
Summaries

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF'S COLUMN

Culture is the sum of all (after Mihhail Lotman)

MART RAUDSAAR

Editor-in-chief of Riigikogu Toimetised

To simplify Lotman's idea, the culture exists in all forms of human activities. When our forefathers built their log houses, they used manual construction methods that had developed over a certain period. They did it without thinking that some of these houses would be declared heritage sites one day, or that some might even be moved to the Open Air Museum. It is only since the 19th century National Awakening that we have a professional national culture, an idea that we took from the Germans. So we have a popular culture and a national culture, and one way or another we carry both inside us.

The development of culture could be compared to the development of the Estonian cuisine. I like how all the new generation chefs keep developing the Estonian cuisine. History, local materials, seasonality, and the time given to us, combine in a tried and tested, and yet in a novel and more sophisticated way, which tells us something about the continuous shaping of our national consciousness (also see *Distinction* by Pierre Bourdieu). We need everything, most of all we need a multitude of cultural institutions (both large and small). What is the starter of the Estonian culture? How can the government support and develop it? These were the questions discussed in our traditional panel that united representatives from every parliamentary party.

Historical documents on paper have been preserved until our day, but the preservation of

digital records is not that simple. Methods for this are analysed in the article on digitalisation of our culture, written by professionals from the National Library of Estonia. The question of preservation is also central to the article on the national heritage monuments of Estonia, written by Siim Raie, Director-General of the National Heritage Board.

This year, the Estonian National Museum moved to its new building. Directors of the Museum Krista Aru and Tõnis Lukas write about the background, and the new opportunities of this development.

If a community centre becomes an educational institution, its impact and role can become regional. What is the regional role of the Viljandi Culture Academy? This is discussed in a collective article by teachers of the Academy.

In her doctoral thesis, Egge Kulbok-Lattik has studied the historical development of Estonia's cultural development, with particular focus on the development of community centres.

The topic of Estonian culture is concluded by Maarja Vaino, Director of Anton Hansen Tammsaare Museum. "We should emphasise the most important," she writes in her essay. "The uniqueness and vitality of the Estonian culture is determined by whether it is capable to reflect the whole world by and in itself, and describe everything in Estonian."

This issue of *Riigikogu Toimetised* also touches on other important questions: child care, presidential elections, security situation and international sanctions, and celebrating the centenary of the Republic of Estonia.

CONVERSATION CIRCLE

Shame is not in culture, but the lack of it

RIIGIKOGU TOIMETISED PANEL DISCUSSION

The latest Riigikogu Toimetised panel discussion took place on 9 November. This time, the representatives of the parliamentary parties discussed culture. The panel discussed cultural history until the present day, with the participation of Mart Helme (Estonian Conservative People's Party), Toomas Jürgenstein (Social Democratic Party), Priit Sibul (Pro Patria and Res Publica Union), Aadu Must (Estonian Centre Party), Krista Aru (Estonian Free Party), and Laine Randjärv (Estonian Reform Party). The latter sent her thoughts in writing.

Mart Helme: From the point of view of our little Estonia, I would say that the basis of our culture is still our language, and everything connected to it. I believe that we must pay wages to our writers, artists, maybe even representatives of certain other professions, because after all we cannot separate science from culture. But our education system is definitely also directly linked to culture. We must strive towards bringing up top specialists. I feel that neither our schools, nor our high culture can actually manage it.

Toomas Jürgenstein: When speaking of culture, it is extremely important to have a sense of balance between concrete [construction investments] and people. Whether we want it or not, we have cultural monuments that need huge funding to maintain, or to build. Cultural workers' salaries should also not be neglected. Apart from that, we need to find a balance between high culture and folk culture. When it comes to supporting culture, I believe we must be conscious of networks. For example, theatre workers in village societies also deserve a little financial support.

Aadu Must: Our cultural memory has become quite fragmented. We need to work with important foreign archives, and the state should support this. The state does not have to create all the culture by itself. It is important to involve the people. In our history, in our

national identity, there are some extremely important aspects that the state must be responsible for, and ensure their completion. We should also be more aware of the developments in Latvian and Lithuanian cultures.

Krista Aru: During the last decade, we have experienced the widest gap in the part of culture that is based on norms and values. If we look at the history of the Estonian nation, or the history of our entire society, we will see that a striving for education by our people is what has preserved our culture. In order to preserve our national culture, we need dependable large institutions that would keep memories alive and treasure the past. Those are, in a way, the pillars of our culture, and the state must definitely support these. There must also be a freely developing part that should not be over-regulated, or burdened by excessive bureaucracy.

