

**LAPSED
CHILDREN**



STATISTIKAAMET
STATISTICS ESTONIA

LAPSED CHILDREN

TALLINN 2008

Kogumik annab ülevaate laste ja noorte olukorrast Eesti ühiskonnas. Käsitletakse sündimust, haridust, laste turvalisust, sotsiaalset kaitset, tervist, vaba aega, kuritegevust ja lastega leibkondade eluolu.

The publication provides an overview on the situation of children and the young in Estonian society. Different aspects have been discussed: fertility, education, children's safety, social protection, health, spare time, crime and households with children.

Koostanud Statistikaameti rahvastiku- ja sotsiaalstatistika osakond (Urve Kask, telefon 625 9220).
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MÄRKIDE SELETUS **EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLS**

X	andmete avaldamist ei võimalda andmekaitse põhimõte <i>data are confidential</i>
-	nähtust ei esinenud <i>magnitude nil</i>
...	andmeid ei ole saadud või need on avaldamiseks ebakindlad <i>data not available or too uncertain for publication</i>
..	mõiste pole rakendatav <i>category not applicable</i>

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SAATEKS

Lapse heaolu algab täiskasvanu rahulolust. Kasvukeskkond on lapsele oluline, samuti selle suutlikkus tagada lapse esmasel vajadused, nagu toitumine, kuid vähemtähtis ei ole ka turvatunne. Laps vajab lähedust ja hoolimist, tunnet, et ta kuulub kuhugi, on armastatud. Seega laste heaolusse saavad panustada nende vanemad luues head suhted ja kodu.

Vähemtähtis ei ole ka koolielu. Statistika näitab, et praegu käib liiga palju õpilasi koolis vastumeelselt. Suured klassid ja koolid põhjustavad anonüümsust — õpetaja ja õpilase suhe jääb pealiskaudseks. Õpetajad ei jõua kõigi lastega tegeleda ega nende probleemidesse süveneda, see on põhjustanud ka suurema vastumeelsuse kooli suhtes.

Edule orienteeritud ühiskonnas on sagedasti tähtsamad raha, karjäär, asjad ning unustatakse teised väärtused — suhtlemine, tunnustamine, julgustamine. Suhtlemisoskus on vajalik. Oskus ennast väljendada ja sisendada lastele, et nad saavad hakkama ning on tublid ja vajalikud, on vahest olulisemgi kui materiaalne keskkond.

Kogumikku „Lapsed. *Children*” on koondatud statistilised faktid, mis annavad hea üldpildi laste eluolust praeguses Eestis. Välja on toodud ka rasked teemad nagu laste vaesus ja kuritegevus, samas on pööratud tähelepanu ka riigipoolsele toetustele ja abile. Kogumiku eesmärk on anda ülevaade olukorrast, et iga inimene saaks andmestiku põhjal teha üldistusi ja mõtiskleda.

Kogumik on valminud Sotsiaalministeeriumi tellimusel. Täna kõiki kogumiku „Lapsed. *Children*” tegijaid: autoreid, toimetajaid ja kujundajaid, kelle ühise jõupingutuse tulemusel on kogumik avalikkuse ette jõudnud.

Head lugemist ja mõtisklemist!

Autorite nimel

Urve Kask, rahvastiku- ja sotsiaalstatistika osakonna juhataja

FOREWORD

The well-being of a child begins with the satisfaction of adults. The growth environment is essential for a child, as well as its capability to ensure the child's basic necessities as food, but also security is very important. A child needs closeness and caring, the feeling that he/she belongs somewhere, is loved. Thus, parents can contribute to the well-being of children, establishing good relationships and home.

School life has also an important role in children's well-being. Statistics show that nowadays many children go to school reluctantly. Big classes and schools cause anonymity — the relations between the teacher and child are superficial. Teachers do not have time for individual approach to each child or for children's problems.

In the society that has focused on success, often money, career and things are more important and other values — communication, acknowledgement, encouragement have been forgotten. Communication skills are necessary in life. The ability to express oneself and reassuring children that they can cope, that they are good and needed are often more important than material environment.

The publication "Lapsed. Children" contains statistical facts providing a good overview of the children's life in contemporary Estonia. The so-called difficult topics as children's poverty and crime have also been discussed. Attention has been paid also to the state benefits and support granted for families with children.

The aim of the publication is to provide an adequate overview of the situation, so that each person could make generalisations and contemplate.

The publication has been compiled by the order of the Ministry of Social Affairs. I am grateful to all the compilers of the publication "Lapsed. Children": authors, editors and persons responsible for the layout and cover design who all have contributed to the publication of the book.

Enjoy the book!

On behalf of the authors

Urve Kask

Head of the Population and Social Statistics Department

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LAPSED ÕIGUSAKTIDES

Signe Kaplan
Sotsiaalministeerium

Ajalugu

Lapsi on mainitud juba esimestes seadustekstides. Siiski ei saa rääkida laste teadlikust seaduslikust kaitsest enne eelmise sajandi algust — siis hakati pöörama suuremat tähelepanu inimõigustele, sh ka lapse õigustele.

Praegustes seadustes käsitletakse lapsi haavatava rühmana ja seetõttu on kasutusele võetud mitu meetet kaitsmaks last tema arengu eripärast tulenevalt.

Esialgu leiti, et lapse kaitsmise ja heaolu eest tuleb hoolitseda perekonnal ning riik ega ühiskond laste ja vanemate ning laste ja ühiskonna suhetesse ei sekku. See lähenemine tähendas, et lapsel oli nõrk positsioon perekonna ja vanemate õiguste tõttu.

Rahvusvahelise ja riigisisese lastekaitse teke

Esimest korda käsitleti
laste õigusi aastal
1923

Rahvusvahelisel tasandil käsitles esimest korda lapse õigusi organisatsiooni Päästke Lapsed (*Save the Children*) asutaja Eglantyne Jebb 1923. aastal. Tema eesmärk oli tunnustada laste õigusi ja seda ka rahvusvaheliselt. Päästke Lapsed assotsiatsiooni peaassambleel pandi 1923. aastal kirja viis tunnustamist vajavat lapse õiguste punkti, mis võeti vastu lapse õiguste deklaratsiooniga. 1924. aastal võttis dokumendi Genfi vastu Ühinenud Rahvaste viies assamblee (ÜRO eelkäija). Dokument sai tuntuks kui 1924. aasta Genfi deklaratsioon ning oli ühtlasi lapse õiguste arengu algus.

Laste õiguste areng erineb enamikust rahvusvahelise õiguse dokumentidest. See on sündinud riigisisestest aktide ja positveeritud põhimõtete analüüsi ja sünteesi tulemusel ja sai alguse rahvusvaheliste konventsioonide tekkimisega. Riikide õigusaktidesse inkorporeeriti konventsiooni põhimõtted hiljem.

1924. aasta Genfi deklaratsioon oli esimene ainult lapse õigusi käsitlev dokument. Selles oli vaid viis kasuistlikult nimetatud lapse põhiõigust:

- lapse normaalseks arenguks peavad talle olema tagatud nii materiaalsed vahendid kui ka hingeline tugi;
- näljas last peab toitma, haiget ravima, eksinut õigele teele tagasi juhatama, orbudele ja koduta lastele peab võimaldama peavarju ja abi;
- laps peab häda (ohu) korral esimesena abi ja leevendust saama;
- lapsele peab õpetama eluks vajalikke oskusi ja ta peab olema kaitstud ekspluateerimise eest;
- lapse peab üles kasvatama teadmises, et tema parimaid omadusi (oskusi) saab kasutada ühiskonna hüvanguks.

1948. aastal võeti vastu ÜRO inimõiguste ülddeklaratsioon, milles sätestati emade ja laste kaitse ning õigus haridusele.

1959. aastal võeti vastu ÜRO lapse õiguste deklaratsioon, mis on teine ainult lapse õigusi puudutav rahvusvaheline dokument. Selles püüti esimest korda kokku võtta ja kirjeldada lapse peamisi vajadusi ja õigusi, nimetati kümme lapse õiguste põhimõtet, sh praeguse lastekaitse aluspõhimõtte — lapse huvidega tuleb kõikjal arvestada esmajärjekorras.

1966. aasta ÜRO kodaniku ja poliitiliste õiguste rahvusvaheline pakt nägi ette lapse kaitse abielulahutusel, sätestades tema huvide esikohale seadmise ja ealiste iseärasustega arvestamise.

1979. aasta kuulutas ÜRO peaassamblee rahvusvaheliseks lapse aastaks ja julgustas riike vastu võtma laste heaolu parandamise dokumente. Samal aastal moodustati ÜROs lapse õiguste konventsiooni töögrupp.

1989. aasta 20. novembril võttis ÜRO peaassamblee pärast kümme aastat kestnud arutelusid ja vaidlusi **vastu ÜRO lapse õiguste konventsiooni**. See pidi sobima kõikide kultuuride ja huvigruppidega ning seda võib pidada arvamuste ja vajaduste kompromissiks. Oluline vaidlusobjekt oli lapse vanuse määratlemine, mis seni leidis eri kultuurides väga erinevat lähenemist (näiteks moslemimaades peeti enesestmõistetavaks 13-aastaste neidude abiellumist). Diskussioonide tulemusena määratleti üldtunnustatud lapse iga — 0–17-aastane. Nii käsitlevad last ka Eesti seadused. Riikide seadustes on ka erinevusi, näiteks on Eestis võimalik erijuhtudel siiski enne 18-aastaseks saamist abielluda, samuti võib kohus laiendada alaealise teovõimet teatud tehingute sooritamiseks.

20. novembril 1991 jõustus Eestis ÜRO lapse õiguste konventsioon. Praeguseks on sellega liitunud 193 riiki. Eesti on ühinenud ka konventsiooni kahe lisaprotokolliga, mis käsitlevad lapse õigusi relvastatud konfliktides ja õigust olla kaitstud laste müügi, pornograafia ja prostitutsiooni eest.

Kuigi laste õigusi käsitlevaid dokumente on vastu võetud rohkem, peetakse ÜRO lapse õiguste konventsiooni olulisimaks. Eesti on ühinenud veel mitme lapse õigusi käsitleva rahvusvahelise dokumendiga, mis soodustavad nende õiguste tagamist riigis ja rahvusvaheliselt.

Eestis algas sihipärane laste õiguste ja kaitse käsitlemine seaduse tasandil 1991. aastal, kui ühineti ÜRO laste õiguste konventsiooniga

Eestis hakati laste õigusi ja kaitset seaduslikul tasandil teadlikult käsitlema 1991. aastal, kui ühineti ÜRO lapse õiguste konventsiooniga. Lapsi käsitleti seadustes ka varem — neid kajastati peamiselt eraõigusest tulenevat: perekonna ja pärimisõigus, samuti alaealisusest tingitud teovõime piiramine. Viimane kaitset laste tema nooruse ja kogenumatuse eest nagu ka pärimisõiguse sätteid. Eraldi oli reguleeritud laste kriminaalvastutusega ja veel mõned nüansid. Siiski ei lähtunud seadustes teadlikult laste õigustest ja nende põhiprintsiipidest, mis on praeguseks kujunenud lapsi puudutavates teemades üldkohustuslikuks.

Innustatuna rahvusvahelisest laste õiguste aktiivsest käsitlusest ja konventsiooniga ühinemisest võeti Eestis 1992. aastal vastu praeguseni pea muutusteta kehtiv **lastekaitse seadus**, mis jõustus 1. jaanuaril 1993.

Kuigi lastekaitse seadust on palju kritiseeritud, on see laste õiguste käsitlemise ja paljude teiste seaduste ja määruste alus. Eestit on rahvusvaheliselt tunnustatud iseseisva, ainult lastekaitset käsitleva seaduse olemasolu eest, millega loodi positiivne foon ja suhtumine laste õiguste käsitlemisse.

Eraõigus

Eraõiguse valdkonnas leidsid lapse õigused ja kaitsemehhanismid käsitlust juba vanas Roomas. Nii on see Eestis praegugi kehtivas seaduses — õiguste käsitlemine on muutunud lapsekeskseks ja räägitakse tema huvidega arvestamisest ning ärakuulamisest ja kaasamisest. Seega on laps iseseisev õigusobjekt, kellel on õigusvõime ja vanusega kaasnev osaline teovõime.

Tsiviilseadustiku üldosa seadus

Tsiviilseadustik raamistab kogu eraõiguse, võttes kokku selle kõiki valdkondi läbivad normid ja sätteid. Nii määratleb seadus füüsilise isiku õigusvõime, mis algab sünniga ja lõpeb surmaga, ning lapse teovõime, selle laiendamise võimalused ja korra. Üldpõhimõtte on, et laps ei ole täielikult teovõimeline, kuid nüüdisaegse seadusena kajastab TSÜS lapse arenguga kaasnevat õiguste laiendamist. Näiteks annab seadus vähemalt 15-aastase piiratud teovõime laiendamise võimaluse kohtule, kui see on lapse huvides ja tema arengutase seda võimaldab. Teovõimet saab üldjuhul laiendada seadusliku esindaja nõusolekul.

Sama seadus määratleb isiku elukoha (sh alaealise oma) — tema vanema või eestkostja elukoht, vanemate lahuselu korral selle vanema elukoht, kelle juures laps elab. Vanematest lahus elava lapse puhul võib elukohaks lugeda ka paiga, kus ta alaliselt või peamiselt elab.

Perekonnaseadus

Perekonnaseadus on üks olulisem lapse õigusi käsitlev seadus. See sätestab lapse põlvnemise, lapse ja vanemate suhted, lapse õiguse vanemate hoolitsusele ja ülalpidamisele, lapsendamise ja eestkoste küsimused, aga ka 15–17-aastase abielumise.

Perekonnaseadus on oluline, sest selles kajastub mitu ÜRO lapse õiguste konventsioonis rõhutatud õigust. Konventsiooni kohaselt on lapsel õigus identiteedile, milles kätkeb peale kodakondsuse ka õigus sünni registreerimisele, nimele ja teadmisele, kes on tema vanemad. Perekonnaseaduse kohaselt koostab perekonnaseisuasutus vanema avalduse alusel sünniakti, mille vanem peab esitama kuu jooksul pärast lapse sündi. Sünni registreerimisega fikseeritakse põlvnemine. Lapse ema on naine, kes on ta sünnitanud, ja isa mees, kes on lapse eostanud. Isa puhul pole aga kahjuks asjad alati selged, seetõttu kaitseb lapse õigust teisele vanemale (isale) seadus — lapse emaga abielus olev mees loetakse isaks. Seaduse järgi võivad vanemad lapse põlvnemise kohta ühisavalduse esitada (abielus mitteolevad vanemad), samuti võib kohtus vaidlustada vanema kande.

Perekonnaseaduse järgi on lapsel õigus tunda oma vanemaid ja võimalusel nendega suhelda ning olla kaitstud vanemaist eraldamise eest ilma seadusliku aluseta. Perekonnaseaduses on sätestatud, et lapse võib perest eraldada, kui vanem on vägivaldne või hoolimatu. Eraldamisõigus on ainult kohtul.

See seadus näeb ette, et last peab ülal pidama tema vanem, ning annab aluse ülalpidamisest kõrvalehoidmisel kohtusse pöördumiseks.

Ka lapsendamist ja eestkostet reguleerib perekonnaseadus. Selle järgi tuleb mõlemal juhul lapse huvid ja vajadused esikohale seada.

Pärimisseadus

Pärimine on sama vana õiguslik tehing kui kirjalik tehing. Pärimisseadus kaitseb sündsosa kohaldamisega alanejate sugulaste (sh pärandaja laste) õigust pärandiosale, samuti seab seadus alaneja sugulase esimesse pärijate järjekorda.

Avalik õigus

Tööõigus

Rahvusvaheliselt on siiani mitmes riigis probleemiks lapstööjõu kasutamine ehk laste ekspluateerimine, mis takistab nende eakohast arengut ja piirab õppimise, hobidega tegelemise ja puhkuse õigust. Seaduse eesmärk on kaitsta last üle jõu käiva ja tervist kahjustava töö eest. Lapsel on eeskätt õigus ja kohustus õppida, mistõttu on sätestatud koolikohustuslikus eas laste (7–17-aastased) töötamispiirangud.

Tööandjal ei ole lubatud tööle võtta ega seal rakendada alla 15-aastast või koolikohustuslikku alaealist, kui seadusega ei ole sätestatud teisiti. 13–14- ja 15–16-aastastel koolikohustuslikel isikutel on lubatud teha töid, kus täidetavad ülesanded on lihtsad ega nõua suurt kehalist või vaimset pingutust.

Tööandjale on alaealise tööle võtmisel seatud põhimõttelised piirangud, mille kohaselt ei tohi alaealine teha tööd, mis

- ületab kehalisi või vaimseid võimeid;
- ohustab kõlblust;
- on õnnetusohklik ja mille puhul võib eeldada, et alaealine ei suuda ohtu kogemuse või väljaõppe puudumise tõttu õigel ajal märgata ega vältida;
- takistab sotsiaalset arengut või hariduse omandamist;
- ohustab töö laadi või töökeskkonna ohutegurite tõttu tervist.

Samuti nõutakse alaealisega töölepingu sõlmimiseks seadusliku esindaja kirjalikku nõusolekut, 13–14-aastase puhul peab sellega nõustuma ka tööinspektor.

Haridus

Võimalus haridust omandada on lapse põhiõigus, millega on seotud ka kohustus õppida. Vanem peab tagama, et laps saaks osaleda ja ka osaleks õppetegevuses.

Tervishoid

Lapsel on õigus tervise kaitsele, Eestis on see kindlustatud juba alates ema rasedusest. Kõigile ennast rasedusega arvele võtnud Eestis elavatele naistele ja lastele kehtib ravikindlustus. Tervisekaitset tuleb siiski laiemalt käsitleda — lastekaitse seadus kohustab ka last oma tervist hoidma. Solidaarsuspõhimõttele rajatud ravikindlustussüsteem tagab lastele tervisekontrolli ja ravivõimalused.

Sotsiaalkindlustus ja -hoolekanne

Sotsiaalkindlustussüsteemi kaudu väärtustab riik kõiki Eestis elavaid lapsi ja maksab pere-toetuste seaduse alusel ning solidaarsuspõhimõttel lapsetoetust igale peres kasvavale lapsele. Sama seaduse alusel annab riik peredele laste kasvatamiseks toetusi. Peretoetusi on kümnet liiki, kõiki ei maksta igal kuul. Selle seaduse viimaste täiendustega rõhutatakse lasterikastes peredes kasvavate laste toetamist, rakendades sellistele peredele lisatoetusi (vähemalt seitsmelapselise pere vanema toetus) ning suurendades toetusi proportsionaalselt laste arvust sõltuvalt. Mainitud seaduse alusel makstakse ka eestkoste või hoolduse all oleva lapse toetust, katmaks tema kasvatamisega tekkinud kulud. Eestkostja ega hooldaja tasustamist ei ole ette nähtud.

Lastega perede kindlustunde ning lastele sobiva elu- ja arengukeskkonna loomiseks kehtestati vanemahüvitise seadus. See tagab ühele vanematest sissetuleku säilimise lapse pooleteiseaastaseks saamiseni.

Elatisabi seadusega püüab riik leevendada nende üksi last kasvatavate vanemate ja laste olukorda, kelle teine vanem ei täida ülalpidamiskohustust — lapse ülalpidamiskulud kaetakse osaliselt kolme kuu ulatuses.

Ohver

Lapsohvri kohane kohtlemine ja abistamine on tundlik teema, mis vajab kindlasti arendamist. Lastekaitse seaduse järgi peab abivajavast lapsest teavitama politseid või sotsiaaltöötajat.

Õigusrikkuja

Vähemalt 14-aastane isik on süüvõimeline ja vastutab oma tegude eest karistusseadustiku alusel. Siiski on alaealisele ette nähtud kaitsemeetmed, tagamaks tema heaolu kohtueelsete menetlustoimingute perioodil, aga ka kinnipidamisasutusse sattumisel. Erisusena võib tuua koolikohustuse täitmise võimaldamise.

Alaealise mõjutusvahendite seaduse alusel reageeritakse eeskätt õiguserikkumisele aga ka kergemale ühiskonnaelu reeglitest mittekinnipidamisele. Kool või omavalitsus (tihti ka prokurör) suunab alaealiste komisjoni noore, kes ei täida koolikohustust, hulgub või varastab. Alaealise mõjutusvahendite seaduse mõte on mõjutada ja abistada noori range- maid karistusmeetmeid rakendamata. Leebemate mõjutusvahendite kõrval (koolikorraalduslik mõjutusvahend, lepitus, kohustus elada vanema või eestkostja juures, hoiatus, üldkasulik töö jms) on äärmusliku meetmena võimalik kohtu kaudu suunata kasvatus eritingimusi vajavad õpilased erikooli. Viimane on erimeede, mida kohus võib määrata aastaks ja pikendada vastava taotluse esitamise korral veel aastaks.

Strateegiad

Riik peab olema oma tegevuses järjepidev — seda on püütud eri valdkondade strateegiliste dokumentidega tagada. Lapse õigusi ja kaitset käsitleb lapse õiguste tagamise strateegia, millel on igal aastal Vabariigi Valitsuses heaks kiidetud tegevuskavad. Muu hulgas on Sotsiaalministeeriumil kohustus esitada valitsusele tegevuskavade täitmise aruandeid.

Lapse õiguste tagamise strateegia ja selle tegevuskavad kajastavad laste heaolu tagamiseks tehtavat kõikides ministeeriumides. Riiklikud strateegiadokumendid, mis ei käi otseselt laste kohta, katavad siiski alati nendega seotud erinevusi (näiteks inimkaubanduse vastu võitlemise arengukavas).

Laste õigusi ja nende kaitset käsitleb lapse õiguste tagamise strateegia

Laste hoolekande üldine korraldus

Laste hoolekande võib jagada tinglikult kaheks: lapsele ja tema perele osutatavad teenused, toetused ja muu abi, mis aitab perel toime tulla lapsele turvalise kasvu- ja arengukeskkonna loomisega, ning asendushooldus.

Sotsiaalhoolekande seaduse eesmärk on abistada isikut ja perekonda, kui nende võimalused toimetulekuks ei ole piisavad, ning soodustada toimetulekut. Samadest eesmärkidest lähtutakse ka laste hoolekandes.

Last ja teda kasvatavat peret toetavad toimetuleku soodustamiseks kohalikud omavalitsused

Peamine vastutus laste ja neid kasvatavate perede toimetuleku soodustamisel ja abi andmisel on kohalikul omavalitsusel, kes

- toetab last ja teda kasvatavaid isikuid, tehes koostööd perekonnaliikmete ja teiste isikute ning asjaomaste asutustega;
- töötab välja ja viib ellu lapsi arendavaid ja kaitsvaid sihtprogramme ning projekte;
- vajaduse korral määrab lapsele või teda kasvatavale isikule tugiisiku või -perekonna;
- korraldab lapse eestkostet;
- aitab korraldada lapsendamist;
- korraldab lapse hooldamist peres, kelle liikmete hulka laps ei kuulu.

Riigi pädevuses on asendushoolduse ja puudega lapse rehabilitatsioon

Riik on võtnud endale vastutuse eeskätt asendushoolduse ja puudega laste rehabilitatsiooni küsimustes. Perekonnast ja kodust eraldatud ning asendushooldust vajavad lapsed püütakse paigutada lapsendaja perekonda või eestkostele (reguleeritud perekonnaseadusega). Vanematest ilma jäänud lapsele on see stabiilseim ja perelähedasim võimalus. Lapsele tuleb tagada turvaline kasvukeskkond täisealiseks saamiseni, lapsendamise puhul luuakse suhe, mis sarnaneb perekonda sündinud lapse ja vanema suhtega.

Vanema hoolitsuseta jäänud lapsi on võimalik paigutada hooldusperekonda või asenduskodusse. Hooldusperekond on alternatiivne teenus asenduskodule, mis tagab lapse kasvatamise perekeskkonnas. Perekonnas hooldajale ja tema kodule ning pereliikmetele on esitatud hulk nõudmisi tagamaks hoolduslapse turvalisus. Muu hulgas on hoolduspere vanemal kohustus läbida vastav koolitus. Hoolduseperes kasvava lapse ülalpidamiskulud kaetakse peretoetuste seaduse alusel eestkostel või perekonnas hooldamisel oleva lapse toetusega.

Asenduskodu ehk kõnekeeles lastekodu on hoolekandeteenus, mis on palju muutunud ja kus eriline rõhk pannakse perelähedase keskkonna loomisele. Sõltumata asutuse omanikust katab riik seal elavate laste ülalpidamiskulud.

Puuetega laste rehabilitatsiooniteenus on riiklikult korraldatud eeskätt seetõttu, et puude-spetsiifilised probleemid on liiga keerukad, et neid kohalikult lahendada. Igal puudega lapsel on õigus rehabilitatsiooniplaanile ja selle alusel osutatavatele teenustele. Viimast on võimalik osutada ka käitumisprobleemiga lastele, selle osutamise otsustab alaealiste komisjon alaealise mõjutusvahendi seaduse alusel.

Laste hoolekande korraldamisel lähtutakse ÜRO lapse õiguste konventsiooni ja lastekaitse seaduse põhimõtetest.

LASTE KASVUKESKKOND

Alis Tammur
Marin Randoja
Statistikaamet

Sündimus

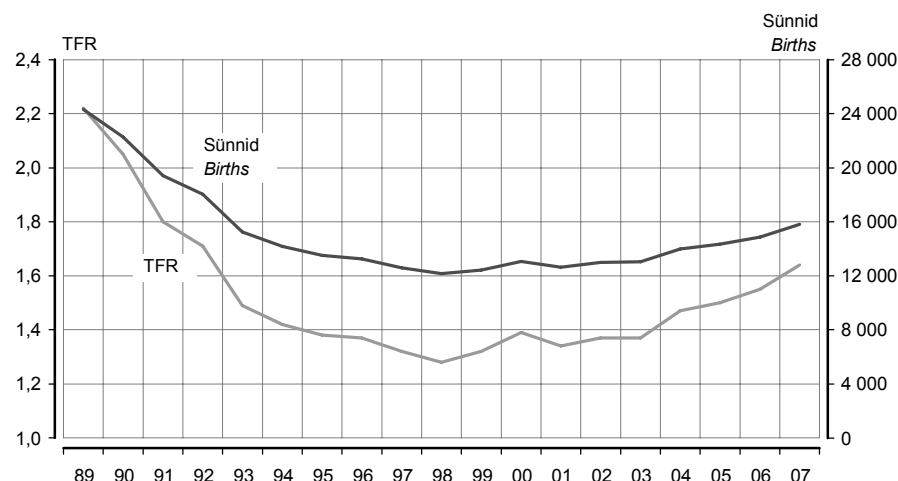
Sündimus on rahvastiku taastootmise seisukohalt oluline näitaja. Eesti rahvastiku püsijäämises on sündimisel pearoll. Viimastel aastatel on sündimus Eestis kasvanud. Kui võrrelda praeguseid sündimuse näitajaid lähiminevikuga (1980ndad), on selge, et sündimuse taset Eestis ei saa veel rahuldavaks pidada: kuigi nii sündide üldarv kui ka kordajad kasvavad, ei ole see rahvastikutaasteks piisav.

Sündimus tähendab elussündide arvu, mida iseloomustab summaarne sündimuskordaja (TFR — *total fertility rate*). See näitab keskmist laste arvu naise kohta, kui kogu viljakusea jooksul jääb sündimus samale tasemele kui aastal, mille kohta on kordaja arvatud. Põhimõtteliselt tähendab see viljakusea lõpuks sündinud laste keskmist arvu naise kohta. Seega näitab TFR rahvastikutaaste taset — kui näitaja on üle 2,15, siis rahvastik taastub ja põlvkondade vaheldumisega jääb rahvaarv püsima, kui aga alla selle, siis rahvastik ei taastooda ennast.

Eesti rahvastik ei taastooda ennast

Alates 2004. aastast on sündimus Eestis stabiilselt kasvanud, andes põhjuse mõningaseks rahuloluks. Suurenenud on ka loomulik liive, kuid sündimus on ikka allpool taastetaseme ja liive negatiivne. Viimati oli sündimus Eestis üle taastetaseme 1980ndate lõpus, mil registreeriti aastas keskmiselt 25 000 sündi (joonis 1). 1990ndate lõpus sündis Eestis võrreldes tippajaga poole vähem lapsi. See näitaja on nüüdseks (2007. aastaks) tõusnud 15 775 elussünnini — 2/3 laulva revolutsiooni aegsetest sündidest. Samas tuleb arvestada, et võrreldavate perioodide vahele jääb 1990ndate alguse suur väljaränne, mille tõttu vähenes Eesti rahvaarv 15%. Et vähendada selliste lisategurite mõju, kasutatakse demograafilise situatsiooni kirjeldamiseks enamasti sündimuskordajaid.

Joonis 1 Summaarne sündimuskordaja ja sünnid, 1989–2007
Figure 1 Total fertility rate and births, 1989–2007



Summaarne sündimuskordaja oli 1989. aastal 2,22 ja langes 1990ndate alguses väga järsult nagu sündide arvgi. 1990ndate lõpus ja 2000ndate alguses püsis TFR kokku rohkem kui kümme aastat väiksem kui 1,4 ning langes 1998. aastaks isegi alla 1,3. Viimast nimetatakse madalamast madalamaks sündimuseks (*lowest low fertility*) (Kohler jt 2002), sest niisuguse sündimustaseme puhul väheneks stabiilne rahvastik iga 45 aastaga kaks korda. 2007. aastaks tõusis TRF 1,64-ni. TFR-i näitajate analüüsimisel on oluline arvestada, et 1980ndate lõpus ja 1990ndate alguses sünnitusvanus Eestis noorenes, seetõttu oli TFR-i väärtus tegelikust sündimusest kõrgem. Seejärel hakkas sünnitusvanus kasvama ja TFR-i väärtus on tegelikust sündimustasemest madalam.

Sünnitusvanuse tõusu iseloomustab nii sünnitamisvanuse jaotus sündide arvu järgi kui ka keskmise vanuse muutus. Sünnitusea kasvamisest tulenevalt on viimastel aastatel vähenenud alla 20- ja 20–24-aastaste sünnitajate osatähtsus. Eriti kiiresti on kasvanud 30–39-aastaste sünnitajate osatähtsus. Kui 2007. aastal oli sünnitaja keskmine vanus 28,5 ja esmasünnitaja oma üle 25,4 aastat, siis 1989. aastal sünnitati mõlemal juhul umbes kolm aastat varem. Võrreldes Soome või Rootsi on keskmine sünnitamisvanus Eestis veel madal.

Viimastel aastatel on kasvanud nii esimese, teise kui ka järgmiste laste sünnitanute arv. Sünnituste struktuur sõltuvalt varasematest sünnitustest 2000ndatel oluliselt ei muutunud (Võrk, Karu 2006). Neil aastatel oli esmasünnitajaid 49%, teise lapse sünnitanute osatähtsus on tõusnud paar protsenti, püsisid 1/3 juures kõigist sündidest.

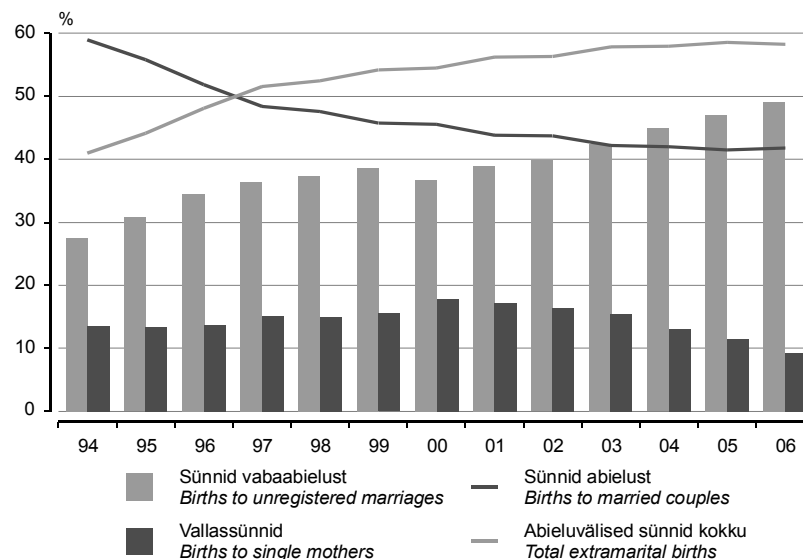
2000ndatel kasvas sündide absoluutarv kõrgharidusega sünnitajate arvel

Vanemahüvitise kehtestamise tõttu on palju diskuteeritud selle mõjust sünnitus- ja tööturukäitumisele. On arutletud sünnitaja tausta muutumise üle viimastel aastatel ja vanemahüvitise rollist selles. Alates 1990ndate lõpust on sünnitajate seas suurenenud kõrgharidusega naiste osatähtsus — 15%-st 29,7%-ni. Madalama haridusega naiste osatähtsus on sünnitajate seas stabiilne olnud. Kõrgharidusega sünnitajate osatähtsuse kasv on tingitud eelkõige nende absoluutarvu kasvust mitte niivõrd muu haridusega sünnitajate vähenemisest. See tähendab, et 2000ndate aastate sündide absoluutarv kasvas kõrgharidusega sünnitajate arvel. Aastal 2005 oli võrreldes 1989. aastaga 2452 sündi rohkem ja kõrgharidusega naiste sünnitusi 2541 rohkem. See on loogiline, sest suurenenud on kõrgharidusega inimeste osatähtsus rahvastikus ja sünnitaja keskmine sünnitusvanus (emad lõpetavad enne lapse sündi kooli).

Üle poole lastest sünnib väljaspool seaduslikku abielu

Abieluväliste sündide suure osatähtsuse poolest on Eesti Euroopas esirinnas. Enamikus Euroopa riikides domineerivad sünid abielus vanematele ja keskmiselt sünnib väljaspool abielu iga kolmas laps. Eestis on viimastel aastatel väljaspool seaduslikku abielu sündinud 58% lastest. Nende osatähtsus on kogu iseseisvusperioodi suurenenud ja hõlmab alates 1997. aastast rohkem kui poole sündinutest. Viimastel aastatel on see pikalt kasvanud trend stabiliseerunud. Väljaspool abielu sünnib Eestist rohkem lapsi vaid Islandil, kus 2005. aasta andmetel oli abieluväliste sündide osatähtsus 66% (Eurostati andmebaas). Abieluväliste sündide osatähtsus on väiksem Lõuna-Euroopas, kus usu mõju ja peretraditsioonid on tugevamad (Valgma 2007). Abieluväliste sündide hulka kuuluvad vabaabielus vanematele sündinud ja vallaslapsed. Viimaste sünniaktis puuduvad isa andmed. Vallassündide arv on langenud alates 2000. aastast ning nende osatähtsus on praegu alla 10%.

Joonis 2 **Abielust ja väljaspool seda sündinud lapsed, 1994–2006**
Figure 2 *Births to married couples and extramarital births, 1994–2006*

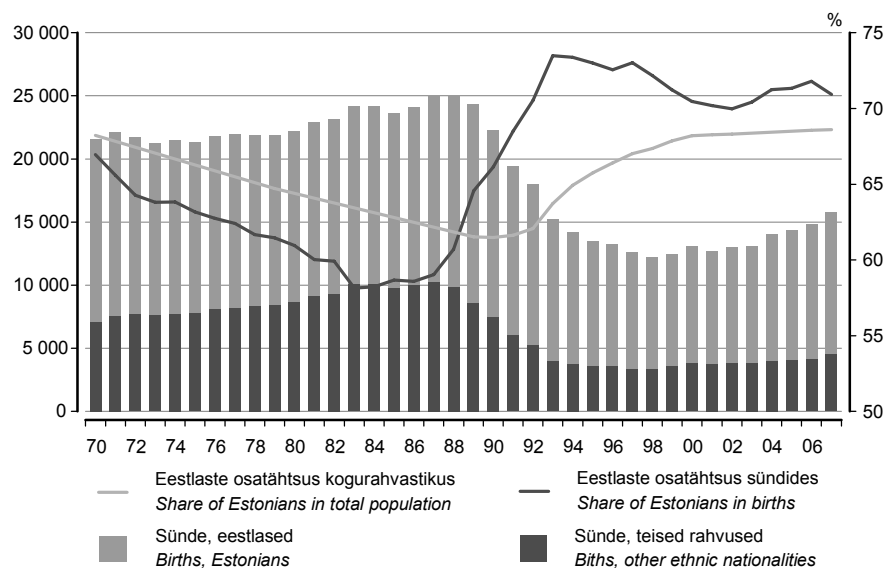


Iga kolmas rasedus lõpeb abordiga

Viimaste aastate muutuseks võib lugeda üldise abortide arvu suhtelise vähenemise. Vaatamata vähenenud abortide ja suurenenud sündide arvule arenes vaid 56% rasedustest elussünnini. Iga kolmas rasedus lõppes 2006. aastal naise soovil tehtud abordiga. Abordid sõltuvad vanusest — kõige rohkem katkestavad rasedusi 20–29-aastased, enamik raseduse katkestanud on sünnitanud vähemalt ühe lapse. 2006. aastal oli legaalselt indutseeritud aborti teinud naine keskmiselt 28-aastane. Need näitajad 2000ndatel aastatel oluliselt ei muutunud. Veel sünnitamata naiste raseduskatkestuste osatähtsus kõigis katkestustes on suurenenud ja vähemalt kaks last sünnitanute osatähtsus vähenenud. Absoluutarvudes on vanuserühma ja laste arvu järgi abortide arv kõigil langenud, lastetutel on langus olnud teistest aeglasem.

Kuna Eestis elab palju sissearvanud, kes käituvad demograafiliselt pigem oma päritoluriigile omaselt, on oluline võrrelda etniliste rühmade sündimuskäitumist. Nõukogude perioodil vähenes eestlaste osatähtsus sündide hulgas kiiremini kui kogurahvastikus. Sissearvanud on harilikult nooremas tööeas, seega on sündimus nende hulgas suurem. Alates 1983. aastast hakkas eestlaste sündimus vaikselt kasvama ja hoogustus alates 1988. aastast, mil pidurdus eestlaste osatähtsuse vähenemine kogurahvastikus (joonis 3). 1980ndatel hakkas suurenema ka teisest rahvusest rahvastiku sündimus. 1990ndate alguse väljarändes osalesid just mitte-eestlased, kellest paljud olid hiljuti siia saabunud ja seega nooremad. Seetõttu kasvas eestlaste osatähtsus sündides märgatavalt suuremaks kui kogurahvastikus (1993. aastal näitajad vastavalt 73% ja 64%) ja eestlaste keskmine vanus oli väiksem kui siinsete teiste rahvaste koondnäitaja. Praeguseks on eestlaste sündimuse osatähtsus kõigis sündides mõne protsendi vähenenud ja on 2–3% suurem eestlaste osatähtsusest kogurahvastikus.

Joonis 3 Sünde arv ja osatähtsus rahvuse järgi, 1970–2007
Figure 3 Number and share of births by ethnic nationality, 1970–2007



Eestlaste sündimus on võrreldes teiste siin elavate rahvusrühmade koondnäitajaga kõrgem. Esimeste sündimus on 2002. aastast pidevalt suurenenud, siinsete mitte-eestlaste sündimuses vaheldub aga tõus langusega. 2006. aastal oli summaarne sündimuskordaja eestlastel 1,60 ja mitte-eestlastel 1,37. Sündimuse erinevus tuleneb peale demograafilise käitumise ka rahvastikurühmade paiknemisest: mitte-eestlastest rahvastik elab enamjaolt linnades, kuid viimaste sündimuse näitajad on üldiselt madalamad.

Vallassünde oli sagedamini mitte-eestlaste seas. Vabaabieliu on nende hulgas vähem levinud ja rohkem eelistatakse abielluda enne lapse sündi. Eestlannad abielluvad tihti pärast lapse sündi. On märkimisväärne, et eestlaste seas taandus abiellust sündinud laste osatähtsus järjekindlalt vabaabiellust sündide ees. Mitte-eestlaste hulgas suurenes viimastel aastatel abiellust sündide osatähtsus isata registreeritud laste osatähtsuse vähenemise tõttu.

Paarikümne aastaga vähenenud segarahvusest perekonda sündinud laste osatähtsus

Eestlased on siinsete teiste rahvustega kõrvuti elanud juba üle poole sajandi. Viimase paarikümne aasta jooksul on segarahvusest perekonda sündinud laste osatähtsus vähenenud: 2007. aastaks suurenes samast rahvusest vanematega perede osatähtsus sünnitanute hulgas umbes 3% võrreldes 1980ndate lõpuga.

Sündimuse suurenemise põhjusi on tegelikult sündimuse kasvus raske välja tuua. Et sünnitanu keskmine vanus on rohkem kui 10 aasta jooksul kasvanud, on praegune sündimuse suurenemine täiesti loomulik. Rahvastiku vanuskoosseisust näeb, et sünnitus-ikka on jõudnud 1980ndate lõpus sündinud arvukam põlvkond. Kui lisaks eeldada, et keskmine sünnitamisvanus kasvab veelgi, saab järeldada, et praegune sündimuse tase mitte ainult ei säili, vaid kasvab veel mõnda aega. Vanemahüvitise võimalikku mõju sündimuse suurenemisele näitaks see, kui sünnitajate karakteristikud oleksid alates 2004. aastast muutunud teises suunas või tempos. Analüüs aga näitab, et muutusi ei ole. Sünnitaja keskmine vanus suurenes endiselt ning ka kõrgharidusega ja töötavate naiste osatähtsus hakkas sünnitajate seas kasvama juba alates 2002. aastast.

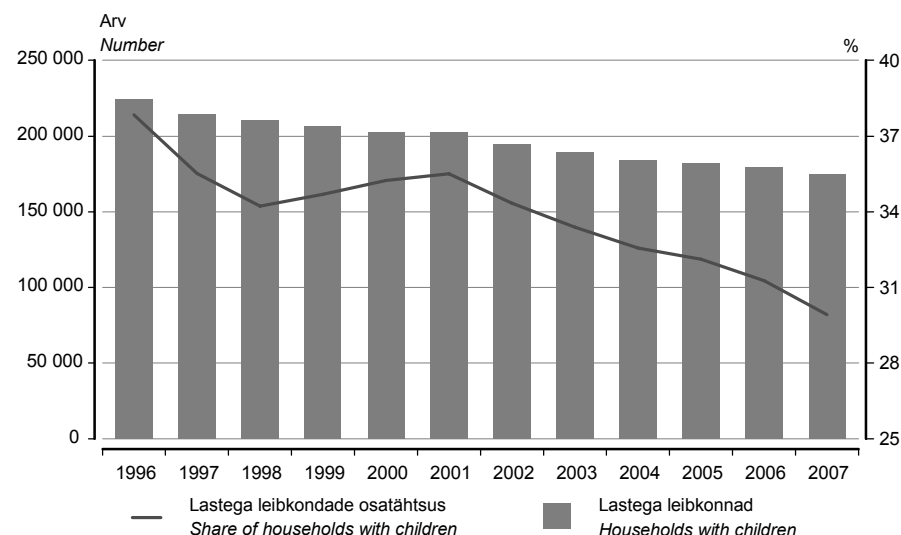
Leibkonna koosseis

Perekonna peamine sotsiaalne funktsioon on hoolitseda laste eest. Selle ülesande täitmine ja ligipääs ressurssidele määrab laste heaolu ja arengu — lapse edaspidine elu sõltub leibkonnast, kus ta üles kasvas. Teatud leibkonnatüübid (üksikvanem ja lasterikas pere) on ühiskonnas nii majanduslikult kui ka sotsiaalselt haavatavamad. Neid ähvardab teistega võrreldes rohkem vaesus ja eluruumist ilmajäämine. Üksikvanema leibkond on keskmiselt halvemas seisus — hakkama tuleb saada enamasti ainult ühe sissetulekuga, sageli on see madalam kui kahe vanemaga leibkonna vastutava isiku sissetulek. Et üksikvanemad on peamiselt naised, tuleneb erinevus sissetulekutes naiste ja meeste käitumisest tööturul. Madalam sissetulek leibkonnas või vaesus mõjutab lapse heaolu nii otseselt kui ka kaudselt. Peale füüsilise heaolu piirab majanduslikult kehvem olukord ligipääsu haridusele ja sotsiaalsele arengule. Uuringud näitavad, et laste haridustase sõltub vanemate haridusest. Lapsepõlvkodus kujunenud peremudel ja kumbed mõjutavad inimese tõekspidamisi ja väärtusi kogu elu.

Keskmiselt on leibkonnas 1,5 last

0–17-aastaste lastega leibkondi oli 2007. aastal Eestis 174 600. Vähem kui kolmandikus leibkondades olid lapsed. Keskmiselt oli leibkonnas 1,5 last. Nii lastega leibkondade arv kui ka osatähtsus on järjest vähenenud. Kui 1996. aastal oli selliseid leibkondi üle 220 000 ja nende osatähtsus 38%, siis 2007. aastaks oli lastega leibkondade arv vähenenud neljandiku (joonis 4). Põhjuseks võib tuua nii rahvaarvu kui ka sündimuse languse. Rahvaarvu vähenemisega kaasnes leibkondade (sh lastega leibkondade) arvu kahanemine. 1990ndate alguses järsult langenud sündimus avaldas tugevat mõju laste olemasolule ja arvule peres. Aina populaarsemaks on muutunud ühelapselised pered, lasterikaste osatähtsus aga väheneb. 2007. aastal oli 61% lastega leibkondadest ühe-, 29% kahe-, 7% kolmelapselised ja 3%-l oli leibkonnas vähemalt neli last.

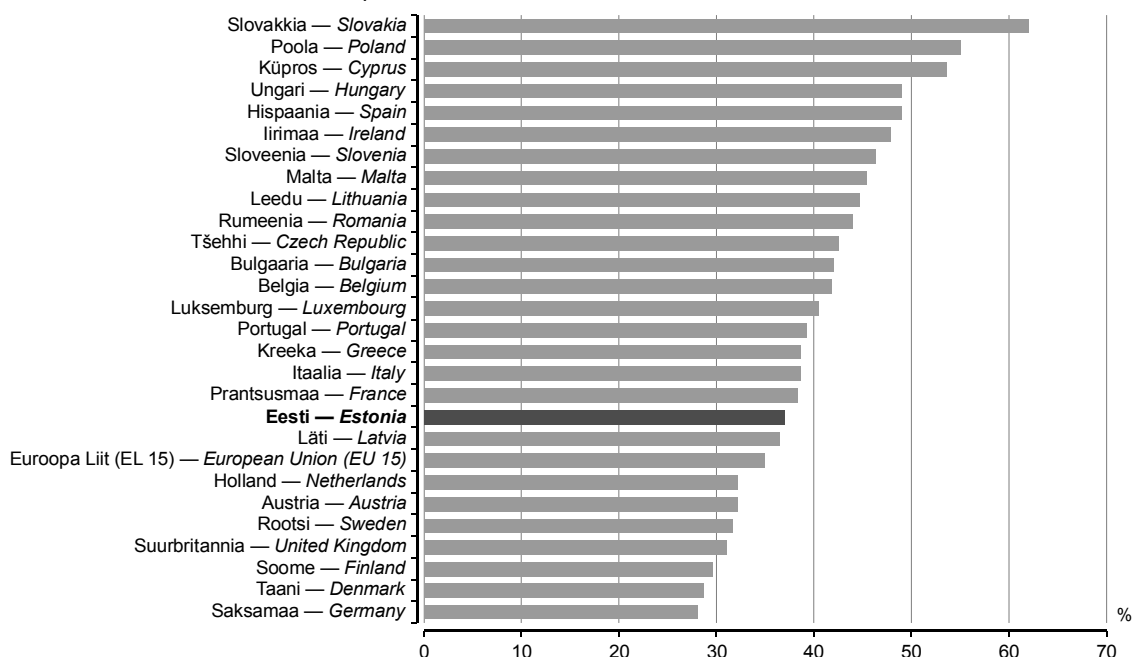
Joonis 4 Lastega leibkonnad, 1996–2007
Figure 4 Number and share of households with children, 1996–2007



Eestis on sõltuvate lastega leibkondade osatähtsus Euroopa keskmisel tasemel

Euroopa tasandil on lapsi võrreldavuse tagamiseks vaadeldud sõltuva lapse definitsioonist lähtuvalt. Selle järgi loetakse lasteks kõik alla 16-aastased ja vähemalt ühe vanemaga kooselavad majanduslikult mitteaktiivsed 16–24-aastased. Lastega leibkondade osatähtsus kõigub Euroopas 28% ja 62% vahel. Madalam on see põhjapoolsetes riikides — Saksamaal, Taanis, Soomes, Suurbritannias, kõrgem lõunapoolsetes ja uutes Euroopa Liidu ning katoliiklikes riikides — näiteks Slovakkias, Poolas, Hispaanias, Iirimaa. Eestis on sõltuvate lastega leibkondade osatähtsus 37% — vaid üks protsendipunkt kõrgem Euroopa Liidu (EL 15) keskmisest. Eestiga sarnane osatähtsus on Lätis, Prantsusmaal, Itaalias ja Kreekas. Eestis ja ka teistes Euroopa riikides on lastega leibkondade osatähtsus vähenenud. 1988. aastal oli paljudes riikides lastega leibkondi üle 10 protsendipunkti rohkem kui 1999. aastal. Võrreldes 1994. aastaga on Euroopa keskmine osatähtsus vähenenud viis protsendipunkti.

Joonis 5 Sõltuvate lastega leibkonnad, 1999
Figure 5 Households with dependant children, 1999



Allikas — Source: Eurostat

Suurenenud on üksikute inimeste ja pensionäride osatähtsus. Trend on selline kogu Euroopas ja tõenäoliselt jääb see nii ka järgmistel kümnenditel (*Trends...* 2003). 2007. aastal hõlmasid üksikud tööealised inimesed ja pensionäri Leibkonnad kõigist leibkondadest 40%, lasteta ja vähemalt ühe tööealise liikmepaarid aga seitsmendiku. Sama palju oli kahe põlvkonna leibkondi, kus koos elasid vanemad ja nende täisealised lapsed. Igas neljandas leibkonnas olid vanemad ja alaealised lapsed. Kõigist leibkondadest oli üksikvanemaga 4%. Lastega leibkondadest moodustasid üksikvanemad 14% ja lastega paarid 77%. Kõige suurema osa hõlmasid ühelapselised paarid — lastega leibkondadest kolmandiku.

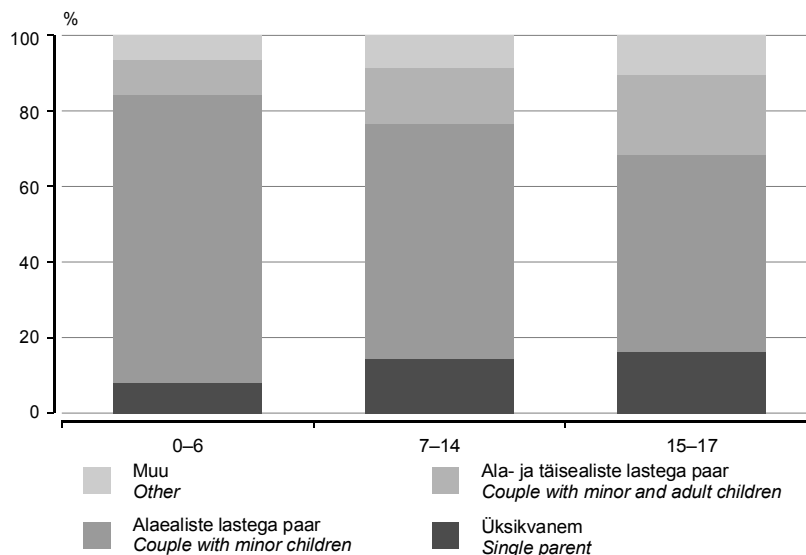
Leibkonna heaolu mõjutab oluliselt sissetuleku suurus. Peale muude tegurite sõltub sissetulek leibkonnapea soost. Leibkonnapea toob leibkonda suurima sissetuleku. See on kõrgem nendes leibkondades, kus leibkonnapea on mees. Mida suurem on laste arv leibkonnas ja mida nooremad nad on, seda väiksem on tõenäosus, et leibkonnapea on naine. Viimastel on võrreldes meestega palju suurem koormus majapidamise ja perekonna eest hoolitsemisel. See takistab neil meestega samaväärselt tööturul osaleda. Siiski on neljandiku ühe lapsega paaride leibkonnapea naine. Vähemalt kahe lapsega leibkondadest on iga kuuenda juht naine. Suurem osa üksikvanemaid on naised, seetõttu on sellise leibkonna keskmine sissetulek leibkonnatüüpidest madalaim. 2007. aastal hõlmasid 93% üksikvanematest naised ja 7% mehed.

Enamik lastest kasvab kahe täiskasvanuga leibkonnas

Enamik lastest (79%) kasvab kahe täiskasvanuga leibkonnas (joonis 6). Üksikvanema leibkonnas elab 13% ja kolme põlvkonna ning muus leibkonnatüübis 8% lastest. Neljandik mõlema vanemaga lastest kuulub kahe-, viiendik ühe- ja kuuendik vähemalt kolmelapselisse peresse. Eelkooliealised lapsed kuuluvad rohkem traditsioonilisemasse ehk kahe vanemaga leibkonda. Suuremate laste korral muutuvad üha levinumaks üksikvanema, mitme põlvkonna ja muud leibkonnatüübid. Kui lapsed saavad vanemaks, muutub tõenäolisemaks vanemate lahkuminek. 0–6-aastastest lastest elab koos ühe vanemaga 8%, 15–17-aastastest juba kaks korda rohkem. Leibkonnas olevad lapsed on tavaliselt enam-vähem sama vanad, seega elab 15–17-aastaseid rohkem leibkonnas, kus on nii ala- kui ka täisealisi lapsi. Täiseale lähenevad lapsed elavad sagedamini ka muudes leibkonnatüüpides — koos õdede-vendade või elukaaslasega.

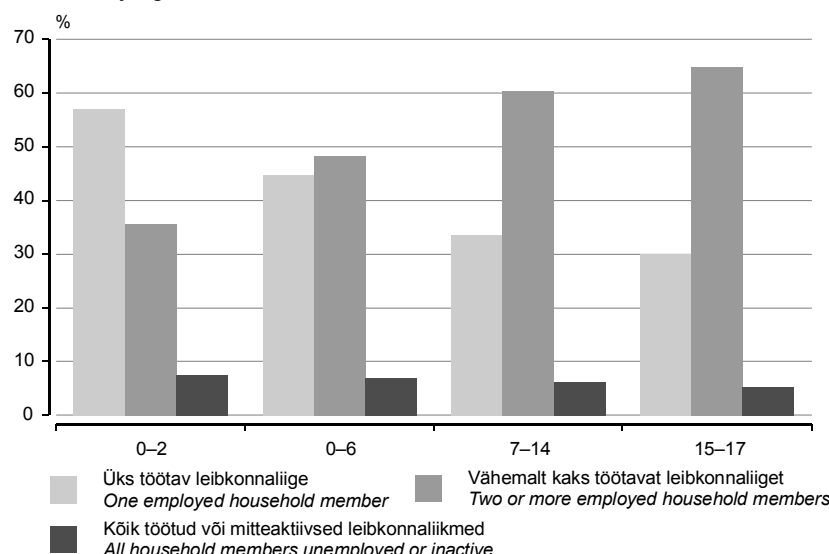
14% kahe täiskasvanuga elavatest lastest on leibkonnas, kus üks või mõlemad vanemad ei ole bioloogilised või teda seaduslikult lapsendanud. Enamik (12%) elab koos kasuisaga. Kasuema või mõlemad kasuvanemad on 3%-l lastest. Vanematel lastel on sagedamini kasuvanemad. 0–6-aastastest elab 94% koos mõlema vanemaga, 7–17-aastaste puhul on mõlema vanemaga koos elavate laste osatähtsus kahanenud 81%-ni.

Joonis 6 **Lapsed vanuse ja leibkonnatüübi järgi, 2007**
Figure 6 *Children by age and type of household, 2007*



Kuigi majanduslik heaolu on üldiselt kõrgem kahe vanemaga elavatel lastel, ei sõltu leibkonna sissetulek vanemate olemasolust, vaid töötavate liikmete arvust. Üle poole lastest (57%) elab leibkonnas, kus on vähemalt kaks töötavat liiget (joonis 7). Ühe töötava liikmega leibkonda kuulub üle kolmandiku lastest (37%). 6% lastest elab väga kehvades majandus-tingimustes — kõik leibkonnaliikmed on töötud või mitteaktiivsed. Töötavate liikmete arv leibkonnas sõltub laste vanusest. Kui lapsed on väiksed, on ema enamasti lastega kodus ja seega mitteaktiivne. Rohkem kui pooltel 0–2-aastastel lastel on leibkonnas ainult üks töötav liige, kolmandikul töötab kaks või enam liiget. Lapse vanemaks saades suundub ema tagasi tööle. Nii elab 7–17-aastastest üle 60% vähemalt kahe töötava inimesega leibkonnas.

