POST-WAR MIGRATION TRENDS IN ESTONIA

Luule Sakkeus

RU Series B, No.15

The Estonian Interuniversity Population Research Centre (EKDK) emerged from population studies in the Urban Research Laboratory of the Tallinn Technical University in 1983. The demographic development in Estonia is the main research object of EKDK. At the present time fertility, marriage and family, and labour force participation serve as main research areas. The results are issued in two series: applied research works since 1983, the series of working-papers since 1988.
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TALLINN 1991
Methodologically my research of Estonian migration relies on the theoretical hypothesis of Wilbur Zelinsky [1971, 1979], the principle idea of which is that 'there are definite, patterned regularities in the growth of person's mobility through space–time during recent history, and these regularities comprise an essential component of the modernization process [Zelinsky 1971, p.221–222]. The studies of migration carried out in IIASA in the 1970s under the supervision of Andrei Rogers in many respects tested the validity of this idea. The empirical migration schedules exhibit remarkable regularities in migration age pattern.

The main concern of this paper is to exhibit the differences of internal (intraregional, i.e. within Estonia) and external (interregional, i.e. between the other republics of the Soviet Union and Estonia) migration pattern. Although I recall that these two migration processes have some slight differences in their migration patterns in general, my assumption is that the differences of interregional and intraregional migrations of Estonia are derived from two demographically different types of behavior rather than from the differences of short–distanced and long–distanced migrations. Another aim of the paper has been to look at the formation of the foreign–born population of Estonia on the basis of the post–war migration data giving the background to the process. Post–war migration data of Estonia is mainly analyzed on the basis of the current statistics for 1956–1991, the data on the foreign–born population is based on the 1989 census.

Analysis of any demographic processes in Estonia through a longer time period needs reminding of its 50 years' incorporation into USSR. It must be underlined that until the II World War Estonia's demographic development was close rather to the North/West European countries than to its East neighbours or South Eastern countries [Palli, 1988; Katus, 1982; Katus, 1991a]. At the end of 1920s the Estonia's total fertility rate had dropped under the replacement level as typical of the forerunners of the fertility transition. As to the migration, the mobility transition had gathered its speed.

At the threshold of the 20th century Estonian population was standing at the stage of formation migration potential. The potential realized mainly in two directions: firstly, in the direction of towns of the country; secondly, towards the other countries.

The rural population had started to show decrease already at the turn of the century [Maiste, 1988], the urban population, on the contrary, increased steeply. Growth index for 1881/1934 for urban population in Estonia is 2.37, whereas for the capital – Tallinn – the index is even 3.03. The urban population had grown in nearly 60 years about three times –from 11.8 per cent (1881) to 32.8 (1939). Between 1881 and 1897 censuses the population of towns of Estonia had grown by 130.2 per cent, but 1881 level compared to 1922 showed the growth of 197.0 per cent. Among one of the most steeply grown towns are the capital Tallinn by 242.5 per cent (between 1881 and 1922 censuses), Rakvere 218.3 per cent. The same trend could be analyzed by the birthplace in 1922. If the rural
population is still quite settled (87.5 per cent are born in the same county, 64.3 per cent out of them in the same administrative unit), the urban population is characterized by a far greater mobility. 58.8 per cent of the urban population are born in the same county, of them 32.6 per cent in the same administrative unit.

As to the second direction in the mobility transition, the pre-war emigration estimations show that about 20 per cent of the Estonians were living beyond their ethnic boundaries [Katus 1991b].

Just by the beginning of the II World War the intensive migration was slowing down and showed some indications of stabilization [Katus & Sakkeus 1984]. This process was interrupted by the II WW and the incorporation into the Soviet Union. To Estonia it meant the inheritance of an enormous migration hinterland with the population at an utterly different stage of development. The demographic transition had started just in the 1920s on the European part of the Russian Federation and was at the stage of formation of the intensive migration potential [Vishnevski et al 1983]. In Estonia this process coincided with the process of extensively developing economy. So Estonia became a good target both for migration and economics. During the first decades of the post-war period the migration exchange came mainly to the neighbouring regions of the European part of the Russian Federation. As in the 1960s the migration potential of these regions started gradually to slow down but with economy extensively developed, hinterland was enlarged towards the regions which were having the migration potential. It meant enlargement towards the southern regions of the European part of the Russian Federation such as Northern Caucasus, Volga Region with the population at the different stage of demographic development as well as absolutely different social, cultural and ethnic background.

