

# Summaries in English

## EDITOR-IN-CHIEF'S COLUMN

### Twenty

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

This year we celebrated the twentieth anniversary of many events that were important to Estonia after regaining independence: the entry into force of our Constitution, start of the work of the Riigikogu, elections of the President, and also the adoption of the Estonian *kroon*. During the last decade the people of Estonia were mostly occupied with earning money, and in the years of the economic crisis everybody tried to overcome the economic difficulties independently, by himself or herself. Reassurance that the economy and the finances of the country are in order was sufficient – then all other problems could be solved. In the twentieth year of regained independence we may be happy that we have awoken again as a nation and are ready to have a say in many issues that are of importance in the life of the state, both at the local and national level. After long silence, speaking can sound too loud or cacophonous. But actually all kinds of protests, including also strikes, meetings and proclamations, are a part of democracy. Criticising the functioning of the state, not to speak of the activities a political party or a politician, does not mean being against the state. On the contrary, it is motivated by the desire to make things better. In twenty years the world has changed a lot. The authorities are not so respected as they used to be; if a person expresses his or her opinion about something, including politics, he or she wants to get feedback as soon as possible. Those who want to have a say in politics are not satisfied only by the possibility to make a decision at ballot boxes once every four years. Thus the representative democracy also has to change. It is necessary to find formats that allow the opinions of the citizens to be heard and taken into account in the parliamentary procedures more effectively. The way decisions are made in power structures has to be open and understandable, keeping in mind both involvement and the representation of one's own interests. The more universal the rules are, the more they strive to avoid subjectivity, the better it is. The solving of these tasks will positively mitigate the opposition that by today has formed between the power and the civic society. There will always be certain contradictions, and it is good because dissatisfaction with the way things are is the driving force of progress.

## ESSAY

### A Glance on the Recent Census

**Ene-Margit Tiit**, Professor Emeritus at the University of Tartu, Senior Methodologist of Statistics Estonia, Head of Methodology of the Population and Housing Census

In the author's opinion, the trends that characterise the development of population in Estonia at present generally are not positive. This was also confirmed by the population and housing census of 2011 – the number of people is decreasing, the population is aging and natural birth rate is negative. Although the natural birth rate practically reached zero in 2010, further changes are not so positive. The second reason for the decrease of population is migration, to be more exact – the negative balance of emigration. Inside the country, the population gathers

around the capital and borderlands are emptying. But these are not any unprecedented or extraordinary phenomena, because relatively similar development trends can be noted in several other developed countries, including the neighbours of Estonia. Although the census has shown that all trends characterising the development of the population of Estonia during the recent years have been continuous, it should be considered important that thanks to the census, our general knowledge was complemented by detailed estimations in numbers, which are necessary for planning of several measures. All these trends should be treated as challenges to the Estonian society and especially to politicians. Managing or even turning the current negative processes is possible, but requires common efforts.

## **POLITICS**

### **Estonian Democracy**

#### **Politics Needs Openness**

#### **Riigikogu Toimetised conversation circle**

*The Riigikogu Toimetised (RiTo)* conversation circle on 28 November discussed the Estonian political party system – its formation after the restoration of independence and later development as well as its current problems and the ways to overcome them. The participants in the conversation circle were former Members of the Riigikogu Jüri Adams, Liia Hänni and Ott Lumi. *RiTo* Editor-in-Chief Helle Ruusing acted as the moderator and compiled a summary of the discussion.

Looking at the development of the Estonian political parties through the years, the participants of the conversation circle found that several amendments to the Acts which, on the one hand, organised the political party system were, on the other hand, restrictive, requiring first of all that the political parties were big and strong. In order to achieve that, among other things, the requirement of one thousand members was established for the political parties. Now we have reached the situation where we have only four parties in the Parliament. This has made several political observers ask whether a people's representative body in such a form guarantees that the fundamentally different interests that exist in the society have a fair access to decision-making. The participants in the conversation circle quite unanimously agreed that the requirement of one thousand members must be mitigated to open the participation in politics to more people and associations with different views. At the same time it was found that unlike many other countries, taking part in the life of the society through political parties is in the eyes of our people a surprisingly acceptable form of participation. Leaving aside all other problems connected with political parties, from the financing concerns of small parties to the possible cartelisation of large parties, it is certainly positive that people have joined the political parties and want to have a say in politics through them.

