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Historical Transformations of Pedagogic Practice: a Socio-cultural and Activity Theory Analysis of Preparation for Work in Russian Schools

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Historical Transformations of Pedagogic Practice: a Socio-cultural and Activity Theory Analysis of Preparation for Work in Russian Schools

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Abstract

This thesis investigates how students are prepared for work in schools in the context of post-communism in Russia. It aims to gain an understanding of what theories and processes constitute preparation for work in Russian schools. In the light of how they have changed as a result of the fall of communism in 1991, the thesis seeks to explore the ways in which students are prepared to enter the world of work. The socio-cultural and activity theory is employed to explore the relationship between students' engagement in pedagogic practices and macro historical transformations in Russia that have affected it.

The methodology includes a documentary analysis of teacher-training textbooks, which were used in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s and a case study of preparation for work in a secondary school in Perm, Russia, which involved a group of thirty teachers and thirty students. Biographical interviews were conducted with thirty individuals who lived through the economic and social transformations caused by the events of 1991.

The analysis of the data demonstrates that preparation for work in Russian schools is a combination of two pedagogic processes – vospitanie, which refers to the overall up-bringing of children, and 'professional orientation', which provides career guidance. The literature review and documentary analysis have revealed that the events of 1991 have influenced the ideological underpinning of vospitanie and professional orientation, especially in terms of humanisation of pedagogic processes. However, with regard to the conceptual framework, vospitanie and professional orientation have remained relatively intact. These pedagogic concepts emphasise a dialogic relationship between students and teachers. The case study analysis shows that the teachers' conceptualisation of vospitanie and professional orientation reflect the findings from the documentary analysis, but the teachers have interpreted the theory in the ways that reflect their various, historically formed views of preparation for work. Some of these views, expressed by the teachers who were trained in the Soviet time, do not support the new humanistic approach advocated in the literature; instead, the focus is on differentiation by ability and on academic achievement. Combined with the fact that the case study school does not offer practical vocational experience, this provides some explanation of why only those students who receive support from outside the school are better prepared than others to overcome the challenges of the new market economy. Those students who do not receive relevant support outside the school are developing dispositions towards employment, which are less likely to help them progress in the context of the market economy.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Focus and rationale

This thesis offers an insight into the ways students were prepared for work in schools in the political context of post-communist Russia at the beginning of the 21st century. In particular, the thesis explores how school practice has been influenced by different historical movements in Russia and its implications for students' preparation for work. This research focus was inspired by the political and cultural changes in Russia at the beginning of the 1990s, and was prompted by my professional interest in schools' institutional adaptation to the radical historical changes. The thesis provides a contribution to knowledge about schooling in post-communist transitional societies and also seeks to develop understanding of preparation for work in schools as a complex and socially and historically dependent process.

Political events in Russia which culminated in the eventual fall of the Soviet regime in 1991 created a number of challenges in Russian society including financial instability, ideological changes, increase in crime, growing legal insecurity and new economic developments (Chlopak, 2003). Social scientists became involved in the attempt to understand and assess the scale of the transformations, and offer solutions to the multitude of social problems that Russia, like other countries in transition, was experiencing (e.g. Shweisfurth, 2002; Webber, 2000). One such problem was a rapid increase in unemployment and a general lack of awareness that Russian people experienced when trying to join the developing market economy (Marples, 2004). Compared to the safety and security of guaranteed jobs and a set salary that the Soviet Union offered to its people, the new market economy at the beginning of the 1990s was accompanied by chaos, lack of state funding, a growing number of new small businesses, mass redundancies and disappearance of whole industries (e.g. military airplane engines plants). While adults were trying to come to terms with the newly developing society, young people found themselves in the situation where uncertainty, rapid change in the systems and financial insecurity were common. This lack of stability and certainty affected school practices (Jones, 1994); teachers who had been trained in the Soviet Union to

prepare pupils for a stable world found themselves in the situation where they were uncertain about their own future, the future of their students and the country as a whole (Long & Long, 1999). Russian educationalists began to argue arduously about what was the best for young people in the rapidly changing unpredictable society (e.g. Volochai, Dimitrova & Ermakova, 2004). Some of them thought that it would be better for Russia if completely new pedagogic ideas and practices were introduced in to the system of education (Osinovskii & Stepanov, 1995); others argued to preserve a number of pedagogic ideas and practices which had recently been rejected as inadequate for the developing democratic society (Valeeva, 2000). Vocational aspects of the educational process were not at the forefront of the educational debate. Although, the problems of unemployment and the radical changes in the labour market were recognised (Kitaev, 1994), the new programme of preparation for work in schools was not issued until 2000 (Chistyakova, 2000). It appeared that school practices which prepared students for work were not thoroughly explored and it was unclear exactly how students were prepared for work in schools in what appeared to be a historically complex social situation. It seemed that in a socially and historically challenging situation, there was a need to provide a systematic analysis of the practices that prepared young people for the world of work. As an educationalist, I was interested in how schools interpreted the social and cultural changes and how this affected students' preparation for work.

The links between schooling and outcomes for young people's future lives have been widely acknowledged. Pollard (2001) argues that education is a "key institutional process whereby a society shares existing knowledge and negotiates new forms" (p. 7). Although traditionally the impact of schooling on young people's lives has been measured in terms of academic achievement (Lee & Smith, 1993; Luyten, Peschar, & Coe, 2008); increasingly educational institutions are becoming regarded as communities that contribute to young people's broader personal development (Valsiner, 1998). Some view children as engaged in socially and culturally created practices (Bang, 2008; Hedegaard, 2008), based on cultural values (Pring, 2007) that reproduce the dominant discourses of society (Anyon, 1981). Based on this view, education is considered a major contributor to particular economic outcomes for the labour market. In other words, education is deemed responsible for producing the working force for the labour market (Pietrofesa & Splete, 1975). Increasingly, the links between education and employment are questioned, especially in terms of the direction of influence:

The concept of pegs connecting with holes is a less accurate and useful analogy than the idea of two mutually interacting magnetic fields (Wellington, 1993, pp. 35-36).

The rationale to focus the research on exploring links between school practices and students' preparedness for work is supported by the fact that the schooling in the Soviet Union was called upon to prepare students for the world of work, principally to contribute to the developing Soviet industry (Jones, 1994). It has been acknowledged that the events following the fall of communism in 1991 weakened school's authority and power with regard to shaping of young people's future (Webber, 2000). However, school education was still held responsible for contributing towards young people's personal and vocational development (Karakovsky, 1993). In the social context of the post-communism and employment problems which were described above, it seemed extremely important to consider how the school was contributing to young people's preparation for work. Prompted by the concerns outlined above, the following research question was formulated:

How are students prepared for work in Russian schools in the political and social context of post-communism?

It is traditional to study school practices from the point of view of one temporal dimension, either past or present. School practices are observed for purposes of assessment of pedagogic methods (Millman & Darling-Hammond, 1990) or exploration of particular context within a particular period of time (e.g. Baker, 1998). Less explored is the aspect of multi-dimensional temporality, studying school practices across different historical periods. Whereas it is acknowledged that individuals participate in historically complex environments (Holland & Lave, 2001), it is less certain what these environments comprise of and how particular relationships become part of an individual's development (Saxe & Esmond, 2005). In Russia, the influence of the Soviet regime was challenged by Perestroika (1987), until the 1990s Russia when entered the post-Soviet period when a process of transformation began. It can be argued then that the Soviet political agenda dominated the 1970s; in the 1980s the first democratic liberties, such as freedom of speech were introduced and in the 1990s Russia entered the phase of transition to what is deemed a more democratic society. It seems inevitable that such a relatively rapid transformation of the historical scene has created a historically complex environment within schools that might have been affected by different historical events. Education is

generally deemed to reflect the needs of society, and in the Soviet Union schools were used as ideological laboratories for creating citizens that were equipped to continue building the Soviet state (Webber, 2000). Following this argument it seems logical to seek an understanding of historical influences in school practices as coming from three relatively different decades (1970s, 1980s and 1990s). This is also supported by the argument that each political transformation in Russia, beginning in 1918 with V. Lenin's reforms, changed the way that teachers were trained (Long & Long, 1999). Teacher training was part of the overall changes in education which were guided by the aim to create citizens that were able to build the society deemed as the ideal at the time.

> The Soviet school system was from its inception a vital instrument of state policy. It was used by Communist Party leaders not only to provide the state with the trained manpower necessary to make it an ever greater industrial and military power, but to mould youth into adults who did not question the right of party leaders to control all property, all institutions, all forms of mass media – in essence, to control the thoughts, feelings, and actions of people (Long & Long, 1999, p. 21).

Teacher training, by means of creating the workforce capable of carrying out the agenda of political leaders, shaped the way school practices were carried out in schools (Webber & Webber, 1994). Political changes were translated into modification of teacher training which in turn were expected to produce changes in school practices. Russian politicians argued that Soviet tendencies continued to be strongly represented in the teacher training after the events of 1991 and expressed concerns that this ideological tenacity might be detrimental to children's individual development:

> A key problem...is the primitive nature of the curriculum at teacher training institutions. At present most work being done in this area consists primarily of meaningless phraseology where, for example, it is stated that the graduate of the pedagogical institute should be characterised by "a love for children, the ability and need to give one's all to them..." [...] The present pedagogical institute takes no account of the present day of a diversity of levels and types of general and specialized education secondary schools; in fact it stands in the way of its diversity. (Eklof & Dneprof, 1993, pp. 6-7, cited in Long & Long, 1999, p. 102)

In order to consider preparation for work in schools in its historical complexity, it is important then to understand whether teachers employed the ideas and skills they had been trained to use in delivering school practices at the beginning of the 21st century. Schools employed teachers who were trained in different historical periods and started their careers at different times. This factor adds to the complexity of the social context; it has to be considered not only from the perspective of how the situation has changed recently but also how it might still reproduce the past through actors who construct practices.

Hedegaard's (2008) argument supports the ideas expressed above. She argues that children's development should be studied from a number of different perspectives, i.e. "a societal perspective, an institutional perspective and a person's perspective" (p. 11). From this point of view the child's development unfolds in relation to these perspectives. This view is important for the research question of this study because preparation for work in schools is a type of social practice which has evolved in relation to societal influences, and young people will respond, depending on their social and personal position. It is paramount to consider the views of the main participants of school practices, teachers and students, situated in a culturally and historically specific context.

Based on the information and argument presented above, the answer to the main research question was sought through meeting the following objectives:

- Understand historical complexity of school practices that prepare students for work
- Understand what kind of theories, ideas and concepts might have influenced school practices before and after the fall of communism in1991
- Gain an insight into perspectives of preparation for work from teachers who were trained in different historical times (1970s, 1980s and 1990s)
- Gain an insight into perspectives of preparation for work from students
- Gain understanding of how students think they prepare and are prepared for the future world of work.

Summary of research design

Guided by the main research question and associated objectives, which sought to gain understanding, explore notions and compare perspectives, the research was formulated within an interpretivist paradigm (May, 1997). As the objectives of the study suggested seeking perspectives of the participants of school practices in a concrete socio-historic situation, it was decided to conduct this research within a qualitative frame, including a case study of a school in one Russian city. The study took place in a secondary school in the city of Perm which is situated on the Western side of the Ural Mountains. At the time of this research the population of Perm was 1,001,653 (Academic dictionaries and encyclopaedias, 2009, section 'Population', para. 2). It is an important industrial and cultural centre. Until 1991 Perm was a city that was closed to foreign visitors due to military manufacturing. From this point of view, the development of the market economy and the social changes progressed at a different rate to Moscow. The case study school is a typical mainstream school in an industrial area of Perm. The main strategy associated with the case study was to identify the practices that prepared students for work, understand its historical composition and understand how students viewed their own preparation for work. In order to carry out this strategy, the following research methods were carried out:

- In order to gain an understanding of how teachers viewed preparation for work, thirty teachers were interviewed; ten teachers were trained in the 1970s, ten in the 1980s and ten in the 1990s.
- In order to understand societal influences on the teachers' approaches to preparation for work, teacher training materials that were published in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s were analysed.
- Students' perspectives of preparation for work were explored through semi-structured interviews. The interviews were designed to understand how students position themselves in school practices in relation to societal and institutional perspectives.
- Students were also interviewed through the repertory grid approach (Kelly, 1970) in order to establish whether they perceived any differences between pedagogical approaches delivered by the teachers from the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s sample groups.
- Finally, a random sample of thirty individuals who worked in five different professional areas and who went to school in three different decades (1970s, 1980s and 1990s) were interviewed in order to explore how they adapted to the

post-communist economic environment. These biographical data were expected to throw light on the kind of skills and characteristics that were particularly important in the labour market in the transitional society.

- Observation of classroom practices were planned but not carried out (for details, please, see chapter 3).

Studying preparation for work in schools

Traditional studies of the links between education and work, i.e. different forms of preparation for work, have been inspired by the need to explore the correlation of educational practices and the outcomes that they produce for the labour market (Richardson, 1993). In affluent countries, such as the USA and UK, various initiatives have been introduced in the secondary education to improve employability of young people in the labour market. For example, during the Thatcher government in the UK (1979-1990), Technical and Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI) was introduced in order to improve the attitudes and skills of young people so that they would be better equipped to find employment (Finegold, 1993, p. 56). Wellington (1993a) argues that despite the growing realisation that the relationship between education and work is more complex than direct transfer of education-based skills to employment, studies that view the links between education and work as a linear transition are not infrequent. This is complicated by the fact that work-related skills (often referred to as core or key skills) are studied as decontextualised abstract entities. Canning (2007) argues that core skills are wrongly perceived to be something that an individual can easily transfer from one context to another. He adds that studies of an individual as an active agent of one's own preparation for work are still rare.

In the light of the above argument, this thesis aims to make a contribution to the body of knowledge concerning preparation for work in a particular social, cultural and historical context through conducting a case study of school practices in one school in a Russian city. From this point of view, what students acquire during their school experiences are not seen as decontextualised or abstract but related to particular socio-economic needs of the time and location where the case study takes place. As has been mentioned, such studies are not frequent in the field of preparation for work, and in the absence of demonstrative examples, careful consideration has to be given to the theoretical and methodological framework of this research. Added complexity is derived from the fact that socio-economic

phenomena that occurred in the labour market and education in post-Soviet Russia are unprecedented and this research, therefore, cannot rely on the findings from the studies conducted in the countries that have not undergone a similar transition. The first challenge of this research is then to identify what constitutes preparation for work in Russia and focus the study on the issues that become revealed as a result of this exploration. Undeniably, preparation for work in Russia shares aspects of educational practices with systems in other countries (details are considered in chapter 2), however, the challenge of this thesis is to relate aspects of practices in a Russian school to the political, economic and social transformation experienced at the macro level in Russia.

As has been already mentioned, recent events in Russia make historical aspects of preparation for work particularly important to study. Compared to some other studies that examine historical aspects of preparation for work in societies where political and economic changes happen at a slower pace (e.g. Finegold, 1993), this study aims to consider preparation for work in the light of crucial and radical transformations brought about by the fall of Communism in Russia in 1991 (Gershunskiy, 1993). The scale of the transformations and their potential impact on the working lives of people (Roberts, 2006) make history an integral part of this research process. The challenge to include historical issues as part of the study exists at several levels. Firstly, linking macro and micro issues in empirical studies is deemed challenging and problematic due to the fact that the relationship between macro factors and micro events is not unidirectional (Holland et al., 1998). It implies that no assumptions can be made about the impact of the fall of Communism on preparation for work in Russian schools; context should be seen in the dynamic interaction with broader society. Secondly, historical research in social sciences is a relatively recent phenomenon (Bryant and Hall, 2005) and there is an ongoing arduous debate about how history can be made an integral part of social science inquiry. This thesis does not attempt to deal with overall methodological issues related to historical research but it faces a challenge of considering teachers and students' participation in a concrete socio-historical context of preparation for work and exploring how they negotiate it.

In order to address this issue, a number of challenges associated with treating history seriously as part of a social science inquiry have to be considered. Among them is the idea that history is a process and hence transient. It is impossible to capture it as it is reproduced in individuals' consciousness as a personal memory (Mead, 2005). Recent studies in collective remembering offer a different perspective; a cultural artefact, a symbol, that is, shared collectively is co-constructed by members of a community and remembered through collective practices (Middleton & Brown, 2005). From this point of

view artefacts can travel across time. So, the way in which history is viewed impacts on how it is studied. As indicated before, preparation for work in this thesis is viewed from the point of view of its participants, teachers and students, and therefore their retrospective and prospective views will need to be considered as part of a historical exploration. Traditionally, social sciences have treated retrospective accounts with caution (e.g. Braudel, 2005) because the past is presented as reconstructed. However, in this thesis some views, such as of the teachers who started their career in the 1970s can only be studied retrospectively and through documentary evidence. The challenge is to ensure that an approach that incorporates retrospective and prospective accounts of individuals, in an attempt to explore a contextualised practice, also preserves the internal validity of the study (Schofield, 2000).

Of particular importance in considering history as part of a social science inquiry is the relationship between an individual and history. The research question in this thesis is built on an assumption that when an individual participates in an activity at a given moment in time, she positions herself in relation to past and future (Holland et al., 1998). So, if preparation for work in Russian schools is viewed as part of a long historical development of Russian education, then teachers and students are inevitably confronted with aspects of macro historical events which in one way or another have influenced the practice and their participation in it. In addition, teachers and students as active agents can shape and form the practice depending on how they position themselves in relation to past and future. The challenge is explore this relationship in all its complexity (Holland and Lanchicotte, 2007).

Researcher's position

According to Janesick (2002), during a research process a researcher becomes a research tool. Maxwell (1998) points out that the researcher's experience is important in the design of a study. These points resonate with the way in which this thesis has evolved. The main focus of this thesis began to emerge during my undergraduate studies (1996) when I was carrying out an action research study in a special school in Perm. I was then concerned with the future working trajectories of young people who were trained in one manual work occupation for which there was no demand in the labour market exactly in the way it had been practiced in the Soviet times. This concern expanded as a result of conducting a study for my Master's dissertation which focused on a course for re-training

teachers. The findings showed (Popova, 2002) that teachers found it difficult to adapt to the changes that occurred as a result of the political and social transformations in Russia during the Perestroika period. At that time, I was beginning to question the role that teachers' professional experience of Soviet education played in their re-constructed practices after the transformation in Russia occurred. These concerns were then supported by the growing body of literature in Russia that discussed the pros and cons of using the Soviet pedagogic messages and practices in the post-communist Russian schools.

At the start of this project, I conducted several preliminary interviews in the city of Perm in order to clarify and refine the general research interest that had been formed so far. An interview with a psychologist who used to work in a career centre in Perm during the 1970s-1980s indicated that there was a general lack of activities in schools with relating to preparation for work. An interview with the deputy head of the career centre in 2000 indicated that the emphasis in schools was biased; more work was done in the area of psychological guidance, including psychometric tests and their assessment and less work was carried out on the general issues of preparing an individual to enter the labour market. She argued that teachers no longer knew what society expected from young people. In her opinion, schools were returning to the practices of preparation for work practised in the Soviet Union because they did not possess the knowledge and skills to deal with the issues young people faced in reformed Russia. An interview with a lecturer at the Department of Professional Development at the Perm State Pedagogical University (PSPU), who was also responsible for methodological supervision of some schools, agreed with the above points but emphasised the danger that preparation for work in schools faced as a result of the decentralisation of education. She argued that "too much variety led to instability", implying that because schools were not provided with a pedagogic message formulated centrally, they restructured their practices in their own individual ways.

As a Russian growing up in the Soviet Union I experienced preparation for work as it was realised at the end of the 1980s; I felt strongly that there was little done to bring school activities up-to-date with the challenges Russia was experiencing at the time. Later when I became a teacher I wanted to find out whether my perceptions from that time had any weight. As a professional I was concerned that in a situation of social chaos young people might be disadvantaged by the lack of adequate activities that can prepare them for entry into the labour market. This thesis, however, is not about providing a model of preparation for work. Instead, I attempt to analyse one context in detail, and by doing so I hope to enrich existing knowledge about preparation for work in schools in countries in transition. I

do not suggest generalising from this study, however, insights into how preparation for work was structured, enacted and conceptualised will be useful for further understanding of school practices as social processes that form a substantial part of young people's life and prepare them in some way for adult life.

Structure of the thesis

Chapter 1 is an overview of the whole thesis. It introduces the research question through providing information about the context of the research, main theoretical and methodological challenges and my own research position.

Chapter 2 pursues several aims. It introduces the notion of preparation for work and associated issues. It then considers the context of preparation for work in schools in post-communist Russia through discussing political and economic changes that occurred in Russia after 1991 and transformations in the system of education. In addition, in this chapter theoretical issues associated with studying individuals and practices in a historically dynamic environment are discussed and a theoretical framework for this thesis is presented.

Chapter 3 explains the choice of the methodology and rationale behind the selection of particular methods. Each method and their pilots are discussed in detail.

In chapter 4 a documentary analysis of teacher-training textbooks that were published before and after 1991 is presented. Principles of the selection of the sources and methods of the analysis are discussed which is followed by a detailed description of the findings.

Chapter 5 presents the principles and details of the analysis of the interviews with thirty teachers in the case study school and repertory grids exercise with students. The findings point out positions occupied by teachers in relation to preparation for work. The historical dynamic of these positions is discussed.

Chapter 6 is dedicated to the identification of concepts grounded in empirical analysis that can help studying individual participation in activities that aim to prepare students for the world of work. The interviews with the representatives of different professions are analysed with a particular focus on their participation in the labour market in the post-1991 Russia.

In chapter 7 interviews with students are analysed. This is the final stage of the analysis that completes the investigation of the ways in which students in the case study school are prepared for work in the context of post-communist Russia and its impact on pedagogical practices in the school.

Chapter 8 is a concluding chapter that provides a discussion of all the findings; their interpretation is linked to the main research question. Theoretical and methodological challenges of preparation of students for work in a Russian school in the context of political and economic upheaval are revisited. Limitations of this research are discussed which is followed by the suggestions of how these may be overcome in the future through empirical studies.

Chapter 2

Literature review and theoretical framework

Introduction

This chapter pursues a number of aims. First of all, it discusses the definitions of preparation for work in schools in an attempt to clarify the object of study for this research, i.e. what areas and aspects of Russian education should be focused on. The literature review presented below shows that preparation for work in different countries is constructed as a response to particular economic and political needs, therefore, there is no one certain definition of preparation for work in schools. Instead, associated concepts such as career education, vocational training, work-based curriculum and school-to-work transition are discussed in order to provide a foundation upon which preparation for work in Russian schools can be studied. Following this, the political and social context of post-communist Russia is discussed alongside educational processes that shaped and formed different aspects and elements of what constitutes preparation for work in Russia. It is also argued that the concept and processes that are thus culturally embedded, and a research focus on historical aspects of their development, call for a theoretical framework which can provide adequate analytical tools for studying preparation for work in a particular socio-cultural and historical context. The foundations of a socio-cultural and activity theory are critically discussed, and based on this, a theoretical framework for this thesis is offered.

In order to clarify the object of this research, the literature review has been carried out according to the following principles. Firstly, it has been important to locate those literature sources that define preparation for work in schools in some way, i.e. they offer a discussion of processes that happen in schools which are deemed necessary to prepare students for the world of work. Secondly, sources that have raised pertinent issues in the field of study of preparation for work have been reviewed. In the concluding chapter of this thesis these issues are revisited and discussed, alongside the findings gained as a result of conducting a case study of a school in Russia.

Preparation for work in schools: definitions

It has to be noted that preparation for work as part of schooling, as a process and an issue, has arisen in the education systems of affluent countries. This is due to the dominant discourse of childhood that protects the rights of children to education and protects them from enforced labour (Mills, 2000). For example, in the UK young people are not allowed to work full-time until they are sixteen years old. Thus, in the conditions where childhood is seen as a preparatory stage for further adult life and where possibilities for more natural introduction to work (such as apprenticeship) are no longer possible until late teenage years, preparation for work in schools emerges as an inevitable educational initiative. Different countries at different moments in time have adopted initiatives that tackle various aspects of employment and work life, such as opportunities for students to gain appropriate subject knowledge required by a certain profession. They can also acquire adequate vocational skills in school or during work experience and gain career advice which often involves various forms of psychometric tests. Such initiatives undoubtedly differ in length, intensity and, most importantly, aims; but for the purposes of this literature review they have been categorised as work-related curriculum, vocational education/training and career education/guidance.

Work-related curriculum does not appear to have a firm definition. It is usually used to denote processes and aspects within a school curriculum that in one way or another contribute to preparing students for the world of work. Jamieson (1993) clarifies:

> the phrase 'work-related curriculum' can be seen as part of a strategy to widen the appeal of considering work and the workplace inside the curriculum of compulsory schooling (p. 202).

It the centre of the discussion about what should be part of the work-related curriculum is the matter of academic subjects and their relevance to future work experience. For example, science classes should include references to real-life examples from industry or projects based on visits to industrial sites (Morris, Rickinson & Davies, 2001). Subject teachers are expected to deliver these aspects of curriculum alongside cross-curricular themes. According to Richardson (1993), though, no systematic investigation of teacher attitudes to curriculum reform has been carried out (p. 243). This suggests that it is not clear how teachers respond to changes in the teaching of their subject and cross-

curricular themes. Jamieson (1993) adds that some cross-curricular themes in the UK curriculum such as, for example, Economic and Industrial Understanding, cannot be delivered by teachers because traditionally they are trained to teach their subject and not aspects of economics, sociology or psychology which constitute this cross-curricular theme (p. 211).

Vocational education and training are usually associated with various forms of work experience, which may or may not lead to vocational qualifications. It is normally associated with schools establishing and maintaining links with industry, and thus providing students with various opportunities which are designed to prepare them for the world of work (DCSF, 2009; Konkola, Tuomi-Gröhn, Lambert & Ludvigsen, 2007). Work experience, industrial site visits, using industrialists as advisers and joint education/industry projects (Marsden, 1989, p. 28) are only some of the activities that students can do within school-industry link initiatives. Vocational education has sometimes been accused of focusing more closely on developing vocational skills, than on other aspects of individual development (Canning, 2007). Carr (1993) has argued, though, that in the UK, for example, it has gradually been replaced by new vocationalism which made boundaries between education and training very slight. Recent developments in the UK have demonstrated a move towards securing relationships with industry through vocational diploma courses, at the same time preserving academic elements of the curriculum within the course (DCSF, 2009). Vocational education is often realised in some form of apprenticeship, which usually depends on the overall structure of education in a country. In Germany, for example, vocational education and training take a form of corporatist systems, whereas in Canada apprenticeship systems vary across the country, depending on the local policies and governmental structures (Taylor and Watt-Malcolm, 2007).

Another term that is often discussed in reference to preparation for work of young people is 'careers education'. This can be defined as a form of work-related curriculum that prepares young people for the world of work. Careers education may appear as a separate subject or may cross curriculum boundaries as a theme or initiative. In the UK, for example, careers education became a statutory requirement in 1997, although before that, it had previously existed in the curriculum in one form or another (Harris, 1999). In this way, careers education is used as an umbrella term which includes aspects of vocational guidance, and work-related related curriculum.

Another term, career guidance, is used to denote a practice that aims to provide information about opportunities students have both in education and future work. Career guidance, also includes advice provided by specially trained career advisers (Killeen,

1996; Teachernet, 2009). Recent developments in the field point to the need to unite career education and guidance. Law (1999) refers to such a process as career-education-and-guidance, thus creating one term that includes all aspects of preparation for work in school.

Another area of preparation for work that is sometimes present in the careers education and vocational training debates is the issue of the hidden curriculum (Silberman, 1971 cited in Harris, 1999). The underlying idea is that preparation for work in one form or another responds to the economic and political needs of society and schooling is one of the processes that leads to reproducing existing structures, such as, for example, social class. Anyon's (1981) research in the USA has demonstrated that some schools tend to produce school leavers who pursue vocational careers, whereas other schools nurture graduates who go on to become doctors, lawyer and business leaders. She has linked the types of schools to corresponding social classes, thus naming the schools she studied as 'working class schools', 'middle-class schools', 'affluent professional schools' and 'executive elite schools'. Carr (1993) concurs with this argument by stressing that education plays a role in maintaining and reproducing a particular form of social life. LeCompt (1978) has demonstrated that schooling plays a part in preparing students for the world of work through work related values such as work, time, order and authority. The hidden curriculum is certainly a less obvious aspect of the preparation of young people for the world of work, but it can be argued that it may be playing a significant role because, as Harris (1999) argues, career histories often evolve as unplanned due to individuals' gradual socialisation into the world of work.

It appears that the terms work-related curriculum, vocational education, careers education and hidden curriculum are inter-related. They are present to a varied degree in different systems of education and in their different configurations. It seems that preparation for work can be defined as a conglomerate of activities that introduce young people to notions of work, provide work experience and cultivate within them the values deemed necessary to participate in the working environment. In addition, schools play a part in creating class streams which are related to career and work paths.

Preparation for work in schools: issues and themes

Although the combination of vocational training and careers education provided by schools is different in different societies, there are issues that seem to have affected most of the educational systems. One of the most pertinent issues is whether there is a real need to do anything additional to the normal school structure, curriculum and pedagogy in order to prepare young people for the world of work. On the one hand, schools are perceived to reproduce social structures (Anyon, 1981; Brown, 1987) and convey dominant values of society (Bourdieu, 1973), and from this point of view they are perceived to be mini-societies in their own right. On the other hand, lives within and outside schools are perceived as totally different (Resnick, 1987); schools favour individual cognition whereas the world of work demands shared cognition; schools offer symbol manipulation whereas life outside the schools calls for contextualised reasoning. The latter argument is supported by a number of studies that explore transitions from school to work (Hillage & Pollard, 1998; Hughes, Bailey & Mechur, 2001; Brekke, 2007; Taylor & Watt-Malcolm, 2007) as it is the difference between the two different worlds that is perceived to be a cause of youth unemployment and job dissatisfaction (Hughes, 1997). Wellington (1993b) argues, however, that the issue about transition from school to work is a myth that has been created over the years.

In the centre of the argument that the transition from school to work is problematic for school leavers is an issue of work-related skills that are sometimes referred to as 'core skills' (Canning, 2007) and 'employability skills' (Hillage & Pollard, 1998; Turner, 2002). The argument is that for an individual to be able to be employed and be able to work, she is expected to develop a set of skills that will make her employable, and that schools do not develop these skills unless initiatives or curriculum changes are introduced that focus on careers and vocational education. Definitions of these skills differ (Ashton, 1999). Canning maintains that "core skills are generally taken to mean a set of discrete clusters of skills, normally at a foundation level, that are transferrable across different contexts" (p. 18). Communication, problem solving and information technology are often deemed to be core skills. Overtoom (2000), having explored the notion of work-related skills in the USA, offers the following definition of employability skills:

> Employability skills are transferrable core skill groups that represent essential functional and enabling knowledge, skills, and attitudes required by the 21st century workplace. They are necessary for career success at all levels of employment and for all levels of education (p. 1).

Overtoom (2000, p. 1) states that the American Society for Training and Development has identified the following six skill groups across all job categories: basic competency skills (reading, writing, computation); communication skills (speaking, listening); adaptability skills (problem solving, creative thinking); developmental skills (problem solving, motivation and goal-setting, career planning); group effectiveness skills (interpersonal skills, teamwork, negotiation); influencing skills (understanding organisational culture, sharing leadership). Identification of these skills for the purposes of curriculum building is not a straightforward process. Richardson (1993) and Brown (2002) argue that the relationship between curriculum change and changes in workplace skills is very complex. There are assumptions about what they are but no tools to understand the nature of the relationship. Wellington (1993b), based on the survey of employers in the UK and USA, reports that employers' stated needs do not always coincide with their actual practices and selection procedures. In addition, Canning (2007) argues that core skills are usually perceived as decontextualised, i.e. residing within an individual who can take them wherever she goes. This is problematic as it does not address the issues of identity position within a particular context and the value system with which a person addresses the world of work.

Wellington (1993c) adds to this concern by stating that "One of the vital issues in the debate on education for employment concerns the question of the purpose and future of work itself" (p.257). Carr (1993) maintains that a school graduate is not only a worker but a citizen. This emphasises the role and meaning of work for an individual as a citizen and questions whether the development of core skills alone can be sufficient for preparation of young people for the world of work (Hyslop-Margison & McKerracher, 2008). In relation to this, Dewey's (1917, cited in Carr, 1993) argument is that work is not only needed for 'bread and butter' - just earning a living; but it also involves a calling. It is implied that when young people find their calling, they occupy a certain niche in society and fulfil a function useful to others. From this point of view, Richardson (1993) argues that it is not necessarily good if the school adapts quickly to the economic change because it will appear as a direct response to the economic needs of the state, rather than focusing on individuals' needs. Wellington (1993b) warns that the reality of schooling is still based on hidden instrumentalism whereby families and schools react to the economic needs of the state and try to develop young people's skills to match the labour market's demands. None of the authors deny that individuals need to earn a living and therefore need an income, and part of the preparation is to develop skills to be able to earn it. However, if the approach becomes too vocational, society may lose focus on the aspect of citizenship and progressive development of society. Halsall (1996) even expresses a doubt that "maybe it is impossible to set up an educational system that can really prepare individuals

for the future" (p. 5). Watts (1993) cited in Wellington (1993b) argues that schools should not be involved in vocational education and training as industries are much better prepared to induct employees into occupations and professions. It is evident from the review of these ideas that the issue of flexibility and adaptability of school systems to economic change in society is a complex one and involves debates about citizenship and future vision of society as a whole.

It is often argued that preparation for work in schools is dependent on the dominant educational philosophy (Halsall, 1996a; Raffe, 1998). Carr (1993) maintains that reparation for work is part of political debate. "There cannot be an uncontested, value-neutral discourse through which the relationship between education and work can be discussed" (p. 233). In the UK debates have evolved around the dichotomy between extreme vocationalism, whereby economic needs of society dictate education, and a more liberal view of education, whereby education plays an important role in shaping the moral order of society. Substantial transformations in society, such as changes in the labour market, usually call for a different kind of employee. This happened with the emergence of knowledge society which weakens the role of manual labour and increases the importance of operations with technology, information and knowledge (Drucker, 1993; Thomlinson, 2007). This called for a new type of an employee, one that has the skills of problem-solving, information and people management and life-long learning (Wijers & Meijers, 1996). As has been mentioned before, education as an institution cannot necessarily be perceived as an industry that delivers the goods demanded by the state due to political and economic changes, it may retain conditions within which individuals can develop skills and capabilities to take decisions which go beyond the immediate economic needs of the labour market. It has to be noted, however, that irrespective of how strong the position of the school is, changes in the distribution of work in industrial economies inevitably led to changes in the curriculum and institutional rules in schools (Brown & Lauder, 1992). At the policy level these changes are often reactive, but not necessarily substantiated by empirical research and evaluation. For example, in the UK during the Thatcher government, the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI) was introduced in order to address problems of school failure and bridge the gap between compulsory and post-compulsory education. Although the pilot indicated few positive outcomes of the initiative, it was rolled out without much consultation with the education and industry communities (Finegold, 1993).

This literature review has demonstrated that political and historical events can shape what preparation for work may become, hence preparation for work in Russian schools has to be considered as part of macro political events. The review has also shown that students

get involved in school activities that are carried out under the umbrella terms of career education and vocational training. These processes take different forms and raise a variety of issues, depending on the needs of society and specific features of the educational system in the country. The debates in the literature indicate that depending on the needs of the state, there may be more or less importance attached to the overall development of an individual or to the development of vocational skills. During the transition towards the knowledge society the tendency has been to emphasise the need to develop individuals' agency. Below, the development of preparation for work in schools is explored within the context of Russia as a country in transition from a Soviet-based structure towards a market economy.