Joonis 7 **Lapsed vanuse ja leibkonna majandusliku staatuse järgi, 2007**
Figure 7 **Children by age and labour status of the household, 2007**



Lastega leibkondade elamistingimused

Halvad elamistingimused tekitavad sotsiaalset kihistumist, mõjutavad laste heaolu ja soodustavad põlvkondliku vaesuse tekkimist. Elamu ja selle asukoht mõjutavad näiteks privaatsust, tervist, turvalisust, sotsiaalseid võrgustikke ja teenuste (kool, huviringid jne) kättesaadavust. Ülerahvastatus ja liiga kitsad elamistingimused võivad tekitada stressi, agressiivsust, halbu suhteid vanematega, probleeme koolis.

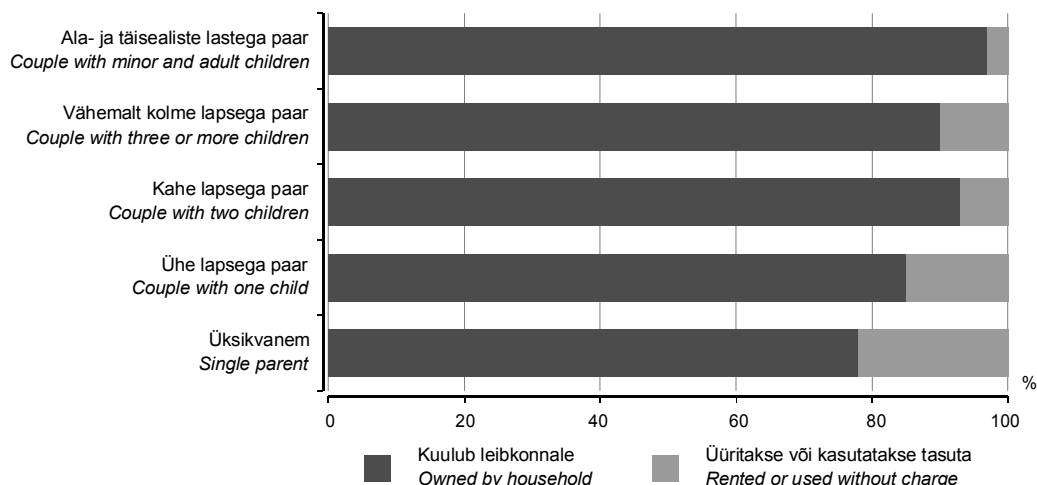
Lastega leibkonnas on liikme kohta keskmiselt vähem kui üks tuba

Lastega leibkonna eluruumis on keskmiselt 3,1 tuba ja eluruumi suurus on 71 m². Ehkki lasteta leibkonna eluruum on väiksem (2,5 tuba ja 58 m²), elavad lastega leibkonnad liikmete rohkuse tõttu siiski kitsamates oludes. Kui lasteta leibkonnas on liikme kohta 1,7 tuba, siis lastega leibkonnas vaid 0,9. Lastega leibkonnas on ka eluruumi pind liikme kohta väiksem — keskmiselt 20 m². Lasteta leibkonnad elavad elamutes, kus on keskmiselt 38 m² liikme kohta. Lastega leibkondade elamistingimused on seda kitsamad, mida rohkem on peres lapsi. Ühelapseliste paaride eluruum on liikme kohta keskmiselt 21 m². Vähemalt kolme lapsega paaridel on kodus liikme kohta kõigest 17 m² pinda — lasteta leibkonnaga võrreldes on ruumi üle kahe korra vähem. Kõige rohkem pinda (siiski üle 10 m² vähem kui lasteta leibkondadel) on liikme kohta ühe lapsega üksikvanematel — 27 m². Suurema laste arvuga üksikvanemad ei jõua aga oma leibkonnale ruumikamat elamispinda osta, nende eluruum on enam-vähem sama suur kui ühelapselistel üksikvanematel (57 m²).

Kõige levinum lastega leibkonna eluasemetüüp on korterelamu, seal elab 71% leibkondadest. Viiendik elab ühe- või kahepereelamus ja kümnendik talumajas. Üksikvanemate seas on kõige rohkem korteris elavaid leibkondi — 84%. Pereelamus on kõige sagedamini vähemalt kolme lapsega paarid (34%). Lasteta ja lastega leibkondi võrreldes ei ole nende elamutüübis suuri erinevusi. Lasteta leibkonnad elavad vähem pere- ja rohkem korterelamutes.

Suuremat majanduslikku stabiilsust pakub oma eluruum. Lastega leibkondadest on 89%-l oma eluruum, 5% üürib seda turuhinnaga ja 6% soodsamalt või saab tasuta kasutada (joonis 8). Lasteta leibkondade seas on omanikke veidi vähem — 84%. Suure osa lasteta leibkondadest hõlmavad üksikud alla 64-aastased inimesed, kellest peagu kolmandik neist üürib või kasutab eluruumi tasuta. Lastega leibkondadest on üürnikke kõige enam üksikvanemate (viieks) ja kõige vähem kahelapseliste paaride ning ala- ja täisealiste lastega paaride seas.

Joonis 8 Lastega leibkonnad elamispinna omandivormi järgi, 2007
Figure 8 Households with children by form of ownership of the dwelling, 2007



Eluruumi peab oma leibkonnale sobivaks kolmandik lastega leibkondadest

Lastega leibkonnad hindavad oma eluruumi seisundit paremaks kui lasteta leibkonnad. Ligi kaks kolmandikku lastega leibkondadest (61%) peab oma elamispinna seisundit heaks või väga heaks. Lasteta leibkondadest hindab oma eluruumi sarnaselt vaid pool. Kolmandiku lastega leibkondade arvates on nende eluruum rahuldavas seisus, 4% jaoks kehv ja oluliste puudustega. Lasteta leibkondadest peab elamispinda rahuldavaks ligi pool (45%) ja kehvaks 5%. Kõige kõrgemalt hindavad oma eluruumi ühelapselised paarid (67% peab seisundit heaks või väga heaks) ja kõige madalamalt üksikvanemad ja vähemalt kolme lapsega paarid (mõlemast leibkonnatüübist peab 56% seisundit heaks või väga heaks). Ehkki eluruumi seisund on lastega leibkondadel parem, ei hinda nad eluruumi sobivust nii kõrgelt kui lasteta leibkonnad. Oma leibkonna jaoks peab eluruumi väga sobivaks 29% lastega ja 37% lasteta leibkondadest, enam-vähem sobiv eluruum on 49% lastega ja 44% lasteta leibkonnal. Mitte eriti sobiv või täiesti sobimatu elamispind on 4% lasteta leibkondadest, ebasobiva eluruumiga lastega leibkondade osatähtsus on kaks korda suurem. Kõige halvema sobivusega eluruumid on üksikvanematel ja vähemalt kolme lapsega paaridel.

Lastega leibkonnale ei sobi eluruum peamiselt seepärast, et see on liiga väike, kallis, halvas seisundis ja väheste tubadega. Eluruumi hind on eriti suur probleem üksikvanematele — 41% peab seda liiga kalliks. Üksikvanemate jaoks on veel probleem liiga väike eluruum (31%), väike tubade arv (30%) ja ebatavaline piirkond (19%). Võrreldes teiste leibkondadega valmistavad üksikvanematele ja vähemalt kolme lapsega paaridele rohkem muret puuduvad mugavused, eluruumi halb seisund ja kaugus keskusest. Vähemalt kolme lapsega leibkonnad on teistest enam kimpus liiga väikese eluruumi ja tubade arvuga.

Lastega veedetud aeg

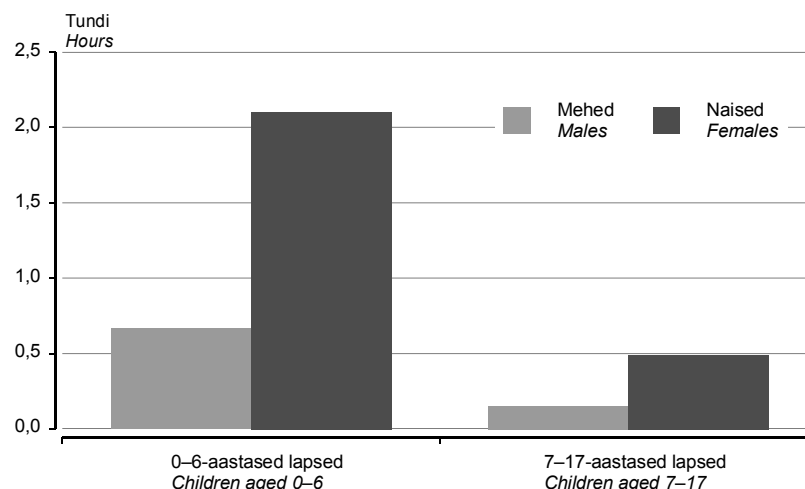
Lastega leibkondades kulutavad naised lastehoiule päevas veidi üle tunni

Laste füüsilist ja vaimset heaolu mõjutab vanematega koosveedetud aeg. Sellest sõltub laste tervis, suhted vanematega, haridus. Lapsehoidmisele kulutavad rohkem aega naised. Nemed tegelevad ka rohkem majapidamistöödega ja viibivad meestest kauem kodus. Meestel on pikem tasulisele tööle kulunud aeg. Lastega leibkonnas kulub naisel lastehoiule põhitegevusena keskmiselt veidi üle tunni päevas (69 minutit). Meestel on see aeg palju lühem — 22 minutit. Naised sisustavad lapsehoidmisele kulunud aega rohkem nende füüsilise hoidmisega (söötmine, riietamine, pesemine jne), mehed veedavad suure osa ajast lastega mängides. Naistel hõlmab üle poole (54%) lastehoiule kulunud ajast nende füüsiline hoidmine ja järelevaatamine, viiendiku mängimine, rääkimine, neile lugemine, kümnendik ajast kulub õpetamisele. Mehed veedavad kolmandiku ajast lastega mängides ja rääkides ning alla kolmandiku (30%) ajast nende füüsilise hoidmisega.

Mida nooremad on lapsed, seda pikem on nendega koos veedetud aeg. 0–6-aastaste eest hoolitsemisele kulub naisel lastega leibkonnas keskmiselt kaks tundi päevas (joonis 9). Meestel on lastehoiule kulunud aeg üle kolme korra lühem — keskmiselt 40 minutit päevas. Vanemad lapsed ei vaja enam pidevat järelevalvet ja füüsilist hoidmist, nendega veedetud aeg kulub pigem õpetamisele, mängimisele ja rääkimisele. 7–17-aastaste laste hoidmisele kulutavad naised keskmiselt pool tundi ja mehed üheksa minutit päevas.

Joonis 9 18–64-aastaste põhitegevusena lastehoiule kulutatud aeg soo ja laste vanuse järgi, 1999–2000

Figure 9 Time spent on childcare as the main activity of persons aged 18–64 by sex and age of children, 1999–2000



Eesti naiste 0–6-aastaste lastega tegelemisele kulunud aeg on pikemaid Euroopas. Sama palju kulutavad lastehoiule veel Ungari, Soome ja Sloveenia naised. Eesti meeste lastehoiu aeg jääb aga Põhjamaade meestele alla. Vanemate laste hoidmisele kulunud aja poolest on Eesti naised Euroopa keskmiste seas, pikem lastehoiu aeg on näiteks Ungari, Rootsi ja Belgia naistel. Eestiga sarnaselt kulutavad lastehoiule aega Prantsusmaa, Norra ja Suurbritannia naised. Eesti mehed veedavad 7–17-aastaseid lapsi hoides sama palju aega kui Soome ja Norra mehed. Kõige rohkem kulub lastehoiule aega Rootsi meestel. Riikidevahelised erinevused ei pruugi tähendada, et mõnes riigis laste eest vähem hoolitsetakse, pigem peegeldavad need erinevusi lastehoiuteenustes. (How... 2004)

Eelnevas on arvestatud ainult põhitegevusena lastehoiule kulunud aega. Lastega veedetud aeg on realselt palju pikem, sest nendega tegeletakse tihti mõne teise toiminguga samal ajal. Näiteks võib söögitegemise kõrvalt lapsega rääkida või õppida. Lapsed viibivad peamiselt majapidamise, pere ning vaba ajaga seotud tegevuste juures. Lastega leibkonnas tegelevad 18–64-aastased mehed mainituga alla 10-aastaste laste puhul üle kolme tunni ja naised 5,5 tundi päevas. Majapidamisele ja perele kulutatud ajast veedavad mehed rohkem kui poole (56%) koos alla 10-aastase lapsega, naised 79% kodutööde ajast. Vaba aega eelistavad nii naised kui ka mehed veeta üksi või koos kellegi teisega, lastega veedavad mõlemad umbes kolmandiku vabast ajast. Üle poole sellest kulub televiisori ees, umbes viiendik suheldes ja kümnendik sportides.

Kirjandus

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LASTE VAESUS JA SOTSIAALNE KAITSTUS

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Vaesus

Tänapäeval käsitletakse vaesust mitmedimensioonilisena. Läbi ajaloo enim kasutatud lähenemisviis ehk ebapiisav rahaline sissetulek on peamine ka praegu.

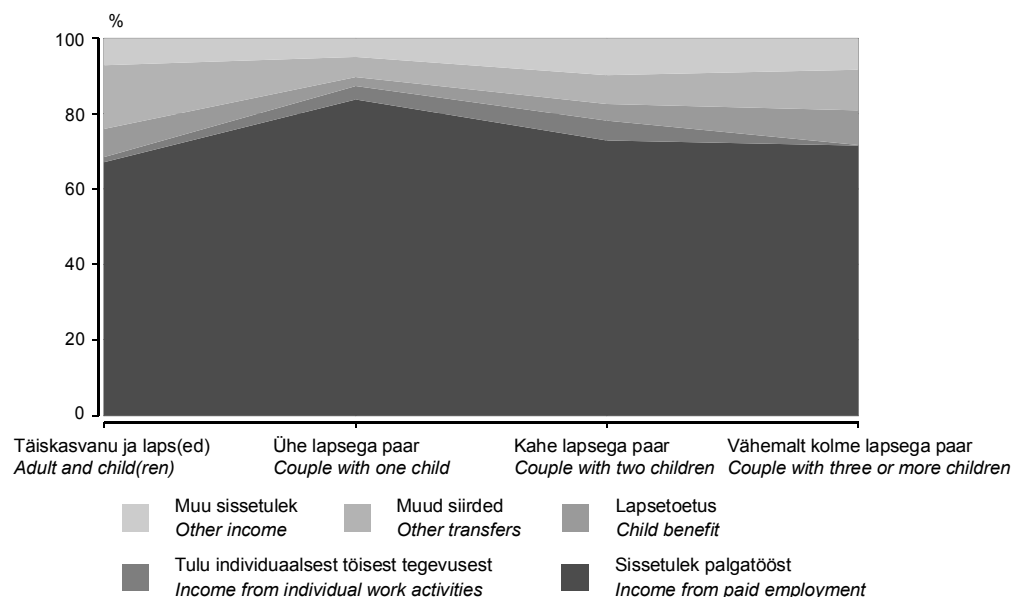
Keda vaeseks klassifitseerida ja keda mitte — see on keeruline küsimus. Et riigid soovivad end praeguses globaliseerunud ühiskonnas üksteisega võrrelda, siis on see mingil määral konsensuslik küsimus.

Sissetulekute struktuur

Lastega leibkonnad saavad vähemalt 2/3 sissetulekust palgatööst

Leibkonna eelarve uuringu andmetel saavad lastega leibkonnad vähemalt 2/3 sissetulekust palgatööst (joonis 1). Ühe lapsega paaril on palgatöö osatähtsus ülejäänud lastega leibkondadega võrreldes tunduvalt kõrgem, ulatudes 84%-ni. Siirded on oluline sissetulekuallikas üksikvanema (24%) ja vähemalt kolme lapsega paar (20%). Lastetoetus hõlmab viimati mainitud leibkondade siiretest peagu poole (46%), üksikvanemaga leibkonnas on tähtsamad muud siirded (lastetoetuse osatähtsus 30%).

Joonis 1 Lastega leibkondade sissetuleku struktuur, 2007
Figure 1 Structure of income in the households with children, 2007



Suhteline vaesus

Statistikas on vaesuse määramise algühik leibkond ja selle sissetulek, s.t vaesed ei saa olla leibkonna üksikud liikmed, vaid vaene on kogu leibkond. Kuigi reaalses elus võib ette tulla, et vaeses perekonnas on laste põhivajadused paremini rahuldatud (seda küll vanemate arvelt) kui mõnes rikkas, eeldatakse statistikas, et ressursid jagunevad teatud kindlal viisil.

Vaesuse arvestamise alus on tulu leibkonnaliikme kohta. Leibkonnas on aga kulutusi, mis ei sõltu üksüheselt liikmete arvust (nt elekter, küte). Seetõttu ei ole vaesuse määramise aluseks liikmete arvuga jagatud leibkonna sissetulek, vaid ühistarbimise arvestamiseks võetakse iga järgmine inimene arvesse väiksema kaaluga. Suhtelise vaesuse puhul on tarbimiskaalud 1:0,5:0,3 ehk leibkonna teise ja iga järgmise täiskasvanu osatähtsus

Leibkonnaliige on nii vaene kui tema leibkond

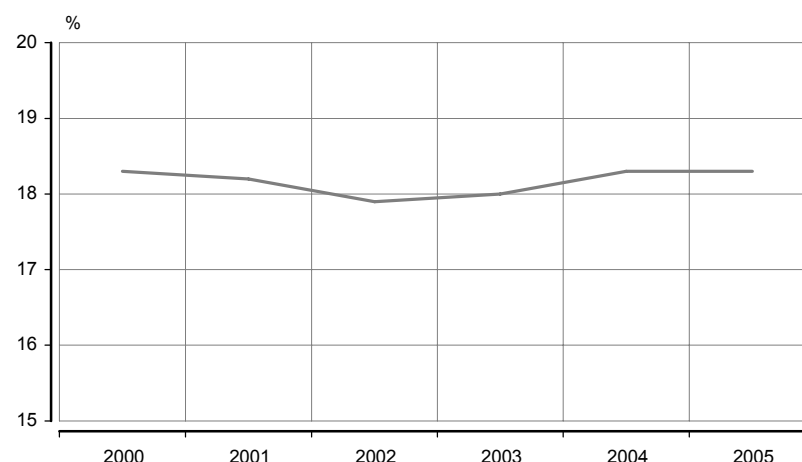
tarbimises on 0,5 ja iga lapse 0,3. Leibkonna tarbimiskaalude summaga jagatud sissetulekut nimetatakse ekvivalentnetosissetulekuks. Vaeseks liigitatakse need leibkonnad, kelle ekvivalent netosissetulek on 60% ekvivalentnetosissetuleku mediaanist väiksem.

Suhteline vaesus näitab inimeste hulka, kes saavad teiste ühiskonnaliikmetega võrreldes madalamat sissetulekut. Kuigi Euroopa Liidu riikides kasutatakse harmoneeritud metoodikat, ei saa suhtelise vaesuse põhjal võrrelda riikide elatustaset. Ei saa öelda, et riigis A on inimesed vaesemad kui riigis B, sest riigis A on suhtelise vaesuse määr suurem. Suhtelise vaesuse abil on võimalik võrrelda riikide ebavõrdsuse taset, riskirühmade koosseisu ja suurust.

Eestis oli 2005. aastal suhtelise vaesuse piiriks 2846 krooni kuus. Sellest väiksemat ekvivalentnetosissetulekut saanud leibkonnad liigitusid vaesteks. Eesti sotsiaaluuringu (ESU) andmetel elas 2005. aastal ligikaudu viiendik (18,3%) eestimaalastest suhtelises vaesuses. Viimastel aastatel on vaesuse määr püsinud stabiilsena.

Peagu viiendik eestimaalastest elab vaesuses

Joonis 2 Suhtelise vaesuse määr^a, 2000–2005
Figure 2 Relative-at-poverty rate^a, 2000–2005

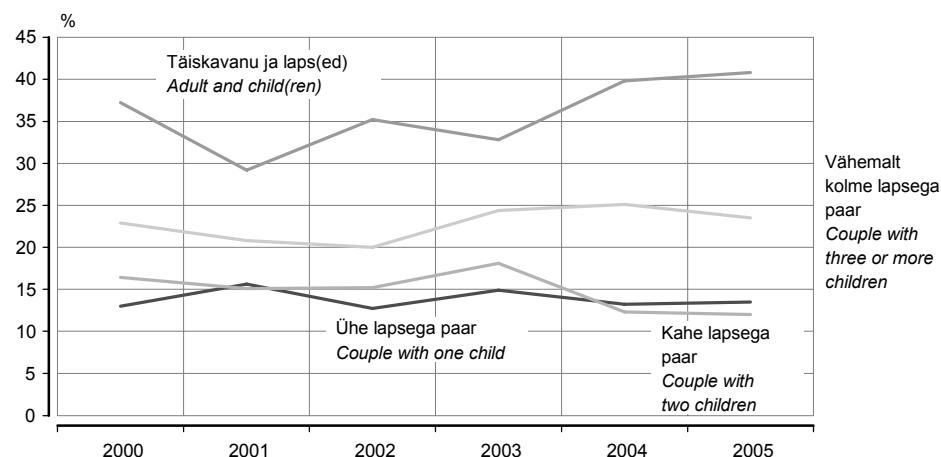


^a 60% mediaansissetulekust.
^a 60% of median income.

Vaesusrisk on suurem üksikvanema ning lasterikkas peres

Lastega ja lasteta leibkondade vaesuse määr väga ei erine. Lastega leibkondadest ohustab vaesus kõige enam üksikvanema leibkondi — 40% neist elab vaesuses (joonis 3). Keskmisest enam puudutab vaesus ka lasterikkaid peresid. Üksikvanema ning vähemalt kolme lapsega leibkonna suurem vaesusrisk tuleneb töötajate ja ülalpeetavate keskmisest halvemast suhtest. Peale selle on peagu viiendik (17%) üksikvanemaga leibkondi töötud (teistes lastega leibkondades on töötuse määr 1–3,5%). Arvestada tuleb, et enamik (95%) üksikvanematest on naised. Viimased on üldjuhul madalamalt tasustatud.

Joonis 3 Suhtelise vaesuse määr leibkonnatüübi järgi, 2000–2005
Figure 3 Relative-at-poverty rate by type of household, 2000–2005

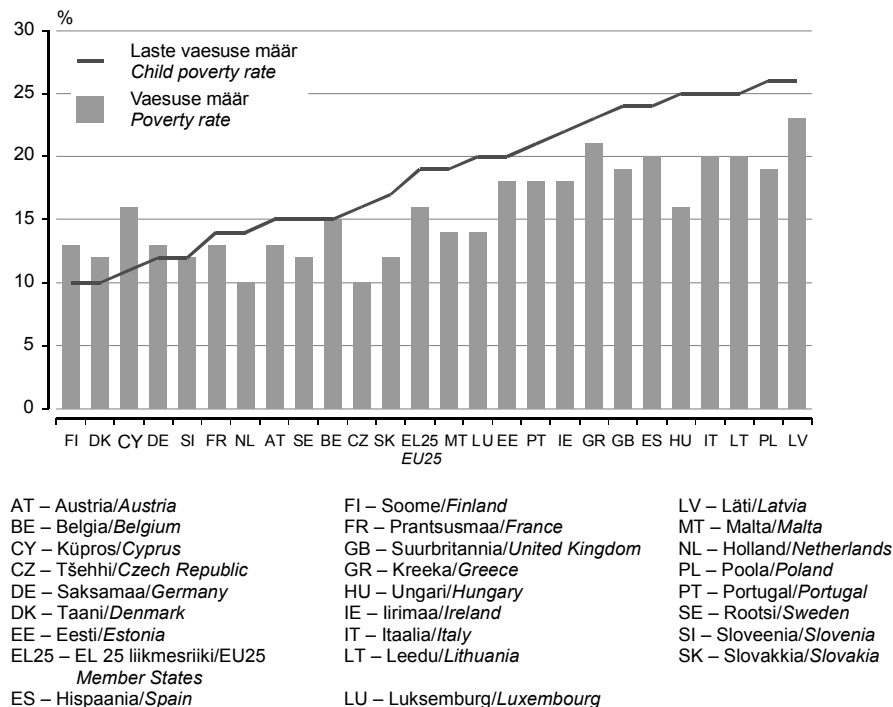


Suhteline vaesus laste hulgas

Laste vaesuse määr on üldisest vaesuse määra enamasti suurem

Enamikus riikides on laste vaesuse määr suurem kui kogu elanikkonna hulgas (joonis 4). Eesti ei ole erand — laste vaesuse määr oli 2005. aastal kaks protsendipunkti kõrgem kui kogu Eestis (18% ja 20%). Mõnes Euroopa Liidu riigis (Taani, Küpros, Soome, Saksamaa) on laste vaesus siiski üldisest madalam.

Joonis 4 **Suhtelise vaesuse määr laste ja kogu elanikkonna hulgas, 2005**
Figure 4 *Relative-at-poverty rate with regard to children and total population, 2005*



Allikas — Source: Eurostat.

Laste ja kogu elanikkonna vaesuse vahe on enamikus riikides paar protsendipunkti. On ka negatiivsemaid näiteid (Ungari, Tšehhi), kus laste vaesus on üldisest tunduvalt suurem, Eesti kohta see ei käi. Samas igasugune laste vaesus on taunitav. Mõne riigi lähiaastate eemärk on viia laste vaesus miinimumtasemeni, räägitakse isegi laste vaesuse täielikust kaotamisest.

Laste vaesuse vähendamine

Laste vaesust saab vähendada kas toetusi või palgatööst saadavat tulu suurendades

Et vaesust vähendada, tuleks suurendada leibkondade sissetulekut ehk kas toetusi või palgatööst saadavat tulu. Nende kahe strateegia vahel peavad riigid leidma tasakaalu. Viimastel aastatel ollakse seisukohal, et just nn tööstrateegia on õige, sest kõige suuremas vaesusriskis elavad töötu leibkonna lapsed ja ühe toitjaga perekonnad.

Riigi sotsiaal- ja perepoliitika efektiivsust laste vaesuse vähendamisel saab hinnata võrreldes vaesusmäärasid enne ja pärast siirdeid. Samased sotsiaalkaitsekulutused toovad vaesusest välja erineva hulga lapsi, kuid üldiselt kehtib reegel: mida suuremad on riigi sotsiaalkaitsekulutused, seda väiksem on laste vaesuse määr.

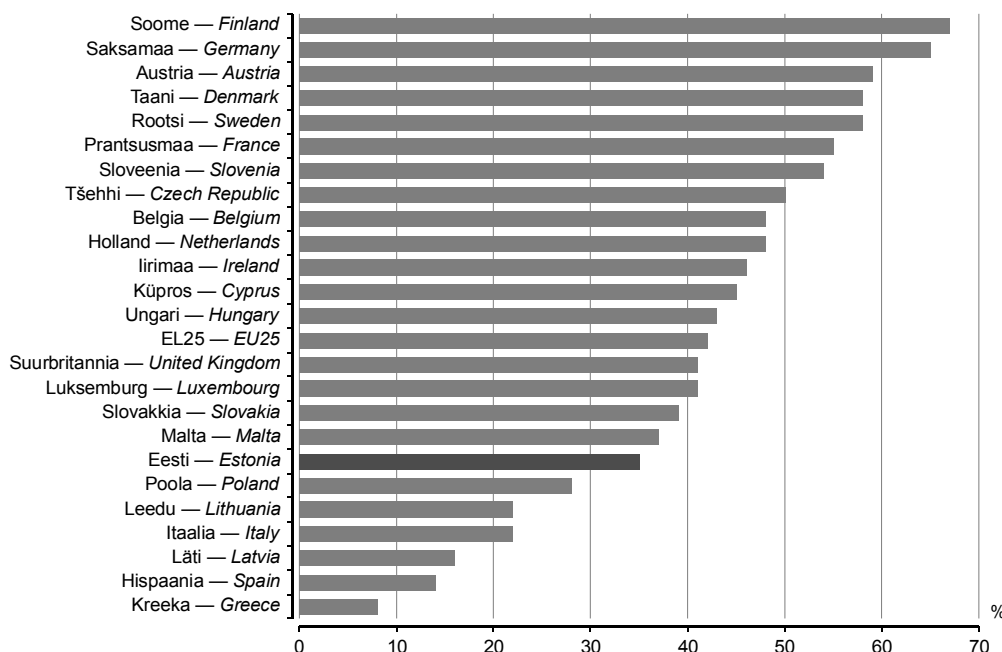
Kui võrrelda vaesuse määra enne ja pärast siirdeid, siis esimesel juhul on eestlaste koht edetabelis parem. Kui enne siirdeid oleme keskmisest paremal positsioonil (31% ja 33%) (oleme eespool Soomest), siis pärast jääme EL keskmisele laste vaesuse näitajale alla (20% ja 19%). Languse taga on fakt, et Eesti sotsiaalkaitsekulutused on võrreldes teiste EL liikmesriikidega väiksemaid, sama ka Lätil ja Leedul. Et vaesusest pääseda, on oluline eelkõige piisavalt teenida. Eestis lapse- ja peretoetused universaalsed — need ei sõltu leibkonna sissetulekust. Toetusi saavad nii rikkad kui ka vaesed ühepalju. Vanemahüvitis ja tulumaksusoodustus sõltuvad tasust positiivselt — mida suurem palk seda suuremat hüvitist

Siirded vähendavad Eesti laste vaesust kolmandiku võrra

saadakse. Seetõttu ohustab vaesus enam üksikvanemaid ja lasterikkaid peresid, kus töötajate ja ülalpeetavate suhe on halvem.

Siirete mõju laste vaesusest väljatoomisele on riigiti väga erinev ulatudes 8%-st Kreekas 64,7%-ni Soomes (joonis 5). Eesti on selles pingereas keskmiste hulgas. 2005. aastal vähendasid siirded (v.a pensionid) Eestis vaesust kolmandiku (35,5%) võrra. Arvestades Eesti riigi tagasihoidlikke sotsiaalkaitsekulutusi ja võrreldes neid siirde mõjuga laste vaesusele, on Eesti süsteem üks efektiivsemaid (kõige efektiivsem). Kui keskmiselt toob üheprotsendine kulutus SKP-st kaasa vaesuse 3,2%-lise vähenemise, siis Eestis on see 5,1%.

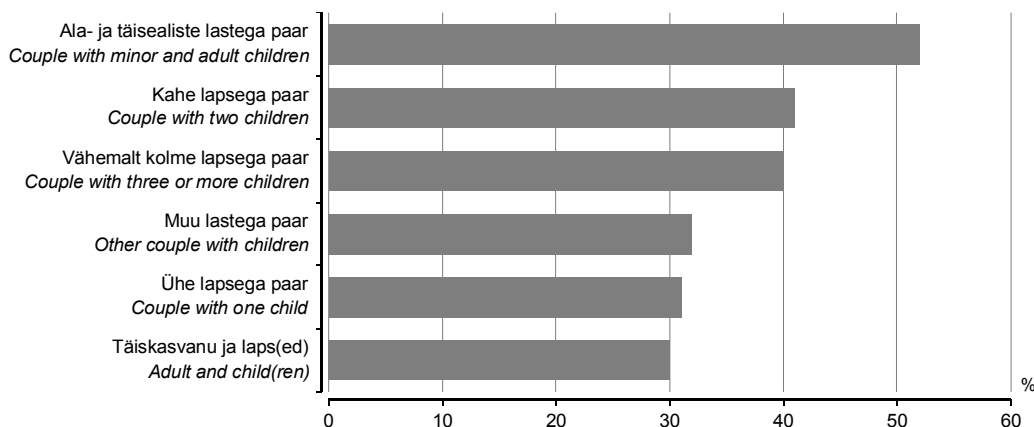
Joonis 5 Siirete mõju laste vaesuse vähendamisele, 2005
Figure 5 Impact of transfers on reduction of child poverty, 2005



Allikas — Source: Eurostat.

Kuigi siirded hõlmavad kõige suurema osa üksikvanema ning vähemalt kolme lapsega leibkonna sissetulekust, vähendavad need vaesust kõige enam ehk poole võrra ala- ja täisealiste lastega paaride hulgas (52%). Üksikvanemaga leibkonna puhul toovad siirded vaesusest välja kolmandiku (30%).

Joonis 6 Siirete mõju lastega leibkondade vaesuse vähendamisele, 2005
Figure 6 Impact of transfers on the reduction of poverty in households with children, 2005



Kui võrrelda lastega ja lasteta leibkondi, siis enne siirdeid on vaesuse määr nendes sarnane (27% ja 29%). Siirded aitavad aga tunduvalt enam vähendada lastega leibkondade vaesust (9% ja 3%). Seega saavad Eestis siiretest enam kasu lastega leibkonnad.

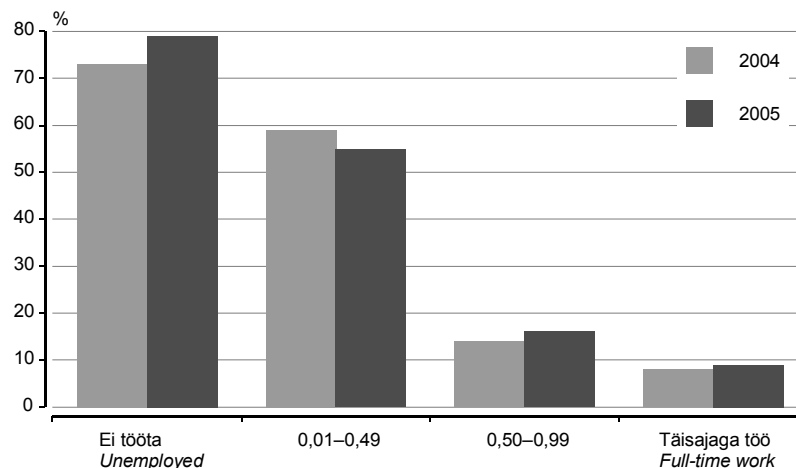
Tööelu

Kahe töötava vanema puhul on lapse vaesuses elamise tõenäosus väiksem. Seetõttu on väga tähtis töö- ja pereelu ühitamine. Lapse kõrvalt võib täisajaga töötamine raskeks osutuda, küll aga võib vanemale sobida osaaajatöö. Eestis on see kahjuks vähe levinud (Värk 2007). Kui EL-is keskmiselt hõlmavad osaaajaga töötajad kõigist peagu viiendiku (2006. aastal 18,7%), siis Eestis on vastav määr üle kahe korra väiksem — 7,8%. Osaaajatöö kasuks räägib ka fakt, et viimasel ajal on märgatavalt vähenenud nende isikute vaesuse määr. Kui 2003. aastal küündis osaaajaga töötajate vaesuse määr veerandini, siis 2005. aastaks oli vastav näitaja vaid veidi üle kümnendiku (13%).

Kõige suuremas vaesuses elavad töötud leibkonnad

Kõige suuremas vaesuses elavad töötud leibkonnad (joonis 7). Lastega töötutest leibkondadest elab EL25-s keskmiselt vaesuses kuus leibkonda kümnest (62%). Eesti puhul on lihtsam öelda ülalpool vaesuspiiri elavate hulk — veidi üle kümnendiku (13%). Viimasel ajal on küll töötutes leibkondades kasvavate laste arv mõneti vähenenud, kuid näitaja on ikka kõrge — 2006. aastal elas kuni 18-aastastest lastest 8,2% töötus leibkonnas. Kusjuures 39% mittetöötavas leibkonnas elavatest lastest on üksikvanemate omad.

Joonis 7 **Lastega leibkondade vaesusmäär tööintensiivsuse^a järgi, 2004–2005**
Figure 7 **Poverty rate of households with children by work intensity^a, 2004–2005**



^a Tööintensiivsuse all mõistetakse leibkonna tööealiste (16–64-aastaste) liikmete sissetuleku viiteperioodil töötatud kuude arvu suhestatuna kuude arvu, mida leibkonnal oli maksimaalselt võimalik töötamisele kulutada. Näitaja varieerub nullist (ükski tööealine liige ei töötanud) kuni üheni (kõik tööealised liikmed töötasid kogu sissetuleku viiteperioodi jooksul). Tööealiseks liikmeks ei loeta sõltuvaid lapsi.

^a Work intensity is the ratio of the number of months during which the working-age household members (aged 16–64) worked in the reference period to the number of months which the household members could maximally spend for working. The indicator varies from zero (no working-age household member worked) to one (all working-age household members worked during the whole reference period of the income). Dependant children are not considered working-age members.

Töötus leibkonna laste olukord on viimastel aastatel veelgi kehvemaks muutunud. Kui 2003. aastal oli töötus leibkonnas elavate vaeste laste osatähtsus kolm neljandikku (76%), siis 2005. aastaks suurenes see 83%-ni. Töötute leibkondade laste vaesus ulatus 2005. aastal enne siirdeid 94%-ni. Kui võrrelda siirete mõju töötus leibkonna laste vaesusest väljatoomisele aastati, siis see on vähenenud.

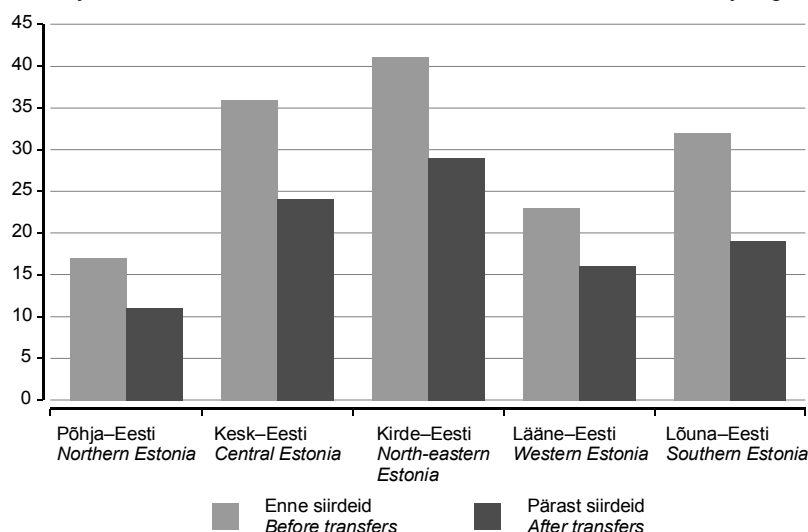
Isegi töötamine ei välista täielikult vaesust. Töötavatest lastega leibkondadest elab Eestis allpool vaesuspiiri 7–8%. Selle näitajaga oleme EL-is keskmisel tasemel.

Piirkondlikult on laste vaesuse erinevus suur. Linnalaste hulgas on vaesuse määr maalaste omast peagu poole väiksem (16% ja 27%). Linnaleibkonnas on peresissetulekud suuremad ja leibkonnaliikmeid vähem. Maalaste vanemate hulgas on vähem täiskoormusel töötajaid (47% ja 54%).

Erinevus vaesema ja rikkama piirkonna vahel on kolmekordne

Regiooniti ilmnevad samuti suured erinevused (joonis 8). Rikkama ja vaesema piirkonna vahe on peagu kolmekordne. Kui Põhja-Eestis on vaeseid lastega leibkondi kümnenäit (11%), siis Kirde-Eestis peagu kolmandik (29%). Keskmisest kõrgem on vaesuse näitaja ka Kesk-Eestis (24%). Kirde-, Lääne- ja Lõuna-Eestis on võrreldes Põhja-Eestiga kümnenäit rohkem töötuid leibkondi. Kui Põhja-Eestis ei tööta veerand leibkondadest, siis teistes nimetatud piirkondades on töötute leibkondade osatähtsus üle kolmandiku (35–38%). Põhja-Eestis on võrreldes muu piirkonnaga ka suuremad palgad.

Joonis 8 Lastega leibkondade vaesuse määr enne ja pärast siirdeid piirkonna järgi, 2005
Figure 8 Poverty rate of households with children before and after transfers by regions, 2005



Suhtelise vaesuse muster

Vaesuse muster:
kolmandik üksikud
inimesed, 15%
üksikvanemad

Kõige suurem osa ehk kolmandik (33%) vaestest elab üksinda (tabel 1). Lastega leibkondades elavad vaesed hõlmavad vaestest poole. Kuigi üksikvanemaga perede osatähtsus on lastega leibkondade hulgas väiksemad, on nendes elavate liikmete määr vaeste lastega leibkondade hulgas kõige suurem.

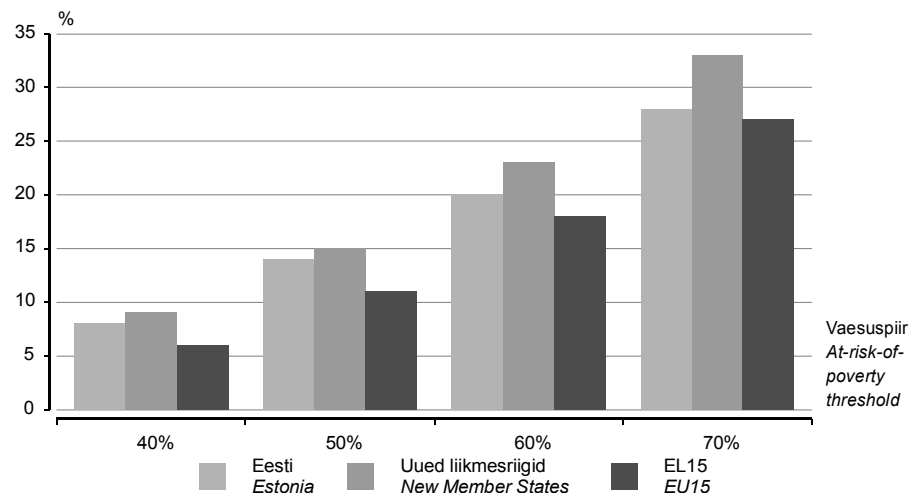
Tabel 1 Leibkonnaliikmed leibkonna järgi, 2005
Table 1 Household members by households, 2005
(protsenti — percentage)

Leibkonnatüüp	Vaestest Of the persons in poverty	Kogu ühiskonnast Of the whole society	Type of household
Lasteta leibkond	49	44	Household without children
Üheliikmeline leibkond	33	14	Single-member household
üksik mees	10	5	single male
üksik naine	23	9	single female
Üksik alla 65-aastane	14	8	Single member under the age of 65
Üksik vähemalt 65-aastane	18	6	Single member at the age of 65 and older
Lasteta paar, üks liige vähemalt 65-aastane	4	9	Couple without children, one member at least 65
Alla 65-aastaste paar, lasteta	8	11	Couple under the age of 65 without children
Muu lasteta leibkond	4	10	Other household without children
Lastega leibkond	51	56	Household with children
Täiskavanu ja laps(ed)	15	7	Adult and child(ren)
Ühe lapsega paar	11	15	Couple with one child
Kahe lapsega paar	9	14	Couple with two children
Vähemalt kolme lapsega paar	8	6	Couple with three or more children
Muu lastega leibkond	9	14	Other household with children

Allikas — Source: Eurostat.

Kokkulepitult peetakse Euroopa Liidus vaeseks inimest, kelle sissetulek on väiksem kui 60%-i ekvivalentnetosissetuleku mediaan. Iseloomustamiseks vaesuse täpsemat jagunemist, kasutatakse ka muid piire — 40%, 50%, 70%.

Joonis 9 **Alla 18-aastaste suhtelise vaesuse määr erineva vaesuspiiri korral, 2005**
 Figure 9 *Relative at-risk-of-poverty threshold of people under the age of 18 in case of various poverty rates, 2005*



Allikas — Source: Eurostat.

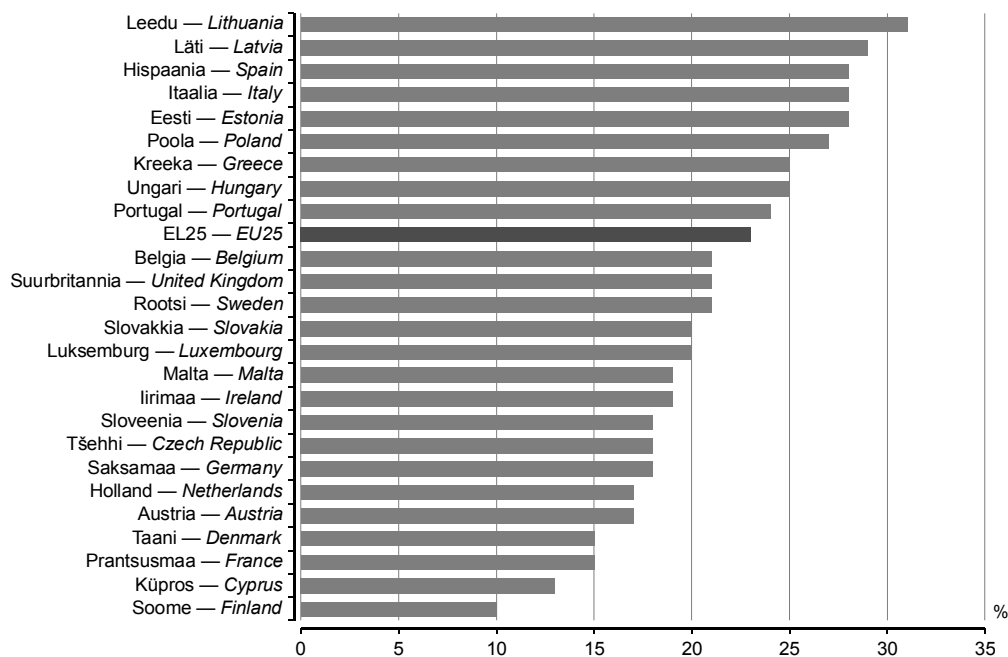
Vaesuse süvik

Vaesuse süvik näitab suhtelises vaesuses elavate inimeste mediaansissetuleku kaugust vaesuse piirist protsentides. Vaeste lastega leibkondade sissetulek on vaesuspiirist keskmiselt kolmandiku võrra väiksem. Kõige vaesemad on üksikvanema ning vähemalt kolme lapsega leibkonnad.

Võrreldes teiste EL riikidega on Eesti lapsed suhteliselt vaesemad

Võrreldes teiste EL riikidega on Eesti lapsed suhteliselt vaesemad (joonis 10). Veel vaesemad on üksnes Läti ja Leedu lapsed. Soomes on laste vaesus üks väiksemad — vaeste laste mediaansissetulek on vaid kümnendik väiksem kui vaesuspiir.

Joonis 10 **Alla 18-aastaste vaesuse süvik, 2005**
 Figure 10 *At-risk-of-poverty gap of population under 18 years of age, 2005*



Allikas — Source: Eurostat.

Elatusmiinimum

Elatusmiinimum on inimesele vajalike elatusvahendite väiksem kogus

Peale suhtelise vaesuse avaldab Statistikaamet teistki laste heaolu peegeldavat indikaatorit — elatusmiinimumi. See on inimese igapäevaseid vajadusi kattev vajalike elatusvahendite väiksem kogus. Elatusmiinimumi meetodika töötati välja Sotsiaalministeeriumi koordineerimisel projekti “Elatusmiinimumi ja vaesuse hindamise meetodika ning sotsiaalsete indikaatorite leidmisel kasutatavate tarbimiskaalude kaasajastamine” raames. Elatusmiinimumi arvutamisel käsitletakse kolme kulukomponenti: toidu-, eluaseme- ja individuaalsed mittetoidukulutused.

2007. aastal oli elatusmiinimumi piiriks 2341 krooni (tabel 2). 6,5% eestlastest elas allpool seda, lastest 9,5%. Võrreldes 2004. aastaga on nende osatähtsus vähenenud üle kahe korra. Leibkondade toimetulek on seega paranenud, kuigi nende sissetulekud teiste gruppidega võrreldes suurenenud ei ole.

Tabel 2 Allpool elatusmiinimumi elavad inimesed, 2004–2007
Table 2 People living below the subsistence minimum, 2004–2007
(protsenti — percentage)

Aasta	Elatus- miinimum, krooni	Enne siirdeid		Pärast siirdeid		Siirete mõju	
		kõik	lapsed	kõik	lapsed	kõik	lapsed
Year	Subsistence minimum, kroons	Before transfers total	children	After transfers total	children	Impact of transfers total	children
2004	1 836	22,8	33,9	16,1	21,6	29,4	36,3
2005	1 938	19,7	29,1	13,2	17,0	33,0	41,6
2006	2 081	13,3	22,0	8,2	11,0	38,3	50,0
2007	2 341	10,3	17,0	6,5	9,5	36,9	44,1

Laste vaesus on viimastel aastatel mõnevõrra vähenenud, kuid see on endiselt üldisest vaesustasemest kõrgem. Lastega leibkondadest on Eestis kõige suurema vaesusriskiga üksikvanema ning vähemalt kolme lapsega paarid. See on tingitud töötajate ja ülalpeetavate kehvemast suhtest. Üksikvanema puhul on vaeste osatähtsus suurema töötuse määra tõttu kõrgem. Peale selle on üksikvanemad enamasti naised, kelle sissetulek on meestega võrreldes tunduvalt väiksem.

Vaesuse määr on piirkonniti erinev. Linnas ja Põhja-Eestis on vaeseid lapsi suhteliselt vähem. Vahe tuleb erinevast töötuse määrast ja töötasudest. Lisaks on maaleibkonnad võrreldes linna omadega suuremad.

Võrreldes teiste Euroopa riikidega on meie laste vaesuse tase keskmisest kõrgem. Kui enne siirdeid oleme teistega võrreldes paremal positsioonil, siis pärast neid koht langeb — sotsiaalkaitsekulutused on väga väikesed, jäädes edukamatele riikidele peagu kolm korda alla.

Lastega perede toetused, hüvitised ja maksusoodustused

Riik toetab lastega peresid mitmel moel: maksab sünnitus- ja vanemahüvitist, mitmesuguseid peretoetusi ja puhkusehüvitisi ning teeb maksusoodustusi (tabel 3).

Rasedus ja lapse saamine on perekonna loomisel esimene etapp, mille puhul saab rääkida, et riik toetab lastega peresid. Vastavalt puhkusele on töö käinud emal õigus rasedus- ja sünnituspuhkusele ning talle makstakse sünnitushüvitist. Emal on õigus jääda rasedus- ja sünnituspuhkusele, kui arsti määratud eeldatava sünnitamise kuupäevani on 70 päeva. Jäädes rasedus- ja sünnituspuhkusele vähemalt 30 päeva enne eeldatavat sünnitamiskuupäeva, on emal õigus saada sünnitushüvitist 140 päeva eest. Hüvitise suurus on 100% ema palgast ja see arvutatakse eelmise kalendriaasta keskmise palga järgi. Kui sünnituspuhkusele jäädakse ettenähtud tähtajast hiljem, väheneb hüvitatav periood päevade võrra, mille võrra hiljem sünnituslehele jäädi.

Emad kasutavad sünnituspuhkust aasta-aastalt üha enam

Emad kasutavad sünnituspuhkust aasta-aastalt üha rohkem. Haigekassa andmete kohaselt kasvas aastatel 2002–2006 keskmine sünnitushüvitisega seotud töövõimetuspäevade arv, ulatudes 95,5 päevast 2002. aastal 127,3 päevani aastal 2006. Töövõimetuspäevade arvu

tõusu mõjutas eeskätt tähtaegselt (70 päeva enne eeldatavat sünnitamiskuupäeva) sünnituspuhkusele jäänute hulk. See on seotud sünnitanute kalkulatsioonidega sünnitus- ja vanemahüvitise majanduslikult soodsaima lahenduse leidmisega (Ajutise ... 2006 ja 2007), sest vanemahüvitise maksmise periood on seotud sünnitushüvitisega.

Rasedus- ja sünnituspuhkusele järgneb vanemahüvitise maksmise periood. Vanemahüvitise seadus jõustus 1. jaanuaril 2004 ja selle eesmärk on säilitada vanemale riigi toetuse andmisega varasem sissetulek ning toetada töö- ja pereelu ühitamist. Tulu mittesaanud vanemale (ei saa ka rasedus- ja sünnituspuhkust ega sünnitushüvitist) tagatakse sissetulek hüvitise määra ulatuses. Kohustusliku pensionikindlustusega (II samm) liitunud vanema puhul maksab riik vanemahüvitise pealt ühe protsendi II samba pensionifondi iga sündinud lapse kohta.

Vanemad saavad valida, kas vanemahüvitist kasutab isa või ema. Viimase puhul algab õigus vanemahüvitisele pärast rasedus- ja sünnituspuhkuse lõppu. Kui ema ei saanud rasedus- ja sünnituspuhkust (ei töötanud enne lapse sündi), tekib õigus vanemahüvitisele alates lapse sünnist. Isal on üldjuhul õigus vanemahüvitist kasutada alates lapse 70-päevaseks saamisest. Peale lapsevanema võib vanemahüvitist maksta ka lapsendanule, võõrasvanemale, eestkostjale ja hooldajale.

Vanemahüvitise maksmise periood on pikenenud ja tõusnud on vanemahüvitise alam- ja ülemmäär. Kui 2004. ja 2005. aastal maksti vanemahüvitist kuni 365 päeva täitumiseni rasedus- ja sünnituspuhkuse algusest, siis alates 2008. aastast on see periood 575 päeva (kui ema jäi rasedus- ja sünnituspuhkusele vähemalt 30 päeva enne eeldatud sünnitustähtaega). Mittetöötanud isikutele makstava vanemahüvitise periood on pikenenud 11 kuust 2004. aastal 18 kuuni aastal 2008.

Tabel 3 Vanemahüvitise maksmise periood ja suurus liigi järgi, 2004–2008
Table 3 Parental benefit by type and payment period, 2004–2008

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	
Vanemahüvitise määr, krooni	2 200	2 200	2 480	2 690	3 600	Parental benefit rate, kroons
Vanemahüvitise kuupalga alammäär, krooni	2 480	2 690	3 000	3 600	4 350	Parental benefit equal to the minimum monthly wage, kroons
Vanemahüvitise maksimaalne suurus, krooni	15 741	17 472	19 191	21 624	25 509	Maximum amount of parental benefit, kroons
Vanemahüvitise maksmise periood koos rasedus- ja sünnituspuhkusega, päeva	365	365	455	455	575	Period of payment of the parental benefit together with the pregnancy and maternity leave, days
Vanemahüvitise maksmise periood mittetöötavatele isikutele alates lapse sünnist, kuud	11	11	14	14	18	Period of payment of the parental benefit to non-working persons as of the birth of the child, months

Allikas: Sotsiaalkindlustusamet, vanemahüvitise seadus.
Source: Social Insurance Board, Parental Benefit Act.

Vanemahüvitist saanute analüüsil saab rääkida nii aasta jooksul määratud kui ka makstud hüvitise statistikast. Võrreldavuse seisukohalt on olulisem määramise statistika, mis peegeldab tegelikku olukorda ilmekamalt ja võimaldab võrdlust perioodide vahel. Maksmise statistika kajastab isikute arvu, kellele vastava aasta jooksul hüvitist maksti, ja sõltub lapse sünnihetkel kehtinud vanemahüvitise maksmise perioodist (aastatega pikenenud).

Kui seadus 2004. aastal kehtima hakkas, määrati vanemahüvitise maksmise tingimustele vastavalt hüvitist ka 2003. aastal sündinud laste eest. Seetõttu määrati 2004. aasta jooksul vanemahüvitisi rohkem kui järgmistel (tabel 4). 99,9%-l juhtudest määratakse vanemahüvitist lapse vanemale. Hooldaja või eestkostja sai statistika põhjal vanemahüvitist vaid kümnekonnal juhul aastas.

