DEMOGRAPHIC RESEARCH

Research Article

Types of spatial mobility and change in people's ethnic residential contexts

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Abstract

BACKGROUND
Most studies of the ethnic composition of destination neighbourhoods after residential moves do not take into account the types of moves people have made. However, from an individual perspective, different types of moves may result in neighbourhood environments which differ in terms of their ethnic composition from those in which the individuals previously lived.

OBJECTIVE
We investigate how the ethnic residential context changes for individuals as a result of different types of mobility (immobility, intra-urban mobility, suburbanisation, and long-distance migration) for residents of the segregated post-Soviet city of Tallinn. We compare the extent to which Estonian and Russian speakers integrate in residential terms.

METHODS
Using unique longitudinal Census data (2000–2011) we tracked changes in the individual ethnic residential context of both groups.

RESULTS
We found that the moving destinations of Estonian and Russian speakers diverge. When Estonians move, their new neighbourhood generally possesses a lower percentage of Russian speakers compared with when Russian speakers move, as well as compared with their previous neighbourhoods. For Russian speakers, the percentage of other

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Russian speakers in their residential surroundings decreases only for those who move to the rural suburbs or who move over longer distances to rural villages.

CONCLUSIONS & CONTRIBUTION

By applying a novel approach of tracking the changes in the ethnic residential context of individuals for all mobility types, we were able to demonstrate that the two largest ethnolinguistic groups in Estonia tend to behave as 'parallel populations' and that residential integration remains slow.

1. Introduction

Today, Russian speakers form almost one third of the 1.3 million people living in Estonia, giving Estonia one of the highest proportions of ethnic minorities in Europe. The Russian speaking minority population in Estonia has its roots in the intensive immigration that took place from other Soviet republics in the period when the country was part of the Soviet Union (1940–1991). Culturally this minority is rather homogeneous, consisting mainly of Russians, but with large groups of Ukrainians and Belorussians. Even those who have been living in the country for two or three generations generally use Russian in their daily communication. The Estonian case is very interesting for studying the processes of ethnic segregation because of the unique historical backdrop provided by its Soviet past. In essence, the residential patterns of Russian speakers differed from those of the majority population during the Soviet period because central planners distributed migrants to major administrative, military, and industrial centres, such as the capital city of Tallinn, where they now form almost half of the city's population, and to urban industrial areas in the North East of Estonia, where they are now a majority group. In all of these cities, Russian speakers were usually accommodated in large housing estates built during the Soviet era. The societal conditions of the Soviet years thus shaped the current ethnic landscape in Estonia in a unique way, because central planners exogenously created the residential pattern of the minority population.

There are both similarities and fundamental differences between Estonian cities and other ethnically segregated cities in Western Europe and North America. In the latter case, ethnic residential differentiation typically reflects the differences between the consumption capacity and preferences of the different ethnic groups as well as the discrimination practices in these societies (e.g., Massey and Denton 1985; Johnston, Forrest, and Poulsen 2002). Ethnic segregation in Soviet cities was not originally driven by such factors and it was, to a large degree, a function of housing allocation by central planning authorities. Thanks to industrialisation and militarisation, Soviet cities grew

rapidly, fuelled by immigration, and new neighbourhoods were purpose-built for the growing urban population. Under market conditions since 1991, this inherited ethnic landscape in Estonia has allowed members of both the majority and minority populations to choose between minority-rich or majority-dominated destinations when they move.

While the inherited ethnic context was created by different means in Soviet Estonia compared with Western Europe and Northern America, the mechanisms of ethnic segregation in place today are quite similar. As elsewhere, for example, prejudice between ethnic groups may be fuelled by their living in separate areas and not having many opportunities to meet members of other ethnic groups (Harrison, Law, and Phillips 2005), which in turn can prevent the creation of cross-cultural contacts between ethnic groups. Consequently, reducing ethnic segregation is often rather difficult, and segregation can persist over generations (Heckmann 2005: 17). Although many authors have challenged the notion of a straightforward link between spatial and social integration (Bolt, Özüekren, and Phillips 2010; Musterd 2003), there is evidence that people with immigrant backgrounds living in minority-rich neighbourhoods are indeed hampered in their attempts at integration and that ethnically diverse neighbourhoods offer better opportunities for contact and social integration between different ethnic groups (Gijsberts and Dagevos 2007; Martinovic, Tubergen, and Maas 2009). Thus, the neighbourhood context and how it changes for those people who move, or also who do not move, is very important for understanding the process of ethnic integration.

Most studies investigating the ethnic composition of destination neighbourhoods after residential moves fail to take into account the types of moves people have made. In the present paper, we address the need to investigate the effects of intra-urban moves, suburbanisation, long-distance migration, and immobility on changes in the ethnic context of where people live. We argue that from the perspective of each individual, different types of moves may lead to different environments (destination neighbourhoods) in terms of the ethnic composition compared to the place the person lived before (origin neighbourhood). We wish to learn which types of moves contribute more to residential integration. We also investigate the ethnic contexts of stayers, which may change as a result of others moving and contributing to residential segregation and integration. Taking these considerations into account, we aim to answer the following research question: *How does the individual ethnic residential context change as a result of different types of mobility (immobility, intra-urban mobility, suburbanisation, and long-distance migration) for Estonian and Russian speakers living in the post-Soviet segregated capital city Tallinn; in other words, to what extent does residential integration occur as a result of different types of mobility?*

Using a unique database with linked individual-level data from the 2000 and 2011 Estonian censuses, we track the ethnic residential environments of individuals living in

the capital city of Tallinn (with 400,000 inhabitants) in 2000, who by 2011 were either still living in their original neighbourhoods, or had moved within the city or within the Tallinn metropolitan area, or had moved from Tallinn to other regions of Estonia. We begin, however, by explaining the conceptual framework used in the study.

2. Different forms of spatial mobility and neighbourhood outcomes

Typically, studies of segregation focus on intra-urban or intra-metropolitan residential mobility, where most residential moves are made within a functional housing and labour market area. In this study we add the consideration of destination neighbourhoods that result following long-distance migration to conceptual frameworks that aim to understand the residential outcomes of spatial mobility. We also focus on residential integration as a result of moving. Major cities are attractive destinations because they offer a concentration of jobs, services, and educational institutions; these cities typically contain diverse residential environments that fuel intra-urban mobility. Suburbanisation is traditionally triggered by a preference for safer and more family-friendly neighbourhoods, which do not involve the need to change the daily activity space of the moving household very much. Remote rural areas and smaller towns offer residential environments that are spacious, quiet, green, and perceived to offer a more traditional lifestyle. When interpreting the neighbourhood outcomes of various types of mobility, we must be aware of the factors that motivate intra-urban, suburban, and long-distance moves.

