



**EU EASTERN  
PARTNERSHIP**

# FROM CAPACITIES TO EXCELLENCE:

STRENGTHENING RESEARCH,  
REGIONAL AND INNOVATION  
POLICIES IN THE CONTEXT  
OF HORIZON 2020



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Editors:

**Tatjana Muravska, Alexandre Berlin**

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Aksel Kirch<sup>1</sup>  
Tarmo Tuisk<sup>2</sup>

## Potential Emigrants and Stayers in the Baltic States and Possible Impact of Their Decisions to EU Eastern Partnership

### Abstract

*The article aims to study the socio-psychological aspects related to migration among higher educated youth. The labour migration process of these 'knowledge workers' that has been seen as a flow which originates from differences in the socio-economic potential between the state of origin and the state of choice can in many cases be harmful to donor states' economic development due to the brain-drain. Within the current study the origins of this process have been analysed by mapping discourses based on possible migrants' beliefs and values in relation to economic, social and cultural motivators. The influence of 'significant others' surrounding these possible migrants has been expressed via positive or negative identifications with their role models. Identity Structure Analysis as a metatheoretical framework and Ipseus as a tool have been applied to study perceptions of these complex processes among students of Tallinn University of Technology. Hopefully fulfilment of available jobs after 'knowledge workers' emigration from the Baltic States remains challenging for all newcomers including EU Eastern Partnership countries.*

**Keywords:** Baltic Sea macro-region, Eastern Partnership, identity structure analysis, identification patterns, knowledge workers, migration.

### 1. Introduction

Migration is not a simple zero sum game given that it simultaneously exerts a positive and negative impact, implying that the optimal state from the viewpoint of the donor country is not necessarily zero emigration. The international migration of highly educated people functions as a mechanism of diffusion of knowledge, the creation of networks and the rotation of scientific personnel which may promote research and the development of educational systems also in the donor countries. This then raises the question of the optimal size of the expatriate population. Within this context it will be necessary to know how many Estonians should live in Estonia in order for it to develop, and see itself as an independent country. Would it be ideal if all Estonians lived in Estonia?

In the rapidly changing economic situation, the common problems and challenges that the Baltic region faces are best tackled on the regional level –

<sup>1</sup> Dr, Tallinn University of Technology, School of Economics and Business Administration, aksel.kirch@ttu.ee

<sup>2</sup> Mr, Tallinn University of Technology, School of Economics and Business Administration, tarmo.tuisk@ttu.ee

within the EU this is according to the 'EU Strategy for the Baltic Sea Region'. The strategy of the Baltic Sea region is a part of the overall strategy of the European Commission 'Europe 2020: A strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth' (European Commission, 2010). As a recently emerged field in EU policy-making, macro-regional cooperation is a precondition for further development and this macro-region strategy can be viewed as one of the priorities of the strategic framework for Europe 2020.

There are many promising developments within the socio-economic process in Baltic Sea Region in general, and all South-Baltic states (Poland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) have meaningful positive economic results today. At the same time the out-migration from the four countries can negatively impact their future developments in a longer perspective. In a broad sense these countries have become countries of emigration; according to the most recent census data about 200 thousand have left Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in last 8 years (2004-2011). Total emigration from Central and Eastern European countries to the Nordic countries has been 600,000 (Friberg & Eldring, 2013, p. 12).

What determines how many people emigrate and re-migrate? And what are the most likely effects of net outward migration on economic growth and innovation? According to Estonian demographers the determinants of migration can be divided into two main categories: economic and demographic (Tammaru *et al.*, 2013).

On the economic side, large differences between in the standard of living, the generosity of the welfare state and the quality of public services create powerful pull factors towards out-migration. Yet, the impact of these disparities on migration behaviour differs substantially between age cohorts. The cohorts of young adults traditionally is most susceptible to such pull factors, which is why the actual size of migration flows is also determined by the demographic structure of the country in question.