### **European Union**

#### **About the Federalisation of Europe**

**Kristjan Aruoja**, Adviser, Research Department, Chancellery of the Riigikogu

The aim of this short overview of the federalisation of Europe is to provide a brief insight to the most evident legal developments of the European Union (EU) towards deeper integration and the reasons why questions about it have risen.

In the course of economic integration, the EU has reached a level somewhere between an economic union and a political union. It is therefore a union within which the factors of production move freely between the member states and where some policy areas have been harmonised, but which does not yet have a common government. The EU has got there via two main lines of action – by improving the founding treaties and by developing the case-law in a union-friendly way.

Several treaty changes have enhanced the competences of the EU, but since the electorate does not always seem to be truly satisfied with the path the Union has taken, some setbacks, e.g. with the Constitutional Treaty, have occurred. Another, sometimes even more powerful set of guiding principles has come from the Court of Justice of the European Union, which has interpreted the treaties in a practically effective way in order that the EU could take further steps in becoming a true federation.

However, the federalisation has not gone all as smoothly as wished by the so-called elite. When the decision-makers have focussed on the integration of states, they sometimes have forgotten the people who are originally the ones to decide over the future of Europe. The deadlocks in the development of the EU project stem largely from the remote and sometimes even alienated nature of the Union itself. The more the people realise (and it is largely the duty of the governments to explain) how the EU affects their everyday life, the more they will integrate into the EU matters.

The bottom line to bear in mind is that the federalisation of Europe has not evolved overnight, but has rather been a directed project with a clear aim from the beginning. Therefore, understanding the Union and its developments is crucial, and on the basis of the knowledge one acquires, initiative should be taken where necessary.

## **Arab World**

### **Regional Revolutionary Situation and Revolutions in North-Africa and Middle East**

#### **Toomas Alatalu, PhD, Political Scientist at Tallinn University**

When the citizens of several Muslim countries came to protest on the streets at the same time with the revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt, the notion ‘Arab Spring’ was launched. It soon became clear that this was not sufficient to convey adequately what was taking place. And it was also clear soon that none of the main actors of big politics, or the USA, Europe, Russia, as well as China, did not expect that there would be revolutions in this part of the world, at least not in such a number. At the same time the first Arabian revolutions overthrew the regimes that had been the long-term partners of Western countries, the next revolutions ended the regimes operating under leftist slogans and the third ones are even now fighting in the name of becoming free of authoritarianism. Or after the events of 2010–2012, greater clarity is still ahead there. Thus it is possible to speak about the cessation of the regional revolutionary situation only when the processes that have had a direct impact on one another have ended with either revolutions or failed attempts to seize power; the latter can be either the military victory of those in power or the fading of the mass movements themselves. All

these possible developments can be noted when you look more deeply at the events taking place in North-Africa and Middle East.

## **Citizenship**

### **Possibilities and Risks of Multiple Citizenship**

**Leif Kalev, Professor of Theory of State, Tallinn University**

**Ruth Annus, Doctoral Candidate of State and Political Science, Tallinn University**

Establishing a citizenship regime is a very complex matter where one has to find the best possible balance between human rights, the functioning of the state as a whole, and a practical administrative solution. One also has to consider what kind of solutions are legitimate enough in the given social space of values and actions. The European states are of different opinions on the matter of allowing or prohibiting multiple citizenship.

Estonian citizenship policy has changed very little since the restoration of independence, and we have always supported the opinion that the main principles of citizenship policy should not be changed. Acknowledging the fact that many Estonian citizens who were refugees have acquired citizenship of another country in addition to that of Estonia during the Soviet occupation, and with that, have become citizens of several states, Estonia has still adopted a prohibition of multiple citizenship as the basis of its citizenship policy. Avoiding multiple citizenship is a fundamental principle of Estonian citizenship policy. This is based on the assumption that Estonian citizens respect Estonian laws, and the state does not need to apply sanctions or force the person that is a citizen of some other state in addition to being a citizen of Estonia to give up on one or the other citizenship.

Currently many Estonian citizens have ties in several countries, so legalization of multiple citizenship would potentially affect at least 245,000 persons. This is a considerable amount of people connected with Estonia, whose rights and interests would be affected by the made decisions.