Preparation for work in Russian schools: cultural context

Transformations in the world of work in post-communist Russia

The historical focus of this thesis is on the transformations that Russia and Russian citizens experienced after 1991 – the year when Russia became officially an independent state and was no longer part of the USSR. This political and social transformation was preceded by the period of Perestroika led by Michael Gorbachev (the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and head of state of the USSR during the period of 1985-91). Gorbachev, who was declared by *Time Magazine* as 'Man of the Decade' (Marples, 2004, p. xvii), was welcomed by the West for his efforts to move the USSR towards democracy. It has to be noted, however, that Gorbachev conducted his reforms under the motto of modernising communism. Although some ideological changes were achieved during Perestroika, such as the introduction of *Glasnost (*freedom of speech) on the whole the country remained the Soviet state. In his mission to restructure the state, whilst avoiding a revolution, Gorbachev:

> failed; honourably perhaps, but catastrophically. No one in March 1985 could have predicted what the country might look like in 1991: strikes among the workforce; demonstrations in major cities; fighting in the Caucasus; near-uprising in the Baltic States; and an empire destroyed by the loss of Eastern Europe, the satellite states established under Soviet occupation in the aftermath of the Second World War. At the same time, a

dramatic fall in the living standards of the population only exacerbated matters" (Marples, 2004, p. 3).

The dates between 18th and 21st August 1991 were marked by the Putsch which attempted to overthrow Gorbachev. This was finally achieved on 27th December 1991 when Boris Yeltsin (who later became the first president of Russia) and his colleagues seized Gorbachev's office in the Kremlin.

This political transformation affected all aspects of life in the country. The restructuring of business and industry, mass redundancies and the emergence of a market economy created conditions where most Russian people were unprepared for the rapid adaptation they needed to make to the new socio-economic situation (Jones, 1994; Kitaev, 1994). The total number of unemployed rose from 3.8 million people in 1992 to 7.5 million people in 2000 (Federal Statistics Service, 2006).

New social policies focused on one overarching aim; to dispose of the legacy of the Soviet regime that did not allow individuals to take control of their own lives (Jones, 1994). Thus, privatisation and decentralisation replaced centralised control of the state. From the Soviet system of *uravnilovka* (levelling), where every citizen was treated in exactly the same way, and values were distributed equally, Russian people came to experience an individualisation of employment opportunities (Katz, 1999). Many state enterprises were re-institutionalised or privatised. The links between occupation and income, which Russian people had grown accustomed to, were ruptured (Roberts, 2003). Mass redundancies were introduced as a result of downsizing and some industries, such as arms manufacturing, were largely abolished. Livelihood strategies started to change; from having just one job that brought everyone approximately the same income, people were forced into situations where they had to take two jobs or additional work to provide for their family.

In 1992 just 35 percent of New Russian Barometer survey respondents said that they depended only on their wages from a regular job in the first economy; by 1998 this figure had fallen much further still, to 14 percent." (Pickup, 2003, p. 422).

Overall, the labour market was developing a westernised model of operation. As a result, new phenomena emerged that Russian people were not familiar with; among them were unemployment, private business, extreme poverty, homelessness and job centres. A survey conducted in 2003 (Business World on-line, 2007) indicated that employers in Chelyabinsk adopted western approaches to recruiting; alongside advertising in newspapers; they also used the World Wide Web and resorted to the services of a very recent phenomenon in Russia – recruitment agencies (Business World on-line, 2007). Individuals searching for jobs were faced with a need to learn about new types of jobs such as 'managers', 'promoters', 'IT Support Specialists' and 'Human Resources Officers', and about new ways of locating and applying for a job. Such words (along with phenomena) as 'recruitment agencies', 'resumé', 'temporary work' and 'maternity leave cover' did not previously exist in the life and vocabulary of Soviet people. It is important to note that such terms are transliterated, i.e. English words are spelt in Russian. The amount and quality of the new information was growing, and it was believed that younger people acquired new information faster and more efficiently than older people (Klimentova, 2006). Klimentova attributes this to the fact that young people see the world of work in a completely new way without attributing any Soviet interpretations to this phenomenon.

As evident from the overview of the post-1991 situation in Russia, the political, economic and social transformation produced an impact on Russian people who were forced into changing their working lives in accordance with the new situation in the country. One of the conclusions that ensues from the discussion above is that the main problems with adaptation to the new situation in the labour market were not linked to occupational choice, that is, the problem could not be solved by means of appropriate career guidance alone. On the contrary, it tested people's ability to learn fast and make some personal adjustments both to their lives and to themselves. The situation called for a person with a different set of skills (Wiers & Meijers, 1996) and education was seen as one of the ways to develop them. The ways in which this need was dealt with are discussed in the next section.

Transformation in the system of Russian education after 1991

According to McLeish (1998), it is much easier to delimit political change in the post-Communist countries than it is to study transformations in the systems of education in the countries still undergoing transition. McLeish argues that by 1998, not a single country from the post-Soviet bloc reached the stage where the macro level policy reforms, which started at the very beginning of the transition processes, were fully translated to practical actions at the micro level, that is, in individual schools. He posited that a transition period in education systems was marked by a complexity similar to the overall transformations in the social systems.

Post-1991 reforms introduced in Russian education reflected the general political drive of the new government to introduce decentralisation and regionalisation in order to develop regional independence. Educational policies also emphasised de-ideologisation, differentiation and diversification of the curriculum, thus reflecting the general tendency of macro events to influence educational reforms (Carr, 1993). However, according to Webber (2000), the new reforms focused on solving the crisis in education without specifying what it was and without an in-depth exploration of its parameters. The new reforms did not always achieve what they set out to deliver. Kitaev points out that

> while the system is still very strongly centralised, which puts brakes on development, some changes, which are supposed to contribute to development, are too hasty and therefore they add to the chaotic situation in the country (Kitaev, 1994, p. 111).

Thus, educational policies from the end of the 1980s and during the 1990s aimed at "taking the state out of education" (Webber, 2000, p. 35). Although it cannot be argued that the policies served as the right response to the changes, it is evident that education followed the general philosophy of education of that time (Halsall, 1996), which aimed to eradicate the Soviet ideology and systems.

As a response to the years of the Soviet system of 'levelling', a system of differentiation was introduced. The former Soviet school experience used to be the same for everybody and was characterised by unity of content and delivery across the country (Long & Long, 1999). Discipline and strict delivery of the state curriculum were the basis of everyday classroom practice (Shweisfurth, 2002). Getting a good education was promoted as the

priority for every Soviet citizen (Muckle, 1988). After 1991, the introduction of the system of differentiation resulted in the emergence of schools that catered for a population with different incomes. It became more prestigious to study in a "gymnasium", for example, than in a mainstream school (Sobkin, 2001). From this point of view schools began to contribute to the creation of social class formation (Anyon, 1981). Mainstream schools remained widely accessible to the population in a catchment area, however, they were poorly subsidised by the state. Chlopak (2003) comments:

> Russian public schools are experiencing extremely difficult times and are literally struggling for survival. Salary delays and a lack of equipment have been troubling Russia for years. Hardship and insufficiency of funding have caused standards to decline and have forced teachers to use the premium of their creativity and resourcefulness in order to provide children with education they need and deserve (p.43).

Initially, at the beginning of the 1990s, Russian educational literature promoted the new education reforms, declaring the end of the dominant pedagogic concepts and emphasising the need to de-ideologise education. However, as the situation in the country became unstable and showed few signs of improvement, educationalists began to show growing concerns about the actual product of education: young people (Volochai et al., 2004). Educationalists related a growing crime rate, anti-social behaviour, falling moral values and, most importantly for this thesis, poor adaptability to the world of employment, to the chaos in the system and practices of school education. There seemed to be a growing concern that education in Russia did not have enough capacity to cope with these social problems (Jones, 1994). With the advance of the market economy, material poverty was leading gradually to moral poverty (Birzea, 1994). A number of educationalists began to argue that some of the Soviet educational concepts and practices which fostered moral values and discipline had been abandoned too hastily and without careful consideration (Valeeva, 2000). This was strongly related to what was considered a loss of the single ideology.

> After the repudiation of communist ideology, to which the population had become accustomed, no alternative ideology was put forward. From the point of view of the man on the street, therefore, the results of the first years

of democracy in the post-perestroika era are characterized by a severe decline in living standards (Bolotov, 1996, p. 2).

In the centre of this debate was discussion of the role of *vospitanie* (upbringing and nurturing), the main pedagogic practice associated with preparation of young people for adult life. In Russian educational theory and practice, vospitanie is defined as an intentional process of pedagogic relay whereby children and young people are involved in situations and activities deemed necessary and important for their personal and social development. Vospitanie is a pedagogic practice not equated with teaching, i.e. the relay of academic knowledge; it is expected to penetrate and transcend all aspects of a young person's development (Vygotsky, 1991), including the formation of independence, their system of values and their sense of citizenship. Hufton and Elliot (2000) refer to vospitanie as a 'pedagogical nexus', which is a "set of linked, interactive and mutually reinforcing influences on pupils' motivation to learn within and because of the schooling process" (p. 115). Vospitanie is taught as part of the teacher-training curriculum at teacher-training establishments. All other elements and educational initiatives, including vocational education, are grounded in vospitanie. Instead of considering core skills or employment skills, academic debate in Russia in the 1990s turned to the role of vospitanie in the development of the whole person.

Vospitanie has roots in Russian educational philosophy of the 19th century. For example, one of the tenets of Soviet/Russian education, the development of children through participation in "socially useful labour" (Zaida, 1980, p. 2), originates from the works of Russian progressive thinkers Pisarev (1810-68) and Chernyshevsky (1828-89). Belinsky, another Russian philosopher, promoted the ideas of the dominant role of society and education in individual development, another tenet of Russian education, which was carried through to Soviet times. Belinsky emphasised the role of moral education, implying that children should be developed in the "spirit of communal awareness and moral responsibility" (Zaida, 1980, p. 4), which in the Soviet times became a motto of education and vospitanie. The progressive thinking of such philosophers as Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov (1836-61) was expressed in articles published in the Journal of Vospitanie, the publication devoted totally to the issues of vospitanie. Chernyshevsky promoted vospitanie based on principles of equality within a community, whereas Dobrolyubov argued for an all-round vospitanie that included, but was not restricted to, academic education (Vatulin, 2002). These philosophical ideas set a foundation on which a cultural

notion of vospitanie was built. So, in the 19th century vospitanie was becoming a cultural concept penetrating different aspects and areas of education in Russia.

As a form of social practice in the general format in which it is currently recognised, practised, researched and taught in Russia, vospitanie began to emerge after the Socialist Revolution of 1917. The economic and social situation after the Revolution and the ensuing Civil War (1920) left many young people orphaned, socially vulnerable and excluded. This, coupled with a need to educate peasantry and working class citizens who were expected to participate actively in the construction of Communism, led to the introduction of education for all and the 'liquidation' of illiteracy among adults (Vatulin, 2002). Vospitanie, again, was seen as a powerful tool of social construction. The development of vospitanie at that time was guided by the work of renowned educationalists who, some argue, continued the tradition of the 19th century but accentuated some of the concepts and processes to meet the needs of the growing Soviet State (Petrunina, 2004). Among those are the names of Ushinsky (1824-70), Shatsky (1978-1934), Krupskaya (1869-1939) and Makarenko (1888-1939). Although each of them contributed to the development of the theory and practice of vospitanie in their own unique way, together (alongside a number of other Soviet educationalists) they created the foundations of the concept of vospitanie as it is known today.

Ushinsky (cited in Piskunov, 1974) emphasised the moral development of a person above the intellectual. It was purely human qualities such as honesty, diligence, a sense of responsibility, strong character and will that were to be developed through involvement in socially useful work. He argued that vospitanie should prepare a person not for happiness but for the labour of life (Zaida, 1980, p. 8). In addition, he attributed importance to the role of the teacher in the process of vospitanie by emphasising the teacher's skills to influence students. Shatsky contributed to the development of theory and practice of extra-curricular activities for students (Petrunina, 2004). He interpreted vospitanie as involvement in a combination of all kinds of social activities including labour, play, academic work and socialising (Zaida, 1980). He emphasised, however, that the child's motivation to participate in these activities should reflect a collective goal. The idea of the link between an individual's motivation and the collective goal was developed by Makarenko (1990), the founder of the first labour camp for young delinquents. He believed that young people should aim at immediate possible achievements but try to formulate a collective goal that they all can aspire to achieve. This, and an involvement in socially useful labour activities, in Makarenko's view, supported the development of morality and willpower. Krupskaya, the wife of Vladimir Lenin (the main leader of the 1917 Revolution and the first head of the USSR) is considered to be one of the founders of Communist educational thought and

practice. Following Lenin's postulate of developing a nation capable of creating Communism, Krupskaya emphasised the need to develop pre-school education where young children could be brought up in the spirit of Communist ethics (Petrunina, 2004). She also supported polytechnic education which she believed linked life and work into a united whole.

It appears that despite the general tendency to rid the system of education of Soviet ideology and principles, educational debate returned to the issues of vospitanie which had persisted through Soviet times. Academic publications in the 1990s were more open and critical than they had been in the Soviet times. The need to return to the concept and practices of vospitanie was now debated rather than stated. Some educational publications tended to focus on the outcomes of vospitanie and a set of standards with which to assess it. For example, Nazarenkova (1998) provided a discussion of a "model" of a school graduate and suggested that the system of education should change. She stated the need to generate clear criteria, but did not offer any. Instead, Nazarenkova posited a universal approach to a "model" which was not based on a careful analysis of the economic and political situation in Russia at the time. She suggested an open and humanistic approach to vospitanie: "human beings who create harmony in the world and themselves; they perceive, create and protect beauty" (Nazarenkova, 1998, p. 152).

In contrast, Lutovinov and Poletaev (1996) stated that Perestroika and the events that ensued destroyed what had been a strong system of education. They pointed out that there was a lack of clarity with regard to what young people should become, and therefore, education should resort to the systems and practices of the Soviet past. On the whole, educational policies began to prioritise humanisation of education and vospitanie (to be discussed in detail in chapter 4) whereby a person was expected to occupy a central role as opposed to the Soviet postulates which prioritised collectivism, and therefore ignored individuality (Russian Ministry of Education, 2000). Although inspiring in format, such policy documents did not provide a detailed analysis of what was missing in the current system of education and offered only speculative alternatives to the theory and practice of vospitanie (Webber & Webber, 1994).

Most of the educational literature of that time was polemical in its nature; it was not grounded in a careful historical analysis of how exactly vospitanie changed after 1991. This gap in the literature demonstrated that there was little known about what form vospitanie took after 1991 and what the implications for students' participation in the pedagogic process would be. As has been mentioned before, policies that deal with aspects of preparation for work in schools are often not based on rigorous research and evaluation (Finegold, 1993). The same argument can be applied to the analysis of

'professional orientation', a school practice closely linked to vospitanie that aimed at developing students' professional choice (Chistyakova, 2000). Professional orientation in Russian schools involves practices used for vocational training and some form of career guidance. In the Soviet Union career guidance was scarce because there was little scope for career choice during individuals' working lives (Roberts, 2006, p. 416). Professional orientation was mainly based on links with industry, for purposes of career awareness, and on psychometric tests which were run in order to identify professions or occupations young people were most likely to be successful at (Klimov, 1984, 1986). It is argued (and it will be discussed in detail in chapter 4) that vospitanie and professional orientation are closely linked (Martinova, 1976; Polyakov, 1987). These two educational processes appear to be what constitutes preparation for work in Russian schools and, hence, are the focus of study in this thesis. Empirical qualitative research is scarce in Russia and therefore there is little known about the ways in which vospitanie and professional orientation are enacted in schools in order to prepare young people for the world of work.

The review of the Russian cultural-historical context and Russian educational theory has shown that preparation for work is schools is formulated using concepts which have evolved historically in the system of Soviet/Russian education. Although the changes in the system of education followed the general political movement of de-ideologisation, and thus reflected the same tendency adopted in affluent Western countries, such as the UK and the USA, the conceptualisation of preparation for work has been shaped through intrinsically Russian educational discourse. In the period following the events of 1991, the academic debate did not offer systematic analyses of particular contexts, hence, it was not clear exactly how Soviet concepts and practices of vospitanie and professional orientation were interpreted and enacted in schools at the time. New policies may not have necessarily been applied in practice (Webber, 2000). It is evident that in order to gain some understanding of how students were prepared for work in Russian schools in the context of the post-communist Russia, it is necessary to explore vospitanie and professional orientation and positions of participants in these two interconnected practices. In order to do this, a theoretical framework is needed that can consider individuals' dynamic positions in a historically dynamic situation. This will be discussed in the next sections.

Theoretical framework of this thesis

There are a number of reasons why the choice of an adequate theoretical framework is so important in this thesis. As has been explained before, preparation for work in schools is a process that evolves as a response to the economic and political demands of society, hence, the chosen theoretical framework should be able to explore preparation for work as a culturally generated phenomenon. In addition, the research question in this thesis requires consideration of young people's positions in relation to the cultural and historical complexity in a particular context. If an individual's position were to be considered in abstraction of the cultural and historical complexity, there would be little chance in gaining understanding of how exactly students were prepared for work in Russian schools, because preparation for work in schools makes sense only in terms of a particular economic situation and concrete socio-historic conditions.

It has been mentioned before that due to the political transformation in Russia in 1991, Russian society happened to experience a period of social, political and economic chaos, which may have resulted in historical complexity which individuals had to interpret in relation to the fast-developing market capitalist systems and processes. Young people's preparation for the world of work cannot but be seen in relation to the macro historical changes, and therefore creates a need to consider history and the individual as one inter-dependent whole. It is not enough to see individual development as situated in a particular context; historical perspective requires understanding of how individuals position themselves in relation to the interpreted past, present and future. Below the discussion of the theoretical framework is offered which discusses all of these points.

History and social sciences

Considering history within the social sciences research field is still considered to be problematic. According to Bryant and Hall (2005), history is not understood uniformly by social sciences and in addition it is not often considered seriously as part of social science research. The overall problem of including history in social science research depends on the general direction a particular researcher adopts. Traditionally referred to as a paradigm, such direction defines the overall interpretation of history within research. Thus, Wallerstein (2005) believes that social scientists can be classified into those who look for general laws – nomothetists – and those who are preoccupied with particulars – idiographers. He also argues that if the former perspective is exercised, then time and

space are treated as obstacles to be overcome and if the second perspective is adopted, then time and space become analytically irrelevant. In either of the cases, history is not taken seriously. Braudel (2005) also criticises social sciences for "not accepting history or duration as dimensions necessary to their studies" (p. 254). In his opinion, social scientists are afraid of historical methods because the past is presented as reconstructed. However, Braudel warns against concentrating on the present only. He insists that a "current moment" is reconstructed by scientists anyway. It appears that historicity in social sciences is an issue far from being fully resolved; on the one hand, there seems to be a unanimous agreement that history should be part of social enquiry, but on the other hand history remains one of the most controversial topics in social sciences (Bryant & Hall, 2005). Thus, making history an integral part of the inquiry in this thesis appears quite problematic. Understood broadly, preparation for work in this thesis is seen as a culture-generated practice which depends on societal transformations. This is a paradigm that requires a more idiographic approach and understanding of history is dependent on the understanding of particular contexts.

From the point of view of the development of social sciences, the treatment of historical method has varied in different disciplines and this has formed certain scientific traditions. History, as a field of study, has traditionally exercised a chronological study of events through which sequences are established and causality is explained in a sequential manner. Traditional psychological approaches have considered the past as the mental property of an individual. For example, Mead (2005) suggests that "our pasts are always mental in the same manner in which the futures that lie ahead of us are mental" (p. 238).

Mead uses an example of a car from the perspective of two individuals; one of them can see the car approaching and the other has just seen the car pass him. These two individuals have different perspectives of temporality in relation to this event. Therefore history is always individual. Sociology, on the other hand, is criticised for the lack of attention to temporally connected events.

> Many studies of long-term processes such as state formation, capitalist development, or the emergence of a world system, are carried out at a level of abstraction that precludes attention to the temporal characteristics of events (Aminzade, 2005, p. 295).

In this thesis, considering history as the property of an individual or exploring it in abstraction from the concrete contextual events will prevent the inquiry from studying students' preparation for work in schools as a process which is embedded in real socio-historic events.

Parameters of time and space

Despite the overall disparity, no matter which paradigm is adopted in research, there are a number of issues that preoccupy scientists when their concern is history. Among them (and this list is certainly not exhaustive) are the relations between the past, present and future; the duration of a historical period; the understanding of relations between time and space; the causality of events; the perception of history as systematic or non-systematic and the defining of a unit of analysis. Returning to the empirical problem discussed in this thesis, all of the above concerns have to be considered when studying transformation of preparation for work in Russian schools. As has been mentioned in the introduction, the documentary analysis demonstrates that although preparation for work has some continuity in the system of Russian education, the nature of the causality of such continuity is less obvious. The temporal boundaries of the transformations in preparation for work in Russian schools also seem to need a more clear definition and rationalisation than simply establishing a boundary between pre- and post-Soviet scenarios. In terms of space, it is not obvious whether preparation for work should be considered as dispersed in different locations or concentrated in some particular contexts, in which case how is time related to particular spaces? Finally, and most importantly, the question arises with regard to the role of actors participating in the preparation for work in Russian schools: is the interpretation of the past strictly individual or is it shared collectively? Therefore, what first appeared as a straightforward exploration of a current context from a historical perspective is in fact a complex issue requiring a theoretical approach that responds to the above issues in an exhaustive and systematic manner.

Some of the paramount reasons for including history as part of the investigation are questions of the relationships between the past, present and future and an issue of duration. As soon as the question arises, 'How is the past linked to the present?', an issue of duration comes into consideration. Preparation for work in schools has appeared as a result of a societal need and may cease to exist if it becomes necessary. It is important to understand the nature of its duration. Social scientists approach the issue of duration from different perspectives. Bergson (in Abbot, 2005) sees durations as inclusive to an individual and centred on a person. He uses the notion of an external clock – a universal

tool for measuring time; from his perspective, an external clock cannot be used as a measure of personal time. Bergson's approach is that of subjectivism and individualism. Abbot criticises Bergson for putting too much emphasis on personal determination and failing to link "different people's durations into a social whole" (p. 333). For Mead (2002), reality is always present and only present exists. Mead implies that the past is irrevocable and is reconstructed by an individual differently in different present moments. Past and future are matters of ideation, and every new present rewrites all the past. Abbot contradicts this view by warning that "in Mead's view, we come perilously close to the position that the past is whatever we make it" (p. 338).

Preparation for work seen from this perspective is almost impossible to analyse. Being a social process and having been created collectively, it is likely to be collectively remembered and distributed among individuals.

Braudel (2005) portrays a very different image of duration; he calls it the *Longue Durée*. The implication of the Longue Durée is that all moments of time are interconnected. Each "current event" brings together movements of different origins, of a different rhythm: today's time dates from yesterday, the day before yesterday, and all former times (Braudel, 2005, p. 253). Although Braudel's vision appears to be more appropriate to the task of conceptualising the duration of preparation for work in Russian schools because it provides an idea of interconnecting different points in the development of vospitanie and professional orientation, and through this distances itself from the individualistic perspectives of Bergson and Mead, thus allowing the consideration of preparation for work as distributed among individuals, it does not provide social research with a methodological entry point for analysing the relationship between the 'movements of different origins'. This means that the Longue Durée is not capable of explaining its own origin. Aminzade's (2005) broad answer to this problem is that

> the notion of duration implies a unity defined by a beginning and an end, or a constancy of the event, or sequence of events over a defined length of time (p. 298).

However, there are still questions remaining such as 'How to define a beginning and an end? What is constancy of events and how to measure it? Which length of time makes a particular duration?'

"TimeSpace"

The above questions point to the problem of boundaries, often referred to in social sciences as a unit of analysis. Indeed, the concern with history usually leads to conceptualisation of time, but defining temporal boundaries seems impossible without defining where this period of time was spent. Wallerstein (2005) believes that time and space do not always figure together in social sciences, and that this is what prevents social scientists from defining temporal and spatial boundaries appropriately. He points out that the division of social sciences into nomothetic and idiographic came out of the emergence of the core-periphery concept. According to this concept, developed states occupied the core position in the historical development, and underdeveloped states were positioned on the periphery. Wallerstein posits that nomothetic social sciences dealt with the core states, thus focusing research on generalisations from empirical data, while idiographic sciences (e.g. anthropology and orientalism) focused their attention on the periphery. For the latter, according to Wallerstein, time seemed suspended but for both of the approaches, the conceptualisation of space depended on the dominant political view (the concept of the core-periphery). As a resolution Wallerstein (2005) suggests a world system as a unit of analysis.

> Analysis takes place within the framework of historical systems that are both historical and systemic, neither nomothetic nor idiographic, and whose core-periphery distinction is an organising principle of the functioning of the historical system and not of its organisation of branches of knowledge. Time and space, or more precisely TimeSpace become(s) the primordial of analysis (p. 288).

Wallerstein's concept of TimeSpace seems to be based on the principles which are appropriate for studying preparation for work in Russian schools because it considers a unity of time and space and it encourages questions about whether preparation for work should be studied from the middle of the 19th century, or just Soviet and post- Soviet times. At the same time, it questions whether this research should consider the whole educational system of Russia, or some regions, or perhaps just one school. However, Wallerstein's definition of TimeSpace does not explicate methodological implications of locating boundaries of a TimeSpace empirically.

Issues of time and space are discussed in the socio-cultural theory which originated from the works of Vygotsky (1986) and Leontiev (1978). Vygotsky (1986) connected time and space through the concept of cultural mediation. He maintained that a human being was developed not through direct encounters with the environment but through the appropriation of cultural tools which had been developed earlier. For Vygotsky, the main cultural tool was the language that a child was introduced to through communication with others, most importantly adults. The child then learnt the meaning that was attributed to a particular object in the way it was introduced to him/ her. This process of appropriation became known as internalisation. However, the child also interpreted the acquired meaning in his/her own way, i.e. by making personal sense of it (externalisation). Thus, although internalisation implied a certain degree of continuity of cultural tools, externalisation ensured that processes of creativity and innovation were sustained. As a result of involvement in such cultural processes, a child developed "higher mental functions" which differed in Vygotsky's view from primitive functions, which were characteristic of animal behaviour. Maksakova (2001) posits that the process of cultural appropriation gradually changes into a process where a person manages the culture to the extent that she can create her own style of life. Hedegaard, Chaiklin and Jensen (1999) also maintain that:

> the relation between objective meaning and personal sense […] provides a way to understand societal demands as a necessary framework within which people function. But this framework does not determine the specific form of development. Rather it creates a frame of reference (p. 27).

From this point of view, preparation for work in schools presents itself to an individual through a set of culturally and historically developed tools within a particular institutional framework; time is understood and interpreted by an individual in relation to these tools and framework which she can actively transform.

It is important to emphasise that cultural mediation was not restricted to the conceptualisation of the processes of interaction between a child and adult. Vygotsky attributed transition from natural functions to cultural ones not only through ontogenesis but also in the development of human history (Kozulin, 1986, p. 276). It was implied that the process of cultural mediation ensures a certain degree of accumulative continuity among successive generations. What the concept of cultural mediation achieves is that it

links semiotic tools to particular cultural spaces; the specificity of a particular culture depends on what has been mediated over the course of history.

> The cultural-historical dimension of Vygotsky's theory aimed at the analysis of historical transformations of human psychological functions under the influence of changing psychological tools. It was assumed that the transition from natural functions to cultural ones takes places not only in ontogenesis, but also in human history. "Primitive mentality" should, therefore, correspond to a system of psychological tools essentially different from those of the modern mind, which is to a great extent a product of such mediating systems as written language and logicomathematical operations (Kozulin, 1986, p. 267).

Historical development of preparation for work in schools, from this perspective, is not a property of an individual's unique interpretation; instead, it can be understood as a legacy passed through and worked upon by generations of people. From this point of view, a student engages in preparation for work not only in relation to its immediate present but also to its past and even its future development.

These theoretical standpoints were further explored by Luria (2005) in his famous expedition to Soviet Asia. By means of a social experiment, he found that the change in what people do (mainly focusing on the transformation from individual to collective farming and the introduction of literacy) transforms not only the content of their consciousness but also its structure. In other words, historical transformations are, in a way, 'secured' in people so cultural mediation is linked to the development of history. In one way, returning to Wallerstein's (2005) idea, cultural mediation explains what happens within a TimeSpace. However, cultural mediation alone does not provide tools for locating temporal or, indeed, structural boundaries of what should be studied. As has been argued before, identification of the boundaries is important because preparation for work is a process that develops in relation to social and cultural transformations. Boundaries define a temporal and spatial niche in which a particular form of preparation for work can be studied.

Time and space seem to be brought into a unified and systematic whole in a concept of activity. Although present in the form of an idea in Vygotsky's work, the concept of social activity was fully developed by A.N. Leontiev (1978). A social activity is defined as a social practice that develops through the process of cultural mediation and aims at

meeting a particular social need. Activity and individual development are interconnected. A.A. Leontiev (2006) points out:

> […] consciousness cannot be understood in any other way than as a product of activity. Functionally, they are interconnected: activity is "directed by consciousness" and at the same time, in a certain sense, it is activity that directs consciousness (p. 33).

The concept of a social need is particularly important for understanding what social activity is (Ilyenkov, 2007). A need is always social and collective in nature and addresses a particular problem. A.N. Leontiev draws on tribal hunting as an example. In ancient times, people hunted on their own in pursuit of satisfying their own hunger when it arose. Alone, however, they could not hunt as successfully, nor could they hunt for larger animals. Uniting of people into tribes implied that there was a need that was higher and more important than immediate hunger. Together men could bring more food and were able to plan for colder seasons. Gradually, hunting became a highly ritualised and regulated activity where people co-ordinated their actions to meet a collective need. Leontiev refers to it as an object-oriented activity where an objectified social need motivates a group of individuals to act collectively. The object-motive is central to an activity (Foot, 2002; Popova & Daniels, 2004). If it is impossible to identify an object-motive, it is most likely that there is no activity. Thus, what appears to connect a particular activity temporally is the continuity of the object-motive. It appears theoretically plausible to identify when the object-motive first appeared and began to define a particular activity in the shape and form it will evolve over time. Once the object motive is known, it is possible to trace its development and transformations over time. This is different from the concept of a trajectory offered by Aminzade (2005):

> The concept of trajectories or paths of change refers to the sequential order of events. Historical sociologists are concerned with mapping out sequence patterns to see whether there are typical sequences characterising particular historical processes (p. 300).

The concept of trajectory in this particular interpretation cannot explain how a particular event came about; the concept of activity, or more precisely activities, seems to be capable of it. This is achieved through observing an interaction of different activities at a particular moment in time and through pursuing the development of object-motives of different activities. One activity does not imply one trajectory; a trajectory can consist of an interaction of different activities (Engeström, 1990, 1999).

When applied to the issue of preparation for work in Russian schools, the concept of a social activity that emerges on the basis of cultural mediation provides a clue as to what should be studied and over which periods of time. Preparation for work can be considered as a combination of two processes, vospitanie and professional orientation, which are two activities with two distinct but interrelated object-motives. Vospitanie has traditionally focused on raising individuals according to the demands of the state, and professional orientation was responsible for equipping students with tools for finding an occupational niche where they would both be more useful to society and realise their potential. Both, vospitanie and professional orientation may have retained elements of the Soviet past which can be studied by identifying object-motives and studying mediating artefacts produced by both activities. Since individual development and the development of activities are seen as interrelated, only participants of vospitanie and professional orientation provide an insight into how preparation for work is carried out at the present time and what its strong historical aspects are. It is important that the analysis of preparation for work in a particular context in a Russian school should go beyond consideration of interpersonal relations as is often the focus of socio-cultural research, as Daniels (2001) argues:

> Interestingly, whilst attempts to develop Vygotsky's work in Russia have *not* foregrounded semiotic mediation but *have* foregrounded the analysis of social transmission in activity settings, much of the work in the West has tended to ignore the social beyond the interactional and to celebrate the individual and mediational processes at the expense of a consideration of socio-institutional, cultural and historical factors (p. 20).

Structure of "TimeSpace"

On the basis of the above argument, it is possible to conclude that the 'content' of TimeSpace can be defined through the concept of cultural mediation, and that the temporal boundaries can be identified by means of considering the development of the object-motive. However, it is still unclear how TimeSpace is structured and whether the consideration of structure should be part of a socio-historical study. Structure, alongside the already-discussed concepts of time and space, has been subject to a number of interpretations. The Social Network Analysis (SNA), for example, approaches the issue of structure from the perspective of relationships between individuals. SNA originally comes from the work of Émile Durkheim and Ferdinand Tönnies and was later developed by a number of scholars around the world, including Scott (1991), Wellman and Berkowitz (1988). In the most abridged version, the SNA promotes the idea of the social nature of social phenomena, which is not a property of individuals. On the contrary, the social can be identified in the relationship between individuals and groups of individuals. Individuals are referred to as nodes, and links between them as ties. One of the strong points of the SNA approach is that ties between nodes are not necessarily positioned locally, close to each other; thus ties can be distributed over long distances (these can be virtual ties, for example). From this perspective, the problem of space in the structure of the social phenomena seems to be resolved; however, it is not totally clear whether the 'ties' can account for the changes that happen over time. According to Wellman and Berkowitz (1988):

> Structural analysts […] seek to describe networks of relations as fully as possible, tease out the prominent patterns in such networks, trace the flow of resources through them, and discover what effects they have on individuals who are or are not connected into them in specific ways. They use the resulting information to study the fit between structure and behaviour at each of several analytic levels within the same structures (p. 16).

However, an interest in structure and ties does not automatically involve history in the analysis. A good example of the structural analysis which does not appear to offer conceptual instruments to deal with history in networks is the research by Robert Brym (1988) about the shifting positions of Jewish intellectuals in Russia at the beginning of the

20th century. In essence, Brym argues against the idea of social rootlessness. He claims that

> if we hope to develop more sophisticated theories that specify precise linkages between social location and ideological proclivity, we would do well to emphasize intellectuals' embeddedness: their shifting social ties to changing social groups. Social structures evolve. So do intellectuals' careers. Match the two processes and, I submit, we can learn a good deal about intellectuals and their ideologies (Brym, 1988, p. 374).

Brym (1988) concludes that early embedding of Jewish intellectuals in a particular social stratum ensured their future choice of the political party. Although this is a very useful approach for linking social class and historical changes, it does not help answer the sorts of questions the empirical problem this thesis pursues, that is what changes over time and why. Brym's analysis does not offer a concept that is capable of explaining temporal transformations in what Jewish intellectuals in Russia at the turn of the 20th century did. More precisely, there is no account of the collective motive that has social character and which can explain some of the ties in the intellectuals' networks. So Brym's structuralist network analysis focuses more on where changes happened and between whom, rather than what was changed in the process and why, thus dealing more with space than with time. Compared to this approach, the concept of culturally mediated activity (Vygotsky, 1986) and the object-motive (Leontiev, 1981; 2005) seem especially helpful in bringing history into structural analysis. The concept of cultural mediation explains what keeps some of the networks together through offering the idea of symbolic mediating artefacts which go beyond situated relationships; the object-motive offers the sense of a material and concrete entity which can be 'tracked down' not only across locations but also across time. Overall it appears that SNA, in its approach to structure, takes space more seriously than time. According to Bryant and Hall (2005), any "dichotomising polarities" (p. viii), be it between space and time, macro factors against micro processes, structure versus agency, or materialism versus idealism, prevent history from being an integral part of the social enquiry.

