

## Summaries in English

### EDITOR-IN-CHIEF'S COLUMN

#### *The Lost World*

*Helle Ruusing, Editor-in-Chief, Information Adviser of the Information Service of the Chancellery of the Riigikogu*

The sinister circumstances connected with the financing of political parties that have come to light this spring force the Estonian society to ask questions belonging to the sphere of ethics. It is necessary to have a wider discussion over what is acceptable in the society and what is not. The political parties are after all just a part of the society, albeit an influential part. People should ask from themselves how many times they have, in their attitudes or decisions, gone into conflict with their ethical self. How many times they have turned a blind eye and thought that it does not concern them. As long as people personally or as a society are indifferent, or have a tolerant attitude, towards the expanding and breaking of rules, so long the rules are broken. On the other hand, even when the rules are written down, they work only if most of those who have to follow them have taken part in establishing the rules and accept them.

Who should initiate and develop important discussions in the society? Who are the lighthouses of morale whose opinion really counts? If you want to be concrete, then it is hard to find such people. Not because there are not any. Of course there are. Rather because they do not want public attention. They do not want to be torn into public mud wrestling.

Actually the academic world could and should initiate important discussions in the society. Things that are created inside the walls of universities have more value for the society if we know about them more. The academic circles should publicly speak on issues that are of importance to the society more often. Unfortunately the developments in Estonia during the last couple of decades have been in the opposite direction. The number of students studying at the universities has increased threefold; Estonia has top world class science and scientists. But the Estonian language as a science language is vanishing. Use as a science language has a decisive role in the development and preservation of a language. In the conditions of globalisation, the wish of the scientists to be understood and competitive is understandable, at the same time all knowledge that remains outside the Estonian language space makes the society poorer. In the end it will weaken the Estonian education system as a whole. Hopefully, during the next decade the Estonian universities will find a balance between the international and national, and will have their doubtlessly weighty say in the development of the society.

Estonia could be a society that can make its ethical choices clear and where the so-called sideways will not become a norm. A society that hears without condemning and has a tolerant attitude to many different opinions. Then everybody is ready to have a say.

### ESSAY

#### *Quality of Science and Innovations*

*Mart Saarma, Director of the Centre of Excellence in Molecular and Integrated Neuroscience Research at the Institute of Biotechnology, University of Helsinki, Member of the Estonian Academy of Sciences*

Education, scientific research, development of technology and innovations play an important role in the development of modern societies. Today, but even more tomorrow the wellbeing of the society and clean environment are dependent on the development of science, innovations and their practical applications. Over the years, most of the economically advanced countries have made serious investments into research and development (R&D). Leading countries like Israel, Finland and Sweden are already now investing almost 4% of their Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in R&D. After the restoration of independence, Estonia has been remarkably successful in the development of scientific research and technology. Estonian government and society have realized that investment into education, research and development will form a solid foundation for the development of prosperous society. In 2011 Estonia was investing 1.62% of its GDP into R&D, and about half of it came from the government and the other half from industry. Although the success in the development of scientific research and technology has been remarkable, the track record in generating new high-tech industry has been less impressive. Estonia has had several important priorities during the last twenty years, like developing its defence system, joining the EU and EMU, etc. In addition to that, the Estonian society has also faced two serious economic depressions. This undoubtedly has had impact on the development of high-tech industry. However, there are also several areas where additional changes are needed and restructuring of the existing attitudes and principles is required.

In the global perspective, universities are the main source of new breakthroughs, ideas, concepts and methods, and society should do everything to give them freedom to develop their own ideas and build up their competence. In addition to the generation of new ideas and concepts, universities have another important duty to educate and train young people who are competent to solve problems and develop new ideas in the academia and industry. Doctoral and postdoctoral training are important steps in academic career. Traditionally doctoral training has been the responsibility of individual professors and very little systematic education has been offered to the graduate students. Estonia has recently started with graduate schools and is gradually developing the system that is allowing recruitment of the best talents and offering them high quality training during 4 years. In many US and UK universities postdocs are the major force in generating new ideas and results. It is quite common that after defending their PhD thesis, young scientists spent 3–4 years in the laboratories or in the departments of other universities, usually in another country. The postdoctoral period is a crucial time for the development of scientific independence, and also for scientific maturation. Although in late eighties and early nineties many Estonian scientists worked abroad, currently there is tendency that only a small number of scientists spend their postdoctoral period abroad. It is very important to change that. In addition to the changes in doctoral and postdoctoral training, problems of scientific career development, research assessment and technology transfer need special attention. Further development of tenure track system, changes in the selection of professors and several types of research evaluations are recommended. Probably one of the critical areas for the future success of Estonia is the technology transfer and cooperation with industry. Quite often science and technology policies are based on the assumption that basic research is the main foundation for the applied research that then leads to technology development and marketed products. However, this so-called linear model is not working for radical innovations where conceptual breakthrough in basic research can be very rapidly transferred to the industry. Biotechnology has many good examples for such radical innovations. Following this misconception, universities are often under political pressure to deliver knowhow and technology for the direct benefit of society and industry. However, it should not be the benefit of industry and society to force universities to carry out applied research. There is a great risk to support very trivial research, which is often masked under popular and

