



The reality of free movement for young
European citizens migrating in times of crisis

ESTONIA



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The objective of the project "The reality of free movement for young European citizens migrating in times of crisis" is to look into the reality of free movement from the viewpoint of young Europeans (age 25-35) who exercise or plan to exercise this right. This publication is the country report for Estonia.

ON-THE-MOVE – "The reality of free movement for young European citizens migrating in times of crisis"

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SUMMARY

Free movement of persons started out as a general European project to bring benefits both to citizens and economy. Citizens were to have better job prospects and the economy an improved opportunity to balance labour and skill shortages, increase labour market efficiency, reinforce integration and growth. The decades-long development towards these goals in the European community culminated in 2004 with the Directive 2004/38/EC on the right of citizens of the Union and their family members to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States, which repealed the pre-existing directives and unified scattered provisions and case law. The directive aims to encourage Union citizens to exercise their right to move and reside freely within the Member States, to cut back administrative formalities, to define the status of family members, and to limit the scope for refusing entry or terminating the right of residence.

The year of 2004 was significant also due to the largest single expansion of the European Union in terms of the number of new countries who joined the club. Estonia was one of them. The enlargement has altogether had a positive effect to

Estonia. Estonian people have embraced the four freedoms of the EU, which are free movement of persons, goods, services and capital. In fact, according to many Eurobarometer surveys, the residents of Estonia consider the free movement policy the most positive outcome of the European Union. Naturally then, Estonian people started to exercise their right of free movement from the beginning of the country's accession to the union. Starting from the first years of the membership, there has been a steadily increasing stream of people who have moved to another EU country. The number of migrating people peaked in 2012, with the foundation laid to the latter by the economic crisis of 2008. The trends among the people involved in the free movement have also been in a constant change, the desperation of the job-seeking unemployed people have been gradually replaced by the people motivated by other factors like career opportunities and life experiences. Similarly, people now are not only moving out of Estonia but also returning, the latter numbers gaining even the upper hand in the latest statistics when compared to the emigration.

SUMMARY

The project ON THE MOVE – „The reality of free movement for young European citizens migrating in times of crisis“ (European Commission, DG Justice- Rights, Equality and Citizenship Programme 2014-2020) aims to identify the real and perceived obstacles and barriers faced when exercising the right to free movement; to identify the practices that promote or hinder the enjoyment of this right; to raise awareness among young people on their rights and among national and EU bodies on barriers and ways to address them; and to propose legislative and non-legislative solutions for making the right to free movement effective. Estonian national report within the project is divided into four segments. The first part deals with the situation of young people and migration patterns. Namely, it presents the findings of the desktop research and establishes the situation of young people in the country, the migration patterns and trends for young people, and the ways in which young people react to challenges and the economic crisis. The second part tackles policies and legislation presenting the findings of the legislative analysis while focusing on the implementation of Directive 2004/38/EC and other leg-

islation relevant to free movement and youth and the policies and authorities competent for free movement and youth. The third part presents the experiences of young people on free movement based on the findings of the qualitative research consisting of the interviews with the young people and relevant stakeholders. And finally, the last part lays out the analysis and recommendations, which synthesizes the previous parts and juxtaposes the legal reality with the reality of the personal experiences. It identifies the main trends, drivers and barriers and the reasons behind them.

SITUATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE AND MIGRATION PATTERNS

There are no previous in-depth studies conducted in Estonia which would explicitly focus on the group of young people aged 25-35 moving within the EU. However, some data and statistics has been collected on the drivers and barriers for the wider age group of, e.g. 25-44 which can be generalised to the 25-35 age group.

1. MIGRATION PATTERNS AND TRENDS FOR YOUNG PEOPLE ACROSS EUROPE

1.1. Young people with the plan or wish to live abroad

The biggest change in the number of people who wish to move to another EU Member State (EU MS), took place in the aftermath of the global financial crisis. In 2006, just before the crisis, only 4% of Estonians showed a concrete wish to work abroad. By 2010, the amount of such people had increased to 9% and in 2013, according to the Eurobarometer survey on the free movement, 36% of Estonians indicated a wish to work in another EU Member State (14% - yes, definitely; 22% - yes, probably). The

percentage of younger people, in the age group of 25-44, who were considering to leave the country significantly increased in 2010 (28%) compared to 2006 (19%).

In 2013, the number slightly rose again to 29%. The number of respondents indicating a definite plan to leave the country barely increased from 7% in 2006 to 8% in 2013. The definite plan to leave was higher among the younger age group in 2006, but remained on the same level as for the average population in 2010 (see Table 1).

Table 1: 25-44-year-old Estonians wishing or wanting to work abroad in 2006, 2010 and 2013¹

Age group 25-44	2006	2010	2013
I have thought about leaving	19%	28%	29%
Definite plan to leave	7%	8%	8%

One of the main reasons for the relatively high percentage of people considering to leave the country relates to the situation in the Estonian labour market. Comparing 2010 to 2008, the number of employed people decreased by 108 000 and the number of unemployed increased by 106 000.²

According to the study on the migration potential of working-age population in Estonia, conducted regularly by the Estonian Ministry of Social Affairs, the share of people who had made special arrangements to prepare to move to some other country during the period of 2006-2013 was highest in 2010 (56%).³ In 2006, the share was 49% and in 2013 about 43%.⁴ Such preparations include, for instance, learning the language of another country, finding accommodation, or applying for jobs abroad.⁵

According to Tarum (2013), the proportion of people who wish to leave Estonia permanently is highest among the age group of 25-44.⁶ The wish to leave permanently is particularly high among people with higher education (30% vs 11%).⁷ Haaristo (2015) has identified the emigration of young people as rather problematic, because the probability of returning is inversely proportional with the time spent abroad.⁸ This means that the longer a person lives in a another country, the less likely s/he will return to the home country.

According to the Ministry of Social Affairs survey in 2013, the most preferred EU destination countries for Estonians are Finland (49%), Sweden (8%), the United Kingdom and Ireland (7%) and Germany (5%).⁹ Similar results were presented in previous reports, such as in 2010 when the most preferred EU countries for the emigration were also Finland (43%), the United Kingdom and Ireland (12%), Sweden (7%) and Germany (6%), thus indicating similar patterns of emigration during this decade.¹⁰

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- 1 Migration potential of working-age population in Estonia surveys of 2006, 2010 and 2013
- 2 Tarum, H. (2013). Migration potential of working-age population in Estonia in 2013. Series of the Ministry of Social Affairs No 2/2014. Tallinn. Ministry of Social Affairs.; Statistics Estonia 2008: I quarter vs 2010 I quarter.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Haaristo, H.-S. (2015). Töökäte puuduses vaevlev Eesti – kust otsida ja leida lahendusi? Riigikogu Toimetised 31/2015.
- 9 Tarum, H. (2013). Migration potential of working-age population in Estonia in 2013. Series of the Ministry of Social Affairs No 2/2014. Tallinn. Ministry of Social Affairs.
- 10 Veidemann, B. (2010). Migration potential of working-age population in Estonia in 2010. Series of the Ministry of Social Affairs No 8/2010. Tallinn. Ministry of Social Affairs.

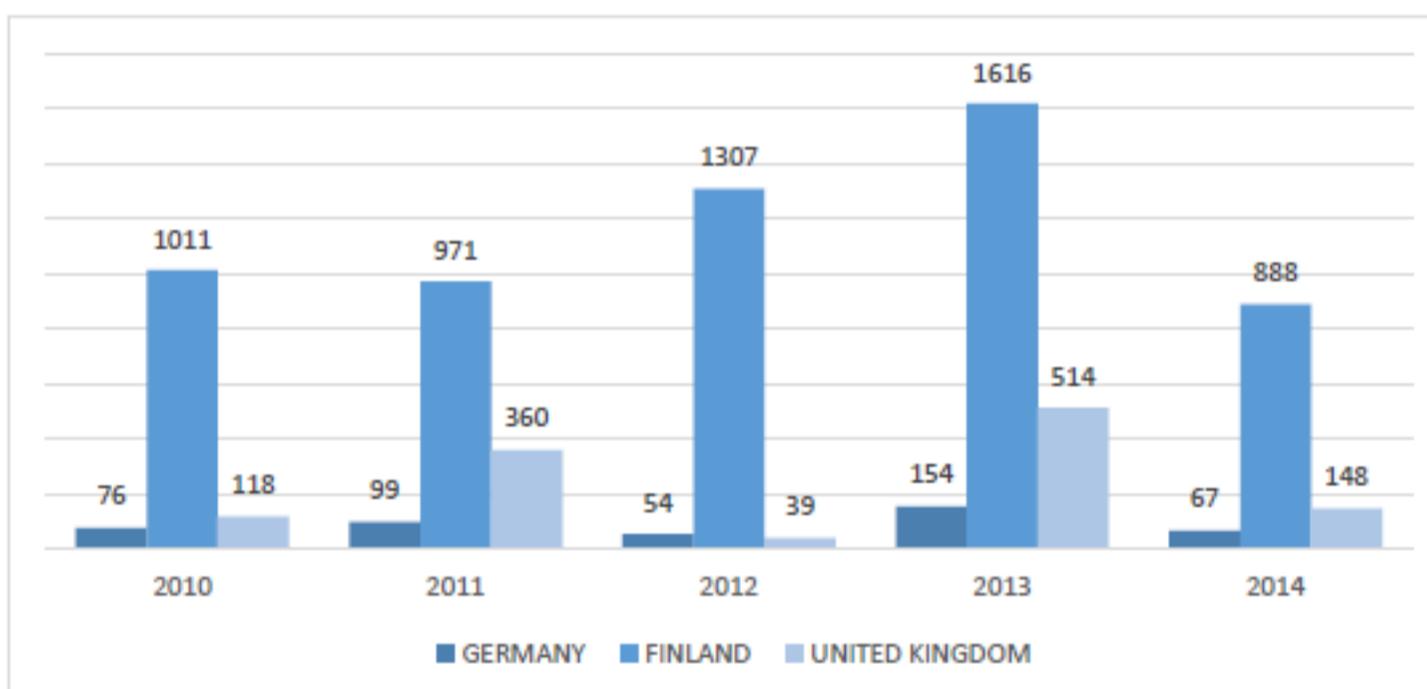
to leave the country barely increased from 7% in 2006 to 8% in 2013. The definite plan to leave was higher among the younger age group in 2006, but remained on the same level as for the average population in 2010 (see Table 1).

THE EMIGRATION OF YOUNG ESTONIANS TO OTHER EU MEMBER STATES

The largest share of Estonians is living in Germany, the UK and Finland (see Figure 3). Of all the EU countries, Finland holds the largest diaspora of Estonians (see the main reasons for moving to Finland in part A.1.).

In 2012, 59% of all emigrants and 65% of all Estonians working outside Estonia were residing in Finland.¹¹ Finland has been the main destination country for emigrants since the beginning of the 1990s and during the last decade every second Estonian emigrant has moved to Finland.¹² The share of people emigrating to other EU countries has been increasing, but remains marginal.

Figure 3: Emigration of young Estonians (aged 25-35) to Finland, the UK and Germany¹³ (2010-2014)



In 2012, 31% of the Estonians living abroad and 40% of the people working abroad were aged between 25-34.¹⁴ According to several studies, this age group – also called the group of baby boomers – has the highest likelihood for emigration, since they were born in 1980s and have reached now or are reaching their “best” working age.¹⁵ In addition, it is more common now than ever for young Estonian people to obtain working or living experience abroad.

THE IMMIGRATION OF YOUNG EU CITIZENS TO ESTONIA

Since joining the EU, the overall immigration rates to Estonia are on a rise. This also applies to the rates of EU citizens who have moved to Estonia. Between 2010-2015 in total 6'819 young EU citizens aged 25-35 were given a right of residence.¹⁶ Less than half of them (2'836) had registered themselves out from Estonia by 31 December 2015, but as registering the leave from Estonia is not compulsory, we can estimate

11 Ibid.

12 Anniste, K., Tammaru, T., Pungas, E., Paas, T. (2012). Dynamics of educational differences in emigration from Estonia to the old EU member states. *Trames: Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences*, 16(1), 219 - 235.

13 Data: Statistics Estonia. The figure shows the number of Estonian citizens, who were born in Estonia and are residing in another EU country at the time of the last population census in 2011.

14 Tarum, H. (2013). Migration potential of working-age population in Estonia in 2013. Series of the Ministry of Social Affairs No 2/2014. Tallinn. Ministry of Social Affairs.

15 Ibid.

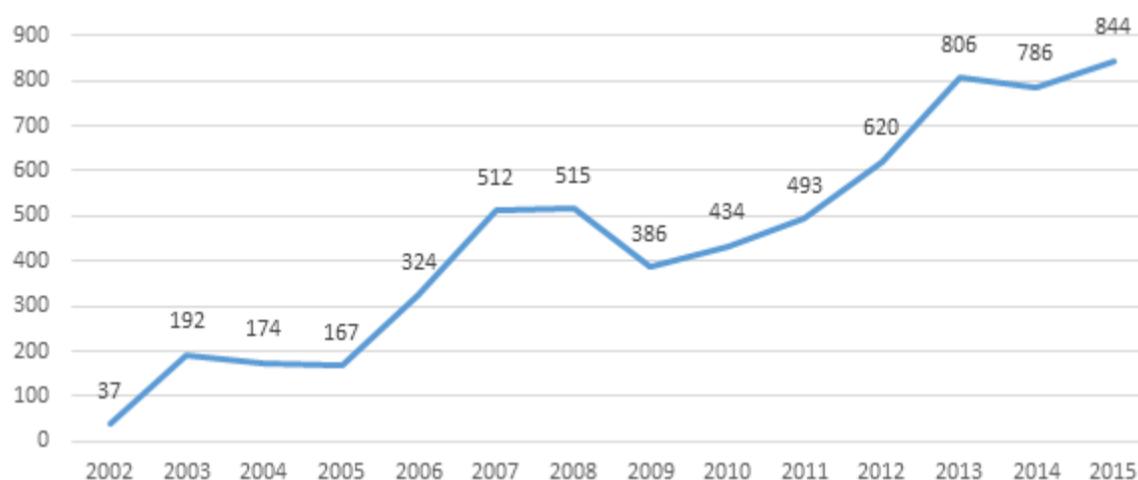
16 Estonian Population Register: Data as of 31 December 2015.

that this number is even higher.

EU citizens are not required to state their reason of moving to Estonia while registering their residence at the local municipality, therefore it is not known for what reasons young EU citizens have moved to Estonia. For the same reason, it is not possible to say why has there been an increase before and decrease after year 2013. In the registration form EU citizens are also not obliged to mark their education level and employment status. Because of this is it also not possible to indicate the socio-economic background of the EU citizens who immigrate to Estonia.

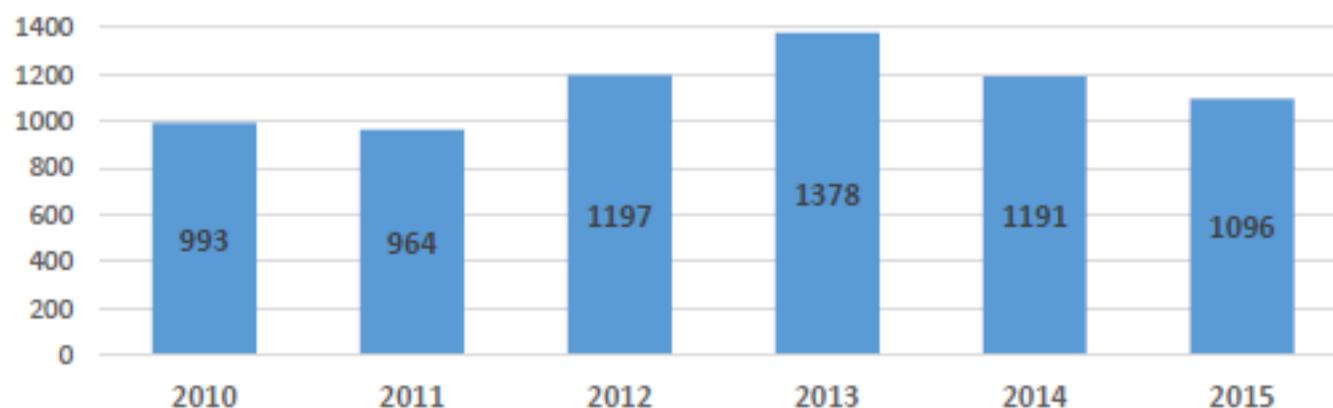
Immigration to Estonia increased after joining the EU in 2004, remained same in 2007-2008 and decreased somewhat right after the economic crisis (see Figure 4)¹⁷. Overall, during the years after the crisis, the immigration of EU citizens aged 25-35 has been steadily increasing. The trend illustrated on Figure 4 presents the number of EU citizens immigrated to Estonia who have not left the country.¹⁸

Figure 4. Immigration of young EU citizens aged 25-35 to Estonia, 2002-2015¹⁹



The total number of EU citizens aged 25-35 (without excluding the people who have already left) who have registered their residence in Estonia has been around 1'000-1'300 persons a year (see Figure 5). The largest number, 1'378, registered their residence in 2013. Since then, there has been a slight decline in the EU citizens moving to Estonia.

Figure 5. Number of EU citizens aged 25-35 moved to Estonia in 2010-2015²⁰ (N)



17 These figures show the number of young people who have moved to Estonia and have not (officially) registered their leave from Estonia. This means that the figures of last years may be smaller as some of the people may have left during year 2016.

