



**SOCIAL INEQUALITY AND WHY IT MATTERS FOR  
THE ECONOMIC AND DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT  
OF EUROPE AND ITS CITIZENS: POST-COMMUNIST  
CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE IN  
COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE**

**DELIVERABLE 2  
DESK RESEARCH**

**ESTONIA**

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## **Introduction**

During the period 1940-1991 Estonia was incorporated in the Soviet Union as one of the Soviet Socialist Republics. In year 1991 Estonia declared its independence again. Restoration of Estonian independence brought about a new era in politics and economy. As a result of vast re-orientation and restructuring of main fields of economy, industry and agriculture in particular, number of workplaces diminished significantly, existing permanent contracts of employment were made temporary - without stable social guarantees. On the other hand, totally new type of jobs were created in the fields of services, banking, real estate and trade, requiring substantial training and/or additional workload. Thousands of people felt necessity or were even forced to enter social mobility, its vertical dimension in particular. All this brought along stress, tensions at work, constant need for self-proof, worries about personal and family future. Extreme cases resulted in total burnouts and even suicides.

Legislative initiatives were developed according to arisen challenges and needs: pension insurance, enhancement of self-responsibility, private health care, fee-charging education and unemployment insurance were introduced within a short period of time. Thus, transition from society-centralised system to person-oriented created new opportunities, but also new problems.

Although Estonia is considered to be one of the winners among the post-Communist countries with new democracies, we have also faced serious social problems – Estonia has succeeded in terms of the rapid economic development, but failed in keeping social cohesion high at the same time.

## **Section 1. “Objective” indicators of social inequality**

### GDP

GDP at current prices was 173 062 million EEK<sup>1</sup> in year 2005 (Table1). When we look at the data from period 1993-2005, we can see that GDP has increased continuously - compared to the year 1993 GDP has increased 7,5 times.

### Social protection expenditure

During the period 2000-2004 the social protection expenditure in Estonia in terms of absolute value has increased, while its share of the GDP has decreased. The main reason for the decrease in the proportion of the social protection expenditure, is

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<sup>1</sup> 1EUR= approx. 15,6 EEK

the rapid growth of the GDP in recent years.<sup>2</sup> During the years 2000-2004 the absolute value of social protection expenditure has increased approximately 30% (Table2.1), while its share of the social protection expenditure of the GDP has decreased 0,6% (Table2.2). The majority of the social protection expenditure consist of pensions and health insurance benefits.

### Unemployment

During the years 1993-2005 the unemployment rate in Estonia has decreased considerably. In year 2006 (3<sup>rd</sup> quarter) the unemployment rate was 5,4 %, which is the lowest since 1993. The highest unemployment rate during the years of independence was in year 2000 (13,8%). Since then the unemployment rate has decreased 8,4% (Table1).

Due to the fast economic growth and open borders between the EU countries, the employers are now facing the situation, where there is very hard to find good workers and specialists. Many formerly low-paid workers (doctors, nurses, bus drivers, construction workers) are leaving to work in other EU member states. According to Finnish Ministry of Labour there were approximately 10-12 000 Estonians working in Finland in November 2006. In addition to Finland, there are also many Estonians currently working in Ireland, England, Norway and other EU member states.

### Income

According to the data, the average monthly gross earnings have increased considerably during the period 1993-2005, and especially during the past year (Table1). The average monthly gross earnings were 9068 EEK in 2006 (3<sup>rd</sup> quarter). Comparing to the year 1993, the average gross earnings have increased 8,5 times. The average monthly earnings have increased in all economic sectors.

The average old-age pension has also increased – from 320 EEK in year 1993 to 2558 EEK in 2005. The average old-age pension has increased 8 times, which is almost as much as the average gross earnings in general.

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<sup>2</sup> National Report on Strategies for Social Protection and Social Inclusion 2006-2008, Ministry of Social Affairs of Estonia, 2006

## Poverty

During the period 2000-2002 the poverty level in Estonia has slightly decreased: from 18,8% in year 2000 to 17,9% in 2002<sup>3</sup> (Table3). In 2003 we can see, that the number of people living at risk of poverty increased by 2,3%, but decreased again the next year, being 18,3% in 2004.

The poverty risk group includes mainly long-term unemployed, low-paid workers, families with many children and single parent families. The percentage of women among the people living in poverty and in the poverty risk group is higher than that of men; however, 2/3 of the homeless people are male.

## Population

Estonia's population has gradually decreased since the early 1990's. During the period between the two last censuses in 1989 and 2000, the population of Estonia decreased by 12.5%. In year 2006, the population of Estonia was 1,35 million. Estonians form 69%, Russians 26% and other nationalities 5% of the population.

## Life expectancy

The health situation in Estonia is far from favourable. While in the western countries the average life expectancy has increased considerably, in Estonia there have been no substantial improvements in average life expectancy over the last 30 years.<sup>4</sup>

Average life expectancy in Estonia is significantly lower than the average level in other EU member states (the average life expectancy of Estonian men is approximately 12 years shorter than of the men living in the old EU member states.) During the period 1989-1994 the average life expectancy continuously decreased and was in its lowest in 1994 – 66,46 years (the average life expectancy of men was only 60,52 in that year) (Table5). This decrease reflected unfavourable developments in mortality from the several causes of death, especially cardiovascular diseases, injuries and poisoning. However, during the period 1989-2005 the average life expectancy has slightly increased: from 70,31 years in 1989 to 72,82 years in 2005. The difference of life expectancy of men and women is somewhat alarming – the average life expectancy of female was 78,14 years in year 2005 while for men it was 67,27 years. This means that women in Estonia live approximately 11 years longer than men. The

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<sup>3</sup> The percentage indicates the share of persons with equalised disposable income lower than the at-risk-of-poverty threshold.

<sup>4</sup> Kunst, A., Leinsalu, M., Kasmel, A., Habicht J. Social inequalities in health in Estonia, Ministry of Social Affairs of Estonia, 2002

main reason for this significant difference in the average estimated life expectancy for men and women lies in the relatively high death rate among young men as a result of high risk behaviour.

The situation is even more troubling when observing the indicators of healthy life expectancy. In 2004 the healthy life expectancy at the moment of birth was 52,5 years for women and 49,2 years for men.<sup>5</sup> Although the difference in the number of healthy life years of men and women is not as significant as it is in case of average life expectancy, the level still remains low.