fashionable titles. Universities should generate new ideas and concepts and train top level specialists, who can then work and be very beneficial in the industry.

Estonia has made first important steps towards the developed and knowledge-based society. Success in scientific research is very encouraging and allows to conclude that Estonia has taken a right direction for the future.

## **POLITICS**

### **Russia**

#### ***Russia's Regional Possibilities and Global Ambitions***

*Riigikogu Toimetised conversation circle*

In the *Riigikogu Toimetised (RiTo)* conversation circle on 23 May four experts, Undersecretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Sulev Kannike, Consultant of Logistics and Transit Association Andrus Kuusmann, Member of the Riigikogu Jevgeni Ossinovski (Social Democratic Party) and political scientist from the University of Tartu, Project Manager of the Academic Centre for Baltic and Russian Studies Karmo Tüür discussed the development of the Russian Federation during the last two decades. *RiTo* Editor-in-Chief Helle Ruusing acted as the moderator and compiled a summary of the discussion.

The participants in the conversation circle were of the opinion that one of the most important landmarks in the development of Russia during the last twenty years was the constitutional crisis of 1993; after which a new constitution was drawn up in a hurry. It was a superpresidential constitution that has largely dictated the subsequent political development of Russia. One of the peculiarities of this development are the powerful non-constitutional institutions headed by the presidential administration, which by Boris Yeltsin's second presidential term had become more important than other institutions. The developments of that time have in some respects made possible the simplicity with which President Putin quietly started to centralize his power in 2000, and by now the system started by Yeltsin has almost been brought to perfection. Trying to find an answer to the question: „What is the weight of the Russian state in today's world?“, the participants in the conversation circle were of the opinion that although in the case of Russia we are dealing with not only a permanent member of the UN Security Council, but also an important nuclear state with huge territory, its present actual capacity in having a real say in global processes is rather doubtful. At the same time Russia has considerably increased its economic capacity, first of all thanks to selling energy resources. However, modernising of economy first of all requires changes in thinking, and the adopting of the principle of more openness and cooperation, and less centralisation, bureaucracy and corruption.

## **Code of Ethics**

### ***Code of Ethics for Members of the Riigikogu – Why and How***

*Mari Kooskora, Head of the Estonian Business School Ethics Centre*

In the light of the political scandals that have been lately discussed in the media, Transparency International Estonia has reached the conviction that it would be reasonable

for the members of the Riigikogu to systematically discuss the ethics issues and to create a code of ethics or a code of conduct for the members of the Riigikogu.

Different sources and different authors have defined code of ethics differently, but generally it is considered a written document where the values, principles of conduct and acting, standards, bases for making decisions and rules for treating the partners are provided. Several associations – business and public sector organisations, non-governmental organisations, parliaments, societies, trades and their unions, etc. – establish codes of ethics for themselves. Organisations, associations and representatives of trades and professions have different approaches towards code of ethics, but generally a code of ethics highlights what is acceptable in a concrete organisation, what principles are followed in daily activities and what is the structure of the organisation like.

The existence of several positions and approaches may cause confusion and uncertainty in the members of the Riigikogu when they start creating a code of ethics. In order to avoid that, the article introduces the general characteristics and types of codes of ethics, brings out main points that should be focused on when preparing a code of ethics. The codes of ethics and codes of conduct of the parliaments of Europe are introduced briefly, and also answers to the most widespread arguments against such codes are presented. As some factions of the Riigikogu have wanted concrete proposals, the proposals of Transparency International Estonia regarding the contents of the code are brought at the end of the article.

