# RAHVASTIKU-UURINGUD
# POPULATION STUDIES

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## FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION IN ESTONIA: FORMATION AND MIGRATION

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RU Series B No 38

**EESTI KÕRGKOOLIDEVAHELINE DEMOUURINGUTE KESKUS**

**ESTONIAN INTERUNIVERSITY POPULATION RESEARCH CENTRE**

ISBN 9985-820-55-X

This article gives an overview of the formation of the foreign-born population in Estonia and analyses their migration behaviour by birth cohort and birth region, using data from the Estonian Family and Fertility Survey on the foreign-born female population. Over the course of time the geographical background of the foreign-born population has become more diverse, while the differences in their migration behaviour have decreased, which may be result from the unified socialisation-environment.

## 1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Before WWII, Estonia was an ethnically homogeneous state. According to the 1934 census, 88% of the total population (1.1 million) consisted of ethnic Estonians with 12% ethnic minorities. The largest minority groups were Russians, Germans, Swedes, Latvians and Jews [RSKB 1937]. Even more important is the fact that the majority of dominant and minority populations had been living in Estonia for several generations if not centuries. Only in case of ethnic Russians and Jews was the proportion of the foreign-born population notable. In addition to the historical Russian minority population, there were also descendants of Russian civil servants, teachers and military personnel sent to Estonia during the Russification period in the late 19$^{th}$ and early 20$^{th}$ centuries. Likewise, there were Russian refugees who settled in Estonia after the Russian revolution in 1917 [Katus *et al* 1997]. The large proportion of the foreign-born among the Jewish minority was related to a later formation of this minority group. So the majority of ethnic Jews immigrated to Estonia in the second half of the 19$^{th}$ century, and the Jewish community was formed by the early 20$^{th}$ century [Berg 1994].

WWII brought important changes for Estonia and its population. Estonia lost the majority its historical ethnic minorities and the pre-war foreign-born population. This process began with emigration of ethnic Germans in 1939–1940 as a result of Hitler's call to Italian, Polish and Baltic Germans to resettle in Germany [Angelus 1955]. Then the Jewish community dwindled. Some of them were deported during the first Soviet occupation period (1940–1941) to Siberia and others were evacuated to the Soviet rear after the beginning of the Nazi-Soviet war in 1941. Those who stayed in Estonia were killed during the Nazi occupation (1941–1944) [Berg 1994; Katus *et al* 1997]. In 1943, the majority of ethnic Swedes left Estonia. Part of them had already resettled in Sweden in 1939 when the islands of Suur- and Väike-Pakri Swede-inhabited were given to the Soviet military.

The number of ethnic Russians decreased remarkably, as well. During the first Soviet occupation one third of the Russian refugees who had fled to Estonia after Russian revolution in 1917 were repressed and deported [Katus *et al* 1997]. In the first years of the second Soviet occupation (1944–1991), Estonia lost the majority of Russians living in the border regions. In 1944, the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union decided that the areas east of the Narva-river and the Petseri region, which previously belonged to Estonia, were to be given to Russia [Kurs 1993]. In the region east of the Narva-river, were mainly ethnic Russians. The Petseri region, in turn, was inhabited by three different ethnic groups: Estonians, Russians and also Latvians [RSKB 1937]. So, the changes in the border brought also the decrease of the Latvian community in Estonia [Katus *et al* 1997]. Thus, by the end of the WWII, Estonia has lost all its historical ethnic minorities and pre-war foreign-born population. At the end of 1944 there were about 850,000 people living in Estonia. 97% of them were ethnic Estonians and the remaining 3% were formed ethnic Russians, some of whom were living in urban areas and others in the lake Peipus region [Katus 1997].

As a result of the war, the Estonian geopolitical situation also changed. Estonia was occupied and annexed to the Soviet Union. This opened the borders to the east and become the catalyst for the formation of the Estonian foreign-born population today.

## 2. FORMATION OF THE FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION TODAY

The immigration from the Soviet Union to Estonia began in the autumn of 1944, when along with Soviet troops, members of the communist party and Soviet personnel arrived. Part of them had already worked in Estonia during the first Soviet occupation (1940–1941), but after the beginning of the Nazi-Soviet war had been moved back to the Soviet Union. A larger immigration took place in the next three years. In 1945–1947, about 45 000 people, in each year, immigrated to Estonia [Sakkeus 1991]. In addition to the communist party and the Soviet personnel, labour groups from the Soviet Union were directed to the rebuilding of the Estonian economy. Likewise, people were recruited for industry work, which soon became the major channel of immigration. On the one hand, Estonia (and Latvia) were regions that were ideal for the development of industry because a pre-war developed economy and infrastructure existed. On the other hand, necessary labour was supplied by the rural areas of the European Russia where, as a result of the fast population growth, the emigration potential was high [Katus 1989].

Immigration to Estonia continued to be rise during the whole post-war period, although in the course of time the migration streams gradually decreased. In the first post-war years about 45 000 people each year settled in Estonia. In the first half of the 1950s, the number of immigrants was 35 000–40 000 per year. From the second half of the 1950s, the immigration streams decreased once more, then remained stable until the beginning of the 1980s at a level of 20 000–30 000 people a year. It should also be mentioned that in addition to immigration, an intensive emigration from Estonia took place during the post-war period. This led to the exceptionally high migration turnover over the course of the time, in which many people moved to Estonia, but part of them stayed there [Sakkeus 1991].

In the course of time, the mechanism of immigration also changed. In the 1940s–1950s immigration was centralised, directly governed by the Soviet state both in case of the Communist party and the Soviet personnel, and the labour recruited to the industry. From the 1960s onwards, the dominant trend became decentralised migration. Immigration to Estonia was not so much governed from the centre as it was shaped by the initiative of industrial enterprises, built during Soviet occupation [Katus 1989; Tammaru 1997a]. Changes in the Estonian hinterland of immigration took place too. During the first post-war decades immigrants mainly came from areas closed to Estonia, and later the proportion of people arriving from other parts of the Soviet Union increased [Katus 1989].