Tabel 4 Vanemahüvitise saajad soo järgi, 2004–2006
Table 4 Recipients of parental benefit by sex, 2004–2006

	2004		2005		2006		
	määratud granted	makstud paid	määratud granted	makstud paid	määratud granted	makstud paid	
Kokku	21 643	21 613	14 272	23 180	14 642	26 551	Total
naised	21 216	21 188	14 047	22 763	14 387	26 025	females
mehed	427	425	225	417	255	526	males
mehed, %	1,97	1,97	1,58	1,80	1,70	1,98	proportion of males, %

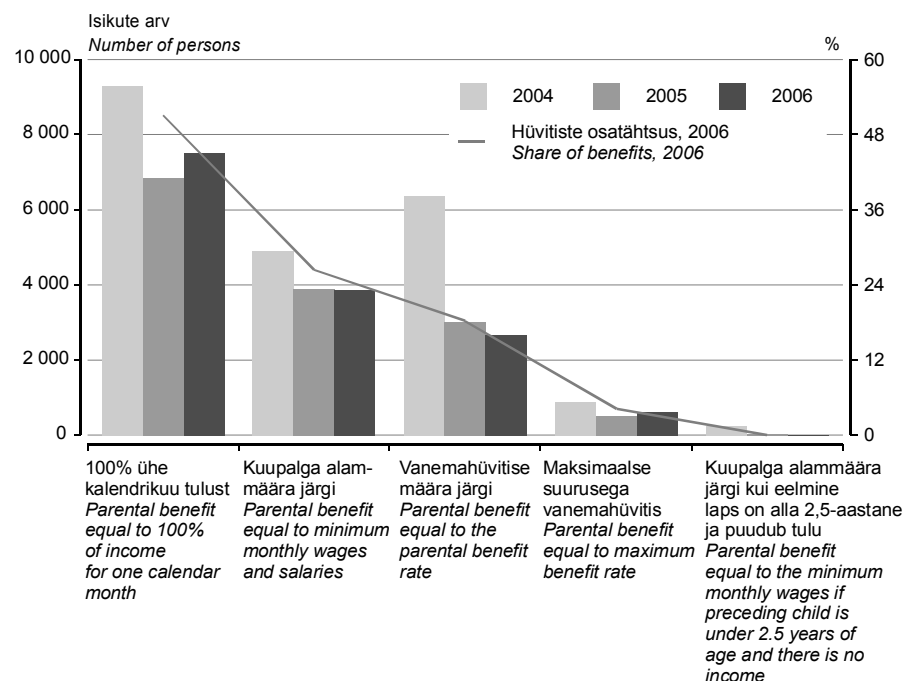
Allikas: Sotsiaalkindlustusamet, autori arvutused.
Source: Social Insurance Board, author's calculations.

Mehi on vanemahüvitiste saajate hulgas alla 2%

Valdavalt saavad vanemahüvitist naised. Kuigi mehi on vanemahüvitist saanute hulgas järjest enam, jääb nende osatähtsus siiski alla 2% (tabel 4).

Vastavalt 2006. aasta määramise statistikale hõlmavad kõige suurema osa vanemahüvitise saanute isikud, kelle vanemahüvitis on 100% eelmise kalendriaasta ühe kuu tulust — 51%. Sellele järgnevad kuupalga alammäära suuruse vanemahüvitise saajad, keda 2006. aastal oli 26% ja vanemahüvitise määra saajad — 18%. Varasemate aastatega võrreldes vähenes 2006. aastal nende isikute osatähtsus, kellele määrati hüvitis hüvitise määras ja kuupalga alammääras, ning suurenes 100%-line ühe kalendrikuu tulu suuruses vanemahüvitise määramine. Samas hõlmasid kaht väiksemat hüvitise liiki saanud kõigist vanemahüvitist saanute 2006. aastal siiski 45%. Aasta jooksul maksimaalse suurusega vanemahüvitist saanute osatähtsus püsis stabiilselt 4% juures.

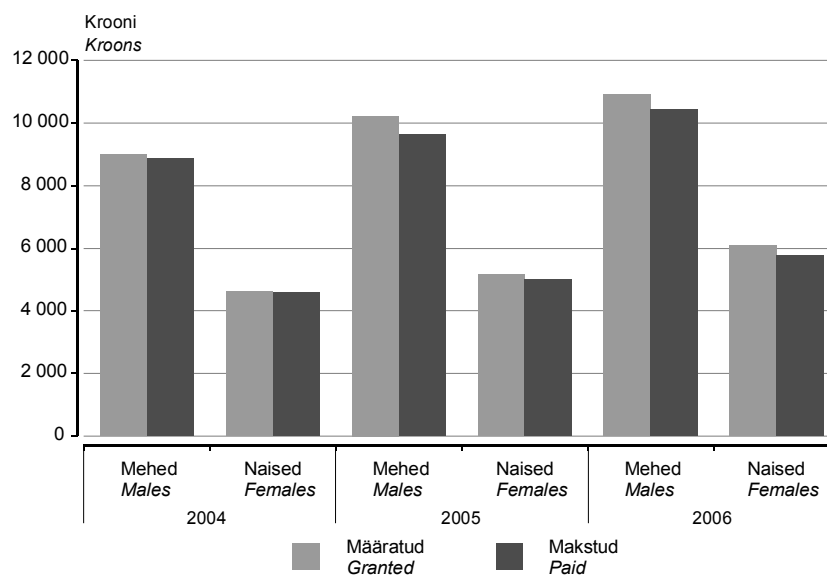
Joonis 11 Aasta jooksul määratud vanemahüvitised liigi järgi, 2004–2006
Figure 11 Parental benefits granted within one year by type, 2004–2006



Allikas: Sotsiaalkindlustusamet, autori arvutused.
Source: Social Insurance Board, author's calculations.

Vanemahüvitise puhul on huvitav võrrelda meeste ja naiste määratud tasu suurusi. Vastavalt Sotsiaalkindlustusameti andmetele ületas meeste määratud vanemahüvitise keskmine summa 2006. aastal naiste määratud 1,8 korda. Kui meeste määratud keskmine vanemahüvitise summa ulatus 10 913 kroonini, siis naistel oli see 2006. aastal vaid 6099 krooni. Samasuguses vahekorras on ka aasta jooksul naistele ja meestele makstud keskmine vanemahüvitis.

Joonis 12 **Keskmine määratud ja makstud vanemahüvitise suurus soo järgi, 2004–2006**
 Figure 12 **Average parental benefits granted and paid by sex, 2004–2006**



Allikas: Sotsiaalkindlustusamet, autori arvutused.
 Source: Social Insurance Board, author's calculations.

Seega kinnitab vanemahüvitise määramise statistika väga selgelt traditsioonilisi soorolle, mille kohaselt naine on lapsega kodus ja mees tööl. Samuti peegeldab meeste ja naiste määratud keskmine vanemahüvitise suurus nende sissetulekute erinevusi ja palgalõhet.

Pärast vanemahüvitise perioodi lõppu, aga ka selle ajal, maksab riik lastega peredele peretoetusi. Riiklik peretoetuste süsteem lähtub universaalsuse põhimõttest, mille kohaselt on iga laps võrdselt väärtustatud ning toetuste maksmisel pere sissetulekuid arvesse ei võeta. Peretoetuste eesmärk on katta osaliselt laste õppimise ja kasvatamisega seotud kulud. Üldjuhul makstakse neid toetusi kuni 16-aastaste laste eest, õppimise korral ka kuni lapse 19. eluaastani.

Riiklikud peretoetused jagunevad ühekordselt, igal kuul ja kord aastas makstavateks. 2007. aastal maksti igal kuul lapsetoetust, -hooldustasu, üksikvanema lapse toetust, ajateenija lapse toetust, eestkostel või perekonnas hooldamisel oleva lapse toetust, vähemalt seitsmelapselise pere vanema toetust. Ühekordsed toetused olid sünni-, lapsendamis- ja elluastumistoetus. Kord aastas makstakse koolitoetust.

Peretoetusi saanute koguarvu aluseks on lapsetoetusi saanute statistika, sest viimast makstakse kõigile lastele. 2006. aasta lõpu seisuga maksti riiklikke peretoetusi 180 096 perele ja 274 985 lapsele. Laste arvu vähenemise tõttu on aasta-aastalt vähenenud ka peretoetusi saanute arv.

Tabel 5 Riiklike peretoetuste saajad^a, 2000–2006
Table 5 Recipients of state family benefits^a, 2000–2006

Toetuse liik Type of allowance	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Lapse sünnitoetus Childbirth allowance	12 636	12 526	12 986	13 100	14 402	14 245	14 917
Lapsetoetus ^b Child allowance ^b	312 172	311 043	301 015	293 880	290 281	287 459	274 985
esimene laps first child	198 337	199 483	194 173	190 670	189 007	187 397	180 096
teine laps second child	87 267	84 173	80 903	78 311	76 872	75 994	72 476
kolmas ja järgmine laps third and each subsequent child	26 568	27 387	25 939	24 899	24 402	24 068	22 413
Lapsehooldustasu Child care allowance	55 056	58 618	58 762	58 800	48 543	50 517	48 355
kuni 3-aastane laps each child up to 3 years of age	35 712	38 242	38 834	39 039	28 601	29 628	27 722
kuni 3-aastase lapsega peres 3–8-aastase lapse eest each child between 3 and 8 years of age in families with up to 3 children	10 597	11 126	11 087	11 000	11 219	11 722	12 076
vähemalt kolmelapselise pere 3–8-aastase lapse eest each child between 3 and 8 years of age in families with 3 or more children	8 747	9 250	8 841	8 761	8 723	9 167	8 557
Vähemalt neljalapselise ning kolmikuid kasvatava pere toetus (lapsed) Allowance for families with four or more children and families raising triplets (children)	-	22 561	24 997	23 670	-	-	-
Vähemalt kolmelapselise ning kolmikuid kasvatava pere toetus (lapsed) Allowance for families with three or more children and families raising triplets (children)	-	-	-	-	68 061	69 982	67 836
Vähemalt seitsmelapselise pere vanema toetus (pered) Allowance for parent of a family with 7 or more children (households)	-	-	-	-	-	195	198
Lapse koolitoetus Child's school allowance	228 091	222 770	213 253	205 509	200 097	190 479	180 594
Üksikvanema lapse toetus (lapsed) Single parent's child allowance (children)	...	25 266	27 958	28 432	28 540	28 126	27 258
Üksikvanema lapse toetus (pered) Single parent's child allowance (households)	22 300	21 908	24 124	24 355	24 332	23 841	23 040
Eestkostetava või perekonnas hooldamisel oleva lapse toetus Foster care allowance	...	2 927	2 982	2 949	2 835	2 507	2 262
Eestkoste ja hoolduspered Guardianship and foster care families	2 407	2 336	2 397	2 353	2 258	2 078	1 859
Lapsendamistoetus Adoption allowance	-	-	20	30	32	29	42
Ajateenija lapse toetus Conscript's child allowance	56	54	21	9	11	14	30
Elluastumistoetus Start in independent life allowance	76	64	88	71	108	123	110
Ühekordne toetus vähemalt neljalapselisele perele Single allowance for families with four or more children	22 953	22 252	-	-	-	-	-

^a Toetust saanute arv aasta lõpus (ühekordsete toetuste puhul arv kasvavalt aasta algusest).

^b Lapsed, kelle eest saadakse toetust. Esimese lapse toetust saanute arv näitab ühtlasi perede üldarvu, kellele makstakse lastetoetusi.

^a Number of benefit recipients at the end of the year (gradually increasing from the beginning of the year in case of single allowances).

^b Number of children, for whom the benefit is paid. The number of people receiving the allowance for the first child also shows the total number of families receiving child allowances.

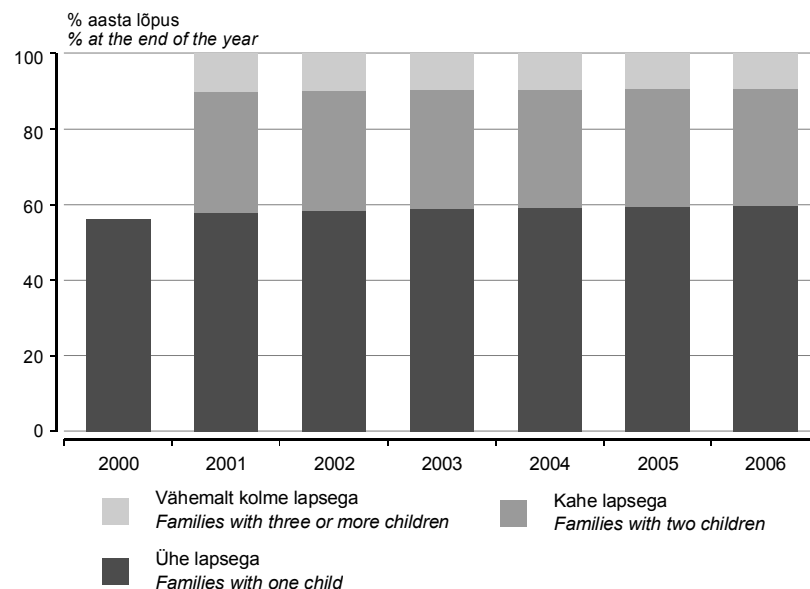
Allikas: Sotsiaalkindlustusamet.

Source: Social Insurance Board.

Kõigist peretoetusi saanutest hõlmasid 60% ühe lapsega pered

Riiklikke peretoetusi saavate perede hulgas hõlmavad suurima osa ühelapselised — 2006. aastal 60% kõigist peretoetusi saanutest. Aastatel 2000–2006 püsis peretoetusi saanute seas kahelapseliste arv 30% piiril. Vähemalt kolme lapsega pered hõlmasid kõigist peretoetusi saanutest kümnendiku.

Joonis 13 Riiklikke peretoetusi saanud pered laste arvu järgi, 2000–2006^a
Figure 13 Families receiving state family benefits by number of children, 2000–2006^a



^a Kahe ja vähemalt kolmelapseliste perede osatähtsuse kohta 2000. aastal ametlikud andmed puuduvad.

^a There are no official data about the proportion of families with two and three or more children for the year 2000.

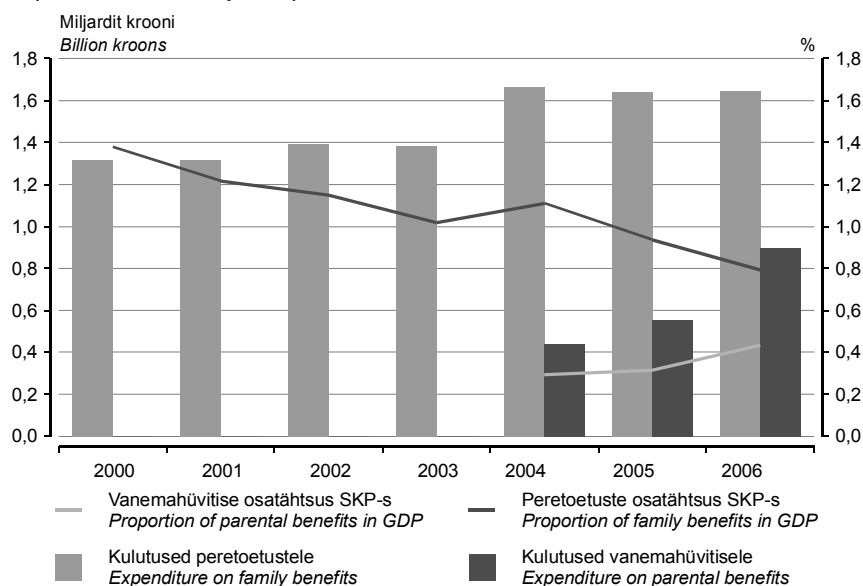
Allikas: Sotsiaalkindlustusamet, autori arvutused.

Source: Social Insurance Board, author's calculations.

Riiklikke peretoetusi saanud peresid laste arvu järgi võrreldes hõlmasid 2006. aasta andmete põhjal suurima osa kahelapselised pered (41%). Pea sama suure osa peretoetusi said ühelapselised pered (39%). Vähemalt kolme lapsega peres kasvas viiendik kõigist peretoetusi saanud lastest.

Peretoetuste ja vanemahüvitise kulusid hinnates võib tõdeda, et viimastel aastatel on peretoetuste kulutused mõõdukalt suurenenud. Vanemahüvitise kulud on alates 2004. aastast kasvanud üle kahe korra. 2006. aastal ulatusid kulutused riiklikele peretoetustele 1,6 miljardi kroonini, vanemahüvitise kulud hõlmasid aga 898 miljonit. Samas on peretoetuste osatähtsus SKP-s pidevalt vähenenud, vanemahüvitise oma aga suureneb. Kui peretoetused püsivad samal tasemel, ületab vanemahüvitise kulu peagi peretoetuste kogukulu.

Joonis 14 **Peretoetuste ja vanemahüvitise kulutused, 2000–2006**
Figure 14 **Expenditure on family and parental benefits, 2000–2006**



Allikas: Sotsiaalkindlustusamet, autori arvutused.
Source: Social Insurance Board, author's calculations.

Peretoetuste kõrval kehtivad lastega peredele ka maksusoodustused (täiendav tulumaksuvabastus kuni 17-aastaste laste eest; laste hariduskulude mahaarvamine maksustatavast tulust; õppelaenu osaline kustutamine) ja täiendav vanemapuhkus.

Kuigi riiklike peretoetuste peaeesmärk ei ole vaesuse leevendamine, võib tõdeda, et need aitavad laste vaesuse vähendamisele kaasa. 2007. aasta uuringu (Vörk ja Paulus 2007) põhjal saab öelda, et riiklikud peretoetused, vanemahüvitis ning täiendav maksuvaba tulu vähendasid suhtelisest vaesuspiirist allpool elavate laste osatähtsust peagu kolmandiku (ligi 20 000 last) ning mõjutasid eeskätt lasterikkaid peresid. Kuni 2006. aastani kehtinud meetmetest jõudis kõige enam vaeste peredeni vähemalt kolme lapsega perede toetus. Üsna paljude vaesteni jõudis üksikvanema toetus. Lasterikaste perede toetus oli mainitud uuringu põhjal laste vaesuse vähendamisel kõige kuluefektiivsem. Kõige väiksema kuluefektiivsusega oli aga vanemahüvitis ja maksuvaba tulu teisest lapsest. (*ibid*).

Suur osa sotsiaalkindlustuse ja perepoliitika ressurssidest on seotud lapse sünnimomendi ja esimese pooleteise eluaastaga, suurima osa hõlmab vanemahüvitis. Kulutused järgmistel vanusastmetel lapsele on aga tunduvalt tagasihoidlikumad. Samas toovad lastega perede kulutusi käsitletud uuringud esile, et kui lapsed saavad vanemaks, siis pere kulutused neile suurenevad (Tiit 2004). Seega peaks meetmete kujundamisel pöörama tulevikus senisest enam tähelepanu ka koolieelsete ja -ealiste lastega perede toetamisele.

Praegu toimivatest perepoliitilistest meetmetest annab ülevaate järgnev tabel.

**Suurem osa lapse-
toetusi makstakse
lapse sünni puhul ja
esimese pooleteise
eluaasta jooksul**

Tabel 6 Perepoliitilised meetmed lähtuvalt lapse vanusest

Lapse vanus	0–1,5		1,6–3		4–5		6–8		9–15							16–19				20–25						
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
MEEDE																										
Puhkused																										
Rasedus- ja sünnituspuhkus	+																									
Täiendav lapsepuhkus isale	+																									
Täiendav ühe vanema puhkus	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+											
Riiklikud peretoetused																										
Sünnitushüvitis	+																									
Sünnitoetus	+																									
Lapsetoetus	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Vanemahüvitis	+	+																								
Lapsehooldustasu			+	+	+	+	+	+	+																	
Koolitoetus							+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Muud peretoetused	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Maksusoodustused																										
Täiendav maksuvaba tulu iga kuni 17-aastase lapse eest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Lapse hariduskulude mahaarvamine maksustatavast tulust	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Õppelaenu jäägi kustutamine 50% ulatuses iga kuni 5-aastase lapse kohta ^a	+	+	+	+	+	+																				

^a Lapse maksimaalne vanus taotlemise hetkel. Kaksikute puhul kustutatakse 75%, kolmikute puhul 100% ühe vanema õppelaenu jäägist. Laenu jääk kustutatakse kahekordse nominaalõppeaja jooksul.

^b Kehtib seadusega määratud lisatingimuste korral.

Lastekaitse ja -hoolekanne

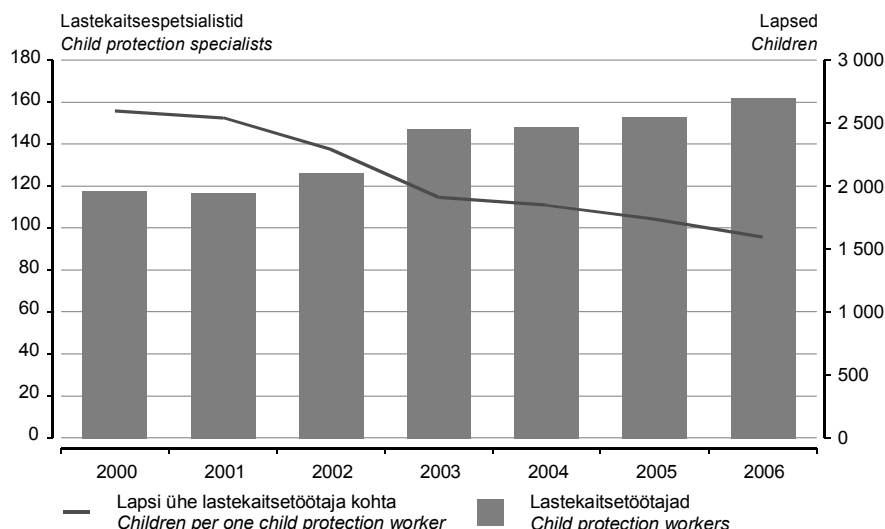
Lastekaitse ja -hoolekanne puudutavad eeskätt abivajavaid lapsi ja lastega peresid. Hoolekande üldist korraldust tutvustas lähemalt selle kogumiku esimene peatükk. Nüüd antakse ülevaade lastekaitsetöö tegijatest ja hoolekandeteenuste kasutamisest.

Lastekaitse- ja hoolekande korralduse eest vastutavad kohaliku omavalitsuse tasandil lastekaitse- või sotsiaaltöötajad, viimased juhul kui lastekaitsetöötajat ei ole. 2005. aastal Vabariigi Valitsuse otsusega heaks kiidetud lastekaitse kontseptsioon seadis eesmärgiks jõuda olukorrani, kus 1000 lapse kohta oleks üks lastekaitsetöötaja.

See arv peaks ekspertide hinnangul olema optimaalne, et tagada lastekaitse spetsialisti töö tõhusus. Aastatel 2000–2006 suurenes lastekaitse spetsialistide arv. 2006. aastal töötas kohalikes omavalitsustes ja maavalitsustes 162 lastekaitse spetsialisti — 146 kohalikus omavalitsuses ja 16 maavalitsuses. Eriharidusega oli kõigist lastekaitsetöötajatest 78%. Lastekaitse kontseptsioonis seatud eesmärgile jõutakse aasta-aastalt lähemale. Ühest küljest mõjutab seda suurenenud lastekaitsetöötajate, teisalt vähenev laste arv.

**Eestis töötas
2006. aastal 162
lastekaitse spetsialisti**

Joonis 15 Lastekaitespetsialistid ja keskmine laste arv ühe lastekaitsetöötaja kohta, 2000–2006
Figure 15 Child protection specialists and average number of children per one child protection worker, 2000–2006



Allikas: Sotsiaalministeerium.
Source: Ministry of Social Affairs.

2006. aastal kasutas varjupaigategenust 1156 last

Vastavalt lastekaitseadusele on kõik inimesed kohustatud abivajavast lapsest politseile või sotsiaaltöötajatele teatama. Sageli satuvad abivajavad lapsed kõigepealt varjupaika^a. Aasta jooksul varjupaiga teenust kasutanud isikute hulgas oli laste osatähtsus 2006. aastal 47% (1156 last), vähenedes varasematega võrreldes (2003. aastal 1798 last). Lastele osutas 2006. aastal teenust 12 varjupaika ja neli lastekodu. Lapsed võivad viibida ka üld-varjupaikades. Sageli on laste varjupaika sattumise põhjused erinevad ning esinevad korraga, peapõhjuse pole alati võimalik esile tuua (2006. aastal viiendik kõigist lastest). Kodune hoolimatus, vanemate ja teiste lähedaste alkoholi tarvitamine ning hulkurlus on siiski peamised põhjused (2006. aastal vastavalt 17%, 13% ja 13%). Kümnendiku laste puhul on peapõhjuseks perevägivald ja elukoha puudumine (tabel 7). Sageli satuvad lapsed varjupaika koos vanemaga (emad väikelastega). Seetõttu ei saa kõiki laste puhul välja toodud varjupaigategenuse kasutamise põhjusi üksnes nende probleemidega seostada — sageli võib see puudutada ka vanemat või vanemaid.

Tabel 7 Varjupaiga teenust kasutanud lapsed põhjuse järgi, 2003–2006
Table 7 Children staying in the safe house by reasons, 2003–2006
(aasta jooksul — during the year)

	2003	2004	2005	2006	
Teenust kasutanud lapsed kokku	1 798	1 354	1 237	1 156	Total number of children using the safe house service
Lapsi kõigist kasutanutest, %	55	52	47	47	Percentage of children among all users
Teenuse kasutamise põhjused					Users of the service by reason
Elukoha puudumine	292	127	138	138	Lack of residence
Hulkurlus	327	265	230	152	Stray
Perevägivald	180	174	136	129	Domestic violence
Muu vägivald	24	8	5	7	Other violence
Kodune hoolimatus	217	211	196	194	Negligence at home
Alkoholi tarvitamine	48	36	51	59	Alcohol abuse
Vanemate ja teiste lähedaste alkoholi tarvitamine	210	132	137	151	Alcohol abuse by parents and other relatives
Narkootikumide tarvitamine	166	94	77	45	Drug abuse
Narkootikume tarvitavad vanemad ja teised lähedased	24	28	27	45	Drug abuse by parents and other relatives
Muu/põhjus teadmata	310	279	240	236	Other/ reason unknown

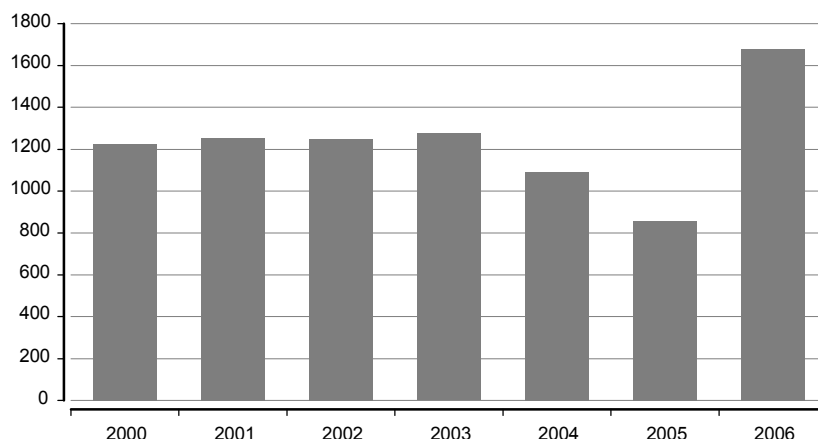
Allikas: Sotsiaalministeerium.
Source: Ministry of Social Affairs.

^a Varjupaik on ajutist ööpäevast abi, tuge ja kaitset pakkuv hoolekandeasutus. Selle teenuse statistika kogumist alustati 2003. aastal.

Lastekaitse seisukohalt on oluline jälgida aasta jooksul lastekaitse- või sotsiaaltöötaja huviobjektiks sattunud laste arvu. Lapsed satuvad nende tähelepanu alla mitmel põhjusel alustades vägivallast ja lõpetades koolikohustuse mittetäitmisega. Enne 2006. aastat koguti andmeid vanemliku hoolitsuseta (sh orvuks jäänud) laste kohta. 2006. aastal täpsustati vastavat statistikat ning peale vanemliku hoolitsuseta laste hakati statistikat koguma ka abivajavate kohta^a.

Aastatel 2000–2003 püsis arvele võetud vanemliku hoolitsuseta laste arv esimest korda muutumatuna, hakates pärast 2003. aastat langema. 2006. aasta alguse seisuga oli arvel 822 abivajavat last, kes elasid oma perekonnas sotsiaal- või lastekaitsetöötaja jälgimise all. Aasta jooksul võeti arvele 1680 vanemliku hoolitsuseta või abivajavat last (joonis 16). Perekonnast^b eraldati kõigist arvelolevatest neljandik (654 last) ning perekonda jäi aasta lõpuks 1848 last, kelle juhtumiga lastekaitse- või sotsiaaltöötaja edasi tegeles.

Joonis 16 **Arvele võetud vanemliku hoolitsuseta ja abi vajanud lapsed, 2000–2006^c**
Figure 16 **Registered children without parental care and children in need, 2000–2006^c**



^c Aastatel 2000–2005 kajastusid statistikast orvid ja vanemliku hoolitsuseta lapsed, alates 2006. aastast täpsustati statistikat ning lisati ka abivajavad lapsed.

^c During 2000–2005 the statistics reflected orphans and children left without parental care, since 2006 the statistical data were adjusted, and the children in need were added.

Allikas: Sotsiaalministeerium.
Source: Ministry of Social Affairs.

Perest eraldamisel paigutatakse lapsed enamasti asendushooldusele — eestkostele, hooldus- või lapsendaja peresse või asenduskoduteenusele. Ajutiselt võidakse laps ka varjupaika saata.

Aastatel 2000–2006 suunati lapsi kõige enam asenduskoduteenusele (lastekodu) ning perekonda hooldamisele. Viimati nimetatut kasutatakse aga aasta-aastalt üha vähem. 2006. aastal paigutati perekonda hooldamisele vaid 180 last võrreldes 2001. aasta 487-ga. Asenduskoduteenusele paigutatud laste arv on mõõdukalt vähenenud, ulatudes 2006. aastal 255 lapseni^d (joonis 17).

Eestkoste puhul on eestkostja lapse seaduslik esindaja, kuid tema tegevusel on perekonna-seadusest tulenevad piirangud. Lapse bioloogilistel vanematel säilib ülalpidamiskohustus. Aastatel 2000–2006 püsis aasta jooksul eestkostele võetud laste arv 200–275 lapse piires (joonis 17). Kõige rohkem võetakse lapsi eestkostele bioloogilisest perekonnast (2006. aastal 51%) ja hoolekandeaustustest (2006. aastal 32% kõigist eestkostele võetutest).

^a Orvuna käsitletakse last, kelle mõlemad vanemad on surnud. Vanemliku hoolitsuseta lapse puhul on tegemist lapsega, kelle vanemad on teadmata kadunud; vanema või vanemate teovõime on piiratud; vanem viibib kinnipidamisasutuses; vanematelt on vanemaõigused ära võetud; või laps on eraldatud perest vanemaõigusi äravõtmata. Abivajava lapse puhul on sotsiaal- või lastekaitsetöötaja asunud lapsega seotud juhtumit lahendama last perest eraldamata.

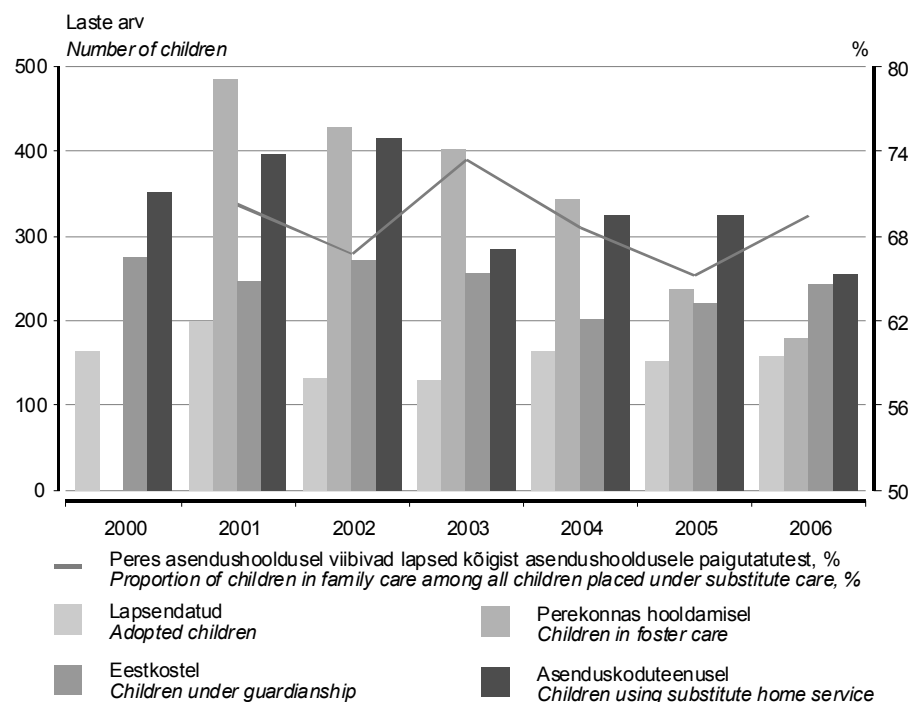
^b Kui olukord peres on lapse elule või tervisele ohtlik, eraldab eeskosteasutus (kohaliku omavalitsuse sotsiaal- või lastekaitsetöötaja) lapse perest ning esitab 10 päeva jooksul kohtusse nõude lapse perekonnast eraldamiseks ilma vanemaõiguste äravõtmisega või vanemaõiguste äravõtmiseks.

^d Arvestatud on nii riiklikul hoolekandeteenusel kui ka vanema avalduse alusel asenduskodus viibivaid raske ja sügava puudega lapsi.

Kõige rohkem võetakse lapsi eestkostele bioloogilisest perekonnast

Lapsendatute arv oli aastatel 2000–2006 erinev, ulatudes 2001. aastal 200 lapseni ja 2006. aastal 158-ni. Kõige suurema osa lapsendatutest hõlmavad koos ühe bioloogilise vanemaga elavad ning tema abikaasa lapsendatud lapsed (2006. aastal 51% kõigist lapsendatutest). Kolmandik lapsendatakse uude perekonda Eestis. Välismaa kodanikud lapsendavad aastati erinevalt, 2006. aastal näiteks 20 last, hõlmates kõigist lapsendamistest veidi üle kümnendiku. Enamik lapsendatakse bioloogilisest perekonnast (üle poole), kolmandik aga laste hoolekandeesutustest.

Joonis 17 Aasta jooksul asendushooldusele paigutatud lapsed, 2000–2006^a
Figure 17 Children placed under substitute care during the year, 2000–2006^a



^a Aasta jooksul perekonda hooldamisele võetud laste arvu kohta 2000. aastal ametlikud andmed puuduvad. Aastad 2003 ja 2004 ei hõlma vanema avalduse alusel asenduskoduteenusel viibinud lapsi — esitatud on vaid riiklikul hoolekandeteenusel viibinud laste arvud.

^a There are no official data about annual number of children placed in foster care for the year 2000. The data concerning 2003 and 2004 do not comprise the children receiving substitute home service on the basis of parent's application — it only refers to the number of children receiving state welfare service.

Allikas: Sotsiaalministeerium.
Source: Ministry of Social Affairs.

Laste arengu seisukohalt on oluline, et nad kasvaksid peres. Asendushoolduse seatud eesmärk on enamiku asendushooldusel olevate laste kasvamine perekonnas, mitte hoolekandeesutuses. Vaadates aasta jooksul perekonda asendushooldusele paigutatud laste osatähtsust võib öelda, et aastatel 2000–2006 püsis see 65–73% juures, hõlmates 2006. aastal 69%.

Vaadates hoolekandeteenusel viibivate laste arvu aasta lõpu seisuga selgub, et kõige rohkem on neid asenduskodus — 2006. aastal 1621. Asenduskodus olevate laste arv vähenes aastatel 2000–2006 veidi. Perekonnas hooldamisel (2006. aastal 551) ja eestkostel (2006. aastal 1458 last) olnud laste arv vähenes viimastel aastatel kiiremini. Põhjus on üldine laste arvu vähenemine. Samas on peresisesed hooldusvormid vähenenud üsna kiiresti (eriti perekonnas hooldamine), seda pole suutnud peatada ka eestkostel ja perekonnas hooldamisel oleva lapse toetuse tõstmine (tabel 8).

Tabel 8 Asenduskoduteenusel, perekonnas hooldamisel ja eestkostel viibinud lapsed, 2000–2006

Table 8 Children growing in substitute home, in foster care and under guardianship, 2000–2006 (aasta lõpus — at the end of the year)

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	
Asenduskoduteenusust kasutanuid^a	1 715	1 814	1 881	1 539¹	1 549¹	1 683	1 621	Users of substitute home service^a
poisid, %	59,7	59,9	60,3	58,7	60,2	58,9	58,7	boys, %
tüdrukud, %	40,3	40,1	39,7	41,3	39,8	41,1	41,3	girls, %
Kümne tuhande 0–24-aastase elaniku kohta	38	42	42	36	37	41	40	Per 10,000 population aged 0–24
Perekonnas hooldamisel viibinud lapsed^b	...	1 048	1 065	1 081	971	732	551	Children in foster care^b
poisid, %	...	50,4	50,9	49,6	48,1	51,8	51,2	boys, %
tüdrukud, %	...	49,6	49,1	50,4	51,9	48,2	48,8	girls, %
Kümne tuhande 0–17-aastase lapse kohta ^b	...	35	37	39	36	28	21	Per 10,000 children aged 0–17 ^b
Hooldusperede arv	...	849	852	838	753	597	436	Number of foster families
Eestkostel lapsed	2 025	1 926	1 819	1 788	1 647	1 572	1 458	Children under guardianship
poisid, %	48,3	49,3	49,5	49,6	50,4	48,7	50,5	boys, %
tüdrukud, %	51,7	50,7	50,5	50,4	49,6	51,3	49,5	girls, %
Kümne tuhande 0–17-aastase lapse kohta	66	65	63	64	60	59	56	Per 10,000 children aged 0–17

^a 2003. ja 2004. aastal pole statistika kogumise eripära tõttu arvestatud vanema avalduse alusel teenusel viibivaid raske ja sügava puudega lapsi. Teenusel võivad viibida õppimise korral ka kuni 24-aastased lapsed.

^b 0–17-aastaste teenusekasutanute vanusrühma on arvestatud ka kuni 19-aastased põhikoolis, gümnaasiumis või kutseõppeasutuses õppeaasta lõpuni õppivad lapsed.

^a Due to the specific character of data collecting, the information concerning the years 2003 and 2004 does not include the children with severe and profound disability who receive the service on the basis of parent's application. These children have been included in other years. In case of studies, the children receiving the service may also include children under the age of 24.

^b The age group of service users at the age of 0–17 also includes children under the age of 19 attending basic school, upper secondary school or vocational school until the end of academic year.

Allikas: Sotsiaalministeerium.
Source: Ministry of Social Affairs.

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ÕPILASTE HEAOLU JA TERVIS

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Heaoluteooriatest lähtudes saab rääkida nii objektiivsest kui ka subjektiivsest heaolust. Objektiivne teooria räägib haridusest kui mittemateriaalsest ressursist, mille kaudu inimese heaolu suureneb ja mille omandamine peaks olema kõigile võrdselt võimalik (Dworkin 2000). Kitsamas käsitluses võib objektiivset heaolu hariduses mõõta õpilasele võimaldatud ressurssidest lähtuvalt, näiteks koolitoit, (remonditud) ruumid, õppevahendid, aga ka õpetajad. Subjektiivse heaolu teooria vaatab inimese rahulolu (Diener jt 2003), seega õpilase rahulolu koolis olevate tingimustega. Hariduse omandamise vaatenurgast peaks õpilane teoreetiliselt olema rahul igast koolisveedetud päevast tuleneva suurema heaoluga, sest liigutakse sammhaaval lähemale hariduse kättesaamisele. See võimaldab hilisemas elus veel edasi õppida või tööle asuda. Heaolu aspektist vaadelduna käib sellega kaasas suurem aktsepteeritavus ühiskonnas, mainituga kaasneb ka tasuv töö ja suurem rahulolu. Kui peale selle võimaldatakse lapsele hariduse omandamiseks piisavalt ressursse, siis peaks see muutma haridustee meeldivaks. Sõltuvalt subjektiivsest lähtekohast võib tõdeda, et õpilane ei pruugi koolis käies rahul ja õnnelik olla. Õpilane elab hetkes koos oma probleemidega. Koolivägivald ja suur õppekoormus tekitavad koolistressi, keerulised suhted kaasõpilastega teevad hariduse omandamise keeruliseks ja laste subjektiivse rahulolu küsitavaks. Seega on õpilaste heaolu mõõtmine keerukas, sest arvestama peaks nii objektiivsete kui ka subjektiivsete teguritega, kuid õpilaste subjektiivset rahulolu mõõtvat statistikat on väga vähe ja ka kõiki objektiivseid tegureid ei ole mõõdetud. Statistika põhjal võib teha kaudseid õpilase heaolu puudutavaid järeldusi, täpset ja ühest heaolu mõõtmise kriteeriumit olemas ei ole.

Õpilaste heaolu käsitlust võib alustada alusharidusest vaatamata sellele, et koolieelses lasteasutuses käivate laste kohta ei öelda õpilane, vaid pigem koolieelik. Küll aga õpivad juba pisikesed õpilased lasteaias väga palju, sest lasteaed ei ole enam ammu vaid mängimise koht. Alusharidus on kogu hariduse, aga ka elu alus, sest lasteaias käib eelkõige just tõsine elu tundmaõppimine. Seal harjutakse teiste inimestega, õpitakse nendega arvestama ja kollektiivis toime tulema. Õpitakse mängima ja omandatakse esimesed teadmised — kirjutatakse esimesed tähed, tutvutakse numbritega, veeritakse esimesed laused.

Alushariduses osaleb üle 80% lastest

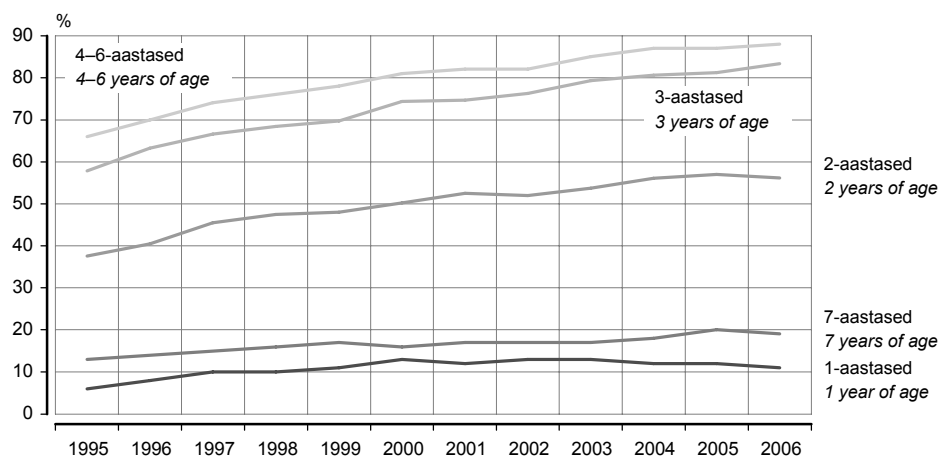
Alusharidus ei ole kohustuslik, kuid paljud vanemad eelistavad lasteaeda kodule, sest peale hoiu annab koolieelne lasteasutus ka hea ettevalmistuse kooliks. Eelhariduse õppekava järgi tutvustatakse lastele koolitüüpi keskkonda ja arendatakse püsivust, et neil oleks julgem ja kindlam kooliteed alustada. Õppekavad on koostatud vähemalt 3-aastastele lastele — nooremate puhul on raske korraldada süsteemset ja järjepidevat õpet. Kvaliteetne alusharidus aitab ennetada nii õpiraskusi põhikoolis (ka sealt väljalangemist) kui ka üldisi toimetuleku- ja sotsiaalprobleeme. Laste heaolu seisukohast vajavad alla 3-aastased veel tugevat kontakti emaga ja heaolu nimel oleks targem lasta neil veel kodus olla. Küll võiks lasteaias käia üle 3-aastased, kuna peale alushariduse saamise on neil endil huvitavam ja lõbusam teiste omavanuste seltskonnas viibida. Koolieelsetes lasteasutustes käivate laste osatähtsus on järjepidevalt kasvanud. 2000. aastal osales 3–6-aastastest lastest alushariduses vaid 79%, aastal 2003 oli see näitaja 83% ja 2006. aastal juba 86% (tabel 1).

Tabel 1 **Alusharidus, 2000–2006**
Table 1 *Pre-school education, 2000–2006*
(aasta lõpus — at the end of the year)

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	
Koolieelsed lasteasutused	646	624	596	597	600	609	602	<i>Pre-school establishments</i>
lastesõim	11	10	11	8	8	9	10	<i>crèche</i>
lasteaed	551	534	515	521	518	516	510	<i>nursery school</i>
erilasteaed	5	6	4	6	5	4	3	<i>special nursery school</i>
lasteaed-kool	79	74	66	62	69	80	79	<i>nursery-primary school</i>
Lapsed lasteasutustes, tuhat	50,6	49,9	49,6	51,3	52,9	54,5	56,1	<i>Children in child care institutions, thousands</i>
3–6-aastaste laste vanuseline määr lasteasutustes, %	79	80	80	83	85	86	86	<i>Proportion of children in child care institutions among the children at the age of 3–6 years, %</i>
Lapsi lasteasutuste 100 koha kohta	101	101	102	103	103	104	105	<i>Children per 100 places of a child care institution</i>
linnas	102	102	103	104	105	106	107	<i>in urban areas</i>
maal	97	96	98	97	98	98	99	<i>in rural areas</i>

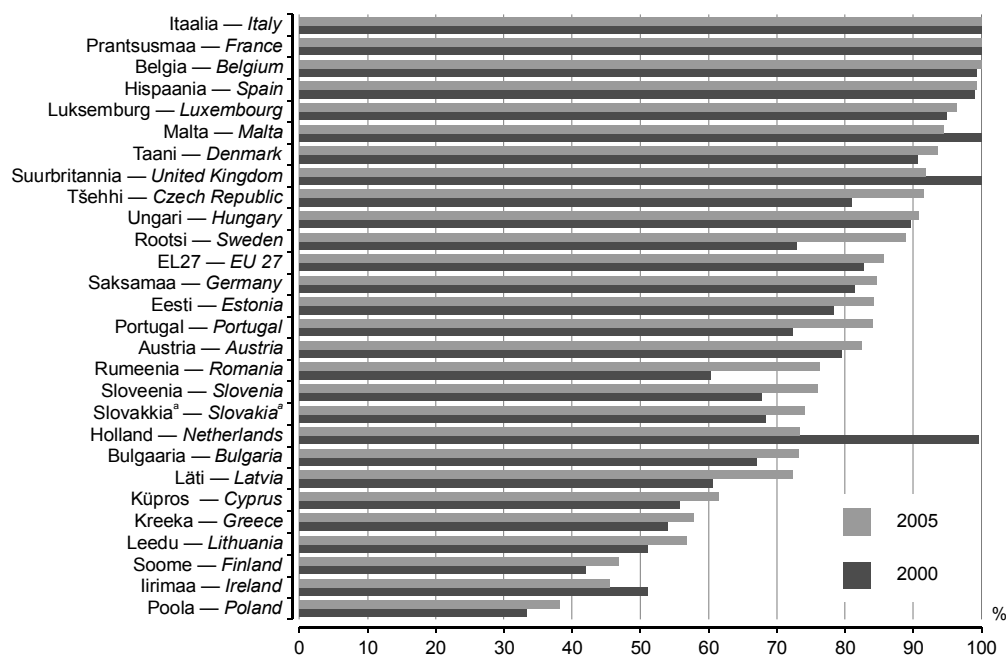
Nagu arvata võib, käivad lasteaiaas enamasti peagi kooliminevad lapsed (4–6-aastased). 4-aastastest sai 2006. aastal alusharidust 87%, 5-aastastest 89% ja 6-aastastest samuti 87% (joonis1). Peagu igas vanuses laste lasteaiaas käimise osatähtsus on kümne aasta jooksul suurenenud, vaid kõige pisemate ehk sõimelaste (1-aastased) osatähtsus ei ole alates 1997. aastast eriti tõusnud. Siin on osa kindlasti ka vanemahüvitisel, kuigi see ei hõlma lapse kogu teist eluaastat. Samas on just sõimekohtade nappus kõige suurem ja vastavas eas laste järjekorrad kõige pikemad. Seega võib arvata, et kui kohti oleks, siis oleks ka väikeste laste osalus sõimes suurem, kuigi väikelaste heaolu silmas pidades oleks neil parem selles eas veel kodus olla.

Joonis 1 **Lapsed koolieelses lasteasutuses vanuse järgi, 1995–2006**
Figure 1 *Children in pre-school establishments by age groups, 1995–2006*



Huvitav on võrrelda meie 4-aastaste laste alushariduses osalemist (koolieelne lasteasutus) teiste Euroopa Liidu riikide sama vanadega (joonis 2). Selle näitaja poolest oleme umbes keskel ehk on riike, kus 4-aastased käivad lasteaiaas rohkem, mõnes riigis ollakse enam kodused. Kindlasti sõltub palju seadustest. Näiteks Itaalias, Prantsusmaal ja Belgias käivad kõik 4-aastased lapsed lasteaiaas, kuid Poolas vaid alla 40%. Eesti sarnaneb kõige rohkem Saksamaa ja Portugaliga, teiste Balti riikide ja Põhjamaadest Soomega võrreldes omandab Eesti 4-aastasest alusharidust tunduvalt suurem osa.

Joonis 2 **Alusharidust omandavad 4-aastased Euroopa Liidu riikides, 2000 ja 2005**
Figure 2 **Children aged 4 acquiring pre-school education in EU countries, 2000 and 2005**



^a 2001. ja 2005. aasta andmed.

^a Data of 2001 and 2005.

Allikas — Source: Eurostat.

2006. aastal oli 100 lasteaia koha kohta 105 last

Suureneva sündimuse taustal on probleemiks koolieelsete lasteasutuste väike arv ja kohtade nappus. 2006. aastal tegutses vaid 602 koolieelset lasteasutust — selgelt liiga vähe. Kohtade puudus (eriti linnas) annab valusalt tunda, see on muutnud lapsevanemad murelikuks ja kogu eelhariduse süsteemi suhtes kriitiliseks. Kui 2000. aastal oli lapsi 100 koha kohta 101, siis 2006. aastal juba 105. Linnades on terav probleem ruumide normist väiksem pindala. Lasteaiad suurendavad omavalitsuse loal laste arvu rühmades lubatud 20 asemel 24-ni, kuigi põrandapind seda ei võimalda. See hakkab puudutama ka suurte linnade läheduses asuvaid valdu, kuhu noored pered linnast elama asuvad — laps ja korter vallas, töö linnas (Haridus- ... 2007: 5). Väikesel pinnal tihedalt koosolemine piirab lapse isiklikku ruumi, mistõttu tema heaolu kannatab.

Õnneliku lapsepõlve kujundamisel on osa ka kasvatajal ja õpetajal. Koolieelsete lasteasutuste töötajate arv on viimase kolme aasta jooksul suurenenud, ulatudes 2006. aastal 7600-ni (tabel 2). Enamik õpetajaid on vanuses 30–49. Üldiselt võib tõdeda, et koolieelsete lasteasutuste personal vananeb — võrreldes aastaga 2000 on 40–59-aastaste õpetajate osatähtsus suurenenud ligi kümme ja 25–39-aastaste oma on vähenenud ligi üksteist protsendipunkti. Noori õpetajaid on lasteaeda raske leida, sest palgad on väikesed, kuid töö äärmiselt raske ja vastutusrikas.

Tabel 2 **Koolieelsete lasteasutuste personal vanuse järgi, 2000, 2003 ja 2006**
Table 2 **Staff of pre-school establishments by age, 2000, 2003 and 2006**
(aasta alguses — at the beginning of the year)

Vanus	2000	2003	2006	
Alla 25	226	275	377	Under 25
25–29	803	536	542	25–29
30–39	2 310	2 065	2 044	30–39
40–49	2 321	2 361	2 573	40–49
50–59	943	1 206	1 724	50–59
Üle 59	376	462	363	Over 59
Kokku	6 979	6 905	7 623	Total

Suuremad lapsed õpivad üldharidus- ja kutsekoolides. 2006/2007. õppeaastal oli Eestis 585 üldhariduskooli (tabel 3). Üldhariduskoolide arv on aasta-aastalt vähenenud. Võrreldes 2000/2001. õppeaastaga on sada kooli vähem. Kõige rohkem on suletud algkoole — 69 kuue aastaga. 2006/2007. õppeaastal tegutses 84 alg-, 223 põhi- ning 232 keskkooli ja gümnaasiumi. Erivajadusega laste koole oli 46. Selliste koolide arv on püsinud aastaid peagu sama — võrreldes 2000/2001. õppeaastaga kaks vähem.

Tabel 3 Üldhariduskoolid, 2000–2006
Table 3 Schools providing general education, 2000–2006

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	
Üldhariduskoolid								General education schools
Algkoolid	153	130	113	106	96	91	84	Primary schools
Põhikoolid	247	242	239	236	227	225	223	Basic schools
Keskkoolid ja gümnaasiumid	237	236	236	235	234	236	232	Upper secondary schools
Erivajadustega laste koolid	48	46	48	48	46	46	46	Schools for children with special needs
algkoolid	2	2	4	4	2	2	1	primary schools
põhikoolid	42	40	40	40	40	40	41	basic schools
keskkoolid ja gümnaasiumid	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	upper secondary schools
Muud üldharidusklassidega õppeasutused	1	1	2	0	1	1	1	Other educational institutions with general education classes

Allikas: Statistikaameti ja Eesti Hariduse Infosüsteemi (EHIS) andmed, 2007.

Source: Data of Statistics Estonia and Estonian Information System for Education (EHIS), 2007.

Alla 18-aastaste õpilaste arv on langenud 220 000-st 2000. aastal 166 000-ni aastal 2006 (tabel 4). Üldhariduses on laste arv 10 000 elaniku kohta kuue aastaga langenud 387, kutsehariduses tõusnud 11 võrra (joonis 3). Laste arvu suurenemine kutsehariduses on tingitud põhiharidusejärgse kutsehariduse üha suuremast proportsioonist kutsehariduses alates 2000. aastast (enamik keskharidusejärgse kutsehariduse õpilasi jääb vanuse tõttu sellest käsitlusest välja).

Tabel 4 Üld- ja kutsehariduse õpilased^a, 2000–2006
Table 4 Students obtaining general and vocational education^a, 2000–2006
(õppeaasta alguses, tuhat — at the beginning of the academic year, thousands)

Haridusaste	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	Level of education
Üldharidus	211,1	203,4	194,7	185,7	176,4	166,0	155,3	General education
põhiharidus	179,7	173,4	165,7	157,3	147,6	137,6	128,2	basic education
keskharidus	31,4	30,0	28,9	28,4	28,8	28,3	27,0	secondary education
Kutseharidus	8,9	8,7	8,8	9,0	9,6	10,3	10,2	Vocational education

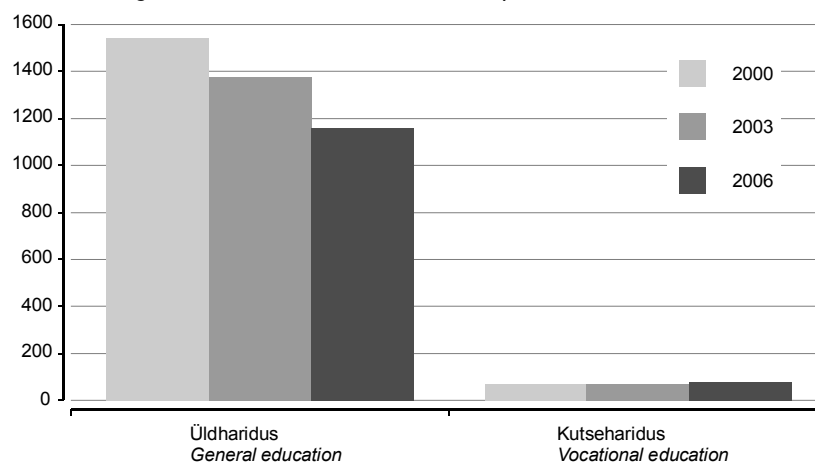
^a Alla 18-aastased.

^a Under the age of 18.

Allikas: Statistikaameti ja Eesti Hariduse Infosüsteemi (EHIS) andmed, 2007.

Source: Data of Statistics Estonia and Estonian Information System for Education (EHIS), 2007.

Joonis 3 **Õpilasi üld- ja kutsehariduses^a 10 000 elaniku kohta, 2000–2006**
 Figure 3 **Students in general and vocational education^a per 10,000 inhabitants, 2000–2006**



^a Alla 18-aastased.

^a Under the age of 18.

Allikas: Statistikaameti ja Eesti Hariduse Infosüsteemi (EHIS) andmed, 2007.

Source: Data of Statistics Estonia and Estonian Information System for Education (EHIS), 2007.

Pärast põhihariduse lõpetamist edasiõppivate noorte osatähtsus on kasvanud

Põhihariduse omandamisega seotud probleemidest (koolikohustuse täitmine, põhikoolist väljalangemine ning klassikursuse kordamine) räägitakse viimasel ajal üha enam. Enamik koolikohustuslikus eas lapsi käib koolis. Laste vanuse määr on siin arvatud kõiki haridusliike ja õppevorme arvesse võttes. Võrreldes neid määrasid kuue aasta tagusega, võib tõdeda, et suurenenud on eelkõige lapsepõlve viimaste aastate näitajad — peale põhihariduse lõpetamist edasiõppivate noorte osatähtsus on suurenenud.

