

KRISTI ANNISTE

East-West migration in Europe:
The case of Estonia after regaining
independence



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The case of Estonia after regaining
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LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

This thesis is based on the following four publications that have been published or are forthcoming in international peer-reviewed scientific journals:

- I. Tammaru, T., Kumer-Haukanõmm, K. and **Anniste, K.** (2010). The formation and development of the Estonian diaspora. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36(7): 1157–74.
- II. **Anniste, K.**, Tammaru, T., Pungas, E. and Paas, T. (2012). Dynamics of educational differences in emigration from Estonia to the old EU member states. *Trames: Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences* 16(1): 219–35.
- III. **Anniste, K.** and Tammaru, T. (2014). Ethnic differences in integration levels and return migration intentions: A study of Estonian migrants in Finland. *Demographic Research* 30(13): 377–412.
- IV. **Anniste, K.**, Pukkonen, L. and Paas, T. (Forthcoming). Towards incomplete migration: A case study of Estonian migration to Finland. *Journal of Baltic Studies* (under review).

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Author's contribution

- I. The author is partially responsible for the analysis and writing of the manuscript.
- II. The author is primarily responsible for the data processing, analysis and interpretation; and is partially responsible for the writing of the manuscript.
- III. The author is primarily responsible for the study design, data processing, analysis and interpretation; and is partially responsible for the writing of the manuscript.
- IV. The author is partially responsible for the study design and data collection; and is primarily responsible for the analysis, interpretation and writing of the manuscript.

I. INTRODUCTION

Human migration is not a new phenomenon, people have been moving from one region to another for different reasons, voluntarily or involuntarily, throughout history. What make contemporary migration stand out from earlier periods are the volume and the scope of migration. Since the mid-20th century the volume of international migration has increased significantly. For example, according to the United Nations International Migration Report 2013 the number of international migrants has risen from 79 million (2.6 percent of the world's population) in 1960 to 232 million people (3.4 percent of the world's population) in 2013. The growth of international migration has exceeded the rate of population growth (Massey and Taylor 2004) and migration flows of the first decade of the 21st century have proven that international migration continues to increase. The scope of contemporary migration has also grown – international migration is now global. Therefore, Castles and Miller (2009) have referred to the contemporary period as the age of migration.

The world is on the move and this makes keeping track of the flows of people across state borders and the effects for the countries involved increasingly difficult for researchers. In particular, studying cross-border mobility is made harder by the fact that migrants often do not register their movements (which negatively affects the quality of migration data), the fact that different countries use different methodology and bases for recording migration data and the increase of temporary migration which makes it more difficult to define a migrant. Sheller and Urry (2006) have named this change in social studies 'the mobility turn'.

Europe is also on the move. Central and Eastern European countries witnessed the removal of migration barriers after the fall of the Iron Curtain and this has provided many Central and Eastern Europeans with the chance to move to more wealthy Western European countries, to travel, study and improve their standard of living. These opportunities have increased after many Central and Eastern European countries joined the European Union in 2004 and 2007. But if emigration from these countries is not balanced by immigration, the composition of the origin countries' population and in particular their labour market could be seriously affected. As the highly educated are traditionally the more mobile population group (Poot et al. 2008) and several researchers have suggested that younger working-age people gain the most out of EU enlargement (Kahanec and Zimmermann 2010), the literature on East-West migration has raised the problems of brain drain, brain waste and structural unemployment as the main questions for the origin countries.

This thesis will shed light on these rapidly changing migration processes, examining East-West migration in Europe by using the example of Estonian emigration and return migration. Estonia is a good case study, because its migration data are of sufficient quality to study migration and its changing nature. Poor data quality is an overall problem in studies of East-West migration

in Europe (de Beer et al. 2010) which makes it difficult to assess the true extent of the problems that arise from migration. Without sufficient data on the volume and composition of migrants it is hard to estimate whether volume of migration has caused significant changes in the populations of the countries involved, whether there is brain drain or whether migration is selective for some population groups. In addition, there are very few studies based on statistical data on the composition of return migrants or on integration of East-West migrants in the host countries. Without such data it is difficult to assess what affects return migration or whether there is brain waste. Adequate data are also needed for clarifying and understanding new types or patterns of migration that may be temporary or incomplete. The quality of Estonia's migration data allows for the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the actual scope of the problems migration causes. However, until now there has not been a comprehensive study of Estonian emigration and return migration for the period since 1991 when the country regained independence. Therefore, the results of this thesis not only contribute to literature on East-West migration but are also important for the study of Estonian population processes.

This thesis is structured in the following way. First, the main features and problems of East-West migration in Europe are brought forth. This enables also to encompass the existing literature on the field and to better understand the complex nature of East-West migration. Then, drawing on current literature, the main research questions are posed which would help arrive to the general aim of the thesis. Thereafter the data and methodology used in the thesis, plus the main results are introduced. This is followed by a more detailed discussion of the results.

2. BACKGROUND

2.1. East-West migration in Europe

One of the contributors for the increase of international migration is East-West migration in Europe – migration from Central and Eastern Europe (hereafter the CEE countries) to Western Europe. Although Fassmann and Münz (1994) describe migration from Eastern Europe to industrialized Western Europe since the end of the 19th century, East-West migration as a mass phenomenon started with the falls of the Berlin Wall and the Iron Curtain in 1989 (Mansoor and Quillin 2007; Massey and Taylor 2004; Okólski 2004). Before the 1990s migration across state borders in Central and Eastern Europe was limited and controlled (Okólski 2004). Since the communist regime collapsed the newly emerged and re-established independent countries of Eastern Europe had to rebuild their economies and establish democratic states (Kaczmarczyk and Okólski 2005; Zaiceva and Zimmermann 2008). Therefore, at the beginning of the 1990s these countries faced significant economic problems, creating substantial inequalities between these newly capitalist states and Western Europe. Naturally, these inequalities pushed many people in the East towards migrating to the West. Most of the migration flows from CEE countries at the time were directed towards the eastern border of the EU – Germany and Austria, in smaller quantities also towards France, Belgium, Sweden and Italy (Okólski 2007). The biggest sending countries were Poland, Bulgaria and Lithuania, whereas in some countries (the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia) migration intensity was very weak (Kaczmarczyk and Okólski 2005). In time, migration flows from CEE countries have increased due to cheaper transportation and developing means of communications, employers' and governments' interest in specific sectors of the labour force, the spread of labour recruitment networks, and most of all, due to the diminishing restrictions on free movement of labour within the EU (Krings 2009; Salt 2008; Massey and Taylor 2004; Okólski 2004).

It needs to be stressed, however, that East-West migration does not solely involve labour migration from poorer CEE countries to richer Western Europe (Okólski 2004; King 2002). In fact, King (2002) warns of the misleading assumption that contemporary migrants are all economically motivated and stresses that particularly in the case of Europe new forms of migration derived from new motivations have appeared. He adds new motivations such as excitement, experience, leisure, seeing the world that go in hand with new types of migration like the migration of skilled and professional migrants who work in the global market, including students, family (or love) migrants, retirement migrants, etc. Thus migration is not necessarily a migrant's mean of economical survival, but it can also be seen as a desirable act for a migrant (King 2002).