I emphasize that our organisation does not proceed from the opinion that the Riigikogu mostly consists of unethical people or that it is a corrupt institution. The reason for the proposal is that establishing a code of conduct may be of use both to the members of the Riigikogu themselves and the Estonian political culture as a whole. Those who are interested may find information about the discussion that took place and the process of preparing the code in the relevant section of the Transparency International Estonia web page (<http://transparency.ee/cm/node/585>).

## Energy

### *How Expensive Is Subsidising Renewable Energy in Estonia*

*Rünno Lumiste, Associate Professor, School of Economics and Business, Tallinn University of Technology*

Climate change makes the states look for new solutions in energy sector to replace burning of fossil fuels. The European Commission and the European Parliament have made several legislative initiatives. A target has been set for 2020 to produce in the European Union at least 20 per cent of energy from renewable sources. In the EU and the whole world, the changes in national legislative acts and increased energy prices have since the middle of the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century directed an important part of energy sector investments to renewable energy. Both public and private sector started to intensively finance renewable energy enterprises and research projects.

Germany is the pioneer in using cheap rates and implementing several technologies. Early implementation of subsidies gave Germany a strong competitive advantage, and a large part of subsidies returns to the producers of equipment in Germany. Other European countries have followed Germany's example and established cheap rates for renewable energy on their territories. In some cases this has been accompanied by unexpected rise of electricity price.

Estonia adopted renewable energy subsidies in 2008. Remarkable investments have been made in wind farms and combined heat and power plants. The main objective of the state is to keep the price of electricity low through economy of scale (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Communications). Renewable energy is also a means of increasing energy security in Estonia. Renewable energy subsidies are an object of political will and thus require political consensus. Wider participation of communities and economic and social groups in the development of renewable energy helps to increase public approval. Comprehensive development of society requires closer connections between different economic subjects.

Separate rates of subsidies could be established for local small producers and the technologies that suit them, like small wind turbines, solar batteries, fermented biomass, etc. Connections between cheap rates and creation of new jobs are indirect. In recent years, employment in Estonia has increased in the production of renewable energy equipment (like wind turbine parts, solar energy equipment). But the enterprises active in this field are oriented towards global market and local cheap rates have an indirect impact on their activities. In spite of the EU single market and legislation (2001/77/EC and 2009/28/EC), the states have their own priorities. German electricity consumers pay a high price, but most of the equipment is produced locally, and this supports local employment and the export competitiveness of enterprises. The main aim of the UK legislators is establishing a working and transparent business environment and ensuring the welfare of consumers. The main aims of Estonian legislators and state authorities are to observe the requirements of the European Union and keep the optimal electricity price level.

## Gender Gap

### *Do Language Skills Help Find a Better Job?*

*Ott Toomet, Senior Research Fellow of Microeconomics, University of Tartu*

According to labour research, in Estonia good Estonian language skill of non-Estonians is connected with 5 percent points smaller unemployment rate. Surprisingly, its role in explaining better income is modest, because Russian men who can speak Estonian well do not earn more than Russian men who cannot speak Estonian at all. In the case of women, good Estonian language skill is accompanied by about 10 percent increase in salary. This situation is caused both by gender and national segregation – women work more in professions where it is necessary to communicate in Estonian, and also more in workplaces where Estonian is spoken. Estonian language skill is important for the unemployed who speak Russian as their mother tongue and also to those employees who are in the risk of becoming unemployed. But highly qualified non-Estonian workers have more use of English than of Estonian.

## Elections

### *Twenty Years of Elections in Estonia after Restoration of Independence: from Depositing the Vote to Electronic Voting*

*Arne Koitmäe, Adviser of the Elections Department, Chancellery of the Riigikogu*

20 years ago, in 1992, Estonia regained independence, and the constitutional referendum as well as the elections to the VII Riigikogu were held. Voting has never been exclusively limited to election day. Over the time new voting methods have been constantly introduced and while some of these methods – like depositing the vote in the polling

station before the election day or voting by proxy – have been eventually rejected, many have persisted, and in 2011 elections to the Riigikogu already 43.1% of participating voters voted before the election day by various alternative means.

A landmark decision was made by the parliament in 2002, when Internet voting was introduced for the first time. First implemented in 2005, it has evolved to be the second most popular voting method in Estonia, with 24.3% of participating voters choosing to vote over the Internet in 2011. Internet voting enables people to vote irrespective of the time (within the 10–4 day period before the election day) or place, making it the most flexible voting method of all.

This doesn't mean that Internet voting is the perfect method since the voter must first overcome several technological obstacles and – most crucially – have trust in the e-voting system. Security issues of I-voting as well as the intricacies of managing the I-voting system remain a debated subject.