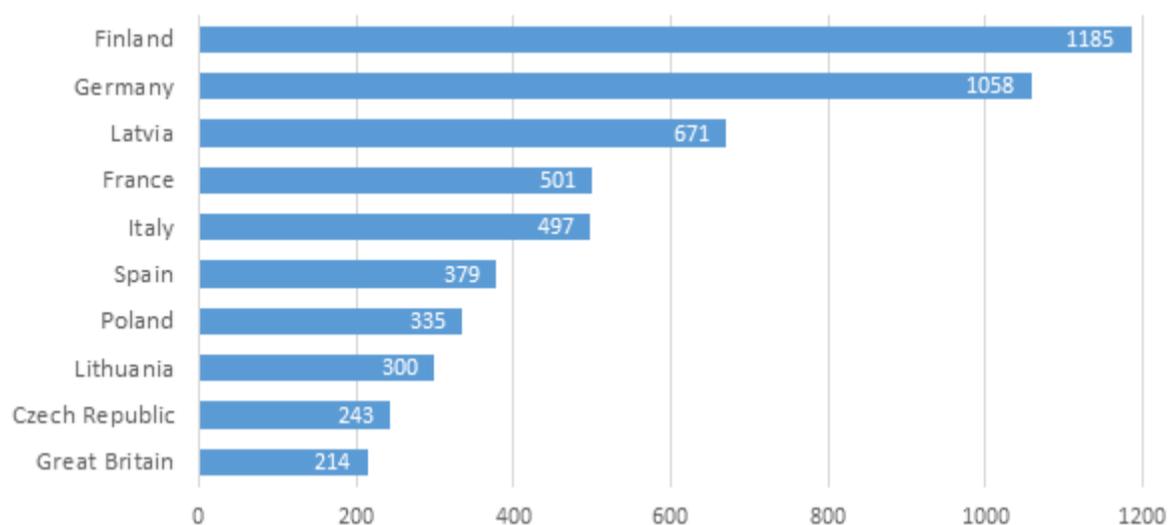
18 However, the number of people in 2012-2015 may be different as the people currently presented in the graph may have left after 1 January 2016.

19 Estonian Population Register: Data as of 31 December 2015.

20 Source: Population Register of Estonia. Data as of 31 December 2015.

Young EU citizens generally come from the same countries (see Table 1 in Annex 4). The largest groups of EU citizens come to Estonia from Finland and Germany (see Figure 6). In 2010-2015, there have been in total more than 1'000 young persons aged 25-35 from both of these two countries. The second largest groups came from Spain, Poland, Lithuania, Czech Republic and Great Britain. In 2010-2015, there are between 200-400 people arriving to Estonia from each of these countries. The immigration rates in 2010-2015 from all EU countries are presented in Annex 4.

Figure 6: EU citizens aged 25-35 who immigrated to Estonia in 2010-2015 (Top 10 countries)²¹ (N)



In the EU, Estonia is regarded as a sending country, meaning that the youth on the move has an outward trend. However, the share of EU immigrants has been steadily on a rise since joining the EU, reaching a maximum of nearly 1400 people in 2013. Even if more people are moving to Estonia, little is known about the problems they face prior and after their move.

THE RETURN IMMIGRATION OF YOUNG ESTONIANS

The largest group of all immigrants coming to Estonia are the people born in Estonia - the return rate of Estonian citizens has remained around 40% of all immigrants.²² However, according to the latest population census held in 2011, the return rate among young Estonians aged 25-34 is around 15%.²³ The returnees were mainly persons with higher education (see table 2). The returnees are mostly men, however, the difference has not been significant in the last years (see figure 7).

Table 2: Education level returned Estonian citizens, in comparison with total population²⁴ (%)

Persons aged 25-34	Lower secondary or lower	Upper secondary	Upper secondary with vocational education	Higher education
Returnees	14%	30%	30%	73%
Total population	22%	28%	37%	55%

According to the statistics from the Statistics Estonia, during the period of 2010-2015 the vast ma-

21 Source: Population register. The immigration rates of all EU countries are presented in Annex 4.

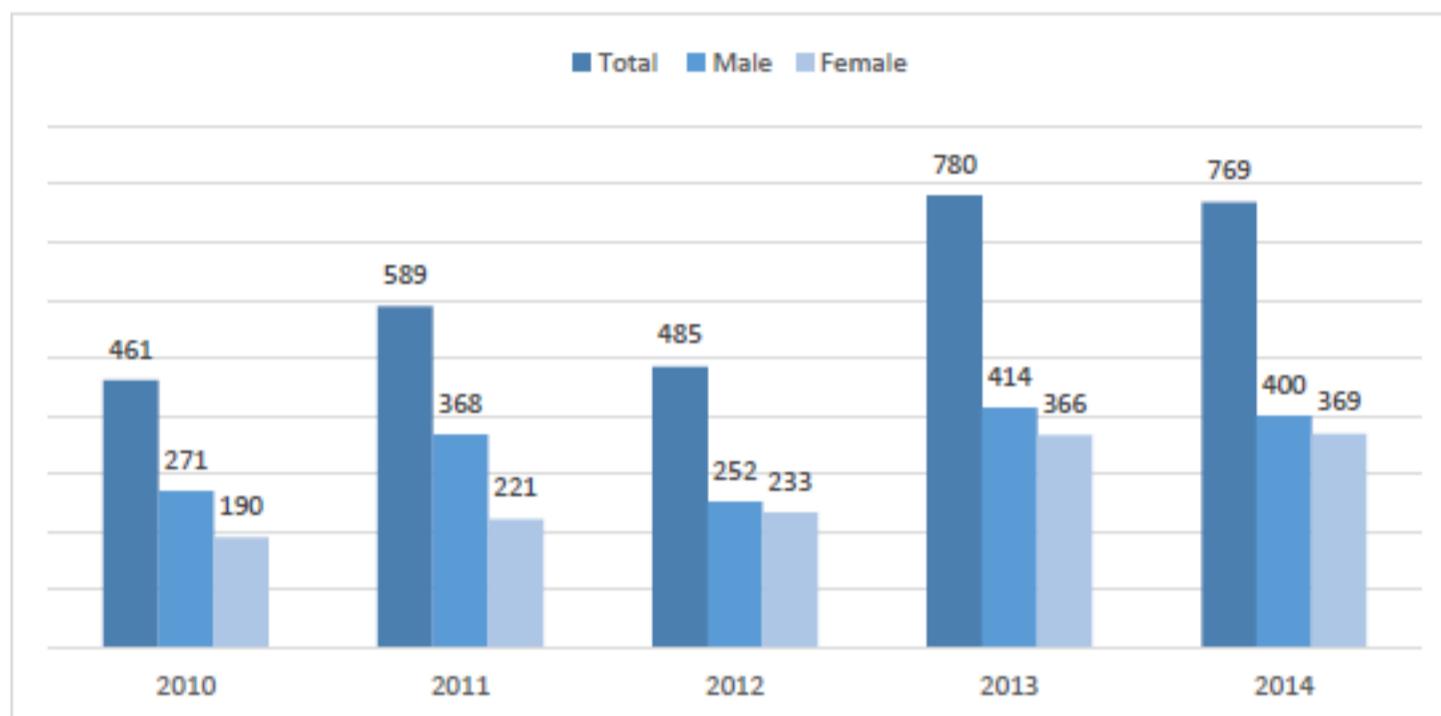
22 Haaristo, H.-S. (2015). Töökäte puuduses vaevlev Eesti – kust otsida ja leida lahendusi? Riigikogu Toimetised 31/2015.

23 Tammur, A.; Meres, K. (2013). Immigration to Estonia 2000-2011. Quarterly bulletin of Statistics Estonia 3/13.

24 Tammur, Meres (2013), author's calculations

majority of returnees came from Finland, followed in much lower number from the United Kingdom, Ireland, Germany, Sweden and France. These countries and proportions match with the countries where the majority of emigrating Estonians leave to.

Figure 7: Number of returned Estonian citizens aged 25-34²⁵ (N)



1.2. The ways young people are reacting to these challenges and to the economic crisis

ESTONIANS WISHING TO MOVE AND WHO HAVE MOVED TO ANOTHER EU COUNTRY

Finland has been the main country of destination over several decades both for people who are considering emigrating as well as people who have already left Estonia. Main reasons for this are its close geographic proximity (approximately 2 hours with a ferry), significantly higher standards of living and salaries, similar language/culture as well as possessing a relatively large Estonian community. The wish to emigrate to Finland is higher among the people with lower education: 59% of the respondents indicating a wish to move to Finland have lower education (i.e. secondary education level) compared to 39% people with higher education.²⁶ In her research on the dynamics of educational differences in emigration from Estonia to old EU member states, Anniste et al (2012) has illustrated that people with lower education levels have higher probability for emigration compared to people with higher education.²⁷ Persons with higher education levels (i.e. an university degree), however, show higher levels of readiness to leave Estonia permanently or for a longer period of time.²⁸ These numbers could be interpreted as signs of a 'brain drain' from Estonia.

In 2010, 25% of the people who had a definite plan to leave Estonia were unemployed.²⁹ By 2013, this

25 Source: Statistics Estonia (2015) External migration by age group, sex and citizenship

26 Ibid.

27 Anniste, K., Tammaru, T., Pungas, E., Paas, T. (2012). Dynamics of educational differences in emigration from Estonia to the old EU member states. *Trames: Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences*, 16(1), 219 - 235.

28 Tarum, H. (2013). Migration potential of working-age population in Estonia in 2013. Series of the Ministry of Social Affairs No 2/2014. Tallinn. Ministry of Social Affairs.

29 Ibid.

number had decreased to 10%.³⁰ At the same time, the number of unemployed people who had only thought about leaving made up 26% in 2010 and 31% in 2013.³¹ These figures indicate that the stabilisation of the labour market made people less keen on leaving Estonia for employment opportunities in other EU countries.

Based on the Ministry of Social Affairs' research on the migration potential of working-age population in Estonia, the reasons for a plan to leave have mostly remained the same in the 2010 and 2013 (see figure 1).³² The main drivers for a definite plan to leave Estonia were connected to low income or unemployment - nearly 80% of people indicated a wish to leave for such reasons. By 2013, there has been a slight rise in reasons related to self-fulfilment, however, this rise has not been significant.

Other mentioned drivers were the lack of good employment prospects in Estonia, finding a job corresponding to one's qualification, better quality of life, better appreciation of workers, better social insurance system, or simply looking to leave.³³

The 2010 and 2013 data show that above all, people perceive labour market situation as a main factor of their wellbeing. If they cannot find a job or do not earn enough to secure an aspired life quality, people are willing to find it from some other country with better labour market prospects. In addition, a slight rise in aspirational reasons may indicate to a more common tendency for young people to gain experiences in a foreign country.

Figure 1. Main drivers for a definite plan to leave Estonia in 2010 and 2013 (%)³⁴

2010	2013
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • low wages, unemployment, wish to find a job and earn a higher wage (74%), • self-development and new experiences (12%), • disappointment with life in Estonia (4%), • low living standard (4%), • relatives or family in another country (2%), and • language learning and studying (1%). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • low income (45%), • low living standard (18%), • self-development and wish to discover the world (9%), • better opportunities for development (8%), • unemployment (7%), • relatives or family in another country (3%), • disappointment with Estonia (2%), • change in environment (1%),

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid.

32 Veidemann, B. (2010). Migration potential of working-age population in Estonia in 2010. Series of the Ministry of Social Affairs No 8/2010. Tallinn. Ministry of Social Affairs; Tarum, H. (2013). Migration potential of working-age population in Estonia in 2013. Series of the Ministry of Social Affairs No 2/2014. Tallinn. Ministry of Social Affairs.

33 Ibid.

34 Ibid.

When looking at perceived barriers for moving to other county, the barriers deriving from the destination country were pointed out less in 2013 compared to 2010 (see Figure 2). Insufficient language skills, high costs when leaving, foreign customs, fear of not succeeding as well as fear of not finding new friends were all regarded as a barrier by less people in 2013.

Figure 2. Main barriers in 2010 and 2013³⁵ (%)

2010	2013
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • family and friends (59%), • Estonia is my home (47%), • insufficient language proficiency (43%), • high costs when leaving (33%), • unsuitable age (20%), • better job opportunities in Estonia (17%), • additional bureaucracy (19%), • insufficient education (18%), • insufficient working skills (16%), • foreign customs, culture (16%), • fear of not succeeding (14%), • fear of not finding new friends (9%). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • family and friends in Estonia (59%), • Estonia is my home (45%), • family/relatives have difficulties in starting a new life abroad (38%), • need to take care of minor children in Estonia (38%), • need to take care of family members or close ones in Estonia (38%), • no language skills (30%), • substantial costs related to working abroad (18%), • real estate (17%), • unsuitable age (13%), • better employment prospects in Estonia (13%), • dislike the related bureaucracy (13%), • insufficient education (10%), • insufficient professional skills and experience (10%), • strange customs, culture (7%), • fear of failure (8%), • fear of not making friends or acquaintances abroad (3%).

The barriers deriving from the home country, i.e. Estonia, however, remained mostly on similar rates in 2010 and 2013. Still around 60% would not want to leave because of their family and friends in Estonia, or around 46% because Estonia is a home for them. This shows that even if people feel less worried about different potential problems in the destination country, the main reasons for staying are connected to family and a sense of belonging to Estonia.

These data and results of previously conducted studies largely correspond with the Eurobarometer 2013 survey results on free movement of workers and regulated professionals. The survey results indicate that

35 Veidemann, B. (2010). Migration potential of working-age population in Estonia in 2010. Series of the Ministry of Social Affairs No 8/2010. Tallinn. Ministry of Social Affairs; Tarum, H. (2013). Migration potential of working-age population in Estonia in 2013. Series of the Ministry of Social Affairs No 2/2014. Tallinn. Ministry of Social Affairs.

40% of Estonians did not consider working in another EU Member State because of family or personal reasons, 34% did not want to work in another EU country, 17% believed to have insufficient language skills, and 11% believed to have better opportunities in Estonia.³⁶

While having children may be an obstacle for moving to another EU country, for some people it may be also a driver for leaving. People perceive that in combination with a higher wage, the family can have a higher living standard in another EU country. According to the study on the migration potential of working-age population in Estonia, the potential for migration was the highest among people aged 25-44 who already had a child. This group of people clear plans for leaving in order to ensure the financial well-being of the family.³⁷

Another special group of Estonian long-term residents are people with undetermined citizenship, i.e. non-citizens, whose legal status implies a clear barrier for enjoying the right of free mobility in EU.³⁸ These are the descendants of the former Soviet Union citizens who did not apply for a citizenship after the Estonian independence in 1991. The number of such people in the age group of 25-35 is around a few dozen thousand as of 2016. Most of these people are born and have lived in Estonia for their whole life but have never naturalised. Therefore, they cannot enjoy the same freedoms as EU citizens. A person with the unidentified citizenship can travel in the Schengen area without a visa, but upon staying in an EU country for more than 90 days has to apply for a residence permit.

EU CITIZENS MOVED TO ESTONIA

A study carried out in 2014, focused on newly-arrived immigrants, including third country nationals, identified problems that relate also to young EU citizens.³⁹ Among other problems, the study indicated the problems with family members of EU citizens, who quite often have trouble finding a job where the working language would be English.⁴⁰ This might become a problem for young EU citizens as well, particularly those who have not signed a working contract before moving to Estonia and might face problems finding quickly a job in a preferred field and qualification level. Another major issue described in the study relates to finding a school or kindergarten place for the children, as well as having problems with the service quality of the Police and Border Guard Board staff when issuing residence permits, as the number of English-speaking staff working there is rather small.

Although little is known about the problems EU citizens encounter when migrating to Estonia, in the recent years Estonia has amended legislation and developed services for the easier adaptation of immigrants. For example, legislation has been amended so that it is easier for an entrepreneur to hire a foreign worker as the bureaucratic process has been simplified.⁴¹ In addition, several services have been developed, e.g. the number of international schools has increased.

However, new immigrants still tend to face problems when looking for a job. For example, Estonian employers usually have little understanding on what hiring a foreigner means (e.g. what kind of bureaucratic

36 European Commission 2013. Special Eurobarometer 363. Free movement of workers and regulated professional. Internal Market: Awareness, Perceptions and Impacts. European Commission, p. 62.

37 Ibid.

38 Anniste, K., Tammaru, T., Pungas, E., Paas, T. (2012). Dynamics of educational differences in emigration from Estonia to the old EU member states. *Trames: Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences*, 16(1), 219 - 235.

39 Institute of Baltic Studies (2014). *Newly-arrived immigrants in Estonia: Policy Options and Recommendations for a Comprehensive and Sustainable Support System*, Authored by Kallas, K.; Kaldur, K.; Kivistik, K.; Plaan, K.; Pohla, T.; Ortega, L.; Mürk, I.; and Väljaots, K.

40 Ibid.

41 Haaristo, H.-S. (2015) Töökäte puuduses vaevlev Eesti – kust otsida ja leida lahendusi? *Riigikogu Toimetised* 31/2015.

steps have to be undertaken during the recruitment). Furthermore, employers – with some exceptions, i.e. large IT-companies who over the years have employed a large number of foreigners – tend to have psychological barriers related to the fear of different working languages, habits, or culture in general.⁴²

Several studies conducted in Estonia during the period of 2010-2013 indicate that the **main drivers for leaving Estonia have been a low salary and a wish to have better living standards**. This corresponds to the reasons provided by the people with a wish to leave.

