
Summaries

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF'S COLUMN

Today, One Hundred Years Ago and One Hundred Years After **MART RAUDSAAR**

Editor-in-chief of Riigikogu Toimetised

The current Riigikogu, that will soon terminate its activities, has considered the issue of population a very important topic nationally, and has formed a special committee, the Study Committee to Solve the Demographic Crisis, to deal with it. This Committee has drawn public attention to the problem, and has cooperated with the universities and researchers to hear recommendations on how to resolve the situation. This issue of Riigikogu Toimetised, which focuses on the demographic problems of Estonia, publishes some studies that are the result of the work of the Committee.

Understandably, this is a complicated topic. The panel discussion of the Riigikogu Toimetised, in which all members of the Study Committee to Solve the Demographic Crisis participated, gave an overview of what had been done so far. In principle, there are four ways for making the number of people grow: accepting of new immigrants; taking back the people who have left Estonia and wish to return; raising the birth rate, or increasing life expectancy, so that people would not die so early. You can read the solutions and policy recommendations proposed by members of the Committee in the summary of the panel discussion.

Population is the central topic in the Focus section of this issue, and partially also in the Studies section. The Focus section starts with an introductory fundamental essay “The Story of the Estonians” by statistician and demographer, Professor Emeritus Ene-Margit Tiit. The next articles discuss various aspects of the topic in more detail.

Without the foundation that was laid one hundred years ago, we would not have our state today, and most probably, we would not have anything. One hundred years ago from the date this issue of RiTo comes out, the Estonian War of Independence had already begun. The Provincial Assembly was working at Toompea. On 1–5 February 1919, it convened for its last session, and on 24 April handed its powers over to the newly elected Constituent Assembly, the direct predecessor of the Riigikogu. Therefore we celebrate the 100th anniversary of the Riigikogu next year. On that occasion, the President of the Riigikogu Eiki Nestor addresses the Riigikogu Toimetised. Besides that, the new issue introduces Jaak Valge’s book on the history of the Riigikogu, and gives an overview of the exhibitions that celebrate the anniversary of the Riigikogu.

The renewing of the homepage of Riigikogu Toimetised (<https://rito.riigikogu.ee/>) is coming to an end, and from now, all texts of the new issue are freely available on the homepage. Our mission is to collect the best knowledge on the nationally important issues that is at the moment available in Estonian, and make it available not only to our constitutional institutions, but also to the wider public.

RIIGIKOGU 100

Riigikogu 100

EIKI NESTOR

President of the Riigikogu

The 120 members of the Constituent Assembly, who had been elected by the people, convened for the first time on 23 April 1919. This assembly and the Riigikogu elected on the last elections are united most of all by their faith and love towards the people of Estonia.

The most important task of the Constituent Assembly was drafting of the Constitution. I am firmly convinced that the current Constitution is the best law in force in the Republic of Estonia, and its most important provisions came from our Declaration of Independence. We have a proportional election system, which is the most honest way for ascertaining the positions of the voters. Yes, it is a complicated way, but it ensures that none of the views in the society that cross the election threshold remain behind the doors of the elected assembly.

Both the Constituent Assembly and the Riigikogu have devoted much of their time to property issues. The Land Act passed in 1919 was subject to many arguments, just like the ownership reform started by the Supreme Council and passed by the Riigikogu. It is hard to believe that anybody could ever find such a powerful election promise as the members of my party gave – the land of German estates to our peasants.

In one aspect, the compositions of the Constituent Assembly and the 7th Riigikogu elected in 1992 are similar, and different from today's compositions. The beginners had more spirit and enthusiasm, they were building up the state. There were no Gallup polls, actually nobody cared about them, because it was believed that if you worked faithfully, votes would be gained at the elections. In later times, there has been more pragmatism and professionalism.

Without allies, we would not have been successful in the War of Independence. And when the wish of the countries to solve their problems together crumbled, we lost our independence. Unfortunately, this lesson of history has to be repeated time and again. Unlike in 1919, our allied relationships are stronger, because the countries of the world have become wiser through one painful lesson. Our independence today is founded on international agreements and the cooperation of like-minded countries.

Long live the Republic of Estonia and parliamentary democracy!