It is thus not surprising that I-voting continues to evolve. At the time of writing the article, several new amendments to Acts on elections (186 SE) are discussed in the Riigikogu. The most important new feature for the voter would be the ability to ensure that his/her vote sent to the I-voting system has not been compromised. To achieve this, the voter will be able to verify the vote, using a smartphone application that takes a picture of a QR code supplied by the voting application on the computer. After that the phone app automatically checks whether the code matches the one provided from the central I-voting server. In the case of mismatch, the voter can vote again either by using a different computer or casting a paper ballot.

## CONSTITUTIONAL INSTITUTIONS

### Health Care

#### *Civil and Criminal Liability of Providers of Health Care Services*

*Maarja Lillsaar, Private Law Analyst, Legal Information Department of the Supreme Court*

Results of the analysis of court practice show that a great number of disputes on providing of health care services never get to court. According to the EU health portal, it is estimated that 8–12% of hospitalized patients suffer in the course of treatment because of deviations in health care services.

The provider of health care services is responsible for deviations connected with health care services. The liability of providers of health care services can be both civil and criminal. Civil liability in its turn is divided into two: contractual liability and delictual liability. Several problems may be encountered in court practice when determining liability.

Large number of violations never get to court and are either settled out of court or the person concerned refuses to submit any claim. Besides that, it is rather difficult for a patient to prove in civil procedure that a breach of contract has been committed by a provider of health care service. Therefore it could be assumed that the number of applications for commencement of criminal proceedings in cases concerning the providing of health care services would increase, but at the moment the increase in the number of such criminal cases has not been noted in court practice (at the same time,

there is no information about the number of applications for commencement of criminal proceedings in connection with health care services).

In the case of civil matters, the disputes concerning providing of health care services were mostly solved on the basis of contractual provisions. In court practice, breaches of an obligations arising from the contract on providing health care services in most cases consist in errors in diagnosis and treatment. In the identification of errors, the courts solving civil matters almost exclusively relied on the conclusions of the Expert Committee on the Quality of Healthcare. It should be emphasized here that in criminal cases it is not allowed to use the decision of the Expert Committee on the Quality of Healthcare as evidence. An expert analysis has to be conducted.

In the cases of breaches of contracts on providing health care services, mostly the compensation for damage is claimed, incl. compensation for both patrimonial and non-patrimonial damage, but imposing of compensation does not happen not very often because the plaintiff is unable to prove the violation of obligation.

In court practice, very few decisions concerning the breach of providing health care services have been made in criminal matters – only three decisions in total. Therefore it is not possible to make any general conclusions on the basis of those decisions. But in the criminal matters reviewed, the content of prosecution was delict of negligence committed at least partially through inactivity.

## STUDIES AND OPINIONS

### Economy

#### *Liberal or Capitalist Market Economy – That Is the Question*

*Paul Tammert, M.A., Economics*

International comparative studies mostly define Estonian economic model as free market economy. Pursuant to the generally accepted conception in research circles, a market is considered free and price fair if the suppliers and buyers are free in making their decisions. This paper introduces one possible view on the method of describing the economic model of a state, and analyses by applying the case study method if the prices in Estonia are fair.

The purpose of the article was to study the differences of liberal and capitalist market economy and their impact on real economy. During the research, clear differences between them became evident, and also the fact that from the viewpoint of continuing economic policy research, adopting multi-dimensional approach would be effective. One possibility could be to implement the concept of social organisation of life. Implementation of multi-dimensional model would reduce confrontations in society and the conflicts caused by them; in the case of one-dimensional model the acceptance of one ideology automatically means confrontation with the opposing ideology.

The article offers one possibility for orienting in the social space, analysing and describing the processes and discussing the rationality of implementing them without direct opposing. It is especially important at the time the world economy is hit by harsher and harsher crises, and the need to develop new bases for economic policy increases.

The most important result of the research, however, was explaining the differences between liberal and capitalist market economy and presenting the relations in a civil society. Considering the importance of cooperative form of entrepreneurship and the International Year of Cooperatives declared by the UN, it is high time to start a public discussion on the subject in Estonia. Economists have a special role in starting this discussion and keeping it going.

