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SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS IN THE FIELD OF SOCIALISATION

VERONIKA KALMUS

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LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

The dissertation is based on the following original publications that will be referred to in the text by their respective Roman numerals.

I **Kalmus, V.** & Pavelson, M. (2002). Schools in Estonia as institutional actors and as a field of socialisation. In M. Lauristin & M. Heidmets (eds.), *The challenge of the Russian minority: Emerging multicultural democracy in Estonia*, 227–236. Tartu: Tartu University Press.

II **Kalmus, V.** (2003). What do pupils and textbooks do with each other? Some methodological problems of research on socialization through educational media. Manuscript accepted for publication in *Journal of Curriculum Studies*.

III **Kalmus, V.** (2001). Socialisation to values: Collectivism and individualism in the ABC-books of 20th century Estonia. *Trames*, 5(55/50) (2), 120–136.

IV **Kalmus, V.** (2000). Õpikudiskursus muutuvas ühiskonnas. V.-R. Ruus (koost.), *Kõnelev ja kõneldav inimene: Eesti erinevate eluvaldkondade diskursus*, 205–218. Tallinn: TPÜ Kirjastus.

V **Kalmus, V.** (2002). Ethno-political discourse in Estonian school textbooks. In M. Lauristin & M. Heidmets (eds.), *The challenge of the Russian minority: Emerging multicultural democracy in Estonia*, 255–263. Tartu: Tartu University Press.

VI **Kalmus, V.** (2003). 'Is inter-ethnic integration possible in Estonia?' Ethno-political discourse of two ethnic groups. Manuscript accepted for publication in *Discourse & Society*.

VII **Kalmus, V.** (2002). Do textbooks teach democratic values? A reception study of a ninth grade civics textbook. In J. Mikk, V. Meisalo, H. Kukemelk, & M. Horsley (eds.), *Learning and educational media: The third IARTEM volume*, 152–159. Tartu: Tartu University Press.

VIII **Kalmus, V.** (2002). Soorollid ja kodanikukasvatus. J. Mikk (toim.), *Soorollid õppekirjanduses*. Tartu Ülikooli Pedagoogika osakonna väljaanne 12, 122–149. Tartu: TÜ Kirjastus.

INTRODUCTION

School textbooks and other educational media[1] are considered important *agents of socialisation*, that is, means or instruments for transmitting knowledge and values to the young generation. In all societies, textbooks are designed to teach pupils what educators believe ought to exist. In other words, the function of textbooks is to 'tell children what their elders want them to know' (FitzGerald, 1979: 47). Accordingly, it is assumed and often documented that school textbooks tend to reflect the dominant ideas, beliefs, opinions, attitudes, values, and norms in the society or the community (see, e.g. Anyon, 1979; FitzGerald, 1979; Grueneberg, 1991; Ichilov, 1993; London, 1984; Sleeter & Grant, 1991).

We may think of a school textbook as a *discourse* (Study **IV**), that is, 'a thematically and ideologically structured, self-referring progression of communications (messages, texts) circulating within a definable community of communicators and receivers over a specified period of time' (Biocca, 1991: 45). A function of a discourse (e.g. a textbook) is to define and influence experiences of the participants of the communication process or discursive practice (e.g. pupils working with the textbook). Every textbook, as a discourse, is also a part of the *order of discourse* — the totality of discursive practices within the educational institution or the society and the relationships between them (cf. Fairclough, 1992: 43). According to Fairclough discursive practices need to be seen in a dialectical relationship with other social practices (social context) — discourses are not only socially shaped, but also socially shaping or constitutive (Fairclough, 1993: 134). The content and form of school textbooks as cultural *objects* is determined by social factors, such as the socio-political order, the level of modernisation, the value system, dominant ideological beliefs, etc. School textbooks as *agents* of socialisation are, in turn, ordained to transmit values and ideologies to the next generation, that is, to be socially constitutive. Discursive practices (incl. the production and use of textbook texts) may, theoretically, be constitutive in both conventional, socially reproductive ways and creative, socially transformative ways (Fairclough, 1993: 134; cf. Study **IV**). The relationships between discursive practices and social practices are more clearly observable in the context of social change. Accordingly, the relationships between discursive changes in school textbooks and social and cultural changes in society deserve intensive research and form the first focus of this dissertation (Study **III, IV, V**).

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[1] 'Educational media' is used here to refer to school textbooks in particular, but also refers to a whole range of possible texts, pictorial illustrations, films, computer programs, etc., which are produced for educational purposes, i.e. to inform and convince the reader / viewer / listener that the presented information and perspectives are correct (cf. Selander, 1995a: 9).

Discursive practices related to school textbooks (the production and use of such educational media) occur within a complex set of power relations between various social agents in society. Following Bourdieu (1991, 1998), I view the sites for those discursive practices (the educational system, the family, peer groups, etc.) as *fields* — structured social spaces with dominant and dominated social agents and unequal power relations, which are constantly struggled over. These fields are discursively interrelated. In this dissertation, I regard all discursively related fields, which serve as the sites for socialising discourses, as forming the common *field of socialisation*.

Socialisation is a process of cumulative effects of various discourses, events, and experiences, of which textbook discourse is merely one. The field of socialisation embraces complex discursive and influential relationships between the individual being socialised and the agents of socialisation, or socialisers (persons, groups, organisations, objects, events, etc.). Socialisers function concurrently, are linked to one another, influence one another, and function in the context of different social structures, cultures, and processes (Dekker, 1991: 31). Moreover, each individual interacts directly with the textbook, and constructs his or her own meaning in the social process of reading and learning. The given conjuncture makes it difficult to estimate the role of educational media in general and the actual contribution of a single textbook in particular in the process of socialisation. As the second focus of this dissertation, I have taken up the challenge of exploring the main methodological problems in studying the role of particular socialisers, such as school textbooks, in the process of socialisation, finding research strategies for overcoming those difficulties (Study **II**), and implementing those strategies in empirical research (Study **VI, VII, VIII**).

The dissertation therefore has two main aims: firstly, to explore the relationships between textbook discourse and its social context, and secondly, to understand the role of school textbooks in the field of socialisation.

1. Stating the Problem

1.1. Relationships between Textbook Discourse and the Socio-Cultural Context

A textbook's discourse is the outcome of an interplay between several factors, of which the curriculum, the economy, the collective mentality of a society, and the authors' own intentions and viewpoints are probably most important. Theoretically, authors can be seen as passive go-betweens between the mentality of society and textbooks' discourse, or as active mediators in the process of socialisation. Accordingly, the theoretical assumptions about the influence of society on the textbook can be placed on a continuum where imaginary supporters of the thesis that textbooks are vehicles of a broader ideology or mentality are called 'maximalists', and their imaginary adversaries 'minimalists'. Maximalists hold that textbooks are representative of the opinions of broader groups than the authors themselves: educational institutions, dominant groups, or the entire society. Thus, they assume that textbooks' discourse is conventional and socially reproductive. Minimalists, on the other hand, argue that authors always leave their personal imprint, and, sometimes, misinterpret ideology. As a result they become active mediators instead of passive go-betweens in the process of cultural transmission (cf. De Baets, 1994: 526–529; Study V). Textbooks' discourse may, according to the minimalists' viewpoint, be creative and socially transformative.

The socio-psycholinguistic 'Theory of Text Planning' developed by Wodak (see Titscher et al., 2000 for an overview) postulates that variables such as the communicative situation, time and place, the status of participants, their culture, gender and class membership, age, professional socialisation, and some psychological determinants (experience, routine, etc.) play an essential role in text production. In relying on that theory, I assume that textbook authors, similarly to the authors of other texts, are active strategic planners in the processes of text production and cultural transmission, i.e., the implied use and interpretation of the textbook texts by its readers. The discursive features of textbook text, as a product and a resource in those processes (cf. Fairclough, 1989: 26), probably depend on the interplay between the author's ideological position and the rigidity and stability of the socio-political and discursive order. In the case of textbook authors belonging to the dominant group in the society, or conforming to the dominant beliefs and values of a rigid or stable discursive order, the textbooks' discourse is likely to be conventional and socially reproductive. If the author's ideological position opposes dominant beliefs and values of a non-rigid (e.g. democratic) or instable discursive order, we may, theoretically, expect a more or less covert resistance or struggle against that order in the textbook discourse. If such individual, or micro-level, discursive struggles work in the same direction with struggles in other public texts (e.g. other textbooks, the media, etc.), they may contribute to social or political changes. In a long-time perspective, the totality of textbook discourses, seen as a cumulative 'progression of communications' (Biocca, 1991: 45) on the macro-level, probably suppresses most of discursive struggles by individual authors and agrees with large-scale societal transformations.

The theoretical assumptions about the relationships between society, authors, and textbooks have seldom been systematically tested (for some exemplary studies see Anyon, 1979; Grueneberg, 1991; Pratt, 1975). Those studies have revealed that school textbooks do not represent or support a culturally and ideologically pluralist model of society. Instead, textbooks tend to express and legitimise the dominant groups' ideologies and support a conventional view of society. This is explained by the fact that the production of educational media is controlled by the dominant groups and institutions (publishing industry and/or state authorisation committees). Also, textbook authors themselves usually belong to the dominant group (the majority group in a multiethnic society and/or the middle class). The aforementioned studies, thus, lend support to the maximalists' end of the theoretical continuum. Yet, those and many analogous studies were carried out in the societies (e.g. United States, Canada, Israel) where the power relations between the dominant and the dominated social groups had been rather stable during the period when the analysed textbooks were published. This has left open the possibility that the relationships between society, authors and textbooks are more intricate and manifold in societies which are witnessing radical political and ideological changes. Fundamental societal transformations alter, among other things, textbook authors' position in the society and the relation of their beliefs and values to the official norms of any new socio-political and discursive order. Also, a new socio-political order may bring along the change of textbook authors: new authors may emerge or be invited. Twentieth century Estonia serves as a perfect example of the kind of society, which has gone through radical political and ideological changes[2] and where, accordingly, textbook authors have alternately belonged to the dominant and the dominated social groups. We may hypothesise that **during relatively long stable periods, the authors have been, depending on their status in the society, either motivated or sanctioned to follow institutional and social norms and to legitimise the dominant groups' ideologies in textbook discourse. At the time of political breakpoints, textbook authors may have taken a more active role in the process of ideological socialisation and incorporated in textbook discourse their own beliefs and values conflicting, at least to some extent, with the old or the new socio-political order. In the long run, however, textbook discourse is likely to be congruent with sociocultural changes in the society and socially reproductive rather than transformative.** In other words, I assume that the maximalists' thesis is valid for Estonian society in a long-time perspective, whilst periods of political change demand a balanced theoretical approach that integrates both the maximalists' and the minimalists' viewpoints. To test this hypothesis, I have mainly focused on three aspects of Estonian textbooks' discourse:

- collectivist and individualistic values (Study **III, IV**);
- national identity and ethno-politics (Study **IV, V**);
- gender roles (Study **IV, VIII**).

For every aspect, I have set sub-hypotheses as follows.

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[2] Estonia gained independence from Tsarist Russia in 1918, suffered German and Soviet occupations between 1940 and 1991, regained independence in 1991, and is building up a new political and economic order.

Collectivist and individualistic values. Regarding sets of values and value change, three factors must be taken into account. Firstly, the educational system (and educational media as texts produced for and/or in that system) is a hegemonic and conservative institution tending to preserve beliefs and values that have been dominant and socially approved in the culture for a long period of time. Until the beginning of the 1990s, we can regard Estonia as rather a collectivist country (Lauristin & Vihalemm, 1997; Schwartz, 1994). Within the society, representatives of the Russian minority have been found to be somewhat more collectivistic than Estonians (Kants & Realo, 1999; Realo & Allik, 1999). Secondly, school textbooks (and especially ABC-books as pupils' first textbooks) serve a pedagogic objective to socialise children into a collective in its broadest meaning. Accordingly, collectivist values are probably represented in any textbook's discourse. Thirdly, radical transformations in the society's economical, political and social life bring along changes in value patterns both on the micro and macro levels (cf. Realo, 1998: 33–34). The Balticom value surveys conducted in 1991–1995 revealed the existence of a growing individualism and openness among the Estonian population and, thus, the movement away from the collectivist cultural syndrome (Lauristin & Vihalemm, 1997). Several more recent studies have shown that Estonians rank fairly low on collectivism (e.g. Kants & Realo, 1999; Realo & Allik, 1999). These changing value patterns are likely to be reflected in school textbooks.

Taken together, these traits allow hypothesising that **ABC-books published in 20th century Estonia contain more collectivist values than individualistic values. Primers published after the radical societal changes in the 1990s may include more individualistic values. ABC-books in Russian (written by Estonian Russians) are likely to be more collectivist than their temporal counterparts in Estonian.**

National identity and ethno-politics. Analysis of national identities and ethnopolitical discourse in educational media has to take into account the authors' ethnic group membership and its status in relation to other ethnic groups in the society. The studies that have scrutinised the construction of national identities and the image of the Other in school textbooks (see Johnsen, 1993: 86–108 for an overview) have been mostly conducted in societies where power relations between the dominant and the dominated ethnic groups have been stable for a relatively long period of time; also, most of the textbook authors have belonged to the dominant ethnic group. Those studies report that textbooks tend to present a homogeneously positive picture of their country of origin and of the titular ethnic group or the nation as a whole (e.g. the people of the United States), while other countries and ethnic minorities tend to be portrayed rather negatively.

In 20th century Estonia, the status of textbook authors' ethnic group has altered several times. Estonian intellectuals, as the majority of authors, have belonged to a dominated minority in the multi-national empire during the tsarist period (1900–1918) and at the time of German and Soviet occupations (1940–1991) and enjoyed the position of the titular ethnic group of the Estonian nation state (1918–1940 and since 1991). The dynamics of the group status of Russian-speaking intellectuals — the authors of textbooks in Russian — has followed the opposite pattern (not to consider the period of German occupation in 1941–1944). I presume that under the conditions of unstable socio-political order, usually preceding and following political power shifts, textbook discourse may become arms and arena for a more or less covert discursive struggle between different identities and ideologies, as textbook authors may, depending on their group membership and ideological position, either hang on to old ideas and values or introduce new ones. I hypothesise that **Estonian textbooks published directly prior to 1918 and 1991 (the years Estonia gained or re-gained independent statehood) involve more active construction of Estonian national identity and a covert struggle against the imperial discursive order. Also, Estonian textbooks published in the beginning of the 1940s and Russian textbooks published in the 1990s (the time periods after the respective ethnic groups lost their formerly privileged position) are likely to accommodate covert discursive struggle against the new socio-political order. During relatively long stable periods (Estonia's first period of independence — 1918–1940 and the post-war Soviet occupation — 1946–1991) authors are likely to have been, depending on their status in the society, either motivated or sanctioned to follow institutional and social norms and to legitimise the dominant groups' ideologies in textbook discourse.**

Gender roles. The depiction of gender roles in school textbooks is one of the favourite research problems among critical analysts of educational media (see Johnsen, 1993; Mikk, 2000 for overview). Practically all these studies have reported gender bias in various textbooks: women tend to be underrepresented, marginalised, depicted predominantly in home-related roles, etc. The authors' sex does not seem to have a significant effect on gender bias. Thus, in this respect, school textbooks as 'institutionally defined texts' (Selander, 1995a: 12) conform to long-established beliefs and norms in the society and lend support to the maximalists' thesis. Most of these studies have, however, analysed textbooks published in stable societies and/or within relatively short time periods, usually a decade (see, e.g. Sleeter & Grant, 1991). I assume that the depiction of gender roles is more dynamic in textbooks published in 20th century Estonia which has gone through vast cultural and ideological changes. In terms of gender roles, the development from 'modern moderate patriarchy' characterising the first Republic of Estonia (Therborn, 1995: 106) towards a more egalitarian social order has taken place. The official Soviet ideology, celebrating women's rights and their (non-political) careers, definitely contributed to such development. The Soviet ideology, however, did not offer an alternative to the traditional division of labour in the family. The new socio-cultural order that emerged in the second half of the 1980s embraces two conflicting ideologies. The up to then prevailing egalitarian model of 'working Soviet woman' was counterpoised by the national-conservative model of housewife as the ideal mother (cf. Narusk, 1996). That model was soon juxtaposed and, in some contexts, substituted by individualistic 'the-winner-takes-it-all' model, which glorifies success, career, material well-being, and physical perfection. Such a model serves as an equal yardstick for both men and women (cf. Hansson, 2001).

Previous studies conducted in other countries suggest that textbook discourse is more gender biased and conservative than its socio-cultural context. The general assumption about the educational system and educational media as hegemonic and conservative institutions holds, in particular, in regard of gender roles. Thus, I set the following hypothesis: **though we can observe a moderate development towards gender equality in the discourse of textbooks published in 20th century Estonia, gender bias regarding leading roles in the society and traditional division of labour in the family remains hardly challenged. Out of the two conflicting 'new' role models for women, the national-conservative model probably prevails in textbooks' discourse in the late 1980s–1990s.**

1.2. The Role of School Textbooks in the Field of Socialisation

The second focus of this dissertation lies in the interaction between pupils and textbooks in the process of socialisation. In setting up a heuristic model for studying such a relation, I proceed from the interactive theory of political socialisation proposed by Pawelka (1977; see Study **II**). Pawelka argues that there are four main components in the process of political socialisation: firstly, the individual being socialised (the central element in the process); secondly, the agents of socialisation (the family, the school, the media, peer groups, the church, the employment system, and the political system, which embrace various socialisers — persons, groups, organisations, objects (e.g. textbooks), events, etc.); thirdly, the dominant sub-system of the society, which, in turn, can be divided into a sub-system in power and a sub-system in the opposition; finally, the peripheral sub-systems of the society (e.g. sub-cultures). Between these four components there are mutually influential relationships that are mainly discursive (see Study **II** for more details). Since political or ideological socialisation largely takes place through discourse (van Dijk, 1998: 193), we may think of the agents of socialisation and the societal sub-systems as *sites for discourses*, which penetrate and influence each other, and constitute interaction and social practice in society (van Dijk, 1997). As stated in the Introduction and argued in Study **I** and Study **II**, I view these sites for discourses as *fields*, and all discursively related fields, which serve as the sites for socialising discourses, as forming the common *field of socialisation*. My visual interpretation of the conception of the field of socialisation is provided in Figure 1.

I assume that the individual being socialised is not a passive participant in the field of socialisation. Following the cognitive-developmental school in political socialisation research, I presume that the individual interacts with various agents of socialisation, gradually constructing an image of the political scene (Gallatin, 1980: 347; Study **II**). School textbooks are, thus, just one agent among many others, which may have a role to play in the process of socialisation. Taking into account the *role-defined* character of pupils as textbook readers (Selander, 1995b: 152), the *closed* nature of textbook texts (cf. Eco, 1979), and some other peculiarities of textbooks as the medium in the reader-text interaction (see Study **II**), I assume, secondly, that the creation of meaning and, eventually, socialisation through the interaction of pupils and textbooks is a site of negotiation between *two semi-powerful* agents (cf. Livingstone, 1990: 23; Study **II**). In other words, pupils' interpretations of textbook texts are generated through a combination of what is in the text and what is 'in' the pupils, in the sense of their *members' resources* which they bring to the process of interpretation and socialisation. Features of the textbook discourse are *cues*, which activate elements of pupils' members' resources, and interpretations are generated through the dialectical interplay of cues and members' resources (cf. Fairclough, 1989: 141). In particular fields of knowledge pupils' members' resources are yet not elaborated. If textbooks, then, constitute the sole and trusted source of information, they will most likely affect factual beliefs of pupils. The same is not necessarily true about evaluative, or ideological, beliefs particularly when other available discourses provide pupils with alternative opinions.

These assumptions are in line with Leung's (1997) *dissensus model* of political socialisation, which criticises both the functionalist-conservative consensus model predominant during the 1960s and the 1970s, and its Marxist alternative. These two models define the individual as a passive learner rather than an active creator in the process of socialisation, and present an over-socialised conception of the human being. Leung's dissensus model refers to a state of disagreement among the members of a political system on political matters, arguing that the differences are produced by the very process of political socialisation. For my research purposes it is relevant to note that, according to Leung's model, dissensus comes firstly from *process variation* — even if socialising agents transmit similar messages (which is usually the case with institutionally approved textbooks), the normally latent nature of the socialisation process cannot guarantee that the socialisees will receive those messages and form similar attitudes. Dissensus arises secondly from *life cycle variation* — individuals may have pre-established beliefs and attitudes prior to meeting, for instance civics textbooks; also beliefs and attitudes acquired from school may be reshaped in the later stages of their life cycle. Thirdly, dissensus

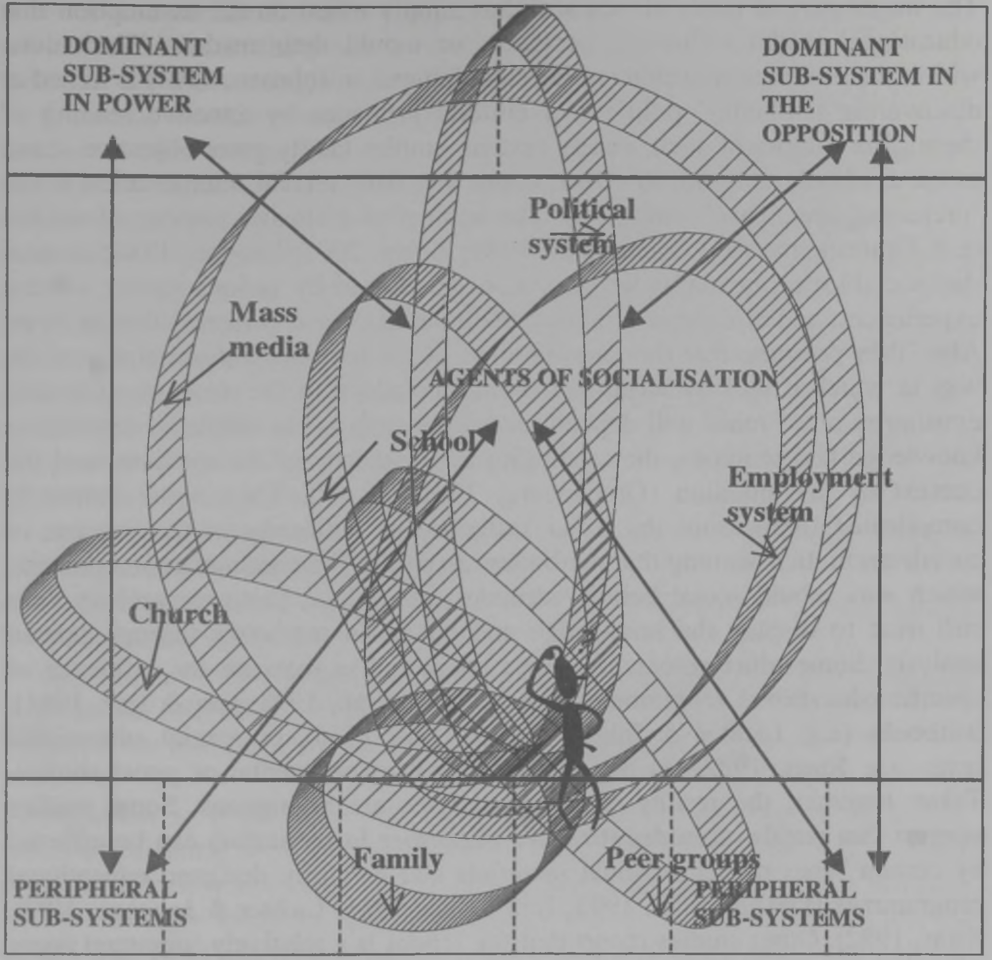
DOMINANT SUB-SYSTEM IN POWER
DOMINANT SUB-SYSTEM IN THE OPPOSITION
Political system
Mass media
AGENTS OF SOCIALISATION
School
Employment system
Church
Family
Peer groups
PERIPHERAL SUB-SYSTEMS
PERIPHERAL SUB-SYSTEMS

Figure 1. The field of socialisation

comes from *social variation* — different social groups, or groups living in a different environment, may transmit different political messages to the next generation thereby either reinforcing or counteracting the messages in school textbooks (cf. Leung, 1997: 13–14).

The given conjuncture (the interactional nature of the process of socialisation, the complexity of relationships between the socialisees and various socialisers in the field of socialisation, and several possible variations in the process) makes it difficult to estimate the role of specific agents such as school textbooks in the process of socialisation. The cognitive-developmental group in political socialisation research has envisioned the entire process a priori as being extremely complex, and has generally stopped short of trying to study the impact of individual agents of socialisation directly (Gallatin, 1980; Study II).

The major part of textbook research has simply relied on the assumption that educational media influence, persuade, or mould their readers. Work done within that research tradition (called 'ideological' in Johnsen, 1993) is aimed at discovering textbooks' political or cultural influence by attentive reading of them. The authors of such, purely textual, studies tacitly grant objective status to the textbook text and, in effect, claim that their textual interpretation is the 'preferred' one (Taxel, 1989: 32). The authors of a smaller number of studies (e.g. Grueneberg, 1991; Heraclides, 1980; Knain, 2001; London, 1984) assume that socialisation is a cumulative process influenced by various agents, events, experiences, and discourses, and that textbook discourse is merely one of them. Also, they presume that the interpretation of the textbook information and the way in which it will be accepted, rejected or added to the structure of beliefs existing in one's mind will depend on factors such as the similarity to existing knowledge and attitudes, the credibility and authority of the medium, and the context of the situation (Grueneberg, 1991: 16–17). They agree that it is complicated to measure the exact influence of textbooks in the process of socialisation. In assuming that textbooks are part of the communication process, which *may* mould social beliefs, attitudes and values, these researchers have still tried to display the knowledge and values in textbooks through textual analysis. Some other researchers have attempted to measure the influence of specific educational programmes (e.g. Dekker et al., 1993; Ijaz & Ijaz, 1981), textbooks (e.g. Lichter & Johnson, 1969; Litt, 1966), or special educational texts (e.g. Ruus, 1982) on pupils' attitudes in experimental or panel studies. Taken together, the results of those analyses are ambiguous. Some studies suggest that pupils' attitudes (towards minorities in particular) can be affected by certain types of instructional materials and carefully designed educational programmes (Dekker et al., 1993; Ijaz & Ijaz, 1981; Lichter & Johnson, 1969; Ruus, 1982). Other studies report that the school is a relatively important agent for transmitting political information to young people; textbooks and individual courses, however, seem to have no remarkable influence on pupils' political attitudes and participation orientations (Leming, 1985; Litt, 1966; Marker & Mehlinger, 1992; see also Ehman, 1980; Leung, 1997; Study I for overview). Some exceptions to the latter pattern are provided by pupils from ethnic minorities and low status groups who appear to become more knowledgeable about, and less alienated from, the political system after taking courses in civics (see Gallatin, 1980: 363–364 for an overview). For these pupils, the school may be the sole source of information about the formal political life of the society and thus relatively influential. In general, these conclusions support Pawelka's interactive theory and Leung's dissensus model of political socialisation.

The previous research has, thus, not fully answered the questions of what role school textbooks play in the process of socialisation and what precisely occurs when pupils actually meet and read ordinary textbooks. Previous studies have neither offered completely reliable methods for solving this kind of research problems. The second focus of this dissertation involves two tasks:

Firstly, to outline the main methodological problems in studying the role of school textbooks in the process of socialisation and to discuss some research strategies for overcoming these difficulties (Study **II**);

Secondly, to analyse and understand how pupils interact with different socialisers in the field of socialisation and what role school textbooks play in that process. Resting upon the above-cited theories of socialisation, earlier research, knowledge about Estonian social context and the results of the analysis of the textbook in question[3] (reported in Study **V, VII, VIII**), I set the following general hypothesis: **the textbook serves as a source of political information for pupils. The role of the textbook in the formation of pupils' political orientations and attitudes is modest; Russian pupils, however, may provide some exceptions to this pattern. Other socialising agents as well as pupils' social background and members' resources play a more important part in the process of political, ideological, and cultural socialisation[4].** To test this hypothesis, I will pay attention to three aspects of socialisation:

- acquisition of democratic participation orientations and the role of citizen (socialisation to democracy; Study **VII**);
- acquisition of ethnic attitudes or multicultural orientations (ethno-political socialisation; Study **VI**);
- acquisition of knowledge and attitudes related to gender roles (socialisation to gender roles; Study **VIII**).

I have set the following sub-hypotheses for these three aspects.

Socialisation to democracy. The so-called 'positive' outcomes of civic education (inculcating political knowledge, political participation skills, and certain political attitudes) have been the focus of much political socialisation research. Except the early study by Hess and Torney (1967), which concluded that the school was more important than the family and any other agents of political socialisation, research has pointed to the failure of civic education as a democratic socialising agent: textbooks and courses in civics seem to have no remarkable influence on political attitudes and participation orientations (see the discussion preceding the general hypothesis of this research focus).

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[3] The textbook in question is a ninth form civics textbook (Möldre & Toots, 1997) originally written in Estonian and translated into Russian in 1998. The two versions of the textbook are currently used as the main teaching material in the compulsory ninth form civics course in most schools in Estonia with both Estonian and Russian as the language of instruction.

[4] 'Political socialisation' refers to the process by which the individual acquires attitudes, beliefs and values relating to the political system of which he or she is a member and to his or her role as a citizen within that political system (cf. Greenberg, 1970). Ideological and cultural socialisation comprise the acquisition of values, attitudes and beliefs regarding one's own group, other groups or nations, war and peace, religion, science; values such as individualism and collectivism, etc.

In re-independent Estonia political apathy and low levels of participation, especially among younger generations, have become stated reality. For instance, age stands out significantly among predictors of voting or non-voting: casting a ballot is more common among older people (Taru, 1997). The Estonian social studies curriculum (The Estonian national curriculum…, 1996) and the civics textbooks based on it are more oriented towards transmitting static knowledge about the structure and functioning of the social system, and less adjusted towards forming skills and capacities for critical reflection on, and active participation in, the society (cf. Kalmus & Vihalemm, 2000). An analysis of the ninth form civics textbook (Möldre & Toots, 1997), which was used by the subjects of my research, revealed that the predominant role model set for pupils and, thus, the position of the *implied reader* of the textbook, is that of a passive citizen who participates in elections and obeys the rule of laws and institutions. The textbook simply describes the dominant social order without presenting a critical view on it. Accordingly, the textbook offers few opportunities for critical reflection, for gaining insight into social problems or for the discussion of controversial issues (Study **VII**). My hypothesis is that **pupils obtain information about possibilities for political and civic participation from that textbook. The latter has no remarkable influence on pupils' political ideas or participation orientations, except for Russian pupils who may gain additional political knowledge and confidence, thus becoming more attached to the Estonian political system. As the static and idealised picture of the Estonian society presented by the textbook is consistent neither with the heterogeneous picture presented by the media nor the social reality perceived by pupils and their family members, many pupils may reject the textbook's image of the society.**

Ethno-political socialisation. Earlier research has shown that attitudes towards minorities can be positively affected by certain types of instructional materials and carefully designed educational programmes (see Study **I** for an overview). Relying on theories of cognitive systems and group dynamics, Heraclides (1980) has suggested that the interaction resulting from the authoritative quality of textbooks, reinforced by the legitimised authority of the teacher working in the same direction, probably minimises pupils' resistance to the potential influence of a textbook and leads to internalisation of the provided images of ethnic groups.

The ninth form civics textbook (Möldre & Toots, 1997) is not designed for the purposes of *multicultural education* (Banks, 1992; Gutmann, 1996; see also Study **I**). The textbook represents the 'truth' of the ethnic majority and corresponds to the phase of 'tacit separation' (Heidmets, 1998) in the public discourse on inter-ethnic relations in Estonia. The Estonian-language version of the textbook contains some ethnocentric exclusions. It is also critical of the Soviet Union and Russia and justifies the existence of Russophobia among Estonians. The Russian version of the textbook is more inclusive, gives somewhat more attention to the issues of integration, citizenship, and human rights, and is covertly critical of the citizenship policy of Estonia. Ethno-political discourse in both versions of the textbook is, however, scarce and non-topical (see Study **V, VI**). Thus, I hypothesise that **the ninth form civics textbook plays no significant role in the process of ethno-political socialisation**.

Socialisation to gender roles. Similarly to ethno-political socialisation, the acquisition of knowledge and attitudes related to gender roles depends on many factors and socialisers, including pupils' personal experiences (Wing, 1997: 502–503). Taking into account the ubiquity of gender role models in everyday social and symbolic environments (e.g. the family, films, advertisements, etc.), we may assume that the relative influence of agents other than a single school textbook is even greater in this aspect of socialisation.

In the ninth form civics textbook (Möldre & Toots, 1997) the issue of men's and women's equal rights is covered superficially and vaguely (Study **VIII**). The textbook contains many instances of masculine subsuming language (e.g. *ärimees* (businessman), *riigimees* (statesman), *võimumees* (mighty man), etc.), avoids depicting women in political roles (the only exception is Queen Elizabeth II) and attributes a more important status in society to men in general (Toom, 2002; Study **VIII**). I can hypothesise that **the textbook does not contribute to the formation of egalitarian attitudes with regard to gender roles**.

2. Methodological Issues

2.1. Methodological Insights into Research on Socialisation through School Textbooks

The role of school textbooks in the process of socialisation, or the interaction between pupils and educational media, has seldom been studied due to the complexity and methodological stumbling blocks involved. Study **II** points out the main methodological problems in studying school textbooks as an agent of socialisation, and suggests some methods for exploring and understanding the dynamic interaction between textbooks and their readers. At the outset, Study **II** criticises the tacit assumptions underlying conventional, mainly textual, textbook research. In the light of the socialisation theories described above (Leung, 1997; Pawelka, 1977), the ideas of the cognitive-developmental school in political socialisation research (Gallatin, 1980), reader response theories (Iser, 1980), and the conception of educational media as institutionally defined texts and of pupils as role-defined readers (Selander, 1995a, 1995b), I suggest these assumptions be revised and postulate that, firstly, textbooks are one agent among many others, which may play some role in the gradual and dialectical process of socialisation, and secondly, that socialisation through the interaction of pupils and textbooks is a site of negotiation between these two semi-powerful agents.

The main methodological problems in studying textbooks as an agent of socialisation can be summarised as follows. Firstly, the relationships between the influence of textbooks and other influences of the school and the influence of other agents of socialisation are barely measurable. It is impossible to isolate textbooks from other socialisers such as the teacher, classroom climate, peers, etc. in a research design. Secondly, it is difficult to identify cause and effect: the available statistical techniques are largely correlational, which does not imply causation. Thirdly, pupils as research informants cause general, as well as specific, problems of validity and reliability (e.g. the increased probability of obtaining socially desirable answers; 'playing a trick' on a researcher by deliberately giving wrong or funny answers, or by choosing forced-choice items at random; the risk of inflated growth rates due to repeated exposure).

To mitigate some of these problems, Study **II** suggests a number of concrete measures and three complex research strategies: an interdisciplinary approach, combination of different methods and a cycle of research guided by the principles of the discourse-historical approach in Critical Discourse Analysis (Wodak, 2001), which unites analysis of the creation of textbook texts, analysis of textbook texts and analysis of response to those texts.

2.2. Methods and Data

This dissertation comprises several studies, some of which form parts in a cycle of research. The first focus of the dissertation — relationships between discursive changes in textbooks and socio-cultural changes in the society — is based on the analyses of textbooks texts. The methods include quantitative and qualitative content analysis (Study **III, IV, VIII**) and critical discourse analysis (Study **IV, V**). The studies draw on three sets of data: a sample of ABC-books published in Estonia between 1900–1997 (Study **III, IV**; see also Kalmus, 1998), a sample of contemporary ABC-books and civics textbooks in Estonian and Russian, published in the 1990s (Study **V**), and a sample of contemporary Estonian social and human studies textbooks published in the 1990s (Study **VIII**).

The second focus of the dissertation — interaction between pupils and textbooks in the process of socialisation — rests on a partial cycle of research. The first phase in the cycle — analysis of the creation of textbook texts — falls beyond the foci and scope of this dissertation and is not fully elaborated. The second phase — analysis of textbook texts — comprises quantitative and qualitative content analysis (Study **VII, VIII**) and critical discourse analysis (Study **V**) of the ninth form civics textbook (Möldre & Toots, 1997). The third phase in the cycle — analysis of pupils' response to the textbook texts — embraces several sub-studies and methods: a panel questionnaire survey with 135 ninth-formers of an Estonian and a Russian school in Tartu, carried out at the beginning and end of the school year 2000/2001 (Study **VIII**); essays on two topics written by ninth-formers at the same schools [N = 113 (57+58)] after they had gone through relevant texts in their civics textbook; and semi-structured interviews with a sample of the ninth-formers (N = 25). I used qualitative and quantitative content analysis (Study **VII**) and critical discourse analysis (Study **VI**) to examine the essays and the interviews.

3. Relationships between Discursive Changes in Textbooks and Socio-Cultural Changes in Estonian Society

3.1. Collectivist and Individualistic Values

In Study **III**, I explored the content of 20th century Estonian ABC-books in terms of Schwartzian individualistic and collectivist values (see Schwartz, 1990, 1996). Also, I conducted a qualitative analysis of the discourse on home to reveal the patterns of *Familism* — a subtype of collectivism focused on relations with family (Realo et al., 1997) and *a Sense of Ownership*[5]. The study revealed that the ABC-books published in Estonia between 1907–1997 contained collectivist rather than individualistic values. However, in the primers written in the 1990s individualistic values were somewhat more central than in previous decades. At the level of discourse about the home, almost all ABC-books accommodated the juxtaposition of *Familism* and *a Sense of Ownership* as collectivist and individualistic elements, respectively (see Study **IV** for more details). Contrary to my expectations, the ABC-books in Russian were fairly similar to their temporal counterparts in Estonian.

Using two levels of analysis — *cultural* and *individual* — and Williams' (1995 [1972]) terms specifying *dominant*, *residual* and *emergent* cultural elements, these findings can be interpreted as follows (see Study **III** for a more detailed discussion). The prevalence of collectivist values in the ABC-books is probably the function of a long-preserved *dominant* syndrome at the *cultural* level — Estonian people, including educators and textbook authors, assume that collectivist values are socially approved and attempt to socialise the young generation into such values. Individualistic values, on the other hand, are becoming more *dominant* on the *individual* level (as indicated through the aggregated 'micro-data' from the recent surveys). In line with large-scale societal transformations of the 1990s (the transition to a free-market economy, the withering away of the Soviet collectivist mentality, and the cooling down of strong national feelings among Estonians), some individually held individualistic motivational goals are obtaining public recognition and manifestation, *emerging* also at the *cultural* level. Consequently, they are included in the 'hidden curriculum' of textbooks, which explains the emergence of certain individualistic values in the ABC-books of the 1990s. To some extent, individualistic values are also *residual* on *both* levels (*a Sense of Ownership*, for instance, is retained in the primers and among Estonian individuals since the first independence period). The authors of primers in Russian (published during the periods of Estonia's independence) are likely to have followed the cultural notions shared by the majority; also, a mutual intertextuality of Estonian and Russian educational media may have played a role in the resulting similarity between the ABC-books in Russian and their temporal counterparts in Estonian.

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[5] *A Sense of Ownership* is my term to sum up the desire and the respect for a household of one's own, as well as the attitudes and a sense of the rights and obligations that arise from being a master of private property. The concept is closely related to, and shares elements of, Schwartzian *Achievement* and *Power*.

Thus, two of the three sub-hypotheses set for this study were affirmed by the analysis. Taken together, the results of Study **III** lend support to the maximalists' thesis and my general hypothesis concerning long-term developments in textbook discourse in relation to socio-cultural changes in the society. The primers' authors have emphasised dominant values in society and followed value change resulting from societal transformations in the 1990s. Thus, in terms of individualism-collectivism, ABC-books' discourse has been conventional and culturally reproductive rather than transformative.

3.2. National Identity and Ethno-Politics

In Study **IV**, I have scrutinised the discourse on homeland in 22 ABC-books published in Estonia between 1907–1997. The sample included, among others, the earlier and later editions of primers published in the years of political changes in 1918, 1940, and 1991. The study revealed that ethnic and national identities were most actively constructed in ABC-books published just before and/or immediately after political changes which brought about the gain or loss of Estonia's independence and altered the status of different ethnic groups. In the primers (particularly in case of an early anticipation of such transformation in the Estonian ABC-book from 1914), authors have taken a relatively active role in the process of social construction and cultural transmission. In periods of change or instability (especially in a primer's editions published in 1940–1946) it is possible to observe covert discursive struggle by the use of synonyms and illustrations. Throughout other, more stable periods, the authors have simply followed and reinforced the prevalent norms and taken-for-granted assumptions. The symbolic attributes for identity construction have changed to conform to the main socio-political transformations.

Study **V** analysed Estonian and Russian ABC-books and civics textbooks published in Estonia in the 1990s. The aim of the study was to reveal the predominant patterns of thought regarding issues of identity, multiculturalism, citizenship and human rights, and to expose any diachronic changes in the textbooks' discourse. The analysis showed that Estonian primers and civics textbooks were somewhat more ethnocentric, monocultural and exclusive than their Russian counterparts or translations. In this respect, Estonian textbooks represented the dominant view of society according to which the potential benefit for Estonia arising from the presence of minorities was not perceived (see Kruusvall, 2000). It is, however, possible to observe a clear tendency among the civics textbooks: the newer the textbook the more it corresponds to the democratic aims expressed in the Estonian national curriculum of elementary and secondary education (1996; see Study **I**). Moreover, the discourse in Estonian ABC-books and civics textbooks roughly followed the changes in media discourse of the decade (Kõuts & Tammpuu, 2002; see also Study **VI**). Thus, the discourse in Estonian textbooks was quite conventional in relation to its institutional and public discursive context. The textbooks in Russian were more inclusive and multicultural, laid more emphasis on the construction of multiple identities and occasionally contained instances of implicit criticism in regard of the citizenship policy of Estonia. The authors, translators, reviewers, and editors of Russian textbooks had thus covertly struggled against the dominant ideology.

Study **IV** and Study **V** confirm the sub-hypotheses set for this aspect of the research focus. Moreover, the studies endorse my general hypothesis that during relatively long stable periods authors have been, depending on their status in the society, either motivated or sanctioned to follow institutional and social norms and to legitimise the dominant groups' ideologies in textbook discourse. At times of political change textbook authors have taken more active roles in the process of ideological socialisation and incorporated beliefs and values consistent with their own, non-dominant, ideological position, which to some extent conflicts with the old or new socio-political order. Such discursive struggles are more noticeable in the case of a more permissive discursive order (e.g. that of contemporary Estonia).

3.3. Gender Roles

Study **IV** reports the findings of my research on the depiction of gender roles in Estonian ABC-books published between 1907–1997 (see also Kalmus, 1998, 2001). The study detected three overlapping discursive patterns: (1) a persistent pattern of rigid gender division regarding a number of roles, activities and objects of action (i.e. things used by men and women); (2) a moderate development towards gender equality (in newer ABC-books both parents are assumed to have equal authority, some male actors are engaged in 'feminine' household activities; also, female actors are depicted more frequently on illustrations); (3) a dynamic pattern of role division that advances in leaps and bounds (patriarchal role division in the first half of the 20th century is followed by a more egalitarian social order in the Soviet-time primers, which is overthrown by inclinations of patriarchy in the post-Socialist ABC-books).

Study **VIII** summarises the results from the qualitative analysis[6] of three social studies textbooks published in Estonia between 1997–1999 (see also Kukner, 2002; Säälik, 2001; Toom, 2002). We found that the textbooks tended to depict traditional gender roles and misrepresent reality: men were represented more frequently and/or in the foreground of illustrations, women were not shown in political roles and the problem of gender inequality was excluded. Regarding more egalitarian gender roles, one of the textbooks states explicitly that 'one should not demand equality where equality can not exist' (Annuk, 1999: 18). Non-traditional gender roles are rarely depicted. The social studies textbooks share, to a large extent, the discursive pattern found in the ABC-books from the 1990s.

The patterns detected in Study **IV** and Study **VIII** can again be interpreted in Williams' (1995 [1972]) terms of *dominant*, *residual* and *emergent*. The persistent features of traditional role division between genders seem to reflect the *dominant* cultural beliefs in Estonian society: some taken-for-granted assumptions about gendered division of labour in the family and certain occupational segregation in society are hegemonic to the extent that they have survived all the socio-political changes of the 20th century. That kind of cultural formation is counterpoised by the moderate tendency towards gender equality, which can be called *emergent*: the problems of gender inequality and women's career opportunities have become more topical in Estonian public discourses, especially in the current context of Estonia's accession to the European Union and the pursuit for economic growth as the ultimate societal goal. The third pattern — the re-appearance of some ultra-patriarchal features in social studies textbooks and ABC-books published in the post-Socialist 1990s — can be seen as *residual*: as soon as Soviet-time ideological impulses inclining to gender equality vanished, age-long ideas about men as principal breadwinners, leaders, entrepreneurs and proprietors were re-activated in the process of social construction of knowledge. On one hand, this tendency can be interpreted as neo-bourgeois ideological reaction to any endeavours for egalitarianism, which tended to be stamped as 'Soviet-time remnants' by ideologues of the new socio-political order. On the other hand, patriarchal worldview obviously suited the interests of the new political elite: by attributing the responsibility for decreased birth rate to women's emancipation it was possible to lessen public criticism in regard of low social benefits for children, the decreased number of kindergartens, etc.

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[6] The studies were carried out within the research project 'Gender roles in school textbooks' financed by the Open Estonia Foundation. The guidelines for qualitative analysis were worked out by Kalmus, Richards, and Mikk (2002).

The sub-hypotheses regarding the aspect of gender roles depiction were, thus, affirmed by Study **IV** and Study **VIII**. Also, the conclusions tend to support the maximalists' thesis: throughout the 20th century, the textbook authors have conformed to the dominant cultural norms and ideological impulses. It is noteworthy that the authors' gender membership has no evident impact on their discursive position: all authors of the social studies textbooks and most of the authors of the ABC-books published in the 1990s are women. Possibly, those authors have either strategically avoided any contents which may be labelled as 'feministic' or 'Soviet-time remnants', or simply taken patriarchal beliefs and values for granted.

4. Interaction between Pupils and Textbooks in the Field of Socialisation

4.1. Socialisation to Democracy

To reveal whether the ninth-form civics textbook (Möldre & Toots, 1997) teaches democratic values, participation orientations and critical citizenship, and whether such orientations are accepted by pupils, we conducted a comparative analysis of textbook discourses and pupils' discourses (Study **VII**). The study revealed that the ninth-formers' discourse resembled that of their textbook in some respects. Most of the pupils accepted the role of a voter and an obedient citizen promoted by the textbook. Also, many pupils envisioned a possibility that they would perform various acts of government thoroughly described in the textbook. Positively enough, some active civic behaviours such as peaceful protest, charity and environmental protection were mentioned more frequently in pupils' essays than in the textbook. Pupils were also considerably critical of society, bringing forth many social problems never mentioned in the civics textbook. The questionnaire survey confirmed the critical attitude among the ninth-formers: 42 per cent (58 per cent of Russians and 31 per cent of Estonians) agreed with the statement that the textbook depicts life in Estonia as unrealistically beautiful.

The panel questionnaire survey showed that the pupils' political knowledge improved during the school year: the mean of the 11-point index of knowledge[7] increased from 4.4 to 5.8 in the whole sample ($p = .000$). The one-year political socialisation process had a positive effect on both Estonian and Russian pupils' knowledge, whereas Russian pupils learned considerably more. At the beginning of the school year, Estonian pupils were more knowledgeable about the Estonian political system than their Russian peers (mean = 4.5 vs. mean = 3.7; $p = .01$); by the end of the school year the situation was vice versa (mean = 5.4 vs. mean = 6.3; $p = .01$). This suggests that even factual information in a textbook can be acquired differently by different groups. The reasons may lie in the relevance of the subject for different groups of pupils, the availability of alternative sources of information, the role played by different teachers, etc.