As a result of intensive immigration, a large foreign-born population formed in Estonia. While knowing that by the end of the WWII Estonia was ethnically homogeneous state, and that the post-war immigrants were mainly non-Estonians, then to get overview of the foreign-born population we should follow the changes in

the number and proportion of non-Estonians in Estonia. The number of non-Estonians increased quickly during the post-war period. In the beginning of 1945, there were 23 000 non-Estonians living in Estonia, but by 1959, their number had increased to 304 000. In 1970, there were 431 000. In 1979, 517 000 and in 1989, there were already 602 000 non-Estonians in Estonia. The proportion of non-Estonians increased during the period 1945–1989 from 3% to 38% [Katus, Sakkeus 1993]. It is also important to present the proportion of the foreign-born population among non-Estonians. In 1989, about 61% of non-Estonians were born outside Estonia, while the remaining 39% were primarily descendants from the second generation. All in all, there were 411 000 foreign-born people living in Estonia and they comprised 26% of the Estonian population. That is a very high level as compared to other European countries [Katus, Sakkeus 1993].

Analytically, it is important to separate the population of foreign origin from the native population in case of Estonia. Firstly, the demographic behaviour of native Estonians and foreign-born Estonians has been quite different. As a result, important changes among the population subgroups has not always been revealed in the Estonian total population [Katus, Puur 1992; Katus, Sakkeus 1993; Vikat 1994]. Secondly, it has been argued that the population of foreign origin is not just a subgroup of the Estonian population, but that it is internally rather heterogeneous and thus needs separate study. The foreign-born population originates from a large migration hinterland where demographic and social behaviour has varied significantly by region [Katus, Sakkeus 1993].

The aim of this article is to give an overview of the population of foreign origin in Estonia today and to analyse their migration behaviour. The foreign-born female population is studied, using data from the Estonian Family and Fertility Survey (EFFS), conducted in 1994 [Katus *et al* 1995a, 1995b]. In the first part of the article, I give an overview of the foreign-born female population in Estonia using demographic, geographic and social variables, and analyse the changes by birth cohort. In the second part, I observe the migration behaviour of the foreign-born female population in order to clarify the extent to which the migration behaviour of the foreign-born population differs by birth cohort and by region of origin.

## 3. RESEARCH DATA

The best overview of the current foreign-born population in Estonian could be obtained using the 1989 Soviet census data that enables us to analyse the foreign-born population by major geographic, demographic and social variables [Katus, Puur 1993]. For today, several articles have been published dealing with the foreign-born population in Estonia on the basis of census data [Sakkeus 1991; Katus, Sakkeus 1993; Kulu 1994]. However, the census data has its shortcomings. Taking into account the objectives of this research, the census data enables us to identify the place of birth and residence of the foreign-born person in 1989, but the information on migrations during his/her life is missing. This shortcoming can be overcome by data from the Estonian Family and Fertility Survey (EFFS), carried out among the foreign-born female population in 1994 and male population in 1997.

In the course of the EFFS in 1994, 5021 women were interviewed, 1446 (29%) of whom were born outside Estonia. The survey was carried out among the Estonian female population born between 1924–1973 [Katus *et al* 1995a]. In its essence the survey was retrospective. The aim was to identify all demographic events that had taken place in the life of respondent, likewise to gather information about the background of these events. Because the residential changes of the respondents were also identified, the EFFS data creates a favourable base for studying the migration history of Estonian population, including the foreign-born population. However, the EFFS data has its shortcomings, too. Firstly, the data do not cover all foreign-born females who were living in Estonia in 1994. So the information is missing about the oldest generations of the foreign-born females – those who shaped the immigration processes in the 1940s. Secondly, the survey data does not enable us to analyse the migration behaviour of the foreign-born population by ethnic origin in detail. Because of the relative small number of respondents surveyed it is possible to make distinction only between ethnic Russians and representatives of other nationalities.

Next, I observe the foreign-born female population in the light of the following variables: birth cohort, year of immigration, place of birth, ethnic origin, the language of childhood, and the place of residence (region and the type of settlement) after arriving at Estonia and now. As the demographic and social behaviour of population (as a rule) changes by generation, all analyses have been carried out by birth cohort.

## 4. CHARACTERISING TRAITS OF THE FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION

### 4.1. Birth cohort and the year of immigration

By observing the Estonian foreign-born population by birth cohort it becomes evident that the largest generation is formed by those born in the second part of the 1920s and that the smallest generation are those born in the end of the 1960s and in the beginning of the 1970s. There is a regular decrease in the size of generations from older to younger. The distribution of the foreign-born population by the year of immigration is to some extent different than expected. The largest group arrived in Estonia in the second half of the 1940s (Figure 1). The number of those who immigrated to Estonia in the 1950s is, as expected, lower, but is again larger in the 1960s and in the beginning of the 1970s. Then, the number of those arrived after mid-1970s is smaller. The differences in the distribution of the foreign-born population by birth cohort and year of immigration reveal that the youngest generations have settled in Estonia mainly as children, while the representatives of other generations arrived mostly in their adult years.

### 4.2. Place of birth, ethnic origin and the language of childhood

44% of the foreign-born females surveyed originated from Far Russia. 32% were born in Near Russia in areas closed to and having historical relations to Estonia (Northwest Russia). 10% of the foreign-born population originates from the Ukraine and Moldova, 6% from Byelorussia and 4% from the Trans-Caucasus and Central Asia. Those born elsewhere (including the other Baltic States) form 3% of the foreign-born population. Previous research has indicated that the geographical background of

immigrants to Estonia has changed in the course of time. The diversity of migration streams by place of birth has increased [Katus 1988; Katus 1989; Katus, Sakkeus 1993]. This argument is also supported by the survey data. We see that older generations are more homogeneous by birth cohort than younger ones (Figure 2). In addition, among the representatives of older generations the number of those who originate from areas closed to Estonia is relatively large, while in the case of younger generations there are more who come from elsewhere in the Soviet Union.