In 2010, the main reason for leaving Estonia were low wages, unemployment, the wish to find a job and earn a higher wage (67%), self-development and new experiences (9%), low standard of living (3%), relatives or family in another country (3%) or debts and solvency difficulties (2%).⁴³ In addition to these drivers, a qualitative study conducted by Kõiva et al. in 2010 illustrated that some people mentioned also the "smallness" of Estonia and the impossibility to improve one's talent under the high-level specialists as an explanation.⁴⁴

Three years later, by 2013, the main drivers have stayed the same, but the distribution of people in each driver category has changed. The reason for leaving due to low wages has decreased by 20% - to 46%, whereas the proportion of people who had left for better living standards and better social guarantees had increased to 25%. Six per cent had left for the reason of self-development and only 1% because of unemployment or relatives or family living in another country (also 1%).⁴⁵ This change in percentages indicates that the financial situation in Estonia had stabilised and less people had left because of the impact of the financial crisis on the labour market situation.

Family also plays an important role when living abroad. As presented in part A.1.1., the potential for migration was highest among people aged 25-44 who already had a child. This can relate to the wish to earn a higher salary in the destination country and, then, to ensure the financial wellbeing of the children in Estonia. However, according to the study on the migration potential of working-age population in Estonia in 2013, 94% of respondents did not take the child⁴⁶ with them when moving to work in another country.⁴⁷ This means that while the parent by earning a higher salary may provide a higher living standard for the child, the child may be left without care of both of the parents. This, in return, could lead to a lack of social wellbeing of the children left to the home country. This phenomenon has previously been indicated also in other EU countries, e.g. Latvia and Romania.⁴⁸

Although there is no age-based distribution of the respondents presented in the study conducted by Tarum (2013), it highlights the difference among young people (aged 25-44) – who more than any other age groups are seeking better possibilities for self-development.⁴⁹ According to Tarum, this should not be seen as something catastrophic but rather as a sign of an "age of migration". The group that uses the

42 Ibid.

43 Veidemann, B. (2010). Migration potential of working-age population in Estonia in 2010. Series of the Ministry of Social Affairs No 8/2010. Tallinn. Ministry of Social Affairs.

44 Kõiva, M.; Käsper, K.; Elme, A; Murruste, M. (2010). Pikaajaliselt välismaal viibinud eestimaalaste motivatsioon ja eelistused elu-, -õppimis- ja töötamispaiga valikul. Fookusgrupi sisuanalüüs. RAM4.

45 Tarum, H. (2013). Migration potential of working-age population in Estonia in 2013. Series of the Ministry of Social Affairs No 2/2014. Tallinn. Ministry of Social Affairs.

46 "A child" can be an adult child. No age is distinguished in the study.

47 Tarum, H. (2013) Migration potential of working-age population in Estonia in 2013. Series of the Ministry of Social Affairs No 2/2014. Tallinn. Ministry of Social Affairs.

48 RAKE (2014) Välismaal töötavate vanemate ja Eestis elavate lastega pered: Parimad praktikad ja võimalikud ohud. Authored by Espenberg, K., Lees, K., Arrak, L., Aksen, M., Vahaste-Pruul, S.

49 Ibid.

possibility to migrate are especially young people, who wish to see the world and test themselves.⁵⁰

ESTONIAN RETURNEES TO ESTONIA

There is little information available on the drivers and barriers on the return to Estonia by young Estonians aged 25-35. There are only two studies that have looked at the reasons why people have returned to Estonia.

In 2010, Kõiva et al (2010) studied young people who had participated in the "Bring talents home!" (Talendid koju!) project. Talents home! project was launched in 2010 by the Estonian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Kaubandus – ja Tööstuskoda) with an aim to build relationship with young Estonians living abroad with Estonian employers, so that their return to Estonia would be smooth and organized already beforehand.⁵¹ The project ended in 2012. Within these two years, in total 27 young people were "brought back". The website talendidkoju.ee had managed to get resumes of 743 individuals who indicated a wish to return. Even though these numbers are very small, the information provided by the potential "talents" has been valuable for onward activities regarding initiating the return of young Estonians.

According to the qualitative study by Kõiva et al. (2010), the main motivations for returning to Estonia were related to the better opportunities for self-fulfilment, which often derives from the experiences obtained in the foreign country.⁵² Another factor is connected to the faster route to moving up on the career level, which is connected to the smallness of Estonia.⁵³ Therefore, as the size of Estonia may be a driver to leave, it may eventually turn into a driver to return later in life. The study also mentions the good environment for starting new start-ups, companies, or working in the field of social innovation as some motivators for return.⁵⁴

Another study focused on people who have returned to Estonia during the years of 2009-2014 and included a survey among the people aged 13-71.⁵⁵ The largest group of returnees were in the age group of 30-34, the 26-30 was the third largest respondent's group, thus the results of the study can be generalised to a certain degree also to the age group of 25-35.

In this study (2013) on Estonian compatriots, the main reasons for returning were related to family (60%) and wish to live in Estonia (47%).⁵⁶ In the qualitative part of the study, the returnees reasoned the move to be connected to a changed life situation, e.g. a divorce or the respondents' parents' bad health.⁵⁷ 28% of respondents returned to Estonia because they wanted their children to attend school in Estonia: they reasoned this to a better security environment for their children in Estonia. It was also considered that the child as well as the family would benefit from the closeness of the (Estonian) relatives.⁵⁸ 25% of returnees

50 Ibid.

51 Kõiva, M.; Käsper, K.; Elme, A; Murruste, M. (2010). Pikaajaliselt välismaal viibinud eestimaalaste motivatsioon ja eelised elu-, -õppimis- ja töötamispaiga valikul. Fookusgrupi sisuanalüüs. RAM4.

52 Ibid.

53 Ibid.

54 Ibid.

55 RAKE (Centre for Applied Social Sciences) and IBS (Institute of Baltic Studies) (2013) Impact Evaluation Study of the "Compatriots` programme 2009–2013". Authored by Tatar, M.; Käger, M; Aruoja, K.; Aksen, M.; Lees, K.; Sammul, M.; Vahaste-Pruul, S.; Themas, A.; Varblane, U

56 RAKE and IBS (2013) Impact Evaluation Study of the "Compatriots` programme 2009–2013". Authored by Tatar, M.; Käger, M; Aruoja, K.; Aksen, M.; Lees, K.; Sammul, M.; Vahaste-Pruul, S.; Themas, A.; Varblane, U.

57 Ibid.

58 Ibid.

also indicated as one of the reasons the wish to help Estonia develop and make the life in Estonia better.⁵⁹

After moving back to Estonia, the returnees faced problems mostly with finding place in a kindergarten or a school for their child.⁶⁰ Another set of problems relate to the finding a job in Estonia: even highly skilled and educated returnees sense that an experience of working in a foreign country is often not valued in Estonia or among Estonian employers. Besides that, the return brings problems of finding accommodation and securing health insurance. Some individuals also faced problems with unexpected costs after the return which are connected to setting up a residence in a (new) country.⁶¹

1.3. Interim findings

The proportion of Estonians who wish to emigrate has been largely dependent on the labour market situation. In 2010, when the peak of the financial crisis arrived and many people were unemployed, the share of people determined to leave was also the highest in the recent 20 years. People are less worried about the difficulties occurring in the destination country, e.g. insufficient language skills or different culture. However, stabilisation of the labour market situation as well as a strong sense of feeling to Estonia and friends and family in Estonia have remained the main reasons for people not to move to another EU country in the current decade.

Similarly to the Estonians who wish to leave, the main reason for emigrating for those Estonians already residing abroad, is related to low salaries and a low living standards. In addition, due to the young people's spreading habit of living abroad for a period of time, the number of young Estonians who have moved to another EU country to find better possibilities for self-development has increased. The main destination countries for young Estonians are Finland, Germany and the UK. The number of people emigrating to other EU countries is on a rise but remains relatively insignificant.

The number of young EU citizens moving to Estonia has been on rise. The largest group of immigrants come from the neighbouring countries Finland, Latvia and Germany. Very little is known about the EU citizens socio-economic background as well as the problems they face in Estonia. So far there has been only one study, carried out in 2014, focusing on the adaptation of newly-arrived immigrants in Estonia. As the number of EU citizens moving to Estonia has been steadily on a rise, more emphasis should be put to finding the problematic aspects which hinder a successful settling to Estonia.

Returnees make up the largest share in the immigrants to Estonia (40%). The countries where young Estonians return match with the countries Estonians have mostly left to, i.e. Finland, the UK and Germany. Even though relatively little is known also about the returnees to Estonia, the problems they face after moving back to Estonia are roughly matching with the problems the newly-arrived immigrants face in Estonia - finding a suitable job position, or a school/kindergarten place for their children. Therefore, similarly with the newly-arrived immigrants, more emphasis should be put to finding out the needs of the returnees in order to secure their smooth return to Estonia. This is particularly important as Estonia has sent out a message for several years that all Estonians living abroad should return, and are welcome to return to Estonia.

59 Ibid.

60 RAKE (Centre for Applied Social Sciences) and IBS (Institute of Baltic Studies) (2013) Impact Evaluation Study of the "Compatriots` programme 2009–2013". Authored by Tatar, M.; Käger, M; Aruoja, K.; Aksen, M.; Lees, K.; Sammul, M.; Vahaste-Pruul, S.; Themmas, A.; Varblane, U.

61 Ibid.

EXPERIENCES OF YOUNG PEOPLE ON FREE MOVEMENT

This chapter describes the migration experiences of 32 young people who are either planning to move to another EU country, have moved to Estonia, or have moved and then returned to Estonia. In addition, experiences of 5 organisations whose work is connected to young people or free movement in the EU is presented, and the role of foreign missions in Estonia and abroad is analysed. For the latter, information requests were made to both the foreign missions in Estonia, as well as Estonian missions in other EU countries.

Also, information in social media channels is used for providing some background information: social media is increasingly used to obtain information both on movement between different countries and while settling in a new country. Thus, the examples of its pros and cons are provided.

1. SAMPLE AND METHOD

Interviews were carried out with the persons belonging to the four different groups:

- a. EU citizens aged 25-35 who have moved to Estonia and remained;
- b. Estonians aged 25-35 who wish to move;
- c. Estonians with experience of moving in the ages of 25-35 who have returned to Estonia; and
- d. national authorities involved in the issues related to free movement or youth.

Interviews were carried out with young EU citizens who had moved independently. Cases when the person had moved to another country because of educational reasons or a secondment were excluded from the sample. Such distinction enables to get insights on free movement from people who have not received help from the university or an (international) employer, but have had to find the necessary information and services independently.

The sample of the qualitative part of this study consists of 32 young people. There are 14 EU citizens currently living in Estonia, 8 people with a plan to move to another EU country, and 10 Estonian returnees, i.e. Estonian citizens who have lived in another EU country but have now returned to Estonia. Of the 10 returnees there are 2 people who are thinking to move to another EU country again, but have not yet made any concrete plans for it.

The sample is equally distributed by gender, meaning both 16 men and 16 women were interviewed. Highly educated people are overrepresented in the sample – out of 32 interviewees there are 28 people who have a university degree or higher vocational education. Only 4 interviewees have secondary education. Unemployed people are underrepresented in the sample, as there are only 5 people who were not employed at the time of the interview. One of them was about to graduate from university and was not looking for a job, the other 4 people were actively looking for a job. The majority, 21 of the interviewees are single, 6 are married and 5 are co-habiting. Only 5 of the interviewees have children: two of them have 2 two kids, and three have one child.

In addition, 5 interviews were carried out with 5 organisations. Interviews were conducted with a Finnish legal counselling firm and a representative of EURES who both focus on the Estonians going abroad, the legal firm specifically on Estonians in Finland. Other interviews were conducted with the Ministry of the Interior as well as Integration and Migration Foundation (MISA), who are more focused on the EU citizens moving to Estonia. However, MISA is counselling also people who are returning to Estonia. The fifth interview was conducted with a NGO who is specialised in counselling people who might be or are victims of human trafficking or labour market exploitation in another EU country.

The detailed overview of the sample is presented in Annex 1.

In addition to the predetermined interviews, 33 inquiries were sent out in June 2016 to Estonian foreign missions abroad and foreign missions in Estonia. The aim was to inquire whether they have been approached by Estonians (with a focus of citizens aged between 25-35) who are seeking any kind of information that would facilitate and help them to either move to other EU countries for work, family, or study related purposes, or help them with any questions arising abroad in settling in or moving back to Estonia.

In total 19 responses were received: 7 from Estonian missions abroad and 12 from the foreign missions in Estonia. Estonian missions abroad who provided information were from UK, Denmark, Latvia, France, Finland, Netherlands, and Belgium. The UK, Finland, Latvia, and Belgium replied but stated that since they are not gathering or store such statistics (e.g. nature of inquiries or specific age groups of people

approaching them) then they also cannot make any generalisations. Answers from foreign missions in Estonia were from the embassies of Czech Republic, Spain, Latvia, the Netherlands, Germany, Sweden, Ireland, Finland and Latvia. Lithuanian, Austrian and Polish embassies replied that no-one has turned to them to inquire about issues regarding moving to Estonia.

The sample of the diplomatic missions is presented also as a table in Annex 1.

This study was conducted by using qualitative analysis: interviews and secondary data analysis (i.e. legislation and previously conducted research on similar topics). The new qualitative data was collected by structured in-depth interviews. The interviews were conducted face-to-face, or in a few cases, via Skype, and were recorded with the consent of the interviewee. On average the interviews lasted for one hour. The interviews were conducted from May - November 2016.

Interviews focused on 6 different themes and topic-areas:

- information about free movement,
- experience of free movement
- drivers for free movement
- obstacles and barriers when moving
- practices that promote or hinder the right to move freely
- ideas and suggestions on how things can work better.

The detailed interview guide can be seen in Annex 2. In the report, the interviewees are presented by codes in the form of [no of interviewee, gender, age, nationality].

Throughout the report, countries are distinguished based whether they are sending or receiving immigrants. Sending countries are Member States with a clear outward trend: Greece, Portugal, Poland, Estonia, Bulgaria and Romania. Receiving countries are Member States with a clear inward movement trend: Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and France. In addition, there are so-called mixed countries where the outward and inward movement are relatively balanced: Cyprus, Spain, Austria and Italy.

2. ESTONIANS WHO WISH/PLAN TO MOVE

2.1. Previous experience and information about free movement

Estonians who plan to move to another EU country are generally well-aware of the concept of free movement and their rights regarding it. In a few cases, especially among younger people who have just graduated from university and wish to move to another EU country to explore to world, the awareness is lower regarding the concrete rules and regulations of free movement. For example, two young interviewees were not aware that one needs to register their residence within 3 months. According to them, they just wanted to make the move and they would start to figure out the details while already on living in the new country.

Most of the interviewees have a previous experience of living abroad as an exchange student. This is why they think that moving abroad will not turn out to be difficult. In their opinion, their previous experiences

will make the move easier. Living abroad for some time is also common among their friends. Furthermore, several interviewees said that they already have friends waiting in their destination countries and they count on their help when finding accommodation, work and getting settled in the new country. In addition to getting the required information from their friends, they are also relying on the information in the social media as they know that generally there is always a group of people in a similar situation in every country, if not in every (bigger) city. Turning to official institutions seemed to be more complicated for them as they do not know, or have not looked up the information yet, which institution to turn to. This is why it is easier for them to ask this information from friends or co-expats in the social media.

2.2. Drivers

For the young Estonians who have a plan to move to another EU country, the main reason for moving is to discover the world and get new experiences. The people who wish to move to another EU country for self-development are ready to work at a position that does not comply with their education or previous work experience. Several young people said that they are willing to work in positions that require no or little previous skills, e.g. as a waiter or as a cleaner. This was mostly so for people who had just graduated from university and were not yet certain where they would like to continue their career. Several interviewees also showed an interest to learn a new language or improve the already existing language skills.

Most of the interviewees who move for this reason either plan to move back to Estonia after a year of two, or have not yet decided about their future plans. In the words of one interviewee:

"I just think that I just need to have a period of time when I could just live, discover myself and experience something else than what I could in Estonia. To be in a different country. I don't feel an obligation to work in the field I have studied and worked previously. I can just live there and work wherever I want and nobody will judge me for it. It will all just be a personal adventure with some personal growth." (EE18, female, 24 years, EE national)

Besides moving abroad for the reason of discovering the world and gaining new experiences, other interviewees want to move to another EU country specifically because of work. Some interviewees have found a job offer from another country that would fit their qualifications better than a position in Estonia could. There are others who want to get additional job experience from a foreign country as they think this would help to advance them in their career.

This trend of going to another EU country to find a job in the field of interest or get additional job experience also entails a challenge in their home country. It is more common to get higher education in a foreign country, or study in a very specified field in Estonia and decrease the possibilities to work in this field in Estonia after graduation. This has been found also in the previous studies (see e.g. Kõiva et al 2010) when people reason their move to another country with the "smallness" of Estonia. There are less possibilities to work in a very specified field compared to the possibilities of some other, larger country.

There was also one interviewee who wants to leave Estonia because of his sexual orientation. He feels that LGBT people cannot yet live in Estonia within the same conditions as compared to some other EU countries. Some other people already had particular cities in mind. For example, several interviewees wished to move to Berlin because of its artistic community and the image as "the city of opportunities".

Interviews with MISA¹ and EURES² add that people want to move to another EU country also for other rea-

1 The Integration and Migration Foundation Our People (MISA), who promotes integration processes in Estonia, and coordinates activities related to immigration and emigration.

2 EURES advisers are trained specialists who provide the three basic EURES services of information, guidance and placement, to both jobseekers and employers interested in the European job market.

sons, including a warmer climate in the destination country or to learn the language. According to them, many people wish to move with a sole reason to earn higher salary. Those reasons did not appear in the interviews, and this may be connected to the high education level of the interviewees in this research – rather than work for the highest possible salary, they are more focused on educating themselves and gaining experiences from other countries.