CONVERSATION CIRCLE

Estonia Must Not Remain Empty

Riigikogu Toimetised panel discussion

Members of the Riigikogu Study Committee to Solve the Demographic Crisis Yoko Alender (Estonian Reform Party), Monika Haukanõmm (Estonian Free Party at the time of the discussion panel), Heljo Pikhof (Social Democratic Party), Raivo Põldaru (Estonian Conservative People's Party) and Siret Kotka-Repinski (Estonian Centre Party) participated in the discussion panel of Riigikogu Toimetised on 7 November. Helir-Valdor Seeder (Isamaa) sent his positions in writing.

SIRET KOTKA-REPINSKI: The Riigikogu's working group on population policy was founded to get an answer to the question if we are having a demographic crisis. One of the most important documents prepared by the Committee is the Fundamentals of the Population Policy until 2035, the aim of which is to give guidelines on what should the Government of Estonia, the Riigikogu and the ministries do to ensure that in 2015, our population would exist in the same composition and size

category as today. Birth rate should be the priority in preserving the Estonian values. When we look at the various measures, the family benefits are very well developed in the Republic of Estonia in comparison to other European countries. Besides that, various taxation measures should be used to support the entrepreneurs so that they could provide possibilities for part-time work to fathers or mothers of families to reconcile work and family life better.

MONIKA HAUKANÕMM: Nothing can be greater than the survival, existence and development of the Estonian nation. At the level of society, we should reach the mentality that three plus children are normal, and not an anomaly. Our policies should ensure that additional children would not mean poverty for the family. There could be some very specific measures for the third or the fourth, or even the fifth child. As regards immigration, our aim should be attracting high-salaried people to Estonia. Then it would be possible for us to increase productivity and, through it, improve our daily life. The state should help them more in integrating into the language and culture space of Estonia. We are not really doing this. And we are not doing this enough with our Russian-speaking people, so that they would have the possibilities to get acquainted with our culture.

RAIVO PÕLDARU: Each Act that goes out of the Riigikogu should take into consideration the aspect of how that Act affects the population. Measures that increase the birth rate are needed. To a large extent, the future belongs to technology, and maybe we can make machines to do simpler work. People would then just have to control them. We should not speak of immigration before we have spoken of using our reserves. Because we have between 20,000 and 30,000 young people who do not study or work. This is a reserve. There is a reserve also among the older people. If we can manage to break the barrier that older people are not hired, then we will not lose much of work force.

HELJO PIKHOF: In comparison to what was before, our situation is very good. We have parental benefits, we have child allowance for the first and the second child. The parental benefit system has been made more flexible, the child allowances for the first and the second child, which were unchanged for more than a decade, are now 60 euro. We have allowance for families with three children in the amount of 300 euro. And it has been said that these allowances give a clear signal of what we expect in the society. And if we support the families with three and more children even more, then it is a very clear signal that we want families to have a third child, and the fourth child, and so on. In the European Union, only Luxembourg has larger family benefits than Estonia.

YOKO ALENDER: The number of children in a family should be decided by the family themselves, but it is our duty to create an environment where the family feels secure. In the context of the elections, we should raise the issue that family benefits should go along with the increase of the cost of living, and they should be reviewed constantly. We have not spoken of the allowances for disabled children, which are very low at the moment. People feel secure when they know that nobody is left in trouble. Besides that, there are many things that are important for parents: what the kindergarten is like, what the school is like, whether the teacher is stressed. I think that it is self-evident that in the case of each bill, every MP and every employee of ministry should consider what it would mean for the people of Estonia.

HELIR-VALDOR SEEDER: Sustainability and the survival of Estonia as a nation state is ensured by a complex solution that includes the return of diaspora, the increase of birth rate and the growth of the life expectancy of people. Increasing of immigration is not a sustainable solution, because immigrants also grow old, and this will only result in the demand for new immigration. Family and birth policy needs deeper attention. In family policy, feeling of security and the material side also have an important role. Children are not born because of money, but children may not be born because of money. The family policy of the state must be consistent and stable. It means that the benefits and allowances that have been established are meant to last, and they will not be the first to be cut in an economic recession or a crisis.