There are several determinants that enable, constrain, or structure residential moves, but often these operate differently for different ethnic groups. Most typically, the economic make-up of a household determines whether or not it is possible for that household to move and what kind of housing and neighbourhood is affordable (van Kempen 2005:198; Clark, van Ham, and Coulter 2014). Discrepancies between the choices of members of different ethnic groups often result from differences in terms of labour market success and availability of financial resources. We also know that individuals differ in their residential aspirations at different moments in their life-course (Kulu and Milewski 2007; Kley and Mulder 2010; Lundholm 2012; Coulter and Scott 2015). In some cases ethnic differences also occur in moves induced by life-course events, for example minority and majority groups may have different family traditions, and transnational living may have an effect on their residential choices in their new homeland. Social networks and connections with potential destinations also determine where people move to. Previous experiences such as living in, visiting, or spending holidays in certain regions and in certain types of neighbourhoods also shape residential decisions (Feijten, Hooimeijer, and Mulder 2008). Personal networks and their

geographical dispersion, as well as the extent to which individual experiences of different regions of the country tend to be different for minority and majority groups, may affect the choice of destination neighbourhood. Due to such differences, neighbourhood destinations often vary between ethnic groups.

We now turn more specifically to what is known from previous empirical research about the destinations of minority and majority group members that arise from different types of mobility, and how this affects residential integration. Many studies show that households tend to move to neighbourhoods where the characteristics of the population are similar to their own, and this applies both to minority groups and to the majority population (Schelling 1971; Hedman, van Ham, and Manley 2011). In the case of intra-urban and intra-metropolitan mobility, the classical theory of spatial assimilation assumes that residential integration begins once the members of the minority population start to move up the socio-economic ladder (e.g., Massey and Denton 1985; van Kempen and Özuekren 1998). Although this phenomenon is common, higher socio-economic status does not always lead to spatial integration (Quillian 2003). Instead, minorities can end up in so-called ethnic neighbourhoods (Clark 1992; van Ham and Feijten 2008). This might result from their preferences (they may wish to preserve their culture and rely on the support of others from their ethnic group (Özüekren and Ergoz-Karahan 2010: 364) or they may have no alternative, for example because of restrictions related to direct or indirect discrimination.

When the native population moves out of a neighbourhood with a high concentration of ethnic minorities, this has been termed "white flight" (see e.g., Thompson 1999; Crowder 2000). There are indications that if the percentage of ethnic minorities rises above a certain threshold, the native population may start to self-segregate themselves by looking for non-minority neighbourhoods elsewhere in the urban region (Goering 1978; cf. van Ham and Clark 2009). This "avoidance" type of migration behaviour (Bråmå 2006) can also be found in the choice of new neighbourhood, e.g. while moving anyway due to the changes in one's life-course, the members of the majority population tend to move to districts with a low proportion of minorities. Thus the forces of homophily (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook 2001), or the tendency to have a preference for similar people, characterise the moves of both the minority and majority populations, and work against residential integration. Often, this is in turn amplified by the different opportunity structures of ethnic groups.

Traditionally the majority population is the first to move to the suburbs, which at the early stages of the suburbanisation process usually contain low percentages of minorities. Many studies have shown that suburbs become ethnically more heterogeneous over time (Timberlake, Howell, and Staight 2011; Alba et al. 1999; Farrell 2014), facilitating residential integration. However, it cannot be claimed that suburbanisation marks the end of segregation – over time the suburbanisation of

minority groups can also have an increasingly segregative effect within the suburb itself (Li 1998; Farrell 2014; Tammaru et al. 2013). Alba et al. (1999) argued that when the proportion of ethnic minorities in a suburb increases, it becomes easier for other members of that ethnic group to settle there, because the networks and social infrastructure that exist in those suburbs are now more likely to meet their expectations.

Very little is known about the ethnic dimension of neighbourhood outcomes for those who move over longer distances. This is understandable because ethnic minorities tend to settle in large urban areas in all major destination countries (van Kempen 2005). Even when refugee dispersal policies have been applied in some countries (channelling refugees to smaller cities and rural areas) (cf. in Denmark: Damm 2004), the preferred choices of all immigrants upon arrival tend to be major urban centres. Even though there are few studies on the long-distance migration of ethnic minority groups (see Finney and Simpson 2008; Simpson and Finney 2009; Silvestre and Reher 2014; Tammaru and Kontuly 2011), these studies do show that when an ethnic group has lived in a country for a long period of time, the members of this group develop contacts with the majority population and other ethnic groups, and some of them then start to move to other parts of that country. Because the destinations, e.g., cities and towns in less urban and more rural areas, usually have fewer minorities it has been suggested that moving away from major cities thus increases ethnic residential integration (Simpson and Finney 2009). Although there is no direct empirical evidence on neighbourhood choice in more distant destinations, we expect that the principles of how minority and majority groups choose their destination neighbourhoods in the case of long-distance moves may follow the logic of intra-metropolitan moves: a preference to live with similar people, economic and institutional restrictions leading to the choice of certain districts, more settling in those neighbourhoods that are known through personal networks and experiences, and/or the need for specific housing/neighbourhood qualities, etc.

Finally, the phenomenon of staying rather than moving should be considered in any understanding of residential integration (cf. Cooke 2011; Coulter and van Ham 2013; Coulter, van Ham, and Findlay 2015). Hanson (2005) argued that mobility and residential stability should be conceptualised and measured together. Mobility is an act of those able and willing to pursue change, for example when they are not satisfied with their current neighbourhood, or their dwelling no longer meets the needs of the family group. A number of people, often called "unsatisfied trapped" residents (see e.g., Musterd and van Kempen 2007), however, are not able to move according to their preferences (e.g., van Ham and Clark 2009). At the same time, others may constitute a "satisfied trapped" category, and would not wish to move even if they could afford to. This may be a result of the local social ties and community attachment that they have

developed locally (schools, jobs, social life, connections to population groups of their own ethnicity, etc.).

In our empirical analysis we will investigate the extent to which all these forms of spatial mobility (incl. immobility) shape the residential ethnic context (residential integration) for the majority as well as the minority population. We now introduce the ethnic residential landscapes of Tallinn, the Tallinn urban region, and the rest of Estonia, in order to provide an overview of the kinds of potential destination neighbourhoods that exist in various parts of the country.

3. Ethnic residential landscapes in Estonia

Large-scale immigration to Estonia from other Soviet republics, mainly from Russia, ceased following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. In parallel with the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Estonia in the early 1990s, return migration took place among many former immigrants. For example, Tallinn lost almost 60,000 inhabitants due to emigration in the 1990s (12% of the population of Tallinn in 1989; Leetmaa, Tammaru, and Anniste 2009: 441). Nevertheless, the majority of the Russian-speaking population remained in Estonia. Since the 1990s there has been very little immigration, which makes Estonia an interesting case study of ethnic segregation. We are able to investigate the residential integration of a relatively homogeneous and stable minority population, with a high proportion of second- and third-generation immigrants who have gradually developed ties with their country of residence.

