Poverty Watch - Estonia, 2022

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Foreword.

The Poverty Watch is an overview of the situation of poverty and social exclusion in the Republic of Estonia, prepared and published by EAPN Estonia.

EAPN (European Anti-Poverty Network), founded in 1990, is an association of independent NGOs and groups fighting poverty and social exclusion, which includes 31 national networks, including Estonia, and 18 different pan-European organizations. In turn, each of these organisations includes a large number of NGOs with similar interests. EAPN is primarily a political organisation that addresses different aspects of poverty, such as access to the labour market, housing, education and various social services, and carries out advocacy for different target groups.

One of EAPN's founding principles is that it does not speak for the people in need, but with them, making the voices of people living in poverty heard.

This Poverty Report is the third such publication of EAPN Estonia. EAPN Estonia has set itself the goal of publishing such a report annually. We are living in a time of great crises and change, and the issues are emerging very dynamically. While in the previous two years people's livelihoods and aspects of poverty were strongly affected by the COVID-19 crisis, this year we have reached a completely abnormal situation, with large-scale warfare in Europe caused by Russia's unjustified aggression against Ukraine. Every day, people are being killed and injured, war crimes are being committed and everything that people have worked for generations to create is being destroyed. The war in Ukraine is also a major cause of the significant worsening of poverty-related problems in Estonia, with a very significant drop in living standards, which hits those experiencing poverty particularly hard. Income growth is well below inflation, with prices of essentials rising particularly rapidly, the energy crisis is particularly acute in the Baltic States, and the wave of refugees is the largest in our history. Security is our basic need, no matter how rich or poor we live. Halting and repelling Russian expansion is in the interests of the security of the whole of Europe and the durability of the European Union. EAPN Estonia fully supports solving security problems in the most effective way, but in doing so the burden must be shared by sparing the weakest in society as much as possible, so that the situation of those experiencing poverty does not become intolerable

This review was compiled by Mart-Peeter Erss and Kärt Mere, members of the board of EAPN Eesti MTÜ. The authors would like to thank all the members of EAPN who provided expert assessments for this document.

1. Poverty statistics.

In choosing the period for the statistics, it is reasonable to take the business cycle as a starting point, from the previous financial crisis to the current crisis cycle. At the same time, EAPN Estonia must point out that many statistics on social exclusion and poverty are published with a rather long time lag, which makes them of little help in the current period of very dynamic changes. Statistics Estonia will publish household survey results by the end of next year and Eurostat data on relative poverty by the middle of next year. There is also a significant discrepancy in the data between Eurostat and the Estonian Statistical Office - it seems as if Eurostat publishes outdated data with a one-year lag, but earlier in time.

Absolute poverty has declined significantly over the last decade, but the relative poverty rate, which rose after the financial crisis to 20.6% of the population in 2021, has only fallen by 1.3 percentage points from its peak in 2018 and is well above the EU average (16.6% in 2020). The Estonian social protection system is characterised by a low share of social protection expenditure in GDP compared to other countries. For example, in 2019, Estonia's share of social protection expenditure was 16.1% of GDP, while the EU average was 26.9% (1., 2.).

1.1 Absolute poverty

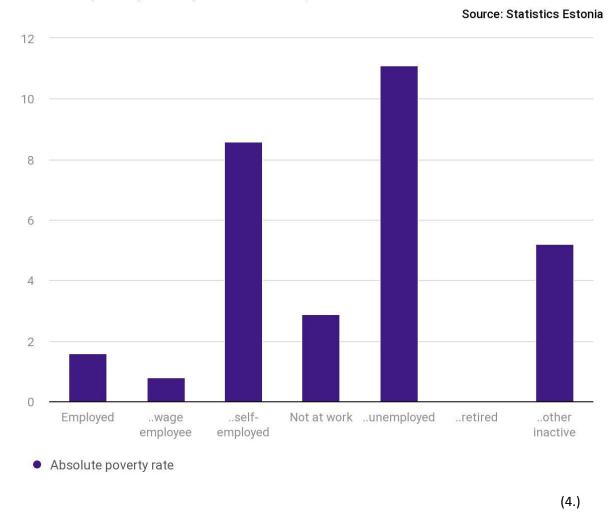
Table 1. Absolute poverty rate (% of population)

Absolute poverty rate 8,7 8,1 8,4 7,6 6,3 4,3 3,2 2,7 2,2 2,3 2,2	Year	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
	poverty	8,7	8,1	8,4	7,6	6,3	4,3	3,2	2,7	2,2	2,3	2,2

(3.)

