuanians living in Lithuania.

Figure 8.8 Proportion of individuals reporting high fear of victimisation (index), by ethnicity. Per cent



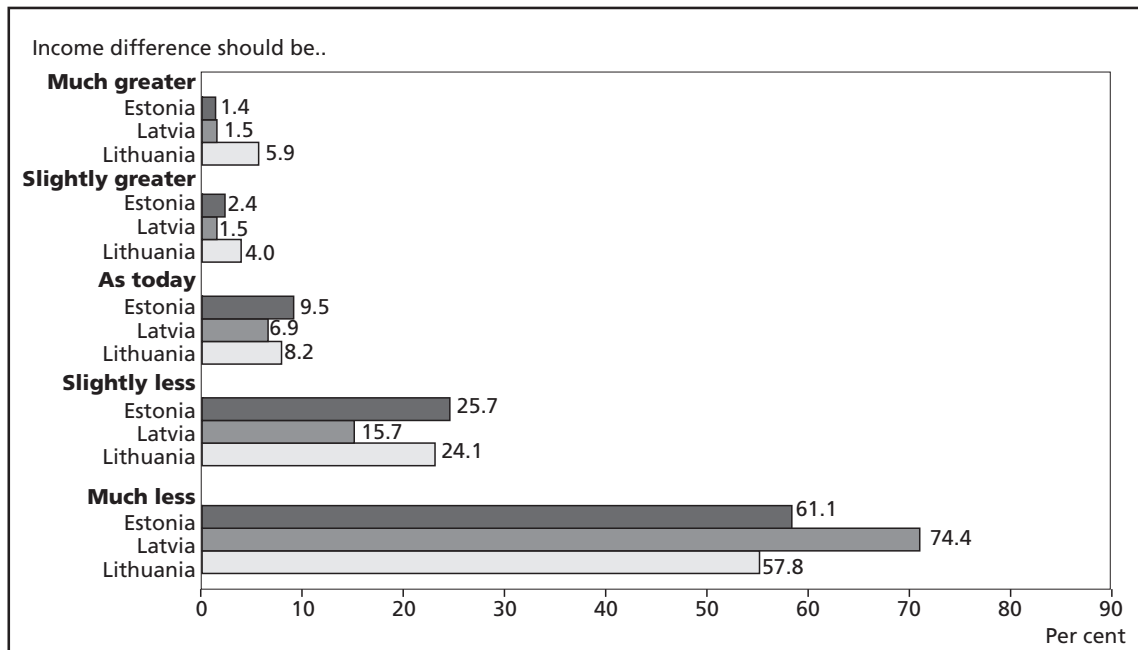
Values, Attitudes and Perceptions

The NORBALT surveys explored perceptions of the changes that have accompanied the transition period. How do people respond to changing circumstances? Do people have the resources they need to cope with the changes and to achieve their goals in life? What can be deduced about the popular mood in the three countries four years after the Baltic countries achieved their independence? Several questions on the popular mood were asked in all the three surveys, and in this chapter we shall look at attitudes towards income inequality, privatisation, equal rights between the sexes, confidence in public authorities, interest in politics and, finally, the individual's perceived ability to influence his or her own life.

Income inequality

Most people in all the three Baltic countries are strongly opposed to the trend of increasing economic inequality. Almost three quarters (74%) of the respondents in Latvia think that income differences should be much smaller than at present, while the corresponding proportions are 61% in Lithuania and 58% in Estonia (Figure 9.1). Less than five percent in Latvia and Lithuania and less than 10% in Estonia hold the view that income differences should be larger or much larger. Women and older people are slightly more prone than men and younger people to be in favour of reducing wage differences, but both sexes and all age groups have a clear majority who believe that economic inequalities should be reduced.