FOCUS

The Story of the Estonians

ENE-MARGIT TIIIT

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When we are concerned about the size and welfare of the population of Estonia, for many people, this concern has a common subtext or principal tone – how are the Estonians doing, the native inhabitants of this corner of the Earth, the small nation of less than a million? Throughout the duration of its existence, a threat has been hanging over its head – to be or not to be, can it preserve the population size needed to preserve its own culture, so that the neighbours and the immigrants arriving here will not assimilate it?

The story is about the changes in the size of population in Estonia during its long history. It is also about the events that have affected it, including the migrations that have taken place during the last 150 years which have changed direction for five times, and as a result of which up to one fifth of Estonians live outside the Estonian borders. It also mentions all the nations that have lived side by side with us in Estonia during our long history.

One of the peculiarities of the Estonians is their love for nature, which is also manifested in urban sprawl. Although the present time is characterised by global urbanisation, the Estonians have retained the traditional attitude of rural people. Those who can afford it move from urban apartment buildings to the outskirts of cities, be it a more human-friendly apartment building closer to nature or, the ultimate dream, a small private house with a garden where the children can run barefoot in the grass.

In summary, we have done well. This is also evident in the good condition of the Estonian language nowadays. Besides the fact that this language (and its still-surviving dialects) is the everyday home and spoken language for nearly a million people, it is also a serious language of culture, the Internet, higher education and, to some extent, research as well. The Estonian language is however the most important feature and characteristics of an Estonian.

Integrated Employment and Population Projection: Challenges for Estonia until 2100

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This article presents the main results of an integrated long-term employment and population projection for Estonia until the end of the 21st century.

The integrated projection was prepared in the framework of a recent study commissioned by the Foresight Centre at Riigikogu; it also relates to a larger programme of applied research (RITA-RÄNNE). The cohort-component population projection used in the study was originally developed for the Estonian Human Development Report (EHDR) 2016/2017 “Estonia at the Age of Migration”. Several features, such as the long-term view, a variety of scenarios related to the future course of

demographic processes, and the distinction between native and migrant-origin population, made the EHDR projection the most suitable for the task.

In the study, an employment projection was prepared and added to population projection. Employment projection considered four factors that may influence age- and gender-specific employment rates in Estonia in the future: increase in the educational attainment of the population, postponement of retirement, integration of immigrants and their descendants, and the implementation of best practices of active labour market policy. Compared to existing projections, the new integrated projection considers a broader scope of factors and supports a more nuanced account of possible medium- and long-term changes in the size of workforce and the proportion of employed among the population in Estonia.

Three major findings emerged from the study. First, although the number of working-age population (20–64) will likely decrease until the 2050s, over the next two decades the number of the employed is not necessarily decreasing. Until the 2030s, the increase in employment rates may effectively compensate the shrinking of working-age population. Second, over a longer run the dynamics of the number of the employed will be shaped by the course of demographic processes. In order to stop the decrease in the number of the employed in the second half of the century, either the fertility rates should be brought closer to replacement level (2.08 children per woman) or a large number of immigrants (at least 200,000) should be invited to the country and integrated. Which of these two alternatives should be given a priority in policy development, needs to be debated in the society and decided by Riigikogu. Third, the results showed that in the case the factors increasing employment rates (increase in the educational attainment of population, increase of retirement age, integration of immigrants, and the implementation of active labour market policies) are operational, there will be no substantial deterioration in the proportion of the employed among the total population, regardless of which demographic scenario is going to materialise.

Adjustment to Population Ageing as the Key Challenge of Population Policy

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Over the next decades, the Estonian state and society will have to adapt to population ageing, which will be the most significant demographic change with far-reaching implications across several domains of social life. General principles of population policy 2035 defined the aim of ageing policy as the adjustment of individuals, families, communities and society to changes resulting from increased longevity and increased share of the older age groups in the population. The article analyses the challenges and opportunities in reaching this aim in the areas of active participation, health and coping, based on findings of various registers and surveys, including SHARE.

Great in Spirit. Bases of Societal Innovation*

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The article deals with the **interconnections between the development of population and society's capability to innovate**. The development of any society (including economic innovation and investments) depends on the population, the people, and not merely on their number, but also on their talents and their degree of empowerment; therefore, human resources are particularly important in small countries and cultural spaces, where every talent is worth its weight in gold. In Estonia, too, the issues relating to population development require systematic study and comprehension as well as clear priorities set by the state. In our opinion, the shaping of attitudes oriented towards study and self-development is the central task for the state in the nearest future of the Estonian society.

