FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION IN ESTONIA

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Contemporary Estonia is a country with the territory of 45.2 thousand square kilometres and the population of 1.6 million inhabitants. Estonians have lived at their present territory of rather stable boundaries for more than 5000 years being one of the oldest nations in Europe in this respect. Estonia lost its independence at the beginning of the 13th century after 20 years fight against the combined attack by Germans, Danes, Swedes and Russians. Peter the Great included Lutherian Estonia into Russian Empire in 1710. After being ruled by different nations for 700 hundred years Estonia became an independent country in 1918. However, independence was lost again for 50 years as a result of the Molotov–Ribbentrop agreement in 1939.

The political independence of Estonia has been restored the last year. However, in many economic and social aspects it would still take a long period to overcome the colonial structures being developed during recent decades and build up the social organization adequate to local population. As to the long–term perspectives one of the most essencial spheres of the process would be the formation of Estonian population. In this respect two aspects must be taken into account: (1) free will of people currently living in Estonia to choose their home–country for the future and (2) general socio–economical conditions to realize these expectations.

For many people in Estonia there is no alternative to choose the home country. Native population, whatever the ethnicity or other social characteristics, would naturally stay in Estonia. Another part of current population of Estonia, first of all the Russian army soldiers, would leave Estonia. However, there are many other people, including the army officers with their families who face the real alternative: currently living in Estonia they have roots as well as personal contacts and common behaviour with other (not seldomly with many) regions of the previous Soviet Union. They are facing the necessity for the self–definition.

On the one hand, it is a personal problem of such people and the solution must be made by themselves. On the other hand, in case of Estonia it is also the national problem because the share of these people in total population is amazingly large. Whatever the solution, the Estonian long–term social development would depend on the formation of the population during the next three–five years in a great deal.

It is well known that being incorporated into Soviet Union, Estonia became the country of immigration from East. Usually the amount of this immigration and its role in the formation of the current population is generally underestimated, including the local authorities. Compared to Latvia and Lithuania the immigration has been the greatest into Estonia, the process has been also characterized by many other dissynchronities between three Baltic countries. As the result, the current populations formed in Baltic countries carry a different nature to a great extent, despite otherwise is commonly thought.

The basic cause of underestimation of the problems concerning the immigrants in Estonia, as well as in other Baltic countries, is evidently the inaccessibility of appropriate data. Even the absolute numbers of migration flows have been closed for publishing during the Soviet period. Moreover, for the 1940–1950s only incomplete migration statistics exists, however, namely these are the decades of organized immigration for

political reasons (strenghtened by deportation of native population to Siberia). It is principally rather difficult to obtain the complete picture of immigration into Estonia, if using only the data on registration of moves.

During the post–war history of Soviet censuses the 1989 census program included for the first time the question on a place of birth of respondents. It was coded on the level of republics and oblasts of the USSR and, thus, allowing to produce calculations separating the native and foreign–born populations by regions. The census data adds a very important source of information to the understanding of the post–war migration processes in Estonia, especially because census data also includes a noticable range of personal characteristics for all individuals.

Foreign–born population, citizens or immigrants by status, is receiving the increasing attention in most European countries: the social needs and culture of foreigners by birth usually differs from other population, but the social organization is used to meet all the needs of different people. The special projects carried out under the auspices of the Council of Europe (including COST activities), United Nations and different country authorities (e.g. University College London, UK) on international migration problems demonstrate the necessity to investigate the developed situations caused by intensive migration of people [Schierup, Alund 1987; Oschies 1989; Chesnais 1991; Van de Kaa 1991].

In case of Estonia (to a lesser extent for the other Baltic countries) two arguments could be underlined to stress the specific importance of the matter. (1) Foreign–born population with their second generation comprises a very large proportion of the current total population of Estonia, nearly the largest in Europe. In some cities they are forming the majority. (2) In general, their specific needs as well as the needs of native population have been ignored by the Soviet ideology dealing with the unified characteristics of "new people of communism era". Not seldom the social situation and needs of the immigrants are even not known to authorities.

It must be noticed that in some, if not most aspects, the unified social organization practiced in Soviet Union has been more acceptable for the immigrants than for the local Estonian population (especially due to the selective factor of the immigrants themselves), and now, some social changes are met by the foreign–born population as a special attack to their rights in Estonia or in other Baltic countries, despite the same changes are going on in all the regions of the previous Soviet Union.

The report is presenting the first draft results of the Project on native–born/foreign–born population differencies in Estonia. The Project is mainly directed to analyze the differencies in demographic patterns but its task includes also to present the wider social heterogeneity. The database used is formed by the individual cases of the 1989 census, 1,562 thousands in total. The main questionnaire of the census consists of 20 (some of them multiple) questions and of 5 additional questions (for sample of 25 per cent of population).

After analysis the general differencies between the native–born and foreign–born populations, the internal heterogeneity of the foreign–born population is planned to investigate in more details as a second stage of the Project. It is planned to take the

Pihkva–born and the Volga–born Russians as two examples to be compared for the first step. The results of this analysis are not presented in the paper.

MIGRATION TRENDS IN ESTONIA: FORMATION OF THE FOREIGN–BORN POPULATION IN ESTONIA

Drawing the general background to the migration between Estonia and various regions of the USSR, the mobility transition theory must be taken into consideration. According to that theory, the main principles of which were formulated by Wilbur Zelinski [Zelinski 1971], the demographic transition proceeds simultaneously with the growth of the territorial mobility of population, especially at the phase of the considerable fertility decline when the dependency between generations is weakening. The growth of territorial mobility is additionally supported by the rapid population increase. Two main directions of population out–migration could be followed: to the urban settlements of the native regions and emigration outside from the ethnic territory.

Starting from the last quarter of the 19th century Estonia passed the mobility transition; the rural population had started to show decrease at the turn of the century [Maiste 1988]. In case of Estonia the out–migration from the ethnic boundaries was very intensive. The major part of the Estonian emigrants made their way into the Russia where the conditions for getting land were similar or even better compared to those in the New World but the access with the household belongings was much simpler than the voyage to overseas; the Russian official policy also favoured the resettling. As a result, at the end of the 19th century the Estonian settlements sprang up in the Far–East of Russia, Siberia, Abkhasia, the Crimea, the lower reaches of the Volga River etc. The greatest outflow in numbers from Estonia, however, took place to the neighbouring areas: Pihkva and Novgorod provinces and particularly to the province and the city of St. Petersburg [Kulu 1992; Nigol 1918; Pullat 1981; Vôime 1975]. The number of the Estonians outside the ethnic borders but within the Russian Empire could be estimated approximately up to 200 thousand people before the WW I which formed about 15–17 per cent of total number of the nation [Katus 1989].