The improvement of life expectancy is believed to be positively related to the growth of national wealth. In Estonia, the problem is both the level of wealth and its distribution. The mortality rate from many causes (for example infectious diseases) exceeds those found in Western countries, partly due to the generally lower living standards in Estonia.<sup>6</sup>

### HIV/AIDS

By the end of 2006, there were more than 5000 HIV-positives in Estonia and 125 persons had been diagnosed with AIDS (Table6). The first HIV-case in Estonia was registered in 1988 and the first AIDS in 1992. In the period 1988-1999 the cumulative number of registered HIV-cases in Estonia was 96. In year 2000 the number of notified HIV-cases increased enormously. The epidemic spread of HIV started from Ida-Viru county (economically least developed region in Estonia, with high population of Non-Estonians), mostly among injecting drug users. Due to the sudden increase in the number of HIV infected people since the autumn of 2000, the Ministry of Social Affairs proclaimed a concentrated epidemic of HIV among injecting drug users (according to UNAIDS/WHO definition). By that moment, the number of notified HIV cases had already jumped to 1474. HIV infected persons are predominantly male, but the proportion of women of all HIV infected show an increasing trend. In 2006 17% of all newly registered HIV-cases were registered among (mostly male) prisoners<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>5</sup> National Report on Strategies for Social Protection and Social Inclusion 2006-2008, Ministry of Social Affairs of Estonia, 2006

<sup>6</sup> Leinsalu M., Troubled Transitions: Social variation and long-term trends in health and mortality in Estonia, Stockholm University/Karolinska Institutet 2004

<sup>7</sup> Estonian Health Protection Inspectorate

The share of HIV infected of the total population in Estonia is highest among the EU member states.

### Main causes of death

Over the past years the main causes of death have remained the same. Men have higher mortality than women from all causes of death (Table7). The most frequent causes of death are diseases of circulatory system, which are strongly related to health damaging behaviour. The second most frequent cause of death is neoplasms and in the third position are external causes - injuries and poisoning. When all injuries and poisonings are combined, men have mortality rate, which is over four times as high when compared with that of women.

It has been suggested that alcohol is a major factor underlying high mortality rates in the former Soviet Union.<sup>8</sup> Alcohol consumption among Estonian population has been steadily increasing during the past years. According to the data provided by the Estonian Institute of Economic Research 11 litres of pure alcohol per capita was consumed in year 2005. Compared to 1990 the amount of alcohol consumption in Estonia has almost doubled.<sup>9</sup> Consumption of alcohol is more frequent among men. According to the data from year 2004 60% of men and 24% of women drink alcohol once or more a week.<sup>10</sup>

In year 2004 almost 48% of men and 21% of women were daily smokers. Daily smoking is most common among middle age groups. Men and women with lower education generally smoke more often than those with higher education.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Leinsalu M., Troubled Transitions: Social variation and long-term trends in health and mortality in Estonia, Stockholm University/Karolinska Institutet 2004

<sup>9</sup> www.ki.ee

<sup>10</sup> Health Behaviour among Estonian Adult Population, 2004, National Institute of Health Development, Tallinn 2005

<sup>11</sup> Health Behaviour among Estonian Adult Population, 2004, National Institute of Health Development, Tallinn 2005

Table1. Main indexes of economic development (1993-2005)

	Unemployment rate%	Average monthly gross earnings, EEK*	Average old-age pension, EEK*	GDP at current prices, million kroons
1993	6,7	1066	320	22820,3
1994	7,7	1734	453	31349,4
1995	9,7	2375	670	43060,6
1996	10	2985	953	55895,4
1997	9,8	3573	1111	68576,1
1998	10	4125	1247	78027,6
1999	12,4	4440	1545	81775,9
2000	13,8	4907	1532	95491,0
2001	12,8	5510	1583	108218,3
2002	10,5	6144	1758	121372,2
2003	10,3	6723	1985	132904,0
2004	9,9	7287	2244	146693,8
2005	8,1	8073	2558	173062,3

\* 1 EEK= approx. 15,6 EUR

Source: Statistics Estonia, Bank of Estonia

Table2.1. Social protection expenditure, (million kroons)

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
<b>Total</b>	13 148,88	13 949,39	15 174,59	16 859,87	19 414,59
<b>Sickness, health care</b>	4 221,42	4 448,16	4 719,41	5 368,98	6 106,38
<b>Disability, incapacity for work</b>	869,26	1 146,25	1 355,03	1 571,59	1 773,96
<b>Old age</b>	5 704,45	5 927,96	6 617,02	7 420,69	8 320,86
<b>Housing</b>	93,33	84,6	96,22	103,57	70,31
<b>Family and children</b>	1 568,39	1 598,60	1 725,63	1 681,68	2 463,95
<b>Unemployment</b>	167,82	189,65	166,03	304,89	309,93
<b>Social exclusion</b>	266,07	315,92	306,38	273,28	211,91

Source: Ministry of Social Affairs

Table2.2. Social protection expenditure, share of GDP (%)

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
<b>Total</b>	14,0	13,1	12,7	12,9	13,4
<b>Sickness, health care</b>	4,4	4,1	3,9	4,0	4,2
<b>Disability, incapacity for work</b>	0,9	1,1	1,1	1,2	1,2
<b>Old age</b>	6,0	5,5	5,5	5,6	5,7
<b>Housing</b>	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,0
<b>Family and children</b>	1,6	1,5	1,4	1,3	1,7
<b>Unemployment</b>	0,2	0,2	0,1	0,2	0,2
<b>Social exclusion</b>	0,3	0,3	0,3	0,2	0,1

Source: Ministry of Social Affairs

Table 3. Changes in poverty level (%\*), (2000-2004)

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
<b>Total</b>	18,3	18,2	17,9	20,2	18,3
<b>Male</b>	17,3	17,4	17	19,5	17,4
<b>Female</b>	19,1	18,9	18,7	20,7	19,2

\* The percentage indicates the share of persons with equalised disposable income lower than the at-risk-of-poverty threshold.