The last section of the article includes some practical proposals regarding the trends of action the policy makers could consider in shaping a comprehensive view of the development of population or, in other words, a comprehensive talent creation policy.

The accelerating development of technologies in the 21st century, first and foremost, requires societies to be creative and to have the courage to see things in a new light. Creativity is crucial not only because it leads to a wealthier society, but also because it secures sustainability. A creative person is capable of showing initiative, constructing new business models, services and forms of work, and meeting the economic, environmental, social, cultural and other challenges the society is faced with, in this way contributing to the welfare of the society as a whole.

Art, cultural and informal education are seen as central to developing creativity as they enable to channel the overall creativity of the population into the development of the society. It is necessary to raise awareness and improve cooperation in this issue in the whole society insofar as the call for increasing individual creativity has the potential of becoming a future vision for the entire country.

Already 150 years ago, Jakob Hurt formulated the ethos of the Estonian nation: "*Let us be great in spirit, if we cannot be great in number.*" In the context of today's demographic policy, it means that besides the number of population, the viability of our society, nation, language, and culture equally depends on human development, empowerment and the quality of life. Therefore, the development of the population and the talent policy need to be viewed as a comprehensive topic defining the future of Estonia.

Transnationalisation as an Option in Population Policy

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Besides the number of population, the connections of people with Estonia are also important in population policy. The states have tried to use different approaches for solving the problem of keeping contact with the emigrants, and shaping of cohesion in the country to integrate the immigrants and ensure the functioning of society in a wider sense. In today's open world, this is done in the context of transnationalism, or the widening of ways of cross-border life, thinking and activity. Here we need innovative approaches that may be called governing of transnationalism. The

* Peer-reviewed article.

article describes the main characteristics of transnationalism, the possibilities and challenges of governing and metagoverning it, and various strategies of transnationalism policy. The possibilities and choices of Estonia are discussed in the light of the Fundamentals of the Population Policy until 2035, which were drafted in 2018. As the governing of transnationalism greatly depends on the cooperation of different actors, it is necessary to pay considerably more attention to shaping of institutions and governing solutions.

Motherhood and the Lifeworld of Mothers*

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My goal in writing this article was to examine motherhood from the perspective of the expectations of the society, as well as the individual experiences of a woman and her lifeworld. The public discourse on birth rate and motherhood has focused on the responsibilities associated with motherhood, and the problems with birth rate, not what motherhood entails for the personal life of a woman. The voice of mothers has been weak and their problems interpreted only in the economic light. The article starts with a discursive summary of ideas on motherhood in international scientific literature from the point of view of the role, status, and identity of the mother. Next, we will look at how motherhood is reflected in the scientific publications and periodicals in Estonia of this century. After that, I will try to briefly describe what our students, that is the mothers and fathers of tomorrow, think about the advantages of being a man or a woman in our society. My starting point is the posit that the identity of a modern educated woman who is orientated towards social life can no longer hold motherhood as the overriding value, because all the studies, including those conducted here, attest to a distinctive orientation of young women towards self-realisation. If being a mother conforms to her other identities in her role image, and also is part of her self-realisation values, we have a hope of seeing more children. However, this is where the social stereotypes surrounding motherhood come into play, as the woman comes face to face with daily realities. The definitions of motherhood are conflicting in sociocultural patterns of meaning, ranging from pathos to strict rules and imposed responsibilities; generally speaking, the status of the role is low in the society, even as experienced by the women themselves. The statistics paint a clear picture of the attitudes and problems that mothers face, and of their voice and experiences not being valued by the society. Based on all this, I will try to draw some conclusions that could inspire policies on motherhood that might increase the willingness to be a mother in the society.