After the WW II, Estonia and Russia (Soviet Union) had changed the roles in migration exchange. While Russia had acted as a receiver of Estonian colonizers up to the second decade of the 20th century, after the WW II Estonia had became the territory of destination for Russian immigrants. The continuous dissynchronity of demographic development had created the enomorous out–migration potential in Russian regions in post–war decades, while Estonia was already on the demographic stage of receiving immigrants like many other countries in North–Western Europe.

Moreover, the war and accompanied changes in geopolitical situation had strongly stengthened the possibilities of immigration into Estonia from East. In the first after–war decade the administatively supervized migration was directed to Estonia for political and ideological purposes. Estonia received also a great number of military personnel, army officers usually accompanied by their families. It must be noted that at the same time the deportation of local population to Siberia was carried out.

Figure 1 presents the number of registrated moves between the USSR and Estonian urban population (the migration of rural population was not registered up to 1956). Large amount of immigrants just in two first years after the war and the next peak in early 1950s after the second deportation to Siberia (more than 2 per cent of the total population in three days in March 1949) could be noticed. At the end of the 1950s the importance of the administative migration reduced, the survivors from deportation got the chance to return. Migration flows between Estonia and the USSR were gradually acquiring the expectable nature, typical to the two regions of noticeably different migration potentials.

In the 1960s, the migration potential in Slavic regions one after another began also to decrease which resulted *inter alia* in the decreasing immigration flow into Estonia from these regions. However, beginning since the end of the 1960s the enomorous enlargement of the Estonian migration hinterland was introduced [Katus, Sakkeus 1984]. As a result, the total inflow of migrants to Estonia has decreased with much slower speed than the inflow from the previous hinterland. Figure 1 demonstrates the continuously high migration exchange between Estonia and the USSR in the 1970–1980s when there was the ten–fold decrease of migration flows between Estonia and the neighgouring Pihkva oblast, for example.

The high intensity of migration processes refers to the unadaptiveness of the immigrants in Estonia. In period of 1956–1991 (when the registration of moves has been extended also to the rural population) the number of migrations of Estonia (turnover) has been ca seven times higher than the number of net migrants (1400 and 200 thousands correspondingly). In such circumstances the out–migration could be regarded as a certain response to the in–migration with a certain time–lag. Figure 1 illustrates the point. Data on ethnicity of migrants could be used to show that the share of the native population in out–migration flow was less than 5 per cent [Katus 1989].

Previous high intensity of migration processes has created the important specifity of the current situation. Many immigrants had entered Estonia not for permanent but short–term stay in the country, especially families of army officers and young people responding to the special calls for manpower, typical for economy branches supervised directly by Moscow. The previously common behaviour of many immigrants – to leave Estonia to some other places of better promises – became sharply restricted recently. Many of these people find now themselves captured in Estonia and also somewhat frightened because of the changing common social environment, i.e. unified social organization all over the Soviet Union. The biggest difficulties could be expected with the population originating from the regions of no historical or cultural contacts with Estonia and settled in Estonian cities with majority of immigrant population.

The second most important implication of the extensive immigration to Estonia is the sharply changing ethnical and language environment in the country. Ethnically and culturally homogeneous country has changed to the country of international cities. Taking into consideration the loss of the historical ethnical minorities (Germans leave in 1939–1940 and Swedes in 1944, the territories of mixed Estonian–Russian population united with the Russian SFSR in 1945) Estonia was ethnically very homogeneous after the WW II: 97.3 per cent of the total population were Estonians in decreased boundaries of 1945; representatives of all other ethnicities naturally understand and spoke the Estonian language. It must be noted that the situation was rather different in Latvia and Lithuania, where the titular nationalities formed only ca 80 per cent in both countries.

The change in the last 50 years has been noticeable, the share of Estonians has dropped to 61.5 per cent and Estonia has become the place of residence for 120 different ethnicities, majority of which do not understand the language spoken in the country.

ETHNICAL COMPOSITION OF THE ESTONIAN POPULATION

Census year	Total Population	Estonians	Non-Estonians	Share of Estonians, per cent
1945 (*)	854 000	831 000	23 000	97.3
1959	1 196 791	892 653	304 138	74.6
1970	1 356 079	925 157	430 922	68.2
1979	1 464 476	947 812	516 664	64.7
1989	1 565 662	963 281	602 381	61.5

(*) non-census year estimation

The change to such an extent has been mainly caused by immigration. In case of no direct information about permanent and migrant population some researchers, especially during the recent period, have used the ethnicity criteria to devide the Estonian population in the sense of origin. It is because the information on ethnicity has been used in Soviet statistics more frequently than other possible indicators of origin.

Using this simple division of the whole population it is shown that demographically the Estonian population split into two behavioural patterns: one is typical for permanently living people (Estonians by the defining criteria) and other for immigrants (Non-Estonians). Two subpopulations differentiate by most if not by all demographic processes [Katus, Puur 1990, Sakkeus 1991; Vikat 1991]. Differentiation was not that much caused by the ethnical origin than by historically different demographic development with the corresponding different cultural background. The coexistence of the two behaviour types in Estonia must be also taken into consideration when dealing with social processes in wider context [Anderson et al. 1991; Mihhailov 1990; Paadam 1990; Pavelson 1992].

It must be underlined that also the second generation of Estonian immigrants seems to follow the demographic behavioural pattern of their parental home regions rather than the Estonian one. In this respect the division of Estonians/Non-Estonians could give more distinctive result than the division of native-born/foreign-born, especially when social processes, intensive in younger ages, are analyzed.

BASIC DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION

Number of Foreign-born Population

The number of foreign-born population in Estonia is 411 thousand which forms 26.3 per cent of the total population. Among them there are 42.6 thousand foreign-born Estonians,

mostly successors of out-migrants from the mobility transition period; however, they form only 4.4 per cent of the Estonians. On the contrary, the share of foreign-borns among the Non-Estonians is as high as 61.2 per cent. Dropping aside Liechtenstein, Monaco and other tiny countries only Louxembourg demonstrates the higher share of foreign-born population in Europe (Figure 2) [Recent.. 1990]. Latvia is also close to Estonia by this indicator (but not by the share of foreign-borns among the Non-Latvians), the share of the foreign-born population in Lithuania is more than twice lower.

Typically the European countries have less than 10 per cent of foreign-borns compared to the total population. Quantitative aspect, the three times higher number of the mentioned sub-population in Estonia, itself has strenghtened all the well-known social problems connected with the immigrants.

Regional Distribution of Foreign-born Population

The foreign-born population in Estonia is characterized by the highly uneven territorial distribution. Most of the immigrants have settled in the Estonian cities. Figure 3 indicates that more than 90 per cent of the foreign-borns and the Non-Estonians are concentrated in urban areas. As a result, some of Estonian cities have become totally immigrant where native population is counted less than 10 per cent. Sillamäe (post-war new settlement of uranium factory), Paldiski (military city from which the local population was completely deported), Narva (ruined in the war and populated by immigrants) could be mentioned as an extreme examples of the immigrant settlements.