From the perspective of spatial integration it is worth noting that the Estonian settlement system offers an extensive continuum of different residential destinations (Figure 1). Of all, mainly Russian-speaking, minorities 86% reside in only two counties – 54% in Harju County (which largely overlaps with the Tallinn metropolitan area) and 32% in Ida-Viru County (industrial Northeast Estonia). This pattern is inherited from the Soviet policies of industrial location: Industrial enterprises were established mainly in the major cities as well as in smaller towns in areas rich in natural resources. Other large cities, Tartu and Pärnu, received industrial investment, and experienced growth of their immigrant populations as well. Similarly, cities with a military presence (e.g., Tartu, and some smaller towns in strategic locations) and cities with a significant railway infrastructure (e.g., Valga) attracted immigrants. As a result, in Tallinn, Russian speakers today make up 42% of the city's population; in Ida-Viru County this proportion is as high as 78%. In regional cities (Tartu and Pärnu) and in smaller county seats, the proportion of the minority population remains lower and the rural areas are mainly Estonian-dominated.

Figure 1:   Percentage of Russian speakers in Estonian rural and urban neighbourhoods (2011)
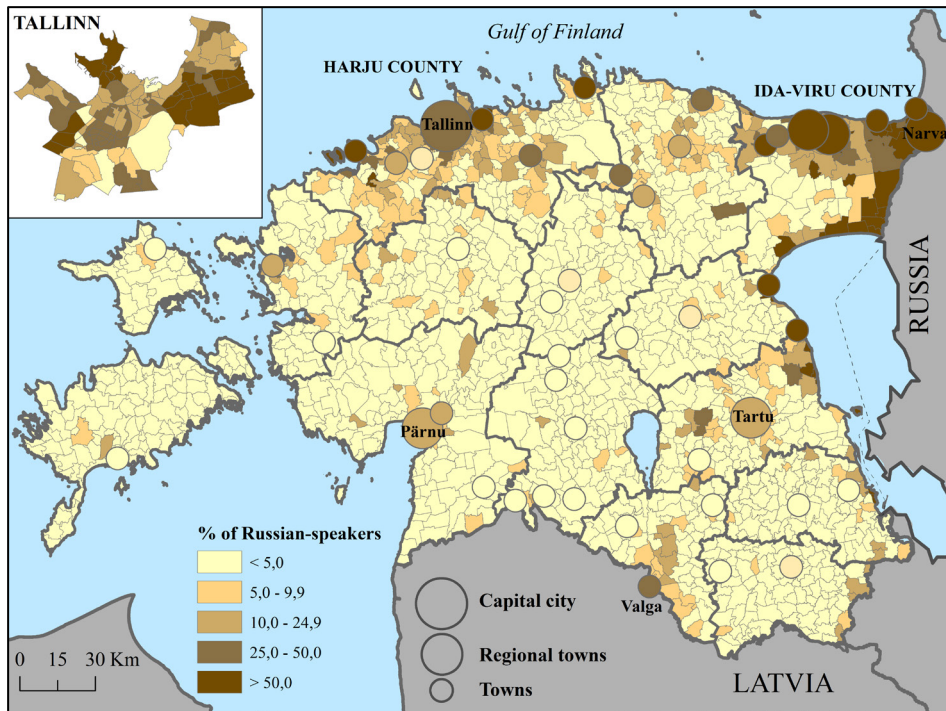
In addition, the proportion of Russian speakers is high in some smaller settlements in the suburbs which surround the capital (even higher than in urban segregated neighbourhoods). This is related to Soviet industrial decentralisation policies that aimed to avoid the excessive growth of major cities and distributed industry to other areas of the urban agglomeration (Hausladen 1983; Bruns 1993). A belt of specialised satellite towns was built around Russian megacities (Moscow, St. Petersburg); the same phenomenon is observed on a lesser scale around the much smaller Baltic cities, including Tallinn. These Soviet-era "urban suburbs" hosted large Soviet enterprises or military facilities, and many migrants settled there (Tammaru 2001; Bruns 1993; Leetmaa and Tammaru 2007). The rest of the urban hinterland remained rural, mainly inhabited by ethnic Estonians (Tammaru et al. 2013). Although suburbanisation in the 1990s and 2000s has considerably transformed the surroundings of the larger cities in Estonia, two types of suburbs, ethnically diverse urban and native Estonian rural areas,

are clearly distinguishable around the capital city until today. Taken together, the potential destinations in the suburbs and other regions of Estonia vary in their minority populations, from rural suburbs and villages in peripheral regions of the country with very few minorities to the almost entirely Russian-speaking cities of northeast Estonia.

Tallinn falls between these extremes, with a minority population of 42%. Within the borders of the city, neighbourhoods are also very diverse in terms of their ethnic compositions. Under the Soviet industrialisation 'project', the urban population of Estonia grew rapidly. This fuelled Soviet housing construction programmes as seen in the large-scale construction of standardised high-rise housing estates (Hess, Tammaru, and Leetmaa 2012; Kährik and Tammaru 2010). Immigrants became a priority group in the central housing allocation system, while Estonians were more likely to occupy the older deteriorated pre-WWII housing stock in the inner city or to commute to urban jobs from socialist-era rural suburbs.

However, both immigrants and Estonians were more likely to receive new apartments in housing estates if they worked for those sectors (industry, military) that were prioritised by the Soviet economy and regime. Given that Russian speakers were over-represented in these activities, they tended to have easier access to newly constructed apartments. This created a situation where in Soviet cities, with previously relatively low levels of socioeconomic segregation (Marcińczak et al. 2015), patterns of ethnic segregation became clearly visible (Leetmaa, Tammaru, and Hess 2015): Russians generally lived in modern apartments on large housing estates, while Estonians lived in older housing stock in inner cities and in suburbs. The Estonian-dominated residential areas received almost no state investments at all during the Soviet period, in contrast to the new housing estates, which were heavily subsidised.