The standards of international laws concerning multiple citizenship are not binding for Estonia. The Constitution does not oblige to allow multiple citizenship and does not declare this impossible, so allowing or continuing to prohibit multiple citizenship is an issue of political decision. According to the Constitution, it is possible in the case of allowing multiple citizenship to treat citizens by birth and naturalized citizens differently, if there is a valid reason. The Constitution allows to provide a list of states whose citizenship Estonian citizens are allowed to acquire. Should the multiple citizenship be legalized in any way, Estonia's citizenship policy will change drastically. This would bring along serious expenses, so in the light of defending the Constitutional values a question of political interests arises: should we spend public resources to cover the expenses that would arise from the legalization of multiple citizenship, or should we rather use them to support and strengthen the Estonian communities in different countries? The latter however would first require collecting and analyzing an adequate amount of data, since the establishing of social ties with and attitudes towards Estonia of citizens and compatriots living abroad cannot be achieved quickly.

When considering the possibility of legalizing multiple citizenship in whichever way and for whatever groups of persons, it has to be kept in mind that a decision of this kind is practically irreversible, so the decision on the legalization of multiple citizenship should not be made in haste. An extensive public debate based on sufficient basic information and analysis has to precede the decision-making.

## **Social Guarantees**

### **On Incapacity for Work in the Context of the Planned Insurance against Incapacity for Work**

**Vootele Veldre**, Analyst, PRAXIS Centre for Policy Studies

**Märt Masso**, Analyst, PRAXIS Centre for Policy Studies

**Priit Kruus**, Analyst, PRAXIS Centre for Policy Studies

Creating insurance against incapacity for work that would be favourable for workers with health problems, rational from the point of view of using the means of social insurance and acceptable to employers is a real challenge for Estonian policy shapers. On the basis of examples from other countries, it is possible to presume in the opinion of the authors that there are several functioning combinations of choices. At the same time, superficial copying of the practices of other countries may force society in the years to come to pick the bitter fruits. Strict procedure for allowing benefits that is not accompanied by timely supporting of persons with health problems with appropriate means may result in making some of those in need of help to fall through the social insurance network. Forceful increasing of the employer's responsibility may cause unfounded fears in those who choose personnel and bring along discrimination of older people and workers suffering from chronic diseases on the labour market. Taking all this into account, the planned insurance against incapacity for work requires making compromises. In order to find a solution acceptable to all parties, it is expected that the discussion for shaping the foundations of the system would begin before the legislators receive a concrete package of draft documents.

## **CONSTITUTIONAL INSTITUTIONS**

### **Riigikogu**

#### **Public Trust towards the Riigikogu, 1995–2012**

**Andres Reiljan**, Postgraduate student of Comparative Politics, University of Tartu

**Vello Pettai**, Professor of Comparative Politics, University of Tartu

The aim of this article is to give an overview of the main trends in public trust towards the national parliament in Estonia in the years 1995–2012, to explain these trends and to analyze the distribution of trust towards parliament between different groups based on socio-demographic position and political views.

Trust towards the parliament has fluctuated between 32% and 57% during this period. Lowest rates appeared during the times of economic hardships, trust peaked after the parliamentary elections of 2003 and 2007.

In 2012, the trust towards parliament in Estonia is 8% higher than the EU average and two times higher than the average of Central and Eastern European Member States.

Main findings about socio-demographic bases of trust are that the respondents with higher education show a slightly higher trust than the people with lower education. Respondents from the wealthiest households trust the parliament significantly more than respondents from the poorest households. Also, Estonians tend to have much higher trust than minorities, after the events that took place in April of 2007. People aged 15–19 have significantly higher trust than all other age groups.

Also, politically right-wing respondents show higher trust towards the parliament, and the trust rate of people with no interest in politics is very low.

Fluctuations in trust rate coincide with the electoral cycle, as it rises in the election year and then descends. That U-shaped cycle has also been noticed in other countries and is thought to be associated with the public perception of government performance: right after the elections, hopes are high as the new cabinet steps into office, but as time passes, the „honeymoon” phase ends and disappointment follows. The correlation coefficient between trust in the parliament and trust in the government is 0.86 in Estonia, which indicates a very strong connection between the trustworthiness of these institutions in public perceptions.

The assumption that trust towards the parliament may be derived from public satisfaction with government performance is confirmed by data: trust rate shows significant correlations with government budgetary position and unemployment rate.