Absolute poverty means that a person's income is below the absolute poverty line. The absolute poverty line is calculated on the basis of the equivalent net income, which takes into account the composition of the household (weight of the first adult member 1, the weight of each subsequent member aged 14 or over 0.7 and the weight of all persons under 14 0.5), i.e. the total household income divided by the sum of the consumption weights of the household members. Absolute poverty is defined as the imputed subsistence minimum, which expresses the monetary cost of meeting minimum needs. In 2020, it was $\[\in \] 2020.5$ per month, which decreased by $\[\in \] 0.90$ over the year (4.).

Absolute poverty rate by labour status | 2020



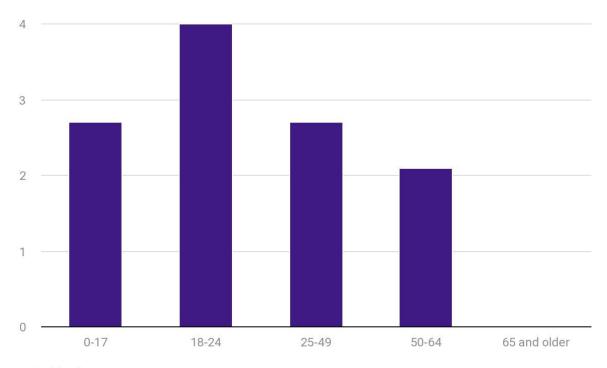
By gender, 2.7% of men and 1.8% of women were in absolute poverty in 2020 (3.)

The previous economic crisis increased absolute poverty, but absolute poverty has fallen significantly since 2013. The decline in absolute poverty was particularly rapid between 2014 and 2016, which saw significant increases in family benefits and the subsistence threshold.

Today, a person living in absolute poverty is most likely to be a young male of working age, unemployed or self-employed. To some extent, such an aggregate portrait may also raise suspicions of working abroad and tax optimisation, but at the same time we cannot exclude NEETs, interrupted education, mental disorders, addictions and other serious social problems. Secondly, the higher absolute poverty rate among members of lone-parent families (4.)

Absolute poverty rate by age group | 2020

% Source: Statistics Estonia



Absolute poverty rate

(4.)

1.2 Relative poverty (at risk of poverty).

There is a discrepancy between Eurostat and Statistics Estonia on the relative poverty rate. Eurostat publishes relative poverty data almost half a year earlier than Statistics Estonia, but it seems more likely to publish old data with a half-year lag.

Relative poverty rate, according to Eurostat.

Year	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
Relative												
poverty												
rate												
	15,8	17,5	17,5	18,6	21,8	21,6	21,7	21,0	21,9	21,7	20,7	20.6

(1.)

Relative poverty rate, according to Statistics Estonia.

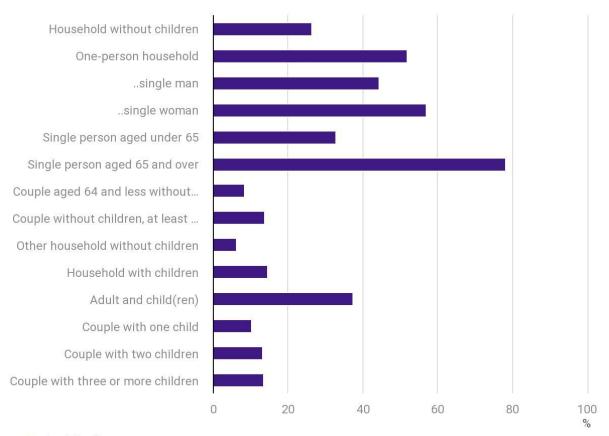
Year	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Relative											
poverty											
rate											
			20.5	21.0	21.6	21.5	21.0	21.0	21.5	20.5	20.6
	17,5	17,5	20,7	21,8	21,6	21,7	21,0	21,9	21,7	20,7	20,6

(3.)

