DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL MINORITIES
Estonian Republic up to 1944

Kalev Katus Allan Puur Luule Sakkeus

RU Series B No 34

Tallinn 1997

ISBN 9985-820-34-7

EESTI KÕRGKOOLIDEVAHELINE DEMOUURINGUTE KESKUS
ESTONIAN INTERUNIVERSITY POPULATION RESEARCH CENTRE
Postkast 3012, Tallinn EE0090, Eesti

Estonia in its history has several times lost its independence to various powers like Germans, Swedes or Russians. Being on the crossroad of the trade routes, its cities belonging to Hanseatic League has also initiated several immigration waves. The paper focuses to the formation and fate of five national minorities of Estonia in the Republic of Estonia until 1944. National minorities are compared from the viewpoint of their demographic development, concerning mainly their fertility, mortality and nuptiality patterns. The trends of the demographic processes are followed until 1944, while four out of five minorities present in the Estonian Republic practically disappeared. Ironically, from several cases only survivors of those deported into Siberia and mobilised in Soviet Army returned to Estonia. Russian minority is the only one, although reduced to one fourth in its size, which has maintained its existence as a national minority until nowadays.

Estonians have lived on the present territory for more than 5,000 years, being one of the oldest nations in Europe in this respect. Estonians together with the other Northern nations participated in the emergence of a specific society known today as the Viking civilisation. When the new West-East trade routes were transferred from Mediterranean to Baltic Sea, they happened to cross Estonian territory and placed the area in the focus of interest for different powers. Estonia lost its independence at the beginning of the 13th century after 20 years' fight towards the combined attack by Germans, Danes, Swedes and Russians, sanctionised by the Church. As a result Estonia was partitioned. Two Bishoprics were established (Tartu and Saare-Lääne), from the rest Southern part of Estonia went to Livonic Order, Northern to Denmark, South-Eastern part to Pskov Republic, North-Eastern part and the whole territory of Inkeri (Ingermanland) to Novgorod Republic. As a result, Estonia became to serve as a dividing line between the Roman-Catholic and Orthodox worlds, the division which has maintained importance until nowadays. It is noteworthy that for many centuries Estonia remained the theater of war, which resulted in a much more frequent population crises than averagely in Europe. Among others, the population crises implied two massive waves of immigration, partly encouraged by ruling powers. The migration exchange was also common in the Estonian cities belonging to Hanseatic League. During the Northern War the local Baltic-German nobility surrendered to Peter the Great in 1710. In return Russia endorsed the continuity of the rights and privileges of German nobility in the region. Lutheran Estonia was included into the Russian Empire, but under a special Baltic order, which autonomy included continuance of court and justice systems, land-use and local government. Baltic provinces remained rather autonomous region until the russification programme by Alexandre III in the 1880s [Thadden 1981].

After being ruled by various powers for 700 hundred years, Republic of Estonia was declared on February 24, 1918, and defended in Independence War (1918-1920) against Russian Federation as well as German military forces [Laaman 1964]. For the first time the national land boundaries (approximately three fourth of Estonian boundaries are water boundaries) were defined which, *inter alia*, determined the population of Estonian Republic. Tartu Peace Treaty with Russian Federation/USSR was built on principles of ethnic boundaries, and not on the previous gubernia division of Russian Empire [Eesti-Vene Rahuleping 1920]. Due to extensive territory of ethnically mixed population, this principle was not easy to follow. For several centuries, since the 10th century Russian colonisation towards North had taken place. The immigration towards Estonian land had intensified into the areas, which after the partition of Estonia had remained under the Russian rule: towards Inkeri already since 13th century and to South-East Estonia under Pskov Republic in the 15th century, concentrating around the Petseri Monastery. On the contrary, new wave of migration of Estonians towards these territories took place in 19th century, however even after that Estonians remained a minority in most of these regions. According to Tartu Peace Treaty it was agreed to divide the mixed population areas in the way that up to 60,000 ethnic Russians remained in Estonia, while up to 200,000 Estonians remained in Russian Federation. The boundary was drawn through the Peipsi Lake, leaving Eastern shore, including the historical Small-Estonia in Russia. The special option policy was adopted in the

framework of the Treaty, allowing both ethnicities under consideration to return to their homeland during a year.
State boundary between Latvia and Estonia was also drawn upon the principles of ethnic boundary. On one hand, there had never been official Estonian-Latvian boundary in the history (Southern Estonia and Northern Latvia formed the province of Livonia for centuries). On the other hand, the new boundary was not very difficult to define because there had never been any large-scale Latvian and Estonian migration interchange in Livonia. Only limited areas of mixed population existed, particularly urban areas like Valga/Valka, Heinaste/Ainazhi and Hopa/Ape.

1. POPULATION NUMBER OF NATIONAL MINORITIES

Taking into consideration the principles applied in boundary definition, it is not surprising that the population of Estonian Republic was ethnically rather homogeneous until the Second World War, particularly compared to neighbouring Finland, Latvia and Russian Federation. According to the last pre-war population census (1934), Estonians comprised 88.1 percent of total population. Remaining part of the population, 120 thousand in numbers, consisted of representatives of 51 ethnicities (Table 1). Five of the ethnic groups exceeded 3,000 in numbers which had become the threshold for the national minority considered by the Cultural Autonomy Law [Riigi Teataja 1925]. The most numerous minority, Russians accounted for 92.6 thousand people, Germans 16.3 thousand, Swedes 7.6 thousand, Latvians 5.4 thousand and Jews 4.4 thousand [RSKB 1935]. The ethnic composition of population is presented on Figure 1. All other ethnicities together formed a group of 7.3 thousand individuals. The current report is discussing the above-mentioned five bigger Estonian national minorities, which *inter alia* had also been the subject of the Cultural Autonomy Law.

In order to compare the number of national minorities in time one should once more consider the boundary changes. Due to data availability the comparison in time was possible building on the gubernia boundaries of Russian Empire, because census data of 1922 and 1934 could be adapted to those boundaries, *vice versa* recalculations were not possible [RSKB 1924; 1935]. According to the old administrative division the territory of the Estonian Republic was divided between Estland, Livland, St.Petersburg and Pskov gubernias. Nevertheless, four Estland counties, and five Livland counties were afterwards fully included into Estonian Republic, providing the basis for time-consistent comparison of ethnic changes during half of the century. The numbers are presented in Table 2, included graph is representing the relative change for four ethnic groups (Figure 2). The dynamics of population number reflects the principally different historical background of national minorities on the Estonian territory. Similarly, demographic development of these minorities is also affected by the features of their historical formation.

Russians have become the neighbouring nation to Estonians in the 10th century. Russian settlements on the modern Estonian territory are dating back to the years of the Livonic War. In early 18th century some additional settlements, mostly of fishermen were established on the Western shore of Peipsi Lake [Moora 1964]. Those settlements

were founded by the Orthodox oldbelievers-refugees escaping religious oppression by Russian authorities [Grass 1914]. In Estonian land, including Petserimaa, remaining under Russian rule after the partition of Estonia in the 13th century, the Russian settlements are older, appearing together with the spread of Orthodox church. In general, regardless of being part of Russian Empire there has not been remarkable Russian immigration into the modern Estonian territory up to the russification programme introduced by Alexander III. In Baltic gubernias under the special Baltic order the Russian language and Orthodox religion were not widely spread. Russian, although official language, was not used by any social strata, except the military personnel. The immigration began to increase after the russification programme, because of the need for Russian-speaking administrators, servicemen and teachers. The new imperial enterprises were established which drafted their workers mostly from Russia. From that point on Russian ethnic minority was breaking into two distinct parts: upper standings, consisting of new immigrants for local Russian administration needs and concentrating in cities, and historical peasant standing in the bordering regions.

The growth of Russian population in Estonia at the turn of the 19-20th centuries had been rather extensive. Between the 1881 and 1897 censuses the number of Russians increased approximately 30 percent, during the years preceding the WW I this process was accelerated. As the war broke up and front approached Estonia, this number was further increased by Russian troops. However, soon the military failure led to the evacuation of imperial enterprises together with the equipment and personnel, the sharp decrease in the number of Russians was brought about. As a result, the number of Russians sharply decreased, reaching the figures much lower than indicated by the census 1922. From that lowest point during the German occupation in 1918, the number of Russians on the Estonian territory grew once more because of refugees fleeing from Red Russia. The 1922 census enumerated 18 thousand Russians without citizenship which could be regarded as the lowest estimate for the number of those refugees [RSKB 1924]. In general, all these three periods of rapid alterations of increase, decrease and new increase in the number of Russians are not reflected in the figure presenting the net outcome of these developments. Nevertheless, comparing to 1881 census the growth of Russian population remained close to 30 percent, i.e. higher than for total population for the same period.

Additionally to these three periods, the two above-mentioned parts of Russian minority grew even more distinctly. Although former official stratification was abolished in Estonia, in social terms the differences between Russian refugee and historical peasant groups became even more evident. From the viewpoint of population number, the remarkable proportion of the refugees maintained high mobility and after temporary residence in Estonia emigrated further. Because of this emigration the significantly high natural increase of the other part of the Russians has turned out smaller. Nevertheless, despite negative net-migration, the total growth of Russians has been the highest among the minorities in the Republic of Estonia.

The first major wave of Germans, apart from merchants and missionaries, reached Estonia in early 13th century as invaders. After the conquest of Estonian and Latvian lands, Germans had established themselves in a position of ruling standing. Consequently, up to the 19th century in the Baltic region being a German was

commonly understood rather belonging to the upper social standing than to a specific ethnic group. This higher social strata, which had been formed already in 13th century, managed to keep its position up to 1918, despite different powers ruling the country [Wittram 1973]. In such conditions where nations had not developed their modern meaning, the upward social mobility also prerequisited becoming a German. Additionally to the social mobility as a source of increase, the immigration of German merchants and craftsmen into the cities, especially those of the Hanseatic League took place. On the contrary, there has never been any mass German peasant immigration into Estonia. Altogether the number of Germans remained during the centuries rather small, never exceeding 5-6 percent of the total population, and on the eve of 20th century comprising around 2.5 percent.

In the second half of 19th century the continuous decreasing trend of the German population began. The primary reason for the decrease was the cessation of assimilation process accompanying social mobility - the most important source for growth of Germans. Alongside with the formation of modern nations throughout Europe, Estonians developed their national self-identity. At the same time also Germans developed their ethnic identity and the upward movers of non-German origin became marginalised, receiving even the specific term *kadakasakslane*. Thus, the social mobility was untied from its ethnic dimension. Secondly, contributing reason for decrease was continuous emigration of Germans, probably slightly accelerated at the end of the 19th century. Migration was directed to St. Petersburg, close to Estonia, and other urban centres of Russian Empire as well as to Germany.