Source: Statistics Estonia



Table4. Gini coefficient (1996-2005)

1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
0,33	0,36	0,37	0,37	0,36	0,36	0,36	0,35	0,36	0,36

Table5. The average life expectancy at birth (1989-2005)

	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	
<b>Total</b>	70,31	69,71	69,56	69,04	67,9	66,46	67,61	69,81	
<b>Male</b>	65,55	64,53	64,26	63,36	62,25	60,52	61,33	64,1	
<b>Female</b>	74,68	74,67	74,73	74,59	73,78	72,76	74,13	75,35	
	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
<b>Total</b>	70,05	69,53	70,27	70,62	70,4	70,98	71,59	72,02	72,82
<b>Male</b>	64,23	63,73	64,64	65,13	64,62	65,13	66,04	66,25	67,27
<b>Female</b>	75,68	75,26	75,77	75,99	76,21	76,95	76,9	77,78	78,14

Source: Statistics Estonia

Table6. Notified cases of HIV (1988-2006)

	1988-1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006 (at the end of November)	Total
<b>Male</b>	85	312	1127	632	606	497	390	369	4018
<b>Female</b>	11	78	347	267	234	246	231	203	1617
<b>Total</b>	96	390	1474	899	840	743	621	572	5635
<b>Incidence per 100 000</b>	...	27,1	107,8	65,8	61,9	54,9	46	...	...

Source: Estonian Health Protection Inspectorate

Table7. Deaths per 100 000 population by year, cause of death, sex (2000-2005)

Death causes	Sex	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
<b>All causes</b>	Total	1343,76	1357,38	1350,98	1341,06	1310,69	1286,31
	Males	1466,96	1514,58	1495,99	1473,77	1458,83	1424,8
	Females	1238,32	1222,86	1226,98	1227,65	1184,17	1168,08
<b>Infectious and parasitic diseases</b>	Total	10,73	10,63	9,05	11,3	11,26	8,02
	Males	16,78	16,22	14,53	17,48	18,02	12,26
	Females	5,56	5,85	4,37	6,03	5,5	4,41
<b>Neoplasms</b>	Total	247,46	244,26	254,15	249,42	260,21	261,87
	Males	287,85	287,27	299,87	297,58	306,83	315,67
	Females	212,89	207,46	215,06	208,26	220,4	215,93
<b>Diseases of the circulatory system</b>	Total	728,8	727,51	734,78	735,25	696,81	685,76
	Males	680,04	698,86	692,67	694,88	664,01	657,8
	Females	770,53	752,03	770,79	769,74	724,82	709,64
<b>Diseases of the respiratory system</b>	Total	44,47	42,45	42,54	45,58	42,54	35,14
	Males	68,56	66,29	68,82	68,14	65	53,39
	Females	23,85	22,04	20,07	26,31	23,36	19,56
<b>Diseases of the digestive system</b>	Total	46,44	48,75	49,54	47,43	48,02	51,26
	Males	57,48	56,6	61,47	55,8	59,69	63,07
	Females	37	42,04	39,32	40,28	38,06	41,18
<b>Injury and poisoning:</b>	Total	152,83	170,81	147,87	135,72	130,88	123,24
	Males	254,92	284,73	250,05	228,79	226,06	205,82
	Females	65,45	73,32	60,49	56,18	49,6	52,74
<b>...accidents</b>	Total	..	..	..	91,17	90,05	82,24
	Males	..	..	..	152,32	153,82	136,14
	Females	..	..	..	38,91	35,59	36,22
<b>...transport accidents</b>	Total	18,4	17,37	18,18	14,26	15,04	15,08
	Males	29,61	28,78	30,98	24,69	24,78	24,2
	Females	8,81	7,62	7,24	5,34	6,73	7,3
<b>...accidental drowning</b>	Total	5,62	9,9	6,7	7,76	6,3	4,38
	Males	9,18	16,69	11,02	15,07	10,78	8,06
	Females	2,58	4,08	3	1,51	2,47	1,24
<b>...accidental poisoning</b>	Total	25,7	30,64	22,6	18,1	23,94	19,46
	Males	44,49	52,78	41,2	29,18	42,96	32,74
	Females	9,62	11,7	6,69	8,63	7,7	8,12
<b>...accidental poisoning by alcohol</b>	Total	20,44	25,36	14,2	13,74	15,19	13,67
	Males	34,52	43,56	24,27	21,16	26,39	21,62
	Females	8,4	9,8	5,6	7,4	5,63	6,89
<b>...suicide</b>	Total	27,53	29,4	27,31	25,27	23,94	20,28
	Males	45,76	50,08	47,74	44,25	42,48	35,49
	Females	11,92	11,7	9,83	9,04	8,11	7,3
<b>...homicide</b>	Total	13,87	15,18	11,7	10,93	8,08	9,14
	Males	24,7	25,75	19,64	17,32	14,48	14,84
	Females	4,61	6,12	4,92	5,48	2,61	4,27

Source: Statistics Estonia

## **Section 2. Causes and correlates of social inequality**

Social inequality in Estonia is related to many factors and concerns different spheres of life. However, unemployment, long-term unemployment in particular (seeking work for 12 months or longer) remains the main reason for poverty and social exclusion. The steady growth of employment has contributed to the reduction of poverty, yet unemployment has remained at high level among certain social groups. Unemployment rate is slightly lower among women, but women have also lower labour force activity rate and employment rate than men (Table8).

The level of education of the unemployed is considerably lower than those employed. Higher education seems to provide protection against unemployment and poverty - the higher the level of education, the lower the unemployment. In year 2005 the unemployment rate among men and women with higher education was about 4%, while the unemployment rate of men and women with basic education was 16% and 12% accordingly (Table9). Considering this, the high dropout rate at basic school level in Estonia will become a serious challenge in prevention of poverty and social exclusion.

People with higher education have considerably higher income than those with lower or secondary education (Table12). 11% of people with higher education earn net wages as high as 10 000 kroons or more, while only 2,2% of people with primary and 3,6% of people with secondary education earn as much. Approximately 1/4-1/3 of the people with primary and secondary education earn 2501-4000 kroons per month (30% and 27% accordingly). The share of people with no income at all is highest among those with primary or less education.

The share of people whose net income is 2500 kroons or less (minimum salary) is higher in rural than urban areas (14% and 8% accordingly) (Table13). When comparing average gross wages regionally, the biggest differences occur between the capital (Tallinn and Harju County) and other areas (Table15). The average salaries in Tallinn and Harju County (surrounding the capital) are higher than the national average. The average gross wages in Tallinn was 9462 kroons in 2005 while for the whole country it was 8073 kroons. The average income of the people living in other counties is less than the national average. The poorest region in Estonia is Ida-Viru County, where the average gross wages was 6057 kroons in 2005, which is approximately 2000 kroons less than the average income in Estonia in general.

