MIGRATION OF THE ELDERLY

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In the paper on the background of the general potwar migration trend, the elderly migration trend on the basis of elderly migration rates is outlined for the period 1967-1990. The age pattern of the elderly migration is analysed both from the registration data and census data perspective and the general consistency between them has been established. In the analysis, the general migration trend of the elderly outlined the higher female migration intensities as well as the principal upward slope of the age schedule of the elderly, despite the high rate of individualisation of the older population of Estonia. Aside the age pattern, also the older population is analysed from the viewpoint of residence duration and the trend towards decrease of since birth residents is revealed. The analysis enabled to outline the differentiated behaviour patterns of the foreign-born population in comparison to the native-born population, expanding it to the older population

Migration of the elderly forms a specific segment in migration processes, owing to its persistent character. Migration of the elderly has been mainly paid attention to from the aspect of the result of the process, i.e. the spatial redistribution of this sub-group of population, and particularly because of social policy implications. Although the relationships between migration and other social processes are also important, the elderly migration processes themselves deserve more thorough analysis. Because of the specificity of the Third and Fourth Age in the life cycle, the elderly migration patterns have distinct features compared to earlier phases in the life. Two major social transitions take place in the elderly life span having also impact on the migration processes. The first transition is related to the change in the labour market participation when a person retires from work. The retirement could be related to the change in the place of residence leading to the increase in the migration intensity in these ages, known as retirement peak. The second transition in the elderly population concerns the change from the Third to the Fourth Age, also related to increase in migration. The Fourth Age with the usual entry into the dependent status necessitates the move away from the lone-living household to the kin household or into an institution [Rogers, Castro 1981; Rogers 1988].

In order to follow the migration trend of the elderly in Estonia for a longer perspective the vital statistics is serving as the main source. The census statistics is also available, but limited to the 1989 census, as the former programmes did not consider relevant issues in a comparable way. However, concerning the vital statistics on migration moves, one should take into account a number of important details before using it. First, it should be noted that during the Soviet period, the authorities did not register the actual moves but instead the permits, issued by themselves, to live at a certain address - so-called *propiska*. The migration statistics was based on the latter and, naturally, such data creates several specific limitations as well as the comparability problems in time and in space discussed elsewhere [Katus, Puur, Sakkeus 1998]. Among others, the registration system resulted in a serious undercount of events, thus making the analysis of the migration levels complicated. Nevertheless, the procedures of registration having remained similar over a long period until 1992, the time series are generally comparable. In the 1990s the registration rules changed significantly. As a result, starting from 1992 the migration data are not directly comparable with previous years and should be regarded with great caution. In other words, the migration statistics, covering about thirty years (1967-1990) is supporting the analysis of the general trend of elderly migration.

Regarding the 1989 census data, the programme included the question on the year of movement into a place of residence recorded in the census. On the basis of the data three main categories of elderly have been distinguished relating to duration of residence: residing in the current place since birth (since-birth residents), residing more than 25 years (long-term residents) and less than 25 years (short-term residents). Among the latter those persons having migrated into the census place of residence within one year prior to the census point, have been separately brought out to outline the recent residents. The 1989 census helps to reveal the main characteristics of recent migrants in a wider perspective but more importantly forges the bridge with the vital statistics for measuring the migration processes, which should always be paid careful attention [Ledent, Rees 1986]. In the section dealing with duration of residence the differentiation of elderly in respect to other personal as well as household characteristics like marital status, living arrangements, economic activity and housing conditions are discussed.

1. Level of Migration

As referred earlier, Estonia has been subjected to intensive immigration in the post-war period, which is also reflected in the high level of international as well as, respectively, in general migration. Figure 1 presents the data on total (general) migration rates for about thirty years, the internal (within the borders of Estonia) and external or international (between Estonia and other republics of the Soviet Union as well as across the Soviet border) flows of migration can be distinguished since 1967. This distinction is necessary for consistent measurement of migration intensity and usually international migration is disregarded because these flows involve not only the population of the country. It is particularly important in Estonia because of the very high level of external migration. Followingly, the level of migration is measured by the total migration rate, sometimes referred to as general migration rate, i.e. the number of migration moves during a person's life-time. Internal migration has demonstrated a decreasing trend from 3.5 migration moves in the end of 1960s down to 1.7 by 1990. Together with the international migration the number of life-time moves accounts for 5.5 moves per person in the late 1960s, decreasing gradually to 4 migration moves by the end of the 1970s and to 2.5 by the end of the 1980s.

Figure1

General Migration rate
Estonia 1959-1991

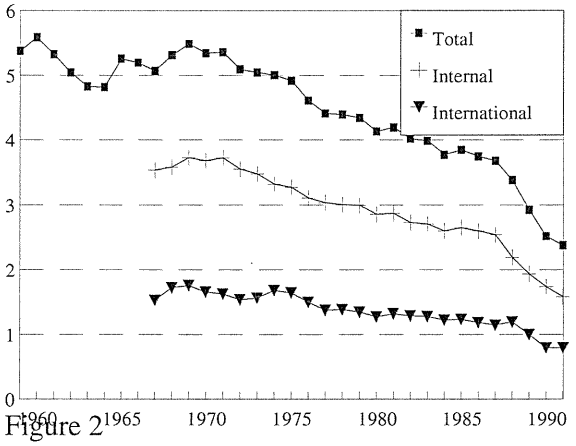
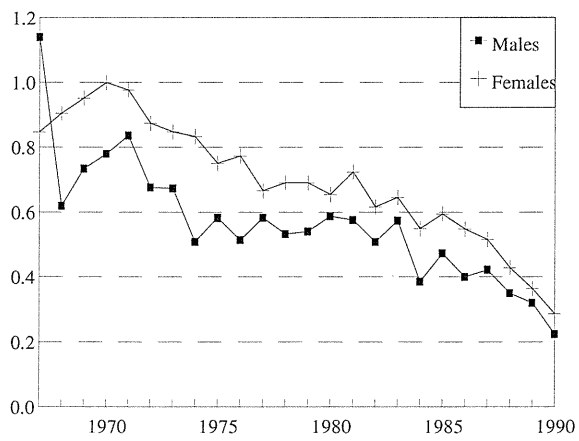