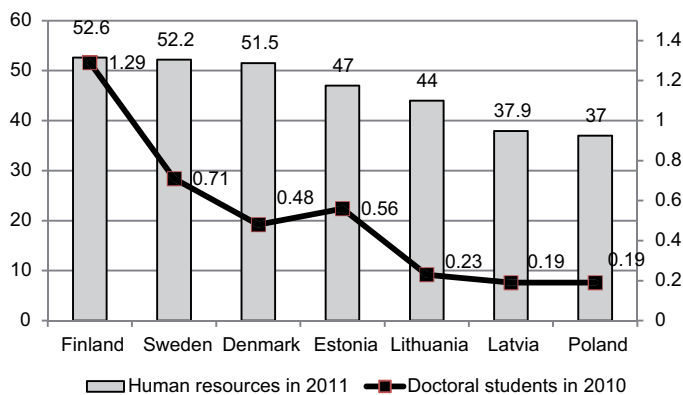
Yet, to these two powerful determinants analysed by Tammaru, there emerges a need to add a third factor, which we may describe as the identity structure of the individuals as of potential migrants. Countries with small populations, such as Estonia and the other Baltic countries of Latvia and Lithuania, need proportionally more highly educated civil servants and other professionals, and it is expected by some researchers that working in such an environment may provide such individuals with more challenges and opportunities. It is therefore likely that well-qualified people in such countries might decide to stay and work in their own country, despite the availability of higher salaries abroad. (Anniste *et al.*, 2012, p. 232).

The data presented in Figure 1 show the negative effects of labour migration on the development of an innovative economy in Poland, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

As the countries of the Southern Baltics have experienced net-outward migration for at least the last five to seven years, there is an increasing shortage in the supply of academic labour, as exemplified by the very low number of doctorate graduates per 1,000 inhabitants aged 20–29.



In the Baltic Sea macro-region, Estonia continues to seek as much assistance as possible to attract ‘knowledge workers’ in the form of accumulation of human capital through processes of transforming its education systems. This might prepare a coherent framework and support initiatives for a larger-scale cross-border cooperation with knowledge-building institutions in the Baltic Sea macro-region. The most important problem, however, is to transform the mind-set of people in the region; to encourage networking and cooperation within the Baltic Sea macro-region for “brain-gain” from Scandinavian countries to Southern Baltic countries (Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia).



Source: Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA, 2012)  
**Figure 1.** Human resources in science and technology (HRST) as a share of labour force (%) and doctorate graduates per 1,000 population aged 20–29

Within the framework of EU Eastern Partnership (EaP) we take a short look at the history of the development of his initiative in Europe. In the 2000s, the European Union (EU) started to develop the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) with the aim of enhancing relationships with the neighbouring countries. In 2009, the EU launched the EaP within the framework of the ENP, and it became the EU’s initiative in order to build closer cooperation and integration process with six neighbouring partner countries of Eastern Europe and the South Caucasus: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova, Ukraine and Belarus. In 2013-2014 competition between the EU and Russia in the Eastern European region became a very salient theme in the international relations, especially after the escalating conflict between Ukraine and Russia. Despite the current situation, the EaP continuously represents EU’s objective of promoting relations between the EU and these partner countries and thereby reduces the potential interest of Ukraine (and its people) for the Eurasian Economic Union and its Customs Union.

When looking at the potential of different Eastern Partnership countries it is evident according to Eurostat Labour Force Survey that among the 25-34 year olds, higher education attainment is the highest in Ukraine (48.4%) while the median among 38 European countries is 33.2% for this



age group (EACEA, 2012, p. 104-105). Armenia reaches 22.5% and Moldova 22.9% in higher education attainment in the same age group. Baltic EU member countries also demonstrate the levels above the median, namely Lithuania 46.4%, Estonia 38.0% and Latvia 33.9%. So, while these three southern Baltic countries lose their 'knowledge workers' to the West there a new immigration process has started – empty work places are going to be replaced by newcomers from the Eastern Partnership countries. In the case of Ukraine, as the emigration increases due to instability and war, it is hard to predict the educational level of emigrants as the crisis with Russia influences all population groups. Economic reasons and political situation will affect emigrants' decisions simultaneously. Recent migration trends show that during 2004 to 2012 1,420 people immigrated into Estonia from Ukraine while the total number of Ukrainian immigrants was around 6,085 during the same period to all Southern Baltic countries (Nõmmela, 2014, pp. 57-58).

The labour migration process of knowledge workers may be seen as a flow that originates in the emergence of differences in the socio-economic potential between two regions – the state of origin and the state of choice – from southern to northern Baltic countries (Kirch & Mezentsev, 2012, p. 120-121). When estimating out-migration flows of active labour force, we can see that the trend is predominantly towards the north to the Scandinavian countries or to United Kingdom and Ireland, and this means that at least an half of the emigrated people (400,000 during 2004-2013) stay in the Baltic Sea macro-region.