According to the pupils' estimations, the civics textbook played an important role in *informing* them about certain political issues and concepts (see also Study **VIII**). Russian pupils in particular tended to value the textbook in this respect. For instance, 60 per cent of Russian pupils admitted that they had learned from their civics textbook why it is important to participate in elections, while 20 per cent thought they had learned it from the textbook as well as from other sources (the corresponding figures for Estonian pupils were 30 per cent and 39 per cent). A control question, however, suggests that the pupils overestimated the contribution of the civics textbook to some extent, or failed to differentiate it from the input of other textbooks (one fifth of Estonian as well as Russian pupils argued that they had learned from the civics textbook how to protect the environment and one third claimed they had learned it from the textbook as well as from other sources; the topic is not represented in the civics textbook).

The role of the civics textbook as a source of political information for pupils was confirmed through semi-structured interviews (Study **VII**). However, not one of the interviewed pupils named the textbook as the primary source of information: it was brought up as the second, the third, or the fourth source after the media, school, or parents. Some Russian pupils acknowledged that the civics textbook had provided them with information about the Constitution, citizenship and human rights, which gave them more confidence.

The panel questionnaire survey also revealed a remarkable difference between Estonian and Russian pupils' basic *participation orientations* (Table 1). At the beginning of the school year Estonian pupils were more inclined to participate in parliamentary elections than their Russian peers ($\chi^2 = 10.8$; $p < .05$). By the end of the school year the difference became insignificant. Also, the comparison of mean orientations (paired samples t-test, 'I cannot say' eliminated) revealed a significant increase in Russian pupils' readiness to vote

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[7] The index of political knowledge is the sum of correct answers to 11 test questions (e.g. 'Who, according to the Constitution, has the supreme power in Estonia?'). The ninth form civics textbook provides answers to these questions.

($p < .05$), while Estonian pupils' mean participation orientation remained unchanged. Thus, the one-year political socialisation process (and the course in civics as an important part of it) facilitated Russian pupils becoming more close to Estonian political life, while Estonian pupils were immune to this effect.

Table 1. Pupils' participation orientations (%)
Q: If Riigikogu *[the parliament] elections took place now, and you had the right to vote, would you?*

	Autumn 2000 N = 130			Spring 2001 N = 117		
	Total	Estonian school	Russian school	**Total**	Estonian school	Russian school
Yes	**21.5**	28.2	13.6	**29.9**	32.8	26.0
Probably yes	**16.9**	19.7	13.6	**22.2**	23.9	20.0
Probably not	**8.5**	5.6	11.9	**15.4**	14.9	16.0
No	**32.3**	22.5	44.1	**19.7**	16.4	24.0
I cannot say	**20.8**	23.9	16.9	**12.8**	11.9	14.0

According to the interviewed pupils' estimations (Study **VII**), the role of the civics textbook in forming their political *ideas and attitudes* appeared to be relatively modest: the pupils' personal experiences and reflections, the media and the family functioned more prominently as the sources of the ideas they had expressed in the essay. The importance of personal experiences and participation revealed itself also in a striking difference between Estonian and Russian pupils: many Estonian pupils, having actually participated in a peaceful protest, also stated their readiness to take part in such actions.

The sub-hypotheses set for this aspect of the socialisation process were thus confirmed. The civics textbook served as a source of additional political information, especially for pupils in the Russian school. As they became more knowledgeable about the Estonian political system and their own rights, their readiness to participate in parliamentary elections increased. In other respects, the civics textbook played no significant role in forming the pupils' political ideas and attitudes. Many pupils also rejected the textbook's overly idealistic image of society. The results also lend support to my general hypothesis regarding the role of the civics textbook in the process of political and ideological socialisation.

4.2. Ethno-Political Socialisation

Study **V** and **VI** share the analytical logic with Study **VII**: to find out whether the civics textbook played any role in ethno-political socialisation, we conducted a comparative analysis of textbook discourses and pupils' discourses. The analysis revealed, firstly, a number of differences between the discourses of Estonian and Russian pupils. Young Russians were, in general, more optimistic and supporting of inter-ethnic integration in Estonia, while young Estonians' discourse was more heterogeneous, ranging from overt ethnocentrism to expressive tolerance. This finding is in line with Leung's dissensus model of socialisation: the great variation in the pupils' ethno-political discourse obviously results from variation in their pre-established beliefs and attitudes, personal inter-cultural experiences, and social background.

Secondly, the analysis revealed some parallels between the Estonian and the Russian versions of the ninth form civics textbook and the correspondent discourses of ninth-formers. Russian pupils, similarly to their textbook, tried to construct common we-identity with Estonians at the level of civic nation; also, they avoided manifest criticism of Estonians and tended to use covert or intertextual forms of accusation. Estonian pupils defined the in-group in exclusive terms; their textbook also contains some ethnocentric exclusions. A number of Estonian pupils portrayed Russians expressly negatively while the textbook is more or less explicitly critical towards the Soviet Union and Russia. The discourse of Estonian pupils and their textbook comprise similar argumentation schemes and strategies (e.g. causal argument schemes and the move of apparent concession) that help to construct a suitable image of the Other and to justify xenophobic attitudes.

The intertextual analysis and the data obtained from the interviews with pupils do not allow this correlation to be interpreted as an indicator of a socialising effect of the textbook. Pupils never made manifest intertextual references to their textbooks or teachers in the essays on this topic. Instead, they used arguments picked from the media and political discourses to justify pro-integration as well as ethnocentric standpoints. In the interviews, the civics textbook was never mentioned as a source of ideas expressed in the essays. In being directly asked whence they had derived their thoughts, pupils referred to their own reflections and experiences, the media, specific teachers and family members. The detailed analysis of two cases demonstrated that even the same sources (history lessons and textbooks) may lead to radically different ideas depending on the mental model or interpretative context previously constructed by the pupil. The make-up of the interpretative context is determined, to a great extent, by the pupil's personal experiences and the views shared by the discursive communities where he or she participates.

The data from the panel questionnaire survey suggest that the civics textbook played some role in *informing* pupils, especially those studying in the Russian school, about inter-ethnic integration: 56 per cent of Russian pupils admitted that they had learned from their civics textbook what integration is, while 24 per cent answered that they had learned it from the textbook as well as from other sources (the corresponding figures for Estonian pupils were 34% and 31%). The difference between Estonian and Russian pupils' estimations can be partly explained by the fact that the issues of integration, citizenship, human rights, etc. are dealt with using greater emphasis in the Russian version of the textbook (the difference between assimilation and integration is explained, the word 'integration' is in bold font). The interviewed Russian pupils, however, tended to be critical of the textbook's coverage of integration. For instance, two pupils asserted that the textbook treats the topic partially or covertly, not 'concretely like in the newspapers'.

The sub-hypothesis regarding this aspect of the research problem was, thus, confirmed: the civics textbook played no substantial role in the process of ethno-political socialisation. The results also harmonise with the general hypothesis regarding the role of the civics textbook in the process of political and ideological socialisation.

4.3. Socialisation to Gender Roles

To understand the role of the civics textbook in this process, we measured ninth-formers' knowledge of, and attitudes towards, gender equality at the beginning and at the end of the school year (Study **VIII**). The study revealed that the pupils' knowledge of gender equality increased during the school year to a considerable extent. In that process, the civics course seems to have fulfilled a more influential role for those pupils who knew less about Estonian political life, studied in the Russian school and were religious. The role of the civics textbook in the enhancement of knowledge remained unclear: the textbook discusses the topic of men's and women's equal rights slightly, and the data about the relevance of the textbook as a source of that kind of information for pupils are somewhat inconsistent.

The pupils' conceptions of gender roles became more clearly formed by the end of the school year. Estonian pupils' attitudes towards gender equality remained unchanged while Russian pupils' attitudes became more patriarchal. The data revealed a significant relation between the annual gain in gender-related knowledge and gender-stereotypical attitudes at the end of the school year: the less the pupils knew about gender equality in the autumn and the more they gained in knowledge by the spring, the more patriarchal their views became. It is probable that such attitude change resulted from the intrusion of unfamiliar but unacceptable school knowledge into the pupils' cognitive schemata. The survey data did not reveal the impact of any particular extra-curricular agents on gender-related attitudes. The qualitative data suggest that pupils' personal experiences and reflections may help them to negotiate traditional beliefs about gender roles.

The sub-hypothesis set for this aspect of the second research focus was confirmed: the civics textbook did not contribute to the formation of egalitarian attitudes in regard to gender roles. The general hypothesis was affirmed only partially: the role of the textbook as a source of political information (in this case, knowledge of men's and women's equal rights) remained unclear.

5. Discussion

The main hypotheses set in this dissertation were confirmed. The analyses of ethno-political discourse (Study **IV, V**) and the depiction of gender roles in textbooks (Study **IV, VIII**) demonstrated that during relatively long stable periods, the authors tend to follow institutional and social norms, and to legitimise the dominant groups' ideologies in textbook discourse. The analysis of ethno-political discourse (Study **IV, V**) also showed that at the time of political breakpoints and under the conditions of a more permissive socio-political order, textbook authors may enact their own, non-dominant discursive positions and engage in covert struggles with the old or the new discursive order. The analyses of collectivist and individualistic values (Study **III**) and the depiction of gender roles in textbooks (Study **IV, VIII**) indicated that in the long run, the textbook discourse is, nevertheless, congruent with socio-cultural changes in the society and, hence, socially reproductive rather than transformative. Thus, the analysis of the relationships between society, authors and textbooks in the century-long context of cultural, political and ideological changes allows me to conclude that the maximalists' thesis is valid from a long-term perspective, whilst periods of political change require a balanced theoretical approach that integrates both the maximalists' and the minimalists' viewpoints.

The analysis of the role of the civics textbook in 'socialisation to democracy' (Study **VII**) and in ethno-political socialisation (Study **VI**) affirmed my assumption that the textbook serves as a source of political information for pupils. This conclusion holds more strongly in case of Russian pupils. As members of the minority, they make less use of the Estonian media and, thus, have less alternative sources of information about Estonian political matters. In becoming more knowledgeable about the political life of the society and their own rights and obligations, Russian pupils obviously gained in confidence that resulted in the increased readiness to participate in elections. As expected many pupils in the Russian school, as well as the Estonian school, maintained a critical attitude towards the overly idealised image of society presented in the textbook. Moreover, the intrusion of unfamiliar and unacceptable school knowledge about men's and women's equal rights into Russian pupils' cognitive schemata probably led to unexpected changes towards more patriarchal attitudes (Study **VIII**). For Estonian pupils, the role of the textbook in the formation of political orientations and attitudes was, as hypothesised, relatively modest. Estonians retained the great variation and dissensus in their pre-established beliefs and attitudes (especially in regard of ethnic minorities; Study **VII**) after using the textbook, which implies that other socialising agents, as well as pupils' personal experiences and members' resources, play a more important part in the process of political and ideological socialisation.

These conclusions allow me to draw parallels between the two foci of this dissertation. The results support my general assumption that the interaction of pupils and textbooks is to be seen as negotiation between two semi-powerful agents. The institutional and, thus, authoritative nature of textbook texts enhances the probability that textbook knowledge will be acquired and accepted by pupils. The interpretive power of pupils and variation in their personal experiences and members' resources lessen the likelihood that the acquisition of textbook information results in uniform beliefs and attitudes among pupils. The probability of such an outcome is further reduced by liberal discursive order. Analogously, the results confirm my assumption that textbook authors have to be seen as active strategic planners in the processes of textbook production and cultural transmission. Since the practices of text production are more overt than the practices of interpretation, textbooks authors are more constrained by the norms and expectations of the educational institution and the discursive order than pupils. Moreover, authors' ethnic and social group membership usually places them among the dominant group in the society, which implies that authors tend to represent the dominant values and ideologies in textbook discourse. The outcome eventually depends on the interplay between the author's social and ideological position and the rigidity and stability of the socio-political and discursive order. These conclusions lend support to the socio-psycholinguistic theories of text planning and text comprehension developed by Wodak and colleagues (see Titscher et al., 2000 for an overview).

One of the advantages of this dissertation is the implication that the relationships between society, authors, and textbooks vary depending on the nature and stability of the socio-political order. The theoretical elements inherent in my conclusions need to be tested and elaborated by analogous studies in different societal contexts in long-time perspective. Another contribution of the dissertation lies in its power to question the long-held assumption that school textbooks influence, persuade or mould their readers. The results obtained in the studies of this dissertation suggest that socialisation through educational media is a highly complicated interactive process, which depends on many factors including pupils' experiences, their pre-established beliefs and attitudes, social background, the availability of alternative sources of information, the discursive communities in which they participate, etc. That process needs to be further investigated by employing analogous and even more elaborated research strategies.

The methodological approach used for the studies in this dissertation was, in general, justified (see Study **II** for more details). The main shortcoming in the realisation of the second research focus (interaction between pupils and textbooks) probably lies in the emphasis on a single textbook (the ninth form civics textbook). Since socialisation is a process of cumulative effects of various events, experiences, and discourses (including the discourses in other textbooks), an ideal research design should have taken account of all textbooks used by the pupils during the school year. Also, the selected textbook has no specific socialising potential regarding inter-ethnic relations, active democratic participation or gender roles. This leaves open the possibility that an experimentally designed textbook with a particular socialising potential would have been received differently by pupils (as demonstrated, for instance, in the frequently cited experiment by Lichter and Johnson (1969)). Such research designs were, however, beyond the scope and possibilities of my investigation. The aim of my research was to understand the role of an ordinary textbook on the natural process of socialisation. This purpose was accomplished.

Further directions of research should provide more exact measures of outcomes of the socialisation process (detailed changes in pupils' knowledge and attitudes) and take more account of the pupils' wider information environment (the media, the family, peers, etc.) during the observed process of socialisation. The data from the panel questionnaire survey, not completely analysed in the studies of this dissertation, provide some additional insights into the overall socialisation process, which remains to be examined in forthcoming studies.

The dissertation has some implications for textbook writing. My research revealed that the ordinary, traditional civics textbook played no significant role in political and ideological socialisation, except for providing the pupils with additional political information. The modest role of the textbook can be explained by the pupils' critical interpretive skills, the availability of alternative discourses and the very content of the textbook: the pupils themselves tended to criticise the textbook for its overly idealised image of the society and the partial or covert treatment of social problems. Civic education teachers have also considered the textbooks excessively complex and remote from life (Kalmus & Vihalemm, 2000; Study **I**).

For a textbook to be more relevant in the process of socialisation, it should probably be more objective, enchanting, and close to pupils' everyday experience. As a German educationalist Menck has put it, the stories and illustrations in textbooks should 'include readers and viewers in their worlds ... we, and the students, must appear in the pictures and compositions' (Menck, 2001: 272). This idea is in line with one of the basic principles in communication: the bigger the psychological closeness of the message to the receiver's everyday practical life experience, the more favourable the reception of the message and the bigger its influence. Accordingly, civics textbooks should not confine themselves to the description of democratic mechanisms at the state level, but include examples of pupils' self-government, youth protest actions, etc. Another principle in communication is relevant in this context: non-traditional modes of presentation help to reduce the influence of pre-established negative beliefs and attitudes in the reception of the message. This implies that more sensitive issues (e.g. inter-ethnic relations, gender equality, etc.) should be introduced rather in the form of discussions, role plays, and fantasies than in the form of one-way transmission of knowledge (see also the discussion in Study **VIII**).

6. Conclusions

The main conclusions of this dissertation are the following:

- Socialisation through school textbooks is a highly complicated interactive process, which depends on many factors including pupils' experiences, pre-established beliefs and attitudes, social background, the discursive communities in which they participate, the presence and interplay of other agents in the field of socialisation, etc. (Study **I, II, VI, VII, VIII**). To understand and measure this process it is necessary to employ a methodological strategy which comprises an interdisciplinary approach, combination of different methods and a cycle of research uniting analysis of the creation of textbook texts, analysis of textbook texts and analysis of response to those texts (Study **II**).
- Textbook authors have to be seen as active strategic planners in the processes of text production and cultural transmission. The characteristics of the textbook discourse eventually depend on the interplay between the author's social and ideological position, and the rigidity and stability of the socio-political and discursive order. During relatively long stable periods the authors tend to follow institutional and social norms and to legitimise the dominant groups' ideologies in textbook discourse (Study **IV, V, VIII**). At times of political breakpoint and under conditions of a more permissive socio-political order, textbook authors may enact their own, non-dominant discursive positions and engage in covert struggle with the old or the new discursive order (Study **IV, V**). In the long run, the textbook discourse is, nevertheless, congruent with socio-cultural changes in the society and, hence, socially reproductive rather than transformative (Study **III, IV, VIII**).
- Socialisation through interaction of pupils and textbooks is a site of negotiation between two semi-powerful agents. The socialising power of textbooks is constrained by pupils' developing critical reading skills and the interpretive power of pupils is limited by the closure and institutional autho-

rity of textbooks (Study **II**). The civics textbook analysed in this dissertation played a role in transmitting political information to pupils, especially to pupils in the Russian school (Study **VII**). Among Russian pupils, the gain in political knowledge probably resulted in the increased readiness to participate in elections (Study **VII**), whilst the intrusion of new knowledge about men and women's equal rights might lead to the unexpected change towards more patriarchal attitudes (Study **VIII**). In general, the role of the civics textbook in the formation of pupils' political orientations and attitudes appeared to be relatively modest: Estonian pupils retained the great variation and dissensus in their pre-established beliefs and attitudes after using the textbook (Study **VI, VII, VIII**); many pupils at the Estonian school, as well as the Russian school, manifested a critical attitude towards Estonian society as well as the textbook image of it (Study **VII**); other socialising agents (the media, the family, some teachers), the pupils' personal experiences, social background and members' resources played a more important part in the process of political and ideological socialisation (Study **VI, VII**).

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SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN

Kooliõpikud sotsialisatsiooniväljal

Kooliõpikuid ning haridusmeedia teisi vorme peetakse olulisteks *sotsialiseerimismõjuriteks*, mis peavad edastama noorele põlvkonnale nii haridusandjate kui ka kogu ühiskonna poolt õigekspeetavaid teadmisi ja väärtusi. Samas võime kooliõpikut käsitleda ka *diskursusena*, mille funktsioon on määratleda ja mõjutada vastavas kommunikatsiooniprotsessis ehk diskursiivses praktikas osalejate kogemusi (IV uurimus). Vastavalt Faircloughile (1993: 134) tuleb diskursiivseid praktikaid vaadelda dialektilises suhtes teiste sotsiaalsete praktikate ehk sotsiaalse kontekstiga — diskursused on ühtaegu nii sotsiaalselt kujundatud kui sotsiaalselt kujundavad. Diskursiivsete ja sotsiaalsete praktikate seosed ilmnevad selgemini sotsiaalsete muutuste kontekstis.

Õpikudiskursus kujuneb mitme teguri koosmõjul, millest olulisimad on tõenäoliselt õppekava, majanduslikud tegurid, ühiskonna kollektiivne mentaliteet ning autorite vaated ja kavatsused. Sõltuvalt sellest, kas autoreid nähakse pigem passiivsete vahelülidena ühiskonna mentaliteedi ja õpikudiskursuse vahel või aktiivsete vahendajatena sotsialiseerimisprotsessis, saab ühiskonna ja õpikute vaheliste seoste kohased teoreetilised eeldused paigutada kontiinuumile, mille ühel poolusel paiknevad maksimalistid ja teisel poolusel minimalistid. Maksimalistide arvates esindavad õpikud suuremate rühmade — dominantgruppide, haridusinstitutsiooni või kogu ühiskonna — vaateid, olles seega konventsionaalsed ning ideoloogiliselt taastootvad. Minimalistide väitel jätavad autorid õpikudiskursusesse alati oma jälje ning tõlgendavad valitsevat ideoloogiat mõnikord valesti või oma arusaama kohaselt. Seega võib õpikudiskursus minimalistide arvates olla ideoloogiliselt transformatiivne (vrd De Baets, 1994: 526–529; V uurimus).

Wodaki sotsiopsühholingvistiline tekstikavandamise teooria (ülevaateks vt Titscher jt, 2000) väidab, et tekstiloomeprotsessis mängivad olulist osa kommunikatiivse situatsiooni iseloom, aeg ja koht, osalejate sotsiaalne staatus, nende kultuuriline, sooline ja klassikuuluvus, vanus, ametialane sotsialiseeritus ning mõned psühholoogilised tegurid. Sellele teooriale toetudes eeldan, et õpikuautorid osalevad õpikuteksti loomises pigem aktiivsete strateegiliste kavandajatena.

Ühiskonna, autorite ja õpikute vaheliste seoste kohaseid teoreetilisi eeldusi on harva süstemaatiliselt kontrollitud. Selles vallas tehtud uurimustes on leitud, et õpikud kalduvad esindama ja legitimeerima dominantgruppide ideoloogiaid ning toetama konventsionaalseid vaatekohti ühiskonnale (Anyon, 1979; Grueneberg, 1991; Pratt, 1975). Niisugused tulemused on seletatavad asjaoluga, et õppemeedia tootmist kontrollivad valitsevad grupid ja institutsioonid (suured kirjastused ja/või riiklikud hindamiskomisjonid), ning sellega, et autorid ise kuuluvad enamasti dominantgruppi (mitmerahvuselise ühiskonna enamusgruppi ja/või keskklassi). Sellelaadsed uurimused on tehtud ühiskondades, kus domineeritavate ja dominantgruppide vahelised võimusuhted on olnud stabiilsed. Seega säilib võimalus, et ühiskonna, autorite ja õpikute vahelised seosed on keerukamad ja mitmetahulisemad ühiskondades, milles leiavad aset ulatuslikud kultuurilised, poliitilised ja ideoloogilised muutused. Niisuguste ühiskondade hulka kuulub ka 20. sajandi Eesti. Käesoleva väitekirja *esimene fookus* ongi suunatud Eestis 20. sajandil aset leidnud sotsiokultuuriliste muutuste ja õpikudiskursuse muutuste vaheliste seoste väljaselgitamisele, keskendudes kolmele aspektile Eesti õpikute diskursuses:

- kollektivistlikud ja individualistlikud väärtused (III ja IV uurimus);
- rahvuslik identiteet ja etnopoliitika (IV ja V uurimus);
- soorollid (IV ja VIII uurimus).

Kooliõpikutega seonduvad diskursiivsed praktikad (loomine ja kasutamine) leiavad aset erinevate sotsiaalsete mõjurite vaheliste võimusuhete keerulises võrgustikus. Bourdieust (1991, 1998) lähtudes käsitlen ma nende diskursiivsete praktikate toimekohti (haridussüsteem, kodu, eakaaslaste seltskond jne) *väljadena* — struktureeritud sotsiaalsete ruumidena, kus dominantsete ja domineeritavate sotsiaalsete tegelaste vahel valitsevad ebavõrdsed võimusuhted ja alatine võimuvõitlus. Väljad on omavahel diskursiivselt seotud. Väitekirjas vaadeldakse neid diskursiivselt seotud välju, mis on sotsialiseerivate diskursuste toimekohaks, ühise *sotsialisatsiooniväljana*.

Indiviidi sotsialiseerumine on eeldatavasti kumulatiivne protsess, milles avaldavad mõju erinevad mõjurid, sündmused, kogemused ja diskursused (sh õpikudiskursused). Sotsialisatsiooniväli hõlmab keerulisi diskursiivseid ja mõjuseoseid sotsialiseeruva indiviidi ning sotsialiseerimismõjurite ja sotsialiseerijate (isikute, gruppide, organisatsioonide, objektide, sündmuste jne) vahel. Sotsialiseerijad toimivad samal ajal, on üksteisega seotud, mõjutavad üksteist ja toimivad erinevate sotsiaalsete struktuuride, protsesside ja kultuurimõjude kontekstis (Dekker, 1991: 31). Indiviid suhtleb õpikuga (nagu ka teiste sotsialiseerimismõjuritega), luues lugemise ja õppimise protsessis aktiivselt tähendusi. Nimetatud asjaolud teevad õppemeedia sotsialiseeriva rolli, eriti aga üksiku õpiku konkreetse sotsialiseeriva panuse hindamise keeruliseks. Suurem osa varasematest õpikute uurimustest (nn ideoloogiline uurimistraditsioon; vt Johnsen, 1993) on toetunud lihtsalt eeldusele, et õppemeedia mõjutab, veenab ja kujundab õpilasi, ning püüdnud õpikute poliitilist või kultuurilist mõju välja selgitada tekstianalüüsi vahenditega. Väiksem osa uurijaid (nt Grueneberg, 1991; Heraclides, 1980; Knain, 2001; London, 1984) on seisukohal, et õpiku pakutava informatsiooni tõlgendamine, omaksvõtt või eitamine sõltuvad olemasolevatest teadmistest ja hoiakutest, õpiku usaldusväärsusest ja autoriteetsusest õpilase jaoks ning vastuvõtukontekstist. Mööndes, et õpikute konkreetse mõju mõõtmine on äärmiselt keeruline, ning eeldades, et õpikud on osa kommunikatsiooniprotsessist, mis *võib* kujundada sotsiaalseid uskumusi, hoiakuid ja väärtusi, on needki uurijad keskendunud õpikutekstis leiduvate teadmiste ja väärtuste analüüsimisele. Kolmas rühm uurijaid on püüdnud mõõta spetsiaalsete õppeprogrammide (nt Dekker jt, 1993; Ijaz & Ijaz, 1981), õpikute (nt Lichter & Johnson, 1969; Litt, 1966) või õppetekstide (nt Ruus, 1982) mõju õpilaste hoiakutele eksperimentaal- või paneeluurimustes. Kooli ja/või õppemeedia sotsialiseerivat mõju mõõta püüdnud uurimuste tulemused on kokkuvõttes vastuolulised. Osa uurijaid on leidnud, et õpilaste hoiakuid (eriti vähemuste suhtes) on võimalik mõjutada teatud liiki õppematerjalide või hoolikalt kavandatud õppeprogrammide abil positiivses suunas (Dekker jt, 1993; Ijaz & Ijaz, 1981; Lichter & Johnson, 1969; Ruus, 1982). Teistes uurimustes on jõutud järeldusele, et kool mängib üsna olulist rolli poliitilise informatsiooni edastamisel, õpikud ja ainekursused ei näi aga avaldavat õpilaste poliitilistele hoiakutele ega osalusvalmidusele olulist mõju (Leming, 1985; Litt, 1966; Marker & Mehlinger, 1992; ülevaateks vt ka Ehman, 1980; Leung, 1997; **I** uurimus). Erandi võivad moodustada etnilistest vähemusrühmadest ja madalamatest sotsiaalsetest klassidest pärit lapsed, kes kodanikuõpetuse kursuse läbimisel saavad sageli teadlikumaks ühiskonna poliitilisest elust ning omandavad selle suhtes positiivsema hoiaku (ülevaateks vt Gallatin, 1980: 363–364).

Varasemad uurimused ei ole seega andnud selget vastust küsimustele, mis rolli mängivad õpikud sotsialisatsiooniprotsessis ning mis täpselt juhtub, kui õpilased loevad tavalisi õpikuid. Eelnevad uurimused ei ole välja pakkunud ka täiesti usaldusväärseid meetodeid niisuguste uurimisprobleemide lahendamiseks. Käesoleva väitekirja *teine fookus* hõlmab kaht ülesannet.

Esiteks, selgitada välja peamised metodoloogilised probleemid kooliõpikute poolt sotsialisatsiooniprotsessis täidetava rolli uurimisel ning leida lahendusteed ja uurimisstrateegiad nende probleemide osaliseks ületamiseks (**II** uurimus).

Teiseks, uurida ja mõista, kuidas õpilased suhtlevad sotsialisatsiooniväljal erinevate mõjuritega ning missugust rolli kooliõpikud selles protsessis mängivad. Väitekiri keskendub poliitilise, ideoloogilise ja kultuurilise sotsialisatsiooniprotsessi kolmele aspektile:

- kodanikurolli ja demokraatliku osalusvalmiduse omandamine (sotsialiseerumine demokraatiasse; **VII** uurimus);
- etnotsentristlike või multikultuuriliste hoiakute omandamine (etnopoliitiline sotsialiseerumine; **VI** uurimus);
- soorollidega seonduvate teadmiste ja hoiakute omandamine (soorollidesse sotsialiseerumine; **VIII** uurimus).

Esitatud uurimustest lähtuvalt on väitekirja põhiseisukohad järgmised.

- Kooliõpikute kaudu toimuv sotsialiseerumine on keeruline interaktiivne protsess, mis sõltub paljudest teguritest, nagu õpilaste kogemused, varem väljakujunenud uskumused ja hoiakud, kultuuriline tagapõhi, diskursiivsed kogukonnad, milles õpilased osalevad, teiste mõjurite olemasolu, koosmõju sotsialisatsiooniväljal jne (**I, II, VI, VII** ja **VIII** uurimus). Selle protsessi mõõtmiseks ja mõistmiseks on vaja kasutada metodoloogilist strateegiat, mis hõlmab interdistsiplinaarset lähenemisviisi, erinevate meetodite kombineerimist ning nn uurimistsüklit, mis ühendab endas õpikutekstide loomise analüüsi, õpikutekstide analüüsi ning nende tekstide vastuvõtu analüüsi (**II** uurimus).

- Õpikuautoreid tuleb näha aktiivsete strateegiliste kavandajatena tekstiloome- ja sotsialisatsiooniprotsessides. Õpikudiskursuse omadused sõltuvad autori sotsiaalse ja ideoloogilise positsiooni ning sotsiopoliitilise ja diskursiivse korra jäikuse ja stabiilsuse koosmõjust. Suhteliselt pikkade stabiilsete perioodide jooksul kalduvad autorid õpikudiskursuses järgima institutsionaalseid ja sotsiaalseid norme ning legitimeerima dominantgruppide ideoloogiaid (**IV, V** ja **VIII** uurimus). Poliitilistel murdepunktidel ning liberaalsema sotsiopoliitilise korra tingimusis võivad õpikute autorid esineda omaenda (mittedominantselt) diskursiivselt positsioonilt ja laskuda varjatud võitlusse vana või uue diskursiivse korra vastu (**IV** ja **V** uurimus). Pikaajalises perspektiivis järgib õpikudiskursus siiski sotsiokultuurilisi muutusi ühiskonnas, olles seega pigem ideoloogiliselt taastootev kui transformatiivne (**III, IV** ja **VIII** uurimus).
- Õpilaste ja õpikute interaktsiooni kaudu toimuv sotsialiseerumine on nagu läbirääkimisprotsess kahe osalise toimejõuga mõjuri vahel. Õpikute sotsialiseerivat toimejõudu piiravad õpilaste pidevalt arenevad kriitilise lugemise oskused; õpilaste tõlgendavat toimejõudu piirab õpikutekstide suletus ja institutsionaalne autoriteet (**II** uurimus). Käesolevas väitekirjas vaatluse all olnud kodanikuõpetuse õpik täitis mõningast rolli poliitilise informatsiooni edastamisel õpilastele, eeskätt vene kooli õppuritele (**VII** uurimus). Vene kooli õpilaste puhul tõi poliitiliste teadmiste juurdekasv tõenäoliselt kaasa suurenenud valmiduse osaleda valimistel (**VII** uurimus), seevastu sugupoolte võrdõiguslikkuse alased uued teadmised võisid viia ootamatu hoiakumuutuseni suurema patriarhaalsuse suunas (**VIII** uurimus). Üldiselt jäi kodanikuõpetuse õpiku osa õpilaste poliitiliste orientatsioonide ja hoiakute kujunemisel suhteliselt tagasihoidlikuks: eesti kooli õpilased säilitasid varem väljakujunenud uskumuste ja hoiakute suure variatiivsuse ning dissensuse ka pärast õpiku lugemist (**VI, VII** ja **VIII** uurimus); paljud õpilased nii eesti kui vene koolis ilmutasid kriitilist hoiakut nii Eesti ühiskonna, kui ka õpiku loodud idealiseeritud ühiskonnapildi suhtes (**VII** uurimus); teised sotsialiseerimismõjurid (meedia, perekond, mõned õpetajad), õpilaste kultuuriline tagapõhi, isiklikud kogemused ning tõlgendusressursid ehk taustteadmised etendasid vaadeldud poliitilises ja ideoloogilises sotsialisatsiooniprotsessis palju olulisemat rolli (**VI** ja **VII** uurimus).

PUBLICATIONS

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12. Schools in Estonia as Institutional Actors and as a Field of Socialisation

Veronika Kalmus, Marje Pavelson

Introduction

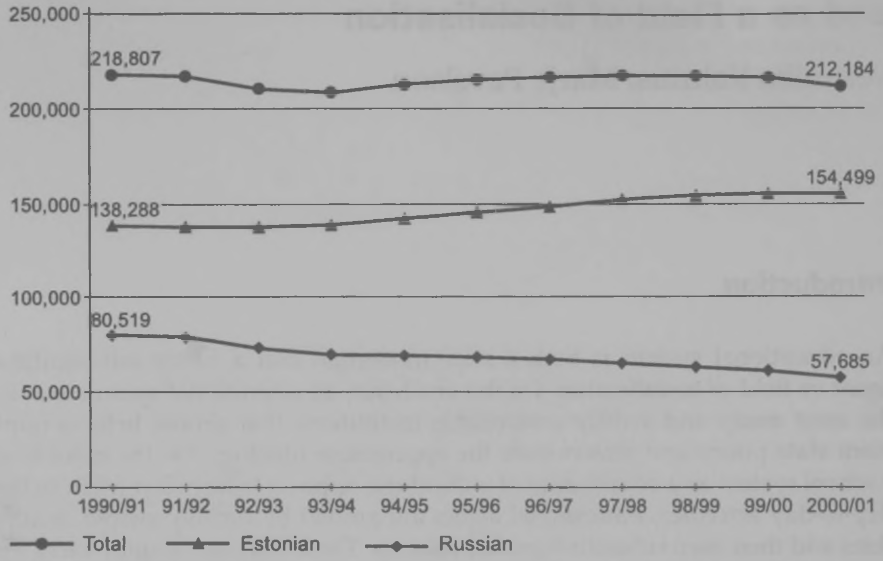
An educational system is both a state institution and a partly self-regulatory agent or field of socialisation. On the one hand, an educational system is one of the most easily and swiftly controllable institutions that should help to implement state policy and disseminate the appropriate ideology. On the other hand, a school system as a community of individuals appears to be rather inert. In their day-to-day activities, educational actors are guided by socially shared assumptions and their own subjective predispositions. These different mental forces may or may not run in the same direction.

An educational system is a broad set of institutions – kindergartens, comprehensive schools, vocational schools and universities, and a network of advanced training courses for adults. Though all these institutions are crucial for successful national integration, we will focus on comprehensive schools in Estonia: those with Estonian as well as those with Russian as the main language of instruction (further referred to as Estonian and Russian schools, respectively).

Schools in Estonia face the reality of being situated in a post-Communist multiethnic society. Under conditions of a decreased birth rate and growing competition between educational institutions, the leaders of Estonian schools are becoming more and more interested in the admission of Russian-speaking children to Estonian schools. As a result, Estonian schools have the potential to grow into multicultural social environments or fields of socialisation.

The number of Russian schools diminished from 117 to 104 between 1994 and 2000. The number of bilingual schools, earlier widespread in small towns, has dropped by almost 50%. As a result, the number of pupils in Russian schools has decreased (see Figure 12.1): at the beginning of the 1990s, 37% of school-age children studied in Russian comprehensive schools; in 2000 this figure was 27%. The share of children entering the first form in Russian schools has diminished even more sharply: at the beginning of the 1990s, 41% of children (about 9,000 children) started their education in Russian schools; in 2000 this number was two-thirds lower (3,000 children). Nevertheless, Russian schools play a crucial role in educating loyal citizens-to-be of Estonia and socialising Russian-speaking children for a rich life in Estonian society. The National Curriculum of Elementary and Secondary Education has been applied for four years in Russian schools, and Estonian is now taught in every school.

Figure 12.1. The number of pupils in Estonian and Russian schools, 1990/91–2000/01 academic years



Source: The Department of Information and Statistics of the Ministry of Education

A question still remains: to what extent do schools in Estonia produce greater cohesion and integration in society? To put it another way: how close are schools in Estonia to the defining ideal of multicultural education – an education that 'helps students understand and affirm their community cultures and helps free them from cultural boundaries, allowing them to create and maintain a civic community that works for the common good … and to create a society that recognises and respects the cultures of diverse people, people united within a framework of overarching democratic values' (Banks, 1992: 282)?

This and the following chapters aim to explore actual opportunities of Estonian and Russian schools for contributing to integration and multiculturalism in Estonian society. To what extent are the state's programs of integration implemented in curricula, timetables and instructional materials? How do main educational actors – teachers, pupils and parents – reflect on and feel about possible scenarios of development? Can we regard schools in Estonia as a multicultural field of socialisation? What kind of political and cultural identities are Estonian and Russian pupils likely to construct in these schools?

In this chapter we give a theoretical overview of education as an institution and a field of socialisation, and analyse the relations between multicultural education, integration, and civic society. Some of the socialisers in the educational field – the formal curriculum, educational media and the hidden curriculum – are highlighted and illustrated with available empirical data regarding Estonian educational phenomena. The following chapters explore more concrete cases: problems and perspectives of Russian schools, ethno-political discourse in school textbooks, and Russian children in Estonian schools.

1. Education as an institution

Education is one of the most important institutions in the process of inter-ethnic integration. As a process and structure, education produces an effect on society and on the individual, and contributes to their achievement and development. The rise of the educational level and the modernisation of educational content increase the potential of the individual as an active agent and accelerate the processes of innovation. Thus, education itself becomes an engine for further modernisation.

Technological, organisational and socio-economic changes inevitably influence the content and forms of education. These changes may be either direct or mediated by the development of other institutions such as family, state, and economy, and/or the formation of new institutions, such as economic markets and private property, which concretise the necessity and create opportunities for reforming the educational content and diversification of various forms of education.

Innovative changes have added meaning to education and forced the renewal of this relatively inert field. The structural transformation of society and the strengthening of subjective educational aspirations promote an ongoing discussion about educational reforms. Pluralist interests and intensifying trends of multiculturalism in modern societies – attendant phenomena of globalisation – set up challenges for the school as a field of socialisation to prepare individuals with different cultural backgrounds, social capital and experiences for a new social environment. A 'risk society' as the outcome of earlier developments (Beck, 1994), having been formed through constantly autonomising processes of modernisation, influences individual educational strategies (i.e., good education guarantees the individual further self-realisation).

Against the background of general changes in education and increased aspirations for (higher) education, the increasing demand for education in post-Socialist countries is due to the re-institutionalisation of these societies: new or re-established structures (e.g., the free market) increase the role of education as a guarantee of successful coping strategies. New opportunities lead to different choices, which in the new circumstances have become obligatory (Giddens, 1994), and open doors to non-standard careers.

In Estonia, education has traditionally been valued. The free market economy has turned education into a crucial mechanism of socialisation that produces new symbolic capital. Education as an institution changes social status: it creates the starting position for entering the labour market and for continuing acquisition of social competencies. The Russian school's long separation from the Estonian school and its failure to fulfil its socialising function in new circumstances have been crucial problems for the educational policy in re-independent Estonia.

The young generation of Russians differs from Estonians in terms of earlier choices (after primary schooling) of jobs and professions. On the one hand, being descendants of industrial workers, they have more often chosen vocational education over comprehensive schools (Pavelson, 1997). On the other hand, the orientation of Russian youth to higher education has grown continuously, following the same trend evident among Estonians, although there is a time lag of five to six years. Russians prefer higher vocational schooling to the academic education that Estonians usually pursue. Thus, the enlargement of educational opportunities for Russians is tied to the development of vocational colleges.

Education can transform the present occupational structure of Russians and lower their unemployment rate, which in the past has been determined by inadequate socialisation and low post-educational aptitude (including insufficient command of Estonian). Thus, education as an institution produces an effect on the behaviour of the labour market and influences the employment and occupational status of Russians – one of the most important preconditions of socio-economic integration.

2. School as a field of socialisation

The concept of 'field of socialisation' springs from the view of socialisation as an ongoing dialectical process, a continuous interplay and interaction between two sets of actors – the individuals being socialised and the agents of socialisation (Bar-Tal & Saxe, 1990; Berger & Luckmann, 1991 [1966]; Gallatin, 1980; Giddens, 1989; Rosengren, 1994). The agents of socialisation contain several socialisers, that is, persons, groups, organisations, categories, objects, events, etc., which contribute to the individual's socialisation (Dekker, 1991a). School socialisers, for instance, are the formal and hidden curricula, textbooks, teachers, classroom rituals, extracurricular activities, etc.

We may think of the agents of socialisation as sites for discourses which penetrate and influence each other, and constitute interaction and social practice in society (see van Dijk, 1997). 'Discourse', though central in the theories of cultural reproduction and social constructivism, which many socialisation theories rely upon, is still too narrow a concept in its emphasis on 'progression of communications' (Biocca, 1991: 45) and language use. Therefore, following Pierre Bourdieu (1991, 1998a), we prefer to view the agents of socialisation as fields – structured social spaces with dominant and dominated social agents and unequal power relations that lead to constant struggle. These fields are discursively interrelated. The field of education is discursively related to the fields of politics, media, family, and peer groups (and those fields are related to each other) when, for instance, a debate over the policy of inter-ethnic integration is shown on TV, and its readings by the pupils' parents and siblings are discussed in a (multicultural) classroom.

Therefore it is very difficult to estimate the particular influence of school in a process of (political) socialisation. After inventorying the results of a number of empirical investigations in the United States, L. H. Ehman (1980) has formulated the following broad generalisations: compared to other factors such as family and media, the school is an important agent for transmitting political information to young people. The school is somewhat less central in shaping political attitudes and participation orientations, except for students from ethnic minorities and low status groups.

Conclusions regarding the role of schools in the maintenance or alteration of inter-ethnic prejudices and stereotypes are more clear-cut. Cultural and moral education programs designed to reduce racial and ethnic prejudice have often proved to be successful (see Alexander (cited in Farnen, 1993: 433); Armitage (cited in Dekker, 1991b: 343); Dekker et al., 1993). From the maintenance side, Richard Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt (1969) argue that a segregated school system enforces tendencies of rigid and inaccurate stereotyping (pp. 167–170). On the other hand, Ahmed Ijaz and Helene Ijaz (1981) state that the impact of inter-ethnic contact *per se* on the development of positive attitudes toward members of other groups or cultures has not been determined. They developed a cultural program for Canadian elementary school children, which combined an activity and experience approach with an emphasis on cultural similarities and the sources of cultural diversity. The program implemented by an artist-teacher from India resulted in significantly improved attitudes toward East Indians among all pupils who had participated in the program, and a follow-up study showed that the effects of the program were maintained three months after its conclusion.

A general conclusion about the influence of schools in the process of political socialisation can be formulated as follows: schools are rather ineffective in counteracting prevailing attitudes in society as a whole. Attempts to promote positive changes through multicultural education or carefully designed experimental programs have often been successful.

3. Multicultural education as an agency for integration

Concepts and ideas associated with multicultural education are relatively vague and allow for quite divergent interpretation. Some authors (e.g., Krull, 1999) emphasise the difference between a European conception of 'intercultural education' with its moderate views of achieving mutual tolerance between the majority population and immigrants, and the American idea of 'multicultural education', which aims for affirmation of cultural pluralism. It is also possible to see a growing tendency to use the terms 'multicultural education' and 'intercultural education' as synonyms (Pavelson & Trasberg, 1998: 25).

In the stressful post-colonial situation of Estonia, it is reasonable to postulate that the main function of multicultural education is to form a common loyalty in the interests of social cohesion (ibid.: 31). This conception is very close to the defining ideal of multicultural education (Banks, 1992) cited in the introduction, and centres on the idea of a civic nation and democratic values. However, our conception of multicultural education avoids emphasising some ideas stressed by radical multiculturalism (Miller, 1995), which challenge the very principles of nationality. By respect for the cultures of diverse people, we mean the ability to engage in respectful discourse with the cultures and identities of others, instead of the promotion of cultural differences that may lead to separateness or loyalty to other states. By teaching mutual recognition and respect, we mean cultural inclusiveness in the curriculum as well as training students to deliberate on politically relevant disagreements, an ability at the very centre of a democratic civic society (cf. Gutmann, 1996: 160). Such a curriculum taught to all pupils would put multicultural education in the service of democratic values, rather than vice versa (ibid.: 159).

Thus, the central goal of multicultural education is to form social competencies. In the course of socialisation going on in Estonian and Russian schools, pupils should acquire skills for successful participation in civic society. Social competence is inseparably bound to communicative competence, i.e., good command of the official language. Guaranteeing the latter to its graduates is one of the biggest problems faced by Russian schools (see Chapter 13). A crucial role in the process of integration is played by desegregated symbolic environments in the field of education, i.e., mutual introduction of cultures through the medium of socialisers in an educational field.

4. Socialisers within the Estonian educational field

4.1. The formal curriculum

A curriculum is closely related to an existential structure which leads to the formation of identity (Pinar, 1992). In a multiethnic society, the 'school curriculum may acknowledge the presence of other identities by introducing elements of minority cultures, but often these remain insignificant in the socialisation of the majority and are tolerated exoticisms within an essentially unitary culture' (Byram & Zarate, 1995: 12). According to Estonian laws, the curriculum of comprehensive schools is mainly authored by two majority-governed institutions – the state and the educational system. Nevertheless, curriculum planners consciously adopted an interactive strategy, which means that the aims and principles of the curriculum were neither reactively taken from a golden era of the past (the first independence period of Estonia), nor proactively sought in the recommendations of (foreign) experts. Instead, curricular aims and contents crystallised in discussions between politicians, scientists, educational experts, teachers, etc. with different views and backgrounds. As a result, educational aims and contents are not entirely fixed in the National Curriculum of Elementary and Secondary Education (1996), but remain open. This should foster the formation of identity in pupils themselves. For instance, one of the principles of the National Curriculum states explicitly that it will be oriented towards problems (p. 1962). Pupils have to be able to choose and decide independently. Teaching methods that require setting up and solving a problem are to be used. Educational materials should offer different viewpoints and hypotheses, several interpretations, even contradictions (ibid.).

The multiethnic reality of Estonia has been taken into consideration in the Curriculum in its emphasis on both patriotism and inter-ethnic/international relations. The Curriculum values the Estonian state, Estonian national consciousness, culture, and traditions. However, it also values the identity aspirations and culture of other peoples living in Estonia, the openness of Estonia to Europe and the world, the culture and individual character of all peoples, and the right to be oneself (p. 1961). The general aims of the Curriculum include respect for the culture of one's own and of other peoples, and love for homeland (p. 1960). Nevertheless, the great majority of Russian schoolteachers and half of Estonian teachers-to-be find that the structure and general orientation of the Curriculum are still monocultural (see Chapter 13).

In multiethnic societies, common national identity is usually promoted throughout the curriculum, but it is particularly linked to national/official language(s). 'Socialisation is a process of interaction with existing members of a social group, and crucially consists of learning the language [and culture] of the group through this interaction' (Byram & Zarate, 1995: 12). Bilingual education was experimentally introduced into Russian schools in Estonia in 1992. At the same time, so-called 'Estonian studies' or Estica (regional studies, Estonian literature and culture, geography, history, biology, and practical skills taught in Estonian) were included in the curriculum of some experimental schools to foster 'soft integration' of Russian pupils into Estonian society (see Chapter 13). The first results indicate that those Russian pupils who study Estica have a richer and more extensive command of Estonian vocabulary than do the pupils who study Estonian simply as their second language (Kaskman & Küppar, 1998).