Between two censuses, 1881 and 1897 the number of Germans had decreased ca 30 percent, followed by another 30 percent decrease during the intercensal period of 1897-1922. Besides the above-mentioned reasons, the bolshevik repressions in 1917 (inspired by the French revolution practices, the upper social standings, particularly nobility, were outlawed) and war activities in the region should also be underlined. In Estonian Republic the number of Germans continued to decrease, now mostly because of the natural decrease. The cessation of social mobility input as well as previous emigration had disbalanced the German age and sex structure to a noticeable degree. This natural decrease would have surely continued under the normal course of social development, accelerated by the new phenomenon of assimilation.

Swedish population on the Estonian territory is dating back to the 13-14th century, having emerged after the conquest of Estonia, supposedly slightly later than Swedish settlements in Western Finland [Blumfeldt 1961]. Swedish fishermen settled on small islands of the North-Western coast, being not inhabited before. Due to the geological elevation these islands were relatively young and had continuously been growing from sea. After the conquest of Estonia and, particularly, the sharp depopulation of Northern Estonia following the 1343 uprising, there was no local population to inhabit these islands. Later Swedish population also started land cultivation and partially moved to the mainland coast. From social viewpoint, Swedish population belonged to the peasant standing, even during the Swedish rule (1561-1710) the permanent upper strata was not formed. In the 19-20th century Swedish population has been continuously increasing. However, during the 1920-1930s their number stabilised and showed later a small decrease. The latter process was mostly because of assimilation of the population but

also due to (temporal) emigration for educational and employment reasons to Sweden. The Swedish population participating in the urbanisation process seems to head towards not only Estonian cities (Tallinn, Haapsalu), but also to much closer Swedish and Finnish cities (Stockholm, Turku). Over the whole period 1881-1934, the Swedish population with its 37 percent of growth exceeds the total population mostly due to higher fertility. To this end it is interesting to note that the Swedish population in Estonia has provided inspiration to demographic science, being the object for the first application of family reconstruction method [Hyrenius 1942], followed some 15 years later by French school.

The Jewish population is the youngest among the national minorities of Estonia. There has been no Jewish community in any Estonian cities during the Middle Ages and only some Jewish people have been recorded earlier than 19th century in Estonia [Gurin 1936]. The situation began to change under the Russian Empire, particularly after the special law of Alexandre II from 1865, which for the first time allowed certain social strata of Jewish population to migrate into the northern cities of the Russian Empire (soldiers, merchants, craftsmen and people with higher education). The immigration into Estonia was intensified during the rule of Alexandre III when Jewish pogroms began in Ukraine and Belorussia. On one hand, Estonia was regarded as a preferable destination country, because of safety reasons (no pogroms have taken place in Estonia, even during WW II). On another hand, the immigration was limited because of the not established network of the Jews in the receiving end. Figure 2 presents the close similarity between the dynamics of the number of total and Jewish population. Thus, surprisingly, the closest resemblance can be found among a minority with the most clearly expressed immigrant origin and diverse demographic behaviour, discussed below. The other specifity of Jews concerns their overwhelming concentration into cities - more than 98 percent of Jews form the urban population.

The number of Latvians in Estonia is difficult if not impossible to define before the state boundaries between the neighbouring countries were drawn. As already discussed the border was defined by the principle of the ethnic boundary, which careful implementation left only six thousand Latvians in the borders of Estonia [Kübarsepp 1926]. Even from such a small number only half of Latvians can be found in the bordering regions, with others dispersed over the country. Due to the unavailability of data on Latvians from earlier censuses, they are not represented on the Figure 2. During 1922-1934 the number of Latvians had decreased from estimated six thousand to 5434 people. The Latvian minority was characterised by natural decrease. As discussed later, the number of children registered as Latvians was extremely low which clearly refers to the assimilation process in mixed marriages.

Thus, Estonian national minorities have had rather different and in some cases even diverse pathways of historical formation. This difference is reflected in their population number, more in its dynamics and even more in the spatial distribution and demographic processes, described below. Beyond the demographic development, the historical pathways of minority formation exerted influence on the fate of national minorities during WW II. Estonia suffered heavily in the conflict of neighbouring great powers, however, from today's perspective, Estonian national minorities paid even higher toll.

2. SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF NATIONAL MINORITIES

The spatial distribution of the Estonian national minorities largely stems from the pathways of their historical formation. Their regional distribution is represented according to the 1934 census data [RSKB 1934]. The spatial distribution is given in two dimensions, following the county and urban-rural division (Table 3). The importance of urban-rural distribution lies primarily in the way it complements the social structure of national minorities. Concerning the county distribution, additional references are made to community level data in cases of higher concentrations of specific minorities. This is particularly important when national minority formed a majority on the community level, as local communities served for the main unit in realisation of the large scale social policies, including education, health and social care, i.e. even to a broader extent than foreseen by the Cultural Autonomy Law. Graphically Figure 3 presents the proportion of national minorities taken together in total county populations, Figure 4 presents the distribution of minorities between the counties.

Russians have concentrated, on one hand, in bordering counties of Petseri (44.7%) and Viru (22.3%) as well as on Western shore of Peipsi Lake, and on the other hand, in capital region Harju (10.5%) and to a lesser extent in other major cities. The former reflects the historical Russian peasant community, the latter comes partly or even mostly from the former Russian administrative standings as well as from recent refugees. Petseri county in general belongs to the ethnically mixed population area. Altogether in this county Russians accounted for 63.5 percent of total population, in six out of eleven Petseri communities they formed a majority. In other five communities Estonians were prevailing, however being also the bordering county to Latvia, Petseri was characterised additionally by Latvian settlements. Although small in numbers, the latter together concentrated one third of Latvian minority in Estonia. Similar majority of Russian population could be found in three trans-Narva communities of Viru county. Additional two Russian majority settlements of fishermen population were situated on the Western shore of Peipsi Lake, namely Mustvee and Kallaste towns. Apart from mixed population areas in Petseri and trans-Narva, Kallaste and Mustvee were localised in the Estonian environment in Tartu county. Reflecting the abovementioned division of Russian minority into two distinct parts, Russians in Petseri county consisted 95.7 percent of rural population, while on the other extreme, Russians in Harju county were 92.4 percent urban. However in total, the urbanisation degree was only 28.8 percent, being slightly different from the average for the total population.

Apart from Russians, Germans were characterised by a very high level of urbanisation with 83.3 percent living in cities and towns. Germans were represented rather evenly in all historical towns, and to a lesser extent in urban settlements having developed in the 19th century. From the viewpoint of distribution of German minority, the bigger the city, the greater the absolute number of Germans. However, concerning the proportion

of Germans in city population it was lower in bigger cities (3-4 percent) with upward gradient towards smaller cities, peaking in Kuressaare (7 percent). From the county dimension, the distribution of Germans in Estonia was rather determined by the location of urban settlements. Expectedly the biggest concentrations of Germans can be found in Harju (48%) and Tartu (20%) counties, surrounding the two larger cities. In total county population this translates into 3.3 and 1.8 percent respectively.
The concentration of Swedes in insular communities comes from their historical formation. The specifity of the Swedish population, partly because of their relatively isolated settlement, is its spatial compactness. In couple of small islands they formed almost homogeneous community in ethnic terms. In coastal mainland, such compact settlement area emerged only in Lääne county. In total, there were four communities with Swedish majority in Estonia. Despite small in numbers, Swedes were the second minority, who aside Russians formed a majority on a community level. Reflecting their insular settlement, Swedish population had the lowest level of urbanisation (14.5%). The same pattern is reflected from the county perspective, with 70.0 percent of Swedes living in Lääne and additional 22.0 in Harju county. This concentration in Lääne county results in 7.0 percent in total county population, leaving Swedish minority below one percent in all other counties.

Jewish population has been in many respects contrasting to all other minorities. Because of their historical formation, they have been exclusively urban population with 98.1 percent living in cities and towns. Generally, the proportion of Jews in local population has been bigger in South Estonian towns which belonged to Livland gubernia during Russian Empire (highest in Valga population with 2.4 percent). However, from point of view of absolute numbers more than a half of Jewish population was concentrated in capital Tallinn. Giving just one more example of their contrastness to other minorities, the highest urbanisation degree was accompanied by the lowest literacy rate [Körber 1902]. The proportion of Jews in the county population remained everywhere low and exceeded nowhere one percent. The highest share of Jews is recorded in Harju (0.9%), Valga (0.7%) and Tartu (0.5%) counties.

Latvia is the neighbouring country to Estonia with the longest mainland border. One could expect Latvians forming a high proportion or even reaching a majority in some border communities, however, the above-discussed ethnic boundary principle avoided respective situations. Thus, the highest proportion of Latvians accounted only for 21.1 percent (Kaagjärve community) and in additional two communities exceeding 10 percent. From the perspective of spatial distribution, Latvians can be divided into two parts: one inhabiting bordering areas and the other being dispersed around the country, consisting mostly of urban population. The latter part of Latvians seems to be engaged in mixed marriages or otherwise closely integrated to the Estonian society and as shown below displays the signs of assimilation. From the county perspective, Latvians were concentrated in Valga (29.3%), Petseri (27.3%) and Harju (13%) counties. However, due to small numbers Latvians formed only 4.0%, 2.3% and 0.3% in respective county population. Because of the above-mentioned two parts of Latvian population the level of urbanisation among them on the average was 49.0 percent.

Among five national minorities only Russians and Swedes are characterised by compact settlement, forming in some communities a majority. From the viewpoint of the

development of those national minorities not only the Cultural Autonomy Law, but also the Community Law and related legislation have played the major role in their organisation. Germans, Jews and Latvians are characterised by disperse spatial distribution. This division seems to be the most important feature of national minorities in Estonia.

3. DEMOGRAPHIC DEVELOPMENT AND POPULATION STRUCTURE

To discuss the demographic development of Estonian national minorities, consideration should be given to the timing aspects. In this respect, the timing of the demographic transition, but also the European marriage pattern are of key importance in the first half of 20th century. Comparing to the European average, timing aspects acquire even greater importance in Estonia, being situated in the region of biggest contrasts between the neighbouring nations. Estonia itself and correspondingly its titular nationality belonged to the pioneering countries of demographic transition. Some minorities in Estonia, however, seem to follow other patterns of timing, similar to that found in countries of their origin. The timing was reflected in the course of demographic processes and to a greater extent expressed in the population age structure.

Estonia forms an eastern boundary for the European marriage pattern, evidence of which are found at latest in the second half of 18th century according to the parish registers [Palli 1988; 1996]. The beginning of demographic transition, embedding almost simultaneous decline of fertility and mortality, can be traced back to the middle of the 19th century. The decline progressed continuously until the 1920-1930s. Because of this early transition, Estonia was characterised by the highest life expectancy in Eastern Europe and close to countries pioneering the mortality transition [Katus, Puur 1992]. Fertility transition stands out for even earlier completion compared to many West European countries, dropping under the replacement level already in the 1920s [Katus 1994]. As a result, age structure had begun to transform in 1860-1870s and the ageing process was rather progressed by the end of the period under discussion.

