LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION TRENDS IN THE BALTIC STATES 1959–1989

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The paper concentrates on the age and sex patterns of the labour force participation in the Baltic states during the postwar period. Special attention is given to the trends in labour force participation among women and older workers.

The analysis reveals that the 1980s have brought new features to the extremely high levels of female labour force participation, the long-lasting growth in women's work activity has ceased and has been replaced by a reverse trend. For older workers the economic activity started to increase during the recent decade. It is shown that both the improved educational composition of cohorts and the postponement of retirement contributed to this development.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Until recently the population data was regarded as matter of restricted use in the former Soviet Union. Published figures were usually limited to aggregate indicators that could by no means give a comprehensive and reliable picture of the demographic processes. The few years that have passed since these times have not been sufficient to fill up the information gaps accumulated during earlier decades, especially on a regional level.

In this paper an attempt is made to present an overview of the postwar labour force participation trends in three Baltic states – Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Combining them into one analysis is, besides by geographical and historical realities, supported by the, and similar patterns of population's economic activity.

Concerning available datasets the population censuses form practically the only source from which information about individual labour market behaviour can be obtained. The use of data from the 1959, 1970, 1979 and 1989 censuses permitted us to follow the changes in work patterns over the past 30 years. The basic similarity of definitions and methods applied by these censuses assured the consistency of time series and inter–country comparisons.

In these censuses the labour force was defined as consisting of individuals receiving their principal income through economic activity. Women currently absent from their work due to maternity leave were included in the labour force, conscripts were enumerated according to their labour force status prior to being called up for the army.

Individuals receiving principal income from the so–called individual auxiliary farms (privately run small–scale sector of agriculture) were regarded as economically passive. However, taking into account that the production of auxiliary farm sector was included in the gross national product, we considered it more correct to add these individuals to the labour force. All calculations were made using both the conventional and the modified definition (see Table 1).

Correspondingly to the character of available datasets, the issues are addressed by conventional means of the demographic analysis of labour force participation [Durand and Miller, 1968; Willekens, 1978]. In view of fairly similar patterns of labour force participation the figures are not always repeated for all three countries but refer primarily to the Estonian experience.

2. LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION AMONG WORKING–AGE MALES

2.1. Age pattern of economic activity

Despite the fact that there has never been a clearly established male breadwinner system in the Baltic, work has constantly formed a central activity for adult men. As one could expect no extensive change has occurred in the economic activity of working–age males. Period age participation profiles have followed basically the same curvilinear pattern. However, the general stability of this pattern has not meant its total invariability.

The data reveal that activity trends in different age groups have not proceeded in the same direction. For age groups 15–19 and 20–24 there has been a continuous decrease in the proportion of economically active during the whole period of study (Figure 1). The distribution of the economically passive population by main type of activity suggests that it has been a direct consequence of increased school attendance at secondary and post–secondary levels.

Concerning men in the prime ages relatively little has changed in terms of economic activity. Until the end of the 1970s there was a slight tendency towards higher levels of labour force participation. In the 1980s this was replaced by a slight development in opposite direction. Population's distribution by the main type of activity does not permit to relate these fluctuations to some particular categories of economically passive.

For the immediate pre–retirement ages there has been no common trend across the countries. In Lithuania the economic activity has declined through the whole postwar period while Estonia and Latvia were characterized by less clear patterns.

2.2. Comparative perspective

To place the economic activity of the Baltic populations into a broader context it was compared with that of other countries. To eliminate the influence of differences in the length of compulsory education and legal pensionable age, the comparison was based on the gross number of economically active years in ages from 20 to 59 [Year Book..., 1990].

The data reveal that in the beginning of the 1960s male economic activity in the Baltic was quite close to the average level of the industrialized countries. The following two decades were characterized by divergent development, male activity rates increased in the Baltic, while declined in the majority of industrialized countries. In the 1980s the latter tendency became apparent also in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, but males in these countries today still spend a markedly larger proportion of their prime years in labour force than their counterparts in industrialized countries (Figure 2). Thus, the high level of labour force participation often ascribed to the Baltic females, appears to hold true also for males.

Differences in the levels of labour force participation can be complemented with similar evidence from time-budget surveys. Comparative research on Finland, Latvia and Lithuania has suggested that in the Baltic a higher proportion of the daily time budget is spent in gainful activities while longer and more varied free time is characteristic of Finland [Niemi et al., 1991]. Different patterns of time use have been explained by the differences in the levels of economic development.

Considering the current transition to a market economy in the Baltic countries there are reasons to expect that the leisure time will hardly increase during the next few years but may even decrease in the light of efforts needed in the launching of new businesses, improving the quality of production, and various income supplementing activities.

3. LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION AMONG WORKING-AGE FEMALES

3.1. Age pattern of economic activity

Like in the majority of countries, the female labour force participation in the Baltic has undergone an extensive change during the postwar period. As significant changes started before 1959, this section attempts to cover also some earlier years.

In our view, four subperiods can be distinguished in the dynamics of female economic activity since the 1930s. The first subperiod lasted until the late 1940s. Evidence from the prewar censuses suggest that the beginning of this period can be extended back at least to the second decade of the 20th century. Data show relatively stable levels of female economic activity during these years. In Estonia, for example, paid employment concerned between 30 and 35 percent of working-age women, another 30-35 percent were engaged as unpaid family workers [1922.a..., 1924; 1. III 1934..., 1935].

The big importance of unpaid family work can be explained by the structure of the economy. During these years agriculture with its prevailingly family forms of production formed a dominating sector in all three Baltic states. The majority of unpaid family workers were concentrated in this sector, the proportion of paid and unpaid employment being therefore rather different in urban and rural areas.

The second period in the dynamics of female labour force participation covered the end of the 1940s and the 1950s. Data from the 1959 census indicate a rapid increase in the number of women employed outside the home. In Estonia, their percentage approximately doubled in all age groups except the oldest and the youngest when compared to the earlier census (Figure 3). The rapidity of the growth should be primarily explained with the socialist transformations that were introduced since the incorporation of the Baltic states to the USSR. In the course of these transformations practically all family forms of production were abolished within a few years. As a result, a large number of women (as well as men) lost their former sources of livelihood and had to start working for pay.