2.1.1. The effects of EU enlargement on migration

The eastern enlargement of the EU in 2004 and 2007 had a substantial effect on the increase of migration flows in Europe (Kahanec et al. 2010) with hundreds of thousands of people, with the biggest numbers from Poland, Romania and Bulgaria, moving to Western Europe (Black et al. 2010). In 2004 eight Central and Eastern European countries – the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia – but also Cyprus and Malta from the Mediterranean became members of the EU. Initially, most of the old member states imposed a transition period that restricted the access of workers from CEE member states to their labour markets. The reasoning behind it was the fear of mass migration from these countries that would flood the labour markets of the old member states (Kahanec et al. 2010). Only United Kingdom, Ireland and Sweden opened their labour markets to the new member states without a transition period in 2004. This resulted in a great inflow of labour from Central and Eastern Europe to the UK and Ireland (Drinkwater et al. 2009; Barrett 2010), but also to Sweden and Norway, as the latter country also opened its labour market (Engbersen et al. 2013). Gradually, other old member states also opened their labour markets: in 2006 Finland, Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain; in 2007 Luxembourg and the Netherlands; France in 2008; Denmark and Belgium in 2009; and finally Germany and Austria in 2011. The second enlargement in 2007 when Bulgaria and Romania became members of the EU was also accompanied by restrictions in the free movement of labour by most of the old member states except for Finland and Sweden. Countries that joined the EU in 2004, except for Hungary and Malta, opened their labour markets for Bulgarian and Romanian workers without transition periods. Denmark, Greece, Portugal and Spain abolished restrictions for Romanians and Bulgarians in 2009, and the rest of the EU countries in 2014 (Kahanec et al. 2010).

Together with the change in the volume of migration several studies indicate some changes in the composition of migrants since the enlargements of the EU. However, there have been some differences across countries. The main characteristic of the post-enlargement migrants that most researchers agree upon is that they are relatively young (Kahanec et al. 2010; Zaiceva and Zimmermann 2009; Gerdes and Wadensjö 2010; Dobson 2009). In terms of the level of education, however, the results have been more varied. For example, Brenke et al. (2010) found that post-enlargement immigrants in Germany were less educated than pre-enlargement immigrants. On the contrary, findings in Sweden indicate that post-enlargement CEE immigrants are rather highly educated and that the share of the highly educated has increased in time (Gerdes and Wadensjö 2010; Olofsson and Malmberg 2011).

The increased East-West migration triggered by EU enlargements has also changed European migration patterns (Favell 2008). First, migration patterns are not static anymore, migrants often change their migration patterns after accumulating some experience abroad and react to the changing labour market with a new move (Massey and Taylor 2004; Engbersen et al. 2010; Morokvasic

2004; Hooghe et al. 2008; Friberg 2012). Second, whereas permanent migration and migration for seasonal work have remained, there has been increase in temporary and circular migrants (Massey and Taylor 2004; Glorius et al. 2013; Morokvasic 2004). Due to easy access to other EU countries' labour markets and relatively cheap means of transportation, mobility across state borders has become a lifestyle for many Europeans who change their countries of residence several times and avoid making long-term plans. Okólski (2001) has described this type of migration as incomplete, Engbersen et al. (2010) refer to it as liquid migration. This new form of mobility has a quasi-migratory nature, these migrants live split lives, they are economically active in one country and maintain family lives in another. These migrants have created so-called transnational social fields (Glick Schiller et al. 1992) and as they distribute their resources between the origin and the host countries, some sending countries have increasingly started to see transnational migrants as resources (Glick Schiller 1999; Levitt 2001).

2.1.2. The effects of East-West migration on the origin and host countries

High migration rates affect the countries involved. Therefore, the main challenge for researchers has been to analyse the volume and consequences of the increasing migration flows in Europe (Larrabee 1992). The effects that may occur as a result of migration are different for the origin and host countries and most of the research has focused on the possible negative consequences. Origin countries may witness a loss of labour force in general or in some sectors, brain drain and brain waste (Kahanec et al. 2010; Olofsson and Malmberg 2011; Olofsson 2012). Destination countries' labour markets are faced with a downward pressure for wages as the result of the inflow of cheap labour from CEE countries, but also with 'welfare tourism' and increased unemployment (Zaiceva and Zimmermann 2008; Krings 2009; Borjas 2003; Boeri and Brücker 2001).

For verifying whether negative effects have actually occurred in the origin countries the composition of migrant flows needs to be analysed. Several studies (Olofsson and Malmberg 2011; Krišjāne et al. 2009; Kępińska 2007; Zaiceva and Zimmermann 2008) have stressed that migrants from CEE countries to old EU member states are mainly highly educated, thus indicating brain drain. For example, emigrants from Poland (Kępińska 2007) and Latvia (Krišjāne et al. 2009) are more likely to be university-educated than those who stay. Similarly, a study of immigrants from former Soviet republics (the Baltic States) in Sweden showed that they are relatively well educated (Olofsson and Malmberg 2011; Olofsson 2012). The high emigration rates of the highly educated can be explained by the fact that they are more mobile, because they have more social capital, better language skills and access to information, and are also more able to finance a move (Poot et al. 2008). In addition, wealthier countries attract the highly educated from the East due to a need for highly

educated professionals in some sectors such as medicine and IT (Brown et al. 2008). It is important to note, however, that despite their relatively high education most CEE migrants still fill the low-paid service and manufacturing sector jobs in Western Europe, indicating brain waste (Ciupijus 2011; Cook et al. 2011; Pollard et al. 2008).

Most of the EU-15 countries have witnessed an increase in migration flows from CEE countries, especially since the EU enlargement of 2004, but the overall increase has been rather small (Zaiceva and Zimmermann 2008). The countries that did witness a large increase in immigration flows were the UK and Ireland (European Commission 2006). Therefore, the effects of migration on the host countries are best observable in these two countries. Lemos and Portes (2008) and Blanchflower and Shadforth (2009) analysed the effect of increased migration on the UK's labour market and found little evidence of a fall in wages or a rise in unemployment in the UK. Barrett (2010) who studied the situation in Ireland found that increased immigration has not resulted in lower wages, but it has slowed down the pace of wage growth. Studies on the effects of East-West migration have also confirmed that 'welfare tourism' is not a common feature for this migration flow (Zaiceva and Zimmermann 2008; Constant 2011).

2.2. Return migration

International migration causes concerns for both origin and destination countries. In the context of East-West migration these concerns are especially bitter for the sending countries in Central and Eastern Europe as many people have emigrated, bringing along brain drain and loss of labour in some specific sectors. However, the high emigration rates can be relieved by return migration that ultimately may lead to brain circulation (Mayr and Peri 2009) with migrants cumulating work experience abroad and returning to the origin country with higher skills and qualification. For migrants the decision to stay or return depends on the balance between his or her degree of integration in the host country and the strength of attachment to the country of origin (Engbersen et al. 2013). In general, migrants who keep strong ties with the country of origin are more likely to return than those with weak ties (Haug 2008; de Haas and Fokkema 2011). The effect of integration in the host country to return migration, however, is more difficult to assess. Integration is a complex process covering different aspects of migrants' life domains. For example, Heckmann (2005) and Fokkema and de Haas (2011) have distinguished sociocultural and structural integration. Sociocultural integration includes adaptation to the norms of the receiving society, acquisition of the host country's language, having friends and/or being married to a member of the host country. Structural integration means having outcomes similar to those of the majority group in life domains such as labour market, living conditions, and the acquisition of

citizenship. Therefore, different spheres of integration may have different effects on return migration.

The prevalent view in studies on return migration holds that there is a negative relationship between integration and return migration, e. g. failure in integrating in the host society leads to return migration (DaVanzo and Morrison 1982; Massey and Espinoza 1997). For example, migrants who speak the local language, have friends or a partner among locals, who have full-time jobs and who have invested money in the host country are less likely to return than those who are less successful in these matters (Constant and Massey 2002; Schmidt 1994; Velling 1994; Jensen and Pedersen 2007; Bijwaard et al. 2011; Alba and Logan 1992).