On the other hand, more than half of the Estonian urban settlements have not served as regions of destination for immigrants. Usually, the army officers and their families are the only foreigners in these regions. All Estonian rural areas are still homogeneously inhabited by the native population.

At the level of the Estonian settlement system the two-wave urbanization has been introduced: at the turn of the century all urban areas grew in size as parts of Estonian settlement hierarchy and, secondly, only some of them in the 1960-1980s because of immigration from USSR. Toomas Kümmel has demonstrated the destabilization of the Estonian settlement system as a whole and the formation of its colonial nature because of the second wave of urbanization [Kümmel 1986].

Highly uneven territorial distribution of the foreign-born population could be also followed by Estonian counties (Figure 4). The share of the foreign-borns is sharply higher in Harjumaa and Ida-Virumaa, in two counties where the most important immigrant cities are situated.

Age-structure of Foreign-born Population

The age-structure of the foreign-born population is expected to be specific. Figure 5 presents the population age composition by place of birth as well as by ethnicity. The share of foreign-borns in total Estonian population is the highest in the age-group of 50-59, gradually decreasing in younger ages. For population older than 45 of age the share of the foreign-born population is closely matching with the corresponding share of the

Non–Estonians. It is not surprising as Estonia was ethnically homogeneous after the war and the number of native–born Non–Estonians was respectively very low (people older than 45 years of age at the 1989 census date). Correspondingly, the share of Estonians and native–borns also coincides for the ages older than 45.

Figure 6 presents the proportions of foreign–borns and native–borns among the Non–Estonians. It illustrates more distinctively compared to the previous figure that the majority of the native–born Non–Estonians is formed by the second generation of the immigrants. As above–stated, the second generation of the Estonian immigrants seems to follow the behavioural patterns of their parental home regions rather than the patterns common to the Estonians. Such a coexistence of the two behaviour types in Estonia must be taken into consideration when dealing with any of the present or future problems of demographic as well as social development. If the processes intensive in younger ages are analyzed, the ethnicity criteria serves better than the place of birth to define the two main subpopulations in Estonia.

Figure 7 presents the cumulative share of foreign–born population among all the Non–Estonians. For the population older than 40, the foreign–borns form more than 90 per cent and even for the population older than 20 their share is near to 80 per cent. Very high level of foreign origin of adult population must be taken into account when analyzing labour force participation by economic branches, living conditions and, especially, probable behaviour in respect of future migration intensions. This high share of foreign–borns among adult Non–Estonians could become also sensitive in respect of relations between generations: the decisions of adults on future home country, including the adaptation one of the citizenships, Estonian or the country of their origin, would automatically expand to their children.

According to Figure 4 the highest proportion of the Non–Estonians – more than 80 per cent – could be observed in Ida–Viru county. One could assume that there would also be a higher share of native–born Non–Estonians. However, Figure 8 demonstrates the contrary situation. The share of foreign–borns among the Non–Estonians in this county is particularly high (more than 95 per cent). Much more native–born Non–Estonians could be found, for example, in Jõgevamaa with low proportion of the Non–Estonians in local population but with the historical Russian settlements.

Marital Status of Foreign–born Population

The following set of six figures on marital status of the population could be used to illustrate the population heterogeneity in Estonia developed much more than commonly thought. All of these figures compare two subgroups of the Non–Estonians, native–borns and foreign–borns respectively, to the corresponding levels of the Estonians taken as 100 per cent. The differences between the subgroups of the Non–Estonians as well as differences between these groups and the Estonians could be easily observed.

Figure 9 and 10 demonstrate that the foreign–born and native–born Non–Estonians, although both following the similar trend by age, are characterized by higher differences in levels between themselves than compared each separately with the Estonians. Foreign–born Non–Estonians, males as well as females are characterized by clearly higher levels of marriage compared to the Estonians in all age groups except females older than 65. On

the contrary, native–born Non–Estonians, particularly males, demonstrate lower levels of marriage compared to the Estonians.

Figures 11 and 12 present the differences in levels of never–married status which are not reflecting the mirrow effect compared to the previous data on population currently married. Never–married foreign–born Non–Estonians among the 35 years and older form only about 25 per cent of the Estonians' corresponding level. Native–born Non–Estonians differ from their foreign–born kin to a great extent. In some age–groups the differences are more than three–fold. Although the never–married native Non–Estonians are approaching the Estonians' level, still they form approximately 80–85 per cent of this level. Although, the Estonians being characterized by the intermediate levels of currently married, the age–specific proportion of never–married is the highest among them.

Above stated noncorrespondence of married/never–married proportions could be partly explained by the levels of divorced population (Figures 13 and 14). While the foreign–born Non–Estonians are demonstrating the level of divorced similar to the Estonians, being somewhat lower for male population and slightly higher for females, the native–born Non–Estonians show enormous deviation both from the foreign–born kin as well as from the Estonians. The greatest deviation, particularly in younger age groups, reaches a hundred per cent between the native and foreign–born Non–Estonians. In general the divergency in marital status between the three population groups is the highest if measured by age–specific proportions of divorced.

Fertility of Foreign–born Population

The 1989 census data includes also the information on ever–born children. Taking use of this data the completed fertility as well as childlessness could be estimated for cohorts older childbearing age. One must be more careful dealing with the data for cohorts still in fertile period because of the timing effects, however, the differences in timing are not less important than in fertility level. At the current stage of the Project the data on ever–born children is available for the Estonians/Non–Estonians only.

Figure 15 brings out the differences among the Non–Estonians and Estonians by the average number of ever–born children and the share of childless women. Age–specific comparison to the corresponding level of the Estonians demonstrates the principally different fertility trend of the Non–Estonians, particularly much later start of their fertility transition. In age–groups older than 60 years of age the differences in completed fertility show sharp increase by age; the older the women, the higher the relative fertility of the Non–Estonians. At the same time their average parities for the age group of 25–59 are lower than the corresponding figures for the Estonians. It could not be explained by the timing effect, visa versa, during the first years of childbearing age the Non–Estonians demonstrate also hihger average number of children.

Inspite the lower fertility of the Non–Estonians in age–gpoup of 25–59 they also demonstrate the lower levels of childlessness compared to the Estonians. This divergency is undrestandably the highest in the older ages when Estonians were characterized by rather high absolute childlessness, up to 25 per cent of female cohorts.

The comparison of the Non–Estonians to the level of Estonian women by parity one, two and three gives the solution to the above–mentioned contradiction (Figure 16). The Non–Estonian women with parity three in reproductive ages form only up to 60 per cent of the corresponding level of the Estonians. At the same time, expectedly, they dominate among women with parity one. Simplifying the differences one could conclude that the Non–Estonian women cohorts are orientated to give birth to 1–2 children when the Estonian women prefer 2–3 children but also childlessness during the last 20–25 years.