Unemployment rate of non-Estonians is significantly higher than that of Estonians (Table10). The main reason for this is their poor or absent knowledge of Estonian language. Also, there is a high concentration of non-Estonians in Ida –Viru County, which has a generally high unemployment rate. A high population of non-Estonians used to work in the large-scale enterprises in the secondary sector, which in course of the economic reorganisation turned out to be uncompetitive and were closed down. Non-Estonians in other regions are coming closer to the level of Estonians in terms of labour market participation.<sup>12</sup> The unemployment rate of non-Estonian women is higher than that of non-Estonian men.

Non-Estonians have mainly been employed in unskilled jobs. However, since 2000, increased numbers of non-Estonians are participating in higher education, and more non-Estonians (mainly younger generations) are employed as skilled workers and professionals. It is noteworthy, that according to the Population and Housing Census conducted in year 2000, Estonians do not have the highest educational level in their own country. The educational level of Russians is slightly higher than that of Estonians, especially as regards professional secondary education and secondary education. Also, there are fewer Russian-ethnicity Estonian citizens with only primary education.<sup>13</sup>

The income of non-Estonians is still slightly lower than that of Estonians (Table14), but the wage gap has narrowed in recent years. The income of Russians is strongly determined by their citizenship. Estonian-Russians with Estonian citizenship earn more than ethnic Estonians whereas Estonian-Russians with Russian citizenship earn significantly less: 55% of the latter earn less than EEK 2,500 per month.<sup>14</sup> Russians with Estonian citizenship are younger, more educated and have better Estonian language skills than other groups of Russians - 71% of Russians with Estonian citizenship and 5% with Russian citizenship have advanced Estonian language skills.

When we look at the data concerning the gender inequalities in economic sphere, we can see a significant gap between the average income of men and women (Table16). Although the differences in average wages have been slightly decreasing

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<sup>12</sup> Karu M., Roosaar L., Trends in labour market participation, income and job satisfaction among non-nationals, Praxis, Centre of Policy studies, 2006

<sup>13</sup> Social Trends, Statistical Office of Estonia, Tallinn 2004

<sup>14</sup> Karu M., Roosaar L., Trends in labour market participation, income and job satisfaction among non-nationals, Praxis, Centre of Policy studies, 2006

during the past 10 years, we can still see, that men have respectively higher earnings in all major groups of occupation. When all occupation groups combined, women have 23,5% lower income than men. Within the major group of occupation the biggest gap is between male and female technicians and associate professionals, where approximately 70% of workers were women in 2004 (31,9%); and the smallest between skilled agricultural and fishery workers, among whom 40% are women (15,6%). For legislators, senior officials and managers the gap is 18,1%. In the group of occupation of service workers and shop and market sales workers where the biggest number of women worked in 2004 and where 77% of workers were women, the gap was 25%.<sup>15</sup>

One of the main reasons of women's lower income is gender-based segregation of jobs. Men and women work in different economic sectors and the traditional patterns of men's and women's jobs are still prevailing. These occupations, where women traditionally work (for example education, health, social work, hotels, restaurants etc) are generally less paid than predominantly male occupations. Also there has been an increase in part-time employment, which is more characteristic for female workers among whom 10,5% were working part time in 2005, compared to 5% of male workers.

According to the survey "Monitoring Gender Inequality", conducted by the Institute of International and Social Studies at Tallinn University in 2006, only 22% of women and 33% of men believe that men and women have access to equal opportunities in the Estonian labour market. 43% of men and 25% of women agree that the salary of men should be higher than the salary of women. Moreover, men demand higher salaries than women do. In the last year, only 15% of women asked for a rise in salary and 25% actually received an increase in salary (compared with 27% and 50% of men).<sup>16</sup> Due to the lower earnings during their working life, women will also get lower old-age pensions after retirement.

Women's lower income also reflects in the data on the average disposable income per household member by sex of the head of the household (Table17). Households with female household head have lower average disposable income than households with male household head. That tendency has not changed during the past

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<sup>15</sup> Estonia's National Report, Human Rights and Economical Challenges in Europe, 6<sup>th</sup> European Ministerial Conference on Equality Between Men and Women, Stockholm 2006

<sup>16</sup> Karu M., Attitudes towards gender equality in the workplace, Praxis, Centre of Policy studies, 2006

8 years. On the contrary, during the period 1997-2005 the difference in average disposable income has increased. In 2005 the average disposable income of households with male household head was 9,6% higher than the average disposable income of households with female household head. Also poverty is more likely to occur in female-head-households. On one hand women work in economic sectors, which are considerably low paid. On the other hand, it is more likely for women to be single parents or to take care of an elderly or disabled family member, which influences their income prospects.

Another serious problem is that poverty still affects a great number of children. In year 2004 21,5%<sup>17</sup> of the children aged 0-15 years were living under the risk of poverty.<sup>18</sup> The poverty rate among families with children is generally notably higher than among families without children (Table18, Table19). The more children in the family, the higher the rate of poverty. Single parents (usually women) with child(ren) face the highest risk of poverty - in year 2004 40,3% of the families with only one adult with children lived under the risk of poverty.

## **2. ii. The rich in Estonia**

It is very hard to define, who is rich in Estonia, because all the definitions would be subjective. However, Estonia's leading business daily Äripäev has annually compiled TOP500 of the Estonian rich, whose total financial status is comparable to national state budget. Entering the TOP20 presupposes the "value" of over 1 billion EEK. Of course, such top lists are subjective and counting the status was largely based on the value of stocks.

The majority of the Estonian rich are presently middle-aged urban men, who made their fortune in the 1990ies in the fields of economy, that were nonexistent in the Soviet time (banking, IT, real estate, investing) or in the sectors fully controlled by the communist authorities (transport, natural resources, intermediation, wholesale). Apart from risk courage and loans from foreigners or institutions, a wide range of social network and access to know-how and confidential information was used.

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<sup>17</sup> The percentage indicates the share of persons with equalised disposable income lower than the at-risk-of-poverty threshold.