By exploring people's choices for residence via migration, it is possible to analyse the main interrelationships between the movement of people and economic developments of their countries. Labour migration has become an important tool in the European Union innovation process as returning migrants from UK or Germany to Lithuania/Latvia may offer a boost to economic growth in these two countries as they bring home skills, capital and new ideas obtained abroad.

The current study will focus on socio-psychological processes which influence individuals to make decisions before they decide to emigrate or to stay. In order to assess these processes, the Identity Structure Analysis (ISA) metatheoretical framework (Weinreich, 2003/2012) has been applied. The results of this exploratory study carried out in Estonian cultural setting are expected to show which 'significant others' influence people and which are these core and conflicted dimensions of their identity structure mostly used by the individuals to construe their identity as an 'emigrant' or a 'stayer'.

## **2. Study of potential migrants' identity processes**

### **2.1. Aims and objectives**

The aims of the investigation are:

1. To apply the ISA conceptual framework, operationalized by the Ipseus software, for assessing the identity processes of potential young migrants in respect of the inter-relationship between the migration related issues in contemporary Estonia and the persons' values and beliefs about

persistence of Estonian language and culture, the country's innovation potential, ethnic cleavage in society, job motivation and tolerance as dimensions of identity.

2. To ascertain the psychological consequences for individuals of disjunctions between expected migrants' values and the values and beliefs of the study participants.
3. To demonstrate the efficacy of ISA for elucidating the complex identity processes in relation to the perceived expected migrants' imperatives as these are judged by the study participants.

Specific objectives are to:

1. Measure the extent of the individual's aspirational and empathetic identification with salient influential societal agencies and agents (business circles, creative people, diplomats, the government, ethno-cultural group, low-skilled worker and knowledge-worker) and people of personal significance (mother, father and husband/wife/partner).
2. Assess the extents to which identification with these entities are conflicted.
3. Provide evidence of developmental processes in identification with others (change or resistance to change).

## 2.2. Synopsis of the Identity Structure Analysis conceptual and methodological tools

Identity Structure Analysis (ISA) as an open-ended framework was chosen to provide empirical evidence on how potential migrants construe their identity in the different contexts they encounter. In regard to the major identity theories, a literature review on migrants' identity is provided. The ISA was considered suitable to apply as it allows the researcher to examine individuals' social construct of themselves and others based on, and anchored in, their *own* value and belief systems. The approach recognizes that identity is not fixed and thus allows (in regard to potential migrants) the aptness of migration to be viewed as a developmental process rather than a given state. Therefore, we see that ISA will enable us to analyse the processes of identity formulation and reformulation also in the case of aspiring migrants as they adopt, adapt, consolidate, and redefine their migrational identity over time. Thus, potential migrant's identity can be examined as part of the totality of identity (Weinreich, 2003, p. 27). Within the current study the focus will be on potential migrant's identity as part of one's identity which the researchers have defined as follows:

*One's migrational identity is defined as that part of the totality of one's self-construal make up of those dimensions that express the continuity between one's construal of past migration experience and one's future aspirations in relation to migration.*

## 2.3. Method

Within the current study, 25 participants appraised the migrational identity. The research instrument was formulated by the Identity Structure Analysis requirements. For the discourses and domains of selves and others earlier researches and theoretical contributions of various authors (Benmayor & Skotnes, 2005; Kirch & Tuisk, 2008; Castles, 2011; Tuisk, 2012) were used.

## 2.4. Identity Instrument

### 2.4.1. Themes

#### *Perception of necessity of public efforts to attract educated youth to stay in Estonia*

Over the last decade the level of attraction of emigrating youth in order to keep them in Estonia has been present in public debate in all media channels of Estonia. Several scenarios of making Estonia attractive have been under discussion. At the same time statistical analysis based on the data collected by Estonian Statistical Office demonstrates that among those who have returned to Estonia the share of higher educated people is higher compared to the respective age group in Estonia (Tammur and Meres, 2013, p. 26). See age groups 20-24 years (22.4 vs. 13.0%) and 25-29 years (44.5 vs. 33.9 %) in Table 1.