Subjectness of Citizens in Empowering People

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One of the innovative focuses of population policy is the inclusion of empowerment and quality of life. The article discusses these issues, proceeding from the point of view of essential citizenship, or the subjectness of people in the society and the state. Increasing of subjectness of citizens is observed through empowerment or facilitating the development of personal and structural opportunities. In this way, it is possible to bring both human-based view and dynamics into population policy, and increase the resource of structural power of total capacity in the society. The situation of Estonia is discussed, proceeding from the Fundamentals of the Population Policy until 2035, which were

* Peer-reviewed article.

drafted in 2018. In Estonia, people are empowered as the carriers of culture, as those who know, those who can and those who create, and also as citizens in a democratic and cohesive state, community and society, and through positive life models and healthy work and family relationships. In most issues, it is necessary to specify these positions, but it is not clear, where and how it should be done. The issues that are to be developed further are discussed on the basis of subjectness of citizens; the choices of form and organisation depend on the preferences and capabilities of the state authorities.

POLITICS

Withering of the Parliament – Changes in the Foreign Policy Competence of the Pre-War Riigikogu*

JÜRGEN TAMME

Master in History

Various circumstances combined enable a party in Poland to win a majority of parliamentary seats with 38 percent of the votes. It is now using this fluke outcome to ensconce itself permanently, following the Hugo Chavez path in Venezuela. In Estonia, the largest party has rarely reached even 30 percent of the seats, and fond opinions have been voiced that Estonia's electoral law supposedly prevents a one-party majority. This article reviews Estonia's electoral history and the desiderata for adequate electoral rules. It presents the universal laws that connect the number and size of parties to the number of seats available, as documented in Shugart and Taagepera, *Votes from Seats* (2017). Given Estonia's electoral rules (nationwide proportional representation plus a 5 per cent threshold), one would expect its largest party to have around 42 per cent of the seats, with an occasional 51 per cent quite likely. Cultural-historical features have kept the largest party unusually small. This need not be permanent. When people become bored with stability and vote massively for a populist party, no electoral law can prevent this party from gaining a majority. Only when this happens shall we find out whether democratic culture is more resilient in Estonia than it proved to be in Venezuela or Poland. Electoral rules do matter, and their average outcome can be predicted. But political culture and sheer random chance weave a widely varying fabric around this average.

STUDIES

Labour Market 2035. Future Trends and Scenarios on Labour Market

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The Foresight Centre at the Parliament of Estonia is working on a scenario-project on the future of work. Four alternative development paths were developed for the Estonian labour market under the heading *Tööturg 2035* ('Labour market 2035'). The scenarios were developed on the basis of project specific research on the topics of working flexibly, virtual work, mobile work, developments of long-term migration and demography in Estonia, and legal status of workers. The process involved several discussion seminars with Estonian opinion leaders in economy and society, policy makers,

* The article is based on the author's Master's thesis "Political and Legal Competence of the Estonian Parliament in Foreign Policy 1917–1940", which was defended at the University of Tartu in 2018 and was awarded August Rei Scholarship in Parliamentary Studies.

and experts. The main impact factors in the scenario packages are the effects of technological development on the labour market, and changes in labour migration in the European Union. One type of scenario observes both the loss and creation of jobs, with the effect of creating jobs dominating during the scenario period; in other types, the effect of the loss of jobs dominates during the scenario period. In terms of migration, the migration policy and attitudes towards labour migration from third countries may become more open in the European Union, which may lead to a situation where migration policy and attitudes towards labour migration from third countries are becoming more closed in the European Union. The specific features of the situation in Estonia play a role in every scenario, resulting in unique scenarios and possible development paths. The four scenarios, in short, are:

Talent hub Tallinn: The skilful use of technological development and the opportunities of the global labour market create workplaces that use smart, flexible, and varied work methods. Tallinn is developing into an international centre for talents, and economy is growing rapidly, but a certain part of the labour force is dissatisfied with the increasing social and regional inequalities and consider the change too drastic.

Global village of nomads: Estonian companies are postponing automation because it is quite easy to find and employ lower-paid labour force from third countries. Elsewhere, automation leads to improved efficacy and, over time, Estonian companies are also forced to invest into technology or risk falling behind their competitors. High level of migration, poor wage growth and rising unemployment will lead to social dissatisfaction.

New world of work: As a result of automation and restricted labour migration, the workforce employed in routine work will decrease while labour shortage in fields requiring more specialised skills will simultaneously increase. Routine work will start to disappear, yet there are very few new work opportunities. Society will face a new complex challenge.