4.2. Educational media

'A curriculum is an abstraction, an amalgamation of goals and aspirations' (Venezky, 1992: 437). From a single set of curriculum guidelines, an infinite number of textbooks and other educational media could be built, each with its own interpretation of the curriculum and its own potential contribution to the process of socialisation. It is very difficult to separate the role of teaching media in general, and the actual contribution of a single textbook in particular, from other factors involved in the process of socialisation. The interrelationship of normative influences in textbooks with other influences in school, especially with that of the teacher, and with the other fields of socialisation is very complicated. Socialisers function concurrently, are linked to one another, influence one another, and function within different social structures, cultures, and processes (Dekker, 1991a: 31). Moreover, each pupil interacts directly with the text, and constructs his or her own meaning in the social process of reading. To put it another way, textbooks are 'multiply encoded and can be multiply decoded' (Stray, 1994: 6). Since we have to deal with texts possessing an institutionally defined authority – textbooks (Olson, 1989; Selander, 1995) – the potential for different meanings is still 'much less than infinite' (Buckingham, 1993: 270). When the meanings refer to commonsense values or socially sensitive issues, they 'are often structured in ways which exert pressure on the process of decoding, channelling understanding one way rather than another and setting the stage for "legitimate" interpretation' (Deacon et al., 1999: 141).

In spite of the complexity and methodological problems involved, numerous studies have attempted to measure the influence of textbooks and other reading materials (see Brams, 1980, 487–488; Pratt, 1972: 4, for an overview). Research has shown that attitudes toward minorities, in particular, can be affected by certain types of instructional materials (ibid.). John Lichter and David Johnson (1969), for instance, demonstrated in a pre-test/post-test study controlling for the teacher, the classroom, the school, and the reading ability of subjects, that the use of a multiethnic reader, which included characters from several different racial and ethnic groups, resulted in marked positive change in pupils' attitudes toward non-whites. It appears relatively safe to conclude that the dynamics resulting from the authoritative quality of textbooks, reinforced by the legitimised authority of the teacher working in the same direction, would minimise resistance to the potential influence of a textbook, and would lead to internalisation of the provided images of ethnic groups (Heraclides, 1980: 35).

Do teachers actually work in the same direction as textbook content, or do they reject or supplement textbook material? A. B. Hodgetts' (1968) study of the teaching in 847 Canadian classrooms clearly demonstrated that teachers of history and civics allow the content of the textbook to determine to a great extent the content of instruction. Very little is known about Estonian teachers in this respect. According to the results of a pilot questionnaire study carried out at the end of 1999[1], civic education textbooks are important to 74% of the respondents, both Estonian- and Russian-speaking teachers, although other materials are also used in planning a lesson. While the teachers were rather dissatisfied with the civic education textbooks they were using, none of them explicitly mentioned any shortcomings in the treatment of minorities, even though problems of that kind are rather substantial in some Estonian textbooks (see Chapter 14). We can hypothesise that, in more or less mono-ethnic Estonian schools, teachers most probably do not reject the dominant view on society represented in Estonian textbooks, and therefore do not create any buffer between the text and pupils in this respect. As a result, the textbooks do not contribute to the understanding that people from different ethnic groups living in Estonia should be recognised and respected as full and equal members of society. A pilot study carried out in spring 2000 with ninth-form pupils of an Estonian school[2] after they had finished reading their civic education textbooks indicated that the inter-ethnic attitudes of those pupils were rather similar to the recent attitudes of the Estonian adult population (see Chapter 6). For instance, 31% of the pupils shared the opinion that Russians should leave Estonia (compared to 46% of adult Estonians who agreed with the statement that emigration of Russians would benefit Estonia). This harmonises with another finding: among ten geographically and culturally close nations, those whose representatives live in Estonia were least liked by Estonian pupils (the mean scores for Russians, Byelorussians and Jews on a 10-point scale being 4.07, 4.40 and 4.46, respectively), while Estonians themselves were the 'most-loved' ethnic group (the mean being 8.31), followed by 'harmless' Norwegians and Swedes (6.89 and 6.59, respectively) among surrounding nations. The Russophobia of Estonians, mentioned and excused in the ninth-form civics textbook (see Chapter 14), may, to some extent, have become a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Teachers in the multiethnic classrooms of Estonian schools may develop more delicate strategies of mediating Estonian civics and history textbooks. Nevertheless, textbooks may create problems for a Russian child who enters an Estonian school: exclusion or concessive treatment of minorities found in some civic education textbooks and ABC-books may produce the shifted socialisation experienced by some Russian children in Estonian schools (see Chapter 15). Russian-speaking teachers, on the other hand, may lay even more emphasis on the construction of multiple identities than suggested in Russian versions of the textbooks. Russian respondents to the pilot study of teachers (referred to above) often requested visual teaching aids that carry Estonian national identity and implant loyalty to the state (flags, coats of arms, portraits, etc.).

4.3. The hidden curriculum

In the field of education, socialisation takes place formally through instruction in the curriculum and informally through experiences in the classroom and the school as a whole (cf. Ehman, 1980). This informal, often unintentional, socialisation, or the hidden curriculum, can be defined as 'all the other things that are learned during schooling in addition to the official curriculum' (Meighan, 1991: 66). The hidden curriculum is made up of the classroom climate in terms of rigidity or flexibility of the discourse rules, the school culture in terms of possibilities for pupils' self-government, the architecture and interior of the school and the classroom, teacher-pupil interaction, the system of marking and examining, the hidden messages in educational media, the language and symbolic environment of the school, and the climate of peer culture. It is in the latter point where two fields of socialisation – the field of school and the field of the peer society – intersect and interact.

It is rather difficult to study the phenomena of the hidden curriculum, and not much is known about schools in Estonia in this respect. The case study 'Russian child in the Estonian school' has shed some light on Estonian schools as a learning and language environment and a social context where the relationships and personalities of Russian children are formed. The general conclusion is positive: learning in an Estonian school helps a Russian pupil to integrate into Estonian society or 'softens' his or her socialisation (see Chapter 15). The rich symbolic environment of the Russian schools we have visited (self-made figures of the national flag, bird, and flower of Estonia, as well as Russian cultural symbols on the walls of corridors and classrooms) bears witness to conscious efforts of the school staff to form multiple identities in Russian-speaking children and to implant loyalty to the Estonian state. A few studies have focused on the hidden curriculum of Estonian and Russian school textbooks (see Chapter 14).

It is important to keep in mind that there is also a constant dialectic between the hidden curriculum and the pupils/school staff: while exercising influence on the actors in school, the hidden curriculum is being formed and reformed by these actors, including the youngest pupils. Personality characteristics play an important role in determining how, and to what extent, the values and ideas of the hidden curriculum are internalised, and what identity is constructed in the process. The case study 'Russian children in Estonian schools' revealed that stigmatising and re-identifying socialisation paths occur due to both the personality and the social context (see Chapter 15).

Conclusions

A number of studies monitoring the process of socialisation in Estonian and Russian schools are still pending. On the basis of transitory recordings, two broad generalisations can be made.

1. Though many problems still exist, Russians schools in Estonia have been quite successful in their progress towards becoming educational institutions that foster multiple identities and future citizens' loyalty to the state.

2. Estonian schools serve as multicultural educational institutions in so far as they accommodate intercultural socialisation of Russian-speaking children.

Multinational integration, as Amy Gutmann (1996) has put it, 'depends on the presence of enough people who are willing to support an educational system that does not teach antagonism among diverse national (ethnic, religious or racial) groups' (p. 172). The Estonian society that can still be characterised as 'beset by entrenched historical animosities' (ibid.) expects its educational actors to go by socially shared assumptions rather than official state policy. At present, toleration for different ethnic groups, the first step according to Sonia Nieto's (1992) conception of multicultural education, seems most likely to be achieved in Estonian schools (cf. Krull, 1999). The next levels of internalisation of multicultural educational orientations (acceptance, respect, and affirmation) can probably be realised when the majority of Estonians have reasonably overcome their existential fear about their cultural survival, and higher levels of mutual trust between Estonians and Russians have been reached.

Notes

1 The pilot questionnaire survey with 42 respondents (14 Estonian and 28 Russian teachers of civic education from Tallinn and Ida-Virumaa) was carried out in November 1999 by V. Kalmus.

2 The pilot questionnaire survey with 55 respondents (the ninth-form pupils of an Estonian school in Tartu) was carried out in May 2000 by V. Kalmus.

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What do pupils and textbooks do with each other? Some methodological problems of research on socialization through educational media

VERONIKA KALMUS

School textbooks are taken to be important socialisers within the system of education. Nevertheless, the impact of specific textbooks, or the interaction between pupils and textbooks, has seldom been studied due to the complexity and methodological stumbling blocks involved in the area. This article points out the main methodological problems in studying school textbooks as an agent of socialization, and suggests some methods for exploring and understanding the dynamic interaction between textbooks and their readers. The article advocates a variation of a *cycle of research* (Taxel 1989), which combines textual analysis (with strong emphasis on the context of text production and text consumption) and the analysis of what occurs when readers meet and read the text. Ethical and technical problems involved in this type of research are also discussed.

The amount of academic and applied research in the field of textbook analysis and criticism (see Woodward *et al.* 1988, Johnsen 1993, Mikk 2000 for overview) indicates that school textbooks and other educational media[1] are considered important means or instruments for transmitting knowledge and values to the young generation and, thus, for reproduction or transformation of the social order. Much of the research interest in school textbooks has derived from the more or less implicit assumption that educational media influence, persuade, or mould their readers. The assumption probably founds upon the fact that textbooks are indeed designed to teach pupils what educators believed ought to exist. In other words, the function of textbooks is to 'tell children what their elders want them to know' (FitzGerald 1979: 47). Adults with instrumental-rational predisposition obviously tend to take it for granted that, more often than not, textbooks fulfil this function.

Such a position by researchers is probably grounded on another tacit assumption – that childhood equals dependency (Barker 1993). The same assumption has stimulated a great part of research on children's encounters with the mass media, particularly television, which has been presumed to be forbiddingly powerful and potentially dangerous. Almost always children have been treated as subjects in the search for 'effects', and as naive victims in the hands of all-powerful media.

The assumption about the influence of textbooks' content on their readers' mind underlies a big part of a basic thrust in textbook studies – textual research. This approach is guided by yet another implicit assumption – that meaning is determined by the text itself. The authors of purely textual studies tacitly grant objective status to the text and, in effect, claim that their textual interpretation is the 'preferred' one (Taxel 1989: 32). That thrust in textbook studies can also be called 'ideological research tradition' (see Johnsen 1993: 65-153 for overview). Work done within that tradition is aimed at discovering textbooks' political or cultural influence by attentive reading of them. Probably the most typical representative of the ideological research tradition is the work of the Georg Eckert Institute in Braunschweig, Germany, particularly in the 1950s – the mid-1980s, steered by the founder's 'belief in the ability of textbooks to promote tolerance and the desire for peace' (Johnsen 1993: 71).

In a smaller number of studies, textbooks are treated as agents of socialization or socialisers. In which case the researchers have usually adopted the view of socialization as an ongoing dialectical process, a continuous interplay and interaction between two sets of actors – the individuals being socialised and the agents of socialization. The authors of those studies (e.g. Heraclides 1980, London 1984, Grueneberg 1991, Knain 2001) assume that socialisation is a cumulative process influenced by various agents, events, experiences, and discourses, and textbook discourse is merely one of them. Also, they presume that the interpretation of the textbook information, and the way in which it will be accepted, rejected or added to the structure of beliefs existing in one's mind, will depend on factors such as the similarity to existing knowledge and attitudes, the credibility and authority of the medium, and the context of the situation (Grueneberg 1991: 16-17). This makes it difficult to measure the exact influence of textbooks in the process of socialization. In assuming that textbooks are part of the communication process, which *may* mould social beliefs, attitudes, and values, those researchers have still tried to display the knowledge and values in textbooks through textual analysis.

This article aims to give an overview of the main methodological problems in studying the role of school textbooks in the process of socialization, and to discuss some ways and research strategies for overcoming those difficulties. To avoid diffuseness, I focus on what can be called 'political socialization', and 'cultural' or 'ideological' socialization. By political socialization I mean the process by which the individual acquires attitudes, beliefs, and values relating to the political system of which he or she is a member and to his or her role as a citizen within that political system (cf. Greenberg 1970; cited in Gallatin 1980: 344). Cultural or ideological socialization comprises the acquisition of values, attitudes, and beliefs regarding one's own group, other groups or nations, war and peace, religion, science, as well as cultural values such as individualism and collectivism, etc.

Main problems in studying textbooks as agents of socialization

Problematic assumptions

The tacit assumptions underlying conventional, mainly textual, textbook research are problematic for a number of reasons. Firstly, they neglect the interpretations of the textbook text by pupils. Depending on social context and socio-psychological variables such as ethnicity, gender, social class, personality, psycho-pathogenesis, and so on, individual pupils may reach vastly different interpretations or decodings of one and the same text (see, e.g. Anyon 1981). In a process of decoding, various kinds of *symbolic appropriation* (Stray 1994: 6) and resistance may take place. In Soviet-time Estonia in the 1980s, for instance, some pupils used to add moustache, glasses, etc. to the portraits of Lenin in their textbooks. Secondly, the assumptions ignore the relationship between pupils and textbooks (as a part of the educational system) and, hence, the different strategies pupils use in encounters with those educational media. The strategies vary, again, depending on social context and socio-psychological variables, and range from the total disuse of a textbook to learning parts of its content by heart. Observational studies (e.g. Willis 1981 [1977], Anyon 1981) have shown the many creative, often contradictory, and at times self-defeating ways in which pupils accept, reject, modify and transform the various dimensions of the school curriculum.

Thus, by ignoring pupils' capacities for creative interpretation and strategic handling of the curriculum, researchers underestimate the role of children as active, resistant and sometimes cynical readers. A number of media researchers (e.g. Buckingham 1993, 1996, Gauntlett 1995, 1996, Tobin 2000) have given up the same implicit assumptions and found children to be active rather than passive readers or viewers, capable of discussion and criticism on, for instance, various television programmes.

In the field of educational media, those tacit assumptions are not totally unjustified. Pedagogic texts are rather more *closed* than *open* in Umberto Eco's (1979) sense, that is, they aim for a particular and specific reading. Educational texts are institutionally defined and they are often used in a context where there is one person who knows the correct answer (the teacher) and others (the pupils) who are controlled and tested in relation to the correct answer (Selander 1995a: 12). The reader of such texts is not any reader, but one who is role-defined (Selander 1995b: 152). Thus, the texts in school textbooks normally have greater 'authority' (Olson 1989) than other texts open for meaning-making, which means that the potential for different interpretations is still 'much less than infinite' (Buckingham 1993: 270). Moreover, ideological influence is generally 'facilitated by lacking social and political knowledge, if recipients have no alternative opinions' (van Dijk 1998: 246) – and this is often the case with pupils and textbooks. In particular fields of knowledge, textbooks constitute the sole, and trusted, source of information, in which case they are most likely to affect pupils. Educational texts definitely provide frameworks for everyday understanding, through which pupils subsequently interpret other texts. Like certain television programmes, textbooks may organise pupils' frames of thinking in specific ways, 'creating dichotomies and oppositions, forming associations and connotations' (Livingstone 1990: 30). Finally, a considerable part of socialising messages in textbooks constitute the hidden, or unplanned, curriculum (e.g. the hidden curriculum in history textbooks often contains social representations of gender roles, ethnic minorities, etc.), which may escape the attention of pupils' critical consciousness and pass the route of *peripheral cognitive processing* (Petty *et al.* 1981). For the peripheral route of processing, source credibility is very important. Since school textbooks possess institutionally defined authority and reliability, their hidden messages may just be taken for granted by pupils.

Textbook research in the light of socialization theories

The very questionableness of the tacit assumptions sets a demand that research on school textbooks and other educational media were grounded on a theory that takes account of the relationships between a medium (a textbook), an individual (a pupil), and the social context, within which the medium is used. Socialization theories, as a rule, serve this purpose. Socialization may be defined as 'the comprehensive and consistent induction of an individual into the objective world of a society or a sector of it' (Berger and Luckmann 1991 [1966]: 150). Although this definition carries an idea about the guidance of an individual, especially a child, by someone who 'sets the rules of the game' (Berger and Luckmann 1991 [1966]: 154), the individual is not seen as simply passive in the process. The individuals' characteristics such as cognitive capacity, epistemic motivation, and previously stored knowledge (Bar-Tal and Saxe 1990) as well as ascriptive variables such as nationality (Gallatin 1976) and sex (Westholm *et al.* 1990) play their part in the interaction between the individual being socialised and the agents of socialization.

One of the most complete models, which take both sides into consideration, is the interactive theory of political socialization proposed by Peter Pawelka (1977). The central element of this theory is the individual being socialised. The second components of the theory are the agents of political socialization: the primary group (family), the school, the media, peer groups, the church, the employment system and the political system. The agents of socialization embrace various socialisers – persons, groups, organizations, objects (e.g. textbooks), events, etc. The third component of the theory consists of the dominant sub-system of the society, which, in turn, can be divided into a sub-system in power and a sub-system in the opposition. The final component comprises the peripheral sub-systems of the society (e.g. sub-cultures), which have some significance for the individual being socialised. Among these four components there are mutually influential relationships: (a) between the individual being socialised and the agents of socialization, and the active socialisers within them; (b) among the different agents of socialization, as well as among their respective socialisers; (c) between the dominant sub-systems and the agents of socialization; (d) between the peripheral sub-systems and the agents of socialization, and (e) between the dominant sub-systems and the peripheral sub-systems.

Keeping the relationships in Pawelka's model in mind, we may think of the agents of socialization and the societal sub-systems as sites for *discourses*, which penetrate and influence each other, and constitute interaction and social practice in society (see van Dijk 1997b). Ideological socialization, indeed, largely takes place through discourse (van Dijk 1998: 193). Though 'discourse' is central in the theories of cultural reproduction and social constructivism, which many socialization theories rely upon, it is quite a narrow concept in its emphasis on 'progression of communications' (Biocca 1991: 45) and language use. Therefore, following Pierre Bourdieu (1991, 1998), I suggest to view the agents of socialization and the societal sub-systems also as *fields* – structured social spaces with the dominant and dominated social agents and unequal power relations, which are constantly struggled over. These fields are discursively interrelated. The field of school, for instance, is discursively related to the fields of political system, media, family and peer groups (and those fields are interrelated with each other) when a televised debate over the policy of interethnic integration and its readings by the pupils' parents and siblings are discussed in a (multicultural) classroom after the pupils have read the chapter on ethnic minorities in their civics textbooks.

The assumptions revised

Given the complexity of mutual discursive and influential relationships between the individual being socialised and the fields of socialization, it is reasonable to revise the assumptions of textbook research by adopting, firstly, the standpoint defended by the cognitive-developmental school in political socialization research. The investigators of that group believe that the individual interacts with various agents of political socialization, gradually constructing an image of the political scene (Gallatin 1980: 347). School textbooks are, thus, just one agent among many others, which may play some role in the process of socialization. The socialising effect of a textbook depends on the pupil's previous knowledge and attitudes, and the availability and credibility of alternative discourses in the media and in the community.

Within the curriculum theory or, more exactly, the German traditions of *Bildungstheorie*, *human-science education theory* and *Didaktik*, Peter Menck (2000) suggests a useful conceptualization of classroom work as 'interpretation', the process by which the two worlds – the symbolic world of the stories and pictures in textbooks, and the life-world of the pupils – are brought together. For Menck any reflection on the role of schools and textbooks in the formation of conscience must begin by recognising that pupils do distinguish right from wrong and they do themselves develop dispositions or habits which lead them to act on their understandings of right and wrong. This conceptualization can be combined with reader response theories, which see literary works as coming into being only in the 'transaction' that occurs when reader meets text (Taxel 1989: 32). Pupils are to be seen as potentially active, creative and dynamic readers engaged in a process of meaning-making. Without 'meaning' there can be no 'effect' (a central assumption in reception analysis; see Jensen 1991: 135). Each pupil interacts with the text, and constructs his or her own meaning in the social process of reading. To put it another way, textbooks are 'multiply encoded and can be multiply decoded' (Stray 1994: 6). Some socio-cognitive researchers (e.g. Wodak 1996) assume that there is no general textual basis, which is valid for all readers. Individuals use different strategies of text comprehension whereby they construct not only the text but also the social context. Text and context interact with one another, creating various, often contradictory, readings. Still, pupils as role-defined readers can probably never be totally free in their meaning-making. It may be useful to assume, secondly, that the creation of meaning and, eventually, socialization through the interaction of textbooks and pupils is a site of negotiation between *two* semi-powerful sources (Livingstone 1990: 23). The ideological power of textbooks is constrained by pupils' developing critical reading skills, and the interpretive power of pupils is limited by the closure and institutional authority of textbooks. In terms of the dialectic of socialization process: 'structure works through agency, and agency through structure' (Buckingham 1993: 273).

The intricacy of such interaction and the complexity of relationships between various socialisers makes it difficult to estimate the role of specific agents such as school textbooks in the process of socialization. The cognitive-developmental group in political socialization research has envisioned the entire process a priori as being extremely complex, and has generally stopped short of trying to study the impact of individual agents of socialization directly. Instead, they have been content to explore, for instance, the growth of political thinking per se (Gallatin 1980).

The field of political and cultural socialization through school textbooks, nevertheless, deserves serious research interest and a number of thorough studies. The revised assumptions set a demand that the analyses of socialization through textbooks focus on both the content of those educational media and the process by which pupils acquire knowledge, values, and attitudes. Research on textbooks as agents of socialization has to take a form of reception analysis, or audience-cum-content analysis, which makes a distinction between potential and actualised meanings (Jensen 1991: 135-7), in Eco's (1979) terms – between the virtual and the realised text. In terms of 'effects', researchers have to distinguish potential and actual effects. The latter are, of course, difficult to measure.

Problems related with studies into the effects of school textbooks

The methodological discussions in this section derive mainly from political socialization research, but also from the fields of social or educational psychology and media studies. This relates to my suggestion for interdisciplinary approach in textbook research (see the next section).

Most often investigators interested in the effects or role of textbooks in political socialization have employed one or another of the following methods: testing pupils before and after they have read a specific textbook in civic education or social studies (pretest-posttest studies), or comparing pupils who have read a textbook with those who have not (cf. Gallatin 1980: 360).

Researchers and their critics have noted a number of problems faced in these types of studies. Joseph Klapper (1960: 5), the author of the luminous *The Effects of Mass Communication*, has noted that any media should be regarded 'as influences, working amid other influences, in a total situation'. The relationships between the influences of textbooks and other influences of school, let alone the impact of other fields of socialization, are intense but hardly measurable. Socialisers function concurrently, are linked to one another, influence one another, and function in the context of different social structures, cultures and processes (Dekker 1991: 31). It is impossible to isolate textbooks from other socialisers such as the teacher, the classroom climate, the peers, etc. in a research design. A countermeasure researchers can use is to keep other factors constant. For instance, John Lichter and David Johnson (1969) used a pretest-posttest design controlling for the teacher, the classroom, the school, and the reading ability of subjects to measure the influence of a multiethnic reader upon the attitudes toward coloured people of white second-grade school children. The 34 pupils in the experimental groups used the multiethnic reader, which included characters from several different racial and ethnic groups for four months, while the 34 pupils in the control groups used the regular reader that included only whites. Use of the multiethnic reader resulted in marked positive change in the subjects' attitudes toward the people of colour.

Another strategy is to neutralise the influence of other important socialisers by reducing it to the minimum. The teacher effect, for instance, can be neutralised by many practicing teachers in a teaching-practice school (see Ahonen 1990: 41).

Yet another possibility is an attempt to measure the impact of other agents of political socialization, e.g. by asking young people themselves directly who or what they think has exerted the most influence on their political knowledge and attitudes with respect to some specific political issue. For instance, in the Netherlands, Maurice de Hond (1981; cited in Dekker 1991: 31) asked 18-19-year-olds by means of what channels they had come into contact with politics, and which channels had influenced them the most. Programs on radio and television were indicated as being the most influential. The school came in second place, followed by newspapers and magazines, and discussions about politics at home/with parents. Still, a researcher has to consider a possibility that what pupils say has happened and what has in fact happened are not necessarily identical (Dekker 1991: 31).

It should be noted that normally one pupil is interviewed or observed at a time, while political behaviour is relational in nature, i.e. it refers to relationships between persons. 'This forces the investigator /---/ either to attempt to impose some common context on the individuals under study, or to make unchecked *ceteris paribus* assumptions about the immediate social environment of the behavior observed' (Chaffee *et al.* 1977: 230). A solution to this problem is to use serial sampling by selecting 'nests' of pupils (school classes) and studying practically all individuals in the nest. Principally, this sampling technique enables to collect data about the nest as such (e.g. sociometric relationships between pupils) and to analyse the influence of classmates and teachers on individual pupils. Obviously, the technique sets limits to the sample size.

A further complication is the difficulty in identifying cause and effect. Even if a researcher can find adequate measures, the statistical techniques available are largely correlational. Correlation, however, does not necessarily imply causation. While common sense tells researchers that behaviour is obviously the product of certain persuasive stimuli (a textbook) and innate characteristics, it is hard to demonstrate that such is the case (Gallatin 1980: 356, 372). Conformity of political viewpoints of the textbook with the pupils can be due to the coincidental influence of other socialisers. The absence of conformity of opinion, on the other hand, may actually be an unexpected result of the pupils' interaction with the textbook: the individuals being socialised may have formed totally different, reactionary opinions (Dekker 1991: 19-20). One (and maybe the only) technique for overcoming this essential problem is, again, the use of more direct and intensive approaches such as asking young people themselves who and what has exerted the most influence on their political knowledge and attitudes.

Research on textbooks as agents of socialization also involves sample-related difficulty. Children and adolescents as research informants cause common as well as specific problems of validity and reliability. In terms of validity, a universal question is whether the knowledge, opinions and attitudes that have been measured are the most relevant ones for discovering what the researchers actually want to know (Dekker 1991: 19). A specific problem of reliability springs from the matter that pupils are usually tested or interviewed in an institutional context (a school), which increases the probability of obtaining socially desirable answers (the so-called effect of answering for mark A). The fact that a researcher has said, 'this is not a test' is of little significance, since for pupils any activity in school which has to do with giving answers obviously *is* a test (Connell 1969; cited in Gallatin 1980: 355). My experience supports this assumption: some ninth-formers in an Estonian school firmly requested to be given a mark for the job of filling in a questionnaire! Due to social desirability, children may have a tendency to respond positively in any situation where evaluation is called for; adolescents, however, prefer a more balanced approach (Blanchard and Price 1971). A partial measure to avoid obtaining socially acceptable answers to politics-related questions is to conduct tests and questionnaires during classes other than civics or social studies.

Another specific phenomenon, contrary to social desirability, may reduce reliability. Namely, pupils (adolescent boys in particular) may ‘play a trick’ on a researcher by deliberately giving wrong or funny answers, or by choosing forced-choice items at random. Pauline Vaillancourt (1973) surveyed groups of children and younger adolescents (ages 9 to 15) on three different occasions several months apart. She discovered that the correlations between the sets of answers were only moderately positive, leading her to suspect that many of the subjects had simply been expressing their non-attitudes on the issues. My own experience, too, supports that kind of suspicions: several 15-16-year-old boys, by answering a pilot questionnaire item ‘Who, according to the Constitution, has the supreme power in Estonia?’ surprised me with ‘witty’ answers such as ‘the underworld’, ‘me and NATO’, ‘me and X’, etc.

Researchers aiming to measure the influence of a textbook on the increase of pupils’ political knowledge (‘how-much-pupils-have-learned’ type of studies) have to take account of one more methodological caveat. When the same test items are used on both occasions in a pretest-posttest research to make direct comparison possible, the risk of inflated growth rates due to repeated exposure will be involved. Anders Westholm and his colleagues (1990: 186) tested for that possibility by including in the second-wave sample a control group that had not previously participated in the study. The results showed that effects due to repeated exposure existed but were trivial (on average, the second-wave scores were only one percentage point higher than they would have been for a fresh sample).

The complete elimination of some of the methodological problems described above (e.g. the reliability problem related with ‘playing tricks’ on a researcher) is very difficult, if not impossible. Other problems can be mitigated by the use of the measures described above and with the help of complex research strategies I would like to suggest.

Recommended research strategies

An interdisciplinary approach

The entire field of textbook studies, let alone research on textbooks as agents of socialization, would largely benefit, if it grew into a truly interdisciplinary enterprise. This statement, seemingly obvious or even commonsensical, has not lost its actuality: the overwhelming majority of textbook studies are still carried out in the framework of a single discipline (predominantly pedagogy). A monodisciplinary perspective does often not allow researchers to realise all the methodological difficulties involved, not to mention overcoming those problems. For instance, it may be difficult to recognise the questionableness of the underlying assumptions previously mentioned, or the complexity of relationships between pupils, agents of socialization and societal sub-systems. Studies that ignore these intricacies can, at best, discover partial truths.

What is needed is research that would combine insights from a number of disciplines such as pedagogy, sociology, media studies, political science, cognitive science, semiotics, discourse studies, and reception analysis[2], to name the most important. Cognitive science, for instance, has enriched research on political socialization and media reception by introducing the concept of *schema* – a cognitive structure, constructed by an individual, that organises previously acquired information and has an impact on remembering and retrieving information and using it for solving problems (Torney-Purta 1990: 101). The concept and its related schema theory should be more extensively used also in research on pupils' interaction with textbooks.

In the field of communications research, Sonia Livingstone (1990) carried out an excellent study that drew on the concepts of schema, active viewer, and the open text. The theoretical foundations of her analysis of audience interpretation of soap operas bordered on social psychology – specifically, social cognition and social representations –, discourse theory, semiotics, and media studies. She combined structural literary analysis of three soap operas (*Dallas*, *Coronation Street* and *EastEnders*) with multidimensional scaling analysis of viewers' similarity judgements and free sorting of soap characters into similar groups (a typical research design in experimental social psychology). One of her main conclusions was that viewers' social knowledge of real-life people and the structure of soap operas as text both determine viewers' representations of soap characters – the resultant representation depends on the nature of interaction or negotiation between the text and the viewers' knowledge. The research design and conclusions would have been hardly imaginable within a monodisciplinary approach.

In the field of textbook research, potential resources of cognitive science, discourse studies and reception analysis are, to a great extent, still unemployed. My first suggestion, thus, is to enrich the study of textbooks as agents of socialization by borrowing from several relevant disciplines in terms of theories, concepts and methods. This leads us to the next issue.

Combination of different methods

Several reviewers have noted that aggregate techniques (tests and written questionnaires in particular) are the methods used most often for obtaining data in political socialization research (see, e.g. Dekker 1991). These methods are relatively cheap, allow for large representative samples, and the data obtained can be processed relatively quickly. The methods, however, are often based on the problematic assumptions and may involve all the problems discussed above. The basic concern is that tests and questionnaires do not allow the identification of cause and effect with certainty, nor do they allow the researcher to understand what goes on in the pupils' heads when they interact with the textbook. To overcome those shortcomings, critics have suggested the supplementary use of the more direct and intensive methods such as questionnaires with open-ended questions, longitudinal follow-ups, extended or in-depth interviews, systematic (classroom) observation, experimental research, and autobiographical storytelling (see Gallatin 1980, Dekker 1991). Further approaches may include focus groups, records of group encounter sessions, 'think-aloud problem-solving techniques' (Torney-Purta 1990), and the analysis of pupils' productions (essays, drawings, etc.).

Combination of methods is not a novelty in the fields of political socialization and media reception. For instance, in an early study of political socialization of fourth through eighth form children, Fred Greenstein (1965) used a paper-and-pencil questionnaire, loosely structured interviews, extensive informal contact with children and their teachers, and secondary analysis of literature on children's social development. The major source of findings was still the questionnaire; the interviews served as a preparation to designing the questionnaire and as a check on its reliability and validity. Greenstein, however, acknowledged the need to develop a wide range of instruments and measures for studies of children's political learning. In the field of children's media reception, Patricia Palmer (1986) combined loosely structured interviews with individual children, lengthy observation of their television viewing in the home environment, and a questionnaire survey. The interview component of the study showed that the verbal responses of children can tell us what they really think and feel about the media in greater detail and with much greater precision than a set of questionnaire responses. The survey was mainly used to test the generalisability of certain findings.

Each of these methods has its own strengths and weaknesses, and each of them is tailored for particular problems and aspects of research. My suggestion, therefore, is to use the combination or triangulation[3] of different methods in any single study of textbooks as agents of socialization – presuming that the advantage of one method compensates for the shortcoming of another. Research designs that combine quantitative and qualitative, or statistical and intensive, approaches obviously have the greatest potential. For instance, my own study of civics textbooks as an agent of political socialization (Kalmus 2002, Kalmus in press) includes quantitative as well as qualitative analysis of the textbooks' text, a panel questionnaire survey of pupils (a pretest-posttest design), the analysis of pupils' essays written after the encounter with relevant parts in the textbook, and semi-structured interviews with a small sample of the essay-writers and the teachers. Quantitative content analysis enabled me to obtain the exact frequencies of different civic and political activities depicted in the textbooks. Qualitative text analysis was instrumental for mapping the interpretative schemata and general ideology provided by those educational media. The panel survey was indispensable for the measurement of changes that took place in pupils' political knowledge and attitudes in the course of one school year. The pupils' essays allowed the authors to demonstrate their knowledge of, and attitudes towards, timely political problems, provided the written interpretations of the myriad of texts they had encountered in the process of political socialization, and enabled me to trace the intertextual references to different discourses, which can be assumed to reflect the relevance of the corresponding agents of socialization as sites for those discourses. The essay method proved to be reliable: a wide range of viewpoints on sensitive political issues, instances of political incorrectness and the use of slang can obviously be interpreted as a sign of pupils' frankness. The 'effect of answering for mark A' in terms of the expressed attitudes seemed to be rare. Finally, the interviews gave me a chance to ask pupils directly whence they might had derived the thoughts they had expressed in the essays, how they used their civics textbooks, etc. The interviews shed some light on the relative importance of various agents in the process of political socialization (the role of the civics textbook appeared to be rather modest) and helped to interpret the similarities and discrepancies between the textbook discourse and the pupils' attitudes. As a result, the combined research design did a considerable job in mitigating the main problems described above. This type of study, in its attempt to grasp the totality of a segment of political socialization, approaches a kind of a research cycle – the next strategy to be suggested.

A cycle of research

The theoretical discussion above led us to the revised assumptions about the role of school textbooks in the process of transmitting knowledge and values to the young generation. I argued, firstly, that it may be reasonable to presume that school textbooks are one socialiser among many others in the fields of socialization, which interact with each other as well as with the individual being socialised. In the course of that interaction the pupil gradually constructs his or her image of the political scene or the value system of the society. The socialising effect of a textbook depends on the knowledge and beliefs existing in the pupil's mind as well as on the availability and authority of alternative discourses for the individual. Though every pupil interacts with the textbook and constructs his or her own meaning in the process of reading and learning, the authoritative institutional context of the situation lends its power to the textbook text, which constrains the range of possible interpretations. I argued, secondly, that the interaction between the pupil and the textbook ought to be seen as negotiation between two semi-powerful agents. Both of them, obviously, deserve great attention in research on textbooks as agents of socialization. This notion and the methodological problems with studies into the effects of particular socialisers (described above) set a need for a research tradition, which would combine sophisticated insights into the discourse of textbooks and the process of interaction between the pupils and educational media. This means that it is necessary to unite the methodologies of systematic and detailed textual analysis and reader response studies into a circle of reception analysis, which would provide a comparative insight to the textbook discourse and the discourse by pupils resulting from their interaction with the textbook. The research tradition should also comprise the analysis of the production of textbooks as institutional texts intended to be effective. That kind of tradition is practically non-existent in textbook research. An early study by Edgar Litt (1966) is one of the very few examples. Litt aimed to study the process of political indoctrination through civic education programmes in three different socio-economic communities. He used three measures of civic education norms: content analysis of all textbooks used in the civic education programmes in the three schools, interviews with 'potential civic and educational influentials' (school administrators, teachers, presidents of major civic groups, etc.), and a questionnaire given to the three civic education classes and their control groups before and after a semester's exposure to the civics course. His main findings were that the civics programme did not simply reinforce the prevailing opinions and political climate of the community; nor were attitudes about political participation and activities influenced by courses in civic education. Litt's study is remarkable for its emphasis on the socio-economic and political context of socialization. It is, however, imperfect in its lack of attention on pupils' interpretation of the civics programme and textbooks.

In a recent study on pupils' interpretations and use of science textbooks, Erik Knain (2002) combined critical text analysis of the sample of texts on the topic of energy in two textbooks, and semi-structured interviews with twelve 16-year-old students in two different tracks (academic and vocational) in two upper secondary schools in Norway. The interview guide was structured to identify relationships between the students' interests, their views on the purpose of school science, the use of science textbooks, and the interpretations of the texts in the sample. It appeared that both the academic track and the vocational track students were satisfied with their textbooks, but for different reasons. The academic track pupils drew on the school context before personal interests or everyday life: they talked about the textbook in terms of how effective it was for learning purposes at school and for further studies. For the vocational track pupils, the textbook as such was not important. The interviews with those pupils revealed that their perspectives on the world were not addressed in the textbook culture of school science, and they did not ask to be addressed either. This study, however, does not explain how and why science textbooks are produced with that kind of socialising potential.

To answer those questions, Joel Taxel (1989: 35) has suggested that the analyses of texts and inquiries into the responses of readers could be joined into a broad 'cycle of research which would account for the creation of the text itself by an author and its subsequent production and distribution by the publishing industry'. Culminating the cycle of research would be 'the analysis of precisely what occurs when readers, especially child readers, actually read books. What is sought is an understanding of the dynamics of the transaction which takes place when individuals interact with literary works' (Taxel 1989: 39). Three phases can be identified in the cycle: analysis of the creation of texts, analysis of texts, and analysis of response to texts.

In strongly advocating Taxel's suggestion of a cycle of research, I propose to complement it with some useful concepts from relevant disciplines in concordance with the need for interdisciplinarity. A research cycle (especially the first two phases of it) could be directed by the principles of Critical Discourse Analysis, in particular by those of the discourse-historical method of the Vienna School (Ruth Wodak and the associates; see Titscher *et al.* 2000: 154-163, Wodak 2001). In advocating an interdisciplinary approach herself[4], Wodak has developed the socio-psycholinguistic 'Theory of Text Planning' which could inform the first procedure in a cycle – the analysis of the creation of the textbook text by an author. The theory helps to identify the (ideological) intentions of authors and the extralinguistic (contextual) factors in text production: time and place, sociological variables (group membership, age, professional socialization) and psychological determinants (experience, routine, etc.). From this socio-psychological preconditioning are derived 'frames' and 'schemata' for the structuring of reality and for the concrete realization of a text (Titscher *et al.* 2000: 154-155).

The second phase in a research cycle – the description of texts – has to be accomplished as precisely as possible at all linguistic levels. The discourse-historical method makes a distinction between three analytical dimensions – contents, argumentation strategies, and forms of linguistic implementation (at text, sentence, and word levels). The analysis of text itself should be understood 'not as a sequence of separate operational steps but as a cycle in which the three analytical dimensions are systematically and recursively related to the totality of contextual knowledge' (Titscher *et al.* 2000: 158). The concept of context is of principal importance in Critical Discourse Analysis. Context, too, should be recorded as accurately as possible. In the field of school textbooks, the description of context has to take into account: (a) the text-internal co-text and the local interactive processes (the class and the classroom situation); (b) the intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between the texts in textbooks and other texts, genres and discourses; (c) the text-external social/sociological variables and institutional frames (the school); and (d) the broader socio-political and historical context the practices of textbook production and consumption are embedded in, as well as the history to which the textbook topics are related (cf. Titscher *et al.* 2000: 157).

The third phase in a cycle of research aims to understand what takes place when readers (pupils) interact with the text; in terms of political socialization – how they interpret, understand and internalise the political content of the textbook. The integrative model of text comprehension developed by the Vienna School of Critical Discourse Analysis offers some useful analytical tools here. Wodak and her colleagues argue that text comprehension is also dependent upon the socio-psychological influences that are important in text production (see Titscher *et al.* 2000: 156). All pupils perceive new texts on the basis of their previous knowledge, personal qualifications, and culture, gender and class membership. The degree of concurrence between such 'reader's schema, or organised knowledge of the world' (Armbruster and Anderson 1984: 181) and the text's schema determines how well the pupil will understand the content of the textbook and to what extent s/he internalises it. Moreover, pupils approach the text with various strategies that, in being, again, dependent upon the socio-psychological characteristics of pupils, sometimes work 'in an unconscious, irrational and emotional way' (Titscher *et al.* 2000: 156). Therefore the third phase of a research cycle should encompass both the cognitive and the emotional aspects of the process of socialization. The methods suitable for that purpose coincide with the intensive approaches listed above (in-depth interviews, the analysis of pupils' productions, etc.).

The overall aim of a cycle of research in the field of political socialization is to understand, as deeply as possible, how pupils come to understand the political world and act in it, and the role that textbooks play in that process. As a form of reception analysis, a cycle of research can be defined as a comparative analysis of textbook discourses and pupils' discourses, 'whose results are interpreted with emphatic reference to context, both the historical as well as cultural setting and the "con-text" of other media contents' (Jensen 1991: 139). That kind of analysis should enable a researcher to get a grasp of 'what pupils and textbooks do with each other' in the process of socialization.

Coda: problems never end

The measures and strategies suggested above should help to mitigate or surmount most of the methodological problems involved in research on school textbooks as agents of socialization. However, the scope and character of the research strategies, particularly those of a cycle of research, create new problems, mainly technical and ethical. Firstly, the implementation of these strategies demands great amounts of time and labour. Secondly, most of the intensive methods suggested set limits to the sample size that, in turn, causes the problem of generalisability of results. The researchers, therefore, have to make a special effort to select the most typical group or 'nest' of pupils (in case serial sampling is used). Thirdly, intensive measures such as classroom observation, experimental research, records of group encounter sessions, etc. may affect the natural processes of learning and socialization and, thus, give biased results and cause ethical problems. Classroom observers, however, are usually convinced that their presence in the classroom did not influence the teaching (see, e.g. Johnsen 1993: 180). Finally, intensive and time-consuming methods give rise to the problem of motivating teachers and pupils to participate in a study: teachers are usually not very willing to allow questionnaires and interviews to be conducted during classes, neither are pupils fascinated about filling in long questionnaires (especially when test items are repeated in a pretest-posttest study), or writing essays on political topics. While many teachers find a motivating factor in an opportunity to improve their teaching methods on the basis of the research findings, pupils usually see no compensation for their work. Explanations of the type 'results are used to improve the textbooks and, in a long run, the society' are hardly convincing for sceptical teenagers. Marks obviously cannot be given. A strategy I have used to motivate pupils to write substantial political essays is to give 'pluses' or 'small marks' (which are summed into real marks at the end of the term by the teacher) for the length and quality of argumentation regardless of the content and direction of statements. The strategy justified itself: I received a number of solid essays representing a wide variety of opinions on sensitive political issues. The 'effect of answering for mark A' in terms of the expressed attitudes seemingly had worked in few cases only. No one, however, can say with any certainty this effect would not have been there, if no motivating stimuli had been used. Some methodological problems in social sciences always remain partly unsolved. This does not mean that some intricate and crucial sociological phenomena such as socialization through textbooks are not worthy of an earnest attempt of deep exploration.

Notes

1 With 'educational media' I mean school textbooks in particular, but also the whole range of possible texts, pictorial illustrations, films, computer programs, etc., which are produced for educational purposes, i.e. to inform and convince the reader / the viewer / the listener that the presented information and perspectives are correct (cf. Selander 1995a: 9).

2 Some of the mentioned fields (e.g. reception analysis and discourse studies) are themselves witnessing interdisciplinary tendencies of development (see Jensen 1991, van Dijk 1997a).

3 The combination of methods means the use of different methods in one and the same study, whereby the different methods are used for the analysis of the different aspects of the phenomenon being studied. Triangulation means the comparison of results on the basis of different data (e.g. qualitative and quantitative) and using different methods (Titscher *et al.* 2000: 94).

4 Wodak and the associates view the discourse-historical method as part of the research background to sociolinguistics and text linguistics, being hermeneutic and interpretative, with some influence from cognitive science (Titscher *et al.* 2000: 154, 158).

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III

Kalmus, V. (2001). Socialisation to values: Collectivism and individualism
in the ABC-books of 20th century Estonia.
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SOCIALISATION TO VALUES: COLLECTIVISM AND INDIVIDUALISM IN THE ABC-BOOKS OF THE 20TH CENTURY ESTONIA

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Abstract. This study examines the representation of collectivist and individualistic values in Estonian ABC-books, published between 1900 and 1997, in the context of societal transformations. Grounded theory analysis and pragmatics were used as initial models to develop a method for analysing the pattern of values in ABC-books. The open coding of the text and illustrations revealed preliminary value categories. The next phase of coding involved comparison of preliminary codes with value indicators developed by Schwartz (1990, 1996). On the principle of semantic proximity, all codes were associated with Schwartzian value clusters. Estonian ABC-books were found to convey collectivist rather than individualist values. The ABC-books of the 1990s, however, pay slightly more attention to individualistic values. The individualism-collectivism construct was found to be applicable in textbook research, provided that the specificity of the educational media is taken into account. Some options in the education of values are also discussed.

1. Introduction

Cultural artefacts, educational media, instruments of socialisation – school textbooks are simultaneously all of these. Even the ABC-books[1] serve several functions: they teach first-graders to read and write, and "tell children what their elders want them to know" (FitzGerald 1979:47). ABC-books (as well as other school textbooks) represent values, attitudes and world views that are considered to be worthy of passing on to the next generation, as a part of "socially approved knowledge" (Schutz 1964). These values are taken for granted by textbook authors, officials, teachers, parents and, finally, by pupils.

The values selected for a primer's curriculum thus reflect the moral aims of the educators in that period of time. (For some exemplary studies based on that assumption, see Koski 1998, London 1984.) In addition, the values represented in ABC-books (and other school textbooks) serve as a valuable source of knowledge about societal culture on the macro-level. While aggregated individual culture is observable through averaged "micro-data" from a questionnaire survey, indicators of societal culture or "macro-data" are predominantly obtained from textual analyses of curricula, textbooks, media content, etc.

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[1] An ABC-book or a primer (later in this paper used as synonyms) is a first-grade textbook that teaches children to read and write single letters, words, and sentences; it includes pictures, grammar, and short narratives and poems adjusted to children's reading and writing skills.

Individualistic and collectivist values, in particular, occur quite infrequently in textbook studies or pedagogical research, not to mention the discussion and comparison of (American) individualistic and competitive education *vs.* (Soviet) collectivist education (see Keltikangas-Järvinen and Terav 1996, for overview). For psychologists and sociologists, on the other hand, the concepts of individualism and collectivism have served as almost magic words, especially during the last decades (see Kagitçibasi 1997, for overview). The terms have been in extensive use in cross-cultural psychological research as well as in sociological descriptions of the differences between traditional and modern types of societies. Yet this concept, like many other terms in social sciences, is not completely unproblematic. The construct of individualism-collectivism encompasses various meanings and components, as well as different levels of analysis (the individual and the cultural level) (ibid.).

The 20th century Estonian society serves as a perfect testing ground for somewhat ambiguous social scientific concepts. During this century, Estonia has gone through radical political and ideological changes. Estonians gained independence from Tsarist Russia in 1918, suffered German and Soviet occupations between 1940 and 1991, regained independence in 1991, and are now building up a new political and economic order (see, e.g., Høyer et al. 1993, for overview). At the same time, processes of modernisation have taken place, altering people's lifestyle and value orientations. These changes provide a good opportunity for well-grounded longitudinal measurements, which help to estimate the validity of social scientific terms and constructs, including theoretical value axes.

This article has several analytical facets. First, it explores the socialising content of the ABC-books of the 20th century Estonia in terms of individualistic and collectivist values. The results are juxtaposed with the ones from some other studies on individualism-collectivism in Estonia, and interpreted in the context of cultural and political transformations that have occurred in Estonian society. Also, I will try to evaluate the usefulness of the individualism-collectivism construct for the interdisciplinary field of textbook analysis. Finally, I will discuss some options in the education of values.