<sup>18</sup> Statistics Estonia [www.stat.ee](http://www.stat.ee)

Until recently, almost all multimillionaires were mostly involved in businesses. Their political activities peaked with donations to parliamentary parties and political organisations – and not on the basis of political preferences, but practical reasons as they often gave donations to different and several political forces. Apart from that, the public was unaware of their deeds and actions in other areas except their business. True, there were several businessmen involved in charity, foundations and scholarships, but most of the rich felt unconsciously the hostility towards them, as the issue of “non-honest start and 1<sup>st</sup> million” was (and still is) prevailing in society. It was commonly suggested, that even if “the 1<sup>st</sup> million” was not earned unlawfully, then certainly it was related to unethical deeds and/or strong abuse of legislative loopholes of young democracy.

Recently the situation has changed - apparently the wealthiest have realised that nothing would compromise their wealth any more. They write or comment media articles on current issues, let the press into their real estate home and abroad; an editor-in-chief of a leading weekly called the manifestation “revolt of the billionaires”. A couple of rich individuals tried to prove ineffectiveness of the state or laws with their own settlement of issues, which brought along severe criticism and consolidated the public in fight against the “money talks” principle. Moreover, it was realised, that variety of opportunities and accesses had not improved the values and thoughtfulness of the rich, on the contrary, it had widened of the newly-rich mentality. There were the first attempts to boycott the services and products of the companies, whose owners and managers had acted against the people’s expectations and sense of fairness.

Many people think that the state has given and gives much more than the rich give back. Although differentiated income tax has not much of popularity, the general perception is that the gap between rich and poor is enhancing, and several legislative provisions tend to further it additionally. This is commonly connected with the leading governmental party - Reform Party, under whose push and influence respective measures were introduced, e.g. differentiated parental benefit (see also page 19) and 0% of tax upon reinvested profit. In general, most of the rich and middle class do support Reform Party, but Centre Party (in favour of differentiated income tax) has always had wealthy supporters as well. On the other hand, most of public procurement has been won by the companies of the supporters of Centre Party, which leads to additional thoughts about the relations of politics and finance and suspicions,

that a donation to a certain party is legally multiplied. There are cases documented, when a regional businessman, joining a party in power, obtains public procurement or will have his/her applications faster administered.

Besides, there is always an issue to what extent the rich of non-Estonian origin, mostly Russian, would influence trends and moods in Estonian society. Some fields of Estonian economy, transit trade in particular, depends largely on the situation in Russian Federation and Estonia-Russia relations. As the latter has been under constant swing, several Estonian transit businessmen are used to put the blame on Estonian side, directly or indirectly.

### **Section 3. Social inequality and national political culture**

The political culture in Estonia is concentrated more to the decision-makers, rather than those whose lives these decisions are affecting, and *vice versa* - people are alienated from the political process and political legitimization in terms of trust in institutions has decayed. The alienation reflects in the fact that the majority of citizens take a position of a bystander in case of parliament elections as well as other civic activities.

Voting activity in Estonia follows the trend characteristic of the post-Communist region. The first free elections brought 80-90% of voters to the polls, but the percentages have dropped considerably. The average election participation in Estonia is less than 60% - one of the lowest in Europe.

There is hardly any open-minded discussion between the Government and the citizens about the social inequalities and the current situation in society. Often public interests of Estonian people have not been taken into account during the decision-making process. It is clear that some interest groups have better access to the public field and media channels than do others. The discussion and interpretation of problems which precedes decision-making is conducted primarily by politicians, the views and concerns of the general public are not being taken into serious consideration.

However, recently, there have been some public discussions on the general direction of Estonia's overall development. One of the most ground shaking discussions about the situation of social inequality was started by 26 social scientists in 2001. They addressed the public and especially politicians and expressed their deep concern about the increasing social, economical and cultural gap between the richest



and the poorest. In the article, they named the richest part of the population “First Estonia” and the poorest “Second Estonia”. These terms are still widely used among politicians and public, when talking about the winners and losers of Estonian society.

The cultural gap is mainly a problem concerning the non-Estonians. There have been discussions about social and cultural isolation of Russian-speaking population, who are the largest minor ethnic group in Estonia. Because of their poor knowledge of Estonian language and different cultural background, they continue living mentally in Russian culture, while physically living in Estonian society. Many non-Estonians follow Russian mass media (newspapers, TV-channels), which means that they live in a different sphere of information and values. In addition, new generation of Estonians who were born in the years of independence learn Russian language quite reluctantly and that also reduces the possibilities of mutual communication of the two ethnic groups.

Another important topic, which has had a lot of media coverage and is still publicly discussed from time to time, is the situation of educational inequalities and its consequences to the society as a whole. Regional differences between schools have been growing during the recent years. Though the education system should, in principle, benefit all pupils in an equal manner, this has not yet proved to be the case. There are about 10 so-called elite state schools (located in the 3 biggest cities: Tallinn, Tartu, Pärnu), which can afford to select more talented pupils and increasingly cater for children from wealthy families. The pupils from elite schools achieve much better results in national examinations than those from regular state schools, and therefore have better possibilities of getting admitted to universities and other institutes of higher education.

#### **Section 4. Social inequality and the national party system**

Estonia is a country with liberal economic policy. As the main government emphasis is on economic development, human development has been left on the position of second priority. Estonia was one of the radical reformers in the beginning of the 1990ies and economic growth was considered to be the most important indicator of success. Also during the transition to the western society, individualistic values started to prevail. In public discourse, slogans like “Better give one a fishhook not a fish” reflected the popular mentality that everyone has to stand on their own feet in modern capitalist society. According to this mentality, unemployment benefits in

Estonia have always been below minimum means of subsistence (180 kroons after the monetary reform, 400 kroons in 1999 and 1000 kroons from the beginning of 2007), despite the fact that mid-nineties was a period of growing unemployment: in 1995 it was estimated, that 100000 persons have “vanished” from the labour market. Unemployment benefit was kept on a minimum level with a purpose to encourage people to be active in labour market and to plant in them the spirit of entrepreneurship and individual coping. The advocates of liberal economic policy were (and still are) sceptical towards the social-democratic state-model, fearing that the left-wing parties try to build a “social aid state”. Their main objection to the social democrats is that Estonia is not wealthy enough to afford the Scandinavian type of welfare system. However, during the last years, some parties have begun to deal also with these problems concerning the human resources, realising that increasing social inequality and exclusion of certain groups of people will sooner or later affect economic development as well.

Ahead of parliamentary elections (March 2007), all major parties have updated their programmes and/or election platforms. The term “social inequality” itself is not included in the programmes of the parliamentary parties, although they are worried about different development graphics in Estonia, both on community and individual levels.