### **Twenty Years of the Riigikogu: a Change from a Working to a Debating Parliament?**

**Mihkel Solvak**, Research Fellow, Institute of Government and Politics, University of Tartu

The analysis looks at how the balance in legislative activity between the parliament and the government has changed in Estonia over the last 20 years. The parliament has become continuously less active while the government has started to dominate heavily in sponsoring and passing of legislation. A comparison of Estonia with the old Western European democracies as well as with other new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) shows a development of very similar patterns. The Estonian *Riigikogu*, along with other CEE parliaments, has been gradually losing out to the government in initiating legislation, but is still clearly more active in comparison to Western Europe. Whether the growing passivity in a branch traditionally associated with „working parliaments” is compensated with actions typical for „debating parliaments” is evaluated on the background of the data on government oversight function of the parliament. It seems that the *Riigikogu* is indeed more active in overseeing the government, as its role in initiating legislation diminishes. Overall, the results point towards a normalization process with the *Riigikogu* becoming more like its counterparts in old Western parliamentary democracies.

## **STUDIES AND OPINIONS**

## **Direct Democracy**

### **Dialogues on Direct Democracy in the Riigikogu: Processing of Legalization of Public Initiative in 2003–2008\***

**Ero Liivik**, Doctoral Candidate, University of Tartu

Direct democracy is closely connected to the principle of national sovereignty. The latter emphasizes first of all the people as the bearers and the source of state power: the right to organise the political power and to approve of its structure belongs to the people, and has to arise from the legitimization and will of the people. The people can exercise the supreme power of state either by electing the parliament or through direct democracy, for which there are referendums and public initiatives. In principle, parliamentary elections and direct democracy (primarily in the form of a referendum) exist in the constitutions side by side: legislative powers are divided between the parliament and the people according to the principle which ensures that the power of the state functions on a limited and balanced basis, enabling control over the activities of the government through direct democracy. The referendum is the right of the people to put a veto on the decisions of the government; the people voting in the referendum constitute a kind of a second or third chamber of the parliament. Direct democracy has an important role as a warrant of legitimacy of political decisions. For example, a study conducted in the European Union has shown that the citizens' awareness and understanding of the way in which political institutions function is larger if they themselves have the possibility to directly participate in the processes of political decision-making. The studies have shown that many Estonians also believe that enforcing direct democracy is important. The political parties, however, do not share their enthusiasm.

Both forms of direct democracy were known in the Constitution of the Republic of Estonia in force before 1940. The Constitution in force at present stipulates a referendum, but not public initiative. Although only one referendum has taken place in Estonia so far (in 2003 in connection with accession to the European Union), the Parliament has continuously made attempts to initiate referendums on different issues. In addition to that, there have been several bills, the purpose of which was to legitimize the public initiative through making amendments to the Constitution, and to create an institution for referendum. During the X and XI Riigikogu a draft act adding an amendment to the Constitution was being processed. Its purpose was to legitimize public initiative. The draft act stipulated that a public initiative can be initiated by at least 25,000 citizen having the right to vote. Alas, this process finished unsuccessfully, and the Act was never passed. The author has conducted a qualitative research – by using discourse analysis methodology, he established the main direct democracy discourses in the parliamentary debates that handled the legitimization of public initiative. The author analyzes the reasons for previous failures of direct democratic initiatives in Estonia as well as makes proposals on possibilities to improve the current situation.

## **Innovation**

### **Public Procurements and Innovation in Estonia: Why Spend 11 Million Euros per Day?\***

**Veiko Lember**, Senior Researcher of the Institute of Public Administration,  
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**Tarmo Kalvet**, Senior Researcher of the Institute of Public Administration,  
Tallinn University of Technology

The idea of innovation-based public procurements is mostly based on the belief that the public sector that is active in the market and that has a great purchase capability can influence the market participants through demand. In 2010, Estonia's public sector spent around 11 million euro per workday on procurements. Although support of innovation through public procurements is stressed in several strategies (first and foremost „Knowledge-based Estonia 2007–2013” and „Development Plan of Estonian Information Society 2013”), no concrete measures have been established, and the awareness is low.

On the basis of interviews and extensive questioning of entrepreneurs, it can be said that public procurements have a modest impact on the innovation of companies in Estonia: few new products, services or production processes are being developed due to participating in a public procurement or as the result of fulfilling a contract entered into with the public sector. Public procurements have influenced innovation in the field of information technology and communication, although the innovation-friendliness of the public sector (through public procurements) has lessened. In general, innovation is being hindered by the price pressure of public procurements and the low capability level of the supplier.