The differences in fertility levels of the Estonians and the Non–Estonians could not be explained by general social differences characterizing these two demographic groups. For the illustration of this statement both fertility indicators discussed above are differentiated also by the education of mother (Figures 17 and 18). The general outcome of this comparison is that the educational level does not noticeably influence the general fertility difference–pattern between the Estonians and the Non–Estonians; whatever the educational background of the mothers the differentiation in fertility between the Estonians and the Non–Estonians follows the same trend.

Origin of Foreign–born Population

Places of birth of the foreign–born population in Estonia should be seeked in the countries of the previous Soviet Union, Russia to be the first (Figure 19). It must be underlined that Russia with its enormous territory, embracing various autonomous unities of different ethnicities is characterized as very heterogeneous in itself. It naturally has affected the immigrants' background originating from different parts of Russia, even if Russians.

It could be expected that the majority of immigrants by their places of origin should fall to the regions with some historical contacts with Estonia, i.e. to the bordering regions. Immigrants from near Russia (four administrative units of Russia nearest to Estonia) as shown on Figure 19, form one fourth of the foreign–born population. The above mentioned enlargement of Estonian migration hinterland during the recent decades to South–Eastern parts of Russia has resulted in growing numbers of immigrants from regions with little if any historical contacts with Estonia. This also means the growing heterogeneity among the foreign–born population as a whole as well as among the Russians particularly. Adding the visible share of immigrants from the other Slavic republics, from Ukraine and Belorussia, the divergency in slavic origin grows.

The attention should be paid to the fact that the other Baltic States combined with Moldova and Kaliningrad (Königsberg) region as places of origin are comparative with the share of Central Asia and/or Caucasus. Because of various kinds of Soviet restrictions the migration exchange between Estonia and all other countries in the world has been only one–direction; immigrants originating from other countries except the Soviet Union were practically missing.

Ethnicity and Language of Foreign–born Population

Among the 120 ethnicities forming up the foreign–born population in Estonia, ten main ethnicities form about 98 per cent, among whom the greatest share belongs to the Russians with over 65 per cent; the ethnicities of Slavic origin altogether comprise more than 80 per cent of total number of foreign–borns.

On the other hand, if to take the share of foreign-borns among different ethnicities in Estonia, the share of foreign-borns among the Russians is one of the lowest (about 57 per cent, Figure 21). Part of the explanation lies in timing of mobility transition. Russians were the first to immigrate into Estonia after the WW II, one can assume that the migration inflow in 1940-1950s was almost totally formed by ethnic Russians. Most of the other nationalities joined the process step by step according to the enlargement of the Estonian migration hinterland towards South-East of the USSR in the 1970-1980s. The longer stay of the Russians in Estonia has also resulted in their more numerous second generation.

Another trend in the post-war migration exchange between Estonia and different regions of previous Soviet Union has been the so-called transit migration of the ethnicities having their ethnic homeland outside the Soviet Union (like Germans, Poles or Jews). Having been the ethnicities with the legal ground to emigrate from the USSR during the Soviet era, Germans and to a lesser extent Jews, particularly in the 1970s, treated Estonia as a transit country for further emigration. That explains the overwhelming share of foreign-borns among the named ethnicities regardless the pre-war minorities of Germans and Jews in Estonia.

It was stated above that the Non-Estonians form a rather separate socio-demographic group compared to the Estonians. One of the indicators of the level of adaptivity of the first-generation or second-generation migrants could be the knowledge of local (Estonian) language as their second language (Figure 22). The noticeable difference between the native-born and foreign-born Non-Estonians arises in this respect. The knowledge of Estonian language is clearly higher among the native-borns and it is increasing by age. The foreign-born Non-Estonians demonstrate very low knowledge of the local language and it is undependant of age.

It could be assumed suprising that younger native-born Non-Estonians demonstrate lower knoledge of the Estonian language compared to their older kin. However, it is easily explained by the large-scale displacement of population in Estonia gathering strength decade by decade. As a result, younger generations of the native-born Non-Estonians are behaving closer to the immigrant than local population. The knowledge of the Estonian language demonstrates this wider social process expressively. If the knowledge of the local language could be used for estimating the adaptation level, there should be no difference for the school-aged Non-Estonian children in adaptiveness at the end of the 1980s whether they had been born in Estonia or immigrated into it; in both cases they form clearly the separate group from the Estonians.

Data on knowledge of the second language could be useful to demonstrate the general adaptation patterns in Estonia. Figure 23 presents the knowledge of Russian as a second language for the Estonians and knowledge of the Estonian for the Non-Estonians. In young ages the knowledge of the other language is rather low in both population groups. For the Non-Estonians it stays constantly low for all age groups and does not exceed 20 per cent. As to the Estonians, the knowledge of the Russian language starts to increase rapidly by age – it was needed in official working life – and slows down only in cohorts born and educated before the WW II. The fact that the Estonian population demonstrates the 5-6 times higher knowledege of Russian than visa versa could be interpreted in a way that the local population had to adapt to the behaviour of immigrants. Naturally such a situation has created social tensions which have not yet been overcome.

Education of Foreign-born Population

In the draft analysis of the differences among native and foreign-born population, the comparison of the education status gave very interesting results. According to Figure 24 the Non-Estonian population was less tended to stay with the lower educational level (lower than secondary) than the Estonians. It seems to be especially true for the younger generations. However, the unexpected outcome might simply indicate at the differences in education systems in Soviet Union and Estonia. All over the late Soviet Union a person could acquire the secondary education at age 16 (two classes after the primary school), whereas in Estonia for Estonian-language shools the secondary level lasted for three years. That could also explain the practically coinciding trends among the native-born and foreign-born Non-Estonians. If not attending an Estonian-language school, all others followed the All-Union instructions. Even the school system has strengthened the differences between the Estonian and the Non-Estonian population groups.

FUTURE TRENDS OF THE ESTONIAN POPULATION

The future of the Estonian population development would be continuously and to a great extent determined by the coexistence of the two population groups in the country. These two communities are rather different from each other following their own path of development in various social aspects. This heterogeneity must be taken into account especially when dealing the possible migration behaviour of the Estonian population. It seems probable that the migration processes could become the most important factor influencing the formation of the 21st century Estonian population.

In this respect the problem of primary importance concerns the post-war immigrants, particularly the foreign-born population or, at a wider scale, all the Non-Estonian population. A certain number of them would undoubtedly decide to stay in Estonia. Among them the historical Russian minority as well as persons having resided in Estonia for several decades and having been adapted to the local culture could be mentioned for the first. However, this group forms no more than 15-20 per cent of all the present Non-Estonians.

Another share of immigrants, especially part of the Soviet army officers with their families and the Communist Party administrators would prefer to leave Estonia. This group seems to be even less numerous than previous.