Figure 2

General Migration Rate of the Elderly
Estonia 1967-1990



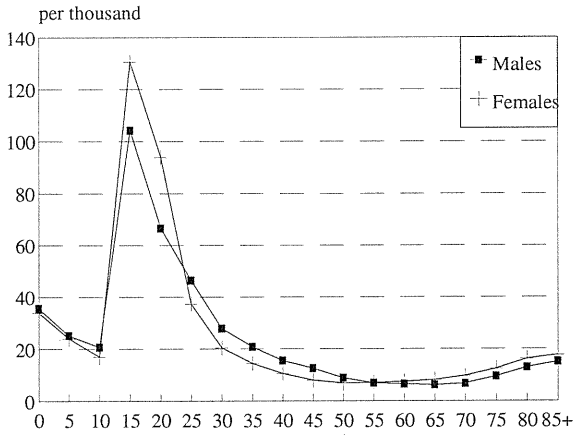
This background of the long-term decreasing intensity is also important in order to understand the migration processes of the elderly. This development is measured by the total migration rate of the elderly, i.e. the migration moves among the population aged 60 and over are specified and the indicator is the sum of the age-specific rates for the elderly age groups only. The rates are presented for the internal migration for males and females separately and cover the same period 1967-1990. Over the period 1967-1990 the elderly are in principle following the general decreasing migration trend. While fluctuating between 0.8-0.9 migration moves in the second half of the 1960s, the intensity of elderly migration has decreased almost by one third during the following decade until 1980. For the whole period the migration intensity of elderly has decreased about four times. From another perspective, the proportion of elderly migration in the migration moves, covering the whole life span, has remained comparatively stable, although slightly decreasing as well. That proportion has been around one fourth at the beginning of

the period and has decreased to one fifth by the end of the 1980s.

In all societies at the advanced demographic development the females form the overwhelming proportion among the elderly and, naturally, dominate in absolute numbers in the migration moves. However, Figure 2 demonstrates that also the intensity of elderly female migration is higher. That has not been a short-term experience but female elderly have maintained higher rates throughout the period under observation. Among the elderly, the total male migration rate has remained constantly lower than that of females, forming around 75 per cent of the female level. Dealing with gender dissimilarities, one should consider different timing of the important events in the life course. As women tend to marry men who are their seniors, retire earlier and have a greater longevity, usually two gender crossovers are revealed in the migration rates: one characteristic to the persons in their twenties and the other in the retirement age. Beside this gender differential, female retirement peak is characteristically lower, occurs at an earlier age compared to males and is spread out across a wider age range [Rogers 1988].

Figure 3

Age-specific Migration Rate
Estonia the 1980s



The witnessed decrease in total migration rate as well as the total migration rate of the elderly (1967-1990) has not been even across all age groups (Figure 3). Despite the decrease in total rate, up to the early 1980s the age groups consisting of children demonstrated the increase. In the 1990s the decrease has already concerned these age groups as well, however, being comparatively the smallest. All adult age groups have been characterised by the decrease, but the highest drop occurred in the age group 55-69, followed by the age group 30-49. Also the elderly migration intensity has demonstrated the reduction, determined mainly by the extensive decrease in the youngest age group of the elderly. Towards the end of the age scale the reduction has been less, the difference between the oldest olds and the age group of 60-64 constituting about 20 percentage points. This difference has continued about 20 years, however, showing the decrease only in a couple of the last years, starting from 1987. Still, because of the data quality problem, there is no substantial evidence to conclude about the decrease. Moreover, the census data does not support the possible conclusions derived from the vital statistics as shown in the following section.

Returning to the general migration pattern, the age-specific changes discussed above have not modified its general shape, hereby the module is presented as the average of the 1980s. Typical to Estonia the highest intensity has remained in the age group 15-19, reflecting to a great extent the concentration of the educational institutions into a few locations, inevitably implying educational moves [Sakkeus 1991]. The lowest intensity of migration moves falls to the pre-retirement ages. Relatively steep increase of the intensity in the teens and the sharpness of subsequent drop-off display the main specificity of the migration curve in Estonia. Because of the relatively moderate migration intensity in the twenties-thirties, the children peak remains disproportionately low throughout the

observed period, despite almost the replacement fertility at the time. Thus, in comparison the difference between the migration intensities of the children and the teenagers has remained rather high, being around three-four-fold. On the other hand, the migration rates of the oldest olds are on the level of the intensity of those in their mid-thirties-fourties. Another characteristic of the Estonian migration curve is the absence of the retirement peak and very low migration level in the younger age groups of the elderly. One of the explanation to such low level of migration intensity in pre-retirement age might be found in the Soviet housing policy, which in the absence of free market of living places did not facilitate the choice and change of new residence according to ones' needs and rather restricted moves while not job-related. It is evident from the data discussed that there has been no emergence of the peak during the observed period as the greatest decline in the intensities has been characteristic to the age groups of fifties and sixties.