Returning to the argument of activity theory, structure is considered an important explanatory principle of activity itself. According to Leontiev:

Activity [in its generic sense] is the nonadditive, molar unit of life for the material, corporeal subject. In a narrower sense (i.e., on the psychological level) it is the unit of life that is mediated by mental reflection. The real function of this unit is to orient the subject in the world of objects. In other words, activity is not a reaction or aggregate of reactions, but a system with its own structure, its own internal transformations, and its own development (Leontiev, 1979, p. 46).

With regard to the historical method in social enquiry, the concept of an activity provides opportunities for studying social processes systematically; it allows segmenting social reality into "TimeSpaces" which can be studied empirically. Most importantly, according to Leontiev (1979), individuals experience activities in a hierarchy, thus some object-motives dominate others. This implies that at the same moment in time, an individual may be potentially involved in a number of social activities. This means that occasionally an individual has to overcome a crisis of motives, i.e. one object-motive becomes more dominant. Such dominancy does not only depend on the free will of the individual, it comes as a result of making sense of the cultural meanings generated in these activities.

The meanings have their history and are located in the socio-historical context of a particular activity (Zinchenko, 1996). Particularly important for the discussion of the structure of an activity is the more recent development in activity theory and Developmental Work Research (Engeström, 1987, 2001). This research expands the notion of the collective in the activity. Thus, in addition to the notions of a subject who works on the object-motive by resorting to particular cultural artefacts (Fig. 1), the recent model considers supporting and constraining mechanisms which move the activity forward (rules), distribution of power relations and roles in the activity (division of labour), and also includes other parties who have an interest in the activity but are not necessarily the main actors (community) (see Fig. 2). All structural components of an activity are interrelated and form a system: an activity system.

Fig. 1. Model of cultural mediation
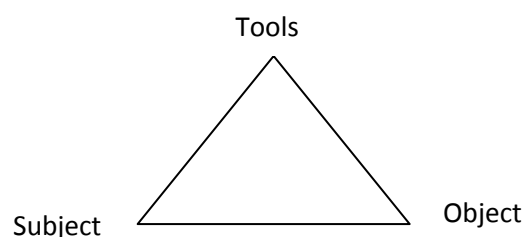
Adapted from Daniels et al. (2005, p. 84).

Fig. 2. Expanded model of an activity
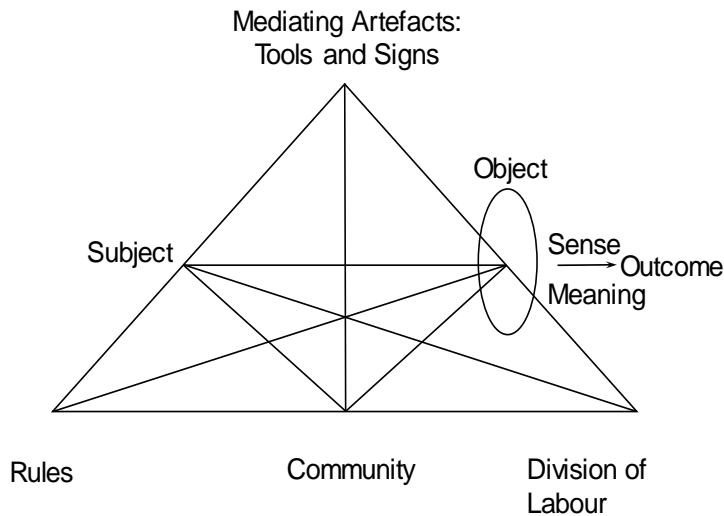
The structure of a human activity system Engestrom 1987 p. 78

Adapted from Daniels et al. (2005, p. 85).

The activity theory approach described above tackles another important issue in a historical study; relationships between human agents and material objects. Compared to other intellectual traditions dealing with this issue, for example the Actor-Network-Theory (ANT), activity theory seems to have an advantage. ANT, first developed by Latour (2005), argues against dichotomising between the social and material; it claims that all objects are part of the social and therefore should always be part of the sociological enquiry. In this respect, ANT is similar to the arguments of activity theory. However, ANT emphasises that it is extremely difficult to capture an object in its making because when objects come into contact with human agents, they are visible only for a short while, then they become invisible, part of the whole and disappear into the background. Latour (2005) argues that

> to be accounted for, objects have to enter into accounts. If no trace is produced, they offer no information to the observer and will have no visible effect on other agents. They remain silent and are no longer actors: they remain, literally unaccountable (p. 79).

On this basis, Latour makes a conclusion that a social study should focus on the points when "new associations are being made" (p. 79). Most of ANT studies are studies of innovations. Although ANT takes the relationship between the objects and human agents seriously, it pays less attention to the historical development of the associations of objects and human agents. It is not apparent what can be followed across time when "the objects remain silent" (p. 79). From this perspective, the concepts of activity and object-motive can offer a better tool for resolving this issue. An activity always involves objects and human actors, but human actors use not only physical objects in carrying the activity out but also symbolic objects which carry a specific cultural meaning. Although cultural meanings can change with time, their current meaning can be understood only by tracing down previous meaning, thus learning about the history of cultural tools. It has to be acknowledged that ANT also speaks against dichotomising between complete transformation and continuity. In fact, it argues for combination (actors, both objects and humans, are combined over time and not totally transformed). However, alongside this argument, ANT rejects the notion of structure in social networks, instead opting for constant fluidity. In contrast, the concept of activity implies an underlying structure; this does not preclude, however, that activities stay unchanged and that researchers have assumptions about which categories to study. On the contrary, activities are fluid but they evolve through the process of cultural-historical mediation.

The structure of an activity system proposed by Engeström (1987) solves, to a degree, the problem, defined by Sawyer (2002) as "neglect of macrosocial concerns in favour of focus on individual action" (p. 301). The concepts of rules, which simultaneously mean regulations and constraints that prompt further development of an activity, often refer to the macro events in society. Division of labour refers to the distribution of power in an institution where an activity takes place. Power relations often reflect dominant political class relations in society. Gaining an understanding of what rules and division of labour guide the development of an activity can provide an insight into what macro factors have a stronger impact on vospitanie and professional orientation. These considerations are important for the analysis of preparation for work, as a process directly influenced by economic and political events at a macro level.

History in an individual

The research question in this thesis inspired an interest not only in the historical development of social processes but also in the ways in which individuals are part of these processes and how history is part of their development. As young people and teachers co-construct collectively vospitanie and professional orientation, they become part of the history of preparation for work in schools, and activities themselves include these particular individuals as part of their history. As demonstrated above, a historical perspective in social studies proves to be problematic; equally problematic is the issue of the relationship between historical development of a social process and individual development, especially in employment studies and studies of preparation for work.

Employment studies tend to focus on the links between economic factors and particular outcomes that individuals achieve in the labour market (Brown, 2002); matters of individual development are rarely considered. As has been mentioned before, studies of preparation for work in schools tend to consider history as the movement from the present to the future and focus on identification of the most effective measures to prepare individuals for employment. At times, the concern is only with the present. This concern is often associated with career or occupational choice (Brown and Brooks, 1984; Ginzberg, Ginsburg, Axelrad, Herma, 1951), thus tackling only one of the many aspects of individual development. Osborne (1994) argues that career choice is discussed through the prism of three different approaches: differentialist, developmentalist and structuralist.

The advocates of the differentialist approach (Gothard, 1993; Ball, 1984; Brown & Brooks, 1984) argue that there is correspondence between trait and factor, i.e. psychological traits of an individual should match factors of a particular occupation. The pedagogy through which such an approach can be realised should foster in individuals an ability to make a rational choice. For example, Roe (1956) offers a classification that organises occupations and personalities into the following categories: public service; business contact; organisational technology; outdoor occupations; science; general culture and arts. The differentialist approach focuses on the relationship between the present and the future by identifying the correspondence between the traits and factors. It treats an individual as a rational and independent actor. There is little attention to the history of practices.

Developmentalists (e.g. Super, 1957; Super, Savickas & Super, 1996) advocate the idea of career development based on stages related to young people's age. Younger children exaggerate images of what they will be in the future, teenagers concentrate on interest and abilities and young adults older than seventeen tend to explore, criticise and select. Ginzberg et al. (1951) argues that career development is a life-long process of decision-

making. The decisions are taken in different life situations based on previous experience or changes in economic or family circumstances. Ginzberg views occupational choice not as a single action but as a life-time process of reassessing how individuals can improve the match between their goals and their jobs. The developmentalist approach suggests a pedagogy that should foster this kind of life-long ability to make occupational choices and develop an adequate picture of oneself (Osipow & Fitzgerald, 1996). The adequate pedagogic approach is expected to help students acquire competencies that will prepare them for work or training. However, the pedagogy is not linked to a particular time or space; it is not based on the historical analysis of pedagogic processes and individual career development. The causal nature of relationships between the pedagogic approach and individual development is not identified. However, this approach considers individual development as a process dependent on other social processes.

The structuralist approach places an individual in a dependent position. It is argued that occupational choice is imposed on an individual through a particular social context (Roberts, 1981). This approach is largely sociological; it considers links between status, income and attainment. For example, Hotchkiss and Borrow (1996) consider links between parental status and children's occupational status. On the one hand, parental status can affect the choice of schooling, which in its turn can affect the occupational status of the child. On the other hand, parental status may lead to the choice of both schooling and occupational status. The structuralist approach is important for identifying the factors that impact on career attainment. Although this approach attempts to consider the historical development of the processes that lead to a particular career choice, it robs an individual of autonomy, thus making the social process the determinant factor in individual development.

A more multi-faceted conceptualisation of a person preparing for the world of work is offered by the studies that tackle issues of an individual in knowledge society (Drucker, 1993; Wijers & Meijers, 1996; Seltzer & Bentley, 2001). This approach argues that:

> For the first time in history, knowledge is the primary source of economic productivity. It has begun to penetrate most of the products that we create, and become a core resource for organisations and an emblem of individual employability. Technological progress, organisational change and intensified global competition have driven a shift from manual work to "thinking" jobs that emphasise a whole new range of skills, from problem-solving and communication to information and risk management and self-organisation (Seltzer & Bentley, 2001, p. 9).

The changes associated with the knowledge society raise demands for individuals in their participation in the world of work. Individuals are required to deal with high levels of unpredictability and instability in the labour market. Wijers and Meijers (1996) argue that personal qualities are becoming more important for the world of work than qualifications or particular task-oriented skills. They refer to these as actor competencies. Brown (1999) defines individuals in the knowledge society as "worker-citizen". Working individuals in knowledge society are supposed to be "aware of the social construction of reality, and who, in a responsible fashion, wish and are able to participate in this historical process" (Berger and Luckmann, 1996, quoted in Wijers & Meijers, 1996, p. 191). Brown (1999) also argues that issues of identity and trust have to become central to learning, innovation and productivity (p. 226). Sennett (1998) relates these debates to issues of character.

> How do we decide what is of lasting value in ourselves in a society which is impatient, which focuses on the immediate moment? How can long-term goals be pursued in an economy devoted to the short term? How can mutual loyalties and commitments be sustained in institutions which are constantly breaking apart or continually being redesigned. These are the questions about character posed by the new, flexible capitalism (p. 57).

The pedagogy that this approach advocates emphasises the importance of not what knowledge individuals acquire but how they use this knowledge. In addition, pedagogic settings are expected to help individuals to make a choice about the general life-style that a particular professional orientation offers (Hargreaves, 2003). Law (1996, 1999) advocates an approach that assembles different points of learning into a sequence. This includes various cognitive actions that treat knowledge as a process, not as an entity. Thus, this approach offers pedagogical solutions which respond to the changes associated with the emergence of the knowledge society. However, such pedagogical considerations are not linked with a detailed analysis of the historical transformations; pedagogic solutions are not linked to a TimeSpace. Although the effects of the knowledge society on the labour market have global implications, pedagogical solutions should reflect the cultural-historical specificity and this in its turn can allow for a more precise conceptualisation of an individual in history and history in an individual.

All these approaches, in their own way, tackle the issue of the relationship between an individual and the processes associated with preparation for work in schools. However, all of them fail to provide conceptualisation of the relationship between historical

development of preparation for work and individual development. In contrast, socio-cultural studies, which focus on the exploration of culturally mediated activities, see an individual in a dialogic relationship with socio-historic processes. The underlying principles of the socio-cultural and activity theory, that is, the development of higher mental functions through the processes of cultural mediation, have influenced the studies of identity within the socio-cultural and activity theory approach. Socio-cultural studies that explore the issues of identity do not assign a leading role either to the environment or to an individual (Holland, Lanchicotte, Skinner & Caine, 1998; Holland and Lanchicotte, 2007; Valsiner, 1998). In fact, they seek explanatory principles of identity construction and development in a dialogic relationship of the social and individual. Thus, Valsiner (1998) indicates that:

> collective culture is person-anchored and not a 'property' of social units. It is of no use to speak of 'American collective culture' or 'the collective culture of high school No 4', but it is possible to speak of the collective culture that organises the life of John or Sally who studies in high school in a town in the United States (p. 31).

Holland and Skinner (2001) are also concerned with how an individual navigates his/ her own development through participation in the myriad of cultural activities and still retains his/ her autonomy. For Holland, a person acquires new identity tools by learning about what is important in a particular cultural-historical context; through the exposure to cultural meanings valued in a particular group, an individual learns to use these values to control his/ her functioning in activities. Lave (1996) emphasises the importance of participating in cultural activities as a way of learning. She argues that by learning to do something in a particular context, a person acquires the knowledge that is deemed necessary for performing a particular activity.

The above points demonstrate that the socio-cultural perspective is important for studying individual development in a socio-historical process. In addition, the socio-cultural and activity theory perspective is helpful in positioning an individual in an institutional activity that was initially created to provide him/her with particular tools of identity. Socio-culturalists (e.g. Brushlinskii, 1996; Chaiklin, 1993; Cole, 2000; Daniels, 2001; Davydov, 1996; Edwards, 2001; Engeström, 2001, Ratner, 1991; Rubtsov, 1999; Valsiner, 1988; Veresov, 1999; Wertsch, 1985, 1993) see school as a formative social institution that has the potential to provide conditions where young people set foundations for their future life

course. The ways in which school pedagogies are structured and delivered affect individuals' capacity for constructing who and what they are (Chaiklin, 2001; Daniels, 2001; Hedegaard, 1998; Scardmalia & Bereiter, 1991; Wardekker, 2001). Holland and Lanchicotte (2007) explicate the theoretical underpinning of this view by explaining that cultural mediation is part of the collective historical processes into which individuals are inevitably drawn.

> A typical mediating device is constructed by assigning meaning to an object and then placing it in the environment so as to affect mental events. It is important to remember that Vygotsky saw these tools for the self-control of cognition and affect as, above all, social and cultural. "Assigning meaning" and "placing in the environment" are not just individual acts. Rather, mediating devices are part of collectively formed systems of meaning and are products of social history (p. 110).

As was mentioned in the previous sections, vospitanie and professional orientation were initially designed to affect individuals within socio-cultural contexts in particular ways. These two social activities were active responses to particular social needs. Therefore, the socio-cultural view outlined above provides useful theoretical points for considering an individual's development as part of the socio-cultural process. However, even socio-cultural studies still struggle to provide a systematic and structural account of an individual in history and history in an individual. As Saxe and Esmonde (2005) rightly notice:

> In studies of dairy workers loading crates (Scribner, 1984), navy personnel operating a ship (Hutchins, 1995), and street children engaged with the sale of goods (Nunes, Schliemann, & Carraher, 1993; Saxe, 1988), investigators showed how the cognitive activities of individuals draw on properties of artefacts and the activities of others in structuring and solving local tasks. Though such studies pointed to the importance of historically situated activities in cognitive analyses, they did not focus on the dynamics of historical change itself and its relation to the conceptual activities of individuals. Further, many of these studies are not developmental. That is, they do not offer ways of understanding processes of people's developmental trajectories as they engaged with historically situated practices (p. 173).

Personhood

Although there is no intention in this thesis to solve the problem of establishing links between history and individual development, some conceptualisation of historical development of vospitanie and professional orientation and the position of students in them has been necessary. The study of socio-cultural and activity theory has led to an important revelation, i.e. a concept that can help studying history in an individual and individual in history.

Already in Vygotsky's work there is mentioning of the concept of personhood (личность - 'lichnost') which is usually translated as personality. Chaiklin (2001) notices that the concept of personhood has been very important for the development of the cultural-historical approach and activity theory in Russia; in the West, it has not received as much attention. The term 'personhood' was chosen as an English translation in this thesis in order to avoid confusion with related terms such as identity and personality. Personhood is neither "personality", nor "identity". Matusov, Lowery, Bergeron, Hayes, Letts & McKinney (1999) maintain that

> There is a long Russian pedagogical and theoretical tradition to aim education to the development of 'lichnost' rather than the traditional concept of "knowledge acquisition", preparation for future jobs or adulthood, or even development of the "whole child". In brief, while Western notion of identity entails choosing identity categories with which a person feels comfortable, the notion of 'lichnost' involves transcending all culturally available choices by creating new ways of being out of available cultural resources and circumstances (p. 384).

The general thesis underlying the Soviet/Russian psychological concept of personhood is the one which considers an individual to be an integral part of society, thus, a societal unit in its own right (Sobchik, 2005). According to Yaroshevskii (1991), the focus is placed on an individual as a "social unit. This unit does not exist outside a system of links with other individuals" (p. 218). Bozhovich (1979) maintains that the formation of personality is not wholly described by the independent development of any one aspect, that is, the rational, the voluntary, or the emotional. Dodonov (1985) supports this view. He criticises current studies of individual development for putting too much emphasis on providing a list of qualities and characteristics of personhood consists of. Dodonov argues that personhood

is a functioning system which Russell (2002) considers to be "always in contact with the history, values and social relations of a community" (p. 66).

The aspect which has not been widely acknowledged in the discussions of personhood in the cultural-historical and activity theory literature in the West is the link between personhood and individuality. Russian psychological and educational literature acknowledges a distinct difference between a certain qualitatively different level of human functioning, which is personhood, and the differences between different people, which is defined as individuality (Asmolov, 2001). It appears that although the cultural-historical and activity theory traditions in Russia acknowledged this difference, the theoretical considerations have placed a greater emphasis on personhood. As Valsiner (1998) puts it,

> Within the myriad of cross-cultural differences, visible in the surface, exist basic human tendencies for cultural construction of human life courses, in all their variety. It is the unity within variety that needs theoretical explanation" (p. 5).

Dodonov (1985) clarifies the link between personhood and individuality, and relates personhood to the idea of "invariant architectonics" (p. 37):

> Each personhood represents the unity of general, special and individual. When we characterise a certain personhood, we aim to talk about special and individual components of its structure, in other words we disclose its individuality. In order to understand somebody's individuality better, it is necessary to be 'armed' with a notion of invariant architectonics of this person's personhood, which he or she shares with other people, who are not like this person at all (p. 37).

Therefore, personhood should not be understood as a formula of what a human being must become, instead it should be interpreted as realisation of human potential (Chaiklin, 2001). Chaiklin also emphasises that one should not be "frightened by terminology such as 'universal' and 'essence', given that these concepts can be formulated in materialist and constructivist interpretations that are quite compatible with present-day thinking" (p. 254).

Personhood seems to come across as a concept that is based on the thesis of inseparability of individual development and socio-historical activities. Personality is deemed to be an indivisible whole (Chaiklin, 2001, p. 241). This presents theoretical and analytical challenge. Sawyer (2002) warns that

> If the individual is not analytically separable, then one cannot study relationships between individuals; the only available object of study is undifferentiated social group practices (p. 295).

Dodonov (1985) argues that studies of practices and individuals should complement each other and that the concept of personhood should find a balanced position between them. When Dodonov talks about invariant architectonics of personhood, he links this idea to what he calls a general and invariant function of personhood. This function can be understood if personhood is considered as part of society. It does not imply that personhood is determined or regulated by society; it is a free and creative part of it. According to Dodonov, personhood and society belong to the same class of self-organising systems. Therefore, personhood is defined as a "self-organising, purpose-oriented 'part of society'; its general function lies in realising an individual way of social being" (Dodonov, 1985, p. 37).

The discussion above suggests that in order to gain an understanding of how students are prepared for work in Russian schools, it is important to know both about vospitanie and professional orientation and positions of students and teachers who participate in these activities. More precisely, it is through participation of teachers and students that vospitanie and professional orientation are enacted. The concept of personhood provides an analytical bridge between what is often considered separately - the practices as processes that generate individual development (Engeström, 2001) or individuals as socio-cultural beings (Holland et al., 1998; Valsiner, 1998).

Holland et al. (1998) considers identity as a process of negotiation between an individual and environment, where there is certain continuity between what the person was and what she is becoming to be. Holland's main analytic concept is related to the cultural identity of a "figured world". A figured world for Holland is based on the idea of "embedding of activities" in "larger systems of power and privilege" (p. 57). However, in the empirical

analysis, she is concerned more with the question of what participants of a certain activity identify themselves with, thus linking it with an autonomous position of an individual.

We tell of romance at two universities, of drinking and not drinking in a chapter of Alcoholics Anonymous, and of the treatment of mental illness, all in the United States, and of gender relations in Nepal. Participants in all these worlds undergo processes of heuristic development which result, for some, in identities: of self as a romantic type, as a non-drinking alcoholic, as a manic-depressive or borderline, as an unjustly treated woman (Holland et al., 1998, p. 42).

Holland's focus is on the process ontology. It is not clear which analytic categories were used for analysing all the above mentioned figured worlds and the individual position within them. In this thesis Holland's perspective may be useful in identifying whether students identify themselves as participants of preparation for work but it does not provide categories with which this participation can be explained in terms of historical complexity of preparation for work as an activity.

Valsiner (1998) maintains that personality is viewed as emerging in ontogeny through social relations and their cultural organization. In its established forms, socially emerged personality becomes relatively autonomous from the very social world within which it has emerged. Thus, personality is simultaneously socially dependent and individually independent, with both parts of this whole being mutually interdependent (p. 1).

Thus his view is that of inclusive separation, i.e. a person and social world are separate but they maintain their interdependence. Valsiner uses two interdependent concepts in order to analyse personality, i.e. the Zone of Freedom of Movement (ZFM) and the Zone of Promoted Actions (ZPA).

> While the ZFM keeps the person's acting or thinking-feeling within the field of acceptable possibilities, the ZPA provides suggestions for further differentiation of the field. Yet these suggestions are mere orientations, not obligations (Valsiner, 1998, p. 62).

As analytical categories, both ZFM and ZPA are powerful tools for bringing together internalisation and externalisation, and for resolving the problem of separability vs. inseparability debate. However, the focus again is on an individual acting and not the space in-between individual development and practices. Application of the ZFM and ZPA

in the detailed analysis of a series of letters (Valsiner, 1998, pp. 324-343) is very effective for the analysis of the personality of one person. However, it seems problematic to apply these categories to the analysis of narratives produced by different individuals on a particular topic. Empirically, both zones may appear to be more separate from the activity than being interdependent with it.

Chaiklin (2001) emphasises that it is important to analyse those meaningful functions that are significant for human life, and that psychology should not necessarily "assume a decompositional model (e.g., analysing basic processes of cognition, emotion, social relations, with the expectation that a meaningful synthesis will emerge)" (p. 250). Dodonov (1985) supports this view. He accepts the subordinate function of bio-socio-genetic components and argues that these can be considered as part of an additional analysis when individuality of personhood is considered. Thus in order to explore the functioning of personhood over time (as a person engages in socio-historical activities), it is not necessary to use a decompositional model. Instead, it is important to identify functional components of personhood.

Functional components can reveal themselves when the aim of the study involves attention both to individuals and practices equally. Chaiklin (2001) maintains that the concept of personality should be used in order to explore specific interventions such as, for example, in teaching. Dodonov (1985) makes a similar point:

> The main mission of considering personhood as a functioning system has to help educators to focus on the main aspects of upbringing (vospitanie) and not disperse their efforts in a disorganised manner (p. 45).

In this thesis, the aim is to understand how students are prepared for the world of work in schools and whether the historical complexity that has been created by the context of post-communism favours some individual positions over others.

Dodonov (1985) distinguishes between motivating and orienting ideal components. Motivating components are then divided into those that carry aims and initiative behaviour and those that represent mature emotional assessments/accounts of reality. Orienting components are classified as those that represent concepts and images about the world and a scheme of cognitive actions that have been formed during one's life. These four

classes of ideal components of personhood can be defined as objectified needs in all their modifications, stable psychological relations, knowledge and skills (Fig. 3).

Fig. 3: Elements of personhood

Motivating elements		Orientating elements	
Aims and intentional behaviour	Emotional accounts of reality	Knowledge and Images	Networks of cognitive actions

Each class could be, theoretically speaking, assessed in terms of its scale and stability. For example, knowledge can concern general laws of nature, society and human thought, or may refer to more specific areas of one's life. Components can be studied at particular points in time and then be compared. Components cannot be understood, as has already been emphasised, away from societal activities. They are not characteristics of an individual but the ways in which an individual engages in and impacts on an activity. For example, with regard to preparation for work, participants establish and follow aims which impact on intentional behaviour; but the aims are part of the culturally mediated vospitanie and professional orientation. The aims and behaviour respond to the culturally mediated forms of aims that had formed vospitanie and professional orientation before.

According to Dodonov (1985), components of personhood should be subdivided into extroversive and introversive sub-systems depending on whether they refer to the external world or to the individual's internal world. Dodonov found that that there was similarity between mechanisms that regulated an individual behaviour 'from outside' and mechanisms that involved "self". Both of the worlds in Dodonov's system are interconnected and never exist in isolation. This unity is enabled by four main functions:

1. Worldview: general understanding of reality in the 'space' where the activity is going on;

2. Orientation: purpose-oriented function;

3. Character: affective reaction to different kinds of typical situations;

4. Abilities (Dodonov considers abilities in a relatively untraditional way, whereby abilities represent a function rather than qualities that an individual 'collects' during life).

Worldview is the fundamental formation of mature psyche (mind) that includes most important knowledge that a person develops about the world and the person's attitude to it. Worldview contains ideals, that is conceptions of general purposes of human life which get generated during participation in culturally mediated activities. Worldview is a function and, hence, is not equal to knowledge or information; it is a way in which a person engages in an activity in terms of understanding of what the activity is and what the important aspects of the activity are that help creating a position within this activity.

Orientation is a mature system of the most important purpose programmes that define a meaningful unity of human active behaviour which flows against accidents of reality. Orientation of personhood can be revealed in an individual's formulated needs associated with one's attitude to life. Orientation relates to the position of an actor within an activity as the options for action can be different.

Character is a psychological formation that contains 'stable' emotional attitudes (relations) of a person to typical situations in life and stereotypes of cognitive and behavioural 'schemes' that help reacting to these situations. Character is a function, not an entity. It links orientation and worldview through the affective aspect, thus sustaining unity of personhood. Stable emotional attitudes do not depend of an independent will of an individual; they are to a degree a response to the conditions within activities in which an individual participates.

Abilities are defined as 'formations' of personhood that contain knowledge and skills of a person that have been formed on the basis of his/her inborn qualities; abilities enable success in mastering 'technical' aspects of activities. Abilities are a function; they can evolve over a lifetime and gain more or less importance as time goes by. They are conditional on what a person does within an activity and what affordances an activity provides that help developing them.

With regard to the introversive system, Dodonov's system of the 'self' is not a dominant component that is superior to all others. The 'self' contains parts and aspects of all other component of personhood. Thus, the self includes 'self-view' (including self-esteem), programmes of self-development, and typical reactions to one's own qualities, abilities of self-observation, self-analysis and self-regulation. It is through the 'self' that a person can orient within oneself, as in the outer world. It is through the 'self' that all components of personhood are correlated. Understanding of the 'self' can be gained through such

activities as counselling. In the research which aims to explore both an individual's position and the process of socio-cultural activities, the 'self' has to be acknowledged but not foregrounded.

Conclusion

Studying the transformation of preparation for work in Russian schools and how students are engaged in this process is a complex issue in terms of the social sciences research. Preparation for work, as has been concluded, has to be studied as a social process which has roots in the Russian culture. Since this research does not look for the best model of preparation for work nor try to evaluate the current situation, it is important to consider preparation for work as a practice that developed as part of the social life and educational system in the Soviet Union and Russia, before and after 1991. The analysis of the cultural and educational situation in Russia with regard to preparation for work in schools (which is partly presented in this chapter and continued in chapter 4) has demonstrated that preparation for work in Russian schools should be understood as a combination of two educational processes: vospitanie and professional orientation, which have deep roots in the Russian culture and system of education.

The discussion of the historic method in the social sciences, in the introductory chapter, has demonstrated that in order to study transformations in a social process, it is not enough to consider points of time when change occurred. On the other hand, it is practically impossible to consider a social process as an indivisible whole although this is how it might be interpreted through an individual perception. It was also argued that for history to be an integral part of the social study, a historic process should be explored as having some form of structure. It has been argued that the socio-cultural and activity theory approach offers the best analytic tools to conduct a historic study based on the above principles.

The concept of activity which underpins the socio-cultural and activity theory research was pointed out as the fundamental theoretical concept which can account for vospitanie and professional orientation. It has been argued that an activity, being understood as a culturally mediated social process which develops over time by focusing on the collective object-motive (Leontiev, 1978; Vygotsky, 1986), can explain why vospitanie and professional orientation have been transformed due to the political upheaval in 1991, or preserved some of the cultural-historical continuity. It was explained that the object-motive

is an objectified collective need which defines what people do in practice; because of its collective nature and its central position in an activity, the object-motive can be studied historically. The changes in the object-motive can point out the changes in the whole activity. From the point of continuity, if the object-motive does not show signs of significant transformations, then the activity itself may have preserved a high degree of continuity.

As part of constructing the theoretical framework for this thesis, it was important to consider the relationship of macro social processes and individual involvement in social practices at micro level. Being mainly anthropological or psychological in nature, socio-cultural and activity theory studies tend to focus on the level of activity, that is "what people, at various ages, do in various cultures and cultural groups" and on "tools of communication and/or means of mediating their higher mental functioning" (Tulviste, 1999, p. 72). However, there is less focus on how the macro process enters the micro social practices. It has been suggested that through using concepts of rules and division of labour (Engeström, 1987), such links can be established.

Individuals, on the other hand, are in the continuous process of internalising cultural tools produced within activities but also externalising new cultural tools. This chapter problematised the position of an individual in the historic process of the development of activities. It was argued that an individual's position in an activity should be understood as personhood, which in the socio-cultural and activity theory, despite a variety of interpretations, is considered as "self-organising, purpose-oriented 'part of society'; its general function lies in realising an individual way of social being" (Dodonov, 1985, p. 37). Without depriving an individual of autonomy or self-understanding, the concept of personhood provides conceptual channels of communication between an activity and individual development. Personhood's functioning accounts for activities and individuals simultaneously. Depending on how personhood is functioning, conclusions can be drawn with regard to the person's involvement in a particular social activity. Therefore, by following the development of personhood's functions, activities can also be analysed.

The socio-cultural and activity theory also offers ways in which to conduct a structural analysis of activities themselves. It was revealed in this chapter that recent developments in activity theory (Engeström, 2001) expanded the structure of activity which explicated the role of social rules, division of labour and community in the development of an activity. Engeström proposed to use an activity system as a unit of analysis. From the point of studying an activity as a historic process, it becomes possible to take a 'snapshot' of an activity at different points in time by examining the position of the subject, the kind of tools that are used, the nature and structure of the object-motive, the rules, division of labour and community. In addition, Engeström's notion of a network of at least two activities is

useful for exploring the relationship between vospitanie, professional orientation and other activities in which students, teachers and other parties are involved.

Chapter 3

Methodology and methods

Introduction

This chapter provides a description of the methodological approach and research methods used in this thesis. It starts by deconstructing the main research question, using the findings of the literature review and formulation of the theoretical framework, which are presented in chapter 2. As a result, supplementary research questions are identified. These questions are discussed as the main determinants of the choice of methodology and associated research methods. Overall, the chapter describes in detail a methodological journey that has been undertaken in order to answer the main research question: "How are students prepared for work in Russian schools in the context of post-communism?"

Research question

The research question has been considered in chapter 2 in terms of its primary constituent parts; it has reviewed preparation for work in schools as a field of study and has considered Russian education in the context of transformations that occurred after 1991. It has been found that preparation for work in Russian schools has evolved as a combination of two educational processes, vospitanie and professional orientation. The review of education literature has revealed that both processes have undergone some form of transformation as a result of the political change in 1991. From a theoretical perspective, students' engagement in preparation for work is seen as the development of personhood functioning as a result of participation in socio-cultural activities, in this case, vospitanie and professional orientation. Following on from this, there are several implications for the further exploration of the research question.

Firstly, with regard to the historical aspect of the research question, the literature review has failed to reveal what cultural tools have mediated the development and transformation of vospitanie and professional orientation. The literature review has pointed out that the events of 1991 have prompted policy change and inspired an educational argument with

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regard to the need to change vospitanie and professional orientation, but the literature review has not provided an understanding of how particular ideas and concepts that shape vospitanie and professional orientation have changed. As this thesis is grounded in the framework of socio-cultural and activity theory that argues that cultural tools are disseminated over time and social contexts, it seems important to find evidence of where and how these mediating tools have been recorded and employed in guiding educational practice. The first supplementary research question can be formulated as follows: "*What are vospitanie and professional orientation, and how has the cultural mediation associated with these two educational activities changed in the light of post-1991 transformations in Russia*"? This question refers mainly to the macro-factors affecting vospitanie and professional orientation, and requires evidence of the ways in which vospitanie and professional orientation have been changed centrally (Fig. 1).

Secondly, the main research question asks about preparation for work in the context of post-communism; it asks for evidence that would demonstrate how vospitanie and professional orientation are realised in a particular context that has been affected by macro political and economic changes. The first supplementary question prompts the collection of the evidence that would show how ideas and concepts of vospitanie and professional orientation have changed but not how they have changed in practice. As the focus of this thesis is on preparation for work as it is realised in schools, a school context needs to be explored. The interest is both historical and educational. From a historical perspective, it is important to indentify whether ideas that were used in the Soviet time are still present in vospitanie and professional orientation as they are realised in a school context, and whether ideas generated after 1991 in education have affected the practice of preparation for work. From an educational perspective, it is important to explore conditions, notions and practices that constitute preparation for work in a particular school context; in other words, it is important to know in which kind of pedagogic environment students participate. For example, based on the literature review in chapter 2, pedagogic environment can be considered in differentialist or structuralist terms, which have particular implications for how a student is engaged in preparation for work. Pedagogic practices in schools involve two main participant groups, teachers and students, and their views are paramount in exploring the concrete pedagogic environment (Fig. 1). Thus, the second supplementary question is: "*What is the pedagogic environment of a particular school context and how historically dynamic is it?*"

The review of career education and guidance literature has indicated that the end product of preparation for work in schools can be conceptualised differently, for example, more in terms of economic outcomes or real-life changes for young people themselves. It has

been argued that in the context of knowledge society with an additional complexity added by the post-1991 conditions in Russia, it is an individual herself that comes to the forefront of preparation for work. As the requirements for the kind of employee that the labour market demands change, so do the requirements for qualities that individuals should acquire. It has been argued that individuals' trajectories of engagement in preparation for the future world of work will be seen as personhood functioning (Dodonov, 1985), and therefore some evidence is needed to identify what kind of personhood functioning students are developing in a particular school context (Fig. 1). Since personhood functioning is related to the activities in which individuals participate, identification of personhood functions can throw light on the kind of activities students participate in. Thus, the third supplementary research question is: "*How does students' personhood functioning develop in a particular school context?*"

The discussion of a theoretical framework for this thesis has concluded that personhood functioning should be explored in a particular cultural and social context and in a particular time (Valsiner, 1998). Aims of preparation for work as a school practice can be established only in relation to a particular period of time and context-specific requirements of the labour market. Therefore, it seems important to explore personhood functioning in the context of work and employment in post-communist Russia. It is clear that individuals' trajectories of work and employment will differ depending on the profession or occupation and on age and gender, however, in order to be able to evaluate students' personhood functioning, analytic categories are needed which have to be couched in a concrete socio-cultural and economic context. Therefore, the forth supplementary research question is: "*What personhood functions do individuals need to develop in order to adjust to the new economic and social environment of the post-communist labour market?*

Fig. 1: Supplementary research questions and evidence required to answer them

	How are students prepared for work in Russian schools in the context of post-communism?	
	Supplementary question	**Evidence required**
1	*What are vospitanie and professional orientation, and how have cultural mediation associated with these two educational activities changed in the light of post-1991 transformations in Russia?*	Documents, where mediating tools of vospitanie and professional orientation have been recorded.
2	*What is pedagogic environment of a particular school context and how historically dynamic is it?*	Evidence of vospitanie and professional orientation in practice, seen from the perspectives of teachers and students.
3	*How does students' personhood functioning develop in a particular school context?*	Evidence of how students are positioning themselves in preparation for work and what personhood functioning they are developing.
4	*What personhood functions do individuals need to develop in order to adjust to the new economic and social environment of the post-communist labour market?*	Evidence of how individuals adjust to the post-communist labour market; real-life accounts.