**Table 1.** Total population and returnees by educational attainment, 2011 (percentages)

Vanuse- rühm Age group	Tagasirännanud Returnees				Kogurahvastik Total population			
	Üldpõhiharidus või madalam Lower secondary or lower	Üldkesk- haridus Upper secondary	Keskharidus ja kutse Upper secondary with vocational education	Kõrgharidus Higher education	Üldpõhiharidus või madalam Lower secondary or lower	Üldkesk- haridus Upper secondary	Keskharidus ja kutse Upper secondary with vocational education	Kõrgharidus Higher education
20–24	17,9	44,6	13,7	22,4	19,8	38,9	26,2	13,0
25–29	10,6	22,3	21,4	44,5	15,3	19,8	27,4	33,9
30–34	7,1	15,4	17,3	58,2	14,3	17,2	20,5	42,3
35–39	4,9	14,7	19,1	58,6	11,8	17,2	26,1	39,4
40–49	3,5	15,9	26,0	52,9	6,0	18,1	32,1	40,2
50–59	4,3	17,1	26,4	47,7	6,8	18,4	29,1	39,2
60–74	8,5	15,3	21,7	49,4	18,7	16,9	22,1	31,7

Source: Eesti Statistika kvartalikirj. 3/13. Quarterly Bulletin of Statistics Estonia p. 26

#### *Beliefs in Estonia as reflections related to continuity of Estonian language&culture and towards innovation potential of the country*

For those who see them as potential migrants the perceptions about themselves as carriers of Estonian culture and beliefs regarding the liveliness of the language and culture can be perceived as issues not of the ultimate importance. It is essential to notice that in new environments people tend to identify themselves in some situations with the new culture (e.g. at work) and in some situations (e.g. when being with family) they will not (Weinreich, 2009). In this respect the process of 'enculturation' takes place depending on the context where a person is placed. For possible migrants, to have the chance to project him/herself to believe in the traditions of Estonian language and culture should weaken generally when compared to current and past identifications. Also an evaluation about overall innovation potential of the country has been asked as 'belief into the future of Estonian language and culture' handles traditional-historical view of Estonia and the statehood in general, the success of it in the competitive and modern world bases largely not just on producing and manufacturing, but first of all on innovativeness in

science and technology. According Innovation Union Scoreboard (Hollander & Es-Sudki, 2013) when compared to other Baltic countries, Estonia is the only one qualified as 'active follower'. Still, perception of people may be different despite this measured success when compared to other Southern Baltic countries, to name a few.

### *Temporary vs. permanent migration*

It is important for nations to differentiate between migrants that are just seeking a temporary move, or are looking establish a long-term resettlement. The current study clearly presents different options about emigrating asking migrants if they wish 'to study and then return to homeland with obtained qualification and foreign experience' or about 'one's willingness to emigrate for studying and thereafter continuing his/her educational and work career permanently'. These two confronting scenarios were presented in the study although recent studies in Finland demonstrate that 'studying' and 'working' as opposite scenarios in a lot of cases overlap with each other (Eskelä, 2013, p. 150). Within the current analysis, the participants will be divided into two categories based on their idealization of emigration. The first category has been formed of those who prefer to study in abroad and thereafter to return to their homeland while the other category consists of those who would like to leave forever. This division serves as an independent variable in regard of all those who were questioned.

### *Perception of ethnic split and continuing influence of the crisis as indicators of anxiety*

The authors assume that those who perceive Estonian society as ethnically cleavage express their anxiety by doing so. Anxieties related to migration are based on connections to a clash of civilizations and anxieties in regard of social securities (Delanty, 2008, p. 676). While the Soviet past of Estonia exemplifies such a clash, it can be interpreted as a factor causing anxiety, and the societal cleavage (if expressed) will be interpreted as an indicator of anxiety. Furthermore, the anxiety that can cause people to emigrate can be based also on wider perception of lowering of their standard of life. Migrants have developed forms of collective, individual and community resistance that undermine top-down 'migration management' (Castles, 2011, p. 311). This phenomenon can be applied also for those whom have been considered as 'potential migrants' in the case of Estonia.

### *Tolerance*

Those who are more apt to emigrate should envision their future in the world where neighbouring families and other surrounding actors represent totally different cultures involving different values, beliefs and attitudes (Niedźwiedzki, 2008). Often these people express a more tolerant world-view before leaving their homeland. Also they tend to be more sensitive about acceptance of their views by others. This is why the overall attitude about tolerance in regard to other people and views was asked for the assessment of the study participants.