Relative poverty means that a person's income is below the relative poverty line. The relative poverty threshold is calculated on the basis of the equivalent net income, which takes into account the composition of the household (weight of the first adult member 1, weight of each subsequent member aged 14 or over 0.5 and weight of all persons under 14 0.3), i.e. the total household income divided by the sum of the consumption weights of the household members. The threshold for relative poverty is 60% of the median of the household members' annual equivalent net income. In 2020, the relative poverty threshold was $\[mathbb{e}\]$ 7 573.6 (an increase of $\[mathbb{e}\]$ 8236.80 over the year) / $\[mathbb{e}\]$ 631.13 per month ($\[mathbb{e}\]$ 619.73). The relative poverty rate is the share of the population with an equivalent net income below the relative poverty threshold (4.).

At-risk-of-poverty rate by household type | 2020

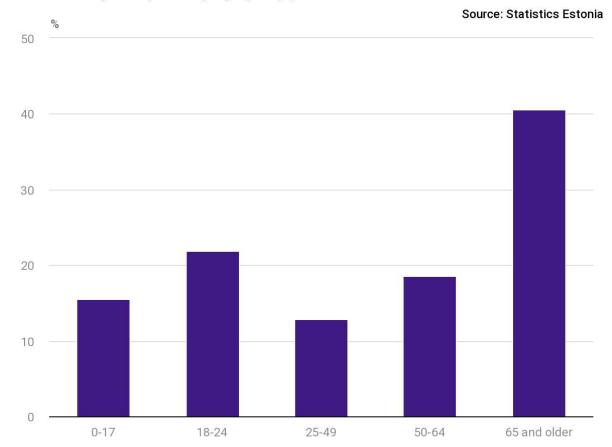




At-risk-of-poverty rate

(5.)

At-risk-of-poverty rate by age group | 2020



At-risk-of-poverty rate

(5.)

2. Changes in the economic and social situation, implemented measures and EAPN Estonia's position on them.

2.1 General economic situation.

Estonia's economy grew by 4.3% of GDP in the first quarter compared to a year ago and by 0.1% compared to the fourth quarter of 2021. The recovery of economic growth after the corona pandemic has been strong. The state of the labor market was also relatively strong in the first half of 2022. Employers acutely felt the lack of suitable labor. The unemployment rate reached 5.5% in the first quarter of 2022, according to Eesti Pank, while the unemployment rate registered by the Estonian Unemployment Insurance Fund rose from 6.8% to 7.0% (6.7).

As the year progresses, the number of registered unemployed shows a slight upward trend. According to the Estonian Unemployment Insurance Fund, on 21.08.2022 the registered unemployment rate reached 7.4%, with 47 922 unemployed registered. It should be taken into account that from March onwards the labour market started to be affected by war refugees from Ukraine, who accounted for 11.1% of the registered unemployed on 21.08.2022. The influx of refugees can also be cited as the main reason for the increase in registered unemployment, but the impact is still limited (7.).

For the second half of the year, Eesti Pank forecasts a slowdown in economic growth to 1.5% of GDP for 2022 as a whole. In the next two years, economic growth is expected to be 1.9% and 3.1% of GDP (6.).

2.2 Inflation and mitigation measures.

The situation of people experiencing poverty has been most affected by the rise in the cost of living, which in Estonia has unfortunately been the highest in the European Union. According to estimates by Eesti Pank and Statistics Estonia, almost half of this is due to the increase in energy prices. Due to the nature of the current change in the CPI (consumer price index) - with the increase in the price of compulsory expenditure being the largest - the shock is particularly painful for people experiencing poverty. Most of the social transfers (allowances, pensions), as well as wages, have reacted to rapidly rising expenses with a delay and to a lesser extent than at all (8., 9., 10).