The main outcome of the above-referred processes has been that while in 1945 Estonians formed on their own territory almost 97 per cent (Katus 1987), by 1989 there were 40 per cent of Estonians living in Estonia. The largest ethnicity group are the Russians. With the incorporation into USSR and rebordering, Estonia lost practically all its ethnic Russians (by 1934 census about 8 per cent). The second and third largest ethnic groups are Ukraines and Byelorussians, of whom Estonia before the WW II did have practically none. It has to be assumed that particularly the above-mentioned nations were in the very stage of demographic transition (Vishnevski et al.,1983) which loosened their migration potential and due to many coinciding circumstances (extensive development of economy, deportation and emigration of Estonians, high labour force participation rates among Estonians) this potential headed to fill the opened pool.

The population situation being formed in Estonia suggests that in any population projections the two main population groups – Estonians and Non-Estonians – must be dealt apartly. Migration data shows also their different involvement in different migration streams.

One of the main purposes of this paper was to disaggregate migration data by different streams on the basis of movement approach, which is defined treating migration
'as an event and focuses on the age-specific and origin-destination-specific migration rates that define the migration propensity of individuals as a ratio of occurrences to population exposure.' [Rogers 1988, p.358].

The data was disaggregated by main out-migration streams – (1) internal, i.e. within Estonia; (2) external, i.e. the out-migration from Estonia to other republics of the USSR (including international migration, the share of which has not been significant in it – up to 1 per thousand people). As far as those serving (from Estonia) in the army and imprisoned are in Soviet migration data always recorded in the external migration, to eliminate their specific age pattern, in further analyses they have been excluded from the external stream. Excluding the latter contingent the out-migration to other republics of the previous Soviet Union should in its structural distribution be alike and more homogeneous with the internal one. To note the difference in the paper this stream is referred to as the main migration to the Soviet Union (USSR migration). In my further discussion it is useful to give an overview of these main trends of out-migration of Estonia.

**MAIN MIGRATION TRENDS IN POST-WAR ESTONIA**

The figure 1 presents the total volume of the migration streams of Estonia throughout the examined period. The total streams include both internal and external migration. The data presented on the figure shows the basis for the situation formed in today's Estonia. The figure points out the main peaks of in-migration that should be focused on: the very first years of the so-called Soviet era, the middle of 1950s, the beginning of 1970s. As far as the Soviet migration statistics in the 1940s and early 1950s recorded only data referring to the movements between urban areas, the data for 1946 – 1950, 1952, 1953 are calculated for the rural population as the average of 1951, 1954, 1955, 1956, in order to get the dynamics covering total migration streams (see tables 1 and 1a).

Figure 2 illustrates the volume of migratory movements with USSR for urban population of Estonia since 1946. As regards to the in-migration from USSR the attention should be paid to its high level just in the first two years of the Soviet period. The data for the period 1946–1956 is examined for the first time (see tables 2 and 2a). In the migrational interchange with USSR the next peak in early 1950s might among others refer also to the returning of the deported Estonians from other parts of the Soviet Union. The peak of early 1960s corresponds with the assumption that alongside the European part of Russia, Ukraine and Byelorussia had by that time reached the stage in the demographic development with the largest share of working-able population, the part of population which during the formation of new demographic relationships is most free in its demographic-dependent behaviour (among others – in migrational behaviour).

Throughout the investigated period Estonia has gained from in-migration. It must be pointed out that the total amount of movements to and from USSR is about seven times higher than the net gain from 1956–1991 (out of 1.4 million movements /approximately the number of the total population of Estonia/ net migration for the period forms more
than 200,000). The amount of movements of the total external stream (incl. Soviet Army
servants and migration to Western countries) is twice the number for migrations with
USSR.

The above-mentioned situation refers to the high unadaptiveness of the migrants. It is
worth mentioning that with the exhaustion of the migration potential of neighbouring
regions in Russia, with the economy extensively developed and the high labour force
participation rates, migration hinterland of Estonia was enlarged towards the regions in
USSR which had the migration potential. 1980s with its fluctuations reveal the efforts
made to maintain the in-migrations on the same level.

Out-migrations with USSR could be regarded as a certain response to the in-migrations.
With the high unadaptiveness, increase of in-migration is corresponding with the out-
migration after a certain time-lag. Crude migration rates for out-migration to USSR for
1959–1991 demonstrate the peak of 1960s as the response to the in-migration of 1950s
as well as the peak around 1970 might be the reflection of the in-migration peak of the
middle of 1960s (see figure 3 and table 3).

Gross migration rates (GMR) for internal and USSR out-flow expose the main trends of
migration over 1967–1990 (Fig.4.). For the comparison GMR for the total external
migration is added. The trend of the latter shows clearly the smoothness of the stream
compared to the migration with USSR. Common trend of the last 20 years for both
internal and out-migration for USSR in Estonia has been their decreasing intensity.
Although, it must be mentioned that the internal one has had a more stabile trend and
decrease is revealed already in the beginning of the 1970s, while the main out-flow
shows absolutely the opposite trend in the mid–70s, from then onwards the steep
decrease is observed.