Table 1

General Migration Rate of the Elderly Estonia 1970-1990

Year	Males	Females
1970	0,779	0,999
1975	0,581	0,751
1980	0,588	0,654
1985	0,472	0,594
1990	0,223	0,286

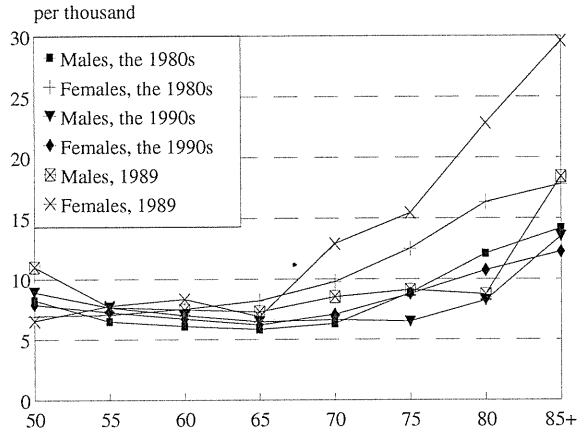
In addition to the main specificities of the general migration curve in Estonia, some other irregularities compared to other countries could be outlined. Thus, typically females expose higher migration rates among the teenagers, in the subsequent age groups male migration intensity being higher. In Estonia the higher intensity of females has been extended over a longer period, shifting the first gender crossover from teens to the late twenties. The second gender crossover generally occurs in the retirement age, in Estonia it has shifted over the observed period from the statutory retirement age of females to the next age group. It means that the lowest migration intensity, occurring usually before the retirement, has moved into the age group 55-59 for females and for males into the age group 65-69. The latter shift might correspond to the trend in labour force participation rates of the 1980s, which exhibited postponed real retirement age compared to the statutory one [Puur 1995a].

2. Age Patterns of Elderly Migration

The discussion of the migration curve outlined the general age pattern, which in the following is focused on the elderly migration, deriving data from vital statistics as well as from the 1989 census. Figure 4 presents data of the elderly migration rates, calculated as the average of the rates for the decade in the 1980s and average for 1991-1995 for the current decade. As mentioned above, the migration data for the 1990s is not comparable due to the changed definitions of registration. However, the change in definitions has to the lesser extent concerned the elderly migrants, thus permitting to present the pattern for the 1990s. The main characteristics of the curve of elderly migration is its upward slope, implying the absence of the retirement peak, already noted above. As Rogers has pointed out, this incident is often occurring in intraregional migration patterns rather than in interregional ones. According to the research evidence, it is also quite common that the upward-type of migration schedule rarely occurs together with a retirement peak [Rogers 1988]. This profile of migration curve of the elderly has retained its principal outline also in the 1990s.

Figure 4

Age Specific Migration rate of the Elderly Estonia 1980-1995

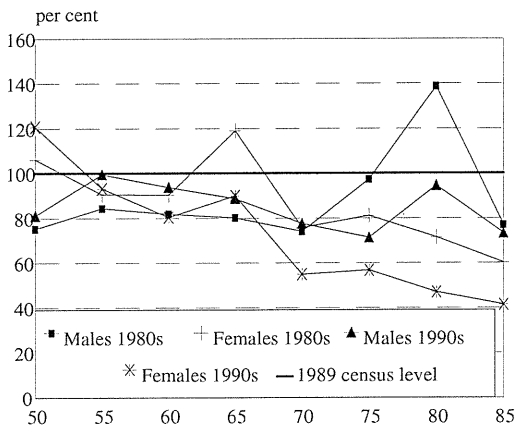


The upward-slope-type migration schedule is mostly supported by the females. Female elderly age pattern demonstrates continuous growth starting from the age group 50-54 onwards. The male pattern is somewhat different: in the younger old age the intensity of male migration decreases until age group 70-74, starting gradually to increase from that onwards and demonstrating a steep rise up to the age 85. On one hand, the rise in migration intensity among the oldest olds indicates the moving away from the place of residence after becoming dependent into the kin household or into a care institution. Although it might be assumed that the elderly in Estonia do not differ in this respect from the general migration pattern [Rogers, Raquillet, Castro 1978], the high intensity of migrations among this age group is significant. In the late 1960s - early 1970s the migration rate at age 85+ was almost 40 per thousand, reducing to less than 30 per thousand by 1980, followed by a steep threefold decline to the level of ten by 1990. In the recent years, the intensity of migration of the oldest olds has resumed its level witnessed in mid-1980s. Due to various restrictions in the administrative procedure to issue the permits during the Soviet period, people often manipulated with these documents. On one hand, frequently such an intensity of migration of the oldest olds did not include an actual change of place of residence. On the other hand, a certain amount of actual moves to reside with kin were left undocumented. From this perspective, the census applied a principally different approach, relying on the statistical rather than administrative definition.

The comparison of the pattern by vital statistics with the corresponding 1989 census pattern (Figure 5) reveals the differences in both ends of the elderly age scale. While in the youngest age group of the elderly the census data reveals higher intensities for males and lower for females, towards the end of the age scale in both sexes much higher concentrations are demonstrated by the census. Census also reveals a weak retirement peak for the females in the age group 60-64, but it is difficult to evaluate on these grounds the persistency of this regularity in time. According to the census, migration intensity among the oldest olds shoots up much more sharply compared to the vital statistics and exceeds the latter by more than one third for male population and almost twice for female oldest olds. Despite the more sharp increase in the rates, the general age and gender pattern of the elderly migration from census is in principal similar to that recorded in the vital statistics. That gives additional grounds to regard the general trend and the

Figure 5

Comparison of Migration Curves of the Elderly by Vital and Census statistics Estonia 1980s, 1990s and 1989

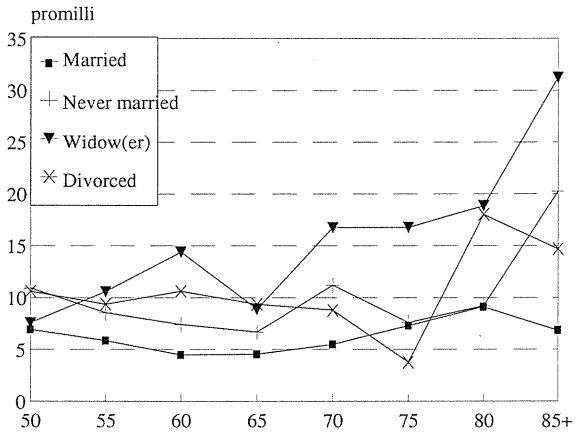


discussion on the basis of the vital statistics as more or less describing the situation in the elderly migration over the 30 years.