2.3. Barriers

The main barrier to move to another EU country is the perceived higher cost of living in the new country. However, this appeared only among the interviewed youth. Several people also mentioned their concern regarding finding suitable accommodation or position for work. There were many people who had already visited their city of destination, or who have planned to do so, in order to find accommodation and a job beforehand. By this they reduce the risk of paying extra costs to stay at a hostel or stay unemployed for an unknown period of time.

Several interviewees perceived their lack of sufficient language skills as a barrier for carrying out the necessary activities for a successful move and settle. This includes both the administrative processes as well as everyday life situations, e.g. going to the shop, buying bus/train tickets, etc. They are convinced that speaking English helps, but it may not always be enough. On the other hand, several other interviewees shared the opinion that “everything will work out just fine” as they have the social network in their destination and they can rely on the support from their friends.

Some interviewees expressed a worry regarding their little sense of social security due to their family and friends who will stay in Estonia:

“When people move, they lose their sense of security – family and friends. The further away people move from Estonia, the less they come together as a local Estonian community which would offer support. If a person moves alone, s/he might have trouble to not become lonely after the move.” (EE16, female, 27 years, EE national)

2.4. Practices that promote or hinder the right to move freely

Estonians who are planning to move to another EU country were not aware of any practices that would promote or hinder the right to move freely. However, one interviewee told that as it is difficult to get accommodation in the Netherlands, Amsterdam gives a temporary personal number for 4 months so one could open a bank account and make a rental agreement. These are activities which need the personal number, and without it a person might have problems with settling in. Many people do not have an address when they first move to a new country and this is a helpful temporary solution. The interviewee explained that when a person fails to provide the address at the right time, s/he can be fined up to 700€.

In general, the interviewees perceived moving inside EU very easy compared to moving to some non-EU country, mostly because they feel they are not so far away and no financial contribution is required.³

2.5. Suggestions

Estonians who wish or plan to move regard awareness raising campaigns about free movement as something that could be useful for them. There should be available also a combined information package on all necessary procedures related to the move. Connected with the latter, an idea surfaced to have a “first month help package” helping the mover to orientate better in the novel circumstances. A person could

³ Compared to e.g. Canada where one has to show approx. 2000 dollars on their bank account prior the move.

pick a country and then there should be an associated check-list for actions, both to be done at home and in the destination country.

In addition, one interviewee suggested that there should be a possibility to carry out certain administrative procedures already in the home country. This would help the person to settle in in the new country faster. Knowledgeable officials giving assistance and people providing information based on their own experiences are viewed also as helpful.

3. ESTONIANS WHO MOVED AND RETURNED

3.1. Previous experience and information about free movement

In general, the interviewees described the return process as easy. Most of the interviewees had found work and accommodation prior the move. The administrative procedure was generally described as very easy, mostly because of the digital e-services of Estonia. This means that most of the administrative procedures can be done online (e.g. applications can be signed and sent digitally) and this reduces the time and effort of the returnee.

However, some interviewees expressed the feeling of "being in the dark" as they were unsure which actions they were supposed to take. This left them just hoping that they have done everything correctly. People who had lived in another country for a longer period of time (i.e. more than 5 years) were also missing information regarding which authorities they need to turn to for specific procedures, e.g. where one can register him- or herself for a doctor.

One Estonian interviewee experienced inconveniences after the return when she wished to marry with an Estonian man she had met while living abroad. It turned out that one cannot marry 6 months after the return unless s/he can provide a notarial proof that s/he has not got married while being living in another country. She wished she had known this requirement in advance and could have set the date of her wedding accordingly. Getting a notarial proof from another country may take several months and is very expensive.

3.2. Drivers

For the Estonians who have been living in another EU country and who have now returned, the main reasons for moving to the other country are various and no clear pattern can be established. People had moved because of the financial difficulties in Estonia, due to an admired work position in another EU country, to obtain a higher education degree, or for family reasons, e.g. either because their parents moved, or to move together with their partner.

The trend for returning to Estonia is however more coherent: most of the interviewees returned because they wished to settle down in Estonia and they had missed a sense of belonging while living in the other EU country. For them, the sense of belonging was something one can only have in their home country. Some younger interviewees felt being at "crossroads" after having spent some time abroad and after which they decided to return. They thought that if they had not done it at that point in their life, they would have probably never returned. The challenges experienced in other country were mainly related to language skills. Not being a native speaker sets limitations to advance with their career in a foreign country. What is more, one interviewee brought out that she has not comprehended it before that young people can get such opportunities as provided in Estonia. For example, the interviewee who now holds a COO

position in an Estonian company was called “cheap Eastern European labour” in the United Kingdom, because it was recognizable that she was not a local Brit by her accent. This confirms numerous previous studies that even talented persons may lose chances to progress in the labour market because of their status as a migrant.

Another Estonian interviewee described his move to Spain as “really starting from the scratch” as he did not have any social network to find work at his desired position. He felt that his skills were not appreciated in the Spanish labour market, and it was more important to have the right social standing and age. He felt he was also missing the support system i.e. his friends and family in Estonia. When setting up his residence in Spain, he experienced it took a lot of effort to fight for his rights even if he got help from his Spanish girlfriend:

“In the labour market in Spain there are some principles that do not hold absolutely any ground in Estonia. For example, hierarchy is very strong and age is very important. In order to achieve something, you have to be of certain age to do it. This was rather interesting but also de-motivating. [...] It was difficult to find a job. I constantly lowered my expectations until I found a place where a job was available, it was not interesting but served as a solution for some time.” (EE2, male 34 years, EE national).

In conclusion, among the Estonian returnees, the main driver to return to Estonia has been a wish to settle down i.e. start a family and establish a home. Although some interviewees felt that even right after the return they were lacking the network they had created in the other country, returning to Estonia provided them a sense of security. They also felt that they are more aware of how things work in Estonia and that there is no cultural difference. In Estonia, they are native speakers with a working experience of a foreign country, which is a comparative advantage next to the rest of the residents of Estonia.

Although returning to Estonia results in a loss of income, according to the interviewees, the living environment in Estonia compensates it:

“I feel that I can connect more easily with Estonians. So I see that regarding the everyday life, it is much nicer to be living in Estonia. In Belgium, I was supposed to do things in a way that I would not have chosen to do myself.” (EE1, female, 28 years, EE national)

3.3. Barriers

Even if in general the interviewees described the return process as easy, some interviewees expressed the feeling of “being in the dark” as they were unsure which actions they were supposed to take. People who had lived in another country for a longer period of time (i.e. more than 5 years) were also missing information regarding which authorities they need to turn to for specific procedures, e.g. where one can register him- or herself for a doctor.

Several interviewees faced bureaucratic problems after leaving the other EU country. Because of a poor exchange of information, they received notifications which implied that the registration out of the other EU country has not been successful. For example, one interviewee received a tax declaration form two years in a row for the yearly period when she had been already living in Estonia. Several interviewees described problems with information exchange between different countries’ authorities regarding their working experience. In one case, the Spanish authorities did not pay back the income tax even though the interviewee had done everything he was supposed to:

“Things connected to the tax declaration in Spain are extremely complicated. There are some

agreements signed between Estonia and Spain which are written in "Chinese". There is nothing understandable. I have a legal background myself and can comprehend laws and decrees but these agreements were just stunning. I turned to the Spanish embassy in Estonia asking how to fill in the declaration. The embassy contacted the Spanish tax office and some other institution, and as an end result, they reported that they do not know themselves what to do." (EE2, male, 34 years, EE national)

The problem with the lack of data-exchange between two countries was also pointed out by other interviewees. People had faced problems both getting the necessary information as a foreigner in the other EU country to collect the social benefit, as well as when they needed the foreign authorities to exchange information with the Estonian authorities. In one case, the Latvian authorities could not determine that the person had been working in Estonia:

"So I am really keeping an eye on how the communication between Estonia and Latvia is developing because at the moment it is pretty much not. I have been calling to the tax department in Latvia and they don't see any kind of taxes I have paid. It is pretty risky for me. With age this kind of information I am starting to follow up because 10 years, it is a decade." (EE8, female, 31 years, LV national)

This young Latvian had been living in Estonia and then returned to Latvia for some time, and then returned soon to Estonia again. At the time of the interview she was thinking of moving to some other EU country to continue her studies. For a person who moves independently between different EU countries, it is especially important that all the information regarding her work-experience could be officially verified so she could get access to the social benefits s/he deserves, e.g. pension, which may depend on the amount of money one has earned during the lifetime.

These young people who had been living in countries with more open societies, experienced a reverse culture shock after moving back to Estonia as people were in their opinion less open and tolerant:

"Finding a job and accommodation was all easy but the everyday culture and such things... On average I still get shocked once in two weeks or so." (EE3, female, 28 years, EE national)

Several interviewees had returned Estonia during the peak time of the "refugee crisis", which in Estonia resulted in a polarisation in the Estonian society: people either saw refugees as lazy social support seekers who threaten the Estonian culture and identity, or people who are in need of help.⁴ The discussion of whether Estonia should accept more refugees or not followed the other principal development, the debate whether same-sex cohabitation and marriage should be legally accepted or not. For many young people who have lived in countries where the LGBT communities have been granted right to cohabit, marry and adopt children, or where refugees are welcomed, the discussion of such kind seemed unintelligible.

3.4. Practices that promote or hinder the right to move freely

For the Estonians who had been living in another EU country and now returned to Estonia, e-services were the factor that made moving back to Estonia significantly easier. This appeared especially among a few people who had moved back from France and Spain i.e. countries in which most of the administrative processes have to be done in person or on paper. They witnessed a considerably shorter time period spent on the administrative procedures when moving back due to the e-services in Estonia as they did not have to visit different institutions in person or spend time filling in papers.

⁴ Tambur, S., Migration crisis polarizes opinions in Estonia, ERR News, 22 May 2015.

A few returnees had received help from the Estonian missions in the other country they had been living in. Although providing such help is not the primary task of an embassy or a consulate, their help can be valuable when a person has got into a complex problem that is not easily solved. According to some interviewees the embassies would be also helpful prior the return if they could give out the information one needs to take into account before moving back to Estonia.

3.5. Suggestions

According to the Estonians who moved but then returned, a pan-European information system, organised by relevant sectors and with the up-to-date info, would contribute to the smoother schemes of moves. Such information system should have a characteristics of commonality, e.g. in healthcare sphere (countries sharing data on vaccinations etc.) but also containing checklists for other life events like marriage procedures. Information regarding residence should be a part of it as well. This would have impact, an example brought up in the exchange between Estonia and Finland, on acquiring driving licences and attending driving schools.

Estonians who return to their homeland after being away for a longer period of time, would like to have language courses on the work-related Estonian, which would advance their chances in the local labour market. By the same token, a "welcome-back-packet" for the returnees with the updated information on the local culture and customs echo the similar sentiment.

4. EU CITIZENS IN ESTONIA

4.1. Previous experience and information about free movement

EU citizens living in Estonia are generally well-aware of the information about free movement. For the most of them, this is a topic they learned about in schools. Many of them have also been exchange students in some other EU country, some also in Estonia, so they are familiar with the processes one needs to carry out after moving to another EU country.

As it is very common now among young people to live, study or work for some time in another EU country, people's social network is also expanded over the borders. This is evident also among the EU citizens who have moved to Estonia: the interviewees often got help from their local Estonian acquaintances both prior and after the move. It is also common to ask for information in social media groups for foreigners living in Estonia (e.g. 'Foreigners in Estonia'), where people with similar experiences in the past are generally very willing to provide help. Using social media channels also helps to find a solution to the problem more quickly. However, some interviewees also mentioned that they find the internet as a source of the information problematic, as the amount of information is large and not always trustworthy.

4.2. Drivers

The EU citizens living in Estonia share very different stories on their reasons to move to Estonia. This due to their differences in background as well as countries of origin. Thus, a general trend is difficult to capture. Some people had visited Estonia before and understood that this is a place they would like to live in. Some people moved to Estonia because they found a job in a field that they wanted to work in, or a job that matched well with their education or previous work experiences. However, similar work-related reasons occur for people who had moved to Estonia from the other sending countries⁵, i.e. either the

⁵ See which countries are regarded as sending and receiving countries in part C1.

Southern European countries or the Baltic countries. These people had faced problems finding a job in their home countries, or finding a job with a satisfying salary.

For people from the receiving countries, the main reason for moving to Estonia was their Estonian partner they wanted to live together with. In addition, according to several interviewees from these countries, Estonia offers a life quality which they have not experienced in their home countries. This applies also to people who said that in Estonia their salary is 3-4 times less compared to their potential income in their home country. According to them, the loss in salary is nevertheless compensated by the work and free time balance, by the nature (flora and fauna), or the 'calmness' (tranquillity) of Estonia. These factors are something the interviewees cannot translate into money and that they would not change for example for a higher income.

4.3. Barriers

Generally, the process of moving to Estonia has been easy for the EU citizens. There have been a few cases when the person has had trouble understanding which authority s/he is supposed to turn to. Besides that, a few people complain about the staff of the Police and Border Guard Board offices, who issue the national ID-card (also to foreigners), but whose officials do not speak (well enough) English.⁶

The interviewees usually did not face difficulties with finding suitable accommodation. The problems with finding accommodation were mostly connected to the landlord insufficient English proficiency. Estonian housing market is almost fully private and rather unregulated, which makes the renting process easier. One interviewee however expressed surprise over the organisation of the housing market, but this was not confirmed by any other interviewees:

"I remember this ID-card applying and registering, this was a bit tricky and confused me. Because first you have to register where you live. And only then you can apply for an ID-card and only then you can open a bank account and so on. So first you have to find an apartment where you can actually prove that you live here. That's a bit not very logical. Because well... I was lucky but I don't know if it's normal. Because in Germany at least apartment owners they usually want to see everything from you already - your credit history, how much you have earned and references from previous renting contracts and so on. So I was a bit afraid that since I have nothing, I cannot prove anything. And will I get an apartment? But that was easy because really as long as you can put cash on the table they don't care so much. But that you need first to find an apartment to do everything else, it's a bit... It could be done better." (EE9, male, 30 years, DE national)

Networking with locals is generally complicated – young EU citizens living in Estonia find it difficult to make local friends among Estonians. Partly for that reason, the foreigners mainly keep to themselves. This is also so for people who have an Estonian partner and who could have local friends from him/her:

"In the beginning I didn't want to hang out with Spanish people, I wanted to go with Estonians. But finally after almost for a year I realised that Estonians, especially men, don't go out with Spanish. When I meet a Spanish who I have seen only twice before, I talk to him for 10 minutes. But here in Estonia you have someone who was just yesterday at your place and they won't even tell you "hi". But I understand this is not against me, it's just Estonian behaviour. But I have gotten used to it. I know when I go to their place and we drink beer then we're just friends for this one day only (laughs)." (EE12, male, 36 years, ES national)

Several foreigners living in Estonia have faced shorter periods of unemployment. According to them, it

⁶ This can also be confirmed by other previously conducted studies in Estonia.

is very difficult to find a job in Estonia while not knowing the local language. This was pointed out also by the representative of the Ministry of Interior (Mol). According to the Mol official, the foreigners face most problems when applying for medium-paid jobs. However, almost all (ex)unemployed interviewees have turned to the Estonian Unemployment Insurance Fund for practical or financial help and have received useful help and services (e.g. the consultation), after which they have returned to the job market.

There are some cases when people have had trouble providing evidence on previously attained skills or university degrees, which have been obtained from smaller, less-known universities. This problem appeared for example in one of the interviews, when the person described that even he has a combined Master's degree in civil engineering and architecture, in Estonia he can only work within either field as such a common degree is not recognised. He finds that by working only with architecture, and not being able to do engineer at the same time, he is wasting his knowledge and skills.

For the majority of interviewees learning the Estonian language has been very difficult. Although the availability of language courses has improved over the years, it is still difficult to find the suitable courses and learn the language onward from complete beginners' level (A1 or A2). One interviewee explained how he has had trouble when he needs to attend work-meetings where some local Estonians do not speak English, so the meeting will be held in Estonian.⁷ He finds it very problematic – he believes that foreigners should not be “left out” because of the lack of language proficiency. Hence learning and speaking the language is seen as a “key to integration” by the interviewees. They realise that knowing the language would improve their labour market possibilities as well as help them make more local friends.

The interviewees have also faced discrimination. Some of them felt positively discriminated, i.e. their background of being from an EU country helps them:

“If the move wouldn't be in EU, it would have been much harder and you know... I can just put my Dutch passport on the table and I am free. I don't have to request a visa or working permit or all these kind of things.” (EE6, male, 26 years, NL national)

On the other hand, an interviewee with a Southern European origin and with semi-dark skin has experienced several incidents of negative discrimination. This has been done by the local Estonians on the streets when he has been publicly insulted and called names, e.g. “Turkish, go home!”. He has also experienced “random” security checks in a store with self-check cashier as well as from the police:

“When I took a ferry from Stockholm with my [Estonian] wife and two friends in 2015, and when we had returned to Tallinn, a police came running after me and started shouting “Show me your passport” and grabbed me from my arm. I replied that as we are inside the Schengen, I don't have to show it. Then the police officer told me again to show him my passport. Then I started to speak to the police officer in Estonian and showed my Estonian ID. Then the police officer said “No, I don't want your Estonian ID, I also want your Spanish ID”. Then I wrote a letter to the police and asked about the situation. I got a reply from the Police and Border Guard Board saying that Estonian national law allows them to do random border control for Estonia's own security.” (EE12, male 36 years, ES national)

These kind of “random” checks have occurred both on the street as well as at the airports, as also confirmed by other sources. For example, in March 2016 a Ghana-origin Portuguese was held in the airport and eventually placed into the detention centre because his residence permit could not be verified.⁸ The

7 This is confirmed also by previously conducted studies.

8 Maran, K. „Põgenemisohtlik ja terrorismikahtlane” ehk Väliskülastajate ootamatu visiit Harku kinnipidamiskeskusse. (“In risk of escaping and a suspect of terrorism”: foreign visitor's unexpected visit to Harku detention center), Eesti Päevaleht, 16 March 2016.