*Socialist vs. liberal worldview*

While the return to the West (Lauristin and Vihalemm, 1998) has provided a liberal market economy that has subsequently provided equal possibilities to manage in a new capitalist environment for more than two decades, it is still obvious that not everyone in Estonia is benefitting economically. There are those who support a larger role of the state, and see it as responsible for a common person's well-being. The authors want to investigate how these aspects (socialist vs. liberal) can influence future behaviour of those who idealize emigration and among those who would rather return after their studies and stay in Estonia.

*Material values vs. other values*

Improvement in family income has been the main reason to emigrate in most cases. Although aspects related to tolerance, anxiety, perceptions of cultural, economic and innovative perspectives have been also been considered as essential; the intention to emigrate based material values as main motivator has been clearly reflected by the authors.

*Evaluation of education vs. social connections and low transport & communication costs*

It is crucial for Immigrants to have an established professional network through family and friends in order to be successful in the search for employment, which predates the time of their emigration. On the other hand in a new globalizing world where a large number of certificates and respective skills have been accepted across several countries, a formal job seeker's approach can still be very effective. The participants will be asked to evaluate this controversy based on their perspective and personal experience. At the same time a well-known, but not so much debated phrase "the world is flat" (Friedman, 2005) should be questioned among the study's participants, asking them to confirm whether modern ICT facilities and cheap airfare make worldwide job markets available for everyone. Based on personal experience, many participants are sure to agree with Stiglitz (2007) when he argues that the world is, in many ways, becoming less flat. Florida (2005) even asserts that the world is spiky by arguing that the world can only be considered flat just among those city-regions which share top knowledge with technology (e.g. London, New-York, Paris, Tokyo, San Francisco). People who live and work in these spiky areas are much more connected to each other. Even with those who are far away, geographically, from these areas of economic superiority are more connected to these 'spiky' areas than to the decent places in their own back yards (Florida, 2005, p. 50-51).

*Disappointment about elite as a reason for emigration*

Material reasons (i.e. higher salary) have not always been the main reasons for emigration. A recent study of UK trained doctors who have immigrated to New Zealand demonstrates that improvement in lifestyle, possibilities to spend time with family, travel/working holiday and disillusionment with the UK health care system were the reasons for leaving (Sharma, Lambert and

Goldacre, 2012). The study confirmed that emigrant doctors in New Zealand had significantly higher job satisfaction than their peers in the UK, and few were considering a return to the UK. Within the current study’s Estonian setting, the accent of the issue is more specific as disappointment with local elite can affect decisions of all population groups who consider emigration.

*Pendulum migration’s effects on family*

Pendulum migration, also called as cross-border commuter migration, in Estonia is mostly related to Northern Baltic countries (i.e. Finland and Sweden). As a legacy of Soviet occupation, women are almost as active in the labour market as men, but still there exists an average salary gap of approximately 25 per cent (Masso, 2010, p. 34). Still, the main breadwinner of a traditional Estonian family is considered to be a man, (Põdder, 2013, p. 137) and the country has been placed according to the Inglehart and Welzel’s ‘world values map’ (2005, p. 63) typology among ex-communist countries. Although most of commuter migrants tend to be men the current study does not focus on the gender aspect within family and merely ‘one parent’ as such has been taken under observation and the role of the remittances he/she earns while abroad as contribution to family survival.

**Table 2.** Translation of themes into ‘bipolar constructs’

Const. no.	<i>Perception of necessity of public efforts to attract educated youth to stay in Estonia</i>	
1	<i>Efforts made to keep educated youth as qualified labour force in Estonia are necessary</i>	<i>Efforts made to keep educated youth as qualified labour force in Estonia are not necessary</i>
	<i>Beliefs in Estonia as reflections related to continuity of Estonian language&amp;culture, and towards innovation potential of the country</i>	
3	<i>...share/s an opinion that Estonian language and culture basing on history and traditions, have future</i>	<i>...Estonian language and culture are determined to vanish in contemporary globalising world</i>
7	<i>...think/s that Estonia’s potential for innovation is pretty good</i>	<i>...think/s that situation in Estonia is hopeless in regard of innovation potential</i>
	<i>Temporary vs. permanent migration</i>	
4	<i>...consider/s first at all as essential to study and work in abroad as and experience in order to return to Estonia afterwards</i>	<i>... consider/s first of all as essential to leave Estonia to abroad in order to make educational and working career there</i>
	<i>Perception of ethnic split and continuing influence of the crisis as indicators of anxiety</i>	
5	<i>...share/san opinion about Estonian society as being ethnically split has no grounds</i>	<i>... share/s and opinion that there is an ethnic split in Estonian society</i>
2	<i>...share/s an opinion that the decrease in the standard of life due to the economic crisis is still continuing in Estonia</i>	<i>...share/s an opinion that the economic crisis has not significantly influenced the well-being of Estonian people</i>