### ***Development Trends of Estonian Small and Medium Sized Enterprises***

*Mari Rell, Economic Policy Analyst - Project Manager, Praxis Center for Policy Studies*

*Risto Kaarna, Economic Policy Analyst, Praxis Center for Policy Studies*

Praxis Center for Policy Studies has been conducting the studies of development trends of small and medium sized enterprises every third year since 2002. The purpose of this, the fourth research was to ascertain the fields of activity of Estonian small and medium sized enterprises, analyse the factors influencing their development, collect the assessments of entrepreneurs, compare them by size, field of activity, location and current economic indicators, and compare the results with earlier studies. Nearly 1500 entrepreneurs were interviewed during the study. On the basis of the results it may be admitted that the factors influencing the development of small and medium sized enterprises are closely connected with the general trends and problems of economy. On the background of weakened financial environment, the number of such entrepreneurs who need additional financing for developing their enterprise, but for whom the possibilities of getting it are often beyond means is increasing. More and more hope is placed in state support. The situation of labour market has somewhat improved for the entrepreneur, but still it is hard to find top specialists. The reduction of demand during the economic crisis has also brought along the reduction of the number of exporting small and medium sized enterprises. But those who are exporting feel more confident and have managed to increase the percentage export turnover in their sales revenues. The readiness to start exporting goods and services in the nearest future is small, especially in the service sector. The attitude of entrepreneurs towards cooperation with other enterprises and investors who come outside the enterprise is problematic. The readiness for cooperation between enterprises is small; the will to preserve independence is brought out as the main obstacle. Cooperation is not seen as a possibility to develop one's business and ensure the sustainability of enterprise.

### **Teacher Education**

#### ***Teacher Education and Promotion Policies in OECD Countries***

*Anu Toots, Professor of Comparative Public Policy, Tallinn University*

*Triin Lauri, Doctoral Candidate, Institute of Political Science and Governance, Tallinn University*

The existing models of public service organisation are not really suitable any more for analysing modern teacher education. The pressure on productivity and effectiveness caused by globalisation blurs the specifics of career and position systems, and makes the issues connected with teachers as the key factor influencing the results of education much more complicated. Thus the issue of teacher education is not just a pedagogical issue, but also requires strategic political choices.



The article touches upon three important issues connected with teacher education, discussing them on the background of international experience. First, how the modern government models have influenced the expectations regarding the preparation and profession of teachers. Second, how to make the offering of and demand for teachers match by putting teachers where they are needed the most. Third, how to ensure the professional level and development of present and future teachers.

The fact that the Government is getting more and more involved in teacher education has given reason to speak about a separate teacher policy. Inspired by the new public management doctrine, teacher education becomes more and more based on the interests and satisfaction of different social stakeholders (parents, community), and the focus has shifted from expertise- and theory-centeredness to effectiveness, responsiveness and practicality.

Career and position systems have not been able to offer a cure for the chronic lack of quality teachers, therefore both systems are looking for novel approaches to the preparation and recruitment of teachers. One of them is the alternative and more flexible possibilities of entering the teaching profession. In addition to that, it is tried to place the teachers who already work to the regions where the problems with the number or quality of teachers are the greatest. Alternative ways of entering teaching profession are quietly gaining wider political recognition because it is believed such approach fits well with modern dynamic employment patterns. Estonia is also making steps towards liberalising the system, and the best example here is the launching of the American programme „Youth to School” in 2007. In order to ensure the so-called difficult regions with quality teachers, both positive special treatment (bonuses for relocation), and supportive rewarding mechanisms for dealing with difficult students are used.

In comparison to successful states, the Government of Estonia has been slower in initiating reforms in the in-service training of working teachers. If in the South-East Asian and several European countries the state has increased its role in the in-service training of teachers, then in Estonia it belongs to the sphere of decision-making and activities of non-government sector and autonomous universities. Secondly, one-size-fits-all model, which does not take into account the different work experience and needs of the teachers, prevails in Estonian teacher training. Such small differentiation of teacher policy measures and lack of strategic planning makes initiating reforms difficult and their cost badly manageable.

## Occupational Health

### *Occupational Health in a „Win-Win” Health Care System*

*Mari Järvelaid, acting head of Occupational Health Office, Health Board*

The aim of health system – longer life and more healthy life years – can be achieved in cooperation between different levels of health care.

The average life expectancy in the European Union has risen to more than 81 years. In Estonia, too, the life expectancy at birth and number of healthy life years has increased during the last years. But the number of people with primary permanent incapacity for work has also increased, having almost doubled since 2001 and forming nearly 9.5 per cent of population in 2011.