Police and Border Guard has been accused by the media of lacking a sense of understanding. Several other similar incidents have also been reported in social media. The general conclusion on these kind of incidents is, that as they start to happen more frequently, this may keep off from Estonia people who have e.g. a non-white skin colour or another kind of characteristics, that are perceived as not "traditionally Estonian".

Several interviewees brought out their concern on the expression of Estonian-Russian relations in the media. Every once in a while, there are news in the media concerning the potential threat from Russia. Although there is no real nor direct threat and some Estonian media outlets have published these kind of newscasts for the last 25 years for gaining attention and "clicks", this makes some part of the foreigners living in Estonia (as well as their family members living in their home countries) nervous, as they do not know the actual context. Several interviewees pointed this out as a reason they would consider moving back to their home country.

4.4. Practices that promote or hinder the right to move freely

For the EU citizens who have moved to Estonia, the most influential practice turned out to be the expat community in the social media. People in similar situation have made groups where they can share their experiences and give advice to other people in a similar situation. This helps people to get a quick answer to their question about an issue they have faced when moving to a new country.

One of the barriers of moving to Estonia is finding suitable language courses to learn the local language. Two interviewees have attended language courses which have the money-back-policy. According to them language courses are hard to find and they can be expensive, but knowing that they could get some of the money back if they passed the exam with good results would be helpful and motivational to attend the course and learn the language.

4.5. Suggestions

EU citizens in Estonia propose that the general awareness on the information regarding the rights of EU citizens should be raised. The latter should include awareness campaigns, which would also include employers employing the foreigners. In addition, it should consider the experiences of the foreigners living in Estonia on what they have gone through, in order to provide information where both the expected as well as 'real' situation is taken into account.

EU citizens stated that a certain checklist of what-to-dos before and during the move would be beneficial. Also, more information should be available in English. Some of the existing state portals in Estonia are not adequate in this respect. Such a portal should include also the themes like international cooperation and talent attraction. Likewise, the EU citizens would appreciate more information on the Estonian digital environment, possibilities of the digital services such as digital signatures etc. More information should be available on the availability and cost of language schools (with the money back policy), but also the Estonian social system.

Another suggested way to facilitate the moving process would be the creation of the so-called information point, e.g. European House, a physical entity where one can turn to in person and get the relevant information, both general and country specific. This kind of formal institution would supplement the existing informal information points like the venues in Facebook etc.

5. VIEWS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF AUTHORITIES

5.1. Information about free movement

According to the interviewed authorities, even if there is information about free movement available and counselling services granted, people on the move often face problems when moving to another EU country. The low awareness about free movement and rights and duties in the new country revealed for example in the interview with the legal counsellor working in Finland. According to the interviewee, people are particularly confused which services they can get in Estonia and which in Finland, as the closeness of the two countries makes the borderline blurry. One reason for this is that people often look for information from their friends and acquaintances, whose advice might however be inaccurate.

This is especially problematic in the Estonia-Finland route as people often find work through their social network, but an official salary nor proper working conditions can be guaranteed. This was emphasised by the NGO who counsels victims of labour market exploitation. According to the NGO, there are numerous campaigns to share information regarding contact and working conditions one should look in a job position, but nevertheless such information often does not reach the persons who need it most. The reason for this may be that the official information may be written in complex terms and people who are not used to read legal text prefer getting information from other people in more easily comprehensible terms and language.

According to the counsellor of MISA, there are also people who at first do not see the cost of living in the other country as a barrier. According to her, some people often expect that after moving to another EU country, their life quality and salary would improve significantly. However, they often face disappointment when they find out that everything is not so good in another country, as the living costs are significantly higher compared to Estonia. This is why there should be more information regarding the cost of living in other EU countries in order to reduce their expectations. To tackle this, the Estonian Ministry of Social Affairs started a campaign in 2015 "When moving, move smart" ("Kui välisriiki, siis targalt") where people are given such information in harbours and airports.⁹

Regarding the EU citizens moving to Estonia, scattered information is main problem with foreigners moving to Estonia according to the Ministry of Interior. There is too little communication between different relevant authorities, and they are not aware what the others are working with. However, in the recent years different ministries have developed targeted websites like "Work in Estonia" and "Study in Estonia" where most of the necessary information is gathered, and is easier to follow for the newly-arrived person.

INQUIRIES TO ESTONIAN FOREIGN MISSIONS ABROAD AND FOREIGN MISSIONS IN ESTONIA

In addition to interviews, 33 inquiries were sent out in June 2016 to Estonian foreign missions abroad and foreign missions in Estonia. The aim was to inquire whether they have been approached by Estonians (with a focus of citizens aged between 25-35) who are seeking any kind of information that would facilitate and help them to either move to other EU countries for work, family, or study related purposes, or help them with any questions arising abroad in settling in or moving back to Estonia.

In total 19 responses were received: seven from Estonian missions abroad and twelve from the foreign missions in Estonia. Estonian missions abroad who provided information were from UK, Denmark, Latvia, France, Finland, Netherlands, and Belgium. The UK, Finland, Latvia, and Belgium replied but stated that since they are not gathering or store such statistics (e.g. nature of inquiries or specific age groups of peo-

⁹ <http://toovahendus.ti.ee/>

ple approaching them) then they also cannot make any generalisations. Answers from foreign missions in Estonia were from the embassies of Czech Republic, Spain, Latvia, the Netherlands, Germany, Sweden, Ireland, Finland and Latvia. Lithuanian, Austrian and Polish embassies replied that no-one has turned to them to inquire about issues regarding moving to Estonia.

Regarding the information about free movement in broad terms, young people from Estonia approach Estonian diplomatic missions, mostly via emails, for the relevant information both at home and abroad, but their numbers are rather low (approximately few dozens a year per mission). The number of foreigners who approach their respective embassies in Estonia to move to Estonia is similarly low, although the replies from foreign embassies in Estonia were too few to have any broader generalisation.

The low number of enquiries towards embassies is being explained not as a lack of interest, but as young people's growing tendency to seek out information by themselves, mostly online. In almost no cases people have inquired about moving back to Estonia.

It should also be pointed out that embassies and consulates, which usually do not practice collecting, storing, and categorising such requests, are not the focal points for young people to turn to in questions of free movement within EU. The interviewees confirmed this as only 1-2 of them told about contacting the embassy or a consulate. The information is sought out from other channels: internet, friends, acquaintances etc.

Estonian missions abroad who provided information were from UK, Denmark, Latvia, France, Finland, Netherlands, and Belgium. Unfortunately for the UK, one of the biggest destination countries for young people from Estonia, the embassy responded that they do not give counsel to people who would like to move to the UK. The embassy only provides consular services and help within the limits stated in the Consular Act. There were other embassies, like in Finland, Latvia, and Belgium with the similar responses that the information is not gathered systematically and it is difficult to make generalisations.

As for the embassy in Belgium, the people working there believe that most of the relevant information is accessible through the internet, which explains the low number of inquiries. The inquiries that are made, relate mostly to the health insurance, opportunities to study and work, driving licenses and renting apartments. However, a bulk of requests concern the documents issued by the embassy: birth and marriage certificates (digital in Estonia but not accepted as such abroad) etc. There have not been inquiries about the issues when returning to Estonia.

In Denmark, young people with questions about the free movement approach them approximately 5-6 times per year. People usually inquire about the study and work possibilities in Denmark. More specifically, how to register in a local municipality and how to register out from Estonia, how to organise health insurance etc. Occasionally people ask about opportunities to have practical training in the embassy or gain scholarship to study at Danish universities. In the last few years, nobody has approached the embassy in the matters of returning to Estonia.

As for the Netherlands, the embassy estimates the number of Estonian citizens in the country around 1500. The biggest group of them are Estonian women, who have come to the country through marriage, also students form a large segment. However, people do not approach the embassy in matters of moving to the Netherlands very often. The most frequent cause is to obtain the birth certificate in paper, which causes some inconvenience in moving to the Netherlands, as in Estonia such proof has been digitalised. Therefore, the embassy sees favourably the exchange of relevant electronic databases between the countries in the future. Generally, young people are aware of the free movement within EU, but there are also people who are less informed and might need consular help.

The most detailed answer was given from the Estonian embassy in France. Likewise, the number of young people seeking help and information is rather small. Questions come mostly via e-mails with some random phone calls. The person at the embassy infers that, unlike French people, Estonian people tend to do search for information themselves and are not actively seeking help from them. Estonian people also tend to be quite aware of their rights and obligations as EU citizens, but they are not used with the high level of local bureaucracy and lagging with the use of IT services in public administration, where everything is paper-based and one must show up in person (e.g. the consulate has even issued documents stating that Estonia is EU member state because a person's passport might not be a sufficient evidence for local officials).

This is also the source of most problems people face in France. Generally, the issues that come up in questions include: validation of foreign studies and degrees, obtaining health insurance when coming to France, obtaining residence permit, recognition and changing of driving licenses, listing up as unemployed (for health insurance), health insurance in general, finding work, learning the language, pension insurance. Specific information regarding returning to Estonia is not sought, only to cross out the name of a person from the contact list when leaving the country.

As for the foreign embassies in Estonia, Polish embassy concludes that young people from Estonia do not approach Polish Embassy in Tallinn. Similar response came from Austrian embassy, that also does not gather or systemise this kind of information. Lithuanian embassy stated that no such inquiries about moving to Lithuania have been made. Embassy of Czech Republic has registered only one case within a year, which was about validation of the diploma. Similarly, Spanish embassy does not collect age-related data, but outlined two main areas where majority of questions arise: obtaining the foreigner's number (ID), study opportunities and validation of school diplomas.

Latvian embassy concluded that despite not registering such inquiries or age group specific data, the relevant questions are quite rare. They assume that all the information concerning moving to Latvia could be attained through other sources, mostly through the internet. Dutch embassy confirms that there are such cases, but only once every few months, when young people of that age group contact them and ask mostly about procedures and arrangements regarding studies, study grants or work. The German embassy concludes that very few inquiries have been made by young Estonians who would like to go to work to Germany or for other purposes. However, the lack of such cases is not interpreted as the lack of interest to move to Germany, as the contrary is true, but the availability of all necessary information in the internet whereby the embassy has lost its central role in providing answers. Similar reply came from the Swedish embassy.

Irish embassy in Estonia reported that there are very few cases of information request related to residing in Ireland. Their impression is that young Estonian people (including Russian speakers) find the relevant information searching the internet and they do not need the support by the embassy. They expressed an opinion that more people could turn to the Estonian embassy in Dublin in such matters. Most of the queries related to the free movement in the EU (only 3-4 queries a year) come from non-EU citizens who are married to an Estonian citizen, who is working or is going to work in Ireland. These queries reach the Embassy only because the non-EU spouse needs an entry visa for Ireland.

Similarly, Finnish embassy in Estonia informs that very few Estonians or Finns contact the embassy with queries to either move to Finland or Estonia. There are approximately 2-3 young Estonians per year who contact the embassy and almost no Finns at all. Those who are asking are not yet familiar with the basic matters and the embassy normally guides them to webpages like Estonian Embassy in Helsinki or their

own internet based database (infopankki.fi). Therefore, they are not actually asking questions but want to know where to look for the information and how to get started.

5.2. Drivers

The drivers to move to another country were mainly brought out only by the counsellors of EURES¹⁰ and MISA¹¹. According to them, people want to move to another EU country because of a warmer climate in the destination country or to learn the language. According to them, many people wish to move with a sole reason to earn higher salary. Those reasons did not appear in the interviews, and this may be connected to the high education level of the interviewees in this research – rather than work for the highest possible salary, they are more focused on educating themselves and gaining experiences from other countries.

5.3. Barriers

The information acquired from the diplomatic missions allows to list the main problems, which can be broadly characterized as barriers, that the movers have needed the embassies' assistance with. Namely, the movers have struggled to find schooling opportunities (featuring study grants and validation of diplomas), which indicates that majority of people who seek answers are university students.

This was also a problem for EU citizens who have moved to Estonia. According to the representative of Ministry of Interior, there are also many cases when people have had trouble providing evidence on previously attained skills or university degrees, which have been obtained from smaller, less-known universities. This problem appeared also in one of the interviews, when the person described that even he has a combined Master's degree in civil engineering and architecture, in Estonia he can only work within either field as such a common degree is not recognised. He finds that by working only with architecture, and not being able to do engineer at the same time, he is wasting his knowledge and skills.

In addition, according to the information acquired from the diplomatic missions, the movers have run into troubles with the health and social insurance issues, with the registration of residence or residence permits, and providing marriage certificates (digital in Estonia but not accepted as such abroad) to the local authorities.

According to the Ministry of Interior, scattered information is main problem with foreigners moving to Estonia. There is too little communication between different relevant authorities, and they are not aware what the others are working with. However, in the recent years different ministries have developed targeted websites like "Work in Estonia" and "Study in Estonia" where most of the necessary information is gathered, and is easier to follow for the newly-arrived person.

According to the Ministry of Interior foreigners in Estonia face most problems when applying for medium-paid jobs. This was confirmed by the interviews with the young EU citizens in Estonia as many of them have faced shorter periods of unemployment.

According to the NGO which counsels victims and potential victims of labour market exploitation, another problem is employers' low awareness about hiring foreign labour. A large amount of Estonian men are working in Finland with the sole reason to earn higher salary, but in order to maximise their benefit they

10 EURES advisers are trained specialists who provide the three basic EURES services of information, guidance and placement, to both jobseekers and employers interested in the European job market.

11 The Integration and Migration Foundation Our People (MISA), who promotes integration processes in Estonia, and coordinates activities related to immigration and emigration.

are often ready to work unofficially. Signing a working contract and paying all the required taxes on the employee should also be the responsibility of every employer so that the workers' rights could be protected. This would help to reduce the latter cases of labour exploitation and people would be able to get hold of the social benefits they are entitled to.

5.4. Practices that promote or hinder the right to move freely

The interviewed authorities regard different counselling services as practices which make moving to a new country easier. At the moment, counselling is available for both people who wish to move to a foreign country, as well as returnees. MISA, who organises this counselling is, however, well aware that people are generally not aware of it, so campaigns have been made to promote such practices.

There are also awareness-raising campaigns organised for people who move to Finland. In addition to campaigns in the media, there are posters also in the harbours of Tallinn and Helsinki. Also campaigns have been made to raise awareness on the features human trafficking with an aim to prevent people engaging themselves into unofficial working agreements.

As brought out by the Ministry of Interior, in the recent years different institutions have developed websites for specific target groups, e.g. "Work in Estonia"¹² for people who move to Estonia for work, or "Study in Estonia"¹³ for people who move to Estonia to study. In 2016, the Ministry of Interior also launched a website "Settle in Estonia"¹⁴ where a person can find all the necessary information regarding settling in Estonia. When information is available on one single website, it makes finding all relevant information for the move and settling easier for the foreigner.

The Finnish law firm who works with Estonians clients in Finland and the NGO who works in the field of human trafficking both brought out the improved data exchange between Estonia and Finland. For example, by the end of 2016, action plans will be completed to start automatic data exchange in the field of commercial registers, population registers, social benefit data, e-prescriptions and maritime affairs.¹⁵ According to the plan, the cross-border access to digital prescriptions will be available by 2017-2018 and full patient medical history by 2018-2019.¹⁶

5.5. Suggestions

The overall impression from the feedback of the authorities is that the EU countries should exchange more information among each other to facilitate people's moves. This means that the relevant stakeholders should be more in contact and share information, for example in the issues that relate to police matters and health care. Sharing of good practices with other EU countries regarding the free movement would be also beneficial, so would awareness raising events.

In addition, more and better trained officials and counsellors should be in place who could help people in obtaining necessary information, aiding in accommodating to language and culture. Furthermore, there should be more training for employers who are dealing with the movers coming to work (e.g. between Estonia and Finland characterized by the heavy traffic of movers). Similarly, embassies could be the places that provide "Welcome to Estonia" information to the people already in the early stages of the move. Also, one-stop-shops could serve as the points where working and study opportunities in Estonia are relayed

12 See here: <http://www.studyinestonia.ee>

13 See here: <http://www.workinestonia.com>

14 See here: <https://www.settleinestonia.ee>

15 See more here: <https://e-estonia.com/estonia-and-finland-to-start-sharing-patient-data-and-thats-just-the-start/>

16 Ibid.

to the interested.

5.6 Social media channels

Social media has proven to have a significant role for people who are moving between different countries. What is more, its' role has increased over years. Apart from groups called "Expats in city x" and "Foreigners in city y", also more specific groups exist. People can look up other people who are in the exact same situation, e.g. a group "Estonians in Finland" and vice versa.

Social media enables people to get timely help for all kinds of problems. Even if a person does not find a solution to his/her problem, s/he can get guidelines where to look for help. Social media gives a possibility to gather together people with similar background, who can share their experiences regarding different issues both before and after the move to another EU country. As official information in a "bureaucratic" language is sometimes difficult to understand, people often prefer information from other people who can talk upon their own experiences.

However, as the information flowing in social media channels is not official, social media groups can easily distribute false information and create myths. Below are three examples from the closed Facebook group aimed for Estonians living in Finland ("Estonians in Finland"). As of September, it has over 33'000 members and people ask for advice in various type of issues. The examples here are presenting typical and regular inquiries, which are connected to the social welfare and cost of living in both countries – people often wish to "save" money either by using some services in Estonia or avoid paying taxes in Finland. The first example shows a larger fraud, the second a medium, and the third a smaller fraud.