The authors analyze possible political alternatives through four possibilities: innovation-supporting public procurement as technology policy, as research and development policy, as cross-dimensional innovation-supporting public procurement policy, and as a conscious policy of non-intervention. Considering the restrictions existing in Estonia, as well as the potential impact of such political measures, the authors recommend turning to the first scenario. According to that, the state remains a conscious policymaker and promoter of development of technology in the fields where it has a great purchasing capability, a larger than average experience in technology, or where it sees the social-economic potential of developing of clusters and networks. In many countries where strong bonds between public procurements and innovation have become established, public procurements are connected with the objectives of the policy in specific areas (e.g. security, welfare, energy).

### **Have the Changes in Education during the Period of Independence Become Social Innovation?**

**Krista Loogma**, Professor, Institute of Educational Sciences, Tallinn University

2012 is the year of social innovation in the European Union. With this, we try to draw attention to the importance of innovations that initiate from the „grassroots” as well as to such aspects of implementation of „top-down” reforms and political changes that have remained in the shadows until now. People began to widely use the idea of social innovations in the beginning of the 1990s, both in the fields of innovation and politics. However, the widespread use of the concept and its becoming a „buzzword” has made it vague, meaningless, and often pointless. From the variety of meanings, it is still possible to point out the main definitions: social innovation as a way to deal with social problems and crises by inventing, implementing, and spreading new practices, ways of acting, as well as organizational solutions on the grassroots level. Using the concept of social innovation helps to better understand and explain if and how the reforms, legislative amendments and other „top-down” changes, as well as broader social (e.g. post-socialist) transitions are implemented through the changes of social institutes, and what is the social gain that these changes could bring along.



Education is one sphere where, according to different analyses and positions, many reforms are made, but very few actual changes occur. The article is aimed at explaining how the concept of social innovation and its implementation are being understood. Analysis of different definitions and interpretations allows to increase the analytical value of the concept in order to understand how deep changes have occurred as a result of e.g. reforms, and if legislative amendments have also led to social innovation.

## **Risks**

### **Risk: Construction and Coping**

**Kati Orru**, Research Fellow of Environmental Sociology, Estonian University of Life Sciences

**Mati Heidmets**, Professor of Social Psychology, Tallinn University

Major crises like nuclear accidents, terrorist attacks, food poisonings or even banking crises have provoked large-scale societal responses in Europe and world-wide. This article discusses the key explanations for public responses to risks, and the ways in which understanding of risks shapes individual and state-level decision-making. The likelihood of the occurrence of adverse events and the magnitude of their effects are measured with precise methodologies, be it for quantifying the risks of flooding, polluting of drinking water or other. The societal responses to risks do not often follow these risk assessments, though. For example, people tend to overestimate the risks of microbiological poisonings or flooding, whereas they underestimate the effects of every-day accidents, diabetes or cardio-vascular diseases.

There are some key explanations for how people perceive risks and act upon them. Primarily, people find it easier to tolerate risks the generation of which they understand. For example, the uncertainty that surrounds technological processes like nanotechnology and its environmental and health impacts is discouraging. Nevertheless, the level of education and knowledge about particular risks does not directly determine public reactions. Instead, people's decisions are greatly affected by the emotions associated with a risk. The more negative associations a hazard provokes, the more feared it is. The events with great catastrophic potential that threaten a great number of people and are out of the control of affected persons (e.g. nuclear accidents) are the most dreaded. By contrast, risks that offer pleasure and seem to be under the risk-taker's control (e.g. smoking or downhill skiing) are easily tolerated. Furthermore, risks are underestimated when the activities are associated with financial gains (e.g. working in contaminated environments) or with cultural traditions (e.g. drinking water from dug wells in agricultural areas). Another determinant of risk perception is the level of societal trust. The more trustful relationships prevail in society and between the lay public and regulators, the more secure they feel about risks to their security, health or environment. Paradoxically, trust towards state security measures decreases the readiness for individual action to protect oneself.