Being age-specific, migration of the elderly is also selective in respect to distance as well as social and demographic characteristics. Among these characteristics marital status is an important determinant of living arrangements, discussed in chapter four. As never-married, widowed and divorced are more likely to be living alone and, thus, more likely to require assistance from others in very old age, they ought to be more exposed to the risk of residential move. Among the wide-spread beliefs is the one that single persons have fewer ties to the localities and thus, greater freedom to move. However, this has not been confirmed always, as Long demonstrates, that being single can also mean low rates of migrating when associated with a long stay and ties with parental residence [Long 1991]. The data on Estonia confirms that among the non-married elderly: the never-married have the lowest propensity to migrate in the age group 55-69, but in the next age groups the divorced population demonstrates the lowest proportions (Figure 6). The widowed elderly are having the highest migration rates across the age scale. Also gender differentials are revealed. Female never-married elderly expose higher propensities than the divorced, particularly among the oldest olds, whereas for males it is *vice versa*. Thus, among the male elderly, the divorced have the highest propensities to migrate, among the females, the widowed demonstrate the highest propensities. As to the married elderly in Estonia, the same pattern observed in other countries, is revealed: married elderly have the lowest propensity to migrate but demonstrating gradual increase since the age group 70-74 [Ledent, Liaw 1986; Klinger 1986; US Census Bureau 1985].

Figure 6

Age-specific Migration Curve
by Marital Status
Estonia 1989

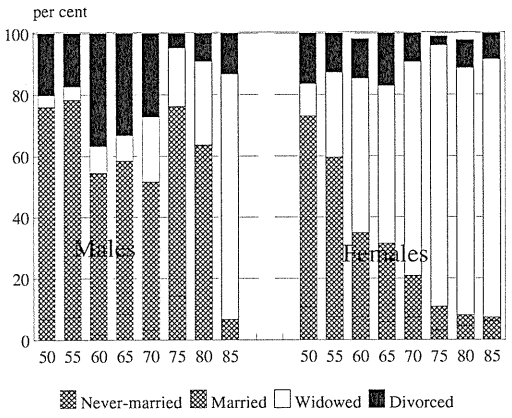


As to the differentials between native- and foreign-born population it has to be remembered that the foreign-born population demonstrates very different behavioural patterns, which becomes particularly evident relating to migrational behaviour. Thus, the migration rate of the foreign-born population is higher across the whole age scale, being by half more in age groups 55-75, but more than three times higher in age group 75-84. In fact, this reflects mostly the impact of external migration, which almost entirely falls to the foreign-born sub-population. Considering the internal migration would likely yield to the reverse pattern, however the census data did not permit to distinguish between the external and internal migration. Concerning the marital status, the married foreign-born elderly have the lowest propensity to migrate in the younger ages as well as among the oldest olds, whereas in the age groups 60-84 the married rank the second highest after the widowed, the proportion of married in the age group 75-79 being almost six times higher than that among the native-born population.

Generally the marital status composition of the elderly is of importance in determining the overall pattern of elderly migration, especially as this composition varies significantly by age and gender. Thus, the proportion of the married remains in the range of 50-70 per cent among the male elderly aged 50-84, while among the females married prevail only in the age group 50-59, from which onwards the widowed form the overwhelming majority with their share growing to almost 85 per cent towards the end of the age scale. Separately from the marital status, the composition of living arrangements should be paid attention, in order to understand the moves towards independent and dependent living among the elderly. Despite frequent assumptions that the never-married as well as lone-living persons are those most free to migrate, it appears not the case for the elderly (Figure 7). Among the male recent residents, although in the younger age groups of the elderly living as a solitaire or within one-generation households is prevailing, since age 75 living in two- or three-generation households becomes predominant (Figure 8). Among the females, the similar trend is exhibited, however, the two- and three-generational households are predominant in all age groups starting from age 60, thus indicating towards a one-way direction in elderly female migration movements: changes of residence occur mainly in case a person comes to reside with the kin rather than moves somewhere on her own into a nuclear household. Knowing the composition of female elderly recent residents being predominantly the widowed while among the male the married prevail, the latter trend in living arrangements becomes well explained.

Figure 7

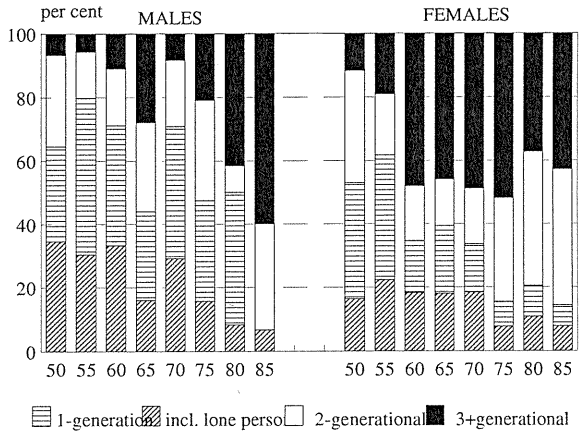
Marital Status of Recent Residents
Estonia 1989



The institutionalised elderly are displaying specific pattern because of the strong selectivity. Among the recently institutionalised elderly the widowed comprise almost a half, never-married around a third and the divorced over one tenth. By gender the highest migration intensity among recently institutionalised males is exposed by the widowed, followed by the divorced. Among females, the never married are exposed to the highest risk of move, closely followed by the widowed.