Research approach

Social science research is usually positioned on a continuum between nomothetic and idiographic positions (Lincoln & Guba, 2000; Wallerstein, 2005), which are also referred to as positivist and interpretivist paradigms respectively (May, 1997). The discussion of supplementary research questions above demonstrates that the aim of this research is to seek an understanding of preparation for work within a particular structure of a socio-cultural context and gain an explanation of the ways in which participants find their own socially and culturally relevant positions in this context. These questions do not guide the research towards a nomothetic position whereby the objective truth has to be sought and established. Instead, they seek to understand the 'how' and 'what' of preparation for work. This position has emerged as a result of responding to the main research question which does not imply a positivist research paradigm which demands generalisations that can be

relevant for large population groups (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). The interpretation of the research question has prompted a choice of the theoretical framework in this thesis which is the socio-cultural and activity theory (which has been discussed in chapter 2 above).

It is suggested that this theory crosses a number of paradigms, depending on a particular research focus (Hedegaard, Chaiklin & Jensen, 1999). Traditionally, it is associated with a Marxist perspective, but increasingly it enters such fields as post-structuralism and feminism (ibid.). Although early socio-cultural studies sought to explore the social underpinning of human development (Leontiev, 1978; Vygotsky, 1978), increasingly, socio-cultural research attends to issues of institutional power (Engeström, 2002) and political issues of class and identity (Kearney, 2001). The research discussed in this thesis has not been guided by the power of one paradigm. In terms of its main aims, on a continuum between positivism and interpretivism, it occupies a position closer to the latter. From the point of view of generation and interpretation of the data it can be considered as a form of post-structuralism (Robinson & Diaz, 2006) which implies a "concern with language, signs, images, codes and signifying systems, which organise the psyche, society and everyday social life" (p. 16). This is evident in its attention to the processes of cultural mediation and the idea of mediating artefacts travelling across time and space, being available to different generations for internalisation and interpretation. In addition, this research considers childhood as a socially constructed concept, and therefore preparation for work is viewed as an educational process generated within a particular culture and through the lenses of that culture's conceptual apparatus. In addition, one of the foci of this research is on the historical aspect of preparation for work in schools; this aspect of the research has brought all aspects of social reality into a focus, including time, space, structure and individual agency (see chapter 2 above). And as Bryant and Hall (2005) justifiably argue, a historical focus makes paradigm boundaries lose their determining power:

> Of the various dichotomising polarities that have informed and misinformed social science theories and methods for more than a century now – nominalism and realism, reductionism and emergence, structure and agency, materialism and idealism, micro and macro, determinism and voluntarism – a good many of them, if not all, lose their one-sided untenability when reconceptualized within a temporal and historical frame of understanding. For this much can be said with certainty: it is historicality that constitutes a universal ground of all diverse forms of social being. […] Once the full historicality of social phenomena is registered analytically, the partisan pleadings of the rival ontologies lose their intelligibility. For how is it possible to assign a causative primacy to either agency or structure, or to

derive, constitutively, the macro from the micro, when all such distinctions are sublated within the 'totalization in process' that is the socio-historical? (p. vii)

This quotation supports what has been the main motivation behind this research, which is to understand implications for individual development, grounded in a particular historical moment, cultural-historical heritage and related to real-life situations of individuals who live in this historical moment. These are the main characteristics of the research paradigm of the research in this thesis.

Methodology

As has been demonstrated in the two previous sections, the aim of this research has not been to generate a theory of preparation for work, or assess practices according to an existing theory of preparation for work in schools. Although the thesis is grounded in socio-cultural and activity theory, the theory itself is not used to determine principles and characteristics of what preparation for work should be in Russian schools. Instead, the focus is on gaining an understanding of what preparation for work in Russia was in the context of post-communism. The socio-cultural and activity theory framework enables a structured and systematic investigation of a particular set of concepts, practices and individual actions in a particular context. The interpretivist and post-structuralist nature of this research dictates that concepts, practices and individual actions should be couched in terms generated as a result of studying the socio-historic context in question. There are a number of methodological strategies that tend to be employed to respond to these ambitions. Among them are ethnography, phenomenology and a case study.

Ethnographic research can be a suitable strategy for this research as its main purpose is to explore and interpret behaviour, cultural patterns, customs and artifacts shared by a culture-sharing group (Creswell, 1998). This aspect of ethnography is especially useful for answering supplementary research questions two and three (Fig. 1) which focus on a pedagogic environment of a particular school and its historical dynamic, and students' development within that environment. Ethnography employs an open-ended approach whereby an ethnographer enters a social space without pre-set assumptions or expectations, which is a feature relevant to this research as it is not dependent on one particular theory of career education and guidance. Ethnography also collects individual

stories which are based on the socio-cultural context in which an ethnographer participates as an observer. These stories weave the cloth of final interpretation. Although, this could be a useful tool for exploring the kind of personhood functions that have developed in the context of post-communism (Fog. 1, question 4), an open-ended nature of ethnography does not allow an exploration of what personhood functions individuals need to develop in the conditions of post-communism, which is important for answering question four (Fig. 1, question 4).

Phenomenology is defined as a study that "describes the meaning of the lived experiences for several individuals about a concept or the phenomenon. Phenomenologists explore the structures of consciousness in human experiences (Creswell, 1998, p. 51). Guided by the definition alone, phenomenology may appear as a suitable strategy for this research as it can pay attention to one particular phenomenon, for example, preparation for work, and explore this in relation to the ways individuals attend to this phenomenon. However, the main aim of phenomenology is to seek "the essential, invariant structure (or essence) of the experience, recognizing that a single unifying meaning of the experience exists" (Creswell, 1998, p. 55). In contrast, one of the concerns of this research is with the division of labour within socio-cultural activities, such as vospitanie and professional orientation. It is assumed from the start that some individuals may interpret activities in different ways, depending on the power position they occupy in the activity systems.

A case study approach appears to respond more adequately to the requirements set by supplementary questions two and three (Fig. 1) because the main characteristic of a case study is that it is conducted within boundaries. Stake (2000) argues that a case study is distinguished from other methodological approaches by "what is and what is not 'the case'" (p. 23). Questions two and three ask about a pedagogic environment which can be studied only within boundaries of particular pedagogic relationships among participants who co-construct preparation for work, that is teachers and students (Fig. 2, question 2).

> It is possible to understand a stage in the process of development and the process itself, only by gaining some knowledge about the end, result and direction of this process (Vygotsky, 2000, p. 16).

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Vospitanie and professional orientation are carried out within the boundaries of a school, and as one of the aims of this research is to explore students' preparedness for the world of work, it is important to choose an environment in which students are engaged, that is a school (Fig. 2, question 2).

A case study is understood as a holistic inquiry within which "the characteristics of a part are seen to be largely determined by the whole to which it belongs" (Sturman, 1999, p. 103). Thus, the structure of the case and relationship among its different components and participants play an important role in a case study (Cohen & Manion, 2000). This aspect is very important for this research which employs a notion of an activity system as a unit of analysis. If structure is not important, as it is in ethnography, for example, then using a notion of a system in study becomes problematic. Sturman (1999) also comments:

> Case study researchers hold that to understand a case, to explain why things happen as they do, and to generalise or predict from a single example requires an in-depth investigation of the interdependencies of parts and of the patterns that emerge (p. 103).

Schofield (2000) emphasises the importance of using a typical case because it benefits policy makers and enables more valid generalisations from the case. Studying of what is perceived to be a typical representation of an event or social practice should be understood in relative terms only, as it is unlikely that an absolute of a typical case exists Donmoyer, 1990). With regard to this research, the main research question suggests exploring a typical situation rather than looking for an atypical case. In the case of Russian schools, a typical situation can be found in a mainstream school which has not been upgraded to a level of an elite or specialised school.

It appears that selecting a mainstream school as a case study and focus on studying teachers and students' positions and views as they engage in vospitanie and professional orientation is the best strategy for this research as it creates boundaries where activity systems can be studied and pays attention to individual views which enables an understanding of the division of labour. The case study, however, does not provide opportunities for collecting evidence that could answer supplementary questions one and four.

Question one requires documentary evidence (Fig. 1, question 1) which is traditionally considered as the main method in historical research (McCulloch & Richardson, 2000). Policy review may not yield the required evidence as policies have not been followed thoroughly in Russian schools (Webber, 2000). And as it is not clear whether teachers in the case study school have been exposed to particular policies or not, this is not the most appropriate strategy to answer question one. All Soviet teachers, however, have had to undertake the same teacher-training curriculum irrespective of where they did their teacher training (Webber & Webber, 1994). The main resources, such as text-books, are still approved by the Ministry of Education to be used in Universities, which implies that most teachers are exposed to the same kind of ideas, despite studying in different educational establishments (Long & Long, 1999). In terms of documentary evidence, teacher-training textbooks appear to be the most adequate record of what pedagogical ideas have been mediated to teacher trainees. As has been argued before (chapter 1 above), it is appropriate to consider three different decades 1970s, 1980s and 1990s as they represent different transformations in Russia, and enable an exploration of preparation for work before and after 1991. Therefore, it seems appropriate to focus an exploration of question one on teacher-training textbooks that were published in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s.

Supplementary question four (Fig. 1, question 4) cannot be answered through a case study either, as it requires participation from individuals who are outside the boundaries of a 'case', that is a mainstream school. However, theoretically, the question establishes a connection through the use of the concept of personhood functioning. Analytically, the data that has to be gathered will need to be related to the data collected within a case study.

Exploring personhood functioning as developed through engagement in work and employment requires an analysis of a person's actions, decisions and dispositions over time, in order to gain an understanding of which strategies have proved to be most useful in the context of post-communism. It is argued that such data can be obtained through the use of a biographical approach. Creswell (1998) points out that there are a number of strategies which are defined as biographies. A classical biography aims to gather evidence that would result a representation of a person's life as seen by the researcher. An interpretive biography can be defined as autobiographies; they are interpretations offered by authors of their own life. According to Denzin (1989, cited in Creswell, 1998) interpretive biography is led by the researcher but it is intentionally cognizant of individual biases. Interpretive biographies should note "life course stages and experiences and mark pivotal events". Individuals' stories should be verified through explanations and interpreted

against the historical context, which includes "interactions in the group, cultural issues and ideologies" (p. 51). The latter approach is more suitable for the purposes of this research as question four requires a study of individual working trajectories as they have been developing in a particular historical context. The range of participants should be representative of a typical population sample in terms of professions or occupations, age and gender.

This section has discussed the main methodological strategies employed in this research. It has been concluded that that all four supplementary questions (Fig. 1) cannot be answered by means of one methodological strategy. Supplementary question one is going to be explored through a documentary analysis of teacher-training text-books (Fig. 2, question 1); question two and four are going to be explored through a case study of a mainstream school (Fig. 2, questions 2 & 3) and question four is going to be answered by means of interpretive biography (Fig. 2, question 4).The socio-cultural and activity theory is seen to provide a conceptual link among three methodological approaches.

In the following sections the three inter-related strategies are discussed in relation to the supplementary research questions.

Fig. 2: Supplementary research questions and corresponding methodological strategies

	How are students prepared for work in Russian schools in the context of post-communism?	
	Supplementary question	**Research strategy and participants**
1	*What are vospitanie and professional orientation, and how have cultural mediation associated with these two educational activities changed in the light of post-1991 transformations in Russia*?	**Documentary analysis** of teacher-training textbooks published in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s
2	*What is pedagogic environment of a particular school context and how historically dynamic is it?*	**Case study**: collecting students' and teachers' views of preparation for work in their school; observing practices.
3	*How does students' personhood functioning develop in a particular school context?*	**Case study**: exploring students' own views of how they prepare themselves and are prepared for work.
4	"*What personhood functions do individuals need to develop in order to adjust to the new economic and social environment of the post-communist labour market?*"	**Biographies:** individuals who represent a range of professions/occupations, of different age and gender.

Documentary analysis

Documentary analysis of teacher-training textbooks published in three different decades, 1970s, 1980s and 1990s has been chosen as a methodological strategy to respond to the first supplementary research question. As most of the teachers have been exposed to a similar teacher training curriculum (Chepurnih, 2000; Appendix A) and the same teacher-training text-books even after the change in 1991, analysing these textbooks seems the most appropriate strategy. It is important to analyse textbooks in terms of what elements of the Soviet pedagogy have persevered over time and have been retained in the discussion of vospitanie and professional orientation, and which aspects have been changed due to the political drive of de-ideologisation (Webber, 2000). A working assumption underpinning this documentary analysis is that during the process of cultural mediation which occurs during teacher-training, teachers who were trained in three different decades may have internalised different pedagogical meanings. It is acknowledged that many other factors influence professional development of teachers, but the Soviet system of teacher training provided little scope for interpretation of ideas (Chepurnih, 2000), and therefore the impact of the training may have been lasting for the teachers. The details of the selection of the textbooks and principles of analysis are provided in chapter 4.

Case study

Selection of methods

As has been argued above, supplementary research questions two and three (Fig. 1) should be answered using a case study methodology. There are several principles which needed to be addressed when constructing this case study. Firstly, research should take place in a mainstream school which can be used as a typical case of how preparation for work in Russian schools is carried out. Secondly, the case study should involve the main participants of preparation for work, teachers and students. Thirdly, two kinds of evidence should be collected; one that provides an insight into how teachers and students view preparation for work and how they conceptualise it, and the other which provides a description of practice in which teachers and students participate. Analysis of both pieces of evidence through an activity theory perspective should throw light on how preparation for work in the case study school is constructed and what roles teachers and students occupy in it. Finally, to gain a historical perspective of preparation for work in the case

study school it is important to gain perspectives from teachers who were trained before and after 1991. Since, the documentary analysis explores three different decades, it has been decided to seek participation of the teachers who were trained in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s.

As has been discussed before, this research is carried out within "an interpretative frame in which the concern is with the production of meaning" as contrasted with "positivist forms of inquiry which are concerned with the search for facts" (Brown & Dowling, 1998, p. 82). Therefore, the choice of methods should correspond with the main paradigmatic and methodological approach. Qualitative methods are traditionally used within an interpretative frame because they respond to a need for in-depth information about certain clients and programmes (Mertens, 1998, p. 163).

In terms of gathering teachers and students' perspectives of preparation for work, semi-structured interviews have been selected as an appropriate method. Although a certain structure is important in order to capture the same kind of evidence to illustrate how preparation for work in approached, a degree of flexibility is needed to allow for clarification and necessary explanations (Punch, 2009). Semi-structured interviews focus more on the richness of the themes emerging from the narratives rather than on quantitative categories (Fontana & Frey, 2000; Smith, 1996).

Interviews with teachers are expected to throw light on how teachers see the pedagogical environment in which work. However, students' views of the pedagogic environment are more difficult to capture. Direct questioning through an interview may not yield the data that are necessary to describe the pedagogic environment as interview questions might impose the researcher's views on student's opinions. In addition, a historical aspect of preparation for work needs to be explored, which involves asking complex questions about a historically complex situation. A method is needed that can allow students to express their thoughts in their own terms. A personal construct psychology has been considered as an alternative to an interview.

Personal construct psychology was introduced by Kelly (1970). He began with what became his famous metaphor that every person is a scientist. By this, he implied that every individual explored the world and constructed his or her own vision of it. According to Kelly, individuals construct their anticipations of reality based on their experiences. They make patterns of constructs that they elicit from the relationship between experience and anticipation. When they encounter something that contradicts their pattern of constructs, they reconstruct their reality, and therefore they learn. The constructs are based on contrast, i.e. one construct can exist only because of the existence of others

(e.g. if there is bad there must be good). Kelly's psychological approach aimed to discover human uniqueness. "Kelly found a quantifiable description of individual uniqueness. Instead of eliminating it by the straitjacket of experimental controls, he goes out to discover it" (Jahoda, 1988, p. 4).

As an open-ended tool, which offers students an opportunity to formulate their ideas in their own terms, personal construct psychology has been considered to be an adequate method to explore students' perception of the pedagogic environment of the school and its historical complexity.

Teachers and students' perspectives of the pedagogic environment are important for gaining an insight into how students are prepared for work in the case study school, but not sufficient as interviews and personal construct psychology do not provide opportunities of direct observation of practice. The pedagogic relationships between teachers and students can be recoded when they interact most, therefore classroom observations can help collect evidence of how exactly teachers and students co-construct practices that constitute preparation for work in schools.

Below, the selection of the case study school is discussed which is followed by a discussion of all the methods used as part of the case study, including interviews with teachers, personal construct exercises, interviews with students and observations.

Selection of the case study school

The selection of the case study school was based on the following principles: representation, accessibility and continuity. In terms of representation, a school was sought that could constitute a typical case of preparation for work in Russia. This means that the city and school have to be representative of what an average Russian city and school are. It has to be emphasised that the notion of 'typical' is used in relative terms as Russia is a large country with a growing variety of educational settings. In terms of accessibility and continuity, it is important that the case study school welcoming to the ideas of my research.

The city of Perm has been chosen because of two reasons: typicality and feasibility. With regard to the first reason, Perm has been chosen because it is not a capital city, and not a tourist centre. It is industrial and residential. It is a large city with about one million people inhabiting it, but compared to Moscow it is considered to be provincial. With regard to the

second reason, it was important to conduct fieldwork in a place where I could afford to spend a considerable amount of time. Perm is my home city which made it more feasible to conduct this research it over a period of two years.

The selection of the school was not random because of the factors discussed above. During the initial stage of this research I approached my former colleagues at the Perm State Pedagogical University for advice and guidance. They maintain a working relationship with a number of schools in Perm. Having obtained the necessary references, I approached two schools in two different districts of the city of Perm. Both schools (from this point, schools A and B) were located in urban residential areas which had grown around large industrial enterprises. School A was based in a building constructed in the 1930s similarly to the residential buildings around it. School B was in a modern building surrounded by concrete blocks of flats. There were 712 students and 52 members of staff in school A, and 750 students and 53 members of staff in school B.

Negotiation of the fieldwork is a very important stage in the research process (Delamont, 2002). During appointments with the headteachers of both schools, I explained the aims of the research, emphasising the kind of commitment the research would demand from the staff and students. The headteacher at school A responded with enthusiasm and suggested that we meet again to discuss the details of the whole process. The headteacher at school B seemed equally enthusiastic about the topic of the research but did not offer the practical support that I needed to meet with teachers and students long term. However, I arranged to meet with several teachers at that school the following week.

Despite conducting a number of pilot interviews and personal construct exercises in school B, I decided to withdraw from conducting a case study there as I did not receive the practical support needed. The headteacher in school A asked her deputy to provide me with any assistance that I needed and I was able to approach teachers in the staff room and agree an overall schedule of the research to be undertaken during a year and a half. Part of the agreement allowing me to conduct research in the school was that I would teach several classes of English Language during each of my visits. The case study was conducted in four visits; three visits that lasted one and a half months, and the final visit of two months.

Interviews with teachers

Sampling

The aim of the semi-structured interviews with teachers was to identify teachers' views and interpretations of preparation for work. A special point of interest is teachers' interpretation of ideas and concepts that were used in the Soviet education. Therefore, the sample of teachers to be interviewed in the case study school has to include teachers pedagogic views began to develop in the 1970s, 1980s or 1990s.

There were 52 teachers at the case study school at the time of the research. Seven teachers taught at the primary level. These teachers did not the students who I was going to interview and therefore I did not interview them. At the secondary level, ten teachers started their careers in the 1990s, fourteen teachers in the 1980s and eleven teachers in the 1970s. Thus, I aimed to interview 10 teachers who represented each period of time; however, I asked permission to interview all the teachers who taught at the secondary level in order to ensure a reserve in case of some unpredicted circumstances such as withdrawal or illness. Eventually I managed to interview all ten teachers from the 1990s sample group. I interviewed twelve teachers from the 1980s group (two out of twelve were pilot interviews) and ten teachers from the 1970s group. As there were not enough teachers to conduct pilot studies in the case study school, I approached school B with a request to conduct four interviews (two teachers from the 1990s sample and two teachers from the 1970s sample).

Interview schedule

Supported by the theoretical framework of this thesis, interviews aimed to capture teachers' accounts of the process of cultural mediation (Vygotsky, 1986) which implies that the development of pedagogic relations in a school is not only situated in the context of interaction between participants but is distributed spatially and historically. The interviews were expected to capture movements between the past, present and future in teachers' accounts of the practices related to preparation of students for work. In addition, the interviews aimed to pursue the development of vospitanie and professional orientation with a focus on whether these activities referenced the past, present or future and which particular combinations. As an activity system is used in this research as a unit of analysis, the interview schedule had to include questions that inquired about different

aspects of activities, including the subject, object, outcome, tools, rules, division of labour and community.

In order to achieve the above mentioned objectives, the interview schedule was designed based on a number of criteria that reflects this theoretical underpinning. Firstly, it was important to establish teachers' own vision of work and employment because this may impact on how they prepare students for work. The opening section of the interview (see Appendix B) inquired about teachers' own career development over time and their future career intentions, which refers to the subject position in an activity system. Secondly, the concern was with the vision of the practice, that is with how teachers conceptualised preparation for work. So, the second section of the interview inquired about teachers' understanding of preparation for work and aspects they consider more important than others. These questions were expected to gather evidence of how teachers saw tools and rules of the activities they proposed to discuss. The third section of the schedule referred to the ultimate focus of preparation for work – students themselves, which was expected to throw light on the ways in which teachers conceptualised the object and outcome. Section five addresses the historical element of the inquiry directly by asking teachers about their interpretations of the changes that have occurred as a result of the events of 1991. All of the questions may were designed on order to identify the division of labour and who was included as part of the community. It is ethically problematic to ask direct question about division of labour but sections two and three (Appendix B) provided opportunities for naming who else was important for preparing students for work, and the power relationship among all the participants of this process (division of labour).

The interviews did not impose the idea of two dominant activities, vospitanie and professional orientation on the teachers; rather, the interviews provide conditions for open descriptions first. If there is no mentioning of vospitanie and professional orientation, some clarifications are to be made.

Pilot interviews with teachers

Pilot interviews aimed to test each question in terms of its clarity and the kind of answers that it generated. Each interview was followed by a discussion about the interview process and the quality of the questions.

The interview schedule proved to be adequate for exploring the research questions. The teachers understood the interview questions. In case of some clarifications being asked for, I took note of them and made adjustments in the schedule later. For example, a question "*What is the focus of preparation for work, in your opinion*?" did not receive a detailed response, whereas the question "*What are the most important aspects of preparation of students for work?*", prompted a detailed answer. Overall, the main result of the pilot studies was the realisation that all six teachers focused on vospitanie and professional orientation, which confirmed that the overall focus of the interviews was relevant for the context and participants.

Interviews with teachers: the main study

Interviews with teachers in the case study school were conducted over a period of three weeks. Teachers met me either after work or during 'gaps' in their teaching timetable. Each interview lasted an hour or more. Interviews were recorded with the help of a Dictaphone, with full consent of the participants which was also recorded.

All the interviews were conducted in Russian. I transcribed each interview and then translated it into English. Before analysing the interview transcripts, I asked two former colleagues from the Faculty of Foreign Languages to read both originals and translations. I corrected some of the text following their comments. It was the English translations that were analysed. The analysis of the interviews with teachers in the case study school is presented in chapter 5.

Triangulation: feedback notes

Following the data collection and analysis of the interviews with teachers, I decided to conduct a triangulation exercise in the form of a focus group. All teachers were invited to attend at the time and date that was agreed to be convenient for all of them. However, only ten teachers attended the focus group. Six teachers were from the 1990s sample group, two from 1980s and two from 1970s. Thus, since there was unequal representation of each of the sample groups in the focus group, it seemed impossible to conduct it as

planned. I discussed with the teachers the possibility of presenting the findings in writing. The teachers felt that this would work better as they could do it in their own time.

Following this, I summarised the findings from the interviews with the teachers from each of the sample groups separately. The summaries contained analyses of vospitanie and professional orientation from the point of view of the references to the past, present and future. The summaries also provided descriptions of each group's general orientation in preparation for work and the aims they pursued. Summaries were written up in the form of a letter that was addressed to each of the teachers who were interviewed. The teachers were asked to respond to the letter in writing by stating a) which point they agreed or disagreed on and b) what they would like to add to the summarised analysis.

Personal construct psychology: repertory grids

Kelly's (1970) main methodological tool used for elicitation and assessment of constructs is a repertory grid. This method has been used widely and was interpreted in a variety of ways by his followers (Fransella, 1978, Fransella and Thomas, 1988). The repertory grid is broadly defined as "a conversational tool to help people to become more aware of the patterns of thought and feeling implicit in their responses" (Shaw, 1978, p. 59).

A repertory grid exercise usually starts when a respondent is offered to choose elements she would like to elicit constructs about, e.g. the relatives of the respondent. The elements are then placed in groups of three (for example, mother, father and sister) and the respondent is asked a question: "Could you tell me in which any two of these people are different from the third, in terms of (qualifier) their attitude to you?" The last part of the question is a qualifier that directs the respondent to a particular purpose of the exercise. The outcome of this process is a bipolar configuration of constructs (for example, construct one: my mother takes care of me; construct two: my father and sister think I should take care of them). The elements can be rated against a scale of constructs (for example, see Fig. 3 below).

Fig. 3: Elements and constructs in a repertory grid

V	Mother	Father	Sister	X
Take care	V	X	X	Want to be taken care of

Pilots: repertory grids

The repertory grid for this thesis was developed mainly through the pilot study. Ten students participated in the pilot study. Since the main purpose of this exercise is to explore the pedagogic environment from a historical perspective, the teachers were considered to be 'elements' for the repertory grid exercise. During the exercise, the names of the teachers were written on separate cards alongside their code (for my use). Teachers who began their career in the 1970s, 1980s or 1990s were coded as 'A', 'B' or 'C' category respectively. In each repertory grid exercise, I asked students to compare teachers from A, B and C categories. Thus, students were asked to compare the following combinations (A1, B2, etc are different teachers):

- A1 – B1, B2

- A2 – C1, C2

- B1 – A1, A2

- B2 - C1, C2

- C1 - A1, A2

- C2 – B1, B2

The pilot exercises were used primarily to explore questions that prompt students to compare teachers. The variations of the following two questions were trialed:

1) How is teacher A1 different from teachers B1 and B2 in terms of what they do to prepare you for employment? How are teachers B1 and B2 similar with regard to the same activities?

2) How is the communication of teacher A1 with you different from your communication with teachers B1 and B2?

I tried variations of both questions in all ten repertory grid exercises. The students found it very difficult to provide constructs for question one. Question one aimed to gain their perspective of the content of pedagogic relationship within a pedagogic environment of the case study school. The students commented that it was difficult for them to think about particular activities and relate them to particular teachers. Question two, however, did not seem to provide any challenges. The students engaged in the exercise with enthusiasm. Question two aimed to elicit constructs related to the ways in which pedagogies were delivered by the teachers.

The students who participated in the pilot repertory grid exercises also commented that it was quite confusing for them to rate the elements against two contrasting constructs. Instead they suggested concentrating on one construct and rating it on the scale of 1 to 5 for all the elements. One of the students said: "I know what the opposite meaning is, so I do not need to rate it as well". They preferred the 1 to 5 rating because the system of grading in Russian schools is based on it. Their academic work was graded 5 for excellent, 4 – very good, 3 – satisfactory, 2 – bad, and 1 was regarded as fail (Fig. 4). The students suggested using 5 if the construct fully characterised the teacher, and then grade the construct down if the teacher could not be characterised with the help of that construct. The same rating principle was used in the main study.

Fig. 4: Repertory grids: rating of constructs for each element

Construct/element	A1	A2	B1	B2	C1	C2
Strict discipline	5	4	4	3	1	1
Rapport	3	3	4	3	5	5

The main study was replicated according to the model developed during the pilot study. The details of the main study and its analysis are provided in chapter 5.

Interviews with students

The aim of the interviews with students was to explore how students viewed preparation for work and what role they played in it. Interviews were devised using the concept of personhood because this concept provides an insight into the nature of both, socio-cultural activities and individual development, and it is through the inter-relationship of the two that personhood develops. Therefore, on the one hand, it was important to explore vospitanie and professional orientation as activities which included both teachers and students, but on the other hand, it seemed important to explore the development of personhood, including its immersion in the historical and social context of developmental activities and simultaneously its projection into the future. Thus these interviews were not about the past and present only, they also aimed to explore future positions, as the nature of preparation for work is to prepare individuals for the future. The interview schedule, therefore, included references to actual events alongside probes that took the students into the realm of the imaginary, thus exploring relationships between what they do currently with what they might do in the future.

The interview schedule was based on these principles. The first set of questions (see Appendix D) addressed students' interpretation of the school's pedagogic environment, especially in relation to preparation for work; questions about lessons that prepare or do not prepare them for work aimed to elicit information about the mediating tools. This set of questions was necessary to gain an overall understanding of how students' view school and themselves in it. The second set of questions addressed the issue of comparison between what students do at the moment and what they intend to do in the future. From the activity theory perspective, the questions aimed to inquire about students' formulation of the object and outcome by asking them what their current and future focus of a working life was. The third set of questions aimed to identify what ideas mediated students' vision of the future working life, and, consequently their approach to preparation for work. Questions that asked students about other individuals, such as successful adults that they knew, aimed to explore students' value system, which is likely to influence the ways in which they construct activities that prepare them for work. Questions about methods of job search inquired about students' views of the labour market, which might have been realistic or idealistic; questions about the role of family and school in preparing them for work aimed to gain an insight into how students viewed the division of labour. The last section of the interview addressed issues of rules within activity systems. It inquired about factors that might guide or constraint students' future engagement in the world of work; it aimed to clarify students' understanding of these rules and their interpretation in relation to what they did at that time and what they planned to do in the future. Thus, the intention

was to explore links between the object and rules of the activity systems in which students thought they prepared themselves for work.

Sample: interviews with students

The sampling of students depended on two main principles. The first principle concerns the idea of a developmental crisis (Leontiev, 1978). It meant that the students to be interviewed had to be in the situation where they experienced a crisis in the hierarchy of motives (Leontiev, 1978, p. 136). The aim was to capture how students prioritised what they did in their attempt to prepare for the future world of work. Therefore, identifying their leading motive was crucial towards understanding how personhood was functioning. In Russian schools fifteen-year-old students (who are in year nine) are in the situation where they have to decide whether to stay in school for two more years to prepare for the university entry (in which case they had to choose which subjects to follow), or to leave the school to enter a vocational college or employment. Therefore, it was decided to approach year nine students in the case study school to ask them to participate in the research.

The second principle concerned the importance of considering preparation for work as a pedagogic relationship between teachers and students. This implies that all students were expected to know all the interviewed teachers, and vice versa. Thus, the same students who were selected for participation in the personal construct exercise were sampled for the interviews. Fifteen female and fifteen male students were sampled for an interview. In addition I asked teachers to point out students of different achievement levels. The gender and achievement were not seen as variables to be measured during analysis. The aim was to gain perspectives for as wide range of students as possible.

Pilots: interviews with students

As the teachers approached students on my behalf (both to participate in the repertory grid exercise and be interviewed), they let me know that my research and my persona had caused a lot of interest among students and that quite a few of them expressed a wish to meet with me. The teachers indicated that the students thought it would be interesting to

talk about preparation for employment as it was the year when they had to take an important decision. In addition, they wanted to meet me because I studied and lived abroad. Out of forty six students who volunteered to participate in the study, ten were interviewed for the purposes of the pilot. Thirty six students were invited for the main study interviews. In the end, I interviewed 34 students (two were unable to come) and used 30 interview narratives for the analysis. Four interviews were not used as they were very short and lacked any detail of description, so it was difficult to compare them with other interviews.

The ten pilot interviews demonstrated that the students did not react very well to the descriptive questions, e.g. "Could you tell me about your school?" Such questions required more prompts such as, "Do you feel safe in the school? What are the activities that you can participate in during breaks and after school hours?" I also found that students did not call activities which prepared them for employment as vospitanie and professional orientation, i.e. they did not use these word combinations. However, their description of the activities or teachers' interaction with them indicated that they participated in both activities.

Overall, the pilot interviews elicited narratives that demonstrated movements that the students made between participation in activities and projecting their development of personhood into the future. In other words, they linked what they had already done or what they were doing in order to create a particular image of themselves and their life in the future. This was not only linked with particular aims (some students did not have a clear aim) but concerned lifestyles students thought they would achieve. On that basis, it appeared possible to relate their participation in activities with the development of personhood.

Triangulation: interviews with students

The pilot interviews with students showed that students viewed the interview process as an opportunity to get some feedback on the kind of ideas about future employment and future working life they planned. I spent an extra half-hour or forty minutes with each student discussing what they had told me and providing an analytic feedback. I then reflected on the feedback conversations and decided that this might be an opportunity to triangulate the data gleaned from an interview. Thus, for the main study I planned additional time for each interview.

I began a feedback conversation by re-telling the main point of the interview to the students and asked them to comment on it. If the students disagreed with my interpretation, they provided an explanation which was recorded. The feedback conversation was not transcribed but was summarised in the form of analytic notes.

In addition, most of the students wanted to find out my opinion on the kind of choice they were about to make. I was confronted with an ethical dilemma. I was not part of the teaching staff or related to these students, thus I did not feel entitled to give advice. However, I did not want to leave them feeling that they had not gained anything from the conversation with me. I then decided to provoke further reflection with problem- oriented questions instead of giving direct advice. For example, one of the female students complained that her parents wanted her to go to the university whereas she wanted to be a beauty therapist and needed a professional qualification; however, vocational colleges in Perm did not provide beauty therapy courses. I then asked if there was any chance she could find out about colleges in other cities. This question seemed to have surprised the student. She said she had never tried to gain such information because she had never considered studying away from Perm. I did not pursue this question any more and left the discussion quite open. In a way, the second part of feedback session became a vospitanie event where students had a chance to reflect further on their preparation for employment. I resolved the ethical dilemma by taking the role of a critical friend who had had some experience of employment, rather than the role of a career advisor.

Observations

Initially, a series of classroom observations were planned. Observations were designed to capture conversations and events that illustrated how the principles and concepts of vospitanie and professional orientation were realised in practice. I intended to use a Dictaphone and, if permitted a video camera. Taking notes was also considered an option but the detail of the narrative of conversations would have been lost.