To give the overall characteristics of the migration streams under investigation, their
structure by ethnicities should be pointed out. Both migration streams are quite
homogeneous, but in the opposite ways. The share of the Russians in the main (with
USSR) migration is about 70 per cent, Ukraines form 16 per cent and Byelorussians 6
per cent. Estonians share is about 3 per cent (1989). Comparing crude migration rates in
the migration to Soviet Union for 1975/1976 and 1988/1989, the same relative decrease
is observed. The decrease has been relevant for Estonians (crude migration rate in 1975
0.96 per thousand, in 1989 0.29) – 70 per cent; for the Non-Estonians it was not so steep
until the very recent years.

Internal migration could be characterized as the more homogeneous from the viewpoint
of Estonians involved. If in 1975 about 75 per cent of the stream comprised Estonians, in
1989 already 83 per cent came to the share of Estonians. Russians form about 14 per
cent (CMR 10.1 per thousand) and Ukraines more than 1 per cent (1989). The decrease
of the Estonians crude migration rate from 49.3 per thousand in 1975 to 30.9 per
thousand in 1989 is little more than for one third, as far as for the Non-Estonians
involved in internal migration the decrease is more than for two thirds (33.5 per thousand
to 11.2 per thousand respectively). From this viewpoint these two streams could be
referred to as mononational which in our discussion due to their history of demographic transition reveal two types of demographic behaviour. In conclusion of this overview it must be stressed that the investigated migration flows are formed by different ethnicities standing at the different stage of demographic development. The different demographic behaviour also has its great and even determining impact on the migrational behaviour. From this viewpoint it is interesting to analyze the age pattern of these out-migration streams.

AGE AND SEX PATTERN OF ESTONIAN MIGRATION STREAMS

As it could be seen from Figure 4, trend of the internal migration till the last 3 years is more stable. The steep fall of GMR for the last years could partly be explained by the change in migration data recording. Whether the last-mentioned fact is the main reason of such a decline or is it somehow related to the changing pattern of migration in general must still be investigated. The dynamics for 20 years gives grounds to talk about the stability of internal migration compared to the one with USSR. The same is revealed if the changes in the investigated migration streams are analyzed in respect of the dynamics of migration by sex. The internal migration draws attention to the very similar trend for both sexes. The main peculiarity of internal migration is the higher intensity of females (Fig.4). It is interesting to mention that those age groups having greater share in absolute numbers have it in the groups of high intensity which results in the fact that during several years gross migration rate for internal stream does not characterize the mean value. In the 1980s the female migration is already clearly dominating upon the male one in most age groups.

Quite traditionally male migration is dominating in migration of USSR (Fig.4). Although, around 1980 the intensity of both sexes' migration seemed to come closer. Still, the 1980s show that it is too early to wait for turnaround in this stream.

Age-specific migration rates expose the main regularities differentiating the two migration streams under investigation from one another. Internal migration age-specific rates show consequent decrease in all age groups over the investigated period (Fig.5). Attention must be drawn to the fact that although constantly decreasing the schedule has not principally changed.

The main regularity of the internal migration is the high peak in the age-group 15–19. This is the direct reference to the education system spacing in Estonia. Estonia has two main education centers which offer different education (University in Tartu, technical education as well as education in arts and music in Tallinn). This explains the high intensity in the referred age group.

USSR migration age-specific rates show quite a different distribution. Although the intensity of USSR migration has also observably declined, the migration schedule examined over the investigated period reveals relatively greater changes than these characteristic to the internal one. It is understandable that the main peak comes to the
older age group (mostly 20–24). But the lastly observed rates for 1989–1990 exhibit the migration getting even more older. The main peak comes to the age–group 25–29 and the decreasing slope in the next age groups is not so steep as for the previous time periods.

Age–specific migration rates for internal and USSR migration by sex exhibit even more vividly the main difference in the two migration behaviours (see figures 6 and 7). In internal migration both sexes have a similar curve. The high peak in the late teens was already explained for the total rates. Similarly for both time–points compared, female migration intensity seems to be overwhelming in the early twenties. Differentiation becomes evident when the following age–groups are compared. Explanation to that is quite classical: although women tend to live longer than men, they marry men seniors by several years. As it is pointed out by Andrei Rogers [1988, p.358] the immediate consequence is the double gender cross–over: the first in the late teens, and the second during the early retirement ages. However, the peculiarity of the internal migration is that the first cross–over is not in the teens but in the late twenties. It seems that, especially, for Estonian women the differentiated spacing of education has its greater impact, as well as women knowingly tend to graduate their studies more eagerly than men. The revealed peculiarity of Estonian female migration also corresponds with the trend brought out by Andres Vikat (1991) about the later mean age of women at first marriage and its tendency to increase in Estonia. The above–mentioned trend might also have some effect to the dominating female migration in the age–group of 20–24 and the later cross–over in migration schedule.