The poll conducted within the framework of Estonian Labour Force Study 2011 (health and capacity for work module) showed that less than two per cent of 50–54 year old workers had very good health and 49.5 per cent considered their health good; only one per cent of 60–64 year olds considered their health very good and 29 per cent good, so that it can be said most people have problems with health.

On 15 March this year, the experts of the Member States of the European Union came together at the invitation of the French in order to discuss the diagnosing of occupational diseases. The experts' attention was focused on Denmark where more than 17,000 new cases of occupational diseases were diagnosed last year. European practice shows that the more occupational diseases are diagnosed in a country, the more effective the prevention of occupational diseases is.

According to the ILO, occupational health care has a considerable impact on economy because it is estimated that four per cent of the gross product of world economy is lost because of workplace accidents and occupational diseases. According to the European Commission, work-related risk factors cause 8.8 per cent of deaths globally.

In real life there are actually very few such black-and-white situations where health disorders are caused only by work. Registered work-related illnesses are like an iceberg under the water – the top that is above water is of different height in every country. It should not be forgotten that people learn to live with their diseases, and recognising a disease requires knowledge. Usually the early recognising of the first signs of a health disorder gives an advantage in the form of preventing the disease, quicker healing, smaller medical treatment expenses and preserving of capacity for work.

Work health can contribute to the early prevention of work-related health disorders of men and women, and increasing the number of healthy life years. The solving of a problem begins by admitting boldly that there is a problem. Making occupational health service a fully-fledged part of the health care system is a key to better future and in conclusion a win-win possibility to the state, the employers and the workers.

## **Globalisation**

### ***Estonia-Finland Transnational Space: Possibilities and Risks***

*Mari-Liis Jakobson, Lecturer of Political Science, Tallinn University*

*Leif Kalev, Associate Professor of State Theory and State Law, Tallinn University*

*Rein Ruutsoo, Professor of Political Theory, Tallinn University*

This year's population census and several initiatives have brought the people who have left Estonia after the restoration of independence to public attention. Most researches have focused on the number of emigrants or potential emigrants, and on how to attract people to return. Due to the great difference in the standards of living, attracting to return has greatly remained rhetoric and in many European countries there are quite large communities of Estonian emigrates. The article introduces one part of the recently completed collaborative project TRANS-NET, financed by the European Commission – analysis of the Estonia/Finland transnational space.

There is no point in regarding the established situation only as a situation of emergency because it also contains possibilities. During the last decade, research of transnationalism has emerged in the social sciences. Globalisation or reducing the impact of geographical and social restrictions also means that people are more and more connected with several places of residence, keeping old and establishing new connections, and working in several countries. It is possible to maintain relations with people across the border. The problem is how well we know these possibilities, and what we are ready for ourselves. Estonia and Finland are at the same time close and also different countries. This has brought along a kind of functional differentiation, with one country having one set of possibilities and limitations, and the other country the other, and the operator in the transnational space has the possibility of compiling a satisfactory package of them.

On the other hand, to a certain extent such differentiation has also made the transnational space a space of unequal possibilities. A successful state needs a strategy for cross-border governing. As the research showed, Finland in many ways already has it – they are able to use Estonia as an extension of their labour market and economy, to engage in negotiations with their diaspora, etc. However, Estonia has great many possibilities for improving its position. Instead of ignoring the issue of emigration or simple attracting-to-return schemes, we need a more carefully planned policy of transnationalism that takes into account the real situation of these people. Purposeful work is required to use the possibilities of transnationalism successfully. It is an important and so far quite little used resource of development tiny Estonia has in the globalising world.

## **Sultanism**

### *Sultanism in the Modern World*

*Alo Raun, Doctoral Candidate, Institute of Political Science and Governance, Tallinn University*

One form of authoritarian government bears a more colourful name than others – Sultanism. At the same time it is an interesting fact that none of the post-WWII states that Juan Linz and his fellow thinkers have gathered under this name have been governed by a sultan during the time they have borne this title. The researchers that have studied Sultanism consider it such a peculiar type of regime that they regard Sultanism one of the three or four main types of authoritarian regime. At the same time they admit that not many such regimes exist nowadays. Therefore it would be interesting to study more closely if the countries that are classified under this title are really so different from others that they deserve to be brought out separately. The article tries to answer this question, relying on several books where the notion of Sultanism has been discussed and where Linz is the (co-)author, and also on a more recent analysis of political regimes that also concentrates on Sultanism (Alan Siaroff 2005). On this background it is examined in which meaning Max Weber used the term in the first decades of the last century.