Change in the consumer price index in 2021 (July - December) according to the data of the Statistics Estonia

Month	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Change in consumer price index compared to last year, %	5,0	5,0	6,6	7,0	8,8	12,2
Change in the consumer price index compared to the previous month, %	1,1	0,7	1,2	-0,2	1,8	3,1
						(8.)

Change in the consumer price index in 2022 (January - July) according to the data of the Statistics Estonia

Kuu	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apri l	May	June	July
Change in consumer price index compared to last year, %	11,3	12,0	15,2	18,8	20,0	21,9	22,8
Change in the consumer price index compared to the previous month, %	-0,1	1,5	2,7	3,6	1,9	2,7	1,9

(8.)

Energy - electricity, gas, transport fuels, and then other commodities - drove the price increase, which started to gather momentum already in the summer of last year. The indirect effect of the energy price increase and disruptions in production and supply have spread to the entire consumer basket. Therefore, the price increase is mostly related to housing and food, i.e. forced costs, the share of which is quite large in consumption. At the same time, the share of goods and services in the consumption basket varies from household to household and depends, among other things, on the income of the consumers - in lower income groups, the share of housing costs and groceries is higher (approx. 45% in income quintile I); it is lower at higher incomes (slightly less than 35% at income quintile V). In the case of the latter, again, the proportion of services is relatively higher. Such a difference means that, for example, an increase in the price of food products also raises the cost of the consumption basket differently in different quintiles. The lower share of forced spending in higher income groups gives them more room to adjust their consumption at the expense of non-essential goods and services in the event of a price rise. The difference in the share of the fastest growing energy costs between income quintiles I and V is about 4 percentage points (6.).

According to Statistics Estonia, electricity reaching homes in June 2022 was 129.6 percent more expensive, heat energy 62.7 percent, piped gas 228.3 percent, and solid fuel 77.3 percent more expensive than a year ago. Gasoline was 51.1 percent and diesel 67.3 percent more expensive (9.).

Change in the consumer price index by commodity groups, June 2022

Commodity group	June 2022 - June 2021, %	May 2022 - June 2022, %
TOTAL	21.9	2.7
Food and non-alcoholic beverages	19.2	2.1
Alcoholic beverages and tobacco	6.1	0.1
Clothing and footwear	3.3	-1.7
Housing	64.0	5.4
Household goods	13.7	2.4
Health	6.4	0.4
Transport	32.1	5.1
Communications	-4.7	-2.4
Recreation and culture	10.0	3.5
Education	2.5	0.2
Hotels, cafés and restaurants	19.4	6.6
Miscellaneous goods and services	8.6	1.0

(9.)

As the electricity exchange price had already risen by 122% by September 2021, and the price of natural gas, which is widely used for heating in many areas, had risen by as much as 3.7 times, the government started implementing measures in the final months of 2021 to mitigate the shock to consumers resulting from energy prices.

As the first support, in November the government introduced an energy price hike relief measure for low-income families. The validity of the measure was extended to all households with less than median equivalent income, who were compensated for 80% of energy costs that exceeded a certain price level.

The payment of this subsidy caused many problems because of the bureaucratic nature of the process: it was difficult to prove energy costs and income, a very large number of people applied for the subsidy at the same time, and the local authorities responsible for processing the subsidy could not ensure a smooth procedure. Exceeding the time limit was, for example, more of a rule in Tallinn, where the Tallinn City Municipality allowed applications to be submitted electronically to avoid long queues. The result was a very large number of applications received at once, which had to be processed by additional officials with minimal electronic support.

Overall, the measure caused a lot of resentment, as a large number of people - including those who had never applied for social assistance in their lives - were forced to turn to their local government social welfare services. Since the energy price limit, beyond which costs were subject to compensation, was set quite high, the subsidy therefore remained quite small and did not compensate for 80% of the price increase, but considerably less. In addition to the complexity of the procedure and the missed deadlines, this was also a source of resentment.

EAPN Estonia warns against the future use of selective measures with similar complex procedures, as they cause great resentment among people experiencing poverty. Preference should be given to automatic and more universal measures (10.).