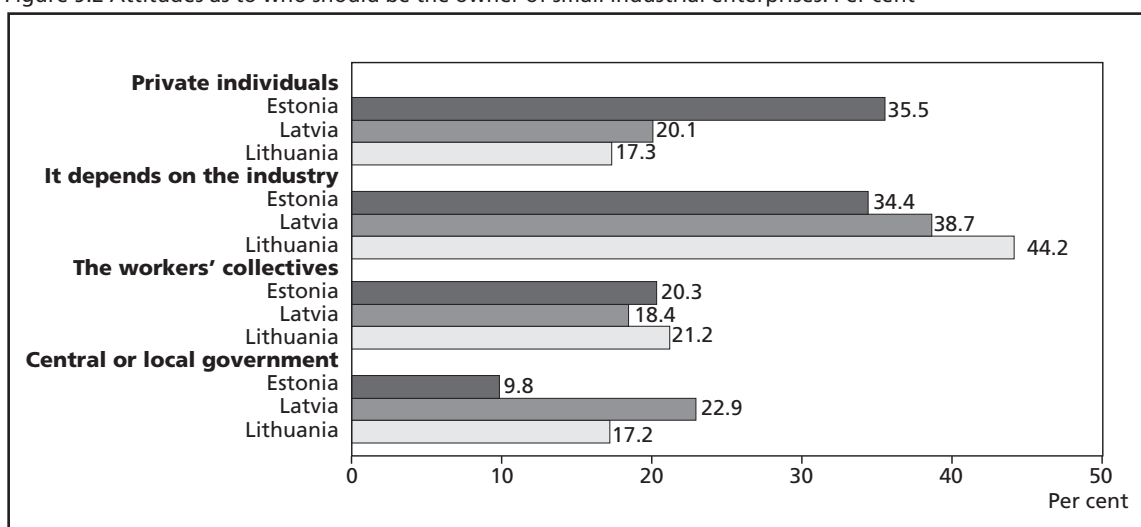
Figure 9.1 Opinion on income distribution. Per cent



Privatisation

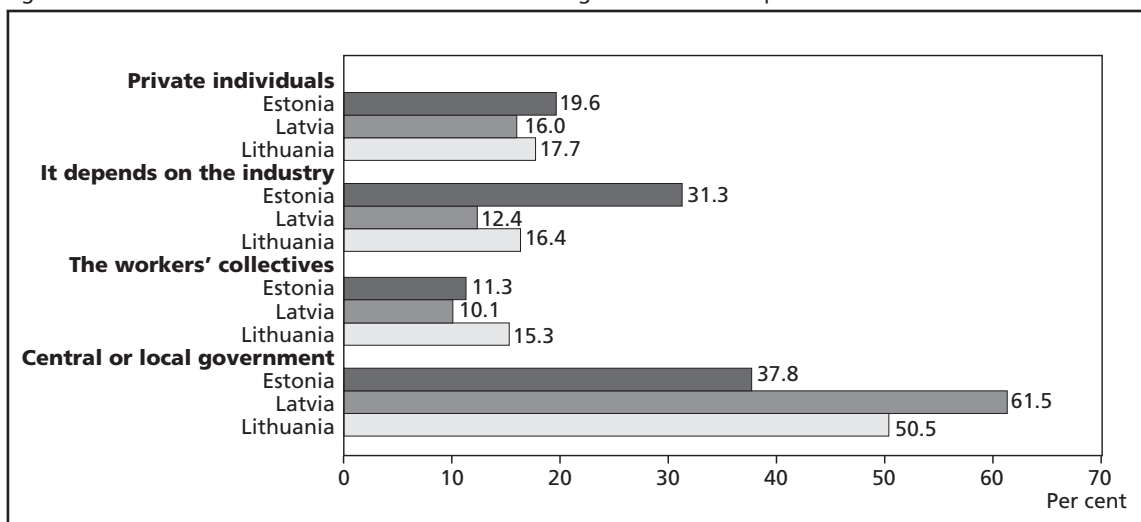
The survey respondents were asked who they thought should be the owners of various types of units: small industrial enterprises (with less than 100 employees); large industrial enterprises (more than 100 employees); retail trade shops; and agricultural land. As we shall see below, responses were not uniform and varied between the different types of industries. Only a small proportion of the respondents believed that the state should be the owner of small industrial enterprises, as shown in Figure 9.2. Least supportive of state ownership are respondents in Estonia (10%) while Latvians are the most positive (23%). Estonia also has the highest proportion of people who believe that private individuals should own such enterprises; more than 1/3 of the Estonian respondents express this opinion.