It should be noted that the conclusions made with respect to the levels of female economic activity depend to a great extent on whether the unpaid family workers are included. The growth in activity rates is observed only in terms of paid employment, the alternative approach suggests only a minor increase in the labour force participation (Figure 3). In our view, these difficulties of interpretation can be overcome by concluding that the changes of the late 1940s and 1950s concerned not as much the extent as the nature of female labour force participation.

The third period in the dynamics of economic activity of the Baltic women lasted from the early 1960s until the end of the 1970s. Age participation profiles for all three Baltic states show that the rapid growth was soon followed by a gradual slowdown, reflecting the exhaustion of unutilized female labour resources. Figure 4 illustrates this by the representative case of Estonia.

The most recent period in the development of female labour force participation covers the 1980s. Participation profiles indicate a decrease in economic activity in ages 15–40 in all three Baltic states. The concentration of the most extensive decline in the ages of topmost fertility suggests that it may have been associated with childbearing (Figure 5).

3.2. Labour force participation by marital and maternal status

The likelihood of women to be economically active is known to depend on whether they are married and have children. To analyze these relationships on the basis of census data, cross-classifications of labour force by marital status and parity are required. Unfortunately, from the Soviet censuses no such tabulations are available for they were not included in the number of standard tabulations. For this reason we have to limit the discussion here to Estonia for which required tabulations were available for the 1979 and 1989 censuses.

Data reveal that in Estonia the marital status and the presence of children have relatively little bearing on the level of women's labour force participation (Figure 6 and 7). The gross length of economically active life was found to be the highest among divorced and separated, followed shortly by widows and married, the shortest working-life was characteristic to single women. Data differentiated by parity showed the highest work involvement for women with one or two children. The latter were followed by three-child mothers, childless women had activity rates just a little above the level of those having four or more children. Somewhat surprisingly low work attachement of childless and single women should the most probably be explained with the higher proportion of disabled among them.

The comparison of the 1979 and 1989 censuses reveals that with a few minor exceptions the activity differentials by marital status and parity have remained unchanged over the recent decade. Although the comparison indicates the largest reduction in economic activity among married women and the smallest among singles. Parity-specific data suggest that the decline should not be associated only with

childbearing, tendency towards lower economic activity was observed among childless women also. Considering the similar, high levels of female work-force participation, these features are thought to hold generally true for Latvia and Lithuania as well.

3.3. Work interruptions

In most cases women's working-life presents a sequence of work periods and work interruptions connected with childbirth. To address the issue we have relied on the "Tallinn '88" survey which among other information collected data on the duration of spells of non-work.

The data reveal that since the 1960s there has been a steady increase in the duration of work interruptions. During the 1960s women gave up working for 7 months on the average while in the 1970s the duration of interruption averaged one year, in the 1980s the median length of work interruption reached 16.7 months (Figure 8). Besides the general prolongation of labour force withdrawals there has been a tendency towards less variation in the length of work interruptions [Puur, 1991]. The increase in the duration of work interruptions which is by definition not reflected in census data makes the decline of female economic activity observed in the 1980s considerably more pronounced.

As the trends in the duration of work interruptions have been to a great extent determined by the maternity leave policy which has been fairly similar in all the three countries, the same development of work-interruptions is likely to have taken place in Latvia and Lithuania as well.

3.4. Cohort labour force participation

The rapid increase that has occurred in women's labour market attachment implies that the period participation profiles cannot be interpreted as a guide to cohort patterns of economic activity. In the absence of true longitudinal data, successive census cross-sections were used to construct activity profiles for synthetic cohort.

Similarly for Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania the cohort activity profiles indicate that among women born in the first decades of the 20th century the pattern of labour force participation over the life cycle differs significantly from that suggested by cross-sectional data (Figure 9). These women were hit by the social transformation of the 1940 and 1950s involving the dramatical increase in female economic activity in later stages of life where the initial entry into the labour force had been completed. As a result, these women experienced the maximum of economic activity in their immediate pre-retirement age.

Women born after 1930 entered labour force in conditions where the high level of female labour force participation had already become an established norm. For those women the shape of cohort participation curves is fairly similar to the cross-sectional profiles. The data for the youngest cohorts reflect the reduction in the rates of economic activity observed during the 1980s. In case the labour force participation of women would stabilize around the levels achieved by the end of the 1980s, then the highest work involvement over the life cycle would remain for cohorts born during the 1940s.

3.5. Comparative perspective

The comparison based on the gross number of economically active years between ages 20 and 50 reveals the high level of economic activity of Baltic women in historical retrospective. Since the 1970s even all the Eastern European countries have had lower levels of female labour force participation than Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania (Figure 10).

Data for the 1980s show that although women in the Baltic countries maintained their position, the differences with other, particularly Scandinavian countries, have declined rapidly. In such comparisons, of course, the small extent of part-time work among Baltic women should be remembered. According to the 1985 time budget survey in all three countries the hours women spent in paid employment were only 5-10 percent shorter than those of males [Bjudzet..., 1989].

The absence of post-1989 data leaves it open whether the development towards lower rates of female economic activity has continued in the very recent years. In our view, several factors can be regarded as favouring such a development. Emerging unemployment and increasing competition for jobs are likely to have caused women to leave the labour market more frequently than men. Growing income differences are thought to have placed a certain number of women in the situation where the earnings of their partners are high enough to abolish the need for a second income.

Women's opportunities to take part in labour market work are also thought to have been negatively affected by the decreased availability of public day care. According to official statistics the coverage of preschool children by day care facilities has dropped by more than 20 percentage points in all three countries since 1988. Rising fees and more generous maternity leave provisions are considered the main reasons that have lead parents to more seldom use the services. Since 1989 women in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are entitled to three years, partially paid maternity leave. In this connection some researchers have pointed to the hidden governmental interest to encourage women with small children to stay at home, thus reducing the labour supply and alleviating problems of emerging unemployment [Stankuniene, 1991].

4. LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION AMONG OLDER WORKERS

4.1. Trends in activity rates

The economic activity of workers beyond legal pensionable age has also been subject to marked changes in the Baltic states. Trends in activity rates suggest that there has been two distinct periods in the postwar dynamics of labour force participation among older workers.