Self-reliant Estonia: Estonian companies have the opportunity to modernise their operations and processes and shift to more innovative business models, but the resulting shortage of talents due to restrictions to labour migration holds back the development. Estonia's economy suffers from the lack of innovation and the shortage of starting breakthrough companies, which also means a slow change in the employment structure and limited opportunities for self-realisation on the labour market.

Risks of Social Protection Related to Work in the Context of the Changes on the Estonian Labour Market

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Throughout the ages, working has undergone great changes that have depended on the overall development of population and technology, as well as the economy and society. In modern welfare societies, the social protection system has taken shape alongside with the transformation of working. In the same way as the social protection models in Europe and in the world take after the earlier disruptions in the economy and working, the development trends in working may shape social

protection systems in the future. Therefore it is important to prepare for potential changes, so that, as necessary, it would be possible to

- ▶ adapt social protection to the changing work and
- ▶ reorganise social protection in such a way as to facilitate or hinder changes related to work.

Thus, a long-term vision of the future, which allows for agility where necessary in order to develop a social protection network corresponding to the needs and expectations of the people, is of help in organising social protection and being ready for changes.

The analysis of the scenarios of working and the social protection models refers to four major challenges of social protection:

- ▶ diversification of forms of employment and work which affects the regularity and stability of employment and income from work,
- ▶ polarisation of skills which affects employment opportunities and the quality of working life,
- ▶ increase in the inequality of incomes which affects poverty and subsistence,
- ▶ immigration and emigration of population which affects the labour demand and supply.

The Estonian social protection system is the most similar to the liberal social protection system which is characterised by low redistribution and social insurance schemes, and aims to stimulate working. On the grand scheme of things, the toolbox of the social protection of future work includes the conventional social protection measures, but along with the changes in working, it is necessary to change the policy rules related to funding, covering, compensation and administration in order to facilitate the development of welfare and economy.

The Challenges of Population Statistics, and How to Tackle Them with the Help of Registers

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Population censuses are the oldest statistics activities in human history. Their history goes back thousands of years. Researchers laid down the rules for modern population censuses at an international conference of statisticians more than 150 years ago. However, by now, these rules and frameworks have proved too narrow for the demographic development: it has become considerably more difficult to question people, because people value their privacy and do not wish to disclose their data.

This is why the future perspective lies in making the greatest possible use of the existing data to produce statistics. Registers are the primary source for such data. However, accurate statistics can be produced only by using several registers together. If more initial data is available, it is possible to obtain better quality results, in principle.

Registers have been used in national statistics in Estonia since the census of 2011. The primary task that was solved with the help of a dozen of registers was the estimation of the undercoverage of population census. Next, the residency index was developed as a linear combination of “signs of life”, with the help of which it is possible to estimate the number of permanent residents in a country in a current year. The signs of life show the activity of a person in national registers in the year preceding

the year of observation. This index is also used to estimate international migration, because it allows estimating the volume of unregistered migration which is comparable to registered migration in volume. With the residency index, it is also possible to estimate the number of commuters and transnational people.

Another significant problem is the estimation of the number and membership of families in the situation where families are created without legally contracting a marriage or registering a partnership. The partnership index, which is a linear combination of the partnership indicators obtained from registers, has been established for that. A location index is also being established which will link households and dwellings, and will allow verifying if a household is residing in their registered residence or not, and, for the purposes of correct statistics, to link every household with the dwelling in which it actually resides.

Deterring of the Russian Federation in the Baltic States: NATO's Possibilities and Dilemmas

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This analysis discusses the challenges of NATO deterrence from the point of view of the Baltic States. Deterrence is the corner stone of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) collective defence. NATO's Strategic concept says: "No one should doubt NATO's resolve if the security of any of its members were to be threatened." Thus the conventional weapons and nuclear capability of the North Atlantic Alliance has to convince the opponents that the costs of the aggression exceed possible gains, or constitute a sufficiently high risk for the attacker themselves. Credible deterrence acts as the guarantee of peace and stability in the region. However, the recent events in Ukraine and the conflict in Georgia in 2008 have brought to light the potential cracks in the deterrence models of today. Looking for low-intensity opportunities for destabilising its neighbours or former dependent territories, Russia constantly tests the credibility of today's international security order and the strength of deterrence.