EXAMPLE 1

Post on July 4 2016 – a guy asks for help. He has been working in Finland for more than 4 years and is officially registered in Finland. He describes how he "has been paying a lot of taxes" and then he lost his job because the staff was reduced at the company he was working at. The last three months he has been officially unemployed. He has decided to return to Estonia and has found a job in Estonia. However, he believes that as he has paid "so much" in taxes in Finland, he would like to get it back. He is thinking of doing this for one year until he has gathered enough money. He is aware that this is illegal and this will become exposed to the tax agencies in both countries. He is asking the group whether someone else has done it and has succeeded, whether people think he will be successful in his plan, will this additional money will be collected from 'õähim afterwards by the debt collectors (inkasso), and what may be the consequences. He adds that people should not say that he is dishonest – he believes that compared to the amount he has paid in taxes in those years while he has been living in Finland, the 500€ per month (regarded as a tax return in his words) is a "no big deal".

In the responses (in total around 50 comments) to Example 1, there were three type of answers. Firstly, there were people who told him that the only way to do such scheme is to work unofficially in Estonia and still go to Finland every once in a while, to visit the unemployment agency. Secondly, there were people who said that such a scheme is not worth carrying out as the information exchange between Estonia and Finland has been improved and his unlawful actions would come clear in the first months. Thirdly, there were people that told him that he is "incredibly stupid" to ask such a thing from a public group on Facebook as there might be also people from the tax agencies in the group and his plan may get an end before it has even started. As of September 2017, the post has been deleted.

EXAMPLE 2

Post on 6 July 2016 – a girl asks for advice. “Her friend” wants to obtain the bus driver license in Estonia as it is much cheaper to obtain it compared to Finland. However, Estonian Road Administration (Maanteeamet) requires that the person should have been registered to Estonia at least 6 months before taking the driving exam. The person asks whether it is “doable” that a person registers himself into Estonia, but continues living and working in Finland. After 6 months the person would go to Estonia and take the exam, get the license and the register himself to Finland again.

In the answers (in total around 20 comments) to Example 2, people divide to two groups. There are those, who say that it is “easier than expected” and they know people who have skipped the 6-month-rule and done the exam in two days. The others say that the plan is not clever as the person would lose both money and time by going between the countries, and the “saved” money will turn out to be very little in the end. As of September, the post has been deleted.

EXAMPLE 3

Post on 23 September - a guy asks whether someone can carry out his car’s technical inspection cheaply and without declaring it officially so he could avoid paying the taxes.

In the answers (in total around 70 comments), again, two groups of people appear. There is one group which provides him with names. By this they approve the question. The other ones accuse him of not following the official regulations and threatening his own as well as other’s lives. One month later, the post is still publicly accessible.

These three examples show that even if there are people who are against taking advantage of the non-existing or slow information exchange between countries, which seemingly makes it possible to commit a fraud, there are people who are in favour of it. What is more, they are, under their own names, sharing experiences on how they managed to commit a similar kind of fraud.

These examples also illustrate how the welfare level in different countries is perceived – people go work in a country with a higher salary (including higher tax rate) but are not willing to “give back” to the country. By getting encouraged by other people to commit a fraud, such actions are to some extent approved. This however may bring about several financial problems for people who, by these same actions, have desired to improve their financial situation.¹⁷ This was confirmed also by the NGO who works with victims of human trafficking, and the legal counsellor working with Estonian clients in Finland. According to the latter, there are for example people who try to escape from the debts in Estonia but then find out that they cannot avoid them, and have to deal with them in Finland instead. This however considerably increases their financial burden.

According to the information obtained from the interview with the NGO who counsel people who have been exploited in the labour market, most of those people who go work in another EU country with the sole purpose of earning more money than they would do in Estonia, do not understand the meaning of

¹⁷ In November 2016, a big tax scam became apparent which regards unpaid taxes to an amount up to 4,5m Euros. According to the Finnish Police, around half of the 40 accused persons are Estonians construction workers.

taxation. As they have planned to stay in the other country for only a period of time, they reason that as they are not profiting from the social welfare system so much, they should not contribute to it. This is why in the same Facebook group there have been people asking "How can I take out my pension now?" as they will not be in Finland by the time they are aged to receive the pension.

According to the Estonian embassy in Finland, they have tried to counter that kind of perceptions about the welfare level and the welfare systems in those same Facebook groups, but as the information exchange in the social media channels is so rapid, they just could not keep up with it.

Free movement of people sets extra pressure on national social welfare systems which also need to operate transnationally. Countries with longer migration history need to find ways to secure a trustworthy and speedy data transfer so people could enjoy the social benefits aimed for them. This is especially important for countries whose citizens commute daily or weekly to a neighboring country. What is more, this problem appeared also in the interviews with the EU citizens living in Estonia as well as Estonians who have returned to Estonia (see part C.4.2.2.).

However, while social media channels may contain false information and tips for committing financial frauds, they can also be a source of help. Below is an example of how an Estonian wanted to find people from the Facebook group to work with him in construction work.

EXAMPLE 4

Example 4. Post on 20 July 2016 – an Estonian man is looking for other Estonians to join the company he is working. The area is asbestos demolition. He says that the pay is 15€ per hour. In the answers (in total around 30 comments) other people claim that as this kind of work is very dangerous and the dust of asbestos is very poisonous, the hourly salary starts from 22€ per hour. As of September, the post is deleted.

This example shows that social media can also have a positive effect. This post could have potentially attracted a person, if not several, unaware of the regulations in the Finnish labour market, who then would have been working for a salary nearly 30% less than the average pay in the same position. But as people clearly indicated that this is not a fair offer, there was probably nobody who then wanted to take up the position and work for a salary which is considerably lower compared to the one prescribed by the regulations in the field.

To conclude, social media channels are used increasingly to find information on different topics related to moving and settling in another country. Whereas such unofficial information may be easier to comprehend, false information and myths can easily start to distribute. As the amount of information is so intense and rapid, it is difficult for the official information providers to follow the info and ascertain that is up to date and based on the official information. Nevertheless, effort should be made by the official bodies to keep up also with the information in free movement distributed in the social media, in order to prevent different kind of problems people may get themselves into by following the unofficial information.

6. INTERIM FINDINGS

Based on the interviews and on other data collection (social media and embassies), there are 6 main conclusions:

- First of all, moving is generally easy for young people, due to the 3-month rule and because no finan-

cial security has to be proven to the host country. The free movement has become very common so for young people some of them have even forgotten their passport when travelling to EU's neighbouring countries (e.g. Turkey, where passport is needed).

- Those who move, already have previous experience in living abroad, e.g. being exchange student or participated in some other exchange programmes, so they generally know the procedure. Those people, who lack this experience, get help from friends who are already familiar with the procedures of moving.
- It is getting more and more common for young EU citizens to spend some years abroad - gain experience by working, studying or travelling -, and then returning to the home country for settling down for a longer period of time.
- Most of the young people depend on the information received through their own social networks, mainly from friends, but also from social media. They rather use these channels than e-mail relevant authorities, look it up from official websites or call information lines.
- There is a mismatch in providing official information to different migrant groups: official information and services are most of all provided to the newly-arrived immigrants (both EU and non-EU), but often no special information is provided for the Estonian returnees (compatriots).
- Although people have moved for a long time, most of the interviewed EU citizens who have moved and live now in Estonia were the first ones among their network of friends to move to another EU country. In a present day, however, the movement has become much more common trend. Nevertheless, in the EU scope, moving to Estonia is not a widespread phenomenon.

POLICIES AND LEGISLATION

This chapter gives an overview of the main policies and legislation covering or impacting the free movement within the EU. Young people in the context of the current research are defined as a group ranging between 25-35 years of age. The age sampling is artificial and bears relevance for this project only. In Estonia, for example, the youth is legally defined as someone between 7-26 years of age,

1. LEGISLATION IMPLEMENTING THE DIRECTIVE

The directive 2004/38/EC was transposed into Estonian legal system most importantly by the provisions of the Citizen of the European Union Act in 2006.¹ The act governs principal aspects of entry to and residence in Estonia of citizens of the European Union and their family members and provides the grounds for imposing the obligation to leave Estonia and the prohibition of entry to Estonia on the citizens of the European Union and their family members.

In December 2015, Citizen of the European Union Act was amended to unify Estonian legislation with the directives 2004/38/EC and 2002/90/EC.² The goal was to specify the basis of limitation of the right of stay and residence of the citizens of EU and their family members in Estonia. A new chapter was added to the act called "Limitations on the right of free movement of citizens of the European Union and their family members". The latter establishes a unified regulation on the refusal of admission of a person into Estonia and obligation to leave, execution of the regulation as well as it consolidates articles of a similar characters previously spread around in different parts of the act. The articles of the directive, dealing with the guarantees to the citizen of the European Union and their family members, which were not yet implemented, were merged with the act. In addition, facilitating illegal stay in Estonia was made a criminal offence. The changes also support the principle that the longer an EU citizen and his/her family members have lived in Estonia, the more his/her rights are protected and the less one can limit them. For example, the right of stay of an EU citizen can be curbed under the deliberations of public safety, national security, or public health, but the consideration of public health cannot be used when an EU citizen has a permanent residence.³

There are also several specifications that relate to the transposition of the directive. Namely, in Estonia a family member of a citizen of the European Union can include also a member of the household, thus widening the circle of people covered by the free movement.⁴

Another specification relates to the sufficient resources requirement set out in Article 7 of the Directive, which Estonia has adapted in a more favourable manner. This means that the Union citizen does not have to prove employment, sufficient resources, or valid health insurance coverage for the registration of one's residence in the population register. Additionally, Estonia, again more favourably, does not apply any fines to the Union citizen related to the failure with the registration of the address described in Article 8 of the Directive.⁵ As for the rights of residence for more than three months, Estonia do not require EU citizens to meet any of the conditions set out in Article 7(1), and the right of residence is given solely based on having citizenship of the Union.⁶

The other acts transposing the directive 2004/38/EC into the national legislation include Administrative

1 Estonia, Citizen of the European Union Act (Euroopa Liidu kodaniku seadus), State Gazette I, 2006, 26, 191, available at: www.riigiteataja.ee/en/eli/ee/Riigikogu/act/504012016002/consolide

2 Estonia, Amendment to Citizen to the European Union Act and other acts (Euroopa Liidu kodaniku seaduse muutmise ja sellega seonduvalt teiste seaduste muutmise seadus), State Gazette I, 17.12.2015, 3, available at: www.riigiteataja.ee/akt/117122015003

3 Explanatory letter to the draft available at: <http://eelvoud.valitsus.ee/main/mount/docList/ac833887-acec-47a9-9e41-33ce56a569c1?activity=1#Chy1bwOG>

4 Estonia, Citizen of the European Union Act (Euroopa Liidu kodaniku seadus), State Gazette I, 2006, 26, 191, available at: www.riigiteataja.ee/en/eli/ee/Riigikogu/act/504012016002/consolide

5 Estonia, Ministry of the Interior (Siseministeerium), Email correspondence from 7 June 2016

6 Report from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council on the application of Directive 2004/38/EC on the right of citizens of the Union and their family members to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States, see: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52008DC0840&from=EN>

Procedure Act⁷, Code of Administrative Court Procedure⁸, Identity Documents Act⁹, Penal Code¹⁰, Code of Criminal Procedure¹¹, Population Registration Act¹², State Borders Act¹³, State Fees Act¹⁴, and Obligation to Leave and Prohibition on Entry Act^{15,16}

As for implementation and evaluation reports of legislation highlighting achievements and problems and case law, there are no publicly available evaluation reports conducted by Estonia on the transposition of Directive 2004/38/EC in Estonia, as confirmed by the Estonian Ministry of the Interior.¹⁷

However, Estonia has been mentioned in a few EU level comparative reports.¹⁸ For example, the reports indicate that Estonian legislation does not contain any rules relating to the right of permanent residence for persons and their family members who are no longer in employment. In addition, the report observed that in Estonia there are no special rules foreseen for job-seekers from other EU Member States. The report further noted that although on general terms Estonian public service is opened for workers from other EU member states, some complications could arise regarding occupational language proficiency. For the specific issues, it was observed that there is no special legislation on frontier workers (working in one state, living in another) in Estonia as they are not recognised as an important category. Yet another instance relates to pensioners in Estonia. In 2012, the Court of Justice passed a judgment in which it stated that Estonia infringed the EU legislation on the free movement of workers by excluding non-resident pensioners from tax allowances in cases where their pensions were not taxed in their country of residence.¹⁹

2. OTHER RELEVANT LEGISLATION / CASE LAW

There are limitations to the free movement that are pertinent to the domestic legislative environment. For example, by the regulations of the Police and Border Guard Board²⁰, a person with the residence permit in Estonia must register of his/her stay-away from Estonia. If a person is holding a residence permit in Estonia and wishes to stay outside Estonia for more than 183 days a year, he/she must register with the Police

7 Estonia, Administrative Procedure Act (Haldusmenetluse seadus), State Gazette I 2001, 58, 354, available at: www.riigiteataja.ee/en/eli/530102013037/consolide

8 Estonia, Code of Administrative Court Procedure (Halduskohtumenetluse seadustik), State Gazette I, 23.02.2011, 3, available at: www.riigiteataja.ee/en/eli/507012014003/consolide

9 Estonia, Identity Documents Act (Isikut tõendavate dokumentide seadus), State Gazette I 1999, 25, 365, available at: www.riigiteataja.ee/akt/ITDS

10 Estonia, Penal Code (Karistusseadustik), State Gazette I 2001, 61, 364, available at: www.riigiteataja.ee/en/eli/511032014001/consolide

11 Estonia, Code of Criminal Procedure (Kriminaalmenetluse seadustik), State Gazette I 2003, 27, 166, available at: www.riigiteataja.ee/en/eli/501042015002/consolide

12 Estonia, Population Registration Act (Rahvastikuregistri seadus), State Gazette I 2000, 50, 317, available at: www.riigiteataja.ee/akt/12806791

13 Estonia, State Borders Act (Riigipiiri seadus), State Gazette I 1994, 54, 902, available at: www.riigiteataja.ee/en/eli/502022016010/consolide

14 Estonia, State Fees Act (Riigilõivu seadus), State Gazette I, 30.12.2014, 1, available at: www.riigiteataja.ee/en/eli/511022015002/consolide

15 Estonia, Obligation to Leave and Prohibition on Entry Act (Väljasõidukohustuse ja sissesõidukeelu seadus), State Gazette I, 1998, 98, 1575, available at: <https://www.riigiteataja.ee/akt/12751464>

16 Estonia, Ministry of the Interior (Siseministeerium), Email correspondence from 7 March 2016

17 Estonia, Ministry of the Interior (Siseministeerium), Email correspondence from 8 March 2016.

18 Report from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council on the application of Directive 2004/38/EC on the right of citizens of the Union and their family members to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States (2008), see: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52008DC0840&from=EN>; European report on the free movement of workers in Europe in 2011-2012 (2012), see: <http://ec.europa.eu/social/BlobServlet?docId=10443&langId=en/>; European report on the free movement of workers in Europe in 2012-2013(2014), see: <http://ec.europa.eu/social/BlobServlet?docId=13423&langId=en>

19 C-39/10 - Commission v Estonia, see: <http://curia.europa.eu/juris/liste.jsf?language=en&jur=C,T,F&num=C-39/10&t=d=ALL>

20 Police and Boarder Guard Board, see more: www.politsei.ee/en/teenused/residence-permit/eemalviibimise-regis-treeimine.dot

and Border Guard Board (PBGB) either on the spot in PBGB office in Estonia or by post or digitally signed by e-mail. One can register his/her staying away only onwards and for the period of up to two years at a time. The Police and Border Guard Board has a right to refuse to register the staying away, if such intended staying away is not justified or is contradicting the purpose for granting the residence permit.

To implement the directive 2014/54/EU (on measures facilitating the exercise of rights conferred on workers in the context of freedom of movement for workers), the Ministry of Social Affairs has proposed a draft for the amendments to the Equal Treatment Act in autumn 2015.²¹ The date of implementation of the act was set to 21 May 2016, but it is still in process. The amendment would harmonise the national legislation with the directive, which apart from simplifying the relevant procedures also provides measures against discrimination. Namely, to protect the rights of immigrant workers and their family members in access to work, also in regarding working conditions and work contracts, rights to belong to trade unions, to access training, housing, and education for workers' children.

According to the Estonian Qualifications Authority, acquiring professional certificates²² has become increasingly important of the success of a person in the unified European labour market.²³ A holder of the professional certificate would in a way have an additional confidence that his/her bid for the position at the future employer looks positive. The system of the recognised professional certificates would encourage and facilitate free labour movement. The system for the provision of professional certificates is provided by the Professions Act.²⁴

On May 10, 2016, the Prime Minister of Estonia and the Prime Minister of Finland digitally signed a joint declaration on behalf of their countries on an initial roadmap for cross-border data exchange and digital services between the Republics.²⁵ Taking the close relationship between the countries into consideration - both cultural and geographical - the outcomes of the declaration are going to have a discernible impact on the process of people's movement between Estonia and Finland in the near future. In April 2017 at the latest, the automated data exchange between the two countries will be instated in the areas of population registry data, company registry data, digital medical prescriptions, social insurance benefits and payments and maritime registries. Other possible areas for such an exchange include educational qualifications, tax records, digital health records, vehicle and traffic registries and police and criminal records. The results of this mutual work can build a basis model for the other EU Member States. The abovementioned measures would speed up the process of free movement, decreasing the load of bureaucracy for a person undergoing a move and improving compatibility of official communication between the countries.