Figure 9.2 Attitudes as to who should be the owner of small industrial enterprises. Per cent



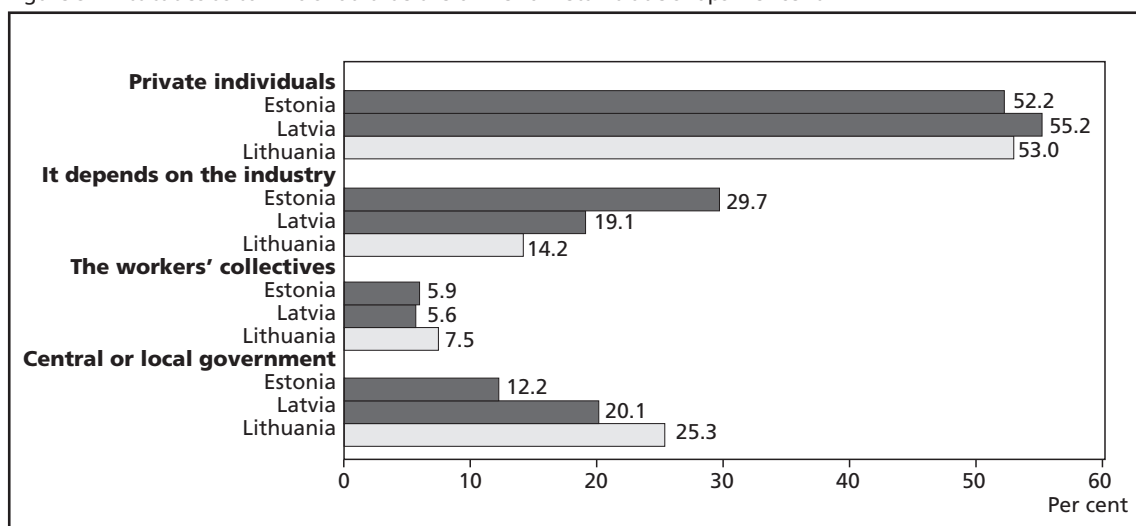
For large enterprises the general view is rather different. Figure 9.3 shows that a substantial proportion of the respondents believe that such enterprises should be state-owned. Indeed, in Latvia and Lithuania this is true for more than half the respondents (62% and 51% respectively). Although people seem to be somewhat more skeptical to state ownership in Estonia, even in this country there are many more people who believe large enterprises should be owned by the state (38%) than by private individuals (20%).

Figure 9.3 Attitudes as to who should be the owner of large industrial enterprises. Per cent



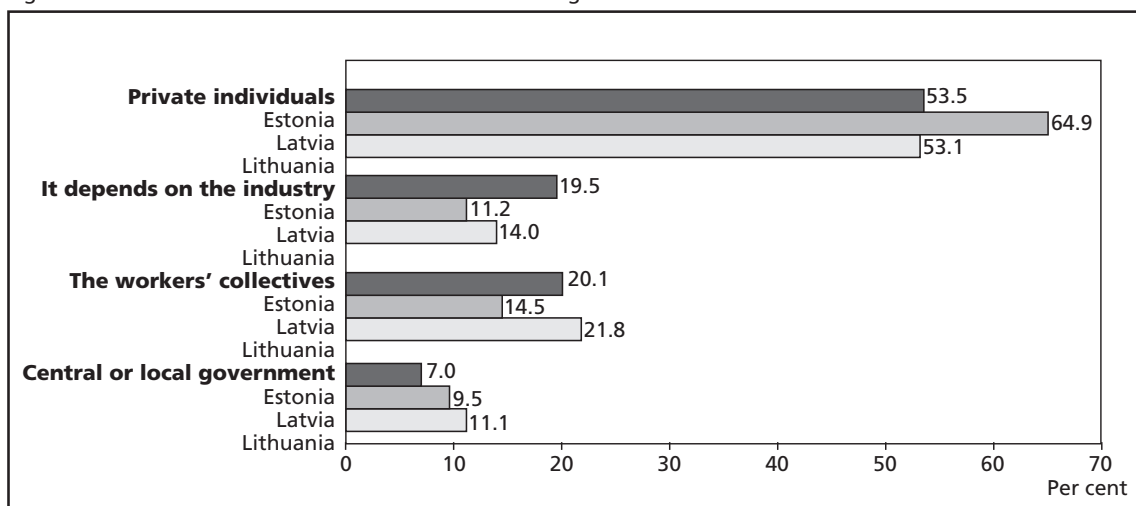
In all three countries a majority of the respondents believe that retail trade shops should be owned by private individuals, as shown in Figure 9.4. Estonia again stands out as the least supportive of state ownership: only 12% believe shops should be owned by the state, whereas the corresponding figures for Latvia and Lithuania are 20% and 25%.