Following initial negotiations, I came to school A several times and spent some time with teachers in the staff room. We confirmed my time-table to teach English and I began to make appointments for conducting interviews with teachers and students. During the initial negotiations, my request for permission to observe classroom practices was refused on the grounds that teachers did not feel comfortable being observed. I attempted to negotiate this again throughout the period of data collection but failed to gain permission. I believe that my relationship with the teachers was positive and I got successfully

integrated into the school as a researcher. However, at times I received comments that showed teachers' admiration for everything Western. Since, I was studying abroad, it appeared that they perceived me as a more knowledgeable person. From personal experience of living and working in Russia following the events of 1991, I am aware that this was a typical opinion expressed by Russian people towards Western life-styles, technologies and even intelligence.

Despite the fact that observations were not carried out, I still managed to obtain some ethnographic data that illustrated certain aspects of school practice, for example, events that are considered to be related to preparation for work. I spent a considerable amount of time in the staff room negotiating interview appointments and asking teachers to fill in feedback forms.

Biographies

Sampling

A working assumption underpinning the choice of this method was that individuals who were educated before and after Perestroika and had been involved in different professional activities would have developed different ways of dealing with the social crisis after 1991. The aim of using biographies was to collect a range of narratives in order to describe individuals' working trajectories and analyse them in terms of what personhood functions appeared to support them more in overcoming the challenges of the post-1991. As in the case of interviews with students, the aim was to involve as wide range of participants as possible, in terms of age, gender, professions or occupations. It was decided to select a manageable sample of thirty individuals. This provided an opportunity to include five main professional/occupational and class categories, such as business, civil servants, qualified worker, unqualified workers and the unemployed. Participants represented three different generations as they have been selected depending on when they went to school (1970s, 1980s or 1990s). Each category (for example, businessmen and women who went to school in the 1970s) included female and male participants (Fig. 4). These variables ensured that working trajectories were be analysed by means of using a wide range of biographical narratives.

From the perspective of socio-cultural and activity theory, personhood functioning is conceptualised as the movement through a hierarchy of social activities (similarly to the ideas of Leontiev, 1978). Stable functions of personhood become evident when an

individual is working through a personal and social crisis (Dodonov, 1985). Participants from all three generations lived through the socio-economic and political crisis ensuing after 1991, which in Leontiev's terms intensifies some personhood functions over others, thus making personhood more accessible for analysis.

Fig. 5: Interviews with representatives of different professions

School attendance /profession al area	Business people	Civil servants	Qualified workers	Unqualifie d workers	Unemployed
1970s	F / M	F / M	F / M	F / M	F / M
1980s	F / M	F / M	F / M	F / M	F / M
1990s	F / M	F / M	F / M	F / M	F / M

Interview schedule

Sequential interviewing was selected as the adequate style for collecting biographical narratives (May, 1997). The interview schedule was devised to include questions and prompts that would allow a professional to recollect important events, changes, transformations related to her working life and, most importantly, links between them (Appendix E). The schedule include prompts that helped professionals reflect on the reasons that had led to a particular turn in their working path. Special attention was paid to the events that occurred after 1991. The questions focused on inquiring about the kind of opportunities professionals had at that time, the reasons behind particular decisions, and the degree of satisfaction with the outcomes of those decisions. Another set of questions focused on current activities of the interviewee, including some projection into the future, enquiring whether a person had awareness of where her working trajectory was going. The interview started from asking about biographical details and participants' working journey up to the date of the interview. Some questions inquired about the individual's value base and their perception of the world of work, for example, question nine, "Can you describe what is positive and what is negative in your current work?" (Appendix E, question 9). The same applies to question thirteen that asks about the interviewees' ideas

of success in order to establish of whether they are performing to their own standards. The last set of questions inquiring about the school experience aimed to elicit interviewees' views of how preparation for work had changed. As the interview was semi-structured and sequential, interviewees were provided with opportunities to answer the questions in the order they felt was more appropriate. Thus, the first questions about the working journey and the change after 1991 were designed to enable an interviewee to describe most of the important events and details related to the working trajectory. A number of questions were designed to gain an understanding of whether interviewees were happy with the changes in their lives. The last two questions directly addressed this issue by asking interviewees if they were satisfied with how their life has progressed since 1991.

Pilot interviews

I encountered a number of difficulties during a sampling procedure. It was difficult to find individuals whose characteristics corresponded with the variables selected for these interviews. The main difficulty was that I could only use my personal networks as I did not have enough professional networks in all professional areas and of all ages. Therefore, already during the pilot study, the sampling was random but coordinated by the variables selected during the design of the interviews. Only three individuals participated in the pilot study: a male qualified worker who went to school at the end of the 1960s, a female civil servant who went to school during the 1980s and a female unemployed person who went to school in the 1970s.

Although, the interview schedule was piloted through three interviews, it was a very important exercise. I learnt that my prompts about the links between different events and decisions had to be more precise and tight, and sometimes repeated during different phases of the interview. The interviews tended to divert the narrative to aspects of their life that did not have any visible connection with their working trajectory (for example, one participant, who is a qualified worker, expressed his negative attitude to the local politician but when asked if it affected his working life or his life on the whole answered: "No, I just felt like having a moan"). On the basis of the pilot interviews, I decided to create a preamble to the interviews where I explained in sufficient detail what my research was about and explained that I was mainly interested in the biographical account of their work and employment.

Main study: biographical interviews

I began sampling before my arrival in Perm. I used personal networks (family and friends) to locate individuals who responded to the sampling criteria. With the help of my family and friends, I had secured eleven interviews before my arrival. When I began the fieldwork, I continued searching for suitable participants. Some of them I got to know through the interviewees who had suggested some of their colleagues or friends. The disadvantage of such random sampling was that some of the interviewees worked for the same organisation (two unqualified workers and three civil servants worked in the same organisations). However, such sampling was also advantageous because the interviewees came from different areas of Perm and they were not linked by education (the same university, for example) or place of birth (some interviewees came from smaller towns around Perm). In the end, I conducted interviews with people whom I would have never met if I had approached some organisations formally.

The most difficult categories of participants to find were female unqualified workers who went to school in the 1990s and male unemployed participants who went to school in the 1980s. I had to approach a job centre to help me locate these unemployed participants.

I reserved two months of fieldwork for the interviews with professionals. I interviewed professionals at their workplaces or visited them at home. That did not seem to affect the way the interviewees responded to the questions. The interviewees chose the venue where an interview could take place.

On the whole, the interview schedule was efficient enough to gain coherent biographical narratives about working trajectories of professionals who had been educated in three different decades and who had developed their trajectories along different professional routes. After reading the transcripts of the interviews, I summarised the main biographical events and pointed out pivotal points in the working journeys of the interviewees and sent the letters for feedback.

Ethical considerations

As this research involves human participants, including more vulnerable members of the public, ethical considerations have played an important role in guiding the research process. Issues of voluntary participation, the right to withdraw from the research process,

consent to participate in the study and confidentiality of the information offered to the research have been considered seriously at each stage of fieldwork.

All participants of this research opted to contribute to this study. I ensured that this message was very clear during my initial negotiations with the school. At the beginning of each interview I reiterated this message by stressing that that they could withdraw at any point of the research process; they could also ask for their data not to be used. Each interview was recorded with the help of a Dictaphone; each interview contains a record of the consent given by the participant. In the case of fifteen-year-old students, consent was also sought from parents.

The discussion of confidentiality was very important for all participants of this research. When negotiating their participation in the process, I explained that I would treat the information they provide in strict confidence. If they felt there were aspects of the interview they were unhappy with, they were given a chance at the end of the interview to point it out. I guaranteed that this part of the interview was not going to be used in the data analysis. Confidentiality was mostly important in conducting the repertory grid exercise because it involved students' opinions of teacher's pedagogical styles. I promised the students that their opinions of individual teachers would never be revealed; I also cautioned them that they needed to focus more on teachers' relationships with them and their classroom practices, than their personal characteristics. Overall, students were tactful and restricted their descriptions to professional rather personal comments. I also ensured that the teachers were aware of the nature of the repertory grid exercise. I informed the teachers that in order to identify if their pedagogic styles were different depending on which group they represented, it was necessary to ask students to compare them in an open-ended way. This was an important step in the research process because if the teachers had not given their permission for me to run the personal construct exercise, I would have had to withdraw from using this method. The teachers' response was positive. One of them commented, "The students talk about us and compare us anyway. It is not a secret."

The same ethical guidelines were observed when negotiating access to classroom observations. However, this caused more concern, and resulted, as has been explained before, in a refusal to allow me into the classrooms to observe lessons. As I found out later through the conversation with one of the teachers, the school did not practice peer observations, and teachers were not used to other professionals being present in their classrooms.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed a methodological journey undertaken during this research. Decisions about the choice of the methodology were guided by the main research question and its four sub-questions (Fig. 1, this chapter). Overall, the research was conducted within an interpretive frame, using predominantly qualitative methods. Three methodological strategies were used to address the research sub-questions. A documentary analysis of teacher-training textbooks was chosen to explore the ways in which pedagogical concepts underpinning preparation for work in schools evolved during the period between 1970s-1990s. A case study of a mainstream secondary school in the city of Perm was employed to explore preparation for work in practice and its historical complexity as represented by the perspectives of teachers who were trained in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. Finally, collecting biographical narratives were selected as a methodological strategy to explore individual journeys undertaken by individuals from a range of backgrounds, in order to identify what kind of personhood functions supported them in overcoming the challenges of the post-communist economic situation. In the next chapters, the analysis is presented in the following order. It begins by discussing documentary analysis in chapter 4, which is followed by the analysis of the interviews with teachers and repertory grid exercises in chapter 5. Chapter 6 provides analysis of biographical narratives, and in chapter 7 the analysis of the interviews with students is presented. The summary of participants who have taken part in this research and the type of evidence that they have provided is presented in the table below (Fig. 5)

Fig. 6: Summary of the collected data

Participants	Method of data collection
30 teachers (28 female and 2 male), including 10 teachers who started their teaching career in the 1970s, 10 teachers who did so in the 1980s and 10 teachers who began teaching in the 1990s.	• Semi-structured interviews • Feedback "letters"
30 fifteen year old students (15 male and 15 female) who were taught by the interviewed teachers.	• Personal construct exercise • Semi-structured interviews • Post-interview feedback
30 professionals (15 female and 15 male) who went to school in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s and who were from five different fields (business, civil workers, qualified and unqualified workers and the unemployed).	• Biographical interviews • Feedback "letters"

Chapter 4

Analysis of teacher-training materials published and used in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s

Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of teacher-training materials (mainly text-books) which were published and used in teacher-training institutions in Russia in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. These are documents approved by the Ministry of Education (Long & Long, 1999) for use in teacher-training institutions. This analysis is a contribution towards answering the main research question which seeks to understand how the pedagogic activities in Russian schools, affected by the historical transformations in Russia during the three decades (1970-2000), impacted on pupils' preparation for work. In terms of the socio-cultural framework, this analysis explores how mediating artefacts (in the form of pedagogic concepts and ideas) were transformed during the three decades, thus identifying the dominant ideas that teachers were introduced to during their training. The training of new teachers during this time throws light on how teachers prepare young people for work and employment in Russian schools. Teacher training materials therefore have influenced strategy in schools in ways which have so far not been documented. This chapter first explains the rationale behind the decision to conduct this documentary analysis, which is followed by an account of the principles which underpinned the selection of the materials. The techniques and methods which were used for the analysis of the narrative are explained and concepts underpinning the interpretation of the findings are discussed. In the second part of the chapter, the analysis of the materials is presented with commentary and relevant discussion.

Rationale for this documentary analysis

The main aim of this analysis is to learn about the concepts and ideas that guided preparation for work in Russian schools as represented in approved teaching materials. I seek to determine whether historical change has affected the conceptual and ideological content of these printed materials and reshaped the ways in which young people were prepared for

work by the Russian education system after 1991. The decision to conduct this documentary analysis was prompted and supported by the socio-cultural and historical context and theoretical framework of this study   The thesis is informed and supported by the concept of cultural mediation (Vygotsky, 1978), which presents the historical change as enabled through mediation of cultural artefacts both spatially and through time (Holland & Lave, 2001). Such artefacts are referred to by Wartofsky (1979) as tertiary artefacts, not necessarily linked to particular events and behaviours, can travel across contexts, and can be used to interpret the world in a particular way. As Cole (2000) puts it:

> In short, because what we call mind works through artefacts, it cannot be unconditionally bounded by the head or even by the body, but must be seen as distributed in the artefacts which are *woven* together and which weave together individual human actions in concert with and as part of the permeable, changing, events of life (pp. 136-137).

This implies that different participants of the same activity may have had access to similar concepts and ideas. In Soviet Russia this was realised through the centralisation of the teacher training curriculum and resources (Long & Long, 1999). So, in relation to the cultural and historical context in which this study took place, this means that the same text-books were used during the same semesters in all teacher-training institutions (Pedagokika, 2006). In addition, some sources suggest that strict control and monitoring of teacher-training resources has been carried through into post-Soviet Russia (Chepurnih, 2000; Schweisfurth, 2002). The above suggested that the teachers in the case study school were most likely to be exposed to similar (and in some cases the same) approved teacher-training text-books. Their subsequent practice was rooted in these.

The similarity of the teacher-training across the country was exercised through the use of the same academic subjects in all teacher training institutions. The main subject is called 'pedagogics' which studies vospitanie of personhood (Babanskii et al, 1988, p. 10). Students take this subject throughout all five years of the Bachelor's course (Long & Long, 1999). Part of this course is dedicated to teaching and learning of professional orientation. The textbooks for pedagogics and professional orientation are different (for more information about teacher-training in Russia see Appendix A). This implies that analysis of textbooks on pedagogics used in three different decades (1970s, 1980s and 1990s), during which the teachers from the case study school underwent their teacher training, will throw light on the concepts of

vospitanie and personhood that the teachers were inevitably introduced to. The textbooks and materials on professional orientation explore whether the foci for it in training teachers has changed during these thirty years. The distributed nature of artefacts is taken to suggest that particular artefacts in the form of ideas and concepts were available at different points in time within the Soviet institutional structure, which restricted access to the materials not approved by the state.

Principles of selection

Selection focused on how concepts of vospitanie and personhood, as well as ideas of professional orientation, were presented during the three different decades, and whether changes could be observed, The following principles were applied:

- Select textbooks approved by the Ministry of Education, i.e. prescribed to be part of the teacher-training curriculum from each of the three decades (1970s, 1980s and 1990s)
- Identify materials used by students and lecturers in Perm where the case study took place
- Locate textbooks used in pedagogics and for teaching 'professional orientation'

This involved a library catalogue search, and interviews with the senior librarian and lecturers in 'pedagogics' at the Perm Sate Pedagogical University in 2000. The catalogue search revealed a relatively small number of textbooks that were approved by the Ministry of Education for teaching 'pedagogics' compared to the ones that were used for 'professional orientation'. Being only a part of the main subject (pedagogics), 'professional orientation' seemed to have had more options with regard to the kinds of materials that were in use. I selected textbooks that had been available in the library, stocked in large numbers and borrowed by a larger number of students. The senior librarian at the PSPU informed me that due to the shortage of textbooks, students had to borrow the books that were available, so studied some of those published in Soviet times. Thus, students were exposed to the teaching materials produced before and after 1991 but, according to one of the lecturers interviewed, "lecturers interpreted the older material in a new way". The librarian also showed me records of borrowing which demonstrate that those publications that were selected, were borrowed more than others. Three lecturers confirmed that they used these textbooks as the

basis for lectures as well as seminars. One of the lecturers I interviewed claimed: "The textbooks that we use are still about how to conduct vospitanie but we no longer aim to hammer the Soviet ideology into the heads of our students". Another lecturer said that she still used Soviet textbooks in her seminars because "there was a lot of useful stuff on vospitanie in them".

The selected textbooks are presented below. I have translated the titles: it has to be emphasised that these publications are not available in English. The textbooks are presented in the order of date of publication.

Textbooks on pedagogics

Kharlamov, I.F. (1979). *Pedagogics.* Minsk: Izdatelstvo.

Polyanskii, S.N. (1972). *Everything about pedagogics*. Moscow: Prosveshenie.

Babanskii, Y.K., Slastenin, V.A. & Sorokin, N.A. (1988). *Pedagogics*. Moscow: Prosveshenie.

Boldirev, N.I., Goncharov, N.K. & Esipov, B.P. (1981). *Pedagogics. Teaching materials for teacher-training institutions.* Moscow: Prosveshenie.

Kalashnikova, U.M. (1997). *Personhood and society*. Perm: Perm University Press.

Mudrick, A.B. (2000). *Social Pedagogics*. Moscow: Prosveshenie.

Podlasii, I.P. (1996). *Pedagogics: teaching materials for higher educational establishments*. Moscow: Vlados.

Slastenin, V.A., Isaev, I.F. & Shiyanov, E.N. (1997). *Pedagogics. Teaching materials for the students of higher education establishments*. Moscow: Shkola-Press.

Volochai, A.V., Dimitrova, L.V. & Ermakova, L.I. (2004). *Pedagogics. Materials for University Students*. Moscow: Feniks.

As evident from the list above, the titles of the textbooks are similar or the same. Compared to what is usually understood by textbooks at British Universities, these are not a collection of chapters written by different authors who express their particular points of view. These textbooks are a direct response to the curriculum prescribed to teacher-training institutions by the state and, therefore, bear similar titles. There are no direct references in the texts, although lists of additional reading are provided at the end of each chapter.

It is important to note that the last document on the list is not a textbook. It was added to the list of the documents to be reviewed and analysed in order to explore prospective accounts of pedagogics which reveal how the policy responded to the events of 1991.

Textbooks on professional orientation

Golomshtok, A.E. (1976). *Vospitanie in students of professional interests during their learning and work activities.* Perm: Izdatelstvo.

Martinova, S.S. (1976). *Professional orientation of school children (methods and recommendations).* Omsk: Omsk Pedagogical University.

Sagdetdinova, M.G. (1977). Pupils' interests and their future plans for life. Moskva: Prosveshenie.

Szhuravlev, V.I. (1977). *From school – into life (about the ways of defining a working trajectory for pupils in schools).* Moscow: Prosveshenie.

Botyakov, L.V., Golomshtok, A.E. & Gripshun, S.S. (1986). Teaching and learning office of professional orientation: the book for teachers. Moscow: Prosveshenie.

Chistyakov, N.N., Buyanova, T.A. & Kasatkina, N.E. (1988). *Professional orientation in UPK.* Moscow: Pedagogika.

Klimov, E.A. (1984). *How to choose a profession.* Moscow: Prosveshenie.

Klimov, E.A. (1986). *Psycholgical underpinning of work as an activity and issues of vospitanie.* Moscow: Znanie.

Stepanenkov, N. (1983). *Your calling. Ethics for school children.* Minsk: Narodnaya Sveta.

Atutov, P.R, (1993). *Issues of professional orientation of young people in the conditions of emerging market economy.* Kurgan: Inter-university science and practice conference.

Klimov, E.A. (2004). *Psychology of professional self-determination.* Moscow: Academia.

Chistyakova, S.N. (Ed.). (2000). *Your professional career. The programme for comprehensive schools (years 8-9).* Moscow: Prosveshenie.

The titles of these textbooks and other materials on professional orientation are evidently more varied than those on pedagogics. There was more variety of textbooks published in the 1980s, however, those selected were borrowed more frequently by students and used during teaching by lecturers. There is only one textbook that was selected to represent the 1990s. The reason is that other publications were small brochures and rarely borrowed from the library, whereas Atutov (1993) was borrowed often. The programme for comprehensive

schools (Chistyakova, 2000) was not found in the library; the copy was offered to me by one of the lecturers interviewed. She was unsure how well-known the new programme was at the time.

Principles of text analysis

The principles of this documentary review reflect its main aim, i.e. to identify continuity or change of meaning mediated through materials published in the three different decades. Continuity and change, as temporal constructs, can be reflected both through the content and form of the text (Riessman, 1993), therefore making it important to consider not only what was relayed but also how. It is understood that when being read the texts are perceived in their unity of form and content. However, for the purpose of this analysis, i.e. identifying which elements have changed and which have been carried through time, it seemed important to deconstruct the unity of content and form. The main principle of the analysis was to identify concepts and ideas (content) with regard to change and continuity, and consider the style of writing and terminology (form) in terms of how the ideas were presented. The deconstruction process was accompanied by comparing and contrasting the elements of the content and form as presented in the textbooks published and used in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s.

Methods and techniques of the analysis

In order to adhere to the principles described above, the analysis of the textbooks was carried out in several stages. The first stage was realized through intensive reading of the textbooks to gain information about the range of concepts, ideas and topics presented in the texts. This was followed by the analysis of the structure of the textbooks including the comparison of the titles of chapters and sections. Chapters and sections with similar or the same titles were analysed, first with regard to the content and then in terms of the form (how that content was expressed,). The forms of expression were scrutinised with regard to its power to change or preserve the meaning of what was said. For examples, definition*s* of vospitanie were 'stripped of' the communist jargon in the Soviet textbooks to reveal a strong degree of similarity of conceptual meaning. Chapters and sections with different titles were analysed separately looking for similarities and differences of both form and content.

Particular techniques used during the analysis included terminology search, vocabulary comparison and interpreting definitions with and without particular elements of form (such as jargon). The analysis is presented below in the form of synthesized themes which emerged as a result of comparing and contrasting the form and content of the texts under scrutiny. The analysis of the textbooks on pedagogics is presented first, which is followed by the analysis of texts on professional orientation. The report of the analysis makes reference to other relevant source material which was reviewed when prompted by the content of the analysed textbooks. Such references are used only for clarification but not as part of the main analysis.

Analysis of the textbooks on pedagogics

Chapters and sections

All the textbooks were compared in terms of similarity and differences in the titles of chapters and sections. It was found that the textbooks on pedagogics, irrespective of the year of publication, shared similar structure. The textbooks start with chapters on the definition of vospitanie which is then followed by such titles as foundations of vospitanie, structure of vospitanie processes, types of vospitanie and methods of vospitanie. The textbooks by Kalashnikova (1997), Mudrick (2000), Slastenin et al. (1997) and Volochai et al. (2004) include sections that reflect topical issues of post-Soviet developments in the country, i.e. humanisation of vospitanie and individualisation of educational processes. In most of textbooks the first chapter on vospitanie is followed directly by a chapter which discusses the definition of personhood. This is then followed by chapters which link vospitanie, processes of development and socialisation to the concept of personhood. Again, as in the case of vospitanie, the textbooks published in the 1990s include sections where the idea of individualisation of personhood is discussed separately. These sections explain the movement away from considering personhood only as a tool for the construction of communism towards discussing ways in which individual aspects of personhood could be developed through the process of vospitanie.

Thus, structurally the textbooks on pedagogics are composed in a way that first introduces the concepts of vospitanie and personhood, and then provides explanations of associated notions, such as development and socialisation. Each section complements the following one and makes links between and among concepts. A narrative is produced as a result that provides a full picture of how to conduct vospitanie in schools and how vospitanie is linked to

the development of personhood. It is important to note that the overall style of writing used in all the textbooks irrespective of the date of publication is not academic argument, but expresses one established point of view. References, where used, are Russian sources, although the textbooks published in the 1990s mention schools of thought popular in other countries (e.g. Montessori, Steiner).

The content of the pedagogics textbooks is considered below, based on the structural analysis presented above. As mentioned before, the topics which run through different chapters and sections are described in order to demonstrate content overlap and differences between the textbooks published in the three decades. For example, if socialisation is discussed as a theme, it means that various sections in the textbooks were considered in order to conclude how socialization as a concept has been dealt with over the years in the reviewed teacher-training texts.

Themes: content and form analysis of pedagogics textbooks

Definitions of vospitanie

All the reviewed sources through varied word combinations define vospitanie as a goal-driven and organised process of developing personhood. Personhood is not defined at this point; there appears to be an expectation that the reader will use cultural knowledge to interpret what personhood means, because personhood ('*lichnost*') is an abstract noun used in everyday speech. Vospitanie is then considered in two aspects – social and pedagogical – where both carry broad and narrow (concrete) meanings. These definitions are discussed in all the reviewed textbooks.

The social aspect of vospitanie in a broad sense is described as transferring the experience of the older generations to the younger ones. Experience implies knowledge, skills, ways of thinking and also moral, aesthetic and legal norms (regulations). Vospitanie is viewed as a historical process. Podlasii points out that it appeared alongside human society and became an integral part of its development and "it will exist as long as the human society is in existence" (Podlasii, 1996, p. 6). According to Podlasii (1996) and Slastenin et al. (1997), vospitanie produces a direct effect on the development of society which, in turn, provides new opportunities for vospitanie. A similar idea is revealed in the Soviet textbooks (Kharlamov, 1979; Polyanskii, 1972) where the emphasis is on vospitanie to be seen as a powerful tool in the construction of Communism. In these sources vospitanie is viewed as compatible with the

level of development of production forces and production relations. This is echoed in more recent textbooks, thus Podlasii (1996) maintains that the change of socio-economic system entails the change in the type of vospitanie; it influences its aims, goals and forms of realisation.

Vospitanie in a more narrow sense is described in all the sources (again, in slightly different formats) as an institutional activity which is aimed at fostering an individual's values and opinions, moral values and political views, and to prepare young people for life. It is vospitanie in the narrow sense that is then considered in the textbooks and referred to as a pedagogic activity. Soviet textbooks describe vospitanie as an activity that has the power to create a certain vision of the world for individuals who are involved in this process. Krupskaya wrote: "Socialist school should go ahead of life in terms of shaping a new type of personhood – a personhood with communist morals and principles" (1978, quoted in Kharlamov, 1979, p. 7). Vladimir Lenin and Nadezhda Krupskaya are portrayed as important contributors to the development and guidance of the Soviet vospitanie which included the principles of Soviet-Communist ideology. Other Soviet educationalists such as Lunacharskii (1928), Blonskii (1930), Shatskii (1980), Makarenko (1976), Suhomlinskii (1981) are referred to in both Soviet and post-Soviet textbooks. In the Soviet textbooks their role is viewed as an important contribution to the development of the Soviet collective consciousness, whereas in the post-soviet text-books these educationalists are discussed as part of Russian educational heritage.

Overall, there were no major differences detected in the definitions of vospitanie in the textbooks according to the year of publication. However, this conceptual similarity is veiled in the texts by a different style of language and vocabulary use. Apart from direct references to the Soviet educationalists and communist postulates, the Soviet textbooks are interspersed with phrases that appear to be added on to the sentence. Thus, an impression is created that that the text is imbued with a Soviet-patriotic meaning. However, when devoid of these phrases or words, the conceptual meaning of the text is left intact. For example, in the textbook by Babanskii, Slastenin and Sorokin (1988) the definition of vospitanie is defined as "communist vospitanie which is a societal function that ensures the transfer of societally valuable experience to the next generations and provides the teaching of communist ideology" (p. 10). Slastenin (1997) provides a similar definition, "vospitanie is a function which enables social continuity for consecutive generations; it is a process designed to meet the needs of society" (p. 13). As evident from the comparison of both definitions they convey almost the same meaning. The first definition, however, includes the word "communist" in

order to remind the reader yet again of the context in which the process of vospitanie takes place. The phrase "providing the teaching of communist ideology" is compatible with the phrase in the second definition "meet the needs of society". In Soviet times, the articulated need of society was the building of communism. In the second definition, the needs are not specified. The conceptual meaning of both definitions are very similar, however, the form of expression is different. The form is also part of the meaning but it does not appear powerful enough to completely transform the meaning of the definition.

Personhood

In all the reviewed textbooks, the discussion of personhood follows an introduction to vospitanie. Personhood is defined in most textbooks on pedagogics as a social unit of society (Babanskii et al., 1988), a super-structure of higher mental functioning (Kharlamov, 1979) or a coherent and interdependent social structure which develops through vospitanie (Slastenin et al., 1997). Whichever definition is applied, it holds an implication that personhood has a structure which all human beings share because they develop through participating in social activities. There are several themes that are discussed in all the reviewed sources. These are material and ideal aspects of personhood, personhood and individuality and development and socialisation of personhood. These themes are discussed below.

Personhood: material and ideal

All the reviewed textbooks, irrespective of when they were published, contain references to the material and ideal properties of personhood. Personhood is material in the sense that a human being is born with certain combinations of properties and capabilities, all of them being defined as the basis for the biological line of an individual's development. However, society expects an individual to develop a number of other characteristics at certain points within a lifetime. This is referred to as a social line of human development and is defined as the "ideal" of personhood.

The teacher-training sources studied for this literature review all consider the biological line of development in a similar way, irrespective of their publication year. Kharlamov (1979),

Babanskii et al. (1988), Slastenin et al. (1997) see the biological line of development to be the foundation on which personhood is built. Personhood is a formation that is comprised of social characteristics only, i.e. speech, consciousness, various habits and skills. The authors of the reviewed materials agree that when a human being is born, it is appropriate to say that this is a biological being, not social. Individuals who belong to the same race or nationality develop different behavioural habits when they live in different environmental and social conditions.

The importance of the "biological" in the development of personhood is not denied in any of the reviewed teacher training materials. In the earlier, 1970s publications, Karl Marx is frequently referred to and quoted in support of this argument.

A human being is a being of nature. Nature supplies a human being with its forces. These forces are reflected in an individual's abilities, capacities and aptitudes" (Marx, 1956, p. 631, quoted in Kharlamov, 1979, p. 49).

Kharlamov (1979) argues that natural abilities and capacity are paramount for a human being to develop into a social being. Alongside their biological development, children are capable of acquiring qualities that have not been "programmed" in them biologically. It is aspects such as speech, rules of behaviour and skills of work that nurture a human being into a personhood. Babanskii et al. (1988) maintain that some of the inborn abilities of individuals can impact on their interests and successes in certain areas of art, sciences and industries and influence the development of their personhood. All the reviewed sources suggest that the biological and social are closely linked and develop in their unity. Social factors, however, play a dominant role in the development of personhood. The biological sub-structure of personhood is subordinate to its socially constructed sub-structure, i.e. the development of personhood is defined by the possibilities that the environment affords.

In terms of the narrative form, this theme is delivered in a similar way in the Soviet and post-Soviet textbooks. In the Soviet textbooks the communist jargon is not overused and the similarity of content in both sets of textbooks is easily recognised. In Babanskii et al. (1988) pedagogics as a subject is referred to as having a Soviet connotation. For example,

Soviet pedagogics does not exclude the influence of genetic inheritance in the development of personhood. Inherited characteristics are transferred from parents to children. This is related to the structure of the human body, colour of the skin, eyes, nervous system. [...] A defining factor, alongside environment and biological function, is vospitanie (p. 16).

Mudrick (2000) acknowledges the role of the genetic factors in the development of personhood. However, he claims that

Acknowledging the biological component of ethnicity [....] just confirms ethnic differences but it does not declare the dominance of one ethnic group over another. In actual life socio-cultural development plays the dominant role (p. 36).

As evident from these two examples, the information provided is very similar. Both textbooks talk about the role of genetic transfer and its role in the development of personhood. The word 'soviet' in the first example can be deleted without any particular change to the meaning of the sentence. Both texts emphasise the role of social factors in the development of personhood.

Development of personhood
The reviewed teacher training material defines development of personhood as a socio-biological process where the biological potential of an individual plays an important role. Motives, interests and aims, i.e. the outcomes of social life, define the functioning personhood, and provide it with the necessary properties for attending to the biological needs and working on the mental functions. Slastenin et al. (1997) provide an interpretation of Vygotsky's definition of *lichnost*:

Personhood is an integral mental system which fulfils some of an individual's functions. The main functions of personhood include creative transformation of social capital and inclusion of human beings into the system of social relations. All facets of personhood get activated only through an activity and relationships with other people. This accounts for a "social manifestation" of human beings

which is instigated by a complex system of relationships with other people (p. 35).

The textbooks by Kharlamov (1979), Polyanskii (1972), Babanskii et al. (1988) and Mudrick (2000) refer to the difference between quantitative accumulation of personhood functions vs. qualitative growth. The process of development does not result only in quantitative changes. Qualitative transformations that emerge during the process of development are accounted for by the contradictory nature of the process of development. Contradictions between the new and old that are revealed and overcome during education and vospitanie are considered to be the driving forces of the development of personhood.

Socialisation of personhood

Socialisation in the reviewed sources is defined as an individual's interaction with society (Podlasii, 1996; Slastenin et al., 1997; Mudrick, 2000; Volochai et al., 2004). Socialisation is a continuous process that lasts during the whole human life. It consists of stages, each of which specialises in fulfilling the functions specific to that particular stage. If these functions are not realised, the following stage might not come into being. Soviet/Russian pedagogical theory and practice emphasise the role of "labour activity" (normally related to paid jobs or any other kind of employment). Stages of socialisation are defined with regard to the period of time in human life when an individual is involved in work and employment. Thus, before individuals start work, they are engaged in "pre-employment activity" socialisation, which is split into two sub-stages: a) early socialisation; (pre school) b) youth socialisation (including school years, further education, university); The "work or employment" stage occupies the whole working life of an individual; it is followed by the "post-employment" stage - retirement years. The textbooks by Kharlamov (1979) and Polyanskii (1972) talk about the importance of labour in the construction of the Soviet state. The narrative is interspersed with mottos that promote the working classes and the importance of hard work. Volochai et al. (2004) considers socialisation as a stage by stage process and treats labour activity as the foundation of the socialisation process. Ideologically, the text is relatively neutral; however, there are instances where the role of an individual's choice is acknowledged as one of the driving forces of socialisation, e.g. "it is important to note that the start of the employment stage will vary depending on an individual's choice of educational trajectory and vocational aspirations" (Volochai et al., 2004: p. 31). Hence, similarly to the previously discussed themes, the

conceptual underpinning of socialisation has not undergone a considerable change, whereas the ideological form has been affected by the new demands of the post-1991 political regime.

Links between personhood and vospitanie

Claims are made in Kharlamov (1979), Boldirev et al. (1981) and Kalashnikova (1997) that vospitanie is the process that has control over development and socialisation of personhood. Podlasii (1996) conveys a similar message

> Vospitanie is the leading power that can give society a fully formed personhood. Effectiveness of vospitanie depends on how it respond to the aims, whether it is systematic and who carries it out. The weakness of vospitanie is that it depends on the consciousness of individuals, whereas genetic factors and environment act spontaneously and their effects cannot be controlled (p. 103).

Development and socialisation depend on the ways in which the social environment is organised. The ways in which the environment and vospitanie mediate transformations in personhood are different. As has been mentioned above, central to these differences is the claim that environment impacts on an individual passively and spontaneously. Environment in this sense acts only as an affordance – a potential foundation for qualitative transformations in personhood. Vospitanie, in contrast, assists individuals in realising the social line of human development. In the 1970s and 1980s text-books this is referred to as a "social programme", or a set of standards that individuals should meet to become "useful members of the Soviet state" (Kharlamov, 1979, p. 48). Therefore, it is argued that vospitanie reflects the needs of society. Kalashnikova's (1997) approach to the same issue reflects political changes in the country after 1991. Although, she still argues that vospitanie serves the needs of the state, those needs are not precisely defined, e.g. "Vospitanie aims to create conditions within which personhood can reach its full potential" (p. 36).

The jargon that is used to express the ways in which personhood is linked with vospitanie differs dramatically in the textbooks that were published before and after 1991. Polyanskii (1972) referring to the Programme of the Communist Party claims

The Party considers the fight against bourgeois ideology and ethics, and with the remains of mentality of private ownership as part of communist vospitanie. [...] Collective accusation of selfish and anti-social actions will soon become the aim tool of changing old-fashioned bourgeois values (p. 108).