Although both the diversity by birth place and the proportion of people from non-Russian republics have increased as we move towards younger generations, similar changes in the ethnic origin and in the language of childhood of the population of foreign origin have not taken place. It becomes clear that 69% of the foreign-born population have Russian, 9% Estonian and 22% other ethnic origin. 74% of them spoke Russian in childhood, 8% Estonian and 18% other languages. Unexpectedly, the proportion of Russians is no smaller in the case of younger generations, but is more or less similar to older generations. Yet, the proportion of people who have grown up in a Russian-speaking environment has even increased as we move towards younger generations (Figure 3). There are two reasons for this. Firstly, the proportion of Russians among the immigrants from the Near Russia and non-Russian republics has increased in the course of time (Figure 4). Secondly, the proportion of the Russian-speaking population has increased both among the immigrants from Russia and non-Russian republics as we move towards younger generations (Figure 5). Thus, the geographical background of immigrants has become more diverse in the course of time, but their ethnic origin has not changed, and yet the language usage has homogenised [Sakkeus 1991].

It is evident there are also people with Estonian ethnic origin among the foreign-born population. These are mostly descendants of the late 19$^{th}$ and early 20$^{th}$ century Estonian emigrants to Russia – the number of the descendants of those deported (in the 1940s) or voluntary moved to Russia during the Soviet period is smaller. The descendants of emigrants arrived in Estonia mainly in the second half of the 1940s, and to lesser extent also later. All in all, at least 52 000–54 000 descendants of the Estonian emigrants settled from Russia to Estonia during the post-war period. Most of them were born in the 1910s–1930s [Kulu 1994; Kulu 1997]. The descendants of those deported in the 1940s returned to Estonia at the end of the 1950s. The proportion of ethnic Estonians among the foreign-born population varies by generation: Estonians form 13% among those born in the end of 1920s and in the 1930s, but 5% among those born in the late 1960s and the early 1970s.

### 4.3. Spatial distribution and geographical mobility in Estonia

Important differences may also be found in the spatial distribution and geographical mobility of the population of foreign origin in Estonia. In analysing the distribution of the foreign-born population by the first place of residence in Estonia, it turns out that the majority of them settled in two regions: Northwest and North-Northeast Estonia. Those who settled in Northwest Estonia (Tallinn) form 44% and those who settled in North-Northeast Estonia (Narva, Kohtla-Järve) comprise 36% of the foreign-born population covered by the survey. At the same time, only 20% settled in other Estonian regions (including Tartu, Pärnu). The differences by birth cohort can be

found here. The proportion of those who settled in Northwest Estonia has increased as we move towards younger generations (Figure 6). In addition, the population of the foreign-born in Northwest Estonia has grown as a result of internal migration that took place later in Estonia. In the case of older generations, the source of growth has been the foreign-born population in Southeast Estonia, while in the case of younger generations the population of foreign-born in Northeast Estonia (Figure 7). Currently, 47% of the foreign-born population surveyed live in Northwest Estonia, 35% in North-Northeast Estonia, and 17% elsewhere in Estonia.

From the urbanisation of the population of foreign origin, it becomes evident that 86% of them settled into urban areas after arriving in Estonia. In Northwest Estonia the proportion of those who settled into urban areas is 91%, in North and Northeast Estonia 91%, but elsewhere in Estonia only 63%. The differences by birth cohort could also be found here. The proportion of those who settled in urban areas after immigration into Estonia is smaller among older generations than younger generations of the foreign-born population. However, in the course of time the level of urbanisation has increased in the case of all generations (Figure 8). Currently, 90% of the Estonian foreign-born population is living in urban areas. In Northwest Estonia the urbanisation level is 94%, in North-Northeast Estonia 93%, and elsewhere in Estonia 73%.

Thus, the spatial distribution of the population of foreign origin in Estonia is characterised by concentration in Northwest, North-Northeast Estonia, especially in the cities of those regions. In the course of time this trend has increased even more. In its spatial distribution the foreign-born population differs remarkably from the native-born population – the latter is less urbanised and more evenly distributed across Estonia.

## 5. MIGRATION OF THE FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION

Next, I examine migration of the foreign-born female population. The objective is to clarify the extent to which migration of the foreign-born population differs by birth cohort and the region of origin. The following questions are to be considered. What are the differences in migration behaviour by place of birth and how have these differences changed over the course of time? Has widening of the immigration hinterland of Estonia brought an increase in the differences of migration behaviour or have the differences decreased? I use the following variables in my analysis: the age on the first migration, the age on immigration, the parity of immigration, the type of immigration, the reason for immigration, and the first place of residence in Estonia (region and the type of settlement). Only adult immigrants are studied.

In analysing the age on the first migration of the foreign-born population it becomes clear that the age on the first migration has decreased as we move towards younger generations. The remarkable decrease begins with those born in the second half of the 1940s. The differences by birth region can also be found. In the case of older generations, the age on the first migration has been higher among the foreign-born people from Far Russia and non-Russian republics as compared to those who

originate from Near Russia. Among those born in the second half of the 1930s and later the significant differences by birth region could not be found.

The age on immigration has also decreased as we move towards younger generations. The people from older generations have arrived at Estonia being an average of three years older than representatives of younger generations (Figure 9). Again, the differences could also be found by birth region. Those who were born in Far Russia and non-Russian republics before the mid-1940s have, as a rule, a higher average age during immigration than those who were born in Near Russia; but among those born later significant differences in age of immigration are missing (Figure 10).

The distribution of the foreign-born population by the order of immigration (immigration as *n* migration) is also different. It becomes evident that immigration to Estonia has on the average been 2.2 migration of the foreign-born people. The order of immigration decreases as we move towards younger generations – the foreign-born people from older generations have had more changes in residence before immigration than representatives of younger generations (Figure 11). Again, the situation is different by birth region. The foreign-born people from Far Russia and non-Russian republics have a higher order of immigration than those who originate from Near Russia, especially in the case of generations born before the mid-1940s (Figure 12).

The analysis of the foreign-born population by the direction and reason of immigration sheds light on the background of immigration. It turns out that there are equally those for whom immigration to Estonia was the migration from rural to urban or urban to urban areas among the foreign-born people of older generations (Figure 13). In the case of younger generations, the prevalent direction of immigration has been urban to urban migration. Other directions of immigration are rarer. However, it should be mentioned that among representatives of older generations there are a large number of those to whom immigration to Estonia meant the move from one rural area to another. Again, the comparison by birth region indicates that immigrants from areas close to Estonia differ from those born elsewhere in the Soviet Union. In the case of foreign-born people from Near Russia the rural to urban migration has been an important direction of immigration for a longer period of time, even though, its proportion later on quickly decreased (Figure 14). It should also be mentioned that, although in the present case homogenisation of migration behaviour is unnoticeable as we move towards younger generations, the analysis of the foreign-born population by the direction of immigration supports the fact that the people from Near Russia and elsewhere in the Soviet Union are those who primarily differ, while the differences in migration behaviour between those born in the Far Russia and non-Russian republics are unimportant.