An alternative positive relationship between integration and return migration has also been suggested by de Haas and Fokkema (2011) who claim that immigrants who are better integrated into the host society may also be more willing to return home. This is supported by earlier studies of Jasso and Rosenzweig (1988) and Gundel and Peters (2008) who found that highly qualified immigrants are more likely to return than less skilled migrants. Although highly qualified migrants are usually well integrated in the host countries' labour market, they do not necessarily plan to settle. Findlay et al. (2012) suggest that a highly mobile class of managers and professionals have emerged whose skills are internationally in high demand, and who are willing to move to pursue interesting career challenges. A positive relationship has also emerged with the spread of international students, who integrate well socio-culturally, but usually return to their origin countries after their studies (Bijwaard 2010).

2.3. Objectives and research questions

Migration is an important component affecting the populations of the countries involved. If emigration is highly selective or if the volume of emigration is high and not balanced by immigration, the host countries' labour markets may face several problems, including shortage of skilled labour and structural unemployment. Therefore, it is important for the origin countries to study the extent and selectivity of migration, but also return migration and factors affecting them as return migration may turn the emigration of the best and the brightest into brain circulation.

Estonia is one of the Eastern European countries that witnessed the removal of restrictions to move to the West since the collapse of communism and gained free access to the EU's labour market after joining the union in 2004. Considering the similar political background and economic situation emigration from Estonia is, in general, expected to follow the ones of other CEE countries. However, there has been evidence of some important differences among CEE countries, suggesting the importance and varying effects of geography, language, country size and networks on migration (Zaiceva and Zimmermann 2010).

Therefore, **the general objective of the current thesis is to find out the extent of emigration from Estonia, return migration and factors affecting migration since the country broke away from the Soviet Union in 1991, thus complementing the existing literature of East-West migration in Europe.** The thesis brings forth similarities, but also gives way to the differences between Estonia and other CEE countries as they both supplement the existing knowledge on East-West migration in Europe.

In order to meet the general objective of the thesis four research questions based on existing literature are asked and thoroughly analysed in Publications I, II, III and IV. First, the general features of Estonian emigration are in need of clarification in order to give a sufficient framework for proceeding with more specific research questions. Therefore, the first research question is formulated as follows: what has been the volume of Estonian migration flows and the main destination countries in the period since 1991? This has been done by analysing available migration statistics in Publication I and briefly in Publication II and III.

Second, in order to find out how emigration has affected Estonian population and the labour market, in particular, whether there has been brain drain, the composition of emigrants needs to be analysed. As EU enlargement has rapidly increased emigration across CEE countries and in some countries the post-enlargement emigration has been highly selective in some population groups (see also Anacka and Okólski 2010) it is important to know whether the enlargement also affected the composition of Estonian emigrants, i.e. whether some population groups have started to emigrate more than before the enlargement. Therefore, the second research question that Publication II aims to answer by analysing available migration statistics is who are the Estonian migrants and whether the EU accession of 2004 changed the composition of Estonian migrants?

Third, as return migration may relieve the negative effects of emigration for the countries of origin and ultimately change brain drain into brain circulation it is important for the origin countries to study return migrants and clarify the factors that affect return migration. Thus the third research question of the thesis is who wishes to return and what factors affect the decision to return? Publication III provides a thorough analysis of return migration and an answer to this question by examining the return migration intentions of Estonian migrants in Finland.

Finally, several studies have suggested the emergence of new more temporary migration patterns in Europe with migration becoming increasingly incomplete creating transnational social spaces between the origin and host countries. This change in migration patterns is analysed in the case of Estonia in Publication IV by asking is there evidence of new temporary migration patterns among Estonian migrants and if so, then what are the background, incentives, gains and losses of these temporary migration patterns in the migrants' perspective? This is done through qualitatively analysing interviews with Estonian migrants in the main destination country Finland.

3. DATA AND METHODS

3.1. Data

The increasing mobility of world population and the removal of restrictions on border crossing between many countries have also made adequate statistics collection on the stock of international migrants more challenging. As different countries use different data collection methods problems such as the incompatibility of sources, conceptual and definitional differences have arisen (Salt 2005). The problem has been deepened by the new and more fluid forms of migration that make defining a migrant and a migration episode considerably more difficult. Measuring emigration is especially problematic as keeping track of people leaving the country is harder due to the requirement to de-register from a population register (Eurostat; Salt 2005). It needs to be noted, however, that statistics collection in European Union has improved considerably since 2007 when data collection based on common definitions and concepts was regulated by the EU (Eurostat).

The lack of sufficient migration statistics can be relieved by migration surveys that do not reveal exact numbers of migrant stocks but help to quantitatively analyse migrants' background, integration in the host country and factors affecting return migration. In addition, qualitative data improves better understanding of the migration processes and the background of the increased mobility. Therefore, as this study aims to analyse different aspects of Estonian emigration a combination of migration data is used: migration statistics, survey data and qualitative interviews.

3.1.1. Migration statistics and census data

For analysing extent and destinations of Estonian emigration (Publication I and II), composition of migrants and effects of EU accession on emigration (Publication II) three different sources of data have been used.

Unfortunately, there is no reliable statistics on Estonian emigration in the 1990s. However, for this period it was possible to make indirect calculations on the volume of emigration based on the Estonian census data of 1989 and 2000 as the latter encompasses information about population figures, vital events and immigration patterns.

Estonian migration statistics are available for the period since 2000. The data is based on the Population Register, but it is processed and cleaned by Statistics Estonia. The overall problem of poor data quality in studies of East-West migration in Europe due to migrants not registering their departure in the country of origin (see also de Beer et al. 2010) is common also in Estonia, but Estonian data has some characteristics that increase its reliability. Most important in this regard is the fact that Estonia exchanges information stored in its population register on a regular basis with the most important destination

country Finland. Therefore, data exchange with Finland has significantly improved the quality of emigration statistics in Estonia.

In this thesis the individual level extraction of 19,018 emigrants from 2000–2008 who were aged 20 or over at the time of emigration, and who left Estonia to EU-15 countries is used. The data enables to compare changes in the origins, destinations, and composition of the migrant population over time. In addition, when analysing selectivity of emigrants (Publication II and III) emigration statistics have been sided with the Estonian census data of 2000 and 2012. The censuses provide the most comprehensive picture of the composition of the Estonian population and thus are appropriate for comparison.

Finally, Finnish register data has been used in this thesis (Publication I and III) as it shows both immigration and the size of the Estonian population in Finland. The Finnish register data has also enabled to compare the labour market outcomes of Estonian immigrants in Finland with the total Finnish workforce in Publication III.

3.1.2. Survey data

Survey data is used in this thesis (Publication III) to analyse relationships between migrants' personal characteristics, integration and return migration. The survey was conducted in 2009 and concludes a representative sample of 1,000 adult Estonian origin immigrants who permanently reside in Finland. Finland is used as a case study because it is the most important destination country for Estonian migrants. Temporary, seasonal, and illegal workers are not included in the survey, as no representative data on these itinerant migrants is available. The data enables to analyse several indicators of structural integration (employment, housing, education, citizenship) and sociocultural integration (social intercourse, friendship, marriage), but also migrants' intentions to return to Estonia.