To some extent the location patterns of Estonian and Russian speakers have started to change since 1991. For example, the Russian-speaking population started to grow relatively faster in the locations where they were previously almost not present at all already in the 1990s, including in many formerly native Estonian rural areas within the suburbs as well as outside the metropolitan regions (Tammaru, Kulu, and Kask 2004). Yet, the dominant migration pattern in the settlement system, both for Estonian and Russian speakers, has been concentration in major urban regions with the most attractive destination being Tallinn (Leetmaa and Väiko 2015). For Russian speakers Tallinn offers an important Russian-ethnocultural environment. Within urban regions, suburbanisation has been an important process (Tammaru, Kulu, and Kask 2003; Leetmaa and Väiko 2015), however, the Russian-speaking population has been much less mobile both across the settlement system and within urban regions than the Estonian population (Tammaru and Kontuly 2011; Tammur 2009). Although there are important differences in moving behaviour between Estonians and Russian speakers, these differences are not due to compositional differences, as is often the case in other

minority-rich societies (e.g., Finney and Simpson 2008). In Estonia, the Russian speakers form a well-established minority group with a very similar demographic composition compared to Estonians. Similar to Estonians, younger people, females, and people with secondary education (moving towards educational facilities in cities) move more often among Russian speakers.

However, many factors could shape the destination choice of Estonian and Russian-speaking movers. One important factor is the presence of a Russian ethnic infrastructure. Since the Soviet period, a dual language educational system was established in Estonia that functions, with some minor modifications, until today (Lindemann and Saar 2012). The system was originally created to enable mobility within the Soviet republics by offering Russian-language education unionwide. Although many Russian-speaking families opt for the Estonian-language educational system today, in most cities it is still possible to receive education in Russian from kindergarten through the end of high school. Schools are important places of encounter, and the location of Russian-language schools can affect mobility decisions; for those who value education in their own language, the availability of Russian-language educational facilities may be a critical factor when deciding on a region, settlement, or neighbourhood to move to.

In addition to the educational infrastructure, the presence of others from the same ethnic group and the opportunity to communicate in a more familiar cultural environment may motivate individuals to choose destinations that are already home to many from their own ethnic group. Evidence for the existence of 'parallel societies' in Estonia can also be found in labour market and leisure studies. Kamenik, Tammaru, and Toomet (2015) and Silm and Ahas (2014) show evidence of segmented leisure activities; Lindemann and Kogan (2013) highlight ethnic divisions in the labour market. Korts (2009) demonstrated that contacts between Estonian and Russian speakers tend to remain in the public sphere, e.g., communication as a result of random meetings in the service sector, on public transport, or elsewhere. These superficial contacts, however, typically have relatively little impact on personal networks.

In sum, the ethnic residential landscape in Estonia indeed offers a wide range of different types of destination neighbourhoods in different parts of the country. We expect changes in ethnic residential context to mirror closely the ethnic integration process in Estonian society. If spatial mobility contributes to spatial integration for people living previously in segregated neighbourhoods, we may assume that the importance of cross-cultural contacts outweighs the importance of tight own-group networks, and the lifeworlds of Estonians and Russian speakers will therefore also merge. However, if we find that Estonian- and Russian speakers move to different types of destinations, this could indicate the persistence of "parallel lives" for these two ethnolinguistic groups.

4. Data and methods

Our empirical contribution is based on linked individual-level data from the 2000 and 2011 Censuses, containing almost 100% of the Estonian population present on the Census days. Our longitudinal data set contains information at two time-points – 2000 and 2011. This allows us to investigate changes in the place of residence for all individuals in Estonia over a period of almost 12 years (critical moments of the censuses were 31 March 2000 and 31 December 2011). Due to the fact that our data is based on the Census, we do not have any information regarding multiple residential changes between Census years. The database is geo-coded; the spatial units (see Figure 1) that we use for this study are urban (in major cities) and rural neighbourhoods; both units are used by municipalities and county governments in their planning activities; these neighbourhoods usually have a unique local identity and are locally perceived as natural localities. On average, 694 inhabitants live in each of these spatial units. The city of Tallinn is divided into 105 neighbourhoods (average population size 3,041) and the rest of Estonia is divided into 1470 neighbourhoods (the average population in all urban and rural neighbourhoods outside Tallinn is 524 inhabitants; see Figure 1).

The research population (aged 18 years and over in 2000) consists of people who lived in Tallinn in 2000 and who were either immobile (did not leave their neighbourhood) or mobile (moved to another urban neighbourhood, to suburbs of Tallinn, or to a more remote place in Estonia) within the observed period (2000–2011). We focus on a comparison between two major ethnolinguistic groups in Estonia – Estonian and Russian speakers, therefore we excluded all other ethnic groups from the analysis (3.6% of the population of Tallinn in 2000). In Estonia, ethnicity is a self-reported characteristic in the census. Those who define themselves as Russian, Ukrainian, or Byelorussian largely overlap with those who use Russian as their main language of communication (e.g., according to the 2011 census, the majority of Ukrainians (64%) and Byelorussians (86%) in Estonia considered Russian to be their mother tongue). Based on the selection criteria above, the total research population consists of 238,217 individuals (132,404 Estonian speakers and 105,813 Russian speakers) who lived in the capital city in 2000 and 2011 (stayers and intra-urban movers) or who left Tallinn for suburbs or more distant destinations in the country by the year 2011.

The suburban area of Tallinn is defined here as the area around the capital city from where at least 30% of the working population commuted daily to Tallinn in 2011. Because both the suburbs of Tallinn and the more remote regions in Estonia include neighbourhoods with very different qualities (in terms of urbanity or rurality, and also ethnic composition as mentioned above), we distinguish between two types of

residential contexts outside Tallinn, namely urban and rural destinations both in suburbia and in more remote regions.

We start our analysis with descriptive information regarding the intensity of moving among the two ethnolinguistic groups, measured as the percentage of those moving to different destinations, as well as a comparison of individual residential exposures to Russian speakers before and after the move. This is followed by an application of a binary regression model to investigate whether there are significant differences in the probabilities that population subgroups stay or move. We continue with linear regression modelling using movers only to model changes in personal ethnic residential contexts as a result of moves (the absolute percentage change – decreasing or increasing – was used as the continuous dependent variable). We run separate models for Estonian and Russian speakers. Because our primary interest is to see how moves to different destinations change the ethnic residential context of individuals, the main explanatory variables are the types of moves: intra-urban moves, moves to urban and rural settlements in the suburbs; and long-distance moves either to other cities or to rural districts.

The models also include a set of control variables, namely gender, age (10-year groups), educational level (highest general education acquired), and employment status (ISCO-classification from 0 to 9, merged into three larger groups of upper-middle, lower-middle, low occupations, plus unemployed and inactive people). All these variables are measured at the moment of the 2000 census. Some of the variables are time-varying. For example, we take into account changes in employment status of individuals during the inter-census period. We measure employment status transitions between the above-mentioned three aggregated ISCO groups. In addition, unemployed and inactive people who started to work during the period are also considered as moving to a higher employment status group and vice versa.

In addition, we added family status in the form of a change variable as one of the controls. Finally, to avoid larger families who move together being over-represented in the individual-level analyses, we randomly selected one member of each multi-person household living in Tallinn in 2000.