The information on the type of immigration is also interesting. The majority of the foreign-born people settled in Estonia voluntarily. Only among the people of older generations can be found those who consider immigration as forced migration. The majority of the foreign-born females say that the decision to settle in Estonia was related to their own will. 30–40% of those interviewed associate immigration decision with the will of other family member or relatives. The main factors influencing the decision have been related to work, the wish to change the life-environment or family

formation (reunion). It is important to mention here that the proportion of work- and life-environment-related factors has decreased as we move towards younger generations, while the role of the family-related factors has become more important (Figure 15). Thus, in the case of the foreign-born female population, the work-related rural to urban or urban to urban immigration has been replaced by the urban to urban migration, where the dominant motives for migration are family-related factors. It should be added that among the foreign-born people from Near Russia the proportion of work-related immigration has generally been lower and the reasons for immigration more varied than among the foreign-born people from elsewhere in the Soviet Union.

Differences can also be found in the migration behaviour of the foreign-born people after arriving in Estonia. As it previously became clear the majority of the foreign-born people settled in Northwest and North-Northeast Estonia, especially in the cities. Also, the concentration has increased as we move towards younger generations. The differences in the choice of residence among the foreign-born population are significant also by the region of birth. There are remarkably more of those who settled in Northwest and North-Northeast Estonia, while arriving in Estonia, among the foreign-born people of older generations from the Far Russia and non-Russian republics (Figure 16). Yet, in the case of intermediate and younger generations the significant differences are missing. The situation is also similar in respect to the differences in the level of urbanisation.

Thus, from the migration of the foreign-born population the fact became clear that their migration behaviour differs by the region of birth. In the first place, the foreign-born people from the areas close to Estonia differ from others, while the differences in migration behaviour between the people of foreign origin from the Far Russia and non-Russian republics is unimportant. Yet, the situation differs to some extent by birth cohort. In the case of older generations the differences in migration behaviour are large, but that of intermediate and younger generations is less visible. Thus, it may be concluded that the differences in migration behaviour by region of origin have decreased over the course of time.

In analysing the process of immigration of the foreign-born female population it became evident that predominantly work-related rural to urban or urban to urban immigration has been replaced by urban to urban migration motivated by family formation (reunion) as we move towards younger generations. Among the foreign-born people from Near Russia the proportion of work-related immigration has been lower and the reasons for immigration more diverse than among the people of foreign origin from elsewhere in the Soviet Union.

## 6. SUMMARY

The foreign-born population in Estonia began to form at the end of the WW II, when intensive immigration from the Soviet Union started. The number of the foreign-born people increased quickly during the post-war period in Estonia and reached to 411 000 in the end of the 1980s. In 1989, the foreign-born population formed 26% of the

Estonian total population and with the second generation born in Estonia the proportion of the population of foreign origin reached about 40% [Katus, Sakkeus 1993]. Such a large percentage of foreign-born people is rather extraordinary in the European context. In several European countries that had a positive net migration for a long time (Germany, France, Sweden, Belgium) there are 5–10% of foreign-born people today. However, in most European countries this proportion does not exceed a few percent. Only in "dwarf-countries" (Liechtenstein, Luxembourg and Monaco) is the proportion of the foreign-born population in similar to that of Estonia [Katus, Sakkeus 1993].

The foreign-born population in Estonia has often been treated as a population subgroup with homogeneous origin. The results of the research support the argument put forward by Katus (1989), according to which the relatively large foreign-born population in Estonia is characterised also by a large internal heterogenity by place of birth. As it turned out from the analysis of the geographical background of the foreign-born population, their heterogenity has increased over the course of time. Older generations originate from Near Russia that has a historical relationship with Estonia, but in case of younger generations people from the extensive and diverse hinterland dominate. In addition, the proportion of people from non-Russian republics has increased as we move towards younger generations. At the same time it is important to note that, however, that while geographical background of immigrants has become more diverse in the course of years, their ethnic background has not changed. Still, the language background has become even unified. The reason is because of the increase in the proportion of ethnic Russians among the foreign-born people from non-Russian republics, as we move towards younger generations. Likewise, a significant part of ethnic non-Russians of younger generations has grown up in the Russian-speaking environment.

The spatial distribution of the foreign-born population in Estonia is characterised by their concentration in Northwest and North-Northeast Estonia, especially in the cities there [Katus, Sakkeus 1993]. The results obtained in the research indicate that this trend has even deepened in the course of time. On the one hand, the proportion of those who settled in the Northwest has increased as we move towards younger generations. On the other hand, the foreign-born population in Northwest Estonia has also grown at the expense of those who resettled from other parts of Estonia. The concentration of the foreign-born people in Northwest and North-Northeast Estonia has created the current situation where the population of the cities of the Northeast Estonia (Narva, Kohtla-Järve and Sillamäe) is formed mostly by people of foreign origin.

In analysing the migration of the foreign-born female population, it turned out that, as we move towards younger generations, the work-related rural to urban or urban to urban immigration has been replaced by urban to urban migration, behind which are mostly factors related to the family formation (reunion). The similarities with the experience of the West-European countries from the post-war period can be seen here. The work-related migration characterising the 1950s–1960s was replaced (after restrictions for immigration) by immigration related to family reunion in the 1970s in many countries.

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Vikat, Andres (1994). Family Formation in Estonia. *Publications of the Finnish Demographic Society,* No.15.