Figure 8

Household Composition of Recent Residents
Estonia 1989



3. Duration of Residence

In addition to the general migration pattern, it is important to make distinction in accordance with the migration history of the population, in particular in respect to the duration in the current residence. The duration pattern is most important for the elderly

population, in many cases having a strong bearing on the integration with social and geographical environment. In the present section, the elderly population is divided into three sub-groups: residing in the current place since birth (since-birth residents), residing more than 25 years (long-term residents) and less than 25 years (short-term residents). Since birth residents form the minority, however, displaying increasing proportion among the elderly. It would seem unexpected, because the elderly have had longer exposure to migration, but becomes understandable considering the lower migration rates of older cohorts over their life-time. Since-birth residents are residing in their parental home and in the socio-geographical environment known to them since birth and interaction with changes having occurred throughout their life-time have ensured the greatest adaptivity of this population sub-group. Since-birth residents are mainly characteristic to rural population, where the agricultural activities are to a greater extent in interaction with physical and geographical environment and ownership of a farm implies more stable residence. Long-term resident population forms the largest segment of the elderly. Long-term residents have made the residential move at the beginning of their active life, mainly before or in connection with their own family and home formation and in many aspects they are quite similar to the first-mentioned population group. The proportion of short-term resident population reflects quite exactly the migration curve, decreasing among the younger elderly and turning to increase in oldest olds. Among the short-term residents the social change has been the greatest compared to other groups, in any case they form a specific group where adaptation and integration into the new environment are the key issues. Among the short-term residents the recent residents have been outlined, already discussed above, to draw light on the background characteristics of the elderly migrants. In the following, attention is paid to the patterns of marital status, living arrangements, economic activity and housing conditions from the viewpoint of the impact of the duration of residence among the elderly.

Figure 9

Structure by Residence Duration
Estonia 1989

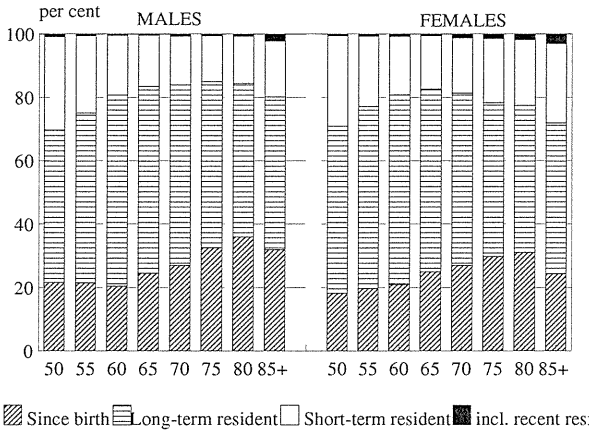


Figure 9 demonstrates the composition of elderly population in respect to the duration of residence by age. As mentioned above the since-birth residents form a minority among the total population, still among the elderly their proportion constitutes almost one fourth. Echoing the century-long-development, the decreasing proportion of residents since birth towards the younger end of the age scale of the elderly demonstrate the effect of the first phases of mobility transition. The inevitable rise of internal migration rates after the transitional emigration peak was also experienced among the population of Estonia in the first half of the 20th century, thus significantly reducing the proportions of those who have never migrated [Zelinsky 1971, Sakkeus 1991]. In the younger ages of the elderly the proportion of since-birth residents remains at the level of one fifth, growing almost linearly up to age 85. Long-term residents become usually predominant in the older ages, reaching the maximum proportion with

around 60 per cent in the age group 60-64. Among the short-term residents, the lowest proportion is found in the age group 65-69, growing towards both ends of the age scale of the elderly. Thus, short-term residents reflect the general migration pattern, among the younger ages of the elderly the decreasing proportion reveals the continuation of the drop-off of migration intensity in the older workforce ages, the increasing proportion in the other end of the age scale copying the upward-slope type pattern of elderly migration in Estonia.

As to the differences by gender from the perspective of duration of residence, male elderly demonstrate higher proportion of residents since birth and long-term residents, while females have higher proportion among the short-term residents. The latter confirms the pattern found in the intensity of the elderly migration, where females showed higher levels of migration. In respect of since-birth residents, as mentioned above, both among males and females the proportion of this sub-group increases until the oldest age group. Among the latter their proportion decreases: for males the reduction is small, the proportion of since-birth residents remaining almost at the level of one third, for females the reduction is significant lowering their proportion on the level of one fourth, almost comparable with the age group 65-69. One explanation for such a reduction might be the higher rate of institutionalisation combined with higher mortality rates among the since-birth residents. Male long-term residents demonstrate lower proportion in the younger ages of the elderly, reaching the peak in sixties their proportion is again but slowly reducing. For females the proportion of long-term residents is somewhat higher in the younger old age than in the oldest olds. Among short-term residents, although both sexes demonstrate principally similar pattern, for males the proportion remains almost equally at the lowest throughout the ages 65-84 and the subsequent increase in proportion among the oldest olds is much less than that for females. However, it is notable that among those having resided up to one year at the census residence, almost linear growth in proportion towards the end of the age scale is witnessed, reaching the highest level among the individuals aged 85 and over. In these ages recent residents form more than 10 per cent of the short-term residents.