The later publication (Babanskii et al., 1988) also makes clear that vospitanie creates personhood that will serve the needs of the Soviet state. It has to be noted that these claims are less visible. For example, the quotation chosen from the works of Krupskaya reflect the need to focus on creativity and individual potential of individuals.

If the aim of the school is to create slaves of the capitalist society, then an appropriate method will be chosen, and science will be used to achieve this; if the aim of the school is to create the future builders of communism, then all achievements of the science will be used to develop abilities to think creatively and act according to the needs of the collective, at the same time developing initiative and independence (Krupskaya, 1978, cited in Babanskii et al., 1988, p. 124).

Babanskii et al. (1988) use the quote to emphasise the need to create possibilities for the development of individual potential, however, the quote has references which criticise alleged capitalist methods of education; the word combination 'builders of communism' ensure that Babnskii's ideas are interpreted as pro-Soviet. The above discussion is linked to the concept of individuality. In the 1970s and 1980s textbooks individuality is concerned with the process of externalisation (Vygotsky, 1978). It is emphasised that an individual is not subordinate to the environment. Kharlamov (1979) maintains that

The maturity and development of personhood are measured by the degree to which it reflects the propensities of societal progress. However, it is even more important to know the extent to which personhood develops its specific, individual, creativity-driven properties (p. 41).

In the Soviet textbooks, the emphasis is placed on the importance of a person's individuality in terms of meeting societal needs. For example, an individual and creative approach to the development of new technologies is discussed as a means of contributing to the building of the Soviet state. In the 1990s sources individuality is afforded a meaning of personal freedom

which is normally formulated and expressed as a rejection of the ideas of uniformity of individuals which were promoted in the Soviet textbooks.

In terms of the jargon used in the texts, vospitanie retains the meaning of the powerful tool of socialisation in all the sources. However, the ideological implications are very different. Thus Polyanskii (1972) refers to Krupskaya (1930, p. 396)

> The masses want to know how to conduct vospitanie with their children. The question is not limited by the discussion of the need to send children to school, put them to bet at the appropriate hour, not give them vodka and not take them to church. But we need to give answers to the question about what kind of generation we will produce through vospitanie and how to achieve it. We need a lot of work within the remit of Marxist pedagogics (p. 56).

More than a decade later, Babanskii et al. (1988) also refer to the Marxist pedagogics and the role of vospitanie.

> The change in society cannot be achieved by means of new policies and laws only. There is a need to conduct an enormous amount of work in order to develop respect of Soviet state policies; this is the task, which cannot be achieved by any other means but through vospitanie (p. 102).

Both texts refer to the powerful role of vospitanie and the role it can play in the transformation of Russia and Russian people. In comparison, Mudrick (2000) makes no reference to the Marxist pedagogics. However, the role of vospitanie is ascribed a role an equally important role.

> It is vospitanie that to a certain extent determines that an individual acquires positive values, and not anti-social norms of behaviour. Vospitanie helps an individual realise himself effectively in society (p. 28).
> In the example above Mudrick refers to the 'positive values'. Although not clearly defined, it is possible to conclude from the second sentence that the subjective interpretation of 'values' has become a possibility in this text when compared to the textbooks by Polyanskii (1972) and Babanskii et al. (1988). Podlassi (1996) openly declares that vospitanie and its aims are always a response to the needs of the state. He claims that the determining factor that forms the aims of vospitanie is

The ideology and politics of the state. It happens that the aims of vospitanie are masked intentionally through the use of the humanistic language in order to conceal its real intentions. There is no state in the world where the aims of vospitanie do not serve the need to keep and strengthen existing societal relations; the aims always represent the politics and ideology of the ruling class (p. 144).

Podlasii (1996) does not reveal what the aims of vospitanie are or should be, which makes the text different from Soviet versions where the aims were clearly stated. He openly discusses vospitanie as a process that has means to serve the political and ideological aims of modern Russia. Vospitanie as a pedagogical process has not lost any of its power as described in the post-1991 teach-training textbooks. It is still interpreted as a leading mechanism in the formation of values, no matter how they are interpreted. Conceptually, vospitanie has retained its meaning.

State Programme of the Development of Vospitanie (SPDV)

As a response to the transformations in Russia post-1991 (see chapter 1), the State Programme of the Development of Vospitanie (SPDV) (Russian Ministry of Education ,2000), a new educational policy, was issued that aimed to reformulate conceptual and practical aspects of vospitanie. This document is reviewed below in order to demonstrate the emerging prospective views on vospitanie (reviewed in 2000-2001). The SPDV is compared with some of the then emerging pedagogical perspectives.

The SPDV (2000) argued that an urgent need to reformulate vospitanie was caused by the fact that schools lost their monopoly over the vospitanie of young people. De-centralised control of the educational system, in addition to the increasing individualisation of its provision meant that vospitanie was beginning to be differentiated. However, although it was believed that families should be more in charge of their own child's vospitanie than the school, it was pointed out that large numbers of families were experiencing a number of social difficulties including low income and unstable relationships between spouses caused by changes in the employment status. The programme stated that family values were falling which was caused by the instability in the legal, political and economic areas of everyday life. Based on these facts, the SPDV argued that the main transformation in the process of vospitanie should be linked to its humanisation.

Humanistic vospitanie was broadly defined as an organised activity which could cultivate in individuals a system of values through their involvement in different social group activities (as opposed to the Soviet motto of contributing to the loosely defined 'collective'). This definition in its essence is not different from definitions of soviet vospitanie provided earlier in this chapter. The programme proposed that the new approach to vospitanie had to be an organised process that involved individuals in collective activities. From this point of view, the programme was not dissimilar to the reviewed Soviet textbooks. The difference between them was mainly realised through the argument put forward in the programme against 'collectivism', that is treating everybody equally and, instead, proposing to place an individual in the centre of educational process (Shadrikov, 1997). This included arguments for autonomy and independence of thinking and actions that young people are expected to develop. The new programme emphasised the need to eliminate Soviet characteristics of vospitanie programmes.

The emerging tendency towards rejecting the pedagogic ideas that appeared 'Soviet' and 'Communist' was reflected in the research publications in the 1990s. For example, the pedagogic idea of the development of personhood through a collective was debated. Valeeva (2002) considered this issue as a conflict between focusing entirely on the development of an individual and developing an individual within a social group. She argued that humanisation was sometimes interpreted as a system of vospitanie which should abandon any management of dynamics within a social group, and instead ought to be replaced by an overarching aim focusing on individual needs. Valeeva criticised such approaches for lacking clarity about what 'individual needs' meant and the means of meeting them. While Valeeva advocated the development of personhood through a social group, Osinovskii and Stepanov (1995), maintained that vospitanie within a collective body impaired the development of an individual because it did not cultivate independence, or ability to develop independent opinions, and to construct one's own view of the world. In contrast, Valeeva argued that a child did not conform to opinions of others but took part in creating the rules of the communal life. In her opinion, the social function of vospitanie could not be disputed because of the social nature of personhood; the development of personhood was only possible during interaction with other people. Genuine humanistic vospitanie, from her point of view was, "not a direct influence on an individual and his/her identity but an individual's interaction with other individuals within micro and macro groups" (Valeeva, 2002, p. 6). Semyonov (1999) attributed a leading role in the process of "shaping" and "forming" of personhood, to adults who were responsible for the adequate vospitanie of young people. Thus, Semyonov's interpretation of

humanistic vospitanie did not differ greatly from the conceptual underpinning of vospitanie as portrayed in the Soviet educational literature.

It appears that neither the new educational policy nor the academic debate moved away from the conceptual unity of vospitanie and personhood. "Soviet vospitanie" was replaced by "humanistic vospitanie," however, the underpinning conceptual framework remained largely untouched. Vospitanie was still considered a powerful process that was capable of meeting the needs and requirements of the state and was capable of forming a certain, albeit different system of values.

Pedagogics: historical development

The aim of the documentary analysis presented above was to establish the kind of change that the mediating process underwent in the Russian teacher training over thirty years, with a particular focus on pedagogics as a taught subject. It appears that conceptually the content of the textbooks has not changed. All the textbooks establish a connection between vospitanie and personhood. The underpinning theory that seems to run through the textbooks published during the three decades is very similar. Wertsch (2002), who has worked on the conceptualisation of collective remembering, refers to it as a schematic narrative template. Wertsch analysed Russian school textbooks on history, searching for changes that occurred as a result of the events in 1991. His analysis concluded that

> Even in a context where the narrative accounts of the past seem to change radically, this underlying narrative template ensures a degree of continuity. The characters, events, and even the plot may appear to change in important ways, but the influence of this narrative template is present at a deeper level" (Wertsch, 2002, p. 113).

Wertsch (2002) explains that such narratives are grounded in hidden dialogicality. The past appeared to be re-written in the light of the new events; however, the underlying skeleton of the story remained the same. The textbooks on pedagogics seem to have undergone a similar process; although post-1991 political context demanded radically new approaches to working with young people, the ideas did not go beyond the same conceptual framework that

was used in the Soviet textbooks. In particular, the schemata emphasised the importance of an organised pedagogical process called vospitanie in relation to developing personhood. It seems that in both, the pre- and post-Soviet texts, vospitanie is seen to respond to the needs of the state and was responsible for the development of a certain kind of personhood functioning, albeit slightly different. Wertsch's (2002) comments on his findings echo the revelations made during the analysis of pedagogics textbooks above:

> In general, the inclusion of "new" information in post-Soviet textbooks raises a set of challenges to employment that have not yet been adequately resolved. Specifically, it raises problems for authors as they attempt to employ the same narrative template to grasp events together while at the same time including new events that have little place in it. As a result, it sometimes seems that new information has been dropped into a narrative with little consideration for how or whether it fits into the overall text (p. 112).

The comments above are especially pertinent considering the linguistic form through which the schemata was delivered. As was demonstrated in the analysis above, ideological language, either Soviet or pro-democratic, was added on to the existing schemata to show how vospitanie can be used in order to develop a certain kind of personhood functioning, in other words, how to bring up children to fit the transformed socio-economic environment. The post-Soviet textbooks continued to develop the same schemata. It can be argued that effective changes might be difficult to achieve because such narratives may be extremely powerful.

> [the narrative texts] are important. Such accounts do not simply reflect different objective viewpoints to be accepted or not in a dispassionate way. Instead, they reflect strongly held commitments to a particular narrative account, commitments that are often masked by the tendency to think that our account simply relates what happened (Wertsch, 2002, p. 9).

As was mentioned before, the delivery of the teacher training was controlled centrally in the Soviet times and the textbooks are still validated and approved by the Ministry of Education to be used at the universities. This means that the conceptual framework advocated in the textbook was prescribed by the state and kept mainly unaltered. It can be argued that within

the thirty year period a teacher trainee in Russia has been most likely to learn that development and socialisation of personhood occurs through an organised process of vospitanie. And also that teachers should know how to do develop personhood functioning that meets the needs of the state.

Analysis of the textbooks on professional orientation

Chapters and sections

The chapters in the textbooks on professional orientation can be divided into three categories:

- Chapters talking about principles or foundations of professional orientation
- Chapters explaining the dominant approach to professional orientation
- Chapters providing information about the methods to be used to deliver professional orientation based on the previously advocated principles and approaches.

It has to be noted that there is less coherence in the structure of the textbooks on professional orientation than in the textbooks on pedagogics. Although all the chapters can be grouped in the way presented above, different authors dedicate different amount of narrative to the discussion of these three groups. For example, Golomshtok (1976) discusses principles and foundations of professional orientation in more detail than practical application of methods of professional orientation in schools. In contrast, Klimov (1984) mainly focuses on the methods of professional orientation, and uses the section "foundations of professional orientation" to provide theoretical underpinning to the discussion of practical methods.

Professional orientation is not a separate subject within a teacher training curriculum; it is part of pedagogics. This is reflected in the structure and content of the textbooks. Principles and foundations of professional orientation reflect the main themes discussed in the textbooks on pedagogics, i.e. the importance of vospitanie and its influence on personhood functioning. 'Principles and foundations' sections deliver information about the nature of vospitanie through labour activity. The differences, similarly to the textbooks on pedagogics, are reflected in the delivery of the ideological bias.

The discussion of the dominant approach towards professional orientation in schools shows development of themes through time. In the Soviet textbooks (Golomshtok, 1976; Martinova, 1976; Szhuravlev, 1977) the emphasis was on the propaganda of manual work occupations which aimed to meet the needs of the Soviet state to increase industrial production. There is a shift in some of the 1980s textbooks towards 'versatile education' (Botyakov et al., 1986; Zaharov, 1988; Stepanenkov, 1983) which implied that an individual was expected to develop equally well in all areas, including physical, mental, emotional and moral qualities. The textbooks' of the 1990s changed direction towards the promotion of humanisation of education, following the overall shift in pedagogics (Atutov, 1993).

Themes: context and form analysis of the textbooks on professional orientation

Principles and foundations of professional orientation

The idea that socialisation of an individual occurs through participation in collective activity runs through the textbook on pedagogics. In the sources on professional orientation this idea is emphasised through a detailed discussion of the role of labour activity in the life-course of individuals. In summary, vospitanie through labour and work, referred to as 'labour vospitanie', implies (Golomshtok, 1976; Botyakov, et al., 1986).

- Developing an individual's need to work and skills to create material and spiritual values for oneself and society;

- Developing pupils' general awareness about work, including a positive and creative attitude to work;

- Providing young people with information regarding industrial activities, economics and law;

- Developing skills of lifelong learning.

To a varied degree information about labour vospitanie is included as part of the sections on principles and foundations of professional orientation in all of the reviewed sources. In the Soviet textbooks, the emphasis is on the role of labour vospitanie in cultivating personhood functions that were important for future work in the production industry. It was employed as part of the propaganda to attract more young people towards manual labour occupations.

'Being able to work', 'not being afraid of hard work', 'love for work' were the mottoes used in the textbooks to indicate the aims of the labour vospitanie. Makarenko (1976), who worked in Russian education before and after the Socialist Revolution, and who is cited in most pedagogical teacher training sources, noted:

> The first point that parents should bear in mind is that their children will be members of a society founded on work and therefore their importance in that society, their value as citizens will depend exclusively on the degree to which they are able to participate in social labour, on the degree to which they will be fitted for such work. These factors will also determine their standards of living, for it is written in our constitution: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work" (p. 268).

The idea seemed to have originated from the work of Leontiev (2005) who defined labour as activity specific to human beings.

> One of these features is the use of tools. The process of influencing nature that we call labour is a process of influencing nature using tools. Second, the process of labour is always carried out in the combined, in the literal sense of the word, activity of people in such a way that man enters into a defined relationship not only with nature but also with other people, with members of a given society (p. 59).

Thus, vospitanie, grounded in the concept of labour activity, and subordinate to the current needs of the state, forms the foundation of professional orientation in the 1970s publications. This conceptual theme is carried on in the 1980s textbooks. For example, Stepanenkov (1983) stated, "The choice of an occupation is a matter of state importance" (p. 3). He also noted that the younger generation were ignorant of the demands of the Soviet state and urged schools to explore the needs of their local regions in order to provide adequate guidance to pupils. In the 1990s textbooks labour vospitanie is discussed as the foundation for personhood functioning but it is not directly linked to manual work occupations or patriotic mottoes.

The form of the narrative is similar to that in the pedagogics textbooks. In the textbooks published before 1991, the text is interspersed with Soviet/Communist mottoes. Soviet/Communist ideological expressions are absent from the 1990s textbooks. Instead, the

narrative suggests a move away from the Soviet past. For example, Golomshtok (1976) considers the freedom when choosing an occupation as a freedom guaranteed by the Constitution of the USSR. However, he cautions young people:

> The choice of freedom cannot be understood as an uncontrolled satisfaction of any wish or desire. Marxism considers freedom as a conscious necessity. A person is free to act only to the extent to which his actions are compatible with the rules and norms of society. Freedom is limited by economic and social conditions which exist at the particular stage of development. At the moment two thirds of Soviet population are workers (p. 10).

Golomshtok (1976) makes direct reference to the need of the Soviet state to develop industry. The essence of what he says is to an extent applicable to the other social and political situations. However, words such as Marxism and Soviet population make this phrase acceptable for publication in a Soviet textbook. Devoid of these words, it could have been interpreted as a pro-capitalist motto.

Chistyakov et al. (1988) make slightly less obvious references to the need to serve the Soviet state when choosing a profession. The narrative of the textbook does not include mottoes like the one provided above but uses examples from practice. At one point the authors share their experience of discussing with students the idea of choosing a profession.

> We start with discussion of the meaning of professional choice. Why does a person live? What is the meaning of human existence at the moment? Can any person be useful to other people? Why is a choice of profession, called your second birth? [...] Students begin to understand that their main motives are those that mean that they can be useful to society, e.g. "to be there where you can be most useful", "to be useful to people", "to work where you are most useful to your motherland (p. 40).

The quote above does not state what needs to be learnt and understood but the examples which were provided by students make personal choice totally dependent on the needs of the Soviet state. The words 'motherland' and 'most useful to others' shows that it was important to consider one's own wishes as compatible with the needs of others.

In the textbook that was published in 2004, Klimov does not make any reference to the need to serve the state. Instead, the emphasis is on being able to survive in the world of information.

> In modern society there is an enormous number of professions. Each profession requires from an individual different skills and knowledge. It is extremely difficult to navigate one's own development within this sea of information. If one chooses a profession spontaneously or being guided by how prestigious the profession is, one can end up doing something they may regret all their life (p. 3).

The quote above emphasised the importance of making an individual choice. The role of one's own satisfaction and happiness comes across as the most important. Klimov (2004) links professional orientation to the process of vospitanie, thus he states that

> A pedagogue is a representative of society in a school. If she distances herself away from the vospitanie of young people as future professionals, she leaves this process to luck or accident. This means that she does not perform her professional responsibility and her accountability to society and other people (p. 7).

Individual choice of a student in a school should be formed and guided through a specially constructed and organised process, as professional orientation is part of vospitanie. Klimov's text that was published in 2004 differs from earlier textbooks on professional orientation in ideological messages but not in conceptualisation of pedagogical processes.

Approaches to professional orientation

An approach, in the way it is defined in the reviewed textbooks can be related to a methodology. It is linked with the principles and foundations of professional orientation but it serves the purpose of providing the direction in which schools and teachers should work in order to prepare pupils for future work.

The 1970s textbooks advocate an approach that promotes manual work and develops commitment to work. In relation to it, the term polytechnic education is used (Polyanskii, 1972, cited in Golomshtok, 1976). It aimed to provide students with work-related knowledge and skills, for developing a creative attitude to work and contributing to making the right professional choice. The content of polytechnic education was realised by means of linking academic knowledge to real life. For example, skills acquired in an engineering workshop should be linked with topics covered in physics and geometry during lesson time.

In addition, learning of academic subjects was perceived to be a leading activity for school children. It was believed that academic learning contributed to developing the adequate personal qualities that would be used in the working life.

> Learning requires hard work and perseverance. Learning helps developing a style and rhythm of work, overcoming laziness and cultivating the discipline of work. […] Therefore, success and attitude of young people to studies make it possible to conclude whether they are ready to acquire a vocation and get a job or not. If pupils do not succeed in studies and are lazy and badly behaved, it is very unlikely that they are going to be good at their job" (Golomshtok, 1976, p. 4).

Linked to this was a notion of academic subjects being related to certain professional areas. Some of the subjects such as mathematics had a direct link to a profession, e.g. a teacher of mathematics. Some other professions, e.g. a medical doctor, required an interest and success in the subjects of physics, anatomy and chemistry. The teachers' role was to identify the subjects that a young person was good at and provide the necessary guidance in terms of the education to be pursued and professional path to be taken. Teachers were also responsible for sustaining young people's lasting interest in that subject and providing extra tuition if necessary.

The textbooks on professional orientation in the 1980s promoted the idea of versatile education. A Soviet citizen was expected to be developed equally well in all areas, including physical, mental, emotional and moral qualities. Claims were made that Soviet education prepared individuals to be creative in their working lives and capable of continuing to build Communism.

> School is at the roots of any career. […] Every young man or woman must leave school having received development in all areas, having deep and solid knowledge of all subjects, being vocationally trained and keeping a great wish to get a working occupation in order to get actively engaged in work life (Stepanenkov,1983, p. 18).

The textbooks in the 1980s continued to promote the idea of linking academic learning to future professional activities. One of the main methods of preparing a young person for the right type of occupation or profession was believed to be an involvement in an activity that was most likely to prepare the foundation for a future working life. Thus, according to Botyakov et al. (1986), for example, a future teacher was supposed to help younger children and supervise them during break time. Someone who intended to become a carpenter was expected to spend a considerable amount of time in carpentry workshops. Although pupils were expected to excel in a variety of activities (hence, versatile education), there was a growing emphasising on establishing pupils' ability profile (Klimov, 1984) through psychometric tests, which I will expand upon shortly.

In the 1990s the general shift in education toward humanisation affected the development in professional orientation. Textbooks on professional orientation raised concerns about the degree of preparedness of young people for the new economic situation. It was realised that there was a need for a different "kind" of employee. Atutov (1993) maintained that individuals were not prepared to deal with the complex demands of society, since being trained to work in one professional area was no longer considered to be enough. An employee was expected to be highly competent in a variety of professional areas and be able to transfer from one area to another flexibly. Atutov claimed that there appeared to be an urgent need for a shift in career education from activities that focused on identifying a match between personhood and a profession to activities that stimulated discovery of the 'self'.

A humanistic approach was developed further in a policy document, "The Programme of Professional orientation in schools" which was developed by Chistyakova (2000). The document argued against the methods of professional orientation used in the Soviet Union, and instead promoted the idea of moving away from the Soviet ideology. The programme set an aim of helping young people develop their ability to choose an occupational area best suited to their personhood functioning and the demands of the labour market. In contrast with the Soviet programmes of professional orientation, this document proclaimed a need for a more active position of an individual in one's own preparation for work. "An individual, while

being the object of career guidance, is simultaneously a subject of her professional self-discovery" (Chistyakova, 2000, p. 4).

Chistyakova proposed a new content and structure of career education that employed the concepts of "career self-identification" and "career self-determination". Both processes involved those qualities of personhood that played an important part in an adult's working life. This part of personhood in her view comprised three main aspects:

- Cognitive (knowing of one's psychological individuality);
- Emotional (having a certain attitude to oneself);
- Regulatory (being able to regulate one's own actions).

Each of the three components was linked to the three aims of professional orientation in schools:

- Studying and developing oneself;
- Analysing professional activities;
- Gaining professional/vocational experience.

What transpires from the analysis of approaches to professional orientation in the textbooks published in three different decades is that ideas have evolved in an accumulative way. The 1970s' ideas of labour vospitanie and involvement in a profession-oriented activity is then taken further in the 1980s textbooks through emphasising the need to identify abilities to match a profession by taking psychometric tests. In the 1990s ideas of versatile education, advocated in the 1980s are carried through to the discussion of humanistic education. Identifying abilities and linking them to particular professions and occupations are kept. In all the sources the underpinning ideas of linking vospitanie and personhood are present, as is the concept of preparation for work through labour vospitanie.

Methods of professional orientation

In all the reviewed textbooks, the first two introductory parts about principles of and approaches to professional orientation in schools, albeit different in length and structure, is followed by sections that deal with practical methods of putting the principles and overall

approach into practice. Golomshtok (1976), Martinova (1976), Sagdetdinova (1977) and Szhuravlev (1977) talk about the following main methods of professional orientation:

- Introducing examples from industry during lessons (e.g. chemistry or physics);
- Involving young people in school and after-school events that expanded their interest in the subject;
- Arranging visits for students to industrial enterprises for observation;
- Inviting employees of these enterprises into the classroom in order to make presentations about their professional activities.

Although the above are described in a slightly different way and accompanied by different examples, they aim to convey the same message, i.e. to link pupils' learning with practical experiences from industry outside the school. Such activities were based on close collaboration between schools and industrial enterprises. According to Sagdetdinova (1977), such creative collaboration did not only contribute to introducing pupils to modern industry but also helped to bring them up in the 'spirit of the working class'. Teachers, together with the leaders of the Komsomol organisation (a Communist youth organisation), were expected to work on enrolling pupils into after-school clubs that were aimed at developing manual skills such as carpentry or sewing.

In addition to the above, raising awareness of the importance of manual work and developing of relevant skills was expected to be achieved through the lessons of technology (translated into Russian as 'work'). It was recommended that pupils aged 7-9 were taught to do craft work with soft materials (fabric and paper). Young people aged 10-13 gained work experience and skills by means of working in school workshops (Golomshtok, 1976). The curriculum for girls included sewing and cooking; the curriculum for boys focused on woodwork and metalwork. During the last years of school, it was suggested that young people join industrial workshops where they had an opportunity to learn a vocational occupation, for example, learning to drive vehicles, plumbing, electrical engineering and gardening (Martinova, 1976; Szhuravlev, 1977).

The 1980s textbooks, especially Botyakov et al. (1986) and Stepanenkov (1983) made references to the methods recommended in the 1970s textbooks. In particular they kept promoting links with industrial enterprises, making visits to factories and works and inviting professionals and workers to classrooms to make talks about their working lives. These

authors also made references to the work of Klimov (1984) who created a series of psychometric tests which aimed to identify pupils' orientation towards a particular occupational field or profession. Klimov's theory became a dominant approach to professional orientation in the 1980s.

Klimov (1984, 1986) based the system of psychometric testing on the compatibility between people's general orientation to a particular professional and occupational field, and real professions or occupations available in the labour market. He identified five main types and referred to them as types of personhood:

- People who work with other people;
- People who work with technical equipment;
- People who work with objects of nature (plants, animals);
- People who work with symbols and signs;
- People who work in art-related areas.

The tests were aimed at identifying what activities students were successful in and what they were interested in. A class teacher was responsible for distributing questionnaires and analysing them. If a student's score indicated that she belonged to a category of 'nature', she was advised to attend after-school clubs which looked after animals or attend 'biology' clubs which focused on lab experiments.

Klimov suggested that his system offered reliable methods for identifying main inclinations and potential areas of work. Realising that the vospitanie at that time focused teachers' attention on behaviour rather than personhood (Klimov, 1986), he argued that the system of psychometric tests was a tool for further development of personhood.

> We all know very well that behaviour denotes externally represented internal mental functions of an individual who is the subject of an activity. Personhood cannot be seen or touched and you cannot take it by the hand and lead where you want to. Personhood is a complex, whole being which possesses an ability to function. Personhood exists and gets revealed within the duration of an activity (Klimov, 1986, p. 5).

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Klimov (1986) believed that it was teachers' responsibility to identify those functions of personhood that students already had and, on the basis of that, help develop those functions that they could potentially acquire. In proposing this, Klimov implicitly referred to the Zone of Proximal Development (Vygotsky, 1962) which implied the development of an individual through an interaction with an adult where an adult plays a leading role. A teacher was expected to identify the right type of activity and involve students in it. It appears that the same recurrent framework of personhood development through vospitanie was sustained in Klimov's framework. It is questionable whether there was a real need to make his system of psychometric testing compatible with the dominant discourse which went back at least as far as the 1970s or whether the new narrative was constructed as a dialogue with the previously accepted theoretical framework.

Klimov's system was used in the development of a new career education policy. In 1988, a group of Russian educationalists - Chistyakov, Zakharov, Novikova and Belyuk (1988) - published a document entitled "Professional orientation of young people". This document defined professional orientation as a discipline that was comprised of the following aspects: economic, social, moral, psychometric and pedagogical. Economical and social aspects of professional orientation were expected to focus on socio-economic forecasting in the areas which would help school graduates choose professional areas that were in demand. The moral aspect of professional orientation was concerned with the new tendencies in the labour market and young people's choice of profession. This aspect of education was aimed at providing up-to-date information in order to keep young people informed of their rights and existing opportunities. Psychometric and pedagogical aspects were considered in unity. Psychometric tests, especially those offered by Klimov, were aimed at identifying which professional area would suit students most. The pedagogical aspect implied a range of activities that a teacher should construct and implement based on the above information. These activities ranged from play to academic learning to activities that were beneficial for the community.

The textbook by Atutov (1993) published shortly after the political change in 1991, focused mainly on the discussion of the new humanistic approach, rather than specifying the methods of professional orientation to be used in schools. Atutov mentions visits to enterprises and psychometric tests, drawing on the methods advocated in the 1970s and 1980s publications. It has to be noted that there does not appear to be a major policy document issued during the 1990s that could have guided the developments within professional orientation.

The new programme of professional orientation was issued in 2000 by Chistyakova (2000). As previously stated, this programme advocated a student-centred approach focusing on the idea of "self-discovery". Following the three main aims to explore and develop oneself, analyse professional activities and one's compatibility with them and gain work experience, the programme suggested a number of methods that could be used in schools to achieve these aims.

Self-study was to be achieved by means of undertaking psychometric tests that informed a young person about abilities, talents and interests that they have. References were made to the work of Klimov (1986). The analysis of professional activities involved a combination of lectures and seminars during school hours that provided in-depth information about professions, occupations, the state of the labour market and the employment demands in the area. The third aim – gaining work experience – presupposed students' active participation in a variety of professional activities. The proposed activities ranged from growing strawberries in a vegetable plot to participating in role-play such as working for a large corporation.

This programme was devised as an official policy that was supposed to guide professional orientation in schools. However, during the fieldwork in Russia, it was revealed that none of the interviewed teachers knew about it. The programme was undoubtedly progressive in terms of promoting a more active role of a student in professional learning. However, some of the proposed methods seemed very unrealistic in financial terms. Thus, for example, growing strawberries would require a substantial investment which was not available in schools. The programme also included a large number of lectures and seminars dedicated to professional orientation but no analysis of the curriculum as a whole was provided. Therefore, it was not clear how the new programme was to be introduced into the overall school curriculum. In essence, though the programme did not deviate from the ideas advocated in the 1970s and 1980s and psychometric tests and the choice of an adequate occupation remained central to professional orientation in schools.

Professional orientation: historical development

To summarise, the analysis of the textbooks on professional orientation demonstrated that professional orientation as a pedagogic activity is closely linked with pedagogics, and is dependent on it. To clarify, theoretical underpinning of professional orientation is built upon

the conceptual unity of vospitanie and personhood; it argues that personhood develops through participation in social/collective activities. Teacher trainees were expected to know the foundations of pedagogics before they could be introduced to professional orientation as a taught subject.

The analysis identified several changes in the textbooks that were published in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s.

1. Compared to the textbooks published in the 1990s, the textbooks published in the 1970s and 1980s advocated and promoted manual work occupations.

2. The 1990s textbooks began to advocate the idea of self-discovery as the main focus of professional orientation and promoted humanistic education.

3. Psychometric tests were introduced in the 1980s and were used to identify the appropriate and most relevant profession for a young person to join after leaving school.

4. The new policy that was issued in 2000 (Chistyakova, 2000) argued for an all embracing curriculum that could affect all aspects of personhood development, but with the main focus on self-study and discovery.

The analysis also demonstrates that although the proposed methods of professional orientation have changed, they have done so in an accumulative way. Each decade seems to have accumulated methods prescribed in the textbooks published in the previous decade. All of the textbooks suggested using methods offered in the 1970s textbooks. These are

- Developing relationships between schools and industrial enterprises;
- Providing pupils with work experience in school workshops;
- Taking students to visit places of work;
- Inviting professionals to talk to school to talk to pupils about their working experience.

The 1980s textbooks added the use of psychometric tests to the list of methods. Klimov's (1984) system of testing was later referred to in the 1990s textbooks and the policy issues in 2000 (Chistyakova, 2000).

The new policy (Chistyakova, 2000) added new methods to the list above:

- Academic study of professions and occupations in schools;
- Engaging students in the study of socio-economic issues related to employment;

- Involving students in the trials of different professional activities so that they could identify the one that suited them better.

Thus, it appears that although some innovations were introduced in the content of professional orientation, older methods were not disregarded. It means that teacher trainees who studied professional orientation in the 1990s were likely to be introduced to all of the above mentioned methods of professional orientation. Since the new programme for professional orientation was not part of teacher training materials, it is not possible to claim that teacher trainees were aware of it.

Conclusion

This chapter reported on the documentary analysis used to help answering the main research question of this thesis. My aim was to understand how pedagogic activities in Russian schools, affected by the historical transformations in Russia during the period 1970-2000, impacted on students' preparation for work. In particular, the analysis explored how pedagogic ideas and concepts got transformed during these thirty years in the teacher-training materials. The concepts and ideas, being considered as tertiary artefacts (Wartofsky, 1979), which mediated particular pedagogic messages to teacher-trainees, were part of the regulated teacher-training curriculum centrally controlled by the state.

Two aspects of professional orinetation and textbooks associated with these subjects were considered for this analysis; pedagogics is the main taught subject in teacher-training, and professional orientation is a smaller part of pedagogics, which trains teacher-trainees to prepare students for work and employment. The documentary analysis has yielded several important findings.

The textbooks on pedagogics, irrespective of the year of publication (1970s, 1980s or 1990s), shared the same narrative schemata (Wertsch, 2002). The schemata explained the relationship between the main pedagogic activity, vospitanie, and the main outcome of this activity, personhood. Irrespective of the time of publication, vospitanie was understood as an organised pedagogic activity that aimed to develop personhood functions which met the needs of society at that time. Personhood was considered a social structure which was

formed through the process of vospitanie and that an individual continued to develop over life-time.

This schema was used as the basis to promote different ideological messages. The main shift identified in the textbooks published before and after 1991 is their focus on the future of society, i.e. the Soviet textbooks promoted the building of communism whereas post-1991 textbooks encouraged ideas of building a democratic society. Soviet vospitanie was expected to develop personhood functions that would reflect values of collectivism, altruism and motivation to be an active citizen of the Soviet Union. The textbooks published after 1991 reacted against these ideas and asked for a new focus on individual needs, which was commensurate with the requirements of the state to progress towards society that treated each citizen as a unique person and provided this person with opportunities for self-development. The analysis of the narrative by means of which these ideas were conveyed in the textbooks, revealed that often the schema of the vospitanie and personhood dualism served as the foundation on which to build an ideological idea. If stripped of the ideological language, the conceptual meaning remained the same. The idea that vospitanie has power to produce a certain type of personhood functioning is already imbued with the notion of collectivism because society seems to take full responsibility for an individual's development and such notions as empowerment and emancipation are not discussed. It may then be argued that the ideas of meeting individual needs through the process of vospitanie, promoted in the post-1991 textbooks, is indeed a 'conversation with the Soviet past', or hidden dialogicality (Wertsch, 2002), rather than a genuinely different and innovative idea.

The analysis of the textbooks on professional orientation demonstrated that the principles of professional orientation as a pedagogic activity were based on the principles of pedagogics, that is on the schema of the interdependence of vospitanie and personhood. The idea that personhood functioning develops through an individual's participation in social and collective activities, promoted in the pedagogics textbooks, was also used in the textbooks on professional orientation. There was a similar change identified in the ways the textbooks interpreted ideological messages. The Soviet textbooks emphasised the need to build communism, hence, they advocated the need for more manual workers to join the labour force. The textbooks published in the 1980s adhered to the same idea but emphasised the idea of a whole person. The 1990s textbook followed the ideas expressed in the publications on pedagogics and advocated humanistic education, i.e. education that treated each person as unique. Interestingly, the methods of professional orientation were developed in an

accumulative way, i.e. each decade borrowed the methods described in the textbooks published during the previous decade. The 1990s were represented by one textbook only and the new programme of professional orientation which was not in the library. It is doubtful that the newly recommended methods of professional orientation played a large part in the 1990s teacher-training curriculum.