Figure 1. FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION BY YEAR OF IMMIGRATION

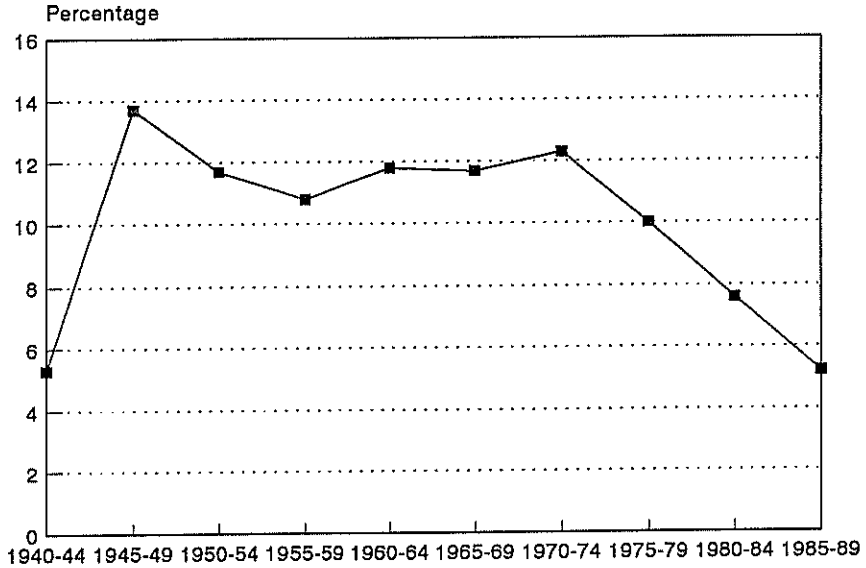



Figure 2. FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION BY PLACE OF BIRTH

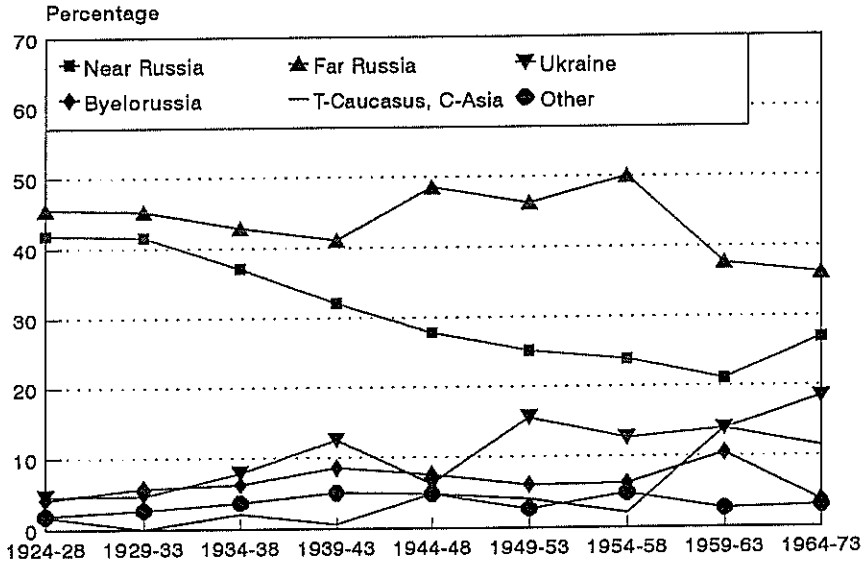



Figure 3. FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION BY LANGUAGE OF CHILDHOOD

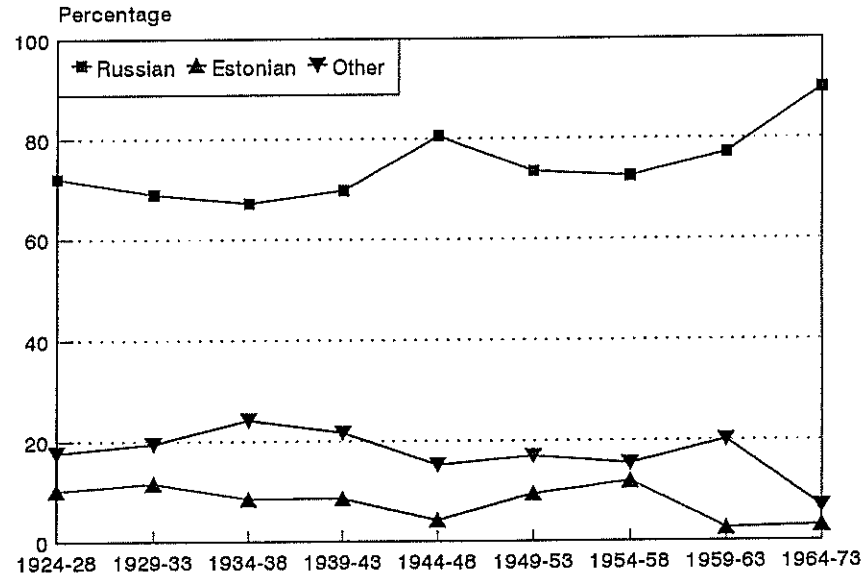


Figure 4. THE PROPORTION OF RUSSIANS AMONG FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION

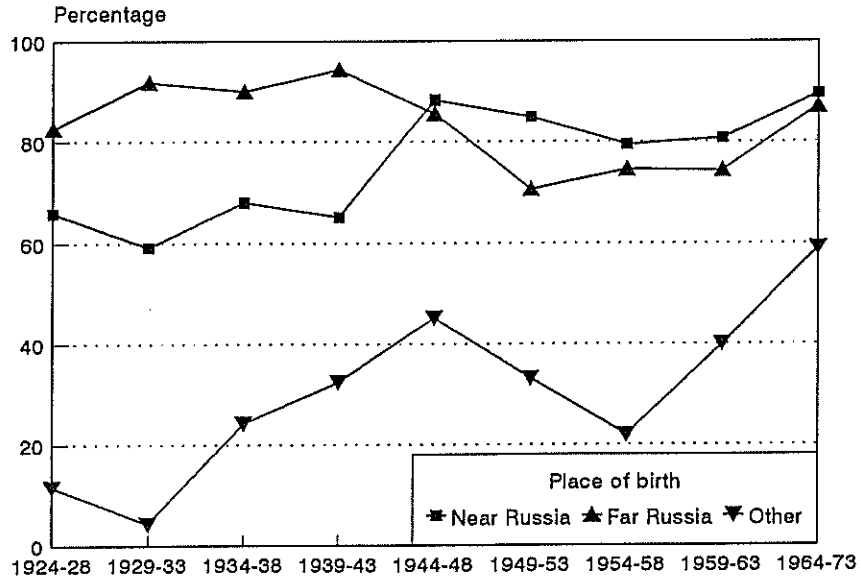



Figure 5. THE PROPORTION OF RUSSIAN-SPEAKING PEOPLE AMONG NON-RUSSIANS

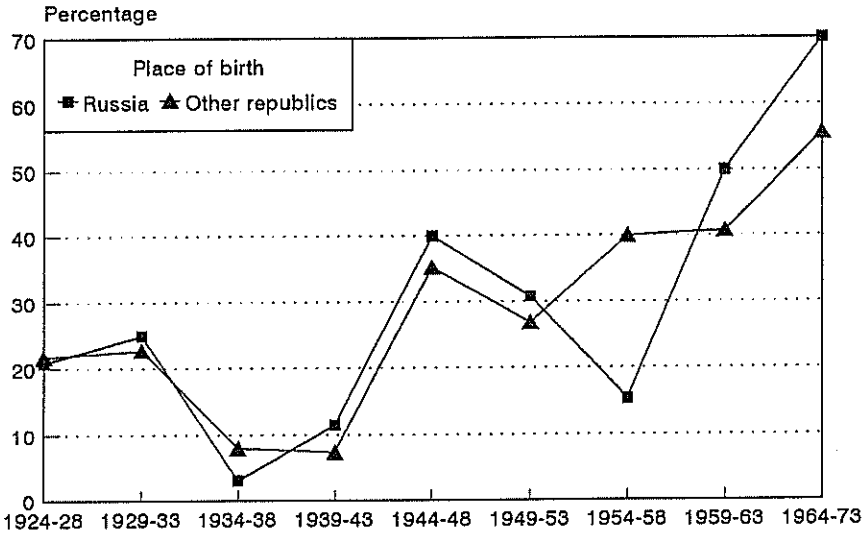



Figure 6. FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION BY FIRST PLACE OF RESIDENCE IN ESTONIA

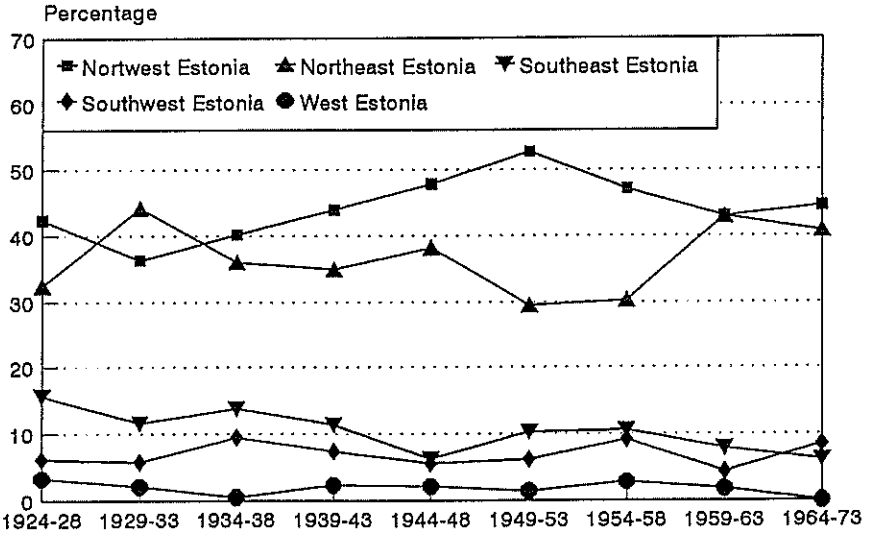
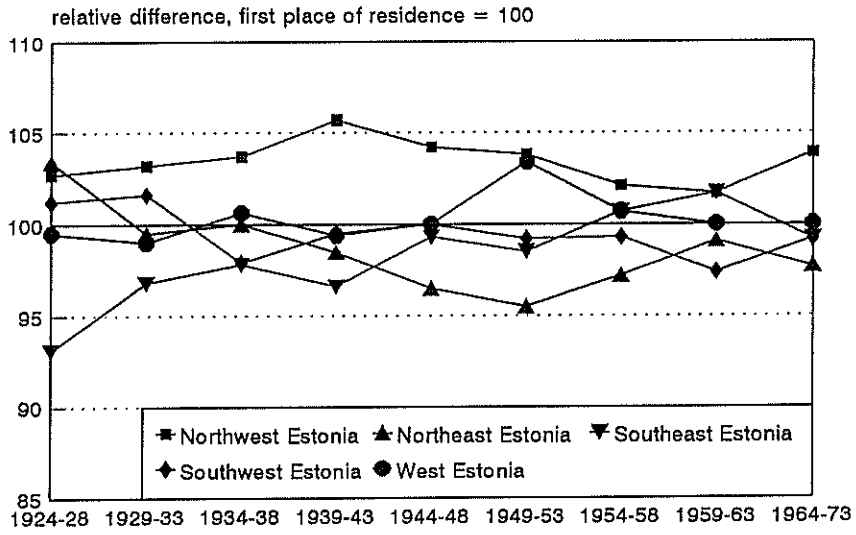


Figure 7. FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION BY CURRENT PLACE OF RESIDENCE




Joonis 8. THE PROPROTION OF URBAN-DWELLERS AMONG FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION

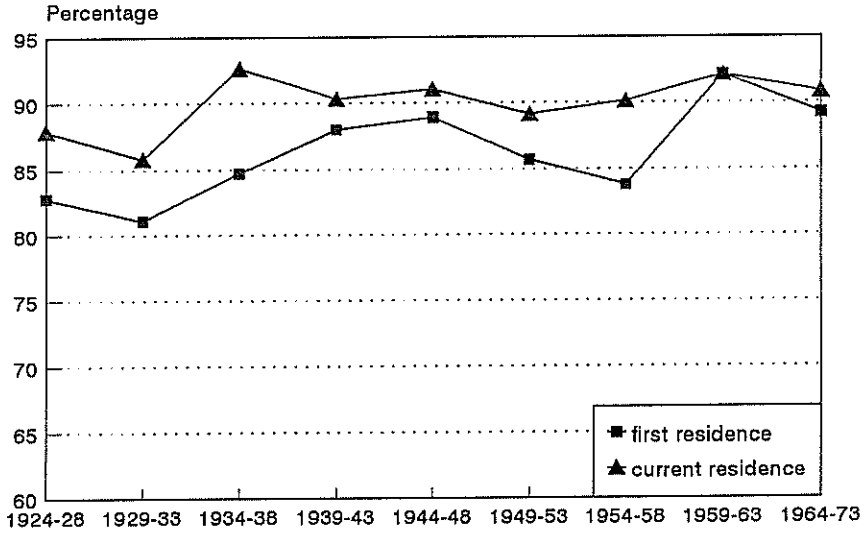



Figure 9. FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION BY TIMING OF IMMIGRATION