5. Results

5.1 Ethnic differences in moving intensity and destinations

The first result of our analysis broadly confirms earlier findings (Tammaru and Kontuly 2011) by showing that among residents of Tallinn in 2000, Estonians were more likely to change their place of residence between 2000 and 2011 than were Russian speakers

(Table 1). Half of Estonians and 34% of the minority population moved to one of the studied destinations between 2000 and 2011. With regard to migration from Tallinn, the number of Russian speakers who undertook such a move is considerably lower than that of Estonians, especially for long-distance migration. Surprisingly, almost equal numbers of each ethnolinguistic group undertook an intra-urban move during this period. This is a new insight that runs counter to the previous understanding that the Russian-speaking population is less mobile than the Estonian. This is probably because the city of Tallinn is a long-established activity space for the Russian-speaking minority population. Therefore, if they move they are more likely to stay in the city where their own-language educational system and social networks are accessible. For Russian speakers it is possible to work in many enterprises in the capital city without speaking Estonian. Because Estonian speakers leave Tallinn more often, the observed mobility flows may contribute to making Tallinn a more Russian city over the course of time.

Table 1:   The intensity of moving

|	Population	Change in place of residence 2000-2011		Intensity of moving	
	Number	Number	%	2000-2011 ‰	Per 1 year ‰
Total					
Estonian speakers	132,404	65,609	50	496	42
Russian speakers	105,813	36,374	34	344	29
Intra-urban mobility					
Estonian speakers	132,404	36,778	28	278	24
Russian speakers	105,813	28,506	27	269	23
Suburbanisation					
Estonian speakers	132,404	20,076	15	152	13
Russian speakers	105,813	6,007	6	57	5
Long-distance migration					
Estonian speakers	132,404	8,755	7	66	6
Russian speakers	105,813	1,861	2	18	2

Note: 1-year moving intensity shows the average annual moving intensity over the 12-year period.

We now focus on the destinations of movers. For those who move within Tallinn (Figure 2) there are large differences in the destinations of different ethnic groups. Russian speakers who have changed their neighbourhood within the city are later concentrated in a small number of neighbourhoods with a high percentage of other Russian speakers. These are mainly the large housing estates where many immigrants were accommodated after arriving in the country during Soviet times. Today, the Russian language infrastructure (schools, kindergartens, clubs, etc.) continues to be located primarily in these areas. Interestingly, this ethnic infrastructure is still being expanded, for example an orthodox church was recently built in the largest housing estate in Tallinn. Estonian speakers, when they move within the city, settle more evenly across the city. Although there are some destinations that are common to the two groups, Estonians only rarely choose neighbourhoods with significant majorities of Russian speakers. This kind of "avoidance" behaviour of the majority population then contributes to their low exposure to the minority population that reproduces ethnic segregation. In sum, our results suggest that the destinations of intra-urban movers are highly selective and both ethnolinguistic groups choose to move into neighbourhoods that contain high numbers of their own ethnic group.

Figure 3 provides an overview of the main destinations of those who leave Tallinn for the suburban areas around the city. It also shows differences in the patterns of the two ethnolinguistic groups. Russian speakers, who are generally less likely to move to the suburbs than Estonians, move only to a limited number of suburban destinations, most often to the industrial satellite town of Maardu, east of Tallinn, or to those rural settlements where summer homes for urban families were built during the Soviet years (now they are using those houses for permanent living: Leetmaa et al. 2012). The suburban destinations of Estonians are more diverse, but most stay close to the city.

Figure 2:   **The destinations of intra-urban movers in Tallinn**

a) Destinations of Estonian speakers
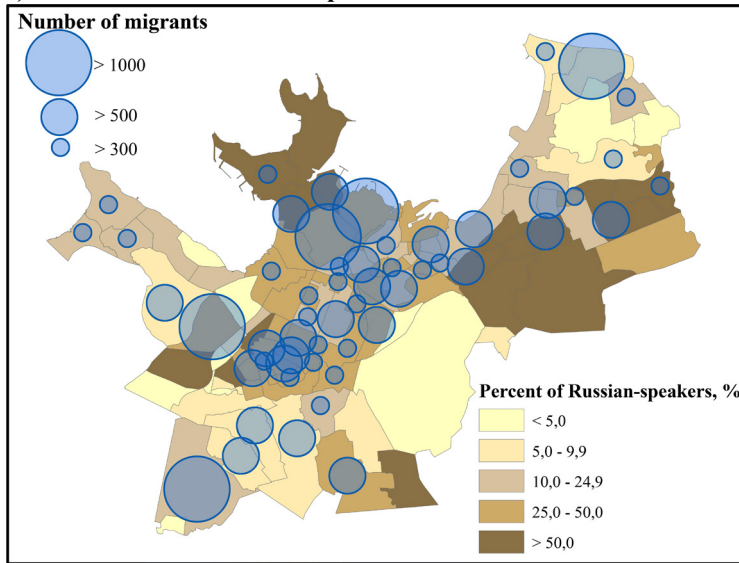
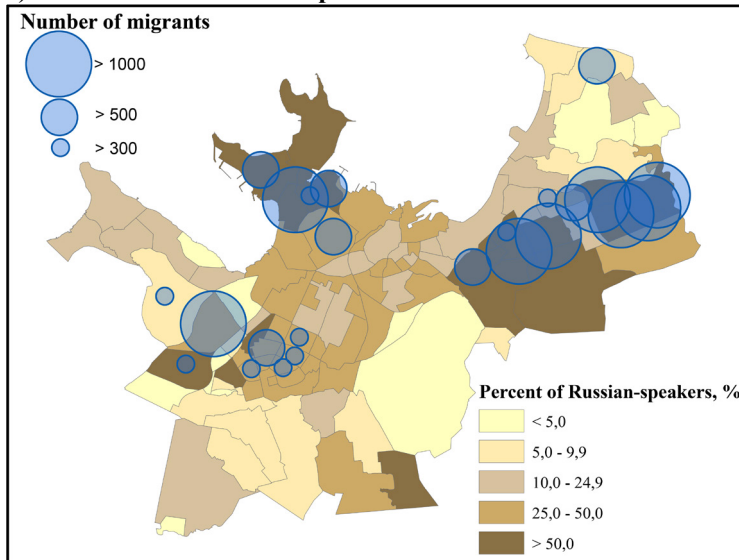**b) Destinations of Russian speakers**
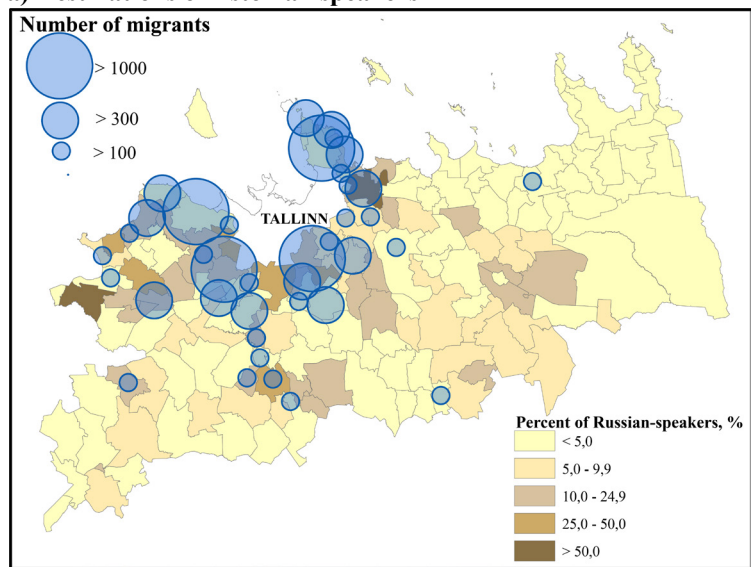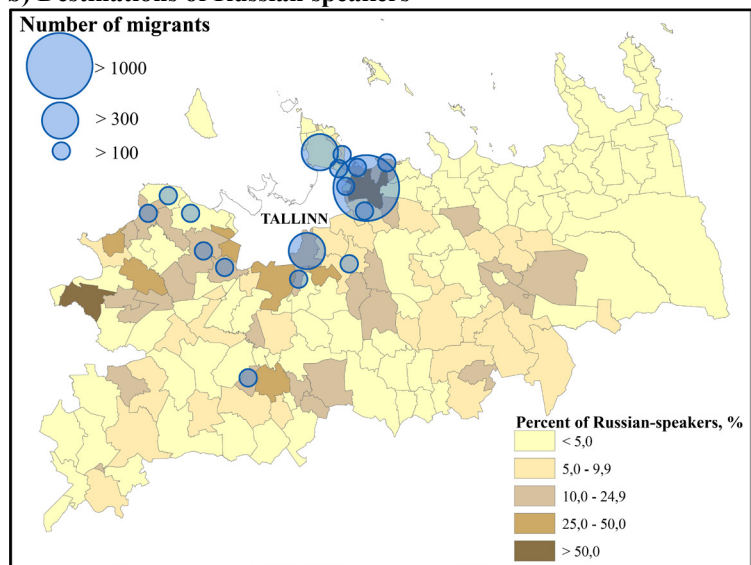
Figure 3: **The suburban destinations around Tallinn**