Despite the common experience of demographic transition, nations neighbouring to Estonia display considerable diversity in its timing and patterns. The closest similarity could be found with Sweden and Northern Latvia [Hofsten, Lundström 1976; Zvidrinsh 1986]. In demographic development Finland lagged behind Estonia around 20 years [Strömmer 1969]. Russia and Estonia are demonstrating one of the largest, if not the most largest difference in timing of demographic development among the neighbouring nations in Europe, accounting for approximately half a century [Vishnevski, Volkov 1983].

3.1. Demographic Processes

The following discussion of main demographic processes is based on the data from censuses of 1922 and 1934 [RSKB 1924, RSKB 1935] as well as vital statistics,

published in *Bulletin of Statistics* [RSKB 1922-1940]. Covering the whole period, the comparative dynamics of demographic processes for all national minorities can be followed on the basis of crude rates (Table 4). Evidently the differences in crude rates partly reflect the dissimilar age structure. To present the latter impact, crude rates are complemented by the age-standardised rates for national minorities around 1934 census (Table 5).

Dynamics of crude death rates compared to average reveal that throughout the period death rate of Germans tends to be the highest, and of Jews the lowest among national minorities (Figure 5). Also Swedes demonstrate the lower levels by this indicator. Crude death rate of Russian minority was slightly lower than in general population in the 1920s, then fluctuating very close to that level. The biggest fluctuations can be found for Latvians consistent with their small number. However, most of discussed differences are caused by the age structure of the certain minority. According to the age-standardised mortality rate the above-average mortality rate can be found only among Russians with quite significant difference accounting for 25 percent above average. All other minorities are characterised by lower rates, Latvians having the lowest level with the deviation of 16 percent. The latter can be explained mostly, as shown later, by their very low total fertility, and consequently, small prportion of infant deaths. Considering the age structure, the same could be expected for Germans, however, standardised mortality rates close to average suggest the higher mortality rates among German minority compared to total population.

Differences in crude birth rates for national minorities are clearly higher than in death rates. Exceeding the average persistently by 5 points, the Russians are characterised by the highest level. Fluctuating very closely around the average is the birth rate among Swedes. Three other national minorities are demonstrating rather close trends between each other at the level of 10 per thousand, i.e. even more than 5 points lower the average. In the 1930s the crude birth rate drops even below that level, decreasing for Latvians to 5 per thousand, for couple of years similar level is demonstrated by German population. By age-standardised indicators the picture somewhat changes. The impact of age structure seems to be the greatest for Swedes, who now display together with Russians fertility level clearly higher than average. According to the child-woman ratio Swedes display the fertility level almost equal to Russians. It is easily explained by the lower infant and child mortality rates during the period for Swedes, compared to Russians and in general, delayed fertility decline among Swedish population during transitional period.

The variation in crude birth and death rates tends to cumulate in natural increase. It is noticeable, that the population growth for Estonian total population has been very close to zero, reflecting the early demographic transition. In this respect, all national minorities together, with the exception of Russians, have very low population increase in the European context of the period. Russians are the only minority with constantly positive population growth. Actual natural increase of Russians has been actually even higher than in presented figures, because refugee part of the Russians had emigrated from Estonia. The reason for this excessive increase is indeed their higher fertility combined with their relatively young age structure. It closely represents the demographic development in Russia with considerably later timing of demographic

transition, as it is generally known. Besides Russians, a clearly higher natural increase is also presented by the Swedish minority population which can be explained by their so-called English type of demographic transition, compared to the majority population proceeding rather by the French type.

Evidence based on marriage rates show that only Russians stood out for higher than average marriage propensity. Indirectly, this is consistent with the above-average marriage rates for Petseri county, inhabited mostly by Russians. Petseri county also had lower ages at first marriage (3 years lower for males, 2 years for females) suggesting a deviation from European marriage pattern, prevalent in general population. All other national minorities have been characterised by somewhat lower marriage rates than the average. According to the data from the early 1930s, the prevalence of ethnically mixed marriages was lowest among Jews (6.8%), followed by Russians (18.7%), Swedes (23.6%), Germans (33.9%) and Latvians (66%) [RSKB 1937].

3.2. Age Distribution

Previous discussion on demographic processes revealed the importance of the age structure, usually exceeding the impact of demographic intensities. Due to its capacity to reflect and accumulate the demographic experience of successive generations, shaped by the timing of demographic transition and historical formation of national minorities in Estonia, age structure provides a summarising insight into the population development.

Age structure of each minority is presented in a separate graph, compared to the total population (Figure 6). Russian minority stands out for the youngest population. The proportion of children (0-14) accounts for nearly 30 percent while the elderly constitute less than one tenth of the Russian population. In terms of dependency ratios, this implies steep increase in child-dependency combined with low level old-age dependency. Among national minorities concerned, Russians are the only group for which the median age does not exceed 30 years. Leaving aside war-time recession and the very youngest cohorts, their age-pyramid is the closest among national minorities to the classical triangular shape. Judging upon the indicators of population ageing, in terms of demographic transition Russian population lags behind Estonians by at least one generation.

Differently from Russians, Germans display a clearly distinctive pattern. While the proportion of working age population is similar to the total population, children make up only 16.2 percent. Respectively, the proportion of the elderly exceeds 20 percent and the median age for German population is close to 40 years. Lower than average fertility level for German minority has been a relatively new phenomenon, age structure reveals that earlier it has been not at least lower compared to the total population. The delayed effect of gender-selective emigration in the second half of the 19th century has heavily distorted the sex ratio above age 35. On another hand, the small number of children carries also the effect of assimilation. From the perspective of population development,

the anomalous configuration of the population pyramid resembling the inverse triangle, would be determining the continuous decrease of German minority for the future.

Swedes appear to be the second minority, together with Russians, having younger age structure than total population, although the deviation from total is much smaller. Proportions of the aggregated age groups as well as the dependency ratios reveal that this difference is related to higher share of children among Swedes, suggesting for higher fertility being sustainable in Swedish population. Concerning the elderly, the upper end of the age pyramid is practically similar to that of total population.
Characteristic feature of the Jewish population in Estonia is the highest share of working age population, and consequently, the lowest dependency ratio, depicting the immigrant origin of the population. The proportion of elderly among Jewish minority is close to that of Russians, however it is not accompanied with similarly high proportion of children. Low share of children might result from the immigration of single persons and relatively limited marriage market (Jewish minority is characterised by the lowest proportion of mixed marriages as discussed earlier).

Age distribution of Latvians is very close to that of Germans, however, the proportion of the elderly is even higher, the highest among the national minorities. Among Latvians children constitute only 13.3 percent, while the elderly make up 21.4 percent. The median age for Latvians exceeds 40 years which is extremely high even for modern populations with sustained underreplacement fertility. Given the close timing of demographic transition in Latvia and Estonia, observed gap in the ages 20-39 must obviously be related to assimilation. The same assimilation process described the Estonians living in Latvia.

In general, the population processes during the 1930s and long-term trends accumulated in the age structure can be summarised as follows. Jewish population demonstrates demographic development of a typical immigrant population. Largest difference in timing of demographic processes is observed among Russian population with the delayed demographic transition. Such a large difference in demographic processes accumulated in the age structure, is expected to have its impact on demographic development for a long period. Germans and Latvians, for rather different circumstances, display the symptoms of assimilation. Both national minorities are already characterised by the negative populaion growth and the age structure presents clear evidence of the continuation of this trend. Swedes display in their demographic development pattern closest to the average with the slightly different type of demographic transition common to Sweden.

3.3. Economic Structure of Population

The period of this report coincides with the emergence of the Republic of Estonia with its newly established boundaries, but it also meant the transition from a feudal-like social structure of the Russian Empire into a typical North-West European society of that period without social standings. The other principle change was the land reform, which liquidated the institution of great landed property of landlords, having direct

effect on agricultural population. Both changes had affected national minorities to a different extent.

Comparing the distribution of minorities between aggregated economic sectors, among Russians the share of agricultural employment exceeded the average, accounting to a half of the active population (51.0%). To a substantial extent, this has been brought about by the extremely high share of agricultural employment in Petseri county and trans-Narva communities. Due to another socially distinctive part of the minority, Russians were at the same time characterised by a relatively high share of employment in industry, while the tertiary sector remained relatively underrepresented among the minority. Regarding economic status, Russian minority was characterised by the lowest proportion of employers and liberal professions, the entrepreneurial activities being largely limited to self-employment. Among national minorities they also stood out for the highest share of paid blue-collar employment.

Compared to Russians, the employment structure of German minority appears significantly different (Table 7). Due to their historical position and concentration in urban areas, agricultural employment is among German minority about five times less common than in total population (10.3%). Consequently, nearly one fourth of German population has reported living on incomes not related to employment, typically from different kinds of property and real estate. Leaving the latter category aside, Germans are almost equally distributed between industry, trade, public service with the latter being the most important single sector. Among national minorities, Germans could be most frequently found working as employees in white-collar occupations, in relative terms selection was biggest into self-employment in liberal professions. Generally, employment structure of Germans emphasises the continuation of their well-established position also in modern conditions.

The share of primary sector activities was the highest among Swedish minority (58.2%). Consistent with its spatial concentration in rural environment, more than a half of Swedish population were engaged in fishery and agriculture, the first particularly in island communities. Accordingly, the industrial employment appeared about twice below the average. Given the sectoral distribution, Swedes had not surprisingly been characterised by the highest proportion in self-employment and lowest in paid employment.

Reflecting their relatively recent immigrant origin and concentration in cities, the Jewish population stands out for virtually non-existent agricultural employment (2.0%). The largest single sector among Jews is trade, followed closely by industry: taken together, these sectors account for more than two thirds of total employment. Also, the public administration and liberal professions are found with higher frequency among Jews than in general population. Suggesting intensive business-orientation, the economic composition of Jews were characterised by the highest proportion of employers and own-account workers, and the second highest in white-collar employment and liberal professions. Also, noticeably high proportion of Jews have reported non-work income.

One can easily draw the conclusion from the above-discussed figures that the economic structure of national minorities was more or less defined by the proportion of agricultural employment. Those national minorities, particularly Jews and Germans, who lacked specific national territories and therefore dispersely distributed, mostly in urban areas, did not develop a full economic structure. Once more the historical pathways of minority formation have proved decisive.