Figure 9.4 Attitudes as to who should be the owner of retail trade shops. Per cent



Attitudes to privatisation are most positive when it comes to ownership of farmland (Figure 9.5). Latvia has the largest proportion of respondents who are in favour of private ownership (65%). Only 7% to 11% in the three countries think that agricultural land should be owned by the state.

Figure 9.5 Attitudes as to who should be the owner of agricultural land. Per cent

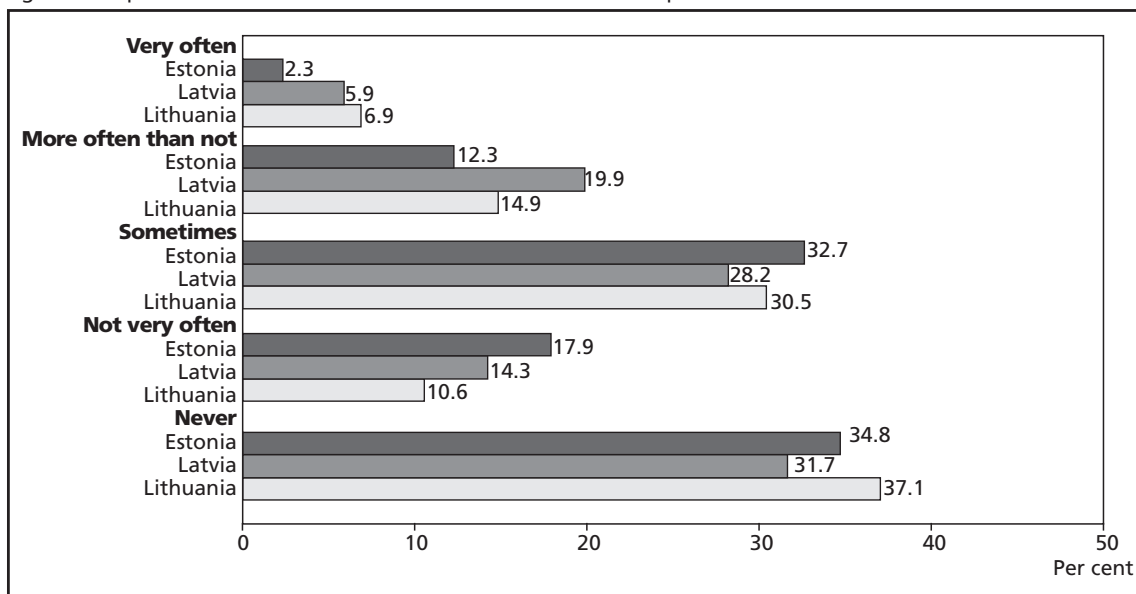


Discrimination of women

A question about whether women are discriminated against compared to men in the labour sphere revealed that in all the countries more than one third of the respondents believe that this never happens (Figure 9.6). In Estonia only 2% say that it happens very often, but in Latvia and Lithuania the proportions were slightly higher (6-7%). If we calculate the mean scores in the three countries on a scale from 1:

never discriminated (most positive opinion) to 5: very often (most negative opinion), then the most negative estimation is found in Latvia (2.5) and the least negative in Estonia (2.3).