Priit Sibul: We tend to believe that culture is somehow static and self-generating. We need to be braver and more systematic [in keeping our positions], as our surroundings change constantly. The definition of family has changed, and I am not sure I approve of the direction. It certainly will not carry on the culture in the way it has done for generations. In my opinion, we have also not tasked our education system with carrying it forward either. On the bright side, however, I see communities gathering around their community centres, and doing things together.

Laine Randjärv: The Estonian government actually supports culture very well, considering its means. It is also done very flexibly. I would personally prefer to fund hobby activities of young people in all fields, be it fine arts, ethnic culture, sports, science clubs, robotics, or any other guided leisure activities. This determines whether the next generation will develop the habit and skills of consuming and creating culture, so that in the years to come we could still be sure in the preservation of the Estonian culture.

FOCUS

Projection into future. A new beginning for the Estonian National Museum

TÕNIS LUKAS

Director of the Estonian National Museum

We can use the public interest in the new building of the Estonian National Museum (ERM) to tell its story. This has given us an excellent opportunity to speak about the main events in the history of the Estonian nation over the last one hundred years, and more.

The 19th century Estonian National Awakening led to cultural invigoration, and sparked a national interest in our roots; all this inspired the Estonian people to found the National Museum in 1909. The national independence prepared the ground for extending the activities of the ERM, and solving its problems with premises. The original building was destroyed in the battles of August 1944. Not content with destroying the building, the Soviet occupation forces also attempted to destroy its contents, especially its significance as a unifying national symbol. Its name was changed and the collections scattered. Despite this, the nucleus of the Museum survived the decades of occupation. When the idea to regain our independence rekindled, the memory of the Museum was something that united the nation, and its restoration became a common cause. At the height of the heritage protection movement in 1988, there was a public demand to close down the Soviet military airfield, and return the historical site of the Museum to the people. Immediately after the restoration of independence, preparations started for building a new Museum. We had to overcome a series of obstacles, but we did now. The project was completed by young Parisian architects Lina Ghotmeh, Dan Dorelli, and Tsuyoshi Tane. The building grows organically out of the ground as an extension of the former airstrip, symbolising the victory of the culture-oriented society over war and occupation. The completion of the long awaited building proves that only national independence can guarantee the cultural success of a nation.

For ERM, not only has the site changed in 2016, but also its role, and its organisational model. It is the largest museum in Estonia, with a collection of 144,222 objects, and 346,582 photographs. While the Museum attracted only about 30,000 visitors a year in its old premises, the new building already welcomed 50,000 visitors during the first six weeks (1 October until 16 November). Besides the main activities of the Museum (collection, conservation, research, and exhibition), we are now also attending to a huge demand for our educational programmes. A whole variety of new service functions have also been developed (catering, museum shop, conference centre, events rental, diverse cultural programme). The changes that are currently taking place in the Museum have not sprung up overnight, but have been under careful preparation for a long time. The new building and solutions create the new framework for our daily activities. We try to use these new conditions to the maximum capacity. From the technological point of view, we are without a doubt one of the most high-tech museums in the world. For example, we have an e-label system developed exclusively for us. This allows all the texts of the permanent exhibition on the Estonian culture to be changed on small screens by a simple swipe of a chip card. This would allow us to provide explanations in up to 50 languages, in addition to the current Estonian, English, and Russian.

Significance of the Estonian National Museums

KRISTA ARU

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In 2016, the Estonian National Museum got a home of its own. For the first time in history, the Estonian National Museum has a house that has been designed and built especially for the museum. The environment that has been created for the museum gives it new possibilities for development, and it also gives us the right to ask what the significance of the Estonian National Museum is in the 21st century.

In 1909, when the Estonian National Museum was founded, the museum was necessary first of all in order to increase the self-awareness of Estonians, to give self-assurance to the Estonian people for developing as a civilised nation. The museum raised the ideas and ideals of the society.

In the pre-war Republic of Estonia, the National Museum grew into a research institution that defined culture, was the centre of popularising ethnographic and cultural research work. People appreciated the museum because the people felt that they were the creators of the museum, and the museum made the culture of the people valuable and respected.

The Soviet power ravaged the collections of the National Museum, scattered and destroyed them. The Soviet occupants abolished the name of the Estonian National Museum and divided the institution into two museums: the Literary Museum and the Ethnographic Museum.

After Estonia regained its independence, the Estonian National Museum was restored, and the people expected, planned and longed for building a house for the museum.

The building of the Estonian National Museum, called "Memory Field", was constructed at Raadi. For many years, Raadi had been shunned from memory because of its military connections, and now it has been returned to the people. One of the tasks of the Estonian National Museum is to keep our collective memory alive, not being afraid to awaken also memories that are painful but have to be remembered. The significance of the National Museum lies in the skill to ask questions, to bring topics into public discussion, to show different aspects and sides of things, events and people. Not to be a judge, but to raise problems, issues and unknown factors, to ask and to understand. To be an initiator and a bearer, and also to hold the society together. Today the National Museum has all the possibilities to perform that role in the society, because there is no lack of room, means of presentation or practical knowledge.