Andrei Rogers suggests that the upward slope of the migration schedule in the intraregional migrations is their regularity differing with that from the interregional migration which show the retirement peak in the early retirement ages [Rogers 1988, p.357]. The attention should be paid to the fact that the later cross–over tends to get older in both streams. It means that the real retirement age becoming older (by estimates of Allan Puur [1991] the difference between the real and legal pensionable age is about 3.5 years) is also reflected in the retirement migration schedule.

The classical cross–over of genders is very illustratively revealed in USSR migration (see Fig.7). In this migration schedule some relevant changes have taken place. Over the investigated period main migration peaks for both sexes have greatly altered. The overall common trend for USSR migration is its becoming younger.

Comparison of standardized age–specific migration rates (Fig.8 and 9) reveal the main differences in migration behaviour. The main difference is the increasing homogeneity around the age group of 15–19 in internal female migration directly referring to the education–related migration. The shift of the highest peak of USSR female migration towards the late teens is relevant, still the distribution of the age groups older than 25 has gained in heterogeneity. Thus, USSR migration could be characterized as undergoing relevant change in age pattern.

Standardized age–specific migration rates for internal migration by both sexes reveal a very slight age–dependency slow–down. Absolutely contraversary exhibition of the
migration extremum refers again to the education system spacing in Estonia. The increasing child-dependency ratio is corresponding with the trends in fertility of Estonia and Estonians. As Kalev Katus [1991a] has pointed out the compensational baby-boom was not characteristic to Estonia. However, since the late 1960s the total fertility rate started to increase, reaching the replacement level in early 1970s and staying fluctuating around it until the very recent years. The last two years' trend shows a very steep fertility decrease, comparable to the one the European countries exercised after the baby-boom.

Comparing male migration in both out-migration streams, more traditional form of the male in USSR migration is clearly exhibited. Although the trend towards higher age-dependency in the last mentioned stream is similar to the female one exposed in the same stream, the male migration does not reveal such a principal change in age pattern with the shift of extremum as the female one. The internal and USSR migration streams being compared, the attention is drawn by the absolutely different age groups with the highest migration intensity among men.

In conclusion, the comparison of main and internal migration standardized age-sex specific rates reveal that USSR migration for male is exhibiting absolutely different age pattern of the internal one. Nevertheless, the same growth of age-dependency as the female migration pattern of the same stream showed, is revealed. Attention has to be paid to the increase of dependent migration in the USSR stream (characterized by the increase of the child- and retirement dependency ratio). The last-mentioned fact indicates to the forthcoming changes in USSR migration age pattern and as revealed by the comparison of both sexes' migration, suggests that the carriers of the change are women. The main difference between the two investigated streams is revealed by absolutely different migration peaks, thus referring to the main distinction between the two age patterns.

THE PLACE OF MIGRATION WITH OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD IN THE ESTONIAN POST-WAR MIGRATIONS

In the migration streams of Estonia the external migration must be clearly distinguished from that usually referred to as international. During the Soviet era as common to all the movements in USSR migration with other countries of the world (in the following referred to as international) was practically lacking due to various kinds of restrictions.

The international migration has a tiniest share in the migration forming up the external one (see Fig. 3). For the period 1946–1990 the volume of the international migrations is shown on figure 10 for the urban population. In the in-migration of the observed migration stream 3 peaks are registered: in 1946, 1956 and in the second half of 1980s – 1985 and 1988. The last one can be easily explained by the startpoint of the initial changes in the USSR which encouraged people to return or either start with the new business. In seeking the explanation for the first peak, the definitions of that time migration must be retraced whether the demobilized soldiers who came back directly from Germany or other foreign countries were recorded in it or else, certainly a fair amount of that peak comes to the share of those who came back after the war was over.
Peak of 1956 might be explained by the first signs of normalization in the first years of Khrushchow but it needs more data to have a certain view on that. The out-migration peaks fall to the years around 1970, and the second one to the second half of 1980s (see table 3). As to the last peak – it has been common to the whole what was called Soviet Union. But unlike the other regions of previous USSR, the level of international out-migration in Estonia after the very peak of 1985 has not reached the highest point anymore.