Unlike Georgia and Ukraine, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are members of NATO, to whom the NATO security guarantees apply. Although, on the one hand, the difference in the effectiveness of deterrence resulting from that has to be admitted, on the other hand, there is even more reason to test strategic capabilities and send strategic messages in the case of Russia's direct contact with NATO.

From the practical point of view, there is the question of what the support of the Alliance to the allies actually include. NATO's primary purpose is not winning the attacks threatening the Alliance, but avoiding them (so-called deterrence). Thus, the purpose of NATO is to develop the capabilities at the disposal of the Alliance to the extent that they would ensure deterrence against all aggressors. According to the strategy documents of the Alliance, deterrence is ensured through joining the NATO conventional capabilities (or conventional forces) and nuclear capability.

Unfortunately, the initiative still seems to be on Russia's side, who is ready to decisively respond to all NATO's regional initiatives, in this way moving towards regional arms race. Russia's strength is built on prioritising national emotional categories. On the positive side, NATO's expenses in increasing the security of the region have so far been relatively low, allowing an important additional room for action. Still, it is necessary to take into account the risk that each conventional defence measure implemented by NATO on its Eastern flank may result in disproportional arms race or mobilisation on Russia's side. Second, the wider idea of NATO nuclear capability as the greatest guarantee of deterrence is not very convincing in controlling the regional ambitions of Russia. So

Russia is enjoying the conventional regional superiority in the Baltic region. Third, it is not possible, at least not in the medium-term perspective, to achieve balance in conventional weapons in the region, neither with the help of the defence capability of the Baltic States themselves nor even with the help of the pre-positioned capabilities of the allies.

In this context, it is crucial to assess the credibility of different components of NATO deterrence in the Baltic States in avoiding Russia's possible aggression. Therefore, the authors are describing several Russia's possible aggression scenarios against the Baltic States and try to find answers to what can and should be done in order to increase the effectiveness of NATO's deterrence strategy.

Estonian Legislation Has Room for Growth

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The Estonian government is setting its legal policy goals until the year 2030. There is a good case for including more systematic and effective procedures for preventing and combating domestic violence among these goals. There are still 51 countries worldwide with no specific legal acts on domestic violence, and one of these is Estonia. More positively, there are 140 countries that have such legal acts. The 2014 and 2017 surveys conducted by the Estonian Open Society Institute and the Faculty of Law of the University of Tartu among the practicing lawyers in Estonia showed that 40% are ready for a new paradigm. This is a leading group whose innovative mindset says that Estonia needs a more comprehensive legal solution to the complex problems surrounding domestic violence. The legal professionals are quite worried because they do not see the state successfully solving the key issues of domestic violence: prevention of serious cases, taking control over the perpetrator of violence and the situation in violent households, or ensuring financial support and other material benefits to victims. The surveys revealed other reasons behind the lack of efficiency: a weak legal foundation that fails to decipher the nature and specific features of domestic violence, lack of specialisation, inadequate cooperation between specialists, etc. Just like the leading countries around the world, Estonia should look for ways to enhance the efficiency of the work of legal professionals and the entire legal system, in order to prevent and combat violence. A shift towards a more systematic solution requires political will. Consequently, politicians should include a focus on domestic violence as a key issue on their list of priorities, something that should be reflected in the new coalition agreement in less than a year's time.

Coping of Female Conscripts in the Defence Forces. A Content Analysis*

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In recent years, regulatory and practical steps have been taken to increase the number of women serving in the Defence Forces. This development has obviously brought about a discussion on whether women are capable of performing the difficult duties equally with men. The article

* Peer-reviewed article.

discusses the ways of observing how the female members of the Defence Forces manage in the service, what the developments have been in involving women in service in our closest partner countries, and the overall reasons why many Western countries have set the goal of achieving a higher proportion of servicewomen. The empirical part of the article analyses the positions of active servicemen of the Estonian Defence Forces regarding how female conscripts have managed to perform their functions, and their experience in connection with that. The content analysis conducted shows that a great majority of active servicemen considered male and female conscripts equally capable. In most cases, the situation is not explained with physical abilities, but other gender differences are seen, or it is stressed that gender does not determine how conscripts manage in the service.

VARIA

How Do You Know That the Climate Is Warming?