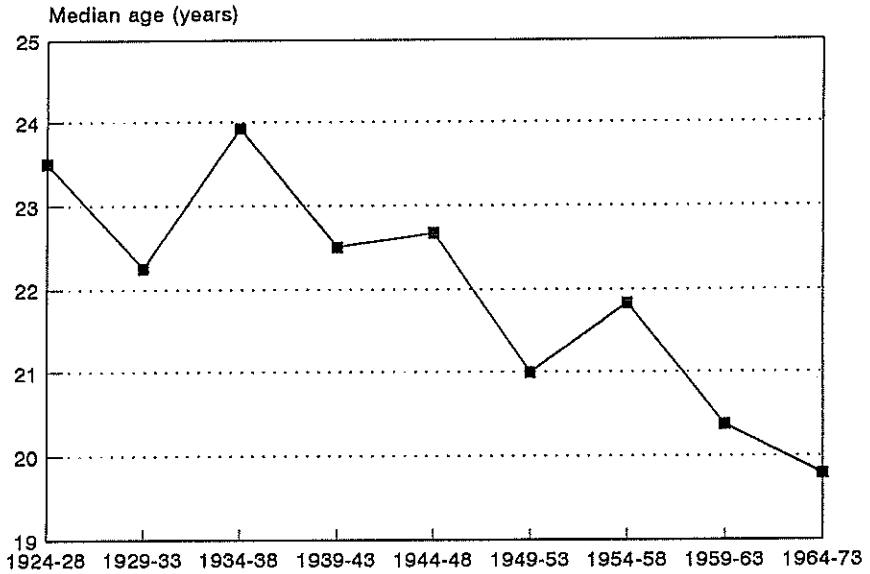


Figure 10. THE DIFFERENCES IN TIMING OF IMMIGRATION

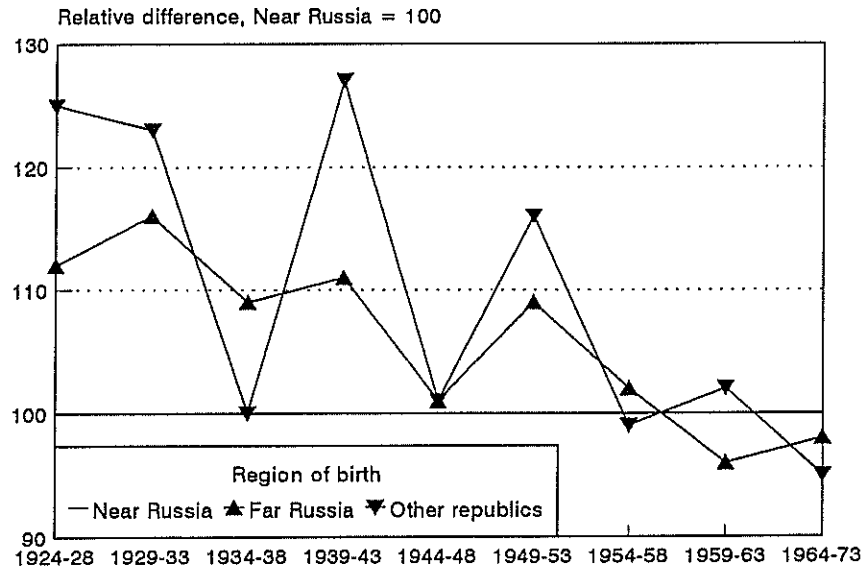



Figure 11. FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION BY ORDER OF IMMIGRATION