Until the 1970s the labour force participation of older workers declined fairly rapidly in all three countries. For both sexes, the activity rates recorded in the 1970 census were on the average half those in 1959 (Figure 11). Accompanying the decline in activity rates was a change in the timing of retirement. According to working–life table estimates in 1970, retirement was entered into more than 5 years earlier than in the end of the 1950s. Presumably due to the higher percentage of rural population Lithuania exceeded Estonia and Latvia in the level of older worker's economic activity until the early 1970s.

The decline in economic activity in older ages is believed to reflect primarily the improvements of the pension system. The adoption of new pension legislation in 1956 substantially broadened the coverage as well as the level of benefits for workers and white collar employees. In 1965 this pension scheme was extended to collective farmers. Prior to the latter, about one–third of the population, were not entitled to any old–age pensions.

In our view, the 1970s should be characterized as a transition period in the dynamics of economic activity of older workers. Despite the continued development towards lower rates of labour force participation, the extent of decline became rather small compared to earlier. Among some subpopulations, for example among urban men and women in Estonia, opposite trends started to appear.

Data for the 1980s reveal that the growth of economic activity in post–retirement ages became prevalent in all three countries during this decade. As a result, the median age of retirement rose by nearly 1.5 years in Estonia and Latvia. In Lithuania the growth was slightly smaller. Considering that there was no change in the legal pensionable age this increase implied a growing discrepancy between the actual and the legal age of retirement. According to working–life tables the average age when males ceased working ranged from 64 in Estonia to 62.8 in Lithuania in 1989. For females the range was from 59.7 in Estonia to 58.0 in Lithuania. At the same time legal retirement age was 60 for men and 55 for women.

4.2. The impact of changing cohort composition and postponed retirement on economic activity of older workers

As there had been no major changes in the pension schemes between the 1979 and 1989 censuses, it seemed worthwhile to look at to what extent the increase in post–

retirement economic activity reflected a real change in retirement behaviour, and to what extent it could have been caused by structural factors. In the light of earlier research suggesting a positive relationship between the labour force participation rate and educational attainment [Kedelski, 1976], it was assumed that an increasing proportion of highly educated individuals among successive cohorts might have been responsible for the growth in activity rates.

To address the issue the combined age- and education-specific rates of labour force participation were calculated. As expected the education-specific activity rates confirmed the positive impact of educational attainment on economic activity, especially in older ages. The comparison of the 1979 and 1989 data showed that in all three countries work involvement and retirement age increased across all educational categories (Figure 12). Thus, the increase in the economic activity of older workers could not be completely explained by structural factors, the change in retirement behaviour also contributed.

The increase in the economic activity of older workers and the shift towards later retirement can be supposed to have resulted from the worsened economic position of pensioners. Clearly, the deteriorating ratio of the (unindexed) old age pensions to the average wage level, made retirement economically more and more disadvantageous (Figure 13). This was especially true with respect to the maximum old-age pension award which stayed unchanged for more than 30 years (since 1956).

To determine the relative contributions of structural and behavioural factors to the growth of the economic activity of older workers a system of special indexes was constructed. These indexes suggest that between 1979 and 1989 the change in retirement behavior was responsible for slightly higher contribution than the improved educational composition of cohorts (Figure 14). For earlier decades this means that the tendency towards later retirement that became overt in the 1980s might have actually started earlier.

4.3. Comparative perspective

Compared to the developments taking place in the industrialized market economies the increase in the economic activity of older workers observed in the Baltic represents a deviation from the general pattern. As a result of this development, opposite to the 'mainstream', economic activity in older ages in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania has approached that in countries with remarkably higher legal pensionable age (Figure 15). For example, Estonian and Latvian 60-years old males spent a higher proportion of their expected life-span working than their Scandinavian counterparts. At the age of 65 the working life expectancy of Estonian and Latvian males exceeded that in Scandinavian countries also in absolute terms. The same picture holds true for females.

Concerning the future of older workers' labour force participation, there are several factors in operation that are believed to affect it. It seems hardly probable that the improvement of pension benefits would reduce the economic pressure for older

workers to postpone retirement in the near future. Decisions to rise the normal age of retirement, which is regarded as too low, would probably contribute to further increases in economic activity. On the other hand, however, future higher incidence of unemployment is more likely touch the older workers, thus, reducing their market activity.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The analysis revealed that in broad outlines the postwar labour force participation trends have been fairly similar in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

For working-age males the pattern of labour force participation has remained relatively unchanged over the period of study except for the activity decline in younger age groups caused by prolonged schooling. Comparison with the industrialized market economies showed that a high level of labour force participation is characteristic not only of Baltic women but also characteristic of Baltic men.

Among females the immediate postwar decades were the period of the most rapid increase in paid employment. During the following decades the growth in women's labour market attachment continued but the rates of increase slowed down gradually. In the 1980s the female labour force participation turned to a decline in all Baltic countries. As this decline was not limited to working mothers but concerned also single and childless women, it cannot be fully explained by the extension of maternity leave. Concerning the next few years the trend towards lower labour force participation is assumed to continue among working-age females.

Opposite to what has been observed in the majority of industrialized countries in the Baltic activity rates for older workers increased during the 1980s. Both the improving educational composition of cohorts and postponement of retirement contributed to this development. As a result, the economic activity of older workers in the Baltic today exceeds that of many countries with substantially higher legal age of retirement.

The absence of regular labour force surveys prevents researchers from extending the analysis to the very recent years. Unfortunately, these are also the years that have been characterized by a substantial acceleration of social processes. The currently ongoing transition to a market economy involves the emergence of unemployment, differentiation of socio-economic statuses of individuals, divergence in the modes of employment etc. None of these relevant and interesting developments can be followed until regular, individual-based labour force surveys are introduced. Obtaining insight into the micro-level processes necessitates surveys collecting data on individual work-life histories. This would make it possible to extend the analysis of labour force participation beyond the descriptive level.