3.1.3. Qualitative data

Qualitative data is used in Publication IV in order to analyse factors that affect migrants during the different stages of their migration experience. The interviews also enable to better understand the migration patterns of Estonian emigrants. Again, Finland is used as a case study as it is the most popular destination country for Estonian migrants. 32 semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions with Estonian migrants in Finland and return migrants from Finland were carried out in 2012. The interviewees were found through combined snowball and purposive (maximum variation) (Patton 1990; 2005) sampling. Interviewees were selected from different levels of occupation (managers, specialists, skilled workers, unskilled workers), from both genders and from the pre- and post-enlargement (of the EU in 2004) migrants. The interviews covered topics such as migration motives, Finnish life experience, attitudes towards Finland and Estonia, and actual or expected time of return.

3.2. Methods

3.2.1. Descriptive analysis

In order to bring forth the general tendencies of Estonian emigration descriptive analysis is used in Publications I, II and III. Descriptive analysis is an adequate method for describing the demographic characteristics of the migrants and their different subgroups. In addition, in Publications II and III descriptive analysis is used to study the selectivity of migration by comparing the characteristics of the emigrants with the characteristics of the Estonian population.

3.2.2. Binary logistic regression

Binary logistic regression is used for analysing post-accession changes in emigration from Estonia in Publication II and factors that affect return migration intentions in Publication III. As migration data often contains categorical variables logistic regression is a well suited method for modelling outcomes of migration data, allowing to analyse and control for the effect of several categorical and linear variables to the target variable.

In Publication II the changes in Estonian emigrant characteristics before and after the EU enlargement of 2004 are analysed and therefore the target variable is the emigration period of 2004–2008 (versus 2000–2003). The variables describing migrants' characteristics and origin have been added step-wise in three regression equations in order to analyse the changes of emigrants' education level in time while controlling for other background variables.

In Publication III the factors that implicate the return migration intentions of Estonian migrants in Finland are analysed with return migration intention being the target variable. Although the main focus of the study is on the ethnicity variable and other factors such as integration and background variables are added for controlling their effects on the target variable, the analysis also gives valuable information on whether and how different integration factors affect return migration intentions.

3.2.3. Thematic analysis

In Publication IV the migration patterns of Estonian migrants in Finland have been analysed. Migration patterns were at first identified based on the migrant's socio-cultural and structural integration in Finland, migrant's connections to Estonia and migrant's intentions for the duration of stay (for migrants) or the fact of returning (for return migrants). As analytical interests were set before analyzing the data (motivations for migration and integration, gains and losses of migration, reasoning behind return migration) the theoretical approach of thematic analysis was used (Braun and Clarke 2006). This method enabled to identify key themes and patterns within the migration patterns across the interviews.

4. MAIN RESULTS

4.1. General trends of emigration from Estonia

Emigration is not a recent phenomenon in Estonia. The first mass emigration started already in the middle of 19th century when at the time of demographic transition many Estonians sought new destinations outside Estonian territory. As there were extensive unused agricultural lands in Russia about 200,000 Estonians emigrated to the East. The second emigration wave took place during the Second World War when in the form of a refugee exodus about 90,000 Estonians fled to the West. The main destination countries in the West were the US, Canada, Sweden and Australia (Publication I).

During the Soviet period (1944–1991) Estonia was a country of immigration and at that time most of the migration flows took part within the eastern bloc. In 1991 when Estonia re-established its independence Western countries became once again accessible for Estonian migrants and Estonia became a country of emigration. In the 1990s emigration from Estonia was mainly in the form of return migration by ethnic Russians and other Soviet nations to their original homelands. Based on census estimates, 24 percent of the ethnic minority population, or about 144,000 people, left Estonia in the 1990s (Publication III, table 1). At that time emigration to Western countries was modest with approximately 17,000 emigrants overall and about two thirds of them migrating to Finland (Publication I).

Since 2000 emigration rates from Estonia have gradually increased reaching close to 7000 people per year by the year 2014 (Figure 1; Publication II, figure 2). The bulk of emigrants have moved to Western countries, especially to the EU-15 countries Finland, Germany, UK, Sweden and Belgium since 2004 when Estonia joined the EU (Publication I). According to Statistics Estonia (2014) the total number of official emigrants from 2000 until 2013 has been 60,151 (see also Figure 1). This number does not include temporary migrants who do not register their emigration from Estonia.

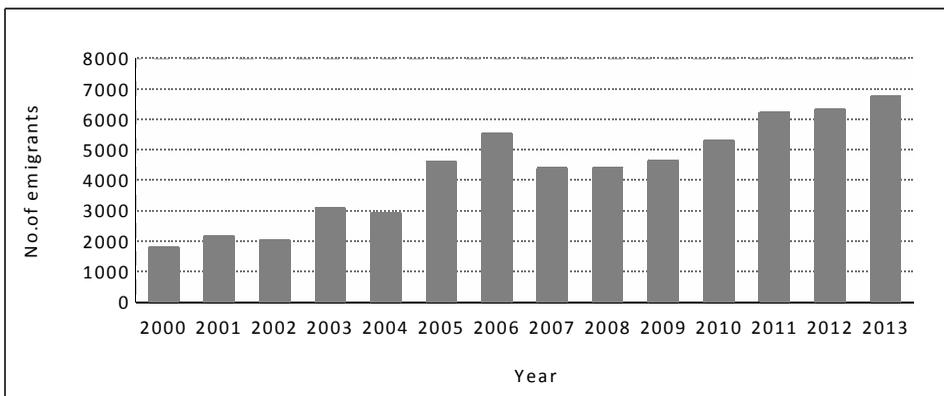


Figure 1. The number of Estonian emigrants from 2000 until 2013. (Source: Statistics Estonia 2014)

The most popular destination country for Estonian migrants since 1991 has been the neighbouring country Finland. Whereas at the end of the 1980s the Estonian community in Finland was almost non-existent, from 1991 until 2013 about 56,000 Estonian migrants have migrated to Finland (Figure 2; Publication I, figure 5; Publication III, figure 1). Furthermore, many Estonians live and work in Finland on a temporary basis. In fact, the number of transnational commuters per 1,000 inhabitants in Estonia is one of the highest in the EU, reaching 15.8 (MKW Wirtschaftsforschung: 2009).

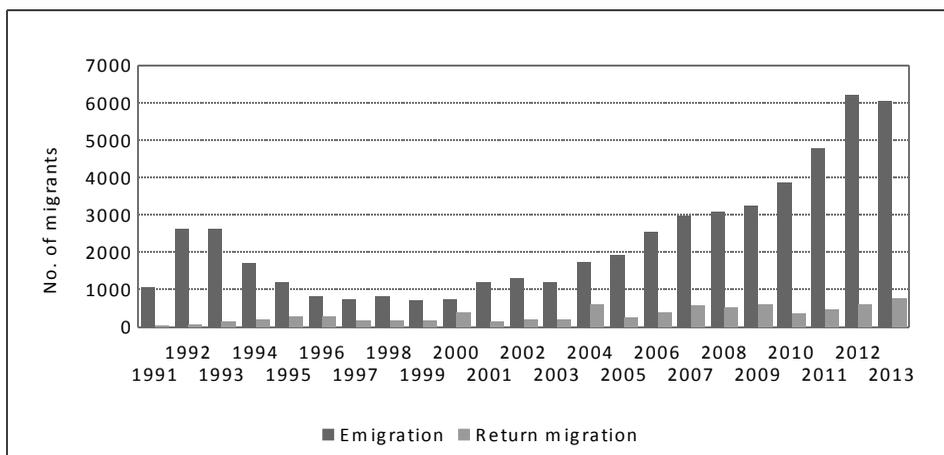


Figure 2: Emigration and return migration to and from Finland, 1991–2013. (Source: Statistics Finland)

4.2. Who are the emigrants and was there a brain drain?

As there is no migration statistics for Estonian migrants in the period of 1991–1999, only the composition of migrants of the 2000s could be analysed. Therefore, it is important to bear in mind that the following results do not pertain to the pre-2000s migrants.