Approximately three fourths of the Non-Estonians are really facing different alternatives. Estonia is definitely not the homeland for typical immigrants. They live in cities and work in the fields of economy of little intra-Estonian integration. The knowledge of the local culture and language is poor, most of their relatives as well as their parents live outside of Estonia. In short, their homeland is somewhere in the Soviet Union, not in Estonia.

However, once they had come to the Soviet West (as Estonia is sometimes referred in these circles) they had also no strong motivation to go back to the place of origin. The

economic difficulties in the previous Soviet Union would reduce the possibility of remigration. At the same time some part of the immigrants would gladly leave Estonia to the Western direction. Many of them would prefer USA, France, Germany but could direct also to Argentina, for example as a place of future residence. In this respect the migration policy of the developed countries would determine the scale of out–migration of this group of the Estonian present population to a noticeable extent.

A share of the native Estonian population also has the intention to leave. The present differences in the standard of living between Estonia and West–Europe are too large to avoid out–migration. Nevertheless, the Estonians would most probably (anyway this is the current situation) try to get a temporary job in the Western countries than change their place of residence permanently.

To summarize the above speculations, it seems that Estonia would probably lose 20–30 per cent of its present population because of out–migration. Such a perspective would realize only when the Western immigration policy would be relatively soft. This possible out–migration flow could be partly directed even to the East if housing infrastructure would be developed for them in Russia. The latter would be positively met also by Russian authorities. In current economic circumstancies the creation of such an alternative is also depending on the Western policies to a great extent.

In no contradiction with the discussion on probable large–scale out–migration, the continuous immigration into Estonia from previous Soviet Union could become also a reality. The potential contingent of this inflow will be formed by relatives of the current immigrants in Estonia. According to a very rough estimation the number of them is ca 1.0–1.5 million people in different regions of the previous Soviet Union. This number is nearly the same size compared to the total number of todays' Estonian population.

The immigration intentions of the relatives of the current immigrant population would depend to a noticeable extent on the relative economic development between Estonia and Russia and/or other countries formed on the territory of the previous Soviet Union. The possibilities to use Estonia as a spring–board for the out–migration to the West must be taken also into consideration if judging the future of immigration.

It must be noted that the two paths of migration future outlined above are excluding each other to some extent. If a large scale out–migration will take place from Estonia, no relatives could move into Estonia in future. And, visa versa, the lesser the out–migration during the recent period, the higher the probability of continuous in–migration into Estonia in the future.

The negative net migration had become evident in Estonia in 1991 (continuing also during 1992) if to judge by the official data of living permissions. However, the number of illegal immigrants seems to have been heavily grown. According to the indirect calculations, based on death cases for people having no living permission, the number of illegal immigrants is assumed to have been not less than 45 900 in 1991 in Estonia. Taking into account this figure, Estonia is actually gaining population by migration processes.

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FIGURE 1 MIGRATION FLOWS BETWEEN ESTONIA AND USSR
Estonia, urban population, 1946-1991

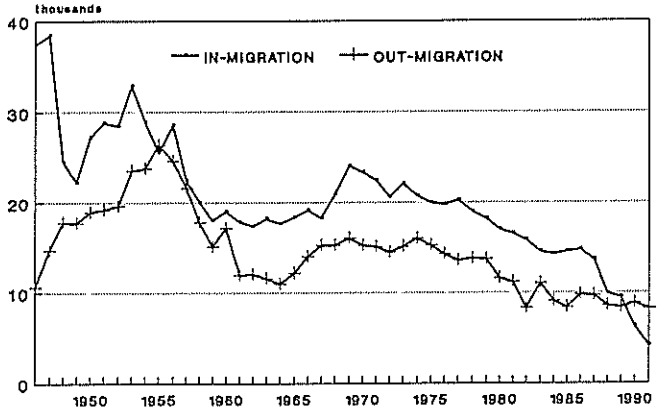


FIGURE 2 FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION IN SELECTED EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