Tabel 5 **Õpilaste vanuseline määr soo järgi^b, 2006**
 Table 5 **Sex-specific age distribution of students^b, 2006**
 (õppeaasta alguses, protsenti — at the beginning of academic year, percentage)

Vanus Age	Kokku Total	Poisid Boys	Tüdrukud Girls
6	14,5	11,9	17,4
7	97,0	96,7	97,4
8	98,7	99,1	98,2
9	99,1	99,5	98,6
10	100,2	99,5	100,9
11	99,3	99,6	99,1
12	98,2	97,3	99,3
13	100,5	101,4	99,6
14	98,5	98,6	98,4
15	98,7	98,5	99,0
16	98,7	98,4	99,1
17	89,4	86,5	92,4

^b Õpilaste vanuseline määr arvutatakse vastavas vanuses õpilaste arvu sama vanade elanike arvuga võrreldes. Kasutatud on 2000. aasta rahvaloendusel põhinevat rahvaarvu, mille alakaetus võib olla vanuserühmades keskmiselt 1,2%. Seetõttu ulatub õpilaste määr mõnes vanuserühmas üle 100%.

^b Students' age proportion is calculated by comparing the number of students at the corresponding age and the number of population at the same age. We have used the population based on the data of the 2000 Population and Housing Census, whereas the average under-coverage may be 1.2%. Therefore the student proportion in some age groups exceeds 100%.

Allikas: Statistikaameti ja Eesti Hariduse Infosüsteemi (EHIS) andmed, 2007.

Source: Data of Statistics Estonia and Estonian Information System for Education (EHIS), 2007.

Probleemseimad on 12-aastased poisid, kelle õppimisega hõivatus on kuue aastaga vähenenud (2006. aastal 97%). 6. klass on kõige raskem ja murrangulisem eriti poiste jaoks. Väljalangenute statistika järgi on rasked klassid ka 7., 8. ja 9. — 2005/2006. õppeaastal katkestas 7.–9. klassi päevases õppevormis 853 last — 1,5% nende klasside õpilastest. Põhihariduseta katkestanute osatähtsus on püsinud kuue aasta jooksul 0,6–0,7% piirimal,

vähenenud on otseselt koolist välja heidetute osatähtsus kas halva õppeedukuse, edasijõudmatuse või ebasobiva käitumise tõttu (tabel 6). Selle taga on seadusest tulenev nõue, mis ei luba enam alla 17-aastaseid ehk koolikohustuslikus eas lapsi koolist välja heita. Samas tuleb katkestanute statistikat uurides tõdeda, et andmed ei tarvitse olla täiesti usaldusväärsed, sest need võivad olla ebatäpsed. Riigil ei ole praegu terviklikku ülevaadet katkestanute (k.a katkestamise põhjuste) ning teiste koolikohustuse täitmisega seotud näitajate kohta.

Tabel 6 **Põhihariduse katkestanud^a, 2000, 2003 ja 2006**
Table 6 **Students leaving school before acquiring basic education^a, 2000, 2003 and 2006**

	2000		2003		2006		
	Arv Number	%	Arv Number	%	Arv Number	%	
Katkestanute ^b arv (1.–9. klass)	1 025	0,6	959	0,6	843	0,7	Number of students interrupting acquisition of basic education ^b (1st–9th grade)
heideti koolist välja ^c	592	0,3	346	0,2	184	0,1	expelled from school ^c

^a Õppeaasta algus.

^b Põhihariduseta katkestanu on isik, kes katkestab põhihariduse enne täisealiseks saamist, sõltumata õppekavast või õppevormist (k.a õhtu- ja kaugõpe) ja kes ei õpi seisuga 10. november järgmisel õppeaastal, v.a isikud, kelle lahkumise põhjuseks oli elukoha vahetus välisriiki või kes surid.

^c Heideti koolist välja halva õppeedukuse, edasijõudmatuse või ebasobiva käitumise tõttu.

^a Year refers to the beginning of academic year.

^b Student leaving school before acquiring basic education is a person who interrupts acquisition of basic education before attainment of the age of majority, irrespective of study programme or form of study (including evening courses and distance learning) and who has not continued studies by 10 November next academic year, except for persons who left school due to changing residence and moving abroad or who deceased.

^c Expelled from school due to poor academic achievement, failure to proceed or misbehaviour.

Allikas: Haridus- ja Teadusministeeriumi, Statistikaameti, Eesti Hariduse Infosüsteemi (EHIS) andmed, 2008.

Source: Data of the Ministry of Education and Research, Statistics Estonia; Estonian Information System for Education (EHIS), 2008.

Kindlalt on teada, et poisid katkestavad õpingud tüdrukutest tunduvalt kergekäelisemalt, samuti lähevad pärast põhihariduse lõpetamist edasi õppima rohkem tüdrukud. Siit võib järeldada, et poiste heaolu on koolis madalam ja nende rahulolematuse kooli suhtes suurem, ilmselt soosib kogu koolisüsteem rohkem tüdrukuid. Seda näitab asjaolu, et 6–17-aastaste tüdrukute oodatav keskmine õpiaeg on pikem kui samas vanuses poistel (tabel 7). Kui poiste oodatav keskmine õpiaeg oli 2006. aastal 10,9 aastat, siis tüdrukutel 11.

Tabel 7 **6–17-aastaste oodatav keskmine õpiaeg aastates^d, 2000–2006**
Table 7 **Expected years of study of children aged 6–17^d, 2000–2006**
(õppeaasta alguses — at the beginning of the year)

Aasta	Kokku Total	Poisid Boys	Tüdrukud Girls
2000	10,65	10,61	10,70
2001	11,00	10,93	11,08
2002	10,99	10,91	11,07
2003	10,98	10,92	11,05
2004	10,98	10,93	11,03
2005	10,98	10,92	11,05
2006	10,93	10,87	10,99

^d Ilma alushariduseta.

^d Pre-school education excluded.

Allikas: Statistikaameti ja Eesti Hariduse Infosüsteemi (EHIS) andmed, 2007.

Source: Data of Statistics Estonia and Estonian Information System for Education (EHIS), 2007.

Õpilaskodus elavate õpilaste arv on suurenenud rohkem kui pooletuhande õpilase võrra

Koolikohustuse täitmise parandamiseks, tagamiseks ja toetamiseks on mitu võimalust (pikapäevarühm, logopeediline abi, parandusõpe, individuaalne õppekava jne). Kuna sageli põhjustab koolist puudumise ja halva õppeedukuse õpilase raske sotsiaalmajanduslik olukord, siis üks võimalus õpilasi aidata on õpilaskodude arvu suurendamine. Seda kasutatakse siiski teiste võimaluste seas suhteliselt vähe. Siiski on õpilaskodudega koolide arv jõudsalt suurenenud — kui 2003. aasta esimesel poolel oli õpilaskodu vaid kuue kooli juures, siis 2007. aasta esimesel poolel juba 35. Õpilaskodus elavate õpilaste arv on suurenenud rohkem kui pooletuhande võrra (tabel 8) (Koolikohustuse ... 2007: 25). Õpilaskodus elavatel lastel on raskem ka koolist puududa, sest kontroll nende üle on kodus elavatest lastest suurem. Lapse heaolu seisukohast on õpilaskodus elamine psühholoogiliselt raske, kuna pidev eemalolek vanematest paneb noore inimese proovile.

Tabel 8 **Õpilaskoduga koolide ja õpilaskodude riigieelarvest rahastatavate kohtade arv esimesel poolaastal, 2003–2007**

Table 8 *Number of schools with boarding school facilities and the number of places in boarding school facilities financed from state budget in the first half-year, 2003–2007*

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	
Koolide arv	6	15	24	30	35	Number of schools
Kohtade arv	100	215	400	544	656	Number of students

Allikas: Haridus- ja Teadusministeerium, 2007.

Source: Ministry of Education and Research, 2007.

Kõige levinum koolikohustuse täitmise parandamise võimalus on pikapäevarühm, mis oli Eesti Hariduse Infosüsteemi andmetel 2006/2007. õppeaastal 456 koolis. Kolme aastaga on pikapäevarühmaga koolide arv suurenenud 36 võrra ja neis osalevate õpilastegi arv on pidevalt kasvanud (tabel 9). Pikapäevarühm aitab lapsel aega sisustada ja vähendab riski tänavale ja kuritegelikku maailma sattuda (tihti koolikohustuse mittetäitmise põhjustaja). Pikapäevarühmas valmistutakse järgmiseks koolipäevaks ja tehakse koos koduseid ülesandeid.

Tabel 9 **Pikapäevarühmi loonud koolide ja neis osalenud õpilaste arv^a, 2003–2006**

Table 9 *Number of schools with long day groups and number of students attending long day group^a, 2003–2006*

	2003	2004	2005	2006	
Koolide arv	420	445	466	456	Number of schools
Õpilaste arv	21 916	21 975	24 723	25 416	Number of students

^a Õppeaasta algus.

^a Year indicates the beginning of academic year.

Allikas: EHIS; Riigikontrolli arvutused, 2007.

Source: EHIS; calculations by National Audit Office, 2007.

Subjektivse heaolu teooriast lähtuvalt peab arvestama ka lapse rahuloluga. Probleemsete õpilastega tehtud süvaintervjuudest selgus, et laste arvates on parim viis probleemidega võidelda psühholoogi juurde saatmine. Koolid hindasid vastupidiselt psühholoogi abi tunduvalt tühisemaks näiteks tasandusklassist ja õpilaskodust. Õpilastele meeldib toetav suhe täiskasvanuga, nad hindavad vestlusi psühholoogi või psühhiaatriga, sest nemad oskavad toetada ja nõu anda. Veel arvasid õpilased, et kooliskäimist võiks meeldivamaks muuta sõbralikum kooliõhkkond, tugeva koolikorra rakendamine, paremad õpetajad jne. (Koolikohustuse ... 2007: 33, 36)

Alla 40-aastaseid õpetajaid oli vaid kolmandik

Õpetajaid oli koolides 2006. aastal ligi 15 000, neist meespedagooge vaid seitsmendik (tabel 10). Alla 40-aastaseid õpetajaid oli vaid ligi kolmandik. Õpilastega tehtud intervjuudest selgus, et nende arvates on hea õpetaja see, kes oskab õppeaine huvitavamaks muuta, õpetab tervet klassi, mitte ainult tarku lapsi, on järjepidev ja range, hindab õpilasi õiglaselt. Samuti võtab lastega midagi ette ka väljaspool õppekava ja vestleb peale õppeainetega seotud teemade ka muust, esindab laste huve ja saab neist aru, on usaldusväärne ja õpilastele eeskujuks (Koolikohustuse ... 2007: 32).

Tabel 10 Üldhariduskoolide pedagoogid vanuse ja soo järgi^a, 2006
Tabel 10 Pedagogical staff of general education schools by age and sex^a, 2006

Vanus	Kokku Total	Naised Females	Mehed Males	Age
Alla 25	428	341	87	Under 25
25–29	1 187	977	210	25–29
30–39	3 165	2 727	438	30–39
40–49	4 684	4 084	600	40–49
50–55	2 321	1 981	340	50–55
Üle 55	3 136	2 632	504	Over 55
Kokku	14 921	12 742	2 179	Total

^a Ei sisalda täiskasvanute gümnaasiume.

^a Does not include upper secondary schools for adults.

Allikas: EHIS, 2007.

Source: EHIS, 2007.

2006. aastal käis koolieelses laste-asutustes 1200 erivajadusega last

Oluliseks ühiskonna humaansuse ja kodanike suhtes hoolivuse näitajaks peetakse erivajadusega laste eest hoolitsemist, nendele õppimise ja huvitegevuse võimaldamist, püüet neid ühiskonda integreerida luues tervete lastega võrdsed võimalused. Erivajadusega laste kool peab eriti hoolitsema õpilaste heaolu eest neile abivahendite võimaldamise, õpilaste omavaheliste suhete jälgimise ning sõbraliku ja hariduse omandamist soodustava keskkonna loomise kaudu. See aitaks erivajadusega õpilastel enesehinnangut tõsta, ergutada neid aktiivsusele ja tegususele.

Lapse erivajadused ilmnevad juba enne kooli, seega on oluline pöörata sellistele lastele tähelepanu juba koolieelses lasteasutuses. 2006. aastal käis koolieelses lasteasutustes 1200 erivajadusega last, neist üheksandik erilasteaias (tabel 11). See arv ei hõlma aga kõiki lasteaias käinud erivajadusega lapsi, sest peale eri- ja tavalasteaia erirühmades käivate laste on üha enam erivajadusega lapsi veel sobitus- ja tavarühmas. Tervetega koos mängimine ja õppimine (kui lapse puue seda vähegi võimaldab) annab parema aluse edaspidises elus tervete inimeste seas toime tulla. Samuti on oluline, et ka terved lapsed näeksid endi hulgas juba varases lapsepõlves erivajadusega eakaaslasi, siis suhtuvad nad edaspidi sellistesse inimestesse sõbralikult ja abivalmilt. Erivajadusega ja tavalaste ühes rühmas käimine ei tohiks kindlasti põhjustada erivajaduse olemasolu ignoreerimist, sest ekspertide hinnangul on õigeaegse tegelemise korral võimalik erivajadusi kõrvaldada, ravida või leevendada. Praegu rakendatakse paljudele lastele tugisüsteeme liiga hilja (Erivajadustega ... 2006: 1).

Erivajadusega laste koole (k.a kasvatusraskustega laste koolid) oli 2006. aastal 46, neis käis ligi 4300 alla 18-aastast õpilast (tabel 11). Erivajadusega poisse on tüdrukutest tunduvalt rohkem. Uuringute tulemused näitavad, et mõõduka ja raske vaimupuudega laste puhul annavad paremaid tulemusi erivajadustega laste koolid, kuid normintellektiga erivajadusega lapsed saavutavad kõige paremaid tulemusi just tavakooli tavaklassis (Erivajadustega ... 2006: 1). Seega tuleb normintellektiga erivajadusega laste heaolu huvides toetada nende õppimist tavakoolis. Tavakooli eriklassides õpib kõikidest õpilastest alla ühe protsendi, tavaklassis on erivajadusega lapsi umbes üheksandik. See osatähtsus peegeldab vaid neid lapsi, kelle erivajadus on teada ja/või kellele rakendatakse tugisüsteeme.

Tabel 11 Erivajadusega laste õpe, 2000–2006
Table 11 Education of the children with special needs, 2000–2006

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	
Lasteaialapsed	1 864	1 675	1 515	1 487	1 426	1 400	1 217	Children in nursery schools
erilasteaias	232	253	171	211	193	180	135	in special nursery schools
tavalasteaia erirühmas	1 632	1 422	1 344	1 276	1 233	1 220	1 082	in special groups of regular nursery schools
Erivajadustega laste koolide õpilased ^b	5 677	5 719	5 596	5 467	5 400	4 551	4 252	Students in schools for children with special needs ^b

^b Alla 18-aastased.

^b Under the age of 18.

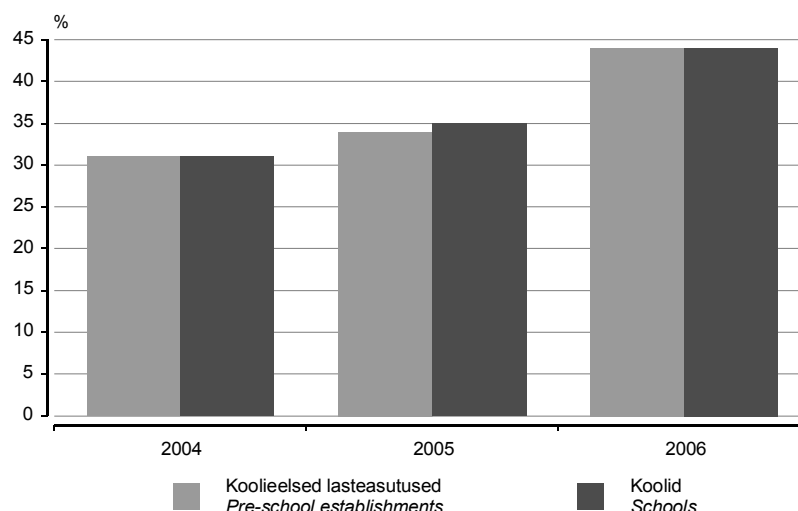
Allikas: Statistikaamet ja EHIS, 2007.

Source: Data of Statistics Estonia and EHIS, 2007.

Koolieelsetest lasteasutustest vastab tervisekaitse nõuetele vähem kui pool

Oluline laste heaolu indikaator on veel tervisekaitse nõuetele vastav töökeskkond. Sellele vastavate koolieelsete lasteasutuste ja koolide osatähtsus on kahe aastaga suurenenud, kuid siiski vastab nõuetele vaid vähem kui pool lasteasutustest. Lasteasutuste hügieeniline seisund on küll paranenud, kuid arenguruumi on veel küllaga. Põhilised tervisekaitse probleemid on seotud nõuetele mittevastava valgustuse ja mööbliga. On ka koole, kus ruumide koosseis ei vasta nõuetele (nt puudub võimla). (Haridus- ... 2007: 3)

Joonis 4 **Tervisekaitse nõuetele vastavad koolieelsed lasteasutused ja koolid, 2004–2006**
Figure 4 *Pre-school establishments and schools complying with health-protection requirements, 2004–2006*



Allikas: Tervisekaitseinspeksioon, 2007.
Source: Health Protection Inspectorate, 2007.

Laste heaolu mõõtmiseks on välja töötatud rahvusvaheline koondindeks. 2000–2003. aastal korraldatud PISA (*Program for International Student Assessment* — rahvusvaheline õpilaste õpitulemuslikkuse hindamise uuring) ja HBSC (*Health Behaviour in School-aged Children* — kooliõpilaste tervisekäitumise uuring) uuringu põhjal koostatud laste heaolu indeks võtab teiste tegurite seas arvesse ka haridust (Bradshaw jt 2006). Selle indeksi põhjal on laste heaolu kõrgeim Küprosel, Hollandis, Rootsis ja Taanis, kõige madalam aga kahjuks Balti riikides. Uuringust tuli muuhulgas välja, et enamikule Eesti lastele kool ei meeldi. Indeks võtab arvesse nii koolistressi kui ka seda, kas lastele meeldib kool. Selle järgi on Eesti laste heaolu koolis Euroopa Liidu halvim. Uuringu järgi on Eesti õpilased õnnetud ja stressis.

Noorukite tervist ja tervisekäitumist iseloomustavas osas esitatakse 2005/2006. õppeaastal Eesti koolides tehtud küsitlusuuringu andmeid. Saadud teave õpilaste elu ja koolikeskkonnaga rahulolu kohta viitab koolistressi vähenemisele ja üldise eluga rahulolu suurenemisele võrreldes 2001/2002. õppeaastaga, kuid ometi meeldib noorukitele veelgi vähem koolis käia.

Õpilaste tervise- ja riskikäitumine

Valdkonna iseloomustamisel on kasutatud igal neljandal aastal 11-, 13- ja 15-aastaste õpilaste hulgas tehtava rahvusvahelise kooliõpilaste tervisekäitumise uuringu (*Health Behaviour in School-aged Children*) andmeid Eesti kohta. Saamaks ülevaadet tervise ja tervisekäitumise trendidest viimastel aastatel võrreldakse 2001/2002. ja 2005/2006. õppeaasta uuringute tulemusi. Esimeses uuringus osales 36 ja teises 41 Euroopa ja Põhja-Ameerika riiki.

Tervisehinnang on oluline näitaja — sellega mõõdetakse õpilaste subjektiivset hinnangut oma tervisele. Üldiselt annavad nii 11-, 13- kui ka 15-aastased tüdrukud oma tervisele poistest madalama hinnangu. Vanusega suureneb oluliselt ka nende neidude osatähtsus, kes oma tervist halvaks hindavad. Võrreldes 2005/2006. aastat 2001/2002.-ga on kõikides vanusegruppides õpilaste hinnanguline tervise näitaja paranenud.

Tabel 12 **Rahuldava või halva tervisehinnanguga õpilased, 2001/2002 ja 2005/2006**
 Table 12 *Students with satisfactory or poor self-estimation on health, 2001/2002 and 2005/2006*
 (protsenti — percentage)

	2001/2002	2005/2006	
11-aastased	14,1	9,7	<i>At the age of 11</i>
13-aastased	16,8	11,7	<i>At the age of 13</i>
15-aastased	21,6	18,2	<i>At the age of 15</i>

Üha suuremat tähelepanu pööratakse ka noorte vaimsele tervisele. 2006. aasta uuringust selgus, et kõikide vanusegruppide tütarlastel esineb depressiooni poistest enam. 15-aastastel on näitaja kõrge: üle poole tüdrukutest kannatas depressiooni all, poistest veidi üle kolmandiku. Vanuse kasvades suureneb depressiooniepisoodide arv nii poiste kui ka tüdrukute hulgas. 2001/2002. õppeaastal uuringus selle kohta küsimust ei esitatud, kuid depressiooniga enim seotud tervisekaebuste (uinumisraskused, kõhuvalu) osatähtsus on võrreldes 2001/2002. aasta uuringuga suurenenud.

2006. aastal kannatas üle kolmandiku poistest uinumisraskuste all

Tavaliselt on tüdrukutel kõiki kaebusi poistest sagedamini. 2006. aasta uuringu järgi on erandina depressioonile viitavate kaebuste osatähtsus poiste hulgas suurem kui tüdrukutel. Uinumisraskusi oli poiste hulgas 32,5%, tüdrukutel 28,8%; kõhuvalu vastavalt 23% ja 20,3%. Tervisekäitumise oluline tegur on õpilaste söömisharjumused. Ühelt poolt on need seotud leibkonna majandusliku olukorra ja võimalustega, kuid olulisemad on siiski õpilaste valikud, näiteks kas süüa kartulikrõpse või puuvilju. Kõikide vanusegruppide tüdrukud söövad puuvilju rohkem, eriti suur on erinevus 15-aastaste hulgas: 2001. a kaks korda, 2006. a kolmandik rohkem. Võib arvata, et olenevalt vanuserühmast on tarbimise suurenemise (8–11%) põhjuseks teavitustöö kõrval ka paranenud majanduslik olukord, millega kaasneb leibkonna ostujõu kasv.

Enim tarbivaid magusaid jooke 13-aastased

Eestis, aga ka teistes Balti- ja Skandinaavia maades juuakse magusaid jooke palju vähem kui lõunapoolsetes riikides. Tarbimine jäi 2006. aastal 2001.-ga samale tasemele. Magusaid suhkrut sisaldavaid jooke iga päev joonud õpilaste osatähtsus oli 11-, 13- ja 15-aastaste vanusegrupis ka 2005/2006. aastal 9–12%, enim tarbisid magusaid jooke 13-aastased. Mõlemal uuringuaastal ja kõikides eagruppides tarbisid poisid magusaid jooke ligikaudu kaks korda rohkem kui tüdrukud.

2001/2002. õppeaastal oli Eestis ülekaalulisi või rasvunud poisse nii 13- kui ka 15-aastaste seas alla 10% ja tüdrukuid mõlemas vanuserühmas alla 5%. Eelmise uuringuga võrreldes suurenes 2006. aastal pisut ülekaaluliste osatähtsus: 13–15-aastaste poiste hulgas 3,8% ja tüdrukutel 1,7%. Ülekaalulisust esineb poistel tüdrukutest ligi kaks korda sagedamini. Laste ülekaalulisus ei ole Eestis veel nii suur probleem kui mujal maailmas. Näiteks USA-s on ülekaalulisi/rasvunud umbes 30%, selliste noorte osatähtsus on Eestist tunduvalt suurem ka Põhjamaades (Gröönimaa, Soome, Island), väiksem aga Lätis ja Leedus.

Nelja aasta jooksul suurenes 10% nende õpilaste osatähtsus, kes olid viimase seitsme päeva jooksul vähemalt neljal päeval vähemalt 60 minutit kehaliselt aktiivsed. See näitaja on seotud majandusliku olukorraga: mida parem see on, seda kõrgem oli vastanute kehalise aktiivsuse näitaja.

Tabel 13 **Viimases seitsmest päevast vähemalt neljal tund aega kehaliselt aktiivsed olnud õpilased, 2001–2006**
 Table 13 *Students having been physically active for at least an hour during four or more days within the past 7 days, 2001–2006*
 (protsenti — percentage)

	2001/2002	2005/2006	
11-aastased	51,6	61,9	<i>At the age of 11</i>
13-aastased	46,3	54,0	<i>At the age of 13</i>
15-aastased	42,6	49,5	<i>At the age of 15</i>

Riskikäitumine

Tervisehinnangut mõjutab tervisekäitumine, see seostub nii kehalise aktiivsuse, toitumise, regulaarse tervisekontrolli kui ka riskikäitumisega (suitsetamine, alkoholi ja narkootikumide tarbimine jms).

Suitsetamine kahjustab tervist oluliselt. Regulaarseks suitsetajaks loetakse õpilane, kes suitsetab vähemalt korra nädalas.

Tabel 14 **Vähemalt kord nädalas suitsetajad vanuse järgi, 2001–2006**
Table 14 *Children smoking at least once a week by age, 2001–2006*
(protsenti — percentage)

	2001/2002	2005/2006	
11-aastased	2,6	1,1	At the age of 11
13-aastased	10,4	9,0	At the age of 13
15-aastased	24,3	22,6	At the age of 15

Regulaarne suitsetamine on õpilaste hulgas pisut vähenenud, ent rõõmustamiseks ei ole põhjust. Mida nooremalt suitsetama hakatakse, seda rohkem mõjutab see tervist. Seega on regulaarse suitsetamise kõrval oluline vaadelda ka iga, mil suitsetatakse esimene sigaret.

2006. aastal oli 15-aastaste tüdrukute seas esimest korda 13-aastaselt või varem suitsetanud 43%

Tuleb tõdeda, et esimene sigaret suitsetatakse (eriti tüdrukud) üha nooremas eas: kui 2001/2002. aastal oli 15-aastaste tüdrukute seas 13-aastaselt või varem esimese suitsu tõmmanute osatähtsus 39%, siis 2005/2006. aastal juba 43%. Poiste puhul suurenes 13-aastaselt või varem suitsu proovinute osatähtsus vaid ühe protsendipunkti — 64%-st 65%-ni. Selle näitaja poolest on Eesti uuringus osalenud maade hulgas esikohal.

2006. aastal tarbis igal nädalal alkoholi üle 1/4 poistest ja 1/5 tüdrukutest

Alkoholjooke tarvitavad noormehed neidudest aktiivsemalt. Regulaarne alkoholi tarbimine (vähemalt kord nädalas) on nelja aasta jooksul pisut vähenenud, langenud on ka Eesti koht teiste maade hulgas. Siiski tarbis 2006. aastal 15-aastastest poistest üle 1/4 ja tüdrukutest ligi 1/5 vähemalt korra nädalas alkoholi.

Purjujoomise sagedus suurenes Eesti 13-aastaste hulgas 2001/2002. ja 2005/2006. õppeaasta vahel paar protsenti. 2006. aastal oli 13-aastastest viiendik purjus olnud vähemalt kaks korda ja selle näitaja poolest on Eesti 41 uuringus osalenud riigi seas kolmas.

Teiste riikidega võrreldes ei ole Eestis probleem mitte regulaarne alkoholi tarbimine, vaid sagedane purjujoomine. Eriti murelikuks teeb asjaolu, et nelja aastaga on purjujoojad üha nooremad. 13-aastaselt või varem esimest korda purjus olnute osatähtsus suurenes 15-aastaste hulgas 3–4%, olles poiste seas 35%, tüdrukutel aga 21%. Nende näitajatega on Eesti riikide pingerea eesotsas.

Tabel 15 **13-aastaselt või varem esimest korda purjus olnud 15-aastaste hulgas, 2001–2006**
Table 15 *Children who were drunk for the first time at the age of 13 or earlier among children aged 15, 2001–2006*
(protsenti — percentage)

	2001/2002	2005/2006	
Poisid	32	35	Boys
Tüdrukud	17	21	Girls

Alkoholi tarbimise või purjujoomisega seostuvad või seda soodustavad tegurid on: usaldussuhte puudumine vanemate, eriti emaga; halvad suhted perekonnas; peres ei ole ema või isa; perekonna struktuur (peres kasuvanem); suur eakaaslaste arv vaba aja seltskonnas; vanemad sõbrad; koolitöö pingelisus, halb õppeedukus; kiusamine ja kiusatud olemine; hinnang oma tervisele rahuldav või väga halb; suitsetamine; varajane seksuaalsuhe; depressioon.

Vesipiibu on proovinud üle kolmandiku õpilastest

Uus ja viimaste aastatega ka Eestisse jõudnud riskitegur on vesipiibu tõmbamine. Seda oli 2005/2006. õppeaasta küsitlustulemuste järgi proovinud 36% õpilastest, sealhulgas 42% poistest ja 29% tüdrukutest.

Vesipiibu teeb ohtlikuks vanemate leebe, mõnikord isegi soosiv suhtumine sellesse. Tuleb arvestada, et kui tekib harjumus midagi sisse tõmmata, siis see süveneb ja praegusest vesipiibu tõmbajast saab tulevikus suure tõenäosusega tavasuitsetaja.

Rahvusvaheliselt hinnatakse narkootiliste ainete tarvitamist kanepi kasutamise järgi, sest üldjuhul alustatakse tutvust narkootikumidega just sellest. Viimastel aastatel on noorukite seas kanepi populaarsus suurenenud: nii 15-aastaste poiste kui ka tüdrukute hulgas on vähemalt korra kanepit proovinute osatähtsus nelja aastaga 7–8% suurenenud.

Samasugune tendents ilmnes ka viimasel 12 kuul kanepit tarbinute hulgas. See näitaja oli 2001/2002. õppeaastal 15-aastaste poiste puhul 18% ja sama vanadel tüdrukutel 11%.

**Viidendik 15-aastastest
tüdrukutest on olnud
seksuaalvahekorras**

2005/2006. õppeaastaks oli see näitaja 15-aastaste seas suurenenud — poistel 24%-ni ja tüdrukutel 14%-ni.

Seksuaalkäitumine on tihedalt seotud riskikäitumisega, eriti purjusoleku ja kanepi suitsetamisega. Et purjusolek ja kanepi tarvitamine on nii tüdrukute kui ka poiste hulgas suurenenud, siis ootuspäraselt kasvas 2006. aastal võrreldes aastaga 2001 seksuaalvahekorras olnute osatähtsus. 2006. aastal oli 15-aastastest poistest seksuaalvahekorras olnud 23% ja tüdrukutest 20%. Aastal 2001 olid arvud vastavalt 20% ja 16%.

Positiivne õhkkond koolis seostub parema tervisega ja on riskikäitumise (suitsetamine, alkoholi ja narkootikumide tarbimine) kaitsetegur. Eesti laste hulgas on kooliga rahulolu eriti madal. 2006. aastal meeldis väga koolis käia vaid 15%-le 11-aastastest, 8%-le 13-aastastest ja 6%-le 15-aastastest. Eelmise uuringuga võrreldes on olukord veelgi halvenenud ja Eesti on selle näitajaga osalenud maade hulgas viimane.

Keskmiselt 12–15 protsendipunkti on tõusnud nende õpilaste osatähtsus, kes arvavad, et õpetaja hinnang nende edukusele koolis on hea või väga hea. Kõikides vanusegruppides arvas üle poole õpilastest (11-aastaste hulgas üle 60%), et õpetaja hinnang edasijõudmisele on kas hea või väga hea. Kuigi 2006. aasta uuringu järgi on õpetaja hinnang nooruki edukusele paranenud, jäävad Eesti 11- ja 13- aastased õpilased siiski osalenud maade hulgas viimasesse kolmandikku, 15-aastaste hulgas aga keskmiste hulka.

Suurem koolist tulenev stress seostub madala tervisehinnangu, suurema tervisekaebuste arvu ja madala eluga rahulolu hindega. 2006. aasta uuringu järgi vähenes koolistressi konstateerinud õpilaste arv tunduvalt. Positiivse nihke põhjus on ilmselt taasiseseisvumise järgse koolireformi teostumine ja õppesüsteemi stabiliseerumine Eestis. Kooli sisekliimat iseloomustab õpilase hinnang sellele, kuidas ta tunneb kaasõpilaste sotsiaalset toetust. Mainituga on seotud õpilase enesetunnetus, toimetulek koolistressiga, tervisekaebuste sagedus, koolikiusamine ja üldine psühhosotsiaalne heaolu.

Võrreldes 2005/2006. õppeaastat 2001/2002.-ga on 13- ja 15-aastaste õpilaste hinnangul kooli psühhosotsiaalne kliima paranenud. Eestis arvavad sagedamini tüdrukud, et klassikaaslased on lahked ja abivalmid.

Suurt tähelepanu on viimasel ajal pälvinud koolikiusamine, millel võivad mõnikord olla väga traagilised tagajärjed. Üldiselt on kiusatute hulgas rohkem poisse. 2005/2006. õppeaastal suurenes kiusatute osatähtsus eelkõige 11-aastaste õpilaste hulgas. Tendents oli poistel ja tüdrukutel enam-vähem sama. Ka 13-aastaste hulgas suurenes 2006. aastal pisut kiusatute osatähtsus, see oli märgatav eelkõige tüdrukute puhul.

Tabel 16 Viimase kahe kuu jooksul vähemalt 2–3 korda kiusatud noorukid, 2001–2006

Tabel 16 Youngsters who have been bullied by other students at least on 2–3 occasions within the past two months, 2001–2006
(protsenti — percentage)

	2001/2002	2005/2006	
11-aastased	22,0	29,2	<i>At the age of 11</i>
13-aastased	20,6	22,9	<i>At the age of 13</i>
15-aastased	13,2	13,5	<i>At the age of 15</i>

Rahvusvahelises kooliõpilaste tervisekäitumise uuringus andsid õpilased 10 palli süsteemis hinnangu ka oma eluga rahulolule (0 — halvim hinnang, 10 — parim hinnang). Õpilaste üldine rahulolu oma eluga on viimastel aastatel suurenenud. Selle põhjuseks võib olla 2005/2006. aastal kulmineerunud majanduskasv Eestis. Võib arvata, et suurem sissetulek andis lisavõimalusi vaba aja veetmiseks, toidulaua mitmekesistamiseks ja vähendas majandusraskustest tekkivaid pingeid perekonnas. Kõik need tegurid suurendavad nooruki heaolu ja turvatunnet.

Tabel 17 **Keskmisest rohkem eluga rahul olnud õpilased, 2001–2006**
 Table 17 **Students with above-average satisfaction with their life, 2001–2006**
 (protsenti — percentage)

	2001/2002	2005/2006	
11-aastased	81,4	90,0	At the age of 11
13-aastased	79,1	85,9	At the age of 13
15-aastased	69,7	82,2	At the age of 15

Kirjandus

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ALAEALISTE ÕIGUSRIKKUMISED

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Peatükis käsitletakse alaealiste poolt ning nende vastu toime pandud õigusrikkumisi. Andmeallikas on ametlik statistika alaealiste süütegude ja neid toime pannud isikute kohta ning nende ohvrikslangemist ja õigusrikkumisi käsitletud uuringud. Alaealisena käsitletakse süütegude statistikas isikut, kes oli teo toimepanemise hetkel noorem kui 18-aastane.

Alaealiste toime pandud süüteod

Karistusseadustiku järgi saab alaealist väär- või kuriteo eest vastutusele võtta juhul, kui ta oli selle toimepanemise ajal vähemalt 14-aastane. Kui õigusvastase teo sooritab noorem isik, menetlust ei alustata või see lõpetatakse ning edastatakse materjalid alaealiste komisjonile. Kuriteod ja isikud jäetakse statistikas arvele. Kui leitakse, et alaealist on võimalik mõjutada karistust või mõjutusvahendit kohaldamata, võidakse menetlus lõpetada ka 14–18-aastase puhul ning suunata materjalid alaealiste komisjoni. Kohus võib isiku karistusest vabastada ja rakendada hoiatust, käitumiskontrollile allutamist või erikooli paigutamist. Õigusvastase teo eest saab alaealise mõjutusvahendite seaduses ettenähtud vahendeid kasutada 7–18-aastase isiku puhul.

Enne karistusseadustiku jõustumist 1. septembril 2002 kehtis kriminaalkoodeks ja haldusõigusrikkumiste seadustik. Selle kohaselt algas kriminaalvastutus enamiku kuriteoliikide puhul 15-, mõnel puhul 13-aastaselt (rasked isikuvastased kuriteod, salajane ja avalik vargus, röövimine, ärandamine). Haldusõigusrikkumiste (praeguses mõistes väärtegu) eest algas vastutus üldjuhul samuti 15-, mõnel juhul 13-aastaselt (pisivargus, avalikus kohas joobnuna viibimine).

Alaealiste sooritatud süütegude (väär- ja kuritegude) kirjeldamisel saab kasutada vaid politseis registreeritud ning lahendatud juhtumite andmeid, s.t neid, mille puhul on teo toimepanija(te) vanus teada. Seega ei kajasta andmestik kõiki toimepandud süütegusid.^a Tuleb ka arvestada, et eri liiki õigusrikkumiste puhul on neist teatamise aktiivsus ja lahendatud juhtumite osatähtsus erinev. Seetõttu ei kajasta ametlik statistika alaealiste õigusrikkumiste tegelikku struktuuri täpselt.^b

Alaealiste poolt ja nende vastu toime pandud õigusrikkumiste andmestik pole aastate 2000–2006 kohta järjepidev, sest seadusi on oluliselt muudetud, samuti ka süütegude ja neid sooritanud isikute arvestamise meetodikat ning andmebaase. Andmed pole kogu perioodi ulatuses korrektselt võrreldavad, eriti aga aastatel 2002–2003, sest

- 1.09.2002 jõustus karistusseadustik, muutusid kuritegude definitsioonid ja kriminaalvastutuse iga. Seetõttu ei saa andmeid alates 2003. aastast võrrelda 2002. ja varasemate aastatega;
- 2002. aastal muutus politseis arvestussüsteem, mistõttu ei ole 2002. ja 2003. aasta andmed täpselt võrreldavad järgmistega;
- 1.07.2004 jõustus kriminaalmenetluse seadustik, mille järgi kohustub politsei kehalise väärkohtlemise juhtumeid uurima ka kannatanu avalduse puudumisel (varem pidi kannatanu üldjuhul ise kohtu poole pöörduma, kuid pöördumised politseistatistikas ei kajastunud). Sellest tulenevalt on niisuguste kuritegude registreerimine seadustiku jõustumise järel tunduvalt suurenenud.

^a Siin vaadeldakse vaid politseis registreeritud süütegusid, sest teised menetlejad registreerivad alaealiste süütegusid vähe ning nende kohta ühtne andmestik puudub. Lihtsuse huvides kasutatakse väljendit "alaealiste toime pandud", kuid siinjuures mõeldakse vaid neid juhtumeid, kus teo toimepanija on teada.

^b Lahendamise mõistet kasutatakse vaid kuritegude puhul. Tuleb arvestada, et alati ei tarvitse kuriteokahtlustus kohtus kinnitust leida.

Enamik alaealiste registreeritud süütegudest on väärteod

Alaealiste õigusrikkumiste arvu kasvu pärast 2003. aastat võib peale nimetatud tegurite teataval määral seostada sellega, et õiguskaitseasutused pööravad endisest enam tähelepanu alaealiste õigusrikkumistele ning ennetustööle.^a

Alaealiste toime pandud registreeritud süütegudest hõlmavad valdava osa väärteod (alkoholi tarbimine, suitsetamine, avaliku korra rikkumine) — 2006. aastal registreeriti 24 075 väärtegu ja tehti kindlaks 3313 kuritegu. Väärteod hõlmasid 88% kõigist alaealiste süütegudest. Alaealiste süüteod hõlmasid samal aastal 12% kõigist väärtegudest ja lahendatud kuritegudest ning see näitaja on viimastel aastatel olnud samas suurusjärgus nii kuri- kui ka väärtegude puhul.

Tabel 1 Alaealiste toime pandud süüteod, 2000–2006
Table 1 Offences committed by minors, 2000–2006

	Kuriteod <i>Criminal offences</i>		Väärteod <i>Misdemeanours</i>	
	Arv <i>Number</i>	Osatähtsus lahendatud kuritegudes <i>Percentage of cleared criminal offences</i>	Arv <i>Number</i>	Osatähtsus kõigis väärtegudes <i>Percentage of all misdemeanours</i>
2000	2 301	12,8	x	x
2001	2 206	11,6	x	x
2002	2 400	13,3	x	x
2003	2 358	11,6	x	x
2004	3 201	13,4	22 014	11,1
2005	3 768	13,5	23 572	11,9
2006	3 313	12,3	24 075	11,7

Allikas: Politseiamet.
Source: Police Board.

Alaealiste väärtegudest hõlmasid 2006. aastal 64% alkoholi- ja tubakaseaduse rikkumised. Üksikutest väärteoliikidest registreeriti 2006. aastal kõige enam alkoholjookide (33%) ja tubakatoode tarvitamist (20%) ning mootorsõiduki juhtimist juhtimisõiguseta (8%).

Enamlevinud väärteoliikide puhul oli alaealiste toime pandud väärtegude osatähtsus suurim (jättes kõrvale vaid alaealisi puudutavad väärteod) jalakäija või muu liikleja liiklusnõuete rikkumistes (20%), järgnesid pisivargused (17%) ja avaliku korra rikkumised (15%).

Tabel 2 Alaealiste toime pandud väärtegude struktuur, 2006
Table 2 Type-specific structure of misdemeanours committed by minors, 2006

	Arv <i>Number</i>	%	
Alkoholiseaduse (AS) rikkumised	8 898	37,0	<i>Violations of the Alcohol Act (AA)</i>
Tubakaseaduse (TS) rikkumised	6 503	27,0	<i>Violations of the Tobacco Act (ToA)</i>
Liiklusseaduse (LS) rikkumised	5 427	22,5	<i>Violations of the Traffic Act (TrA)</i>
Karistusseadustiku (KarS) rikkumised	2 301	9,6	<i>Violations of the Penal Code (PC)</i>
Liikluskindlustuse seaduse (LKS) rikkumised	478	2,0	<i>Violations of the Motor Third Party Liability Insurance Act (MTPLIA)</i>
Narkootiliste ja psühhotroopsete ainete seaduse (NPAS) rikkumised	355	1,5	<i>Violations of the Act on Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances (ANDPS)</i>
Muud väärteod	113	0,5	<i>Other misdemeanours</i>
KOKKU	24 075	100,0	<i>TOTAL</i>

Allikas: Politseiamet.
Source: Police Board.

^a Justiits- ja siseminister leppisid 2005. aasta augustis kokku prokuratuuri ja politsei ühistes prioriteetides, mille hulgas oli ka tähelepanu pööramine alaealiste ning nende suhtes toime pandud kuritegevusega võitlusele (nn Laulasmaa deklaratsioon, <http://www.just.ee/15087>).

Tabel 3 **Sagedasemad alaealiste toime pandud väärteod, 2006**
Table 3 *More frequent misdemeanours committed by minors, 2006*

Väärteo liik	Seadus ja paragrahv <i>Act and section</i>	Alaealiste toime pandud väärteod <i>Misdemeanours committed by minors</i>	Osatähtsus kõigis seda liiki väärtegudes <i>Percentage of all similar misdemeanours</i>	Type of misdemeanour
Alkoholjoogi tarbimine	AS § 71	8 036	x	Consumption of alcoholic beverages by minors
Tubakatoote tarvitamine	TS § 47	4 878	x	Consumption of tobacco products by minors
Mootorsõiduki või trammi juhtimine (juhtimisõigusega isik)	LS § 74 ¹	1 954	13	Driving of motor vehicle or tram by person without right to drive
Liiklusnõuete rikkumine (jalakäija või muu liikleja)	LS § 74 ³⁶	1 700	20	Violation of traffic requirements by pedestrian or other road user
Tubakatoote omandamine ja omamine	TS § 48	1 528	x	Acquisition or possession of tobacco products by minor
Avaliku korra rikkumine	KaS § 262	1 209	15	Breach of public order
Varavastane süütegu väheväärtusliku asja ja varalise õiguse vastu	KaS § 218	908	17	Offences against property involving objects or proprietary rights of small value
Alkoholjoogi tarbimine avalikus kohas või joobnuna sinna ilmumine	AS § 70	733	3	Consumption of alcoholic beverages in public places or appearance in public places while intoxicated
Liiklusnõuete muu rikkumine (mootorsõiduki- või trammijuht)	LS § 74 ³⁵	525	2	Other violation of traffic requirements by driver of motor vehicle or tram
Liikluskindlustuslepingu ja poliisita sõiduki juhtimine	LKS § 66 ¹	473	4	Driving motor vehicle without motor third party liability insurance contract and policy
Tehnoõlevaatust mitteläbinud mootorsõiduki juhtimine	LS § 74 ⁷	355	2	Driving motor vehicle which has not passed roadworthiness tests
Narkootilise või psühhotroopse aine ebaseaduslik käitlemine väikeses koguses	NPAS § 15 ¹	355	7	Unlawful handling of small quantities of narcotic drugs or psychotropic substances
Mootorsõiduki või trammi juhtimine joobeseisundis	LS § 74 ¹⁹	295	2	Driving motor vehicle or a tram in state of intoxication

Allikas: Politseiamet.
Source: Police Board.

Alaealiste toime pandud kuritegude seas on aastaid domineerinud vargused ja muud varavastased kuriteod. 2006. aastal hõlmasid varavastased kuriteod 65% alaealiste kuritegudest, järgnesid avaliku rahu (13%), isiku- (11%) ja avaliku usalduse vastased (6%) ning muud liiki kuriteod (6%).

Valdav osa alaealiste toime pandud kuritegudest on vargused

Üksikutest kuriteoliikidest olid esikohal vargused (45% alaealiste toime pandud kuritegudest), järgnesid kehaline väärkohtlemine (9%), avaliku korra raske rikkumine (9%) ja asja omavoliline kasutamine (5%).

2006. aastal oli alaealiste sooritatud kuritegude osatähtsus kõigis lahendatud kuritegudes enamlevinud kuriteoliikide puhul suurim tähtsa isikliku dokumendi kuritarvitamisel (50%). Peamiselt oli tegu katsega näidata end täisealisena, et saada sisse meelelahutusasutusse. Järgnesid sõiduki omavoliline kasutamine (46%), sõidukivargus (36%) ja röövimine (30%).

Tabel 4 Sagedasemad alaealiste toime pandud kuriteod, 2006
Table 4 More frequent criminal offences committed by minors, 2006

	Karistus- seadustiku paragrahv	Alaealiste toime pandud lahendatud kuriteod	Osatähtsus kõigis seda liiki lahendatud kuritegudes	
	Section of the Penal Code	Cleared offences committed by minors	Percentage of all similar cleared offences	
Rikkumised kokku	..	3 303	12	Total number of offences
Vargus	199	1 492	16	Larceny
kaubandusettevõttest	199	393	11	from commercial enterprise
eluruumist	199	259	17	from dwelling
mobiiltelefonivargus	199	205	27	of mobile phone
sõidukist	199	162	23	from vehicles
sõidukivargus	199	81	36	of vehicles
metallivargus (sh elektriliini)	199	78	18	of metal (including power lines)
jalgrattavargus	199	53	22	of bicycle
Kehaline väärkohtlemine	121	307	11	Physical abuse
Avaliku korra raske rikkumine	263	285	27	Aggravated breach of public order
Asja omavoliline kasutamine	215	179	44	Unauthorised use of thing
sõiduki omavoliline kasutamine	215	133	46	unauthorised use of vehicle
Kelmus	209	147	11	Fraud
Tähtsa isikliku dokumendi kuri- tarvitamine	349	129	50	Fraudulent use of important identity documents
Röövimine	200	127	30	Robbery
Omavoliline sissetung	266	81	20	Illegal entry
Narkokuriteod	183–190	71	8	Drug offences
Omastamine	201	68	7	Embezzlement
Kuriteo toimepanemisega saadud vara omandamine, hoidmine ja turustamine	202	66	21	Acquisition, storage or marketing of property received through commission of criminal offence
Mootorsõiduki juhtimine joobeseisundis (korduv)	424	36	1	Driving while intoxicated (recurrent)
Väljapressimine	214	27	22	Extortion
Muud kuriteod	x	288	x	Other criminal offences

Allikas: Politseiamet.
Source: Police Board.

Perioodil 2000–2006 registreeriti vargusi ja röövimisi kõige enam aastal 2005, pärast seda on nende arv vähenenud. Alates 2004. aasta teisest poolest on kriminaalmenetluse seadustiku jõustumise tõttu märgatavalt suurenenud kehalise väärkohtlemise juhtumite arv ja osatähtsus. Selgelt sagenesid ka avaliku usalduse vastased kuriteod (enamasti tähtsa isikliku dokumendi kuritarvitamine).

Alaealisi kahtlustatavaid oli viimastel aastatel kõigist kuritegudes kahtlustatavatest 10–12%, kuid varavastaste kuritegude puhul oli nende osatähtsus märgatavalt suurem (2006. aastal 21%). Kuriteos kahtlustatavate alaealiste arv oli tunduvalt väiksem kui nende toime pandud kuritegude arv, sest osa sooritas aasta jooksul mitu kuritegu.

Tabel 5 Kuriteo toimepanemises kahtlustatavad alaealised, 2000–2006^a
Table 5 Minors suspected of criminal offences, 2000–2006^a

	Alaealiste kahtlustatavate arv	Osatähtsus kõigis kahtlustatavates
	Number of minor suspects	Percentage of all persons suspected of a criminal offence
2000	1 920	14,4
2001	2 068	15,4
2002	943	9,8
2003	895	8,2
2004	1 415	10,1
2005	1 712	10,5
2006	2 032	11,3

^a Seaduste ja politsei arvestussüsteemi muudatuste tõttu pole kõigi aastate andmed võrreldavad.

^a In connection with changes in legislation and police record-keeping system the data of some years are not comparable.

Allikas: Politseiamet.
Source: Police Board.

**Kuritegudes
kahtlustatavaid
alaealisi on enim
16–17-aastaste seas**

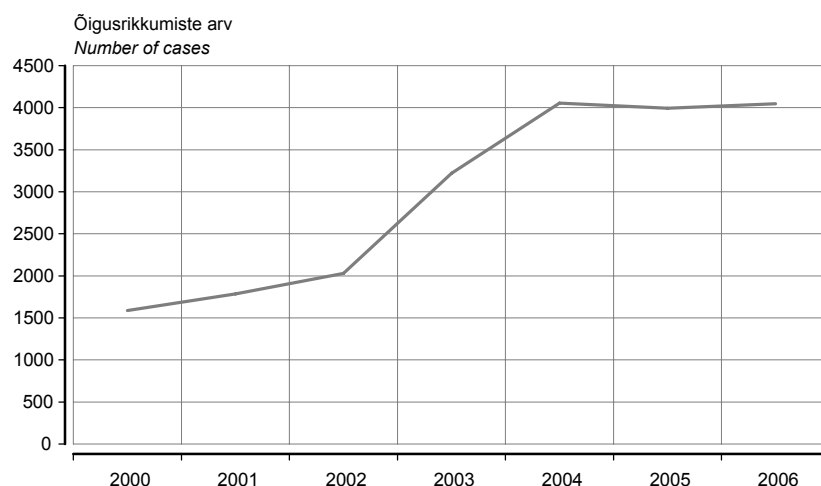
Kuritegudes kahtlustatavaist alaealistest hõlmavad ülekaaluka osa poisid vanuses 16–17 (2006. aastal 84%). Suur osa alaealiste kuritegudest on toime pandud grupis (2006. aastal enam kui 60%), neist enamuse moodustasid vargused, sealhulgas vargused sõidukitest.

Alaealiste kahtlustatavate puhul püütakse võimalusel vältida täispikka kriminaalmenetlust ning suunata asi arutamiseks alaealiste komisjoni või lahendada see kokkuleppe-menetlusega. 2006. aastal tegi prokuratuur lõpliku menetlusotsuse^a 2332 alaealise kahtlustatava kohta, kohtusse saadeti neist 1040 (45%). Teiste kriminaalmenetlus lõpetati otstarbekuse kaalutlustel^b. Kõigist alaealistest kahtlustatavatest suunati alaealiste komisjoni 36%, kokkuleppemenetlust kohaldati 22%-le ning menetlus lõpetati avaliku menetlushuvi puudumise tõttu 15% juhtudest.

2006. aastal suunati noori alaealiste komisjoni kõige sagedamini alla 14-aastasena toime pandud väärteokoosseisule vastava õigusvastase teo tõttu (34%), sellele järgnes koolikohustuse mittetäitmine (22%) ja 14–18-aastasena toime pandud kuritegu (20%) (Eesti ... 2008). 2006. aastal saadeti alaealiste komisjoni 566 kuriteo toimepanijat, kes olid sooritanud 699 kuritegu — seega pandi osa alaealistest toime mitu kuritegu.

Väär- ja kuritegude tõttu alaealiste komisjoni suunatud noored on kõige sagedamini varastanud, ligikaudu pooltel juhtudel piirdus kahju kuni saja krooniga (kommi- või mänguasjavargus kauplusest) (Tiko ja Rannala 2006). Aastatel 2000–2006 komisjoni suunatud alaealistest olid keskmiselt kolm neljandikku poisid (2006. aastal 73%).

Joonis 1 **Alaealiste õigusrikkumised alaealiste komisjonis, 2000–2006**
Figure 1 *Hearings of juvenile offences in juvenile committees, 2000–2006*



Allikas: Eesti Noorsootöö Keskus.
Source: *Estonian Youth Work Centre*.

Alaealiste komisjonid kohaldavad mõjutusvahendina kõige sagedamini hoiatust (2006. aastal 48%), üldkasulikke tööd (18%) ja spetsialisti juurde vestlusele suunamist (17%). Võrreldes 2000ndate algusega on suurenenud hoiatuse ja üldkasuliku töö ning vähenenud koolikorralduslike mõjutusvahendite osatähtsus.

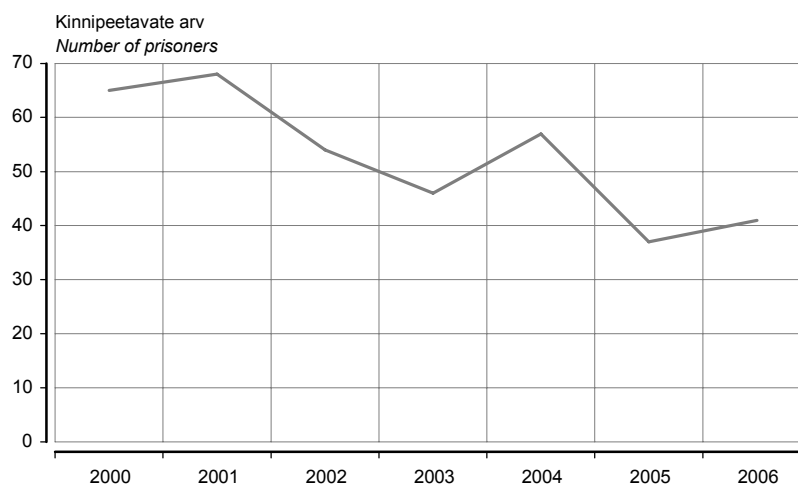
2005. aastal mõisteti jõustunud kohtuotsuse järgi süüdi ligi 700 alaealist, kellest 53% vabastati tingimisi karistusest, kuid kes pidid alluma käitumiskontrollile (KarS § 74, peamiselt oli tegu varem kohtulikult karistamata isikutega). Reaalne vangistus määrati 19%-le, karistuse kandmisest vabastati koos mõjutusvahendite kohaldamisega (§ 87) 18%, rahalise karistuse sai 4% süüdimõistetest. Karistusest tingimisi vabastamist (§ 73) ja selle asendamist üldkasuliku tööga (§ 69) kohaldati 3%-le alaealistele. Reaalse vangistuse kestuseks määrati pooltel juhtudel vähem kui aasta. Poiste osatähtsus oli süüdimõistetute hulgas 93%. (Alaealiste ... 2006)

^a Saatis isiku kohtusse või lõpetas kriminaalmenetluse.

^b Kriminaalmenetluse seadustiku § 201 (materjalide saatmine alaealiste komisjonile), § 202 (kriminaalmenetluse lõpetamine avaliku menetlushuvi puudumise korral ja kui süü ei ole suur) ja § 203 (kriminaalmenetluse lõpetamine karistuse ebaotstarbekuse tõttu).

Vanglas viibis 2006. aasta lõpul 41 alaealist, enamik neist 17-aastased poisid. 93% alaealistest kinnipeetavatest kandis vanglakaristust varavastaste ja 7% isikuvastaste kuritegude eest. Alaealiste kinnipeetavate arv oli kõige suurem 2001. aastal (68), viimastel aastatel on see vähenenud muud liiki mõjutusvahendite ulatuslikuma kohaldamise tõttu. Varem kuritegude eest karistatud oli alaealiste kinnipeetavate seas keskmiselt 15%, retsidiivsus oli suurem varavastaste süütegude toimepanijate seas.