a) Destinations of Estonian speakers

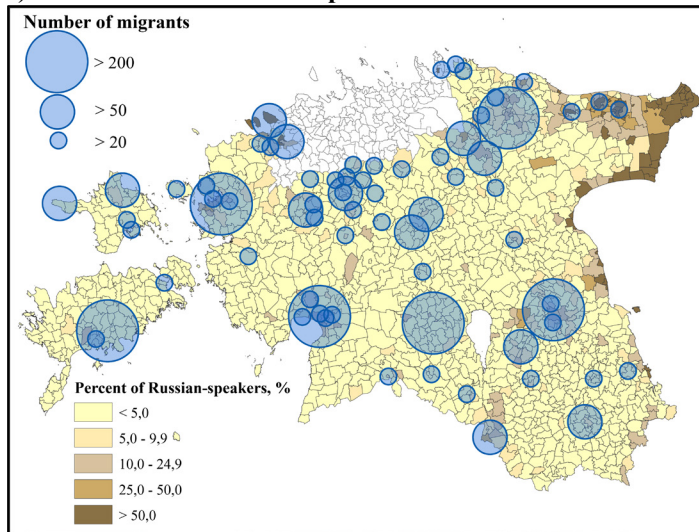**b) Destinations of Russian speakers**

Nevertheless, during the period 2000–2011, 70% of Russian-speaking people who moved to the suburbs moved to rural neighbourhoods which were mainly Estonian-dominated (4169 persons). This figure increased compared to the previous intercensus period of 1989–2000 when half the Russian-speaking suburban movers moved to satellite towns (Tammaru et al. 2013) and another half to rural suburbs (Leetmaa and Tammaru 2007). Accordingly, because more Russian speakers now move to Estonian-dominated rural neighbourhoods, suburbanisation of minorities contributes more to their exposure to Estonian speakers and, hence, to their spatial integration.

Finally, there are large differences between the destinations of Estonian and Russian speakers who move out of the Tallinn urban region (Figure 4). Russian speakers usually move to the industrial Northeast Estonian urban agglomeration, to other major Estonian cities, or to a few cities close to the Tallinn metropolitan area. In all these cities, and in the specific destinations neighbourhoods within those cities, there is an ethnic educational infrastructure available for Russian speakers. A great number of Estonian long-distance movers relocate to regional centres and other county seats, as well as to rural peripheral destinations. It is also striking that many long-distance moves for Estonians involve a move to just beyond the borders of the suburbs of Tallinn, i.e., it can be characterized as extended suburbanisation.

Because most destinations outside of the Tallinn metropolitan area are dominated by Estonians, we might expect that the long-distance relocation of Russian speakers would result in moving into environments dominated by Estonian speakers. However, this is not the case, because 71% of Russian speakers who undertook long-distance moves (1324 persons) away from Tallinn had other urban neighbourhoods as destinations, compared to 46% among Estonian speakers (3984 persons). Moreover, Russian speakers usually moved to those cities where they could find a familiar ethnic environment (such as the northeast Estonian agglomeration and other cities with a Soviet industrial background). Their social networks and previous experiences of particular places seem to be more strictly defined geographically, and they therefore migrate according to these existing networks. At the same time, for those Estonians who leave the Tallinn urban region, their exposure to Russian speakers in their destination neighbourhood compared to their origin neighbourhood becomes lower. They only rarely move to the northeast Estonian cities, and in most other locations the percentage of the minority population is considerably lower than in Tallinn.