When comparing the characteristics of emigrants in 2000–2008 with the total population of Estonia, drawn from the census of 2000, it appears that emigrants are significantly younger than the population as a whole. For example, 61 percent of the emigrants are in the age group 20–39, whereas the percentage of this age group in the total population of Estonia was 37 (Publication II, table 1).

There were no gender differences among all the emigrants of 2000–2008 (Publication II, table 1). However, there is evidence of gender differences in the same time period for some destination countries where such data is available, such as Sweden, Denmark, and the Netherlands (Statistics Sweden, Statistics Denmark, Statistics Netherlands). Among Estonian origin emigrants to these

countries there were significantly more women than men (at least 65 percent were women and up to 35 percent were men). The absence of gender differences in total Estonian emigration statistics is due to the fact that there has been no gender difference in emigration to Finland and as Finland is overwhelmingly the most popular destination country the gender differences of the less popular destination countries do not appear in the overall statistics.

The results of this thesis also show that there were much less highly educated people among emigrants than among the total Estonian population. Whereas in the total population the share of the highly educated is 15 percent, among the emigrants of 2000–2008 they constituted only 6 percent (Publication II, table 1). Thus, there were no signs of a brain drain during the observed time period.

Migration statistics do not reveal the occupation and pre-migration labour market performance of Estonian emigrants. However, it is possible to take a glance at these characteristics when analysing the survey data of emigrants to Finland from 1991–2009. The data shows that during this period skilled and service sector workers of Estonia were more likely to migrate to Finland than managers and specialists (Publication III, table 5). In addition, the share of those who were unemployed before migrating was only 7 percent whereas economic booms and recessions have not changed the share of the unemployed among emigrants.

4.3. Changes in Estonian emigration after EU enlargement

Estonian emigration increased rapidly since the country joined the EU (see Figure 1). As the enlargement meant easy access to the labour markets of the wealthier EU-15 countries the increased emigration from Estonia was mainly directed towards these countries. For instance, emigration from Estonia to the UK and Ireland which together with Sweden opened their labour markets to CEE countries without a transition period increased more than eightfold and to Finland more than fivefold from 2000 to 2008 (Publication II, figure 3).

The results also revealed some changes in the composition of emigrants. First, the share of highly educated emigrants has decreased and the share of emigrants with no university degree has increased since Estonia joined the EU in 2004. In short, the general education level of Estonian emigrants has decreased in time. Second, migrants have become younger, as since 2004 there have been fewer migrants in older age groups than before. Third, emigration of ethnic Estonians when compared to other ethnicities living in Estonia has increased significantly. And finally, since 2004 there has been substantially more emigrants originating from the rural areas of Estonia (Publication II, table 2). Thus, the results of this thesis indicate that the post-accession emigration has been selective in terms of education, ethnicity, age and region.

4.4. Integration of Estonian migrants in the main destination country Finland

In general, Estonian migrants are both socially and structurally rather well integrated into Finnish society (Publication III, table 3 and 4). 68 percent of Estonian migrants in Finland are fluent in Finnish, 57 percent have everyday contacts with Finns, one fifth have a local partner and about the same share of migrants speaks Finnish at home. The bulk of Estonian migrants find their first job quickly – within the first three months in Finland – although at first nearly one third of them had to settle for a job beneath their qualification. Interestingly, after being in Finland for longer period most migrants have moved back up on the occupational level and established an occupational level comparable to their last job in Estonia (Publication III, table 5). Contrary to fears of welfare tourism there are no indications of that phenomenon as only three percent of the interviewees were unemployed at the time of the survey.

There are, however, some differences in integration between the ethnic Estonians and the ethnic Russians who migrated from Estonia to Finland with ethnic Russians being less successful in social and structural integration than ethnic Estonians. For ethnic Russians it is more difficult to learn the Finnish language and thus to create contacts with Finns, they have more difficulties in finding a job, and they become unemployed more often. The only sphere of integration where ethnic Russians are better integrated than ethnic Estonians from Estonia is political integration as 31 percent of ethnic Russians have acquired Finnish citizenship as opposed to 9 percent of ethnic Estonians (Publication III, table 3 and 4).

4.5. Return migration from Finland

About 24 percent of the Estonian migrants surveyed in Finland said they intend to return to Estonia. Naturally, not all of them end up returning. The statistics of actual return migration from Finland confirms that, as the share of actual return migrants between 1991 and 2013 has been 19 percent (Figure 2; Publication I, figure 5). Therefore, it must be considered, that the following results describe emigrants with return intentions, not actual return migrants.

First of all, the results of Publication III prove important differences in the ethnicity of the migrants as regards to return migration. Only 7 percent of ethnic Russians who have emigrated from Estonia to Finland intend to return to Estonia. For ethnic Estonians the corresponding figure was 28 percent. Second, the age of the migrant at the time of migration also affects return intentions. There was a positive relationship between age of migrating and intention to return, whereas migrants who arrived in Finland as children were the least likely to say they wanted to return. The integration factors that had a negative effect on the wish to return were having a Finnish partner, being proficient in Finnish,

and having regular contacts with Finns. One of the factors of structural integration – labour market status –, however, had a positive relationship with return intentions as respondents who were not working (inactive, unemployed) were much more likely to indicate a willingness to stay in Finland, while those who were working were more likely to say they want to return to Estonia. Interestingly, the education level of migrants was not significantly related to return intentions (Publication III, table 7).

4.6. The changing migration patterns

The migration patterns of Estonian migrants in Finland are dynamic with temporary migration widely used. Three migration patterns of Estonian migrants in Finland have been analysed in Publication IV of the current thesis: bi-national migrants, circular migrants and transnational commuters. It is important to note, however, that these three migration patterns are definitely not the only migration patterns of Estonian migrants in Finland, as the research design may have limited migrants who are less attached to Estonia and Estonians and who are therefore using more permanent migration patterns falling within the sample. However, as the focus of the research question is to analyse the new more temporary migration patterns that have emerged beside traditional permanent migration, this is not considered as a substantial analytical shortfall. It is also important to note that migration patterns are neither clear-cut nor static – the borders between the patterns are often blurred and migrants may change them repeatedly during their migration experience.

Bi-national migrants (Publication IV, chapter 5.3.) have either stayed in Finland for many years and/or have long-term intentions to stay. Their reasons to migrate are varied, including work (including career prospects) and higher salary, but also personal reasons such as love, following a family member who lives in Finland, a wish to live abroad, etc. For bi-national migrants integration is important and wanted and therefore they are relatively well-integrated in Finnish society. They keep strong connections with Estonia by keeping in touch with friends and relatives, by following Estonian news and by frequent visits where they also buy goods and use services that are cheaper than in Finland. Bi-national migrants usually do not have clear intentions to return to Estonia. The reasons for that are, in addition to monetary benefits, that Estonians in Finland value highly the working and living environments and the social welfare system in Finland. As opposed to Estonia Finland is often referred to as a stress-free environment where people are generally nicer to each other. However, some of them think about returning at the time of retirement and enjoying the benefits of spending their Finnish pension in much cheaper Estonia.