Overall, it can be concluded that preparation for work in Russian schools is based on a strong conceptual framework that did not change during thirty years and that after 1991 the transformation of ideas, even as part of an academic debate, was based on the same conceptual unity of vospitanie and personhood. It is clear that preparation for work in Russian schools consist of at least two interconnected pedagogic activities: vospitanie and professional orientation. The analysis of the case study presented in the next chapters will continue exploring this finding.

Chapter 5

Analysis: interviews with teachers and personal construct exercise with students

Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of interviews with teachers and personal construct exercise with students in the case study school. The aim that inspired the use of these two methods was to explore the ways in which preparation for work was adopted in the case study school, from the point of view of its two main stakeholder groups, that is teachers and students. As the focus of the research has been placed on the historical dynamic of the school and its pedagogical practices, these two methods aimed to explore historical aspects of preparation for work in the case study school. This was achieved by means of interviewing teachers who were trained during three different decades (1970s, 1980s and 1990s) and by asking students about similarities and differences among these teachers. The underpinning idea was to identify whether Soviet pedagogic ideas were still present in 2000 in the context of a mainstream school, and in which form, and if pedagogic ideas that appeared after 1991 were identifiable in how teachers constructed preparation for work. It was also important to see whether students perceived differences among the three groups of teachers which would confirm that teachers' made their pedagogical differences visible and identifiable to students.

Firstly, the context of preparation for work in the case study school is discussed. This is followed by the analysis of the interviews with each group of teachers (1970s, 1980s and 1990s, A, B and C respectively) which is discussed separately. Individual teachers are referred to as A1, B3, C10. Next, a discussion that compares the messages from the three sample groups is provided. An analysis of repertory grids is then offered and, finally, the findings from both the interviews and repertory grids are discussed.

Interviews with teachers: principles and details of the analysis

Interviews with thirty teachers (ten from 1970s, ten from 1980s and ten from 1990s) aim to explore teachers' views and perceptions of preparation for work as they see it now and in comparison to what it was like at the beginning of their career. Interview questions aim to explore teachers' views of preparation for work, its end product and methods that they use and would like to use to achieve the end aim (the interview schedule is provided in Appendix B).

From the theoretical perspective, the interviews with the teachers aim to identify the ways in which teachers have constructed activities that prepare students for the world of work; what cultural tools mediate these activities, what rules teachers see as dominant in these activities and how they define the division of labour. In order to explore the historical dynamic of the pedagogic practice in the case study school, it is necessary to understand whether teachers perceive the object-motive, tools, rules and division of labour in reference to the past, present or future. In other terms, it is important to identify whether teachers qualified their pedagogic practice more in terms of what it used to be in the Soviet time, or in reference to what was needed at that time or whether they described pedagogic activities in terms of what will be important in the future. This decision has been predicated upon evidence reviewed earlier (in chapter 2), that is after 1991 the focus and aims of school education officially have shifted from maintaining the status quo of the Soviet society towards reforming Russian society in the light of new democratic values (Jones, 1994; Kitaev, 1994). The interviews with the teachers have explored the ways in which these new ideas were interpreted by teachers in the case study school. From a socio-cultural and activity theory perspective, for activities to get transformed the actors have to reformulate the object, create or change the tools, reconsider or change the rules and work on the division of labour (Engeström, 1987) In addition, the subject may have to work on the position within activities; actors may have to engage in making changes to their professional identity. Tools and rules that make references to the past can be adequate as long as they perform the function useful at the present moment; if tools refer to the Soviet past, but they are used in a way that makes sense in the present and is adequate for preparing young people for work in the post-1991 context, then the tools do not require a substantial change. This part of analysis does not aim to assess school practices; it aims to evaluate and qualify them in historical terms, that is, trying to identify how teachers perceive preparation for work in historically transformed conditions.

There is early evidence from the pilot interviews which were conducted in school B (which is not the case study school, see chapter 3), that teachers perceived preparation for work as a combination of vospitanie and professional orientation. Intensive reading of the transcripts has demonstrated qualitatively different ways in which the teachers of different generation groups have approached and grouped vospitanie and professional orientation differently. As the sample is very small it has been impossible to conduct a full analysis. The analysis has been mainly impressionistic but it has refined the focus of the interviews, which is an exploration of preparation for work as a combination of at least two activities – vospitanie and professional orientation. Thus each interview aims at identifying a pedagogic position of a teacher both in the current pedagogic activity networks in the case study school, and the teacher's position with regard to mastering or acquiring pedagogic means from the past (Wertsch, 2002). The interview questions did not presuppose that the teachers would talk about vospitanie and professional orientation. Prompts were planned only if teachers were not going to mention vospitanie or professional orientation.

Each set of ten interviews (1970s, 1980s and 1990s) has been analysed from the activity theory perspective. Initially, interviews within the same set were analysed in terms of similarities. It was decided that if an interview within a set was significantly different to others, it would be discussed separately. The analysis was qualitative in its nature; its aim was to identify how teachers described and qualified activities but not how many times a particular point was mentioned. The narratives of the interviews differ in terms of the length and detail, thus the analysis focuses on the content of what has been shared.

The content of each interview has been segmented into content categories that best described the elements of an activity system, including the subject, object, tools, rules, division of labour and community. The text is coded as 'subject' if the teacher was talking about herself or her role in the construction of the activities. 'Object' has been chosen if teachers describe what their activities focus on and what they want to achieve. 'Tools' represent information about the methods, events and ideas used by teachers to prepare students for work. The text is coded as 'rules' if teachers talk about conditions or events that support or constrain their actions. 'Division of labour' has been chosen when teachers talk about distinctive roles occupied by different stakeholders representing the 'community'. Selected parts of the text are then analysed in terms of how teachers qualified each element. Thus, if teachers have made a distinction between two objects, within vospitanie and professional orientation, it is legitimate to explain their construction of preparation for work as a network of at least two activity systems. Differentiating between different activities in conceptual terms may point to a conclusion that teachers see one of the activities as less important or auxiliary to the other, or, depending on how

they see the division of labour, that they do not see themselves as the subject of the activities.

During the next stage of the analysis, the identified elements of the activity system/s were compared and contrasted in order to synthesise them into a 'vision' of preparation for work offered by each group (A, B or C). Firstly, this chapter presents the data that were segmented based on the activity theory concepts described above. This is followed by evaluative descriptions for each sample group of teachers. These visions of preparation for work are then compared in order to provide a qualitative analysis of the ways in which teachers perceived preparation for work. The synthesis of the findings is offered in the concluding section of the chapter, including findings gained as a result of the analysis of the repertory grids. The principles of the analysis of the repertory grids are explained in the relevant sections.

Context: preparation for work in the case study school

During fieldwork some ethnographic data were collected that provided some insight into the contextual factors that underpinned preparation for work in the case study school. At the time when the fieldwork took place the case study school did not have an official policy on preparation for work. The head-teacher explained that preparation for work was part of the duty of class-teachers (teachers who were responsible for one group of students of the same year). Class teachers were responsible for vospitanie-related events. Every month, each class had a class hour organised and prepared by the class teacher which was part of the annual plan. Class teachers appeared to have relative freedom in planning class hours; the underpinning idea was that each group of students is unique and the class teacher should target events to meet the needs of that group. According to the head-teacher, class hours can be used as events dedicated to preparation for work. She mentioned such options as inviting representatives from local businesses to give a talk about their profession; teachers could choose to organise discussions or role plays with students related to the issues of career choice. Class teachers were asked to write a report on the vospitanie work conducted with their classes at the end of each academic year. Teachers who did not perform the duty of class teachers were not obliged to carry out any specifically organised activities in relation to preparation for work.

The head-teacher claimed that the school ran annual events in which all the students and most of the teachers were expected to participate. Such events usually included activities

that aimed to help students prepare for the world of work, for example, art fairs. During my stay in the school I did not hear about such events, nor hear about any preparation for them.

The school employed a school psychologist. Part of her responsibility was to offer students a chance to take a psychometric test that identified their personhood type. The test was based on Klimov's (1986) theory of personhood types (chapter 4).

Group A (1970s cohort)

Activity theory analysis

Object

Teachers from group A have indicated that the most important value for their students to acquire is desire and ability to work hard (Fig. 1). These claims echo the Soviet mottos that aimed to inspire Soviet people to be more productive. This was reflected in the aims and objectives of "labour vospitanie" (chapter 4). In the interviews teachers refer to this as a "conscientious approach to work" and see it as opposed to the new tendencies to seek "easy money".

> A10: I think that in the past children had a more serious attitude to work. These students have got confidence now that their Dad will arrange everything for them.
>
> AP: So, do you think the changes as a result of Perestroika influenced the attitude of people to work?
>
> A7: It has produced a negative effect. Manual work is not valued any more. Those boys who buy beer in one place and sell it at a higher price in another place cannot be persuaded to work at a lathe. It is easy money and such a person will be looking for easy money that will be more and more difficult to find with every passing year. That is how we have quite a lot of unhappy people.

There is no obvious separation of objects within vospitanie and professional orientation activities. They mention both but always in an interlinked way. Thus, for example, they see

that the development of personhood is linked with the usage of psychometric tests, which aimed to identify a 'personhood type' (Klimov 1984, also see chapter 4 above). Most teachers from group A believe that identifying a type of personhood will help young people gain confidence in themselves and therefore, prepare themselves better for a working life where they would need to work hard.

> A 10: After they do their psychological tests, I ask them about it. We talk. I tell them that the tests are important because they do not want to fail in life, do they? It is better to do something you are good at well, rather than get stuck in the area where you will be incompetent. I tell them that they need to prepare to work hard. Life is not easy, especially in our times…

> A8: Well, the psychological service. My year 5 already have sessions with a psychologist where they have tests and other sort of activities that help to identify their abilities and interests. So they come to year 9 sort of prepared. They can see what is more suitable to them. It is clear whether they are more into the humanities or maths, for example. Our psychologists help with that.

The teachers link the objects of vospitanie and professional orientation through linking aspects of career education to the teaching of their subjects.

> A8: Well, I do guide them. I tell them: "This, children, will be really useful for you in life. Trigonometry, for example, is even useful in the army." They will say: "Oh, Miss, what sort of nonsense you are talking. Why will we need trigonometry in the army?" I tell them about the artillery. I think our school prepares them for it. We try to connect school subjects with real life. They know that they will have to work anyway in the future. Psychologists work with them and they make them think about the future. The child leaves school with an idea that he will be working somewhere.

'Working somewhere' in the opinion of teachers from group A should not be a free choice. Differentiation according to ability (Fig. 1) and acquiring knowledge of that ability is considered to be a focus of preparation for work.

> A5: I would go back to differentiation, as it was in Khruschev's time. Not everything that is old is bad. The principle is based on abilities and knowledge. It does not matter that the student wants to become a lawyer if he is not really prepared to become one. I would first and foremost return to

the principle of selection according to intellectual abilities and the students' preparedness and individual characteristics. These ones must become lawyers, those must be tractor drivers and those will be tending a herd on a meadow. They should not be buying a diploma for money but should work for it. We would be able to say as in the past: "Petya, you will go to the University and you, Senya, only to the vocational college." Everybody must know his or her places, in the way it is done abroad.

AP: How do young people develop perceptions about their future working life?

A8: They come to year 1 with a great desire to learn but as they reach year 3 this desire to learn goes down and they say: "I do not want it." I think everyone has a ceiling in their development, so, some people keep developing and some reach a point where they cannot go further. So, young people should be informed about what it is that they do better and how far they can go.

Tools

Vospitanie, from the point of view of the teachers from group A, is conducted through a certain way one communicates with young people (Fig. 1). One of the teachers claims (A1), "There is power in what and how you say things to children. You also have to think about when and in which situation you say it: you want to make it as effective as possible", Most of the teachers from this group indicate that through situated talk they managed to mediate a particular view of a particular matter.

A7: I am trying to develop a knowledgeable personhood. So, it is done through visits to industrial sites or companies, class discussions and talking to representatives of different professions. In my lessons we do not talk only about physics and professions associated with physics. We just have good conversations.

The tools that most of the teachers refer to are psychological personhood tests, visits to industrial enterprises, inviting representatives of different professions to talk to the students during 'class hours'. All of these tools are referred to in the teacher-training textbooks reviewed in chapter 4. Even when prompted to talk about an 'ideal' system of preparation for work, the teachers still refer to the same tools.

AP: If you were at liberty to construct preparation for work in schools the way you want, how would you do it?

A9: I would certainly start with some unobtrusive propaganda. Meeting specialists from various areas, talking about opportunities. It is important to have tests that will help children to identify what they are capable of. Institutions must provide information of how many places they have and what are the job opportunities out there.

Industrial workshops are mentioned as a tool that is no longer used but one for which teachers feel most nostalgia. The teachers claim that working at industrial workshops allowed young people to develop particular skills (mainly skills of manual work); they also got some experience of what being a worker was like.

A7: I think I would go back to the system of practical workshop courses. In the 1960s children went to school for 11 years and in year 11 they were trained for a certain vocation. There were merits and demerits in this of course. There was too much formalism. For example it was declared that we were going to train film operators and who needed that number of operators? I think that my choice was influenced by this course. Those who were smarter were sent to the plant of Sverdlov to the technical laboratory. We learnt how to solder and drill and etc. All these skills were very useful.

AP: Do you remember what the system was based on, especially during the first years of your professional career?

A3: It was mainly based on the system of industrial workshops where students were acquiring their occupations. It was not always according to students' wishes. There was a range of occupations and they were offered a chance to try themselves in this or that area.

AP: Which advantages of the system can be applied in the current situation?

A3: Well, some of the things still exist. Students do take the tests. As far as industrial workshops are concerned…well, I think that for some people they gave a start in life. Though we are used to saying that all children are geniuses, not all of them in reality become great scientists. The majority are ordinary people getting ordinary occupations. Maybe they really liked trying to do something with their own hands and then they just followed that later in life.

Subject

Most of the interviewed teachers from group A feel very confident (Fig. 1) about being able to influence personal development of their students. They believe that by using the

above mentioned tools they are able to "shape and form" students' personhood and the trajectories of their working lives. For example:

> A5: The first source of information is certainly the family. One normally follows the way that his parents want. School, of course, is also very important. Some of my children did not want to become lawyers. But then they had a series of lectures in law, plus, I have been teaching them for two years and it has shaped their personhood – they do want to go to the law faculty. A teacher plays a very important role and also the subject, one's interests and abilities…

> A2: It is difficult to see what profession they will have but it is possible to see which categories they belong to: technically-minded people, those who will be able to work with other people. And if, as a class teacher, I need to talk to my students about it, I try to tell them which directions they should or should not take. A humanities type of mind or the one that is more prone to do natural science, it is all seen at school. And I allow myself to give them some advice.

Rules

During the interviews the teachers pointed out that they were working at the time when what they had believed in was no longer supported centrally by the state (Fig. 1); the institutions such as the Communist Party, Komsomol and the Young Pioneers' Organization had all been abolished. The teachers indicated that they were working in difficult times where the changes in society were reflected in the school.

> AP: Do you think the changes as a result of Perestroika have influenced people's attitude to work?

> A7: Of course, everything has changed and the attitudes have changed too. In the past if a person was healthy and everything was all right with him, he was guaranteed a job. At least the minimum of his requirements was satisfied. Even though sometimes the job meant nothing both to the person and the state, it was still done. If the person was ill, his treatment was paid, if he was hungry he was given something to eat. The State was like a life jacket for people. Now, the situation is different; the state is no longer taking care of people. People try to use all the opportunities to live up to new standards. But there is a category of people, as in any other society, that

cannot reach the level they want and they give up. So they start drinking and so on.

AP: Did the changes as a result of Perestroika influence people's attitude to work?

A6: Of course. In the past, the Pioneer and Komsomol organisations were very popular. They were symbols and idols. I remember myself at school. We tried to be like the heroes of the revolution and war. Then, all this was destroyed and the kids had to worship the dollar instead of the heroes. Now it is getting better. There appears an understanding that the West appreciates education and not a dollar. Society changes and the values are changing. The school is part of society and therefore what happens in society is reflected in school.

Division of Labour

Most of the teachers in group A suggest that the family plays a more important role in the development of a child. Most of them point out that the family takes the final decision about the course of a young person's life. They also emphasise that though the family is very important, the teachers are equally important and played their role in defining young people's trajectories.

A2: Well, first and foremost young people talk to parents. Maybe not so much about the profession but about the future course of life. What he will be doing and how much he will be getting, how he will arrange his life. Professions. Yes, we talk to them about it but not on a very regular basis. Then, we talk about it in the literature lessons. Even if we study classical literature. Say we discuss Khlestackov. We talk about officials, the work of an official. We project this onto present life and try to find some analogies. Does Khlestakov's frivolity, lack of responsibility find reflection in our life of today? Or the episode when he comes to the town and talks to other officials. We have identified several phenomena in their practice: bribing, embezzlement of public funds, larceny. We try to find the difference between them and see whether we can find the same in our life and the children come to quite unfavourable conclusions (laughs). Only now it happens on a larger-scale basis: bribing, embezzlement of public funds and careerism. So it prompts talk about professional values. It is more about their personhood though… Where can people realise such qualities? And where should it be absolutely forbidden? Social services and social funds, for example.

The above quote demonstrates how this teacher discursively constructs an argument that reflects her moral position with regard to the criminal activities that flourish in Russia. Thus, indirectly she is producing an effect on the ways young people perceived their future adult life.

Community

The teachers indicated that the main parties involved in preparation of young people for work were school, including psychology service, family, various sorts of mass media and peer group. The interviews did not indicate the particularities of the relationship of the teachers with all other parties.

Fig. 1: Activity system, teachers (1970s)

Tools: vospitanie and professional orientation

Interpersonal communication, excursions, academic subjects, workshops, psychometric tests

Teachers

Very confident

(influence)

Students' personhood (differentiated

Help identifying type of personhood

Developing a serious approach to work

Rules: changes after 1991

lack of support from the state

Social situation is unfair

Worship of easy money

Working occupations are not valued

Community:

Family

School

Division of Labour:

Family – final choice

School - information

Teachers - support

School psychologists - differentiation

Mass media –promotion of modern

Group A: conclusion

Preparation for work from the perspective of teachers who were trained during the 1970s is seen as a combination of vospitanie and professional orientation that aim to help students to realise exactly what they are good at and develop values of conscientious work ethic (Fig. 1). Such an interpretation of the object reflects the values promoted in the Soviet teacher-training textbooks, that is emphasis on hard work and identification of the 'right' occupations for individuals. The teachers also maintain that individuals cannot be good at everything, so students should be advised about occupations and professions that are more suitable for them. To achieve this they rely strongly on their own authority and professional skills as they claim to be confident and independent professionals. Thus, it is a combination of conversations with students during lessons and psychometric tests that is supposed to develop personhood functioning capable of conscientious hard work in the 'right' place. The teachers claim that the system of values that supported their work in the Soviet times has collapsed; it seems that that the teachers want to restore it through instilling these values in their students. They perceive new rules as being against them and they are resisting them. The current difficult and unpredictable conditions in Russia are acknowledged but not linked to the object or tools of the activity in a way that demonstrates their dependency on the rules of the activity. It appears that teachers view preparation for work as preparation for something certain, although they understand that the state has no guarantees for employees in the market economy. There has not been a substantial shift in the conceptualisation of preparation for work. Teachers approach it in the way that was practised in the Soviet times which, naturally, conflicts with the new conditions of the post-1991 Russia.

Group B (1980s cohort):

Activity theory analysis

Object

The object of preparation for work for teachers from group B is what ensures a student's smooth transition into another academic institution after leaving school (Fig. 2). This is linked to the argument that higher education is the only route to success in the current economic climate.

AP: Can you predict what your students will become in the future?

B5: I do not think it is 100% possible. You see, I work with what I call advanced classes. There about 90% will go to the University. Of course, like everywhere else there are those who will go just to a college. These are those whose motivation in learning is really low. Maybe if their parents insist, they will go to a college.

AP: So you are saying that the system of professional orientation was abolished?

B6: Well, I do not think it was completely abolished. I think it has faded into the background. I think the basis of professional orientation will always remain the same but the aims now are different, they are more humanitarian. In the past we encouraged students to get working occupations because they were popular. Now, it is intellectual work that is prestigious. So, we need to encourage students to stay at school and then go to the University.

The quotation above demonstrates that the teacher has reflected on how the demands of the labour market have changed and has decided to act upon them. This decision aims to meet the current needs of the state.

The teachers from group B support the idea of differentiation by ability. They believe that identifying young people's strengths in a particular area is important. However, the teachers in this group provide a different argument for differentiation than their colleagues in group A, who think that the more accurately the personhood type is identified, the better chances young people have for developing a dedicated attitude to work. The teachers from group B believe that the correct identification of the personhood type ensures the right choice of academic subjects which in its turn supports a smooth transition to another academic institution. The excerpt below provides an example of how teachers discursively constructed this aspect of the object.

AP: If you were at liberty to create a system of preparation for work in schools, what would you suggest?

B5: Well, we are already trying to create such a system. In the secondary school young people have an opportunity to identify their personhood type.

There are children who are more into humanities and those who are better at sciences. I think quite early parents and children should be informed about such things like the function of the left and right semi-sphere of the brain and what implications of these functions are. Parents and children can make a choice not about a profession or occupation as such but about the area the child is going to work in. Then, of course, it will be possible to analyze the availability of educational services in the local area and match them with the resources the family has. I think the provision of information has to be made to a very high standard, especially before year 9 when young people make a choice of what they want to do after. In our school years 10 and 11 students are encouraged to go to the University. The majority of students already know where they are going. Of course there are those who leave school and still do not know what they want to do. However, 70% go the University. Others go to some other educational institutions or go to work. We think it is also good.

Another important function of personhood named by teachers from group B was an ability to set and pursue an aim. The emphasis is on identifying an aim and clear-cut strategy of how to reach it.

B1: Habits of work, attitude to work, achieving some aim. Oh, I think our, teachers' task is, do you know what? The children need to understand that to achieve something in life they need to set an aim. I even tell my own children that if you have an aim, let it be a small target, you will put all your efforts to reach it and in the end you are sure to achieve it. We need to teach this to children and also teach them how to achieve this.

Division of Labour

As evident from the data discussed above, teachers from group B are not concerned about ethical issues and instilling moral values in their students. This is because they consider students' families to be responsible for that role and this position is more visible in some narratives than others. However, all of them are united by the idea that teachers are responsible for the academic development of young people, whereas families take care of the affective and social aspects of young people's development which formed vospitanie (Fig. 2).

B4: In year 9, it is parents who take a decision. There were two girls in my class, both were excellent students. One of them left after year 9 and the other stayed on. This other girls slipped down in her academic achievement and now she is not getting good marks. She is happy with average marks. What is the reason? Maybe something happened in the family. Maybe the focus in the family was switched onto something else. She realized that and changed her behaviour. She left the school. Maybe it is because of her friends or boy-friends, perhaps.

B6: The situation in secondary schools has changed. Teachers are no longer responsible for vospitanie as such. I mean we do care about what kind of person leaves the school but I believe I contribute to one aspect of what a child's personhood is, and their parents for others.

AP: What do you see yourself responsible for?

B6: Well, his education, of course. These days, if a child does not get a good qualification, no connections or networks are going to help: he is not going to get a job. My responsibility as a teacher to make sure the child is ready to continue education after he leaves school.

The teachers do not indicate in their interviews how exactly they collaborate with the families. Therefore, the alleged collaboration where the roles are equally distributed between school and families is sustained at the level of teachers' assumptions. The teachers are not fully aware about the choices families make and their value base. However, what is important is that the teachers perceive students' preparation for work as a network of at least two activity systems (Fig. 2). Their view of the two activities that constitute preparation for work is different from that help by the teachers in group A.

Tools

In terms of professional orientation, the teachers in group B name visits to industrial enterprises, presentations by representatives of different professions and psychometric tests. Some of the responses indicate that there was more attention paid to professional orientation during Soviet times than the present day.

AP: What was the career guidance system like when you just started working?

B2: To start with, it was part of the duties that class tutors had. Excursions, meetings with professionals who came to give a talk. On the one hand it was probably good because not all parents devote full attention to their children. Children had guided tours in the educational institutions and had meetings with teachers, they even had a chance to visit some of the classes. I think it was an advantage of the system. Now, it exists only at the informational level. In the past it was broader. We talked about it at parental class and whole school meetings. School curriculum included career guidance lessons.

AP: You said that you had some experience of working in the area of professional orientation?

B6: Yes, I have worked in this school for three years as an organiser of this activity and about three years in another school.

AP: So, how have you organised it?

B6: The priority has been to invite representatives of different professions to give talks in the school. I cannot provide information about each profession. I can only describe in detail the profession of a teacher. In the past we used to have guardian enterprises that sent specialists over to the school to do the talks. Engineers, fitters, lathe operators used to come and talk about what they did as part of their job. We used to take children to visit some of the enterprises. Sometimes we had events in the school devoted in one way or another to a particular profession.

Even with regard to more vospitanie related tools, teachers in group B focus more on career guidance than ethical aspects of working lives (Fig. 2). Some admitted that they talk to students specifically about careers related to their subject.

AP: Do you do anything in your lessons that can prepare young people for the future world of work?

B3: I try to do it. I do not do it quite consciously, though. You see, there is this part of the curriculum called "Services and Maintenance" and as part of it one is supposed to talk about professions and occupations, that kind of stuff. I remember it used to be a responsibility of a class teacher but now it is part of the curriculum. My other colleague does this kind of work with students, so because she does it I prefer to pay attention to other parts of the curriculum. If she was not in the school I would have to do it myself. However, even it were not part of the curriculum, I would still do something. I sympathise with children. They are young and their personhood is in the process of development. I approach this not as a professional but as a

person. So, if during my lessons I talk about design, for example, I talk to them about design as a profession. Children form their orientation based on the subject or the teachers they like. I have girls in my class who have approached me and asked me about possibilities of becoming a seamstress. Well, I think it is a good occupation for a woman, why not?

Fig. 2: Activity systems network: teachers from group B and families

Tools:

Discursive practices, academic subjects, visits to industrial enterprises, inviting speakers, psychometric tests

Tools:

Developing moral values, financial and moral support, family's connections and resources.

Subject
Teachers

Object
Student's personhood: capable of surviving in the transitional society

Subject
Family

Rules
"new" ethics: worship of the dollar

Community
Mass media

Peer group

Rules
Higher education is prestigious;

The resources of the family play an important role.

Division of labour

Family provides moral education and direction in life

School provides support for professional orientation

Rules

The changes in society and the labour market regulate teachers' activities. Teachers from group B are very well aware that higher education qualifications are more likely to help

young people get better paid jobs. They are aware that working occupations are no longer prestigious and only a few recognized them as valid routes into the current labour market.

> B5: The prestige of education is coming back now. It was lost for a while just after the change [1991 – my clarification]. Kids were thinking: "I will go to sell at the market. Why do I need education?" Now such attitudes are fading out. Competition for University courses has risen. Enterprises are being revived. New courses are being opened at the Universities. Children see it and this changes their attitude to education. Most of them no longer say: "Why do we need school?"

> AP: Do you think the changes as a result of Perestroika have influenced people's attitudes to work?

> B2: Certainly. First, parents have experienced it themselves and children can feel it, no doubt. A lot of staff were made redundant everywhere. It has also produced an effect on people. Educational standards were raised and now there is a need to get some additional qualifications and attend some other courses. Children do understand that.

Subject

Teachers from group B feel confident that they can make a difference in their students' life mainly by doing their job well, that is teaching academic subjects and helping students find their professional or occupational niche. They do not feel confident about discussing matters related to vospitanie.

Group B: conclusion

Overall, the analysis of interviews with teachers from group B has identified a distinction in the ways in which teachers approach vospitanie and professional orientation. From a professional position of a teacher, they view the development of a child as a whole and perceive academic and social development as equally important. However, in terms of the overall preparation of students for the world of work, they attribute to themselves a role of providers of academic knowledge (providers of tools that should ensure academic success of students during their school life and after). The teachers from group B have

identified themselves as the subject of the activity system which focuses more on professional orientation of students rather than vospitanie which they perceive to be the responsibility of families (Fig. 2). From the teachers' perspective the families had their own resources and their own interpretation of modern values to bring up their child; the teachers contributed to this by identifying and supporting the students' route to academic achievement (Fig. 2).

Personhood functioning has been interpreted by this group of teachers as identifying a professional niche and preparing oneself for an academic route that will help young people access that professional pathway. Teachers' confidence that they can influence students is high. They refer to the tools of professional orientation that were created and used in the Soviet times but find them still valid in the current economic situation. Their interpretation of the current conditions in Russia, that is rules, is a direct response to the needs of the labour market. They interpret current rules (Fig. 2) as requirements for them to help students enter higher educational establishments.

Group C (1990s cohort):

Activity theory analysis

Object

Teachers in this sample group claim that they work on young people's morality and their dedication to what they choose to do in life professionally. The focus on these aspects is supported by the teachers' belief that the changes in society during and after Perestroika have resulted in recession of morals; hence, their task was to contribute towards promoting a general level of moral awareness.

> C4: Children have become more self-confident. I would even say more impudent. They know that if they are not polite, well-behaved and even knowledgeable…(knowledge is not appreciated that much now) they will still survive. That is why they try to achieve everything unceremoniously, with a high hand.

C8: What society really needs is a good competent professional. Personally, I am so tired of people who cannot do their job properly. It is everywhere now – people get jobs through connections and networks, not because they deserve it. I would like to see more young people to want to be good at what they do and not go for money only.

Teachers from group C are also aware that highly achieving students would not necessarily succeed in life. These teachers, to a greater extent than teachers from groups A and B, believe that the labour market requires a different kind of person - a person who demonstrated more than just academic ability. Teachers from group C problematised the object.

C6: The kind of personhood we want for society nowadays… people who are dedicated and self-sacrificing. The paradox is that these people later do not find good jobs. The good jobs go to those who can "grab" as much as possible in life. So "clever" boys and girls are not in demand after they finish school. The teacher therefore is left with a very difficult moral choice: to teach high morals or adaptation to any circumstances.

Rules

Awareness of the new rules society that has imposed on individuals and institutions, has sharpened the teachers' approach to the object. Teachers from groups C are aware that there are more choices and possibilities for young people compared to the conditions in the Soviet Union. However, this is accompanied by regress of moral values. This indicates that individuals are oriented toward personal gain rather than well-being of society (Fig. 3).

AP: Do you think the changes after Perestroika influenced people's attitude to work?

C10: I think the changes are cardinal. In our time a person was more interested in studying his own self, trying to find out what he can do and what he wants to do, where he would be more useful. Now, people think where they will be able to survive, where they will earn more and only then whether this work is good for them.

AP: How do you think the changes as a result of Perestroika influenced the attitude of people to work to the world of work?

C6: People now try to grab the place where they can to earn a lot of money without doing much. I look at my friends, many of them gave up Universities and schools. Our University group consisted of 32 people. It was a brilliant group. Everybody studied well. Now, I am the only one who is working in school. The people went to all sorts of places – to work in the market, to various companies, to the administration. So, they went where there is less stress but where there is a bigger pay. I understand it. One cannot live without money. Life is so expensive now. However, with regard to high morals, there is an evident degradation.

Tools

With regard to vospitanie they indicated that they use discursive tools (Fig. 3) that encourage the development of values and moral positions that could work against a regress of morals in the country. As far as professional orientation is concerned they mention the same tools that other groups have used, namely, psychological tests, visits to industrial enterprises and meetings with representatives of different professions and occupations.

C6: I talk about what is happening outside the school and tell them that everything is not as bright as they imagine. I tell them that their mum and dad will not always be with them and that they will have to take decisions on their own. I like the new curriculum in literature. I am not sure whether it is relevant to our topic but … There is a new text-book which has a part devoted to "the world of children and the world of grown-ups". There is for example "Solitary white sail" by Kataev. There the worlds of two boys are portrayed – Gavrick and Petya. Kids learn to compare. They see that Gavrick, aged 6 earns his own living, he goes fishing. So, he builds his own life. Compared to Petya who does not. So, kids realise that and compare.

AP: If you were asked to lead some activity of preparation of children for future employment, what would you do?

C8: First, there is a need to have some tests to identify students' interests and abilities. Maybe we could create some clubs according to students' interests. Probably, we could invite some specialists and talk to them about their professions. It is possible to involve the library into this work and ask them to offer books about different professions.

C7: I think the more life examples there are the better. So, it is meeting different people who could talk how they had come to their position, whether they like it, whether they are satisfied. If we are to create some centres then it must be on a more professional level. I think there can be a lot of ideas if need be. A talk is certainly not enough for children. We need to show them industry in action, trade in action, research in action (e.g. we can take them to a real laboratory). We need to give them information of where they can get relevant education.

The excerpts above explain the use of tools of professional orientation (Fig. 3). From the teachers' perspective, the tools expand students' knowledge base and provide options for career choice.

When asked about what students will need in the future, teachers refer to vospitanie (moral values); when asked specifically about preparation for work, they refer to professional orientation and associated tools. Teachers in group C make a distinction between an activity that instills values and an activity that provides information (vospitanie and professional orientation respectively).

Fig. 3: Teachers, 1990s, a network of activity systems

Tools

Discursive practices

Tools

Old tools of professional orientation

Object
Student, developing

Higher moral values

Subject

Teacher

Object
A student making a career choice

Rules

Moral values of Russian society regress

Division of Labour

Family – invisible mediation

School – visible mediation

Community
Family

Teachers

Society

Division of Labour
Family does not participate in professional orientation actively;

This is an activity within the school

Rules
New Russia – new requirements for employees

Division of Labour

The teachers from group C also acknowledge the role of the family in preparing young people for the world of work. The difference between families and teachers is that teachers do it as part of their job, that is professionally, whereas families' engagement in preparation for work is not professional and more ad-hoc (Fig. 3). This implies that the teacher is the subject of both vospitanie and professional orientation and the family is part of the community in this network of activities.

> AP: Who has a greater influence on the preparation of children for the future work, family or school?
>
> C5: It is difficult to say who has a greater influence. At school children get information about different kinds of knowledge and subjects. Parents…. hereditary factors and continuation of the parents' activities can be important. And certainly, vospitanie within a family plays a very important role. School… I believe that the personhood of a teacher is extremely important. We, teachers, provide knowledge and information but we do it intentionally; the family does it more….what is the word...sporadically, I think.
>
> C2: School teaches students what is good and what is bad.
>
> AP: and the family….does not?
>
> C2: well of course, the family provides some influence but I cannot say it 'teaches' children. Parents are there for children with their own life stories and their own advice. But parents cannot explain things the way teachers can.

Subject

Teachers from group C see themselves as subjects in two different activity systems: vospitanie and professional orientation. They account for moral discourse in a different way from which they describe their approach to the development of professional disposition. Their position is quite complex because though both systems operated within very similar set of rules, the tools were different. Through vospitanie, they mediate messages of the new morale that could assist in overcoming the rules that caused regression of moral values. However, their tools of professional orientation are still the same as they were in the Soviet Union. They maintain that they are capable of influencing the development of students' personhood.

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C7: I think school can help in preparing good professionals. I know that parents have a huge influence over their children in terms of the choice of a profession. But.... I think I also influence my students. My personhood is important to my students. I am sure they take some of my ideas and develop them.

Group C: conclusion

Teachers from group C have reacted to the new conditions in Russia critically. They have begun working on the object in terms of reformulating what personhood functioning might need in the transformed social situation (Fig. 3, rules). This was realised through the work on moral/ethical aspects of personhood functioning. The teachers use the rules as a support to the work on instilling higher moral values and sense of professionalism in their students. The focus is evidently on the future. In their view of vospitanie the ideological content has shifted, however, the tools of professional orientation have not. So, despite the fact that they have realised that the situation in the labour market requires a different personhood functioning, the tools of professional orientation they offer are still the same as were used in the Soviet Union.