The role of the Estonian National Museum in the society is even greater. The museum has to be an umbrella to all who deal with

the national culture, let it be revivers of old patterns, searchers for lost stories or repairers of grandmother's chair. Individuals, societies or institutions. The Estonian National Museum belongs to the people; it was created and now also built by the people.

Development of the modern national system of innovation in Estonia with the support of people's education and community houses

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Innovation is considered one of the main driving forces of economy. Info-technological innovation as the basis and precondition of economic competitiveness is often mentioned in the national policies of Estonia, and in this context, small Estonia with its image of e-state has gained recognition. But is this enough for making a society innovative? What is the innovativeness of a society based on? What role creativity and education have, and what the historical experience of the Estonian society is in this field – these are the questions this article tries to answer.

In the 1990s, Lundvall and Freeman introduced the concept of national systems of innovation. Australian culture theoreticians Potts and Hartley show that the innovation mechanism of any area first of all lies in the networking participation of people in the creation and consuming of new knowledge, experiences and meanings, which is a cultural and universal phenomenon by its nature. Thus innovation is not something that is particular to only technological, industrial development and research activity based on formal education system.

Modernisation of Europe also meant new culture code and change of values. The formation of Estonian public was supported by the spread of Estonian written word, emergence of national elite and developing economy. In the 1880, the literacy rate of the Estonians approached 100 percent and many newspapers with various supplements were published, but

there was no public space where the Estonian people could meet and promote their culture. The soul and spirit of modern Estonians has been influenced by the community houses that had been built since the last decades of the 19th century, and which architecturally resembled opera houses. Community houses represented a new spatial cultural model and symbolised freedom. This is what the Estonians wanted: to become cultured, and to become free of the guardianship of nobility. Community houses were erected in spite of difficulties, by 1940, there were around 400 of them in Estonia, like nowadays. Thanks to its enlightening role as a stronghold of informal education, the community house was the constant innovator and developer of the public, giving the country people a possibility to engage in new type of artistic hobbies, which may be called lifelong learning or informal education system with its lectures, libraries and debates.

The story of the community houses of Estonia proves the theory of Hartley and Potts that if people of different backgrounds and knowledge come together for creative activities, a diffusion of understanding and information takes place, and new knowledge is created, which is the driving force of innovation.

Nowadays we are again speaking of the connections between innovation and informal education. The state is expanding the conception of education by including informal education. It is good to know that in this sphere, we already have long-time experience with a historical network of institutions established by our enterprising and bravely dreaming ancestors.

Viljandi Culture Academy as the promoter of the region

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Regional institutions of higher education have an important role not only in education and research policy, but also in the social-economic development of the whole region and shaping its long-term strategies.

The impact of the University of Tartu Viljandi Culture Academy on creative specialities is expressed in the use of traditional technologies in national handicraft (textile, wood, metal), in synthesising traditional and rhythm music, implementation of specialised theatre model in performing arts. Culture Academy builds bridges both between the creator and the audience, and the student and the teacher. Viljandi Culture Academy was the first in the Estonian education system to implement compulsory entrepreneurship education in all specialities. Around one third of the students who have passed entrepreneurship education have become entrepreneurs or shareholders in a company after finishing their studies, many are active in NGOs. This is one of the reasons why we can speak about smart specialisation in creative industry in the case of Viljandi.

Estonian Traditional Music Center is probably the greatest and the most unique regional trademark which would not have been born without the synergy created by the Cultural Academy. The most popular event organised by the Centre is Viljandi Folk Music Festival, which is gaining international renown. The University of Tartu Viljandi Culture Academy has an important role in promoting creative industry and the sphere of culture not only in Viljandimaa, but also in the whole Estonia.

Culture Academy's direct contribution to the region are its jobs that require high qualification, providing competence in the creative sphere, helping organise cultural events in the region, participating in the preparation of development plans.

Generalising the example of the University of Tartu Viljandi Culture Academy, it may be said that regional universities can be considered units with a significant meaning that have intra-regional and cross-regional mutual interaction and networking which, under skilful administration, bring out the best possibilities for the

development of economy, education and, first of all, regional policy.

Digitalisation of culture at the example of the Estonian National Library

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RIIN OLONEN

National Library of Estonia, Library System Manager

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National Library of Estonia, Head of Collection

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In the future, the amount of digital information is going to explode, changing the role of the libraries. This will bring along new obligations and new challenges, and lead to the development of totally new services.

The new Legal Deposit Copy Act will enter into force on 1 January 2017. The purpose of this Act is to ensure the creation, long-term preservation, and consistent accessibility of the most comprehensive collection of publications (and their output-ready files) which are essential to the Estonian culture.