As to the differences according to duration of residence between native-born and foreign-born elderly, it is natural that residents since birth cannot be found among the latter. However, it is notable that the proportion of short-term residents compared to the proportion of long-term residents and residents since birth taken together for the native-borns is only 1.5 times higher for the foreign-born population aged 50 and over, but almost three times higher for the foreign-born oldest olds. It is remarkable that among the foreign-born population aged 85 and over every third of four residents is a short-term resident, whereas among the native-borns the proportion is one to four. That certainly reflects a different pattern of migration among the foreign-born population: having been mostly the immigration of workforce, their parents have joined the children in relatively later wave of immigration.

In the following the three broad categories of the duration of residence are regarded from the viewpoint of their differentiation in respect to other personal, household or social characteristics. The duration of residence has its impact on the general pattern of living arrangements of the elderly. Differentiated in terms of duration of residence marital status composition of the elderly is partly determining the pattern of living arrangements. The data reveal that by marital status the highest proportion living in the birthplace demonstrate the never-married, the lowest one the divorced (Figure 10). This means that

married life entails a certain minimum amount of mobility over a person's life course, which is also associated with the transitions to the derivative statuses of married life like being widowed, divorced or remarried. Thus, it is not surprising to find in the pattern of living arrangements of since-birth residents the increasing proportion of nuclearisation of households towards the end of the age scale, i.e. lone-living and those living in one-generation households. While for males it means predominantly living in a married couple, although with the increasing proportion of solitaire towards the end of the age scale where they form almost one third, for females these two arrangements are almost equal and form almost 70 per cent up to the age 65, since that lone-living becomes overwhelmingly dominant and in the older age cohorts solitaire constitute already more than 50 per cent of all living arrangements of since-birth female residents.

Table 2

Structure of the Elderly by Residence Duration
Estonia 1989

Age	Since birth	Long-term	Short-term
		Males	
60-64	20,3	60,3	19,4
65-69	24,5	58,9	16,6
70-74	26,9	56,9	16,2
75-79	32,5	52,4	15,1
80-84	36,0	48,4	15,6
85+	31,9	48,2	19,9
		Females	
60-64	20,8	59,9	19,3
65-69	24,9	57,7	17,4
70-74	26,9	54,4	18,7
75-79	29,7	48,6	21,7
80-84	31,0	46,4	22,6
85+	24,3	47,5	28,2

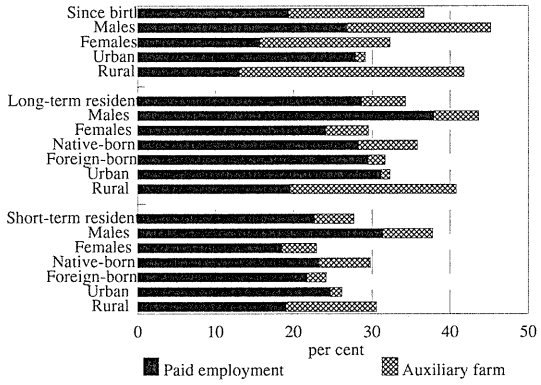
Long-term residents display very similar to the since-birth residents pattern, although involving to a lesser extent lone-living households which becomes more evident towards the end of the age scale. Thus, the longer one has resided in a place of residence, the more probably he has to rely on his own in the old age. Although long-living at one and the same place of residence might mean more common environment and reliance on a social network of neighbourhood, which helps to get along, still these categories of elderly and, in particular, regions with their higher concentration of since-birth and long-term resident population should be targeted with much more directed policies of social care. Short-term residents demonstrate two absolutely different behaviour patterns in connection with the living arrangements before and after the statutory retirement age. While before the statutory retirement age the residential moves have involved an increase in the proportion of nuclear households, after reaching the retirement, residential move has increased the probability to coreside in multigenerational households. The latter trend in living arrangements was already discussed concerning the age patterns of elderly migration, exposing almost linearly increasing proportion of living in multigenerational households for females already starting from age group 60-64. For the latter the explanation might lie in rising widowhood rates, the divorced adding proportionately less, but if connected with residential move, both marital statuses involve rather the movement into coresidence than living alone. Among the male elderly the denuclearisation process is less pronounced, mainly caused by the relatively high proportion of the one-generation households owing to the higher prevalence of the married among male elderly.

Regarding other social characteristics of the elderly in respect to their duration of residence, hereby the economic activity and housing conditions are reviewed. As concerns

the economic activity of the elderly, it becomes apparent that the longer one has resided at the current place of residence, the greater the proportion of economically active among the elderly. Both among the since-birth residents and long-term ones the proportion of economically active is higher than on average for the elderly population, which leaves the short-term ones with the lowest proportion of economically active population (Figure 10). However, the higher proportion of economically active among since-birth residents is reached at the expense of the totally different structure than that among the long-term ones. Among the first category in the population aged 60 and over the paid employment and engagement in the auxiliary farm contribute both almost half to the economic activity, thus exhibiting the urban-rural differential among the since-birth residents. Naturally, the same reversal in urban-rural patterns of economic activity on the account of engagement in the auxiliary farm, discussed in chapter five, are witnessed: rural since-birth residents elderly are by one third more economically active than urban ones. Among the long-term residents the engagement in the auxiliary farm contributes around one sixth, although long-living at a current place of residence has contributed to the high rate of economically active population among them. Lower proportion of the economically active among the short-term residents is mainly attained at the expense of the lower proportion in paid employment, while engagement in the auxiliary farm has practically remained at the same level as for long-term residents.