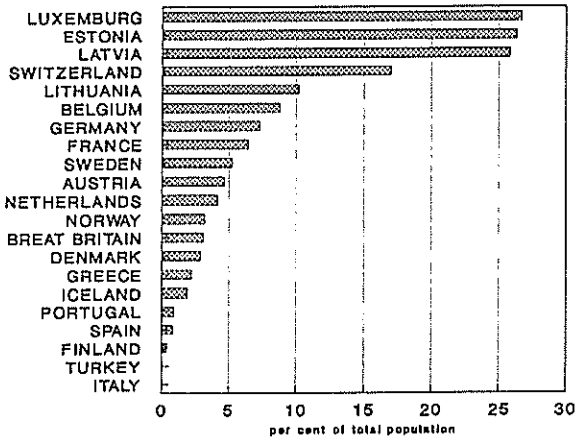


FIGURE 3 URBAN/RURAL RESIDENCE OF ESTONIAN SUB-POPULATIONS
Estonia, 1989

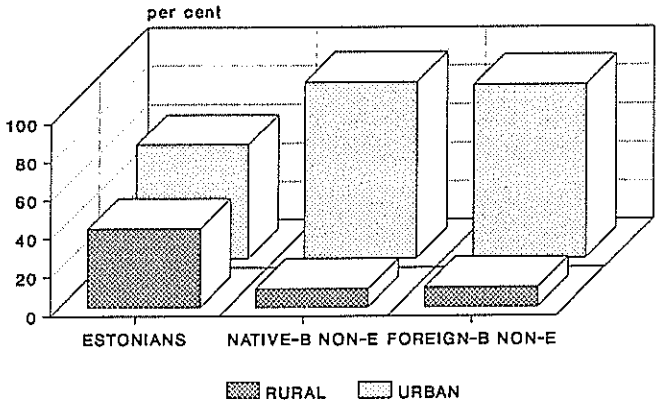


FIGURE 10 MARRIED FEMALE POPULATION
Estonia, 1989

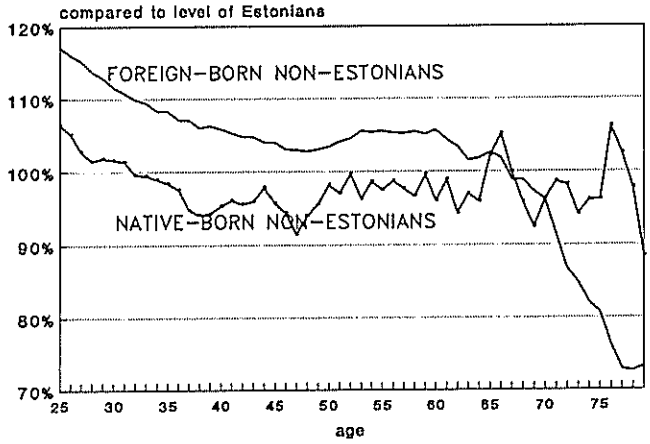


FIGURE 11 NEVER-MARRIED MALE POPULATION
Estonia, 1989

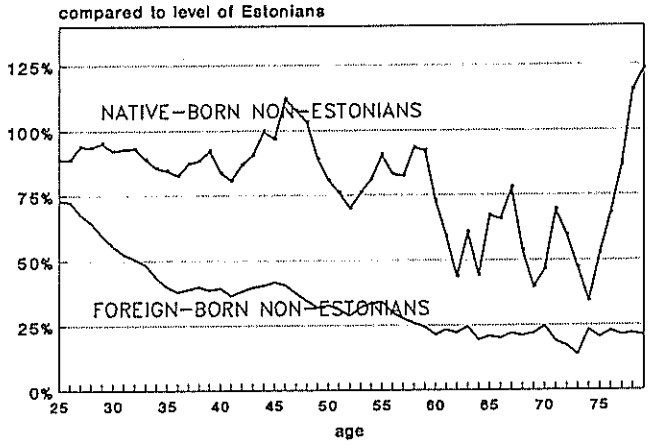


FIGURE 12 NEVER-MARRIED FEMALE
POPULATION, Estonia, 1989

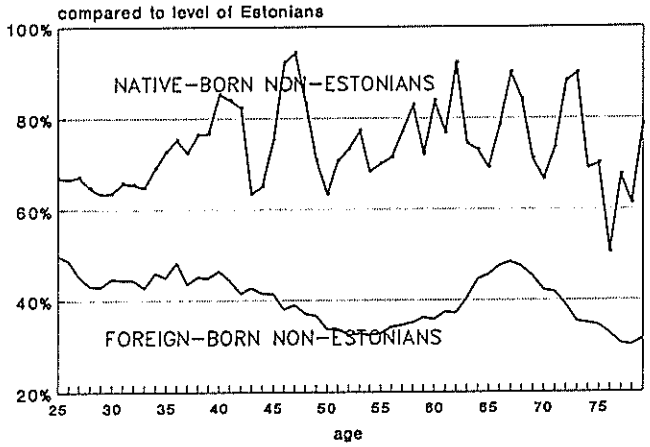


FIGURE 4 SHARE OF FOREIGN-BORN AND NON-ESTONIAN POPULATION BY COUNTIES
Estonia, 1989

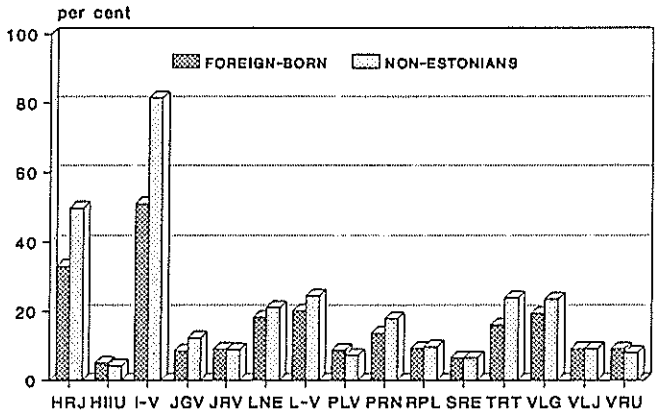
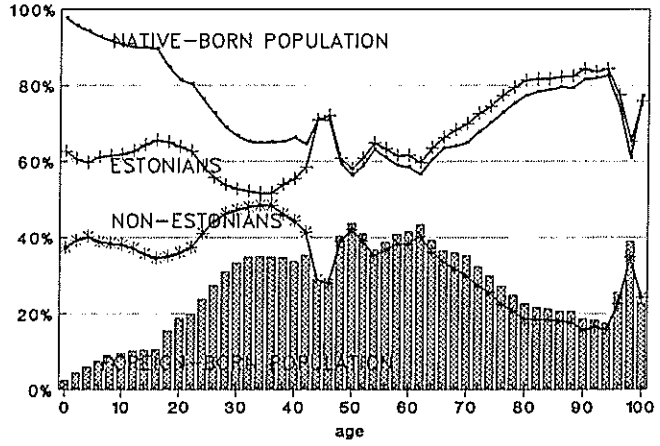