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Figure 1. AGE-PARTICIPATION PROFILE,
Estonia, males, 1959-1989

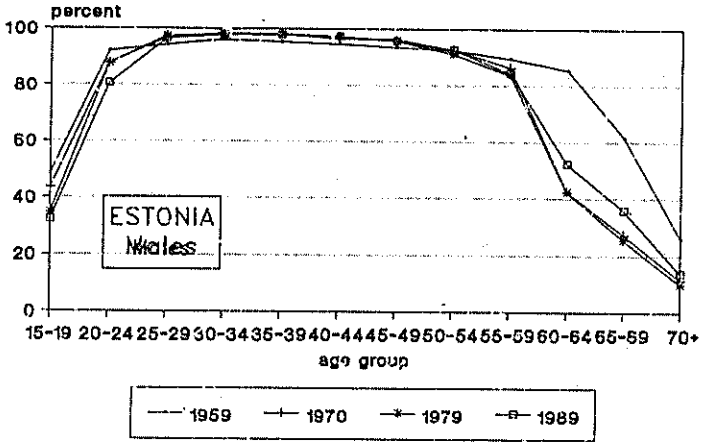

Figure 2. MALE GROSS ACTIVE YEARS IN
AGES 20-59, selected countries compared
to Latvian level, second half of 1980s

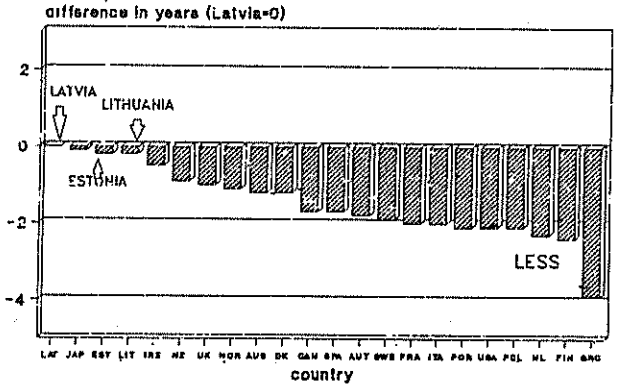

Figure 3. AGE-PARTICIPATION PROFILE,
Estonia, females, 1934-1959

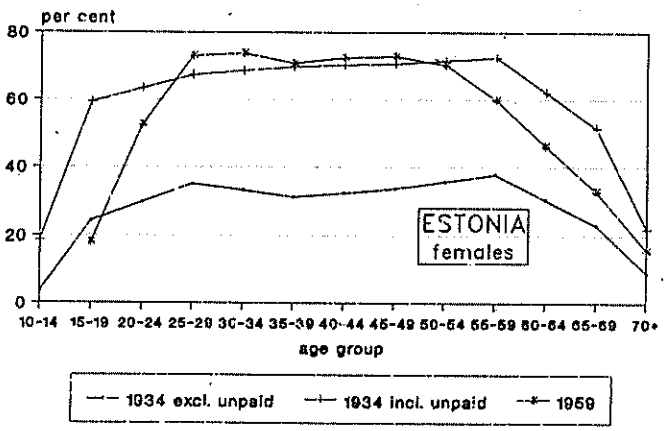

Figure. 4. AGE-PARTICIPATION PROFILE,
Estonia, females, 1959-1979

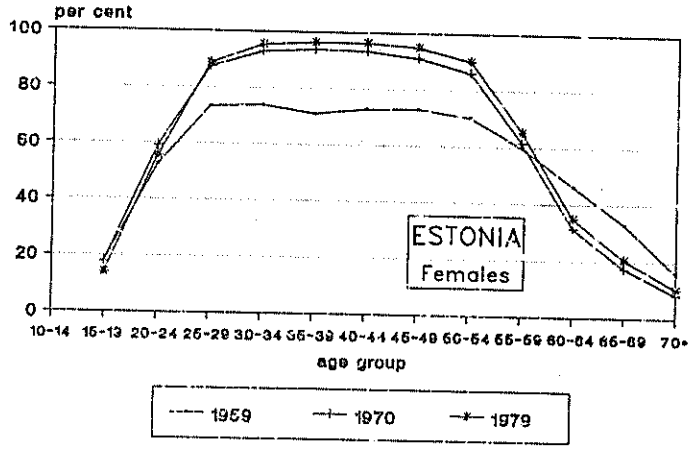

Figure 5. AGE-PARTICIPATION PROFILE,
Estonia, females, 1979-1989

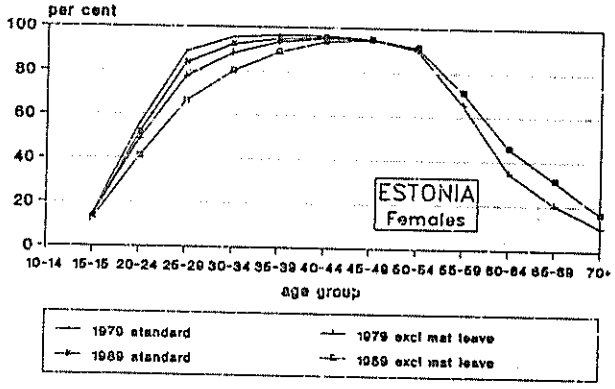

Figure 6. AGE-SPECIFIC ACTIVITY
RATES BY MARITAL STATUS,
Estonia, females, 1989

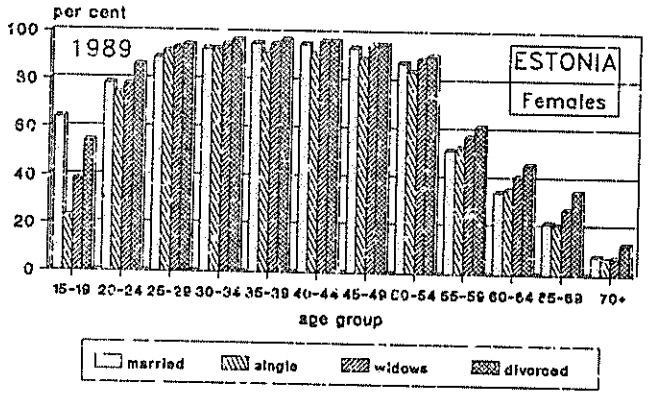

Figure 7. AGE-SPECIFIC ACTIVITY RATES BY MATERNAL STATUS, Estonia, females, 1989

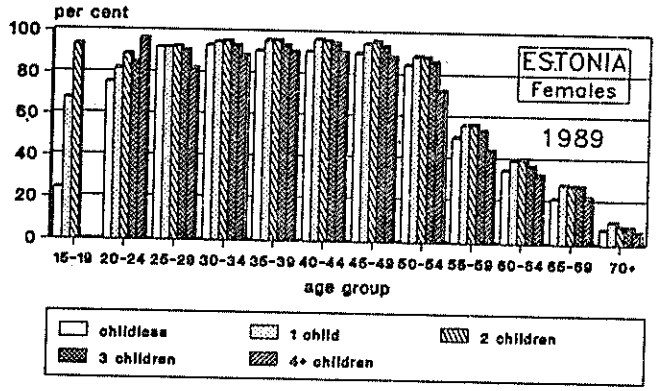

Figure 8. DURATION AND STRUCTURE OF FIRST INTERGENETIC INTERVAL, Estonia, 1950s-1980s