In democratic societies, public pressure is considered one of the important drivers of improved safety regulation. Societal attention to some risks may provoke large-scale changes in regulation (e.g. a drastic change in nuclear policies in some European countries after the nuclear accident in Fukushima in 2011). By contrast, societal neglect of some topics (e.g. radioactive isotopes in Estonian drinking water) may push such issues out of political agenda, even though a great number of people are affected by this health threat. Furthermore, public

understanding of risks may shape the acceptance of safety regulations: e.g. higher cost of green energy, safe drinking water etc. Therefore, the awareness of the drivers of risk perception is crucial for careful consideration of public understandings of risk. Neglect of the biases affecting our risk cognition may lead to poor policy choices: e.g. stricter limitations of children's outdoor activities after occasional playground accidents. Regulatory reaction to any public fears may end up in everlasting 'firefighting', instead of focusing on long-term mitigation and reduction of risks.

## **Co-governance**

Towards a Single Government Approach: the Possibilities for Implementation of Client-based Logics in Collection of Public Financial Claims

Kerly Randlane, lecturer, Chair of Customs and Taxation, Estonian Public Service Academy; Doctoral Candidate of Public Administration, Tallinn University of Technology

All uncollected public financial claims – tax claims or fines – have an impact on the state budget and on the amount and quality of public services and goods provided by the state. So far the state has not established a single functioning central system for collecting its claims, public claims have no owner, and the collection process is characterised by fragmentation and institution-based logics.

Centralisation of the collection of public claims and implementation of client-based logics will not replace enforcement system or solve all shortcomings, but optimisation of the process will with great probability enable to save the resources of both bailiffs and the executive power. At the same time, the aim of the centralisation of public financial claims is not to separate the bailiffs totally from the enforcement system but, among other things, to free them from primary standard enforcement procedures so that they could deal with more complicated cases. Optimisation of the process would enable to improve the quality of public services by guaranteeing the reasonable administrative burden of participants in the proceedings and third persons, and the simplicity, speed and effectiveness of the process, as well as contribute to the accrual of the revenues of the state budget. In order to cope with the increasing financial obligations caused by aging of the population in the future, the limited human and financial resources have to be used to the maximum extent, making the state governance more flexible and moving towards a single government approach. Or in other words, public administration – the state in its everyday activities – is undergoing constant changing.

## **Co-governance in Police Work**

**Priit Suve**, police officer

The solving of drug problems faced by the police is very complicated; it requires the cooperation of people with different backgrounds and cultures. The hierarchic management based on command that has traditionally prevailed in the police is not suitable for leading the employees of public and private sector, from Estonia and abroad, with different cultures and values. It is necessary to have a more complex approach that is based on other notions – trust, partnership and negotiations. The management proceeding from the theory of co-governance includes different actors. In order to use this management method, it is necessary to understand the identity and values of the participants. In a command-based organisation, no special importance is attached to values and identity because tasks are solved according to

commands and creativity is not appreciated, but co-governance that is based on equality requires respect towards partners and empowers the actors.

Hierarchy and impersonal bureaucratic structure makes people inactive and unable to respond to the requirements of today's society. But horizontal and organic structure supports people's creativity and their capability to react quickly to problems. The success of co-governance is guaranteed by the knowledge that established social identity means belonging to a certain defined group, the members of the group are equal and things are seen from the group perspective. Contrary to that, role identity means acting according to the expectations attached to a specific role.

To empower the actors in a formal or informal democratic organisation, they have to be ensured as great independence as possible and adequate information about the decision process. When the actor becomes a part of the organisation, he or she will also acquire the identity of this organisation. In order to achieve success in forming groups and keeping them functioning, it is not enough to include just any actors. People feel happy and motivated, satisfied and committed when their values match the values of the organisation. Comprehending the values of an individual's level helps lead the subordinates better. The synergy of established aims and convictions is necessary for the implementation of any policy, and this also applies to co-governance. Such ideas can be applied only if we are convinced that in the environment surrounding us, it is possible to achieve success with this way of thinking.