FIGURE 5 ESTONIAN SUB-POPULATIONS
BY AGE, Estonia, 1989



FIFURE 6 FOREIGN-BORN AND NATIVE-BORN
POPULATIONS OF THE NON-ESTONIANS
Estonia, 1989

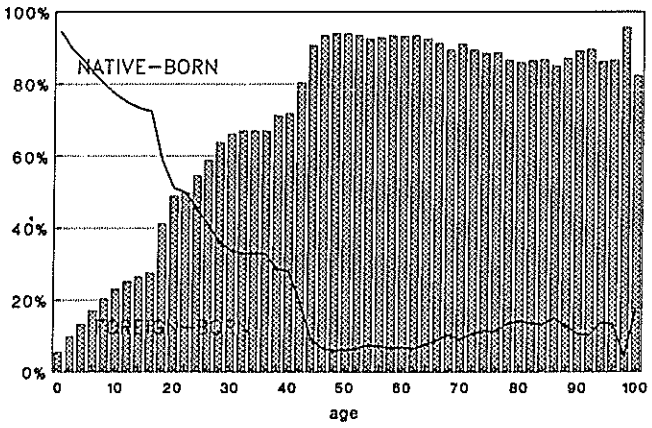


FIGURE 7 CUMULATIVE SHARE OF FOREIGN-BORNS AMONG THE NON-ESTONIANS
Estonia, 1989

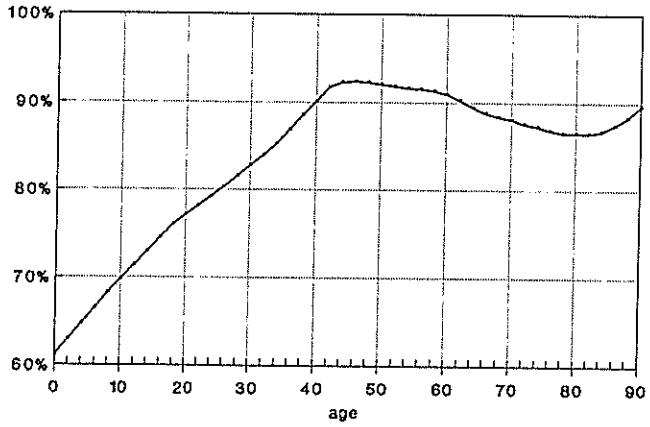


FIGURE 8 SHARE OF FOREIGN-BORN POPULATIO OF THE NON-ESTONIANS
IDA-VIRUMAA AND JõGEVAMAA, 1989

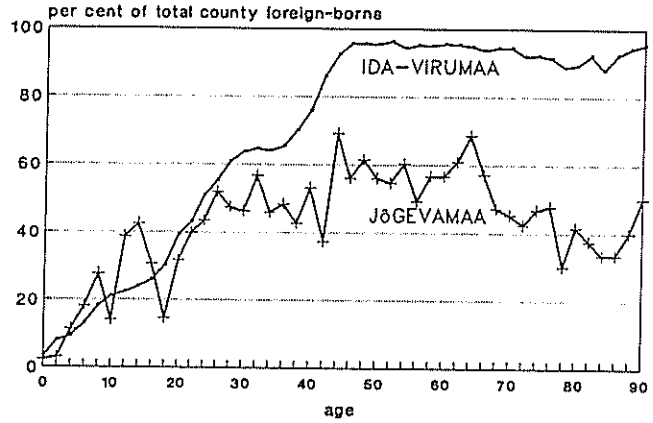


FIGURE 9 MARRIED MALE POPULATION
Estonia, 1989

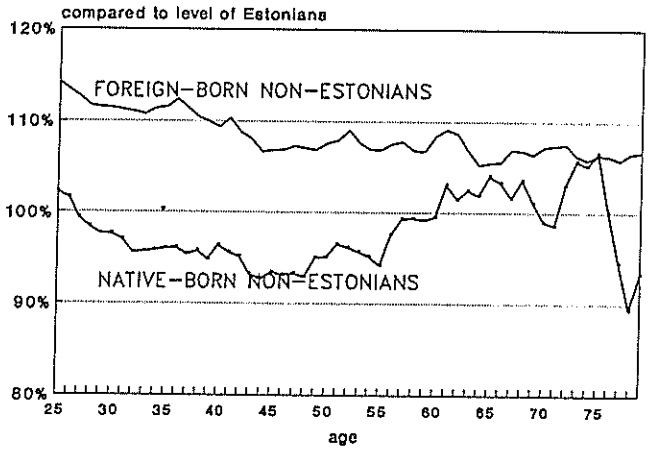


FIGURE 13 DIVORCED MALE POPULATION
Estonia, 1989

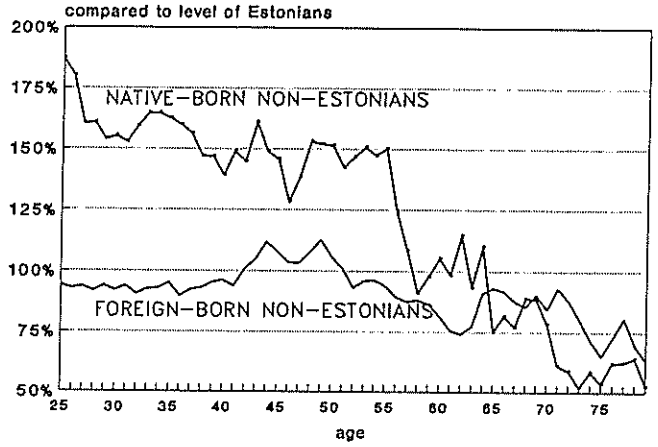


FIGURE 14 DIVORCED FEMALE POPULATION
Estonia, 1989

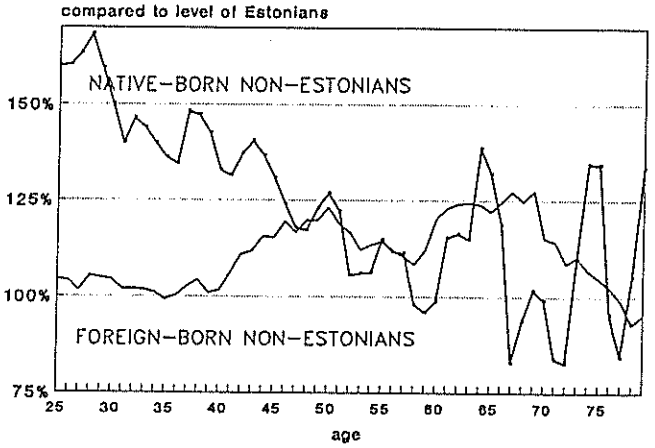


FIGURE 15 NUMBER OF EVER-BORN CHILDREN
AND SHARE OF CHILDLESS WOMEN OF THE
NON-ESTONIANS, Estonia, 1989

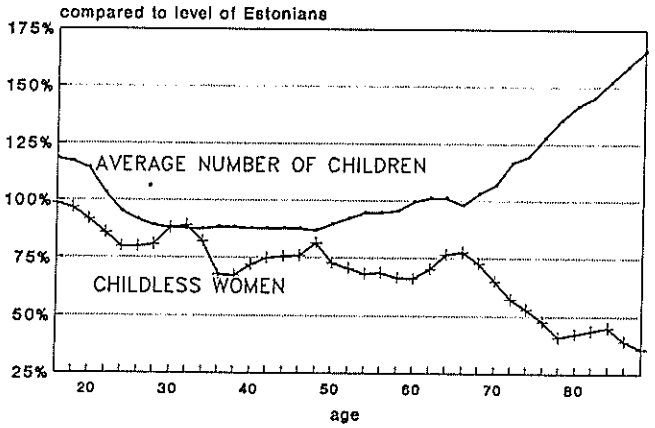


FIGURE 16 SHARE OF WOMEN BY PARITY OF THE NON-ESTONIANS, Estonia, 1989