Circular migrants (Publication IV, chapter 5.2.) of Estonia usually migrate for reasons related to work and higher salary in Finland. However, for many migrants prospects related to career and education also play an important role in

their decision to migrate. Estonia with its population of 1.3 million is a small country with a small economy which means that pursuing education or a professional career in specific fields may be complicated or even impossible. Those migrants who at the same time wish to retain close contacts with Estonia often choose Finland as their destination country. As circular migrants view their migration as temporary and they plan to return soon they do not invest much effort into establishing social relations in Finland. The lack of integration often causes stress and loneliness and due to the physical absence the personal relationships in Estonia also suffer and may not be the same when the migrant returns. However, due to the geographical proximity of Estonia and Finland which enables them to regularly visit home and therefore relieve their homesickness they often postpone their return.

Transnational commuters (Publication IV, chapter 5.1.) are migrants who work abroad, but simultaneously retain their home, social and family lives in the origin country. Due to the geographic and linguistic proximity of Estonia and Finland and good transportation connections between these countries this type of mobility is often used by Estonian workers. The most important migration motive for them is work and more specifically higher income in Finland. As they are connected to the host country solely through work, they usually do not have the time or the wish to make an effort to find local friends or to take an interest in Finnish culture or politics. They spend their free time and most of their income in Estonia. As the non-monetary cost of commuting in terms of homesickness and split families is high, most of the commuters see this lifestyle as a short-term option.

5. DISCUSSION

Estonian emigration since 1991 is one case of East-West migration in Europe that on one hand illustrates the unity but on the other the complexity of the process. Several aspects of Estonian emigration, including the background of the country and the incentives of migration, coincide with other CEE countries. However, as this thesis confirms, Estonian emigration also has some distinct features.

Estonia changed from a country of immigration to a country of emigration in 1991 when the Soviet Union collapsed and the country regained its independence. Restrictions to migrate to the West eased significantly and many Estonians seized this opportunity that only a decade before would not have been impossible. However, in the 1990s working in Western European countries was still rather complicated (Ciupijus 2011). Therefore, a substantial rise in emigration rates from CEE countries was expected along with the enlargement of the European Union in 2004 that brought about free movement of labour between its member states. These expectations were met as emigration of especially young working-age people from CEE countries, including Estonia, to the old member states increased significantly after enlargement (Publication II; Kahanec et al. 2010; Castles and Miller 2009; Favell 2008).

An important issue of concern by the origin countries has been the possible brain drain. Several previous studies (Olofsson and Malmberg 2011; Krišjāne et al. 2009; Kępińska 2007) have confirmed this concern of high emigration rates of the highly educated from CEE countries, but this did not happen in Estonia. In fact, there was no indication of brain drain from Estonia before nor after Estonia joined the EU in 2004 and the share of the highly educated among the emigrants has even decreased in time (Publication II). The reasoning behind this could be as follows. People face several obstacles when they wish to migrate and these barriers are usually higher for lower-educated and other disadvantaged people (Wickramasekara 2008). The policy of free movement of labour of the EU has decreased the barriers for working in other member states and has thus in Estonia worked more in favour of the lower-educated and other disadvantaged people, therefore increasing the volume of their emigration. Emigration of more disadvantaged people, especially those with lower financial resources, has also been supported by the development of budget airlines in Europe that has further lowered the barriers for them (Batnitzky et al. 2012).

A feature of Estonian migration that also distinguishes Estonia from many other CEE countries is its main destination country. Whereas the bulk of East-West migrants have preferred the English-speaking UK and Ireland (which also opened their labour markets to the new member states without a transition period) as their main destination countries (Drinkwater et al. 2009), Estonian migrants prefer the neighbouring country Finland (Publications I and II). This is due to geographic and linguistic proximity of Estonia and Finland that enables

migrants to often visit home, quickly learn the local language and even retain parts of their lives in Estonia.

Estonian migrants adapt in Finnish society both socioculturally and structurally relatively well. Due to the similarities of Estonian and Finnish languages Estonian migrants learn Finnish easily which simplifies making contacts with the locals finding a job etc. The most common assumption is that success in integration has a negative effect on return migration (de Haas and Fokkema 2011; DaVanzo and Morrison 1982; Massey and Espinoza 1997), i.e. Estonian migrants who are well integrated in Finland do not wish to return. However, results of this thesis (Publication III) suggest a more complex relationship between integration and return migration. Migrants who integrate well socioculturally, e.g. communicate fluently in Finnish, have Finnish friends or live with a Finnish partner, indeed tend to prefer staying in Finland to returning to Estonia. However, the correlation between economic integration and return migration intentions was positive. Namely, Estonian migrants in Finland who work are more likely to want to return than those who do not work. Therefore, it can be concluded that migrants who wish to return are more likely to be active and mobile members of society taking advantage of the EU's common labour market. This also illustrates the new and changing migration patterns in Europe where worker mobility has become a norm and where migrants increasingly see their stay in the host country as a temporary sojourn.

At this point it is important to discuss the heterogeneity of Estonian migrants in relation to ethnicity that considerably affects emigration from Estonia, integrating in Finland and return migration intentions (Publications II and III). A third of the Estonian population are not ethnic Estonians and the results of the thesis prove that the migration behaviour of non-ethnic Estonians differs from that of ethnic Estonians. First, accession to the EU increased the emigration of ethnic Estonians considerably more than that of Estonia's ethnic minorities. One reason for this could be related to the high share of ethnic minorities who do not have Estonian citizenship. In 2014 there are nearly 90,000 residents with undefined citizenship in Estonia who can travel within the Schengen zone without a visa, but who need to apply for a work or residence permit if they wish to stay for more than 90 days, or to work or to study in any other EU member state. Therefore, the policies of free movement of labour do not pertain to all the workers of Estonia as ethnic minorities still have restricted access to labour markets in the EU-15 countries. Second, integration in Finland for Estonian-origin ethnic Russians is more difficult than for ethnic Estonians, and despite that they are considerably less intent to return. This may be due to the fact that ethnic Russians perceive Finland as a more hospitable country for immigrants (see also MIPLEX index) and due to the bitter change of status for Estonian ethnic Russians from majority population during the Soviet era to minority after the break-up of the Soviet Union (Kolstø 1996). Therefore, as de Haas and Fokkema (2011) have stated, being better integrated does not necessarily mean a greater wish to stay in the host country. In addition, in the

statistical studies of migration and integration it is necessary to take into account the composition and the ethnicity of migrants, as minority groups may act differently than the mainstream group and thus affect the results. This is increasingly important in the context of contemporary increased migration flows with the share of migrants and thus minorities increasing worldwide.

Estonian migration to Finland is also a good case study for analysing migration patterns that contemporary European migrants follow during their migration experience (Publication IV). Previous studies have suggested that next to traditional permanent migration more temporary migration patterns have appeared (Glorius et al. 2013; Morokvasic 2004; Engbersen et al. 2013). The migration patterns of Estonian migrants in Finland prove the emergence of temporary patterns with many migrants being circular migrants and transnational commuters. The mostly economical incentives of temporary migration have also been confirmed by comparing the reasons for migrating of permanent and longer-staying migrants who often emigrated already in the 1990s to temporary and more recent migrants. Whereas in the 1990s the reasons for migrating were varied, including bigger income, fear of the future, love, family, adventure, etc., in the 2000s economic reasons have dominated. However, it is important to bear in mind that even in the 2000s economic reasons are certainly not the only motivation that has driven Estonians to Finland. For example, a motivation behind work-related reasons is often the small size of the country that limits the educational and career prospects for many people. This is in line with Zaiceva and Zimmermann (2008) who suggested that geography, language, country size, and networks matter.