4. ORGANISATION OF NATIONAL MINORITIES

Following the formation of modern nations, the ideas regarding the ethnic communities as bearers of specific interests and respective rights spread in the 19th and culminated in the early 20th century. Also the Estonia, having formed themselves a minority in Russian Empire, was particularly aware of the importance of equal possibilities for the development of national minorities. Already the Manifest of Independence declared the equity of all ethnic groups and proclaimed the right for the cultural autonomy for national minorities living in the boundaries of Estonia. This right was stated in the Constitution of the Republic of Estonia from 1920. After discussing various projects and proposals the Cultural Autonomy Law was passed in the Parliament on February 12, 1925 [Riigi Teataja 1925]. The Law was called to regulate mainly the support for various minority institutions, particularly for the operation of educational and cultural institutions. Many of such institutions had already emerged during the years of Estonian Republic and now they could receive additional support, the others gained better material basis to start from. It should be stressed, that the underlying idea of the Cultural Autonomy Law was based on the principle building exclusively on the initiatives coming from each minority itself. By the Law, central and local government allocated resources for primary and secondary educational establishments as well as to cultural activities, but the administration of these funds was given to the hands of minorities themselves, represented by the minority-elected Council. Additionally to governmental support, naturally, the Council had the right to collect the voluntary donations and apply for other sources. The Cultural Autonomy Law adopted the minimum size of 3,000 individuals for the ethnic group to be regarded as a national minority, regardless of its spatial distribution or other characteristics.

The Cultural Autonomy Law was particularly important for national minorities with disperse settlement. In Estonia, education, health and many other social issues were largely addressed through the local government level. Therefore, minorities with compact settlement could exercise quite comprehensive rights through the community institutions, and for them, the Law just added another dimension to the already existing possibilities.

The advantage of the Cultural Autonomy Law was first taken by Germans, already in 1925, followed by Jews in 1926. Russians, Swedes and Latvians did not apply for

provisions foreseen by Cultural Autonomy Law, the first two mostly in view of their historically compact settlement which already had secured their needs as a national minority as well. Concerning the Swedish minority, the principles and procedures worked out by cultural autonomy served for the basis in the implementation of Swedish-German agreement, allowing Swedes as a national minority to leave Estonia in 1944 before the second Soviet occupation. Concerning the Latvians, already in 1922 the special Convention on Schools was ratified which enabled to exchange pupils between the two countries. Evidently this provision together with clear tendency towards assimilation explains why the channel provided by the Cultural Autonomy Law was not used by Latvians. Aside the abovementioned, Estonian legislation did not limit the political organisation of national minorities. Respectively, Russians, Germans and Swedes established their national parties which got the representation in the Parliament. The practice of Estonian authorities regarding national minorities deserved attention already by contemporaries of the time [Hasselblatt 1928; Schiemann 1937]. Estonia happened to be the first country to adopt the principles and policies reflected in the Cultural Autonomy Law. Estonian legislation was discussed in the League of Nations, receiving the high acknowledgement. The policies of Estonian authorities were also appreciated by the minorities themselves. For example, in 1926 after having granted the rights to the Jewish minority, Estonia happened to become the first government to receive the certificate from the World Organisation of Jews, notifying the honorary record of Estonia in the Golden Book of Jewish National Fund [Gurin-Loov 1990]. On the background of contemporary assessments, more commensurate evaluation of Estonia's minority policies can be given from today's perspective. The Russian national minority has supported strongly the movement towards the restoration of Estonian independence, being in sharp contrast with immigrant Russians, called by the national minority Soviets. Apart from political opinions, the Russian national minority, going to be discussed in the second part of the report, differs remarkably also by demographic and social characteristics [Jõgeva Maavalitsus 1996]. Restoration of Estonian independence has received considerable support also from two minorities who had to leave Estonia in the course of World War II. Having left to Germany and Sweden, the respective minorities have maintained their identity with Estonia, and supported Estonia and Estonians when it became possible. Such situation cannot be compared to cases where the supporters and recipients are belonging to the same minority. The kind of support would have been unthinkable if the experience and attitudes towards Estonia had not been positive. Pro-Estonian information in mass-media, lobby work with Parliament and Government authorities in Germany and Sweden as well as contributing to the contacts between the countries cannot be overestimated, particularly during the period preparing the restoration of Estonian independence.

Taking the historical perspective, the Estonian minority policy in the 1920-1930s seems to have been succesful particularly for the principle which built upon the initiative of a national minority itself. Long before becoming rooted in a special law, the same principles have been in work allowing numerically very small ethnic communities like Swedes and Peipsi Russians to maintain their identity and rather different, particularly for Russians, culture and life-style throughout centuries.

5. DISAPPEARANCE OF NATIONAL MINORITIES

The outbreak of the Second World War deprived Estonia its sovereignty and left the country in the arbitrary of opposing great powers which condition, as it turned out later, outlasted entire fifty years. Due to the war and related social discontinuity, population of Estonia suffered heavy losses. Even by today, it has not recovered in numbers, forming about 90 percent of its pre-war size. In the long-term impact it is drastic even on the background of countries like Poland and Byelorussia which suffered the biggest casualties during the war time. Returning to Estonia, however, the biggest losses occurred to its national minorities, suffering from every of the successive three occupations in own way. Like the historical formation and the demographic development, so was their fate different in these years. Regardless of pathways, the final result, however, was similar: the extinction of a national minority. Not going into multiple relevance of this process, without admitting it, following of the post-war trend in Estonian minority development is hardly possible.

Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact (August 23, 1939) divided Eastern Europe between two expansionistic powers, leaving Estonia to Soviet Union. By the same Pact it was agreed that the German minority can leave countries expected to go under Soviet rule before the relevant activities were launched. For German minority in Estonia Hitler's speech (October 6, 1939) calling for Germans to return came quite unexpectedly. The further steps proceeded quite rapidly in Estonia, taking advantage of German Cultural Autonomy register. Contemporary impressions reveal the general reluctancy to leave Estonia and despite the looming threat of Soviet occupation, approximately 20 percent of enlisted in German minority refused to go [Hehn 1982]. By the end of this campaign in May, 1940 13339 members of German minority were repatriated [Riigi Teataja 1940]. After the occupation of Estonia by the Soviet Union, the German repatriation became once more a possibility, now based on the agreement with Soviet authorities. Under new conditions the attitude towards repatriation had been decisively changed, and this was regarded as the only legal way of escaping the Soviet Union. Despite the country of destination was belligerent, remaining part of German minority was accompanied with Estonians who managed to get the relevant certificate. In the second wave of repatriation, accounting for 7,000 in numbers, more than half were of non-German origin [Angelus 1995]. As a result, the German minority had left Estonia, however, the later circumstances revealed their willingness to return. During German occupation, repatriants massively applied for return. The return was not allowed on these grounds by the authorities, some few exceptions managed to return using other pretences.

After the turn of the war, when Soviet Union began to regain in territory, one of the first tasks became finding the Germans to be arrested and deported. In Estonia in the beginning of the second Soviet occupation 342 of German origin were arrested and deported (Directive No 1/2144, February 7, 1945). As it has become evident recently from NKVD documents, for these deportees one eighth of German origin as well as marriage to a German was good enough reason to be eligible. As a result, Estonia became for the first time in seven hundred years German-free.

Like Estonian population in general, losses to Jewish minority began to occur during the first Soviet occupation. The mass deportation in June 1941 enlisted 418 Jews, which accounted for nearly 10 percent of their number and was relatively higher than among total population [Salo 1993]. In the beginning of German-Soviet war, Jews were given a possibility to be evacuated to the other regions of Soviet Union. Most of them left and it is estimated that only around 1,000 remained in Estonia. German Nazi authorities closed all Jews in Estonia into concentration camps and by July 1, 1942 it was declared that in Estonia all Jews (928 in numbers) had received a special treatment which meant execution [Loov-Gurin 1994]. After the war, part of the evacuated Jews returned to Estonia; based on the later data it can be estimated no more than 15-20 percent of pre-war number, i.e. about 1,000. Due to such small number, the remaining Jewish population could not maintain its status as a minority in previous terms.

After the beginning of first Soviet occupation, Sweden took steps to get the permission for the Swedish minority in Estonia to leave. According to the documents Moscow even agreed for such permission, however, in practice it was not realised. In reality, many Swedes lost homes, because from Soviet viewpoint their home islands were regarded strategically important dislocation of the Soviet army. As other minorities, Swedes also shared the experience of deportation, however, in slightly smaller proportion. The evacuation of Swedish minority became again an agenda in 1944 when the threat of the second Soviet occupation emerged. Now Sweden negotiated with German authorities, and despite the opposition of German Foreign Ministry, the agreement was reached with local German military command [Kommitten.. 1950]. As discussed earlier, Swedes were not in need to secure the development of their minority through the Cultural Autonomy Law, and therefore, no official lists of Swedish minority had been prepared. Now they were prepared, actually based on the same cultural autonomy principles. In given situation, this channel was the only legal way of leaving the country, granted by German authorities, and many Estonians succeeded to be included in the lists, altogether escaped 7920 Swedes [Aman 1961]. As a result of organised evacuation, very few Swedes remained in Estonia. Together with part of mobilised and deported the number of Swedes in Estonia hardly exceeded a couple of hundreds. Such a small number was insufficient to maintain the continuity of their minority.

Regarding Russian minority, the first Soviet occupation hit most heavily its refugee part. The deportations and other repressions are estimated to have accounted to one third of them. On the other hand, the historical peasant part of Russian minority was concerned to somewhat lesser extent compared to the total population. The next, much sharper decrease of Russian minority occurred in another way at the beginning of the second Soviet occupation. Regardless of the war time, Surpreme Council of Soviet Union was in a hurry unilaterally in 1944 to establish new boundaries, transferring most of the Petseri county (August 23) and trans-Narva areas (November 24) from Estonia to the Russian Federation. Puppet authorities were later forced to adapt to new boundaries. From population perspective, the transfer of Petseri county and trans-Narva areas to Russian Federation involved the reduction of population by 66,500 according to 1934 census (according to the population estimates for 1944 by 56,200 [Kaufmann 1967]). As a result, Estonia lost its all mixed population areas and the remainder Russian minority consisted of mostly urban part and residents of Western shore Peipsi Lake settlements. It has been estimated that after the new boundaries, the Russian minority in

Estonia in absolute numbers accounted for about 23,000 [Katus 1989]. Although reduced more than by three fourth from its pre-war size, Russians have maintained themselves as the national minority in Estonia.

Latvian minority had already been in the 1920-1930s one of the smallest and the most integrated and partly assimilated, largely through mixed marriages. In later years both of these trends seem to have progressed. Additionally, the number of Latvians was sharply due to the transfer of Petseri county which concentrated nearly one third of the minority. As all others, Latvian minority suffered the losses from deportations, repressions and war operations. Altogether, these processes seem to have at least halved the size of Latvian minority, leaving the remainder widely dispersed across the country. In these conditions, Latvians have progressed towards the loss of their minority status.

To conclude, the Second World War hit the national minorities of Estonia particularly hard. as a result, four out of five minorities present in the Estonian Republic practically disappeared. Ironically, from several cases only survivors of those deported into Siberia and mobilised in Soviet Army returned to Estonia. Russian minority is the only one, although reduced to one fourth in its size, which has maintained its existence as a national minority.

REFERENCES

Aman, Viktor (1961). Estlandssvenskarna under andra världskriget. Överflyttningen till Sverige. *Elmar Nyman (Ed). En bok om Estlands svenskar*. Stockholm. pp.179-263.