Joonis 2 **Alaealised kinnipeetavad vanglates, 2000–2006**
 Figure 2 **Minor imprisoned persons in prisons, 2000–2006**
 (aasta lõpul — at the end of the year)



Allikas: Justiitsministeerium.
 Source: Ministry of Justice.

Alaealiste kriminaalhooldusaluste arv ja osatähtsus oli pärast kriminaalhoolduse loomist (1998) suurim 2000. aastal, kuid vähenes seejärel, sest alaealiste kriminaalkaristuse asemel hakati rohkem kasutama alternatiivseid mõjutusvahendeid.

Tabel 6 **Alaealised kriminaalhooldusalused, 2000–2006**
 Table 6 **Minor probationers, 2000–2006**

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	
Arv	815	771	645	624	459	384	375	Number
Osatähtsus	13	11	10	9	6	5	5	Proportion

Allikas: Justiitsministeerium.
 Source: Ministry of Justice.

2006. aasta lõpul oli kriminaalhoolduse all 375 alaealist, kellest 318 (85%) olid poisid. 54 noort oli varem kriminaalkorras karistatud. Varavastaseid süütegusid sooritas 306, avaliku rahu ja isikuvastaseid süütegusid vastavalt 71 ja 51 isikut (osa neist pani toime eri liiki kuritegusid).

Alaealisevastased süüteod

Alaealiste vastu toime pandud süütegude kohta tervikülevaadet ei ole, sest eeldatavalt kõige levinumaid alaealisi puudutavaid vara- (isiklike esemete vargused, röövimised) ja isikuvastaseid kuritegusid (kehaline väärkohtlemine) karistusseadustikus ei eristata, samas puuduvad kannatanute kohta täielikud andmed. Väärtegude puhul (nt pisivargused) kannatanute kohta andmeid ei koguta.

Karistusseadustikus eristatakse alaealisi kannatanuid vaid üksikute ning üsna harva esinevate kuriteoliikide puhul: seksuaalse enesemääramise vastased, alaealise prostitutsiooniga seotud kuriteod jm. Seega saab statistikat esitada vaid viimaste kohta. Samas võib arvata, et niisugustest kuritegudest teatatakse politseile delikaatse olemuse tõttu keskmisest vähem ning tegelikult pannakse neid toime mitu korda rohkem kui registreeritakse.

Alaealisi puudutavad kuriteod jagunevad karistusseadustikus kaheks peamiseks rühmaks: alaealise vastu toime pandud seksuaalse enesemääramise vastased kuriteod (§-d 141–146) ja süüteod (§-d 175–182).

2006. aastal registreeriti 192 seksuaalse enesemääramise vastast kuritegu^a (sh 62 sugulise kire rahuldamist lapseealisega ja 57 alaealise vägistamist) ning 148 alaealisevastast kuritegu (sh 66 alaealise kaasamist kuriteo toimepanemisse). Teistest alaealiste huve kahjustavatest kuritegudest registreeriti sagedamini lapse ülalpidamiskohustuse rikkumist (§ 169) ning narkootilise või psühhotropse aine andmist alaealisele (§ 185) — 2006. aastal vastavalt 248 ja 53.

Eespool kirjeldatud probleemide tõttu statistikas ei saa alaealisevastaseid kuritegusid aastatel 2000–2006 täpsemalt analüüsida.

Tabel 7 Alaealisi puudutavad registreeritud kuriteod^b, 2006
Table 7 Minor-related registered criminal offences^b, 2006

	KarSi paragrahv Penal Code	Arv Number	
Lapse ülalpidamiskohustuse rikkumine	169	248	Violation of obligation to provide maintenance to child
Alaealise kaasamine kuriteo toimepanemisse	181	66	Involving minor in commission of criminal offence
Sugulise kire rahuldamine lapseealisega (alla 14-aastasega)	146	62	Satisfaction of sexual desire with child (against a person of less than 14 years of age)
Vägistamine (alla 18-aastase)	141 lg 2 p 1	57	Rape (against a person of less than 18 years of age)
Narkootilise ja psühhotropse aine edasiandmine alla 18-aastasele	185	53	Providing of narcotic drugs or psychotropic substances to persons of less than 18 years of age
Sugulise kire vägivaldne rahuldamine (alla 18-aastasega)	142 lg 2 p 1	41	Satisfaction of sexual desire by violence (against a person of less than 18 years of age)
Suguühendus lapseealisega (alla 14-aastasega)	145	30	Sexual intercourse with child (against a person of less than 14 years of age)
Lapsporno valmistamine ja selle võimaldamine	178	29	Manufacture of works involving child pornography or making child pornography available
Alaealist alkoholi tarvitama õhutamine	182	29	Inducing minor to consume alcohol
Lapseealise seksuaalne ahvatlemine (alla 14-aastase)	179	11	Sexual enticement of children (against a person of less than 14 years of age)
Alaealise kasutamine pornograafilise teose valmistamisel	177	10	Use of minors in manufacture of pornographic works
Alaealise mõjutamine narkootilist ja psühhotropset ning muud uimastava toimega ainet tarvitama	187	7	Inducing minors to illegally consume narcotic drugs or psychotropic substances or other narcotic substances
Narkootilist ja psühhotropset ainet tarvitama õhutamine	186	3	Violation of obligation to provide maintenance to child
Suguühendusele sundimine (alla 18-aastase)	143 lg 2 p 1	2	Involving minor in commission of criminal offence
Alaealise prostitutsioonile kaasaitamine	176	2	Satisfaction of sexual desire with child (against a person of less than 14 years of age)
Vägivalla eksponeerimine alaealisele	180	1	Rape (against a person of less than 18 years of age)

^b Näidatud vaid need karistusseadustiku paragrahvid, milles alaealist või tema huve puudutavad kuriteod eristatakse ning mille puhul juhtumeid registreeriti.

^b Only specific clause related to criminal offences committed against minor is taken into account in cases where such clause is available in a section.

Allikas: Justiitsministeerium (kriminaalmenetlusregister).

Source: Ministry of Justice (Register of Criminal Proceedings).

Alaealiste toime pandud õigusrikkumised

ISRD-2 uuringus (vt metoodikat peatüki lõpus) käsitleti probleeme nagu vandalism, varavastased õigusrikkumised, arvuti kasutamisega seotud õigusrikkumised (häkkimine, failide allalaadimine) ning vägivaldne käitumine.^c Kõik ankeedi küsimused esitati nii, et selguks probleemse käitumise esinemine nii kogu õpilase elu kui ka viimase 12 kuu jooksul.

^a Kui alaealise vastu toime pandud kuritegusid puudutab mõnes paragrahvis eraldi punkt, on arvestatud vaid seda.

^c Alaealiste alkoholi ja narkootikumide tarvitamist käsitletakse koolilaste terviseuuringu (HBSC) tulemuste põhjal "Õpilaste heaolu" peatükis.

Alaealiste seas on enimlevinud külmrelva kaasaskandmine ja kambakakluses osalemine

Vägivaldset käitumist väljendavatest probleemse käitumise juhtumitest on alaealiste seas kõige enam levinud külmrelva kaasaskandmine (elu jooksul 15,9%, viimasel aastal 9,6%) ning kambakakluses osalemine (vastavalt 15,1% ja 7,3%). Varavastastest õigusrikkumistest esineb kõige sagedamini üldkasutatavate asjade tahtlikku lõhkumist ehk vandalismi (11,9% ja 5,6%) ning poe- või ostukeskusevargusi (11,5% ja 1,8%). Harva esineb tõsisemaid õigusrikkumisi nagu jalgratta-, mopeedi- või motorollerivargus, röövimine, isiklike asjade vägisi äravõtmine — nende toimepanemist nii elu kui ka viimase aasta jooksul märkis vähem kui 1% vastanuist.

Et maakonniti esinduslikku valimit ei olnud, analüüsiti õigusrikkumiste esinemissagedust asulatüübi järgi. Selgus, et väikelinnas elavad alaealised olid viimase aasta jooksul poest varastanud kõige enam (3,2% küsitletuist), külas, alevikus ja alevis elavad kõige vähem (0,2%). Erinev on ka komme külmrelva kaasas kanda: kõige sagedamini oli nuga või sellelaadne ese kaasas suures linnas või Tallinnas elaval noorel (11% viimase aasta jooksul). Teiste õigusrikkumiste ja asulatüüpide vahel olulist seost ei ilmnenu.

Tabel 8 **Õigusrikkumised ja probleemne käitumine asulatüübi järgi^a, 2006**
 Table 8 *Proportion of violations and problem behaviour by type of settlement^a, 2006*
 (protsenti — percentage)

	Elu jooksul <i>During lifetime</i>					Viimase 12 kuu jooksul <i>Within recent 12 months</i>					
	alev, alevik, küla <i>town, small town, village</i>	väike linn <i>small city</i>	suur linn <i>big city</i>	pealinn <i>capital city</i>	Eestis kokku <i>Estonia total</i>	alev, alevik, küla <i>town, small town, village</i>	väike linn <i>small city</i>	suur linn <i>big city</i>	pealinn <i>capital city</i>	Eestis kokku <i>Estonia total</i>	
Üldkasutatavate asjade tahtlik lõhkumine (vandalism)	12,8	13,1	11,2	10,7	11,9	5,8	6,2	5,6	4,9	5,6	<i>Intended smashing of public property (vandalism)</i>
Poe- või ostukeskuse vargused	7,7	13,4	11,6	12,8	11,5	0,2	3,2	2,2	1,7	1,8	<i>Stealing from a shop or a department store</i>
Sissemurdmine varguse eesmärgil	2,0	2,2	1,2	0,9	1,6	0,2	1,2	0,8	0,1	0,5	<i>Breaking into a building with the purpose to steal something</i>
Jalgratta-, mopeedi- või motorollerivargus	0,2	1,3	0,2	0,4	0,5	0,0	0,7	0,0	0,1	0,2	<i>Stealing a bicycle, scooter or motorbike</i>
Auto või mootorratta ärandamine	1,3	1,7	1,8	0,9	1,4	0,8	1,0	1,8	0,3	0,9	<i>Stealing of motorbike/ auto</i>
Autoosade vargus või vargus autost	0,8	2,9	2,4	2,0	2,0	0,0	0,9	0,8	0,8	0,6	<i>Stealing out or from car</i>
Rahakoti, käekoti või muu eseme vägisi äravõtmine	0,5	0,7	0,4	1,6	0,9	0,3	0,6	0,0	1,1	0,5	<i>Snatching a purse, bag or other item</i>
Külmrelva (nuga, kett jne) kaasaskandmine	13,4	13,4	19,4	18,1	15,9	8,4	9,1	11,1	10,2	9,6	<i>Carrying a silent weapon (knife, chain, etc.)</i>
Relva või jõu kasutamisega ähvardades raha/esemete nõudmine	0,6	0,9	0,8	1,1	0,9	0,3	0,7	0,4	0,8	0,6	<i>Demanding money/things by threatening with a weapon or by force</i>
Kambakakluses osalemine	12,7	14,7	17,9	15,7	15,1	5,4	7,2	7,9	8,5	7,3	<i>Participation in a group fight</i>
Peksmine või noaga löömine (kehavigastuste tekitamine)	3,3	4,8	3,4	3,8	3,9	1,7	2,2	1,4	2,0	1,9	<i>Beating up or stabbing with a knife (causing of bodily injury)</i>
Narkootikumide müük või vahendamine	1,9	2,2	2,8	3,9	2,7	1,4	1,4	1,8	3,1	2,0	<i>Sales or mediation of drugs</i>
Kokku	21,6	25,9	23,4	24,3	23,9	9,2	11,1	11,2	10,1	10,4	<i>All listed violations</i>

^a Arvestatud on küsitletu elukohta.

^a *The place of residence of the respondent is taken into account.*

Allikas: ISRD-2 uuring.

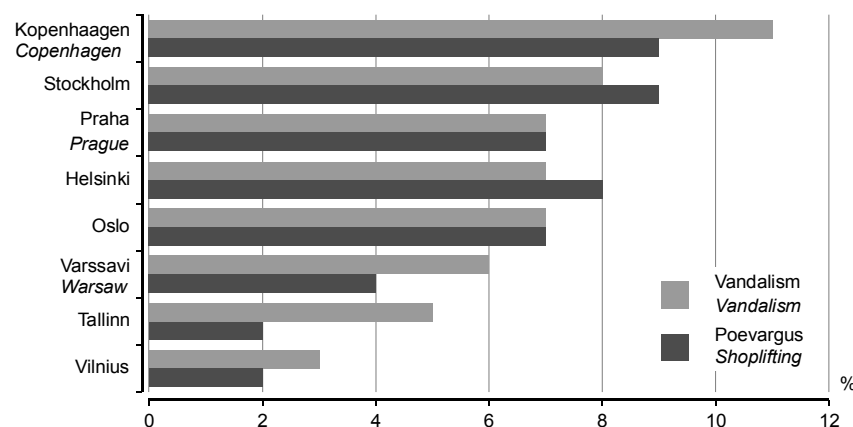
Source: ISRD-2 Study.

Rahvusvahelise uuringu tulemuste analüüs näitas, et alaealiste toime pandud õigusrikkumiste struktuur on riigiti üsna sarnane. Nagu Eestiski, on enimlevinud külmrelva kaasaskandmine, grupikaklused, poevargused, vandalism ja häkkimine. Allpool tuuakse

välja enamlevinud õigusrikkumiste esinemine mõnes Euroopa pealinnas (valimi moodustamise meetodika erinevused ei võimalda riikidevahelisi võrdlusi).

Joonis 3 näitab, et võrreldes teiste riikide pealinnadega oli poevargusi Tallinnas kõige vähem. Ka üldkasutatava vara tahtlikku lõhkumist oli Tallinnas harvem, erandiks on Vilnius, kus alaealised panid toime kõige vähem vandalismiakte.

Joonis 3 **13–16-aastaste vandalism ning poevargused^a, 2006**
Figure 3 **Vandalism and shoplifting among minors at the age of 13–16^a, 2006**



^a Uuringule eelnenud 12 kuu jooksul.

^a During the 12 months preceding the survey.

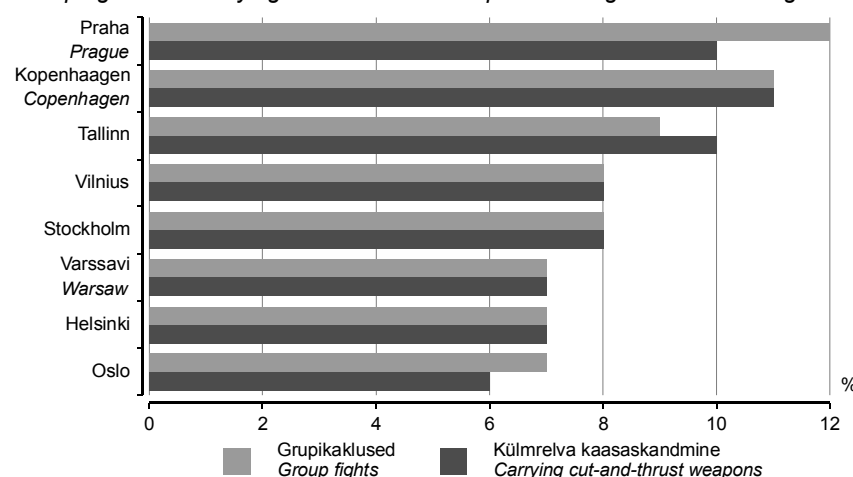
Allikas: ISRD-2 uuring, Kivivuori (2007).
Source ISRD-2 Study, Kivivuori (2007).

Rasket vägivalda esineb alaealiste seas harva

Rasket vägivalda nagu röövimine või teise inimese löömine esineb alaealiste seas harva.^b Enamikus riikides (ka Eestis), mille kohta on ISRD tulemused kättesaadavad, märkis nende toimepanemist viimase 12 kuu jooksul vaid 1–2% küsitlenuist.

Vägivallale kalduva käitumisega seostatakse külmrelva kaasaskandmist ja grupiklustes osalemist. Raskema vägivaldse käitumisega võrreldes esineb seda alaealiste seas tunduvalt sagedamini. Uuringu järgi sarnaneb vägivallaga seotud käitumisviiside esinemine Tallinnas olukorraga Prahas ja Kopenhaagenis, kus see on mõnevõrra levinum ülejäänud Skandinaavia pealinnade ning Vilniusega võrreldes.

Joonis 4 **13–16-aastaste grupiklustes osalemine ja külmrelva kaasaskandmine^c, 2006**
Figure 4 **Group fights and carrying cut-and-thrust weapons among minors at the age of 13–16^c, 2006**



^c Uuringule eelnenud 12 kuu jooksul.

^c During the 12 months preceding the survey.

Allikas: ISRD-2 uuring, Kivivuori (2007).
Source ISRD-2 Study, Kivivuori (2007).

^b Uuringus küsimused: "Kas Sa oled kedagi relvaga ähvardanud või lubanud läbi peksta, et saada raha või muid esemeid?" ja "Kas Sa oled kedagi peksnud või löönud noa või muu esemega nii, et ta vajab arstiabi?".

Alaealiste ohvrikslangemine

Uuringuga selgitati, kas õpilased on viimase aasta jooksul langenud isiklike asjade varguse, kallaletungi, röövimise (väljapressimise) või koolivägivalda ohvriks.

Röövi ohvriks langevad kõige enam Tallinna alaealised

Röövimise ohvriks langesid kõige sagedamini Tallinna alaealised (7%), teistest harvemini aga väikeste linnade alaealised (2%). Kallaletungi ohvriks langemine asulatüübi oluliselt ei erinenud. Suured erinevused ilmsesid isiklike asjade varguse puhul: suurim tõenäosus langeda sellise kuriteo ohvriks oli pealinnas (23%) ning väikseim maal elavatel alaealistel.

Koolivägivaldaga puutuvad enam kokku maapiirkonna alaealised

Erilist tähelepanu nõuab koolivägivalda ohvriks langenud alaealiste küllalt suur osatähtsus. Asulatüübi järgi esines koolivägivalda kõige sagedamini maapiirkondades, olukord oli rahulikum suurtes linnades.

Tabel 9 Ohvriks langenud alaealised asulatüübi järgi^a, 2006
Table 9 Victimized minors by type of settlement^a, 2006
(protsenti — percentage)

	Alev(ik)/küla Small town/village	Väike linn Small city	Suur linn Big city	Pealinn Capital city	
Röövimine/väljapressimine	3,1	2,2	4,1	7,0	Robbery/extortion
Kallaletung	4,5	4,7	5,7	5,0	Assault
Isiklike asjade vargus	16,1	18,2	16,6	22,7	Theft of personal belongings
Koolivägivald	29,9	25,5	18,9	21,7	School violence

^a Uuringule eelnenud 12 kuu jooksul.

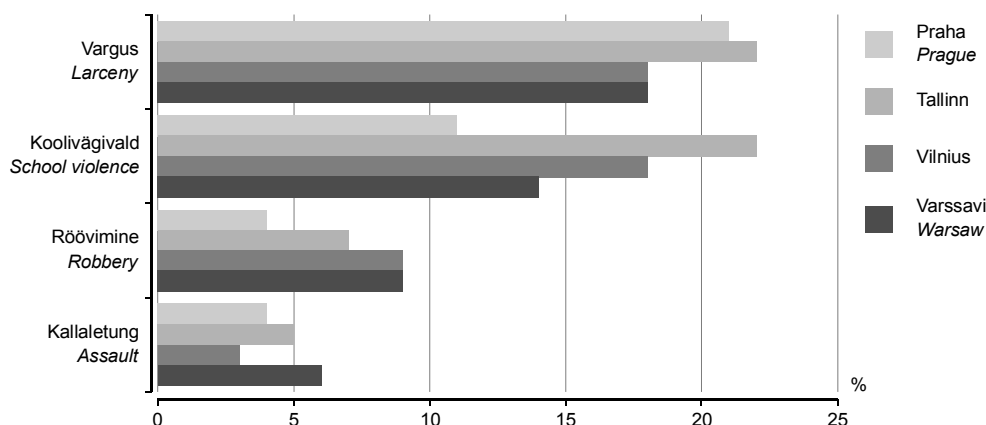
^a During the 12 months preceding the survey.

Allikas: ISRD-2 uuring.

Source: ISRD-2 Study.

Kui võrrelda ohvrikslangemist Tallinnas mõne teise pealinnaga, ilmneb, et olukord on sarnane. Kallaletungi või röövimise/väljapressimise ohvriks langetakse harva, samas isiklike esemete varguse ja koolivägivalda ohvriks on keskmiselt umbes viiendik alaealistest (13–16-aastased). Tallinnas langetakse teistest pealinnadest sagedamini varguse ja eriti koolivägivalda ohvriks.

Joonis 5 13–16-aastased ohvriks langenud^b, 2006
Figure 5 Victims at the age of 13–16^b, 2006



^b Uuringule eelnenud 12 kuu jooksul.

^b During the 12 months preceding the survey.

Allikas: ISRD-2 uuring.

Source: ISRD-2 Study.

Traumaatilised sündmused alaealise elus

Teismelise kogetud negatiivsed elusündmused mõjutavad tema käitumist. Harland *et al.* (2002) leidsid, et lastel, kelle vanemad olid mingil ajaperioodil töötud või lahutatud või lahku läinud, tekivad suurema tõenäosusega emotsionaalsed või käitumisprobleemid.

Buehler *et al.* (1997) tegid meta-analüüsi 68 probleemset käitumist ja vanematevahelisi konflikte käsitletud uuringu põhjal. Selgus, et need on tugevalt seotud. Autorid leidsid, et vanemate konfliktid mõjutasid nii probleemse käitumise internaliseerimist kui ka eksternaliseerimist. Esimene viitas depressioonile, endassetõmbumisele, ärevusele või somaatilistele probleemidele ja teine hõlmas agressiooni, õigusrikkumiste toimepanemist ja mõnuainete kuritarvitamist.

Lähedase pereliikme (vanema, õe-venna) surm kuulub kahtlemata kõige traumaatilistest elusündmustest hulka. Seda kogenud alaealiste osatähtsus jäi 1% ja 8% vahele.

Tabel 10 Kogetud elusündmused pealinna järgi^a, 2006
Table 10 Experiences by capital cities in Europe^a, 2006
(protsenti — percentage)

	Praha Prague	Tallinn Tallinn	Vilnius Vilnius	Varssavi Warsaw	
Õe/venna surm	1,7	3,4	1,9	3,5	Death of sister/brother
Ema/isa surm	3,2	7,4	4,8	4,1	Death of mother/father
Enda raske haigus	13,7	18,3	10,4	14,3	Serious illness of respondent
Vanemate raske haigus	28,6	27,4	27,6	40,1	Severe illness of parents
Vanemate alko-/narkoprobleemid	6,5	9,6	10,3	10,9	Problems of parents with alcohol or drugs
Vanematevaheline vägivald	10,5	17,3	10,4	15,9	Repeated fights between parents
Vanemate lahkuminek	29,9	31,7	25,3	19,1	Separation/divorce of parents

^a Võrreldi 13–15-aastaseid noori.

^a Comparison included young people at the age of 13–15.

Allikas: ISRD-2 uuring.

Source: ISRD-2 Study.

Tallinnas oli õe-venna surma kogenud 7% noortest — tunduvalt enam kui teistes pealinnades. Samuti oli tervisega kõige sagedamini probleeme Tallinna noortel. Vanema haigust kogeti kõige sagedamini Varssavis ja kõige harvem Tallinnas. Ilmnes, et lähedase surmaga kokku puutunud noorte seas olid ka terviseprobleemid sagedasemad.

Märkimisväärne osa alaealistest elas narko- või alkoholi-probleemidega vanematega

Märkimisväärne osa alaealistest elas vanematega, kellel oli probleeme alkoholi või narkootikumide tarvitamisega. Kõige enam märkisid seda Varssavi noored (11%). Tallinnas oli alkoholi- ja narkoprobleemidega vanematega koos elavate alaealiste osatähtsus samuti suur (10%). Vanematevaheline vägivald on paljudele lastele igapäevaelu, kõige sagedamini aga Tallinna noortel (17%). Vanemate lahkuminek võib lapsele samuti väga traumaatiliselt mõjuda, sellega olid samuti kõige sagedamini kokku puutunud Tallinna noored (32%), järgnesid Praha noored 30%-ga.

ISRD-2 uuringu metoodika

Peatüki esimeses osas täheldatud ametliku statistika puudustest aitavad üle saada alternatiivsed andmekogumismeetodid. Üks selliseid on eneseraporteerimise meetodil tehtav sotsioloogiline uuring. Selle käigus tehakse anonüümne küsitlus, millega kogutakse andmeid küsitlitava võimaliku osalemise kohta õigusrikkumistes. Eriti levinud on selliste uuringute korraldamine alaealiste hulgas.

Esimene tõsiseltvõetav alaealiste õigusrikkumiste eneseraporteerimise uuring toimus Eestis 2006/2007. aastal rahvusvahelise ISRD-2 uuringu osana. ISRD-2 (*International Self-report Delinquency Study* — 2) on rahvusvaheline võrdlusuuring, millest võttis osa kolmkümmend riiki kogu maailmast. Küsimustiku ja andmetöötluse metoodika ühine formaat võimaldab riikide ja regioonide olukorda võrrelda ametlikust statistikast sõltumatult. Ametliku statistika võimalused on selleks liiga piiratud, sest saadud tulemusi mõjutavad riikide õigusnormid, sündmuste registreerimise praktika jms. Eestis viis uuringu läbi Tartu Ülikooli õigusinstituut Justiitsministeeriumi ja Eesti Teadusfondi (grant 6496) rahastamisel.

Uuringu sihtgruppi kuulusid kõik 7., 8. ja 9. klasside õpilased vanuses 12–17. Eestis tehti uuring üldhariduskoolides, v.a eri- ja sanatoorsed koolid. Kasutati lihtjuhuvalimit — igal sihtgruppi kuuluval indiviidil oli võrdne võimalus sattuda valimisse. Küsitluse korraldamiseks võeti ühendust 189 klassiga 155 koolist, milles 2005/2006. õppeaastal oli registreeritud 4322 õpilast. Anketeeriti 2005/2006. õppeaasta viimasel ja 2006/2007. esimesel veerandil. 2006. aasta kevadel täitsid õpilased 1815 ankeeti, sama aasta sügisel lisandus veel 808. Kevadise ja sügisese andmekogumisega laekus 2623 ankeeti.

Eespool esitati alaealiste õigusrikkumisi puudutavad tulemused eeskätt Eesti kohta (siin ei käsitleta alkoholi ja narkootikumide tarvitamist). Võrreldavate andmete olemasolul toodi välja sarnasused ja erinevused teiste riikidega.

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KULTUUR, SPORT JA VABA AEG

Yngve Rosenblad
Marin Randoja
Statistikaamet

Kultuuriline aktiivsus ja rahulduspakkuv vaba aja veetmine on otseselt seotud inimese heaolutundega — need suurendavad seotust ühiskonnaga ning sotsiaalseid ressursse (*Towards ... 1997*: 11). Lapse arengus on sisukas vaba aja veetmine, kultuuriharrastused ja sportimine sama olulised kui kooliharidus. Kultuuri-, spordi- ja muud harrastused ei arenda ainult lapse võimeid, vaid nende kaudu omandatakse ühiskonnas heaks kiidetud väärtusi, käitumisnorme ja oskusi. Selle kaudu tugevnevad lapse sotsiaalsed oskused ja võrgustik ning kogutakse väärtuslikku kultuurilist kapitali.

Selles peatükis on analüüsitud laste ja teismeliste kultuurielus osalemise, sportimise ja vaba aja veetmise võimalusi. Kultuuriteenuste kättesaadavuse kirjeldamisel on kasutatud peamiselt riiklikku statistikat. Kultuurielus osalemise aktiivsust vaadeldakse Eesti tööjõu-uuringu (2004) ja sotsiaaluuringu (2006) kultuuriteemaliste lisamoodulite ning leibkonna eelarve uuringu andmete põhjal. Tööjõu-uuringu valim katab tööalist elanikkonda (15–74-aastased), sotsiaaluuringus osalesid vähemalt 16-aastased Eesti elanikud.

Lastele mõeldud kultuuriteenused

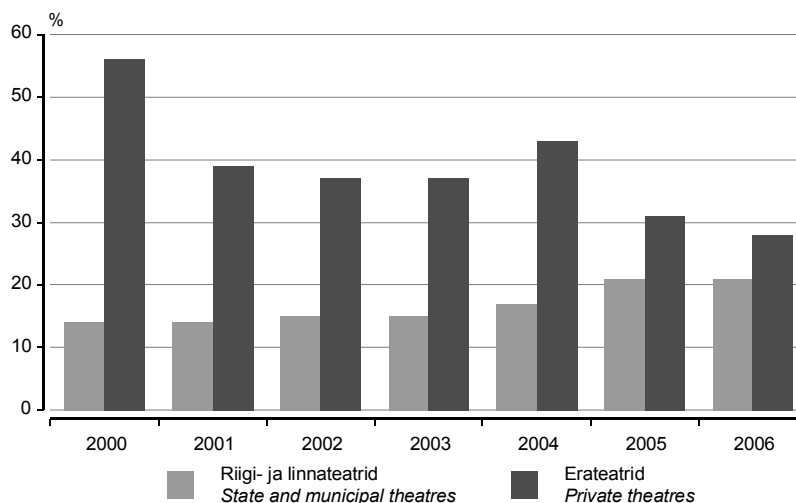
Laste sisuka ja kultuuriliselt rikka vaba aja veetmise eeldus on piisavad ja mitmekülgsed kultuuriteenused (kultuuriüritused, filmid, teatritendused, raamatud jne).

Lastefilmide tootmine on riiklik prioriteet, mis on viimastel aastatel realiseerunud mitme populaarse kodumaise lastefilmi valmimisega. 2006. aastal linastunud lastefilmid „Leiutajateküla Lotte” ja „Ruudi” olid aasta vaadatuimad Eesti filmid ja võistlesid edukalt Hollywoodi toodanguga, mahtudes mõlemad kinokülastuste esikümnesse. „Leiutajateküla Lotte” pälvis keskmisest 2006. aastal linastunud filmist lausa ligi kümme korda suurema publikumenu (*Facts ... 2006*).

Kinoekraanidele jõuab üpris palju ka välismaiseid koguperefilme. Suurim filmilevitaja Forum Cinemas tõi 2006. aastal kinodes ekraanile 124 filmi, millest koguperefilme oli üle kolmandiku, sh 11 animatsiooni. Viimased pälvivad sageli ka suure publikuedu — aastal 2006 oli Forum Cinemas kümne vaadatuima filmi seas animatsioone lausa viis ja proportsioonid olid samalaadsed ka 2007. aastal.

Kodumaised
lastefilmid on
vaadatavuse tipus

Joonis 1 Lastelavastusi kutseliste teatrite repertuaaris, 2000–2006
Figure 1 Children's plays in the repertoire of professional theatres, 2000–2006



Allikas: Statistikaameti ja Eesti Teatri Agentuuri andmed.
Source: Data of Statistics Estonia and Estonian Drama Agency.

Lastelavastused koguvad enamasti keskmisest suurema publikuhulga

2006. aastal oli Kultuuriministeeriumilt tegevustoetust saava 26 teatri ja teatriühenduse mängukavas 93 lastelavastust, mis hõlmas kõikidest mängituist ligi veerandi. Nende teatrite peale mängiti iga päev kesktlääbi kolm lasteetendust. Kuigi riigi- ja linnateatrite puhul soodustab riik lastelavastuste väljatoomist, moodustavad need erateatrite repertuaarist isegi suurema osa (Eesti ... 2006) (joonis 1).

Nagu lastefilmidki, koguvad ka -etendused sageli keskmisest suurema publikuhulga. Kui 2006. aastal käis riigi- ja linnateatrites ühte lavastust vaatamas keskmiselt ligi 2400 inimest, siis lasteetendust enam kui kolmandik rohkem — üle 3200 külastaja. Lastelavastusi mängitakse muude teatritükkidega võrreldes veidi tihedamini, 2006. aastal keskmiselt 14 korda aastas (kõiki lavastusi keskmiselt 12 korda).

Kui teatriskäimine on üldiselt võrdlemisi kulukas ajaveetmisviis, siis lasteetenduste piletihind püütakse hoida taskukohasem. Need on keskmise teatripiletihinnaga võrreldes enam kui kolmandik odavamad. Kui aastal 2006 tuli riigi- ja linnateatrites teatrikülastuse eest välja käia keskmiselt 116 krooni, siis lasteetenduse eest 68 krooni.

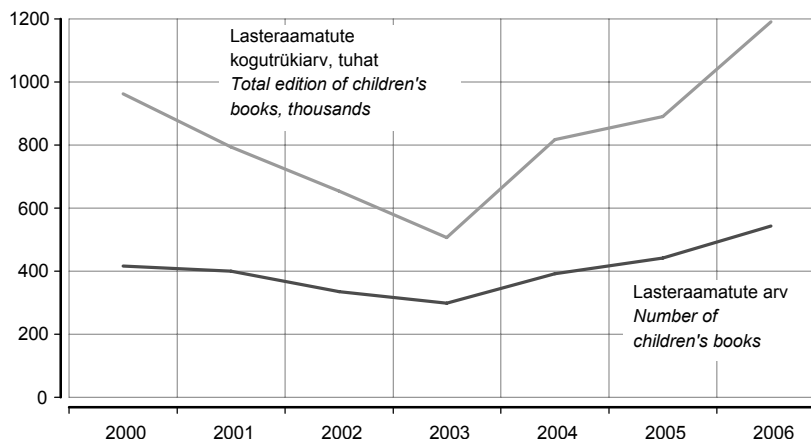
Eesti suurim kontserdikorraldaja Eesti Kontsert tõi perioodil 2000–2005 välja umbes 300 lastekontserti aastas (hilisema kohta andmed puuduvad), see hõlmas nende korraldatud kontsertidest märkimisväärse osa — ligi veerandi.

Raamatud ja raamatukogud

2006. aastal anti välja 543 lasteraamatut

Lastekirjanduse hulk on raamatupoodides viimastel aastatel rõõmustavalt suur. Vaadeldes perioodi 2000–2006 on näha, et aastatuhande algul lasteraamatute väljaandmine veidi vähenes, kuid viimastel aastatel on see tõusnud isegi varasemast kõrgemale tasemele. 2006. aastal ilmus Eestis võrreldes kogu iseseisvusajaga rekordiliselt 543 lasteraamatut, neist 95% esmaväljaanded. Lasteraamatute kogutrukiarv oli üle miljoni. See teeb ühe väljaande tiraažiks enam kui 2000 eksemplari — keskmisest raamatutiraažist viiendik suurem. Iga 0–17-aastase lapse kohta anti välja keskmiselt 4,5 raamatut (2000. aastal veel napilt kolm).

Joonis 2 Lasteraamatute väljaandmine, 2000–2006
Figure 2 Publication of children's books, 2000–2006



Allikas: Rahvusraamatukogu andmed.
Source: Data of the National Library of Estonia.

Laste teenindamisega tegelevad enam kooli- ja rahvaraamatukogud. 2000. aastal oli Eestis kuus lasteraamatukogu ligi 10 000 registreeritud lugejaga. Järgmistel aastatel liideti lasteraamatukogud järk-järgult kohalike rahvaraamatukogudega ning alates 2005. aastast lasteraamatukogu eraldi enam ei eksisteeri.

Raamatukogude arv väheneb

Kui 2000. aastal oli nii kooli- kui ka rahvaraamatukogusid Eestis üle viiesaja, siis 2006. aastaks langes esimeste arv kuuendiku võrra. Mõnel juhul oli see tingitud koolide sulgemisest, kuid enamasti ühendati kooliraamatukogu kulude kokkuhoiu ja lihtsama

administreerimise huvides kohaliku rahvaraamatukoguga. Sellegipoolest vähenes perioodil 2000–2006 mõneti ka rahvaraamatukogude hulk.

Tabelist 1 nähtub, et kui vaadeldud perioodil jäi kooliraamatukogusid arvuliselt vähemaks, siis lugejate ja laenutuste hulk neis langes proportsionaalselt veelgi kiiremini — 0.–9. klassi õpilastest lugejate arv veerandi ja nende laenutuste koguarv enam kui kolmandiku. Põhikooliealiste lugejate arv langes rahvaraamatukogudes ligi veerandi ja laenutuste arv veelgi enam — 44% (sellegipoolest olid 2006. aastal kaks kolmandikku 6–16-aastastest lastest rahvaraamatukogude lugejad). Langus on osaliselt mõistetav, kui võtta arvesse rahvaarvu vähenemist — võrreldes 2000. aastaga oli 2006. aastal Eestis 6–16-aastasi lapsi veerandi võrra vähem. Külasthanute arv näitab, et lapsed käivad raamatukogus aastatuhande algusega võrreldes sama palju (kui arvestada rahvastiku vähenemist, siis isegi rohkem). Ilmselt on osaliselt muutunud raamatukogu funktsioon — seal ei käida ainult raamatuid lugemas või laenutamas, vaid ka Interneti kasutamas või aega veetmas.

Tabel 1 **Laste teenindamine kooli- ja rahvaraamatukogus^a, 2000–2006**
Table 1 **Servicing children in school and public libraries^a, 2000–2006**

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	
Rahvaraamatukogud								Public libraries
raamatukogude arv	585	578	576	573	564	562	568	total
lugejad, tuhat	137,9	134,3	132,8	130,0	121,3	118,4	107,9	readers, thousand
külastused, tuhat	1 838,0	1 845,1	1 918,5	1 956,4	1 964,4	1 939,7	1 833,1	visits, thousands
laenutused, tuhat	3 142,0	2 882,0	2 725,0	2 507,0	2 262,4	2 040,1	1 745,8	lending, thousands
Kooliraamatukogud								School libraries
raamatukogude arv	516	523	523	512	474	451	438	total
lugejad, tuhat	131,5	126,6	126,1	119,2	109,2	106,2	98,0	Readers, thousands
laenutused, tuhat	1 752,1	1 687,0	1 516,0	1 528,7	1 273,3	1 225,9	1 118,5	lending, thousands

^a Lugejate, külastajate ja laenutuste arv hõlmab 0.–9. klassi õpilasi.

^a The number of readers, visitors, lending covers children from 0–9th grade.

Allikas: Rahvusraamatukogu andmed.

Source: Data of the National Library of Estonia.

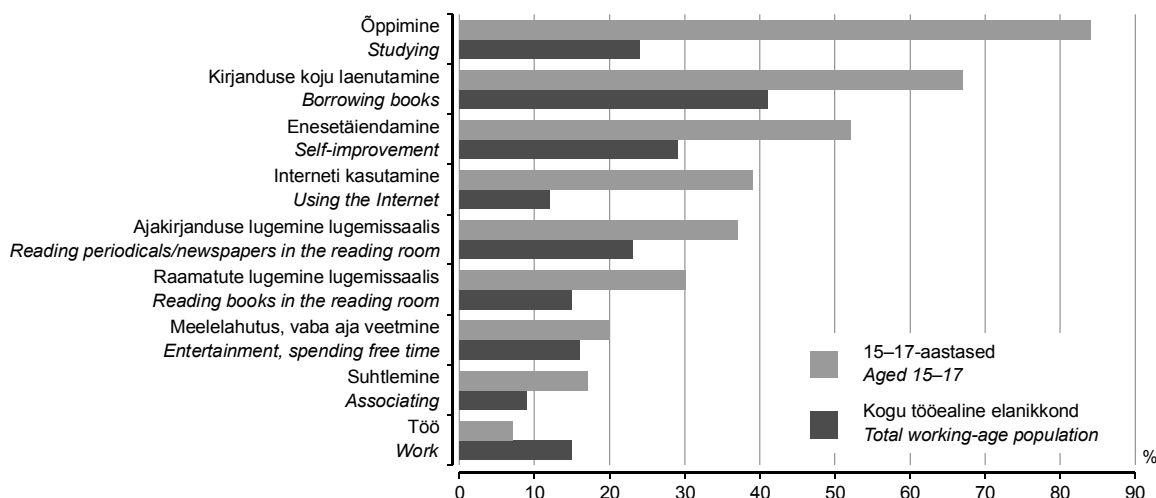
Teismelised käivad usinasti raamatukogus

2004. aasta tööjõu-uuringu kultuuritarbimise mooduli andmed lubavad heita pilgu laste raamatukoguharjumustele (15–17-aastaste näitel). Lapsed ja noored on teiste vanuserühmadega võrreldes aktiivsemad raamatukogukasutajad. Uuringu järgi käis viimase aasta jooksul raamatukogus neli viiendikku 15–17-aastastest (kogu elanikkonnast 41%) (joonis 5). Ligi veerand teismelistest väisas aasta jooksul raamatukogu koguni üle kümne korra.

Raamatukogus käimine on seotud peamiselt õppimisega

Jooniselt 3 on näha, et laste raamatukogu külastamise põhjused on ülejäänud elanikkonnast üsna erinevad. Kooliskäimise tõttu on loogiline, et peamiselt käiakse raamatukogus õppimise eesmärgil ja raamatuid (kohustuslikku kirjandust jm) laenutamas. Kuid ka muudel põhjustel (enesetäiendamine, lugemissaali kasutamine, vaba aja veetmine, suhtlemine, Interneti kasutamine) raamatukogus käinute osatähtsus on 15–17-aastaste seas kogu elanikkonnaga võrreldes märgatavalt suurem. Interneti kasutamiseks käis 2004. aastal raamatukogus ligi 40% vaadeldud vanusegrupist (kogu elanikkonnas oli protsent neli korda väiksem).

Joonis 3 15–17-aastaste raamatukogu külastamise põhjused, 2004
Figure 3 Reasons for library visits among children aged 15–17, 2004

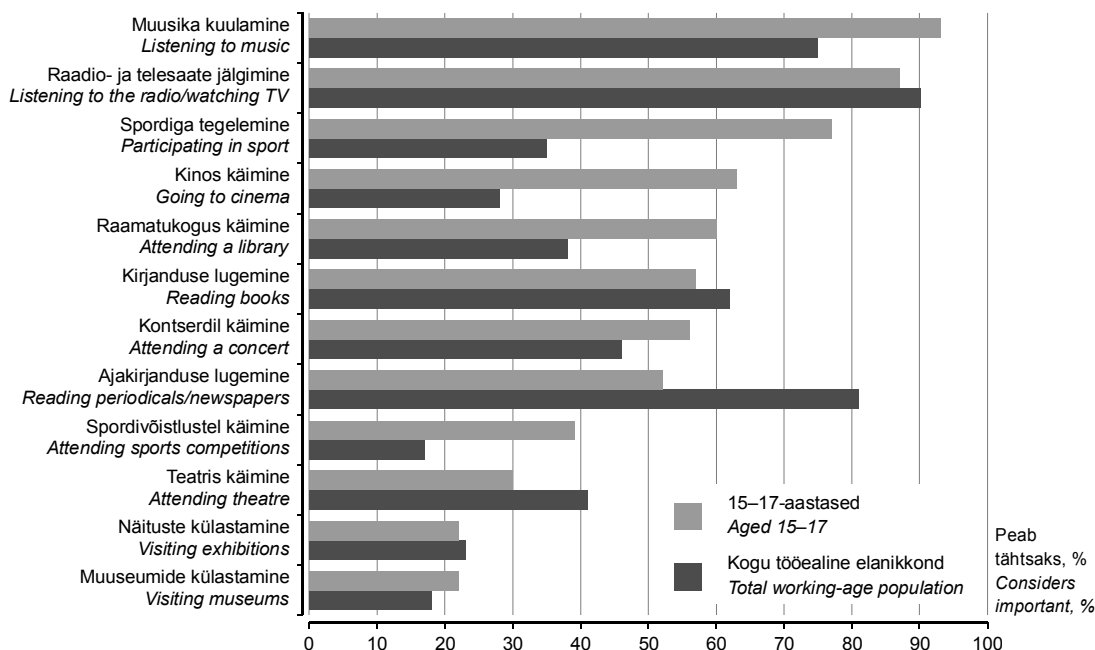


Sama uuring näitas ka, et võrreldes kogu elanikkonnaga oli 15–17-aastaste seas poole rohkem viimase aasta jooksul raamatukogust ilu-, teatmekirjandust või perioodikat laenutanud. Proosateoseid võttis raamatukogust lugeda lausa üle kahe kolmandiku, enam kui pooled laenutasid ka teabekirjandust.

Teismeliste kultuurielus osalemine

2004. aasta tööjõu-uuringu andmed võimaldavad 15–17-aastaste vanusegrupi näitel heita pilgu laste hoiakutele kultuuri ja spordi suhtes ning kultuurielus osalemise aktiivsusele.

Joonis 4 15–17-aastaste hinnangud kultuuri- ja sporditegevuse olulisusele, 2004
Figure 4 Opinions on importance of cultural and sports activities of children aged 15–17, 2004

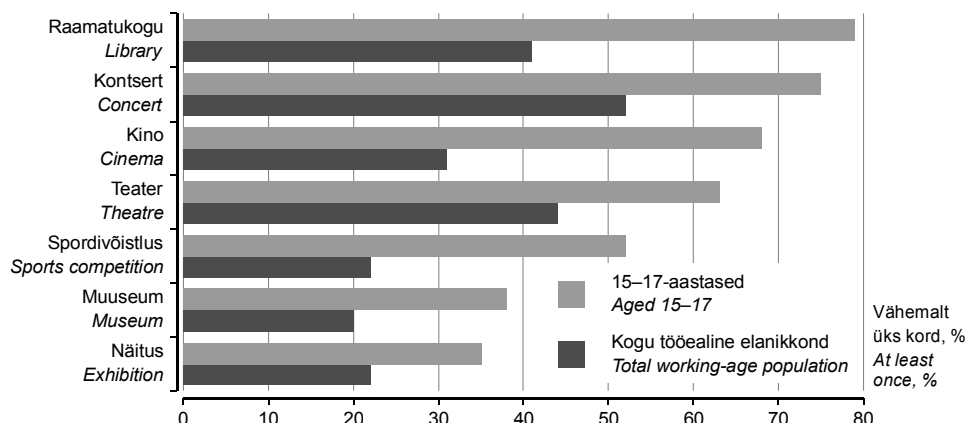


Teismelised peavad enda jaoks teistest enam oluliseks muusikat, kino ja sporti

Kui teismeliste suhtumine ajakirjanduse lugemisse oli ülejäänutega võrreldes silmnähtavalt leigem, siis raamatute suhtes 2004. aasta uuring olulist vahet ei näidanud (neid, kes lugemist enda jaoks väga tähtsaks pidasid, oli teismeliste seas vähem kui kogu rahvastikus). Sporti suhtuvad 15–17-aastased ülejäänud elanikkonnaga võrreldes aga tunduvalt innukamalt. Spordiharrastust pidas enda jaoks oluliseks enam kui kolmveerand (kogu

elanikkonnast oli samal arvamusel poole vähem inimesi) ja ka spordivõistlustel käimist hindasid nad ülejäänutega võrreldes märksa enam. Samuti väärtustasid teismelised võrreldes teistega enam kino ja muusikat (selle kuulamist pidas väga tähtsaks üle poole 15–17-aastastest). Kontsertidel või kinos käimist enda jaoks oluliseks pidanud oli teatri-armastajatest poole rohkem.

Joonis 5 **15–17-aastaste kultuuri- ja spordielus osalemine viimase 12 kuu jooksul, 2004**
Figure 5 *Children aged 15–17 participating in cultural and sports activities in the previous 12 months, 2004*



Lapsed ja noored tarbivad kultuuri aktiivseimalt

Üldiselt näitavad uuringud, et vanuse kasvades kultuurielus osalemise aktiivsus väheneb — seega on lapsed ja noored aktiivsed kultuuritarbijad. Sama näitas ka tööjõu-uuring 2004 — teismeliste seas oli viimase 12 kuu jooksul vähemalt korra mõnel kultuuriüritusel osalenuid võrreldes kogu populatsiooniga kõigi kultuuriliikide puhul märksa enam. Nii teatris, kinos, kontserdil kui ka raamatukogus käis aasta jooksul enam kui kaks kolmandikku teismelistest (joonis 5).

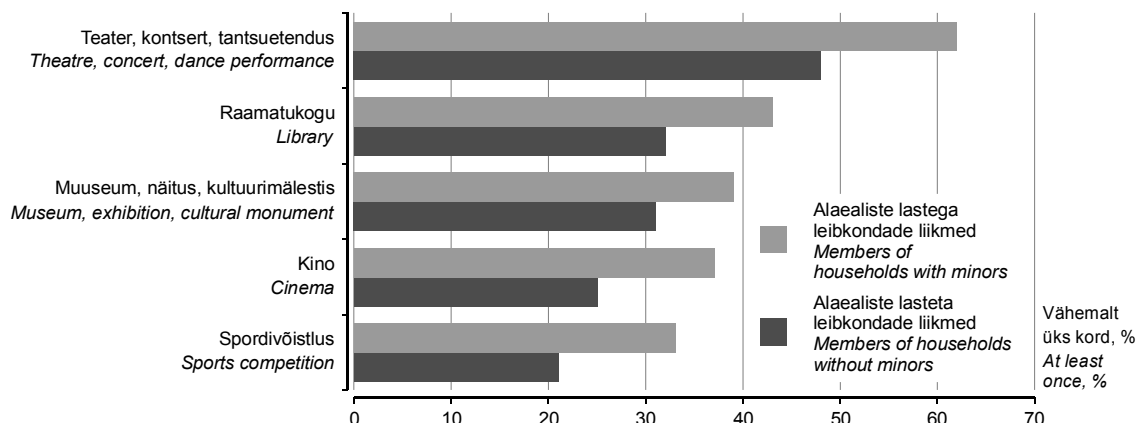
Vaadeldes jooniseid 4 ja 5, võib arvata, et mõne kultuuriliigi (näitused, muuseumid, teater) puhul on külastamise motiivid sagedamini haridusega seotud (kultuuriasutustes käimine on vähemalt osaliselt kohustuslik haridusprotsessi osa), teiste puhul (kino, kontserdid) lähtutakse aga enam isiklikest huvidest. Eriti altilt käivad noored kinos ja kontserdil — viimase aasta jooksul käis neist vähemalt kolm korda kinos kaks kolmandikku (kogu rahvastikust vaid kolmandik) ja kontserdil üle 40%. Kontsertide puhul oli valdavalt tegemist pop- ja rokkmuusikaga, süvamuusikakontserdil käis aasta jooksul napp kümnendik.

Võrreldes ülejäänud rahvastikuga pakkus teismelistele märksa enam huvi eksperimentaal- ja ka noorteteater, teistega võrreldes vähem aga ooper ja operett. Filmide puhul töid teismelised sarnaselt teistega lemmikžanrina esile põnevus-, kriminaalfilmid ja komöödiad, ülejäänud rahvastikuga võrreldes suhtuti soosivamalt ka ulmefilmidesse.

Lastega leibkondade kultuuriline aktiivsus

Joonisel 6 on võrreldakse 2006. aasta sotsiaaluuringu andmete alusel kultuuri- ja spordi-üritustel käimist alaealiste (0–17-aastaste) lastega leibkondades ja alaealiste lasteta peres (uuring hõlmab 16-aastast ja vanemat elanikkonda).

Joonis 6 Viimase 12 kuu jooksul kultuurielus osalenud lastega ja lasteta leibkonnas, 2006
 Figure 6 Households with children and those without participating in cultural activities in the previous 12 months, 2006



Lastega pered käivad aktiivselt kultuuri-üritusel

Alaealiste lastega leibkondade liikmete seas oli ülejäänutega võrreldes märksa suurem viimase aasta jooksul vähemalt kord mõnel kultuuriüritusel (-asutuses) käinute osatähtsus, seda kõigi kultuuriürituste puhul. Näiteks kui lastega leibkondade (vähemalt 16-aastastest) liikmetest oli aasta jooksul kinos käinud kolmandik, siis alaealiste lasteta leibkonnas veerand. Ühest küljest on lastega leibkonnad aktiivsemad kultuuri- ja spordielust osavõtjad, kuid teisalt tuleb arvestada ka leibkondade vanuselist struktuuri. Alaealiste lastega leibkonnas on suuremal määral esindatud nooremad vanusegrupid (lapsed, noored, nooremad keskealsed), kelle kultuuriline aktiivsus on kõrgem.

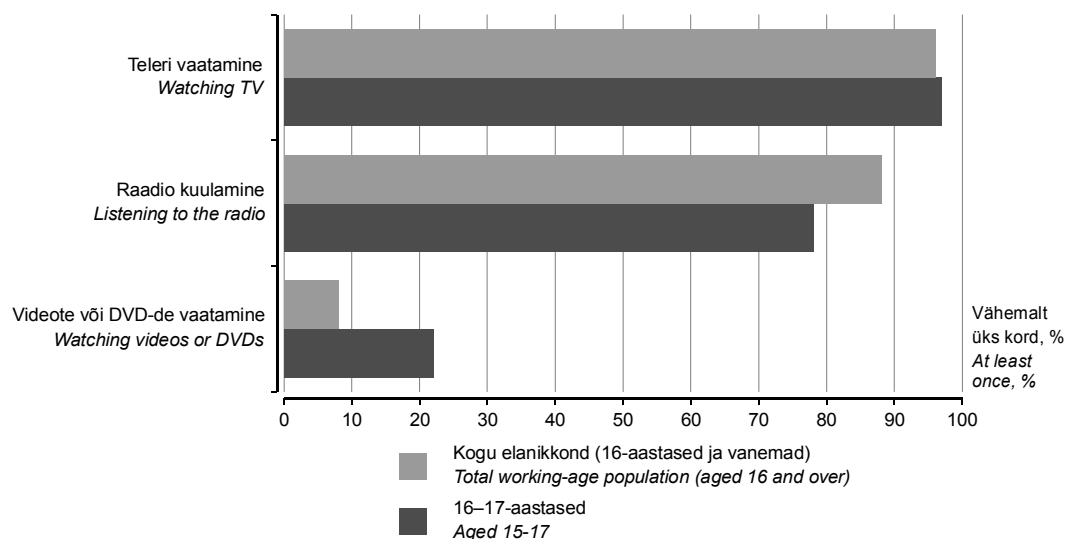
Sage kultuuriüritusel käimine hakkab lasterikka pere rahakotile

Piletiraha mitteüksinud kultuuriasutuste puhul olid suurema laste arvuga perede liikmed külastamises aktiivsemad. Ka suuremaid väljaminekuid nõudvate kultuuriürituste (teatrietendused, kontserdid) puhul oli lastega leibkondade liikmete seas võrreldes teistega enam vähemalt kord aasta jooksul üritusel käinuid. Seevastu sagedasem (vähemalt korra kvartalis) sellistel üritustel käimine hakkab lasterikastele perede rahakotile. Seega on mõistetav, et sagedastest kontserdil- ja teatriskäijatest olid kõige aktiivsemad üksikud inimesed.

Teismeliste meediatarbimine

2006. aasta sotsiaaluuringu andmed võimaldavad 16–17-aastase vanusegrupi näitel vaadelda teismeliste suhet raadio ja televisiooniga võrdluses kogu elanikkonnaga.

Joonis 7 16–17-aastaste meediatarbimine, 2006
 Figure 7 Media consumption among children aged 16–17, 2006



Neli viiendikku teismelistest vaatab iga päev telerit

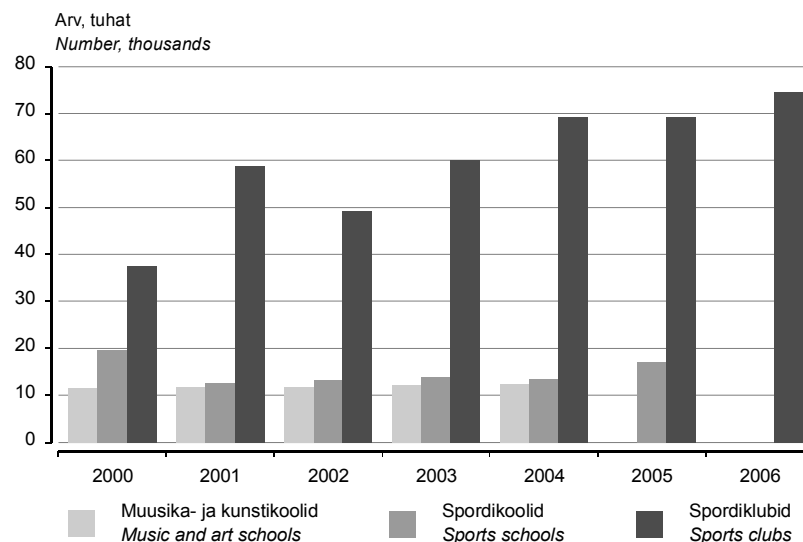
Vastupidiselt üldlevinud arvamusele oli teismeliste seas iga päev televiisorit vaadanuid kogu elanikkonnaga võrreldes isegi pisut vähem, kuid nende osatähtsus oli sellegipoolest väga suur (neli viiendikku). Vähemalt paar korda nädalas vaatasid telerit peagu kõik teismelised. Kui kogu elanikkonda vaadeldes oli televiisorist vaadatuim žanr uudised, siis teismeliste seas olid eelistatuid filmid ja muusikasaated. Peale televiisori vaatas neist enam kui pool vähemalt kord nädalas ka videoid või DVD-sid (sellega ületavad teismelised ülejäänuid mäekõrguselt — kogu populatsioonist tegi sama vaid viiendik).