As a result of the problems associated with largely selective support, the government also started to support energy price increases with more universal and automatic measures, the implementation of which is also recognised by EAPN Estonia. Thus the following measures were introduced:

- -automatic reimbursement of district heating for all household customers,
- a natural gas support measure for business customers,
- price cap on electricity and gas bills for household consumers,
- compensation of electricity network charges for all,
- gas network tariff reimbursement for all,
- reimbursement of electricity network charges for business customers (10.).
- -automatic compensation of district heating for all domestic consumers,
- natural gas support measure for business consumers,
- the price limit of electricity and gas bills for domestic consumers,
- electricity network fee compensation for everyone,
- gas network fee compensation for everyone,
- compensation of the electricity network fee to the business consumer (10.).

As of May 2022, the implementation of all the mentioned measures has been completed.

As the price of energy carriers has not fallen significantly and similar problems are expected in the coming heating period, the Riigikogu discussed the inflation crisis as an important national issue on 07.06.2022. According to the State Budgetary Control Select Committee, the total cost of subsidies implemented in the winter of 2021/2022 amounted to 0.9% of annual GDP, which is rather below average compared to other EU countries. As regards the measures implemented by Estonia to alleviate inflation, it should be noted that they were mostly short-term and came to an abrupt end in spring.

2.3 Subsistence allowance

Although the government's rhetoric in 2021 wanted to focus mainly on supporting the poorer population and inflation had already accelerated significantly since the summer, the subsistence threshold and the subsistence allowance, which is Estonia's main poverty benefit and the amount of which is determined by law in the state budget, were not raised from the beginning of 2022. The principle of the allowance is that, after paying living costs, the household must still have a subsistence threshold, which for a one-member household was finally raised from €150 to €200 from the second half of 2022. In general, this support does not guarantee the principles of the European adequate guaranteed minimum income (GMI), which should be set at 60% of the median household equivalent income.

The subsistence allowance had remained unchanged for the last three years and was only increased in a supplementary budget from the second half of 2022. EAPN Estonia deplores the fact that support measures for people experiencing poverty are constantly being delayed in the face of rapidly rising prices. Since people living on subsistence benefits are the poorest, it is precisely this support that should be increased with the smallest possible shift in relation to the rise in the cost of living. However, it is positive that the increase in the subsistence threshold was significant (33.3%), the increase in the subsistence threshold for children was higher and, as an important innovation, the subsistence allowance can also be used to reimburse mortgage payments for up to 6 months in certain cases. The peculiarity of Estonia is that the majority of people live in a family-owned dwelling and the rental market for housing is rather limited. It is therefore very important not to fall behind with your home loan payments.

The amount of subsistence allowances showed a significant upward trend during the first half of 2022. While in the first half of 2021, subsistence allowance was paid 33 195 times (the allowance is paid to a family once a month) to 8 200 households, in the first half of 2022 it was paid 46 952 times to 16 507 households. Growth of 41.4% and 101.3% respectively. A significant part of the increase in the number of recipients of the subsistence allowance will be due to war refugees from Ukraine, who are forced to live on benefits for some time before finding work. At the same time, living on subsistence benefits still means rather extreme poverty, and these statistics unambiguously show an increase in poverty-related problems in Estonia.

2.4 Ukrainian war refugees.

The war that broke out on 24.02.2022 due to Russia's unjustifiable aggression against Ukraine has brought large numbers of refugees to Estonia. As of 23.08.2022, 90 201 war refugees from Ukraine had arrived in Estonia, of whom 52 097 remained in Estonia and 38104 moved onwards. This is the most serious humanitarian crisis the Republic of Estonia has had to solve so far (12.).

Estonians have generally been sympathetic to the need to help Ukrainian refugees. In the first weeks of the war, a large number of refugees were brought to Estonia by the third sector, which, with the help of entrepreneurs and volunteer escorts who freely financed bus trips from the Polish border to Estonia, transported far more refugees than the government and the country as a whole were prepared to accept. Volunteers have also contributed a lot to helping Ukrainian refugees in Estonia.