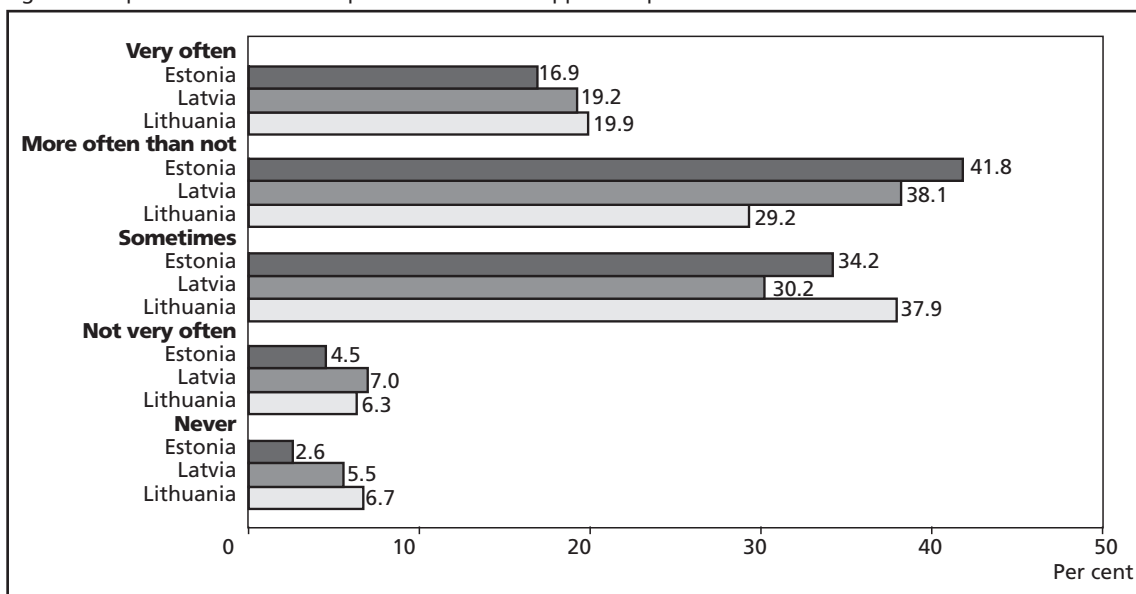
Figure 9.6 Opinions on how often discrimination of women takes place. Per cent



Opinion on the conduct of public authorities

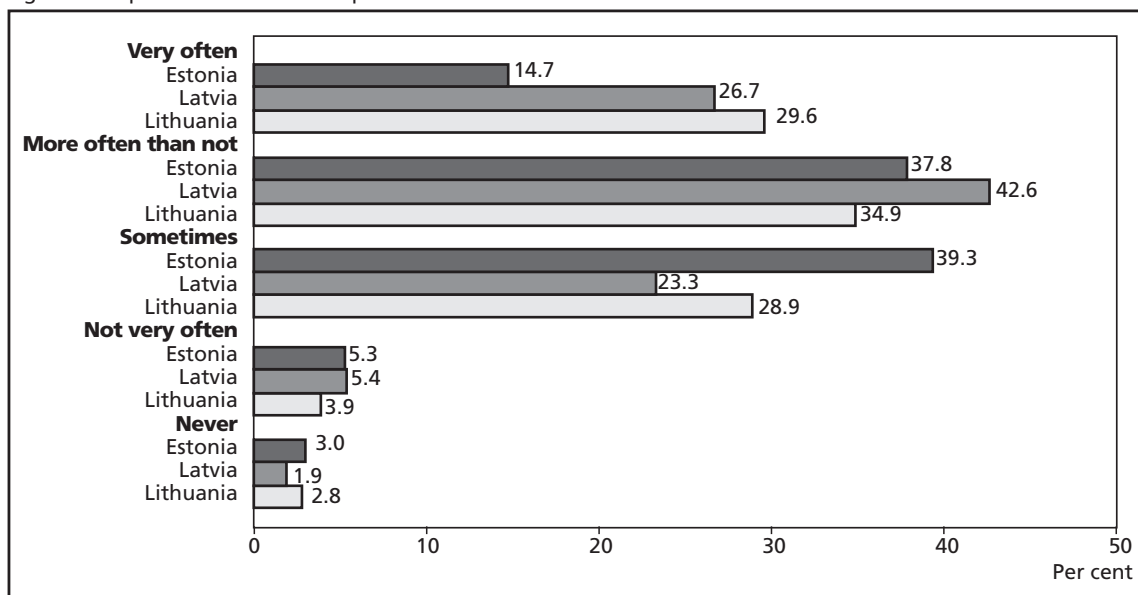
Attitudes about the conduct of public authorities in the Baltic countries are not encouraging. The first question was whether or not public authorities suppress important information which the public should be informed about. As Figure 9.7 clearly shows, very few people believe that this is a rare occurrence. Indeed, fully 59% in Estonia, 57% in Latvia and 49% in Lithuania express the view that this takes place often or very often.