Social inequality is a special concern for Social Democratic Party and Estonian Centre Party, although the latter claims that “today is the Estonian Centre Party the only party trying to combat social injustice and stratification in Estonian society.” Estonian Centre Party pays attention to economic inequality in connection with the formation of middle class (in fact, they claim that Estonia is still a country in transition “where stratification characteristic to market economy goes on”).

The Social Democratic Party declares in its constitution that the Nordic welfare model and the ideals of social democracy are its starting-points. For them, inequality is becoming a problem in sphere of education and they pay attention to continuous stratification among children .

Estonian People Party prefers the term “social market economy”, where it stands for more unified development.

Reform Party speaks only of “balance”, balanced approach in regional and individual development. The largest parliamentary party – Union of Pro Patria and Res Publica – has the following paragraph in the programme:

“We believe in person’s desire to manage his/her life and ensure his/her future. Working must be more useful than being dependant. When a person is in need, he/she must get help. The use of social benefits must be flexible. Local government must take special care of persons in need.”

## **Section 5. Mechanisms for amelioration of social inequality**

### **Tax system in Estonia**

There were no major changes in the income tax burden in Estonia in 1994-2004. The tax rate for the years 1994-2004 has been 26% and for 2005 it has been 24% of the taxable income. From 2006, the general tax rate is 23%. While a number of countries in Europe use a progressive income tax system, Estonia has had, since 1994, a proportional income tax for individuals with a basic exemption (non-taxable minimum). The basic exemption has increased considerably during the past 5 years. The non-taxable minimum was 12 000 EEK in 2001-2002, 16800 EEK in 2004, 20 400 EEK in 2005 and 24 000 EEK starting from 2006. The employers have to pay social security contributions (33%) of employees’ gross wages. The employer is also responsible for withholding income tax. In accordance with the Income Tax Act, an employee who has not signed an employment contract with the employer – so that the employer does not pay labour taxes, may file a complaint to the Tax Board, and a fine will be imposed on the employer, not on the employee.

### **Welfare benefits**

1. Family benefits. The state supports the family by partially compensating the costs of raising and educating children. The system of child and family benefits has been improved several times during the time of independency.

The main types of family benefits are:

- a) **Maternity benefit** is meant for working mothers and compensates 100% of the mother’s previous wage during 140 days prior and after childbirth.
- b) **Parental benefit** is meant for the parent who has taken parental leave. The amount of the payment is based on the parent’s previous earnings, but not less than 2 480 EEK per month. The maximum payment is set at three times the average 2004 salary - 19 191 EEK per month. The parental benefit is paid to the working mother after the end of maternity benefit. The maternity benefit and the parental benefit are paid altogether 455 days, so that the parent’ s

wage is maintained during 15 months after child is born. Nonworking parents have the right to parental benefit for 14 months starting from childbirth. Fathers equal to mothers have the right for parental benefit beginning 6 months from childbirth.

- c) **Universal family benefits** are monthly paid by state for every child up to 16 and for continued education up to the age of 19. The child benefit for a child per month is 300-600 EEK, depending on the age of the child and the number of children in the family.

2. Unemployment benefit. The monthly unemployment allowance at the moment is very low - 400 EEK (approximately 26 EUR) per month, but there will be an increase in monthly unemployment allowance from 400 to 1000 EEK in 2007. Estonian labour market policy has been very restrictive during the years of independency. Both the unemployment benefit and its duration (the unemployed loses his or her unemployment status and benefits if after 6 months he or she has not found a job) are inadequately small. Labour market policies have been concentrated on passive activities, mainly registering job seekers and unemployed persons and paying benefits to them. The long-term unemployed are the weakest and the most vulnerable group among the unemployed and their social status is extremely low. However, according to the National Action Plan for Social Protection and Social Inclusion 2006-2008, the increase of employment and prevention of long-term unemployment is one of the main objectives in the government's policy on reducing social inequalities in the future. For that purpose it is intended to improve existing active labour market measures.

3. Pensions. A pension reform was carried out in Estonia during 1999-2002. There is now a three-pillar pension system. Reform has brought about new opportunities for increasing the income of the retired people, by enhancing the responsibility of people with regard to formation of their future pension.

#### **Other government mechanisms for reducing social inequality**

- 1. **Integration of non-Estonians** has been an important issue in Estonia's political discourse for years. It is necessary to strengthen the integration of people of non-Estonian origin and pay greater attention to socio-economic integration. Therefore, in addition to support to language-learning, reducing

unemployment among non-Estonians and HIV/AIDS prevention are the main objectives of Estonian government.

2. The concept of **life-long learning** is relatively new in Estonia. Unemployment in Estonia is mainly structural in its character, which means that the level of education, skills and work experience of people do not accord with labour market needs. To prevent unemployment, it is necessary that employees maintain professional competitiveness throughout their professional life and improve his or hers qualification. The Ministry of Education has planned to establish a system of retraining and career counselling, which should help also older people to find possibilities for improving their professional skills.
3. **Encouraging flexible forms of work** is another part of government's labour market policy to increase employment, especially among people for whom full-time or regular work is not suitable (older people, disabled people, parents with young children, students). Flexible working also helps to maintain the skills of the employee and reduces the risk of poverty.

### **Non-governmental mechanisms for amelioration of social inequality**

#### **Non-governmental organisations**

There are tens of NGO's and non-profit organisations in Estonia dealing directly or indirectly with the indications of social inequality. One of the oldest and well-known is The Open Estonia Foundation (OEF), established in April 1990 with the support of George Soros. Their main focus is on strengthening the civil society, sharing experiences of transition as well as reinforcing principles of participatory democracy and equality.

Open Estonia Foundation initiates programs and projects itself as well as in co-operation with other organisations. One of their most important programmes is The Women Program. The objective of the program is to promote gender equality and support the development of academic gender studies in Estonia. Additionally, awareness raising activities on questions concerning gender equality and related social problems (violence against women, inequality in the workplace, women's representation and participation in decision making) are undertaken.

Recent years, in connection with the increasing number of HIV/AIDS infected persons, has created and developed the network of respective non-governmental/-profit organisations, supported by various international foundations as well as

Government of Estonia (i.e. AIDS Prevention Centre, Anti-AIDS Association, several local organisations).

The third big group are different NGO's trying to avoid or combat against social inequality manifestations connected with minorities (ethnic, sexual) and disabilities (mental, physical). Their necessity and importance has constantly increased.