The Social Insurance Board, the body designated by the state to coordinate the humanitarian crisis, was constantly lagging behind as the crisis rapidly unfolded, which is why the government had to appoint the Police and Border Guard Board as the lead agency for the crisis. The first refugee reception centre was not set up by the state, but by a local authority the Tallinn City Government. However, in the first weeks of the refugee crisis, the state and the municipalities were able to contribute and cooperate to such an extent that the refugees did not have to be accommodated in sports halls or in uninhabitable premises. Refugees who needed urgent accommodation were accommodated in hotels. Later, when the state established its reception points, refugees were accommodated in cheaper accommodations and also on a cruise ship that was rented for this purpose in the port of Tallinn.

In the first months of the war, Ukrainian refugees mainly arrived from the Polish border, but in recent months refugees have started to arrive mainly from the occupied territories via Russia.

The biggest problem related to refugees at the moment is finding them permanent housing in areas where there are also jobs - especially in the city of Tallinn, because the rental markets in these areas are not ready to meet such a high demand. As of 23.08.2022, 3830 refugees lived in short-term accommodation provided by the state. Often, the place of temporary accommodation is a windowless cabin of a cruise ship, where refugees have been forced to live for several months (12.).

It can be pointed out as an important problem that the state and local governments have not been able to reach an agreement on solutions that would ensure that refugees are provided with social services, especially by local authorities. They also include the municipality's obligation to rent out housing if the family is unable to do so. Municipal housing, at least in the city of Tallinn, is not rented to Ukrainian refugees.

In addition, it has become apparent that nearly half of the children registered as refugees who have received temporary protection and are required to attend school have not reached the list of Estonian schools less than two weeks before the start of their studies. Since Ukrainian refugees can move freely in the European Union and they can also stay in unoccupied parts of Ukraine in the meantime, there are certain problems with knowing how many refugees there are and who are currently in the country. Many parents probably also are hoping to start distance learning in a Ukrainian school, but according to Estonian laws, such a solution is not allowed.

3. Additional observations by EAPN Estonia members on the major issues related to poverty.

To summarise the observations of EAPN Estonia members, it can be reiterated that poverty has a thousand faces. Poverty is no longer just a lack of basic basic needs, but also a lack of choice. And the challenges of poverty are constantly changing. It is also an increase in poverty when, because of inflation, a working person can no longer afford a hot lunch in a canteen but has to make do with sandwiches taken from home. This problem is becoming quite widespread. Advice to spend less on heating, in the context of high energy prices, can lead to mould in dwellings and associated health problems.

As high energy prices are the main cause of Estonia's EU-highest inflation, EAPN members call on the Commission and the Council to critically review EU energy policy. The energy market currently works not in a downward but in an upward direction as all suppliers receive the highest supplier price. This summer, Nordic Pool's electricity price in the Estonian price zone reached the established price ceiling of €4000 MW/h. Nord Pool then raised the price cap to €5000 MW/hour.

There is little clarity in Estonia about how much discretion is in the hands of the Member States and what the EU rules are that often justify the high price. EAPN Estonia considers it necessary to implement additional measures to reduce energy prices for both domestic consumers and businesses, as high energy prices are putting many businesses at risk of closure and people are losing their jobs. As the situation is deeply abnormal - there is a war going on in Europe - the Commission should also propose measures to bring down the extremely high prices in the Emissions Trading Scheme (ETS). In addition to hampering the European economy as a whole, the soaring cost of emissions allowances is preventing electricity from being sold at a cheaper price to domestic consumers in Estonia, where 80% of the cost price of electricity produced from oil shale is made up of environmental charges, the vast majority of which is the price of CO₂ allowances (13.).

It continues to be reported that a major problem is that people in need do not receive the full range of municipal services provided under the Social Welfare Act. The procedures provided for in the general part of the Social Code are not followed. People in need are not aware of their rights, they are passive and complacent because they feel guilty about their situation. The practice of implementing laws and regulations has created a lot of red tape in the way of access to services and other benefits. At the level of the Ministry of Social Affairs and the Social Security Board, a huge optimism in assessment is cultivated, which means filling in huge, humiliating questionnaires about those in need of help. On top of an already complex administrative procedure, assessment instruments are being introduced which cannot be validated in a scientifically credible way. The assessment of the client is carried out in great detail by all the authorities through which any benefit is received, and often also by the service providers. This is exhausting for the beneficiary. Social workers do not have a sufficient number of services to which to refer people in need, but they are dependent on their

employer and therefore try to allocate the available resources either as fairly as possible or, worse, in a way that causes as few problems as possible (favouring those who complain).