Angelus, 0skar (1995). *Tuhande valitseja maa. Mälestusi Saksa okupatsiooni ajast 1941-1944*. [The country of thousand rulers. Memoirs from the German occupation time 1941-1944]. Tallinn, Olion.

Blumfeldt, Evald (1961). Estlandssvenskarnas historia. *Elmar Nyman (Ed). En bok om Estlands svenskar*. Stockholm. pp.63-178.

Eesti-Vene Rahuleping (1920). [Estonian-Russian Peace Treaty]. Tartu.

Jõgeva Maavalitsus (1996). *Etnilised vähemused Eestis, nende tänased probleemid ja tulevik. Konverentsi materjalid. Mustvee, 1995*. [Ethnic minorities in Estonia, their current problems and the future. Proceedings of the Conference. Mustvee, 1995]. Jõgeva, Jõgeva Maavalitsus.

Grass, Konrad (1914). *Die Russische Sekte*. Dorpat.

Gurin, Samuel (1936). *Juudi vähemusrahvuse statistika Eestis.* [Statistics on the Jewish Minority in Estonia]. Tallinn, Juudi Kultuurvalitsus.

Hasselblatt, Werner (1928). Zehn Jahre deutsch-baltischer Politik in Estland. *Jahrbuch des baltischen Deutschteums in Lettland und Estland 1929*. Riga, s.66-70.

Hehn, von Jürgen (1982). *Die Unsiedlung der baltischen Deutschen - das letzte Kapitel baltischdeutscher Geschichte*. Marburd-Lahn, J.G.Herder Institut.

Hofsten, Erland and Hans Lundström (1976). *Swedish Population History. Main trends from 1750 to 1970.* Stockholm, Statistiska Centralbyran.

Hyrenius, Hannes (1942). *Estlands svenskarna. Demografiska studier*. Lund.

Katus, Kalev (1989). *Demographic Development in Estonia through Centuries.* RU, Series B, No.10. Tallinn, EKDK.

Katus, Kalev (1994). Fertility Transition in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. *Wolfgang Lutz, Sergei Scherbov and Andrei Volkov (Eds). Demographic Trends and Patterns in the Soviet Union before 1991*. London-New York, IIASA, pp. 89-111.

Katus, Kalev, Allan Puur (1992). *Eesti rahvastiku suremustrend elutabelite analüüsi põhjal.* [The mortality trend of the population of Estonia on the basis of life-tables]. RU, Series B, No.14. Tallinn, EKDK.

Kaufmann, Voldemar (1967). *Rahvastiku dünaamika ja seda mõjutanud seaduspärasused Eestis XX sajandi esimesel poolel (1897-1959). Dissertatsioon.* [Dynamics of population and the impact of the regularities in Estonia in the first half of XX century. Thesis]. Tallinn.

Kommitten för Estlanssvenskarna (1950). *Redogörelse för dess verksamhet 1940-1950*. Stockholm.

Körber, B. (1902). *Die Stadt Dorpat in Statistischer und Hygienischer Beziehung*. Dorpat.

Kübarsepp, Eduard (1926). Vähemusrahvused Eestis. *Eesti. Maa. Rahvas. Kultuur*. [National Minorities in Estonia. Estonia. Land. Population.Culture]. Tartu, lk.1251-1255.

Laaman, Eduard (1964). *Eesti iseseisvuse sünd*. [Birth of independence of Estonia]. Stockoholm.

Loov-Gurin, Eugenia (1990) *Juudid Eestis*. [Jews in Estonia]. Tallinn, Juudi Kultuuri Selts.

Loov-Gurin, Eugenia (1994). *Holocaust of Estonian Jews 1941*. Tallinn, Eesti Juudi Kogukond.

Moora, Aliise (1964). *Peipsimaa etnilisest ajaloost.* [About the ethnic history of Peipsimaa]. Tallinn, Eesti Riiklik Kirjastus.

Palli, Heldur (1988). *Otepää rahvastik aastail 1716-1799.* [Population of Otepää in 1716-1799]. Tallinn.

Palli, Heldur (1996). *Eesti rahvastiku ajalugu aastani 1712*. [The population of Estonia until 1712]. Tallinn, Teaduste Akadeemia Kirjastus.

Riigi Teataja (1925). Tallinn, No.31/32.

Riigi Teataja (1940). Tallinn, Lisa, No.14.

RSKB (1922-1940). *Eesti Statistika*. [Recueil Mensuel du Bureau Central de Statistique de L'Estonie. Pour l'annee 1922-1940]. Tallinn, RSKB.

RSKB (1924). *Rahva demograafiline koosseis ja korteriolud Eestis. 1922 aasta üldrahvalugemise andmed.* Vihk I ja II. [Resultats du recensement de 1922. Pour toute la Republique. Tome I et II]. Tallinn, Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo.

RSKB (1934). *Valdade rahvastik. 1.III 1934 rahvaloenduse andmed*. Vihk I. [Population du recensement de 1.III 1934. Vol.I]. Tallinn, RSKB.

RSKB (1935). *Rahvastiku koostis ja korteriolud. 1.III 1934 rahvaloenduse andmed*, Vihk II. [Composition Demographique de la Population et logements. Donnees du recensement de 1.III 1934. Vol. II]. Tallinn, RSKB.

RSKB (1937). *Eesti arvudes 1920-1935.* [Estonie en Chiffres de 1920-1935]. Tallinn, Eesti Statistika.

Salo, Vello (1993). *Deported in 1941*. *General Index of Deportees from Estonia*. Brampton, Marjamaa.

Schiemann P. (1937). *Ein europäisches Problem. Unabhängige Betrachtungen zur Minderheitenfrage*. Wien-Leipzig.

Strömmer, Arno (1969). *Väestollinen muuntuminen Suomessa*. Tornio.

Thadden, Edward (Ed) (1981). *Russification in the Baltic provinces and Finland, 1855-1914.* Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Vishnevski, Anatoli and Andrei Volkov (Ed) (1983). *Vosproizvodstvo naselenya v SSSR*. [Reproduction of population in USSR]. Moscow.

Wittram, Reinhard (1973). *Baltische Geschichte. Die Ostseelande Livland, Estland, Kurland 1180-1918.* Darmstadt.

Zvidrinsh, Peteris (Ed) (1986). *Naselenye Sovetskoi Latvii*. [Population of Soviet Latvia]. Riga, Zinatne

.