Raadiokuulamisharjumus on teismeliste seas kogu elanikkonnaga võrreldes vähem levinud. Kui kogu populatsioonis oli iga päev raadiot kuulanuid kolmveerand, siis 16–17-aastastest 58%. Peagu kõik teismelised kuulasid raadiost muusikat, uudiseid kuulasid raadiost vaid pooled ja teisi saateid jälgiti vähem.

Laste huvitegevus

Laste vaba aja sisustamiseks ja võimete arendamiseks töötab hulgaliselt nii omavalitsuste loodud kui ka eraalgatuslikke huvikoole ja -ringe, tegutsevad spordiklubid ning korraldatakse lastelaagreid.

Joonis 8 **Spordikoolide, -klubide, munitsipaalmuusika- ja kunstikoolide õpilased, 2000–2006**
Figure 8 **Students of sports schools, sports clubs, municipal music and art schools, 2000–2006**



Allikas: Statistikaameti, Kultuuriministeeriumi ning Haridus- ja Teadusministeeriumi andmed.
Source: Data of Statistics Estonia, the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Education and Research.

Huvikoolituse andmisega tegeleb enamasti erasektor

2006. aastal oli koolitusluba ligi 300 huvikoolil, vähem kui pooled neist olid munitsipaalomandis, ülejäänud erasektori käes. Kuigi erakätes tegutsevaid huvikoole (nii mittetulundus- kui ka äriühinguid) tekib pidevalt juurde, suurenes aastatel 2000–2006 pisut ka omavalitsuste hallatavate huvikoolide arv (2006. aastal oli neid ligi 130). (Munitsipaal)muusika- või kunstikoolis õppis ligi 13 000 last, spordikoolis 17 000 ja teistes huvikoolides samuti umbes 17 000.

Maal on võimalused huvikoolitust saada napimad

Väiksema rahvaarvuga maakondades oli huvikoole elaniku kohta isegi suhteliselt rohkem (Hiiu maakonnas oli 2004. aastal kaks munitsipaal- ja muusikakooli ehk üks iga 5000 elaniku kohta, Tallinnas oli 1:50 000). Koolitusvõimalused on maapiirkonnas siiski napimad — seda nii väiksema koolide arvu, pakutavate õppekavade, suurema vahemaa kui ka kehvemate transpordivõimaluste poolest (Rosenblad 2007: 114; Huvialaharidus ... 2005: 10).

Kui 1990ndatel oli spordikoolituses suurem rõhk munitsipaalspordikoolidel, siis uuel aastatuhandel jäi suurem osa spordiklubide kanda. Viimaste süsteem on iseseisvusajal jõudsalt arenenud ning saanud populaarseks. Klubides treenis 2006. aastal juba ligi 75 000 last (kuni 19-aastased).

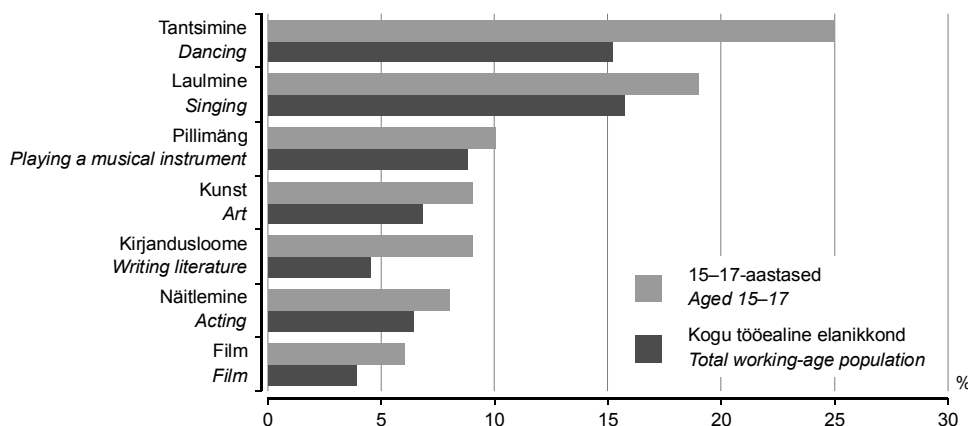
2006. aastal korraldati kokku 136 laagrit, kus puhkas ligi 34 000 last. Võrreldes aastatuhande algusega on laagrite korraldamine hoogustunud ning põhirõhk on üha enam läinud projektlaagritele (2006. aastal neli viiendikku kõigist korraldatud laagritest) (Eesti Noorsootöö Keskuse andmed). Avatud noortekeskusi (nagu huviringidki pakuvad need lastele ja noortele ajaveetmisvõimalusi) oli Eestis 2006. aastal ligi 200, lastele ja noortele mõeldud nõustamiskeskusi 89.

Teismeliste kultuuriharrastused

Teismeliste sagedasemad kultuuriharrastused on laulmine ja tantsimine

2004. aasta tööjõu-uuringu järgi olid 15–17-aastaste seas kõige populaarsemad kultuuriharrastused tantsimine ja laulmine (armastatuimad kogu rahvastikus). Tantsimisega tegeles või oli tegelenud iga neljas teismeline, laulmisega iga viies. Võrreldes kogu rahvastikuga oli teismeliste seas harrastajate protsent suurem ka teistel kultuurialadel. See näitab, et kooliõpilased on täiskasvanutega võrreldes üldiselt aktiivsemad kultuuriharrastajad. Spetsiifiliste noortealadena tõusid esile tantsimine ja kirjandusloome, mille puhul oli teismeliste harrastajate ülekaal teiste vanusegruppidega võrreldes eriti märgatav. Siiski oli üpris mõtlemapanev ka nende teismeliste hulk, kes ühtegi kultuuriala polnud harrastanud (60%). Enam kui ühe kultuurialaga tegeles seevastu viiendik 15–17-aastastest.

Joonis 9 **Kultuurialade harrastajad (harrastanud) 15–17-aastaste seas, 2004**
Figure 9 *Children aged 15–17 attending cultural activities, 2004*



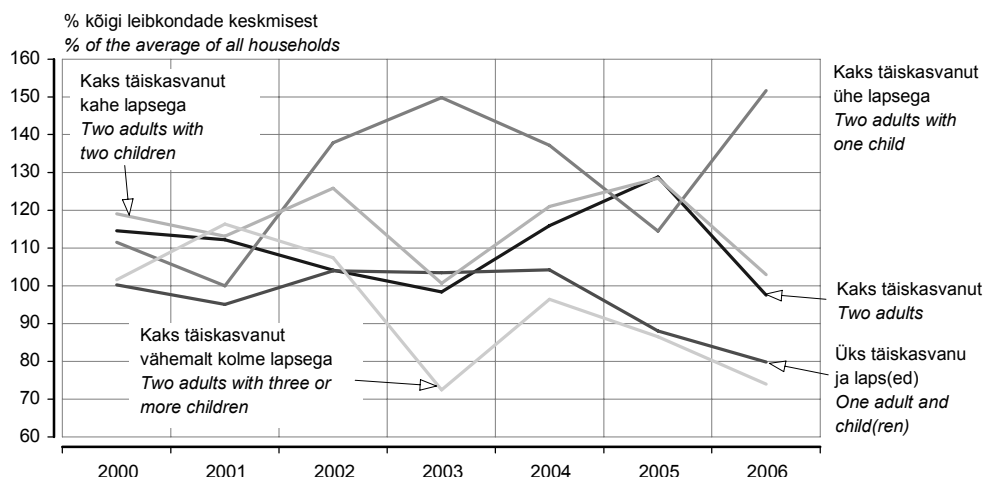
Vaba aja kulutused lastega leibkonnas

Joonisel 10 on leibkonna eelarve uuringu põhjal võrreldud lastega leibkondade vaba aja kulutusi perioodil 2000–2006 kõigi leibkondade keskmisega. 2006. aastal kulutas keskmine leibkond kuus vabale ajale 324 krooni leibkonnaliikme kohta (8,7% kogukuludest). Vaadeldud perioodil sundkulutuste (toit, eluase) osatähtsus leibkonna eelarves üldiselt vähenes ja vaba aja kulutused (spordi-, kultuurikulutused, puhketeenused, pakettreisid jne) kasvasid (Kreitzberg 2006: 41; Rosenblad 2006: 50).

Lastega peredes on vaba aja kulutused leibkonnaliikme kohta suuremad

Joonist vaadates võib märgata kolme osaliselt vastassuunalist tendentsi. Esiteks: alaealiste laste olemasolu peres suurendab vaba aja kulutusi leibkonnaliikme kohta. Enamikul vaadeldud aastatel kulutasid vabale ajale ühe leibkonnaliikme kohta kõige rohkem kahe täiskasvanu ja ühe lapsega pered (2006. aastal leibkondade keskmisega võrreldes 52% enam ehk 492 krooni). Ka klassikaline kahe lapse ja kahe täiskasvanuga pere kulutas vaba aja peale ühe leibkonnaliikme kohta keskmisest leibkonnast enam (334 krooni).

Joonis 10 **Keskised vaba aja kulutused leibkonnaliikme kohta kuus, 2000–2006**
 Figure 10 **Average expenditure on spare time activities per household member per month, 2000–2006**



Lasterikkas peres on raha vaba aja veetmiseks suhteliselt vähem

Teiseks: lasterikkad pered saavad vaba aja peale kulutada ühe leibkonnaliikme kohta suhteliselt vähem. Jooniselt on näha, et lastega peredest kulutas vabale ajale suhteliselt kõige vähem vähemalt kolme lapsega pere ja üksikvanemaga leibkond (2006. aastal vastavalt 74% ja 80% leibkondade keskmisest ehk 240 ja 259 krooni). Üldine tendents on, et laste olemasolu vähendab oluliselt sissetulekut leibkonnaliikme kohta ja suurendab seega pere vaesusriski (Kreitzberg ja Tiit, 2004: 42).

Kolmandaks: võrreldes 2000. aastaga on eri tüüpi leibkondade vabale ajale kulutamise võimalused muutunud märgatavalt suuremaks. Kui 2000. aastal erinesid enim ja vähim vabale ajale kulutava leibkonnatüübi kulutused pereliikme kohta vaid 15%, siis 2006. aastal juba enam kui kaks korda.

Laste ajakasutus

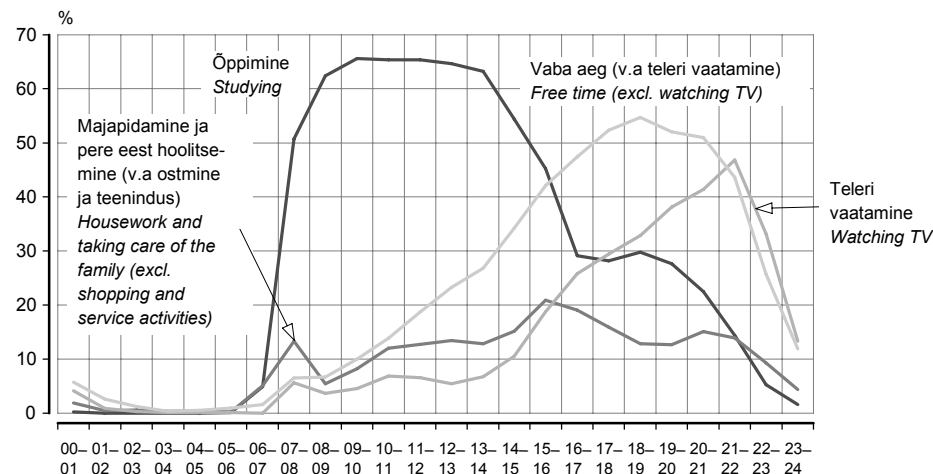
10–17-aastaste laste ööpäevasest ajakasutusest hõlmab kõige suurema osa isiklik tegevus, mille alla kuulub magamine, söömine, joomine ja muu. Sellele kulub neil 11,5 tundi päevas. Suure osa ajast hõlmab veel vaba aeg (6 tundi ja 18 minutit), õppimine (4 tundi ja 18 minutit) ja majapidamise ning perekonnaga seotud tegevused (tund ja 18 minutit). Ülejäänud aeg kulub tasulisele ja vabatahtlikule tööle — ligi pool tundi päevas. Tüdrukute ja poiste ajakasutuses suuri erinevusi ei ole. Poistel on päevas 20 minutit rohkem vaba aega, tüdrukud kulutavad selle majapidamistöödele ja perekonnale. Suure osa vabast ajast (2,5 tundi) veedavad nii poisid kui ka tüdrukud televiisorit vaadates ja raadiot kuulates. Üle tunni kulub veel spordiga tegelemisele ja suhtlemisele, kusjuures poisid veedavad tüdrukutest mõnikümme minutit rohkem sportides, tüdrukud aga rohkem suheldes. Võrreldes tüdrukutega tegelevad poisid rohkem hobide ja mängudega, kulutades neile kolmveerand tundi päevas, tüdrukud veedavad nii pool tundi päevas. Ülejäänud vaba aeg kulub lastel meelelahutuse (kino, teater, raamatukogu, ekskursioonid, üritused) ja lugemise peale.

Eesti laste koolipäev algab üsna vara, kell 8–9 tegeleb õppimisega juba 62% (joonis 11). Õppivate laste osatähtsus langeb järsult pärast kella 16, sellel ajal lõpevad tavaliselt koolis tunnid ja edasi õpitakse kodus. Enamik lastest lõpetab koolitöö tegemise kella 22 paiku. Vaba aja tegevustega hõivatud laste osatähtsus suureneb terve päeva vältel, kõige rohkem on vaba aega siiski pärast kooli ehk kella 17-st kuni 21-ni. Alates kella 19-st hõlmab poole vabast ajast televiisori vaatamine. Magamaminekuaeg on nädalapäevadel kella 22 ja 24 vahel. Kella ühe ajal magab 94% lastest.

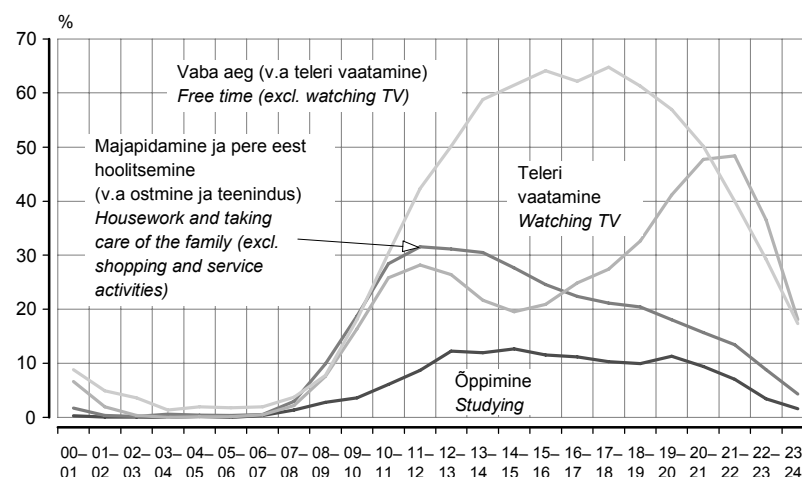
Nädalavahetusel ärkab suurem osa lapsi tavaliselt kella 10 ja 12 vahel (joonis 12). Pärast ärkamist lülitatakse kohe sisse televiisor — kuni 13-ni vaatab seda ligi kolmandik lastest. Alates kella 13-st sisustab suur osa lapsi oma aega muuga. Televiisori vaatamine hoogustub jälle pärast kella 19. Võrreldes koolipäevadega tegeleb nädalavahetusel kodutöödega rohkem lapsi. Kõige sagedamini tehakse majapidamistöid 10-st kuni 16-ni, siis on sellega hõivatud ligi kolmandik lastest. Koolipäeval teeb kõige rohkem lapsi (neljandik)

kodutöid 15 ja 17 vahel. Õppimiseks ei ole nädalavahetusel kindalt kellaaega, sellega tegeleb umbes kümnendik lastest terve päeva jooksul. Nädalavahetuseti lähevad lapsed hiljem magama, kella kaheks on magama jõudnud 94%.

Joonis 11 **10–17-aastased argipäevadel tegevuse ja kellaaja järgi, 1999–2000**
Figure 11 *Children aged 10–17 on weekdays by activities and time of day, 1999–2000*



Joonis 12 **10–17-aastased nädalavahetusel tegevuse ja kellaaja järgi, 1999–2000**
Figure 12 *Children aged 10–17 at weekends by activities and time of day, 1999–2000*



Kokkuvõte

Lapsed ja noored on ühiskonnas kõige aktiivsemad kultuuritarbijad, seda nii kultuuriüritustel ja -asutustes käimise kui ka harrastuste puhul. Uue aastatuhande kohta võib öelda, et võimalused laste kultuuritegevuseks ja sportimiseks on pigem paranenud. Viimastel aastatel on linastunud mitmed ülipopulaarsed lastefilmid, välja on antud rekordiline arv lasteraamatuid. Ka huvikoolis, -ringis ja laagris osaleb aastatuhande algusega võrreldes rohkem lapsi. Samas on laste koguarv aasta-aastalt vähenenud ja see mõjutab paratamatult ennekõike maapiirkonna laste kultuuriteenuste kättesaadavust.

Kirjandus

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SOTSIAALMAJANDUSLIK KESKKOND

Siim Krusell
Aare Värk
 Statistikaamet

Sotsiaalmajanduslik keskkond mõjutab rohkem või vähem kõiki inimesi sõltumata nende vanusest, igakuise sissetuleku suurusest või haridustasemest. Osa aspekte mõjutab aga vaid teatud ühiskonnagruppe. Näiteks pensionisüsteem on oluline ennekõike vanemaealiste seisukohast, aktiivsete tööturumeetmete kättesaadavus mõjutab pigem töötuid ja mitteaktiivseid.

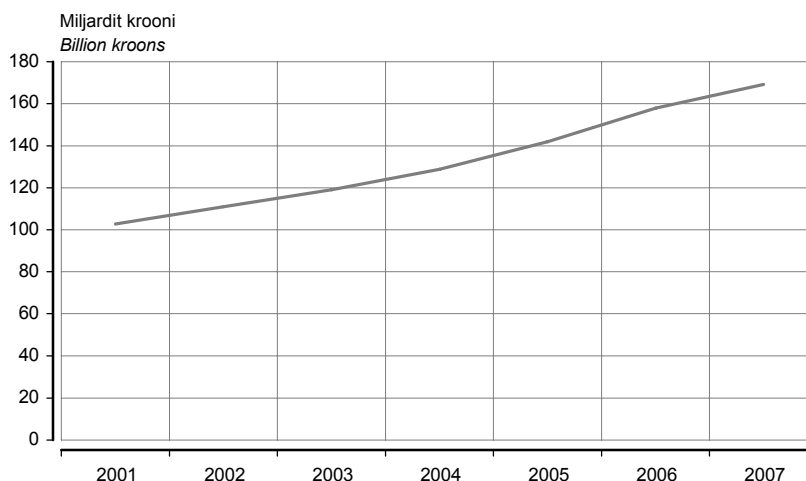
Lastel on samuti vanusest ja sotsiaalsest staatusest tulenevad spetsiifilised mõjutegurid, mis on olulised eelkõige neile. Näiteks lasteaia ja kooli kaugus kodust, õppeprogrammi sisu ja õppeaasta ülesehitus, vaba aja veetmise võimalused. Et lapsed sõltuvad üldjuhul oma vanematest, siis avalduvad neil peale vahetust keskkonnast tulenevate tegurite väga tugevalt ka vanemate sotsiaalmajandusliku keskkonna mõjud. Näiteks vanemate sissetulekute tase tingib otseselt lapse majanduslikku heaolu, vanema otsus lapsehoolduspuhkuse pikkuse kohta mõjutab perega koos veedetava aja hulka ja vanemate sotsiaalne seisund/religioossed vaated võivad kujundada diskrimineerivaid hoiakuid lapse suhtes.

Siin antakse ülevaade olulisematest mõõdetavatest sotsiaalmajandusliku keskkonna teguritest, mis otseselt või kaudselt mõjutavad laste heaolu ja elukvaliteeti.

Sisemajanduse koguprodukt

Üldiselt on Eesti majandusel viimastel aastatel hästi läinud. Sisemajanduse koguprodukt 2000. aasta püsivhindades tõusis 103 miljardist kroonist 2001. aastal 169 miljardini aastal 2007. Ühe elaniku kohta tähendab see tõusu 75 000 kroonist 126 000-ni — suurenemisest saavad kaudselt kasu kõik inimesed. Ühiskonna tasandil mõjutab laste heaolu vahetumalt aga tervishoiule, haridusele ja peretoetustele kulutatav osa.

Joonis 1 **Sisemajanduse koguprodukt 2000. aasta püsivhindades, 2001–2007**
 Figure 1 **Gross domestic product at 2000 constant prices, 2001–2007**



Tervishoiu kogukulutused hõlmasid aastail 2003–2006 SKP-st umbes 5%, 2006. aastal olid avaliku sektori kulud sellest 3,8%^a. Euroopa Liidu 25 liikmesmaa (EL25) keskmine tervishoiu kogukulutuste osatähtsus sisemajanduse koguproduktis on aga võrreldes Eestiga ligikaudu kaks korda suurem ehk 9–10%^b.

^a Sotsiaalministeeriumi andmetel.
^b Eurostati andmetel.

**Peretoetuste
kulutused on Eestis
1,5% SKP-st, EL25 aga
2,1%**

Avaliku sektori hariduskulutuste osatähtsus sisemajanduse koguproduktis oli aastail 2002–2004 Eestis umbes 5,5%, aastal 2005 aga 5,1%^a. EL25 maade keskmine oli 2005. aastal samuti 5,1%^b.

Peretoetuste kulutused olid 2005. aastal Eestis 1,5% sisemajanduse koguproduktist, EL25 maades aga 2,1%^c.

Nagu näha ei ole tervise ja peretoetuste kulutuste osatähtsus sisemajanduse koguproduktis oluliselt muutunud ning hariduskulutuste maht on vaid veidi langenud. Majanduskasvust tulenevalt on siiski ka nende valdkondade kulutused olulisel määral suurenenud.

Palk ja selle muutumine

Laste olemasolu korral on meeste keskmine palk tunduvalt suurem nii keskmisest kui ka meeste keskmisest palgast. Kui meeste üldine keskmine palgatase oli 10–20% keskmisest brutopalgast kõrgem, siis lastega meeste palgatase on keskmisest veelgi kõrgem. Näiteks 2006. aastal oli alla kolmeaastase lapsega meeste palgatase keskmisest 50% kõrgem.

**Kõige kõrgem
palgatase on väike-
lastega meestel**

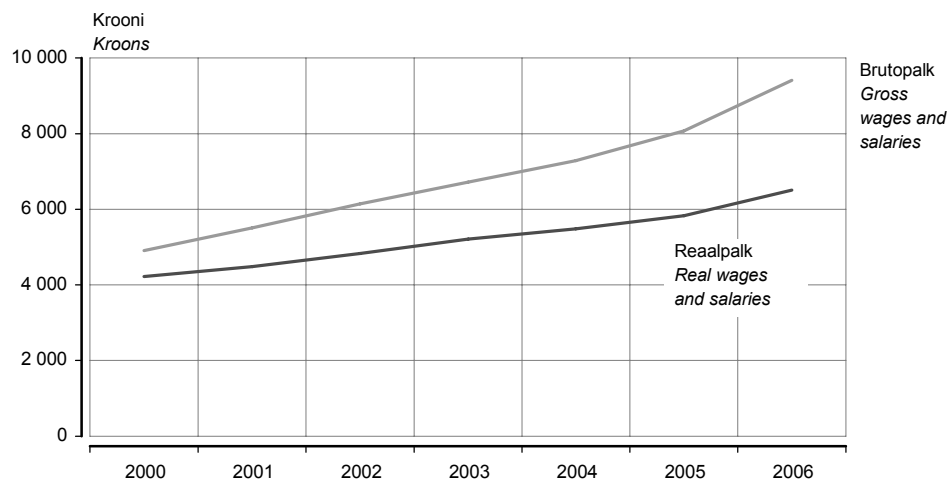
Kõige kõrgem palgatase oligi väikelastega meestel. Neil meestel, kel oli sõltumata laste vanusest 1–2 last, oli samuti kõrgem palk kui kõigil töötavatel meestel keskmiselt. Vähemalt kolme lapsega meeste keskmine palk oli kuni 2005. aastani võrreldav meeste keskmise palgaga. 2006. ja 2007. aastal oli nende keskmine palk aga meeste keskmisest tunduvalt suurem, seda võib siiski seletada valimi suhtelise väiksusega lasterikaste isade grupis.

Naiste palganumbrid on keskmisest väiksemad ja seda hoolimata laste olemasolust. Naiste brutopalk hõlmas keskmisest aastati 83–86%. Nagu meestegi puhul, oli ka väikeste lastega naiste palk kõrgem kui naistel keskmiselt. Samas jäi nende keskmine siiski alla kõigi töötajate keskmisele. Samuti oli ühe või kahe lapsega naiste palk paar protsendipunkti kõrgem naiste keskmisest. Vähemalt kolme lapsega naiste palganäitajad olid naiste keskmistest madalamad. Hinnates suundumusi aastate kaupa saab välja tuua mitu olulist trendi. Väikelastega naistel ja meestel on kõigi sookaaslastest töötajatega võrreldes kõrgem palk.

Suurem palk säilib ka siis, kui peres kasvab üks või kaks last, kuid palganumbrid on väiksemad nii lasterikastel meestel kui ka naistel (tabel 1).

Palgaanalüüsi puhul on oluline, kas palgakasvuga kaasnes ka ostujõu kasv. See selgub vaadates reaalspalga kasvu aastate kaupa. Joonis väljendab trendi, mille kohaselt on palgasaajate reaalne ostujõud pidevalt suurenenud, teisisõnu brutopalka kasvuga kaasnes reaalse ostujõu kasv. Reaalspalga kasvu arvutades arvestatakse tarbijahinnaindeksi muutumisega. Sellel kümnendil ei ole hindade kasv ühelgi aastal ületanud brutopalka oma. Aastati on reaalspalga kasv olnud eelmisega võrreldes 6–12%.

Joonis 2 Keskmise brutokuu- ja reaalspalga kasv, 2000–2006
Figure 2 Growth of monthly average gross wages and of real wages and salaries, 2000–2006



^a Haridus- ja Teadusministeeriumi andmetel.

^b Eurostati andmetel.

^c Eurostati andmetel.

Tabel 1 Täisajaga palgatöötajate keskmine brutopalk, 2001–2007
 Table 1 Average gross wages and salaries of employees working full-time, 2001–2007
 (protsenti keskmisest — percentage of average)

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	
Mehed	114	115	114	115	118	118	120	Males
alla 3-aastaste lastega	122	135	111	135	149	152	148	with children less than 3 years of age
3–5-aastaste lastega	141	144	149	138	141	146	156	with children at the age of 3–5
ühe või kahe lapsega	126	131	130	135	137	139	148	with one or two children
vähemalt kolme lapsega	102	112	124	127	112	147	142	with 3 or more children
Naised	86	86	86	86	84	83	81	Females
kuni 3-aastaste lastega	88	85	70	95	91	93	95	with children less than 3 years of age
3–5-aastaste lastega	91	87	90	90	85	90	81	with children at the age of 3–5
ühe või kahe lapsega	87	87	87	91	90	89	85	with one or two children
vähemalt kolme lapsega	73	72	87	79	69	73	80	with 3 or more children

Lapsevanemad tööturul

Tööjõuturu osalisi liigitatakse hõivatuteks, töötuteks ja mitteaktiivseteks. Heade indikaatoritena kasutatakse töötuse, tööhõive ning mitteaktiivsuse määra. Nii on võimalik mõõta peamisi trende töøjõuturul.

Traditsiooniliselt jääb Eestis sündinud lapsega koju peamiselt naine. See väljendub ka numbrites. Sõltuvalt aastast on kuni kolmeaastase lapsega naiste mitteaktiivsuse määr püsinud 65–79 protsendipunkti piires. Mitteaktiivsuse määr langeb aga oluliselt 3–5-aastaste lastega naiste puhul. Suurt rolli mängib siin lastehoiuteenuste parem kättesaadavus selles vanuses lastele, mis võimaldab naisel tööturule siirduda. Mõneti sarnaneb Eesti perepoliitika mudel traditsioonilise Lõuna- ja Kesk-Euroopa omaga, kus mehed on peamised leivateenijad. Siiski püsib naiste mitteaktiivsuse määr kõrge vaid laste varases nooruses, nende kooliealiseks saades hakkab Eesti peremudel sarnanema pigem Skandinaaviale omase naiste tööturukäitumisega. Reeglipärane on ka vähemalt kolme lapsega naiste kõrgem mitteaktiivsuse määr, seda võrreldes ühe- või kahelapselistega.

Tabel 2 Mitteaktiivsuse määr ja selle muutumine sõltuvalt laste arvust ja vanusest, 2001–2007
 Table 2 Inactivity rate and changes thereof depending on the number and age of children, 2001–2007
 (protsenti — percentage)

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	
Alla 3-aastaste lastega mehed	4,1	3,6	..	..	4,5	5,5	..	Males with children less than 3 years of age
3–5-aastaste lastega mehed	6,7	..	..	..	..	..	..	Males with children at the age of 3–5
Alla 3-aastaste lastega naised	66,1	72,7	76,1	75,5	78,6	64,8	73,4	Females with children less than 3 years of age
3–5-aastaste lastega naised	21,1	22,5	15,2	20,6	21,8	16,3	17,0	Females with children at the age of 3–5
Ühe või kahe lapsega mehed	4,5	3,5	4,1	4,2	4,9	3,9	3,0	Males with one or two children
Vähemalt kolme lapsega mehed	..	..	..	..	..	..	7,7	Males with 3 or more children
Ühe või kahe lapsega naised	22,7	24,7	23,7	25,2	27,8	23,3	24,3	Females with one or two children
Vähemalt kolme lapsega naised	44,8	46,0	41,2	42,2	47,5	44,8	52,3	Females with 3 or more children

Kui väikeste lastega meeste seas oli väga vähe mitteaktiivseid, siis ootuspäraselt saab nende puhul ära märkida kõrge tööhõive määra. See on meeste keskmisest hõivemäärast tunduvalt suurem. Küll võib öelda, et vähemalt kolme lapsega meeste tööhõive määr oli veidi madalam võrreldes ühe- või kahelapselistega.

Naiste hõivet mõjutab oluliselt laste arv perekonnas

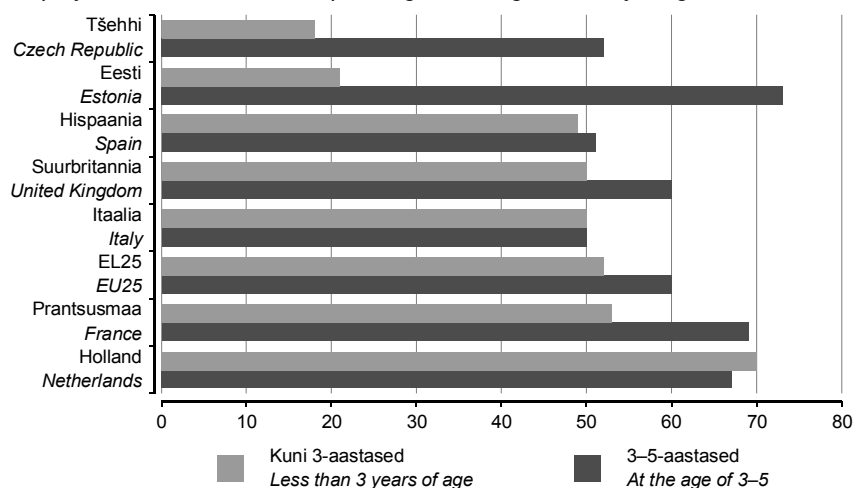
Siiski ei olnud meeste puhul hõivelõhed sõltuvalt laste arvust nii suured kui naistel. Viimaste hõivatust mõjutas laste arv palju enam. 2007. aastal oli ühe või kahe lapsega naiste hõivemäär 72%, vähemalt kolme lapsega naistel vaid 45%. Kui välja arvata päris pisikeste lastega ning lasterikkad emad, siis lastega naistel on võrreldes naiste keskmisega siiski kõrgem tööhõive määr.

Tabel 3 **Tööhõive määr ja selle muutumine sõltuvalt laste arvust ja vanusest, 2001–2007**
 Table 3 *Employment rate and changes thereof depending on the number and age of children, 2001–2007*
 (protsenti — percentage)

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	
Mehed	60,4	61,1	62,0	61,3	61,5	65,9	67,5	Males
Naised	50,6	51,4	52,1	52,9	54,8	57,8	58,4	Females
Alla 3-aastaste lastega mehed	86,2	87,9	88,2	89,9	92,7	91,9	95,1	Males with children less than 3 years of age
3–5-aastaste lastega mehed	87,6	90,9	93,2	91,0	92,3	92,7	97,3	Males with children at the age of 3–5
Alla 3-aastaste lastega naised	27,8	22,4	20,8	21,3	19,7	33,5	26,1	Females with children less than 3 years of age
3–5-aastaste lastega naised	62,3	63,3	72,7	70,9	71,9	74,2	75,6	Females with children at the age of 3–5
Ühe või kahe lapsega mehed	87,3	89,3	89,9	89,0	91,1	92,6	94,3	Males with one or two children
Vähemalt kolme lapsega mehed	78,0	83,4	88,1	87,1	83,8	86,5	89,5	Males with 3 or more children
Ühe või kahe lapsega naised	67,6	66,3	67,9	68,2	66,1	71,1	72,1	Females with one or two children
Vähemalt kolme lapsega naised	44,4	45,1	51,1	50,0	47,0	54,7	45,0	Females with 3 or more children

Ka võrdlus teiste Euroopa riikidega kinnitab, et Eesti naiste hõivenäitajad sõltuvad enamikust teistest EL riikidest rohkem laste vanusest.

Joonis 3 **Naiste tööhõive määr sõltuvalt noorima lapse vanusest, 2003**
 Figure 3 *Employment rate of women depending on the age of their youngest child, 2003*



Allikas: Eurostat.
 Source: Eurostat.

Kuni 3-aastaste lastega naiste hõivenäitajad olid sama madalad veel Tšehhis. Nagu Eesti naistelgi, kasvasid ka sealsete hõivenäitajad laste vanemaks saades. Hollandis ja Prantsusmaal oli 3–5-aastaste lastega naiste hõivemäär peagu sama kõrge kui Eestis. Samas Hollandi puhul oli naiste hõivemäär ka päris pisikeste lastega naistel kõrge (Eurostat).

Andmete puudulikkus ei võimalda välja tuua näiteks 3–5-aastaste lastega meeste, samuti alla 3-aastaste lastega naiste töötuse määra. Siiski saab hinnata töötuse näitajate trende aastati kuni 3-aastaste lastega meeste ning lasterikaste emade puhul. Seda hoolimata asjaolust, et mõne aasta kohta ei saa andmeid välja tuua. Võrreldes meeste keskmisega iseloomustas kuni 3-aastaste lastega mehi peale heade hõivenäitajate ka madalam töötuse määr.

Tabel 4 Töötuse määr ja selle muutumine sõltuvalt laste arvust ja vanusest, 2001–2007
 Table 4 Unemployment rate and changes thereof depending on the number and age of children, 2001–2007
 (protsenti — percentage)

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	
Mehed	12,9	10,8	10,2	10,4	8,8	6,2	5,4	Males
Naised	12,2	9,7	9,9	8,9	7,1	5,6	3,9	Females
Alla 3-aastaste lastega mehed	10,2	8,8	8,6	7,1	..	..	..	Males with children less than 3 years of age
3–5-aastaste lastega naised	21,1	18,3	14,2	10,7	8,1	11,4	8,9	Females with children at the age of 3–5
Alla 3-aastaste lastega mehed ja naised	14,0	11,8	8,9	7,9	6,7	8,4	5,2	Males and females with children less than 3 years of age
3–5-aastaste lastega mehed ja naised	9,5	9,0	8,2	8,8	8,5	4,8	4,1	Males and females with children at the age of 3–5
Ühe või kahe lapsega mehed	8,6	7,4	6,2	7,0	4,2	3,6	2,8	Males with one or two children
Ühe või kahe lapsega naised	12,6	11,9	10,9	8,9	8,5	7,4	4,7	Females with one or two children
Vähemalt kolme lapsega naised	19,7	16,5	12,9	13,6	..	..	..	Females with 3 or more children
Ühe või kahe lapsega mehed ja naised	10,6	9,7	8,6	8	6,4	5,5	3,8	Males and females with one or two children
Vähemalt kolme lapsega mehed ja naised	16,8	11,9	9,5	9,4	7,7	..	..	Males and females with 3 or more children

Lastega meestel on võrreldes meeste keskmisega madalamad töötuse näitajad. Samal ajal on lastega naiste töötuse näitajad võrreldes naiste keskmisega kõrgemad. Kõige ebasoodsamas seisus on vähemalt kolme lapsega naised, kuid naiste keskmisega võrreldes on halvemad näitajad ka ühe või kahe või 3–5-aastaste lastega naistel.

Tabel 5 Rahvaarv ja demograafiline töötururisk, 2001–2007
 Table 5 Population and demographic labour pressure index, 2001–2007

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	
Rahvaarv	1 366 959	1 361 242	1 356 045	1 351 069	1 347 510	1 344 684	1 342 409	Population
Rahvastik vanuses 5–14	180 870	172 477	162 586	152 371	142 913	135 895	130 924	Population at the age of 5–14
Rahvastik vanuses 55–64	153 810	151 779	149 664	148 471	148 678	148 901	148 255	Population at the age of 55–64
Demograafiline töötururisk	1,18	1,14	1,09	1,03	0,96	0,91	0,88	Demographic labour pressure index

Eesti rahvaarv on alates eelmise sajandi lõpukümnendist pidevalt vähenenud. Ühelt poolt tingis selle negatiivne rändesaldo, teisalt aga allapoole taasteniivood jäänud sündimus. Sündide arv vähenes kuni 1990-ndate lõpuni. Viimastel aastatel on sündide arv küll mõnevõrra kasvanud, kuid jääb siiski allapoole vajalikku taset. Madal sündivus ning seetõttu vähenev laste arv survestab pikapeale üha enam riigi sotsiaalseid tugistruktuure ning mõjub pärssivalt kogu riigi majandusele. Tabelis 5 toodud demograafilise töötururiski indeks näitab 5–14- ja 55–64-aastaste inimeste arvukuse suhet. Indeks võimaldab hinnata rahvastiku vanusstruktuuri tasakaalustatust ja demograafilist taastootmispotentsiaali. See iseloomustab lähitulevikus tööturule sisenevate ja sealt väljuvate põlvkondade arvukuse vahekorda. Loomuliku arengu korral on indeksi väärtus üle ühe, mis tähendab ühtlasi teatavat töötuse ohtu tööturule sisenevale põlvkonnale. Eestis oli indeksi väärtus aastail 2000–2004 küll üle ühe, kuid langes kiiresti, olles 2005. aastal alla selle. Mainitu on selge ohumärk ja ennustab tööjõupuuduse teravnemist.

CHILDREN IN LEGISLATION

Signe Kaplan
Ministry of Social Affairs

History

Children have been included in legislation as a separate target group since days of the first written laws. However, conscious efforts of legal protection of children emerged only in the beginning of the last century with the rapid development of human rights and the associated branch of the rights of children.

In modern legislation, children are viewed as a vulnerable group and several measures have been introduced to protect the children due to the special needs arising from the specific nature of their development.

It was believed at first that the family was called to protect the children and look after their well-being, while the state did not interfere with the relations between the parent and child and the child and society. This approach, however, meant a weak position for the child who was subject to the supreme authority of the family and parents.

Establishment of international and national foundations for child protection

The rights of children were first addressed in 1923

The rights of children were first addressed at the international level in 1923 by Eglantyne Jebb, founder of the Save the Children organisation. The objective was to achieve international recognition of certain rights for the children and this led to the formulation of the five basic rights to be recognised for the children, which were adopted by the general assembly of the Save the Children Union in 1923 as the Declaration of the Rights of the Child. A year later, in 1924, this document was also adopted in Geneva by the 5th Assembly of the League of Nations (predecessor of the UN). The declaration became known as the 1924 Declaration of Geneva and is considered as the starting point for the professional development of the rights of the child.

Development of the rights of children differs from the development of most other documents of the international law. The latter have been born as a result of analysis and synthesis of the national legislation and postulated principles from different countries while the former began with the creation of international conventions. The principles of the convention were only later incorporated in the national legislation.

The **1924 Declaration of Geneva** was the first document dedicated solely to the rights of the child. It included five casuistically named basic rights of the child:

- the child must be given the means requisite for its normal development, both materially and spiritually;
- the child that is hungry must be fed, the child that is sick must be nursed, the delinquent child must be reclaimed, and the orphan and the waif must be sheltered and succoured;
- the child must be the first to receive relief in times of distress;
- the child must be put in a position to earn a livelihood, and must be protected against every form of exploitation;
- the child must be brought up in the consciousness that its talents must be devoted to the service of its fellow men.

The **Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by UN in 1948** included provisions for the protection of mothers and children and the right to education.

The updated **UN Declaration of the Rights of the Child, adopted in 1959**, became the second international document dedicated solely to the rights of the child. It was the first attempt to summarise and describe all the basic needs and rights of the child; it defined 10 principles of the rights of the child, including for the first time the fundamental principle of modern child protection — the interests of the child should come first in all circumstances.

The **UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966** prescribed protection of children upon dissolution of marriage, stipulating that the interests of the children should come first and the age of the children should be considered in the process of dissolution.

The year 1979 was proclaimed the International Year of the Child by the UN General Assembly to encourage countries to adopt documents for improving the condition of children. The work group for the development of the Convention of the Rights of the Child was also established by the UN in this year.

On November 20, 1989, after 10 years of discussions and disputes, **the UN General Assembly adopted the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child**. The Convention was meant to be suitable for all cultures and interest groups and, therefore, the result can be seen as a trade-off between different opinions and needs. A major point of controversy was the definition of the age of the child, which has been treated very differently in different cultures (for example, it was normal for girls to marry at the age of 13 in the Muslim countries). The discussions resulted in a general definition of childhood as the age from 0 to 18. The same definition of childhood is used in Estonian national legislation. Naturally, different countries have formulated specific reservations for different aspects of life. For instance, the Estonian law permits marriage for persons under 18 in exceptional cases, and the court may increase the legal capacity of minors who need to conduct certain transactions.

The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child entered into force for Estonia on November 20, 1991. Today, 193 states are party to the Convention.

Estonia has also ratified the two Optional Protocols to the Convention regulating the involvement of children in armed conflict and the right to be protected from sale, pornography and prostitution.

Even though there are other documents dealing with the rights of the children, some more general and some specific, the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child is considered to be one of the key documents in the field. Estonia has ratified several other international instruments on the rights of the child, which contribute to ensuring the rights of the child both at the national and international level.

Deliberate legislative efforts for the protection of the children and the rights of the child began in Estonia in 1991 with the ratification of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child

Deliberate legislative efforts for the protection of the children and the rights of the child began in Estonia in 1991 with the ratification of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. Naturally, children had been mentioned in legislation as a specific group even before that year. This was mostly related to private law matters: family law and the right of succession, and the restriction of active legal capacity for minors. The latter, as well as the provisions of the right of succession, were intended to protect the children from their own youth and inexperience. Separate provisions were adopted for the age for criminal liability and some other nuances. However, the rights of the child and the relevant basic principles, which have now acquired a general mandatory character with regard to the topics associated with children, had not been integrated in the national legislation as a whole.

Encouraged by the active treatment of the international law on the rights of the child and ratification of the Convention, Estonia adopted in 1992 the **Child Protection Act**, which entered into force on January 1, 1993 and is still applicable with only a few amendments.

Despite receiving much criticism, the Child Protection Act has served as a source document for the interpretation of the rights of the children, as well as for other secondary laws and regulations. Estonia has received international recognition for the adoption of a separate legislative act dealing specifically with the protection of children, which creates a positive national background and general attitude towards child protection.

Private Law

Private law is a field where the special rights and protection mechanisms of children have been considered since times of Ancient Rome. This also holds true for the current Estonian legislation. The focus in the issues of children's rights has been shifted to the child and the central themes include regard for the best interests of the child, listening to and involving the child, so that the child has become an independent subject of law with passive legal capacity and partial active legal capacity related with age.

General Part of the Civil Code Act

The Civil Code constitutes the general framework for private law, laying down the general norms and provisions for all specific areas of the private law. For example, this Act defines the passive legal capacity of natural persons, stating that it begins with the birth and ends with death. It also includes provisions on active legal capacity of children, establishing the rules and procedures for the extension of such active legal capacity. The general principle is that a child does not have full active legal capacity, but being a modern Act, the GPCCA enables gradual extension of the rights of the child in keeping with his or her development. For instance, the Act provides for a possibility that a court may extend the restricted active legal capacity of a minor of at least 15 years of age if this is in the interests of the child and the level of development of the child so permits. The restricted active legal capacity may be generally extended with the consent of the legal representative of the child.

The same Act also defines the residence of a person, including the residence of a minor, which is deemed to be the residence of the parents or guardian of the minor, or, if parents are separated, the residence of the parent with whom the minor resides. As an exception, if a child does not live together with his or her parents, the place where the child permanently or primarily resides may be deemed to be his or her residence.

Family Law Act

The Family Law Act is one of the major legal instruments dealing with the rights of the child. The Family Law Act includes provisions on the filiation of children, relations between a child and the parents, the right of the child to parental care and maintenance, adoption and guardianship issues, as well as marriage of minors between 15 and 18 years of age.

The Family Law Act is important because it includes several rights of the child that are emphasised in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. First, the Convention affirms the children's right to identity, which includes in addition to nationality also the right to the registration of birth, to a name and the right to know his or her parents. According to the Family Law Act, the vital statistics office shall register the birth on the basis of an application of a parent and the parent is required to submit the respective application within one month from the birth of the child. Filiation is established together with the registration of birth. The mother of a child is the woman who gave birth to the child, and the father is the man who conceived the child. Unfortunately, the matter is not always clear when it comes to the father and, therefore, the law protects the right of the child to the other parent (father) by stating that the father of the child is the man who is married to the mother of the child. The law provides for a possibility of submitting a joint application for ascertaining filiation by the parents (not married to each other) and finally also the right to contest the entry concerning parent in a court.

Furthermore, the Family Law Act protects another important right of the child, namely the right to know his or her parents, to have relations with them as far as possible, and not to be separated from parents without legal grounds. The only grounds that can justify separation of the child from the family have been specified in the Family Law Act. The law states that a child can be removed from the parent only in case of violent conduct or negligence by the parent, and only a court has the right to decide on this issue.

The Family Law Act specifies that the child has the right to be maintained by the parents and establishes grounds for recourse to a court in case of failure to provide maintenance.

Finally, the Family Law Act governs the issues of adoption and guardianship, establishing the key principle that the interests and needs of the child should have priority in both cases.

Law of Succession Act

Succession is a legal transaction that is as old as the written law itself. The Law of Succession Act prescribes a compulsory portion to protect the right of the descendants (incl. the children of the bequeather) to a share of the estate and specifies that the descendants are first order successors.

Public Law

Labour law

Some issues of children are also governed by labour law. The use of child labour or economic exploitation of children is still an international problem in several countries, preventing normal development of children and restricting their rights to education, hobbies and rest. The main objective is the protection of children from work that is too hard for the child or detrimental to the health. The first right and duty of a child is to learn, which has led to the establishment of several restrictions on employment of children in the age of compulsory school attendance (children aged from 7 to 17).

For example, an employer may not employ a minor under 15 years of age or a minor subject to the obligation to attend school, unless otherwise provided by law. Minors of 13–14 years of age and minors of 15–16 years of age subject to the obligation to attend school are permitted to perform work where the nature of the tasks is simple and does not require great physical or mental effort.

An employer should observe several fundamental restrictions when employing minors; a minor may not be employed if the work:

- is beyond the minor's physical or psychological capacity;
- is likely to harm the moral development of the minor;
- involves the risk of accidents which it may be assumed cannot be recognised or avoided by a minor owing to his or her lack of experience or training;
- is likely to harm the minor's social development or to jeopardise his or her education;
- involves health hazards to the minor arising from the nature of the work or from the working environment.

Furthermore, entry into an employment contract with a minor requires a written consent of the minor's legal representative and additionally consent of the labour inspector if the minor is 13–14 years of age.

Education

Access to education is one of the main rights of the child and it is associated with a clear duty of the child to learn and the duty of the parent to ensure that the child is able to participate and participates in the educational process.

Healthcare

A child has the right to healthcare and in Estonia, children are ensured healthcare since start of pregnancy of the mother. Health insurance cover is extended to all women who register their pregnancy and reside in Estonia, as well as to all children. However, healthcare should be viewed in a wider context and the child has also a role to play in this respect. The Child Protection Act imposes a duty on the child to maintain his or her health. The health insurance system based on the principle of solidarity ensures that children have access to medical examination and treatment.

Social security and welfare services

The state uses the social security system to recognise all children residing in Estonia and pays a child allowance on each child raised in a family on the basis of the State Family Benefits Act and the principle of solidarity. The same Act prescribes further family benefits for the upbringing of children. There are in total ten different types of family benefits, but not all are monthly benefits. The recent amendments to the law have particularly emphasised the support to the children in families with many children by establishing an additional benefit for families with many children (parental allowance for families with seven or more children) and increasing the amount of child benefits proportionally with the number of children in the family. This Act also specifies payment of foster care allowances to cover the costs associated with upbringing the child, but does not provide for payment of remuneration to the guardian or caregiver in a family.

The Parental Benefit Act was adopted to increase the security of families with children and create a suitable living and development environment for children. The Act secures the current level income for one parent until the child reaches one and half years of age.

The Maintenance Allowance Act was adopted to alleviate the situation of single parents in cases when the other parent does not perform the duty to provide maintenance to the child. The Act establishes the possibility of partial compensation of child maintenance costs for up to three months.

Victim

Adequate treatment of and support to child victims is a sensitive subject, which certainly needs further development. Pursuant to the Child Protection Act, every person is required to notify the police or a social services worker of a child who is in need of assistance.

Offender

A person who is at least 14 years of age is capable of guilt and is held responsible for his or her acts pursuant to the Penal Code. However, several protective measures have been established for minors to ensure their welfare during the period of pre-trial procedure and in cases when they are sentenced to a custodial institution. For example, an exemption applicable to minors includes arrangements to enable them to comply with the obligation to attend school.

Juvenile offences and also minor deviations from social regulations are processed primarily on the basis of the Juvenile Sanctions Act. A juvenile who does not fulfil the obligation to attend school, loiters or steals is referred to a juvenile committee by the school, local government or frequently also by the prosecutor who uses the right to discipline a minor through the juvenile committee. The purpose of the Juvenile Sanctions Act is to influence and support the juveniles without application of stricter penal measures. In addition to milder sanctions, such as sanctions concerning organisation of study, conciliation, obligation to live with a parent or guardian, warning, community service, etc., the Act also provides as an extreme measure for a possibility to file a court application for sending the minor to a school for students with special needs. The latter is a special sanction, which the court may impose for one year and thereafter extend for one more year subject to the submission of a respective application.

Strategies

The rights of children and the protection of these rights are treated in the Strategy to Guarantee the Rights of the Child

The role of the state is to ensure the continuity of its actions and attempts have been made to achieve this with strategy documents for different fields. The document dealing with strategic issues of children's rights and the protection of these rights is called 'Strategy to Guarantee the Rights of the Child' and it foresees adoption of annual action plans by the Government of the Republic. The Ministry of Social Affairs has the obligation to submit to the Government progress reports on action plans.

The Strategy to Guarantee the Rights of the Child and the resulting action plans list the main development trends and actions to ensure welfare of children, grouped by the government areas of all ministries. Other national strategic documents generally also include special provisions associated with children. For example, the Development Plan for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings includes special provisions on children.

General organisation of child welfare

In general terms, the child welfare activities could be classified under two groups: services, support and other assistance provided to the child and to his or her family to support establishment of a safe growing and development environment for the child, and foster care.

The purposes of the Social Welfare Act include provision of assistance if the potential for a person or family to cope is insufficient and promotion of the ability of persons and families to cope. The child welfare is pursues the same objectives.

The main responsibility for promoting the coping ability of children and families with children and for providing support lies with the local governments

The main responsibility for promoting the coping ability of children and families with children and for providing support lies with the local governments. They shall:

- *support children and persons raising children, co-operate with family members, other persons and agencies concerned;*
- *develop and implement specific programmes and projects for the development and protection of children;*
- *if necessary, appoint support persons or support families for children or persons raising children;*
- *organise the guardianship of children;*
- *assist in arranging adoptions;*
- *organise care for a child in a family of which he or she is not a member.*

The issues of foster care and rehabilitation of disabled children are the responsibility of the state

The state has assumed responsibility primarily for the issues of foster care and rehabilitation of disabled children. All efforts are made to find adoption families or guardians (as regulated by the Family Law Act) for children removed from their families or homes and in need of foster care. This is seen as the most stable and family-like option for the child deprived of the family. In case of adoption, the child is ensured a safe growing environment until becoming an adult and a parent-child relation is established, resembling that enjoyed by children born to a family.

The welfare services also provide a possibility to send children who are deprived of parental care to a foster family or substitute home. Foster family is an alternative service to the substitute home, to ensure upbringing of the child in a family environment. Several requirements have been established for the person providing foster care, for his or her home and family members to ensure safety of the foster child. One of the requirements is that the person providing foster care should pass a respective training course. The maintenance costs of the child growing in a foster family are compensated pursuant to the State Family Benefits Act through foster care allowances.

The substitution home, colloquially also known as orphanage, as a welfare service has undergone major changes, with particular emphasis placed on the creation of a family-like atmosphere. It is important to note with regard to the substitute homes that the state covers the maintenance costs of the children residing in these homes, irrespective of the type of ownership of these institutions.

The rehabilitation services offered to disabled children are administrated by the government primarily because specific disability problems are too complicated for the local level. The rehabilitation services grant every disabled child a right to a rehabilitation plan and the services provided according to this plan. Additional rehabilitation services are available for children with behavioural problems. In this case, the provision of the services is decided by the juvenile committee according to the Juvenile Sanctions Act.

Organisation of child welfare is based on the principles embodied in the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child and the Child Protection Act.

GROWTH ENVIRONMENT OF CHILDREN

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Birth rate

Birth rate is an important indicator of population reproduction. It plays a crucial role in the survival of the Estonian population. The Estonian birth rate has been increasing in recent years. However, comparison of the current birth rate indicators with those from the recent past, the 1980s, clearly indicates that the birth rate in Estonia is still far from a satisfactory level, despite the increasing total number of births and improving birth rate, it is not sufficient for population reproduction.

Birth rate indicates the number of live births, which is expressed by the total fertility rate (TFR). It shows the average number of children born to a woman, if the fertility rate during the entire fertile age remains at the same level as in the year it was calculated. In principle, it means the average number of children born to a woman by the end of the fertile age. Consequently, TFR indicates the level of population reproduction — TFR above 2.15 would mean that the population is able to reproduce itself and the population numbers remain stable in each generation. Lower TFR means that the population is unable to reproduce itself.

Estonian population is unable to reproduce itself

The fertility rate in Estonia has been constantly increasing since 2004. The growth itself justifies certain satisfaction. The natural increase has also grown. However, the fertility rate is still below the reproduction level and the natural increase remains negative. The end of the 1980s was the last time Estonian birth rate was above the reproduction level, with an average of 25,000 births registered annually (Figure 1 on page 11). Compared with this peak, the number of births had almost halved by the end of the 1990s. For the year 2007, this indicator had risen to 15,775 live births, accounting for 2/3 of the number of births registered during the years of the Singing Revolution. However, this past period also includes large emigration from Estonia at the beginning of the 1990s, reducing the Estonian population by 15%. In order to eliminate the effects of such external factors, demographic situation is usually described using fertility rate indicators.

The total fertility rate was 2.22 in 1989 and dropped steeply at the beginning of the 1990s, as did the number of births. During the final years of the 1990s and the beginning of 2000s, TFR stayed below 1.4 for more than ten years, dropping once even under 1.3 in 1998. TFR level under 1.3 is called 'lowest-low fertility' (Kohler et al. 2002), because this rate halves the stable population size every 45 years. For the year 2007 TFR rose to 1.64. The analysis of TFR indicators should also take account of the fact that the parturition age in Estonia decreased in the end of the 1980ies and beginning of 1990ies and, therefore, the TFR value was higher than the actual birth rate. Thereafter, the parturition age started to increase and the TFR value is lower than the actual birth rate.