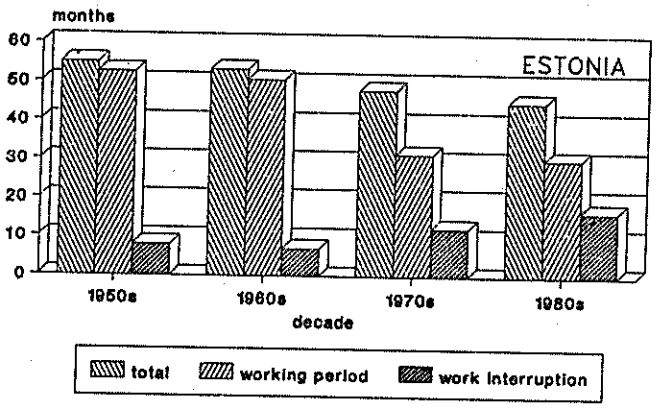

Figure 9. SYNTHETIC COHORT AGE-PARTICIPATION PROFILES, Estonia, females

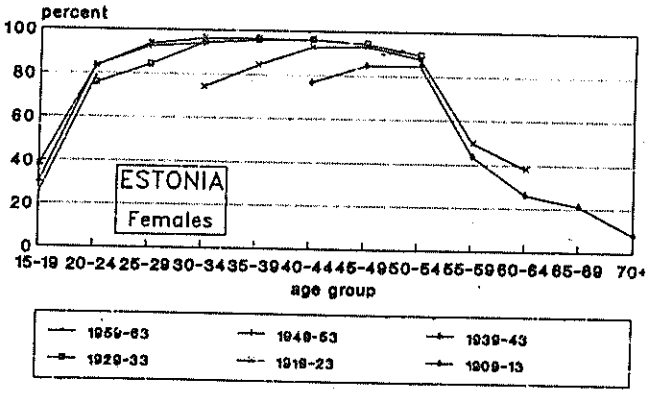

Figure 10. FEMALE GROSS ACTIVE YEARS IN AGES 20-50, selected countries compared to Latvian level, 1960s-1980s

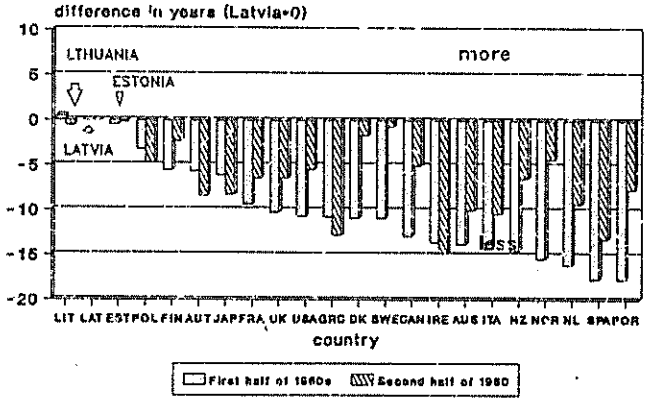

Figure 11. EXPECTATION OF WORKING LIFE AT AGE 60, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, 1959-1989

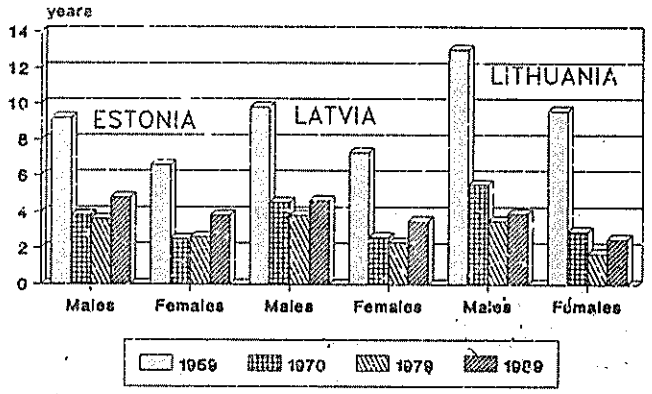

Figure 12. INCREASE IN MEDIAN AGE OF RETIREMENT BY EDUCATION AND SEX, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, 1979-1989

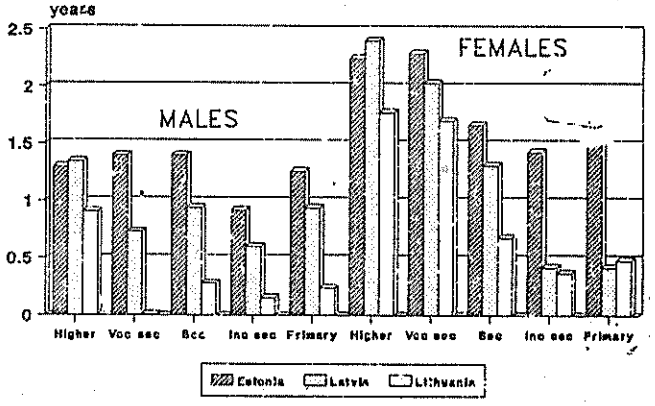

Figure 13. CONTRIBUTION OF STRUCTURAL AND BEHAVIOURAL FACTORS TO CHANGE IN ACTIVITY RATES, Estonia, males, 1979-89

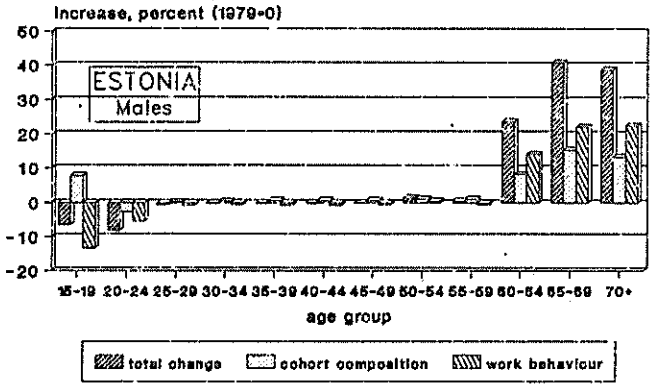

Figure 14. RATIO OF MAXIMUM OLD-AGE PENSION TO WORKERS' AVERAGE SALARY, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, 1960-1989