Figure 10

Economically Active Elderly
Estonia 1989

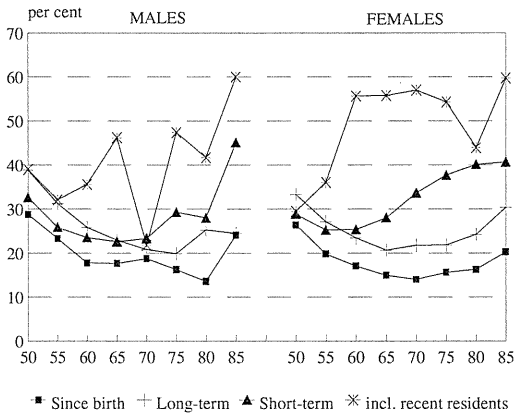


Housing conditions are one of the social indicators which to a great extent determine the need for additional help for the population in older ages. In regard of duration of residence in the following two indicators of housing conditions are discussed: living in the overcrowded dwellings (less than one room per person) and in the underequipped dwellings (no sewage, no piped water, no hot water, no central heating) (Figure 11). In terms of crowdedness, residents since birth are in the best situation: only every sixth lives in overcrowded dwellings throughout the ages 60-84. Among the long-term residents the situation is similar for every fourth, while among the short-term residents every third has to live in overcrowded dwellings. Among the latter, females are in more unfavourable conditions, starting from age 65 the proportion of women living in overcrowded dwellings increases gradually, forming more than 40 per cent among the oldest olds. However, it seems quite well to conform to the organisation of their living arrangements: as referred above, female short-term residents in these ages mainly live in multigenerational households. Although the observed living standards seem to be of quite low level, as discussed elsewhere [Katus, Puur, Põldma, Sakkeus 1999], even the short-term resident elderly feature much better housing conditions in terms of crowdedness than the younger population.

Duration of residence plays an important role in the differentiation of the elderly in regard to housing amenities. Data reveal that since-birth residents who enjoyed less crowded living have to pay with the highest level of living in underequipped dwellings. The older a person is, the bigger the proportion of those living in underequipped dwellings, which

Figure 11

Elderly in the Underequipped Dwellings
Estonia 1989



among since-birth residents over 70 exceeds more than 60 per cent. Long-term residents are already much better equipped, especially in the younger ages of the elderly, where the difference with since-birth residents is more than three times, decreasing to two times in the older ages. For short-term residents, overcrowded situation is paid off by the much better equipment of the dwellings: among male elderly only third and among females one fifth are living in underequipped dwellings. From the viewpoint of urban-rural differences, the worst situation is revealed among the rural since-birth residents among whom more than 85 per cent are in underequipped dwellings. Among the best-equipped short-term residents foreign-born elderly experience the lowest proportion living in underequipped dwellings with 8 per cent, reflecting former Soviet migration and housing policy.

4. Institutionalised Elderly

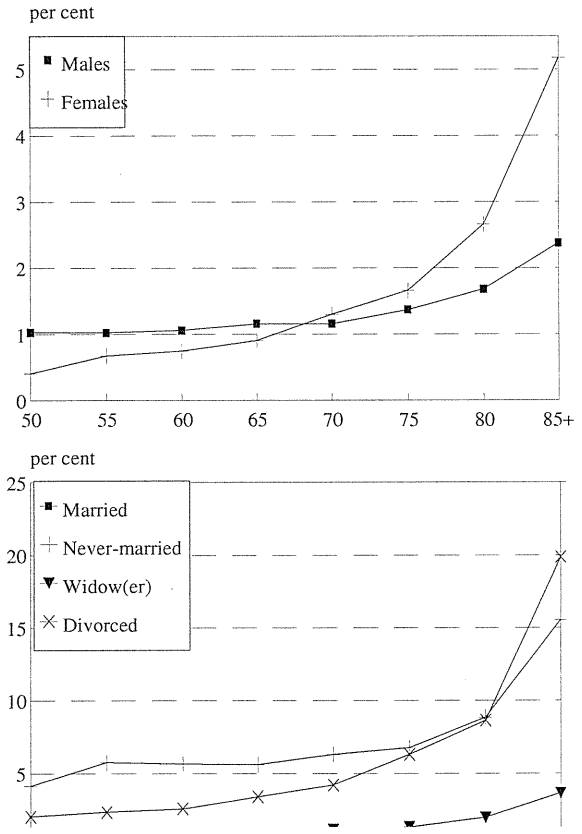
Institutionalised elderly form a specific group of elderly population. It includes older persons who, mainly for the reasons of declining health cannot manage by themselves. On the other hand, they also lack family and close relatives to rely on, and respectively, the care for such persons must be taken by social institutions [Dotty 1987]. The category of institutionalised elderly also forms a specific category for the reason that institutionalisation means change of residence, implying a residential move from their long-term home to another environment, not to mention about the change in social networks.

Under the Soviet model of social care, institutionalisation was regarded primarily from the medical point of view which explains the lack of information on the demographic and social characteristics of the institutionalised population. As the regularly collected statistics on institutional care did not go beyond total number of persons, the 1989 census appears in fact the only source which allows to get a comprehensive overview of this population group. Still, the census was not meant to make explicit distinction between institutionalised and non-institutionalised population. Regarding younger population, it appears, for example, impossible to separate conscripts in the armed forces and convicts in penal institutions. The institutionalised elderly could be distinguished on the basis of activity status (economically non-active) and dwelling type (dormitory). It should be noted that using this indirect procedure the group also includes a small number of elderly residing in workers' dormitories rather than in the units of institutional care, which however does not mix the pattern.