The new Act will profoundly change the role of the National Library of Estonia in storing cultural heritage. Together with each new print publication, the National Library will receive its digital dataset, which will reduce the need to digitise publications in order to ensure their preservation. All legal deposit copies will be submitted to the National Library who will forward three of these to the preserving libraries within five working days. These libraries are the Archival Library of the Estonian Literary Museum, Academic Library of Tallinn University, and University of Tartu Library.

Newspapers previously available in the digital archive DIGAR have been transferred to the portal DIGAR Estonian Newspapers (<http://dea.digar.ee>). This contains the full texts of more than 1.6 million newspaper pages with 4.5 million articles.

Heritage protection and preservation

SIIM RAIK

National Heritage Board of Estonia, Director-General

Dealing with the cultural heritage is always controversial. In its core lies an attempt to balance the interests of the owner with the interests of the general public in preserving the heritage. Heritage management can be successful only if it manages to grasp both the material assets that exist objectively in time and space, as well as taking an interest in the subjective categories of identity, values, and perception.

The highest possible legal act – the Constitution of the Republic of Estonia – states that it: “/.../ must guarantee the preservation of the Estonian people, the Estonian language and the Estonian culture through the ages”. The law is meant to protect the existing cultural heritage. Despite this, 25 percent of the listed buildings are in bad shape.

The main responsibility is placed on the owner of a monument. Under the Heritage Protection Act, it is their task to guarantee the preservation and the upkeep of the object.

Laws are always reactionary: the objective reality has usually already changed, and the legislators only try to regulate the changed situation. We need proactive laws that not only react but also induce change in values and behaviour. The law should express the desired outcome of this social contract – how the preservation restrictions serve the common good.

Estonia has listed a total of 26,600 national monuments. Half of these are objects of art, mostly church ware, liturgical objects, interior elements; 6,600 are archaeological sites, 5,200 buildings, 1,300 historical monuments. In addition, there are 12 conservation areas and 2 UNESCO World Heritage Sites. All monuments are considered equal, and there is no grading system.

As expected, the most disputed group includes the buildings, which make up only 0.7 percent of the national registry of buildings.

Estonia has started the drafting of a new Heritage Act. The changed conditions have created the need for certain technical or reactionary amendments; but we also need a new

Act because we need to change our thinking: we need to bring this strategic resource – the heritage – closer to today’s generations.

Main planned changes:

1. Balancing the government restrictions and the owners’ interests by compensating the extra expenses – research and surveillance – during restoration.
2. Improved flexibility of the National Heritage Board to alleviate, analyse, and grade the restrictions according to the object and the case.
3. More emphasis on consultations with the owners.
4. Consolidation of separate institutions whose work concerns history and memory – a more active co-operation of heritage institutions and museums.

Attitudes towards preservation change when we start seeing it as a strategic resource and a national asset, instead of considering it just an expense. Heritage is and can be a source for creativity, identity, sense of place, and diversity. We have to learn to use it better in a cultural context, but also utilise it to create added value for the economy. It is not just the physical object that we protect, but also its meaning.

Proposals for management of cultural heritage and cultural landscapes

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The paper entitled “Proposals for Management of Cultural Heritage and Cultural Landscapes” examines the problems related to the administration and protection of landscape, rural life and other traditional values in an era in which, even for rural populations, agriculture is being rapidly demoted to a subsidiary source of employment and income. The authors analyse the conceptual underpinnings of the

conservation of nature and heritage in Estonia and reveal implicit ideological currents in the regulatory practice of the field. The paper suggests a series of alternative concepts (living landscape, rural inhabitants as an endangered breed, heritage-based sustainable livelihoods, endangered settlements) as the basis for the assessment, monitoring and regulation of rural landscapes. The authors include examples of attempts to reconceptualise local nature and heritage protection as a complex set of actions seeking to develop sustainable livelihoods. The approach highlights the role of values in the making of relevant decisions and suggests various options for achieving economic and administrative savings in practical landscape planning. The thesis discusses how the approach may be implemented in the protected areas of Estonia and in other culturally sensitive areas. The approach is also shown to hold considerable potential for application in the administration and regional development of cultural landscapes located outside protected areas. The studies conducted as part of the thesis show that there is no agreement in Estonia concerning the values that underpin the assessment of cultural landscapes and cultural heritage. Although a certain body of accepted rhetorical formulations has developed over time, it is often used to justify widely different or even outright contradictory aims and visions, which often results in the euphemisation of problems and development priorities. The accepted rhetoric appears to favour the interests and perspectives of mobile groups (tourists, academic experts) over those of local residents, and is geared to generate opposition between economic activities and protective measures. The authors recommend a more dynamic and complex approach to rural values and suggests that protective measures should be integrated into the development of sustainable local livelihoods. This entails a series of challenges to official institutions in terms of rewriting the existing regulations and rethinking their practical work, so that the protection regimes of each protected area would be determined with regard to the specifics of the area. It also means that, where necessary, the institutions should

be prepared to grant local communities priority rights to use natural resources, to relieve the restrictions on human activity in endangered settlements and to arrange for and recognise, in relation to certain trades, the individual learning of those in the immediate or approximate environment of skill bearers.