2. Theoretical and empirical background

2.1. School textbooks as instruments of socialisation

The function of school textbooks is to represent to each generation of pupils a sanctioned or desired version of human knowledge and culture (de Castell 1991:78). Textbooks and other educational media tell us what educators believed *ought* to exist, though those materials cannot tell us what we might like to know about a teacher's interaction with pupils, a school's relationship to a community, or a pupil's reception of or reactions to what the school has to offer (Clark 1984:3). I maintain that socialisation is an ongoing dialectical process, a continuous interplay and interaction between two sets of actors – the individuals being socialised, and the agents of socialisation (Bar-Tal and Saxe 1990, Berger and Luckmann 1991 [1966], Gallatin 1980, Rosengren 1994). In line with this balanced view on "agency" and "structure", I hold that meaning is not given by the text (in textbooks or other media) but constructed in the social process of reading when reader meets text (Buckingham 1993, Iser 1980, Taxel 1989). Nevertheless, it seems most reasonable to treat textbooks as texts possessing institutionally defined authority (Olson 1989, Selander 1995). Such texts invite or prefer particular kinds of reading and set the stage for "legitimate" interpretation, which means that the potential for different meanings is "much less than infinite" (Buckingham 1993:270). The attitudinal and value content of school textbooks is therefore a matter of great interest.

Insofar only few value-forming aspects of textbooks have been studied intensively: the representation of males and females, and the role division between the sexes; the depicted relations between different nations as well as between immigrants and indigenous people; the representation of human rights, democracy and peace; and achievement motivation (see Johnsen 1993:109–127, Mikk 2000:315–320, for overview). Some studies reveal that the amount of the textbook stories supporting achievement is positively correlated with the economic development of the country (Mikk 2000:330). For instance, a good harmony between achievement motivation in the textbooks and the number of patents in the USA in the period from 1800 to 1960 has been found (de Charms and Moeller 1962, cited in Venezky 1992:448). Except achievement, an individualistic value, textbook researchers have systematically analysed no other values directly related to the individualistic-collectivist typology.

2.2. *Individualism and collectivism as sets of values*

On cultural level, values are defined as "the vocabulary of socially approved goals that societal members use to motivate action and to express and justify the solutions" (Smith and Schwartz 1997:95). There are several theoretical value axes, and the individualism-collectivism dimension is one of them. It is important to note that the very nature of the individualism-collectivism construct has been a crucial topic in the development of the concept. At the outset, Hofstede (1980) viewed individualism and collectivism as two opposite poles of a unidimensional scale. In the middle of the 1980s, Triandis and his colleagues suggested that individualism and collectivism might not be two opposite poles of a single dimension, but rather multidimensional constructs (Triandis et al. 1988). Another possibility is that they are "two independent factors both at the cultural and personal levels" (quoted from Realo 1998:27). Triandis (1993) puts it also as follows: "... individualism and collectivism can coexist and are simply emphasised more or less in each culture, *depending on the situation*" (p. 162). In accordance with this, he has suggested that individualism and collectivism should be thought of as *cultural syndromes* characterised by their "organising themes". For an individualistic culture, the central theme is an autonomous individual, a concern with "what makes me happy", "how can *I* have fun". For a collectivist culture, the central theme is the collective – family, organisation, state, ethnic group, etc., as well as a concern about what is a good society or what happens to others (ibid., p. 156, 161). In the most general terms it is possible to argue that a link between a cultural shift of these two value orientations and major political changes appears. For instance, "We can see a shift from socialism toward free-market economies in most of the world, as a shift from collectivism toward individualism accelerates" (ibid., p. 161).

To compare societies in terms of individualism-collectivism, Schwartz (1990, 1996) has specified the relationship between his system of values (up to 56 indicators clustered around the ten motivational goals they express), and individualism-collectivism as a macro-level societal dimension[2]. According to Schwartz, two motivational goals, *self-direction* and *stimulation*, and some universalistic values (world at peace, social justice, equality) should be more important to the average person in more individualistic (contractual) societies. *Conformity, tradition* and *benevolence* should be more important in more collectivist (communal) societies. The rest of the motivational types of values, characterised by Schwartz as "collectivist" (*security*) or "individualistic" (*hedonism, achievement* and *power*), do not show adequate differentiation between societal types. Schwartz, however, admits that *power* may be valued most highly in societies undergoing rapid change from communal to contractual structures, where individuals "strive enthusiastically to increase their power and prestige" (1990:155).

Two other basic dimensions, indirectly related to individualism-collectivism, traverse Schwartz's system of values. One dimension opposes Openness to Change (combining *self-direction* and *stimulation* value types) to Conservation (combining *security, conformity,* and *tradition*). The second dimension opposes Self-Enhancement (combining *power* and *achievement*) to Self-Transcendence (combining *benevolence* and *universalism*). *Hedonism* shares elements of both Openness to Change and Self-Enhancement (Schwartz 1996).

I conducted my analysis along three value axes: individualism-collectivism (where *self-direction, stimulation, power, achievement* and *hedonism* belong to individualistic motivational types of values, and *conformity, tradition, benevolence* and *security* are collectivist motivational types of values), Openness to Change vs. Conservation, and Self-Enhancement vs. Self-Transcendence.

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[2] In fact, Schwartz has specified two sets of value clusters – one for the individual level and the other for the culture level of analysis (see Schwartz 1994). Since ABC-books are macro-level phenomena, the use of culture level value clusters seems more appropriate and logical. However, Schwartz's culture level constructs (*Mastery, Hierarchy, Conservatism, Affective and Intellectual Autonomy, Egalitarian Commitment,* and *Harmony)* have been criticised for being confusing and for making no immediate psychological sense (Kagitçibasi 1997). I would add that Schwartz's culture level value clusters are actually less appropriate for a study of textbooks (or for any other textual analysis) since they are more coarse (compared with ten motivational goals on the individual level, only seven culture level clusters exist), and semantically indistinct and incoherent (for instance, the value "humble" falls in the cluster of *Hierarchy*, and "freedom" is located in the cluster of *Egalitarian Commitment*).

2.3. The position of Estonia on the map of individualism-collectivism

Since the beginning of the 1990s, frequent attempts have been made to anchor Estonia on the sketch map of this theoretical construct. I will highlight some upshots of that endeavour. According to comparative studies of individualism-collectivism made by Schwartz at the beginning of the 1990s, Estonia fell among the highly collectivist societies (Schwartz 1994). Empirical evidence of that kind could result from the cumulative effect of several factors: relics of the traditional peasant culture and strong national feelings among Estonians, the influence of the official Communist ideology, and some objective socio-economic conditions (scarcity of living space and a connections-based supply network) (Lauristin and T. Vihalemm 1997). However, Realo (1998) has argued that these results may be partly due to the effects of the sample type (Schwartz drew most of the conclusions on the results based on the schoolteacher samples).

The Balticom value surveys conducted in 1991–1995 have revealed the movement away from the collectivist cultural syndrome. That is, the surveys unveiled the existence of a growing individualism and openness among the Estonian population: a more active, achievement-associated individualism among Estonians, and a more consumer-oriented individualism among the Russian minority (Lauristin and T. Vihalemm 1997). Several recent studies have shown that Estonians rank fairly low on collectivism, including meta-level collectivism[3] (Kants and Realo 1999, Realo and Allik 1999). Furthermore, available macro-level evidence – the demographic factors such as urbanism and small family size, as well as the Estonians' autostereotype or national myth, about their extreme individualism – support the image of Estonia as rather an individualistic (non-collectivist) country (Realo 1998).

Thus, the position of Estonia on the map of individualism-collectivism remains somewhat ambiguous. The case has already earned a name denotative of paradox – "collectivism in an individualist culture" (ibid.). Dissonance between the results of various empirical studies, as well as between the public opinion of the community of cross-cultural researchers (labelling Estonians as "collectivists") and the Estonians' autostereotype as being individualists, still intrigues. Realo has argued that this may be "due to the all-embracing definition of the individualism-collectivism constructs that holds and tolerates a wide range of miscellaneous opinions" (ibid., p. 35). I assume that primers (or other school textbooks) will serve as an additional source of macro-data about the predominant pattern of individualistic vs. collectivist values. My hypothesis is that Estonian ABC-books contain collectivist values more than individualistic values. New primers (published in the 1990s) may transmit more individualistic values. ABC-books in Russian are probably more collectivist than their temporal counterparts in Estonian. Textbook data, when interpreted in the context of societal transformations, will help in turn to evaluate the utility of the concepts of individualism and collectivism.

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[3] Meta-level collectivism was measured by asking the judges from three nations to rank ten nations, including their own, along ten collectivistic statements (for more details, see Kants and Realo 1999).

3. Sample

Among more than 200 editions of Estonian ABC-books published in 1900–1997, I selected 14 primers (11 in Estonian and 3 in Russian) for my study (see Appendix, Table 1A). I used two main criteria for selection:

- To select a primer per decade of both *widespread* or *"popular"* (according to the number of editions and copies, and to historical sources), and *typical* nature (published primarily and/or for the first time during the given decade). ABC-books designed for exclusive home use were cast aside.
- To select, where possible, the edition published in *mid-decade* (year ´´´5 or ´´´4) to keep the time distance between different primers in the sample more or less equal. In Tables 1 and 2A, the sampled ABC-books are marked through the publishing year. "R" stands for the primers in Russian.

4. Methods

I drew on principles of *grounded theory analysis* (Strauss 1987) as well as *pragmatics* (Blakemore 1992) to develop a method for revealing the pattern of values in ABC-books. Grounded theory analysis is characterised as a research technique by which data are analysed systematically, intensively, and in detail ("often sentence by sentence, or phrase by phrase") to create a theory that is *grounded* in the data (Strauss 1987:22). The specificity of that method lies in the fact that codes are not strictly preconceived. Concepts, categories and, finally, a theory, emerge during the analysis. Grounded theory analysis is based on a *concept-indicator model* that directs the conceptual coding of a set of empirical indicators. The latter are actual data that indicate a concept or a coded category derived by the analyst. The initial type of coding is termed *open coding*. This type of coding is done by scrutinising the data very closely with the aims of commencing the process of inquiry, and producing concepts that seem to *fit the data*. Open coding will usually develop into *axial coding,* which consists of intense analysis done around one category at a time. A further phase of analysis is termed *selective coding*, which consists of coding systematically and concertedly for the core categories in the theory (Strauss 1987).

In this study I did not aim to develop a kind of elaborated grounded theory. Rather, I used some valuable tools provided by that approach (principles of the concept-indicator model, and two types of coding – open coding and axial coding). They were combined with the application of the pre-existent theoretical categories developed by Schwartz (1990, 1996). I reached preliminary value categories through open coding of the text (and, in some exceptional cases, of illustrations): I gave any of the values conveyed through the text the "most fitting" code. In this way, I coded all values found in the text, regardless of the number of different values instantiated in one and the same textual unit. In addition, I made use of pragmatic interpretation, i.e. I took both *explicatures* and *implicatures* into consideration. It means that explicit value concepts (such as "politeness" and "loyal"), concepts or images symbolising values (an expensive watch as an indication of wealth), as well as values implicated through a narrative or an utterance, were given a preliminary code. During the next phase of coding, I compared these codes with value indicators developed by Schwartz. Those preliminary codes that were overlapping with, or substantially similar to, Schwartz's value indicators, were given a corresponding conceptual label ("helpful", "freedom", etc.). In the case of other preliminary codes, I retained their original conceptual labels ("masterful", "orderliness", "selflessly brave", etc.). On the principle of semantic proximity, I associated those codes with theoretical value clusters – the ten motivational goals suggested by Schwartz. For instance, I categorised "masterful" in the cluster of *power*, "orderliness" fell in the cluster of *conformity*, and "selflessly brave" went with *benevolence*. For every primer, I counted the occurrence of values, and calculated the relative frequencies of value clusters[4] (see Appendix, Table 2A).

To make the pattern of values more lucid, I developed an easily comprehensible system of plusses and minuses (Table 1):

"+ + +" refers to "very frequent" value clusters, with a relative frequency of at least 10% (before rounding), and an absolute frequency of at least 3.

"+ +" refers to "relatively frequent" value clusters, with a relative frequency of 5–9% (before rounding), and an absolute frequency of at least 2.

"+" refers to "less frequent" value clusters, with a relative frequency of less than 5%.

"–" refers to value clusters not represented in the primer.

In addition, I had a look at the discourse on home in the ABC-books to reveal the patterns of *Familism* – a subtype of collectivism focused on relations with family (Realo et al. 1997), and *a Sense of Ownership*. The latter is my term to sum up the desire and the respect for a household of one's own, as well as the attitudes and a sense of the rights and obligations that arise from being a master of private property. The concept is closely related to, and shares elements of, Schwartzian *Achievement* and *Power*.

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[4] Though the relative frequencies are calculated, my analysis is qualitative rather than quantitative, and aims at revealing the pattern of values in the ABC-books. Since the primers vary to a great extent in their volume and the total number of represented values (whereby many occur very rarely), no measures of statistical significance are used.

Table 1

The distribution of Schwartz's motivational types of values in Estonian ABC-books

	ABC-Books (Year of publication)													
Schwartz's Value Types	1907	1914	1922 R	1927	1935	1938 R	1944	1955	1965	1974	1985	1995	1996 R	1997
SELF-DIRECTION	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	++	++
STIMULATION	-	-	-	++	-	+	+	+	+	++	+	+	+	+
HEDONISM	+	++	+	+++	++	+++	+++	++	++	+++	+++	+++	+	+++
ACHIEVEMENT	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	++	+
POWER	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+++	-	-
SECURITY	-	++	++	+	+	++	+++	+++	+++	++	++	+	++	+
CONFORMITY	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++
TRADITION	+++	++	+++	+	+	++	+	+	+	++	-	-	++	+
BENEVOLENCE	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++	-	+++	+++
UNIVERSALISM	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++	+++	++	+++	+++

5. Results

The very first glance at Table 1 bears witness to the fact that value clusters associated with individualism (the upper half of the table) are represented less frequently than value clusters associated with collectivism (the lower half of the table, except *universalism*). Moreover, no easily perceptible changes in this pattern occur. In the most general terms one can thus say that no drastic transformation of values along the axis of individualism-collectivism has taken place in the 20th century. In particular, values best characterising the individualistic type of society (those centred around motivational goals of *self-direction* and *stimulation*) remain less important than motivational goals more prevalent in the collectivist type of society (*conformity, tradition* and *benevolence*). The three ABC-books in Russian are fairly similar to their temporal counterparts in Estonian.

Some non-extensive variation and important details still appear. In the ABC-books of the 1990s, slightly greater emphasis is laid on individualistic motivational goals. In 1997, *self-direction* (values such as independent, freedom and creativity) is represented relatively frequently. In the Russian primer of 1996, *self-direction* (independent, in particular) and *achievement* are emphasised to a remarkable extent. In the 1995 Estonian ABC-book, *power* (wealth) deserves much attention (wealth is implicated, for instance, through a picture of a living room with many expensive electronic devices). The relative importance of all individualistic values measures up to 56.3%, 23.5% and 27.2% in 1995, 1996 and 1997, respectively. Such numbers are relatively high: the average of individualistic values for the other ABC-books is 17.9%.

We can see that *hedonism* is the most frequently represented individualistic motivational goal in ABC-books. Perhaps this is due to the specificity of these teaching media: values like pleasure, cheerful and happiness are accepted to be suitable for the young readers. However, the oldest (and the most traditional) ABC-books in the sample are, *en bloc*, somewhat less "jolly". The relative importance of *hedonism* is far less than 10% in 1907–1922.

I find it remarkable that *conformity* is the one and only motivational goal to be represented very frequently in all ABC-books. This, again, has probably something to do with the specificity of the medium. In other words, children of that age must be socialised into some behavioural patterns of society regardless of any simultaneous larger-scale societal transformations. The most recurrent and stable value categories for *conformity* are diligence, obedient and politeness.

Signs of modernisation can definitely be inferred through the decline of *tradition* (values like humble, respect for tradition, etc., are very frequent only in the oldest ABC-books). It is noteworthy that honouring one's parents and elders is considered important in the oldest primers (1907–1938, except the 1922 Russian ABC-book) as well as in the Socialist primer of the 1970s. In the latter, this value is conveyed through Estonian proverbs ("Honour a hoary person, bow to a grey head") as well as through newly created normative sentences ("October's children [the children's organisation in the Soviet Union] respect the elderly").

It is worth mentioning that values related to *benevolence* (helpful, kind, friendship, etc.) are completely absent in only one primer, the 1995 Estonian primer. That ABC-book can be regarded as a "lawful child" and true reflection of the young and immature Estonian capitalism. It is the most individualistic and least collectivist primer. It appraises wealth and hedonism, while tending to ignore benevolence and traditions.

The analysis of values combined along two other Schwartzian dimensions reveals that Estonian ABC-books have systematically promoted Conservation (*security, conformity, tradition*) rather than Openness to Change (*self-direction, stimulation, (hedonism)*), and Self-Transcendence (*benevolence, universalism*) rather than Self-Enhancement (*achievement, power, (hedonism)*). The only exception to this pattern is the aforementioned 1995 Estonian primer where Self-Enhancement is sighted as a purpose more frequently than Self-Transcendence. It seems that these two dimensions do not serve as the most appropriate instruments for the measurement of *value change* in primary educational media. The institutionally defined collateral task of the medium – to *socialise* prospective members of society – obviously overbalances much of the influence of cultural and political transformations.

In most ABC-books in the sample, the construction of home-related identity comprises identification with one's family, consisting of mother and father, sister(s) and brother(s). I would interpret this as a persistent indication of *Familism* – collectivism focused on relations with family. This pattern, however, is juxtaposed with a continuous individualistic feature of the discourse on home, a *Sense of Ownership*: most of the primers (except the 1955 Estonian ABC-book and the 1996 Russian ABC-book) present a farm or a private house as a typical home with which the reader is to identify. An intertextual piece of discourse, the poem titled "Juss was a small master" (by Ernst Enno), values both independence and a sense of ownership, and is found in the 1927 primer (the first independence period) as well as in the 1965 ABC-book (the Soviet "thaw" period).

6. Discussion

Generalising all the findings, one has to conclude that the ABC-books published in Estonia in 1900–1997 convey collectivist rather than individualistic values. In the primers of the 1990s, however, individualistic values are somewhat more central than in the previous decades. I would interpret these findings as follows. It is probable that the dominance of collectivist values in Estonian ABC-books is mostly due to a long-preserved cultural syndrome on the macro-level – these are collectivist values Estonians assume to be *socially approved*. In other words, Estonian people believe that they are supposed to hold these values. (This interpretation seems to be supported by incidental findings from the study of meta-level collectivism referred to above (Kants and Realo 1999) – the tendency of all respondents, including Estonians, to place their own nation higher on collectivism than judges from other nations did, probably due to social desirability.) To take one step further, Estonians also presume that they are expected to socialise the young generation into collectivist values. As a result, collectivist rather than individualistic values prevail in Estonian ABC-books. (To be sure, the very specificity of the medium also plays a role here. Primers as pupils' first textbooks serve a pedagogic objective to socialise children into a collective in its broadest meaning.) I would say that the dominance of collectivist values in Estonian ABC-books can be seen as a function of the "cultural *Super-Ego*": educators take it for granted that collectivist values are socially ordained in the given culture.

Logically, then, I would interpret weak but persistent individualistic features in the primers' discourse as a function of the "cultural *Ego*". *A Sense of Ownership* – respect for private property and desire for a household of one's own – has long been honoured among Estonians, at least on the individual level. I would say that individualistic values often serve as the true guiding principles in individual Estonians' lives, influencing the "selection or evaluation of behaviour, people, and events" (Smith and Schwartz 1997:80). The primers of the 1990s reveal that certain individually held individualistic motivational goals (such as *self-direction, stimulation* and *power*) begin to obtain some overt recognition and manifestation on the macro-level. In other words, some individualistic values are assumed to be socially approved to the extent that they have been included in the "hidden curriculum" of ABC-books – parts of the hitherto "cultural *Ego*" become sanctioned by the "cultural *Super-Ego*" as well. Obviously, this process can be linked with societal transformations of the 1990s – the transition to a free-market economy, the withering away of the Soviet collectivist mentality and the cooling down of strong national feelings among Estonians.

The apparent similarity between the primers in Russian and their temporal counterparts in Estonian does not coincide with a common notion, or cultural stereotype, about Russians being more collectivist than Estonians. Neither does it harmonise with the results of some recent studies showing that Russian students were significantly more collectivist than Estonian students (Kants and Realo 1999, Realo and Allik 1999). This paradox may be due to the shared cultural notions among Estonian and Russian-Estonian educators, and/or a mutual example-setting agency and intertextuality of Estonian and Russian teaching media.

This analysis of Estonian ABC-books may have shed some new light on the complicated issue of Estonia's position on the map of individualism-collectivism, "collectivism in an individualist culture". I have tried to show that a solution to this equation most probably lies in the layers of consciousness – individual vs. collective (*"Ego"* vs. *"Super-Ego"*) – and thus, in the levels of analysis. Also, my analysis lends full support to the suggestion by Triandis and his colleagues (1988) to abandon the simplistic concept of individualism-collectivism as opposite poles of a single dimension. The findings provided by two different methods reveal that collectivism always involves the existence of a certain amount and particular type of individualism. In other words, no culture can be really collectivist without being somewhat individualistic at the same time (cf. Realo 1998). A reasonable question is: What types of values are *dominant* in the given culture and/or media, and whether their dominance is threatened by *residual* or *emergent* values in Williams' (1995 [1972]) terms? These categories intermingle with the cultural and personal levels of analysis in a complicated manner. Collectivist values, so dominant in Estonian ABC-books (the cultural level), are becoming more and more residual on the personal level (see the discussion in 2.3., above). Individualistic values, on the other hand, are becoming more dominant on the personal level, and emerge on the cultural level (in the primers of the 1990s). To some extent, individualistic values are also residual on both levels (*Sense of Ownership* and some other individualistic traits are retained since the first independence period).

It seems justifiable to conclude that the individualism-collectivism construct can be used in textbook studies with the understanding that individualism and collectivism are thought of as two relatively independent factors both at the cultural and personal levels. Still, one has to retain circumspection in drawing conclusions inasmuch as the institutional character of the teaching media most probably induces textbooks toward "excessive" collectivism rather than individualism. For the same reason, two other Schwartzian value axes (Conservation vs. Openness to Change, and Self-Transcendence vs. Self-Enhancement) did not prove to be instrumental in my analysis of Estonian ABC-books. To be sure, the utility of Schwartz's value dimensions for textbook analysis ought to be reassessed through comparative studies of primers and other textbooks from different countries, especially from cultures usually characterised as most individualistic (British, German, North American, etc.).

This study has documented the values that *are* represented in a specific sample of textbooks. Now, one may wonder what types of values are most *desirable* in moral education. Triandis (1993) argues very clearly that the extremes of either collectivism or individualism are undesirable. He is convinced that severe conflicts between in-groups (such as ethnic cleansing, wars, etc.) result from extreme collectivism. On the other hand, Triandis argues, high rates of delinquency, crime, homelessness, and heart attacks, as well as the weakening of the family with increasingly many examples of child neglect or abuse must have some relationship to the extreme, narcissistic forms of individualism that have emerged in welfare states such as Britain and the United States. To portray the situation, Triandis uses a nice metaphor. He suggests thinking of collectivism as water and individualism as molecules of ice. As the temperature changes, the ice crystals either form or crack. At all times we have some water and some ice, that is, both collectivist and individualistic elements. The subtext of this metaphor is frightening: as a shift from collectivism toward individualism accelerates in many countries, the earth is entering a new ice age!

For small nation states like Estonia, the individualism-collectivism issue is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, certain elements of collectivism (values such as a sense of belonging, respect for tradition, etc.) are essential for a small nation to survive (currently, just about one million ethnic Estonians live in Estonia). On the other hand, in the globalising world, often also as a heritage of the colonial past, many nation states, including Estonia, face the task of political and cultural integration of ethnic minorities. Some psychological experiments (for example, Earley 1989) have shown that the distinction between in-groups and out-groups is much less important for individualists than it is for collectivists. It follows that the integration process in a multicultural society will probably be more successful if individualistic values are socially approved in the society as a whole.

These two arguments taken together can only lead to one conclusion: the overall outcome will probably be best if such cultural forms are promoted that select the finest elements of both individualism and collectivism. To my understanding, *self-direction* and *stimulation* for individualism, and *benevolence* for collectivism are good examples of desirable motivational goals. Most of the values in those clusters are fairly remote from potentially harmful extremes. Still, the promotion of *universal* values is probably most important in this respect. Values such as wisdom, broadmindedness, inner harmony, and a world of beauty may serve personal and group (both in-group and out-group) interests at the same time, whereas values such as equality for all, social justice, protecting the environment, and a world at peace serve primarily the interests of a larger collectivity beyond the in-group (Schwartz 1990). I am able to note, with satisfaction, that *universalism*, at least, is represented very frequently in all except one of the Estonian ABC-books in the sample.

7. Conclusion

The empirical and theoretical conclusions of the article can be summarised as follows:

1. Estonian ABC-books convey collectivist rather than individualistic values. In the ABC-books of the 1990s, individualistic values deserve slightly more attention. The latter finding, the emergence of individualistic values on the cultural level, echoes the same values becoming more dominant on the personal level (according to the recent survey data).

2. The value patterns of the ABC-books in Russian resemble their temporal counterparts in the primers in Estonian.

3. With some circumspection, the individualism-collectivism construct can be used in textbook research.

4. Elements of both individualism and collectivism, as well as universal values, should be represented in textbooks and other educational media.

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APPENDIX

Table 1A

Estonian ABC-books investigated in this study

Title	Year of publication	Place of publication
Pre-independence ABC-books		
Kuke-aabits	1907	Tallinn
Eesti laste Aabits ja esimese aasta Lugemise raamat kodu ja kooli jaoks	1914	Tallinn
ABC-books of the first independence period		
Russkaja azbuka (in Russian)	1922	Tallinn
Huvitaja. I.	1927	Tartu
Elav Sõna. I.	1935	Tartu
Bukvar (in Russian)	1938	Tallinn
ABC-books of the Soviet occupation period		
Esimesed vaod	1944	Tallinn
Aabits	1955	Tallinn
Aabits	1965	Tallinn
Aabits	1974	Tallinn
Aabits	1985	Tallinn
ABC-books of the second independence period		
Hubert teeb aabitsat ehk Hiirepoegade seiklused laias ilmas	1995	Tallinn
Azbuka (in Russian)	1996	Tallinn
Aabits	1997	Tallinn

Table 2

Raw and relative frequencies (in percentages) for Schwartz's motivational types of values in Estonian ABC-books

		ABC-Books (Year of publication)													
Schwartz's Value Types		1907	1914	1922 R	1927	1935	1938 R	1944	1955	1965	1974	1985	1995	1996 R	1997
SELF-DIRECTION	n	–	2	1	3	1	2	–	–	1	1	–	–	4	4
	%	–	1.6	5.5	2.4	0.9	2.4	–	–	1.6	0.8	–	–	7.8	5.7
STIMULATION	n	–	–	–	7	–	2	1	4	2	7	1	1	1	2
	%	–	–	–	5.5	–	2.4	3.7	4.5	3.3	5.4	3.6	6.3	2.0	2.9
HEDONISM	n	1	10	1	21	8	13	5	6	6	19	3	4	2	11
	%	3.3	7.8	5.5	16.7	7.6	15.5	18.5	6.7	9.8	14.6	10.7	25.0	3.9	15.7
ACHIEVEMENT	n	1	1	–	6	3	1	–	2	1	3	1	–	5	2
	%	3.3	0.8	–	4.8	2.9	1.2	–	2.2	1.6	2.3	3.6	–	9.8	2.9
POWER	n	1	3	–	5	–	1	–	3	–	–	–	4	–	–
	%	3.3	2.3	–	4.0	–	1.2	–	3.4	–	–	–	25.0	–	–
SECURITY	n	–	9	2	4	3	6	3	13	8	7	2	1	3	1
	%	–	7.0	11.1	3.2	2.9	7.1	11.1	14.6	13.1	5.4	7.1	6.3	5.9	1.4
CONFORMITY	n	4	22	3	19	17	15	5	20	12	28	8	4	8	17
	%	13.3	17.2	16.7	15.1	16.2	17.9	18.5	22.5	19.7	21.5	28.6	25.0	15.7	24.3
TRADITION	n	4	8	3	3	4	7	1	2	1	8	–	–	3	1
	%	13.3	6.3	16.7	2.4	3.8	8.3	3.7	2.2	1.6	6.2	–	–	5.9	1.4
BENEVOLENCE	n	8	27	4	26	34	18	5	12	13	26	5	–	9	11
	%	26.7	21.1	22.2	20.6	32.4	21.4	18.5	13.5	21.3	20.0	17.9	–	17.6	15.7
UNIVERSALISM	n	11	46	4	32	35	19	7	27	17	31	8	2	16	21
	%	36.7	35.9	22.2	25.4	33.3	22.6	25.9	30.3	27.9	23.8	28.6	12.5	31.4	30.0
Total	n	30	128	18	126	105	84	27	89	61	130	28	16	51	70
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

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Õpikudiskursus muutuvas ühiskonnas

Veronika Kalmus

Sissejuhatus

Diskursust võib määratleda mitut moodi. Kooliõpikute uurimise valdkonnas eelistan kasutada F. Biocca definitsiooni: "Diskursus on temaatiliselt ja ideoloogiliselt struktureeritud, eneseleosundav kommunikatsioonivoog, mis levib määratletavas kommunikaatorite-retsipientide kogumis teatava ajaperioodi vältel. Diskursuse funktsiooniks on määratleda ja mõjutada kommunikatsiooniprotsessis osalejate kogemusi" (vrd Biocca 1991: 45–46). Sellest määratlusest lähtudes võib postuleerida, et iga kooliõpik on ühtaegu nii iseseisev diskursus (omab kindlat struktuuri) kui ka osa teistest diskursustest ning diskursiivsest korrast tervikuna. Teiste diskursuste all pean silmas näiteks elavat klassiruumi diskursust, õppekava (sh klassikursust), vastavat pedagoogilist ja institutsioonilist diskursust jne. Diskursiivse korra all mõistan N. Fairclough'd järgides diskursiivsete praktikate terviklust ühiskonnas ning nende praktikate vahelisi seoseid (vrd Fairclough 1992: 43).

Eeldatavasti valitseb mingi diskursuse ja vastava sotsiaalse formatsiooni vahel dialektiline seos: diskursiivsed praktikad ei ole üksnes ühiskonnakorra või sotsiaalsete muutuste peegeldused, vaid annavad ühtlasi panuse selle korra taastootmiseks või muutmiseks. Diskursus on võitlusvahend ning võitlusväli vanade ja uute ideede ja arusaamade vahel. Õpikudiskursusel on kahtlemata oma spetsiifika: ühelt poolt haridusinstitutsiooni teatav inertsus ning põlvkonnafilter (õpikute koostajad on tavaliselt vanema generatsiooni esindajad) tingivad selle, et õpikudiskursus reflekteerib ja taastoodab seda diskursiivset ja ühiskondlikku korda, mis on pikemat aega valitsenud. Teisest küljest on iga kooliõpik osake ideoloogilisest võimuaparaadist, mistõttu õpikuid üritatakse võimalikult kiiresti rakendada uute ideoloogiate levitamiseks ja kinnistamiseks. Ühiskondlike muutuste tingimustes võib õpikudiskursusest saada varjatud võitlustander või polügoon, kus ideoloogilise lubatavuse piiril mängides testitakse uute või vanade ideede sotsiaalset aktsepteeritavust.

Lõppeval sajandil on Eesti ühiskond olnud tunnistajaks paljudele muutustele: lisaks mitmele poliitilisele kannapöördele on Eestis aset leidnud moderniseerumine, sh linnastumine, sekulariseerumine, elulaadi, perekonnatüübi, soorollide jne teisenemine. Eeldatavasti on nimetatud muutused peegeldunud ka koolidiskursuses – õppekavades ning õpikutes alates aabitsast. Õpikudiskursuse reflektiivsuse kohta saab esitada rea küsimusi: kuivõrd, kui adekvaatselt, kui kiiresti, milliste võitluste tulemusena on ühiskonnas toimunud kultuurilised ja ideoloogilised muutused leidnud kajastamist eesti õpikutes? Nimetatud küsimustele olen püüdnud vastust otsida Eestis 20. sajandil ilmunud aabitsate näitel. Käesolevas essees keskendun identiteeti loovale diskursusele, seda peamiselt kodumaale ja kodule pühendatud aabitsalehekülgede analüüsi varal.

Teoreetiline taust

Õpikudiskursuse teaduslik analüüs vajab teatud raamistikku. Kasutan selleks S. Selanderi (1990) poolt kooliõpikute analüüsi jaoks püstitatud eeldusi, millest kolm (eeldused 2, 3 ja 5) olen ümber sõnastanud, laenates mõnede ideoloogia- ja diskursusteoreetikute (L. Althusser, M. Young, N. Fairclough) kontseptsioone. Teoreetilised eeldused õpikudiskursuse analüüsiks seisnevad järgmises:

(1) Väljaspool meie taju eksisteerib objektiivne maailm.
(2) Kooliõpikud on selle objektiivse maailma sotsiaalselt määratud rekonstruktsioonid – õpikutes avaldub sotsiaalse reaalsuse konstrueerimine.
(3) Kooliõpik on koostatud põhiliselt institutsiooni – ideoloogilise võimuaparaadi – poolt.
(4) Kooliõpik on struktureeritud, vastamaks institutsionaalselt määratletud vajadustele, omades seega sisemist struktuuri.
(5) Kooliõpikut on võimalik analüütiliselt uuesti koostada, niisiis on võimalik uurida seoseid (a) kooliõpiku teksti ja sellest väljaspool asuva maailma ning (b) kooliõpiku ja teiste tekstide vahel ehk teisiti öeldes, õpiku intertekstuaalsust. Seega on võimalik analüüsida paradigmaatilist mõttelaadi (suundumusi, seletusviise jne), mida kooliõpik või õpikute komplekt esitab (vrd Selander 1990: 143–144).

Mõistagi omavad nimetatud eeldused kokkupuutepunkte fenomenoloogia (A. Schutz) ja teadmiste sotsioloogiaga (nt Berger, Luckmann 1991 [1966]), mida õppekavade seisukohast on arendanud M. Young. Youngi väitel ei ole diskursused hariduses ja teaduses sarnaselt tavadiskursustele midagi enamat kui jagatud subjektiivsete tähenduste kogumid, mis on sotsiaalselt ja ajalooliselt konstrueeritud. Haridusteadmiste usaldusväärsuse kriteeriumiks on nende jagatus ühiskonnaliikmete poolt ehk intersubjektiivsus, kusjuures sotsiaalselt jagatud tähendusi peetakse enesestmõistetavaks. Schutzi fenomenoloogiast lähtudes väidab Young eksisteerivat kindlat teadmiste põhivara, mille hulgast sotsiaalselt heakskiidetud teadmised leiavad tee õppekavadesse ja kooliõpikutesse. Õpikute autorite, kooliametnike ja õpetajate teadvuses esinevad need teadmised sageli enesestmõistetavatena ja mittepoliitilistena, ehkki tegelikult valitsevad sotsiaalselt heakskiidetud teadmisi kindlad poliitilised huvid (refereeritud Demaine' i (1981) kaudu). A. Gramsci ja N. Fairclough' kontseptsioonidest lähtudes nimetaksin ise neid teadmisi ja huvisid pigem hegemoonilisteks, mõistes hegemoonia all erinevate huvide ja ideoloogiate ebastabiilset tasakaalu ning pidades silmas eeldust, et haridusteadmised on ideoloogilistes ja diskursiivsetes võitlustes pidevaks märklauaks (vt Fairclough 1992: 92). Igal juhul on õpikudiskursuses sisalduvad tõekspidamised, väärtused, maailmavaated jne – kõik see, mida võime nimetada varjatud õppekavaks –, teatava igikestva valikulise protsessi tulemus. R. Williams nimetab seda protsessi hegemooniliseks selektiivseks traditsiooniks, mida ta defineerib kui "kavatsetult valikulist versiooni kujundavast minevikust ja eelnevalt kujundatud olevikust, mis omakorda toimib tugevalt sotsiaalse ja kultuurilise määratlemise ja identifitseerimise protsessis" (Williams 1989: 58). Hegemooniliste väärtuste, maailmavaate jne omaksvõtt toimub kõige efektiivsemalt enese nende läbi identifitseerimise teel; kui see pole võimalik, leiab aset vältimatu ja vajaliku (resigneerunud) tunnustamine (*ibid.*). Õpikudiskursusel on keskne roll nn kujuteldavate kogukondade formeerumisel (Anderson 1994 [1983]; vt ka Skyum-Nielsen 1995: 170) – õpikud kõnelevad meile meist endist, konstrueerivad väärtusi ja identiteete. Siinkohal tasub veel kord rõhutada, et ajaloo murrangulistel etappidel ei toimu identiteetide kujundamine reeglina ilma diskursiivse võitluseta.

Valim ja meetod

Minu uurimuse valimisse kuulusid 22 Eestis ajavahemikul 1907–1997 välja antud aabitsat. 14 aabitsast koosneva põhivalimi (11 eesti- ja 3 venekeelset aabitsat) moodustasin kümnenditele iseloomulikest aabitsatest, lähtudes järgmistest põhimõtetest: (1) aabits pidi olema kümnendi populaarseim, levinuim ja tüüpilisim (esindatud suurima kordustrükkide ja eksemplaride arvuga, ilmunud esmakordselt ja/või peamiselt antud kümnendil); (2) võimaluse korral valisin kümnendi keskel ilmunud trüki või kordustrüki. Lisaks põhivalimile vaatlesin mõnede murrangulistel ajajärkudel ilmunud aabitsate varasemaid või hilisemaid trükke, tegemaks kindlaks detailseid diskursiivseid muutusi ja võitlusi. Nimetatud eesmärgil võtsin luubi alla Ernst Petersoni "Eesti laste Aabitsa ja esimese aasta Lugemise raamatu kodu ja kooli jaoks" kordustrükid aastatest 1914, 1918 ja 1923, Johannes Käisi aabitsa "Esimesed vaod" trükid aastatest 1939, 1940, 1945 ja 1946 ning Lilian Kivi ja Milvi Rooslehe "Aabitsa" trükid aastatest 1985, 1991 ja 1993.

Meetoditena kasutasin kontentanalüüsi (põhivalimi aabitsate kogu pildimaterjali kvantitatiivseks kirjeldamiseks) ning kombineeritud diskursusanalüüsi meetodit, mida võib nimetada sotsiosemiootiliseks diskursusanalüüsiks. Verbaalse teksti kirjeldamisel kasutasin eeskätt N. Fairclough' (1989, 1992) analüüsiskeemi, pöörates tähelepanu peamiselt sõnavarale, grammatilistele vormidele, stiilile ja intertekstuaalsusele. Fairclough' analüüsiloogikat järgides asetasin rõhku ka teksti ja lugeja võimaliku vastastikmõju tõlgendamisele ning selle vastastikmõju ja sotsiaalse konteksti (institutsiooniliste ja ühiskondlike võimusuhete ja -võitluste) vaheliste seoste seletamisele. Visuaalsete struktuuride analüüsimiseks kasutasin G. Kressi ja T. van Leeuweni (1996) imidžite lugemise meetodit, mis põhineb eeldusel, et illustratsioonid, fotod, graafikud, kogu *layout* on kultuuriliselt kodeeritud, kandes oma looja(te) huvisid ja ideoloogiaid. Selle meetodi kohaselt vaadeldakse tähenduslike, ideoloogiliselt motiveeritud märkidena nt objektide paigutust pildil, värviküllust, vaatenurka, kujutatud tegelaste asendit nii vaataja kui üksteise suhtes jne ning tõlgendatakse kõiki neid aspekte kujutatu kultuurilises ja ideoloogilises kontekstis. Kombineeritud diskursusanalüüsi meetodil lahkasin nii põhi- kui lisavalimi aabitsates üksnes kodule ja kodumaale pühendatud lehekülgi.

Tulemused

1. Kodu-teemaline diskursus

1.1. Moderniseerumine ja ideoloogilised mõjud. Kodu-teemalise diskursuse moderniseerumise üheks peamiseks ilminguks on maakodu enesestmõistetavuse järk-järguline kadumine. Sajandi esimesel kolmandikul domineerib kindlalt maakodu, talu. Aastatel 1907–1923 ilmunud Petersoni aabitsas luuakse ja väärtustatakse maalapse identiteeti kategooriliste vahenditega: kindel kõneviis, ainsuse esimene pööre ja olevik ("Mina elan maal. Maal on ilus elu."(Peterson 1914: 12)) ning illustratsioonil suhteliselt tõepäraselt (kõrge modaalsuse astmega) kujutatud talu tüüpilise koduna (*ibid.*: 18) ei jäta lugejale samastumiseks muid võimalusi. Järgmises aabitsas (V. Tammani "Huvitaja", ilmus aastatel 1926–38 ja 1941–42) esitatakse kogemus maakodust mõnevõrra vahendatumalt ja intertekstuaalsemalt – kasutatakse jutukesi (tegelaseks Juku, mitte mina-tegelane) ning M. Körberi luuletust "Minu kodu" ("Vaikne, kena kohakene..."), mis pakub samastumisvõimalusi pigem kodutalust lahkunud täiskasvanule kui lapsele. Luuletuse juurde kuuluva illustratsiooni puhul vähendab kujutatud talu omaksvõetavust kaldnurkne vaade, nn kõrvalseisja pilk. Sellegipoolest kujutatakse maakodu praktiliselt ainuvõimaliku sotsiaalse reaalsusena. Ka 30ndate lõpul välja antud venekeelses aabitsas (F. Pšenitšnikova "Bukvar" 1938) valitseb tugev eeldus, et lugeja kodu asub maal ("Meie küla on suur." (lk 21); "Meie talu on avar." (lk 16)). Vastava identiteedi loomine toimub isegi vahetumalt kui sama perioodi eestikeelsetes aabitsates (Tammani "Huvitajas" ja autorite kollektiivi "Elavas sõnas").

Tajutavamad muutused ja võitlused avalduvad Johannes Käisi aabitsas "Esimesed vaod" (ilmus aastatel 1933–46). Enamikes Käisi aabitsa väljaannetes kujutatud kodu ei tarvitse olla maakodu: koduteemalise teksti juurde kuuluv pilt on kontekstualiseerimata. Märkimisväärse erandi moodustavad 1945. ja 1946. aasta trükid (mõlemal juhul on illustraatoriks kutsutud uus kunstnik): 1946. aastal on koduteemalise teksti juures asuval väikesel pildil kujutatud metsaäärset talu ning nii 1945. kui 1946. aastal kuuluvad kodus elavate sõprade hulka ka suksu ja lambake (varasematel aastatel piirdus autor kiisu, Muri ja kanakesega). See väike, kuid paradoksaalne muutus võib anda tunnistust autori ja illustraatori varjatud võitlusest sundindustrialiseerimise ja -linnastamise ning sellega seonduva ideoloogia vastu, mille ülistamist nad samade väljaannete kodumaa-teemalises diskursuses vältida ei suutnud.

Kõigis järgmistes nõukogudeaegsetes aabitsates sisalduvate eelduste kohaselt võib kodu paikneda nii maal kui linnas, kusjuures maakodu tuuakse pigem näiteks kui peetakse enesestmõistetavaks. Maakodu, mis alles mõni aeg tagasi oli olnud enesestmõistetav, muutub ühiskonnas toimuva linnastumise peegeldusena uueks – senitundmatuks nähtuseks, mida tuleb lugejale tutvustada. Näiteks tuuakse 50ndate aabitsa ühes lookeses esile, et Tiiu kodu on kolhoosis (Alttoa, Raigna 1955: 78). Ideoloogiline valik on siin muidugi ilmne. Kõigis sajandi teise poole aabitsates eeldatakse ometi, et lugeja elustiil jääb kasvõi kultuurilise jäänukelemendina seotuks maakoduga, nt käib 80ndate aabitsa Mari suviti maal vanaema juures. 90ndate aastate venekeelse aabitsa ja M. Müürsepa – P. Viisimaa "Hiireaabitsa" kodu-teemaline diskursus on üsnagi linnakeskne, seevastu uusimas L. Kivi ja M. Rooslehe "Aabitsas" (1997) asub identifitseerumisainet pakkuv kodu (ilmselt nostalgilise reaktsioonina praegusele pealinnakultusele) maal, kuuskede-mändide vahel (lk 22–23).

Kodu-teemalise diskursuse moderniseerumisest annavad omapärasel moel tunnistust ka muutuvad hoiakud koduloomade suhtes. Petersoni aabitsas kasutatakse loomade kohta küsisõna *mis?*; loomadest rääkides hinnatakse nii nende ilu kui kasulikkust ("Ani on ilus loom. Ani munes meile mune." (Peterson 1914: 12)). Eesti Vabariigi ajal ilmunud "Huvitajas" ja "Elavas sõnas" lisanduvad nn tootlikele loomadele ka lemmikloomad – kass ja koer. Käisi aabitsas nimetatakse viimaseid juba sõpradeks. Seega on suhtumine loomadesse muutunud ajapikku vähem utilitaarseks. 80ndate aabitsas võib täheldada isegi teatavat võõrandumist loomadest: linnastumise kõrgaja lõpus peeti vajalikuks lapsele selgitada, et "Loom ei ole asi. Loom on elus." (Kivi, Roosleht 1985: 102).

1.2. Individualismi-kollektivismi dialektika. Pea kõikides uuritud aabitsates võib märgata teatud kultuurilist dialektikat mõnede individualismi ja kollektivismi elementide vahel. Ühelt poolt avaldub paljudes aabitsates perekondlikele suhetele orienteeritud kollektivism e familism (Realo, Allik, Vadi 1997): koduga seonduv identiteet luuakse eeskätt perekonna ja pereliikmetega samastumise läbi. Näiteks määratletakse 60ndate aabitsas kodu asukoht ja olemus traditsioonilise perekonna kaudu ("Kus on minu koduke,/ koduke nii armsake?/ Seal, kus isa, emake,/ sõsar, väike velleke" (Alttoa, Raigna 1965: 72)). Juuresolev illustratsioon pakub lugejale otsest samastumisvõimalust esiplaanil kujutatud algkooliealiste õekestega (kasutatakse frontaalset vaatenurka ja lähedast sotsiaalset kaugust (keskmist plaani), enesestmõistetavalt seisavad taamal isa, ema ja väike vend). Perekondlik kollektivism esineb paljudes aabitsates kõrvuti individualistlike elementide ja väärtustega – peremehetunde, omaette majapidamise ihaluse ja iseotsustamisvajadusega. Absoluutne enamik aabitsaid (välja arvatud 50ndate aabits ja 90ndate venekeelne aabits) esitab tüüpilise koduna talu või individuaalelamut. Intertekstuaalse elemendina kasutatakse peremehetunde väärtustamiseks E. Enno luuletust "Juss oli väike peremees", seda nii omaaegses "Huvitajas" kui ka sula-vaimust kantud 60ndate aabitsas. Viimase puhul tähendas see küll ideoloogilise lubatavuse piiril balansseerimist.

Kollektivistlike ja individualistlike elementide koosesinemises ei tule näha vastuolu, vaid pigem kultuuri- ja indiviiditasandi väärtussuunitluste vahelist dialektikat. Kollektivistlikud väärtused võivad olla eesti kultuuris jagatud ja sotsiaalselt aktsepteeritud, ent sellegipoolest juhivad eestlasest indiviidi käitumist sageli individualistlikud huvid. Mainiksin veel, et 90ndate aabitsates tervikuna (ka väljaspool koduteemalist diskursust) võib märgata individualistlike väärtuste[1] jõulisemat esilekerkimist.

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[1] Ruumipuudus ei võimalda seda aspekti ja vastavaid analüüsimeetodeid siinkohal lähemalt käsitleda.