Figure 12 displays the level of institutionalisation across different age groups. After relative stability in younger age groups, the institutionalisation rate started to grow rapidly after age 75. Among the oldest old, it accounted for nearly 5 percent living in institutions. While among the young elderly the level of institutionalisation was somewhat higher among men, in oldest olds females feature about twice higher levels. Evidently among young olds, the group of institutionalised persons consists mostly of permanently disabled persons who are likely kept in care institutions for their whole life-time. In older ages, this group grows on account of persons whose capacity of independent living has deteriorated during their progression through old age. There were also different types of institutions for these two categories, however, the census data does not allow the distinction between them. In comparative perspective, the level of instutionalisation among the Estonian elderly, similarly to East European countries, must be regarded rather low as the social care system did not foresee institutionalisation for social reasons [Council of Europe 1983].

Figure 12

Proportion of Institutionalised Elderly Estonia 1989



The examination of the elderly living in institutions indicates a clear-cut association between marital status and institutionalisation (Figure 12). Consistent with expectations, the rate of institutionalisation is negligible among married persons. The level is comparatively low also among widowed elderly, interestingly the rate of institutionalsation does not show any increase in advanced ages. The rapid increase in the institutionalisation curve after age 75 is related to never-married and divorced elderly. Among these two categories, the levels appear rather high accounting for 15 per cent among single and 20 per cent among divorced elderly aged 85 and over. In younger age groups, the rate of institutionalisation is the highest among never-married reflecting probably the concentration of permanently disabled persons in this category. The high level of institutionalisation among the divorced may seem somewhat surprising, especially in comparison with widowed persons. Evidently, this finding suggests the kin support being less easily available for divorcees. Given the

Table 3

Proportion of the Institutionalised Elderly Estonia 1989

Age	Males	Females
60-64	1,1	0,7
65-69	1,2	0,9
70-74	1,2	1,3
75-79	1,4	1,7
80-84	1,7	2,7
85+	2,4	5,2

increase in the proportion of the divorced with each new elderly cohort, this implies an increasing need in institutional care in the future.

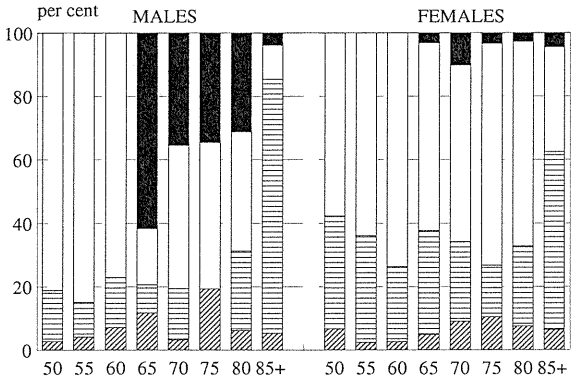
As to other characteristics of elderly population, institutionalisation seems more than twice frequent in rural areas but most probably this reflects the spatial distribution of care units. Given the tendency to centralise the care into few bigger facilities, the same appears true about regional variation in the levels of institutionalisation. Higher educational attainment tends to be positively correlated with the capacity to avoid institutionalisation. The levels of foreign- and native-born populations were fairly similar.

From the viewpoint of duration of residence the institutionalised elderly deserve separately to be paid attention to. The duration of residence of the institutionalised is frequently analysed due to its implications on social policy as well as being also a basis for evaluation of the efficiency of this form of organised care in terms of costs. Although the overall proportion of the institutionalised among the elderly in Estonia, as was discussed in chapter four, has been low as common to all East European countries, from the perspective of their stay in the institution the low proportions must be evaluated from a totally different aspect. Concerning the migration intensity of the institutionalised, the overall trend exhibits the increase towards the end of the age scale, although its level being to a great extent differentiated by gender. Male institutionalised recent residents display two peaks over the age scale: one falls to the age group 60-64 with the slight decrease in the two subsequent five-year cohorts, and another to the age group 75-79, being almost twice higher than at the former peak with more than 1.5 moves per thousand. In the oldest cohorts the intensity remains higher than in younger age groups of the elderly but still below 1.5 per thousand moves. Female institutionalised differ significantly from male elderly in the pattern of institutionalised moves: the intensity remains very low until the age group 70-74, in that it exceeds the male respective intensity. From this age group onwards female institutionalised recent residents display steep increase in intensity, which in the oldest cohorts exceeds the respective male level more than two times, reaching 3.5 moves per thousand.

Concerning the duration in institution, the 1989 census reveal a certain category of the institutionalised who reside in the care institutions since birth or for a long time (Figure 13). Although proportionately meager part of the institutionalised are since-birth or long-term residents, they add to a great extent to the median duration of institutionalised residence: the mean duration of residence in the institution is more than 11 years for male and more than 15 years for female institutionalised. Thus, on an average institutionalisation in Estonia has involved much longer years of stay than common in Europe and made the institutionalisation very costly as well as initiated

Figure 13

Structure of Residence Duration of the Institutionalised Elderly Estonia 1989



the queuing phenomenon as discussed in other chapters. However, figure 13 demonstrates a sharp decrease in duration in older cohorts of the institutionalised elderly, which evidently refers to a shorter life-expectancy of the institutionalised with long duration of residence and coincides with the migration rates among the institutionalised elderly, discussed above. Regarding the institutionalised elderly who have entered in the institution after the age 60, the duration in years is rising from age group 65-69, for females to a greater extent, and comprises the highest value for the oldest olds, constituting more than 4.5 years for male and more than 5.5 for female institutionalised elderly. Compared with the total institutionalised the larger difference in duration among male institutionalised oldest olds is due to the higher proportion of longer residents among them.

Duration of residence of the elderly brings out several differentiations which are important to be taken into account. Especially the structure of the elderly in terms of duration of residence plays significant role on the regional level and determines several different needs of the elderly.

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