### **Trade Unions**

There are 2 largest trade union federations in Estonia: Confederation of Estonian Trade Unions and Estonian Employees' Unions' Confederation, consisting of professional unions. As trade union membership was almost compulsory during the Soviet era, its membership declined tens of times in the 1990's, besides, most of trade union principles were disharmonising with the rise of individualism and capitalism.

Despite the fact, that rise of trade unions in Estonia is still to come, recent years have positioned them as a more serious partner of socially oriented negotiations. Their primary task within recent years has been wages issues, especially constants attempts to stand for the raise of minimum salary, using different methods – from negotiations to strikes. At present, where many service fees and prices exceed the EU average already, the minimum salary of Estonia of 2690 EEK (less than 200 EUR) should give the trade unions a good opportunity to show their skills and prove their necessity.

### **Conclusions**

As we saw from above, the beginning of 1990's showed a rapid polarisation of Estonian society. Of course, when comparing all the countries in the world, Estonia is quite wealthy, belonging to the first quarter – based on UNDP Human Development Reports, for example. But we get a totally different picture, when we see our place among the European Union member states, where several figures – directly or indirectly connected with social inequality – show Estonia's development gaps.

As in other developed countries and countries in transition, social inequality is closely connected with the wider understanding of the terms „poverty” and „deprivation” – a person may have funds for his/her basic needs, but feel him-/herself socially deprived or having limited access to social, economic, political or cultural life of the society.

Although it is claimed that inequality has some positive sides such as enhancement of competition and motivation for work, there are several reasons, why inequality is considered to be unwanted from the society's point of view:

- it decreases social stability and social community, often increasing stress and health problems
- it can easily boost the sense of unfairness, which brings along conflicts and instability.

When analysing the situation of social inequality in Estonia, it is very hard to see the positive side of the social stratification (it even seems quite cynical). On the contrary, the negative sides of social inequalities are so evident that it is the highest time for the government and larger public to acknowledge these problems and seriously start dealing with the causes of social inequalities.

Table8. Labour force activity rate, employment rate, unemployment rate by sex (1995-2005).

		1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
<b>Total</b>	Labour force activity rate, %	68,4	68	67,8	67,3	66,4	66,8	66,5	65,7	66,4	66,2	66,2
	Employment rate, %	61,7	61,2	61,3	60,6	58,2	57,6	58,1	58,8	59,7	59,7	60,9
	Unemployment rate, %	9,7	9,9	9,7	9,9	12,3	13,7	12,7	10,4	10,1	9,7	8,1
<b>Male</b>	Labour force activity rate, %	75,7	74,8	74,8	73,7	72,6	72,9	72,2	71,3	71,7	70,9	70
	Employment rate, %	67,8	66,8	67,2	65,7	62,8	62,3	62,8	63,5	64,3	63,4	63,9
	Unemployment rate, %	10,5	10,6	10,1	10,8	13,5	14,6	13	10,9	10,3	10,5	8,8
<b>Female</b>	Labour force activity rate, %	61,8	61,9	61,7	61,6	60,8	61,3	61,4	60,6	61,7	62	62,8
	Employment rate, %	56,3	56,2	56	56,1	54,2	53,5	53,8	54,7	55,5	56,5	58,3
	Unemployment rate, %	8,9	9,2	9,2	8,9	10,9	12,7	12,3	9,8	9,9	8,9	7,1

Source: Statistics Estonia

Table9. Unemployment rate by education, sex (%) (1997-2005)

		1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
<b>Below upper secondary education</b>	Male	16,1	17,5	23,3	25,3	20,1	21,9	16,8	19,9	16,3
	Female	15,3	15,1	18,7	21,4	22,7	18,5	17,1	15,8	11,5
<b>Upper secondary education</b>	Male	10,6	11,5	14,3	15	13,3	10,2	10,2	10,4	9,5
	Female	10,6	9,9	12,1	14,1	14	11,7	11,1	10,6	8,8
<b>Tertiary education</b>	Male	4,5	4,4	4,9	6,1	7,8	6,5	6,4	5,2	3,9
	Female	5,5	5,5	6,9	8,2	7,2	5,2	6,5	5,1	4

Source: Statistics Estonia

Table10. Unemployment rate by nationality, age (%) (1997-2005)

		1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
<b>15-74</b>	Estonians	7,8	7,9	9,8	11,1	10,4	7,9	7,3	6,4	5,3
	Non-Estonians	13,2	13,6	16,5	18	16,8	14,9	15,2	15,6	12,9
<b>15-24</b>	Estonians	11,2	11,9	16,2	19,6	21,8	15	17,6	17	9,5
	Non-Estonians	21,2	23,1	25,7	30,8	22,9	22,7	26	30,9	29,4
<b>25-49</b>	Estonians	8	8,1	9,8	10	9,2	7,3	6,4	5,6	4,9
	Non-Estonians	13,7	13,5	16,5	17,6	16,9	14,3	12,9	14,3	12,2
<b>50-64</b>	Estonians	5,9	5,5	7,7	10,9	9,1	7,9	5,7	4,7	4,9
	Non-Estonians	7,5	8,4	11,6	11,5	12,4	12,7	17,2	13,8	8,8

Source: Statistics Estonia



Table11. Net income by age (%),(October 2006)

	<b>Total</b>	<b>15-19</b>	<b>20-29</b>	<b>30-39</b>	<b>40-49</b>	<b>50-59</b>	<b>60-74</b>
<b>... - 2500 EEK</b>	10,1	9,3	12	7,9	8,9	11,9	10,2
<b>2501-4000</b>	26,4	6,2	14,2	16,2	17,1	26,3	66,6
<b>4001-6000</b>	20,1	2,5	23,6	23,1	26,4	28	10,9
<b>6001-8000</b>	9,6	0,8	11,1	16,6	11,4	9,7	4,7
<b>8001-10 000</b>	5	0,4	7,1	9,4	6,6	3,9	1,1
<b>10 000- ...</b>	4,3	0,3	6,2	6,3	6,1	4,4	0,7
<b>No income</b>	10,1	70,9	6,9	2,4	4	2,1	0,2

Source: SaarPoll

Table12. Net income by educational level (%), (October 2006)