The increase in the parturition age is characterised both by the distribution of parturition ages across the number of births as well as the change in average age. The increasing parturition age means that the share of births to mothers aged under 20 and between 20 and 24 years has decreased in recent years. The share of mothers giving birth between 30 and 39 years of age has grown rapidly. In 2007, the average parturition age was 28.5 and the average age of mothers giving birth to their first child was above 25.4. In 1989, both indicators were lower by approximately three years. However, in comparison to Finland or Sweden, the Estonian average parturition age is still relatively low.

Increase has been noticeable in recent years in the births of both first and second and even subsequent children. However, the structure of births in relation to previous births has not significantly changed in the 2000s (Võrk, Karu 2006). During that period, first-time mothers accounted for around 49% of all women giving birth while the share of women giving birth to their second child increased by a few percentage points, remaining around the level of 1/3 of all births.

The increase in the total number of births in the 2000s has been brought about by women with higher education

After the establishment of the motherhood benefit, there have been many debates on the impact of the benefit on the childbirth and labour market behaviour. The changes in the background of new mothers in recent years and the role of the motherhood benefit have been considered. Since the end of the 1990s, the share of women with higher education among the women giving birth has risen from 15% to 29.7%. The percentage of women with lower level of education has remained stable. The percentage of mothers with higher education increased primarily due to the increased number of mothers with higher education, not due to a decrease in the number of births to women with other levels of education. It means that the increase in the total number of births in the 2000s has been brought about by women with higher education: the total increase in the number of births was 2,452 while the increase among women with higher education was 2,541 births in the period 1999–2006. This development could be expected, because the relative share of people with higher education has increased in the population, as has the average parturition age (mothers finish their education before having a child).

More than half of the children are born outside registered marriages

Estonia is at the top of the list in Europe with regard to the number of extramarital births. While births to married parents dominate in most European countries and, on average, only every third child is born outside marriage, 58% of the children born in Estonia in recent years have been born to unmarried couples. The share of extramarital births has been growing throughout the new independence period and exceeded the 50% mark in 1997, but this long growth trend has stabilised in recent years. Only Iceland with 66% of children born to unmarried couples in 2005 (according to Eurostat) has more extramarital births than Estonia. The share of extramarital births is lower in Southern Europe where religion and family traditions play a greater role (Valgma 2007). Extramarital births include both children born to parents in an unregistered marriage and to single mothers. Children are considered to be born to single mother if the birth registration does not include any information on the father. The number of births to single mothers has been decreasing since 2000 and the current share of these births is less than 10% (Figure 2 on page 12).

Every third pregnancy is terminated by abortion at the request of the woman

Another change in recent years is the relative decrease in the total number of abortions. Despite the decreasing number of abortions and increasing number of births, only 56% of the pregnancies progressed to live births and in 2006, every third pregnancy was terminated by abortion at the request of the woman. Abortions are dependent on age — the most pregnancies are terminated in the age group 20–29 and the majority of women having an abortion have already given birth to at least one child. In 2006, the average age of women who had had legally induced abortions was 28 years. These indicators have not shown any significant changes in the 2000s, but the rate of abortions has increased among women without any children and has decreased among women who already had at least two children. However, the total figures indicate a decrease in the number of abortions across all age groups and any number of children, but the decrease has been slower among women with no children.

As Estonia has a large number of immigrants whose demographic behaviour resembles that of their country of origin and differs from the native population, it is important to compare the childbearing behaviour of different ethnic groups. During the Soviet period, the percentage of births to Estonian parents decreased faster than the percentage of Estonians in the total population. This can be explained by the fact that the immigrants were generally people of younger working age and, consequently, had a higher birth rate. The birth rate among the Estonians started to increase slowly in 1983 and was boosted in 1988 after the decrease of the share of Estonians in the total population was halted (Figure 3 on page 13). The birth rates among the population from other origins started to increase as well in the 1980s. As most of the emigrants from Estonia in the 1990s were non-Estonians who generally had only recently arrived and, consequently, were also younger, the percentage of Estonians in the total number of births jumped to a significantly higher level than the percentage of Estonians in the total population (in 1993 73% and 64%, respectively), and the average age of Estonians was lower than the summarised age of the local population of different origin. Currently, the share of births to Estonian parents in the total number of births has decreased by a few percentage points and is by 2–3% higher than the share of Estonians in the total population.

The birth rate of Estonians is also higher than the summarised indicator of other ethnic groups. The birth rate of Estonians has been steadily increasing since 2002 while the number of births to the local non-Estonian women has been fluctuating. In 2006, the total fertility rate was 1.60 among Estonians and 1.37 among non-Estonians. In addition to differences in demographic behaviour, the difference in fertility rates can be explained also by different geographic locations of the ethnic groups: the majority of non-Estonians are living in the cities and the fertility indicators of city residents are generally lower.

Births to single mothers were more frequent among non-Estonians. They do not have an established tradition of unregistered marriages and they generally prefer to marry before giving birth. Estonian women who have a partner on the other hand often decide to marry after the child has been born. It should be noted that the number of births to married couples has consistently decreased in comparison with births to unregistered marriages among Estonians. However, the number of births to married couples has increased among non-Estonians in recent years due to decreased percentage of children registered without a father.

The percentage of children born to multi-ethnic families has decreased in the last couple of years

Estonians have been living together with the representatives of other ethnic groups for more than half a century, but the percentage of children born to multi-ethnic families has decreased, at least in the last couple of years: compared with the end of the 1980s, the percentage of children born to parents of the same ethnic origin had increased by 3% in 2007.

It is very difficult to identify the roles played by different causes of fertility rate increase in the actual increase in the birth rate. It is clear that the current increase in the birth rate is perfectly natural in the light of the fact that the average parturition age has been increasing for more than 10 years. The age structure of the population indicates that the larger generation born at the end of the 1980s has reached fertile age. Assuming continuation of the growth of the average parturition age, it would seem that the birth rate should not only remain at the current level but should continue to increase for some time. The particular impact of the parental benefit on the increase of fertility rate could be demonstrated if the characteristic indicators of women giving birth in comparison to women in fertile age would show new trends or changes in pace after 2004, but the analysis of data indicates that no such changes have occurred. The average parturition age had been growing for some time before that year and the percentage of women with higher education and employed women among the women giving birth had been increasing already since 2002.

Household composition

The primary social function of the family is to take care of the children. Performance of this function and access to various resources determines the welfare and development of children. The future life of the person depends on the type of his or her household during childhood. Certain household types (such as single parents and families with many children) are both economically and socially more vulnerable. In comparison to others, they are at a greater risk of poverty or losing dwelling. Households with a single parent generally tend to do worse than the average. They usually have to cope with income from only one person, which is often lower than the income earned by the person responsible for the majority of income in households with two parents. As most of the single parents are women, the income differences can be traced back to the different behaviour of men and women in the labour market. Lower household income or poverty has both direct and indirect impact on the welfare of children. In addition to physical welfare, economic disadvantages restrict access to education and social development. Several studies have demonstrated a strong correlation between the level of education of children and the education of the parents. The family models and customs inherited from the childhood home affect the beliefs and values of the person for the rest of the life.

An average household has 1.5 children

In 2007, Estonia had 174,600 households with children from 0–17 years of age. Less than a third of the households had children. An average household had 1.5 children. Both the number and percentage of households with children have gradually decreased. While there were more than 220,000 of such households in 1996, amounting to 38% of total households, the number had decreased by one fourth by 2007 (Figure 4 on page 14). The causes

The percentage of households with dependant children in Estonia is at the European average level

include the decrease in population size and in birth rate. Decreasing population numbers led to the decrease in the number of households (incl. households with children). The rapid decrease in birth rate at the beginning of the 1990s had a major impact on the birth and number of children in the family. Families with only one child have become increasingly popular while the share of families with many children has decreased. In 2007, 61% of the households with children had one child, 29% had two children, 7% had three and 3% had four or more children.

In order to ensure the comparability at the European level, the statistics on children is based on the definition of dependant child, which states that a child is anyone below the age of 16 and anyone of 16–24 years of age who is living with at least one parent and is economically inactive. The percentage of households with children in Europe ranges from 28–62%. The indicators are lowest in the northern countries, such as Germany, Denmark, Finland and the United Kingdom, and higher in the southern countries, the new EU Member States and Catholic countries, such as Slovakia, Poland, Spain and Ireland. The percentage of households with dependant children in Estonia is 37%, which is only one percentage point higher than the European Union (EU 15) average. Similar percentages are characteristic of Latvia, France, Italy and Greece. The percentage of households with children has decreased in Estonia as in other European countries. The share of households with children was by more than 10 percentage points higher in many countries in 1988 than in 1999. Compared with 1994, the European average percentage has decreased by five percentage points (Figure 5 on page 15).

The share of single people and pensioners has increased. This trend is common for the entire Europe and is likely to continue in the next decades (Trends... 2003). In 2007, households of single working age persons and pensioners made up 40% of the total households. One seventh was couples without children where at least one member was of working age. The same proportion was also characteristic of the households where parents and their adult children lived together. Every fourth household consisted of parents and minor children. Single-parent households accounted for 4% of the total households. Among the households with children, single parents made up 14% and couples with children 77%. The most common type was couples with one child; they made up one third of all households with children.

The size of income is an important factor for the welfare of the household. In addition to other factors, the income depends on the gender of the head of household. The head of the household is a member of the household who brings the highest income to the household. The income is higher in the households where the man is the head of household. The larger the number and the younger the age of children in a household, the lower the likelihood that the household is headed by a woman. In comparison to men, women are much more burdened with housekeeping and taking care of the family and this prevents them from participating in the labour market on equal terms with men. However, in one fourth of the couples with one child, woman is the head of household. In the group of households with two or more children, every sixth is headed by a woman. The average income across the household types is lowest in the households with a single parent, because the majority of them are women. In 2007, 93% of the single parents were women and 7% were men.

Most of the children are raised in households with two adults

Most of the children (79%) are raised in a household that includes two adults (Figure 6 on page 16). 13% of the children are living with a single parent and 8% belong to a household of three generations or some other type. One fourth of children with two parents belong to families with two children, one fifth to families with one child, and one sixth to families with three or more children. Pre-school children tend to belong to traditional households with two parents. As the age of the children increases, households with single parent, several generations and other types become increasingly common. The likelihood of separation of parents increases with the age of children. Only 8% of children aged from 0–6 are living with a single parent, while the percentage redoubles by the age 15–17. The age differences of children in one household are usually relatively small; consequently, children from 15–17 years of age are more likely to live in a household that includes both minor and adult children. Children approaching adulthood live more frequently in other household types as well — together with siblings or with a partner.

14% of the children living with two adults are living in a household where one or both parents are not the biological or legally adopted parents of the child. Most of these children (12%) live with stepfathers. 3% of the children have a stepmother or two stepparents. The percentage of children with stepparents increases with the age of the children. 94% of the children aged from 0–6 live with two natural parents, while this percentage decreases to 81% in the age group 7–17.

Even though economic welfare tends to be better in case of children with two parents as opposed to children with a single parent, the household income does not depend on the number of parents but the number of employed household members. More than half of the children (57%) are living in a household with two or more employed members (Figure 7 on page 17). More than one third of the children belong to households with one employed member. 6% of the children are living in very poor economic conditions where all household members are unemployed or inactive. The number of employed household members is in correlation with the age of the children. While the children are young, the mother tends to stay home with them and is therefore inactive. More than half of children aged 0–2 are living in a household with only one employed member, while one third have households with two or more employed members. The mother tends to return to work when the child grows older. Thus, more than 60% of the children in the age group 7–17 are living in families with two or more employed persons.

Living conditions of households with children

Poor living conditions create social segregation, affect the welfare of children and promote generational poverty. The dwelling and its location have an impact on various aspects of life, such as privacy, health, security, social networks and availability of services (schools, hobby groups, etc.). Overcrowding and cramped living conditions at home may cause various psychological consequences (e.g., stress, aggressiveness), poor relations with parents, problems at school, etc.

Households with children have on average less than one room per family member

The average dwelling of households with children has 3.1 rooms and the average total area of the dwelling is 71 m². While the dwelling of households without children is smaller (2.5 rooms and 58 m²), the households with children live in more cramped conditions as they have more members. While households without children have 1.7 rooms per member, households with children only have 0.9. At an average of 20 m², the dwelling area per member is also smaller in households with children while households without children can enjoy an average of 38 m² of area per household member. The living conditions of the households with children tend to get more cramped as the number of children increases. Couples with one child have an average dwelling area of 21 m² per household member. Couples with three or more children only have an area of 17 m² per member, which is less than half compared to the space used by households without children. The largest space per household member, 27 m², is available to single parents with one child (but even this is by more than 10 m² smaller than the area used by households without children). Single parents with more children, however, cannot afford to buy a larger dwelling for the household; their dwelling is approximately of the same size (57 m²) as that of the single parents with one child.

The most common type of dwelling for a household with children is an apartment building, with 71% of these households living in such buildings. One fifth of the households live in detached, semi-detached or terraced and one tenth in farmhouses. The percentage of households living in an apartment is highest among single parents of whom 84% live in an apartment. Family homes are most often used as a dwelling by households with two adults and three or more children (34%). There are no significant differences in the types of dwelling of households with and without children. Households without children have a slightly lower tendency to live in family homes and higher tendency to live in apartment buildings.

Improved level of economic stability is offered by the ownership of the dwelling. 89% of the households with children own the dwelling they occupy, 5% are renting it at market rates and 6% are renting it at discount rates or can use it without charge (Figure 8 on page 18). The percentage of owners is slightly lower — 84% — among households without children.

One third of households with children believe that their current dwelling is adequate for them

Many households without children are comprised of single persons under 64 years of age. Nearly one third of them are renting their dwelling or using it without charge. Among the households with children, tenants are most common (one fifth) in the group of single parents and most uncommon in the groups of couples with two children as well as couples with minor and adult children.

Households with children tend to have a better opinion of the condition of the dwelling they occupy than households without children. Nearly two thirds of the households with children (61%) believe that the condition of their dwelling is good or very good. A similar assessment was given by only half of the households without children. One third of the households with children believe that their current dwelling is in satisfactory condition, while 4% of the households think that it is poor and has significant faults. Among the households without children, nearly half (45%) believe their dwelling to be satisfactory and 5% consider it to be poor. Couples with one child have the highest opinion of the dwelling they occupy (67% think that it is in good or very good condition) while single parents and couples with three or more children tend to have the lowest opinion (56% in both household types think that it is in good or very good condition). Even though households with children have a better opinion of the condition of their dwelling, they do not rate the adequacy of the dwelling for their household as highly as households without children. 29% of the households with children and 37% of the households without children believe that their current dwelling is perfectly adequate, while 49% and 44%, respectively, think that they have a more or less adequate dwelling. 4% of the households without children stated that they live in an almost or completely inadequate dwelling while a similar statement was made by twice as many households with children. The dwelling is least adequate for single parents and couples with three or more children.

The main stated reasons why the dwelling was inadequate for a household with children included small area, high costs, poor condition and insufficient number of rooms. The high costs are a particular problem for single parents of whom 41% believe that their dwelling is too expensive. Other problems mentioned by single parents included small area (31%), insufficient number of rooms (30%) and unsafe location (19%). In comparison to other household types, single parents and couples with three or more children were more concerned about the lack of amenities, poor condition of the dwelling and distant location. Households with three or more children struggle more than others with the cramped size and insufficient number of rooms.

Time spent with children

Women in households with children spend more than one hour a day on childcare

The physical and mental welfare of the children is influenced by the time they spend with their parents. This has an effect on the health of the children, relations with parents and education. Women tend to spend more time on childcare than men. They also have more housekeeping duties and spend more time at home. The men use more time for paid work. In households with children, women spend slightly more than an hour (69 minutes) a day on childcare as the main activity. This time is much shorter for men — 22 minutes a day. Women tend to use the time spent on childcare for physically caring for the children (feeding, dressing, washing, etc.) while men use this time to play with the children. More than half (54%) of the time women use for childcare is spent on physical care and supervision, one fifth is spent on playing, talking, reading, and one tenth is spent on educating the children. Men use one third of their respective time to play and talk with the children and less than one third (30%) of the time to physical caring for the children.

The younger the children, the more time parents spend with them. Women in households with children spend on average two hours on caring for children aged 0–6 (Figure 9 on page 19). The time men spend on caring for children in this age group is more than three times shorter — an average of 40 minutes a day. Older children no longer require constant supervision and physical care and the time spent with them tends to be used for learning, playing and talking. Women spend on average half an hour and men 9 minutes a day on caring for children in the age group 7–17.

The time Estonian women spend on caring for children aged 0–6 years is one of the longest in Europe. The same amount of time is spent on childcare by Hungarian, Finnish and

Slovenian women. However, Estonian men lag behind the Nordic men in terms of time spent with children. With regard to spending time with older children, Estonian women are amongst the European average, with Hungarian, Swedish and Belgian women, for example, having longer childcare time. French, Norwegian and UK women spend a similar amount of time on childcare as the Estonian women. Estonian men are similar to the men of Finland and Norway, for example, in terms of spending time with children in the age group 7–17. The Swedish men spend the most time on childcare. The differences between countries do not necessarily mean that some countries care less for their children but are rather an indicator of differences in the provision of childcare services (How... 2004).

The above figures only include the time spent on childcare as the main activity. The actual time spent with children is much longer, because childcare is often accompanied by some other activity. For example, food preparation can take place at the same time as talking or learning with the child. The main activities where children are present are associated with housekeeping, family and leisure time. In households with children, men aged 18–64 spend more than three hours a day on these activities together with children under 10, while women spend 5.5 hours. Men spend more than half (56%) of the time they use for housekeeping and family together with a child under 10, while women do 79% of the domestic chores together with the children. Both women and men prefer to spend their leisure time alone or with someone else; both spend about one third of their leisure time with children. More than half of it is spent in front of the TV, one fifth on communication and one tenth on sports.

CHILD POVERTY AND SOCIAL PROTECTION

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Poverty

Nowadays poverty is considered as multidimensional phenomenon. Historical approach to poverty has been based on insufficient income, which has still remained major reason for poverty.

The issue of classification of people as living above or below poverty line is rather complicated. In view of the fact that in modern global society, countries tend to compare themselves with each other, this also represents a consensual issue to certain extent.

Structure of income

Households with children receive at least 2/3 of their income from paid employment

According to the data of the Household Budget Survey the households with children receive at least 2/3 of their income from paid employment (Figure 1 on page 20). In case of a couple with one child the proportion of paid employment is much higher — as much as 84% — than in case of other households with children. Transfers represent an important source of income for single parent households (24%) and households with three or more children (20%). Child benefit accounts for almost half of the transfers of households with three or more children (46%), whereas other transfers are dominant in a single parent household (the proportion of child benefit 30%).

Relative poverty

For statistical purposes the calculation of poverty consists of base units such as household and income received by household, i.e. poverty applies to the entire household, not to its single members. Although in real life there may be cases where children of a poor household are better provided with basic necessities than children in a wealthier household (although it is done on the account of parents), the statistical calculation presumes certain methods for distribution of resources.

A member of a household is as poor as that household.

Calculation of poverty rate is based on income per household member. However, there are expenses incurred in a household that are irrelevant to the number of members in a household (e.g. electricity, heating). Therefore the basis for calculating poverty rate does not equal household income divided by the number of household members. Instead, the total consumption is calculated by adding each subsequent person at lower coefficient. In case of relative-at-poverty rate the consumption coefficient is 1:0.5:0.3, i.e. the coefficient of the second and every subsequent adult in the consumption is 0.5 and the coefficient of each child is 0.3. Household income, which is divided by the sum of consumption coefficients, is called net equivalence income. Poor households are households, where net equivalence income is 60% lower than the annual median income of the household.

Relative-at-poverty rate represents the share of people receiving lower income than other members of the society. Despite the fact that EU Member States use harmonized methods, the standard of living cannot be compared on the basis of relative-at-poverty rate. Thus it is impossible to say that people living in country A are poorer than people living in country B, because the relative-at-poverty rate is higher in country A. Relative-at-poverty rate allows comparison of the level of inequality between countries, composition and size of risk groups.

Almost one fifth of Estonian population lives in poverty

In 2005 the relative-at-poverty rate in Estonia was 2,846 EEK per month. These households who received net equivalence income lower than the relative-at-poverty threshold, were classified as poor. According to the data of Estonian Social Survey (ESS) approximately one

Poverty risk is higher in case of single parent household and households with three or more children

fifth (18.3%) of the population of Estonia lived in relative poverty in 2005. The poverty rate has remained stagnant during recent years (Figure 2 on page 21).

There is no significant difference in poverty rate of households with children and households without children (Figure 3 on page 21). As for households with children, the single parent households are at the greatest risk of poverty — 40% of such households live in poverty. Risk of poverty is also higher in case of households with three or more children. Major risk of poverty in case of single parent households and households with three or more children arises from below average ratio of working persons and dependants. Besides that almost one fifth (17%) of single parent households are unemployed (unemployment rate in other households with children ranges from 1–3.5%). It also has to be considered that the majority of single parents (95%) consists of women, who are generally lower paid.

Relative child poverty

Child poverty rate is mostly above general poverty rate

In most countries child poverty rate is higher than general poverty rate of the population (Figure 4 on page 22). Estonia is no exception — in 2005 the child poverty rate exceeded the general poverty rate of Estonia by two percentage points (18% vs. 20%). Yet in some EU countries, the child poverty rate remains below the general poverty rate. Such countries include Denmark, Cyprus, Finland, and Germany.

In most countries the level of child poverty and general poverty differs only by a couple of percentage points. However, there are also some negative cases (Hungary, Czech Republic), where the poverty of children significantly exceeds the general poverty rate. Fortunately, this is not the case with Estonia. Meanwhile, any level of child poverty should be disapproved. In this light it is good to know that some countries have set the target of reducing the child poverty to minimum level and there has even been some talk about obliteration of child poverty.

Reduction of child poverty

There are two ways to reduce child poverty: to increase benefits or income from paid employment

In order to reduce poverty it is necessary to increase household income either by increasing benefits or income from paid employment. States will have to find balance between these two strategies. During recent years the so-called employment strategy has received more support, based on the fact that the children of unemployed households and single provider households are at the highest poverty risk.

The efficiency of national social and family policy in reducing child poverty can be evaluated by comparing poverty rates before and after transfers. Similar amount of social protection costs can be used in order to bring different number of children out of poverty, but the general rule states that the higher the social protection costs, the lower the level of child poverty.

When considering the poverty rate before and after transfers Estonian position is better in the first case. Before making the transfers our position is above average (31% vs. 33%) (i.e. we are ahead of the leading country, Finland), but after making the transfers our position shall be below the average position of child poverty rate in EU (20% vs. 19%). This decline is due to the fact that, in comparison to other EU Member States, social protection costs incurred in Estonia are the smallest, similar to Latvia and Lithuania. Therefore sufficient earnings are essential in order to escape poverty. Moreover, child and family benefits in Estonia are universal — the benefit does not depend on the income of the household. The same amount of benefit is paid to rich and poor alike. Meanwhile, parental benefit and income tax incentive are in positive dependence on income. Thus in our case poverty is more likely to threaten single parents and households with three or more children, because of worse ratio of working persons and dependants.

Transfers reduce child poverty in Estonia by one third

The impact of transfers on bringing children out of poverty varies by countries, ranging from 8% (Greece) to 64.7% (Finland) (Figure 5 on page 23). Estonia holds medium position in that ranking. In 2005 transfers (excl. pensions) reduced poverty in Estonia by one third (35.5%). However, considering the modest social protection costs incurred by the state of Estonia and comparing it with the impact of transfer on child poverty, the Estonian system is

one of the most efficient systems (the most efficient!). While spending of one percentage of GDP causes average reduction of poverty by 3.2%, relevant reduction in Estonia is 5.1%.

Although transfers account for the major share of income received by single parent households and households with three or more children, such transfers reduce poverty to the greatest extent, i.e. by half, among the couples with minor and adult children (52%). In case of household with single parent transfers help to bring one third (30%) of children out of poverty.

When comparing households with and without children, it appears that they had similar poverty rate before transfers (27% vs. 29%, respectively). But transfers contribute to the reduction of poverty in households with children (9% vs. 3%). Thus, in Estonia the households with children gain more from the transfer than the households without children (Figure 6 on page 23).

Working life

It is rather logical that with two working parents it is less likely for a child to live in poverty. Therefore it is extremely important to combine working and family life. It may be difficult to work full time when raising a child, but a parent can work part-time. Unfortunately, part-time working is not very common in Estonia (Värk 2007). In EU the average proportion of part-time employees account for almost one fifth of all working population (2006: 18.7%), whereas the relevant rate in Estonia is more than twice less — 7.8%. The fact that the poverty rate of part-time employees has dropped significantly during recent years also speaks in favour of part-time working. If in 2003 the poverty rate of part-time employees accounted for a quarter, then in 2005 the corresponding indicator was slightly over one tenth (13%).

Unemployed households live in the greatest poverty

Unemployed households live in the greatest poverty (Figure 7 on page 24). On average six households out of ten (62%) of unemployed households with children live in poverty in EU 25. In case of Estonia it is easier to refer to the proportion of people living above poverty line — slightly more than one tenth (13%). Recently there has been a certain decrease in the number of children growing in unemployed households, but the number is still high — in 2006 the total of 8.2% of children under the age of 17 lived in unemployed households. Meanwhile, 39% of children living in unemployed household were raised by single parents.

The situation of children in unemployed households has become even worse over recent years. While the proportion of poor children living in unemployed household was three fourths (76%) in 2003, this proportion had increased to 83% by the year 2005. The poverty of children of unemployed households reached up to 94% in 2005, i.e. before transfers. The comparison of impact of transfers in different years on bringing the children of unemployed households out of poverty reveals reduction of such impact.

Meanwhile, even working does not fully avoid poverty. As much as 7–8% of working households with children in Estonia live below the poverty line, which ensures our medium position in the EU.

Regionally speaking there are major differences in child poverty. The poverty rate of children living in the cities is almost half of that of the children living in rural areas (16% vs. 27%). Urban households have higher family income and lower number of household members. There are less people with full workload among the parents of rural children (47% vs. 53.9%).

Threefold gap between the poorest and wealthiest region

By regions also big differences occur (Figure 8 on page 25). The gap between the richest and the poorest region is almost threefold. The amount of households with children living in poverty is one tenth (11%) in North Estonia, whereas relevant amount in North-eastern Estonia is almost one third (29%). The poverty indicator also exceeds average value in Central Estonia (24%). The number of unemployed households in North-eastern, Western and Southern Estonia exceeds relevant amount in Northern Estonia by one tenth. One fourth of households are unemployed in Northern Estonia, whereas the proportion of unemployed households in other abovementioned regions is more than one third (35%–38%). Northern Estonia has also higher wages compared to other regions.

Relative poverty pattern

Poverty pattern: one third — single people, 15% single parents

The majority, or one third (33%) of households in poverty, consists of single-member households (Table 1 on page 25). Households with children account for a half of the households in poverty. Although single-parent households represent the minority among the households with children, they are most represented among the households living in poverty.

It has been agreed on EU level that a person is considered poor if his or her income is lower than 60% of median equivalence income. In order to describe more specific distribution of poverty, other rates are also used — 40%, 50%, 70% (Figure 9 on page 26).

Child poverty rate has declined over past few years. And this decline has taken place on the accounts of the poorest — 8% of children received income lower than 40% of median equivalence income in 2005, whereas the relevant rate in 2003 was 11%.

At-risk-of-poverty gap

The level of poverty of our poor population is characterised by at-risk-of-poverty gap. The intensity of poverty refers to the difference between the at-risk-of-poverty threshold and the median income of population below the at-risk-of-poverty threshold. The income of households with children living in poverty is on average one third less than the at-risk-of-poverty threshold. The poverty was the highest among single-parent households and households with three or more children.

In comparison with other EU Member States, our children are relatively poorer (Figure 10 on page 26). Only the children in Latvia and Lithuania are poorer than children in Estonia. At the same time the median income of poor children is only one tenth below the at-risk-of-poverty threshold in Finland, which has the lowest level of child poverty.

Subsistence minimum

Subsistence minimum — the minimum amount of means of subsistence required for a human being

In addition to relative poverty, Statistics Estonia also reveals another indicator referring to the welfare of children — the subsistence minimum. The subsistence minimum is the minimum amount of means of subsistence, needed to cover his/her daily needs. The methodology for calculating the subsistence minimum was developed under the coordination of the Ministry of Social Affairs in the framework of the project “The methodology for estimation of subsistence minimum and poverty and modernisation of consumption coefficients used in calculating social indicators”. The calculation of subsistence minimum involves three cost components: expenses on food, housing expenses, individual expenses on non-food items and services.

In 2007 the subsistence minimum was 2,341 kroons (Table 2 on page 27). In 2007 6.5% of Estonian people lived below the subsistence minimum, the corresponding indicator for children was 9.5%. When compared to 2004, their proportion has declined over two times. Thus, the subsistence level of households with children has improved, although their income has not increased when compared to other groups.

Child poverty has decreased to some extent during recent years, but it is still higher than general poverty rate. In Estonia the single parent households and households with three or more children live at the highest risk of poverty. This is due to poor ratio of working people and dependants. In case of single parent, the proportion of poor is higher due to higher unemployment rate. Furthermore, single parents are mostly women whose income is significantly lower than the income of men.

There are also regional differences in poverty rate. The number of poor children is relatively lower in the cities and in Northern Estonia. The discrepancies arise from different unemployment rate and wages and salaries' level. In addition rural households are bigger than urban households.

In comparison with other European countries, the level of child poverty in Estonia is above the average. Our position is rather good before the transfers, but after transfers our position will fall — our social protection costs are extremely small, being almost three times lower than relevant costs in more successful countries.

Benefits, allowances and tax incentives for families with children

The state supports families with children in many ways, by paying maternity benefit and parental benefit, various family allowances and leave allowances and by providing tax incentives. Table 3 on page 28 shows the measures intended for families with children, based on the life span of the child.

Pregnancy and having a child is the first step in creating a family, and here we can talk about providing state support to families with children. Pursuant to the Holidays Act the mothers who have previously been employed, have the right to pregnancy and maternity leave and they shall receive maternity benefit. A mother has the right to commence pregnancy and maternity leave at least 70 days before the estimated date of delivery as determined by a doctor. If the woman commences pregnancy and maternity leave at least 30 days before the estimated date of delivery, she has the right to receive maternity benefit for 140 days. The amount of the benefit is 100% of mother's wages and salaries and it shall be calculated on the basis of average wages of the previous calendar year. If the mother commences maternity leave after the prescribed date, the benefit period shall be reduced by the number of days by which the maternity leave was delayed.

Over the years mothers have increasingly used their right to maternity leave

Over the years mothers have increasingly used their right to maternity leave. According to the data of Health Insurance Fund the average number of days of incapacity related to maternity benefit has increased during 2002–2006, from 95.5 days in 2002 to 127.3 days in 2006. The increase in the number of days of incapacity is first and foremost affected by those mothers who stay on maternity leave on time (i.e. 70 days before estimated date of delivery), which is associated with the calculations of the persons giving birth in order to find economically most favourable solution for using maternity benefit and parental benefit (Ajutise ..., 2006 and 2007), because the period of payment of the parental benefit is linked to maternity benefit.

The period of pregnancy and maternity leave is followed by the period of payment of parental benefit. The Parental Benefit Act entered into force on 1 January 2004 and its purpose is to retain, by grant of support by the state, the earlier income for persons whose income decreases due to the rising of a child, and to support the combination of work and family life. Parents who have not received income (and shall not be granted pregnancy and maternity leave or maternity benefit) shall be ensured with income to the extent of the benefit rate. In case of a parent contributing to mandatory funded pension (II column) the state shall pay one percent from the parental benefit as the contribution to the II column pension fund per each born child.

The parents are free to choose whether the parental benefit shall be used by mother or father. In case of mother the right to parental benefit starts as of the day after the final day of pregnancy and maternity leave. If mother was not granted pregnancy and maternity leave (did not work before the birth of the child), the right to parent benefit arises as of the birth of the child. In general, the father is entitled to parental benefit starting from the day when the child reaches 70 days of age. Besides the parent of a child the right to parental benefit is granted to adoptive parent, step-parent, guardian and caregiver.

The period of payment of the parental benefit has been extended in the course of time, and there has been an increase in the minimum and maximum amount of parental benefit as well. While in 2004 and 2005 the parental benefit was paid for the period of 365 days as of the beginning of the pregnancy and maternity leave, this period was increased to 575 days in 2008 (provided that mother commenced the pregnancy and maternity leave at least 30 days before estimated date of delivery). The period of payment of the parental benefit to non-working persons has been extended from 11 months in 2004 to 18 months in 2008 (Table 3 on page 28).

The analysis of persons receiving parental benefit covers the statistics with regard to annual parental benefit granted and paid. In terms of comparability it is more important to view the statistics concerning the granting of benefits, which reflects actual situation in a more expressive way and allows comparison between different periods. Payment statistics refers to the number of persons who have received benefit during a year and it depends on the

period of payment of parental benefit applicable at the moment when the child is born, such period, however, has been extended over the years.

At the time of its entry into force in 2004, pursuant to the provisions of payment of parental benefit, the benefit was also granted for children born in 2003, therefore more parental benefits were granted in 2004 than during the following years (Table 4 on page 29). In 99.9% of the cases the parental benefit is granted to the parent of the child. According to the statistics the caregiver or guardian of a child has been the recipient of parental benefit only in a dozen of cases per year.

The proportion of males among the recipients of parental benefit is less than two percentages

Parental benefit is dominantly granted to women. Although the proportion of men receiving parental benefit is constantly increasing, their proportion still remains less than 2% (Table 4 on page 29).

According to the statistics of 2006 with regard to granting the benefit the majority of people receiving parental benefit consists of people whose benefit equals 100% to the monthly income paid during the preceding calendar year — 51%. They are followed by those who receive parental benefit equal to the minimum monthly wages and salaries, their proportion was 26% in 2006, and then come those who receive the parental benefit equal to established benefit rate, which accounts for 18%. When compared to previous years, in 2006 there was a decline in the proportion of people who were granted the benefit equal to the minimum monthly wages and an increase in the proportion of people, whose benefit has been granted equal to 100% of monthly income. Yet in 2006 the proportion of those who were granted two minor benefits was 45%. The proportion of people who have been granted maximum amount of parental benefit during a year, has remained stagnant near 4% (Figure 11 on page 29).

In case of parental benefits it is interesting to compare the amount of benefits granted for males and females. According to the data of the Social Insurance Board, the average amount of parental benefit granted to men in 2006 exceeded the average parental benefit amount granted to women 1.8 times. While the average parental benefit amount granted to men was 10,913 kroons, relevant amount for women in 2006 was only 6,099 kroons. The same ratio is observed in the average amount of annual parental benefit paid to men and women (Figure 12 on page 30).

Therefore the statistics with regard to granting parental benefits clearly support traditional gender roles, according to which women stay home with a child and men go to work. Average parental benefit granted to men and women also clearly reflects the gap between income and wages of men and women.

After expiry of parental benefit period, but also during that period, the families with children receive various state family benefits. The system of state family benefits is based on the principle of universality, according to which each child is equally valuable and family income is not taken into account when paying benefits to families. The purpose of family benefits is to cover part of expenses incurred in relation to educating and raising children. In general the family allowance is paid for children under the age of 16, or in case of studies, for children under the age of 19 years.

State family benefits are divided into single, monthly and annual family benefits. In 2007 the monthly allowances included child allowance, child care allowance, single parent's child allowance, conscript's child allowance, foster care allowance, allowance for parent of a family with 7 or more children. Single allowances include childbirth allowance, adoption allowance and start in independent life allowance. Annual family allowance is child's school allowance (Table 5 on page 31).

The total number of family benefit recipients is based on the statistics on people receiving child allowance, as this allowance is paid to all children. As of the end of 2006 state family benefits were paid to the total of 180,096 families and 274,985 children. The reduction of the number of children has year-by-year also decreased the number of family benefit recipients (Table 5 on page 31).

Families with one child received 60% of all family benefits

The majority of families, who receive state family benefit, have one child — in 2006 this covered 60% of all families receiving benefits. The number of families with two children, who receive family benefits, has remained at within the limits of 30% during 2000–2006. The

families with three or more children consist one tenth of all families that receive family benefits (Figure 13 on page 32).

When comparing the families who receive state family benefits based on the number of children, according to the data of 2006 the majority of children came from families with two children (41%). Almost equal share of children receiving family benefits are raised in the families with one child (39%). One fifth of all children receiving family benefits come from families with three or more children.

The estimation of expenditure on family benefits and parental benefits shows that the expenditure on family benefits has steadily increased during recent years, unlike the parental benefits; the expenditure on the latter has doubled since 2004. In 2006 the expenditure on state family benefits was 1,643.6 million EEK, whereas the expenditure on parental benefit accounted for 898 million EEK. At the same time the proportion of family benefits in GDP has constantly declined, whereas the proportion of parental benefit is moving upwards. If the family benefits maintain their current level, the expenditure on parental benefits will soon exceed the total expenditure on family benefits (Figure 14 on page 33).

Next to family benefits, various tax incentives are available for families with children (additional income tax incentive for children under the age of 17; deduction of expenditure on children's education from taxable income; partial write-off of study loan) and additional parental leave.

Although the primary purpose of state family benefits does not include eradication of poverty, it is still apparent that family allowances contribute to reduction of poverty. Based on the results gained from the survey of 2007 (Vörk and Paulus 2007) one can say that state family benefits, parental benefit and additional basic exemption reduced the proportion of children living below relative poverty threshold by almost one third (approximately 20,000 children) and affected first and foremost families with more than three children. In terms of political measures valid until 2006 the allowance for families with three or more children was the best available to poor households. Single parent's allowance was also considered relatively available to poor households. According to that survey the allowance for families with three or more children was also the most cost efficient in reducing child poverty. The least cost efficient was parental benefit and tax exemption for the second child (ibid).

Most of the state resources are directed to the moment of childbirth and the child's first and a half year

To sum up the description of various insurance measures directed towards families with children, we may say that the major part of the resources of social insurance and family policy are directed to the moment of childbirth and the child's first and a half year, the majority of them consisting of parental benefit. Expenses incurred for children in subsequent age groups are much more modest. At the same time the surveys on expenses incurred in families with children have revealed that the expenses incurred for children increase as they grow older (Tiit 2004). Therefore, while developing political measures for the future, we should pay more attention to supporting families with children of pre-school and school age.

Currently applicable family policy measures are described in Table 6 on the following page.

Table 6 Measures of family policy based on the age of a child

Age of child	0–1.5		1.6–3		4–5		6–8		9–15							16–19				20–25						
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
MEASURE																										
Leaves																										
Pregnancy and maternity leave	+																									
Additional child care leave for fathers	+																									
Additional leave for one parent	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+											
State family benefits																										
Maternity benefit	+																									
Childbirth allowance	+																									
Child allowance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	^a	^b	^a	^b						
Parental benefit	+	+																								
Child care allowance			+	^a	^b	^a	^b	^a	^b																	
School allowance							+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	^a	^b	^a	^b						
Other family allowances	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	^a	^b	^a	^b						
Tax incentives																										
Additional basic exemption for each child under the age of 17	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
Deduction of expenditure on children's education from taxable income	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Up to 50% write-off of study loan of the parent for each child under the age of 5 ^a	+	+	+	+	+	+																				

^a Maximum age of the child at the time of application. In case of twins 75% and in case of triplets 100% of the study loan of one parent shall be written off. Write-off of the loan balance shall take place within double nominal period of study.

^b Applicable in case of additional requirements prescribed by law.

Child protection and welfare

The issue of child protection and welfare concerns first and foremost the children in need and families with children. The general organisation of child welfare was introduced in chapter one of this present collection. The following chapter provides an overview of people who carry out child protection services and discusses the use of child welfare services.

The responsibility for organisation of child protection and welfare on local government level lies with child protection or social workers, the latter in case there is no child protection worker available. The objective of the Child Protection Concept adopted by the Government of the Republic in 2005 is to achieve a situation where there would be one child protection worker per every 1000 children.

The total of 162 child protection specialists worked in Estonia in 2006

According to various experts the aforesaid number of specialists should be optimal in order to ensure the efficiency of child protection work. The number of child protection specialists increased during 2000–2006. In 2006 the total of 162 child protection specialists worked in local governments and county governments, 146 of them in local governments and 16 in county governments, respectively. The proportion of specialists with professional education was 78% of all child protection workers. The objective set out in the child protection concept comes closer year-by-year. On one hand it is affected by the increased number of child protection workers, on the other hand by the decreased number of children (Figure 15 on page 35).

In 2006 the total of 1,156 children used the safe house service

Pursuant to the Child Protection Act, all people are required to notify the social worker or the police of the child in need. Safe house^a is often the first place where children in need come to. The proportion of children among the people using safe house services per year was

^a Safe house is a welfare institution providing temporary assistance, support and protection

24 hours a day. The collection of statistical data on safe house services was commenced in 2003.

47% in 2006 (1,156 children), which is less than in previous years (e.g. in 2003 the total of 1,798 children used the service). The total of 12 safe houses and 4 children's homes provided safe house service for children in 2006 — these are safe houses specially intended for children. However, children are also allowed to stay in general safe houses. There are different reasons why children end up in a safe house, and often these reasons occur simultaneously; therefore in some cases it is impossible to bring out one major reason (one fifth of children in 2006). Main reasons include negligence at home, alcohol abuse by parents and other relatives and stray (17%, 13% and 13%, respectively, according to data of 2006). In case of one tenth of children the major reason is domestic violence and lack of residence (Table 7 on page 35). Children frequently come to the safe house with their parent (e.g. mothers with minor children), therefore not all reasons described with regard to using safe house can be associated with problems encountered by children — it may often concern one parent or both parents as well.

In view of child protection it is important to keep track of annual number of children who have attracted the attention of the child protection worker or social worker. There may be several reasons for such attention by social worker and child protection worker, starting from domestic violence and ending with failure to comply with the compulsory school attendance. Before 2006 the data were collected with regard to children without parental care, including orphans. In 2006 relevant statistics become more specified and the collection of data about children in need was commenced^a.

In 2000–2003 the number of children registered as children without parental care remained unchanged for the first time, and started to decline after 2003. As of the beginning of 2006 the total of 822 children were registered as children in need, who continued to live in their family under the monitoring of social or child protection worker. Within a year additional 1680 children without parental care or children in need were registered (Figure 16 on page 36). One fourth of all registered children were separated from their families^b (654 children) and as of the end of the year social workers or child protection workers continued to process the cases of 1,848 children who stayed with their families.

Upon separation from the family, the children are generally placed under substitute care — either under guardianship, in foster care or adoptive family or in substitute home. Child may also be temporarily placed in safe house.

During 2000–2006 the greatest proportion of children were subject to substitute home service (more popularly known as children's home) and foster care. The number of children placed in foster care decreases each year. In 2006 the number of children subject to foster care was only 180, compared to 487 children in 2001. The number of children placed in substitute home has gradually decreased to 255 children in 2006^c, at the same time being the highest among various forms of substitute care (Figure 17 on page 37).

The majority of children placed under guardianship come from biological family

Upon placement of guardianship the guardian shall act as legal representative of the child, but such action shall be limited by restrictions provided in the Family Law Act. The biological parents of the child retain the obligation to provide maintenance to child. The annual number of children placed under guardianship has remained within 200–275 children during 2000–2006 (Figure 17 on page 37). The majority of children placed under guardianship come from biological family (51% of all children placed under guardianship in 2006) and social welfare institutions (32% of all children placed under guardianship in 2006).

^a An orphan is a child whose both parents have deceased. A child without parental care is a child whose parents are missing, have restricted active legal capacity, are held in custodial institution, have been deprived of parental rights, or a child who is separated from family without deprivation of parental rights. In case of a child in need the social worker of child protection worker has commenced solving the case of that particular child without separating the child from the family.

^b If the situation in a family may threaten the life or health of a child, the guardianship authority (social worker or child protection worker of local government) shall separate the child from the family and shall, within 10 days, file a statement of claim with court in order to separate the child from the family with or without deprivation of parental rights.

^c Including children with severe and profound disability who are placed in substitute home both under national social welfare and on the basis of the parent's application.

The number of adopted children has varied during 2000–2006 (200 children in 2001, but only 158 children in 2006). The majority of adopted children are the children who live with one of their biological parents and are adopted by the spouse of that parent (51% of all adopted children in 2006). One third of children are adopted in a new family in Estonia. The number of children adopted by the citizens of foreign state has varied over years; in 2006 it was 20, which constituted a little more than one tenth of all adoptions. Most of the children are adopted from a biological family (more than half), whereas one third of the children are adopted from child welfare institutions.

In terms of child development it is important to ensure that they are raised in a family environment. Therefore the purpose of substitute care is to ensure that most of children in substitute care would be raised in a family, not in a social welfare institution. When considering the proportion of children placed in substitute care, it appears that it has remained within the limits of 65–73% during 2000–2006, accounting for 69% in 2006.

When considering the number of children subject to welfare services as of the end of the year, it appears that the majority of children are subject to substitute home service — the total of 1,621 children in 2006. The number of children subject to substitute home service dropped slightly during 2000–2006, unlike the number of children subject to foster care (551 children in 2006) and under guardianship (1,458 children in 2006), which has seen a more rapid decrease over recent years. One reason for that is overall decrease in the number of children. Meanwhile, the forms of family care have rather quickly become less frequent (especially foster care), and this decline has not been suspended even by increase in the allowance for foster care and guardianship (Table 8 on page 38).

STUDENT WELL-BEING AND HEALTH

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Various theories on well-being distinguish between objective and subjective well-being. Objective well-being theory speaks of education as immaterial resource, acquisition of which increases the well-being of a person and should be equally available for everyone (Dworkin 2000). According to more restricted approach the objective well-being in education can be measured on the basis of resources provided to the student, such as school catering, (improved) premises, study equipment, but also teachers. Subjective well-being theory considers individual well-being of a person (Diener et al 2003), i.e. student's content with the conditions available at school. In terms of acquisition of education it is a fact that, theoretically speaking, the student should be satisfied with the amount of well-being resulting from each day spent at school, as the student gradually moves towards acquisition of education level that could allow him/her to continue studies or commence work later on in life, which, from the aspect of well-being, represents one of major socially accepted levels leading to well-paid job and greater opportunity of well-being. In addition to that he/she has been given sufficient resources for acquisition of education, which should make the educational path enjoyable. However, from the subjective point of view it appears that student does not necessarily feel well-being and happiness and perceive the efficiency of his/her educational development while attending school. Student lives in a moment together with his/her problems and concerns, which are not easy for a child to deal with. School violence, high study load leading to school stress, complicated relations with fellow students make acquisition of education bitter and subjective well-being of children rather questionable. Therefore the measurement of student well-being is a complicated task, because we have to consider both objective and subjective factors. Yet the statistical data on subjective well-being of students are extremely lacking and not all objective factors have been measured. In the framework of existing statistical data only indirect conclusions and evaluations can be made with regard to student well-being, as there is no single accurate criterion for measuring well-being.

The consideration of student well-being may begin with pre-school education despite the fact that children attending pre-school establishments are generally not referred to as "students", but rather "pre-school child". Still, small "students" learn a lot already in nursery school, because nursery school has been much more than just a playground since long ago. It follows from the definition of pre-school education that it precedes entire further education. It can be considered as the basis for entire life, as well, because the basic things obtained in nursery school are the lessons of life. Nursery school is a place where children get used to other people, learn to consider other peoples needs and work with a team. They also learn how to play and acquire their first knowledge — write the very first letters, study numbers and spell the first sentences.

More than 80% of children participate in pre-school education

Although pre-school education is not mandatory, many parents prefer nursery school to home, because besides day care, the pre-school establishment also provides good preparation for school. Pursuant to the pre-primary education programme children are introduced with an environment similar to school and trained to be persistent, so that the child would feel more confident and encouraged to start school. Study programmes have been prepared for children above 3 years of age, because of complicated organisation of systematic and sustainable studies for children younger than that. Quality pre-school education helps to prevent both learning difficulties in the future while attending basic school (and hence, reduces the level of dropping out of basic school) and general difficulties in coping and social life. In consideration of children well-being it has been reported that children under the age of 3 years still need strong contact with their mother and for the benefit of their well-being it would be wiser to let them stay home with mother. But children older than 3 years are recommended to attend nursery school, because in addition to acquisition of pre-school education it is more interesting and amusing for them to enjoy the

company of children at the same age. The proportion of children attending pre-school establishments has constantly increased. In 2000 only 79% of children aged 3–6 attended pre-school educational establishments, but in 2003 the respective indicator was 83% and in 2006 already 86% (Table 1 on page 40).

As expected, the majority of children in nursery school are children who are about to go to school (aged 4–6). In 2006 the pre-school education was provided to 87% of children at the age of 4 years, 89% of children at the age of 5 years and 87% of children at the age of 6 (Figure 1 on page 40). Over a dozen of years the proportion of children attending nursery school at any age has increased, and the only proportion that has not increased much since 1997, is that of the smallest children in crèche (1 year of age). This is certainly due to the positive role of parental benefits, although it does not cover the entire second year of a child. Yet the number of crèche places is the most lacking and the waiting list of children at crèche age are the longest; therefore we may assume that sufficient number of places would ensure higher attendance of small children in crèches and crèche groups, despite the fact that in terms of the well-being of infants it would be best to let them stay at home at that age.

It is interesting to compare the participation of children at the age of 4 in pre-school education in Estonia and in other EU countries (Figure 2 on page 41). It appears that Estonia is ranked on an average position, i.e. there are countries where children at the age of 4 attend nursery school more than children of the same age in Estonia, but there are also countries where children of that age are more likely to stay at home. This certainly depends on the legislation of a particular country. For example, in Italy, France and Belgium all children at the age of 4 attend nursery school, while only 40% of that age group attend nursery school in Poland. Estonia is most similar to Germany and Portugal. But in comparison with other Baltic states and Finland, much greater proportion of children acquires pre-school education in Estonia.

In 2006 there were 105 children per 100 nursery school places

In the light of increasing fertility, problems arise from insufficient number of pre-school establishments and acute shortage of places for children in such establishments. In 2006 there were only 602 active pre-school establishments, which is clearly not enough. The shortage of places, particularly in cities, is rather painful and has made the parents anxious and critical towards the entire system providing pre-school education. In 2000 there were 101 children per 100 places, but in 2006 the number of children had increased to 105. In urban areas major problems arise from premises with area that is smaller than required. By permission of local governments, the nursery schools increase the number of children to 24 instead of 20 as prescribed, although the area of premises is insufficient. This issue extends to rural municipalities in the vicinity of big cities, because they are attractive residential areas for start-up families from the city — so they would have place for child care and residence in the rural municipality while working in the city (Haridus- ... 2007: 5). Crowded premises restrict the personal space of a child and thus affect child's well-being.

Educators and teachers also have a certain role in ensuring happy childhood. The number of staff of pre-school establishments has increased over the past three years, reaching to 7,600 in 2006 (Table 2 on page 41). The majority of teachers are aged 30–49. In general it appears that the staff of pre-school establishments is ageing — compared to 2000 the proportion of teachers aged 40–59 has increased by approximately 10 percentage points and the proportion of teachers aged 25–39 has decreased by about 11 percentage points. It is difficult for a nursery school to find young teachers, because the wages are low, work extremely demanding and subject to high responsibility liable.

Older children attend general education and vocational schools. In the academic year 2006/2007 there were 585 schools that provided general education in Estonia (Table 3 on page 42). The number of general education schools has decreased year-by-year. Compared with the academic year 2000/2001, the number of schools has decreased by 100. Primary schools have suffered the most from closure — 69 primary schools within six years. In the academic year 2006/2007 there were 84 primary schools, 223 basic schools and 232 upper secondary schools operating in Estonia. There were also 46 schools for children with special needs. The number of schools for children with special needs has not changed much over the years — compared to the academic year 2000/2001 the number decreased by two.

The number of students younger than 18 years has dropped from 220,000 in 2000 to 166,000 in 2006 (Table 4 on page 42). The number of children obtaining general education

There has been an increase in the proportion of young people who continue studies after obtaining basic education

per 10,000 inhabitants has decreased by 387 within six years, and increased by 11 in case of children obtaining vocational education (Figure 3 on page 43). The growing number of children obtaining vocational education is caused by the increasing proportion of post-basic vocational education since 2000 (most of the students obtaining post-secondary vocational education are left out due to their age).

The problems related to acquisition of basic education (performance of compulsory school attendance, drop-out from basic school and repeating the class course) have been subject to many discussions recently. Table 5 (page 43) concerning age-specific proportion of children, calculated in view of all types of education and forms of study, indicates that most of the children under the age of 18 and subject to compulsory school attendance comply with the attendance requirement in proper manner. When comparing the age proportion of children with relevant proportion six years ago it appears that the increase has been greatest in case of indicators concerning the final childhood years, which means that the proportion of young people who continue studies after graduating from basic school has increased.

Most problems arise with boys at the age of 12, as their involvement in studies has declined over six years (97% in 2006). The 6th grade represents the most complicated and challenging period, particularly for boys. Pursuant to the statistical data on drop-out rate, there are also problems with completing the 7th, 8th and 9th grade — in academic year 2005/2006 the total of 853 children interrupted their daytime studies in 7th to 9th grade, which is 1.5% of all students of the 7th to 9th grade. The proportion of students leaving school before acquiring basic education has remained near 0.6–0.7% over the past six years. Yet there has been a decline in the proportion of those school-leaving students, who have been directly expelled from school due to poor academic achievement, failure to proceed or unsuitable behaviour (Table 6 on page 44). This is caused by a legal requirement that prohibits expulsion of children under the age of 17, i.e. children at the age of compulsory school attendance. At the same time the examination of statistical data on school-leaving students reveals that the information does not have to be absolutely reliable, as it may contain inaccuracies. At the moment the state lacks comprehensive overview of school-leaving students (including reasons for leaving school) and other indicators related to performance of compulsory school attendance.

It is a certain fact that boys tend to interrupt studies more easily than girls, and also the girls are more likely to continue studies after acquisition of basic education. This leads to a conclusion that at school the well-being of boys is lower and they show more dissatisfaction with regard to the school; apparently the entire school system favours girls more than boys. This is also evident from the fact that expected average period of study in girls at the age of 6–17 is longer than relevant indicator in case of boys of the same age (Table 7 on page 44). While boys' average expected period of study in 2006 was 10.9 years, the girls' relevant period was 11 years.

The number of students residing in boarding school facilities has increased by more than 500

There are many ways to enhance, ensure and support the performance of compulsory school attendance (e.g. long day groups, speech therapy, remedial groups, individual curriculum, etc.). Considering that most frequent reason for being absent from school and poor academic achievement is student's difficult socio-economic situation, one way to help students is to increase the number of boarding school facilities, although this is not very widely used as a measure for improving performance of compulsory school attendance. However, the number of schools with boarding school facilities has rapidly increased — in the first half of 2003 only 6 schools had boarding school facilities, but in the first half of 2007 the number of such schools had increased to 35. The number of students living in boarding school facilities has increased by more than 500 (Table 8 on page 45) (Koolikohustuse ... 2007: 25). Due to strict supervision the students living in boarding school facilities have fewer opportunities to miss school. Meanwhile, in view of child's well-being, living in boarding school facilities is psychologically difficult for a child, because being constantly separated from parents is certainly challenging for a young person, as the children at school age also need the closeness and recognition from their mother and father.

The most common method of improving the performance of compulsory school attendance is long day group. According to the Estonian Information System on Education such groups were established in 456 schools in academic year 2006/2007, whereas the number of

schools with long day groups has increased by 36 during three years and the number of students participating in such groups has also constantly increased (Table 9 on page 45). Long day group provides the child with the opportunities to spend time and reduce the child's risk of getting out to the street and further into the criminal world (which in turn is a frequent cause for the failure to perform compulsory school attendance). Long day group also provides opportunity to prepare for the next school day and to do homework together with friends.

Based on subjective well-being theory we also need to take into account the child's own well-being. In-depth interviews carried out with students of concern have revealed that the children think that the best way to solve their problems is to send them to the psychologist, which contradicts with the opinion of schools which consider the psychological assistance remarkably less important than e.g. opportunity class and boarding school facilities. Students like supportive relations with adults, and they value conversation with a psychologist or a psychiatrist who provides professional support and advice. The students also believed that school attendance could be made more enjoyable by creating friendly school environment, implementation of strong school discipline, better teachers, etc. (Koolikohustuse ... 2007: 33, 36).