3. COMPETENT AUTHORITIES

Most of the authorities are domestically oriented and are not targeting directly the policy field of free

21 Government Office, see more: <https://riigikantselei.ee/et/valitsuse-toetamine/euroopa-liit/direktiivide-ulevotmine>

22 The certificate is a document which certifies the compliance of a person's competence with the requirements established in the professional standard, or in case of partial profession, with the requirements of one or several parts of a professional standard.

23 Estonian Qualifications Authority was established by the Estonian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Estonian Employers' Confederation, Ministry of Social Affairs, Estonian Employees' Unions' Confederation, and the Confederation of Estonian Trade Unions. It is developing a support structure for occupational qualifications system to increase the competitiveness of Estonian employees and promote the development, assessment, recognition, and comparison of their occupational competence. See more: www.kutsekoda.ee

24 Estonia, Professions Act (Kutseseadus), State Gazette I 2008, 24, 156, available at: www.riigiteataja.ee/akt/123032015261

25 Joint declaration between the Prime Minister of Estonia and the Prime Minister of Finland on an initial roadmap for cross-border data exchange and digital services between the Republic of Estonia and the Republic of Finland, available at: https://valitsus.ee/sites/default/files/file_attach/ee-fi_pm_digital_roadmap_declaration_10may2016.pdf

movement within EU. However, assisting youth going out of Estonia or coming to Estonia forms a part of their agenda.

Every person who holds a passport of another EU Member State, or Norway, Iceland, Liechtenstein, or Switzerland, has full access to the Estonian labour market. These persons can come to Estonia without any restrictions to search for employment, make use of the Estonian job mediation services provided by Estonian Unemployment Insurance Fund (EUIF)²⁶, and settle in Estonia for work. No residence permit or work permit is required. However, a person should register him- or herself with the Police and Border Guard Board (PBGB). By registering at PBGB a person receives an Estonian identity card together with an identifying number (ID-code), which a person will need to make use of all available services.

EUIF is a governmental organisation providing, among others, relevant information both for the employers who hire work force from abroad and for the people who come to Estonia seeking a working position. Once in Estonia, a person needs to register with EUIF to make use of the job mediation services. If a person is currently receiving an unemployment benefit from one of the other EU Member States, Norway, Iceland, Liechtenstein, or Switzerland, it is possible for him/her to continue to receive the benefits while looking for a job in Estonia.²⁷

Working opportunities abroad are coordinated by EURES²⁸, belonging to the Estonian Unemployment Insurance Fund. EURES provides three basic EURES services of information, guidance and placement, both to job seekers and employers interested in the European job market.

A development center Pathfinder²⁹ (Rajaleidja), a part of the non-profit state foundation, offers career services both in educational and employment sector for Estonia and abroad. The center offers help to find answers in several thematic areas described also in their webpage: why people to go to work abroad; what to ask from yourself before going to work abroad; when you are going to work abroad; where to find job offers and how to put up the candidacy; income, taxes and benefits; and where to ask help. The target group of the center is the age group of 7-26. For persons up to 26 years of age and their parents, who want to support their children's career choices, career consultations are provided free of charge.

Besides providing health insurance to Estonian citizens, Estonian Health Insurance Fund manages also the healthcare issues when working in the EU.³⁰ On several occasions, Estonia will remain the insuring country of a person working abroad. It is possible to apply for health care abroad, depending on whether a person is a frontier worker, a worker assigned from Estonia to work in another EU state, or a worker assigned to Estonia. These forms allow the worker and if necessary, members of his/her family, to receive healthcare on equal terms with the residents of the given state.

In the field of migration and citizenship, the Ministry of the Interior³¹ (Siseministeerium) develops and implements policies about temporary stay and settlement in Estonia, citizenship policy, adaptation policy and asylum policy. Besides legal and policy related issues, Ministry of the Interior also implements and develops the support system to facilitate adaptation of newly arrived immigrants, including EU citizens.

26 Estonian Unemployment Insurance Fund (Eesti Töötukassa), www.tootukassa.ee

27 The authorities of the country from which the person receives the benefits must give the person a permission to search for a job abroad, and to issue a special form. With this form, a person can arrange Estonian Unemployment Insurance Fund mediating to continue to pay his/her benefits in Estonia. A person must present this form to EUIF as soon as possible to make sure he/she does not lose benefits. A person can do so in any of the local offices. The benefits will be paid to a person by the country where he/she received the unemployment benefit earlier.

28 Eures, see: www.eures.ee

29 Pathfinder (Rajaleidja), see more: <https://rajaleidja.innove.ee/>

30 Estonian Health Insurance Fund, see: www.haigekassa.ee

31 Ministry of the Interior (Siseministeerium), see: www.siseministeerium.ee/en

The Integration and Migration Foundation Our People (MISA)³² is governmental agency implementing Estonian integration programmes. MISA is also responsible for supporting migration processes: they advise and consult foreigners who settle in Estonia and Estonian people who return (compatriots). This includes consultation in migration related topics: providing practical information on different areas, on the official documents one needs to complete, how and who is eligible to apply for migration support, how to find work, schools and kindergartens in new home area etc.

In Finland, a country where most Estonians emigrate to, a multilingual website Infopankki³³ has been set up to provide vital information to people planning to move to Finland and to immigrants already living in the country. The site also provides a multilingual communication channel, Estonian among them, to many authorities. Infopankki service provides visitors with reliable information in the few selected and relevant languages on topics ranging from moving to Finland, working, studying, and living here to education, health, family, problem situations and leisure time. It is noteworthy that, due to the large number of Estonians who come to Finland to live and work, Infopankki has hired Estonian staff to deal with their information requests and providing help. The same applies to the Finnish Construction Trade Union.³⁴

4. POLICIES/PROGRAMMES ADDRESSED TO YOUNG PEOPLE

There are two documents which regulate the domain of Estonian youth, Youth Work Act³⁵ and Youth Development Plan 2014-2020³⁶, however the free movement across EU and employment issues are not directly targeted in either of the texts.

5. INTERIM FINDINGS

The directive 2004/38/EC was transposed into Estonian legal system by the provisions of the Citizen of the European Union Act in 2006. In 2015, a set of specifications further amended the act. There is a row of other acts that transpose the directive into the national legislation. As for the implementation and evaluation reports of legislation highlighting achievements and problems and case law, there are no publicly available evaluation reports conducted by Estonia on the transposition of the directive. There have been a few EU level comparative reports but they do not contain anything of the alarming significance.

As for other relevant legislation, there are regulations from the Police and Border Guard Board that set certain limits to the free movement, but again, nothing of the alarming importance. Also, the implementation of the directive 2014/54/EU on measures facilitating the exercise of rights conferred on workers in the context of freedom of movement for workers is still in process. At the same time, there have been also other significant steps in the cross-border automated data exchange (Estonia-Finland) that hails the digital era of cooperation between countries that has potential ramifications for the free movement process.

Most of the authorities in Estonia are domestically oriented and are not targeting directly the policy field of free movement within EU. However, assisting youth going out of Estonia or coming to Estonia forms a part of their agenda. Yet, the existing two major policy documents on Estonian youth do not directly tackle the free movement across EU.

32 The Integration and Migration Foundation Our People, see: www.meis.ee/eng

33 Infopankki, see: www.infopankki.fi

34 Finnish Construction Trade Union, see: <http://rakennusliitto.fi/en/>

35 Estonia, Youth Work Act (Noorsootöö seadus), State Gazette I 2010, 44, 262, at: www.riigiteataja.ee/en/eli/520122013004/consolide

36 Youth Development Plan 2014-2020 (Noortevaldkonna arengukava 2014-2020), see: www.hm.ee/sites/default/files/noortevaldkonna_arengukava_2014-2020.pdf

— ANALYSIS AND

RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter makes the general conclusions based on the data collection and provides analysis on the free movement of young people in Europe

1. SYNTHESIS OF THE RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS

Regarding the legal environment surrounding the free movement of people within EU, the directive 2004/38/EC was transposed into Estonian legal system most importantly by the provisions of the Citizen of the European Union Act in 2006. The act governs principal aspects of entry to and residence in Estonia of citizens of the European Union and their family members. There is, however, some restrictive legislation of domestic origin, that one must keep in mind when utilising the opportunity of free movement, for example the regulations of Police and Border Guard Board on registering the stay-away periods.

Legislation and policies on youth pertaining to free movement do not have a degree of detail that would directly target the subject. Youth Work Act and the Youth Development Plan 2014-2020 have not allotted any chapters dealing with the youth moving within the EU. Likewise, there are no publicly available evaluation reports conducted by Estonia on the transposition of Directive 2004/38/EC in Estonia. Estonia has been mentioned in a few EU level comparative reports but they date back to until eight years and the information is mostly outdated.

Most of the authorities who can claim competence in free movement and youth issues are still more domestically oriented and are not targeting the topic directly nor made it their sole mission. However, assisting youth going out of Estonia or the European youth coming to Estonia is at least indirectly a part of their agenda, too. These institutions include Estonian Unemployment Insurance Fund, EURES (a co-operation network between the European Commission and the Public Employment Services of the EEA Member States), career development center Pathfinder, Ministry of the Interior, Integration and Migration Foundation and some more.

As for the existing quantitative and qualitative information, there are no existing in-depth studies conducted in Estonia nor other sources explicitly focussing on the group of young people aged 25-35 moving within the EU. However, there is some data and statistics and secondary sources. According to these studies and researches, people's intention and the actual move from Estonia to another EU member state was, conditioned first and foremost by the global financial crisis and its aftermath. The number of working-age population and young people who wish to leave the country peak around 2010, the year also with the significantly high of unemployment rate in Estonia. After that period, these numbers have stabilised and even decreased during the recent years when the economic situation has steadily improved. Also, the share of the unemployed among the people who want to leave has significantly decreased. However, even if the overall number of people moving out of Estonia has decreased, the proportion of them who intend to stay abroad longer or permanently has increased, especially among the people with a higher education.

The main driver, pinpointed by many studies (see e.g. Tarum, H. 2013; Veidemann, B. 2010), to move elsewhere during the years of crisis has been low wages and low living standard in Estonia. Similarly, the main barriers did not change much during these years. Main difficulties have remained the same, such as leaving family and friends behind and being attached to Estonia as a home country. The main destination countries for people exercising their free movement included Scandinavian countries, UK, Ireland and Germany, and Finland towering above all due to its proximity to Estonia in language and culture and significantly higher wages and living standard.

For the interviewees who intend to leave Estonia, the main incentive or driver has changed from the domestically low salary and living standard to the wish to discover the world and get new experiences. Most of the interviewees who move for this reason, either plan to move back to Estonia after a year or two, or have not yet decided about their future plans. Thus, the main drivers to leave Estonia are related to career

opportunities in their field of interest. The people, who wish to move to another EU country for self-development are ready to work at a position that does not comply with their education or previous work experience. Several young people said that they are willing to work in positions that require no or little previous skills, e.g. as a waiter or as a cleaner. This was mostly stated by people who had just graduated from university and were not yet certain in which field they would like to continue their career. Several interviewees also showed an interest to learn a new language or to improve their already existing language skills.

There are changes also in the main barriers as compared to the previous studies – difficulty of leaving family and friends has been replaced by the perceived higher cost of living in the new country. Several people also mentioned their concern regarding finding suitable accommodation or a job position. The interviewees with the intention to leave said that in their aim in moving to other EU member states they would most benefit from the existence of an EU information portal, which is country-specific and would provide relevant information. In addition, help could be needed with possible registration procedures, filling in online forms etc. General information about free movement would come handy and such information should be given already at schools and distributed more in the public.

Concerning the returnees, the largest group of all immigrants coming to Estonia are the people born in Estonia. The return rate of Estonian citizens has remained at around 40% of all immigrants. According to census of 2011, the returnees were mainly persons with higher education. According to the statistics from the Statistics Estonia, during the period of 2010-2015 the vast majority returnees (emigrants) came from Finland, followed in much lower number from the United Kingdom, Ireland, Germany, Sweden and France. These countries and proportions match with the countries where most emigrated Estonians leave to. For the Estonians who have been living in another EU country and who have now returned, the main reasons for moving to the other country are various and no clear pattern can be established. People had moved because of the financial difficulties in Estonia, due to the admired work position in another EU country, to obtain a higher education degree, or for family reasons.

As for the return to Estonia, few studies have indicated that the main drivers are the better opportunities for self-fulfilment, which often derives from the experiences obtained in the foreign country, a general wish to settle down, proximity to familiar culture, using an advantage of being a native speaker in the labour market, the faster route to moving up on the career level, which is connected to the smallness of Estonia, good environment for starting new start-ups, companies, or working in the field of social innovation, the wish to enrol their children to the school in Estonia, or family reasons (divorce, parents' health etc.). The barriers in moving back to Estonia mainly comprise of the difficulty to secure a kindergarten or school place for the child, also finding a job in the conditions where the experiences obtained abroad are frequently not valued by the Estonian employers.

The interviews showed that the young Estonians returned because they wished to settle down in Estonia and they had missed a sense of belonging while living in another EU country. For them, the sense of belonging was something one can only have in their country of origin. Some younger interviewees felt themselves being at "crossroads" after having spent some time abroad and after which they decided to return. They thought that if they had not done it at this point in their life, they would have probably never returned. Mentioning the barriers, in some cases, loss of income, lack of knowledge about the local procedures and bureaucracy after being away for long time were pointed out as difficulties. Consequently, some of the suggestions what the interviewees proposed that could be useful in people's return to Estonia include a "welcome back" package or "to-do" list with all the relevant information. In addition, Eu-

European institutions should exchange information among themselves better to facilitate people's smooth return, e.g. in sorting out tax returns, pension calculations etc.

Immigration to Estonia has increased after joining the EU in 2004, remained same in 2007-2008 and decreased somewhat right after the economic crisis. However, during the years after the crisis, the immigration of EU citizens aged 25-35 has been steadily increasing. Between 2010-2015 in total 6'819 young EU citizens aged 25-35 were given a right of residence. The largest amount, 1'378, registered their residence in 2013. Since then, there has been a decline in the EU citizens moving to Estonia. The largest groups of EU citizens are from Finland and Germany, followed by Spain, Poland, Lithuania, Czech Republic and the UK.

Regarding the barriers moving to Estonia, there have been problems with the family members of EU citizen, who quite often have trouble finding a job where the working language would be English. Another major issue from the study relates to finding a school or kindergarten place for the children, as well as having problems with the office clerks who might not have an adequate command of English. However, during the recent years Estonia has amended legislation and developed services for the easier adaptation of immigrants. For example, legislation has been amended so that it is easier for an entrepreneur to hire a foreign worker. In addition, organisations can get support for hiring foreign R&D workers, and several relevant services have been developed, e.g. international schools.

The interviews with EU citizens in Estonia showed that these EU citizens living in Estonia share very different stories on their reasons to move to Estonia, due to their differences in background as well as countries of origin. Nonetheless, the main reason for moving to Estonia was their Estonian partner they wanted to live together with. In addition, Estonia seemingly offers a life quality which they have not experienced in their home countries. Generally, the moving process has been easy for the EU citizens. There were only a few cases mentioned when the person has had trouble understanding which authority s/he is supposed to turn to for certain administrative procedures.

The interviewees suggested that all newcomers should get more comprehensive information about public services (e.g. a webpage), including accommodation related information. Also, there should be more language courses, which are more visible and free of charge. People also wish for a separate institution which could work under the already existing "European Union House" and which could provide information about free movement within the EU. It would be especially helpful if such an institution could also offer county-based information, e.g. a person from Estonia could look up what s/he needs to do prior and after moving to Greece.

Interviews with the representatives of the relevant institutions provided several suggestions for the improvement of free movement. Namely, there should be more contacts between stakeholders and countries (e-exchange of information where possible) concerning citizens on the move, better sharing of information and more thorough, easily understandable, and improved translations of web pages for the people who exercise free movement. Additionally, the officials who interact with the moving people should be better trained. Possibly, there should be some mentoring programmes for the newly arrived people. For the people who return to Estonia, there should be more relevant information accessible. This information should counteract the incorrect information and myths which are distributed in the unofficial social media channels that associate with people who want to return. Estonian missions and embassies abroad should help people with issues related to pensions and taxes. All people should be welcomed and not only those with relevant higher education.

Additionally, a qualitative study was conducted to assess the role of Estonian diplomatic missions in Estonia and abroad in people's quest for information relating to free movement. In sum, young people from Estonia approach Estonian diplomatic missions, mostly via emails, for the relevant information both at home and abroad, but their numbers are rather low or even insignificant. The number of foreigners who approach their respective embassies in Estonia to move to Estonia is similarly low, although the replies from foreign embassies in Estonia were too small to have any broader generalisation. However, in cases the embassies have been approached by the movers, the topics of interest fall into a few main categories like schooling opportunities, health and social insurance issues and registration of residence or residence permit related issues. In almost no cases people have inquired about moving back to Estonia. It should also be pointed out that embassies and consulates, which usually do not practice collecting, storing and categorising such requests, are not the focal points for young people to turn to in questions of free movement within EU. The information is sought out from other channels: internet, friends, acquaintances etc. That is the reason also behind the small number of enquiries reported by the embassies. As a good illustration, there is a clear information asymmetry between the information provision in the Finnish embassy in Estonia, where very few inquiries are made in a year vis-à-vis Facebook group "Estonians in Finland", which has 30'000+ members and where the information is flowing and changing within minutes.