Estonian Culture, its formation and fate in the globalising world

MAARJA VAINO

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The nature of culture has been discussed both at its general level, as a network of traditions, values, creativity and layers of time, and in terms of fine arts and research. The article deals with national culture, a special phenomenon that combines both the original and the borrowed elements.

The Estonian language is in particular focus. The uniqueness and vitality of the Estonian culture is determined by whether it is capable to reflect the whole world by and in itself, and describe everything in Estonian. The Estonian culture is clearly language-centred. Through our language, we have grown into a nation with a great culture, and therefore we have to provide our native language special care and protection, because our identity is expressed and preserved first of all in the language. When the level of interpreting in the native language weakens or disappears in a culture, this culture will soon cease to be viable.

The survival of Estonian as a rich language of culture is threatened by the invasion of the English language world, which can especially felt in the everyday level and also in higher education. Besides the language pressure, another problem in the research sector is project-based activity, which does not ensure results, but ensures disconnectedness of the work.

The system of financing of institutions of higher education has also been pointed out as a problem, because it favours three things: superficiality, mass learning and so-called

internationalisation. None of these is concerned with giving a valuable input to the country. Also, not enough attention is paid to the special position of ethnic-national research. We should not expect that very Estonian-specific subjects and issues are of great interest in the world. And they do not have to be, the main thing is that they are of interest to us ourselves. Ethnic-national research must ensure the continuity of our memory and culture and their connection with the modern world.

In the globalising world, all small cultures are threatened, one way or the other. This is caused by the above-mentioned language pressure, and also the general invasion of mass culture. Cultural authority is ensured by the existence of the high culture layer. At present Estonia, and actually the whole world, has a great shortage of humanitarian minds whose words have real weight and whose personalities have authority. The structure of culture is founded upon names that have become symbols, historical and living authorities who give quality, or in other words, identity to our culture. Therefore it is necessary to acknowledge professionalism, talent and originality in culture, because they are the elements of identity. There should be more monuments to great people in the city space of Estonia, writing monographs about them should be financed more generously, the anniversaries connected with great people should be celebrated nationally and in a more visible way.

The existence of cultural environment should not be taken for granted, or as a private interest of a few people with a mission. Project-based activity, setting internationalism a priority and exaggerating with the idea of creative industry do not support high culture that can be taken seriously. It is especially important that the mental space where the younger generations live were here, in Estonia, and that they felt themselves as a part of the Estonian culture.

POLITICS

Presidential elections – Expectations and reality

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In 2016, the President of Estonia was for the first time elected at extraordinary elections. 25 years ago the authors of the Constitution of Estonia were convinced that they had managed to develop a mechanism pursuant to which the political parties have to cooperate as effectively as they can in order that the candidate would win the support of two thirds of the members of the parliament at the elections in the Riigikogu. If the political parties fail to achieve that, the elections would transfer to the electoral college, a body specially formed for the purpose of electing the President, where the required quota would be smaller, only the majority of the electoral college members who participated in voting. Namely this low quota required in the electoral college gave the authors of the Constitution the assurance that the President would be elected during the regular elections.

20 years ago, when the President of the Republic Election Act that is based on the Constitution was being prepared, things were not so optimistic any more. Now the possibility that the Riigikogu and the electoral college may not always be able to elect the President was foreseen, and the procedure for extraordinary elections was included in the Act. But even then the legislators could not predict that the presidential elections may become problematic.

The Riigikogu has been able to elect the President only once, in 2011; in other elections, the decision was made in the electoral college. However, the results of elections showed that the President was always elected with the minimum number of votes required. The reason for this was not the tough competition between the candidates. The members of the electoral college who were unable to determine their second preference, and put an empty or spoiled ballot paper in the ballot box at the last round

of elections, became the decisive force. Pursuant to the legislation in force, such ballot papers participate in the election procedure. The first signs of trouble emerged already in 1996, when there were 50 spoiled ballot papers at the elections in the electoral college. At the next elections, their number was smaller, and this tendency supported the view that there was no need to make any amendments to the Act. But at the elections of 2016, the number of spoiled ballot papers increased to 60, which is 18 percent of the members of the electoral college, and the extraordinary elections became a fact.

Under certain conditions, extraordinary presidential elections are really necessary – for example, when the President decides to resign. However, the regular presidential elections should end with the election of the President. In order to achieve that, the Estonian politicians have to amend the Constitution and the President of the Republic Election Act. The easiest way would be to eliminate spoiled and empty ballot papers from the election process.