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Basic education or less</b>	<b>Secondary education</b>	<b>Higher education</b>
<b>... - 2500 EEK</b>	10,1	13,7	9,8	3,9
<b>2501-4000</b>	26,4	30,3	27,1	15,4
<b>4001-6000</b>	20,1	13,2	22,8	24,5
<b>6001-8000</b>	9,6	4,7	10,5	16,2
<b>8001-10 000</b>	5	2	5,1	11
<b>10 000- ...</b>	4,3	2,2	3,6	10,8
<b>No income</b>	10,1	23,9	4,7	1,2

Source: SaarPoll

Table13. Net income in rural and urban areas (%), (October 2006)

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Urban areas</b>	<b>Rural areas</b>
<b>... - 2500 EEK</b>	10,1	8,2	14,2
<b>2501-4000</b>	26,4	26,1	26,7
<b>4001-6000</b>	20,1	20,8	18,7
<b>6001-8000</b>	9,6	9,6	9,6
<b>8001-10 000</b>	5	5,5	4
<b>10 000- ...</b>	4,3	4,6	3,6
<b>No income</b>	10,1	10,4	9,3

Source: SaarPoll

Table14 Net income by nationality (%), (October 2006)

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Estonians</b>	<b>Non-Estonians</b>
<b>... - 2500 EEK</b>	10,1	10,3	9,7
<b>2501-4000</b>	26,4	24,6	29,7
<b>4001-6000</b>	20,1	20,2	20,1
<b>6001-8000</b>	9,6	9,3	10,2
<b>8001-10 000</b>	5	5,5	4,2
<b>10 000- ...</b>	4,3	5	2,8
<b>No income</b>	10,1	9	12,2

Source: SaarPoll

Table15. Average monthly gross wages by county (unit: kroons), 2005

<b>Whole country</b>	8073
<b>Harju County</b>	9307
<b>..Tallinn</b>	9462
<b>Hiiu County</b>	6721
<b>Ida-Viru County</b>	6057
<b>Jõgeva County</b>	6758
<b>Järva County</b>	6877
<b>Lääne County</b>	6468
<b>Lääne-Viru County</b>	6301
<b>Põlva County</b>	6210
<b>Pärnu County</b>	6902
<b>Rapla County</b>	6660
<b>Saare County</b>	6938
<b>Tartu County</b>	7624
<b>Valga County</b>	6081
<b>Viljandi County</b>	6368
<b>Võru County</b>	6284

Source: Statistics Estonia

Table16. The females' average hourly gross wages as a proportion of the males' average hourly gross wages by major group of occupations (1994-2004)

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
<b>Total</b>	71,1	73,3	72,6	72	74,2	73,5	75,4	75,7	75,9	75,8	76,5
<b>Legislators, senior officials and managers</b>	75,7	74,4	74,4	74,1	73,5	74,8	76,5	83,5	78,3	79,6	81,9
<b>Professionals</b>	80,4	76,2	79,6	72,9	80,4	73,9	71,1	74,3	72,8	73,1	75,4
<b>Technicians and associate professionals</b>	60,8	72,1	69,1	70	70,6	68,2	70,7	69,6	70,6	68,5	68,1
<b>Clerks</b>	86,8	75,8	79,6	90,2	81,8	80,7	78,3	74,3	73,8	73,1	77,6
<b>Service workers and shop and market sales workers</b>	64,1	61,9	62,9	63,2	64	63,4	68,4	73	66,7	72,7	75
<b>Skilled agricultural and fishery workers</b>	65,9	80,8	80,2	80,4	91,3	81,1	91,4	91,6	86,7	79,6	84,4
<b>Craft and related trades workers</b>	73,5	77	73,6	74,3	76,9	78,5	84,1	78	77,1	76,3	74,9
<b>Plant and machine operators and assemblers</b>	84,2	88,5	84,6	85,5	87,2	88	90,6	84,8	90,4	86,1	82,1
<b>Elementary occupations</b>	74	72,1	70	75,6	74,9	71,1	74,6	71,6	75,7	74,2	76,2

Source: Statistics Estonia

Table17. Disposable income per household member in a month by sex of the head of the household (unit: kroons), 1997-2005

		1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
<b>Disposable income total</b>	Males	1750,1	2047,7	2086,8	2272	2408,6	2593,5	2929,7	3169,2	3629,4
	Females	1509,8	1754,5	1929,3	2076,6	2138,8	2370,7	2596,1	2853	3282,7

Source: Statistics Estonia

Table18. At-risk-of-poverty rate by household type (%\*) 2000-2004

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
<b>Household without children</b>	16,6	18	18,5	19,7	19
<b>One-person household</b>	30,1	33,3	34,9	36,8	36,4
..single man	31,7	32,5	35,2	38,7	34,8
..single woman	29,3	33,6	34,8	35,8	37,2
<b>Adult and child(ren)</b>	37,2	29,2	35,2	44,7	40,3
<b>Couple with one child</b>	13	15,6	12,7	16,1	13
<b>Couple with two children</b>	16,4	15,1	15,2	17,2	12,4
<b>Couple with three or more children</b>	22,9	20,8	20	26,3	25

\*The percentage indicates the share of persons with equalised disposable income lower than the at-risk-of-poverty threshold.

Source: Statistics Estonia

Table19. Disposable income per household member in a month by type of household (unit: kroons), 1996-2005

		One adult	Two adults	One adult and child(ren)	Two adults and one child	Two adults with two children	Two adults with three or more children
<b>Disposable income total</b>	<b>1996</b>	1768,8	1780,4	1050,9	1593,1	1300,6	1006,5
	<b>1997</b>	1957,7	2091,2	1295,1	1743	1513,2	1138,7
	<b>1998</b>	2292	2281,9	1410	2216,2	1718,5	1552,9
	<b>1999</b>	2508,1	2392,1	1519,6	2153,4	2014,9	1347
	<b>2000</b>	2519,8	2743,3	1658,9	2509,5	2006,2	1556,4
	<b>2001</b>	2561,4	2833,2	1762,5	2546,6	2115,6	1910,4
	<b>2002</b>	2829,4	2975,1	2106,4	2732,6	2525,3	2020,6
	<b>2003</b>	3186,2	3379,1	2384,8	3148,6	2567,7	1873,6
	<b>2004</b>	3233,7	3650,4	2300,5	3604,9	2981,5	2565,3
<b>2005</b>	3975,1	4242,4	2565	3902,9	3092,9	2417,3	

Source: Statistics Estonia

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