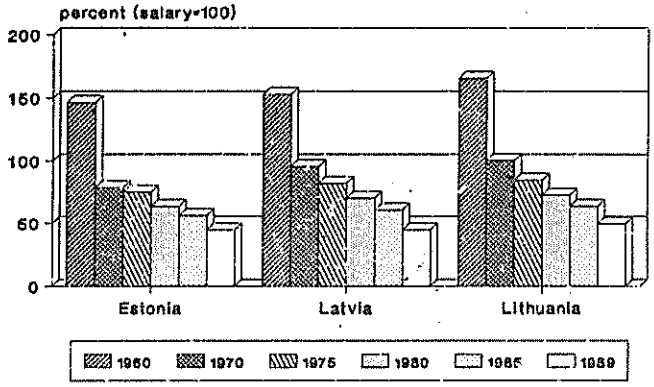

Figure 15. MALE ACTIVITY RATES IN AGES 60 AND OVER, selected countries compared to Latvian level, second half of 1980s

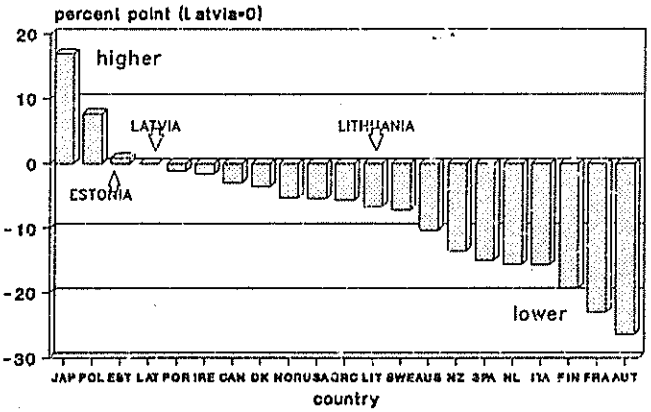

Table 1. ACTIVITY RATES BY AGE AND SEX, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, 1959, 1970, 1979, 1989

Age group	1959		1970		1979		1989	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Estonia								
15-19	48.8 (48.4)	39.9 (39.9)	43.6 (43.5)	35.6 (35.8)	34.7 (34.7)	23.9 (23.9)	32.4 (32.3)	25.9 (25.8)
20-24	92 (91.9)	75.5 (74.1)	87.8 (87.8)	83 (82.7)	87.5 (87.5)	83.1 (83.0)	80.4 (80.4)	78.2 (77.9)
25-29			96.6 (96.6)	92.5 (92.0)	97.2 (97.2)	94.4 (94.3)	96.5 (96.4)	90.6 (90.2)
30-34	96.1 (96.0)	74 (71.5)	98.1 (98.1)	94.5 (93.8)	98.2 (98.2)	96.2 (96.0)	97.9 (97.8)	94.2 (93.7)
35-39			98.1 (98.1)	94.5 (93.8)	98 (98.0)	96.7 (96.4)	97.7 (97.6)	96 (95 5)
40-44	94.7 (94.4)	76.7 (73.5)	96.5 (96.4)	92.6 (91.3)	97.4 (97.3)	96.3 (96.0)	97.2 (97.0)	96.1 (95.4)
45-49			96.5 (96.4)	92.6 (91.3)	95.8 (95.7)	94 (93.5)	95.7 (95.3)	95.2 (94.1)
50-54	92.4 (91.6)	74 (69.4)	92.7 (92.5)	84.7 (82.5)	91.2 (91.1)	87.7 (86.7)	92.6 (92.2)	89.5 (88.1)
55-59	89.6 (88.3)	58.2 (51.1)	86.4 (85.9)	42.7 (40.3)	83.7 (83.4)	44.8 (44.1)	84.5 (83.4)	54.6 (54.1)
60-64	60.1 (52.1)	34.6 (21.7)	42.6 (41.7)	25.1 (22.2)	42.2 (42.0)	26.3 (25.7)	52.2 (52.1)	38.2 (37.7)
65-69			27.3 (25.6)	15.6 (12.7)	25.4 (25.1)	16.3 (15.6)	35.8 (35.6)	25.9 (25.2)
70+			11.5 (9.4)	5.8 (4.8)	9.8 (9.3)	5.4 (4.9)	13.6 (13.4)	8 (7.2)
Latvia								
15-19	57.5 (57.2)	46.5 (44.6)	41 (41.0)	35.8 (35.7)	33.3 (33.3)	31.2 (31.2)	32.3 (32.2)	29 (28.8)
20-24	91 (90.8)	77.7 (73.4)	86.2 (86.2)	83.2 (82.8)	85.6 (85.6)	83.6 (83.5)	81.8 (81.8)	81.1 (80.5)
25-29			95.9 (95.9)	92.3 (91.2)	96.7 (96.6)	93.6 (93.5)	96.8 (96.7)	91.9 (91.1)
30-34	95.4 (95.2)	77.1 (70.9)	97.7 (97.7)	94 (92.8)	98.2 (98.2)	95.1 (95.0)	97.8 (97.8)	94.4 (93.7)
35-39			97.8 (97.8)	93.7 (92.5)	98 (98.0)	95.9 (95.6)	97.8 (97.7)	95 6 (94.8)
40-44	94.1 (93.7)	77.1 (69.9)	97.1 (97.0)	93.9 (92.0)	97.5 (97.4)	95.7 (95.4)	97.2 (97.0)	95.7 (94.8)
45-49			95.6 (95.5)	91 (89.1)	96.2 (96.2)	94.7 (93.8)	95.9 (95.7)	94.8 (93.4)
50-54	92.1 (91.7)	72.8 (62.9)	94 (93.7)	84.6 (81.5)	92.8 (92.5)	88.9 (88.2)	93.4 (93.0)	89.8 (87.9)
55-59	89.5 (88.2)	55.5 (44.9)	88.1 (88.7)	45.2 (40.6)	85.6 (85.5)	44.3 (43.5)	86.4 (85.8)	51.5 (50.7)
60-64	61.4 (52.1)	37.6 (18.4)	48.7 (47.5)	26.6 (21.5)	44.4 (44.1)	23.1 (22.2)	51.8 (51.7)	34.8 (33.9)
65-69			31.3 (29.3)	16.4 (12.3)	26.8 (26.5)	14.6 (13.5)	35.2 (35.0)	23 (22.0)
70+			13.9 (11.2)	11.6 (4.0)	11 (10.5)	5.1 (4.4)	13.2 (12.9)	7.1 (6.3)
Lithuania								
15-19	59.9 (58.9)	48.8 (46.2)	34.6 (34.5)	29.1 (28.9)	27.2 (27.2)	21.8 (21.8)	27.3 (27.2)	20.4 (20.2)
20-24	90.7 (90.3)	80 (73.1)	85.4 (85.3)	81.6 (80.1)	84.6 (84.5)	80.7 (80.4)	79.4 (79.3)	74.5 (73.1)
25-29			96.6 (96.5)	92.2 (88.9)	97.7 (97.7)	95.6 (95.0)	96.7 (96.7)	89.7 (88.2)
30-34	96.6 (96.2)	78.1 (68.2)	97.9 (97.8)	93.1 (88.9)	98.4 (98.4)	96.6 (95.9)	97.6 (97.6)	93.2 (92.0)
35-39			97.8 (97.8)	92.4 (88.2)	98.1 (98.1)	96.4 (95.7)	97.5 (97.4)	95 (93.7)
40-44	95.7 (94.9)	78 (66.9)	97.3 (97.2)	92.4 (87.6)	97.7 (97.6)	96.1 (95.1)	96.8 (96.7)	95.1 (93.5)
45-49			95.9 (95.7)	89.2 (84.5)	96.7 (96.7)	94.3 (93.3)	95.5 (95 3)	93.7 (91.2)
50-54	95.6 (94.2)	74.7 (59.7)	94 (93.6)	81.3 (75.6)	94.1 (94.0)	87.6 (86.4)	92.7 (92.4)	87.4 (84.2)
55-59	93 1 (90.5)	67.7 (46.5)	89.6 (88.9)	45.3 (37.4)	89.2 (89.0)	38.3 (36.5)	86.1 (85.6)	44.1 (42.5)
60-64	76.1 (64.2)	48.5 (23.8)	55.5 (53.4)	26.8 (18.8)	39.1 (38.7)	17.9 (16.0)	44.7 (44.5)	26.5 (25.3)
65-69			35.9 (32.3)	16.3 (9.9)	22.3 (21.6)	10.4 (8.6)	27.1 (26.8)	15.9 (14.5)
70+			18.2 (13.4)	7.8 (3.3)	9.6 (8.6)	3.5 (2.4)	8.6 (8.3)	4.4 (3.5)