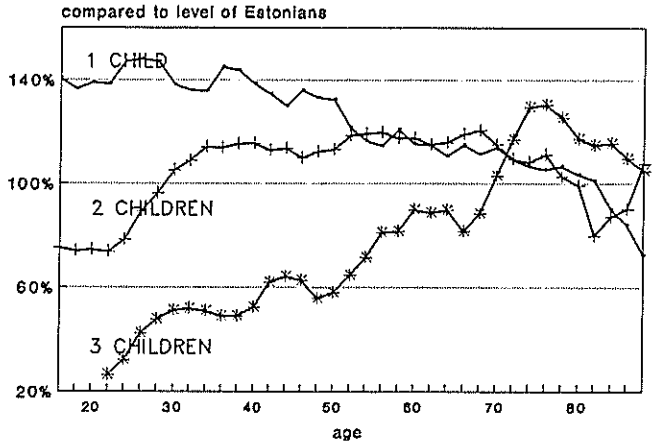


FIGURE 17 NUMBER OF EVER-BORN CHILDREN OF THE NON-ESTONIANS BY EDUCATION OF MOTHER, Estonia, 1989

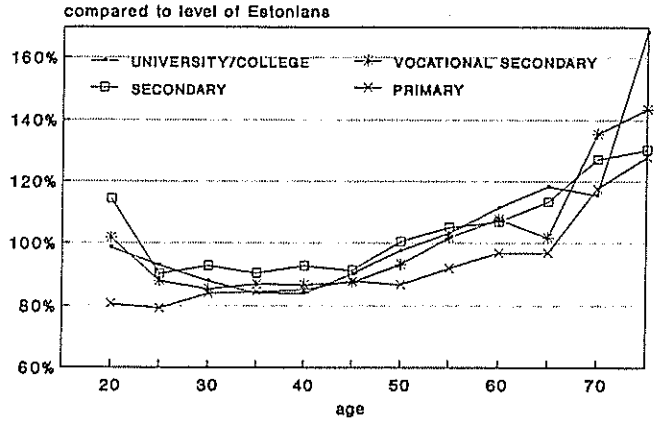


FIGURE 18 SHARE OF CHILDLESS WOMEN OF THE NON-ESTONIANS BY EDUCATION OF MOTHER Estonia, 1989

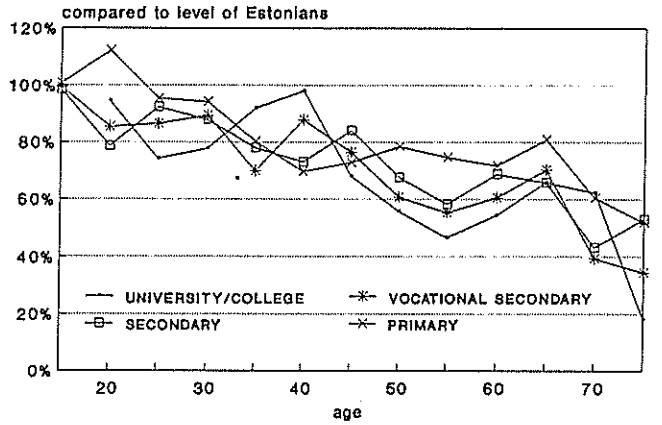


FIGURE 19 FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION BY PLACE OF BIRTH, Estonia, 1989

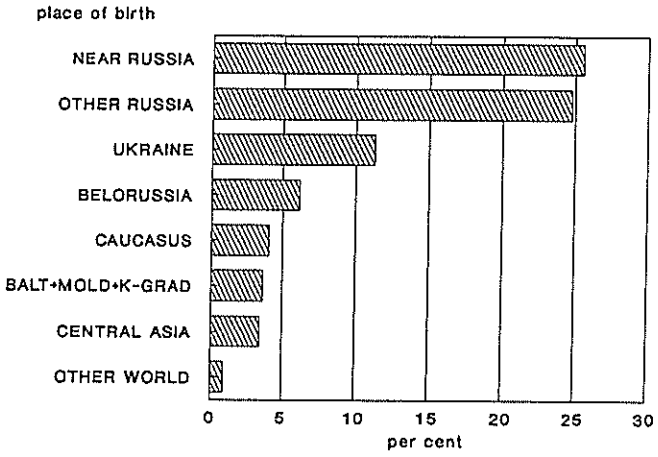


FIGURE 20 SHARE OF FOREIGN-BORNS AMONG 10 BIGGER ETHNICITIES, Estonia, 1989

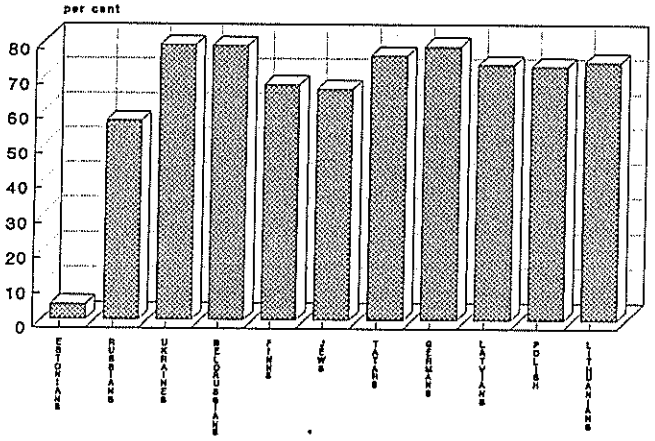


FIGURE 21 KNOWLEDGE OF ESTONIAN AS SECOND LANGUAGE
Estonia, Non-Estonians, 1989

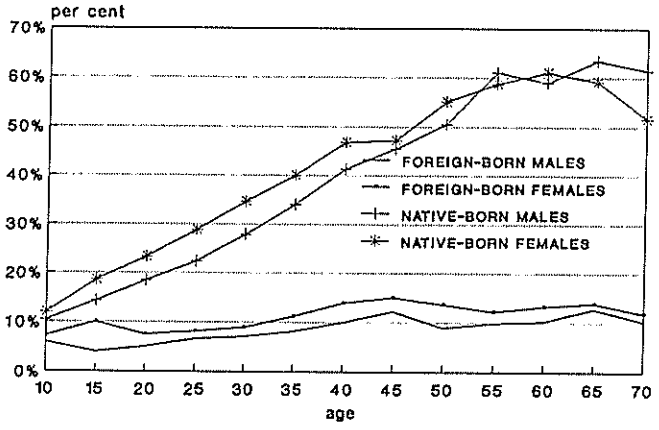


FIGURE 22 KNOWLEDGE OF SECOND LANGUAGE (RUSSIAN FOR ESTONIANS, ESTONIAN FOR NON-ESTONIANS), Estonia, 1989

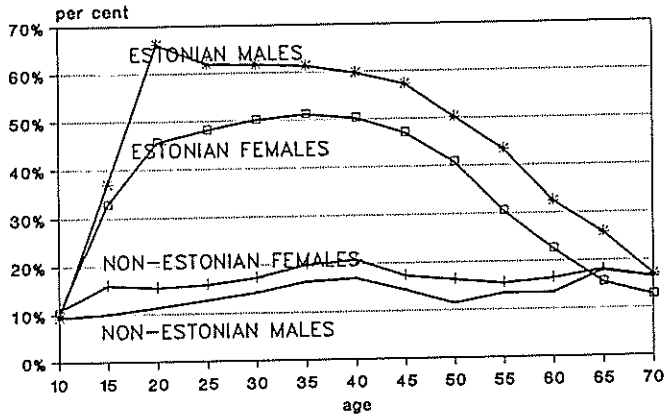
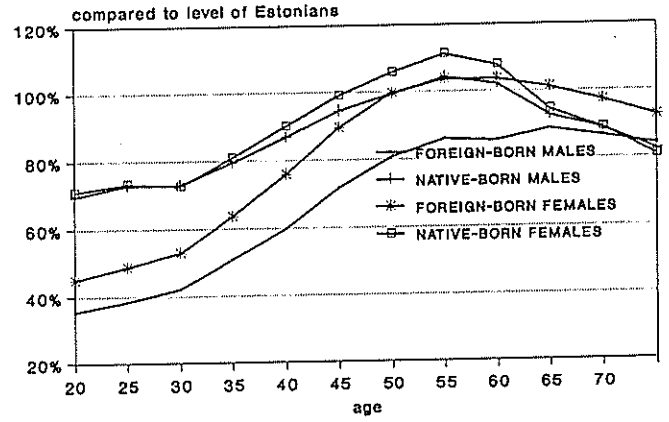



FIGURE 23 NON-ESTONIAN POPULATION WITH EDUCATION LOWER SECONDARY Estonia, 1989