Figure 4: **The destinations of long-distance migrants outside the Tallinn urban region**

a) Destinations of Estonian speakers

b) Destinations of Russian speakers
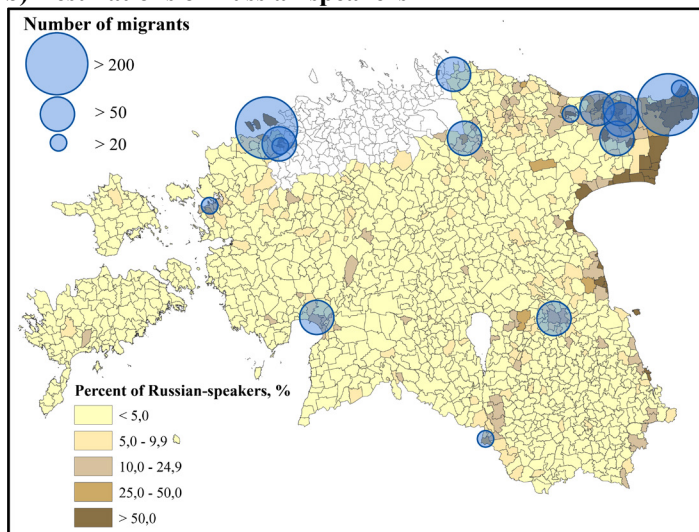
5.2. Individual ethnic residential context before and after the move

We now compare the average percentage of Russian speakers in neighbourhoods in 2000 (before moving) and in 2011 (after moving; see Table 2). When Estonians move, their destination neighbourhood generally has a lower percentage of Russian speakers than their original neighbourhood. This is most striking when people move to rural suburban settlements, but it also occurs in the case of long-distance moves (especially when moving to remote rural destinations).

Table 2: **The percentage of Russian speakers in origin (in 2000) and destination neighbourhoods (in 2011)**

	Origin neighbourhood (in Tallinn in 2000)	Destination neighbourhood (in Tallinn, suburbs, or other regions in 2011)
Estonian speakers		
Intra-urban moves	36.5	31.9
Suburbanisation – urban	39.7	37.8
Suburbanisation – rural	37.7	11.8
Long-distance migration – urban	37.0	15.5
Long-distance migration – rural	37.1	4.1
Stayers	35.0	36.7
Russian speakers		
Intra-urban moves	49.6	53.6
Suburbanisation – urban	53.7	68.6
Suburbanisation – rural	51.6	17.2
Long-distance migration – urban	48.2	62.7
Long-distance migration – rural	49.2	24.5
Stayers	52.7	56.9

For Russian speakers, the percentage of other Russian speakers in their residential surroundings decreases only among those who move to the suburbs (from 52 to 17%) or move over longer distances (from 49 to 25%) to rural neighbourhoods. Thus, moves to rural areas channel Russian speakers largely into Estonian-dominated areas. It should, however, be noted that such moves to rural areas characterise only a small proportion of all of moves made by Russian speakers living in Tallinn in 2000: four percent of all Russian speakers and 13% of Russian-speaking movers. With all other types of moves for Russian speakers, the percentage of Russian speakers in the destination neighbourhood increased, with the largest increase occurring for moves to suburban satellite towns or to the cities in northeast Estonia. We conclude that in the case of long-distance migration, the Estonian and Russian speaking populations move to different

types of urban areas: Russian speakers more to the Russian-dominated northeast of Estonia, and Estonians more to the Estonian-dominated regional cities and county seats.

For those Russian speakers who move within the capital city, their individual ethnic environment also becomes more Russian-dominated (an increase from 50 to 54%). We saw above that the tendency to leave the city is considerably lower among Russian speakers, and this indirectly increases the proportion of Russians in the capital city given that Estonians are more likely to move out of the capital. Hence, intra-urban moves contribute to the strengthening of the segregation patterns that emerged in the Soviet years. As a final point, immobility also seems to play an important role in changing the residential ethnic contexts of individuals. In Tallinn, the neighbourhoods in which people who did not move between the two observation years became more Russian-dominated for both Estonian and Russian-speaking stayers. It is, however, noteworthy that the proportion of stayers was as high as two thirds for all Russian speakers living in Tallinn in 2000 and half for Estonian speakers, indicating that residential 'stability' also contributes to an individual's ethnic context.

Using a binary regression (see Table 3) we investigate further who the mobile and who the immobile residents actually are. The results confirm that Estonian speakers have a considerably higher propensity to move compared with Russian speakers. Stayers are more likely to be older, with lower education levels, and with a lower employment status than movers. Those whose employment status increased over the 10-year period were more likely to move compared to people with more stable careers, and people who married during the period were also more likely to be mobile compared to those who did not.

Table 3:   Comparison of stayers (0) and movers (1)

	Model 1
	Exp(B)
Ethnic origin (ref. Russian speakers)	
Estonian speakers	1.835***
Age (ref. 18–29)	
30–39	0.470***
40–49	0.281***
50–59	0.209***
60–69	0.132***
70+	0.110***

Table 3:   (Continued)

	Model 1
	Exp(B)
Education (ref. university)	
Secondary	1.012
Primary	0.872***
Family status (ref. remained single)	
Exit marriage	1.311***
Enter marriage	2.086***
Remained in marriage	0.767***
Employment status (ref. higher occupations)	
Upper-middle	0.899***
Lower-middle	0.666***
Low occupations	0.765***
Unemployed	0.756***
Inactive	0.949***
Employment status change (ref. stable)	
Higher	1.211***
Lower	0.987
Nagelkerke R Square	0,232

***$p < 0.01$
Note: the model also controlled for gender; results not presented here

Finally we use linear regression to analyse the effect of different types of moves on changes in the ethnic residential contexts of Estonian speakers (model 2 in Table 4) and Russian speakers (model 3 in Table 4), and to explore which population groups are more likely to integrate spatially as a result of moving. The results support the findings of the descriptive analysis. Compared to intra-urban residential mobility (the reference category), Estonian speakers who move outside of the Tallinn metropolitan region (both to rural areas and to cities) as well as those moving to the rural suburbs of Tallinn, more often move to areas more dominated by Estonian speakers (model 2). It is only when Estonian speakers from Tallinn move to suburban satellite towns (where the industry and military sector played an important role during the Soviet period), that their destination neighbourhood becomes slightly more Russian-dominated compared to the destinations of those Estonians who move within the city (coeff. = 2.895).

Table 4: Linear regression model: the change in individual ethnic residential context

	Model 2 Estonian speakers		Model 3 Russian speakers	
	Coeff.	*SE*	*Coeff.*	*SE*
Mobility types (ref. intra-urban moves)				
Suburbanisation – urban	2.895***	0.603	15.633***	0.705
Suburbanisation – rural	-23.503***	0.258	-37.584***	0.498
Long-distance migration – urban	-16.198***	0.437	11.819***	0.780
Long-distance migration – rural	-28.698***	0.411	-23.607***	1.255
Gender (ref. female)				
Male	0.990***	0.228	0.668**	0.318
Age (ref. 18–29)				
30–39	2.216***	0.303	0.932**	0.427
40–49	4.297***	0.366	2.397***	0.454
50–59	4.941***	0.391	5.249***	0.565
60–69	4.694***	0.481	6.289***	0.703
70+	5.659***	0.773	6.013***	1.045
Family status (ref. remained single)				
Exit marriage	-0.133	0.375	-1.004**	0.471
Enter marriage	-1.675***	0.313	-1.641***	0.425
Remained in marriage	-3.828***	0.301	-5.203***	0.395
Education (ref. university)				
Secondary	3.836***	0.455	2.465***	0.404
Primary	2.122***	0.285	2.790***	0.596
Employment status (ref. higher occupations)				
Upper-middle	0.491	0.424	2.408***	0.661
Lower-middle	2.354***	0.502	5.969***	0.620
Low occupations	3.007***	0.455	6.205***	0.625
Unemployed	3.673***	0.593	5.465***	0.659
Inactives	3.427***	0.345	5.234***	0.574