The analysis of 10 main ethnicities of Estonia [Katus, 1991c] reveal some interesting facts indirectly helping to restore the composition of international migration. For example, by 1959 census only 670 Germans were living in Estonia, while by 1970 census their number had increased about 10 times. More speakable is the distribution by the first language spoken – out of all Germans 36 per cent speak their own language, 56.5 are Russian speaking. The Jews previously living in Estonia had practically vanished by the end of the WW II, by 1989 census their number is comparable to the pre-war one, but if analyzed by the first language (mother tongue) spoken – 12.3 per cent are speaking their mother tongue, 78.3 – are Russian speaking. Approximately the same is true for the Poles – 20 per cent are speaking Polish, 63.4 are Russian speaking (1989 census data). In international migration for 1989 crude migration rates are the highest for Poles (170 per thousand) Germans (90.6 per thousand) and Jews (63.95 per thousand). The same rates for the Ukraines, Byelorussians and Russians are on a different level (CMR ranging from 2.3 to 1.04 per thousand) and the less intensity in the out-migration with other countries than USSR show the Finns and Estonians. Such a data tempts to conclude that Estonia has been treated by some ethnicities during the Soviet period as a transit country on the way to the Western countries. It mostly explains the peak of 1970s out-migration whereas in the in-migration from Soviet Union a sudden increase of Germans could be traced just in the beginning of 1970s. The little share of the Estonians in international migration is explained by the different stage in mobility transition. In correlation with international migration it should be added that the main concern is the short-time job-oriented migrations to the foreign countries among the Estonians, but more expected are long-term migrations (with the change of permanent residence) of the other ethnicities like Russians, Ukraines and Byelorussians from Estonia to Western countries after the ethnicities having their motherland outside the previous USSR have (like Germans, Jews, Poles and Finns) emigrated. Crude migration rates' decline of the latter can be already observed.

To conclude with the overview of the Estonia's migration trends since 1945 it must be pointed out that migration has served as the main source for the formation of the foreign-born population. It should be once more underlined that by the end of the II World War Estonia had become a mononational, ethnically homogeneous country. As far as for the whole Soviet Union international migration formed an insignificant share in all migrations of Estonia (less than 1 person per thousand), the foreign-born population is formed up by the ethnicities engaged in the migration streams with the regions of late Soviet Union. The development of migration processes formed in Estonia a situation, which is exceptional among the rest of the previous Soviet republics and the explanation to it lies in the difference of the stages of demographic development of Estonia and the rest of the USSR at the time of the incorporation of Estonia into it.
FOREIGN–BORN POPULATION OF ESTONIA

Contemporary Estonia is a country with 120 ethnicities forming up the 40 per cent of Non–Estonians. The foreign–born population exhibits one of the highest shares in the context of European countries. Figure 11 presents the shares of the foreign–born populations in the member states of the Council of Europe and Estonia (see table 4). Among these countries Estonia stands the third. Even more remarkable is the situation reviewed between the same countries and the counties (maakonnad) of Estonia. The county with the lowest share of foreign–borns stands before more than 10 European countries.

If to look at the age–distribution of Estonia's population's two sub–groups – Estonians and Non–Estonians – differences are essential (fig. 12). Attention is drawn by the age–group of 25–39 – the demographically and economically most active ages – among the Non–Estonians. Such an age–distribution in large scale reminds most of all the migration schedule. The age structure of the foreign–born population of Estonia draws attention with the curve in older ages (fig.13). The answer to the two distinguished curves in the age distribution of foreign–born population of Estonia lies in the different stages of the demographic development of the two population groups – Estonians and Non–Estonians – representing in this case two different demographic behaviours.

The age–structure of the foreign–borns among Estonians show the source for the curve in older ages. Although the curve for active population is present among this sub–group as well, the overwhelming share of the older ages is visible. In the present paper I would like to put forward some hypothesis for further analysis. First of all, the Estonian foreign–borns have been in a very low extent engaged in the post–war interregional (pro international) migration processes, except when forced – like deportation. Part of the deported in the first years of Soviet era, gave birth to today's foreign–born Estonians. Part of them might have declared during the 1989 census for the regions being part of Estonia before the WW II as the foreign–borns in the boundaries of 1989 Estonia. However, to my opinion it does not explain such an overwhelmingly old age structure of the Estonian foreign–borns – it might indicate to the fact that by the beginning of the WW II the Estonians had been entering another stage of mobility transition and gone through the stage of intensive international (long–distanced) migration and reached the point of turnaround by the beginning of 1940s. In the circumstances where the population did not have migration potential for job–orientated (long–distanced) migration, neither possibilities to have short–term international migration (tourism, qualification of skilled labour, vacation etc) nor could it result in family migration gathering importance (restrictions of housing policy) and with the education system centralized – the migration process of the Estonians during the post–war period resulted in the intensive internal migration. The differences between Estonian internal and external migration are discussed in another paper [Sakkeus, 1991b]. The task for further analysis is to analyze the cohorts of foreign–borns in correlation with the time of residence as well as place of birth. Hereby, it could be underlined that the share of foreign–borns among Estonians is very little and forms only 5.2 per cent.
Among the 40 per cent of Non-Estonians 38 per cent are foreign-born. The age structure of the Non-Estonians differs greatly of that of Estonians. Although, the two peaks are also present among this sub-population, both of them fall into the ages of the working-able population (fig.13). The two peaks in the case of Non-Estonian foreign-borns most apparently indicate to the two waves of migration – one in the first years of Soviet era, the second one in the late 1960s with adding up the children of the first wave. The age structure of the Non-Estonians draws the attention with the practically lacking proportion of native Non-Estonians in working-able population (see fig.12). Data referring to the shares of some age-groups among Estonian and Non-Estonian foreign-borns shown in table 5 underline the above-said. It must be stressed that among the Non-Estonians over 45 of age the native-borns form less than 8 per cent. It certainly refers to the fact that most of the foreign-borns among Non-Estonians are the gain out of the intensive post-war migration processes, which mainly engaged population of various regions of previous USSR.