Only one third of teachers are under the age of 40

The total number of teachers, both good and not so good, was approximately 15,000 in 2006, whereas male pedagogues accounted for only one seventh of all teachers (Table 10 on page 46). Only approximately one third of teachers were under the age of 40. Interviews with students revealed that in the opinion of students, a good teacher is a person who can make the subject interesting, teaches the entire class instead of only smart children, is persistent and strict, assesses students in a just manner, is engaged in extracurricular activities with children and discusses with children other issues beside those related to particular subject, represents children's interests and understands them, is reliable and sets example for students (Koolikohustuse ... 2007: 32).

One important indicator of humanity and concern expressed by the society towards all its citizens is taking care of children with special needs, providing them with opportunities for study and engage in hobbies, attempt for social integration by granting them equal opportunities with healthy children. The school for children with special needs has to take care of the well-being of its students by providing them with special study materials, monitoring their mutual relations and creating a friendly environment that facilitates acquisition of education, which would contribute to enhancing the self-esteem of students with special needs, and encourage their active participation.

Children's special needs become evident already before starting school, thus it is important to pay special attention to such children already in pre-school establishment. In 2006 the total of 1,200 children with special needs attended pre-school establishments; one ninth of them attended special nursery schools (Table 11 on page 46). Yet this number does not include all children with special needs attending nursery schools, because in addition to children who attend special nursery schools and special groups in regular nursery schools, more and more children with special needs participate in adaptation groups and regular groups. Studying and playing together with healthy children, as much as the disability of the child allows, provides the child with stronger basis for coping among healthy people in the future. It is also important that healthy children would get used to children with special needs starting from early childhood, so that they would treat people with special needs in a friendly and helpful manner in the future. At the same time the fact that the children with special needs and normal children attend the same group should not cause ignorance of the existence of special needs, because according to experts, such special needs could be removed, treated or alleviated when dealt with in due time. At present day necessary support systems are unfortunately applied to children when it is too late (Erivajadustega ... 2006: 1).

In 2006 approximately 4,300 students under the age of 18 attended the total of 46 schools for children with special needs (including schools for children with behavioural problems) (Table 11 on page 46). The number of boys with special needs significantly exceeds the number of girls with special needs. Study results have revealed that the schools for children with special needs have provided better results in children with moderate and serious learning disability, whereas intellectually normal children with special needs have achieved

Less than half of pre-school establishments comply with health-protection requirements

the best results when attending regular class of regular school (Erivajadustega ... 2006: 1). Therefore, in the interests of intellectually normal children with special needs, it is necessary to encourage them to attend regular school. Less than one percent of all such students participate in the work of special classes of regular schools, the number of children with special needs in regular classes of regular schools is about one ninth, but this proportion only refers to the children with known special need and/or who are subject to support systems.

Another important indicator for child well-being is the work environment that complies with the health-protection requirements. Figure 4 (page 47) shows that the proportion of pre-school establishments and schools complying with health-protection requirements has increased within two years, but still less than half of child care institutions comply with requirements. The hygienic situation in child care institutions has improved, but there is plenty of room for development. Main health-protection issues are related to non-conformity of lighting and furniture. There are also schools, where the composition of rooms does not conform to requirements (e.g. lack of gyms). (Haridus- ... 2007: 3)

The international index has been worked out in order to measure child well-being. The index of child well-being, which is calculated on the basis of the results of surveys carried out by PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) and HBSC (Health Behaviour in School-aged Children) in 2000–2003, considers many factors, including education (Bradshaw et al 2006). According to that index the well-being of children is the highest in Cyprus, Netherlands, Sweden and Denmark, and unfortunately the lowest in the Baltic States: Latvia, Lithuania, and also Estonia. The study also revealed that most Estonian children do not like school. According to the index that takes into account both school stress and the fact whether children like school or not, the well-being of Estonian children with regard to school is ranked last among the EU countries. According to this survey the students of Estonia are unhappy and in stress.

The next section characterising the health and health behaviour of the youth, provides data from the survey conducted in schools of Estonia in the academic year 2005/2006. The received information about the students' satisfaction with their life and school environment indicates to the decrease of school stress and improvement of the satisfaction with life compared to the academic year 2001/2002, but the number of children who do not like to go to school is increasing.

Student health and risk behaviour

While characterising this subject area, the data from the international survey Health Behaviour in School-aged Children (HBSC) on Estonia are used. The survey is conducted every four years among students aged 11, 13 and 15. The results of the surveys for the academic years 2001/2002 and 2005/2006 are compared to get an overview of the health behaviour trends of school-aged children. 36 countries from Europe and Northern America participated in the first survey and 41 countries in the second one.

An important indicator is the health assessment, which measures students' subjective estimation on their health.

In general the female students at the age of 11, 13 and 15 are the ones who consider their health to be poor, and such proportion of poor evaluation increases along with the advancement of age. Comparison of the data for 2005/2006 and the data for 2001/2002 shows improvement of the indicator regarding self-estimation of health in all age groups (Table 12 on page 48).

More attention is also paid to the mental health of young people. The studies carried out in 2006 revealed that depression is more prevalent among girls in all age groups. This indicator is high in case of girls at the age of 15: more than half of the girls suffered from depression, whereas the respective proportion among boys was slightly more than one third. As the age advances, the number of depression episodes increases both among boys and girls. The proportion of main depression-related health complaints (sleeping disorders, abdominal pain) has increased when compared to the survey of 2001/2002.

In 2006 more than one third of boys suffered from sleeping disorders

Usually all types of complaints are more frequent with girls than with boys, but the survey of 2006 exceptionally shows higher proportion of complaints among boys than girls: sleeping disorders in case of boys: 32.5%, girls: 28.8%; abdominal pain in case of boys: 23%, girls: 20.3%.

Eating habits represent a crucial factor in health behaviour. On the one hand they are certainly connected with the economic situation and capabilities of a household, but more important are the choices students make under similar circumstances, e.g. either to eat chips or fruit. In all age groups fruit is more frequently included in the diet of girls; major differences are observed among the students at the age of 15: fruit consumption doubled in 2001, and increased by one third in 2006. In case of 8–11% of students another reason for the increase in fruit consumption besides notification work was also improved economic situation in Estonia in 2001–2006 which accompanied the increase in purchase power at household level.

The consumption of sweetened drinks is the highest among children at the age of 13

In Estonia, as well as in other Baltic States and Scandinavian countries, sweetened drinks are consumed much less than in southern countries. The consumption in 2006 maintained the same level as in 2001. The proportion of students at the age of 11, 13 and 15, who daily consume sweetened drinks with high sugar content was 9–12% in 2005/2006; the consumption of sweetened drinks was the highest among children at the age of 13. According to both surveys boys in all age groups tend to consume sweetened drinks approximately twice as much as girls.

In academic year 2001/2002 the proportion of overweight or obese boys at the age of 13 and 15 in Estonia was less than 10% and the respective proportion among girls was less than 5%. Compared to the previous survey, the proportion of overweight children increased slightly in 2006: by 3.8% among boys aged 13–15 and 1.7% among girls. Obesity among boys is twice as big as among girls. Child obesity has not yet become such a huge problem in Estonia as it is elsewhere in the world. For example in the United States the share of overweight/obese children is about 30%. Compared to Estonia, the proportion of overweight children is much bigger in Nordic countries (Greenland, Finland, Iceland), but smaller in Latvia and Lithuania.

The proportion of students, who have been moderately physically active for at least 60 minutes in four or more days during the past 7 days, has increased 10% over the period of four years. This indicator is also associated with the economic situation: the better the economic situation, the higher the physical activity parameter of respondents (Table 13 on page 48).

Risk behaviour

Health assessment is affected by health behaviour, which is associated both with physical activity, diet, regular health examination and risk behaviour (smoking, alcohol and drug abuse, etc.).

Smoking is extremely hazardous to health. Regular smoker is a person who smokes at least once a week (Table 14 on page 49).

Regular smoking has become slightly less frequent among students, but there is still no reason to rejoice. The younger the student commences smoking, the stronger the impact of smoking on health. Therefore it is important to consider not only the frequency, but also the total period of smoking.

Among 15-year-old girls, the share of those who had smoked their first cigarette at the age of 13 or earlier was 43% in 2006

At the same time we have to admit that the time of starting smoking has shifted towards earlier age, particularly in case of girls: in 2001/2002 the total of 39% of girls started smoking at the age of 13 or earlier, but in 2005/2006 already 43% of girls started smoking at that age. In case of boys, the change was just one percentage point, i.e. from 64% to 65%. This indicator ranks Estonia first among countries participating in the survey.

Boys consume alcohol more actively than girls. Regular consumption of alcohol (at least once a week) has slightly decreased over four years, and so has the Estonian ranking among other countries. Still, in 2006 over a quarter of boys and about one fifth of girls (aged 15) consumed alcohol at least once a week.

The frequency of being drunk among children aged 13 increased about a couple of percentages between academic years 2001/2002 and 2005/2006. In 2006 one fifth of children aged 13 were drunk twice or more and with regard to this indicator Estonia has holding the third place among the 41 countries participating in the survey.

Compared to other countries, the problem of Estonia is not regular consumption of alcohol, but frequency of getting drunk. Especially disturbing is the fact that the age when children get drunk is decreasing over four years. Being drunk for the first time at the age of 13 or earlier increased 3–4% among children aged 15 (boys — 35%, girls — 21%). These indicators have brought Estonia among top countries with regard to the age of children being drunk (Table 15 on page 49).

The factors that facilitate/relate to students' alcohol abuse or getting drunk include: lack of confident relations with parents, especially with mother; poor relations in the family; there is no father or mother in the family; high proportion of contemporaries in their company during free time; older friends; tensions related to schoolwork, poor academic achievement; bullying and being bullied; estimation on own health satisfactory or very poor; smoking; early sexual relationship; depression.

More than one third of students have used hookah

A new risk factor that has arrived in Estonia during recent years is the popularity of hookah among children. According to the results of the survey in academic year 2005/2006, 36% of students had smoked hookah, including 42% of boys and 29% of girls.

The hookah is particularly dangerous due to parents' mild and even favouring attitude towards hookah. But if a child develops a habit of inhaling something, then this habit will aggravate and the children, who smoke hookah today, are very likely to become regular smokers in the future.

On international level the drug abuse is measured on the basis of cannabis use, because this is generally the first step towards drug abuse. The popularity of cannabis has increased among 15-year-old boys and girls who have used cannabis for at least once and within 4 years the respective proportion has increased by 7–8% both among boys and girls.

The same tendency occurred in case of students who had smoked cannabis within the past 12 months. In the academic year 2001/2002 the corresponding indicator among 15-year-old boys was 18% and among girls 11%. For the academic year 2005/2006 the indicator had increased among students aged 15 — among boys to 24% and among girls to 14%.

One fifth of girls at the age of 15 have had sexual intercourse

Sexual behaviour is closely related to risk behaviour, especially with being drunk and smoking cannabis. Considering the increase in being drunk and smoking cannabis among both boys and girls, it was no surprise that in 2006 compared to 2001 the proportion of students at the age of 15 who had had sexual intercourse increased. 23% of boys aged 15 and 20% of girls aged 15 had had sexual intercourse in 2006. In 2001 the corresponding figures were 20% and 16%.

Positive atmosphere at school is associated with better health and serves as protective factor against risk behaviour — smoking, alcohol and drug abuse. The satisfaction with school is extremely low among Estonian children. The situation has become even worse compared with previous survey, and with regard to that indicator Estonia holds the last position among the countries participating in the survey. In 2006 the proportion of students who liked to go to school very much was 15% in case of students at the age of 11, 8% at the age of 13 and only 6% at the age of 15.

The proportion of students, who believe that the assessment given by teacher is good or very good for them, has increased on an average of 12–15 percentage points. More than half of students in all age groups (more than 60% in case of students at the age of 11) believed that the assessment given by teacher is either good or very good with regard to student's academic achievements. Although the survey of 2006 shows improvement in the assessment of student's achievement given by the teacher, the students at the age of 11 and 13 are still ranked in the last third among participating countries, or in medium position in case of students at the age of 15.

Greater school-related stress is associated with lower health estimation, higher number of health complaints, and lower index of satisfaction with life. In the survey of 2006 the number of students who admitted having school stress has significantly decreased. The reason for

positive change comes most likely from the implementation of school reform initiated after restoration of independence and stabilisation of the educational system in Estonia. The microclimate of a school is characterised by student's estimation on perceiving social support from fellow students. This is associated with student's self-image, coping with school stress, frequency of health complaints, bullying and general psychosocial well-being.

Compared the academic year 2005/2006 to the academic year 2001/2002, the psychosocial climate in schools has improved according to the estimations of students aged 13 and 15. In Estonia, the girls are more likely to consider their fellow students to be kind and helpful.

Lately great attention has been paid to school bullying, which in some occasion may have tragic consequences. The number of boys is bigger among those who are being bullied. In the academic year 2005/2006 the share of those who were bullied increased first and foremost among children aged 11. The trend was more or less the same for both boys and girls. Among 13-year-olds the share of those being bullied slightly increased in 2006, the tendency was mostly observed among girls (Table 16 on page 50).

In the international survey Health Behaviour in School-aged Children (HBSC) the students also estimated their satisfaction with life in 10-point system (0 — the worst, 10 — the best). General satisfaction of students with life has increased during recent years. One reason for improved satisfaction with life may be the economic growth, which culminated in Estonia in 2005/2006. Increased income opened additional opportunities for spending free time, diversification of diet and reduces family tension arising from economic difficulties. All these factors improve well-being and security of a child (Table 17 on page 51).

JUVENILE OFFENCES

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This chapter concerns offences committed by and against minors. Sources of information include official statistics on offences committed by minors and persons committing such offences as well as the studies concerning victimisation of minors and offences committed by minors. For the purposes of offence statistics, the minor is a person who at the time of commission of the act is under the age of 18 years.

Offences committed by minors

Pursuant to the Penal Code a minor can be prosecuted for misdemeanour or criminal offence if at the time of commission of the act he or she is at least 14 years of age. If the unlawful act is committed by a person younger than 14 years of age, the proceedings shall not be initiated or the proceedings that have already been initiated shall be terminated and the materials shall be forwarded to the juvenile committee; however, in case of criminal offences such acts and persons shall be registered. Initiated proceedings may be terminated and the materials forwarded to the juvenile committee also in case of a person at the age of 14–18, if it appears that the minor can be sanctioned without imposing penalty or application of sanctions; the court may also release a person from punishment and impose admonition, subjection to supervision of conduct or placement in a school for students with special needs. Pursuant to the Juvenile Sanctions Act the sanctions can be imposed on minors who committed an unlawful act with regard to persons at the age of 7–18.

Prior to entry into force of the Penal Code on 1 September 2002, applicable legislation included the Criminal Code and the Code of Administrative Offences, pursuant to which in most types of criminal offence the age for criminal liability started at the age of fifteen, or in case of certain types of criminal offence at the age of thirteen (e.g. serious criminal offences against the person, concealed and unconcealed theft, robbery, stealing of a vehicle); in general, the age for administrative liability for administrative offences (currently misdemeanours) also started at the age of fifteen and in some cases at the age of thirteen (e.g. minor larceny, appearance in public places while intoxicated).

The offences (misdemeanours and criminal offences) committed by minors can be described only on the basis for these cases registered by the police and resolved, i.e. cases where the age of person(s) who committed the act is known — therefore the database does not refer to all offences committed by minors.^a Besides that one has to consider different level of notification in case of various types of offences and variation in the proportion of resolved cases, which means that it is impossible for the official statistics to provide accurate reference to the actual structure of offences commenced by minors.^b

The database on offences committed by and against minors during 2000–2006 is not consistent with regard to significant changes in legislation, methods of registering the offences and persons who commit such offences and amendments made in relevant databases — thus it is impossible to provide comparison between certain years, especially 2002–2003, because

- *on 1 September 2002 the Penal Code entered into force, altering the definitions for various types of criminal offences and the age for criminal liability; thus the data collected after 2003 cannot be compared to data from 2002 and earlier;*

^a This chapter considers only the offences registered by the police, considering the low number of juvenile offences registered by other bodies conducting proceedings and lack of single database on misdemeanours registered by such bodies. The expression “committed by minors” is used for the purpose of simplicity, but actually this refers to only these cases where the person committing the offence is known.

^b The definition of resolution is used with regard to criminal offences only. One should consider that the suspicion of criminal offence may not always be confirmed in court.

- in 2002 changes were made to police record-keeping system, thus the accurate comparison of the data for 2002 and 2003 cannot be compared with subsequent years;
- on 1 July 2004 the Code of Criminal Procedure entered into force, pursuant to which the police was required to investigate cases of physical abuse even if the victim did not submit relevant petition (earlier the victim had to file an application with a court by himself/herself and such applications were not registered in the police statistics), therefore the proportion of registered criminal offences of that kind has substantially increased after the Code entered into force.

In addition to the aforesaid factors, the statistical increase in juvenile offences after 2003 may also be linked to increased attention paid by law enforcement authorities to juvenile offences and relevant preventive actions.^a

The majority of registered offences committed by minors are misdemeanours

The majority of the registered offences committed by minors consists of misdemeanours (such as consumption of alcohol, smoking, breach of public order): in 2006 the total of 24,075 misdemeanours committed by minors were registered and the commission of 3,313 criminal offences by minors were established; misdemeanours accounted for 88% of all offences committed by minors. In the same year juvenile offences accounted for 12% of all misdemeanours and cleared criminal offences and during recent years this indicator has remained on the same level both with regard to criminal offences and misdemeanours (Table 1 on page 53).

The total of 64% of all misdemeanours committed by minors in 2006 consisted of violations of Alcohol Act and Tobacco Act. As for single types of misdemeanour the most frequently registered misdemeanour in 2006 was consumption of alcohol by minors (33%), followed by consumption of tobacco products by minors (20%) and driving of motor vehicle by person without right to drive (8%).

As for more common types of misdemeanour, the highest proportion of misdemeanours committed by minors (except for misdemeanours related to minors only) consisted in violation of traffic requirements by pedestrian or other road user (20%); followed by the so-called minor larceny (17%) and breach of public order (15%) (Table 2 on page 53).

For years dominant criminal offences committed by minors have consisted of larcenies and other offences against property. In 2006 offences against property accounted for 65% of all criminal offences committed by minors; they were followed by offences against public peace (13%), offences against the person (11%), offences against public trust (6%) and other offences (total of 6%) (Table 3 on page 54).

Most criminal offences committed by minors are larcenies

As for single types of criminal offence, the most frequent offence was larceny (45% of criminal offences committed by minors), followed by physical abuse (9%), and aggravated breach of public order (9%) and unauthorised use of thing (5%).

In terms of most common types of criminal offences, the proportion of offences committed by minors with regard to all resolved criminal offences in 2006 was the highest in the case of fraudulent use of important identity documents (50%; in most cases an attempt to appear as an adult in order to be granted entry to recreational establishment); this was followed by unauthorised use of a vehicle (46%), larceny of vehicle (36%) and robbery (30%) (Table 4 on page 55).

During 2000–2006 the number of cases of larceny and robbery peaked in 2005; after that the number of such offences decreased. Due to the entry into force of the Code of Criminal Procedure, the number and proportion of physical abuse has significantly increased since the 2nd half of 2004. There has also been a clear increase in criminal offences against public trust (which in most cases consisted of fraudulent use of important identity documents).

During recent years the proportion of minors suspected of an offence has accounted for 10–12% of all persons suspected of a criminal offence. However, this proportion has been remarkably higher in case of criminal offences against property (21% in 2006). The number of minors suspected of a criminal offence has been substantially lower than the number of criminal offences committed by minors, because some minors have committed several criminal offences in a year (Table 5 on page 55).

^a In August 2005 the Minister of Justice and the Minister of Internal Affairs agreed on common priorities of the Prosecutor's Office and the Police, including paying attention to combating criminal offences committed by and against minors (so-called Laulasmaa declaration, <http://www.just.ee/15087>).

The majority of minors suspected of criminal offences is at the age of 16–17

The overwhelming majority of minors suspected of a criminal offence consists of boys at the age of 16–17 (84% of all suspects in 2006). Most of juvenile criminal offences have been committed in a group (more than 60% in 2006); and they mostly consist of larceny, including theft from vehicles.

Where possible, maximum criminal proceedings are avoided with regard to minor suspects and the matter is forwarded to the juvenile committee or settled by conciliation proceedings. In 2006 the Prosecutor's Office adopted final procedural decision^a with regard to 2,332 minor suspects, of which the total of 1,040 persons (45%) were referred to the court; as for the others the criminal proceedings were terminated due to lack of proportionality of punishment.^b The total of 36% of minor suspects were sent to the juvenile committee, 22% were subject to conciliation proceedings and 15% were subject to termination of proceedings in event of lack of public interest in proceedings.

In 2006 the most frequent cause for sending young people to the juvenile committee was unlawful act comprising the necessary elements of a misdemeanour committed by a person of less than 14 years of age (34%), followed by failure to perform the obligation to attend school (22%) and criminal offence committed at the age of 14–18 (20%) (Eesti...2008). In 2006 566 persons who had committed 699 criminal offences were sent to juvenile committee — therefore some of the criminal offences were committed in a group.

The young people sent to juvenile committee because of misdemeanours and criminal offences have most often committed larceny, whereas approximately half of the cases have caused damage in the amount of less than one hundred kroons (e.g. stealing candy or toys from shops) (Tiko and Rannala 2006). On average, three fourths of the minors sent to juvenile committee during 2000–2006 were boys (73% in 2006) (Figure 1 on page 56).

The most common sanctions imposed by juvenile committees included admonition (48% in 2006), community service (18%) and interview with a specialist (17%). Compared to the early 2000s the proportion of admonition and community service has increased and the proportion of sanctions concerning organisation of study has decreased.

According to court judgements entered into force, about 700 minors were convicted in 2005, whereas 53% of them were subject to probation and subsection of convicted offender to supervision of conduct (Penal Code § 74; mostly first offenders); 19% were punished by actual imprisonment, 18% were released from punishment and subjected to sanctions applicable to minors (§ 87), 4% were subject to pecuniary punishment. Probation (§ 73) and substitution of imprisonment by community service (§ 69) were applied on 3% of minors in both cases. In half of the cases the term of actual imprisonment was less than one year. The proportion of boys among convicted offenders was 93% (Alaealiste ...2006).

In 2006 the total number of minors in prison was 41; most of them were boys at the age of 17. 93% of minor prisoners served prison sentence for criminal offence against property and 7% for criminal offence against the person. The number of minor prisoners peaked in 2001 (68), but has decreased during recent years due to more extensive application of other sanctions. The average proportion of minor prisoners who have been previously sentenced for criminal offences accounted for 15%, whereas recidivism was higher among those who have committed offences against property (Figure 2 on page 57).

After establishment of probation supervision (1998), the number and proportion of minor probationers was the highest in 2000, but has decreased ever since due to extended use of alternative sanctions with regard to minors, instead of criminal punishment (Table 6 on page 57).

At the end of 2006 375 minors were registered as probationers, 318 (85%) of them were boys; 54 young persons had been previously punished pursuant to criminal procedure. 306 persons committed offences against property, 71 persons committed offences against public security and 51 persons committed offences against the person (some of them had committed various types of criminal offences).

^a Sent a person to court or terminated criminal proceedings with regard to such person.

^b Pursuant to Code of Criminal Procedure § 201 (referral of materials to juvenile committee), § 202 (termination of criminal proceedings in event of lack of public interest in proceedings and in case of negligible guilt) and § 203 (termination of criminal proceedings due to lack of proportionality of punishment).

Offences committed against minors

There is no comprehensive overview of offences committed against minors, as the Penal Code does not specify criminal offences against minors when considering supposedly the most common minor-related criminal offences against property (larceny of personal belongings, robbery) and criminal offences against the person (physical abuse) and the information on victims is also insufficient; no data are collected with regard to victims of misdemeanours (e.g. minor larceny).

In the Penal Code minors are identified as victims only in single and relatively rare cases of criminal offence: such as offences against sexual self-determination, criminal offences related to prostitution of minors, etc. — hence the statistics are available only with regard to the latter; at the same time one could think that considering the delicate nature of such cases the level of informing the police is below average and that the number of actually committed offences exceeds the number of registered offences several times.

In the Penal Code, minor-related criminal offences are divided into two major groups: offences against sexual self-determination committed against minor (§§ 141–146) and offences against minors (§§ 175–182).

In 2006 the total of 192 criminal offences against sexual self-determination^a were registered (including 62 cases of satisfaction of sexual desire with child and 57 cases of rape of minor) and 148 criminal offences against minors (including 66 cases of involving minor in commission of criminal offence). Other most often registered criminal offences that affect the interest of minors include violation of obligation to provide maintenance to child (§ 169) and providing of narcotic drugs or psychotropic substances to minor (§ 185) — in 2006 the number of such criminal offences was 248 and 53, respectively.

Further specific analysis of developments in criminal offences committed against minors during 2000–2006 is impossible due to the statistical problems described above (Table 7 on page 58).

Violation of law committed by minors according to the data of the study

ISRD-2 study (see the methodology at the end of the chapter) concerned problems such as vandalism, offences against property, offences related to using a computer (so-called hacking, downloading files) and violent behaviour.^b All questions in the questionnaire were asked in a manner that would allow explaining the occurrence of problem behaviour both during the entire life of the student as well as during recent 12 months.

The most common violations among minors include carrying a cut-and-thrust weapon and participation in a group fight

The cases of violent behaviour of minors most frequently involve carrying cut-and-thrust weapons (15.9% during lifetime; 9.6% during last year) and participation in group fights (15.1% during lifetime; 7.3% during last year). Most frequent offences against property include intentional smashing of public property or vandalism (11.9% during lifetime; 5.6% during last year) and stealing from shops or department stores (11.5% during lifetime, 1.8% during last year). Serious offences such as stealing a bicycle, scooter or motorbike, robbery, taking personal effects by force are rare — commission of such acts both during lifetime and last year was admitted by less than 1% of respondents.

Due to the lack of representative sample by counties, the occurrence of violations was analysed on the basis of types of settlement. It appeared that shoplifting was most frequently committed by minors living in small cities (3.2% of respondents), whereas this violation was the least represented among minors living in villages and small towns (0.2%). The habit of carrying a cut-and-thrust weapon also depended on the place of residence of a minor: knife or similar item was most frequently carried by adolescents living in big cities or in Tallinn (11% within recent year). No substantial connection was found between other violations and settlement types (Table 8 on page 59).

^a Shows only these sections of the Penal Code that specify minor or criminal offences related to the interests of the minor and that were subject to registration.

^b Consumption of alcohol and drugs by minors is considered on the basis of the results of HBSC survey concerning students' health in chapter on Student well-being.

The analysis of the results of international study revealed that the structure of violations committed by minors is relatively similar in different countries. Similar to Estonia, the most common violations include carrying a cut-and-thrust weapon, group fights, shoplifting, vandalism and hacking. Below is given occurrence of common violations in some European capital cities (due to different sampling methods international comparison is impossible).

Figure 3 on page 60 shows that compared to other capital cities, Tallinn had the lowest proportion of shoplifting. The proportion of smashing of public property was also less frequent in Tallinn; one exception is Vilnius with the lowest proportion of vandalism.

Serious violence such as robbery or beating other people up occurs rarely among minors

Serious violence such as robbery or beating other people up occurs rarely among minors.^a In most of the countries (including Estonia) with available ISRD results, only by 1–2% of the respondents mentioned commission of such acts during recent 12 months.

Violent behaviour is associated with such behavioural patterns as carrying a cut-and-thrust weapon and participation in group fights, which is much more frequent among minors, compared to more serious violent behaviour. Figure 4 on page 60 provides the corresponding data by capital cities. The data reveal that the occurrence of violence-related behaviour patterns in Tallinn is similar to the situation in Prague and Copenhagen, where it is somewhat more common than in other Scandinavian capital cities and Vilnius.

Victimisation of minors

The study was used to establish whether students have been victims of stealing personal belongings, assault, robbery (extortion) or school violence during last year. A question was asked for each type of such violations.

Robbery affects the most the minors in Tallinn

Robbery affected the most the minors in Tallinn (7%) and the least minors living in small cities (2%). There was no significant difference in assault victims by type of settlement. At the same time major differences were found in case of stealing personal belongings: the minors in the capital city were at the highest risk of becoming victims of such criminal offence (23%) whereas the risk was the lowest for minors living in the rural areas.

School violence is more prevalent for minors from rural areas

Special attention should be paid to rather high proportion of minors suffering from school violence. As for settlement types, school violence was most frequently mentioned in rural areas and the situation was more peaceful in big cities (Table 9 on page 61).

Comparison of the victimisation level in Tallinn and in any other capital city reveals that it is similar to the situation in other countries. The cases of becoming a victim of assault and robbery/extortion are rare, whereas one fifth of minors at the age of 13–16 become victims of stealing personal belongings and school violence. In comparison with other capital cities, Tallinn has the highest proportion of victims of stealing and school violence (Figure 5 on page 61).

Traumatic events in the life of a minor

It is generally known that negative events in the life of teenagers affect their behaviour. Harland et al. (2002) found that children whose parents had been unemployed for a certain period, or children who had experienced separation or divorce of their parents, were at higher risk of having emotional or behavioural problems.

Buehler et al. (1997) carried out meta-analysis based on 68 studies concerning the connection between problem behaviour and parental conflict. It appeared that there is a very strong correlation. The authors found that parental conflicts had impact both on internalisation and externalisation of problem behaviour, first of which referring to depression, reticence, anxiety or somatic problems, and the second of which comprising aggression, delinquency and drug abuse.

Death of close relative, such as a parent or siblings is no doubt one of the most traumatic experiences. Table 10 (page 62) shows that the proportion of minors experiencing such events remained between 1% and 8%.

^a Questions in the survey: "Did you ever threaten somebody with a weapon or threaten to beat him/her up in order to get money or other items?" and "Did you ever beat up someone or stabbed someone with a knife or any other item so that he/she needed medical care?"

Remarkable proportion of minors lived with parents who had problems with alcohol or drugs

In Tallinn 7% of adolescents had experienced the death of siblings, which is significantly more than in other capital cities. Besides that the young people from Tallinn had health problems most frequently. Illness of a parent was experienced the most in Warsaw and the least in Tallinn. It appeared that health problems were more frequent among those adolescents who had experienced the death of close relative.

Remarkable proportion of minors lived with parents who had problems with alcohol or drugs. This was most frequently mentioned by young people in Warsaw (11%). In Tallinn the proportion of minors living with parents who had alcohol and drug problems was also high (10%). Violence between parents was also daily event for many children; this was most frequently experienced by young people in Tallinn (17%). Separation/divorce of parents, which may also have very traumatic effect on children, was also most frequently experienced by minors in Tallinn (32%), followed by the minors in Prague (30%).

ISRD-2 Study methodology

The insufficiencies of official statistics mentioned in the first part of this chapter, is overcome by alternative data collection methods. One such example is sociological survey based on self-report method. An anonymous survey is carried out in the course of the self-report study, in order to collect data about potential participation of respondents in various offences. The conduct of such surveys is particularly popular among minors.

The first credible study of self-reported juvenile delinquency was carried out in Estonia in 2006/2007 within the framework of international ISRD-2 Study. ISRD-2 (International Self-Report Delinquency Study) is an international comparative study, participated by thirty countries all over the world. Standard format of questionnaire and data processing methods allow comparison of actual situation in different countries and regions irrespective of official statistics. Official statistics have limited opportunities for such comparison because of the impact of various legislative provisions, registration practices of events, etc. applicable in different countries on the results. In Estonia the survey was conducted by the Law Institute of the University of Tartu and financed by the Ministry of Justice and Estonian Science Foundation (grant 6496).

Target group of the study constituted of all students of 7th, 8th and 9th grade at the age of 12–17 attending general education schools in Estonia, except special and sanatorium schools. The sample was random sample, where each individual in a target group had equal chance to end up in the sample. In order to carry out the survey 189 classes in 155 schools were contacted (total of 4,322 students registered in academic year 2005/2006). Completion of questionnaires took place in the last quarter of academic year 2005/2006 and in the first quarter of academic year 2006/2007. In spring 2006 students completed 1,815 questionnaires and in autumn of the same year another 808 completed questionnaires were added. Thus 2,623 questionnaires were received as a result of spring and autumn data collection.

This present section presents results related to juvenile offences first and foremost with regard to Estonia (consumption of alcohol and drugs is not considered). In case of comparable data the similarities and differences with other countries participating in the study shall be brought out.

CULTURE, SPORTS AND SPARE TIME

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Cultural activity and spending free time in a satisfying way is directly related to people's feeling of well-being, strengthen their connection to the society and increase their social resources (Towards... 1997: 11). Rich leisure and cultural activities and participation in sports contribute to a child's development as much as school education does. Culture, sports and other activities do not only develop child's abilities but are also important means by which the child acquires values, behaviour and skills approved in the society. Child's social skills and social network improve and valuable cultural capital for life is acquired through these activities.

Based on different sources, the present article presents an analysis on possibilities for children and teenagers to participate in cultural life, sports and spending their spare time. The description of the access to culture services is mainly based on state statistics. Activity in participating in cultural life is viewed proceeding from the data of the culture-related supplementary modules of Estonian Labour Force Survey (2004) and Social Survey (2006) and of Household Budget Survey. Labour Force Survey sample covered working age population (aged 15–74) and that of Social Survey Estonian population aged 16 and over.

Cultural services for children

Sufficient and versatile cultural services (cultural events, films, theatre performances, books etc.) for children are the premises for spending full and culturally rich free time.

Domestic children's films are among the most popular in Estonia

Producing children's films is a state priority that has resulted in several popular domestic children's films in the last years. The children's films "Lotte from Gadgetville" and "Ruudi" released in 2006 were the Estonian films that attracted the biggest number of visitors in that year and competed successfully Hollywood production being among the first ten of cinema visits. "Lotte from Gadgetville" attracted visitors nearly ten times more than an average film shown in 2006 (Facts... 2006).

There are also quite many family films shown at our cinemas. Forum Cinemas, the biggest film distributor in Estonia, brought 124 films to the screen in 2006. More than one third of these were family films, including 11 animations. Animations are often very successful — there were five animations among ten most popular films in Forum Cinemas and the proportion was similar for 2007.

In 2006, the repertoires of 26 theatres and theatre societies subsidized by the Ministry of Culture included 93 children's plays in total, which made up nearly a quarter of all plays. All theatres considered, on the average three children's plays were performed daily.

Although the state promotes staging children's plays in state and municipal theatres, the highest share of children's plays is in the repertoire of private theatres (Eesti... 2006) (Figure 1 on page 64).

Children's plays are usually more popular, with a number of visitors bigger than average

The popularity of children's plays, alike that of children's films, is also often above the average. A play staged in a state or municipal theatre was visited by an average 2,400 people in 2006, but a children's play was seen by a number of visitors higher by one third, i.e. over 3,200 people. Children's plays are performed more frequently compared with other plays; in 2006 the number of performances was on the average 14 per year (with plays in total, on the average 12 per year).

As attending theatre is generally a rather expensive way of spending one's spare time, efforts have been made to keep the price level of tickets for children's plays affordable. The price of tickets for children's plays is lower than an average by more than one third. In 2006, the price of a theatre ticket at a state or municipal theatre was on the average 116 kroons, a ticket for children's performance cost 68 kroons.

In 2000–2005, the biggest concert production company Estonian Concert organized on the average 300 children's concerts per year that made up a significant part, nearly one-quarter, of the total number of their productions (unfortunately there is no data available on the later period).

Books and libraries

In 2006, a record number (543) of children's books were published

One can be pleased with the amount of children's literature in our bookstores. As we take the period of 2000–2006, the publication of children's books at the beginning of the millennium decreased to a small extent, but has increased in the recent years even to a level higher than it was before. In 2006, 543 children's books were published in Estonia, with 95% being the first editions. It was a record considering the period from the restoration of independence. The total edition of children's books was over one million copies. Thus, the number of copies per one publication was more than 2,000, which exceeds the average edition of a publication by one fifth. On the average 4.5 books per one child aged 17 and under were published (the respective number in 2000 was only three) (Figure 2 on page 65).

School and public libraries are most engaged in servicing children. In 2000, there were six children's libraries with 10,000 registered readers in Estonia. In the next few years, children's libraries gradually merged into local public libraries and since 2005, the notion of children's library as a different kind of library ceased to exist.

The number of libraries is decreasing

In 2000, there were over five hundred school and public libraries, by the year 2006 the number of school libraries had decreased by one sixth. In some cases, it was caused by closing of schools but mainly by merging of school libraries into local public libraries for the purpose of reducing costs and simplifying administration. Nevertheless, also the number of public libraries decreased to a certain extent in the period 2000–2006.

Table 1 (p 66) shows that while the number of school libraries decreased in the reference period, the number of readers and lending decreased proportionally even more quickly — the number of readers among children from the 9th grade and younger decreased by a quarter and the total of their borrowings by more than a third. Similarly, in public libraries the number of readers among basic school children and younger decreased by nearly a quarter and their borrowings by even more — 44% (all the same, two thirds of children aged 6–16 were registered readers in public libraries in 2006). The decrease can partly be explained by a decrease in population — in 2006, the number of children aged 6–16 in Estonia was smaller by a quarter compared to the year 2000. At the same time, the number of visitors in Table 1 shows that children visit libraries as much as they did at the beginning of the millennium (or even more, considering the decrease in the population). Obviously the function of a library has partly changed — people do not visit a library merely to read or borrow books but also to use the Internet or spend their free time.

Teenagers are eager library users

Data from the cultural consumption module of the Labour Force Survey 2004 allow us to get a closer view of children's library related habits (by the example of children aged 15–17). Children and youth are more active library visitors compared with other age groups. According to the survey, four fifths of children aged 15–17 (41% of the population) had attended a library in the year prior to the interview (Figure 5 on page 68). Nearly a quarter of teenagers visited a library even more than ten times per year.

Attending a library is related to studies

Figure 3 (p. 67) shows that the reasons for children to attend a library differ from those for the rest of the population. Being school children, they mainly visit a library to study and borrow books (compulsory reading, etc.). The share of visits for other reasons (self-improvement, using reading room, spending one's free time, associating, using the Internet) is significantly higher among children aged 15–17 compared with the total population. Nearly 40% of the reference age group visited a library to use the Internet (the respective percentage of the total population was four times smaller).

The results of the same survey also showed that the share of those who had borrowed fiction (belles-lettres), reference literature or periodicals from a library in the year prior to the interview was twice as big among children aged 15–17 than among the total population. More than two thirds of them had borrowed fiction, reference literature or periodicals, more than a half had also borrowed informational literature.

Teenagers participating in cultural life

Data from the Labour Force Survey 2004 enable us to have a look at children's attitudes towards culture and sports and their activity in participating in cultural life by the example of the age group 15–17 (Figure 4 on page 67).

Teenagers consider music, cinema and sports most important

The attitude of teenagers towards reading newspapers was clearly more indifferent than that of others. The survey showed no such difference with regard to reading books (the number of those who considered reading books very important was still smaller among teenagers than among the rest of the population). However, youth aged 15–17 are much more active

to participate in sports than the rest of the population. More than three fourths of them considered going in for sports important (the relevant share of the total population was by a half smaller) and they are also more eager to visit sports competitions than others. Compared to other age groups, teenagers considered also cinema and music more important (more than a half of youth aged 15–17 considered listening to music very important). The number of those considering attending concerts or the cinema important was twice as big as the number of theatre lovers.

Children and youth are among the most active culture consumers

Surveys generally show that activity in participating in cultural activities decreases with age and, thus, children and youth are among the most active culture consumers. The Labour Force Survey 2004 showed the same results — the highest share of those having attended a cultural event at least once in the 12 months prior to the interview was among teenagers. More than two thirds of teenagers had visited theatre, cinema and library during the year (Figure 5 on page 68).

By comparing Figures 4 and 5, it may be supposed that with some cultural activities (attending exhibitions, museums, theatre), the motives for visiting may more often be connected with education (visiting cultural institutions is at least to a certain extent a part of compulsory education), with other areas (cinema, concerts), people proceed more from their personal interests. Young people are especially keen on visiting cinemas and concerts — during the year prior to the interview, two-thirds of them attended the cinema three times or more (only one-third of the total population), and over 40% visited concerts. The concerts were mainly those of pop or rock music, classical music concerts were visited by hardly one tenth during the year.

Compared to the rest of the population, teenagers were more interested in experimental and, naturally, youth theatre and less in opera and musical comedy. With films, the favourite genres of teenagers alike the rest of the population were adventure, crime and comedy, still, they also showed more interest in science fiction than the rest.

Cultural activity of households with children

Figure 6 (p. 69) presents a comparison of households with minor children (aged 0–17) and those without with regard to attending cultural and sports events (the survey includes population aged 16 and over).

Families with children are more active in visiting cultural events

The highest share of those who had been to a cultural event (or an institution) at least once in the year prior to the interview was among families with minor children by all fields of culture. For example, one third of the members (aged at least 16) of families with children and a quarter of the members of families without children had visited the cinema during the year. Households with children are, on the one hand, more active to participate in cultural and sports activities, on the other, we have to consider the age structure of the households — younger age groups (children, youth, younger middle aged people) whose cultural activity is higher are predominant in households with minor children.

Frequent attendance at cultural events may be financially problematic for families with many children

Members of families with many children were more active in attending cultural institutions providing free admission. With more expensive cultural events (e.g. theatre performances, concerts), the proportion of those who had been to any of those at least once a year was higher among the members of households with children. However, families with many children cannot afford frequent (at least once per quarter) attendance at such events. Therefore, it is understandable that the highest share of those frequently attending concerts and theatre performances was among single people.

Media consumption among teenagers

Data from the Social Survey 2006 enable us, by the example of the age group 16–17, to observe the interaction of teenagers with the radio and television in comparison with that of the rest of the population (Figure 7 on page 69).

Four fifths of teenagers are daily television watchers

In contrary to the public opinion, the proportion of daily television watchers among teenagers was slightly lower compared to the total population. However, the share was still very high (four fifths). Almost all teenagers watched television at least a couple of times per week. The most popular type of television programme among the total population is news and among teenagers films and music broadcasts. Apart from television, more than half of teenagers also watched videos or DVDs at least once per year (this outscored the rest of the population — the relevant proportion among the total population was only one fifth).

Listening to the radio is less common among teenagers compared with the total population. The share of daily radio listeners among the total population was three fourths, the corresponding share among population aged 16–17 was 58%. Almost all teenagers listened to the radio for music; only half of them for news and the proportions for other broadcasts were even smaller.

Recreational activities among children

There are several hobby schools and hobby groups founded by local authorities or private initiatives, as well as sports clubs and children camps that help children spend their spare time and develop their abilities.

Most of hobby education is provided by private sector

In 2006, nearly 300 hobby schools had received an education licence. Less than half of them were owned by municipal authorities, the rest by private sector. Although the number of hobby schools (both non-profit and commercial undertakings) run by private sector increases constantly, in 2000–2006, also the number of hobby schools run by local authorities slightly increased (the number was approximately 130 in 2006). There were nearly 13,000 children studying at (municipal) music or art schools, 17 000 at sports schools and about 17,000 in other hobby schools (Figure 8 on page 70).

Opportunities for hobby education are worse in rural areas

Although the number of hobby schools per resident is bigger in counties with smaller population (e.g. in 2004, there were two municipal art and music schools, i. e. one per 5,000 residents, in Hiiu county, in Tallinn the respective relation was 1:50,000), education opportunities are more limited in rural areas — with regard to both the smaller number of schools, provided curricula, bigger distances and worse transportation (Rosenblad 2007: 114; Huvialaharidus... 2005: 10).

In the 1990s, the emphasis in sport education was placed on municipal sports schools. In the new millennium, most of the education is provided by sports clubs. The system of sports clubs has developed remarkably after the restoration of independence and gained a solid position by now. In 2006, nearly 75,000 children (up to age 19) were training in clubs.

In 2006, there were in total 136 camps that hosted nearly 34,000 children. Compared with the beginning of the millennium, organizing of camps has become increasingly popular, with the main attention on project-based camps (four-fifths in 2006) (data of the Estonian Youth Work Centre). In 2006, there were nearly 200 hobby centres for children and young people (that, alike hobby schools provide children with opportunities for spending their spare time) and 89 counselling centres for children and young people in Estonia.

Cultural activities preferred by teenagers

Singing and dancing are the most popular cultural activities among teenagers

According to the Labour Force Survey 2004, the most popular cultural activities among population aged 15–17 included dancing and singing (these were the most popular also among the total population). Every fourth teenager had been or was attending dancing lessons, every fifth singing. Compared to the total population, the share of attendants was higher among teenagers also by other cultural activities. Consequently, school children are more active participants in cultural activities than adults in general. Dancing and writing literature were highlighted as specifically “youth activities”, with a highest proportion of attendance among teenagers compared with the other age groups. However, the percentage of those teenagers who had never attended cultural activity was similarly high (60%). Yet more than one fifth of persons aged 15–17 were engaged in more than one field cultural activity (Figure 9 on page 71).

Expenditure on leisure time in households with children

Figure 10 (p. 72) presents expenditure on leisure time of households with children in 2000–2006 in comparison with the average of all households based on the data from the Household Budget Survey. In 2006, an average household spent 324 kroons per member per month on leisure activities (8.7% of the total expenditure). The share of unavoidable expenditure (food, housing) in the household budget decreased and expenditure on leisure time (i.e. on sports, culture, recreation, package trips, etc.) increased (Kreitzberg 2006: 41; Rosenblad 2006: 50).

Families with children spend more on leisure time per household member

Three partially controversial trends can be seen on Figure 10 (p. 72). First, minor children in a family increase the expenditure on leisure time per household member. In most reference years, families with two adults and one child spent most on leisure time per household member (in 2006, 52% more than the average, i.e. 492 kroons). The expenditure of the classical family with two adults and two children (334 kroons) also exceeded those of the average household.

Families with many children can spend relatively less on leisure time

Secondly, families with many children can spend relatively less on leisure time activities per household member. The figure shows that spending on leisure time among families with children were the lowest with those with three or more children and households with a single parent (in 2006, 74% and 80% of the average or 240 kroons and 259 kroons, respectively). There is a general tendency that children in a family substantially decrease income per household member and thus increase the poverty risk in the family (Kreitzberg and Tiit, 2004: 42).

Thirdly, the differences in the means of different household types to spend on spare time activities have grown significantly compared to the year 2000. In 2000, the spending of those household types spending the most and those spending the least on free time activities differed by 15%, in 2006 more than twice.

Time use among children

With children aged 10–17 most of the time in a day is spent on personal activity, including sleeping, eating, drinking and other. It takes them 11.5 hours per day, followed by spare time (6 hours and 18 minutes), studying (4 hours and 18 minutes) and activities related to household and family (1 hour and 18 minutes). The rest of the time is spent on paid and voluntary work, which takes approximately half an hour per day. There are no big differences in the time use among girls and boys. Boys have 20 minutes of spare time per day; girls spend it on household work and family. Both boys and girls spend a big part of their free time (2.5 hours) on watching television and listening to the radio. More than an hour per day is spent on sports and associating, with boys spending some twenty or thirty minutes more on sports and girls more on associating. Boys engage more in hobbies and games, spending on these activities 45 minutes per day, girls half an hour per day. The rest of their free time is spent on different entertainment (cinema, theatre, library, excursions, events) and reading.

In Estonia school day starts early, at 8 a.m. – 9 a.m. 62% of children are studying (Figure 11 on page 73). After 4 p.m., the share of learners among children declines sharply. By 4 p.m. classes at school are over and further studying takes place at home. Most children finish homework at about 10 p.m. The percentage engaged in recreational activities increases along the day, being the highest after the end of school day, between 5 p.m. and 9 p.m. From 7 p.m. half of free time is spent on watching television. On weekdays, children go to bed between 10 p.m. and midnight. At about 1 a.m. 94% of children are asleep.

At weekends, most children wake up between 10 a.m. and 12 o'clock in the morning (Figure 12 on page 73). Straight after waking up the TV set is turned on — nearly one third of the children watch television until 1 p.m. From 1 p.m., a high percentage of children spend their time on other activities. There is a growth in the percentage who watches television after 7 p.m. The percentage of children who do homework is higher at weekends than on school days. Housework is most often performed from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m., with a third of children engaged. On school days, most children (one quarter) do housework between 3 p.m. and 5 p.m. There is no fixed time for homework at weekends; about one tenth of children do it during the whole day. At weekends, children go to bed later, 94% of children have gone to sleep by 2.00 a.m.

Summary

Children and young people are among the most active culture consumers in the society by both attending cultural events or institutions and activities/hobbies. In the new millennium, the opportunities for children's cultural activity and sports have improved. In the last years, several very popular children's films have been released; compared with the period of independence, a record number of children's books have been published. The number of children attending hobby schools, hobby groups and camps is also bigger compared to the beginning of the millennium. At the same time, the total number of children has decreased year-by-year and it inevitably affects the access to cultural services for children in rural areas.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT

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Socio-economic environment has an impact on more or less all people regardless of their age, monthly income or educational level. But some aspects have an impact on only certain social groups. For example, pension system is important first and foremost from the point of view of elderly people, whereas availability of active labour market measures is more likely to concern unemployed and inactive people.

Children are also affected by specific factors resulting from their age and social status. These factors include for instance the distance between nursery school or school and home, contents of the study programme and structure of academic year, and leisure opportunities. However, considering that children are generally dependant on their parents, the impact of socio-economic environment of their parents is also crucial besides the factors arising from their immediate environment. For example, the level of parents' income is in direct connection with the level of economic wellbeing of the child, mother's decision of how long to stay on parental leave affects the time spent with family and the social status/religious beliefs may develop discriminating attitude towards child as well.

The present chapter provides an overview of major measurable factors of socio-economic environment, which have direct or indirect impact on well-being and quality of life of children.

Gross domestic product

In general, Estonian economy has done well during recent years. Gross domestic product at 2000 constant prices has increased from 103 billion kroons in 2001 to 169 billion kroons in 2007. In individual terms this means increase from 75,000 to 126,000 kroons per capita. The increased volume of established values is beneficial for all people. Well-being of children on society level is more directly affected by the values spent on health, education and family benefits (Figure 1 on page 75).

The total expenditure on health accounted for approximately 5% of GDP in 2003–2006, whereas in 2006 the proportion of public expenditure was 3.8%.^a Average total expenditure on health in 25 Member States of the European Union (EU25) of GDP is approximately twice as much as in Estonia, i.e. between 9–10%.^b

The share of public expenditure on education of gross domestic product was about 5.5% in Estonia in 2002–2004, but decreased to 5.1% in 2005.^c The average percentage of EU25 in 2005 was also approximately 5.1%.^d

In 2005 the expenditure on family benefits accounted for 1.5% of gross domestic product in Estonia and 2.1% in EU25 countries.^e

It appears that there have been no major changes in the proportion of expenses on health and family benefits in gross domestic product and the volume of expenditure on education has slightly decreased. However, considering the economic growth, there has been a significant increase in the expenditure made in these activities.

Expenditure on family benefits is 1.5% of GDP in Estonia and 2.1% in EU25

^a According to the data of the Ministry of Social Affairs.

^b According to the data of Eurostat.

^c According to the data of the Ministry of Education and Research.

^d According to the data of Eurostat.

^e According to the data of Eurostat.

Wages and salaries and changes thereof

Upon presence of children, the average wages and salaries of men are significantly higher than average wages and salaries in general as well as the average wages and salaries of men. While total average wages and salaries level of men exceeded the average gross wages and salaries by 10–20%, the wages and salaries level is even higher in case of men with children, which in 2006 was as much as 50% higher than average wages and salaries level in case of men with children less than 3 years of age.

The wages and salaries level is the highest among men with small children

The highest wages and salaries level was reported for men with small children. The wages and salaries of men with 1–2 children (irrespective of the age of the children) also exceeded the average wages and salaries level of all employed men. Until 2005 wages and salaries of men with 3 or more children were comparable with the average wages and salaries of men. But in 2006 and 2007 their average wages and salaries were significantly above the average wages of men. However, this could be explained by relatively small proportion of the sample in the group of fathers with 3 or more children.

Women's wages and salaries level is lower than the average irrespective of whether they have children or not. Over the years, women's gross wages and salaries accounted for 83–86% of the average gross wages and salaries. Similar to men the wages and salaries of women with small children were above the average wages of women. At the same time the average wages and salaries of these women were below the average wage level of the whole employed population. Also the wages and salaries of women with one or two children were a couple of percentage points higher than the average wages and salaries of women. Meanwhile, the wage level for women with 3 or more children was below the average wages and salaries of women. Evaluation of tendencies year-by-year revealed various trends. In comparison with all men and women, the wage level is higher both in men and women with small children.

Wages and salaries are also higher in case of families with one or two children, but lower in case of men and women with 3 or more children (Table 1 on page 77).

In wages and salaries analysis it is important to find whether the increase in wages has brought along the increase in purchasing power. This can be done by examining the increase of real wages and salaries year-by-year. Figure 2 on page 76 shows the trend according to which the actual purchasing power of employed persons has constantly increased, in other words the growth of gross wages and salaries has annually exceeded the growth rate of real purchasing power. While calculating the growth of real wages and salaries, the change in the consumer price index is taken into account. During the last decade the price increase has not exceeded the increase of gross wages and salaries in any year. By years the growth of real wages and salaries has been 6–12% as compared to the previous year.

Parents on labour market

The parties to the labour market can be classified as employed, unemployed and inactive. A good indicator is unemployment rate, employment rate and inactivity rate. That way it is possible to measure major trends on labour market.

Traditionally, woman is the one to decide to stay home after childbirth in Estonia. This is also revealed by numerical data. Depending on year the inactivity rate of women with a child less than 3 years of age has ranged from 65–79 percentage points. Inactivity rate declines significantly in case of women with children at the age of 3–5. Here great role is played by better availability of childcare services for the children at that age, which allows women to return to labour market. In some ways the Estonian model of family policy is similar to the traditional model used in Southern and Central Europe, where men are major providers in a family. Yet the inactivity rate of women remains high only during the early age of children and after the children attain the school age the Estonian family model starts to resemble the Scandinavian model. Year-by-year analysis revealed higher inactivity rate among women with 3 or more children compared to women with one or two children (Table 2 on page 77).

Employment of women is significantly affected by the number of children in a family

As expected on the basis of extremely low number of inactive men with small children, it is not surprising that they have high employment level, which also exceeds the average employment rate of men.

Yet it can be said that the employment rate was slightly lower among men with 3 or more children as opposed to men with one or two children.

However, the employment gap based on the number of children was not as big for men as it was for women. In case of women the number of children had much more significant effect on employment. In 2007 the employment rate of women with one or two children was 72%, and only 45% in case of women with 3 or more children. Except for women with really small children and mothers with 3 or more children, the women with children still had higher employment rate in comparison with women's average employment rate (Table 3 on page 78).

The comparison with other European countries also confirms the evaluation that the employment indicators of Estonian women depend more on the age of children than in most of the other EU countries (Figure 3 on page 78).

Low level of employment indicators of women with children less than 3 years of age were found also in Czech Republic. Similar to Estonian women, the employment indicators of Czech women increased along with the increase in the age of children. In Netherlands and France the employment rate of women with children at the age of 3-5 years was almost as high as in Estonian women. However, in case of the Netherlands the employment rate of women was also high in case of women with really small children (Eurostat).

Existing data are insufficient for bringing out indicators related to e.g. unemployment rate of men with children at the age of 3–5, or unemployment rate of women with children less than 3 years of age. However, in case of men with children less than 3 years of age and mothers with 3 or more children it is possible to evaluate the trends of employment indicators year-by-year, despite the fact that in case of some years the data are unavailable. Besides above-average employment indicators, the men with children less than 3 years of age were also characterised by below-average unemployment rate.

The data presented in Table 4 (page 79) allow concluding that the unemployment level of men with children is below average unemployment of men. Meanwhile the unemployment level of women with children exceeds the average unemployment level of women. The situation is the most unfavourable in case of women with 3 or more children, but in comparison with average rate the indicators are also poor in women with one or two children or children at the age of 3–5.

Estonian population has been subject to constant decline since the last decade of the previous century. On the one hand the reduction of population is caused by negative net migration, but on the other hand it is due to fertility below reproduction level. The number of births decreased until the last years of the 1990s. Although the number of births has increased in recent years, it is still below the required level. Low fertility and hence the reduction in number of children exerts gradually more pressure on social support structures of the state and inhibits entire economic development of the country. The demographic labour pressure index presented in Table 5 (page 79) shows the share of persons aged 5–14 and 55–64. The index enables evaluation of balanced age structure of the population and its demographic reproduction potential. This index describes the share of generations who will enter and exit the labour market in near future. In case of natural development the value of this index is bigger than 1, which also means certain unemployment risk for the generation entering the labour market. In Estonia the value of that index was bigger than 1 in 2000–2004, but dropped rapidly to the value below 1 in 2005, which is a clear sign of danger and predicts increase in unemployment.