	<b><i>Tolerance vs. intolerance</i></b>	
6	<i>...am/is/are tolerant about different people and views</i>	<i>...do/does not accept other people and views</i>
	<b><i>Socialist vs. liberal worldview</i></b>	
8	<i>...think/s the government is responsible for well-being of a common person</i>	<i>...think/s that each person has first at all to manage by her/himself</i>
	<b><i>Material values vs. other values</i></b>	
9	<i>...would not mind doing routine unchallenging work just if the pay was good</i>	<i>...think/s work has to be motivated by self-satisfaction</i>
10	<i>...share/s an opinion that expectations related to improvement in one's economic possibilities are the main motivators for leaving to abroad</i>	<i>...share/s an opinion that improvement of economic possibilities is not the main reason why people leave to abroad.</i>
	<b><i>Evaluation of education vs. social connections and low transport&amp;communication costs</i></b>	
11	<i>...share/s an opinion that in abroad a good professional successes granted first at all by proper education, social connection for getting a job are less important</i>	<i>...share/san opinion that getting a good job depends first at all on social connections, previously gained education has a smaller role.</i>
12	<i>...share/s an opinion that contemporary accessible communication devices together with offers to economy flights create equal possibilities for everybody to participate in international job market</i>	<i>...share/s an opinion that despite the possibilities of ICT and free movement are only challenges to those who have acquired necessary qualification</i>
	<b><i>Disappointment about elite as a reason for emigration</i></b>	
13	<i>...share/s an opinion that there are people who leave from Estonia as they are disappointed in hypocrisy and non-competences of the current elite in power</i>	<i>...share/s an opinion that people leave rather because of personal motivation, persons in power are less important when deciding about leaving.</i>
	<b><i>Pendulum migration's effects on family</i></b>	
14	<i>...share/s an opinion that participation of one parent in pendulum migration is a good possibility for families to manage with difficulties and stay together</i>	<i>...share/s an opinion that participation of one parent in pendulum migration leads to collapse of family despite the income earned in abroad.</i>

### 2.4.2. Participants

Exactly the same ISA instrument was administered for all participants. The idea was to investigate the identity of 'a potential migrant' and of 'possible non-migrant' by using bipolar constructs and entities as representations of 'migrants' identity' in the case of both groups. The instrument was then prepared consisting of 15 entities and 14 constructs. Thereafter the instrument was employed in the study. During appraisal all bipolar constructs appeared on each page together with the list of the entities (210 combinations). The participant had to appraise each combination at the bi-directional centre-zero rating scale (4-3-2-1-0-1-2-3-4) and no *a priori* assumptions of favourable or unfavourable connotations associated with either end of the scale were made.



### 3. The Study

The purpose of the current study is to have an in-depth insight of labour migration patterns of Estonia. This is to be used as an example of donor countries of Baltic Sea macro-region in order to determine the risk factors of adaptation in the case of university educated youth (aged 20-29) as potential work migrants and shifts in migration directions and dynamics. In order to analyse these problems, a study was carried out among first and second year bachelor students majoring international relations at Tallinn University of Technology in October 2013. Identity Structure Analysis (Weinreich, 2003/2012) was applied and 25 students were asked to respond to the study instrument.

A pilot study was carried out in September 2013 among the student group of 10 people in order to test the original instrument at the same university. Two entities ('low-skilled worker' and 'knowledge-worker') as possible identification patterns were added. As additional literature review provided more essential aspects influencing intentions to migrate (or to stay), four more constructs were added (see constructs no. 11-14 in Table 2).