FIGURE 1. POPULATION BY ETHNICITY
Estonia 1934

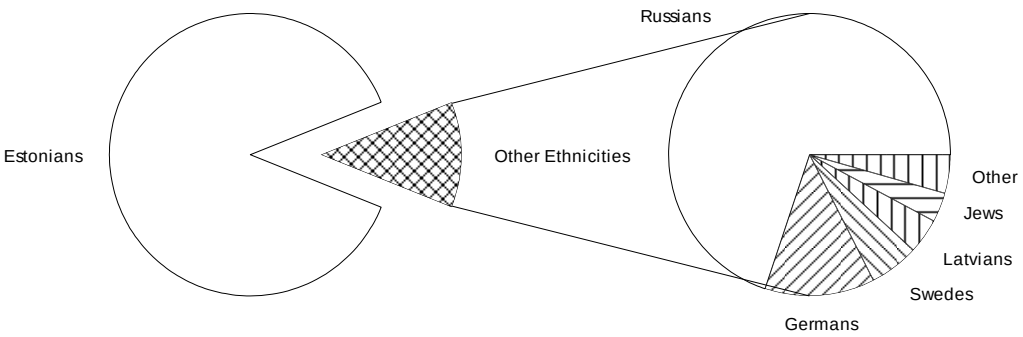

FIGURE 2. RELATIVE DYNAMICS OF NATIONAL MINORITIES
Estonia 1881-1934

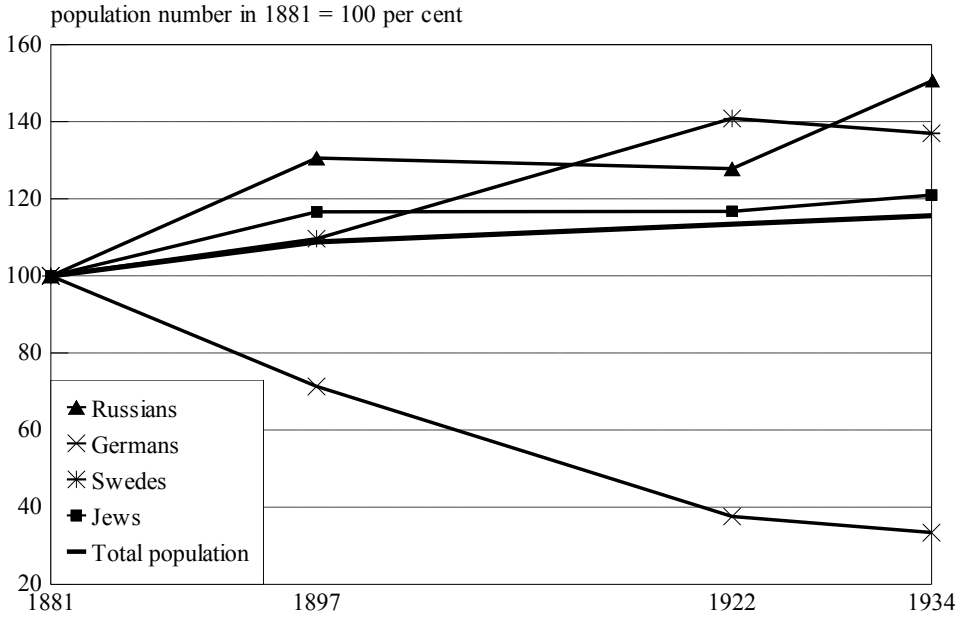

FIGURE 3. PROPORTION OF NON-ESTONIANS IN COUNTY POPULATION
Estonia 1934

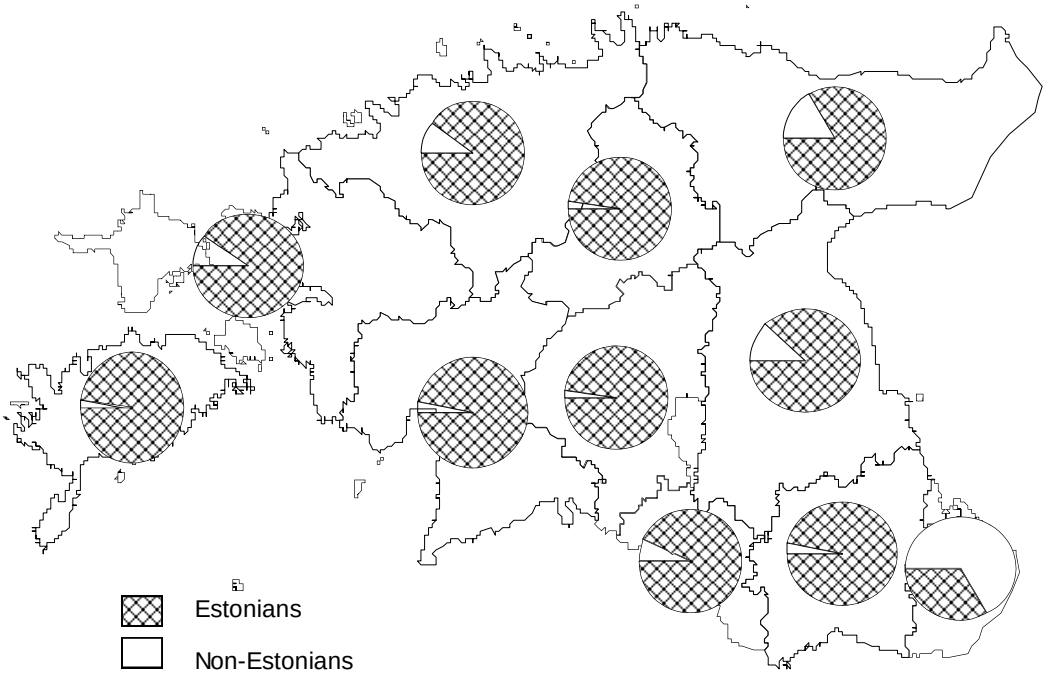

FIGURE 4. DISTRIBUTION OF NATIONAL MINORITIES AMONG COUNTIES
Estonia 1934

FIGURE 5. BIRTH RATE, DEATH RATE AND POPULATION GROWTH OF NATIONAL MINORITIES
Estonia 1923-1938

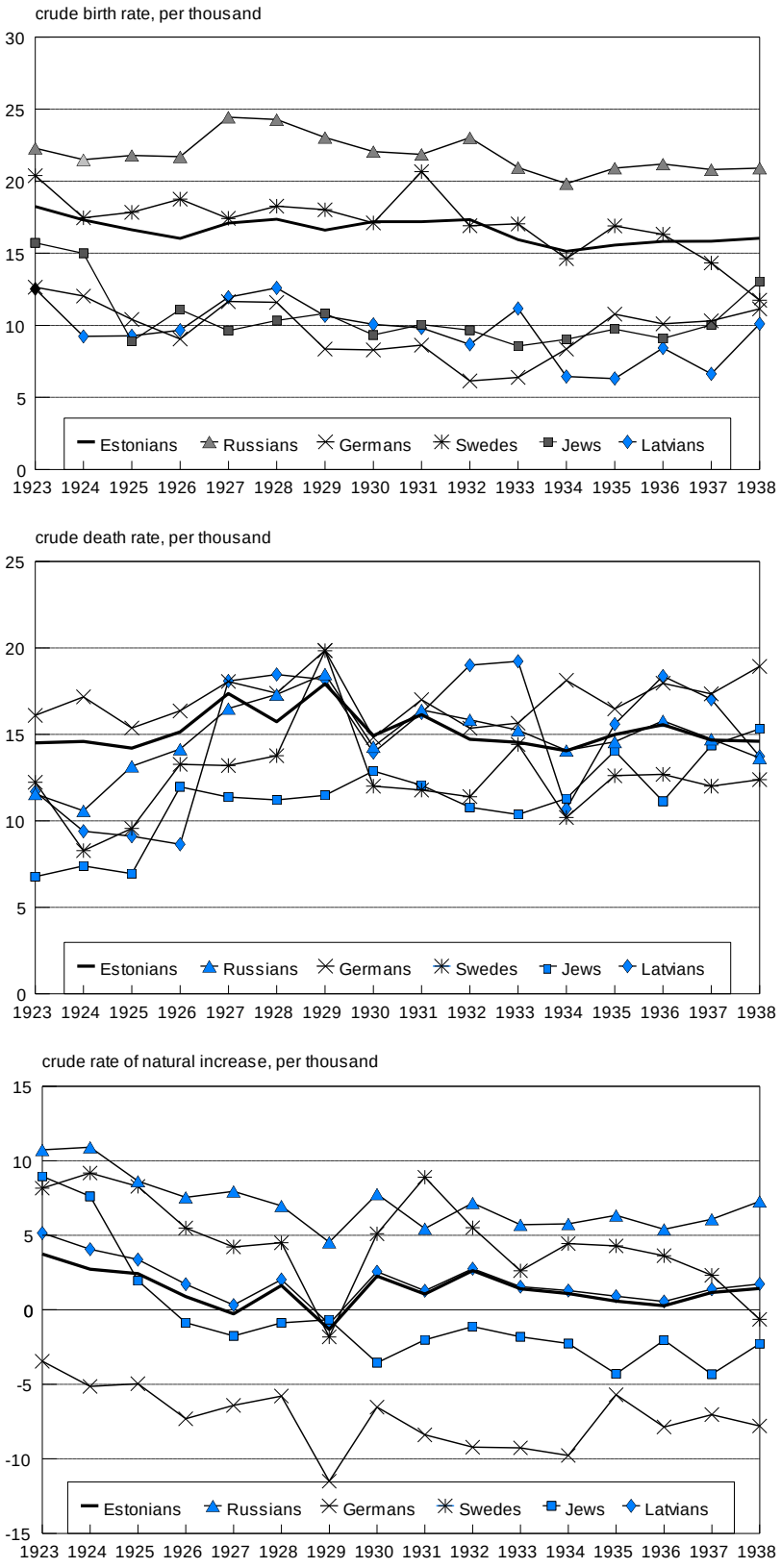

FIGURE 6. POPULATION AGE STRUCTURE AND SEX RATIO
OF NATIONAL MINORITIES
Estonia 1934

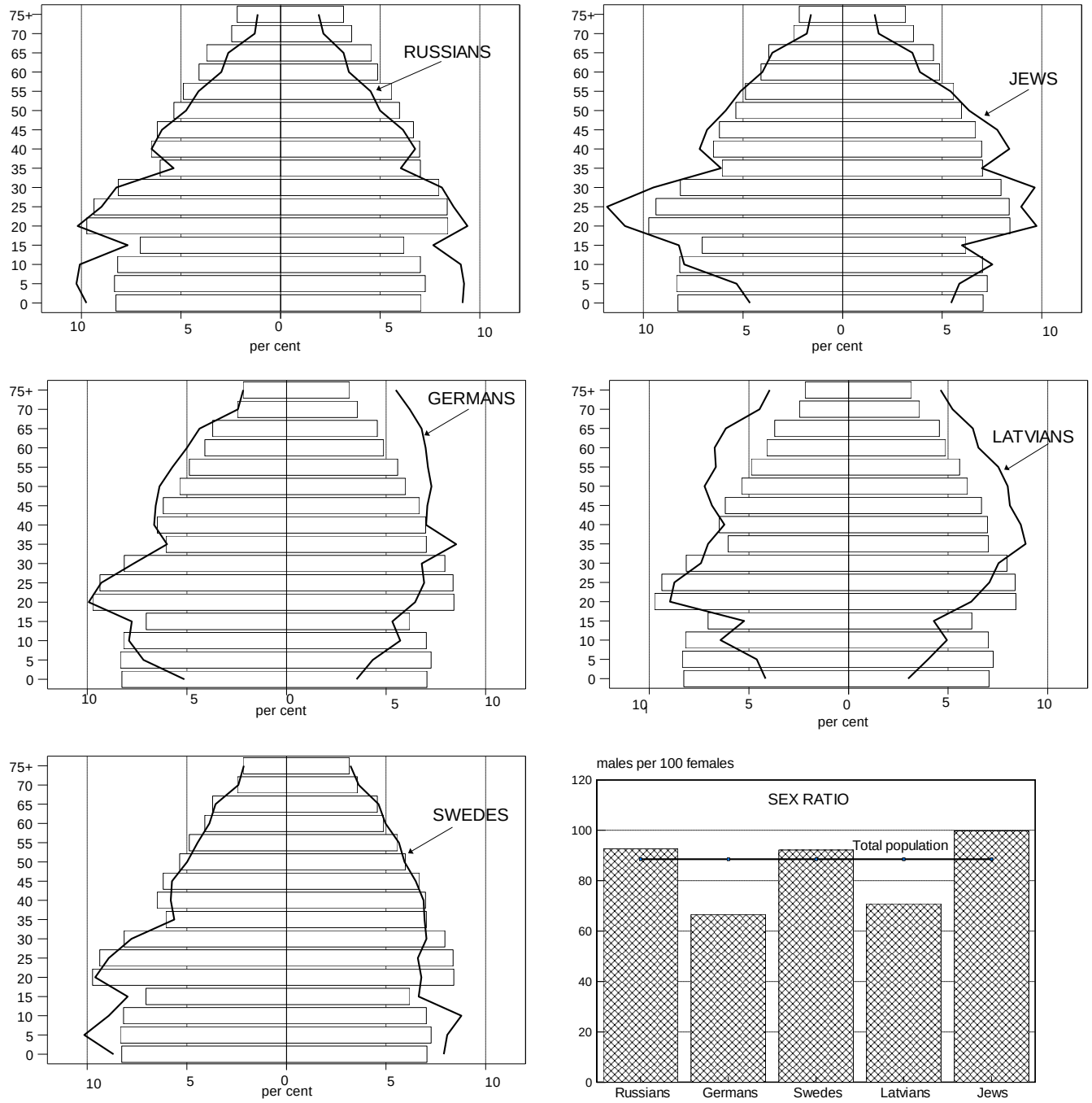

FIGURE 7. DISTRIBUTION BY SECTOR OF EMPLOYMENT

Estonia 1934

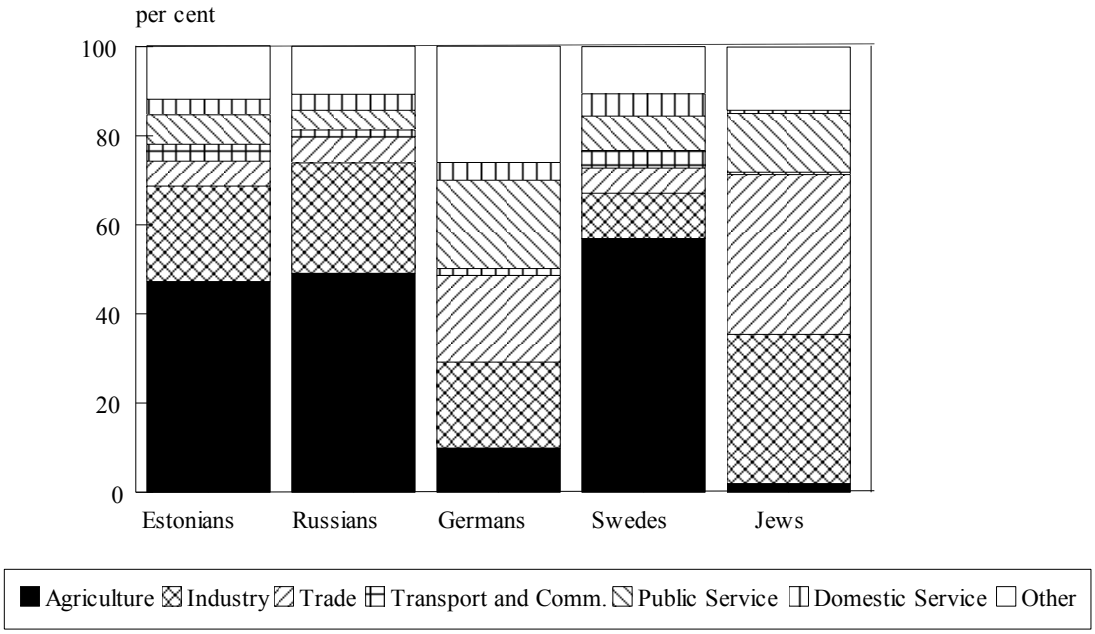

FIGURE 8. DYNAMICS OF NATIONAL MINORITIES

Estonia 1934-1945

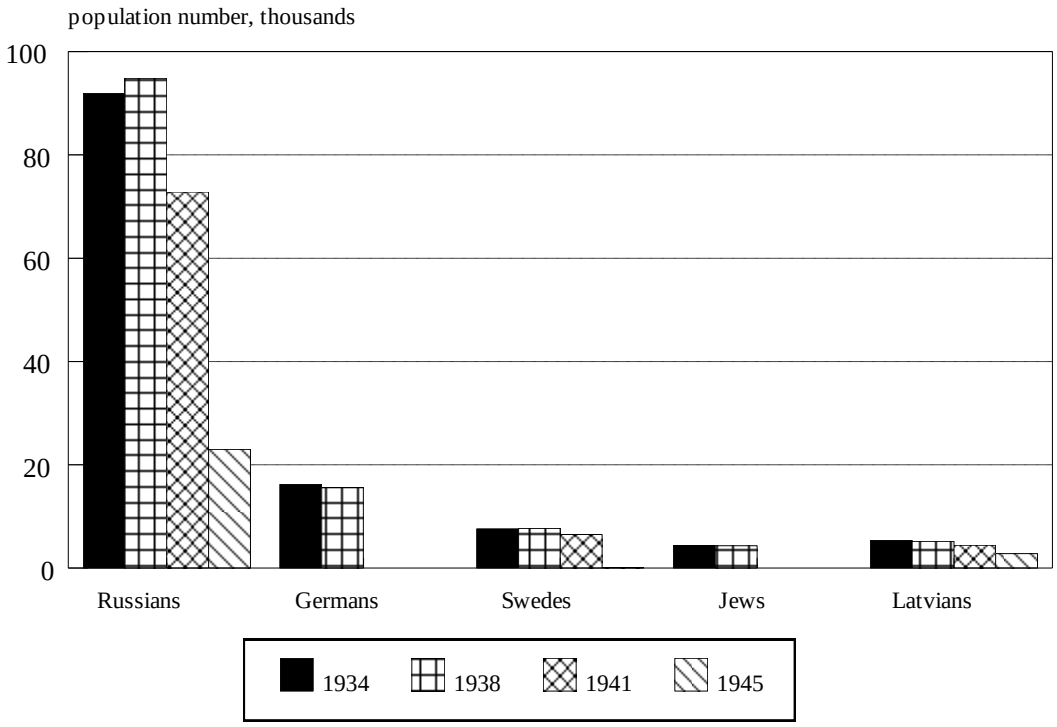

TABLE 1. ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF POPULATION
Estonia 1934

Ethnicity	Male	Female	Total	Proportion in Total Population	Proportion in Total Minority Population
Estonian	465789	526731	992520	88.1	-
Russian	44572	48084	92656	8.2	70.0
German	6534	9812	16346	1.5	12.4
Swede	3665	3976	7641	0.7	5.8
Latvian	2254	3181	5435	0.5	4.1
Jew	2214	2220	4434	0.4	3.4
Pole	712	896	1608	0.1	1.2
Finn	522	566	1088	0.1	0.8
Ingerian	452	389	841	0.1	0.6
Gypsy	419	347	766	0.1	0.6
Lithuanian	131	122	253	0.0	0.2
Danish	120	108	228	0.0	0.2
Tatar	90	76	166	0.0	0.1
Englishman	89	69	158	0.0	0.1
French	40	62	102	0.0	0.1
Swiss	46	53	99	0.0	0.1
Czech	45	47	92	0.0	0.1
Ukrainian	50	42	92	0.0	0.1
Dutch	20	12	32	0.0	0.0
Caraim	16	10	26	0.0	0.0
Greek	10	15	25	0.0	0.0
Armenian	14	10	24	0.0	0.0
Hungarian	15	8	23	0.0	0.0
Georgian	7	15	22	0.0	0.0
Austrian	12	9	21	0.0	0.0
Italian	10	10	20	0.0	0.0
USA	7	11	18	0.0	0.0
Turkish	9	7	16	0.0	0.0
Liv	7	6	13	0.0	0.0
Norvegian	5	7	12	0.0	0.0
Vallone	2	8	10	0.0	0.0
Chinese	7	2	9	0.0	0.0
Scottish	6	2	8	0.0	0.0
Karelian	3	4	7	0.0	0.0
Serb	2	3	5	0.0	0.0
Mordva	3	0	3	0.0	0.0
Bulgarian	1	2	3	0.0	0.0
Japanese	1	2	3	0.0	0.0
Spanish	3	0	3	0.0	0.0
Portugese	1	1	2	0.0	0.0
Moldavian	1	1	2	0.0	0.0
Irish	2	0	2	0.0	0.0
Votes	2	1	3	0.0	0.0
Osset	2	0	2	0.0	0.0
Flames	1	1	2	0.0	0.0