## **Women's Employment**

### **Local Political Level as Influencing Factor on Behaviour of Women with Caring Responsibilities on Labour Market**

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In order to ensure the sustainability of the European social model it is important that an increasingly larger part of the working-age population, especially women with caring responsibilities, participated in the labour market and that they did so for a longer period than before. The article is based on the data from the project „Impact of local welfare systems on female labour force participation” (FLOWS) that was sponsored within the 7<sup>th</sup> framework programme of the European Union. The project coordinator is Aalborg University in Denmark. FLOWS is a study project of the seventh framework programme for the development of scientific studies and technologies, and is being carried out in 2011–2014, in 11 EU cities. Bologna (Italy), Brno (Czech Republic), Dublin (Ireland), Hamburg (Germany), Jyväskylä (Finland), Leeds (Great Britain), Nantes (France), Szekesfehervar (Hungary), Tartu (Estonia), Terrassa (Spain), and Aalborg (Denmark) participate in the study. On the basis of the analyses carried out in the FLOWS project framework up to now, we can say that the situation in Tartu does not differ too much from other local governments. However, we can confirm that through child care facilities and planning and regulating of caring after elderly

people, the local level has a great impact on the behaviour of women on the labour market. The local level cannot apply political changes on their own: its task lies first of all in finding the best solution to the given situation by using the resources available. As the analysis has shown, the task of coordinating lifelong learning systems was left to the state in almost all cities.

Taking into consideration that welfare services and investments in people have the most significant influence on the behaviour of women on the labour market, the task of supporting their participation in the labour market should be solved with a joint package of political measures. According to the reports that were compiled by the study groups, support of return, entry or staying of women in the labour market is not considered a priority at the local or at the state level.

Taking into account the objectives of Europe 2020, we need to strive to widen the participation possibilities for all demographic groups on the labour market. In order to enable women to more actively participate in the labour market, we need to achieve a stronger horizontal and cross-sector governance and cooperation, mutually supportive measures for child care and care for the elderly, as well as lifelong learning programmes.

## **Higher Education**

### **Access to Higher Education Reflected in Public Opinion**

**Kadri Täht**, Associate Professor of Institute for International and Social Studies, Tallinn University

**Jelena Helemäe**, Senior Researcher of Institute for International and Social Studies, Tallinn University

**Marii Paškov**, Doctoral Candidate, University of Amsterdam

The article characterizes the opinions prevailing in the society on equality of possibilities for acquiring education.

From the studies, it has become clear that the Estonian society does not have a single shared opinion on the existence of equal possibilities for acquiring higher education. Perception of the possibilities is in direct correlation with the social-economic status of the respondent, first of all his/her level of education: people with a lower level of education feel the inequality of access to higher education more acutely. In this way, we are very similar to many Central and East European countries. This situation has not developed purely because of the „socialist past”, but also due to the decisions made by the Republic of Estonia. Together with several other Central and East European states we are the opposites of the Nordic countries, where the general feeling of inequality in access to education is perceived much less, and so is the opinion that access to higher education depends on the size of the family’s income. In other words, akin to many Central and East European states (excluding Slovenia) we have not become a „learning society” like the Nordic countries.

The critical evaluation is being supported by the lack of balance between scholarships and tuition fees. The feeling of inequality in access to education in Estonia has a very rational basis that is closely related to real-life experience. In accordance with the results of the

Estonian labour-market studies, there is a belief that higher education provides significant advantages on the Estonian labour-market. More precisely, half of our adult population is of the opinion that „it is definitely worth it to strive for higher education even if the conditions are not favourable”. In other words, the pressure of real life for acquiring higher education is perceived so acutely that „it is definitely worth it to strive for higher education” only remotely relates to realistically perceiving the possibilities. Due to this real-life basis, the phrase „it is definitely worth it to strive for higher education” is turning into an actual belief, a self-evident goal. There is a growing tendency to justify not deciding in favour of acquiring higher education but against it. However, since the actual possibilities and how they are perceived are based on belonging to a certain social-economic group, it is the young people from families with limited income that are at greater risk of not being able to achieve the desired goals. Thus the globally acknowledged need to supplement the selection based on deserving by certain affirmative action is even more appropriate. Therefore the institutions offering higher education are obliged to actively search for talents in all society groups and the society, in its turn, has to be active in finding effective means to ensure equality in access to education.