Table 4:   (Continued)

	Model 2 Estonian speakers		Model 3 Russian speakers	
	Coeff.	*SE*	*Coeff.*	*SE*
Employment status change (ref. stable)				
Higher	-1.138***	0.338	-0.154	0.396
Lower	-.367	0.363	0.373	0.418
Constant	-9.183***		-7.653***	
Adjusted R2	0.223		0.251	
N	45 768		26 015	

**p < 0.05; ***p < 0.01

Note: values of the linear dependent variable range from -100% to +100%. "0" denotes the situation when the % of Russian speakers in origin and destination neighbourhood was equal, "+" shows the situation when the percentage of Russian speakers in the destination neighbourhood has increased compared to the origin neighbourhood, "-" shows the situation when the percentage of Russian speakers in the destination neighbourhood has decreased compared to the origin neighbourhood.

For the minority population (model 3), the proportion of Russian speakers in destination neighbourhoods decreases considerably when they leave Tallinn for suburban rural (coeff. = –37.584) or peripheral rural destinations (coeff. = –23.607). However, suburbanisation to satellite towns as well as long-distance moves to cities (mostly to the Russian-dominated urban agglomeration in northeast Estonia), channel them into neighbourhoods with even higher proportions of Russian speakers compared to those Russian speakers who move within the city in the same period. The descriptive analysis demonstrated that Estonians who suburbanise or move over longer distances to rural areas end up in even more Estonian-dominated neighbourhoods (Table 2). This implies that the spatial integration process is gradual: Russian speakers who leave their own-group environment in Tallinn and choose a rural destination, either in the Tallinn urban region or outside this region, get relatively more exposed to Estonians after their move than before.

We also find that younger people, both Estonian speakers (model 2) and Russian speakers (model 3) move to neighbourhoods with a lower proportion of Russian speakers than older residents. Both models show that for both groups the percentage of Russian speakers in their residential environment decreases when they marry or stay married. Likewise, both Estonian speakers (model 2) and Russian speakers (model 3) with a higher socio-economic status in 2000 (working in higher-status occupations and having higher levels of education) were more likely to move to Estonian-dominated neighbourhoods. This supports the main argument of the theory of spatial assimilation,

which states that higher socio-economic status among minority groups favours residential integration. For Estonians (model 2), an improvement in employment status correlates with a move to a more Estonian-dominated neighbourhood, separating them even more from the Russian-speaking population.

6. Conclusions

In this study we investigated the relationship between different types of residential moves and changes in the ethnic composition of neighbourhoods of individuals. This approach was novel because most studies do not distinguish between the effects of different types of mobility. Much of the existing empirical evidence leads us to expect that mobility, as opposed to immobility, increases residential integration, especially for members of the minority population who often become socially and economically better integrated as a result. For example, when minority groups leave ethnically diverse major cities, e.g. when they move towards suburbs or more peripheral regions, the tendency to settle in a neighbourhood where the proportion of minorities is smaller than in urban environment, could be likely. For the majority population, in turn, mobility can be a tool to escape the increasing ethnic diversity of cities.

We studied how spatial mobility shapes the destination neighbourhoods of movers and stayers who lived in Tallinn, a post-Soviet Estonian capital city, in 2000. Estonia serves as an interesting case for the study of ethnic segregation and residential integration processes because central planners distributed migrants unevenly across the country and across the cities during the Soviet period. Our main finding is that only very few Russian speakers integrated spatially during the 2000s. Most of their moves resulted in an increased presence of other Russian speakers in their immediate residential environment when we compare their origin and destination neighbourhoods. Changes towards residential integration occur only in those few cases when members of the Russian-speaking minority group move to rural suburbs and peripheral villages, yet this characterises only a small proportion of the moves of Russian speakers.

Immobility is another phenomenon that relates to residential environment; those who do not move experience changes in the ethnic context of their neighbourhood as a result of other people moving. Older and socioeconomically less successful residents are over-represented among stayers in both ethnolingusitic groups. The decision not to change neighbourhoods might derive from connections that stayers have developed with their surroundings through long-term residence, as well as from the economic constraints of undertaking a move. However, as Estonian speakers leave Tallinn more often than Russian speakers, the neighbourhoods of stayers tend to lose Estonian speakers and become more Russian-speaking. This may have far-reaching effects.

Namely, so far the minority-rich neighbourhoods in post-Soviet cities have served as mixed-ethnic urban environments in which the minority population and their descendants and the native population have become accustomed to one another's cultures. When these mixed-ethnic environments become more Russian-dominated in the future, they may lose their role as diverse meeting places for ethnic groups in Estonia.

In contrast to Russian speakers, all types of moves – within the city, to suburban satellite towns, rural suburbs, rural peripheral villages, and other cities in the country – have led Estonian speakers to destination neighbourhoods where the percentage of Russian speakers is lower than in their origin neighbourhoods. Estonians thus tend to move towards more Estonian residential environments. We know that many Estonians have strong preferences for living with other Estonians (Leetmaa, Tammaru, and Hess 2015), and it is also known that Estonians were more advantaged by economic restructuring in the 1990s and thus have better economic opportunities to undertake a move. Mobile Estonians indeed are generally young, well educated, and socioeconomically successful.

To conclude, the spatial assimilation thesis holds that the socio-economic advancement of minorities leads to residential integration (Massey and Denton 1985), but this is not always supported by the empirical evidence (e.g., Li 1998). Our study adds to this understanding. First, that the mobility behaviour of minorities tends to follow pre-existing ethnic networks irrespective of their socio-economic achievements. We argue that in the situations where sizeable ethnic minority groups live in separate parts of a country's settlement system, and their communication networks and daily activity spaces are also different, they may behave as 'parallel populations' also in their destination choices while moving. Indeed, only a small fraction of the moves of members of the minority population facilitated ethnic residential integration. Second, our findings show that socio-economic advancement of the majority population leads to a higher, not lower, share of co-ethnics in their residential neighbourhood. This is a very important finding and needs to be tested in other country contexts. Furthermore, such a finding suggests that current ethnic integration policies require serious revision in order to shift attention to the social and spatial integration of members of the majority population in addition to dealing merely with the issue of how immigrant population integrates socially and spatially.

7. Acknowledgements

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