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“How do you know it?” is a simple question. Answering it might turn out to be more complicated, requiring comprehensive knowledge of the scientific literature on the topic. It might not be easy for politicians to find time for this in the busy period before elections. However, climate change and carbon emissions are topics that the next parliament will have to tackle in one way or another. This article aims to provide a short overview of the state-of-the-art of the science of climate change, to help politicians get a quick overview of the topic, to be able to answer the simple “How do you know it?” question. In addition to giving a short overview of the scientific facts reported in the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) latest report, we present policy recommendations, explaining how bold steps towards a carbon-neutral energy sector could improve Estonia’s international reputation, promote cross-talk between science, policy-making and environmentalism, and create new jobs to replace those lost in oil shale industry.

RIIGIKOGU 100

The Swan Song of Democracy and Parliamentarianism

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Riigikogu Toimetised is publishing part of the book by Jaak Valge *Estonian Parliament 1917–1940. Political History*, without citing the references. The book has already been edited and will be published shortly.

The book has been commissioned by the Chancellery of the Riigikogu, but the events have not been viewed through rose-coloured glasses. Estonian history – more specifically the history of Estonia’s internal policy and the history of the Estonian parliament at its core – in the unstable interwar Europe is so unique, fascinating, full of remarkable successes but also sorry failures, that glossing any of this over would be a sin against history and would take away the powerful potential that these events have to inspire us today.

The activities of the Estonian parliament have been discussed against the historical background, particularly in the early years because the conditions of the time formed the foundation for shaping and developing the work of the parliament. But the crisis years also required a more detailed treatment. The analysis of the events leading up to the coup allowed us to identify the reasons for relinquishing democracy and stripping the parliament of its importance. However, the activities of the impotent parliament of the authoritarian era have only been touched upon lightly because this was no longer a democratically elected representative body or the seat of the legislative power. Estonia is viewed in the context of the rest of Europe.

The research has been mainly based on the published verbatim records of plenary sittings and committee meetings. In addition, the book includes vast amounts of published scientific research from Estonia and abroad, contemporary articles in the press, and other relevant published materials, memoirs and archival materials from the Estonian archives, as well as reports made by foreign diplomats who resided in Estonia from archives abroad.

The Riigikogu Comes to the Street

MARGE ALLANDI

Curator of the Exhibition, National Library of Estonia

IONEL LEHARI

Creative Director of the Exhibition, Identity

The exhibition “The Estonian Parliament 100” gives a brief overview of the hundred-year history of the representative body of Estonia. The exhibition is divided into two sections: 1917–1940 and 1991–2018, separated by a half a century break, when the representative body could not convene. If we wish to make a good exhibition to the people about how their will has been realised for a century, we must do it in a space that belongs to the people. Where then? In modern society, public urban space is the territory of the people. The streets of our cities belong to all of us as a joint ownership. When we are not happy with the power, we come to the streets; when we are mourning our great figures, our streets are silent. Our inner peace is hiding in alleys, and we find ourselves in a blind alley when we get lost. We meet familiar strangers and future kindreds in the streets. Therefore, the street is the best place and location to look back on the history of the power of a nation. These are the reasonings behind the underlying idea of the exhibition, and this is how the metaphor of the street was born.

The exhibition displays the activities of the Estonian Provincial Assembly, the Constituent Assembly and the Riigikogu. The allocation of seats after the elections, that is, the candidates of political parties who were elected to the representative bodies, is shown for every membership. This gives an overview of the correlation of political forces in different memberships, as well as of the political parties that have been and are active in the Estonian political landscape.

The exhibition dedicated to the centenary of the parliament is designed as a touring street that runs across Estonia from one place to another. Pairs of houses on two sides of the street figuratively represent the busy decades that the Riigikogu has gone through, creating the atmosphere fitted for reading the texts and looking at the pictures in the style characteristic of the era. The architectural setting varies through history against the backdrop of a narration consisting of episodes, and different events are framed by different aesthetics. Great historical figures and key events glance at us through the windows and doors, festive and ordinary at the same time. This is the way of our country and the story of our people in our street. Passing along the Riigikogu street, we go through hundreds of events in one step, and think a years’ worth of thoughts in a minute. This is a concentrate of our power and of ourselves. This is an unfinished story of being the Estonian state.