Brasilian	0	1	1	0.0	0.0
Abhas	0	1	1	0.0	0.0
Romanian	0	1	1	0.0	0.0
Komi	1	0	1	0.0	0.0
Korean	1	0	1	0.0	0.0
Irani	1	0	1	0.0	0.0
Unknown	972	594	1566	0.1	
Total	528888	597525	1126413	100.0	100.0

TABLE 2. RELATIVE DYNAMICS OF NATIONAL MINORITIES
Estonia 1981-1934

Census year	Russians	Germans	Swedes	Jews	Total
1881	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1897	130.6	71.3	109.6	116.6	108.8
1922	127.8	37.6	140.8	116.7	113.4
1934	150.5	33.4	137.0	120.9	115.6

TABLE 3. SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF NATIONAL MINORITIES
Estonia 1934

County	Russians			Germans			Swedes		
	Number	Proportion in county population	Proportion of total number	Number	Proportion in county population	Proportion of total number	Number	Proportion in county population	Proportion of total number
Harju	9676	3.98	10.52	7906	3.25	48.80	1665	0.68	21.95
Järva	566	0.96	0.62	324	0.55	2.00	23	0.04	0.30
Lääne	398	0.53	0.43	460	0.61	2.84	5312	7.08	70.01
Petseri	41066	63.46	44.66	72	0.11	0.44	17	0.03	0.22
Pärnu	992	1.05	1.08	1098	1.16	6.78	27	0.03	0.36
Saare	194	0.35	0.21	400	0.72	2.47	306	0.55	4.03
Tartu	15236	8.40	16.57	3252	1.79	20.07	112	0.06	1.48
Valga	707	1.80	0.77	218	0.56	1.35	9	0.02	0.12
Viljandi	783	1.04	0.85	594	0.79	3.67	22	0.03	0.29
Viru	20528	14.03	22.33	1267	0.87	7.82	77	0.05	1.01
Võru	1800	2.16	1.96	610	0.73	3.77	17	0.02	0.22
Total	91946	8.23	100.00	16201	1.45	100.00	7587	0.68	100.00
Urban	26518	7.58	28.84	13499	3.86	83.32	1105	0.32	14.56
Rural	65428	8.52	71.16	2702	0.35	16.68	6482	0.84	85.44

	Jews			Latvians		
	Number	Proportion in county population	Proportion of total number	Number	Proportion in county population	Proportion of total number
Harju	2290	0.94	52.27	703	0.29	13.03
Järva	34	0.06	0.78	60	0.10	1.11
Lääne	9	0.01	0.21	26	0.03	0.48
Petseri	5	0.01	0.11	1475	2.28	27.34
Pärnu	260	0.27	5.93	509	0.54	9.43
Saare	23	0.04	0.52	28	0.05	0.52
Tartu	941	0.52	21.48	366	0.20	6.78
Valga	273	0.70	6.23	1580	4.02	29.29
Viljandi	125	0.17	2.85	87	0.12	1.61
Viru	306	0.21	6.98	180	0.12	3.34
Võru	115	0.14	2.62	381	0.46	7.06
Total	4381	0.39	100.00	5395	0.48	100.00
Urban	4302	1.23	98.20	2642	0.76	48.97
Rural	79	0.01	1.80	2753	0.36	51.03