Estonia's security on the border of free world

MARKO MIHKELSON

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The geographical position and smallness of Estonia are a great possibility and at the same time also an inevitable challenge for us. Estonia is the smallest country in Europe and in the whole Western world that has managed to survive and succeed in spite of its political-geographical location.

Estonia's location on the geographical and political map of the world is one of the important foundations of our success story. The Nordic Countries are a great example and model to us, and Russia never allows us to stay in the comfort zone in our development.

The history of Estonia is a convincing proof that the border area of two different civilisations is a heightened security risk area. Our security does not depend only on the independent political will of Estonia, it is

directly connected with the relations between civilisations, between the East and the West. The more critical the relations between the great powers are, the higher is the threat factor for us.

Estonia is a North European country, and we belong to the Nordic space. Although from time to time we tend to speak of ourselves as an East European country or a transition country, it is time to stop doing that. Estonia is a democratic country, and for some years already, quite a few of its economic indicators have been better than in several older European democracies. We have nothing to be ashamed of because in several fields (for example, in cyber security) we are the pioneers.

We are closer to the formation of unified North than ever before. Historically, all pre-conditions for it have been created. We think and act in the same way. The enlargement of NATO to the whole Nordic territory would change the security of our region in the way no earlier agreement has been able to do.

Estonia is understandably interested in predictable and good-neighbourly relations with Russia. Nerve-racking tension and continuous feeling of threat are not in our interests. At the same time it is very important to keep in mind that we can exist as an independent and internationally competitive Western country in the neighbourhood of Russia only if we take belonging to the Western cultural space seriously.

No matter how we describe the current situation in the relations between Russia and the West, is it a continuation of the Cold War or its new hybrid form, it is a fact that the situation will calm down only if both sides can agree upon common rules of the game or, even better, Russia returns to the space of international law and the principles defined in the UN Charter.

Estonia's security on the border of the free world is like continuous creative work which requires alertness, determination and courage. From everybody and all the time. Estonia never has too much time.

Image of Estonia in Russia's online-media in 2015 from security perspective

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Today, media is ever more actively and effectively used as an instrument for exerting influence on public opinion and political decisions.

Non-democratic countries like Russia use media as means of propaganda in shaping ideological attitudes. Russia has also considerably increased military activities near the Baltic States, and continuously declared NATO its main enemy. Information field that distorts reality may damage the cohesion of different groups of population and create instability in the society, therefore Estonia should pay more attention to attacks targeted against the cohesion of the society, and develop psychological defence and resistance against anti-Estonian propaganda activities. In order to ensure the security of the society and the state and the sense of security of the people, and to prevent crises and increase confidence in the activities of the state, it is necessary to develop the psychological defence of the state more than it has been done so far. From the point of view of Estonia's strategic communication and psychological defence, it is important to know how Estonia is depicted in Russian media. Unfortunately it has been assessed only empirically.

The study of the image of Estonia in Russia's media, conducted by the author, enables to analyse the dynamics of Russia's aggressiveness more effectively. Summary of the research results and generalising conclusions on the image of Estonia would be a contribution to national security policy decision-making and implementing the measures taken on their basis in the context of information space.

Analysis of Russia's online media showed that in 2015, the image of Estonia in Russia's media portals was predominantly negative; the themes and tone of the articles, and thus also the image, did not differ significantly in different news portals during the year. The issues that were discussed the most concerned enhancing the presence of NATO, exercises of

the alliance, Russia's threat and aggressiveness, energy independence, production of life threatening food products, sanctions against Russia, economic hardships, discrimination and Eston Kohver, who had been convicted of espionage. The frames that appeared most often in media texts characterised Estonia as a country where "Russia is seen as a mythical threat, and therefore Russia is spied against and continuous NATO exercises are held on the western border of Russia". The study reached the conclusion that the purpose of Russia's anti-Estonian propaganda activities was connected with bringing down the feeling of security of the people of Estonia, i.e. it was tried to split the European Union and NATO, and to spread confusion in the society and prevent integration. Therefore Estonia should pay more attention to attacks targeted at the cohesion of the society and develop psychological defence more than it has been done until now. "Soft power" as a means of influencing meets its purpose less if the impact of Russian media on its target audience is studied more and the Estonian collective identity is enhanced. In addition to developing e-services, the state should also promote and manage the image of a successful e-state and the general positive image, because the image of a country has a wide impact both from the perspective of international relations and the domestic development.