Among the 120 ethnicities forming up the Estonia's foreign-borns, 10 main ethnicities, mentioned in the previous section, form about 98 per cent, among whom the greatest share belongs to the Russians with over 65 per cent (fig.14). However, if to look at the share of the foreign-borns among the particular ethnicity, residing permanently in Estonia, the share of the foreign-borns among the Russians is one of the lowest (about 57 per cent). The explanation to that lies in the fact that Russians of European Russia were more advanced in the demographic transition among the rest ethnicities (excl. Estonians and Latvians) forming up USSR. So, in further analysis it has been put forward to test the hypothesis that the Russians formed the most part in the first post-war years' migration streams. With the extension of the hinterland, from the demographically less advanced regions also Russians of these regions were mostly involved in the mobility transition as the population exercising the certain stage of mobility transition, but as the departure regions were with totally different social and cultural background than the near hinterland, these migrants added to the unadaptive migrant population, which most probably is keeping moving – if to judge upon the out-migration intensity of the last years.

The distribution of foreign-born population by the place of birth confirms the above-mentioned. The greatest share form the regions of Russia. However, among the variety of these regions, 5 of them are outstanding by the greatest share among the rest of birthplaces. These five are Pihkva region (oblast), Leningrad region (without St. Petersburg city), Novgorod region, St. Petersburg and Tver region. Out of these five, four first ones form the nearest hinterland to Estonia – i.e. the regions are directly bordering with Estonia and have historically been related to Estonia through centuries. Figure 9 gives the overview of the main birthplaces of foreign-borns of Estonia. Although, Russia with the rest of its regions has the greatest share, Ukraine – as the place of birth with all its regions is greater than Pihkva and Byelorussia with its regions is placed before Novgorod – the attention should be paid to the fact that no other region (at the 'oblast' level) in these republics has so outstanding share as the above-referred. For further analysis it is useful to test the time of residence of those born out of near hinterland. The assumption is that these regions were more demographically developed and the population out of them must have entered the intensive stage of mobility transition earlier. In further analysis it would be interesting to look at the population born in Tver region as the only region of central Russia, outstanding of all the rest ones.
In connection to the place of birth and related to the migration processes, the little share of the nearest republics to Estonia – Latvia and Lithuania – among other birthplaces must be underlined. The migrational relationships with these republics have throughout the post-war period been unsignificant. Although the outcome is identical, the reasons in either cases are different. Relationships with Latvia are not intensive because both are in the identical stage of mobility transition with no migration potential. In the Lithuanian case, it would be the opposite. The explanation needs a more thorough analysis of the demographic development of Lithuania through centuries, but the assumption is that the stage of mobility transition should be comparable with Byelorussia or even behind of it, which means that the migration potential has not reached its intensity peak in Lithuania’s case. Some light to the testing of the assumption should throw the further analysis in relation to the durance of the residence of the latter ethnicities in Estonia born out of the named regions.

CONCLUSION

The main task of this paper was to reveal the differences in the age pattern of internal and main migration in the post-war Estonian migration processes and show the main source for formation the foreign-born population in Estonia. The first aim was to reveal whether the differences between internal and migration with USSR exist. They should expose the behaviour of two population groups standing at the different stages of demographic development. In this respect, internal migration reveals the behaviour of demographically more advanced population group as far as the stream consists overwhelmingly of the Estonians. On the other hand, the migration with USSR characterizes the behaviour of the Non–Estonians, share of the Russians in which is significant.