### 4. The Results

#### 4.1. Extents of the potential emigrants and stayers aspirational and empathetic identification with salient influential societal agencies and agents

The results from the Table 3, concerning idealistic identification, shows that potential emigrants, when compared to stayers, are much less likely to aspire to become similar to entities like 'the government', 'Estonian diplomats' and 'Creative people' while they idealize stronger Estonians and their family members. For stayers the lowest idealistic entity is the 'unskilled worker' (.27), although their current identification with this one is even higher (.35), still being noticeably less when compared to the potential migrants (.49). In short, for potential migrants the push for their decision to leave can be related to their family, also their idealization of 'unskilled workers' discloses their motivation to emigrate. At the same time those who stay seem to be (and also aspire to become) more professional in regard to their training, and see their future career more likely as 'Estonian diplomats' loyal to the state supporting the government and their family members. The emigrants' decisions seem to be based more on expectations of their individual fast and easy-coming benefits while the stayers devote themselves more to being a professional 'knowledge worker' and loyal to their country of origin. Interestingly, the two groups do not differentiate in regard to their beliefs and values towards entrepreneurship.

**Table 3.** Aspirational, empathetic and conflicted identifications<sup>3456</sup>

Domain	Entity	Positive aspirational identification (idealistic-identification) <sup>3</sup>		Negative aspirational identification (contra-identification) <sup>4</sup>		Empathetic identification with respect to current self (Me, as I am now) <sup>5</sup>		Conflicted identification with respect to current self (Me, as I am now) <sup>6</sup>	
		Emi-grants	Stayers	Emi-grants	Stayers	Emi-grants	Stayers	Emi-grants	Stayers
Influen-tial public circles, role models & institutions	My fellow students	.72	.75	.25	.24	.81	.80	.42	.41
	Government of Estonia today	.41	.62	.51	.37	.42	.60	.45	.44
	Knowledge worker	.72	.71	.22	.28	.72	.70	.29	.39
	Unskilled worker	.49	.27	.49	.71	.49	.35	.47	.48
	Estonian diplomats	.65	.77	.28	.22	.65	.71	.35	.36
	Creative people in Estonia	.61	.75	.31	.25	.62	.73	.40	.41
	A successful entrepreneur	.66	.70	.29	.29	.71	.69	.41	.38
Ethnic groupings	Estonians	.62	.51	.36	.47	.58	.57	.44	.47
Family	My mother	.73	.66	.21	.32	.76	.73	.33	.41
	My father	.72	.63	.23	.36	.74	.68	.33	.45
	My husband/ wife/ partner	.71	.69	.23	.24	.79	.79	.40	.38

\* Scale range 0.00 to 1.00

#### 4.2. Assessment of the extents to which identification with the entities is conflicted

Table 3 also demonstrates that the ‘unskilled worker’ causes for both groups the highest conflicts expressing the nature of controversy among university students when evaluating themselves against uneducated people as it has been constructed within the current study. The leavers conflict less in their identifications with their mother and father which indicates that their views in regard to leaving, ‘the government’ and proximity to unskilled workforce

<sup>3</sup> The highest aspirational identifications of potential emigrants is with ‘my mother’ (.73), for stayers with Estonian diplomats (.77).

<sup>4</sup> The most negative aspirational identifications (desiring not to be like) are with ‘the government’ (.51) for potential emigrants and for stayers ‘unskilled worker’ (.71).

<sup>5</sup> Empathetic identifications for both groups are ‘my fellow students’ (.81-.80).

<sup>6</sup> The highest conflicts in identification for both groups are ‘unskilled worker – varying from .47-.48.

are also more steadily supported by their pattents. This can be also related to dominance of material values by their families through the generations while also supported by lower conflict with ‘knowledge workers’. The leavers tend to be individuals who know more exactly about targets and are confident about their choices and actions while the stayers expose themselves more towards conflict-filled personal and societal demands according to their aspirations.

4.3. Evidences of developmental processes in identification with others (change or resistance to change)

Table 4 expresses more professionally oriented developments among those who would like to stay in Estonia as their identification with the government drops noticeably less (just -3%) when compared to their construction of the past, thereby their loyalty to the country is more prevalent. In comparison to this, ‘the emigrants’ disance from ‘the government’ is almost -11%.