TABLE 4. NUMBER AND CRUDE RATES OF BIRTHS, DEATHS AND NATURAL INCREASE
Estonia 1923-1938

Year	Total population		Russians		Germans		Swedes		Jews		Latvians	
	Events	Rate	Events	Rate	Events	Rate	Events	Rate	Events	Rate	Events	Rate
						Births						
1923	22347	20.14	2035	22.29	231	12.65	160	20.39	72	15.72	75	12.53
1924	21441	19.25	1970	21.49	218	12.03	137	17.46	69	15.00	55	9.23
1925	20445	18.30	2004	21.79	187	10.41	140	17.84	41	8.90	55	9.27
1926	19977	17.84	1998	21.70	161	9.05	147	18.76	51	11.10	57	9.66
1927	19705	17.60	2254	24.45	205	11.65	136	17.42	44	9.63	70	11.95
1928	20064	17.91	2240	24.28	202	11.59	142	18.27	47	10.33	73	12.6
1929	19110	17.06	2124	23.04	144	8.36	139	18.02	49	10.82	61	10.66
1930	19471	17.38	2033	22.06	141	8.29	131	17.11	42	9.33	57	10.07
1931	19509	17.39	2015	21.87	145	8.62	158	20.67	45	10.05	55	9.82
1932	19742	17.57	2120	23.02	102	6.14	129	16.91	43	9.66	48	8.68
1933	18208	16.18	1936	20.95	105	6.39	130	17.04	38	8.56	61	11.17
1934	17305	15.35	1844	19.84	136	8.36	112	14.63	40	9.03	35	6.45
1935	17891	15.86	1955	20.91	174	10.78	130	16.90	43	9.74	34	6.31
1936	18222	16.14	1993	21.19	162	10.10	126	16.32	40	9.09	45	8.43
1937	18190	16.09	1968	20.81	164	10.31	111	14.33	44	10.03	35	6.63
1938	18453	16.30	1991	20.91	176	11.14	91	11.74	57	13.04	53	10.10
						Deaths						
1923	16630	14.99	1055	11.56	294	16.1	96	12.23	31	6.77	70	11.69
1924	16918	15.19	970	10.58	311	17.17	65	8.28	34	7.39	56	9.40
1925	16680	14.93	1210	13.16	276	15.37	75	9.56	32	6.95	54	9.11
1926	18047	16.12	1303	14.15	291	16.36	104	13.27	55	11.97	51	8.64
1927	19356	17.28	1521	16.50	318	18.06	103	13.2	52	11.38	106	18.09
1928	17794	15.88	1597	17.31	303	17.38	107	13.77	51	11.21	107	18.47
1929	20178	18.01	1705	18.50	342	19.86	153	19.84	52	11.48	104	18.17
1930	16610	14.82	1317	14.29	252	14.82	92	12.01	58	12.88	79	13.95
1931	18077	16.11	1513	16.42	286	17.01	90	11.78	54	12.06	91	16.24
1932	16641	14.81	1460	15.85	255	15.36	87	11.40	48	10.78	105	19.00
1933	16472	14.63	1408	15.24	257	15.65	110	14.42	46	10.37	105	19.23
1934	15853	14.06	1307	14.07	295	18.13	78	10.19	50	11.29	58	10.69
1935	16864	14.95	1362	14.57	266	16.48	97	12.61	62	14.04	84	15.59
1936	17592	15.58	1485	15.79	288	17.96	98	12.69	49	11.13	98	18.37
1937	16622	14.71	1393	14.73	276	17.34	93	12.01	63	14.36	90	17.04
1938	16496	14.57	1299	13.64	299	18.93	96	12.38	67	15.32	72	13.73
						Natural Increase						
1923	5717	5.15	980	10.73	-63	-3.45	64	8.16	41	8.95	5	0.84
1924	4523	4.06	1000	10.91	-93	-5.14	72	9.18	35	7.61	-1	-0.17
1925	3765	3.37	794	8.63	-89	-4.96	65	8.28	9	1.95	1	0.16
1926	1930	1.72	695	7.55	-130	-7.31	43	5.49	-4	-0.87	6	1.02
1927	349	0.32	733	7.95	-113	-6.41	33	4.22	-8	-1.75	-36	-6.14
1928	2270	2.03	643	6.97	-101	-5.79	35	4.50	-4	-0.88	-34	-5.87
1929	-1068	-0.95	419	4.54	-198	-11.5	-14	-1.82	-3	-0.66	-43	-7.51
1930	2861	2.56	716	7.77	-111	-6.53	39	5.10	-16	-3.55	-22	-3.88
1931	1432	1.28	502	5.45	-141	-8.39	68	8.89	-9	-2.01	-36	-6.42
1932	3101	2.76	660	7.17	-153	-9.22	42	5.51	-5	-1.12	-57	-10.32
1933	1736	1.55	528	5.71	-152	-9.26	20	2.62	-8	-1.81	-44	-8.06
1934	1452	1.29	537	5.77	-159	-9.77	34	4.44	-10	-2.26	-23	-4.24
1935	1027	0.91	593	6.34	-92	-5.70	33	4.29	-19	-4.30	-50	-9.28
1936	630	0.56	508	5.40	-126	-7.86	28	3.63	-9	-2.04	-53	-9.94
1937	1568	1.38	575	6.08	-112	-7.03	18	2.32	-19	-4.33	-55	-10.41
1938	1957	1.73	692	7.27	-123	-7.79	-5	-0.64	-10	-2.28	-19	-3.63

TABLE 5. DEMOGRAPHIC INDICATORS
Estonia 1933-1934

	Total	Russians	Germans	Swedes	Jews	Latvians
Crude Death Rate						
Males	15.99	16.45	16.22	15.55	13.55	21.74
Females	12.90	13.00	17.33	9.56	8.56	10.37
Total	14.35	14.66	16.88	12.30	10.83	15.09
Standardised Death Rate						
Males	15.99	20.37	15.92	15.29	12.71	22.67
Females	12.9	15.82	17.55	6.86	7.40	7.29
Total	14.35	18.07	16.12	10.51	9.81	12.50
Crude Birth Rate	15.76	20.40	7.37	15.84	8.80	8.83
General Fertility Rate	57.43	73.10	26.45	63.58	29.39	29.48
Standardised Birth Rate	15.76	25.87	3.60	18.61	4.35	4.92
Child-Woman Ratio	279.95	337.81	149.29	332.11	168.80	116.09
Crude Marriage Rate	7.85	8.68	5.92	5.40	7.44	5.61
General Marriage Rate	18.9	23.07	11.41	13.81	18.45	10.89
Standardised Marriage Rate	7.85	9.16	4.75	4.41	6.45	4.31
Crude Rate of Natural Increase	1.41	5.74	-9.51	3.54	-2.03	-6.26
Standardised Rate of Natural Increase	1.41	7.80	-12.52	8.10	-5.46	-7.58

TABLE 6. POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX
Estonia 1934

Age	Total		Russians		Germans		Swedes		Jews		Latvians	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Males												
0-4	43937	9.75	4346	5.13	335	5.13	318	8.68	103	4.65	94	4.17
5-9	44747	10.25	4568	7.18	469	7.18	372	10.15	118	5.33	104	4.61
10-14	44001	10.08	4493	7.91	517	7.91	327	8.92	176	7.95	145	6.43
15-19	37578	7.68	3421	7.77	508	7.77	292	7.97	182	8.22	118	5.24
20-24	51599	10.19	4543	9.93	649	9.93	352	9.6	242	10.93	202	8.96
25-29	49377	8.99	4006	9.31	608	9.31	327	8.92	262	11.83	197	8.74
30-39	80036	15.74	7016	13.73	897	13.73	528	14.41	369	16.67	304	13.49
40-49	63126	11.56	5151	13.07	854	13.07	375	10.23	292	13.19	269	11.93
50-59	53012	8.46	3773	12.6	823	12.6	361	9.85	244	11.02	354	15.71
60-69	37263	4.72	2103	8.71	569	8.71	245	6.68	146	6.59	277	12.29
70+	23535	2.45	1091	4.61	301	4.61	167	4.56	75	3.39	190	8.43
Unknown	677	0.14	61	0.06	4	0.06	1	0.03	5	0.23	0	0.00
Total	528888	100	44572	100	6534	100	3665	100	2214	100	2254	100
Female												
0-4	42615	9.13	4388	3.52	345	3.52	314	7.9	121	5.45	95	2.99
5-9	43884	9.21	4430	4.33	425	4.33	321	8.07	130	5.86	127	3.99
10-14	42745	9.04	4347	5.71	560	5.71	349	8.78	167	7.52	157	4.94
15-19	37528	7.66	3681	5.31	521	5.31	264	6.64	133	5.99	136	4.28
20-24	50362	9.38	4510	6.46	634	6.46	269	6.77	216	9.73	196	6.16
25-29	49813	8.68	4174	6.91	678	6.91	262	6.59	199	8.96	225	7.07
30-39	92566	15.6	7501	13.45	1320	13.45	576	14.49	443	19.95	494	15.53
40-49	78901	12.46	5989	14.29	1402	14.29	532	13.38	336	15.14	577	18.14
50-59	66820	8.75	4209	14.69	1441	14.69	441	11.09	255	11.49	474	14.9
60-69	52373	5.91	2840	13.6	1334	13.6	372	9.36	131	5.9	385	12.1
70+	39287	4.06	1954	11.68	1146	11.68	272	6.84	76	3.42	313	9.84
	631	0.13	61	0.06	6	0.06	4	0.10	13	0.59	2	0.06
Total	597525	100	48084	100	9812	100	3976	100	2220	100	3181	100
Both												
0-4	86552	9.43	8734	4.16	680	4.16	632	8.27	224	5.05	189	3.48
5-9	88631	9.71	8998	5.47	894	5.47	693	9.07	248	5.59	231	4.25
10-14	86746	9.54	8840	6.59	1077	6.59	676	8.85	343	7.74	302	5.56
15-19	75106	7.66	7102	6.30	1029	6.30	556	7.28	315	7.1	254	4.67
20-24	101961	9.77	9053	7.85	1283	7.85	621	8.13	458	10.33	398	7.32
25-29	99190	8.83	8180	7.87	1286	7.87	589	7.71	461	10.4	422	7.76
30-39	172602	15.67	14517	13.56	2217	13.56	1104	14.45	812	18.31	798	14.68
40-49	142027	12.02	11140	13.8	2256	13.8	907	11.87	628	14.16	846	15.57
50-59	119832	8.61	7982	13.85	2264	13.85	802	10.5	499	11.25	828	15.23
60-69	89636	5.33	4943	11.64	1903	11.64	617	8.07	277	6.25	662	12.18
70+	62822	3.29	3045	8.85	1447	8.85	439	5.75	151	3.41	503	9.25
Unknown	1308	0.13	122	0.06	10	0.06	5	0.07	18	0.41	2	0.04
Total	112641	100	92656	100	16346	100	7641	100	4434	100	5435	100

TABLE 7. POPULATION BY ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS
Estonia 1934

	Total		Russians		Germans		Swedes		Jews	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
					Sector of Employment					
Agriculture	213891	46.2	16119	49.1	818	9.9	1277	56.9	38	1.9
Industry	100517	21.7	8151	24.8	1589	19.3	229	10.2	656	33.5
Trade	27781	6.0	1890	5.8	1597	19.4	125	5.6	702	35.9
Transport & Communication	16621	3.6	530	1.6	129	1.6	90	4	10	0.5
Public Service	30960	6.7	1442	4.4	1634	19.8	172	7.7	259	13.2
Domestic Service	16122	3.5	1181	3.6	327	4.0	112	5.0	14	0.7
Other	42416	9.2	2288	7.0	1877	22.8	190	8.5	202	10.3
Unknown	14746	3.2	1253	3.8	276	3.3	48	2.1	76	3.9
Total	463054	100	32854	100	8247	100	2243	100	1957	100
					Social Status					
Employers	34730	7.5	496	1.5	511	6.2	106	4.7	338	17.3
Self-employed with Unpaid Family Workers	97031	21.0	9473	28.8	191	2.3	942	42.0	80	4.1
Self-employed without Unpaid Family Workers	42561	9.2	3224	9.8	524	6.4	149	6.6	306	15.6
Blue-collar Workers	200908	43.4	15120	46	1656	20.1	551	24.6	459	23.5
White-collar Workers	34629	7.5	1671	5.1	2666	32.3	242	10.8	365	18.7
Liberal Professions	3155	0.7	291	0.9	652	7.9	26	1.2	176	9.0
Other, Unknown	50040	10.8	2579	7.8	2047	24.8	227	10.1	233	11.9
Total	463054	100	32854	100	8247	100	2243	100	1957	100