1.3. Põline patriarhaat ja diskursiivne võitlus. Terve sajandi aabitsaid läbib üks, kultuurilistele ja ideoloogilistele muutustele vastu pidanud tendents: traditsioonilised soorollid on ikka ja alati koduse sotsiaalse reaalsuse lahutamatuks osaks. Nimetatud tendents avaldub eriti ilmekalt koduste tööde-tegemiste, laste rollimängude ja tegelaste poolt kasutatavate objektide puhul. Esitan mõned markantsed näited. Tüüpilisteks naiste töödeks (mida mehed aabitsates KUNAGI ei tee) on: toidu valmistamine kodus, laua katmine, naiste käsitöö (õmblemine, kudumine jne), toataimede kastmine ja (*sic!*) väikeste laste eest hoolitsemine. Tüüpilisteks meeste töödeks on puu- ja metallitöö ning ajalehe lugemine. Rollimängudes esinevad tüdrukud õpetajate, õmblejate ja emadena, samal ajal kui poisid mängivad ehitajaid, autojuhte, kapteneid, jaamaülemaid, korstnapühkijaid, taluperemehi ja professoreid. Naissoost tegelased opereerivad sagedamini majapidamistarvetega, taimedega, aia- ja metsasaadustega ning toiduainetega; nad ei puuduta KUNAGI veoautosid, traktoreid ega isegi mitte mänguautosid ega oma kokkupuutepunkti ajalehtede või arvutitega, rääkimata piipudest või relvadest. Meessoost tegelased kasutavad sagedamini sõidukeid, koolitarbeid, muusikariistu ja kunstitarbeid ning meediat ja hoiavad eemale nukkudest (välja arvatud Malle sünnipäeval, kus “naabri Juku/ kingib talle [tüdrukule] nuku” (Alttoa, Raigna 1965: 119)). Sedavõrd püsivaid patriarhaalseid arusaamu tuleb ilmselt pidada hegemoonilise kultuuridominandi ilminguks. Ometi võib eesti aabitsapatriarhaadis täheldada ka ajalisi muutusi. Kui sajandialguse Petersoni aabitsas valitses sugupoolte vahel (ja perekonnas üldiselt) lisaks rollijaotusele ka staatuseline hierarhia (“Ema on isa abi. Mina olen oma ema abiline.” (Peterson 1914: 13)), siis alates Käisi aabitsa aegadest eeldatakse, et vanematel on perekonnas võrdne autoriteet (“Seal [kodus] ma kasvan ema-isa silma all” (Käis 1939: 18)). 60ndate aabitsas kohtame poissi, kes paneb koos õega pesu kuivama (Alttoa, Raigna 1965: 96); 90ndate aabitsates (venekeelses aabitsas ja 1997. aasta eestikeelses aabitsas) näeme esmakordselt meessoost tegelasi tube koristamas. Ometi esineb 90ndate aabitsais ka ülimalt patriarhaalseid tekstilõike: venekeelses aabitsas mõtleb poiss, et kui ta oleks tüdruk, ei hüppaks ta tänaval, vaid peseks pesu (Matsina, Parol, Goretski 1996: 2–3); “Hiire-aabitsas” kasutatakse patriarhaalset rahvaluulet (“Mis sa noore naisega teed?/ Panen hälli kiigutama,/ leemekulpi liigutama” (Müürsepp, Viisimaa 1995: 83)). Ilmselt on niisugune vähikäik tõlgendatav uuskodanliku reaktsioonina nõukogudeaegsetele võrdõiguslikkusetaotlustele. Aeg peab näitama, missugused arusaamad ja tendentsid – jäigem või leebem sugudevaheline rollijaotus – pääsevad domineerima praegusel ajal toimuvate diskursiivsete võitluste tulemusena.

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2. Kodumaa-teemaline diskursus

2.1. Identiteedi atribuudid muutuvas ajas. Identiteedi atribuutide all mõistan tugisambaid ja sümbolilisi vahendeid, mille abil luuakse või kinnitatakse rahvuslikku või kodumaaga seonduvat identiteeti. 20. sajandi aabitsates võib niisuguste atribuutide vaheldumises eristada teatud faase. Alguses oli ühine keel. Petersoni aabits (aastast 1914) postuleerib: "Mina, minu vanemad, meie naabrid räägiwad kõik ühte keelt. Meie keel on Eesti keel. Kõiki Eesti keelt kõnelejaid ühtekokku kutsutakse eestlasteks, ja see maa, kus eestlased elawad, on Eestimaa." (lk 105). Seega kutsutakse lugejat üles kujutlema eesti rahvast kui ühise keele kõnelejaid ning ennast ühe osana sellest kogukonnast. Sarnast teksti kasutatakse kõigis Petersoni aabitsa väljaannetes, kaasa arvatud viimases, 1923. aastal ilmunud trükis. Teistes esimese vabariigi ajal ilmunud aabitsates (sh venekeelsetes) ei kohta me rahvusliku identiteedi aktiivset konstrueerimist, seda üksnes kinnitatakse OMA kultuuri või rahvuse sümbolitega (peamiselt rahvariietega, rahvusele osundavate nimedega jne). Eesti kui kodumaa ning oma rahvuslik kuuluvus olid ilmselt nii eestlaste kui venelaste jaoks sedavõrd enesestmõistetavad, et aabitsadiskursuses ei peetud vajalikuks neid aspekte eriliselt rõhutada. Pärast Eesti inkorporeerimist Nõukogude Liitu tekkis vajadus uute ja võimsate identiteedi atribuutide järele. Stalinismi perioodil ilmunud aabitsates (Käis 1944–46 ning Alttoa, Raigna 1951–57) said nendeks töö, industrialiseerimine ja Suured Vennad – Lenin ja Stalin, 50ndate aabitsas lisandusid neile punased tähtpäevad. Näide Käisi aabitsast (1944): "Meie isamaal käib suur töö. Ehitame vabrikuid. Ehitame masinaid. Ehitame sildu ja teid." (lk 38). 60ndatel ja 70ndatel peeti noore *homo soveticuse* identiteedi konstrueerimisel sobivaimaks tugisambaks oktoobrilaste organisatsiooni: "Oktoobrilapsed oleme/ ja julgelt ikka sammume./ Külg külje kõrval seltsimees/ ja punalipp on rivi ees." (Eisen 1974: 143); "Meie ikka rõõmsad lapsed,/ oleme oktoobrilapsed. /.../ Teenime kõik kodumaad,/ ei me sõprust murda saa!" (Alttoa, Raigna 1965: 117). 60ndate sula-aabitsas võib siiski kohata ka rahvuslikke sümboleid: eesti ja vennasrahvaste rahvariideid, pääsukesi, rahvuslikke kuuseehteid jne. Alates 80ndatest muutub kodumaateemaline diskursus valdavalt sümboliliseks (selle sõna kitsamas tähenduses): identiteedi loomiseks või kinnitamiseks kasutatakse lippe, rahvariideid, rahvuskultuuride ja globaalse kultuuri sümboleid ning rahvaluulet. 80ndate Kivi-Rooslehe aabitsas (kuni aastani 1988) kohtame veel Lenini monumendi kujutist; sama aabitsa 1991. ja 1993. aasta väljaannetes kasutatakse peamise atribuudina sini-must-valget, esineb ka Läti ja Leedu trikoloore. Kui praeguse aja eestikeelsed aabitsad (aastatest 1995 ja 1997) eeldavad sarnaselt eelmise iseseisvusaja aabitsatele vaikimisi, et rahvuslik identiteet ja Eesti kui kodumaa on lugeja jaoks enesestmõistetavad, siis 90ndate venekeelses aabitsas konstrueeritakse ja mõtestatakse kodumaade (nii Eesti kui Venemaa) sümboleid äärmiselt hoolikalt, isegi kramplikult (vt Kalmus 1998). Mitmese identiteedi atribuutidena kasutatakse sarnaselt Petersoni aabitsale emakeelt ("...meie sinuga räägime..." (Matsina, Parol, Goretski 1996: 84)), aga ka Eesti ja Vene riigivõimu- ja kultuurisümboleid.

Kokkuvõtvalt sõnastaksin diskursiivsed faasid peamiste identiteedi atribuutide järgi nii: (1) keeleline (iseseisvuse-eelne periood sajandi alguses); (2) monokultuuriline-sümboliline (Esimese Vabariigi periood); (3) stalinistlik-ideoloogiline (40–50ndad); (4) sovjetlik-ideoloogiline (60–70ndad) ja (5) multikultuurilinesümboliline (80–90ndad). Tuleb rõhutada, et kodumaaga seonduva identiteedi konstrueerimine on toimunud eriti aktiivselt vahetult enne ja/või pärast poliitilisi sündmusi, mis muutsid oluliselt ühe või teise etnilise grupi staatust: iseseisvuseeelsetes ja -järgsetes Petersoni aabitsates, 40–50ndate aabitsates ning 90ndate alguse vene- ja eestikeelsetes aabitsates.

2.2. Võitlus isamaa nimel ja nimega. Viimatimainitud tõdemusest lähtudes vaatlen nüüd lähemalt diskursiivseid võitlusi, mis on aabitsates aset leidnud murranguliste poliitiliste sündmuste eel, ajal ja järel.

Teatavat eelmängu võime täheldada juba 1907. aasta A. Buschi "Kuke-aabitsas", milles leidub üksainus kodumaa-teemaline lause: "Türgimaa on palju soojem kui meie maa" (lk 11). Samastumist nõudev *meie maa* võiks jääda ambivalentseks, kui antud diskursuses osalejad ei omaks taustteadmisi võimalike *meie maade* kohta. Kõne all oleva maa näol ei saa olla tegemist Vene Impeeriumiga, kuna teadaolevalt oli see paiguti isegi soojem kui Türgi. Järelikult on aabitsa autor pidanud silmas Eestimaad, andes seega pisukese panuse hegemooniliste struktuuride kõigutamiseks.

Petersoni aabitsa väljaannetes kohtame hoopis komplitseeritumat diskursiivset võitlust. Eelmises alapunktis tsiteeritud eestluseteemaline lõik aastast 1914 jätkub väitega "Eestimaa on meie kodumaa". Järgmine paragrahv kannab pealkirja "Wene riik" ning sisaldab lausungeid nagu "Eestimaa on wäikene jagu suurest Wene riigist. /.../ Wenemaa on meie isamaa." Siin allub aabitsadiskursus avalikult impeeriumi hegemoonilisele ideoloogiale: Venemaa on riik, millesse tuleb patriootiliselt suhtuda, samal ajal kui Eesti on parimal juhul maa, millega võib samastuda. Tähenduslikku ja staatuselist erinevust kodumaa ja isamaa vahel rõhutatakse ka lugemispalale järgnevate küsimustega, millele laps peab kirjalikult vastama: "Mis maa on su kodumaa? Mis maa on aga su isamaa?" 1914. aastal sisaldab isamaa-teemaline diskursus ka tsaar Nikolai II portreed ja "Wene riigi-laulu" – esimest salmi hümnist "Jumal, Keisrit kaitse Sa!" 1918. aasta trükis on aset leidnud olulised muutused: tsaari portree ja lugemispala Wene riigist on kadunud, tsaaririigi hümni esimene salm on asendatud täispikkuses Eesti hümniga, mille peastkirjutamist lugejalt sedapuhku nõutakse (Vene hümni puhul polnud see kohustuslik). Ka Eesti-teemalises lugemispalas on toimunud märkimisväärne muutus: varem erinevaid ideoloogilisi tähendusvälju hõlmanud mõisteid *kodumaa* ja *isamaa* kasutatakse nüüd sünonüümidena ("Eestimaa on meie kodumaa ehk isamaa." (Peterson 1918: 109)). Sünonüümikasutus annab tunnistust uue diskursuse ülesehitamisest, milles Eesti on ühtaegu nii maaks, millega samastuda, kui ka riigiks, mida patriootiliselt armastada. Seega on Petersoni aabitsa diskursus ühiskondlikke muutusi nii järginud kui ka ennetanud: tsaaririigi tingimustes (tsensuur jne) allus autor imperialistlikule ideoloogiale, kuid aitas samal ajal formeerida lugejate rahvuslikku eneseteadvust; diskursus muutus vahetult pärast poliitilise läbimurde toimumist, kusjuures tähelepanu pöörati ka üksikutele sõnadele.

Peaaegu analoogilist, ent äraspidises järjekorras toimuvat diskursiivset võitlust kohtame 40ndatel Käisi aabitsa järjestikustes väljaannetes. Kodumaa-teema ilmus Käisi aabitsasse 1940. aastal. Kuni aastani 1944 kasutatakse mõisteid *isamaa* ja *kodumaa* paralleelselt, sünonüümidena: "Ilusa elu eest tahan ma/ tänada sind, mu kodumaa. /.../ Tõnu kaitseb oma isamaad (lk 38). Seevastu 1945. ja 1946. aasta väljaannetes mõistet *isamaa* enam ei esine – ilmselt peeti seda liiga patriootiliseks, võib-olla isegi natsionalistlikuks ajal, mil Eestist oli saanud N. Liidu lahutamatu osa. Märkimisväärne on seegi, et Suurte Vendade portreed ei ilmunud Käisi aabitsasse vahetult pärast poliitilist pööret, vaid alles 1944. aastal. Ning kui 1945. aasta trükis väideti, et "Õel vaenlane purustas meie linnu, rüüstas meie kodusid" (lk 38), siis 1946. aasta väljaandes on seesugune kahetimõistetavus likvideeritud: õel vaenlane on asendatud õela sakslasega. Seega on Käis oma aabitsas pidanud varjatud viisil tõsist diskursiivset võitlust (tuletagem meelde ka kübekest talunostalgiat kodu-teemalises diskursuses 1945. ja 1946. aasta trükkides), ehkki lõppkokkuvõttes on autor ja illustraatorid olnud sunnitud alluma totalitaarse diskursiivse korra ideoloogilistele nõudmistele.

Nõukogude aja järgmistel kümnenditel kohtame aabitsates üksnes mõistet *kodumaa*, mida rohkem või vähem eksplitsiitselt seostatakse N. Liiduga. 50ndate aabits väidab autoritaarselt: “Meie kodumaa on Nõukogude Liit” (Alttoa, Raigna 1955: 92). Võrdluseks implitsiitne lausung 60ndatest: “Mu kallis maa, mu kodumaa,/ kuis on ta lai ning avar!” (Alttoa, Raigna 1965: 73). 80ndatel ilmub kasutusele eufemistlik mõiste *sünnimaa*, mis võimaldab turvaliselt, kuid samas intiimselt kõnelda Eestimaast: “Eesti on mu sünnimaa” (Kivi-Rooslehe aabitsa esisisekaanel, 1985–1996). Mõiste *sünnimaa* on intertekstuaalne – mäletatavasti kasutati seda ka 80ndate poolpatriootilistes lauludes (“Põhjamaa, mu sünnimaa...”). Nõukogude Liitu ei ümbritse 80ndatel enam harras pühadus: impeeriumist kõneldakse lihtsalt kui Liidust (“Teised Liidu rahvad kõik/ sõpradeks on meile. Suureks saades tahan ma/ külla minna neile.” (Kivi-Rooslehe aabitsa tagasisekaas aastani 1988)). Tähelepanu tasub pöörata ka eraldusjoone tõmbamisele eestlaste (meie) ja vennasrahvaste (nemad) vahele.

Sini-must-valge ilmus Kivi-Rooslehe aabitsasse siiski alles 1991. aastal, mil tagasisekaanel hakati kujutama Eesti lipu heiskamist Pika Hermanni torni. Aabitsa keskel (lk 62–63) sekundeeris sellele meenutuslik pilt laulvast revolutsioonist koos loosungiga “Eesti vabaks!”. Kaks aastat hiljem, 1993. aastal, peeti viimast ilmselt ajakohatuks ja liigisamaaliseks ning laulev revolutsioon asendati mardisantidega. Kokkuvõtvalt võib öelda, et 80ndatel ja 90ndate alguses ilmunud eestikeelsete aabitsate diskursuses jäi isamaaline võitlus suhteliselt tagasihoidlikuks ja inertseks – autorid lihtsalt järgisid üldises diskursiivses korras asetleidvaid muutusi.

Diskussioon

Üldistavalt võib väita, et vaadeldud aabitsad on küllaltki kiiresti ja adekvaatselt peegeldanud ühiskonnas toimunud muutusi, osutudes seega pigem hegemoonilise võimu käepikenduseks kui inertse põlvkonnafiltri manifestatsiooniks. Sellegipoolest võib murranguliste perioodide aabitsates täheldada leebemaid või ägedamaid diskursiivseid võitlusi uute ja vanade ideede vahel. Võimaluste piires ruttavad aabitsad kohati ühiskondlikest sündmustest ette või pöörduvad ootamatu reaktsioonina tagasi rahva mälus talletatud vana juurde. Aabitsad on 20. sajandi Eestis olnud tõepoolest diskursiivseks polügooniks ning ideoloogiliseks võitlusvahendiks.

Seda arvesse võttes võiksid õpikute autoritele (ja ühiskonnale üldiselt) mõtlemisainet pakkuda järgmised küsimused: (1) Missuguseid elulaade peame vajalikuks säilitada, millistest loobuda, milliseid integreerida või juurde luua? Kas (pea)linnakultus ja linliku elustiili väärtustamine on enesestmõistetavad? (2) Missuguseid väärtusi

– individualistlikke, kollektivistlikke või kummagi parimate elementide sulamit – peame soovitavaks kultiveerida? (3) Kas ja kuidas oleks õpikutes ja teistes avalikes diskursustes võimalik vältida patriarhaalseid tõerežiime ja rollijaotusi ning konstrueerida alternatiivset, võrdõiguslikku sotsiaalset reaalsust? (4) Missugune on eestlase identiteet, tema arusaam oma ja teiste rahvuste kohast mitmekultuurilises ühiskonnas ja globaliseeruvas maailmas? Kas Eesti omariiklus on sedavõrd enesestmõistetav, et me võime selle unustada? (5) Kellena identifitseerib end Eesti muulane, kellena näeb teda eestlane? Kelle või millega on mitte-eestlasest eestimaalasel üldse võimalik samastuda? Vaadeldud aabitsad andsid mõnele neist küsimustest vastuse. Need vastused ei saa ega tohigi olla lõplikud, vaid peavad kujunema kogu ühiskonda haarava avatud dialoogi käigus. Tahaks loota, et me oleme selleks dialoogiks valmis.

Vaadeldud aabitsad

1907: Busch, August. Kuke-aabits. 6. tr. Tallinn: A. Busch.

1914: Peterson, Ernst. Eesti laste Aabits ja esimese aasta Lugemise raamat kodu ja kooli jaoks. 3. tr. Tallinn: Eesti=kubermangu kooliõpetajate Wastastikku Abiandmise Seltsi kirjastus.

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1985: Kivi, Lilian; Roosleht, Milvi. Aabits. Ill. Ü. Meister. Tallinn: Valgus.

1991: Kivi, Lilian; Roosleht, Milvi. Aabits. Ill. Ü. Meister. 4. tr. Tallinn: Valgus.

1993: Kivi, Lilian; Roosleht, Milvi. Aabits. Ill. Ü. Meister. 6. tr. Tallinn: Koolibri.

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14. Ethno-Political Discourse in Estonian School Textbooks

Veronika Kalmus

Introduction

In line with the dialectical view advocated in the introductory chapter to this section, the textbook is seen as 'expression and creator, result and factor, indicator and norm of society at the same time, but both to a limited degree' (De Baets, 1994: 531). While the introductory chapter lightly touched upon the hypothesised socialising 'effects' of educational media, i.e., the 'creator' function school textbooks perform in society, this chapter will focus on the expressive and indicative functions of textbooks. The aim of the analysis is to find out whether Estonian textbooks represent society as inclusively multicultural or exclusively monocultural, how national (or civic) and ethnic identities are constructed, and which political practices are legitimised or seen as problematic. The two newest ABC-books in Estonian, two ABC-books in Russian, and the newest and/or most widely used civic education textbooks for forms 4, 9, and 12, both in Estonian and Russian (see Appendix 5 for the bibliographical references of the sampled textbooks), are subjected to a critical analysis of verbal (Fairclough, 1989, 1992; van Dijk et al., 1997) as well as visual (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996) aspects of discourse, to reveal the predominant patterns of thought regarding issues of multiculturalism, identity, citizenship, and human rights.

1. Relationships between society, authors and textbooks

According to a dialectical model of textbook analysis, textbooks' discourse is the outcome of an interplay between several factors, of which the curriculum, the economy, the collective mentality of a society and the authors' own intentions and viewpoints are probably most important. Depending on the degree to which authors are seen as passive go-betweens between the mentality of society and textbooks' discourse, rather than active mediators in the process of socialisation, the theories about the influence of society on the textbook can be placed on a continuum where imaginary supporters of the thesis that textbooks are vehicles of a broader ideology or mentality are called 'maximalists', and their adversaries 'minimalists'. Maximalists hold that textbooks are representative of the opinions of broader groups than the authors themselves: educational institutions, dominant groups, or the entire society (De Baets, 1994: 526–527). Raymond Williams'

(1989) concept of 'selective tradition', when applied to textbook analysis, as well as Elson's 'central tendency theory' concerning textbook content (cited in Venezky, 1992: 449), for instance, belong to the maximalists' side of the continuum. Minimalists, on the other hand, argue that authors always leave their personal imprint, and, sometimes, misinterpret ideology. As a result they become active mediators instead of passive go-betweens in the process of cultural transmission (De Baets, 1994: 529). Minimalists also insist that a difference between the official version of a society, as intended by authorities and most probably present in the curriculum, and the dominant version of the society among ordinary people should be taken into account.

Numerous previous studies, which have focused on ethno-political discourse in school textbooks, tend to support the maximalists' thesis, i.e., the argument that, more often than not, textbooks and their authors reproduce a dominant discourse and confirm the opinions, attitudes, ideologies, and beliefs of the majority (Grueneberg, 1991: 13–14). Dean Wood (1981), upon reviewing the findings of textbook research conducted in Canada since 1965, concluded that 'texts have done a poor job of presenting ethnic diversity to students' (p. 22). Instead of supporting a culturally pluralist model of society, Canadian school textbooks 'support a consensual, non-controversial, conventional view of society' (Pratt, 1975: 120). Almost identical conclusions about respective societies have been reached by Christine Sleeter and Carl Grant (1991, USA), and Orit Ichilov (1993, Israel), to name a few.

Moreover, in being influenced by the market, the mainstream interests of a society, and their own experience and background, authors (unconsciously) determine who is the 'implied reader' of their textbooks. More often than not, the implied reader is a member of the majority, or a member of a fully integrated or assimilated minority (see Cornbleth & Waugh, 1995: 62–64, for an overview).

2. Estonian textbooks on the market

In re-independent Estonia, textbooks are published under conditions of full freedom of speech and free market competition. Two big, and several minor, publishing houses which specialise in textbook publishing exist; in addition, schools are free to choose among textbooks published abroad. However, the use of textbooks is regulated by economic mechanisms directed by the state: the state reimburses the cost of those textbooks which have been approved by the Ministry of Education. Under current economic conditions, most of the schools choose among institutionally approved textbooks. In most subject areas, several approved textbooks now exist.

Still, as late as the end of 1997, civic education and social studies textbooks were missing from all Russian schools (results from a mailed questionnaire survey, see Käosaar, 1998). Two years later the majority of Russian-speaking civics teachers were using at least one civic education textbook published in Estonia; however, several teachers argued that it is difficult to obtain some textbooks, since publishing houses are not interested in issuing limited-edition reprints[1].

Estonian and Russian teachers were mostly dissatisfied with the civic education textbooks they used (43% were 'more or less satisfied', while 41% were 'not very satisfied', and 12% were 'not satisfied at all'). The shortcomings of textbooks most frequently mentioned by the teachers were 'excessive complexity' and 'remoteness from life'. A few teachers wrote in the questionnaire that civics textbooks are too dogmatic, idealised, politicised or ideological, while problems and conflicts are missing from the textbooks. None of the teachers, however, explicitly mentioned any problems related to treatment of minorities, inter-ethnic relations, etc. in the textbooks.

3. Different starting points: the discourse of Estonian and Russian ABC-books

The first textbooks children encounter at school are ABC-books or reading primers. These teaching media establish the framework and starting points for subsequent socialisation. Ethno-political discourse in primers is usually limited to the construction of the reader's ethnic and national identity, the representation of different peoples, and state and cultural symbols. Primers reveal whether the socially approved version of society is monocultural or multicultural.

This analysis involves the two newest ABC-books in Estonian, both published in 1997 by the two leading textbook publishing houses, and two ABC-books in Russian, first published in 1993 and 1999, respectively. The primers for Russian schools were written by Russian-speaking authors, although an Estonian illustrated the one published in 1999.

The primers in Estonian contain very few instances of explicit ethno-political discourse. One ABC-book does not actively construct Estonian national identity – it is presented as something taken for granted, as the Given. For instance, the flag of Estonia is only represented in a small picture to 'anchor' the phonogram of 'FLAG'. It is implicitly assumed that most of the activities depicted in the primer take place in Estonia. The implied reader of the ABC-book is an Estonian: no minorities are either depicted or mentioned, and the typical home the reader has to identify with is an Estonian-type house in the countryside. It is implicitly assumed that the local community is monocultural: other peoples and cultures are either foreign ('Imre [a Hungarian boy] lives in Hungary'), or penetrate the reader's world on the fictional and intertextual level (e.g., Armenian and German folk songs, as well as literary pieces by European writers, are presented in the primer). Cultural symbols found in the primer are either 'global', Western (e.g., jeans), or Estonian.

Another Estonian primer is a bit more explicit in constructing the Estonian national identity and presenting cultural diversity. At the very beginning of the primer, the first strophe of the national anthem of Estonia is presented, accompanied by an illustration of the flag of Estonia being hoisted by two dwarf-children. The flag is depicted with *high modality* (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996: 163), and from the frontal angle – as a part of the reader's world and very real to him or her. It is explicitly stated that the activities take place in Estonia. Most of the personified characters have Estonian names (Ott, Muia, etc.), although some have Western (Yvonne, Felix, etc.) or Slavic names (Žanna, Šura). Characters with Slavic names are, however, animals (Žanna, the giraffe, and Šura, the bear) who live in the zoo (together with Felix, the hedgehog). Yvonne, on the other hand, is a fairy who comes from Lyon, France, and helps one of the main characters. The difference and distance between the implied reader and foreign or Slavic phenomena is made clear in the following piece: 'C, F, Q, Š, Z, Ž, W, X, and Y are foreign letters. You find them mostly in the names of distant countries and peoples'.

The discourse of the two Estonian primers is, thus, relatively ethnocentric. The implied reader is an Estonian. National identity is either taken for granted, or presented as uncontested by the reader. Cultural diversity is present in both primers; it is, however, mostly depicted as a distant, fictional or separated phenomenon. Slavic culture and characters are either not presented or appear in a less favourable context than Western (European) characters. These primers, published in 1997, perfectly reflect the phase of 'tacit separation' in inter-ethnic relations and media discourse in the mid-1990s; this phase was characterised by indifference and distance between Estonians and Russians (see Chapter 18).

The primers in Russian present a more promising starting point for primary political socialisation. The older ABC-book (first published in 1993) offers several levels of identification to its implied reader, a Russian-speaking child – with Estonia, with Russia, and with speakers of the mother tongue. Symbols of the two homelands are constructed and interpreted with care; this is indicative of the authors' assumption that none of the homelands is yet a part of the taken-for-granted reality for non-Estonian children. For instance, some Estonian national symbols are first presented in this Russian primer on the mythological, connotative level (cf. Barthes, 1995 [1972]) – the national flag, the swallow and the cornflower are presented as the symbols of Estonia. Thereafter the myth is deconstructed: a swallow and even a cornflower have been personified in the text – they speak like people and live their everyday lives. Towards the end of the book, the denotative and the connotative level are bound together and marked off at the same time: while a swallow, a cornflower and the national flag are presented in the picture *en bloc*, as the symbols forming the national myth, they are separated in the verbal text and brought to the denotative level – children are encouraged to form sentences such as 'A swallow built a nest', 'A cornflower grew in the rye', or 'Estonia – a maritime state'. It is probable that the authors have not tried to deconstruct the Estonian national myth through the symbolic processes just described; rather, they have tried to reconstruct it for a Russian-speaking child. This, in fact, also applies to Russian cultural symbols – white birch trees and Matrioshka dolls.

This ABC-book is the most multicultural of the primers analysed in this study. In addition to Russians and Estonians, seven other nationalities (Latvians, Lithuanians, Finns, Americans, Scots, Eskimos, and Ethiopians) are represented. Most of them, though, are depicted in the context of their home countries. Some Estonian children are depicted interacting with Russian children (having a meal together and playing). Identification with Estonians and other Baltic nations is, however, not fostered: the represented Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians are seen from a 'far social distance' (a medium shot), and they do not look at the viewer. Thus, the Baltic children do not 'demand' that the viewer identify with them; they are presented just as a source of information (cf. Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996: 124, 130).

The newer Russian primer, published in 1999, is more introverted and cautious. A multi-levelled or 'hyphenated national identity' (Therborn, 1995: 242) of Estonian-Russians is not actively constructed. Estonia as the homeland is tacitly present in the primer through simple representation of the national flag, an Estonian-type home in the countryside, and some other cultural symbols. Most of the characters are Russians; a few Estonian names are present in the verbal discourse. Only once is an Estonian boy depicted interacting with a Russian-speaking boy, yet identification with the Estonian is not fostered. In addition to numerous intertextual references to Russian writers and fairy-tales, a few Western fictional characters are presented.

Russian ABC-books are, thus, more multicultural than Estonian primers. Moreover, interaction and co-operation between Estonian and Russian characters is depicted in Russian primers while the same cannot be said of Estonian ABC-books. The older Russian primer does more to construct the different levels of Estonian-Russian identity; in the newer Russian ABC-book, Estonia as the homeland is already tacitly assumed, and Russian cultural and literary symbols are frequently employed to reinforce the ethnic identity.

4. Towards tolerance and a civic nation: the discourse of civic education textbooks

The role of civic education textbooks is to prepare pupils for participation in a civic society and to construct their civic identity. In a multicultural society, civic education textbooks ought to foster mutual tolerance and respect among different ethnic groups, and help to form social competencies for reaching consensus on common interests. Ethno-political discourse in civics textbooks usually involves issues of citizenship, human and political rights, multiculturalism, and civic identity.

This analysis includes civic education textbooks (in Estonian and in Russian) for forms in which civics is taught as a compulsory subject: forms 4, 9, and 12. The textbooks in Russian have been translated from Estonian. To follow diachronic changes, the analysis starts from the oldest textbook in the sample.

The textbook for form 12, published in 1996, is more ethnocentric than any other Estonian educational medium analysed in this paper. Estonianness is presented with pride. It is emphasised that Estonia is a part of the Western civilisation and cultural area, while Russia is depicted as still maintaining her 'Eastern–Slavic–Byzantine–Golden-Horde orientation', i.e., Russia is presented as the Other. The nation-state is simultaneously constructed as both taken for granted and as an unattainable ideal. Ethnic minorities are mentioned relatively frequently, and two short articles are devoted to the topic. However, the authors have adopted a very restrictive definition of ethnic minorities: only ethnic groups that have lived **for a long period** in an area of a state are seen as ethnic minorities ('This means – late immigrants who belong to a foreign nationality are not treated as ethnic minorities'). Moreover, immigrants are seen as a problem, not only in Estonia but also in the rest of the world. The differences in the rights of citizens and non-citizens are brought up and emphasised. The citizenship policy of Estonia is legitimised through references to 'generally recognised international law' and some universal, 'general' principles and practices. The authors have taken a critical stance in regard to the Soviet Union and Russia in their use of strong evaluative expressions such as 'Great Russian chauvinism', 'occupational power', 'communism-minded' (about some Russian-speaking citizens), etc. These expressions have been either omitted or substituted for in the Russian version of the textbook.

In addition, the translator and the editor of the Russian version have modified the discourse in some other ways to make it more acceptable for their implied reader, a Russian-speaking pupil. Some instances of 'national self-glorification' (van Dijk et al., 1997: 172) of Estonians have been deleted. Differences between the Western and the Slavic civilisation and, hence, between Estonians and Russians are de-emphasised. The restrictive definition of ethnic minorities is maintained; however, issues of citizenship and minorities are dealt with more precisely. Occasionally this amounts to covert criticism of official policies. For instance, it is explicitly stated that Estonian laws enforce the differences in the rights of citizens and non-citizens; legitimising assertions are sometimes left out. Russian-speaking minorities other than Russians are also mentioned, which is not the case in the Estonian version. And last but not least, the very starting points of the two versions are different: on the front cover of the Estonian textbook, uniform, faceless people are depicted as if to say: 'A(n) (ideal) society is made up of homogenous people', while the front cover of the Russian textbook displays representatives of various races and nationalities ('We are different but this does not matter').

The textbook for form 9, published in 1997, pays more attention to issues of ethnic minorities and multiculturalism, though no separate articles are devoted to this topic. Ethnic minorities are named and depicted in institutional contexts (participating in a cultural society or taking the Estonian language exam) in black-and-white photographs. In the Estonian version, however, minorities are occasionally mentioned in concessive clauses ('Although these rights and freedoms are called civic and political rights, they are mostly given to non-citizens and foreigners as well'), as though they were second-class people. In a number of instances, the discourse is ethnocentric in its careless exclusions (e.g., 'politics … guarantees a life worthy of a human being to citizens'). Estonian national identity is taken for granted and reinforced through presentation of national symbols. As though echoing the standpoint expressed in the Estonian version of the twelfth-form textbook, the authors are quite critical of the Soviet Union and Russia, using strong vocabulary ('occupation', 'annexation', 'hegemony') in referring to the period when Estonia was a part of the Soviet Union. In this context we encounter an 'apparent concession' (van Dijk et al., 1997: 170): the 'social violence' Estonians suffered during the Soviet period is offered as an excuse for Russophobia among Estonians.

The implied reader of the Russian version of the textbook[2] is a Russian-speaking pupil whose parents presumably lack Estonian citizenship (e.g., 'you are preparing yourselves to become her full and equal citizens'; cf. the Estonian version: 'You will become a full and equal citizen of the Estonian Republic soon'). Identification with Estonia is fostered through the use of the pronoun 'our', occasionally in instances where the Estonian version of the textbook uses the adjective 'Estonian' instead. The discourse is carefully inclusive, and emphasises the interests of minority groups more often and without concessions (e.g., 'the right of minorities to protection', present in the Russian version, is not listed among civic and political rights in the Estonian version). The issues of integration, citizenship, human rights, etc. are dealt with more precisely and in a detailed way (e.g., the difference between assimilation and integration is explained in the Russian version). Occasionally the textbook is covertly critical of the citizenship policy of Estonia: as an intertextual example, the textbook uses an article entitled 'Estonia voted for the Constitution and against the enlargement of the circle of voters', taken from a Russian newspaper. The Estonian version uses an article, entitled 'The Constitution has been passed', taken from an Estonian daily instead. As in the case of the twelfth-form textbook, the Russian version differs from its Estonian counterpart in its omissions and euphemistic expressions, especially in dealing with inter-ethnic relations and the Soviet Union: words and phrases such as 'indigenous people', 'Russophobia', 'hegemony of the Soviet Union', 'deliberate politics of Russianisation', etc. are either left out or replaced by more neutral expressions.

The textbook for form 4, published in 1998, is the one most oriented to building a civic nation and fostering tolerance between different ethnic groups. National identity is reinforced through the presentation of national symbols in 'lived' and institutional contexts (flags on houses, on a boundary post, attached to a soldier's gun), and through simple, categorical sentences (e.g., 'Estonia is your homeland'). It is strongly presupposed that the reader is acquainted with the national symbols ('You know well our national flag and coat of arms') and knows the anthem of Estonia by heart. Frequent efforts are made to transmit the message that people are different and this is presented as a good thing. It is implied that Estonia is a multicultural society (a mulatto girl is twice depicted among her white peers in the photographs at the very beginning of the textbook). However, ethnic minorities are never named, which may be indicative of a strategy of ethnic distancing (van Dijk et al., 1997: 171). It is emphasised that understanding, tolerance and respect among neighbouring peoples and countries have to be mutual. Much attention is paid to human rights, with a strong emphasis on the fact that human rights are granted to everybody at birth. The differences in rights and obligations of citizens and non-citizens are explained objectively and without excessive emphasis. The textbook is imprecise, absolutist and overtly ethnocentric only once in its resolute argument 'The citizens of our state speak Estonian'.

The implied reader of the Russian translation of the textbook is a Russian-speaking child whose parents are Estonian citizens. The latter is presupposed in the sentence 'Your parents elected their representatives to the local self-government, [and] to the Parliament' (only Estonian citizens can participate in parliamentary elections). Non-citizens' children are, hence, discursively excluded. Some textual instances that presuppose fully internalised Estonian national identity have been left out (e.g., it is not presumed that a Russian-speaking child knows the anthem of Estonia by heart). The reader's ethnic and cultural background have been taken into consideration: the characters have either Slavic or international names, Estonian proverbs have been replaced by Russian counterparts, and the flag of Russia is placed as the second in the vertical row of the flags of the neighbouring countries of Estonia (it is placed as the fifth in the Estonian version). The problematic argument about the grasp of Estonian by all citizens is followed by a legitimising assertion 'This is our official language' that is missing from the Estonian version.

Conclusions

The analysis showed convincingly that Estonian primers and civic education textbooks are somewhat more ethnocentric, monocultural and exclusive than their Russian counterparts or translations. The implied reader of Estonian textbooks is an Estonian or a fully integrated representative of an ethnic minority (a child of Estonian citizens, for instance). The problems and existence of minorities are often ignored or treated with concessions. In this respect, Estonian textbooks represent the still dominant view of society, according to which the potential benefit for Estonia arising from the presence of minorities is not perceived (Kruusvall, 2000a). Some Estonian textbooks, though, in paying attention to ethnic minorities and the need for tolerance and mutual respect, follow pluralistic curricular aims (discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 12). In that respect, they represent the official version of society (the political project of integration).

The authors, translators, reviewers and editors of Russian textbooks have made conscious, deliberate efforts to meet the needs of their implied reader, a Russian-speaking pupil, and to support the interests of minorities. Russian textbooks are more inclusive and multicultural, less critical of the Soviet Union and Russia, and lay more emphasis on the construction of multiple – both ethnic and civic – identities. Older civics textbooks in Russian contain some instances of covert criticism in regard to the citizenship policy of Estonia.

We can observe a clear tendency among civic education textbooks: the newer the textbook, the more it corresponds to the democratic aims expressed in the National Curriculum (the twelfth-form textbook, the oldest and the most ethnocentric one, was written before the new curriculum was approved). Thus, the discourse in Estonian textbooks is quite conventional in relation to its institutional context. Moreover, the discourse in Estonian primers and civics textbooks roughly follows the changes in media discourse of the decade (see Chapter 18). The most ethnocentric textbook, published in 1996, is closest to the phase of rejection and mutual distrust that lasted until the mid-1990s. Estonian primers and the ninth-form civics textbook, all published in 1997, mirror the phase of 'tacit separation' in the mid-1990s, characterised by indifference and distance between Estonians and Russians. The fourth-form civics textbook from 1998, in emphasising the need for tolerance and mutual respect between different people, indicates the transition to the next phase of public discourse – orientation to integration.

We have to keep in mind that often multiculturalism, mutual tolerance and respect between different ethnic groups is merely a political or moral ideal, a façade, or the official norm to which 'lip service is routinely being paid' (van Dijk et al., 1997: 144). 'Value judgements and ideologies are usually "just" and the normal attitude is benevolent, but the lack of flexibility in the light of foreignness means that certain fundamental, but usually unconscious, patterns of thought break through – what we call mentality' (Selander, 1988; cited in Johnsen, 1993: 114–115). These patterns will change only when the dominant mentality of the society is inflected, and this seems to be taking place in Estonia (see Chapter 6).

Notes

1 Results from a pilot questionnaire survey with 42 respondents (14 Estonian and 28 Russian teachers of civic education from Tallinn and Ida-Virumaa), carried out in November 1999 by V. Kalmus.

2 Klara Hallik, a contributor to this book, reviewed the Russian version.

Appendix 5

List of textbooks analysed in Chapter 14, Ethno-Political Discourse in Estonian School Textbooks

ABC-books

Kivi, L. and Roosleht, M. (1997). *Aabits (ABC-Book)*. Tallinn: Koolibri, 112 p.
Makarev, I. (1999). *Bukvar (ABC-Book)*. Tallinn: Koolibri, 128 p.
Matsina, A., Parol, N. and Goretski, V. (1998 [1993]). *Azbuka (ABC-Book)*. Tallinn: Koolibri, 104 p.
Tungal, L., Hiiepuu, E. and Valter, E. (1997). *Aabits (ABC-Book)*. Vilnius: Avita, 152 p.

Civic education textbooks

Form 4

Mõttus, H. (1998). *Inimene ja ühiskond: 4. klassi õpik (A Human and Society: Textbook for Form 4)*. Tallinn: Koolibri, 55 p.
Mõttus, H. (1999). *Tchelovek i obshestvo (A Human and Society: Textbook for Form 4)*. Tallinn: Koolibri, 56 p.

Form 9

Möldre, L. and Toots, A. (1997). *Kodanikuõpetus: 8.–9. kl. (Civic Education: Forms 8–9)*. Tallinn: Koolibri, 192 p.
Toots, A., Möldre, L. and Zhiburtovich, V. (1998). *Grazhdanovedenie: IX klass (Civic Education: Form 9)*. Tallinn: Koolibri, 168 p.

Form 12

Peep, V. and Kama, P. (1996). *Ühiskonnaõpetus gümnaasiumile (Civic Education for Grammar School)*. Tallinn: Avita, 219 p.
Peep, V. and Kama, P. (1997). *Obshestvovedenie: utshebnik dlja gimnazii (Civic Education: A Textbook for Grammar School)*. Tallinn: Avita, 317 p.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

1. INTRODUCTION

[illegible]

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‘IS INTER-ETHNIC INTEGRATION POSSIBLE IN ESTONIA?’: ETHNO-POLITICAL DISCOURSE OF TWO ETHNIC GROUPS

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ABSTRACT. This article compares ethno-political discourse of pupils belonging to the majority and the minority groups in Estonia. The article also seeks to understand the role of different socialisers in ethno-political socialisation. The ninth-formers of an Estonian and a Russian school in Estonia wrote an essay on inter-ethnic integration after they had read the corresponding texts in their civics textbook. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with pupils representing different viewpoints. Within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis, 57 essays and 13 interviews are studied at several levels of discursive structure (topics, propositions, argument schemes, strategic moves, storytelling, style, and intertextuality). The analysis reveals a number of differences between the discourses by Estonian and Russian pupils. Intertextual analysis and the data obtained from the interviews suggest that pupils’ personal experiences and reflections, the media, some teachers, and family members play most important role in the process of ethno-political socialisation.

KEY WORDS: inter-ethnic integration, ethno-political socialisation, school textbooks, Estonia

1. INTRODUCTION

Different ethnic groups in a society tend to have different interpretations of history, and of historical and social justice. Such interpretations often serve as bedrock for different ideologies – ‘the basis of the social representations shared by members of a group’ (Van Dijk, 1998: 8). The most direct social counterpart of ideological representations and structures are group positions and relations (ibid., p. 161). Various ideologies and social practices (including inter-group relations) most probably ‘constitute each other in a “dialectical” process’ (ibid., p. 164). Ideologies and, thus, discursive interpretations of the past and the present definitely play an important role in the (re)production or challenge of inter-group relations in societies where social practices have recently changed, e.g. in societies where the formerly dominating ethnic group has lost its privileged position.

Estonia serves as an example of such societies. At the moment of the restoration of the country's independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, the Russian-speaking population (further referred to as 'Russians'[1]) was deprived of its hitherto privileged status as the dominant language group of the multinational empire, and became a numerous ethnic minority in the country with an ambition to restore its political position as a nation state. The status of ethnic Estonians, in turn, changed from that of a dominated minority to the titular group slightly outnumbering other linguistic communities in Estonia. Those social processes resulted from and contributed to ongoing symbolic and discursive struggles between the groups in the political and communicative spheres.

During ten years of the country's re-independence, the *integration* of one million ethnic Estonians and half a million Russians has been one of the most burning social as well as sociological problems in the society. Integration, defined as a process of political and social 'inclusion of the excluded', and their competitiveness in education and on the labour market (Heidmets and Lauristin, 2002: 324), is the aim of several research projects, social campaigns, and programmes financed by the Estonian state as well as international organisations. At the socio-cognitive level, integration means removing barriers that prevent the minority from participating in the local social and political life (ibid.), that is, achieving mutual understanding and tolerance between the majority population and immigrants.

The most important target group of integration programmes are young people, particularly schoolchildren. Youngsters acquire their ethnic beliefs and attitudes from many different sources and socialisers (e.g. family members, peers, the media, the school, personal inter-ethnic encounters, etc.). Among those agencies, the one most easily controlled by the state and the majority is the educational system, particularly comprehensive schools with their formal and hidden curricula, and educational media[2] (Kalmus and Pavelson, 2002). Ideas of multicultural education (Banks, 1992; Gutmann, 1996), which are becoming more and more prominent in Estonian educational discourses, demand that school textbooks, beginning from primers, were culturally inclusive (representing different ethnic groups in the society). More advanced textbooks, e.g. civics textbooks, should help to form democratic values and social competencies necessary for reaching consensus in common interests – tolerance, mutual respect, the ability to engage in respectful discourse with other cultures and identities, and readiness 'to deliberate about politically relevant disagreements' (Gutmann, 1996: 160).

Democratic, multicultural, ethnocentric, or any other norms and values in school textbooks are not, however, automatically internalised by pupils. Every individual interacts directly with a textbook or other media, and constructs his or her own meaning in the social processes of reading and learning (cf.

Buckingham, 1993; Iser, 1980; Taxel, 1989). The process of learning activates the knowledge and beliefs relevant to the concept, object, event, or actor to be learned about. The interpretation of the information to be learned, and the way in which it will be accepted, rejected or added to the structure of beliefs existing in one's mind, will depend on factors such as the similarity to existing knowledge and attitudes, the credibility and authority of the source, and the context of the situation (Grueneberg, 1991: 16-7).

Educational texts are normally used in a context where there is one person who knows the correct answer (the teacher) and others (the pupils) who are controlled and tested in relation to the correct answer (Selander, 1995: 12). Thus, the texts in school textbooks usually have greater 'authority' (Olson, 1989) than other texts open for meaning-making, which means that the potential for different interpretations is 'much less than infinite' (Buckingham, 1993: 270). In particular fields of knowledge, textbooks constitute the sole, and trusted, source of information, in which case they are most likely to affect factual beliefs of pupils. The same is not necessarily true about evaluative, or ideological, beliefs, especially when other available discourses provide pupils with alternative opinions. Ideological socialisation is a process of cumulative effects of various events, experiences and discourses, and textbook discourse is merely one of them.

I presume that the cumulative influence of socialising discourses largely manifests itself in individuals' discourse. Inferences about the availability of different discourses to pupils and their interpretations of their ideological meanings can be made by means of intertextual analysis and the comparison of pupils' discourses and other discourses (e.g. discourses in the media and textbooks) as forms of indirect reception analysis (cf. Fairclough, 1995; Jensen, 1991). Also, pupils may be directly asked in interviews whence they may have derived their beliefs about, say, ethnic relations in the society.

This study has two main aims. Firstly, I focus on the similarities and differences in the discourse by Estonian and Russian schoolchildren. The study is conducted within the general framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA; see Fairclough, 1995; Van Dijk, 1993). The earlier CDA research has been usually carried out in societies where power relations between the dominant and the dominated groups have been established and legitimated through discourse for a long time (e.g. Western Europe, North America, and Australia; see Van Dijk et al., 1997, for an overview). My analysis of ethno-political discourse by young members of the majority and the minority groups in a newly re-independent country offers quite a unique opportunity to see how power relations between the groups are being enacted and negotiated through discourse in a society where social structures have recently changed. I focus on aspects of the content and form of such discourse to reveal what discursive positions are being enacted by Estonian and Russian schoolchildren, whether and how those positions interact with each other in discourse, and what discursive strategies pupils use to act out those positions. Secondly, the paper seeks to understand the role of different socialisers (including school textbooks) and pupils' experiences in ethno-political socialisation, that is, in forming attitudes towards different ethnic groups in the society, and in setting up perspectives on inter-ethnic integration.