Proceeding with this assertion of Zaiceva and Zimmermann (2008) an interesting contribution of this thesis is the ‘geography effect’ between the neighbouring countries Finland and Estonia revealed in Publication IV. Firstly, the short and cheaply traversable distance between the countries has caused transnational commuting between Estonia and Finland. Many migrants live ‘split lives’ by working in Finland and retaining their home, family and social life in Estonia. On one hand, this lifestyle enables to relieve economic struggles for many Estonians who wish to retain at least parts of their lives in Estonia. On the other hand, the frequent absence from home often causes loneliness, stress and split families. Secondly, the short distance that has attracted thousands of Estonian migrants to Finland also restrains or postpones their return. Personal reasons like homesickness, loneliness, and missing friends and family are often the main reasons for return, but Estonian migrants in Finland can relieve these feelings by frequent visits to their home country. In fact, irrespective of the migration pattern a big part of Estonian migrants maintain strong ties to Estonia: they follow Estonian media, they invest in Estonia, and they are frequent consumers of goods and services in Estonia. By maintaining their family, economic and social relations in Estonia, they have created a transnational social field between Estonia and Finland, as also described by Glick Schiller et al. (1992). This leads to the rarely discussed positive aspects of

migration for the origin countries. First, the economies of the origin countries benefit from these loyal regular visitors who invest part of their income there (Guarnizo 1998). Second, temporary migrants who return bring along knowledge, experience, and networks picked up abroad, indicating brain circulation. And finally, migration can be a temporary solution for the unemployed of Estonia. Thus, as Glick Schiller (1999), Levitt (2001) and Guarnizo (1998) have also stated, migrants can be seen as resources by the origin country.

6. SUMMARY

Possibilities to move across state borders are wider and cheaper than ever before, bringing about an increase in the number of international migrants worldwide, and making migration more fluid and temporary. Migration researchers are faced with the challenge to keep track of these quickly changing processes which have been termed ‘the mobility turn’ by some researchers (Sheller and Urry 2006; King 2012).

International migration within Europe is a good and interesting example of the world that is on the move. The restrictions to move from one country to another have been almost demolished and distances between the countries have figuratively shrunk, for example with the emergence of budget airlines. Therefore, already for the past 25 years East-West migration has become evident, i.e. migration flows from poorer Central and Eastern Europe to richer Western European countries. This thesis contributes to studies of East-West migration by finding out migration trends and factors that affect them of one of the origin countries – Estonia. Estonia is a good case study as the quality of its migration data is sufficient for assessing the extent of the problems that arise from migration. For extensive coverage of Estonian emigration and return migration four research questions were asked and the answers to the questions were found in four publications of this thesis. First, what have been the general features of Estonian emigration and return migration since the country’s re-independence (Publications I and II)? Second, who are the Estonian emigrants and whether and how did the EU accession change the composition of Estonian emigrants (Publication II)? Next, who returns and is return migration related to integrating in the host country (Publication III)? And finally, whether there is evidence of the new temporary migration patterns among Estonian emigrants (Publication IV)?

Both quantitative and qualitative analysing methods were used to answer these questions. Using combined methods has enabled to comprehend the extent, changes and composition of migration as well as to understand the migration processes in depth.

For the most part Estonian emigration trends coincide with migration tendencies of other CEE countries. Estonia became country of emigration since its break up from the Soviet Union in 1991. The restrictions to move to the Western countries eased significantly and many Estonians seized this opportunity. In the 1990s about 17,000 people from Estonia emigrated to the Western countries, most of them heading to Finland (Publications I and II). Similarly to the other CEE countries emigration from Estonia increased when Estonia joined the European Union in 2004. The bulk of this new migration was targeted towards the pre-2004 member states, particularly to Finland, Germany, UK and Sweden. The total number of Estonian emigrants from 2000 until 2013 was a little more than 60,000 people. This, however, is only official number, registered by Statistics Estonia, and this does not encompass the temporary

migrants and migrants whose moves have not been registered. Therefore, the actual number of Estonian emigrants is expected to be somewhat bigger.

High emigration rates in Europe have raised concerns for both the origin and the host countries. The host countries fear for the uncontrollable influx of CEE migrants that may bring about increase of unemployment and downward pressure on wages. The major concern for the origin countries is extensive outflow of the best and the brightest – the brain drain. Although findings of some other CEE countries confirm brain drain, this has not been the case in Estonia. Furthermore, the thesis suggests that the free movement of labour within the EU has been more beneficial for the less educated and other disadvantaged population groups (Publication II).

For the origin countries high emigration can be relieved by return migration. Brain drain could be altered into brain circulation where migrants bring their knowledge and experience picked up abroad back to their origin country. Therefore, the key topic for the origin countries is learning what makes migrants to return. Previous migration research has argued that integration in the host country affects migrants' return intentions. Estonians in their most popular destination country Finland are quite successful in integrating, mostly due to similarities of Estonian and Finnish languages that enable them to learn the local language quickly, have more connections with the locals, find a job more easily etc. (Publication III). In general, the better the migrant is integrated in Finland the less likely he or she intends to return. However, there are some exceptions. First, ethnicity of Estonian origin migrants has a strong effect on intentions to return. Namely, being an ethnic Russian from Estonia affects negatively return intentions, irrespective to the hardships in integrating into the Finnish society. Second, people who work are more likely to want to return to Estonia than those who do not work (Publication III). These working immigrants planning to return to Estonia are likely to be representatives of the mobile European citizens who have taken advantage of the open European labour markets by temporary working abroad.

In fact, Estonian migrants in Finland follow quite extensively the patterns of temporary migration, including the pattern of incomplete migration – transnational commuting. One of the reasons of the popularity of these temporary migration patterns is the close distance between Estonia and Finland that makes commuting and visits to home relatively cheap, fast and easy. The temporary migration has several positive aspects for the migrants such as higher incomes, progress in one's professional career, and the advantages to live in a welfare country, but often this lifestyle causes loneliness, stress and unhappiness (Publication IV).

For Estonia the attractiveness of Finland means both a curse and a blessing. On one hand the easy access to the Finnish labour market and fast and affordable transportation that enable often visits to home have attracted thousands of Estonians to this neighbouring country. On the other hand, Estonian emigrants in Finland could be seen as a resource for Estonia. For example, emigration

helps to relieve temporary unemployment, emigrants gain and bring back knowledge and experience that is unavailable in Estonia and during their often visits to Estonia they invest and consume goods and services in Estonia (Publication IV).

The findings of this thesis have opened up the processes of Estonian emigration and return migration since 1991, but simultaneously complemented the knowledge on East-West migration in general. However, due to the complex and dynamic nature of international migration a great deal is yet to be uncovered. When doing that it is important to take into consideration the growing heterogeneity of populations worldwide that diversifies the migration behaviour and for comprehensive understanding of the migration processes both quantitative and qualitative methods are needed.

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SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN

Ida-Lääs ränne Euroopas: Eesti taasiseseisvumisjärgne väljaränne ja tagasiränne

Võimalused piiriüleseks rändeks on suuremad ja odavamad kui kunagi varem ning see on üle maailma kaasa toonud rahvusvaheliste migrantide arvu kasvu ning muutnud rändeprotsesse varasemast dünaamilisemaks ja lühiajalisemaks. Rändeuurijad peavad selle mobiilsuspöördega, nagu nimetavad aset leidnud muutust rändeprotsessides Sheller ja Urry (2006) ning King (2012), kaasas käima.