Table 4. The Participant groups and their socio-developmental and biographical processes

Domain	Entity	Empathetic identification with respect to past self (Me, when I was a gymnasium student)		Empathetic identification with respect to current self (Me, as I am now)		Difference, %	
		Emi-grants	Stayers	Emi-grants	Stayers	Emi-grants	Stayers
Influential public circles, role models & institutions	My fellow students	.65	.72	.81	.80	+19.8	+10.0
	Government of Estonia today	.47	.62	.42	.60	-10.6	-3.2
	Knowledge worker	.62	.60	.72	.70	+13.9	+14.3
	Unskilled worker	.51	.51	.49	.35	-3.9	-31.4
	Estonian diplomats	.60	.60	.65	.71	+7.7	+14.1
	Creative people in Estonia	.51	.60	.62	.73	+17.7	+17.8
	A successful entrepreneur	.58	.60	.71	.69	+25.3	+13.4
Ethno-cultural groupings	Estonians	.65	.70	.58	.57	-10.8	-18.6
Family	My mother	.62	.61	.76	.73	+18.4	+16.4
	My father	.64	.62	.74	.68	+13.5	+8.8
	My husband/wife/ partner	.59	.65	.79	.79	+25.3	+17.7

\* Scale range 0.00 to 1.00

Furthermore, the emigrants do not demonstrate any noticeable change in regard of unskilled workers (merely -4%) while the stayers distance from this entity by -31% and increase their identification with 'the diplomats' almost twice as much as the emigrants (14% vs 8%). For emigrants it is possible to notice that their entrepreneurship has increased about twice (25%) when compared to stayers (13%). Increase in identification with father is also an expression of one's masculinity (14% vs 9%) of one's actions when aspiring to leave the homeland and to establish educational and professional career in abroad. In sum we notice that there exists two different paths for the two groups classified and observed within the current analysis. The possible emigrants tend to be entrepreneurial and masculine while developing stronger identity overlaps with 'unskilled worker' patterns and more definitely distancing from official policies exposed by strict confrontation with 'the Government of Estonia today'. The stayers vice versa move towards their 'knowledge worker's' professional identity being more loyal to the government while being also more decent in changes with any of their family members.

## 5. Conclusions

An earlier study (Kaska, 2013, p. 43) indicates that the majority of those who have left Estonia are blue-collar male workers, and thereby strong effects of brain-drain are not the case which have taken place so far. At the same time the number of emigrants when comparing the categories of blue-collar workers and 'knowledge workers' can have different influences on developments in Estonia when emigrating. Possible material benefits produced or generated to the society (also indirectly) by the latter category exceed several times of the emigrant unskilled workers although over represented in numbers. These aspects should be carefully prognosed, although in the case of Finland the migrants from Estonia are rather eager to improve their qualification either by additional training or attending school or university (Kaska, 2013, p. 38). This can be also due to strictly limited working hours in Finland where the employee has more spare time and can use his/her energy for self-development. Despite the fact that Estonia shares similar legal norms in regard of working hours, working overtime is much more common.

Comparison of the two groups based on their attitudes towards emigration shows that potential emigrants identify themselves much more with unskilled or blue-collar workers. Their identifications are strong and increase even more with their father and successful entrepreneurs indicating their propensity to emigrate not as an educated specialist but rather as an entrepreneurial blue-collar worker. Those who expressed that they would stay in Estonia are more critical about the government and conflict themselves even more with the government while knowledge workers and Estonian diplomats form their role models.

Identity Structure Analysis efficiently demonstrates that even among an educationally homogeneous group of students there exists two principally

different identification patterns: those who idealize quick profit and are more likely work abroad and are even supported by family in this endeavour, while others focusing on their studies foresee their career in Estonia.

Although the current empirical study did not include any bipolar statements about the latest events taking place in Ukraine, and the concept of 'EU Eastern Partnership' was not directly presented to the participants there is a need in the future also to study Latvian and Lithuanian (potential) emigrants in order to learn about their emigration motivation. This new knowledge will also help to understand how to prepare any measures to avoid highly skilled labour force turning to 'low-skilled workers' within their emigration aspirations (as the current study has shown). Although the degrees and qualifications achieved in EU member countries should be compatible across all countries, downward mobility still seems inevitable as we have to notice that capabilities for cultural adaptation and language skills have, in many cases, an even more significant role before one finds his/her place in host country's labour market. At the same time newcomers from EU Partnership countries to Southern Baltic States have (despite some common historical and cultural background) similar challenges to overcome as well as certain thresholds to meet EU standards applied in these three countries during last 10 years of EU full membership.

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