STUDIES

Endurance of practices: An archaeologist's view of the death culture in Estonia thousand of years ago

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The article gives an overview of the death culture of hunter-gatherers in Estonia in 6500–2600 BC. Combining the methods of archaeology, archaeoethnology and osteology, the archaeological burial sites that had been excavated decades ago were analysed. Unlike earlier analyses, the research focused on the dead body or its material remains (here: whole skeletons and separate

human bones). Detailed archaethanatological description of them enables to reconstruct what the burial practices were like thousands of years ago. The primary identities of the dead were ascertained with the help of osteology and isotope studies of nutrition.

Long time perspective enables to observe both the endurance and the changes of practices. Analysis shows that although we see mainly corpse burial in archaeology, a number of different practices constituted the acceptable norm. Many of the rituals of those times remain unknown to us. The dead were buried in the territories of villages, in the cemeteries and separately away from inhabited places. Although there were differences between individual burials, it can be seen that the main contents of death culture remained almost unchanged throughout four millennia. Immediate action after death, focusing of practices on the dead body, lack of strict separation between the worlds of the living and the dead and open nature of practices, which enabled their endurance and gradual change, can be considered the unchangeable core of burial ritual.

We can learn from the time thousands of years ago that there are many ways of dealing with the dead body, and therefore we should not condemn anyone for what they choose to do with their close ones. The most important is to take death as a natural part of life.

Twelve institutional preconditions for knowledge-based policy and draft legislation. Better regulation barometer 2015/2011¹

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The legal policy has been a relatively unexplored field in the sociology of law studies. In Estonia, as in other EU and OECD countries, the information on social, economic, environmental, security, administrative and budgetary impacts of proposed legislation have to be given in the explanatory

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^{*} Peer-reviewed article.

memorandum of a draft Act to facilitate the transparent resolutions of policy controversies. Since 1997, many normative content analyses of explanatory memoranda proposed to the parliamentary proceedings are showing a gap between the normatively required and factually provided social information (Table 1: selective fulfilment of law-making rules). Why so many civil servants are not following the legal requirements of good law-making in the categories of impact assessment, scientific references and civic engagement? Or as the OECD report put it: why the regulatory reforms tend to fail? (OECD, 2000). In 2011, the Government and Parliament of Estonia took a step closer to the leading OECD countries by approving the Legal Policy Development Plan 2011–2018, and the recent follow-up study proceeds from the hypothesis that this legal policy reform has a positive impact on the ministerial work routines. On the basis of the OECD regulatory reform recommendations (1995–2010) and multiple academic sources, the author of the article compiled a simple e-Questionnaire to measure the fulfilment/level of twelve institutional preconditions for the knowledge-based regulatory reforms, starting from political commitment and legal basis and ending with regulatory quality supervision and possible sanctions. The results of two civil servants eSurveys (2015 and 2011) show many positive structural changes and a general positive trend (Table 2: when all 12 preconditions are summed up, the rise is +52%), but on the other hand, the institutional framework (e.g. impact assessment system) is still far from sustainability, because only one precondition (legal basis) is ranked higher than 50% (2011: 49%; 2015: 67%). Other positive rankings are between 18% (political culture and will) and 49% (methodologies and guidelines for impact assessment). The author is interpreting the results of eSurveys as long transition to the good regulatory governance..

Have sanctions worked in Russian-Ukrainian conflict?

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Spring 2017 will mark three years since the international community imposed sanctions against Russia because of the conflict in Ukraine, in the hopes of ushering in a solution to the conflict. However, the conflict in Ukraine has persevered against all expectations, and the Cold War-like opposition between the West and Russia has deepened.

With this in mind, and to help make future decisions, it is important to focus on finding solutions to the following questions:

Can anti-Russian sanctions fulfil their purpose and release Ukraine from Russia's pressure?

Has the low efficiency of the standards so far been caused by the lack of funds, their insufficient use, lack of clear and predictable objective, or the different views of the public and the experts on how to define success in this particular situation?

What could be achieved in the near future in conflict resolution; which new strategies are worth considering to ensure success?

To respond to these questions, this article views the theoretical opinions and received experiences on the application of sanctions; discusses the methodical questions related to measuring the impact of the sanctions; analyses the results of the anti-Russian sanctions applied during the Ukrainian conflict; and debates possible strategies that the Western countries could use in further conflict resolution. The author bases his political suggestions on the so-called dollar auction model, to illustrate a situation where superiority in initiative, targeted contribution, and quantitative resources can combine for a successful deterrence.

A study is important and necessary in practice since the West has considerable potential in putting pressure on Russia from the economic and technological point of view. In light of this, the international community should not accept the current impasse of sanctions, but rather analyse the possibilities to use additional

economic and political leverage – more specifically for Ukraine, and more broadly for Russia’s aggressive foreign policy in general – to achieve the original objectives of the sanctions. We must find a definite model for changes; one which would allow us to take advantage of our economic and technological superiority.