Common to both streams is the decrease of out-migration intensity over the investigated period 1967–1990. Although it must be recalled that in the mid–70s the USSR migration had another peak which corresponded with the in-migration peak in the late 60s and first half of 70s.

The main differences between internal and USSR migration are revealed by disaggregating them by sex. Internal migration is characterized by far more intensive female migration than that of men. In the internal migration main peak of intensive migration for both sexes fall into the same age-group. The steep decline of gross migration rate for the last 3 years has not exhibited any principal change in the internal age pattern. Vice versa, the standardized age–sex specific rates for internal migration reveal even the growth for the migration peak group (15–19 years old) for both sexes compared to the same pattern of 1967–1968.

The above-stressed common peak for both sexes in internal migration is definitely the consequence of the high education-oriented migration. The changes in the age pattern of internal migration by sex reveal the synchronic decrease of male migration practically in
all ages. In female internal migration the lowest decrease expose the 0–4 and 20–24 age-
groups. The high peak of female internal migration in the age–group 20–24 and internal
migration not having the corresponding cross-over in male migration brings to the
thought that in this migration besides the overwhelming impact of education migration,
females tend to move with their children but without the corresponding spouse. The
reference should also be made to the higher mean age at first marriage among Estonians.

The migration to USSR demonstrates more classical form of male being older and female
younger. It seems that in main migration relatively greater changes are characteristic to
females who tend to migrate in younger ages and the recent peak in the age–group 20–24
has decreased very steeply. The USSR male migration has changed relatively less and
exposes more classical form. From this viewpoint more attention should be paid to the
forthcoming changes in female main migration who seem to be the carriers of an essential
change in this stream. The divergency of the age distribution, characteristic to the lastly
compared time–point (1989–1990), seems to indicate that the age pattern of this stream is
undergoing thorough changes.

It seems that the changes in internal migration highlight the forthcoming trends for
migration to USSR. On the other hand, despite of the relative stabilization of internal
migration intensity already by the beginning of the II WW, the traditional age pattern has
not essentially changed throughout the following period. The society organization in a
traditional way (no changes in the spacing of education system, strong relationships
between the job and accomodation attaining, living standard lessening the higher the
retirement age etc.) has not permitted to reveal the relevant changes in the age pattern of
internal migration. Nevertheless, the stable age pattern of the internal migration
together with the similarities common to both sexes, on the one hand, – and the great and
growing divergency in the age pattern of main migration together with still maintained
traditional form, on the other hand, – give grounds to speak about the more homogeneous
and advanced internal migration and the main migration at the stage of thorough changes.

The post–war migration trends indicate the main source of formation of the foreign-
borns of Estonia. The main source of it has been – the intensive migration with USSR,
and mostly with the European part of Russia after the incorporation into USSR. It is
obvious that such a great share of foreign–borns adds to the social problems of the
contemporary Estonia as in the political sense (above all no more existing Soviet
citizenship) as well as from the demographic point of view. The paper made an attempt to
show that the formation of the foreign–borns of Estonia is an exceptional case also in the
context of previous USSR because of the different stages of demographic development
the populations are going through. The mentioned difference has been the main reason, in
the first place, to cause the situation described.

It must be underlined that by 1945 Estonians formed more than 97 per cent of the
population in Estonia, whereas by 1989 only 60 per cent came to their share. Among all
the foreign–borns Estonians form only about 10 per cent, whereas among the Estonians
their share is barely 5 per cent. Among the Non–Estonians the share of foreign–borns is
about 38 per cent. The two sub–populations differ greatly, especially it is shown on the
basis of age distributions of each sub–population's foreign–borns. The age structure of
Non-Estonian foreign-borns draws attention with its two peaks in younger and older ages of working-able population which easily could be correlated with the main migration peaks in the post-war migration streams with USSR. The Estonians’ foreign-borns overwhelming share in the old ages indicates to the basic difference in the formation of the foreign-borns of the two sub-populations of Estonia.

The analysis of the Non-Estonians age structure reveals the fact that the share of 60 per cent of their native population are formed mostly at the expense of the children – the second generation of the foreign-born population, because already among the ages more than 20 years old – the share of the foreign-borns is about 80 per cent. Even more outstanding is the share of the foreign-borns among the Non-Estonians over 45 years old – more than 92 per cent out of 45 years and older Non-Estonians are foreign-born. It clearly indicates that the main source to the formation of the foreign-born population has been the migration with USSR if further analyzed in respect to the places of birth and ethnicities forming up the foreign-born population.

Another task of the paper has been to put forward different assumptions to be tested as the second step of the research study of the foreign-born population of Estonia.