According to the principles of CDA, my own position has to be made explicit: I am in favour of multicultural democracy, and critical of any forms of ethnocentrism or chauvinism.

2. HISTORICAL AND DISCURSIVE CONTEXT OF INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS IN ESTONIA

2.1. Historical background of the current situation

Since the 13th century to 1918, representatives of foreign nations (mainly Germans, Swedes, Poles, and Russians) were executing the political and administrative power on the Estonian territory. During the first independent statehood in 1918-1940, Estonians realised their opportunity to act as a civic nation. Estonian laws provided ethnic minorities with one of the most extensive cultural autonomies in pre-war Europe, in spite of the fact that 'those minorities consisted mainly of representatives of the formerly dominant nations' (Lauristin and Heidmets, 2002: 20).

The Soviet occupation in 1940, the following German occupation in 1941-1944, and the involuntary membership of the Soviet Union until 1991 placed Estonians once more in the position of a suppressed nation in their own country. The Stalinist era (the 1940s) witnessed large-scale repression and deportation of Estonians to Siberia. Since the 1950s, almost half a million Russian-speaking people were settled in Estonia. According to the 2000 Population Census, Russians form 25.6 per cent of the population of Estonia, while 40.4 per cent of Russians are holding Estonian citizenship, 20.9 per cent are holding Russian citizenship, and 38.4 per cent are permanent residents without citizenship (2000 Population…, 2001). Russians have formed a strong, relatively closed community with its own social networks, leaders, media channels, schools, cultural life, and mentality. The restored Estonian state has been faced with a complicated task of introducing a democratic minority policy, while simultaneously creating political institutions of a nation state (Lauristin and Heidmets, 2002: 21).

2.2. Academic and political discourses

The historical events have evoked various discursive interpretations and meta-narratives in different institutional contexts. In Estonian academic discourse (and exceptionally in the works by foreign scholars), de-historisation of Estonian nation-building has been unpopular: linguistic constructions such as ‘post-imperial state’ or ‘post-colonial state’ are used not only rhetorically but also conceptually (Ruutsoo, 2002: 39). What concerns suggestions for practical policy-making, almost all historical narratives and arguments related to the Soviet occupation, the repression of individuals, the deportation, etc. are, however, disfavoured by scholars (although not by politicians) (ibid.).

Estonian political discourse of the first half of the 1990s was subjected to the meta-narrative of restitution, which idealises the pre-war republic with its ethnic composition (a large majority of Estonians and comparatively small minority groups), as the ‘golden era’. The lack of any constructive ideas about how to deal with the real situation led to more or less intentional ‘official silence’ in terms of the goals of the state minority policy. Not until February 1998 when the Estonian Government issued its first political statement concerning Estonian minority policy. The Government defined integration as its central political goal and declared that the governmental programme, supporting the integration process, should be elaborated and financed (Lauristin and Heidmets, 2002: 25).

2.3. Developments in the media discourse

The media discourse of the decade of re-independence can be characterised in terms of three developmental phases. In the first half of the decade, media representations of inter-ethnic relations in Estonia cultivated distrust and polarised images (Kõuts and Tammpuu, 2002). Linz and Stepan (1996) have argued that the ideology of a nation state prevalent during this period of re-independence brought along a set of descriptive terms whose discursive effect was to create political polar identities and work against the formation of multiple complementary identities for Russians. The next phase in inter-ethnic relations, the mid-1990s, has been called as ‘tacit separation’ (Heidmets, 1998), characterised by indifference and distance between Estonians and Russians. The depiction of Russians in public discourses became more neutral in that period, although the Estonian media still exploited ‘ideological and ethnic stereotypes born during the mythological phase of political culture’ (Vihalemm et al., 1997: 239). The current phase of media discourse reveals growing tolerance and recognition towards Russians in Estonia, and strong orientation to integration, while some ethnic prejudices have survived in more implicit forms (Kõuts and Tammpuu, 2002).

2.4. Trends in public opinion as an evidence of the existence of different discursive communities

The latest monitoring of inter-ethnic integration in Estonia (Kruusvall, 2000) revealed that about one fifth of Estonians (21 per cent) carry a strong exclusive attitude towards Russians living in Estonia. That group is relatively equally distributed among all age, educational, and income groups. This indicates that repelling attitudes among Estonians probably appear in 'clutches' or discursive communities (families, friends, territorial or work-related communities, etc.). The data also reveal that non-exclusive attitudes towards Russians are related to the communicative level of integration – interpersonal contacts with Russians that, in turn, are related to the frequency of watching Russian television and the knowledge of Russian (Kruusvall, 2002). This leads to a hypothesis that the formation of non-ethnocentric attitudes is dependent on the individual's participation in significant discursive communities that include different voices and discourses.

2.5. Textbooks as reflections of the majority discourse

Numerous studies, which have focused on ethno-political discourse in school textbooks, tend to support the argument that, more often than not, textbooks reproduce a dominant discourse, which legitimises the opinions, attitudes, ideologies, and beliefs of the majority (see, e.g. Grueneberg, 1991; Sleeter and Grant, 1991; Wood, 1981). History textbooks, for instance, often define and create an enemy for national identity construction. The historiography of the pre-war republic and the Soviet Estonia presented Baltic Germans as the conquerors and exploiters of the Estonian peasantry (Lagerspetz, 1999). Some history textbooks from the 1990s replace Baltic Germans with a new enemy – the Soviet rule and everything connected with it. Russians in Estonia are treated as the remains of the Soviet rule in those textbooks. The most popular interpretative scheme, however, is to ignore the issue of the Russian minority in Estonia: most authors of contemporary history textbooks present Estonia as an exclusively monocultural society (Ümarik, 2001).

Research on ABC-books and civics textbooks published in the 1990s has shown that ethno-political discourse in those textbooks is scarce, relatively ethnocentric, and culturally exclusive (Kalmus, 2002). The implied reader of the textbooks in Estonian is an Estonian or a fully integrated representative of an ethnic minority. Similarly to history textbooks, the existence and problems of minorities are often ignored, or treated with concessions. In this respect, the Estonian versions of the textbooks reflect the currently dominant view on the society, according to which many Estonians do not realise how the presence of minorities could potentially benefit the country (Kruusvall, 2000).

Diachronic changes in the textbooks discourse reveal that the civics textbooks are relatively conventional in relation to their institutional context: the newer the textbook, the more it corresponds to democratic aims expressed in the National Curriculum from 1996. The most ethnocentric textbook in the sample was written before the curriculum was approved. Moreover, the discourse in Estonian ABC-books and civics textbooks follows, with certain inertia, the changes in the media discourse of the last decade. The most ethnocentric textbook, published in 1996, is closest to the phase of ‘distrust and polarised images’ in the Estonian media that lasted until the mid-1990s. Estonian textbooks from 1997 mirror the phase of ‘tacit separation’ (Heidmets, 1998) in the mid-1990s. A textbook from 1998, emphasising the need for tolerance and mutual respect between people of different nationalities, indicates the transition to the next phase of public discourse – orientation to integration.

The Russian translations of civics textbooks employ a number of euphemisms and omissions to mitigate the discourse for Russian-speaking pupils. The textbooks in Russian are more inclusive and multicultural, less critical of the Soviet Union and Russia, and lay more emphasis on the construction of multiple – both ethnic and civic – identities. This can be explained by the fact that the translators and some of the reviewers and editors of those textbooks belong to Russian ethnicity and are thus more observant of unintentional symbolic violence in the original versions of the textbooks. Moreover, the Russian translations were published one year after the Estonian originals. The media monitoring has shown (Kõuts and Tammpuu, 2002) that one year, beginning from the mid-1990s, is a crucial space of time in the development of public discourse on inter-ethnic integration in Estonia.

3. DATA AND METHOD

3.1. Data corpus

The corpus consists of the essays by and interviews with a sample of the ninth-formers (aged 14 and 15) of one Estonian and one Russian school in Tartu, the second biggest city in Estonia. The selected schools are typical of the city and similar to each other in terms of the number and the average academic proficiency of pupils. A total of 57 pupils (36 in the Estonian and 21 in the Russian school who made up 43 per cent of the ninth-formers in those schools) wrote an essay ‘Is integration of different peoples possible in Estonia? If yes, what needs to be done to achieve this?’. Since we were interested in finding out whether school textbooks play any role in ethno-political socialisation, we conducted the study[3] after the pupils had gone through the texts on inter-ethnic integration in their civics textbook[4] (in December 2000 in the Russian school and in January 2001 in the Estonian school). We explained to the pupils that ‘integration’ means reaching mutual understanding and tolerance between different ethnic groups. In addition, we conducted semi-structured interviews with 13 pupils whose essays represented different viewpoints. The interview questions focused on the sources of the ideas the respondents had expressed in the essays, their strategies of the use of the textbook, and their habits of media consumption.

3.2. Methodological framework and research questions

The analysis is conducted within the broad framework of CDA that has proved valuable for the analysis of ethnocentric and racist discourses. Earlier discourse studies conducted in this paradigm have mainly examined the ways the dominant groups enact and reproduce their power through text and talk (see, e.g. Van Dijk et al., 1997; Wodak, 2001; Wodak and Matouschek, 1993). The historical context of inter-ethnic relations in Estonia conditions somewhat different research problem: How do Estonians as the majority (and the formerly dominated group) and Russians as the minority (and the formerly privileged group) enact and negotiate power relations through discursive practices? More concretely, due to the nature of the data, I focus on the following questions: What do Estonian and Russian pupils write and talk about inter-ethnic integration? How do they ground their arguments? What discursive positions do they write and speak from? Do the positions interact with each other in discourse? What discursive strategies do pupils use to act out those positions? Finally, what texts, discourses and experiences do they draw upon in the constitution of their discourse?

3.3. Discourse structures to be studied

Since the corpus of texts in this study is relatively large, I start with content level analysis to reveal what *topics* and *propositions* related to inter-ethnic integration are represented in the pupils’ discourse. The topics of discourse represent what a discourse ‘is all about’, thus embodying most important information of a discourse (cf. Van Dijk, 2001: 102). Topics as higher-level categories usually comprise lower-level sub-topics and propositions, the analysis of which allows to observe, for instance, what aspects of the problem are treated and what is left out. This, in turn, enables to see whether the argumentation by a particular group suffers from *global bias*, that is, ‘the result of a neglection of global aspects or dimensions in the controversial issue’ (Kienpointner and Kindt, 1997: 558). (Pupils’ essays, of course, cannot be criticised in the same way as scientific argumentation. Therefore, I interpret a neglection of an aspect of integration as global bias only if the aspect is discussed more extensively by members of the other group.) Global bias derives from the discursive position of language users and may serve the strategic aim of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation.

Two main topics in the essays ('Possibility of inter-ethnic integration in Estonia' and 'What needs to be done for integration?') were determined by the task given to pupils. Therefore it makes sense to analyse the meaning content of the essays mostly at the level of *propositions*, here defined as general assertions usually explained or justified by facts or arguments.

The further analysis of argumentation in the essays is informed by the general principles of the pragma-dialectical theory of Van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1992), which postulates that any argumentative discourse is characterised by the opposition of argumentative roles. The purpose of argumentation is, accordingly, to resolve the difference of opinion. The analysis of propositions in pupils' essays revealed two pairs of discursive positions, whose proponents are probably more or less aware of the existence of other positions. I proceed with the analysis of *argument schemes* to reveal what schemes concur with those discursive positions, and whether and how the positions interact with each other in arguments and their counter-arguments. I treat argument schemes in the Aristotelian sense of *topoi* (Aristotle, 1984a, 1984b), by focusing on the guarantee function of argument schemes. This function allows to equate *topoi* with inference warrants in the sense of Toulmin (1958): 'they guarantee the plausibility of the transition from the premises to the conclusion' (Kienpointner and Kindt, 1997: 562). Since *topoi* are often used in an intertextual way, being pursued from one domain to the next, the analysis of such 'life of arguments' (cf. Titscher et al., 2000: 158) allows to make inferences, *inter alia*, about significant agents of ideological socialisation.

Typical structures in ethnocentric or racist discourse are *argumentative and local strategic moves* such as *apparent denial*[5], *apparent concession*[6], *transfer*[7], and *reversal*[8], which serve as parts of the overall strategies of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation (cf. Van Dijk et al., 1997: 170). Moreover, they enable speakers or writers to convey prejudice while simultaneously seeking to disguise it for the sake of political correctness or discursive norm-respect (cf. Wodak and Matouschek, 1993: 239). The analysis of such moves may reveal pupils' underlying opinions and attitudes about the other groups. Moreover, it allows to find out to what extent young people at the age of 14 to 15 have been socialised to the discursive norms of political correctness.

Partly in parallel to other structures, I pay attention to *storytelling*. Telling stories about negative actions by others enables speakers or writers to assign guilt or responsibility and to make evaluations based on 'objective facts'. Moreover, this discursive strategy allows language users to present themselves as free of prejudice or even as victims of 'reverse' prejudice (cf. Wodak and Matouschek, 1993: 239). Different ways and styles of storytelling (narrating about one's own or others' experiences, using more or less overt accusation) are indicative of pupils' discursive position.

The next discourse structures to be analysed are some *stylistic features*. Style can be defined as ‘the variable expression of meanings as a function of context’ (Van Dijk et al., 1997: 171), which means that style varies depending on the speaker’s or writer’s discursive position and the *context model*, that is, the language user’s mental model of the communicative situation in which the current discourse is being produced (Van Dijk, 1998: 82). Stylistic features are among the major means for the communication of ethnic opinions, and play a significant part in the overall strategies of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. I focus on three aspects of style: the use of *pronouns*, *word selection*, and the use of *active or passive sentences*.

By the use of *pronouns* (*we* and *they*, in particular, but also *you* and *I* in some contexts), speakers or writers can construct identities, draw or erase borders between groups, and stress social distance or resentment against the other groups (cf. Van Dijk et al., 1997: 171). The use of the pronoun ‘they’ in situations where the name of the group would have been more appropriate may sometimes serve the purpose of avoiding blaming the (majority) group explicitly.

The *selection of words*, whether formal or informal, neutral or emotionally loaded, straight or mitigated, signals the speaker’s or writer’s attitudes about the other groups, as well as her context model of the situation. Words are also powerful means in the strategies of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation.

The use of *active or passive sentences* allows the speaker or writer to show or hide agency and causality (Fairclough, 1989: 124-5). This, in turn, is indicative of her discursive position, and forms a part in the strategies of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation.

The next discursive feature to be looked at is *manifest intertextuality*, particularly *discourse representation* (Fairclough, 1992: 118-20). This analytical focus enables me to trace the references to different texts and discourses in the pupils’ discourse. This, in turn, allows to make inferences about the relevance of the corresponding socialisers and experiences in the cumulative process of ethno-political socialisation. To obtain a closer interpretative insight into that process, I provide a detailed analysis of two cases with specific emphasis on intertextuality.

The limits of space do not allow me to provide a systematic analysis of any other discourse structures at the corpus level. In case of some excerpts and the detailed analysis of two cases, I pay attention to some other relevant structures such as enthymemes, some rhetorical structures (metaphors, similes, etc.), adverbs, etc.

4. THE PUPILS' DISCOURSE

4.1. Topics and propositions

Table 1 presents the absolute frequencies of propositions in the pupils' essays (few propositions posed by just one pupil are omitted). In the following analysis, I focus, due to the limits of space, mainly on those propositions that reveal crucial differences in the discursive positions enacted by Estonian and Russian pupils, and allow making inferences about global bias in their argumentation.

Topic 1: Possibility of inter-ethnic integration in Estonia. The analysis revealed that Russian pupils expressed, in general, somewhat more optimistic and pro-integration views than their Estonian peers. In proportional terms, 62 per cent of Russians vs. 44 per cent of Estonians believed that inter-ethnic integration is possible in Estonia. Five pupils in the Estonian school (14 per cent) conceded a potentiality of only partial integration. Their main argument was that there will always be ethnocentric or racist people among Estonians or foreigners who do not accept the idea of integration. That type of argument was employed by only one Russian schoolboy who denied possibility of integration by making an allusion to Estonians' conspiratory nationalism. One of the most striking findings is the share of Estonian pupils (14 per cent) who did not consider integration possible under any conditions. Most of them used causal argument schemes oriented towards the past to ground their proposition (see also Section 4.2).

Topic 2: Restrictions to integration. The discursive positions of young Estonians and Russians departed clearly in imposing conditions or restrictions to integration. A part of Estonian schoolchildren took the position of a small vulnerable nation whose survival, security, and the majority status in its own country has to be guaranteed. A great number of foreigners in the country was presented as a potential existential threat.

> (1)
> And if more foreigners start to come here, then what will remain of us, Estonians? Shall we die out like the dinosaurs did? … Other ethnicities should comprehend Estonians and understand us, and, at the same time, they should try to become more melted into our society. They should not ~~want~~ try to show themselves different from us. (EG20[9])

This discursive position can be called that of *endangered majority*, in case of which a newly empowered titular nation in a post-colonial country is still presenting itself as threatened by the formerly dominant ethnic group. In Example 1, that argumentative position is rhetorically emphasised by two

TABLE 1. Topics and propositions in the essays by Estonian and Russian pupils

Topics (T) and propositions (P)	Estonian pupils n = 36	Russian pupils n = 21
T 1: Possibility of inter-ethnic integration in Estonia		
P 1.1: Integration is (probably) possible	16	13
P 1.2: Integration is partly possible	5	-
P 1.3: Integration is possible in the future / under certain conditions	9	5
P 1.4: Integration is by no means possible	5	1
T 2: Restrictions to integration		
P 2.1: Estonians must retain the status of majority (there must always be more Estonians than foreigners in Estonia)	5	-
P 2.2: Estonians must retain their culture	-	2
P 2.3: Foreigners must be harmless to the society (there must be no criminals, alcoholics, or gays among foreigners)	3	-
T 3: Obstacles to / problems with integration		
P 3.1: Foreigners are not willing to learn Estonian (to integrate)	5	-
P 3.2: There are not enough (cheap) opportunities for learning Estonian	2	2
P 3.3: Estonians are intolerant / prejudiced against foreigners	7	4
P 3.4: Estonians and foreigners are intolerant towards each other	6	2
P 3.5: Estonia is too small	2	-
T 4: What needs to be done for integration?		
P 4.1: Laws must be changed (to support integration, to guarantee equal rights to all ethnic groups)	3	2
P 4.2: The state should give material support (e.g. a free flat) to foreigners	2	4
P 4.3: The state should raise the level of economic development, welfare, and order in Estonia	-	6
P 4.4: The state should create more (cheap or free) opportunities for foreigners to learn Estonian	1	5
P 4.5: International relations (between Estonia and Russia) should be improved	4	-
P 4.6: Foreigners should be employed (not discriminated on the labour market)	-	3
P 4.7: (Russian) schools should foster integration	3	-
P 4.8: There should be more opportunities to use Russian (in shops, schools, universities)	-	5
P 4.9: Attitudes of both Estonians and foreigners should change / be changed	5	2
P 4.10: Estonians should become more tolerant towards foreigners	6	5
P 4.11: Foreigners should make an effort (to learn the Estonian language and culture and/or change their attitudes)	8	3

parallel rhetorical questions and a drastic *simile* (to 'die out like the dinosaurs'). That kind of emotional micro context serves to justify the author's imperative, rather assimilation-oriented, proposition at the end of the essay.

Few Estonian pupils enact the discursive position of endangered majority through another proposition (P 2.3), according to which any deviance among foreigners (but not among Estonians) is presented as clear and present danger to the society. Those children *presuppose* that there are illegals, criminals, etc. among foreigners. Excerpt 2 represents the most extreme case of that type of ethnocentrically selective discourse of deviance.

> (2)
>
> [I] would not want all kind of chauvinists, soakers (unemployed) and loafers in our beloved Estonia! ... HIV-positive gays should be arrested and deported, irrespective of nationality (except Estonians). (EB17)

Proposition 2.2, presented by a couple of Russian pupils, reveals the discursive position of *superior minority*, in which case representatives of the post-colonial diaspora of a big nation enact their 'cultural superiority'. Due to the actual minority status of the group in the society, that discursive position is predominantly enacted through implicit assumptions (Examples 3-6).

> (3)
>
> However, one must not force [integration] by any means. Estonia has to retain her culture, language. ... not to borrow everything from Russians. ... It's better for Estonians in an Estonian school, but for Russians in a Russian [school] because Russians have more culture – many authors in literature. (RG4)

Excerpt 3 contains three *enthymemes* or incomplete syllogisms that omit one or more logical components to be supplied by the audience from the premises in their own belief system. In creating enthymemes, authors reveal their 'ideology or "implicit philosophy" about the nature of reality, the nature of their community, and their conception of appropriate social relations' (Gill and Whedbee, 1997: 171-2; cf. Van Eemeren et al., 1997). The hidden logical coherence in Excerpt 3 is reconstructed in (4), (5), and (6); implicit parts are given in brackets. The implicit ideological assumptions in these enthymemes form, most probably, a firm basis of shared beliefs among chauvinistically-minded Estonian Russians, especially in building and reception of arguments against the necessity to learn Estonian.

(4)

Premise 1: [A bigger nation who has more world-famous writers has also more superior culture.]

Premise 2: Russians [are bigger nation and they] have more [world-famous] writers.

Conclusion: Russians have more [superior] culture.

(5)

Premise 1: [In the process of integration a smaller and culturally inferior nation will lose its culture and language by borrowing them from a bigger nation.]

Premise 2: [Estonians are smaller and culturally inferior than Russians.]

Conclusion: In the process of integration Estonians would lose their culture and language by borrowing them from Russians.

(6)

Premise 1: It is desirable that [both] Estonians [and Russians] retained their [different] culture[s].

Premise 2: [Only a segregated school system can transmit respective cultures.]

Conclusion: It is desirable to retain a segregated school system in Estonia.

Topic 3: Obstacles to integration. The integration problems described by Estonian and Russian pupils converge upon the language barrier and attitude problems. The same difficulties were most frequently related to integration both in the Estonian as well as in the Russian language press in 1999 to 2001 (Kõuts and Tammpuu, 2002).

The line of argumentation in Estonian and Russian essays is, however, quite different. The overall argumentative discourse of both parties suffers from *global bias*. Russian pupils mention the lack of cheap and convenient opportunities to learn Estonian (P 3.2), and neglect the problem of many Russians' unwillingness to acquire the language of a small nation (P 3.1). They are also less willing than Estonians to concede ethnocentric attitudes in their own group (P 3.4). Instead, Russian pupils tend to accuse Estonians of prejudice and intolerance (P 3.3). However, they do it implicitly rather than explicitly by using storytelling, passive voice, the pronoun 'they', or Russian equivalents of indefinite pronouns (see Excerpts 14, 18, and 19). That sort of argumentation is indicative of covert strategies of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. In those propositions, Russian pupils, nevertheless, implicitly admit their minority status and seek for support and impartial treatment from the side of majority to overcome obstacles to integration. The discursive position related to Propositions 3.2-3.4 may, thus, be called that of *reconciled minority*.

Estonian pupils, in turn, tend to blame Russians for not knowing the Estonian language (P 3.1), while the difficulties of language learning are conceded by only two Estonians (P 3.2). A number of Estonian children explicitly admit the existence of ethnic intolerance, either among Estonians (P 3.3) or between the groups (P 3.4). Estonian pupils tend to justify ethnocentric attitudes of the in-group, often by using causal argument schemes oriented towards the past (Example 7; see also Excerpts 9 and 10). In those cases, Estonians write either from the discursive position of *endangered majority* or that of already *established majority*, whose negative attitudes towards minority are to be strategically excused.

> (7)
> But Estonians do not tolerate Russians because they made war against Estonians with their whole army. They took us under their control... (EB32)

The discursive position of *endangered majority* reveals itself also in Proposition 3.5: a couple of Estonians argue that Estonia is too small to integrate a great number of different people.

Topic 4: What needs to be done for integration? Estonian and Russian pupils have some common ideas about possible solutions to integration problems – improving laws (P 4.1), giving material support (e.g. a free flat) to immigrants (P 4.2), and changing the attitudes of Estonians and foreigners (P 4.9 and 4.10). Other propositions, however, reveal differences in Estonians' and Russians' discourse.

Russian pupils are more inclined to argue for measures to be taken by others (the state and Estonians). This strategy enables to show oneself as free of responsibility and to implicitly blame the others for inactivity and carelessness. Relatively few Russians admit that foreigners themselves should make an effort – to learn the Estonian language and culture (P 4.11) or change their attitudes, too (P 4.9).

Under this topic, Russians' discourse accommodates two argumentative positions. On the one hand, they write from the position of *superior minority*, which reveals itself in Propositions 4.3 and 4.8. By demanding that the government should improve the economic situation, welfare, and order, Russian pupils imply that Estonia is less developed and, hence, inferior than some other countries, including the homeland of foreigners (see Excerpt 8). The appeal for more opportunities to use Russian in shops, schools, and universities is in line with implicit ideological assumptions reconstructed in Examples 4-6, which lead to the conclusion that representatives of a big nation should have a right to use their language in public domains of a smaller country.

> (8)
> The state should make the country comfortable and cosy so that it would remind non-citizens their homeland. (RG20)

Propositions 4.4, 4.6 and 4.11 in Russians' essays, on the other hand, manifest the discursive position of *reconciled minority*. Some Russian pupils acknowledge the need to learn the national language of Estonia (P 4.11), while others expect the state to create more opportunities for it in the first place (P 4.4). Three Russian pupils emphasise the need for non-discriminating labour market policy (P 4.6). (The problem of the higher risk of unemployment among Russians is, as an instance of global bias, neglected by Estonian pupils.)

Estonians' suggestions for fostering integration mostly manifest the position of *established majority*. The discursive position of *endangered majority* reveals itself partly in Propositions 4.5 and 4.11 (stated explicitly in Excerpt 9).

> (9)
>
> To my opinion [integration] is not possible. ... Because I have heard that Russians are discriminated against and Finns are not respected either. ... Russians are not wanted in Estonia because they have conquered Estonia or smashed [it] at the point of the sword. ... In order to make integration possible, one must get security from that state that the state would not strike a knife into our back. We are most afraid of Russia ... Russia could be more friendly to us and the Russians here could be more friendly. Because of the Russians here I have a nasty feeling about the whole Russia. (EB25)

Summary. The analysis of propositions revealed two pairs of typical discursive positions in the essays by Estonian and Russian pupils: established majority vs. reconciled minority, and endangered majority vs. superior minority. The first pair of positions expresses the actual social relations between the two groups, and is manifested explicitly in the essays. The latter pair of positions reflects, on the Russians' side, the implicit conception of appropriate social relations shared by a part of Estonian Russians. That conception, rooted in the past rather than in the present, is expressed implicitly through hidden assumptions. Estonian pupils, however, expose the position of endangered majority explicitly to justify restrictive minority policies.

The analysis revealed instances of global bias in Estonians' as well as Russians' argumentation. In both cases, the tendency can be seen as a part of the overall strategy of positive self-presentation – unfavourable characteristics of the in-group or the (historical) homeland tend to be neglected.

4.2. Argument schemes

Pupils use mainly four types of logical argument schemes in their essays: causal schemes oriented towards the past, schemes containing part-whole relationships, schemes of comparison, and causal schemes oriented towards the future.

Causal schemes oriented towards the past. Those schemes present past events (the Soviet occupation, the massive deportation of Estonians, etc.) as the cause of the current state of affairs (inter-ethnic intolerance or Estonians' ethnocentrism; cf. Kienpointner and Kindt, 1997: 562). Causal schemes oriented towards the past are employed by Estonian pupils (e.g. Excerpts 7, 9, and 10), being presented either from the discursive position of *endangered majority* or that of *established majority*. Four of those five Estonians who strongly rejected any possibilities for integration justified their proposition by such schemes (e.g. Excerpt 9). Schemes oriented towards the past mostly comprise the argumentative move of *transfer* (not us, but they, are responsible for inter-ethnic intolerance) or *victim-agent reversal* (not they, but we, are the victims), sometimes manifesting the implied argumentative interaction with Russians (Excerpt 10).

> **(10)**
> Estonians are angry at Russians because Russians deported many Estonians to Russia during the war. Russians say that they have been treated badly in Estonia. Why, it is just the other way round. (EB22)

It is noteworthy that causal schemes oriented towards the past occur also in the ninth form civics textbook used by the pupils (see Section 4.3), as well as in some textbooks of Estonian history. Obviously, those argument schemes help to construct a suitable image of the 'enemy' and to justify xenophobic attitudes of Estonians.

Pupils in the Russian school do not expose any causes for the current state of affairs. Only one Russian girl who studies in the Estonian school[10] makes a reference to historical events (see Excerpt 17). In belonging to a discursive community of Estonians, she is aware of their frequently used arguments and tries to understand Estonians' ethnocentrism. She, however, avoids naming the people (Russians) against whom Estonians 'had to fight'.

Schemes containing part-whole relationships. In this case, properties of parts (some Russians, Estonian Russians) are transferred to the whole (all Russians, Russia) or vice versa (cf. Kienpointner and Kindt, 1997: 565). Those schemes, too, are employed only by Estonian pupils, and concur with the position of endangered majority. In Excerpt 9, for instance, the author transfers his negative attitude towards Estonian Russians to Russia as the whole, after having previously justified Estonians' Russophobia by referring to Russia's past military activities and potential aggression.

Some Estonian pupils, by stating or implying that all foreigners are not similar, present counter-arguments to part-whole relationships (see, e.g. the analysis of Case 2 below). Those pupils, representing the position of established majority, enter into an intertextual argumentative dialogue with the defensive position of endangered majority.

Schemes of comparison. Those schemes rely on similarities or differences between entities (cf. Kienpointner and Kindt, 1997: 565), often containing an inference rule called 'rule of justice' by Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969). According to that rule, similar cases or entities have to be treated in the same way. The rule of justice is employed by several Estonian pupils to ground the proposition that Russians should learn the Estonian language: those pupils argue that immigrants, as a rule, have to acquire the national language of the state they live in. In those cases, Estonians write from the discursive position of established majority, joining in implied argumentative interaction with

Russians' position of superior minority (according to which there should be more opportunities to use Russian in Estonia).

Estonian pupils writing from the position of endangered majority use a strategy counteracting appeals to the rule of justice: they emphasise that Estonia is smaller compared with other countries and, thus, not able to let in any more foreigners. That kind of argumentation serves as a response to the proposition that there should be even more Russians and other peoples in Estonia. That suggestion, made by a Russian girl representing the position of superior minority, is grounded by another rule of justice: 'You know, Estonians, too, live not only in Estonia' (RG10).

Causal schemes oriented towards the future. That kind of arguments are often instances of the general scheme of argumentation called 'pragmatic argument' by Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969). According to that scheme, an action is evaluated depending on its positive or negative consequences (cf. Kienpointner and Kindt, 1997: 566).

Pragmatic arguments are used exclusively by pupils in the Estonian school who support integration. Both the position of established majority as well as that of endangered majority are represented in those arguments. As the main positive consequences of integration, pupils mention the prevention of war (see also Case 2), the accession of Estonia to the NATO or the European Union (Excerpt 11), creating positive image of Estonia, and handling foreign labour power to be imported in the future due to the negative growth in population. Except the prevention of war, all those issues were treated excessively in the Estonian media prior to our study. Thus, those arguments can be seen as indirect intertextual links to mediated political discourses.

> **(11)**
> If we want to get into the European Union (super stuff), Estonia has to be ready to help people to integrate. (EB17)

Summary. Estonian pupils use significantly more logical argument schemes than their Russian peers. This may be due to the point that Russians, in writing from the position of reconciled minority, take the necessity of integration for granted, and build their essays on implicit assumptions and concrete suggestions rather than on logical argumentation. The discursive position of superior minority can neither, due to the actual power relations in the society, be argued for explicitly. Estonian pupils, in writing from the position of (newly) established majority, need to justify their standpoints for themselves as well as for their readers. It is noteworthy that ethnocentric Estonians tend to orient their arguments towards the past or the present by using intertextual references to history, part-whole relationships, and schemes of comparison, while pro-integration pupils tend to employ future-oriented arguments that occur also in mediated political discourses.

4.3. Argumentative and local strategic moves

Several Estonian pupils use well-known argumentative and strategic moves in their essays. For instance, the author of Excerpt 12 begins with a classical *apparent denial*, proceeds with *storytelling* by using her personal experience as justification, and concludes with another denial and a generalised moralising statement (the indefinite pronouns 'one' and 'you' serve to avoid naming Russians and to add validity to the argument as a universal truth).

> **(12)**
> I personally do not consider any nationality less important or inferior than other [nationalities]. ... However, some Russians act more arrogantly than it would be necessary. For instance, I went shopping with my sister when we were visiting our relatives at Kohtla-Järve [a town where the majority of population are Russians]. ... A shop assistant asked something in Russian but I did not understand. Instead of learning Estonian in Estonia and trying to explain the matter peacefully or calling someone for help, the shop assistant rolled her eyes and made such a sour face that when I thought about it again, I lost my appetite. If a person of another nationality lives in Estonia, I have nothing against it. Let him/her live. However, one should take into account that you have to merge to the culture of your neighbourhood. (EG29)

Many Estonian pupils, however, are not concerned about political correctness and take on overtly negative other-presentation (e.g. by means of word selection; see Section 4.5). A strategic move found in some Estonians' essays is not as usual in more 'correct' adult discourse – I would call the move *reverse* or *delayed denial*. In that case a person first (naively) expresses a prejudiced or ethnocentric attitude, and then denies it by saying something positive or neutral about minorities (Excerpt 13).

> (13)
> Actually it would be better, if only Estonians lived in Estonia. Foreigners could come here only as tourists. It is not possible and I, perhaps, would not want it either that only our people lived here in Estonia, because if we had, for instance, no Russians, then our country would be somehow monotonous. (EG21)

The use of such argumentative moves indicates contradictory influences in the process of socialisation. On the one hand, young Estonians have learned (most probably at school and from the media) that all people must be treated equally. On the other hand, some negative experiences with foreigners and socially shared knowledge of historical injustice give rise to ethnocentric or even xenophobic attitudes. The same layers of thought and argumentation occur in the Estonian version of the ninth form civics textbook. Its authors *concede* that Russophobia exists among Estonians, and then, by using a causal scheme oriented towards the past, *transfer* the responsibility for it to a 'huge number of

[Russian-speaking] immigrants' who were settled in Soviet Estonia in the course of 'deliberate policy of Russianisation' (Möldre and Toots, 1997: 189).

Russian pupils do not use any of those argumentative or strategic moves in their essays. In writing from the position of minority, either superior or reconciled, they have no symbolic power to convey prejudice to be denied before or after expressing it.

4.4. Storytelling

Storytelling is employed by Estonians (e.g. in Excerpt 12 and Case 1) as well as by Russians (e.g. Excerpt 14). The main difference between their stories is that Estonian pupils, writing either from the position of established or endangered majority, tell about their personal experiences and blame Russians explicitly. Russian pupils, conversely, tell about their acquaintances' experiences or general events, and accuse Estonians rather implicitly by using passive voice, the pronoun 'they', or the Russian equivalent of the indefinite pronoun 'one' (see also Excerpts 18 and 19). In Excerpt 14, a Russian boy combines in storytelling the use of passive voice and the pronoun 'they' (although the label 'Estonian members of the committee' would have been, perhaps, more appropriate) to avoid blaming the majority group explicitly.

> **(14)**
>
> And Estonians *are treated* better, I mean, if [you have] Estonian surname. For instance, my friend wanted to go to study (to work on tourism). She has an excellent command of Estonian, she has many Estonian friends and she knows the language better than many of them. Generally speaking, when she went to enter [the school], she *was spoken to*, everything was normal, only when her passport *was opened* and a Russian surname *was seen*, *they* asked whether she is Russian or not (because she had so good command of Estonian). *They* told her that the programme is very difficult and because she is Russian, [she] supposedly would not cope with the programme. I want to say by this that all nationalities, I mean, irrespective of a name [and] surname, a person *should be valued* according to his knowledge. (RB17)

4.5. Stylistic features

The use of pronouns. Excerpts 1, 7, 9 and 13 allow to predict that Estonian pupils tend to build overt we-they discourse. The use of the pronouns 'we' and 'they', alternately with 'Estonians' and 'Russians', is, in fact, massive in Estonians' essays. By the use of 'we' and 'they', Estonian pupils draw a clear demarcation line between indigenous people and foreigners. The constitution of the in-group is ethnocentrically exclusive: 'we' includes only Estonians, by 'them' Estonian pupils mean foreigners, Russians, Slavs. That discursive feature is common to the position of endangered majority (e.g. Excerpt 15) and that of established majority.

(15)

So, all in all, I agree on this [integration] but I repeat that there must be foreigners no more than Estonians among the nation. *They* must not 'take' *our* home from *us*... (EG21)

Few Russian pupils who study in the Estonian school provide exceptions to this pattern in their schoolmates' discourse. By the systematic use of the pronoun 'they', a Russian boy in the Estonian school distances himself from both ethnic groups and, at the same time, avoids overt accusation of Estonians by not naming them and by attributing agency to 'Estonia' as a state (Excerpt 16).

(16)

In my opinion *Estonia* does not like Russian people, as *they* want to expel Russian people living in Estonia, but in my opinion it is wrong that *they* want to expel *them*. *They* should just help *them* more. (RBE5)

A Russian girl in the Estonian school uses an inclusive 'we' with respect to all peoples in Estonia. She does not identify herself with any of the groups either (Excerpt 17). This may be indicative of the fact that Russian pupils in the Estonian school prefer to construct rather civic than ethnic identity to feel more or less comfortable in both discursive communities.

(17)

There are Estonians, Russians, Finns, a.o. [in Estonia]. ... *We all* have lived and worked together. ... Maybe Estonians feel bad that *they* had to fight for *their* country and foreigners came to live here and now have the same rights as *they* do. (RGE28)

Pupils of the Russian school are rather careful against contrasting 'us' and 'them'. The pronoun 'we' tends to be used in the inclusive sense, designating all ethnic groups in Estonia (e.g. Excerpt 18), or avoided. Occasionally Russian pupils use the pronouns 'I' or 'you' to refer to the in-group without making any claims to collective rights (e.g. Excerpts 18 and 19). The pronoun 'they' is usually reserved for other foreigners or non-citizens (Excerpt 19); more seldom it is used to refer to Estonians while seeking to avoid accusing them explicitly (e.g. Excerpt 14). For the same purpose, the authors of Excerpts 18 and 19 employ the Russian equivalent of the *indefinite pronoun 'one'* and/or *passive voice*.

(18)

I would like to *be treated* well. ... May *we all* find a common language. May *we all* start to be friends. (RG20)

(19)

It can not be allowed that *I* or another ethnic group *would be treated* differently. ... There are also Black people and Chinese [in Estonia]. ... *One* must not treat *them* like animals, after all. (RG3)

It is important to note in this context that the Russian version of the ninth form civics textbook fosters identification with Estonia through the use of the pronoun 'our', occasionally in instances where the original version uses the more neutral adjective 'Estonian' or the noun 'Estonia' instead (e.g. 'our state' vs. 'Estonia'). The textbook in Estonian, moreover, contains some exclusive assumptions, e.g. in a sentence: '... politics is humane, i.e. raises human interests to the foremost position and guarantees life worthy of a human being to *the citizens*' (Möldre and Toots, 1997: 35), where the non-citizens (mostly Russians) living in Estonia are discursively excluded. The textbook in Russian omits such exclusive assumptions.

Word selection. As a part of the overall strategies of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, Estonian pupils use a number of explicit adjectives and emotionally loaded verbs and nouns as well as metaphors (e.g. Excerpts 2, 9 and 12, Case 1). The wording emphasises difference between Estonians and foreigners; euphemisms and mitigation are seldom employed. The explicitness of Estonian pupils' discourse ranges to the degree of vulgarity (in the essays by a couple of boys), not to mention instances of slang and colloquialism. As an overall result, Estonians succeed in portraying themselves as peaceful, patient, deliberative, friendly, and complaisant, while foreigners, especially Russians, are colourfully depicted as criminal, aggressive, (potentially) disloyal, uncultured, and arrogant. At the same time, many Estonians state or imply that all Russians are not similar (see, e.g. Case 2).

The wording in Russian pupils' essays is much more neutral and formal; the words 'Estonians' and 'citizens' are mentioned without any adjectives. At the level of wording, the Russians' discourse contains practically no instances of explicitly positive self-presentation or negative other-presentation.

Active and passive sentences. Excerpts 14, 18 and 19 have demonstrated that Russian pupils, when writing about or making allusions to ethnic discrimination, prefer to use covert forms of accusation, particularly passive voice, to leave the responsible agent (Estonians) unclear. The same pattern is observable in several other essays by Russians, while the cases where Russian pupils blame Estonians explicitly in active sentences are very rare. It is noteworthy that the Russian version of the civics textbook, just like many Russian pupils, employs a strategy of covert criticism of Estonians. By reproducing an article entitled 'Estonia voted for the Constitution and against the enlargement of the circle of voters' that was published in a Russian-language newspaper in Estonia six years before, the textbook employs the voice and authority of the represented media discourse as well as a *metonymical* inanimate agent 'Estonia' to covertly blame Estonians for not granting the right to vote to non-citizen spouses of Estonian citizens.

Estonian pupils use predominantly active voice when blaming Russians, especially in case of causal argument schemes oriented towards the past (e.g.

Excerpts 7, 9 and 10). That part of the overall strategy of negative other-presentation is sometimes combined with positive self-presentation by means of avoiding naming the responsible agent in case it belongs to the in-group. In Excerpt 9, that strategic combination (which is at the same time the move of victim-agent reversal) is realised through the use of active and passive voice: after having conceded that 'Russians *are discriminated* against', the author starts blaming them for that explicitly by using historical references as justification.

Summary. By stylistic means, Estonian pupils tend to construct the in-group as culturally exclusive, to portray themselves positively and the others, especially Russians, negatively, and to attribute the responsibility for conceded ethnic discrimination to Russians. Pupils in the Russian school avoid drawing a clear demarcation between themselves and Estonians; rather, they try to build a common identity at the level of civic nation. Also, Russian pupils elude the strategies of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation; instead, they employ a strategy that can be called *covert other-accusation*.

The greater discretion of Russians' discourse in comparison with Estonians may be partly conditioned by the institutional context of the study and, accordingly, by *context models* pupils had about the communicative situation. The essays were written in comprehensive public schools that represent the state power, in relation to which Russians are in less privileged position. Social atmosphere and power relations between teachers and pupils are more formal and authoritative in Russian schools. Finally, the pupils knew that the essays will be read by Estonians. All these factors might increase the impact of social desirability on Russians' discourse to some extent, and result in the greater politeness, formality, and more covert forms of other-accusation. However, taking into account the broader socio-political context of inter-ethnic relations in Estonia and the authors' actual status (minority vs. majority) allows to assume that essays by Russian pupils express their sincere wish to avoid ethnic antagonism and to construct common we-identity with Estonians.

4.6. Manifest intertextuality

The previous analysis has already revealed some intertextual references in pupils' essays – to historical events, mediated political discourses, and arguments by proponents of different discursive positions. In addition, pupils use some other manifest intertextual references, which make an allusion to possible sources of their ideas. Most common are references to everyday, media, and mediated political discourses. The latter two are used to justify pro-integration (e.g. Excerpt 11) as well as ethnocentric standpoints (Case 1). This bears witness to a matter of fact that young people tend to pick up those arguments in the 'heterogeneous and partly contradictory media coverage on minority issues' (Kõuts and Tammpuu, 2002: 316), which support their ideological beliefs.

Intertextual references to everyday discourses, conversely, tend to be negotiated or rejected by pupils. In Excerpt 20, for instance, a Russian boy in the Estonian school contests an ethnic stereotype by using his own observations and an argument from the human rights discourse he probably learned at school.

> **(20)**
>
> … it is sure that different peoples have the same human rights, e.g. no one can say: 'Gypsies can do nothing but wander'. Usually those people are themselves undereducated and they try to cover that with their stories. (RBE1)

The pupils, however, never make manifest intertextual references to their textbooks or teachers in the essays. While directly asked in the interviews whence they may have derived their thoughts, pupils most often refer to personal experiences and reflections, the media, some teachers, and family members. Moreover, even similar sources (the same teachers and textbooks) may lead to radically different ideas. I demonstrate this through the detailed analysis of the discourse by two classmates.

4.7. Two cases

Case 1: an ethnocentric Estonian girl.

An excerpt from the essay 'Is integration of different peoples possible in Estonia?'

> No, it is not, because there are many different nationalities in Estonia. There are Russians, Finns, Swedes, Latvians, and, of course, Estonians [in Estonia]. In my opinion Russians feel themselves like kings in Estonia and want ~~to beat~~ to treat Estonians as slaves. I personally have been beaten by a Russian. There was no reason, I just walked past the Russians' school and as I did not notice a quarrelsome fellow (he was a boy), neither did I understand, why [should I], what he is talking, I don't know Russian, ~~why [should I]~~, he came running after me and landed me a blow on the nose with all his might. It happened years and years ago. I was then about ten years old but I still hate Russians. They yell and bawl all the time, this is already getting on my nerves. Russians are also quarrelsome. I have many acquaintances (among young people) and Russians have picked a quarrel with almost all of them. Who has then been beaten and who has ~~then~~ beaten the quarrelsome fellow himself/herself. When I watch police programmes on TV, half of the criminals are Russians. … I am completely sure that integration is by no means possible in Estonia. I like only ~~one~~ human being of one nationality – this is Estonian and no one else. I will always hate Russians. (EG7)

The essay begins with a categorical negative answer to the question posed in the title. The author justifies her standpoint by a factual argument about the multiethnic nature of Estonia. She implies that integration is impossible because the culture and manners of the ethnic groups are too different. This *discourse of difference*, common to discourses about migrants in the mass media of other European countries (see, e.g. Titscher et al., 2000: 158-9), is in the rest of the essay reduced onto bipolar categorisation (Estonians vs. Russians). The category of 'Russians' is, in turn, associated with thematical elements identical with those found in neo-racist discourse in Europe – difference, deviance and perceived threat (see Wodak and Matouschek, 1993). The ethnocentric girl depicts Russians as the superior group ('kings') who distance themselves from Estonians, emphasises Russians' deviance (they are blatant, quarrelsome, and criminal), and implies their potential danger (one can always be beaten up by a Russian). That sort of negative other-presentation leads the author to the firm resolution about the impossibility of integration and serves to justify her ultimate ethnocentrism and xenophobia explicitly expressed in the last two sentences.

The author of this essay uses two strategic means of justification: *storytelling* and *victim-agent reversal*. By narrating her own negative experience as well as those of her friends (she elaborates more on the latter in the interview) the girl defines Estonians as innocent victims at the hands of aggressive and unpredictable Russians. That context allows her to openly express hatred and to make generalisations about Russian people. The victim-agent reversal is extreme in this case: the minority group is shown as enjoying the power position in the society. The *metaphor* of kings and slaves obviously refers to the historical context: Russians are still seen as the formerly dominant group and as carriers of colonial mentality. In the interview the girl explained the use of that metaphor by mentioning the Soviet occupation in 1940 and the deportation of Estonians to Siberia. In the contemporary context she exemplified unequal power relations between Russians and Estonians by experiences of her friends who had been beaten or robbed by Russians in the streets.

Another form of linguistic realisation deserves a closer look – the use of the Estonian adverb '*ju*' ('why'; 'now'; 'already'; 'after all'; German '*ja*'). In this context, the closest translation is 'why [should I]', i.e. the adverb expresses the taken-for-grantedness or naturalness of a matter, in this case the non-proficiency in Russian. The ethnocentric Estonian girl justifies her inattention towards a Russian boy by her non-proficiency in Russian at the age of ten (which, as she assumes, led to the violent act by the boy). In referring to the present ('I don't know Russian'), she has struck out the adverb '*ju*'. It is impossible to say whether she made that discursive choice for the stylistic reason (to avoid word repetition like she obviously did in case of the repeated 'then' below in the essay), or because she realised that the taken-for-grantedness of non-proficiency in Russian at the age of fourteen may not be shared by her readers (social scientists). Anyway, the initial double use of that adverb indicates her own deep-seated assumption that members of the majority have not to know the language of the minority.