For specific services whose accessibility is limited due to their high cost, a general care home service is referred to. According to Estonian law, adult children have an obligation to support their parents. If necessary, the costs of the general care home service must be paid for to the extent that the service is more expensive than the dependent's pension. With large price increases across the board, this has become increasingly difficult. On the positive side, the exemption was given to grandchildren from their grandparents' maintenance obligations. The new government coalition that took office in the summer has promised relief on the financing of the general care home service in 2023.

Tallinn and Tartu are known to have difficulties in finding places to rent. The rental market has been strained by the arrival of Ukrainian refugees. There is still a severe shortage of municipal housing. In Tallinn, people and families living for years in social housing units for temporary accommodation is reported as a problem. Often they lack the motivation to move on to rental accommodation on the open market, due to very high rents, as well as previous debts. This is particularly sad when there are children in the family who essentially grow up in a social care institution anyway. On the positive side, if we exclude Ukrainian refugees, the number of people in social housing units and in need of shelter has decreased. The availability of financial counselling services has improved, which is helpful in solving problems related to debts.

Several sources report an increasing need for food aid. The number of people receiving food aid has increased by 65% in the third quarter. The Food Bank, which is largely volunteer-driven and also mediates food aid purchased by the state, plays a key role in food distribution. The need for food aid has been much greater. Refugees from Ukraine also play an important role in this increase (14.).

Network members report a very gloomy outlook for primary and secondary education, which so far has been relatively good in Estonia. Estonia's teaching force is predominantly elderly, with a very large number of senior teachers who will inevitably retire soon. Young people are reluctant to become teachers because the work is hard and the pay is low. There is already a serious shortage of teachers, but in 5 years' time the situation is expected to worsen dramatically.

The situation in the medical sector is also worrying. The COVID pandemic has taken a heavy toll on hospital staff, especially nurses. The funding of the Health Insurance Fund is insufficient, leading to long waiting lists for scheduled treatments and primary examinations. This is the case even in a situation where medical staff would be available but funding is lacking. The alternative is fully paid medical services, which are not affordable for many people when it comes to even slightly more extensive examinations, let alone operations. However, emergency care is free and generally available, but it is not sensible to allow chronic illnesses to worsen until they require emergency care.

Regional inequality and marginalisation are still noted as major problems.

Although remote work opportunities and working from rural areas increased during the COVID pandemic, there are still many areas where young people leave and only the elderly and needy remain. The situation worsens and the processes of marginalisation are accelerated by the deterioration of the availability of essential services in these areas.

The Opinion Festival is an event that, since 2013, brings together people from different communities who care about Estonia and the world in Paide on the second weekend in August to create a better understanding of themselves, each other and the world through balanced discussion. The Opinion Festival is one of the few events that brings together people from public authorities and NGOs, cultural figures, entrepreneurs, universities, journalists, citizens - all of whom are part of Estonia's common culture of debate. Each social group has its own communication environment and meeting places - people meet face to face to share important issues and views more widely and to reach a better mutual understanding. The festival is free of charge for visitors.

Representatives of the member organisations of our network have actively participated in the festivals, initiating and leading discussions on issues of importance to us.

This year's festival featured discussions on mental health, children and war, recent political events and human rights. Discussions on the topics of building cohesive societies and community development, education and recreation, and health generated a lot of interest. The sustainability of social protection and social care was discussed, and people thought about how to cope with an ageing society. Concerns were raised about the vitality of health care with fewer people. Of course, the green revolution, green energy, the challenges of the digital world and a secure internet were also not overlooked.

Russian aggression and the war in Ukraine left no one untouched. The festival also debated about the price of peace in Europe.

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