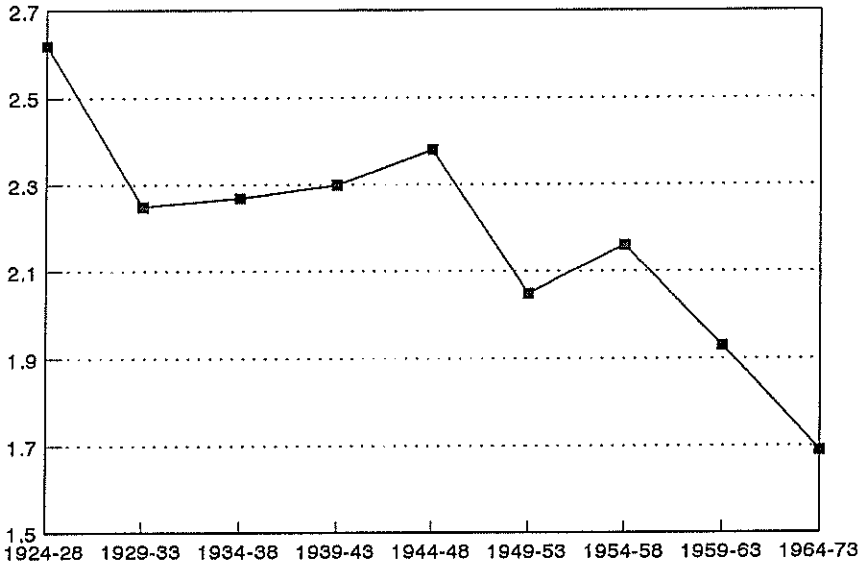



Figure 12. THE DIFFERENCES IN ORDER OF IMMIGRATION

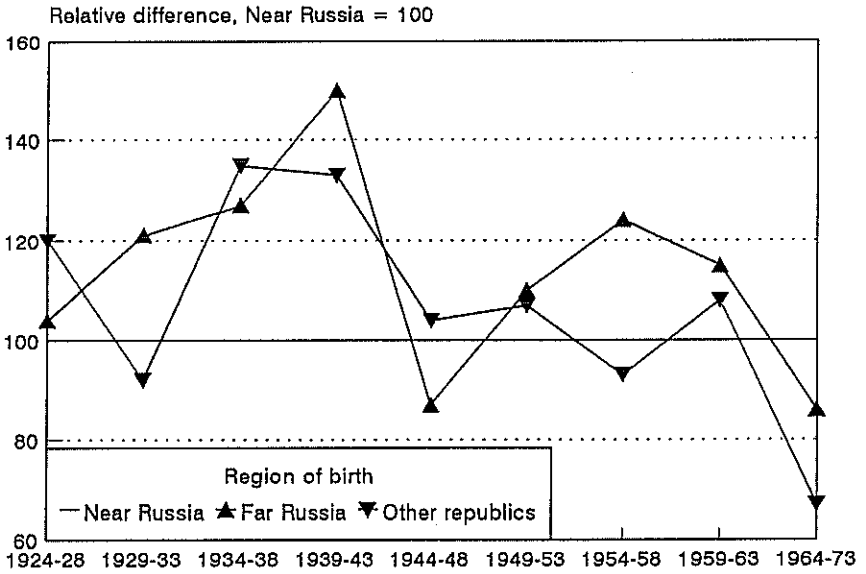


Figure 13. FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION BY DIRECTION OF IMMIGRATION

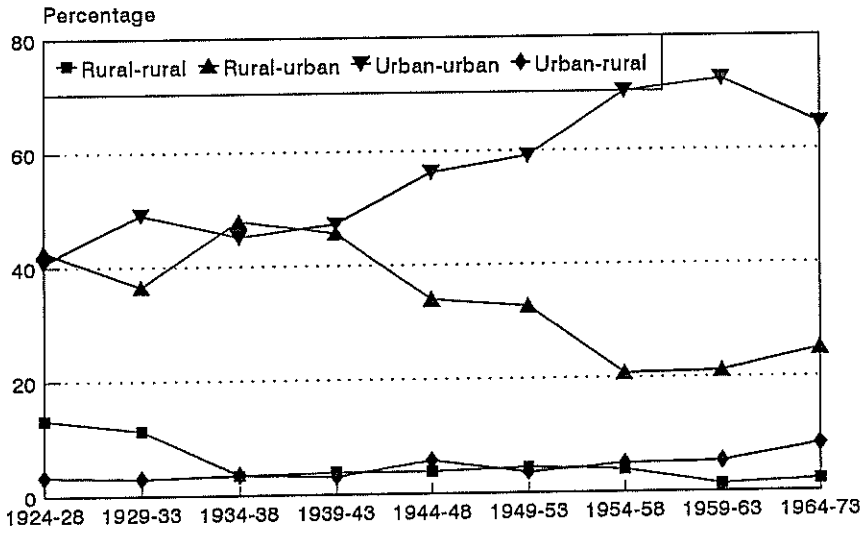



Figure 14. THE DIFFERENCES IN PROPROTION OF RURAL-URBAN IMMIGRATION

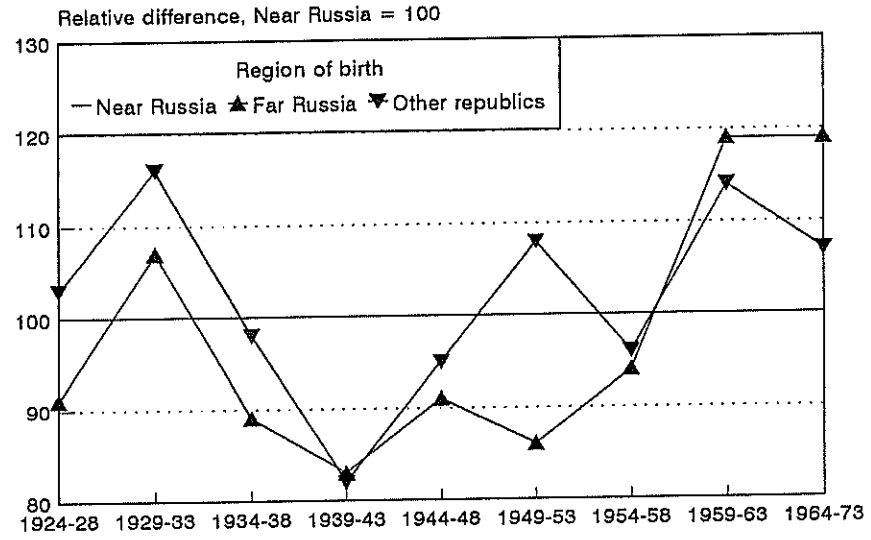



Figure 15. FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION BY TYPE OF IMMIGRATION

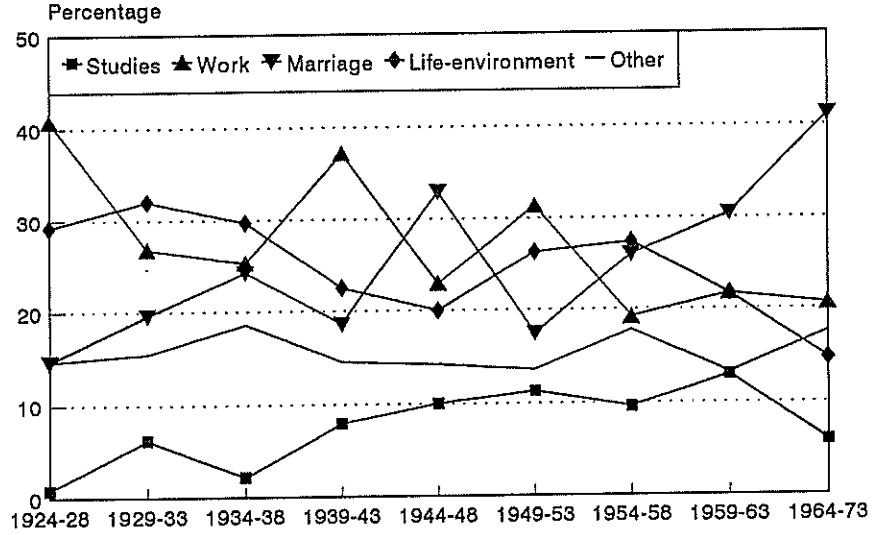


Figure 16. THE DIFFERENCES IN PROPORTION OF PEOPLE SETTLED IN NORTH ESTONIA