The essay contains a manifest intertextual reference to media discourse (see also Section 4.6). That discursive choice can also be seen as an implicit quasi-rational argumentation within the discourse of difference: since Russians form less than half of the Estonian population, their share among criminals should also be less than 50 per cent. The equal number of Estonian and Russian criminals 'proves' the greater inclination towards deviance among Russians.

In the interview the girl referred to historical knowledge and conversations with her friends as the sources of her ideas. She described her close discursive community as consisting of young people who do not tolerate Russians and consider Estonians to be the best people in the world. This supports the hypothesis set up by Estonian sociologists (Kruusvall, 2000): repelling attitudes among Estonians most probably appear in 'clutches' or small discursive communities.

Case 2: a pro-integration Estonian girl.

An excerpt from the essay 'Is integration of different peoples possible in Estonia?'

> In my opinion integration is possible in Estonia. Because people cannot live in one country being consistently at loggerheads. The mixing of peoples is in the nature of things in life. There are always Estonians who like foreigners. I believe that the mixing of blood is the most probable way to live in peace. If people are allied by blood with so-called half-breeds, they will get to know foreigners and will understand that Estonians are not the only good people. In getting to know foreigners better, their true nature uncovers itself, on the grounds of my experiences it changes to better. People should finally understand that Russians' 'black sheep' was Lenin. He has left the opinion as though all Russians were like him, this is wrong.
>
> The Estonian Government should create more opportunities for foreigners to learn the language. I know a man who tries to pass the Estonian language exam. He has tried it for several times, insofar unproductively. … In these days Estonians do not accept foreigners just because they do not speak the language of the state they live in.
>
> Foreigners should be called for to celebrate Estonians' holidays. Following traditions helps to break ice that has formed between the peoples. Russians should polish their manners! Most of Russians spit on ground, chew sunflower seeds all the time, and throw garbage out of the window. This is not a myth but reality that you see walking around in Estonia.
>
> Thus I believe that integration is possible. (EG3)

Though the perspective on integration in this essay differs diametrically from the one in Case 1, the essays still share some discourse structures, namely, thematical elements of the discourse of difference. The use of the concepts 'mixing of blood' and 'half-breeds' by the pro-integration girl indicates her assumptions that ethnicity is a biological phenomenon and ethnic groups differ from each other by nature. In addition, she brings forth that foreigners differ from Estonians by not knowing the national language and by not celebrating the same holidays. Russians, in particular, are also shown as norm-ignoring and, thus, deviant. The third component, characteristic of the discourse of difference – perceived threat – is implicit and weak in this case (the girl assumes that a possibility of conflicts exists, and believes that the 'mixing of blood' is the most probable way to avoid it).

Alongside the discourse of difference, the pro-integration girl explicates the discourse of tolerance that is completely denied by the ethnocentric girl. The discourse of tolerance and recognition that emerged in the Estonian media in the late 1990s (Kõuts and Tammpuu, 2002) appears in this case in topics such as inter-group marriages, learning more about foreigners, and creating opportunities for language learning. The two discourses are intertwined in the essay as well as in the Estonian press, although the media communicates ethnic stereotypes in more implicit forms.

Another major difference between the two cases lies in the discursive position the girls speak from. While the ethnocentric girl defends the position of endangered majority (which, in this case, is clearly victimised and almost minoritised), her pro-integration classmate speaks from the power position of established majority by giving indirect orders to Estonian people, to the Government and to Russians (by using the modal verb 'should' and even an exclamation mark).

The essay embraces a number of intertextual references, mostly to everyday language and beliefs. The most remarkable intertextual relations appear in negations, in which the author negotiates the common-sense beliefs she assumes to exist. For instance, in the first negation ('… people … will understand that Estonians are not the only good people') the girl refers to a taken-for-granted assumption characteristic of positive self-presentation ('Estonians are good people'). She agrees with that assumption but denies its exclusive aspect presumably shared by a number of her compatriots (as though Estonians were the only good people).

Another intertextual reference ('People should finally understand that Russians' "black sheep" was Lenin. He has left the opinion as though all Russians were like him, this is wrong.') is significant for its relation to the historical context of inter-ethnic relations in Estonia. The girl explained in the interview that she and her classmates had written papers in history lessons about Lenin and Stalin. She supposed that all people learned about the genocide and repression in school, and they probably reached the conclusion that 'those governments were bad and all Russians are of that kind'. The pro-integration girl thus hypothesised the influence of school on ethnic stereotypes while showing herself as resistant to that kind of impact. Moreover, she told in the interview that she had dropped her acquaintance with a friend whose boyfriend was a skinhead – she did not like that they had tried to intrude their racist views on her. This shows that a young person may also leave a discursive community in case his or her views become too different from the ones shared by the community.

The third significant intertextual reference in the essay is the argument that an ethnic stereotype about Russians' uncultured behaviour is not a myth. In this case, the pro-integration girl argues against the discourse of tolerance that seeks to deconstruct any negative stereotypes. Most probably she had encountered the label of 'myth' in the media discourse; that, however, contradicted with some of her personal experiences.

It is significant that the two Estonian girls mentioned the same sources as the primary origins of their ideas – lessons and textbooks of history, and personal experiences. The ethnocentric girl (and her friends) had had some negative experiences with Russians, she stated that Russians had deported Estonians to Siberia, and claimed that she could never like Russians because of that. The tolerant girl had had positive as well as negative experiences with Russians, she ascribed the responsibility for the genocide against Estonians in the 1940s to the antihuman Soviet governments and Stalin, and rejected Russophobic statements based on argument schemes containing part-whole relationships (e.g. 'Those governments were bad and all Russians are of that kind') that she had often heard in Estonians' everyday discourse. These findings confirm the importance of *mental models*, that is, 'representations in personal memory of events or … episodes' (Van Dijk, 1998: 79) in the process of discourse comprehension. Also, the findings support Wodak's assumption that 'hearers and readers construct not only the text but also the social context, and that text and context interact with one another' (Titscher et al., 2000: 156). The ethnocentric girl probably interpreted the facts about the massive deportation reported in her history textbooks against the background of minor conflicts between Estonians and Russians that she had heard about or participated in. Also, she might had perceived chilly inter-ethnic relations in Estonia in the historical context of injustice and ethnic antagonism and, thus, rejected any possibility of inter-ethnic integration. The tolerant girl had probably comprehended the facts about the deportation in the history books, the Russophobic talk of Estonians, and her own positive and negative experiences with foreigners in the context of contemporary multiethnic society with its problems and advantages, and become convinced in the possibility and necessity of integration.

5. CONCLUSION

The analysis revealed a number of differences between the discourses by Estonian and Russian pupils. Young Russians are, in general, more optimistic and supporting of inter-ethnic integration in Estonia, while young Estonians' discourse is more heterogeneous ranging from overt ethnocentrism to expressive tolerance. The argumentation by both groups suffers from global bias that serves as a part in the strategy of positive self-presentation. Russian pupils use very few logical argument schemes (only schemes of comparison); they avoid any references to historical context, e.g. causal argument schemes oriented towards the past. Such schemes are, conversely, often used by Estonian pupils.

It is possible to distinguish two pairs of typical discursive positions in pupils' essays: established majority vs. reconciled minority, and endangered majority vs. superior minority. Proponents of those positions are probably aware of the existence of other positions, as they occasionally enter into intertextual argumentative dialogue with each other. The very existence of the positions of endangered majority and superior minority implies that inter-ethnic relations in Estonia, though established politically, are covertly struggled over in discursive practices.

Estonians' position of majority, either established or endangered, enables them to employ the strategies of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation in relatively overt ways. Several Estonian pupils, however, have been socialised into the norms of political correctness to the extent that they feel obliged to use argumentative and local strategic moves to disguise their prejudice while communicating it. Estonians, nevertheless, define the in-group in exclusive terms. Russian pupils, in writing from the position of minority, employ the strategy of covert other-accusation and more implicit means of positive self-presentation. They avoid drawing a discursive frontier between themselves and Estonians, and try to build a common we-identity at the level of civic nation.

The analysis revealed some parallelisms between the Estonian and Russian versions of the ninth form civics textbook and the correspondent discourses of ninth-formers. The intertextual analysis and the data obtained from the interviews with pupils, however, do not allow interpreting this correspondence as an indicator of a socialising effect of the textbook. Pupils never make manifest intertextual references to their textbooks or teachers in the essays. Instead, they use arguments picked from the media and political discourses to justify pro-integration as well as ethnocentric standpoints. Intertextual references to everyday discourses are often negotiated or rejected by pupils on the basis of their personal intercultural experiences. In the interviews, pupils mention their own reflections and experiences, the media, some teachers, and family members as the sources of their ideas. The detailed analysis of two cases demonstrated that even the same sources (history lessons and textbooks) may lead to radically different ideas depending on the mental model or interpretative context previously constructed by the pupil. The make-up of the interpretative context is determined, to a great extent, by the pupil's personal experiences and the views shared by the discursive communities where she participates.

Is inter-ethnic integration possible in Estonia? The analysis of pupils' discourses suggests that new discursive and interpretative contexts of inter-ethnic relations in Estonia are needed. On the Russians' side, the current context practically lacks honest historical references and suffers from global bias, which may hinder the comprehension of the reasons of the current state of affairs and every aspect of the integration process. Even bigger problems lie in the Estonians' side where contemporary social context is sporadically overshadowed by the historical context, which is hardly susceptible of forgiveness, tolerance, and the construction of a common identity. New discursive and interpretative contexts should neglect neither historical, nor contemporary social dimensions, and lay more emphasis on the latter. The media and the educational system, including school textbooks, can contribute to the construction of such contexts.

NOTES

I am grateful to Jüri Allik, Marju Lauristin, Margit Keller, and Helen Sooväli for helpful critical comments on earlier versions of this article.

1. 'Russians' is considered to be the most neutral short term to designate all Russian-speaking people (Russians, Byelorussians, Ukrainians, etc.) in Estonia. Other possible terms such as 'non-Estonians', 'Russophones', etc. may imply connotations to 'otherness'.
2. By 'educational media' I mean school textbooks in particular, but also the whole range of possible texts, pictorial illustrations, films, computer programs, etc., which are produced for educational purposes, that is, 'to inform and convince the reader / the viewer / the listener that the presented information and perspectives are correct' (Selander, 1995: 9).
3. I am grateful to psychologist Jelena Jedomskihh for conducting research in the Russian school.
4. The textbook in question is a ninth form civics textbook (Möldre and Toots, 1997), originally written in Estonian, and translated into Russian in 1998. The two versions of the textbook are currently used as the main teaching material in the compulsory ninth form civics course in most schools in Estonia, both those with Estonian and Russian as the language of instruction.
5. Typical of racist/ethnocentric discourse is 'the move of *apparent denial*, in which a positive first clause denies prejudice or racism, and is followed by a contrasted *but* clause saying or implying something negative about minorities, as in the classical phrase 'We having nothing against blacks, but…'' (Van Dijk et al., 1997: 170).
6. In case of the move of apparent concession 'it is conceded that we have done something wrong (or they have done something well), but it is then added that our

negative action is excused or mitigated, or that their positive action is not that positive at all' (Van Dijk et al., 1997: 170).

7. The move of transfer expresses a thought that there may be, for instance, racism, but *they*, not *us*, are responsible for that (cf. Van Dijk et al., 1997: 170).
8. The move of victim-agent reversal is used to argue that *we*, not *they*, are the victims; we, not they, are discriminated against (cf. Van Dijk et al., 1997: 173).
9. EB = Estonian boy; EG = Estonian girl; RB = Russian boy; RG = Russian girl; RBE = Russian boy in the Estonian school; RGE = Russian girl in the Estonian school; the number designates the individuals' number in the sample of the school. All excerpts have been translated from Estonian or Russian by the author. Italics in quotes designate my emphasis.
10. About 7 per cent of Russian-speaking children study in Estonian-language schools (see Pavelson and Vihalemm, 2002).

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VII

Kalmus, V. (2002). Do textbooks teach democratic values?
A reception study of a ninth grade civics textbook.
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Do textbooks teach democratic values?
A reception study of a ninth grade civics textbook

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One of the common problems faced by new as well as established democracies all over the world is political apathy and low levels of participation among the young generation. Young people usually show little interest in social-political topics; also, casting a ballot is a more common among older people (see, e.g., Taru, 1997). The "life-cycle effects' theory (Conway, 1991) suggests that people tend to become politically more aware and active when they grow older, at least, in the United States of America. In the case of disrupted democracies such as Estonia, the situation is, however, more critical: the prospects of an evolving civic nation and participatory democracy in those societies are not very promising, when a large part of the young generation displays passivity and the lack of interest in any political matters.

The role of civic education curricula and textbooks is to prepare pupils for participation in a civic society. Civics textbooks should teach the principles of *critical citizenship* (Puolimatka, 1995; Schwoch, White & Reilly, 1992) and set models for active civic and political participation. This means that instead of a detailed coverage of particular topics such as "The State", "The Law", "The Government", etc., the emphasis of civic education should be on teaching skills needed for intelligent choice-making, problem-solving, and critical thinking, reading and writing. Moreover, civic education should encourage pupils to stand up for their rights and engage in various forms of civic and political action (e.g., peaceful protest, writing a letter to the editor, joining a political party, etc.).

In this respect, the results of previous research on civics textbooks are not very favourable. The problem was studied intensively in the United

States in the 1960s and 1970s. The textbooks from these decades depicted citizens as passive, harmonious, and accepting (see Wade & Everett, 1994, p. 308). For instance, in a study of four elementary social studies texts, Jean Anyon (1978) noted that the principal civic action discussed was voting, and that the texts promoted passive compliance and "safe" political behaviours. Almost twenty years later, Rahima Wade and Susan Everett (1994) examined four third grade social studies textbooks. After comparing the findings with earlier studies they reported two encouraging differences: first, the textbooks depict civic participation as a variety of political and social acts, and second, pupils are encouraged to see themselves as active participants in their communities now, rather than just as adults in the future. Nevertheless, the textbooks tend to support the status quo in the society.

This study is in line of a wider *cycle of research* (Taxel, 1989), which aims to estimate the role of school textbooks in political socialisation, especially in promoting an active and critical citizenship. More concretely, **the aim of the research** is to explore and understand the dynamic interaction between teenagers and civic education textbooks in the process of learning. The study represents a form of reception analysis, that is, a comparative analysis of textbook discourses and pupils' discourses (cf. Jensen, 1991, p. 139).

The analysis of textbook discourse comprises two methods. First, we used content analysis to find out the relative frequency of different civic and political activities depicted in a ninth grade civic education textbook, which is most widely used in Estonian as well as Russian schools in Estonia. A fourth grade civics textbook served as the material for comparison. In addition, I used qualitative text analysis to explore the general ideology of the textbooks.

The pupils' discourse consists of the essays by and interviews with a sample of the ninth-graders of an Estonian and a Russian school in Tartu: fifty-eight pupils (33 in the Estonian and 25 in the Russian school who made up 42% of the pupils in the selected classes) wrote an essay on civic participation after they had gone through the relevant parts of their civics textbook. We conducted semi-structured interviews with twelve pupils whose essays represented different viewpoints.

Textbooks or law books?

The content analysis[1] revealed that the two civics textbooks resemble each other as well as the American textbooks from the 1960s and 1970s in a number of aspects. In terms of coverage, the priority is given to various forms of *government* performed by state institutions (see Figure 1[2]). The principal civic activities are taking part in *elections* (mainly voting) in the ninth grade textbook, and *obeying laws and rules* in the fourth grade textbook. Both civic activities are passive and "safe" in Anyon's terms, similarly to *enjoying human rights*, which ranks the fourth and the third in the textbooks, respectively, and *patriotic acts* such as hoisting the national flag, which are fairly relevant in the fourth grade textbook. *Improving society* in general terms is somewhat ambivalent: in the ninth grade textbook this activity is political rather than civic (two thirds of the performers are state institutions or politicians); in the fourth grade textbook it is vice versa.

A positive finding to be reported is the representation of important civic activities such as *expressing one's point of view* (e.g. writing a letter to the editor), *lobbying* (interest and pressure group activities), *educating oneself as a citizen* (learning about social problems, parties, etc.; critical reading of media), *participating in civic society* (nongovernmental organisations, popular movements), *peaceful protest* (demonstrations, boycotts, strikes, etc.), and *environment protection* in both textbooks. The ninth grade textbook contains some explicit *positive evaluations* of participating in civic society and lobbying; also, interest and pressure group activities are relatively *salient* (quite often in bold shrift, in captions, etc.) in that textbook. Active civic behaviours are, however, oddly underrepresented compared with some passive, obedient behaviours, and political-administrative activities.

The structure of the represented activities determines the prevailing type of *actors*: in both textbooks it is *institutions* (52% and 40% of all actors in the ninth grade and the fourth grade textbook, respectively). The rest of the actors are *groups* such as people, the electorate, etc. (19% and 28%, respectively), *politicians* (17% and 4%, respectively), and *ordinary citizens* (11% and 28%, respectively). The latter (actors such as "an individual', "everyone", "you", etc. who presumably serve as main role models for pupils) are most frequently depicted just as passive, obedient subjects (29% and 44% of the ordinary citizens obey laws and rules, or enjoy human rights in the ninth grade and the fourth grade textbook, respectively).

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[1] The unit of measurement was one civic or political activity mentioned or described within a paragraph or its equivalent (a question, an exercise, a bulleted list, etc.). The analysis covered all verbal texts in the textbooks (including tables, diagrams, etc.). The number of units coded in the ninth grade and the fourth grade textbook was 706 and 100, respectively. The categories comprised the type of activity, the measure of importance (salience), contextual evaluation, and the type, age, ethnicity, and gender of the actor(s) performing the activity. Students of Tartu Teacher Training College participated as coders. The coefficient of inter-coder reliability was .79.

[2] Some marginal activities (the relative frequency of which was less than 1.2 percent, and which did not occur elsewhere (in the other textbook or in the pupils' essays) are not represented on the figure.

The age, ethnicity and gender of actors are in most of the cases not explicit. In the cases where *age* can be defined, most of the actors are children. An encouraging finding is that youngsters are fairly often depicted in active roles, e.g. educating oneself as a citizen (26% of the child actors in the textbooks), or expressing one's point of view (22%). Obeying laws and rules is considered important, too (17% of the children).

The predominant role model set for the readers of these textbooks is, however, that of a passive citizen (or voter) obedient to the rule of laws and institutions. The textbooks seldom comment on the dominant social order and tend to support the status quo by simply describing it. The texts present few opportunities for critical reflection, for gaining insight into social problems, or for the discussion of controversial issues. These findings harmonise with the opinion expressed by a number of Estonian civic education teachers in a pilot questionnaire survey in 1999 (Kalmus & Vihalemm, 2000): the civics textbooks are too dogmatic, politicised or ideological ("depicting the Estonian society in too rosy colours") while problems and conflicts are missing from the textbooks.

Obedient but critical citizens-to-be

The pupils' discourse[1] resembles that of the textbooks in some respects (see Figure 1[2]). Most of the ninth-graders accept the role of a voter and an obedient citizen promoted by the textbooks: taking part in *elections* was envisioned as a potential activity by 55% of the pupils and made up 16% of all activities mentioned in the essays; the corresponding figures for *obeying laws and rules* were 52% and 12%. It is quite encouraging that many pupils (41%) see themselves performing various acts of *government* in the future. Most of the statements regarding these activities are, however, in the form of conditional clauses ("If I was the President / a member of parliament / an important person..."); some pupils add that it is probably never possible ("If I worked, for instance, in the parliament, though I know that I will not reach there, neither do I want it so much...").

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[1] The essay topic was "How can I as a citizen-to-be participate in the life of society?' I used principles of *grounded theory* (Strauss, 1987) for the analysis of essays and interviews: initial categories of civic participation, social criticism, etc. emerged from the very language of pupils. During the next phases of coding, I classified the original concepts into broader categories, many of which were overlapping with the categories of political and civic activities used in the content analysis of textbooks. This enabled a comparison of the textbook discourse and the pupils' discourse.

[2] Figure 1 displays the distribution of 243 activities coded in the essays. A number of pupils considered *acquiring education* and *economic activities* as forms of participation in the life of society. The principles of grounded theory demand that

In pupils' discourse, some active civic behaviours are more frequent than in the textbooks: *peaceful protest* is seen as a potential civic activity by 31% of the pupils (making up 7% of the activities); *charity* and *environmental protection* occur in 29% and 21% of the essays, respectively. A positive sign is that quite many pupils will probably engage in some essential civic activities by *expressing one's point of view* (19% of the pupils) or *participating in civic society* (12%).

Another interesting finding is the considerable social criticism in the pupils' discourse: most of the pupils (55% in the Estonian and 60% in the Russian school) expressed critical views on the society without being asked to do so. Estonian and Russian pupils share some points of criticism: unemployment, low salaries of the common people, and inequality and social injustice. Estonians are also concerned about poverty, homelessness and beggars, high taxes, environmental problems, and the large salaries of politicians. Russian-speaking pupils emphasise ethnic problems, inconveniences with visas and closed frontiers, and low social benefits. Most of these problems are never mentioned in the civics textbooks.

A modest role of textbooks

Interviews with pupils revealed that the civic education textbook plays some role in informing the readers about possibilities for civic participation: most of the pupils (11 out of 12) mentioned the textbook as a source of that kind of knowledge. Not one of the pupils, however, named the textbook as the primary source of information: in most of the cases, the text

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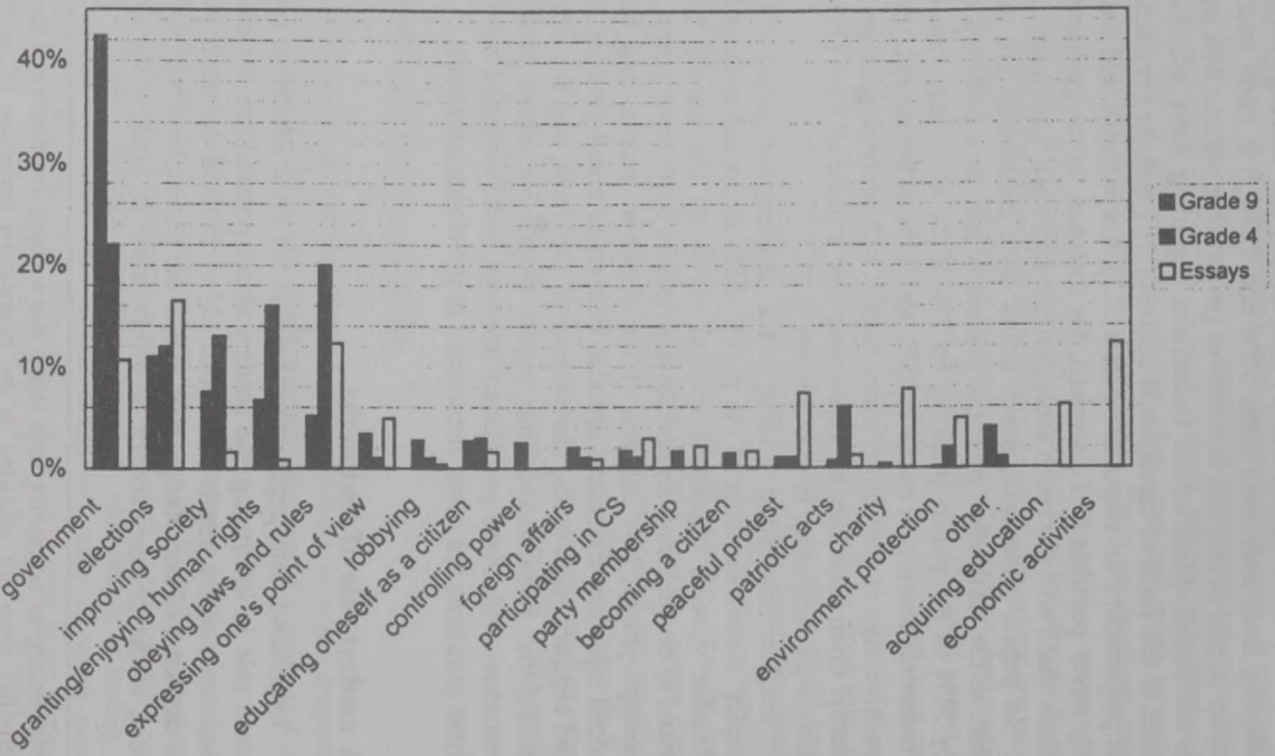
these emergent categories were taken into account irrespective of the fact that such activities were not included in the operational definition of political and civic activities in the content analysis of textbooks. Some marginal activities in the pupils' discourse (the relative frequency of which was less than one percent, and which did not make up a separate category in the content analysis) are not represented on the figure.

Figure 1. Relative frequencies of political and civic activities in the textbooks and the pupils' essays.



book was brought up as the second, the third, or the fourth source after the media, the school (civics lessons), or the parents. In fact, most of the pupils mentioned the civics textbook only in response to the interviewer's question "Have you read about civic participation in any textbook?"

The role of the textbook in forming the pupils' ideas and attitudes is more modest: only two pupils out of twelve declared that they had obtained some ideas expressed in the essay from the civics textbook. Sources mentioned more often were personal thoughts and experiences (5 pupils), the media (3), and the parents or grandparents (3). The importance of personal experiences and participation reveals itself in a striking difference between Estonian and Russian pupils: in the essays, 45% of Estonians *vs.* a mere 12% of Russians (the Chi-square value being significant at $\alpha < .01$ level) stated their readiness to take part in a peaceful protest. The difference can be explained by the fact that a couple of days prior to writing these essays many Estonian pupils actually participated in a protest against a governmental plan to stop running a number of passenger trains and to raise the prices of bus tickets. Russian pupils had written their essays before those events took place.

We can conclude that for most of the pupils, the civics textbook serves as an additional source of political knowledge. In the construction of pupils' political views and values, other agents of political socialisation (primarily the media and the family) and immediate experience play a more important role. This, however, does not imply that textbooks should neither contain more examples of active civic participation, nor offer more possibilities for critical thinking.

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VIII

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SOOROLLID JA KODANIKUKASVATUS

Veronika Kalmus

Summary

Social and human studies have a great potential in socialising pupils and making them enter into gender roles: in these subjects, knowledge about gender relations can be transmitted through both the official and the hidden curricula. Pupils have, however, some opportunities to resist those curricula. The article summarises the results of the qualitative analysis of three social studies textbooks, and demonstrates how ninth-graders' knowledge of, and attitudes towards, gender equality changed within a school year when they used one of those textbooks (questionnaires were filled out by 135 pupils of an Estonian and a Russian school in Tartu at the beginning and at the end of the school year 2000/2001). It was found that (1) the textbooks tend to depict traditional gender roles and misrepresent reality; (2) the pupils' knowledge of gender equality increased to a considerable extent; the role of the social studies textbook in this aspect is unclear; (3) Estonian pupils' attitudes towards gender equality remained unchanged while Russian pupils' attitudes became more

patriarchal; (4) the intrusion of unfamiliar knowledge resulted in an attitude change: the less the pupils knew about gender equality in the autumn and the more they gained in knowledge by the spring, the more patriarchal their views became. Some suggestions for textbook authors are also given.

Sissejuhatus

Kodaniku- ja inimeseõpetuse valdkonna õppeainetel (kodaniku-, ühiskonna-, suhtlemis-, perekonna-, tervise- ja inimeseõpetus) on potentsiaalselt suur tähtsus soorollidesse sotsialiseerimisel kahel põhjusel. **Esiteks**, sellesse valdkonda kuuluvad õppeained on sisuliselt ainsad, milles teadmised sugupooltevahelistest suhetest ja soorollidest võivad iseseisva või alateemana kuuluda **ametlikku õppekavasse**, moodustada peatükke või alapunkte kooliõpikutes ning olla hindamise ja testimise objektiks. Just viimane aspekt suurendab ainevaldkonna õpikute potentsiaalset olulisust soorollidesse sotsialiseerijana: õpikud esitavad — loomulikult ainuõigena — tavaliselt vaid üht versiooni reaalsusest (Sleeter & Grant, 1991, p. 97), mille omandamist faktiteadmisena kontrollitakse ja hinnatakse. See muudab kooliõpikud “suletud” tekstiks ning õpilase selle teksti vastuvõtjana institutsionaalselt määratud rollis olevaks lugejaks (Selander, 1995, pp. 160–161), kellel tema rollipositsioonist tulenevalt on vähe võimalusi alternatiivseteks tõlgendusteks, s.t. õpiku poolt pakutava versiooni osaliseks või täielikuks vaidlustamiseks või eitamiseks. Enamasti legitimeerivad õpikud ühiskonnas rohkem võimu omavate gruppide (enamusrahvus, kesk- ja ülemklass, mehed jne) eelisstaatust (Sleeter & Grant, 1991, p. 79) ning esitavad pigem minevikus akumuleerunud teadmisi kui olevikus ja tulevikus esilekerkivaid probleeme (Meighan, 1991, pp. 113, 117). Soorollidesse sotsialiseerimise seisukohalt tähendab see, et ülaltoodud eelduste kohaselt ei maini ega analüüsi kodaniku- ja inimeseõpetuse valdkonna õpikud suure tõenäosusega soolise ebavõrdsuse probleemi ning edastavad enesestmõistetavana pilti ühiskonnast, milles mehed olid ja on oluliselt sagedamini juhtivatel positsioonidel (kodaniku- ja ühiskonnaõpetus), rõhutavad naiste ja meeste erinevust (tervise- ja inimeseõpetus) või õigustavad sugupooltevahelist rollijaotust (suhtlemis- ja perekonnaõpetus). Juhul, kui õpetajad ei vaidlusta õpikute poolt esitatavat versiooni, peavad õpilased paremate hinnete saamiseks omandama ja taasesitama kooliõpikute konservatiivset nägemust.

Teiseks — peale ametliku õppekava, mis avaldub õpikutes ja teistes õppevahendites sõnaselgelt ning mille omandamist kontrollitakse ja hinnatakse, toimub soorollidesse sotsialiseerimine ka läbi **varjatud õppekava**. Viimase all pean silmas pigem vaikimisi ja enesestmõistetavana esitatavaid väärtusi ja arusaamu, mille eest ei panda hindeid ning mida õpikute koostajad, õpetajad ja õpilased üldjuhul endale ei teadvustagi. “Sooideoloogiate jõud seisneb faktis, et nad toimivad alateadvuse tasandil ... nagu ka teadvuse või ratsionaalsel tasandil” (Gilbert & Taylor, 1991, p. 135). Teadvustamata kujul, enesestmõistetavana esitatavad sõnumid toimivad reeglina efektiivsemalt, kuna ei läbi vastuvõtja kriitilise teadvuse filtrit. Kodaniku- ja inimeseõpetuse valdkonna õpikutes võib soorollide varjatud õppekava avalduda näiteks meeste ja naiste erinevas kujutamises piltidel, teatud rolle vaid ühele sugupoolele omistavas sõnavaras (nt. riigimees, ärimees, linnaisa) jne. Kuna õpikute illustratsioonide ja sõnavara sellised aspektid pälvivad harva õpetajate ja õpilaste kriitilist tähelepanu, mõjuvad arusaamad soorollidest, mis on pelgalt “sotsiaalselt loodud versioonid sotsiaalselt loodud inimtegevusest” (Sleeter & Grant, 1991, p. 79), varjatud õppekavas tõeste, loomulike või isegi ainuvõimalikena.

Ülalpool kirjeldatud teoreetilistele eeldustele vaatamata ei tohi kodaniku- ja inimeseõpetuse valdkonna õpikute võimalikku mõju soorollidesse sotsialiseerimisel konkreetsete uurimuste puududes üle hinnata. Arvukad uurimused pole suutnud tuvastada kodanikuõpetuse õppekava mõju õpilaste väärtushinnangutele ega kõlbelisele arengule (Leming, 1985, p. 176), näiteks ei ole leitud seost kodanikuõpetuse kursuste läbimise ja poliitilise osalusaktiivsuse vahel (Marker & Mehlinger, 1992, p. 844). Soorollidesse sotsialiseerimise puhul tuleb kindlasti arvesse võtta, et õpilaste hoiakuid soostereotüüpsuse suhtes mõjutavad paljud tegurid, sealh. nende isiklikud kogemused (Wing, 1997, pp. 502, 503). Õpilane, kelle ema on tippjuht ja isa pere noorima lapsega kodus, suhtub traditsioonilisi soorolle propageerivasse õpikusse ilmselt skeptilisemalt kui õpilane, kelle vanematel on vastupidine rollijaotus. Institutsionaalselt määratud rollile vaatamata on õpilastel võimalus olla õpiku **resistentseks lu-**

gejaks, kes suudab näha võimalusi, mida tekst ei paku (Gilbert, 1992) või lihtsalt eitada kooli ametlikku ja varjatud õppekava (Apple, 1982, p. 96). Need võimalused ei realiseeru juhul, kui õpilane peab õpikuteadmisi loomulikeks ega leia neis midagi vaieldavat.

Et paremini mõista sotsiaalvaldkonna õpikute osa soorollidesse sotsialiseerimisel, tuleb uurida nii õpikuid kui õpilasi. Käesoleva artikli üheks eesmärgiks on teha võrdlev lühikokkuvõte projekti "Soorollid õppekirjanduses" raames uuritud kolme kodaniku- ja inimeseõpetuse valdkonna õpiku kvalitatiivse analüüsi tulemustest. Kirjutise põhieesmärgiks on vaadelda, kas ja kuidas muutusid 9. klassi õpilaste teadmised sugupoolte võrdõiguslikkusest ning nende hoiakud selle suhtes ühe õppeaasta jooksul, mil nad läbisid kodanikuõpetuse kursuse, töötades ühega meie poolt uuritud õpikutest, milleks oli L. Möldre ja A. Tootsi (1997) "Kodanikuõpetus: VIII–IX kl".

Soorollide kujutamine sotsiaalvaldkonna õpikutes

Meeste ja naiste kujutamine nii reaal- kui humanitaarvaldkonna õpikutes on olnud õppekirjanduse kriitiliste uurijate üks meelisteemasid (ülevaateks nt. Johnsen, 1993; Mikk, 2000). Esitan siinkohal võrdluseks vaid ühe ulatuslikuma uurimuse põhitulemused.

Christine E. Sleeter ja Carl A. Grant (1991) uurisid 47 Ameerika Ühendriikides aastatel 1980–1988 välja antud 1.–8. klassi õpikut "rassi, sotsiaalse klassi, sugupoolte ja füüsilise puude" kujutamise seisukohalt. Uurijad tõid välja, et sugupoolte võrdõiguslikkuse järgimine piirdub õpikutes peamiselt seksistliku keelekasutuse vältimisega. Enamikus õpikutes kujutatakse ülekaalukalt mehi; lugeja saab vähe ettekujutust naiste osast ajaloos ja kultuuris, veel vähem seksismist või teistest kaasaegsetest sugupooltega seonduvatest probleemidest. Võrreldes naistega, näidatakse mehi tunduvalt vähem ebatraditsioonilistes rollides, jättes mulje, et mehe soorolli avardumine pole oluline. Ühtlasi edastavad õpikud kujutlust, et seksismiga seonduvaid probleeme enam ei esine ning et "kõik lahingud võrdsuse eest on võidetud" (Sleeter & Grant, 1991, p. 98).

Valimisse kuulus ka 14 sotsiaalvaldkonna õpikut, mis käsitlevad USA ajalugu, elu ja sotsiaalseid tingimusi. Kõik eelmainitu kehtib ka nende õpikute kohta. Lisaks rõhutavad uurijad, et õpiku lugudes ei tooda esile “naise lugu” ehk naise nägemust või esitatakse see parimal juhul järelmõttena. Sündmuste kontekstis on naised nähtamatud või marginaalsed; mõnikord pööratakse neile tähelepanu eraldi lõigus pealkirjaga “Erilised inimesed”, kus käsitletakse mõne naise karjääri ja ühiskondlikku panust või tuuakse eraldi välja mõni sündmus (nt. naistele hääleõiguse andmine). Peamisi poliitika- ja majanduselu puudutavaid otsuseid käsitlevates lõikudes naisi tavaliselt ei mainita (Sleeter & Grant, 1991, pp. 86–87).

Projekti “Soorollid õppekirjanduses” raames uurisime kvalitatiivse sisuanalüüsi meetodil kolme kodaniku- ja inimeseõpetuse valdkonda kuuluvat kaasaegset Eesti õpikut: Silvia Kärneri “**Õpime suhtlema!**” 6. klassile (Säälik, 2001), Leili Möldre ja Anu Tootsi (1997) “**Kodanikuõpetus: VIII–IX kl**”. (vt. Toom, samas kogumikus) ja Tiina Annuki (1999) “**Perekonnaõpetus: 11. klassi õpik**” (vt. Kukner, samas kogumikus).

Kuna eesti keele sõnavara ja grammatika eripära pakub seksistlikuks või üht sugupoolt välistavaks keelekasutuseks, võrreldes indoeuroopa keeltega, vähem võimalusi, ei pööra õpikute autorid ega toimetajad tavaliselt eraldi tähelepanu sellele kui võimalikule probleemile. Ometi ei täheldanud meie uurijad kahes õpikus kolmest üht sugupoolt väljajätvate keelendite taunimisväärset kasutamist. Mõnevõrra üllatuslikult sisaldas palju sellelaadseid väljendeid (nt ärimees, põllumees, peremees, turvamees, koduperenaine) näiliselt kõige neutraalsem “Kodanikuõpetus: VIII–IX kl”. Antud õpiku kontekstis oleks kindlasti tulnud vältida keelendeid “riigimees” ja “võimumees”, mis jätavad mulje, nagu hoiaksid riigitüüri ainult mehed. Positiivseks tuleb lugeda meedias ja igapäevases keelekasutuses juurdunud mõiste “valijamees” vältimist.

Nii nagu Sleeteri ja Granti poolt analüüsitud Ameerika Ühendriikide õpikutes domineerivad ka meie sotsiaalvaldkonna õpikutes mehed: neid on arvuliselt enam ja/või piltidel sagedamini esiplaanil kujutatud. Traditsiooniliste soorollide murdmist esineb samuti harva: perekonnaõpetuse õpikus välditakse seda piinliku hoolikusega, kodanikuõpetuse õpikus võib näha üksnes naiskohtunikku ja -kaasistujaid, suhtlemisõpetuse õpik asetab mehed muuhulgas ka muusikute, arstide ja koka rolli.

Sugupoolte võrdõiguslikkuse probleemist ei räägita sõnaselgelt ka Eesti “pehme” valdkonna õpikutes või rõhutatakse otsesõnu, et võrdsust ei tule nõuda seal, kus ei saa võrdsust olla (Annuk, 1999, lk. 18). Seega üritavad meie sotsiaalvaldkonna õpikud juba eos maha suruda lahingud, mida tulevastel kodanikel tuleks pidada, saavutamaks sugupoolte reaalset võrdõiguslikkust tööturul, poliitikas ja perekonnas. Naisküsimus näib meie õpikute (nais)autorite jaoks olevat tõeline tabuteema.

Naissoo tähtsusest inimkonna ajaloos ei ole võimalik lugeda ka Eesti kodaniku- ja inimeseõpetuse valdkonna õpikutest, isegi mitte Ameerika õpikute rubriigi "Erilised inimesed" analoogidest. Kodanikuõpetuse õpik rõhutab naiste rolli rahvakultuuri edasikandjana meeste arvel isegi üleliia. Tõeliselt kahetsusväärseks tuleb pidada asjaolu, et kodanikuõpetuse õpik ei kujuta praktiliselt üldse naisi poliitilistes ja riigijuhtimisega seotud rollides, ehkki nii Eestist kui naaberriikidest oleks võimalik leida eeskujudeks arvukalt naispoliitikuid, -ministreid, -riigipäid. Ainsa naissoost poliitilise figuurina esineb selles õpikus Suurbritannia kuninganna, kes on naisena selles rollis vaid juhuse tahtel.

Seega tuleb tõdeda, et kõik kolm meie poolt analüüsitud kodaniku-, perekonna- ja inimeseõpetuse valdkonna õpikut kannavad küllaltki tugevat soostereotüüpsuse ja patriarhaalsuse pitserit. Seda tulemust ei ole meie ühiskonna kultuuriliste ja ideoloogiliste arengute kontekstis lihtne üheselt tõlgendada. Teatud mõttes on traditsioonilise rollijaotuse kujutamine ootuspärane: uuritud õpikud ilmusid esmatrükina aastatel 1997, 1998 ja 1999, olles kirjutatud aastakaks varem. Üheksakümnendate keskpaigas ei olnud meeste-naiste võrdõiguslikkusest rääkimine Eesti avalikkuses eriti soositud: meedia kaldus naisõiguslasi pigem naeruvääristama. Suur osa reklaamidest ekspluateeris soostereotüüpe ja naise keha, missindus ja modellindus olid endiselt populaarsed, seades jätkuvalt normiks naise ilu ja mehe maksejõulisust. Mehest või sponsorist sõltuv ilus naine kujunes uueks ideaaltüüpiliseks sotsiaalseks kategooriaks, mida meedia- ja igapäevakeeles hakkas tähistama nimetus "beib(e)". Samas tunnetas Eesti ühiskond väheneva sündivuse probleemi, süüdistades selles paljuski naiste mugavust ja emantsipatsiooni. Kuna vastutuse niisugune atributsioon aitas vähendada kriitikat riigi hoolimatuse, madalate lastetoetuste, nappide lasteaiakohtade jne aadressil, oli see kasulik poliitilisele eliidile, eeskätt konservatiivsematele jõududele, kes ei kiirustanud sugupoolte võrdõiguslikkuse temaatika päevakorda tõstmisega. Erinevatel põhjustel (kartes "feministi" sildi külgekleepimist, lootuses suurendada õpikute vastuvõetavust ja seega müügiedu või pidades traditsioonilisi soorolle lihtsalt enesestmõistetavaks) järgisid sama joont ka õpikute autorid, kirjastajad ja ainekomisjonide liikmed, muutudes seeläbi pahaaimamatult valitseva grupi ja ideoloogia tööriistaks.

Peale päevapoliitika, popkultuuri, meedia ja sümbolilise keskkonna samasuunaliste mõjude tuleb õpikute soostereotüüpsuse taga näha ka äsja seljatatud nõukogude korra äraspidise suunaga mõjutusi. Sotsioloog Iivi Masso sõnutsi ei ole miski "kompromiteerinud egalitaarseid demokraatlikke väärtusi — solidaarsust, võrdsust, õiglust ja võrdõiguslikkust — nii tõhusalt kui Nõukogude propagandamasin, mis need mõisted sisust tühjaks väänas" (Masso, 2001, lk. 162). Olen mujal väitnud, et "tagasipöördumine teatud patriarhaalsete tõerežiimide juurde [20.] sajandi kahe viimase kümnendi aabitsates … on tõlgendatav … uuskodanliku ideoloogia reaktsioonina nõukogudeaegsetele võrdõiguslikkusetaotlustele" (Kalmus, 2001, lk. 26–27), mille groteskseväitu ikoonina on rahva teadvusse sööbinud naiskombainerid ja -traktoristid. Mõistagi ei soovi kaasaegsete õpikute autorid, et neid võidaks vähimalgi määral süüdistada nõukogulikena tunduvate ideede taaselustamises, mistõttu nad kalduvad pahatihti teise äärmusesse.

Eespool mainitule vaatamata on raske mõista, kuidas mõne autori püüdlikkus auditooriumi kujuteldavate ootuste rohkem või vähem teadvustatud järgimisel on viinud tänapäevase sotsiaalse reaalsuse lausmoonutatud kujutamiseni [naispoliitikute ignoreerimine kodanikuõpetuse õpikus ning ürgpatriarhaalse peremudeli idealiseerimine perekonnaõpetuse õpikus deviisi all "*Mehe kodu on maailm, naise maailm on kodu*" (Annuk, 1999, lk. 69; vt ka Kukner, samas kogumikus)]. Erksa meelega õpilasele jääb küll võimalus kriitiliselt tõlgendada nende õpikute poolt esitatavat pilti vastavalt isiklikele kogemustele ja tähelepanekutele, kuid niisugused õpikud ei aita kaasa sugupoolte võrdõiguslikkust soosivate hoiakute kujunemisele.

Õpilaste teadmised ja hoiakud sugupoolte võrdõiguslikkuse küsimustes

Et uurida, kas ja kuidas muutuvad õpilaste poliitilised teadmised ja hoiakud aastase õppe- ja sotsialisatsiooniprotsessi tulemusel, küsitlesime 2000/2001. õ.-a. alguses ja lõpus Tartu ühe eesti ja ühe vene gümnaasiumi kõiki 9. klasside õpilasi. Ankeedile, mis sisaldas ka sugupoolte võrdõiguslikkuse kohta käivaid test- ja hoiakuküsimusi, vastas kokku 135 õpilast: 74 eesti ja 61 vene koolist. Poisse-tüdrukuid oli võrdselt terves valimis (66 ja 69) ja ka kummaski koolis eraldi võetuna.

Teadmised sugupoolte võrdõiguslikkusest

Õpilaste teadlikkust meeste ja naiste võrdsetest õigustest mõõtsime kahe küsimusega (vt. tabel 1). Olgu siinkohal lühidalt välja toodud, kuidas antud küsimusi valgustavad eesti kooli õpilaste poolt kasutatud kodanikuõpetuse õpik (Möldre & Toots, 1997) ja selle venekeelne tõlkeversioon (Toots & Möldre & Žiburtovitš, 1998).

Õpiku mõlemad versioonid mainivad, et *"Õigus teenida riigi relvajõududes on ainult selle riigi kodanikel"* (Möldre & Toots, 1997, lk. 79; Toots & Möldre & Žiburtovitš, 1998, lk. 71), rõhutamata sealjuures otsesõnu, et see õigus laieneb ka naissoost kodanikele. Illustratsioonidel kujutatakse sõjaväelase rollis üksnes mehi.

Naiste ja meeste võrdseid õigusi mainib eestikeelne õpik kolmel korral otsekui möödaminnes: (1) *"Õigusriik tagab kõigi inimeste võrdsuse seaduse ees, olenemata nende soost, vanusest, rahvusest..."* (Möldre & Toots, 1997, lk. 47); (2) *"Osa inimõigusi nimetatakse võõrandamatuteks õigusteks... Nende hulka kuuluvad õigus elule, ..., rassiline, sooline ja rahvuslik võrdsus"* (Möldre & Toots, 1997, lk. 72); (3) *"Naturalisatsiooni korras saab kodakondsust omandada ka kodanikuga abiellumise teel. Soolise võrdsuse põhimõtet tunnustades ei tehta vahet, kas kodakondsus on mehel või naisel"* (Möldre & Toots, 1997, lk. 75). Sealjuures ei mainita, kas nimetatud õigused kehtivad ka Eesti Vabariigis. Viimase näite puhul selgitatakse, et *"Eesti kodakondsusseadus ei näe seni ette abielu kaudu kodakondsuse omandamist"*, mistõttu lugeja ei saa olla kindel, kas soolise võrdsuse põhimõte on tunnustatud üldiselt või üksnes abielu kaudu kodakondsust võimaldavates riikides. Oluline on märkida, et venekeelne õpik rõhutab näidete (1) ja (3) puhul soolist võrdsust veelgi vähem, nentides vaid, et (1) *"Seaduse ees on kõik võrdsed"* (Toots & Möldre & Žiburtovitš, 1998, lk. 44) ning et *"pole oluline, kas kodanik on mees või naine"* (Toots & Möldre & Žiburtovitš, 1998, lk. 67). Seega on õpilasel eelteadmisteta või õpetaja selgitusteta raske aru saada, kas ja millisel määral kehtivad Eestis soolise võrdsuse põhimõtted.

Tabel 1. Õpilaste teadlikkus meeste ja naiste võrdsetest õigustest 2000/2001. õ.-a. (õigete vastuste %).