Overall, juxtaposition of the reality of free movement, based on the information from the interviews, to the legal reality rendered the following picture. Young people are generally aware of the possibility of free movement between EU member states. They, by and large, know of their rights and obligations which eventually pertain to the directive 2004/38/EC. Young people do not feel as being kept in the informational "darknes" concerning making a life choice in moving to other countries whatever their reasons are. Naturally, in almost all cases, the interviewees proposed a row of solutions how to fine-tune the whole process and make it even more smooth and visible. However, as was the impression of several stakeholders, young people are not a helpless group of people who would need a lot of guidance in orientating among the various aspects of free movement related practicalities.

On the contrary - young people are actively seeking and obtaining all the necessary information by themselves, using mainly the sources available online, social circles friends etc. By this they circumvent the physical contact with the offices and institutions in charge of providing such information.

In sum, the legal situation and background in Estonia (legislation or policies) - i.e. the opportunity structures - does not hinder the free movement of young people in neither direction. Also, the access to public services for EU citizens is mostly equal in a sense of law and in most cases, not restricted. The main problems, however, arise with the reality and quality of using the services (e.g. there are too few kindergarten places, the doctors may not speak English, issues, or unreasonable requirements for the recognition of qualifications, etc).

2. RECOMMENDATIONS

Combining all groups of movers together as well as representatives of different authorities, we can cluster the recommendations into a few broad categories:

- **Awareness raising.** Awareness raising could be in the form of awareness raising campaigns or just as an increase in information sharing. Interestingly, some people viewed educational institutions like schools and universities as the outpost for the awareness raising activities. In addition, the EU citizens in Estonia suggested that employers, possibly those hiring foreign labour, should be part of

such awareness raising events.

- **Information.** Availability and access to information came up very frequently and has polymorphic features. Firstly, it can be a combined information package on all necessary procedures related to the move. The subcategory of the latter is the “first month help package”, a sort of the first aid to tend the most urgent needs of the mover in a foreign country. Secondly, it could have a form a pan-European information system, organised by relevant sectors and with the up-to-date info, would contribute to the smoother schemes of moves. Such information system should have a characteristic of commonality, e.g. in healthcare sphere (countries sharing data on vaccinations etc) but also containing checklists for other life events like marriage and residence procedures. Similarly, the movers who return to the home country could benefit from the “welcome-back-packet” with the updated information on the local culture and customs that have might have undergone significant changes when the movers have been away. Thirdly, information facilitating the life of movers could be hosted by a state-run portal, encompassing themes like international cooperation, talent attraction, social system, language schools, housing environment etc. Fourthly, an idea of “European House” or “one-stop-shops” surfaced in numeral occasions. This would be a physical environment containing all the relevant information, both general and country-specific, where a mover could turn to in person. Fifthly, some interviewees mentioned that embassies could be the places that could provide “welcome information” for the movers in the early stages of the move. However, embassies have proven quite unlikely places where young people seek their information.
- **Information exchange.** The exchange of information between different stakeholders emerged mostly in the communication with the relevant authorities and NGOs. The exchange of information can be both national as well as transnational, involving all EU countries and their relevant institutions. Sharing information with each other helps to cut red-tape on bureaucratic troubles for the movers and increase administrative cooperation when managing issues with movers. In the longer term, it would result in the better trained officials and counsellors who can help the movers to obtain necessary information, and assist them in accommodating to customs, language, and culture.

ANNEXES

Annex 1. Sample

Representatives of national authorities/NGOs				
Interview No	Authority / NGO	Position	Years of relevant professional experience	Date of interview
1	Ministry of the Interior/ Settle in Estonia programme	Chief specialist	2	12.05.2016
2	Integration and Migration Foundation	Senior adviser	1(15)	12.05.2016
3	Unemployment Insurance Fund	EURES adviser	10	20.05.2016
4	Law firm Maritta Heiskanen in Finland	Lawyer who specialises on Estonian clients	3	13.05.2016
5	NGO Living for Tomorrow	Manager and counsellor	17 of which 12 as a counsellor	23.09.2016

Diplomatic missions cooperating in the inquiry	
Estonian diplomatic missions abroad	UK, Denmark, Latvia, France, Finland, Netherlands, Belgium
Foreign diplomatic missions in Estonia	Czech Republic, Spain, Latvia, Netherlands, Germany, Sweden, Ireland, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Austria, Poland

Sample of young Europeans interviewed for the study

Interviewee code	Gender	Age Group	Nationality	Family situation	Dependent children	Level of education	Employment status		Country and place of residence	Country of birth	Interview conducted face to face	Date of interview
EE1, female, 28 years, EE national	F	A (28)	EE	Single	No	Higher education (MA)	Project Manager	-	EE - Tallinn	EE	Yes	6.05.2016
EE2, male, 34 years, EE national	M	B (34)	EE	Single	No	Higher education	Development manager	-	EE - Tallinn	EE	No	12.05.2016
EE3, female, 28 years, EE national	F	A (28)	EE	Single	No	Higher education (MA)	COO	-	EE - Tallinn	EE	No	16.05.2016
EE4, male, 36 years, EE national	M	B (36)	EE	Single	No	Higher education (postdoc)	Senior research fellow	-	EE - Tartu	EE	Yes	18.05.2016
EE5, female, 28 years, PL national	F	A (28)	PL	Single	No	Higher education (MA)	Language teacher	-	EE - Tartu	PL	Yes	20.05.2016
EE6, male, 26 years, NL national	M	A (26)	NL	Co-habiting	No	Higher education (BA)	Customer administrator	-	EE - Tallinn	NL	Yes	21.05.2016
EE7, female, 29 years, LV national	F	A (29)	LV	Co-habiting	No	Secondary education	Project Manager	-	EE - Tallinn	LV	Yes	21.05.2016
EE8, female, 31 years, LV national	F	B (31)	LV	Single	No	Higher education (BA) and vocational education	Customer support	-	EE - Tallinn	LV	Yes	21.05.2016
EE9, male, 30 years, DE national	M	B (30)	DE	Single	No	Vocational training	Language teacher	-	EE - Tallinn	DE	Yes	23.05.2016
EE10, male, 31 years, NL national	M	B (31)	NL	Co-habiting	No	Higher education (BA)	Customer support	-	EE - Tallinn	NL	Yes	24.05.2016
EE11, male, 25 years, EE national	M	A (25)	EE	Single	No	Higher education (BA)	-	Unemployed	EE - Tallinn	EE	Yes	02.06.2016
EE12, male 36 years, ES national	M	B (36)	ES	Married	No	Higher education (MA)	Architect	-	EE - Tallinn	ES	Yes	02.06.2016
EE13, female, 28 years, EE national	F	A (28)	EE	Co-habiting	No	Higher education (MA)	-	Unemployed	EE - Tallinn	EE	No	
EE14, female, 39 years, EE national	F	A (39)	EE	Married	Yes (2)	Higher education (MA)	Adviser	-	EE - Tallinn	EE	Yes	10.06.2016
EE15, male, 28 years, IT national	M	A (28)	IT	Single	No	Higher education (MA)	Specialist	-	EE - Tallinn	IT	No	23.06.2016
EE16, female, 27 years, EE national	F	A (27)	EE	Co-habiting	No	Higher education (MA)	Specialist	-	EE - Tallinn	EE	No	23.08.2016
EE17, female, 30 years, EE national	F	B (30)	EE	Married	No	Vocational higher education	Self-employed	-	EE - Paide	EE	No	23.08.2016
EE18, female, 24 years, EE national	F	A (24, will be 25 when moving)	EE	Single	No	Higher education (BA)	Teacher	-	EE - Pärnu	EE	No	24.08.2016
EE19, male, 29 years, DE national	M	A (29)	DE	Married	Yes (1)	Higher education (BA)	Customer service specialist	-	EE - Tartu	DE	Yes	26.08.2016
EE20, female, 24 years, EE national	F	A (24)	EE	Single	No	Higher education (BA)	Translator	-	LT - Riga	EE	No	30.08.2016
EE21, male, 26 years, EE national	M	A (26)	EE	Single	No	Higher education (MA)	Purchasing coordinator	-	NL - Amsterdam	EE	No	01.09.2016

EE22, male, 28 years, LV national	M	A (28)	LV	Married	No	Higher education (PhD)	Researcher	-	EE - Tartu	LV	Yes	02.09.2016
EE23, male, 26 years, EE national	M	A (26)	EE	Single	No	Higher education (BA)	PR & marketing	-	EE - Tallinn	EE	No	02.09.2016
EE24, female, 26 years, LV national	F	A (26)	LV	Married	No	Higher education (MA)	Service desk agent	-	EE - Tartu	LV	Yes	14.09.2016
EE25, female, 24 years, ES national	F	A (24)	ES	Single	No	Higher education (BA)	-	X	EE - Tallinn	EE	Yes	28.10.2016
EE26, male, 28 years, EE national	M	A (28)	EE	Single	No	Higher education (BA)	IT		EE - Tallinn	EE	Yes	11.11.2016
EE27, male, 29 years, EE national	M	A (29)	EE	Single	No	Higher education (BA)	Social work		EE - Tallinn	EE	Yes	11.11.2016
EE28, male, 32 years, EE national	M	B (32)	EE	Single	Yes (1)	Secondary education	Journalist		EE - Tallinn	EE	Yes	11.11.2016
EE29, female, 25 years, EE national	F	A (25)	EE	Single	Yes (1)	Secondary education		x	EE - Tallinn	EE	Yes	30.11.2016
EE30, male, 31 years, EE national	M	B (31)	EE	Single	Yes (2)	Higher education (MA)		x	EE - Tallinn	EE	Yes	30.11.2016
EE31, female, 27 years, GB national	F	A (27)	GB	Single	No	Higher education (BA)	Journalist		EE - Tartu	GB	Yes	23.11.2016
EE32, female, 28 years, LT national	F	A (28)	LT	Single	No	Higher education (MA)	Customer service		EE - Tartu	LT	Yes	26.11.2016

ANNEX 2. INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR YOUNG PEOPLE

Introduction

Presentation of the interviewer, presentation of the project. Rules and conditions of the interview, signature of the consent form.

Demographic Data

This section aims to record basic data of the interviewee.

a. Information about free movement

The lack of information has been identified as an important barrier in free movement. This section aims to explore how well informed young people feel, what are the sources of information and what information would be useful.

- Do you consider yourself well informed on your rights to move freely in Europe?
- How did you learn about your rights? What are the sources of your information?
- Would you like to have more information? What kind of information would be useful for you?

b. Experience of free movement

This section aims to record the individual experience of free movement (past or present) and their overall assessment of this experience.

- Do you have any experience of moving between EU countries? Please tell us about it.
 - Probing questions:
 - Have you lived in another country before?
 - When did this take place (plan to)?
 - How old were you?
 - Did you move on your own or with your family?
- Have family members or friends lived in another EU country?
- If you have not moved until now, do you plan / wish to move in another EU country? Which one?
- How did you feel / do you feel about the experience of moving? (Please explain and give examples)
- Why did you move back? / Would you like to move again or return to your country of origin? Why? Please explain.

c. Drivers for free movement

This section focuses on the drivers behind free movement and the factors that played an important role in his decision and in the actual experience.

- What are the reasons that led you to move? / that make you want to move to another country?

/ That might make you move to another country in the future? Please explain.

- What are/were your expectations from moving?
- Did you think than moving would improve your quality of life /Do you think that moving will improve your quality of life? In which ways? Please explain
- Did you think that moving would improve your prospect to find a job? / Do you think that moving will improve your prospect to find a job? Why?
- In what way have your expectations been met?
- What factors influenced your choice and your decision to move to this specific country? How did you choose your destination country? Did the language, friends, family, play a role? Please explain.

d. Obstacles and barriers experienced when moving

This section aims to detect the specific obstacles and barriers that occur/may occur during free movement whether real, perceived or of any nature (legal, social, administrative etc) and understand their underlying causes and impact.

- Was moving an easy or difficult process/ do you expect moving to be an easy or difficult process?
- What was easy?
- What were the main difficulties you faced/ you expect to face?
- What did you do about them? How did you address difficulties/problems?
- How did the following factors affect you? / how much will they affect you when moving? Please comment and highlight the 3 most important.
 - Language
 - Information /lack of information
 - Registration requirements and processes
 - Cooperation with authorities
 - Health insurance /Social security
 - Finding work
 - Finding a place to live
 - Making friends
 - Weather
 - Cost of life
 - Getting used to different habits etc.
- Did you ever feel unwanted/discriminated against in the countries where you lived? Please explain and give examples.

- Which obstacles/problems would make you consider/decide to move again or move back? Please explain.

e. Practices that promoted or hindered the right to move freely

This section aims to identify practices that facilitated or hindered the free movement, their nature and their impact.

- What facilitated your experience when moving?
- For example, sources of information, assistance in finding a house, finding a job etc
- Did you contact any authorities? Did they help? In what way?
- What made your experience when moving more difficult?

f. Ideas and suggestions

The interviewees are asked to give their suggestions on how things can work better, to express their opinion on how the obstacles identified can be eliminated and propose solutions for making the right to free movement effective.

- Based on your experience, how could free movement be made easier? What would have made your experience a better one?
- What information would help? What type of services from authorities in your country? In the host country?
- Does free movement make you feel more 'European'?

Annex 4. Graphs and charts

Figure 1: Country of origin of the EU citizens aged 25-35 immigrated to Estonia in 2010-2015¹ (N)

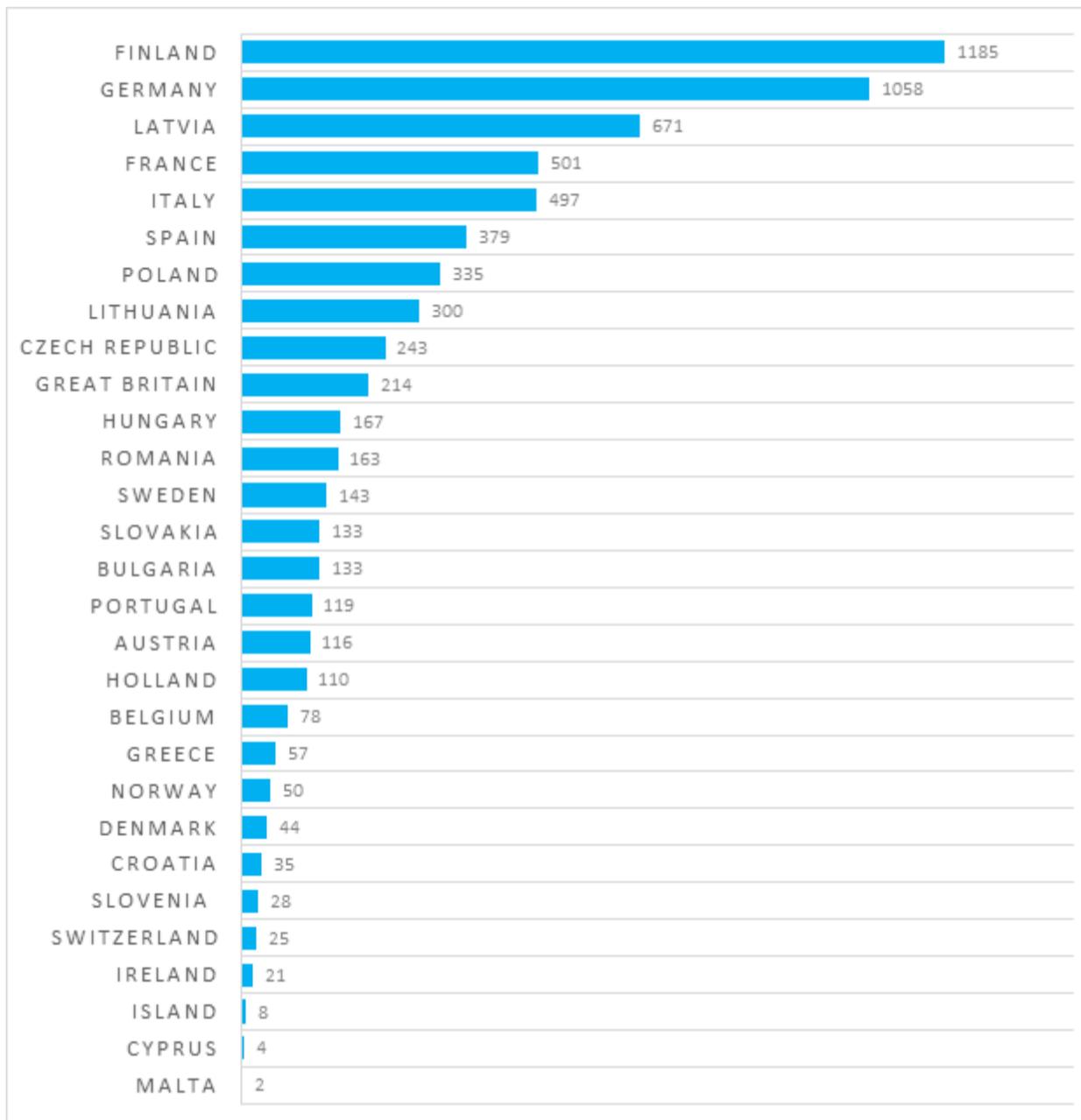


Table 1. TOP10 countries where young (25-34) EU citizens have migrated from (2010-2012)²

	2011	n	2012	n	2013	n
1.	Finland	96	Finland	99	Finland	127
2.	Latvia	55	Latvia	74	Latvia	79
3.	Germany	54	Germany	57	Germany	73
4.	Italy	33	Lithuania	33	Spain	36
5.	Lithuania	28	Spain	28	Italy	36
6.	France	24	Italy	23	France	30
7.	the United Kingdom	24	Poland	23	the United Kingdom	30
8.	Spain	20	the United Kingdom	23	Poland	26
9.	Sweden	18	Sweden	13	Lithuania	18
10.	Bulgaria	11	Bulgaria	11	Sweden	18

1 Source: Population register.

2 Source: Population register

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