Note: Figures in brackets do not include participation in auxiliary farm sector

Table 2. EXPECTATION OF WORKING LIFE BY AGE AND SEX, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, 1959, 1970, 1979, 1989

Age	1959		1970		1979		1989	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Estonia								
0	41.1 (40.1)	34.2 (30.9)	38 (37.8)	36.1 (35.2)	36.6 (36.6)	36.4 (36.1)	38.4 (38.3)	37.8 (37.5)
5	43 (42.0)	35.5 (32.1)	39 (38.7)	36.8 (35.8)	37.6 (37.5)	37 (36.8)	39.1 (39.0)	38.4 (38.0)
10	43.2 (42.2)	35.6 (32.2)	39.1 (38.9)	36.8 (36.0)	37.7 (37.7)	37.1 (36.8)	39.2 (39.1)	38.5 (38.1)
15	43.4 (42.2)	35.7 (32.3)	39.2 (39.0)	36.9 (36.0)	37.8 (37.6)	37.1 (36.9)	39.3 (39.2)	38.5 (38.2)
20	41.3 (40.3)	33.9 (30.5)	37.3 (37.1)	35.2 (34.3)	36.4 (36.3)	36 (35.8)	38 (37.8)	37.4 (37.0)
25	37.3 (36.2)	30.3 (27.0)	33.3 (33.1)	31.2 (30.3)	32.4 (32.4)	32 (31.7)	34.3 (34.1)	33.6 (33.2)
30	33.2 (32.1)	26.7 (23.4)	28.9 (28.7)	26.7 (25.8)	28 (28.0)	27.4 (27.1)	29.7 (29.6)	29.1 (28.8)
35	28.9 (27.8)	23.2 (20.0)	24.5 (24.3)	22 (21.3)	23.6 (23.6)	22.7 (22.4)	25.2 (25.1)	24.5 (24.3)
40	24.6 (23.5)	19.7 (16.6)	20.2 (20.0)	17.5 (16.7)	19.3 (19.3)	18 (17.8)	20.7 (20.6)	19.9 (19.6)
45	20.5 (19.4)	16.1 (13.2)	15.9 (15.7)	13 (12.3)	15.1 (15.1)	13.4 (13.1)	16.4 (16.3)	15.2 (15.0)
50	16.5 (15.3)	12.6 (9.7)	11.7 (11.5)	8.6 (7.9)	11.1 (11.0)	8.8 (8.7)	12.2 (12.1)	10.7 (10.5)
55	12.7 (11.5)	9.2 (6.5)	7.6 (7.3)	4.5 (3.9)	7.2 (7.2)	4.7 (4.5)	8.3 (8.2)	6.4 (6.3)
60	9.2 (8.0)	6.6 (4.1)	3.8 (3.5)	2.5 (2.0)	3.8 (3.8)	2.6 (2.5)	4.8 (4.7)	3.8 (3.8)
65	... ...	... ...	2.1 (1.8)	1.3 (1.0)	1.9 (1.8)	1.4 (1.3)	2.7 (2.7)	2.1 (2.1)
70	... ...	... ...	1.1 (0.9)	0.7 (0.4)	0.9 (0.9)	0.6 (0.6)	1.3 (1.3)	1 (0.9)
Latvia								
0	41.9 (40.7)	35.7 (29.9)	38.0 (37.7)	36.0 (34.9)	36.4 (36.3)	36.1 (35.8)	37.6 (37.5)	37.5 (37.0)
5	43.9 (42.6)	36.9 (31.0)	39.0 (38.8)	36.7 (35.6)	37.4 (37.3)	36.9 (36.6)	38.3 (38.2)	38.0 (37.5)
10	44.1 (42.8)	37.1 (31.1)	39.2 (38.9)	36.8 (35.7)	37.5 (37.5)	37.0 (36.7)	38.4 (38.3)	38.1 (37.5)
15	44.3 (43.0)	37.1 (31.1)	39.3 (39.0)	36.9 (35.7)	37.6 (37.6)	37.1 (36.8)	38.6 (38.5)	38.1 (37.6)
20	41.8 (40.5)	35.0 (29.0)	37.5 (37.3)	35.2 (34.1)	36.3 (36.2)	35.6 (35.3)	37.3 (37.2)	36.8 (36.3)
25	37.7 (36.4)	31.3 (25.5)	33.7 (33.4)	31.2 (30.0)	32.5 (32.4)	31.5 (31.3)	33.6 (33.6)	32.9 (32.4)