Otherwise – i.e. if the sanction package is not reformed, and the initiative is not taken through the application of measures – Russia might interpret its survival of the so-called pressure phase as a strategic victory which would justify the risks taken so far. If we give Russia room to breathe at the current stage, the imposers of the sanctions run the risk that Russia would forcefully retake the initiative in the Ukrainian conflict, should the oil and gas prices bounce back, and the economic growth restore. And that could no longer be slowed down by standard economic sanctions.

Estonia implements EU child care recommendations – Ahead of time or behind the times

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According to a number of studies, the availability of childcare places is an important factor that influences birth rate, employment and family planning. Therefore the attempt of several organisations of the European Union to develop common standards and systems is not surprising. Due to great differences between countries, it has so far been confined to spreading comparisons, recommendations and good practices. Two main child care development trends in the European Union concern ensuring of availability and quality. The article gives an overview of the EU recommendations in regard to the teaching and formal care of preschool age children, and analyses how the situation in Estonia complies with these objectives. The analysis shows that Estonia already has a child care system that

corresponds to the EU recommendations by its regulations and standards. Estonia can be firmly considered a country with the so-called single child care system, because kindergartens are the form of childcare guaranteed to parents. At the request of parents, all local governments have to find a place for a child in a kindergarten when the child has attained the age of 1.5 years. The Estonian legislation dealing with ensuring the quality of child care can be considered especially progressive. The main shortcoming of the Estonian child care system is the problem with regional availability of kindergarten places. Although the right to a kindergarten place is provided by law, about half of the local governments of Estonia have difficulties with finding a place for all children who need it. In order to solve this problem, in recent years the creation of new childcare places has been supported, and some quality requirements have been reduced, or mainly the education requirements to people working with children have been lowered. Although these changes may improve the availability of childcare, if these rearrangements become a new standard, it may endanger the quality of preschool education, which is highly valued by parents. The authors think that before making fundamental changes to the existing system, it should be carefully weighed so that the reforms would not endanger the quality of the existing system, toward which the rest of Europe is still moving. In the future, restoring the existing system will be complicated, and the long-term harmful impacts of the reorganisation may overcome the useful impacts.

Quo vadis, Estonian occupational safety and health policy?

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In the context of the Estonian work capacity reform, we have seen a discussion on the need to establish an insurance system for work accidents and occupational diseases, with a view to motivate employers to improve the

working environment. However, occupational health and safety policy should be viewed more broadly, taking into account the changes on the labour market, such as the ageing workforce; changing enterprises; diversity of work formats; and emerging risks. The working environment should encourage a broader perspective on occupational health and safety policy. We need to find the measures for reducing work-related health problems, and supporting lifelong work capability. The relations of work and health have become more complex, and it is only to be expected that the respective policies are aimed at protecting all the workers from work-related risks, as well as improving their health and work capacity. An insurance system for work accidents and occupational diseases may be efficient, but it will not solve all the existing and future challenges of occupational health.

VARIA

Right of security of apartment association

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At the beginning of 2014, the Riigikogu passed the Apartment Ownership and Apartment Associations Act, which was prepared in the Ministry of Justice and passed several rounds of coordination. The Act should enter into force in 2018. Among other things, it provides securing the management costs of apartment associations with the right of security (Article 44 of the Apartment Ownership and Apartment Associations Act) Several substantial comments and proposals regarding the Act indicate that the right of security of apartment association is not sufficiently justified, may cause ambiguity when used, and it is doubtful whether it fits into the existing system of rights of security. The article discusses several questionable moments and ambiguities that are connected with the legal right of security of apartment association, and shows that they could be avoided by replacing the complicated legal right of security with simple preferential right of apartment owners, that is not right of security, when the Act enters into force.

The Republic of Estonia 100 – Party or celebration

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In 2018, one hundred years have passed since the establishing of the Republic of Estonia. It is without doubt the most important anniversary in the history of the country, and it concerns all people who live in Estonia. At the time when the society is split by world-view issues, the global security situation has become tense and economic insecurity grows, celebrating an anniversary gives the country and its people a good opportunity to find again their common ground, to tell the story of sovereignty in a modern language, to initiate new activities with future perspective, to enhance belief in oneself and in one's country.

Celebration of the greatest anniversary in the history of Estonia will take place during longer period. The programme starts in April 2017, and ends in February 2020 with the 100th anniversary of the Tartu Peace Treaty.

The programme of the activities dedicated to the anniversary is not just a cultural programme, it concerns all important spheres of life and gives the society a possibility to look back on the history of our country, to emphasise its present and to set new aims for the future. To be ancient and modern at the same time, to be ready to learn and to believe in yourself.

Each person, community or local government can actively participate in celebrating the 100th anniversary of the Republic of Estonia by organising events or giving presents. Children and young people are in the centre of attention of Estonia 100.