According to the hypothesis of the article, the Sultanism of both Max Weber's and Juan Linz's school and the Sultanism with totalitarian influences that exists today are subdivisions of the ideal type of one and the same regime that are distinguished from each other by the nature of the preceding regime and the level of modernisation of the country, but which are quite similar in other aspects. In these regimes the state power is more modernised than the society in general, and this progress and the state power primarily serve the personal interests of the ruler, help to collect the power extensively in the hands of the ruler.

The research confirms the hypothesis, and it becomes clear that the Sultanist regimes not only deserve to be distinguished from others by their peculiar features, but it is also possible to speak of three sub-types: traditional, new and post-totalitarian Sultanism. In this way it is possible to overcome the contradictions between the pre-modern reality of Weber, the modernised reality of Linz's school and today's post-totalitarian regimes (Turkmenistan and North-Korea).

## Parliament

### *Private Member's Bills in Parliament: a Comparative Study of Finland and Estonia*

*Mihkel Solvak, Researcher of Comparative Politics, Institute of Government and Politics, University of Tartu*

The percentage of private member's bills (PMB) in overall legislation in parliamentary systems tends to be small. As a rule, the executive tends to dominate over the legislative branch in initiating legislation. Regardless of this, members of parliament (MP) tend to be quite active sponsors of legislation. This study analyses 328 such PMBs from the period of 1999–2007 in Estonia and 665 bills from 2003–2007 in Finland. The success rate of these bills was 37.9% and 4.5% in Estonia and Finland respectively. The high number of sponsored bills stands in marked contrast to the low number of passed ones. This raises the question why MPs engage in apparently irrational behaviour of using their limited time to sponsor a large number of bills that will most likely never be passed. The article looks at the sponsoring, substance and the legislative process of these bills. The primary explanatory mechanism focuses on the personal vote notion, which captures the degree to which individualistic behaviour of MPs is rewarded by the electoral system. The results show that the degree of the personal vote explains PMB sponsorship frequency. MPs who operate in a setting that is comparatively more rewarding towards individualistic behaviour sponsor these bills in greater numbers. The substance of the bills and their fate in the legislative process depends however on the coalition or opposition status of the MP and not on the personal vote level of the sponsor. Variance within an electoral system therefore structures behaviour in parliament, but the effects are not strong enough to influence parts of the electoral process that follow the initiation of a bill.

## CIVIL SOCIETY AND STATE AUTHORITY

### Involvement Infrastructure

#### *The Idea of the Statistical Portrait of the Estonian Civil Society and Involvement Infrastructure*

*Aare Kasemets, head of research group, Estonian Public Service Academy*

*Ülle Lepp, Doctoral Candidate of Public Administration, Tallinn University of Technology*

*Margus Dsiss, author of KYPO IT-solution, MAD Innovators OÜ*

The article deals with the background system, results and political recommendations of the idea project „Portrait of Citizens' Society” (“Kodanikeühiskonna portree”, KYPO). The starting point are the problems of participation democracy in Estonia and the problems of the implementation of Estonian Civil Society Concept, connected with the involvement of citizens' associations, and of good involvement practice (2005, 2011), drawn up on the example of OECD involvement report (2001). On the basis of analyses the authors claim

that in spite of many efforts, ensuring the quality of statistics on citizens' associations and involving of stakeholders have not become an accepted part of policy shaping, legislation and public administration (altogether, good governance).

The first part of the article deals with the story and theoretical background system of the KYPO idea, among other things the authors improve the OECD involvement framework, adding the fourth component, namely the preparatory work of a policy initiator – the mapping of stakeholders and preparing involvement plan – to the existing components of informing, consulting and participation. In the second part the quality and participation problems of data gathered from the citizens' associations of the country are analysed and the possibilities of the KYPO demo version are introduced. The third part focuses on the proposals collected from the target groups during the KYPO project; the proposals concern the functions of several ministries and the parliamentary oversight functions of the Riigikogu as the representative body of citizens.

In spite of the quality problems of national registry data, the demo version of KYPO ([www.kypo.ee](http://www.kypo.ee)) is a sufficiently integral and practical e-tool that can be used in performing the tasks of the officials dealing with the involvement of citizens' associations in legislation at ministries, leaders of citizens' associations, members of the Riigikogu, journalists, teachers of civil education, etc., when it is necessary: (a) to e-map citizens' associations as target groups of development plans, laws, public services or projects at the level on the state, counties, cities and rural municipalities (KYPO as online involvement infrastructure); (b) to find quickly in one e-window general data on Estonian civil society and its associations, guardian organisations, studies, financing information, state e-services for associations, etc. (KYPO as the portrait and gate of civil society); (c) to know and observe the civil society development plan of the Government of the Republic (KODAR) 2011–2014 objectives, instruments and statistics reflecting the results (KYPO as reports web).