Figure 9.7 Opinions on how often public authorities suppress important information. Per cent



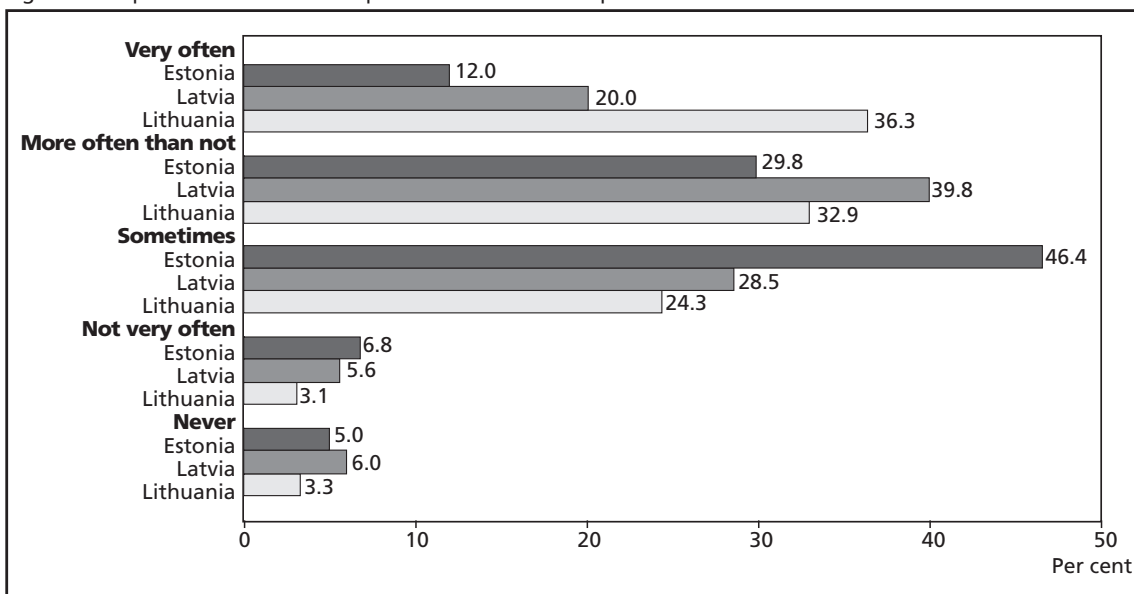
The second question on the conduct of public authorities was whether they are inefficient in the execution of their duties (Figure 9.8). The pattern of responses is similar to the previous question. Latvia has the highest proportion of respondents who think that these practices happen often or very often (69%), and the lowest is found in Estonia (53%).

Figure 9.8 Opinions on how often public authorities are inefficient in the execution of their duties. Per cent



The third question on the conduct of public authorities was whether or not they accept bribes. A much larger proportion of respondents answered «do not know» to this question than to the two previous ones (more than 40% as opposed to an average of approximately 10%). However, of those who gave an answer to this question, the distribution is presented in Figure 9.9. Lithuanians are most prone to believe that their authorities accept bribes; 68% thought this happened often or very often. Estonians seem to trust their authorities more in this respect. However, even there a majority of the respondents believe that such practices take place often or very often (52%). In Latvia the corresponding proportion was 60%.

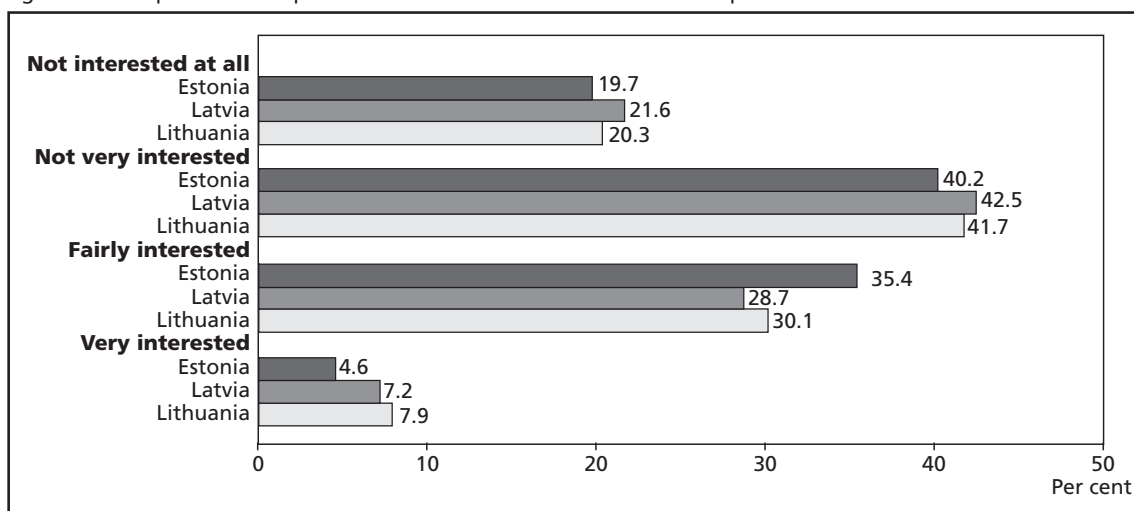
Figure 9.9 Opinions on how often public authorities accept bribes. Per cent