Sügis 2000					
	Kokku	Poisid	Tüdrukud	Eesti kool	Vene kool
1. Kas naissoost kodanikel on õigus teenida Eesti kaitsejõududes?	69,2*	59,7*	77,9*	80,3*	55,9*
2. Kas Eesti seadused annavad meestele ja naistele võrdsed õigused?	67,7*	69,4	66,2	70,4	64,4
Kevad 2001					
	Kokku	Poisid	Tüdrukud	Eesti kool	Vene kool
1. Kas naissoost kodanikel on õigus teenida Eesti kaitsejõududes?	90,7*	90,6	90,8	95,6*	84,0*
2. Kas Eesti seadused annavad meestele ja naistele võrdsed õigused?	92,4*	98,1*	87,7*	92,6	92,0

* - näitaja erineb statistiliselt olulisel määral ($\alpha < 0,05$) võrreldava rühma vastavast näitajast (kokku sügisel *vs.* kokku kevadel; poisid *vs.* tüdrukud; eesti kool *vs.* vene kool)

Küsitletud õpilaste keskmine eelteadmiste tase oli küllaltki kõrge: naissoost kodanike õigusest teenida Eesti kaitsejõududes oli teadlik 69% ning meeste ja naiste seadusjärgselt võrdsetest õigustest 68% õppeaasta alguses ankeedile vastanud õpilastest. Kaitseväge puudutava küsimuse osas erinesid üksteisest oluliselt poiste ja tüdrukute ning eesti ja vene kooli õpilaste teadmised: eeskätt vene gümnaasiumis õppivad noormehed olid vähem teadlikud naiste õigusest teenida Eesti kaitsejõududes (õigeid vastuseid 41%).

Õppeaasta jooksul suurenes õpilaste teadlikkus meeste ja naiste võrdõiguslikkusest olulisel määral: naiste lubamisest kaitseväkke ja sugupoolte võrdsetest õigustest said teadlikuks vastavalt 81% ning 88% nendest küsitletutest, kes sügisel antud küsimusele õiget vastust ei teadnud. Sügiseste ja kevadiste testitulemuste erinevus on statistiliselt oluline nivool $\alpha = 0{,}000$. Kaitsejõudusid puudutava küsimuse osas vähenes märgatavalt eesti ja vene kooli õpilaste teadmiste vaheline erinevus, jäädes siiski statistiliselt olulisena püsima. Naiste ja meeste seadusjärgse võrdõiguslikkuse teadmise osas tekkis oluline erinevus poiste ja tüdrukute vahele: 12% neidudest ei suutnud õppeaasta jooksul sugupoolte võrdsetes õigustes veenduda. Vähesel määral (neli õpilast kummagi küsimuse osas) esines ka juhtumeid, kus vastaja oli sügisel antud õige vastuse kevadeks “unustanud” — nende õpilaste puhul tähistab see õigesti vastamise juhuslikkust.

Kokkuvõtvalt võib öelda, et õppeaasta jooksul, mil õpiti iseseisva ainena kodanikuõpetust, olid õpilaste teadmised meeste ja naiste võrdsetest õigustest oluliselt suurenenud. Antud uurimuses huvitas meid, missugust rolli võis selles mängida kodanikuõpetuse õpik. Üldiselt pidasid küsitletud õpilased kooliõpikuid oma poliitiliste teadmiste allikana küllaltki tähtsaks: kui sügisel väitis 42% vastanutest, et nad on oma poliitilised teadmised saanud vähemalt mingil määral ka kooliõpikutest, siis kevadeks tõusis niisuguste õpilaste osakaal 62 protsendini. Kahtlemata mõjutas kooliõpikute tähtsuse kasvu õpilaste poliitiliste teadmiste allikana kodanikuõpetuse kursuse läbimine, milles õpikul oli oluline roll: 72% küsitletud õpilastest väitis kevadel, et nad on kodanikuõpetuse tunnis sageli õpikuga töötanud; õpetajatega tehtud intervjuudest selgus, et õpilastel kulus kodanikuõpetuse tunnis õpikuga töötamiseks keskeltläbi 15–25 minutit. Ühtlasi nõustus 61% kevadel ankeedile vastanud õpilastest väitega, et nad on saanud kodanikuõpetuse õpikust palju kasulikke teadmisi.

Võrreldes poliitiliste teadmiste teiste allikatega (erinevad meediakanalid, pereliikmed, eakaaslased, õpetajad) on kooliõpikutel siiski suhteliselt tagasihoidlik roll: saadud poliitiliste teadmiste hulga poolest asetasid õpilased kooliõpikud keskeltläbi seitsmendale, usaldusväärsuselt aga koguni 9.–10. kohale. Sellele vaatamata pidasid õpilased konkreetsete poliitiliste teemade puhul kodanikuõpetuse õpikut oluliseks infoallikaks: näiteks väitis kevadel 43% vastanutest, et nad on saanud just kodanikuõpetuse õpikust teada, miks on valimistel käimine oluline; lisaks oli 31% vastanutest õppinud seda nii kodanikuõpetuse õpikust kui ka teistest allikatest. Sellest, mida tähendab meeste ja naiste võrdõiguslikkus, oli kodanikuõpetuse õpikust lugenud 35% vastanutest; lisaks oli sama suur osa õpilasi saanud sellest teada nii õpikust kui mujaltki. Huvitav on märkida, et kodanikuõpetuse õpikut pidasid sugupoolte võrdsete õiguste osas ühtviisi oluliseks teadmiste allikaks nii võrdõiguslikkust puudutavatele testküsimustele kevadel õigesti vastanud kui ka vastamisel eksinud õpilased, kusjuures valesti vastanud õpilased nimetasid õpikut meeste-naiste võrdõiguslikkusest informeeriva allikana isegi mõne protsendi võrra sagedamini. Kodanikuõpetuse õpiku kui võrdõiguslikkuse-alase infoallika olulisuse ja vastavate teadmiste aastase juurdekasvu vahel statistiliselt olulist seost ei esinenud, ehkki need õpilased, kes õpikut sellealase info allikana nimetasid, õppisid aasta jooksul naiste-meeste võrdsete õiguste kohta veidi enam juurde. Võttes arvesse asjaolusid, et kodanikuõpetuse õpik puudutab sugupoolte võrdseid õigusi tegelikult väga vähesel määral ega käsitle neid iseseisva teemana ning et suure osa õpilaste väitel on nad antud õpikust lugenud ka sellest, kuidas kaitsta keskkonda, ehkki vastav teema seal puudub, võib arvata, et õpilased on kodanikuõpetuse õpikut konkreetsete poliitiliste teadmiste allikana siiski mingil põhjusel üle hinnanud.

Vaatlesime ka nn võrdõiguslikkuse-teadlikkuse seost teiste tunnustega, moodustades selleks sügisese ja kevadise teadlikkuse indeksid (mõlemale testküsimusele antud õigete vastuste summa skaalal 0–2). Kevadise ja sügisese teadlikkuse vahe andis uueks tunnuseks võrdõiguslikkuse-alaste teadmiste aastase juurdekasvu, mis varieerus vahemikus -1 kuni +2.

Nagu tabelis 1 toodud andmed lubavad oletada, sõltus õpilaste sügisene ehk lähteteadmiste tase olulisel määral õppekeelest: vene gümnaasiumis õppivad noored teadsid õppeaasta alguses meeste ja naiste võrdsetest õigustest vähem (keskmiste erinevus 0,3 testipalli; $\alpha = 0,02$). Õppeaasta lõpus ei edestanud eesti gümnaasiumi õpilased vene koolis õppivaid eakaaslasi kahe testküsimuse kokkuvõttes enam statistiliselt olulisel määral. Tüdrukute ja poiste teadmised kahe küsimuse õigete vastuste summana statistiliselt oluliselt ei erinenud.

Õpilaste võrdõiguslikkuse-teadlikkuse tase ei sõltunud üldiselt perekondlikest eripäradest [kas isa elab koos perega, kes on õpilase väitel tema kodus perekonnapea, koduse suhtlemisatmosfääri iseloomust (demokraatlik *vs.* autoritaarne), vanemate haridustasemest, pere suurusest, õdede-vendade arvust)]. Huvitava perekondliku faktorina sõltus õpilaste lähteteadmiste tase vanavanemate olemasolust leibkonnas: koos vanaema ja/või vanaisaga elavad noored teadsid õppeaasta alguses sugupoolte võrdõiguslikkusest keskmiselt 0,4 testipalli võrra rohkem ($\alpha \leq 0,01$).

Teadmised meeste-naiste võrdsetest õigustest ei sõltunud õppeedukusest, haridusalastest ambitsioonidest ega pereliikmete, õpetajate, sõprade või koolikaaslastega poliitilistel teemadel vestlemise sagedusest. Lähteteadlikkuse taseme ning isalt, sõpradelt või koolikaaslastelt poliitiliste teadmiste saamise vahel valitses koguni oluline negatiivne korrelatsioon: mida kindlamalt õpilane väitis, et ei ole oma isalt ega eakaaslastelt poliitilisi teadmisi saanud, seda kõrgem oli tema testipallide summa õppeaasta alguses. Järelikult ei mängi õpilase suhe kooliga, perekond, õpetajad ega eakaaslased eriti suurt rolli võrdõiguslikkuse-alaste teadmiste kujunemisel.

Teadlikkus naiste-meeste võrdõiguslikkusest sõltus olulisel määral usklikkusest: end usklikuks pidavaid õpilasi (kellest 71% õpib vene koolis) iseloomustas nii õppeaasta alguses kui lõpus keskmiselt madalam teadmiste tase antud valdkonnas. Sügisel teadis vaid 21% usklikest õpilastest sugupoolte seadusjärgselt võrdsetest õigustest; naiste lubamisest kaitseväkke oli teadlik 50%. Kevadeks oli õigete vastuste osakaal usklike õpilaste hulgas tõusnud vastavalt 82 ja 64 protsendini, jäädes siiski alla end mitteusklikuks (õigeid vastuseid 97% ja 93%) või teatud mõttes usklikuks pidavate õpilaste (91% ja

96%) teadlikkusele. Seega on antud küsimuses religioonil koolivälise sotsialiseeriva mõjurina küllaltki oluline roll.

Õpilaste teadmised meeste-naiste võrdsetest õigustest sõltusid mõnevõrra ka meediatarbimisele kulutatavast ajast, kusjuures raamatute ja ajalehtede-ajakirjade lugemisele keskmiselt rohkem kulutatud aeg kaldus lähteteadmiste taset pigem suurendama, ülemäärane telerivaatamine aga vähendama [sügisesele teadlikkusele mõjus positiivselt üksnes päevakajaliste saadete (nt. Pealtnägija, Agenda) sagedasem vaatamine]. Õppeaasta jooksul suurenes rohkem just nende õpilaste teadmiste tase, kes veetsid enam aega televiisori ees ning väitsid kindlamini, et on oma poliitilised teadmised saanud televisioonist. Niisuguseid seoseid võib ilmselt tõlgendada kodanikuõpetuse kursuse kompenseeriva mõjuna nendele õpilastele, kes eelistavad telepildi tarbimist trükisõna lugemisele. Ühtlasi võib tihedam televiisori vaatamine, mis on üldjuhul orienteeritud pigem meelelahutusele ja fiktsioonile, luua väärama ettekujutuse sugupoolte võrdõiguslikkusest.

Sügisese teadlikkuse tase oli tugevas positiivses korrelatsioonis ($\alpha < 0{,}01$) Eesti poliitiliste uudiste lugemise sageduse, Eesti poliitikaelu jälgimise ning Eesti ja Tartu poliitilise eluga kursis oleku enesehinnanguga: õpilased, kes jälgisid sagedamini ja suurema huviga Eesti poliitikat, teadsid õppeaasta alguses ka sugupoolte võrdõiguslikkuse kohta keskmiselt rohkem kui nende eakaaslased. Seevastu õpilased, kes said naiste-meeste seadusjärgselt võrdsetest õigustest rohkem teada alles vaadeldava õppeaasta jooksul, ei lugenud eriti sageli Eesti poliitilisi uudiseid; võrreldes antud küsimustes juba sügisel enam informeeritud eakaaslastega, pidasid nad end kodumaise poliitilise eluga ühtlasi vähem kursis olevaks.

Õpilaste sügisene teadlikkus võrdõiguslikkusest on ootuspäraselt positiivses seoses ka üldiste poliitikateadmiste tasemega, eriti teadmiste lähtenivooga õppeaasta alguses ($r = 0{,}6$; $\alpha = 0{,}000$), mis omakorda sõltub olulisel määral Eesti poliitikaelu jälgimisest, poliitilise eluga kursisoleku enesehinnangust, poliitikat käsitlevate telesaadete (uudised, päevakajalised saated) ja ajaleherubriikide (sise- ja välispoliitilised uudised, arvamused) jälgimisest ning pereliikmetega poliitikast vestlemise sagedusest.

Koolivälistest sotsialiseerimismõjuritest mängivad seega võrdõiguslikkuse-teadlikkuse kujunemisel olulisimat rolli Eesti poliitikale orienteeritud meediatarbimine (mis on omakorda iseloomulikum eesti koolis õppivatele noortele) ning religioon (õigemini viimase puudumine teadlikkust suurendava tegurina). Aastasel kodanikuõpetuse kursusel kui koolisisesel mõjuril on olnud kompenseeriv funktsioon: õppeaasta jooksul on Eesti poliitilise eluga vähem kursis olevate, vene gümnaasiumis õppivate ja usklike õpilaste teadmised meeste-naiste võrdsetest õigustest suurenenud. Konkreetse kodanikuõpetuse õpiku määravat tähtsust antud valdkonnas teadmiste suurenemise osas ei saa olemasolevate andmete põhjal ei kinnitada ega ümber lükata.

Huvi "naisküsimuse" vastu

Õpilaste huvi sugupoolte võrdõiguslikkuse problemaatika vastu mõõtsime indikaatoriga "naiste madalamad palgad" blokis "Mil määral oled Sa huvitatud järgmistest teemadest ja probleemidest?". Üldiselt ei jätnud naiste madalamate palkade probleem 9. klassi õpilasi ükskõikseks (vt. tabel 2): nimetatud teemast oli vähemalt mõnevõrra huvitatud 70% vastanutest. Antud küsimuse puhul avaldus statistiliselt oluline erinevus ($\alpha = 0,000$) poiste ja tüdrukute hoiakutes: neiud tundsid neid endid tulevikus lähemalt puudutava probleemi vastu tunduvalt suuremat huvi. Teemast huvitatus oli kõrgem ka vene gümnaasiumis õppivate noorte seas ($\alpha = 0,007$). Peale vastajate soo ja õppekeele sõltus naiste madalamatest palkadest huvitatus pereliikmete ja õpetajatega (kuid mitte sõprade ega eakaaslastega) poliitikast vestlemise sagedusest: täiskasvanutega poliitilistel teemadel sagedamini vestlevad õpilased olid ka antud küsimuses sotsiaalselt tundlikumad. Tugev positiivne korrelatsioon ($r = 0,35$; $\alpha = 0,000$) esines ka antud probleemist huvitatuse ja majapidamistöödele kulutatava aja hulga vahel: tõenäoliselt tunnetavad koduste töödega rohkem koormatud õpilased (valdavalt tütarlapsed) reaalset soolist ebavõrdsust teravamalt. Naiste madalamatest palkadest enam huvituvad noored kulutavad ühtlasi vähem aega teleri vaatamisele ($r = - 0,21$; $\alpha = 0,02$), olles samas endi hinnangul paremini kursis poliitilise eluga Eestis. Ühtlasi kulub neil rohkem aega koduste ülesannete tegemisele, nad saavad koolis paremaid hindeid ning nad tunnevad enam huvi teistegi sotsiaalsete ja poliitiliste probleemide nagu näiteks Eesti kodakondsus- ja hariduspoliitika, kuritegevuse ja narkomaaniaprobleemi, Eesti vähemusrahvuste ja Venemaa poliitilise olukorra vastu. Seega võib väita, et "naisküsimuse" vastu tunnevad suuremat huvi üldiselt tõsisema ellusuhtumisega noored.

Tabel 2. Õpilaste huvi naiste madalamate palkade vastu 2000/2001. õ.-a. algul (%).

Huvi	Kokku	Poisid	Tüdrukud	Eesti kool	Vene kool
Ei huvita üldse	10,9	19,7	2,9	9,9	12,1
Ei tunne erilist huvi	19,4	26,2	13,2	26,8	10,3
Mõnevõrra huvitatud	27,9	29,5	26,5	33,8	20,7
Väga huvitatud	41,9	24,6	57,4	29,6	56,9

Naiste madalamatest palkadest huvitatus oli samuti seotud usklikkusega: end usklikuks pidavad õpilased tundsid selle probleemi vastu oluliselt suuremat huvi. Nimetatud asjaolu seab uude valgusse ka ülalpool kirjeldatud seose religioossuse ja väiksema võrdõiguslikkuse-teadlikkuse vahel: võimalik, et usklikud noored tunnetavad naiste ebavõrdset seisundit tööturul sedavõrd teravalt, et tajuvad konkreetsete teadmiste puudumisel ka Eesti seadusandlust mittevõrdõiguslikuna.

Soostereotüüpsed hoiakud

Õpilaste arusaamu soorollidest ning võimalikke soostereotüüpseid hoiakuid mõõtsime nelja väite abil (vt. tabel 3), mis olid kasutusel ka EV Haridusministeeriumi ja Tartu Ülikooli ühisuurimuses "Eesti koolinoor 1998."

Võib väita, et 9. klassi õpilaste hoiakud sugupoolte võrdõiguslikkuse küsimustes ei ole veel väga kindlalt välja kujunenud: seda näitab küllaltki suur hulk "raske öelda" vastuseid, eriti majandus- ja poliitikaelu puudutavate väidete osas (1. ja 2. väide). Perekondliku tööjaotuse suhtes omavad õpilased sagedamini selget isiklikku arvamust (3. ja 4. väide). Tähelepanu väärib see, et teatud küsimustes (nt 3. väide) on õpilaste hoiakud peaaegu diametraalselt erinevad, s.t väite pooldajaid ja vastaseid on nii sügisel kui kevadel enam-vähem võrdselt.

Õppeaasta alguses esinesid poiste ja tüdrukute hoiakutes (1. ja 3. väide) olulised erinevused. Õppeaasta lõpuks olid need tasandunud: paljuski seetõttu, et osa tüdrukuid asus kõhklevale positsioonile.

Nii sügisel kui kevadel erinesid üksteisest oluliselt (kahe väite osas) ka eesti ja vene koolis õppivate noorte hoiakud. Kui õppeaasta alguses puudutas arusaamade erinevus nii ühiskondlikku kui perekondlikku sfääri, siis õppeaasta lõpuks oli see nihkunud selgelt perekondlikule tasandile: sugupooltevahelise ühiskondliku tööjaotuse suhtes olid vene õpilased kevadel eesti eakaaslastega suhteliselt sama meelt, peresisese rollijaotuse küsimustes aga selgelt patriarhaalsemad.

Kogu valimi ulatuses ei erinenud õpilaste sügisesed ja kevadised ankeedivastused oluliselt: hoiakute muutust ühegi väite osas ei kinnitanud mitteparameetrilised testid (hoiakute muutust 1. väite osas näitas kolmest läbiviidud testist vaid märgitest olulisuse nivool $\alpha = 0,04$), sõltuvate rühmade keskmiste võrdlus ega korrelatsioonanalüüs (viimaste puhul ei võetud arvesse vastuseid “raske öelda”). Sügisesed ankeedivastused olid kevadel samadele küsimustele antud vastustega positiivses korrelatsioonis, kusjuures 2. ja 3. väite osas esines oluline seos nivool $\alpha = 0,000$ (vastavalt $r = 0,47$ ja $r = 0,70$). Kõik need tulemused kinnitavad hoiakute suhtelist püsivust terves valimis õppeaasta jooksul.

Korrelatsioonanalüüsist selgus ühtlasi, et vastused neljale väitele ei olnud omavahel eriti seotud: sügisel ei esinenud statistiliselt olulist korrelatsiooni ühegi väitepaari vahel, kusjuures leidus nõrku ebaloogilisi seoseid (nt kaldusid naisülemust mittesoovivad noored pooldama naiste pääsu tähtsatele kohtadele; $r = 0,15$). See kinnitab veelgi (lisaks suurele hulgale “raske öelda” vastustele) soostereotüüpsete hoiakute väljakujunematust õppeaasta alguses.

Kevadeks olid tekkinud ootuspärase suunaga statistiliselt olulised seosed 1. ja 3., 1. ja 4. ning 3. ja 4. väitega nõustumise vahele, s.t juhtivatel kohtadel rohkem naisi näha soovivad noored kaldusid mitte nõustuma mehe kui peamise leivateenija rolliga ning pooldama koduste tööde võrdset jaotust jne. Koos üldise võrdõiguslikkuseteadlikkuse kasvuga õppeaasta jooksul näitab see selgemate arusaamade kujunemist soorolle puudutavates küsimustes, mis ei välista õpilaste hoiakute püsivalt diametraalset jagunemist teatud väidete osas.

Et saada paremat ülevaadet õpilaste soostereotüüpsetest hoiakutest tervikuna, koostasime nn sügisese ja kevadise soostereotüüpsuse indeksi, mis hõlmab vastuseid kõigile neljale küsimusele (vt. joonis 1 ja joonis 2). Negatiivsete väärtuste vältimiseks on skaalat nihutatud +7 võrra, mistõttu neutraalsele koondhoiakule vastab skaalapunkt 7. Sellest väiksemad väärtused iseloomustavad pigem patriarhaalset, suuremad väärtused pigem sugude võrdõiguslikkust pooldavat maailmavaadet.

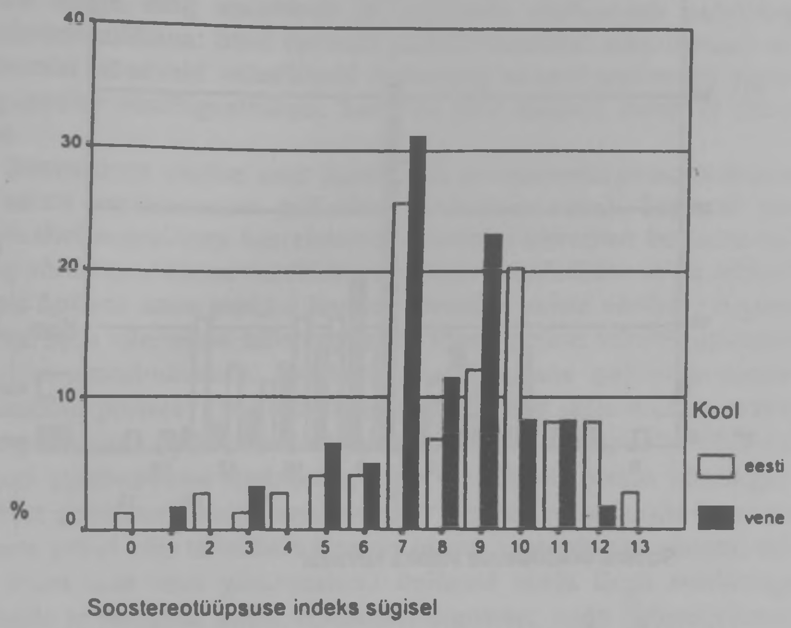
Tabel 3. Õpilaste soostereotüüpsed hoiakud 2000/2001. õ.-a. (%).

Hoiakud		Sügis 2000				
		Kokku	Poisid	Tüdrukud	Eesti kool	Vene kool
1. Tähtsatel kohtadel majanduses ja poliitikas peaks olema rohkem naisi	täiesti või enam-vähem nõus	44,5	32,8*	55,2*	48,6	39,7
	raske öelda	41,4	47,5*	35,8*	40,0	43,1
	pole eriti või üldse nõus	14,1	19,7*	9,0 *	11,4	17,2
2. Ma ei tahaks, et mul oleks naisülemus	täiesti või enam-vähem nõus	25,0	32,8	17,9	17,1*	34,5*
	raske öelda	39,1	29,5	47,8	48,6*	27,6*
	pole eriti või üldse nõus	35,9	37,7	34,3	34,3*	37,9*
3. Mehe asi on raha teenida, naise asi kodu ja pere eest hoolitseda	täiesti või enam-vähem nõus	38,3	36,1*	40,3*	24,3*	55,2*
	raske öelda	15,6	26,2*	6,0 *	17,1*	13,8*
	pole eriti või üldse nõus	46,1	37,7*	53,7*	58,6*	31,0*
4. Mehed ja naised peaksid kodutöid võrdselt tegema	täiesti või enam-vähem nõus	49,6	46,8	52,2	55,7	42,4
	raske öelda	29,5	29,0	29,9	28,6	30,5
	pole eriti või üldse nõus	20,9	24,2	17,9	15,7	27,1

Hoiakud		Kevad 2001				
		Kokku	Poisid	Tüdrukud	Eesti kool	Vene kool
1. Tähtsatel kohtadel majanduses ja poliitikas peaks olema rohkem naisi	täiesti või enam-vähem nõus	36,4	30,2	41,5	30,9	44,0
	raske öelda	44,9	49,1	41,5	52,9	34.0
	pole eriti või üldse nõus	18,6	20,8	16,9	16,2	22,0
2. Ma ei tahaks, et mul oleks naisülemus	täiesti või enam-vähem nõus	25,4	35,8	16,9	19,1	34,0
	raske öelda	34,7	28,3	40,0	38,2	30,0
	pole eriti või üldse nõus	39,8	35,8	43,1	42,6	36,0
3. Mehe asi on raha teenida, naise asi kodu ja pere eest hoolitseda	täiesti või enam-vähem nõus	40,2	44,2	36,9	22,1*	65,3*
	raske öelda	16,2	19,2	13,8	20,6*	10,2*
	pole eriti või üldse nõus	43,6	36,5	49,2	57.4*	24,5*
4. Mehed ja naised peaksid kodutöid võrdselt tegema	täiesti või enam-vähem nõus	61,0	62,3	60,0	73,5*	44,0*
	raske öelda	15,3	13,2	16,9	13,2*	18.0*
	pole eriti või üldse nõus	23,7	24,5	23,1	13,2*	38.0*

* - näitaja sõltub statistiliselt olulisel määral ($\alpha < 0,05$) rühmatunnusest (poisid *vs*. tüdrukud; eesti kool *vs*. vene kool)

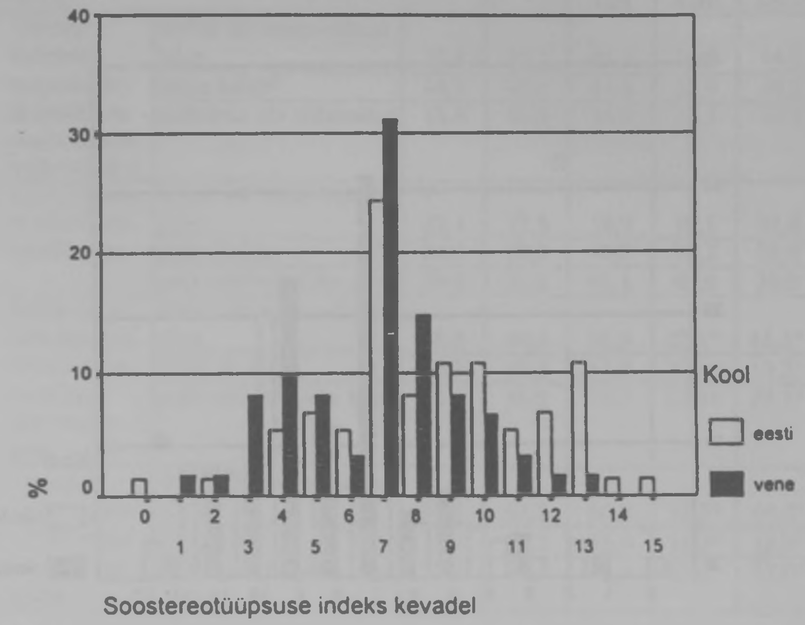
Kahe joonise võrdlemisel on näha, et sügisene koondhoiak on veidi kallutatud võrdõiguslikkust pooldava maailmavaate suunas, kevadel on arvamused pooluste vahel ühtlasemalt jagunenud, lähenedes rohkem normaaljaotusele. Ehkki nii õppeaasta alguses kui lõpus leidub praktiliselt võrdselt (ja ühtlasi kõige enam) neid õpilasi, kelle koondhoiak jääb neutraalseks (skaalapunkt 7), on mediaan kevadeks nihkunud 8-lt 7-le ehk patriarhaalsuse suunas. Konkreetsetes arvudes väljendatuna tähendab see, et kui õppeaasta alguses oli neid õpilasi, kelle soostereotüüpsuse koondnäitaja jäi alla 8 palli, 44%, siis kevadel juba 53%. Indeksi keskmine on vähenenud 8,1 pallilt 7,7 pallini, mis ei ole siiski statistiliselt oluline erinevus. Ühtlasi on sügisene ja kevadine koondnäitaja omavahel positiivses seoses ($r = 0,22$; $\alpha = 0,01$). Seega ei ole võimalik väita, et valimis tervikuna oleksid õpilaste soostereotüüpsed hoiakud vaadeldava õppeaasta jooksul statistiliselt olulisel määral muutunud.



Joonis 1. Õpilaste soostereotüüpsed hoiakud 2000/2001. õ.-a. algul (%).

Eesti ja vene kooli õpilaste koondhoiakute keskmised (vastavalt 8,3 ja 7,8) sügisel oluliselt ei erine, ent kevadeks on vene gümnaasiumis õppivad noored muutunud oluliselt patriarhaalsemaks (keskmine 6,8, eesti noortel 8,5; $\alpha \leq 0,001$), mida võis ette aimata juba algtunnuste analüüsi põhjal (vt. tabel 3). Vene kooli õpilaste sügisene ja kevadine koondnäitaja ei ole omavahel korrelatsioonis; ühtlasi erinevad ka indeksite keskmised (vastavalt 7,8 ja 6,8) olulisuse nivool $\alpha = 0,013$. Seega tuleb nentida, et vene gümnaasiumi kasvandike soostereotüüpsed hoiakud on õppeaasta jooksul muutunud — paraku ebasoovitavas suunas. Eesti kooli õpilaste koondhoiakus statistiliselt olulist muutust toimunud ei ole: vaevumärgatav nihe

(8,3->8,5) on siiski võrdõiguslikkust pooldava maailmavaate suunas.



Joonis 2. Õpilaste soostereotüüpsed hoiakud 2000/2001. õ.-a. lõpus (%).

Noormeeste ja neidude koondhoiakute keskmised ei erine oluliselt ei sügisel (vastavalt 7,8 ja 8,4) ega kevadel (7,5 ja 8,0), ehkki nii õppeaasta alguses kui lõpus on tüdrukud veidi enam võrdõiguslikkust pooldavalt meelestatud.

Soostereotüüpsuse koondnäitaja ei sõltu statistiliselt olulisel määral õpilase perekondlikest eripäradest (sellest, kas isa elab koos perega, kes on kodus perekonnapea; koduse suhtlemisatmosfääri iseloomust, vanemate haridustasemest, pere suurusest, õdede-vendade arvust, vanavanemate olemasolust leibkonnas), usklikkusest (end usklikuks pidavate õpilaste koondindeksite keskmised on eakaaslaste keskmistest koondnäitajatest siiski mõnevõrra madalamad ehk rohkem patriarhaalsusele kalduvad), üldisele meediatarbimisele, õppimisele või majapidamistöödele kulutatavast ajast, meediatarbimise poliitikale orienteeritusest, poliitilise eluga kursisoleku enesehinnangust ega poliitikast vestlemise sagedusest. Õppeaasta alguses oli koondhoiak positiivses seoses õppeedukuse, üldiste poliitikateadmiste hulga ning ajalehtede ja sugulaste olulisusega poliitiliste teadmiste allikana: hästi õppivad ja informeeritud ning rohkem süvenemist nõudvaid infoallikaid kasutavad noored pooldasid pigem sugupoolte võrdõiguslikkust. Kevadel neid seoseid enam ei esinenud.

Statistiliselt oluline seos puudus ka soostereotüüpsuse indeksite ja naiste madalamatest palkadest huvitatuse vahel. See-eest olid omavahel negatiivses korrelatsioonis hoiaku kevadine koondnäitaja ning võrdõiguslikkuse-teadlikkuse aastane juurdekasv: mida rohkem õppis õpilane aasta jooksul juurde meeste ja naiste võrdsete õiguste kohta, seda vähem oli talle õppeaasta lõpus omane võrdõiguslikkust pooldav maailmavaade. Järelikult suutis aastane poliitilise sotsialisatsiooni protsess (ja kodanikuõpetuse kursus selle olulise osana) kompenseerida õpilaste mõningaid puudujääke sugupoolte võrdseid õigusi puudutavates teadmistes, kuid ei aidanud kaasa võrdõiguslikkust pooldava hoiaku omaksvõtule. Eeskätt vene koolis õppivate noorte puhul võis täheldada arengut pigem vastupidises suunas: mida enam said vene gümnaasiumi õpilased teada Eesti seadustega naistele ja meestele antud võrdsetest õigustest, seda vähem suutsid nad aktsepteerida selle aluseks olevat ideoloogiat. Niisuguse seose tagamaid on olemasolevate andmete põhjal küllaltki keeruline interpreteerida. Võimalik, et uued teadmised (sealh. naiste õigus teenida kaitsejõududes) olid vanadega sedavõrd vastuolus, et ei paigutunud vanadest teadmistest tulenevate arusaamade ehk interpretatsiooniskeemide raamistikku. Vene kooli õpilased pidid uued teadmised kooliteadmistena omandama, kuid võisid eitada vastavate seaduste mõttekust ja legitiimsust — seda enam, et tegemist on selle riigi seadustega, mille kodakondsus- ja keelepoliitika suhtes on nad küllaltki kriitilised. Tunnistades sugupoolte võrdõiguslikkust tagavad seadused mitteõigustatuks, pidid õpilased üle vaatama oma senised arusaamad meeste ja naiste "õigest" kohast sootsiumis ja perekonnas ning interpretatsiooniskeeme vajadusel veelgi suurema patriarhaalsuse suunas korrigeerima. Niisuguste kognitiivsete manöövrite tulemusel võisid ühtlasi muutuda patriarhaalsemaks vene gümnaasiumi kasvandike hoiakud. Samas võib tegemist olla ka mõne konkreetse õpetaja mõjuga.

Peale ankeetide täitmise sügisel ja kevadel kirjutasid õpilased õppeaasta keskel essee ette antud ühiskondlik-poliitilisel teemal. 25 noorega viisime esseede põhjal läbi semistruktureeritud teemaintervjuud. Esseeteemad sugupoolte võrdõiguslikkust ei puudutanud — selles alauurimuses huvitas meid õpilaste suhtumine integratsiooni ja ühiskonnaelus osalemisse. Väärib siiski märkimist, et kaks eesti õpilast — poiss ja tüdruk — käsitlesid sugupooltega seonduvat essees "Kuidas mina, tulevane kodanik, saan osaleda ühiskonna elus?". Nimelt mainis 9. klassi neiu, et ta tahaks väga minna sõjaväkke ning õppida seda, mida poisidki. Tema koolivend aga kirjutas: "Presidendiks ma valiksin naissoost isiku. Sellepärast, et mehed kes saavad presidendiks ajavad mingit jura ja lubavad kõike teha aga ei tee. Naissoost isikud on ausamad, kui nad lubavad midagi, siis nad üritavad midagi teha". Seega esinesid mõlemad selle teema vabatahtlikult üles võtnud õpilased soostereotüüpe murdva avaldusega. Intervjuudest selgus, et niisuguste mõtete peale oli kumbki õpilane tulnud täiesti iseseisvalt. Tütarlaps polnud sõjaväkke minekust sõbrannadegagi rääkinud: "See on ikka minu isiklik arvamus, ma küll pole kedagi kuulnud, et keegi tüdrukutest tahaks minna". Noormees oli naiste suuremas aususes veendunud isiklike kogemuste põhjal: "No vahetundides olen tüdrukutega rääkinud, nemad midagi ei valeta, räägivad kohe välja otse. Poisid nagu vingerdavad ja sedasi". Seega võivad õpilased iseseisva refleksiooni teel jõuda ka näiliselt kivistunud arusaamade ("Naise koht ei ole sõjaväes"; "Mehe sõna maksab" jne.) vastu käivate tõdemusteni ning seda oma õpikute kiuste.

Kokkuvõte

Õpikute sisu- ning õpilaste teadmiste ja hoiakute analüüsi tulemused võime kokku võtta järgmiste teesidena:

(1) Meie poolt uuritud Eesti kodaniku- ja inimeseõpetuse valdkonna õpikud sarnanevad paljuski Ameerika Ühendriikides 1980ndatel aastatel ilmunud sotsiaalvaldkonna õpikutega. Tegelikkust moonutavate ning valdavalt traditsioonilisi soorolle

kujutavatena ei aita need kaasa sugupoolte võrdõiguslikkust soosivate hoiakute kujunemisele;

(2) 9. klassi õpilaste teadmised meeste ja naiste võrdsetest õigustest suurenesid kodanikuõpetuse kursust sisaldava õppeaasta jooksul oluliselt. Koolivälistest sotsialiseerimismõjuritest mängisid võrdõiguslikkuse-teadlikkuse kujunemisel olulisimat rolli Eesti poliitikale orienteeritud meediatarbimine ning religioon (täpsemalt selle puudumine teadlikkust suurendava tegurina). Koolisisestest mõjuritest oli aastane kodanikuõpetuse kursus täitnud kompenseerivat funktsiooni Eesti poliitilise eluga vähem kursis olevate, vene gümnaasiumis õppivate ja usklike õpilaste jaoks, suurendades nende teadmisi naiste-meeste võrdsetest õigustest. Konkreetse kodanikuõpetuse õpiku tähtsust niisuguste teadmiste suurenemisel ei saa kinnitada ega ümber lükata, kuna õpik käsitleb antud küsimusi väga vähesel määral ning õpiku olulisust puudutavad andmed on mõneti vastuolulised;

(3) 14–15-aastased noored on võrdlemisi huvitatud sugupoolte võrdõiguslikkuse problemaatikast konkreetsel tasandil; huvi ei ole seotud hoiakuga naiste-meeste võrdsete õiguste suhtes;

(4) 9. klassi õpilaste hoiakud meeste-naiste võrdõiguslikkuse suhtes ei ole veel väga selgelt välja kujunenud. Teatud küsimustes on noorte hoiakud diametraalselt erinevad, s.t sugupoolte võrdõiguslikkuse ja traditsioonilise rollijaotuse pooldajaid esineb peaaegu võrdselt. Õppeaasta jooksul muutusid õpilaste arusaamad soorollidest mõnevõrra selgemaks. Eesti koolis õppivate noorte hoiakute koondnäitaja jäi praktiliselt samaks, vene gümnaasiumi õpilased muutusid aga oluliselt patriarhaalsemaks. Oluline seos esines soostereotüüpsete hoiakute kevadise koondnäitaja ning võrdõiguslikkuse-teadlikkuse aastase juurdekasvu vahel: mida enam õppis õpilane aasta jooksul juurde naiste ja meeste võrdsete õiguste kohta, seda vähem omas ta õppeaasta lõpus võrdõiguslikkust pooldavat maailmavaadet (eeskätt puudutab see vene koolis õppivaid noori). Järelikult suutis aastane poliitilise sotsialisatsiooni protsess (ja kodanikuõpetuse kursus selle olulise osana) kompenseerida õpilaste mõningaid puudujääke sugupoolte võrdseid õigusi puudutavates teadmistes, kuid ei aidanud kaasa võrdõiguslikkust pooldava hoiaku omaksvõtule;

(5) Olemasolevate andmete põhjal ei ole võimalik välja tuua ühtegi konkreetset koolivälist tegurit, mis mõjutaks soostereotüüpseid hoiakuid olulisel määral kindlas suunas. Mõne juhusliku teguri ja iseseisva refleksiooni koosmõju tulemusena võivad õpilaste arusaamad soorollidest avarduda; välistada ei saa ka vastupidist.

Diskussioon

Ülalpool mainitud tulemused lubavad väita, et sihikindla ja oskusliku kodanikukasvatuse abil peaks olema võimalik avardada põhikooli õpilaste arusaamu soorollidest ning kujundada neis sugupoolte võrdõiguslikkuse suhtes soosivamaid hoiakuid. Pelgalt teadmiste jagamisest meeste ja naiste seadusjärgselt võrdsete õiguste kohta ei piisa: nagu nägime, võib harjumatute teadmiste peale sunnitud omandamine kaasa tuua hoiakute muutumise ebasoovitavas suunas. Lisaks teadmistele sugupoolte võrdõiguslikkusest vajavad õpilased ka vastava problemaatika arutelu ja analüüsi.

Paraku ei paku meie praegused kodaniku- ja inimeseõpetuse valdkonna õpikud õieti ei üht ega teist, paistes silma sotsiaalse reaalsuse moonutatud kujutamise, probleemidest vaikimise ja traditsiooniliste soorollide propageerimisega. Mõistagi ei ole õpikute kirjutamine kerge töö, kõige muu hulgas nõuaks ka soorollide adekvaatne kujutamine autoritelt lisatähelepanu ja -energiat — võimalik, et ka oma isiklike veendumuste eiramist. Kaasaegsete sotsiaalvaldkonna õpikute autorid peaksid siiski arvestama, et naiselikkus ja mehelikkus ei ole sünnipärased, vaid sotsiaalselt konstrueeritud ja õpitavad omadused (Wing, 1997, p. 502), mida kinnistatakse keele abil (Weedon, 1987). Stereotüüpsed soorollid tunduvad loomupärastena, nende dekonstrueerimine ning teistsuguste arvamuste pakkumine õpilastele on äärmiselt keeruline. Teoreetikud on seisukohal, et ainuüksi alternatiivsete rollimudelite andmisest ei piisa (Wing, 1997, p. 502), kuna paljud õpilased võivad vastu seista nende jaoks võõrastele ideedele (Walkerdine, 1987). Seetõttu peaksid autorid lugejatele pakkuma **alternatiivseid realistlikke kujutisi**, mis seostuksid õpilaste tegelike kogemustega, aga ka **alternatiivseid fantaasiaid** (Wing, 1997, p. 503). Kodaniku- ja inimeseõpetuse valdkonna õpikute puhul võiksid alternatiivsed realistlikud kujutised tähendada kõigile tuntud naispoliitikute, -tippjuhtide, -õpetlaste kujutamist kõrvuti samade tegevusalade meessoost esindajatega, nende lühielulugusid, katkeid intervjuudest jne; erinevate ühiskonnas levinud peremudelite tutvustamist, nende tugevate ja nõrkade külgede analüüsi, üht või teist mudelit esindava pere liikmete arvamusi jne. Alternatiivseid fantaasiaid võiksid stimuleerida ülesanded ja rollimängud, milles õpilased peaksid kujutama ette oma koolipäeva vastassoo esindajana (Mis oleks siis teisiti? Miks? Kas see peab nii olema?), arutlema, kas ja kuidas sugu mõjutab nende elukutse valikut (Kas õpilase unelmate elukutse oleks teistsugune, kui ta oleks poiss/tüdruk? Miks?), kujutlema end Eesti presidendi, peaministri, kohaliku omavalitsuse juhina jne.

Lõpetuseks tooksin näite soorollide problemaatika käsitlemisest ühes Saksamaa sotsiaalteaduste õpikus (gsw, 1998). Tegemist on 9.–10. klassi õpikuga, mille kaante vahele on mahutatud kodanikuõpetus, ajalugu ja geograafia. Kõige esimene peatükk selles õpikus kannab pealkirja "Võrdõiguslikkus — kas naisküsimus?". Teemale on pühendatud tervelt 16 lehekülge. Peatükk algab soostereotüüpide otsustava ründamisega: ema ja isa, poega ja tütart kujutava perepildi taustal (gsw, 1998, S. 6–7) seisavad niisugused väited nagu "Minu ülemus on naine", "Ema parandas mu jalgratta ära", "Jürgen oskab hästi süüa teha", "Judith mängib igal pühapäeval jalgpalli", aga ka sellised väited nagu "Minu ema on ajakirjanik, aga ei tööta", "Naistel ei ole huumorimeelt" jne. Õpilastele seletatakse, et need väited esindavaid erinevaid arusaamu soorollidest ning et järgmiste lehekülgede vahendusel on neil võimalik kujundada oma arvamus. Selleks pakuvad võimaluse probleemidena esitatud peatüki alateemad: "Naiste tööhõive", "Lasteaednikud ja ettevõtluskonsultandid" (käsitleb naiste võimalusi omandada tüüpilisi "meeste" elukutseid), "Võrdsed õigused — võrdsed võimalused?" (heidab muuhulgas valgust koduste tööde jaotusele naiste ja meeste vahel ning õpetab läbi viima vastavat sotsioloogilist küsitlust), "Proua liidukantsler" (lahkab naiste osalemisvõimalusi poliitikas), "Naised Bundeswehr'is?" "Vägivald naiste ja laste vastu". Peatükis kohtame värvifotosid, mis kujutavad köögis laste keskel toimetavat pereisa, kes tõstab ühe käega potikaant ja hoiab teisega kaenlas imikut (pildiallkiri ütleb, et tänapäeva naised tahavad, et mehed oleksid suurepärased emad) ning moslemi pearätikut kandvat neidu karatevõtteid õppimas. Fotod on kõrge **modaalsuse** ehk tõepärasuse astmega ja asetsevad leheküljel **idealiseeritava** positsioonil (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996).

Toodud näide ei tähenda soovitust Saksamaa õpikut üheselt kopeerida, tegemist on pigem soovitava arengusuuna näitamisega. Foto traditsioonilise naiserolli üle võtnud mehest ei pruugi mõjuda väga realistlikuna ühiskonnas, kus senini on välditud väikeste lastega tegelevate meeste kujutamist aabitsates (Kalmus, 2001) ning kus suur osa noori meespoliitikuid suhtub ülima küünilisusega isaduspuhkusesse (Pajumets, 2001). Samas ei mõju realistlikuna ka mustvalge pilt teineteist embavatest kitlites ja rätikutes Kreenholmi kudumistsehhi töölistest, mis näiliselt möödunud sajandi algupoolde kuuluvana on saanud 8.–9. klassi kodanikuõpetuse õpiku suurimaks naljanumbriks õpilaste silmis. Meie kodaniku- ja inimeseõpetuse valdkonna õpikute uustrükid võiksid kirjeldatud Saksamaa õpikust eeskuju võttes pigem ajast veidi ette rutata, mitte sellele jalgu jääda. Raske on mõista, miks peaks kaasaegne perekonnaõpetuse õpik tooma rasvases kirjas esile naise ja mehe "ürgsed ülesanded" (naine peab lapsi sünnitama, lapsed üles kasvatama ja oma meest armastama; mees aga perekonda kaitsma, terveid järglasi andma ja eneseteostusega tegelema), rõhutades sealjuures sugupoolte "erinevaid võimeid": "*Need* [ürgsed] *ülesanded on kujunenud ja kehtinud ajast aega ja seotud mõlema soo võimetega. See tähendab, et elus tuleb teha seda, mida osatakse ja suudetakse*" (Annuk, 1999, lk. 17). Lugeja peab siit tegema järelduse, et naine ei ole suuteline eneseteostuseks, mees aga laste kasvatamiseks. See peaks aitama lugejal "*kummagi ülesandeid teadvustada ja mõista*", et ta ei hakkaks "*nõudma võrdsust seal, kus ei saa võrdsust olla*" (Annuk, 1999, lk. 18). Ainuüksi selle näite põhjal julgen lõpetada Cato parafraseeringuga *Ceteris censeo*, ürgpatriarhaati propageeriv perekonnaõpetuse õpik tuleb selle põhjaliku redigeerimiseni kasutuselt kõrvaldada.

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Scientific Activity

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- kool ja õppemeedia sotsialiseerimismõjuritena
- meediakasutajate uue põlvkonna kujunemine Eestis
- kvalitatiivsete meetodite eripära ja kasutamisvõimalused

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