## Ecovillage

### *On the Threshold of Community Leap*

*Madis Masing, Chairman of the Board, Estonian Ecovillage Movement*

An ecovillage is an integrated and ecologically sustainable human community that can exist both in a city and in the country. Members of the communities share the same ecological, social-economic, cultural and spiritual values, their collective identity is formed of similar world view and sense of being members of one group, they follow agreed-upon social norms and rules, traditions of meeting, acting and working together, and live close to one another. Humankind developed in harmony with nature and our planet, but during the last centuries human activity has managed to damage it. Hundreds, maybe thousands species have become or are in danger of becoming extinct, we ourselves are stressed, suffer from bad health and do not care about others. The governments have not found working and universal solutions to such problems as poverty, wars, violence, hunger and other pointless human sufferings. Nothing has been achieved with policies that are centralised from above. Change can only come from below, from the grassroots level – from the civil society. Strong personality, strong family, strong community, strong society, strong humankind.

Community leap is a peaceful, smooth change of social system that results in a socially, economically and ecologically sustainable living environment. Considering the global situation where many resources are drastically diminishing and the number of population

is dramatically increasing, we should review our habits, including consuming habits, and behaviour. Estonia has all the conditions necessary for being among the first in the world to carry out the community leap. We have free space, clean drinking water, forests, fertile land, natural building materials and clever, pragmatic and industrious people. Estonia has already exported the Let's Do It! campaign of cleaning, so that the path has already been trodden in. The communal way of living exists deep in our culture, common memory and identity. The generation of grandmothers and grandfathers who have lived close to nature and economically, and who have the knowledge, skills and experience, is still alive. The future of the planet and humankind, the skills the future generations will have, their sense of belonging together and identity depend on the community leap. The extent of today's problems – violence, crime, hunger, unemployment, stress and depression – will depend on it. Whether we will achieve harmony with nature and among ourselves, and live on happily, freely and wisely, will depend on it.

## INTERNATIONAL PARLIAMENTARY RELATIONS

### *The Riigikogu and the NATO Parliamentary Assembly*

*Marko Mihkelson, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Riigikogu*

The Parliamentary Assembly of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) is a forum that unites the parliaments and politicians of its member states and primarily performs an advisory function. In 1991–2003, Estonia had the status of an associate member in the Assembly. Since 2004 the Riigikogu is represented there by a three-member delegation. The delegation of the Riigikogu has proven that we are serious and equal members of the Assembly. Sven Mikser, member of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly since spring 2003, has been the head of the Subcommittee on Transatlantic Cooperation of the Defence and Security Committee and has been elected Vice-President of the Assembly. Mikser was also the rapporteur of the Assembly during the preparation of the new Strategic Concept of NATO, and was elected the Chief Rapporteur of Defence and Security Committee at the annual session of 2010. Thus the Estonian delegation has been quite visible in the activities of the Assembly. NATO Parliamentary Assembly plenary session took place in Tallinn on 25–28 May 2012. Besides the delegations of 26 Member States, politicians from 13 states with associate member status, European Parliament and international parliamentary organisations, associated partner delegations of Mediterranean region from Algeria, Jordan and Morocco and visiting politicians from Kosovo and the Mediterranean Assembly took part in the Session.

## LITERATURE AND DATABASES

### *Estonia's Own e-Book*

*Kairi Felt, Head of Collection Development Department, e-Collections Coordinator, National Library of Estonia*

Last year can be considered the successful beginning of the production of Estonian e-books. The article gives an overview of what an e-book is and where it is possible to get it. Publishers and bookshops offer the readers an ever expanding choice of e-books in all possible formats. An important problem is making the book files copying-safe and guaranteeing copyright; the unfairly high VAT rate of e-books in comparison to paper books is a problem. The National Library deals with the issues of acquiring legal deposits and digital archiving. The libraries that are interested in lending e-books are considering whether to join ELLU, the newly completed reading environment of Tallinn Central

Library or to start lending e-book readers like Tartu City Library. For that, the user possibilities offered by different e-book readers and the price-quality relationships have to be thoroughly studied.