Interest in politics

The political transformation which has taken place in the Baltic countries does not seem to have resulted in politically motivated populations. In fact, only 5% to 8% of the respondents say that they are very interested in politics, while 60% and more claimed that they are not very interested or not interested at all (Figure 9.10).

Figure 9.10 Proportion of respondents with different level of interest in politics. Per cent



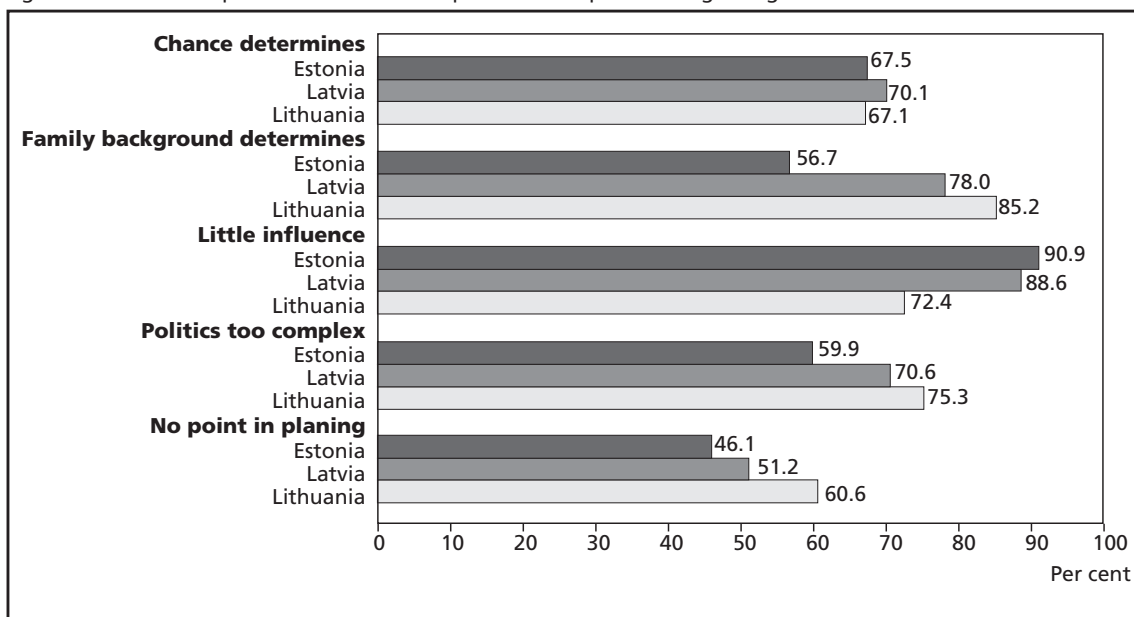
Perceived influence

To measure the extent to which people feel personally helpless or adrift during this period of transition, the NORBALT surveys created an indicator of respondents' perceived influence over their own lives. The interviewers read five statements, and respondents were asked whether they agreed or disagreed. The statements were as follows:

- «There is no point in planning the future, because nothing ever is a success.»
- «Politics are so complex that it is difficult for people like me to understand what it is about.»
- «As a private person I can vote, but in reality I have little influence on political decision.»
- «It is first and foremost family background that determines your successes in life.»
- «Luck and chance determine our lives.»

Figure 9.11 shows the proportion of respondents who agreed with the statements read. We see that with one exception, a majority of the respondents in all countries agreed with all these statements. More than 90% of the Estonian respondents thought they have little influence on political decisions. On the other hand, Estonians were less inclined than Latvians and Lithuanians to agree with three of the other statements. Family background was seen as crucial for success in all the countries, but most so in Lithuania, where 85% agreed with the statement on the importance of family.

Figure 9.11 Perceived personal influence. Proportion of respondents agreeing with statements read. Per cent



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