30	33.7 (32.4)	27.6 (22.0)	29.5 (29.2)	26.7 (25.6)	28.2 (28.1)	27.0 (26.7)	29.3 (29.2)	28.4 (28.0)
35	29.5 (28.2)	23.9 (18.6)	25.2 (24.9)	22.1 (21.1)	23.9 (23.8)	22.4 (22.1)	24.9 (24.8)	23.9 (23.4)
40	25.3 (23.9)	20.2 (15.2)	21.0 (20.7)	17.6 (16.6)	19.7 (19.6)	17.8 (17.5)	20.5 (20.4)	19.2 (18.8)
45	21.2 (19.8)	16.6 (11.9)	16.7 (16.4)	13.1 (12.2)	15.5 (15.5)	13.2 (12.9)	16.3 (16.2)	14.7 (14.3)
50	17.2 (15.8)	13.1 (8.6)	12.5 (12.2)	8.8 (7.6)	11.4 (11.4)	8.6 (8.4)	12.2 (12.1)	10.2 (9.9)
55	13.4 (12.0)	9.7 (5.6)	8.4 (8.1)	4.8 (3.9)	7.5 (7.5)	4.4 (4.2)	8.3 (8.2)	5.9 (5.7)
60	9.8 (8.4)	7.3 (3.6)	4.5 (4.2)	2.6 (2.0)	3.8 (3.8)	2.3 (2.1)	4.6 (4.6)	3.5 (3.3)
65	... ...	... ...	2.6 (2.3)	1.4 (1.0)	2.1 (2.0)	1.3 (1.1)	2.7 (2.6)	1.9 (1.8)
70	... ...	... ...	1.4 (1.1)	0.7 (0.5)	1.1 (1.0)	0.6 (0.5)	1.3 (1.3)	0.9 (0.8)
Lithuania								
0	44.0 (42.3)	33.0 (29.7)	38.9 (38.3)	35.5 (32.8)	36.6 (36.5)	35.1 (34.5)	37.6 (37.5)	35.5 (34.6)
5	47.1 (45.2)	40.1 (31.4)	40.0 (39.4)	36.3 (33.5)	37.8 (37.5)	35.8 (35.2)	38.2 (38.1)	35.9 (35.0)
10	47.4 (45.5)	40.2 (31.5)	40.1 (39.6)	36.3 (33.6)	37.7 (37.6)	35.9 (35.3)	38.3 (38.2)	36.0 (35.1)
15	47.6 (45.7)	40.3 (31.6)	40.2 (39.7)	36.4 (33.6)	37.8 (37.7)	35.9 (35.3)	38.4 (38.3)	36.1 (35.2)
20	45.0 (43.1)	38.0 (29.4)	38.8 (38.2)	35.0 (32.3)	36.7 (36.6)	34.9 (34.3)	37.3 (37.2)	35.1 (34.2)
25	40.9 (39.0)	34.2 (25.8)	35.0 (34.5)	31.1 (28.4)	33.0 (32.9)	31.0 (30.4)	33.6 (33.6)	31.5 (30.7)
30	36.9 (35.0)	30.4 (22.3)	30.7 (30.2)	26.6 (24.0)	28.6 (28.5)	26.9 (25.8)	29.1 (29.0)	27.1 (26.3)
35	32.7 (30.8)	26.7 (19.1)	26.4 (25.8)	22.1 (19.7)	24.3 (24.1)	21.6 (21.1)	24.6 (24.5)	22.5 (21.8)
40	28.5 (26.5)	23.0 (15.8)	22.0 (21.4)	17.6 (15.4)	20.0 (19.9)	17.0 (16.5)	20.2 (20.1)	17.9 (17.3)
45	24.4 (22.4)	19.4 (12.7)	17.7 (17.1)	13.1 (11.2)	15.7 (15.6)	12.3 (11.9)	15.9 (15.8)	13.3 (12.8)
50	20.4 (18.4)	15.9 (9.8)	13.5 (12.9)	8.9 (7.1)	11.6 (11.4)	7.8 (7.4)	11.7 (11.6)	8.8 (8.4)
55	16.6 (14.5)	12.5 (6.6)	9.4 (8.8)	5.0 (3.5)	7.5 (7.3)	3.6 (3.2)	7.7 (7.6)	4.6 (4.3)
60	13.0 (11.0)	9.6 (4.7)	5.5 (4.9)	2.9 (1.7)	3.5 (3.4)	1.7 (1.4)	3.9 (3.8)	2.5 (2.3)
65	... ..	... ...	3.3 (2.7)	1.6 (0.8)	1.9 (1.8)	0.8 (0.7)	2.0 (2.0)	1.3 (1.1)
70	... ...	... ...	1.9 (1.4)	1.0 (0.4)	1.0 (0.9)	0.5 (0.3)	1.0 (0.9)	0.6 (0.5)

Note: Figures in brackets do not include participation in auxiliary farm sector