First of all, attention is drawn to the fact that the Estonians have been in a very low extent engaged in the post-war interregional (pro international) migration process, except when forced – like deportation. Overwhelming share of old ages in the structure of the Estonian foreign-borns might indicate that by the beginning of the WW II the Estonians had been entering another stage of mobility transition and gone through the stage of intensive international (long-distanced) migration and reached the point of turnaround. The task for further analysis is to analyze the cohorts of foreign-borns in correlation with the time of residence as well as place of birth in order to get proof to the assumption of a turnaround among the Estonians.

Among the 120 ethnicities forming up the Estonia’s foreign-borns 10 main ethnicities comprise about 98 per cent, among whom the greatest share belongs to the Russians with over 67 per cent. However, the share of the foreign-borns among the Russians is one of the lowest (about 57 per cent). In further analysis it has been put forward to test the hypothesis that the Russians formed the most part in the first post-war years’ migration streams as well as with the extension of the hinterland, from the demographically less advanced regions the mobility transition first of all involved Russians.

The analysis of places of birth brought up 5 dominating regions among the foreign-borns. Out of these five, four form the nearest hinterland to Estonia – i.e. the regions are directly bordering with Estonia and have historically been related to Estonia through centuries. The attention is drawn to the fact that no other region in the other republics of previous Soviet Union has so outstanding share as the above-referred. For further analysis it is useful to test the durance of residence of those born out of near hinterland. The assumption is that these regions were more demographically developed and the population out of them must have entered the intensive stage of mobility transition earlier.
In connection to the place of birth and related to the development of migration processes, the little share of the nearest republics to Estonia – Latvia and Lithuania – among other places of birth is underlined, the explanation to what lies in different directions of demographic development – with Latvia – the same stage of no migration potential, with Lithuania not yet resulted migration potential. Some light to the testing of the assumption should throw the further analysis in relation to the durance of the residence of the latter ethnicities in Estonia.

Estonia with its more than 26 per cent of foreign-borns is an outstanding country in the context of Europe. The main outcome of the analysis is that the main source of formation the foreign-born population of Estonia has been the post-war migration exchange with the previous Soviet Union and mostly with Russia. The Non–Estonians mainly forming up the foreign-borns are either of the slavic origin (Russians, Ukraines and Byelorussians, more than 80 per cent) or ethnicities migrated from USSR to Estonia for further emigration to their motherland (e.g. Germans, Poles, Jews). The analysis of the foreign-borns reveals that the socio-political problems of today's Estonia lie not in the conflicts between ethnicities but are rather related to the unadaptiveness of the migrant population of totally different social, ethnical and cultural background forming up the Non–Estonian population and the foreign-borns.
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Table 4. SHARE OF FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION IN THE POPULATIONS OF SELECTED MEMBER STATES OF COUNCIL OF EUROPE AND ESTONIAN COUNTIES (MAAKONNAD)

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Table 5. SHARE OF FOREIGN-BORNS AMONG SUB-POPULATIONS, Estonia, 1989

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FIG. 1. MIGRATION STREAMS OF ESTONIA
eincl. internal and external, 1946-1991

Thousands

120
110
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0


--- in-migration --- out-migration

FIG. 2. MIGRATION EXCHANGE WITH USSR,
URBAN POPULATION, ESTONIA, 1946-1991

Thousands

40
30
20
10
0


--- in-migration --- out-migration
FIG. 3. CRUDE MIGRATION RATES FOR INTERNATIONAL AND MIGRATION TO USSR
ESTONIA, 1959-1991

FIGURE 4 CHANGES IN INTERNAL AND MAIN MIGRATION BY SEX, ESTONIA
1967-1990 (GMR 1967=1)
FIGURE 5 AGE-SPECIFIC MIGRATION RATES
FOR INTERNAL AND MAIN MIGRATION, ESTONIA

FIGURE 6 AGE-SPECIFIC MIGRATION RATES
FOR INTERNAL MIGRATION, ESTONIA
FIGURE 7 AGE-SPECIFIC MIGRATION RATES
FOR MIGRATION WITH USSR, ESTONIA

FIGURE 8 COMPARISON OF FEMALE MIGRATION
FIGURE 9 COMPARISON OF MALE MIGRATION

FIGURE 10 INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION STRENGTH
URBAN POPULATION, ESTONIA, 1946-1990
FIGURE 11 FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION IN STATES OF COUNCIL OF EUROPE AND COUNTIES (MAAKOND) OF ESTONIA, 1989

FIG. 12 POPULATION AGE STRUCTURE BY MAIN ETHNICITIES AND THEIR NATIVE-BORNS ESTONIA, 1989
FIG. 13. AGE STRUCTURES OF FOREIGN-BORN
ESTONIA, 1989

FIG. 14. DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN-BORN
BY THE BIRTHPLACE, ESTONIA, 1989