Piiriülene ränne Euroopas on hea ja huvitav näide sellest, kuidas maailm on pidevas liikumises. Piirangud liikumaks ühest riigist teise on peaaegu kaotatud ning vahemaad riikide vahel on näiteks tänu odavlennufirmadele piltlikult kahanenud. Seetõttu on juba viimased 25 aastat toimunud nn Ida-Lääs ränne – migratsioon vaesemast Kesk- ja Ida-Euroopast rikkamasse Lääne-Euroopasse. Käesolev väitekirjandus käsitleb väljarännet ühest Ida-Euroopa lähteriigist Eestist, täiendades sellega olemasolevat kirjandust Ida-Lääs rändest. Eestist väljarände ja tagasirände uurimiseks on väitekirjas esitatud järgnevad uurimisküsimused, millele on vastatud neljas antud väitekirja osaks olevas teadusartiklis Esiteks, missugused on olnud väljarände ja tagasirände üldised trendid alates Eesti taasiseseisvumisest (Artiklid I ja II)? Teiseks, kes rändavad Eestist välja ning kuidas on väljarändajate koosseisu muutnud Eesti ühinemine Euroopa Liiduga (Artikkel II)? Kolmandaks, kes rändavad tagasi ning kas ja kuidas on tagasiränne seotud kohanemisega sihtriigis (Artikkel III)? Ning neljandaks, millised on Eesti väljarändajate rändemustrid (Artikkel IV)?

Uurimisküsimustele vastamiseks kasutati nii kvalitatiivseid kui kvantitatiivseid analüüsimeetodeid. Meetodite kombineerimine võimaldab haarata nii väljarände suundumusi, muutusi ja koosseisu, kui mõista rändeprotsesse sügavuti.

Suuremalt jaolt sarnaneb väljaränne Eestist teiste Kesk- ja Ida-Euroopa riikide rändetrendidega. Eesti muutus sisserändemaast väljarändemaaks pärast lahkumist Nõukogude Liidust 1991. aastal. Piirangud liikumaks lääneriikidesse kahanesid oluliselt ning paljud eestlased kasutasid seda uut võimalust. 1990ndatel lahkus Eestist lääneriikidesse ligi 17 000 inimest, kusjuures enamus neist siirdus Soome (Artiklid I ja II). Sarnaselt teistele Kesk- ja Ida-Euroopa riikidele kasvas väljaränne Eestist oluliselt pärast liitumist Euroopa Liiduga 2004. aastal ning suurem osa väljarändajatest suundus Euroopa Liidu vanadesse liikmesriikidesse, eelkõige Soome, Saksamaale, Suurbritanniasse ja Rootsi (Artikkel II). Eestist väljarännanute koguarv aastatel 2000–2013 on Eesti Statistikaameti andmetel veidi üle 60 000 inimese. Kuid see on kõigest ametlik registreeritud väljarännanute arv, mis ei sisalda ajutisi väljarändajaid ega neid, kelle riigist lahkumist pole registreeritud. Seega tuleb arvestada, et Eestist väljarännanute reaalne arv on mõnevõrra suurem.

Arvukas piiriülene ränne Euroopas on nii lähte- kui sihtriikide jaoks tõstanud mitmed murekohad. Sihtriigid kardavad kontrollimatut sisserännet Kesk- ja Ida-Euroopast, millega võib kaasnedä suurenenud tööpuudus ning surve

palkade alanemisele. Lähteriikide jaoks on suurimateks ohtudeks tööjõu väljaränne ning ajude äravool. Kuigi mitmetes teistes Ida- ja Kesk-Euroopa riikides on ajude äravool toimunud, ei ole seda juhtunud Eestis. Veelgi enam, käesolev doktoritöö näitab, et tööjõu vabast liikumisest Euroopa Liidus on rohkem kasu lõiganud just madalama haridustasemega isikud, s.t nende väljaränne on ajaga kasvanud (Artikkel II).

Suurt väljarännet võib lähteriikide jaoks leevendada tagasiränne. Tagasirändega võib ajude äravool muutuda ajude ringluseks, kus migrandid naasevad koduriiki koos võõrsil kogutud teadmiste ja kogemustega. Seetõttu on lähteriikide jaoks võtmeküsimuseks mõista, millised tegurid panevad väljarändajaid koduriiki tagasi pöörduma. Varasemad rändeuuringud on väitnud, et tagasirännet mõjutab oluliselt väljarändaja kohanemine sihtriigis. Eesti väljarändajad olulisimas sihtriigis Soomes kohanevad üsna hästi, peamiselt tänu eesti ja soome keele sarnasusele, mis võimaldab neil kiiresti omandada soome keele oskuse ning seeläbi suhelda enam kohalikega, leida kiiremini töö jne (Artikkel III).

Üldiselt mida paremini on Eestist väljarändaja kohanenud Soomes, seda vähem soovib ta tagasi pöörduda. Kuid esinevad mõned erandid. Esiteks mõjutab tagasirände kavatsusi oluliselt väljarändaja rahvus. Nimelt on Eestist pärit venelastel sõltumata raskustest Soome ühiskonda lõimumisel väiksem soov Eestisse naasta. Teiseks soovivad tööl käivad inimesed tõenäolisemalt Eestisse naasta kui need, kes ei tööta (Artikkel III). Need tööl käivad immigrandid, kes Eestisse naasta plaanivad, on tõenäoliselt näited mobiilsetest Euroopa kodanikest, kes on ajutiselt välismaal töötades lõiganud kasu Euroopa avatud tööjõuturgudest.

Eesti migrandid Soomes järgivad tegelikult üsna suures ulatuses ajutise rände, sh mittetäieliku rände mustreid, nt piiriülene pendelränne (Artikkel IV). Üks ajutise rände mustrite populaarsuse põhjustest on Eesti ja Soome lähedus. See muudab pendelrände ja kodus käimise suhteliselt odavaks, kiireks ja lihtsaks. Ajutisel rändel on migrantide jaoks mitu positiivset aspekti, nagu kõrgemad sissetulekud, edu ametikarjääris ning heoluriigis elamisega kaasnevad hüved, kuid samas tekitab selline elu ka üksindust, stressi ja kurbust.

Eesti jaoks on Soome atraktiivsus ühtaegu õnnistus ja needus. Ühelt poolt on lihtne juurdepääs sealsele tööjõuturule ning sagedast kodus käimist võimaldav kiire ja jõukohane transpordiühendus meelitanud Soome tuhandeid eestlasi. Teisalt võib Eesti väljarändajaid Soomes näha kui ressursi Eesti jaoks. Näiteks aitab väljaränne leevendada ajutist tööpuudust, väljarändajad omandavad välismaal ning toovad kodumaale tagasi Eestis nappivaid teadmisi ja kogemusi, lisaks panustavad nad rahaga Eesti kaupade ja teenuste tarbimisse.

Selle väitekirja tulemused on lahanud Eesti välja- ja tagasirände protsesse pärast 1991. aastat, kuid on ühtlasi ka täiendanud kirjandust Ida-Lääs rände kohta üldiselt. Siiski on rahvusvahelise rände keerulise ja dünaamilise olemuse tõttu veel palju uurimata. Seda tehes peab arvesse võtma maailma rahvastiku kasvavat heterogeensust, mis muudab rändekäitumist mitmekesisemaks, ning vajadust kasutada rändeprotsesside põhjalikuks mõistmiseks nii kvantitatiivseid kui kvalitatiivseid meetodeid.

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