## **CIVIL SOCIETY AND STATE AUTHORITY**

### **Values**

#### **Values and Behaviour Patterns Supporting Civil Initiative Comparison of Estonian-speaking and Russian-speaking Inhabitants**

**Tanel Vallimäe**, Research Fellow of Centre for Civil Society Study and Development, Tallinn University

The article provides an overview of the civil initiative values, behaviour patterns, and evaluations of the civil society of the inhabitants of Estonia. More precisely, it compares the Estonian-speaking and Russian-speaking population on the basis of the study carried out by the Centre for Civil Society Study and Development of Tallinn University in the summer of 2012 „Values and Behaviour Patterns Supporting Civil Initiative in the Estonian Society 2011–2012”. Actively involving non-Estonian speakers in political decision-making processes that concern them is a way the state can show respect towards these members of the civil society. This does not mean that the public authorities today do not support the non-Estonian speaking groups. However, one of the main tasks that the public authorities are currently facing is the need to become more actively involving, cooperative, and to enter into a dialogue. A citizen who is involved and acknowledged takes on the democratic civil culture. In other words, they understand how democracy functions. If the civil initiative of minority groups is low or is evolving separately from the civil initiative of the rest of the society, this could take on undesired forms.

### **Social Entrepreneurship**

#### **Social Business: Happy People, More Viable Economy**

**Küllli Kivioja-Ööpik**, Communications Manager, Estonian Social Enterprise Network

**Jaan Aps**, Member of the Board, Estonian Social Enterprise Network

The purpose of social entrepreneurship is to satisfy an acute social need by the profit received from the sale of goods and services. It may also be said that social entrepreneurship is an instrument for increasing the viability and positive social impact of citizens' associations. There have been social businesses in Estonia since the restoration of independence, but only during the last decade this sphere has really started to develop and interest towards it has increased. In spring 2012, the Memorandum of Association and Statutes of the Estonian Social Enterprise Network were signed by 19 organisations. Systematic approach to supporting social entrepreneurship enables to find more self-supporting solutions and reduce the burden on tax system because the dependence on state, i.e. the taxpayer's support will become lesser. By spring 2013, the Estonian Social Enterprise Network aims to double the number of its member organisations. It is also planned to introduce the benefits of social entrepreneurship to various ministries and agencies in order to develop the sphere together.

## **HISTORY OF THE PARLIAMENT**

### **Twenty Years of the Riigikogu Legal Affairs Committee**

**Tiina Kärnsa**, Consultant, Riigikogu Legal Affairs Committee

This year we celebrate the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the day the Riigikogu Legal Protection Committee started its work after the restoration of the independence of Estonia. The Committee, which now bears the name Legal Affairs Committee, has made a significant contribution to the development of the state. The article reflects the most outstanding achievements of the Legal Affairs Committee and their most important activities on the basis of the minutes of the sittings of the Committee, the sources compiled by the Chancellery of the Riigikogu and the recollections of the former Chairmen of the Legal Affairs (Protection) Committee in the summer of 2012. Memories of the Chairmen give an idea of the workload and attitudes of the Committee.

### **Estonian-Russian Border, Setu Question and History of Europe as Topic for Discussion for Council of Europe in Paris and Strasbourg between 1994 and 1995**

**Mati Hint**, Member of the VII Riigikogu, Professor Emeritus, Tallinn University

This article is a direct continuation to the „A Trip from St. Petersburg to Pechory”, published in the *Riigikogu Toimetised* in 2005 (No. 12). Like that article, this description of political travels between 1994 and 1995 is published in the same form it was written down during and after those travels. No changes in the contents of the text of that time have been made. The article describes the activities of a member of the Riigikogu in the Estonian delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. The time distance adds a certain value even to the description of the use of free time by the politician, as it seems to be connected with everything or to become connected to everything. This is why nothing has been omitted in these travel notes, except certain very personal details.

## **LITERATURE AND DATABASES**

### **Europeana**

#### **Europeana – a Fading Identity or a Possibility to Show Estonia?**

**Annika Koppel**, Head of Public Relations Department, National Library of Estonia, member of Estonian Europeana project

Europeana ([www.europeana.eu](http://www.europeana.eu)) is a digital library, museum and archive that realises the aim of European memory institutions to make the rich and diverse culture of this part of the world available to everybody. The idea of a virtual European library emerged in 2005; the project itself was launched two years later. By 2015, Europeana should have altogether 30 million digitised objects. The article gives an overview of the history of Europeana, the problems with software and the important projects, introduces the content of the four main websites of the institution and compares the contributions of member states. Estonia has been in Europeana from the very beginning. From Estonia, the Ministry of Culture, the National Library, the Estonian Film Archives, the Estonian National Museum and other museums, the National Heritage Board, the Ministry of Education and Research and the University of Tartu participate or have participated through different projects. Around 70,000 objects from Estonia are available in Europeana.

\* Peer reviewed research paper.