Visions of preparation for work by sample groups A, B and C

Figure 4 summarises the findings presented above. It demonstrates the differences and similarities among visions of preparation for work as seen by teachers representing groups A, B and C. Each element of the activity system is described in the table as seen by each group of teachers. In addition the relationship between object-motive and rules is described separately because rules, more than any other element, explains teachers' position in relation to the changes in Russia.

All three groups work on forming some aspects of their students' personhood. The difference in the approach is regulated by their interpretation of the rules. All the teachers acknowledge the recent changes in society, mainly these include decline of economic

conditions, regress of moral values and people's orientation towards earning a living in an easy way. Group A acknowledges the changes as negative events and pursue the development of values that they have found important before in their work, that is the development of a hard working individual who values work. This relates to the findings from the documentary analysis (chapter 4); the Soviet textbooks emphasized the role of 'labour' as the main developmental activity. Working hard was used as a motto in Soviet industrial enterprises. 'Hard work' is interpreted by teachers with a degree of nostalgia; it is not, for example, linked to entrepreneurial skills or flexibility usually required during the transition to knowledge society (Wijers and Meijers, 1996) which was inevitably happening in Russia after 1991. In addition, group A emphasises the need to help students understand what they may succeed professionally. Adequate career guidance which served the needs of the state was prioritised in the Soviet textbooks on professional orientation. Group A's orientation is predominantly to the past. In comparison to Group A, group B have not emphasised the need to instill moral values in students. Instead, they have interpreted economic changes in Russia as a direct need to supply more university graduates. They have also realised that a higher education degree has a higher market value than manual work occupations. According to these teachers, identifying students' strengths is important because it will help them get into the right kind of education. Their orientation is to the direct market exchange, hence, to the present. Group C have emphasised the need to instill higher moral values in students, however, their motive is different from Group A. Instead of criticising the new conditions in society and looking to the past with nostalgia, they suggest that their students need to learn to work to high professional standards, because it is new improved professionalism that will benefit the country. Group A have not emphasised the need to help students identify their strengths. They seem to believe that students gradually identify these issues themselves. Their orientation is predominantly to the future. In terms of content of preparation for work each group has a different priority.

The rigour with which the values are instilled in students is intensified by the teachers' professional belief that they can influence students' development and their personhood (subject position). Thus, although ideologically the three groups of teachers differ, their professional position with regard to influencing students is similar. Such a strong professional position has been supported in all the reviewed textbooks irrespective of the date of the publication. The teacher-training textbooks, however, acknowledged that vospitanie is a dialogic process that is based on the relationship between teachers and students. This has not been reflected in the interviews, including group C who wanted students to become competent professional who can influence the future of the country. Students' personhoods are perceived as the object-motive of the activity; the teachers talk

about students in terms of influencing them, not in terms of students' own agency and independent will.

It appears that the majority of the teachers in the case study school see themselves as the driving force of vospitanie (division of labour). The autonomy of the family is acknowledged fully only by group B who see them responsible for vospitanie. The way in which they view the family impacts on how they see preparation for work: as one activity or two different ones. Group A, having had a longer participation in the Soviet educational practices, tend to see vospitanie and professional orientation as closely linked. Group B acknowledges vospitanie but does not take responsibility for both. Group C tend to see them as different activities with slightly different objects.

The above implies that the post-1991 changes have impacted on the ways in which teachers view preparation for work. The teachers have interpreted the changes depending on when they were trained as teachers. This is more evident through the analysis of the interviews with groups A and C because of the strong similarity of what they advocate and the analysis of the textbooks published in the respective decades. It is more difficult to see correlation of ideas that were mediated in the 1980s textbooks with these teachers' position of direct market exchange. The textbooks did not advocate this. The analysed data is not enough to make links to, for example, the Perestroika movement which brought in contradictory ideas by emphasizing liberalism in the Soviet political structures. It is clear, however, that the majority of the interviewed teachers have not strongly advocated the ideas of humanisation which were promoted at that time (chapter 2). In terms of vospitanie and ideologies linked to it, the teachers in the case study school mediate at least three different messages.

In terms of professional orientation, the tools named by teachers from all groups have not changed. These are psychometric tests, visits to industrial enterprises, presentations by professionals in the school. Although, it appears that the teachers mention these tools rhetorically (there is no evidence of whether they have used them in practice), it is evident that they all work from the same knowledge base. What they know about professional orientation has not changed. This may be explained by the fact that professional orientation did not receive enough attention at the policy level at the time when the research took place and the teachers operated with the help of the methods and tools which they acquired during their teacher-training. The documentary analysis (chapter 4) has shown that professional orientation has not changed significantly over the years. It is only in 2000 that a new state programme of professional orientation was issued which contained innovative, albeit unrealistic, ideas for carrying out professional orientation in schools (Chistyakova, 2000).

Figure 4: Comparison of visions of professional orientation by groups A, B and C

	Group A	Group B	Group C
Object-motive	Personhood: values of hard work + identification of professional niche	Personhood: skills of getting higher education qualifications + identification of professional niche	Personhood: higher moral values and high level of professionalism
Rules	New hardships, including changes in the labour market	New requirements for young people at the labour market	Regress of moral values; new requirements at the labour market
Object-motive + rules	Acknowledging the rules but looking to the past for solutions	Serving the current needs of the market; orientation to the present	Understanding that new conditions require a different kind of employee; orientation to the future
Tools: vospitanie	Discursive practices serving the object-motive	Discursive practices serving the object-motive	Discursive practices serving the object-motive
Tools: professional orientation	Psychometric tests, visits to industrial enterprises, presentations by professionals in the school		
Division of Labour	Take responsibility for both vospitanie and professional orientation; see both closely linked	Taking responsibility for academic work and professional orientation; seeing families as responsible for vospitanie	Take responsibility for both vospitanie and professional orientation, but seeing them as different activities
Subject	Confident that they can influence their students and 'shape and form' their personhood	Confident that they can influence their students and help them progress to higher education	Confident that they can influence their students as citizens who will construct the future

'Personhood' as the object-motive of preparation for work

All of the interviewed teachers claimed that the focus of their work was the development of personhood. It is evident from the discursive analysis of the interviews. Thus, in all the interviewes teachers used the word 'personhood' (*lichnost*) or an adjective that was derivative of this noun. Examples which are taken from the interviews with teachers include:

"Children's personhoods are different these days…"

"I am trying to develop a knowledgeable personhood".

"[What I taught them] shaped their personhood".

"It is about their personhood".

"…identify a personhood type".

"I contribute to one aspect of what a child's personhood is".

"The kind of personhood we want for society nowadays".

"My personhood is important to my students".

In addition, most teachers refer to the pedagogic concepts associated with personhood and vospitanie in their interviews. Thus they emphasise the link between the biological and social (see also chapter 4 above) through pointing out the importance of psychological tests which identify students' most prominent abilities. Most teachers attributed the development of personhood to the involvement in social activities and the importance of mediating an adequate pedagogic message. They stressed that the ways in which they structured and used their discourse had a significant mediating effect on the development of personhood which is another attribute of the influence of vospitanie on personhood. The difference in the message relayed by teachers from different groups is evident in their preference of some moral values over others, for example, the teachers who started their careers in the 1970s promote values that were typical for the Soviet discourse, whereas teachers who started their career in the 1990s emphasise values that could be useful for the society in the future. Despite this, all teachers structure their

practice as a combination of activities that had their roots in the traditional Russian pedagogy: development of personhood through vospitanie. This is commensurate with the findings from the documentary analysis presented in chapter 4.

Triangulation: feedback notes

It has been explained in chapter 3 (pp. 74) that the activity theory analysis of the interviews with the teachers was presented back to them in the form of a summary (Appendix C). The teachers were asked to agree or disagree with the summary and, if they disagreed with some points, they were asked to give reasons. They were also asked to expand on some of the points if they felt that was necessary. All the teachers returned the feedback reports. Most of the teachers found that the summaries represented their views correctly. The teachers who disagreed with some points in the summaries included two teachers from the 1970s cohort, 1 teacher from the 1980s cohort and 1 teacher from the 1990s cohort group.

The two teachers from the 1970s group disagreed with the point that they referenced the past in their conceptualisation of vospitanie. However, when attempting to provide evidence why they did not reference the past, they supplied even more information in favour of the initial point. For example, the summary included the following point: "*Teachers who started their working experience in the 1970s feel that important elements of the Soviet education are missing from the current set-up of preparation for work in schools*". In response, one of the teachers wrote: "*I do not agree with this. I do not regret that Soviet ideas are missing from the current professional orientation in our school. I just feel that running industrial workshops would be useful for students nowadays as they do not acquire any skills of manual labour at all*". The reference to industrial workshops indicates that the teachers refer to the past. In the Soviet Union industrial workshops were introduced in school in order to train as many people as possible in working occupations because Russia needed more workers.

The teacher from the 1980s cohort pointed out that higher education was not the most important aim of preparation for work, as the summary argued. She explained not all students were able to receive higher education and it would be naive of the teachers to make the entry to higher education their main aim, where it concerns lower achievers.

The teacher from the 1990s cohort was unsure about the point about instilling higher ethical values in the students; she felt that overall, the teachers were more concerned with the delivery of the curriculum, than vospitanie related issues.

It has to be noted that from a methodological point of view, the summaries may not have been the most effective triangulation tool because they gathered a very limited number of commentaries. Although, the teachers have agreed with the main messages of the analysis, they might have provided more comments if the triangulation tool encouraged them to do so. For example, the teachers could have been asked to comment on each point of the summary separately.

Students' perceptions of teachers' pedagogical approaches

This section describes the results of the analysis of the repertory grids based on personal construct psychology exercise (Kelly, 1970) that was conducted with thirty students from the case study school. The methodological issues of using personal construct psychology were discussed in chapter 3. In this section only the processes and findings of the analysis are described. The main aim of the analysis was to identify whether students could perceive the differences among three different groups of teachers and in which ways they qualified their pedagogical approaches. This is an important contribution to the overall analysis because the personal construct exercise has provided information about 'how' teachers' pedagogies were enacted, whereas the interviews with the teachers revealed 'what' was delivered as part of preparation for work in the case study school. The combination of the two analyses aims to provide an overall picture of how preparation for work is constructed in the case study school. It will also consider whether some of the pedagogical approaches refer to the Soviet ideas and practices and some to the ideas produced after 1991. It has to be noted that the personal construct exercise presented here is not a quantitative tool. It is a way to quantify qualitative data. The aim of the exercise has been to identify in which terms the students tend to describe teachers' pedagogical approaches, rather than to find the exact percentage of students in relation to constructs.

All thirty students who participated in the repertory grid exercise were taught by all the teachers in the case study school who were regarded as "elements" in the repertory grid

exercise. Thus, students had formed pedagogic relationships with all of the teachers. The repertory grid exercise elicited characteristics that students attributed to teachers from different age groups.

Each student during the grid exercise introduced a different number of constructs. The formulation of each construct was based on an in-depth discussion of descriptors that students offered when comparing different teachers. Following the elicitation and formulation of constructs, students were asked to rate each construct on a scale 5-1; 5 qualified a construct as salient and significant for a particular teacher (for details of the processes involved in collection and rating of constructs, see chapter 4), whereas 1 meant that this construct was least characteristic of this teacher's pedagogic style. The figure below demonstrates lists of two constructs elicited from two repertory grid exercises are provided (Fig. 5a and 5b).

Fig. 5a: Example 1 of a student's repertory grid

Alexander	A1	A2	B1	B2	C1	C2
exactingness	5	3	4	3	2	4
harshness	4	2	4	3	1	3
gentleness	2	2	3	2	2	1
Showing respect	4	3	3	2	4	3

Fig. 5b: Example 2 of a student's repertory grid

Natasha	A1	A2	B1	B2	C1	C2
exactingness	5	4	2	4	1	1
strictness	4	5	2	4	2	1
gentleness	3	2	5	3	5	5
extra-curricular talk	1	1	1	3	5	5
communication	5	2	2	5	4	1
individual approach	3	4	4	3	5	5
responsibility	5	5	3	3	4	4

Since the students were asked to compare and contrast different teachers, all the constructs that they had elicited were presented as a characteristic of a teacher or teaching that was opposite to a contrasting characteristic. Thus by indicating that some teachers managed to maintain strict discipline in the class, students stressed that other teachers were less capable of doing so. Thus one option of rating the constructs was to use the dichotomous form of the grid originally developed by Kelly (1970). An example of such a grid is presented below. It was adapted from an example of a grid presented in Pope and Keen (1981, p. 45).

Fig. 6: Repertory grid, Pope & King (1981, p. 45)

V	A1	A2	B1	B2	C1	C2	X
exactingness	V	V	V	X	X	X	Not demanding
strictness	V	V	V	V	X	X	Not strict
gentleness	X	X	X	V	V	V	Rudeness
extra-curricular talk	X	X	X	X	V	V	Curricular talk
good communication	V	X	V	V	V	V	Bad communication

As can be seen from the table above, the person was asked to place each element on one or other of the two poles of the construct (Pope and Keen note that usually a tick or a cross is ascribed under each element). This option of rating was not found applicable to the context of this research. The reason for not choosing this option was that the students who participated in the pilot repertory grid exercise found it very confusing to use ticks and crosses because they had to consider two opposing constructs rather than one. They also mentioned that some of the teachers could not be described as either of the constructs but they were somewhere in the middle. The students were more responsive to the rating scale of 5 to 1 because the same scale was used for marking and assessing their school work.

At an early stage of the analysis it was obvious that some of the students used different words to describe the same phenomenon or characteristic. Thus, for example, 'strictness' and 'discipline' were described in a similar way by the students who mentioned them. Explanations of strictness included references to the ways in which teachers controlled discipline during lessons. The use of the word 'discipline' included discussions of how

strict some teachers can be. Therefore, these two constructs were united into one construct – 'strict discipline', and references to both 'discipline' and 'strictness' were included into the analysis of 'strict discipline'. In the same way words 'communication' and individual' approach were accompanied by similar explanations. These involved characteristics of teachers as capable of maintaining flat hierarchical structures which also involved remembering individual things about each student which supported good rapport with them. The two words were united to mean 'rapport' and accompanying explanations were treated as part of this construct. In this way, already at this stage of the analysis, the data were treated in a qualitative way, rather than purely quantitative. The constructs that were mentioned on very rare occasions by one or two students were not included into the analysis.

After comparing and grouping all the constructs with similar meanings, it became possible to elicit eight constructs (the number of students using each construct is different, Fig. 8 below). The elicited constructs that were analysed were "good teaching, rapport, strict discipline, exactingness, responsibility, traditional approach, life conversations and presence".

Fig. 7: Constructs and number of students

construct	No of students
good teaching	27
rapport	24
strict discipline	20
exactingness	19
responsibility	17
traditional approach	14
life conversations	13
presence	12

The table above shows the constructs in a descending order with regard to the number of students discussing these constructs during the repertory grid exercise. The analysis starts with the description of each construct. This is followed by a quantitative analysis of the rating the students attributed to each group of teachers. The four constructs that have been discussed by most of the students, i.e. good teaching, rapport, strict discipline and

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exactingness (27, 24, 20 and 19 students respectively, see Fig. 7), have been analysed as the main qualifiers of students' perceptions of teachers' pedagogical approaches. The rest of the constructs have been used as auxiliary qualifiers (to clarify the meanings gleaned from the analysis of the four main constructs). The underpinning idea is that the content and form of preparation for work in the school are linked, and that the teachers' methods of delivery of preparation for work, correspond to the content of what they try to convey to the students.

Description of all the constructs

Good teaching

By good teaching most students implied a skill of explaining the content of the lesson, for example, "she explains well and that one does not explain well". "These two teachers do not explain the content clearly." "He delivers the content in a very accessible way." The highest number of students elicited this construct; among them were students with higher and lower achievement levels. This indicated that the ways in which the curriculum was delivered was extremely important to students irrespective of their achievement level. At the other pole of this construct was students' perception that some teachers did not teach well, for example, "She does not try to make the explanation understandable, she does not make enough effort." "She changes topics all the time and the lessons are just a mess."

Rapport

By rapport students who elicited this construct implied flatter hierarchical organisation of communication between a teacher and students. Students described such style of communication as "closer to people", "communication at personal level", "no airs and graces", "communicating as equals", "kind soul" and "having an individual approach to everyone". The young people drew a distinction between teachers who were able to go beyond the style of communication that was normally associated with teachers, including "being distant", "thinking she knows better" and "treating students with a high hand". The teachers who appeared at the negative pole of the construct were described as "not being

able to understand what we mean" and "not making enough effort to communicate with us".

Strict discipline

The descriptions of this construct included: "Oh, this teacher is very strict. Nobody will "squeak" at her lessons". "I can actually hear what the teacher is saying because everyone is quiet at her lessons". "She can really keep everything and everybody under control. When defining this construct, students used both words – strictness and discipline – but implied the same meaning. It was a controversial construct because students treated it both positively and negatively. One of the boys called the strict behaviour of one of his teachers "the remnants of the soviet regime". Strictness seemed to prevent that "rapport" that was so important to students. At the same time, students showed respect to this quality of teachers since a better order in the classroom allowed everyone to be able to listen and understand. Some children said they were irritated by too much noise at the lessons and would like their teachers to be stricter. When students rated this construct, they gave a higher score to the teachers who were able to maintain a high level of discipline in the classroom.

Exactingness

Exactingness meant an ability to demand from the students the feedback of what they had been taught. The teachers who were defined as "exacting" set deadlines and met them. They did not "slack down" and did not "give high grades for an easy task", e.g. "She will make you work hard to get your 5." At the other end there were teachers who found it difficult to give bad grades and, therefore, students' motivation was not supported, for example, "everybody knows that she does not give a '2' to anybody, so nobody cares to prepare for her lessons". Though some students were pleased with the fact that they got high grades for a very little amount of effort, they expressed lack of respect for teachers who did not demonstrate exactingness.

Responsibility

At the positive end of this pole students placed teachers who demonstrated high levels of professionalism, for example, "Responsible teachers take care that we should have the knowledge we are supposed to have. They think about us." "They try to teach a lot to us and give us as much as possible." "They want us to understand everything." At the negative end of this construct were teachers who were referred to as "I do not care" teachers. Young people felt that those teachers' "heart was not in teaching", for example, "She will give us an assignment and will leave the classroom." "She will explain something once and will never come back to it again to make sure we have understood." Being responsible included both preparing and conducting the lessons.

Traditional approach

By eliciting this construct the students implied that teachers tended to use non-innovative methods of teaching in their practice. Young people indicated that such teachers had "traditional lessons" and they were "typical teachers". A quote from one of the repertory grid exercise demonstrates that students attach a negative connotation to the word "traditional".

> M5: They are just two traditional teachers.
>
> AP: What do you mean by "traditional?"
>
> M5: Well, they do everything according to the plan. They do not go either to the left or to the right – just straight. They talk in a teacher kind of way. They wear teacher kind of clothes. Even if you did not know they were teachers you would still know they worked as teachers.

At the positive pole of this construct, teachers are described as innovative i.e. "being able to do something interesting at the lesson". "She knows some tricks that others do not". "She is a lot of fun".

Life conversations

By eliciting this construct, students implied that teachers talked at the lessons about topics that went beyond the content of the lesson. They normally meant that teachers talked about life as opposed to the subject they taught. "You can simply talk to her about different things." "She talks about life, not just maths." "They are understanding people. You can talk to them." "You can communicate with her. She understands." The students implied that it was not always possible to "be able to talk just like that" to any teacher. With some teachers it had to be a particular subject area, for example, "It just seems that her life is all about physics. Does she have a life?" If "life conversation" was rated high for a particular group of teachers, it meant that teachers' conversations ranged from academic subjects to matters that concerned everyday life.

Presence

Students defined teachers as being present if they were "visible" in the school, for example, "You can always hear her voice. She always does something." Such teachers were considered to be busier than others. Students thought that these teachers had more lessons to teach than others and were involved in some administrative activities. "The head [teacher] always chats to this one. I do not know why. I think she is helping the head with vospitanie problems or something". Lack of presence was referred to teachers who were not as visibly present in the school, for example, "she is quite a good teacher but if you compare her to these two… you kind of do not really know she is in the school…. This one [pointing to the card with a teacher's name on it]… you know she is in the school."

Analysis of all the constructs

The aim of the analysis was to explore students' perceptions of the relationships they had with the teachers from different age groups. Thus it was important to find out which constructs were rated highly by the majority of students who used this particular construct.

Therefore for the purpose of such an analysis the results of the rating exercises from individual students were summed together for each construct.

Fig. 8: Rating of constructs

rapport	A1	A2	B1	B2	C1	C2
Andrey	3	5	5	1	5	5
Natasha	5	2	2	5	4	1
Lena	2	3	3	3	5	5
Alexander	2	2	3	2	2	1
Vitaliy	4	5	3	5	5	5
Katya 1	4	2	3	4	3	4
Denis	1	3	1	4	3	5
Julia 1	1	3	1	1	5	4
Dasha	4	5	3	1	5	5
Katya 2	2	2	5	4	1	5
Andrey 2	1	1	3	4	4	5
Lujuda	3	3	4	4	5	4
Iliya	2	1	5	3	4	5
Ksjusha	3	5	2	5	4	5
Polina	2	2	5	4	5	4
Andrey	4	5	3	1	4	4
Andrey1	4	3	2	3	4	5
Katya 3	4	1	4	5	4	5
Polina 1	1	1	4	4	5	4
Denis 2	3	3	2	4	4	4
Dasha 1	5	3	4	1	5	4
San Sanich	3	1	4	5	5	5
Lena 2	4	3	5	4	1	3
Shenya	3	1	2	5	5	4
	70	65	78	82	97	101
	135		160		198	

For example, the table above shows how each of the students rated rapport. Then the scores were summed for each group of teachers (e.g. A1 (70) + A2 (65) =135). These were rated against each other. The highest score was given the value of 3, the medium – 2, and the lowest received value 1 (as in the example above: 3 = 198, 2 =160 and 1=135). The same exercise has been carried out for all constructs. Thus, it was possible to compare the representation of the constructs for each group of teachers (A, B and C) and for all eight constructs. The table below demonstrates the comparison of the rating among three groups of teachers.

Fig. 9: Comparison of constructs

rating	Teachers "A"	Teachers "B"	Teachers "C"
3	Strict discipline Exactingness responsibility	Traditional approach Presence	Good teaching Rapport Life conversations
2	Traditional approach Life conversation	Good Teaching Rapport Strict discipline exactingness	Responsibility Presence
1	Good teaching Rapport Presence	Responsibility Life conversations	Strict discipline Exactingness Traditional approach

Group A

Good teaching and rapport are the lowest rated constructs for the teachers in group A (see Fig. 10). This implies that students' have not found the teaching style accessible; they do not always understand the explanations during lesson time (see descriptions of the constructs on pp. 157-160 in this chapter). This is combined and intensified by the lack of rapport with students. According to the students these teachers do not make enough effort to communicate, and if some personal communication occurs, the teachers preserve the position of authority. Strict discipline and exactingness have been rated highly by students. This means that the teachers in group A make sure that the situation in the classroom and students' behaviour are under their control. Their demands and expectations of students are extremely high.   Combined with the findings from the analysis of the interviews with these teachers, it can be concluded that the teachers tend to continue to work in the style that was used by the teachers in the Soviet times, for example, using persuasion and propaganda of the values that were deemed important; their intention to instill values of hard work in students is imposed rather than negotiated. Their other concern with personhood – differentiation by ability and skill – is delivered under conditions of strict discipline and lack of rapport with students. The analysis of

auxiliary constructs confirms the above. These teachers' responsibility is rated the highest among the three groups; students think that the teachers make a lot of effort working with them; they are motivated. The students do not describe these teachers negatively. There are instances of 'life conversations' that happen and, compared to group B (see Fig. 10), the teaching style is not as traditional.

Group C

The position of group C is totally reversed in relation to group A. Good teaching and rapport are the highest rated constructs, whereas strict discipline and exactingness occupy the lowest position (Fig. 10). The difference between two very different age groups of teachers is perceived by students. They consider the teaching skills of teachers in group A much higher than those in group A and group B (Fig. 10). The rapport is rated high which implies that the communication style of teachers representing group C is more informal (p. 157 in this chapter). This is combined with more relaxed rules of discipline and lower expectations both in terms of deadlines and performance. The interviews with the teachers from group C have demonstrated that they, similarly to teachers in group A, want to work on instilling higher moral values in their students. Although there is similarity in what they want to achieve, teachers in group C consider the values from prospective rather than retrospective point of view and use a different pedagogical approach. They create more opportunities for informal conversations (life conversation is rated highly), their teaching is least traditional (Fig. 10) and they have developed close interpersonal relationship with students.

Group B

All the main constructs in the analysis of this group occupy a middle position in comparison to the other two groups (Fig. 10). The analysis of the auxiliary constructs helps clarifying their pedagogical position and style. Their teaching is rated as the most traditional among the three groups. This implies that they focus on the delivery of the curriculum which supports the findings from the interviews with this group of teachers. 'Life conversations' is the lowest rated construct among the three groups which implies that compared to the other two groups, these teachers do not create many opportunities

for informal conversations. Students also think that these teachers are not as motivated to teach and rate 'responsibility' as low (Fig. 10). As has been argued before, engagement in vospitanie involves work on values, behaviour and personhood. The teachers from group B do not see themselves responsible for this kind of work which minimises opportunities for affective involvement in the development of personhood; this accounts for a more neutral position compared to the other two groups who, in their different ways, are engaged into working on the affective aspects of personhood development.

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to explore preparation for work in the case study school from the perspectives of teachers and students. The focus has been placed on studying the historical dynamic within which preparation for work is carried out in the school. This has been achieved through exploring teachers' views of preparation for work from an activity theory perspective, and considering students' views of teachers' pedagogical approaches through personal construct psychology exercise. An activity theory analysis has enabled studying the object-motive of preparation for work as seen by the teachers against the recent changes in society. This has been compared with students' views of teachers' pedagogical approaches which have provided information about whether students perceive differences among the three different groups of teachers and what these differences are. Overall, the analysis of the data collected with the help of both, interviews and repertory grids, has produced a view of what preparation for work is like in the case study school. This has partly answered the research question "How are students prepared for work in Russian schools in the political and social context of post-communism?". In particular, some insight has been gained into how the recent changes in Russia have influenced preparation for work in the case study school; the role that students occupy in preparation for work as seen by the teachers; the main messages that are mediated through teachers' activities and students' evaluation of the ways in which teachers deliver these messages. These are discussed below.

The analysis of the interviews has shown that teachers perceive preparation for work as a combination of at least two activities, vospitanie and professional orientation. From the point of view of conceptualising preparation for work, the analysis of the interviews with the teachers reiterates the findings from the analysis of the teacher-training textbooks (chapter 4). In particular it shows that vospitanie and professional orientation are

conceptually linked, whereby vospitanie focuses on the development of personhood and professional orientation provides tools of guiding professional choice. This conceptualisation is evident through the accounts of all the teachers, irrespective of which sample group they represent.

Another aspect of the research question has been to establish whether the recent changes in Russia have interfered with homogeneity of pedagogical approach usually associated with former Soviet schooling. It has been found that teachers are aware of the recent changes in the country as they all have named the new economic and political conditions in Russia as the rules that guide vospitanie and professional orientation. However, their response and interpretation of these changes are dependent on the sample group they represent, that is on the time when they started their teaching career. This is evident through the analysis of their accounts of the object-motive and rules. The teachers who started their career in the 1970s (group A) have emphasised the need to continue to instill in students the value of working hard. If considered in isolation, this idea may be applied to any historical and political context because having a conscientious approach to work is usually perceived to be a desirable quality. However, in the Soviet times "working hard" was perceived to be an end aim in its own right; 'labour' was something that defined a person (see chapter 4, p. 100; Makarenko, 1976). This was strongly emphasised in the teacher-training textbooks published at that time. The teachers in group A have recognised the negative impact of the economic changes on the ethical aspect of students' development but resorted to the pedagogical ideas that were mediated during the Soviet times.

The teachers who started their careers in the 1980s (group B) do not apply the Soviet ideological ideas in preparation for work. However, the ideas that the aims of vospitanie should always reflect the needs of society (which were mediated through the teacher-training textbooks (see chapter 4 above) are strongly present in their accounts of preparation for work. In particular they have realised that one of the new rules is that a higher education degree provides an easier access to better paid employment; hence, they have emphasised the development of skills that help students gain entry to the universities.

There has been a shift in how the teachers who started their career in the 1990s have interpreted the object-motive of preparation for work. The ideas of de-ideologising education and focusing on the reconstruction of the Russian state seem to have been internalised by these teachers. They think that the new conditions have had a negative impact on the values of young people but it is possible to instill higher moral values in them. Despite this new ideological view of vospitanie, they have sustained the same

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pedagogical approach to the methods of vospitanie. In particular they consider themselves to be in the position where they can instill values in students. From this point of view, their pedagogical approach is similar to those of groups A and B. All three groups of teachers see students' personhood as the object of vospitanie and professional orientation, not as a collaborator or a member of the community. They also consider the family as another major influence on students. None of the narratives have interpreted students' participation from the point of view of autonomy and independence of thinking and action. This is despite the emergence of an ideologically new approach to vospitanie as pointed out in the new State Programme of the Development of Vospitanie (Russian Ministry of Education, 2000; also see chapter 4, p. 104). It appears that the de-ideologising of education (Webber, 2000) has had a faster impact on the ways in which vospitanie has changed. However, the conceptual underpinning of vospitanie and its impact on personhood has been the most tenacious element that has persevered over at least three generations of teachers.

The analysis of the interviews with teachers has pointed out that there are at least two priorities that the teachers from groups A and B (twenty out of thirty interviewed teachers) see as directly related to preparation for work. They are concerned with helping the students to identify exactly what their strengths are and take a route that would lead them to that profession or occupation. Such differentiation by ability, in their view, is established with the help of psychometric tests. What underpins this idea is that students are not aware of what they are good at and need to be told, thus emphasising a passive position of students in the activities. This is emphasised in the professional orientation textbooks published in the Soviet times (chapter 4, pp. 115-117). Teachers in group B link abilities and academic routes in a direct way. They believe that once students know their strengths, they can choose the relevant academic subjects and invest all their efforts in studying them. The teachers' role is to help students achieve the best results and ensure they are good enough to allow them access to higher educational establishments. The teachers acknowledge that not all students will be able to go to the university but do not dwell on this scenario in the interviews. Such position seems to be a response to a growing concern at the time that new types of businesses had suddenly appeared but the supply of appropriate staff was low. Teachers in group C are less concerned about differentiation by ability and more about developing a responsible and capable professional. They have responded to the problem that developed during the Soviet times when there was a lot of formalism in the delivery of public services as people were not financially motivated to develop high levels of expertise (Roberts, 2003).

The historical dynamic in pedagogical approaches has been further clarified through the analysis of the repertory grids. Students' responses have been mainly with regard to vospitanie and not professional orientation due to the nature of personal construct psychology which is an open-ended method. As a result, however, students qualified teachers' approaches to teaching and communication in terms of rapport, expectations of students, levels of responsibility, that is in terms of characteristics that demonstrate how the content of vospitanie is delivered. Certain aspects of such pedagogical styles are associated with strategies used in the Soviet times. For example, sustaining strict discipline and setting high expectation for all students was expected of a Soviet teacher (Long & Long, 1999; Shweisfurth, 2002). Students rate these qualities higher in relation to teachers from groups A and B than from group C. From the students' perspective teachers from group C create more opportunities for informal communication through which the development of personhood is usually developed. The repertory grids have not aimed to identify proportional representation of such differences, however, it has been important to identify that students do not perceive teachers from different age groups in the same way. This analysis has demonstrated that not all the teachers in the case study school have responded to the post-1991 policy call for humanisation of education and placed an individual in the centre of educational process whilst providing opportunities for the development of students' autonomy (State Programme of the Development of Vospitanie, 2000). For example, group A's claims in the interviews, that they instil moral values through conversations with students, combined with the students' evaluation of their pedagogical approach, yields a conclusion that the teachers are more likely to impose their ideas of the importance of hard labour on students, rather than create opportunities where individual students might get interested in the idea. According to teacher A9, this is 'unobtrusive propaganda'.

There has been little shift in the interpretation of the tools of professional orientation, mainly evident in accounts by group C. Groups A and B consider psychometric tests, visits to industrial enterprises and presentations by different professionals in schools as methods that help students identify the correct direction to be taken in the future. For example, teacher A2 says "I try to tell them which directions they should or should not take". Group C do not emphasise this as strongly. They think that students' interests are also important and these can be explored through "life stories" and "showing industry in action". It has to be emphasised that the school did not have a policy supporting preparation for work at the time of this research and teachers resorted to the knowledge and skills they had appropriated through training and professional experience. Compared to the accounts of vospitanie which is interpreted by the teachers in a variety of ways, professional orientation has not received as much attention. As observation of school

practices has not been conducted, it is impossible to make a definite conclusion about the use of tools of professional orientation in action.

Another finding of this part of the analysis is that the concept of personhood occupies a central role in teachers' conceptualisation of preparation for work. This concurs with the findings from the documentary analysis (chapter 4) that personhood as a theoretical concept has been used in pedagogics for at least thirty years. This concept has been mediated through teacher-training and has been internalised by teachers. It has been found, however, that teachers, especially from groups A and B, have not explicated the role of students in the development of their personhood. This contradicts the thesis promoted in all the teacher-training text-books, even those published in the 1970s. This can be explained, however, by the social conditions in which mediation of this concept took place, that is within severe state control of individual actions. The initiative of an individual as a pedagogical issue was perceived as a rhetorical idea, rather than a genuine expectation of teachers' actions. From a theoretical perspective, however, personhood is understood in this thesis as a "self-organising, purpose oriented part of society; its general function lies in realising an individual way of social being" (Dodonov, 1985, p. 37). Personhood is understood not only as the object-motive of school pedagogies; it is also the object-motive of self-development. This means that it is the object of school practices as well as the object of individuals' development over a period of time. Changes in personhood are linked conceptually with changes in an institution as well as society on the whole (Valsiner, 2007). So, in order to understand how students are prepared for work in the historically dynamic context of the case study school, personhood has to be studied as students' own participation in preparation for work. The following chapters explore students' approaches to preparation for work are explored from the point of view of their own role in preparing themselves for the future world of work. The next chapter is devoted to the identification of categories through which personhood can be studied.

Chapter 6

Analysis of biographical narratives

Introduction

The aim of the chapter is to present an analysis of biographical accounts collected from individuals whose working trajectories started before 1991, and who have lived through the challenges created by the political and economic upheaval in Russia at that time. The motivation behind this analysis is to identify aspects of these individuals' personhood functioning (Dodonov, 1985) that supported them in overcoming these challenges. This is necessary because without grounding the concept of personhood in a concrete socio-cultural context of that time, it is impossible to apply it to the analysis of empirical data. Dodonov's categories of worldview, character, abilities and orientation are purely theoretical. In order to understand what kind of worldview, character, abilities and orientation were supportive of successful overcoming of post-1991 challenges, they have to be contextualised. Contextualised categories are then going to be used to analyse data gathered from the interviews with students in order to identify if they are developing personhood functioning that is going to support them in their working journey, as they are going to face the same economic and social challenges. Therefore, the analysis presented in this chapter focuses mainly on those individuals who have identified their transition to the post-1991 world of work as successful.

In this chapter, principles of analysis are explained first, which is followed by a detailed description of the analysis of one interview, which illustrates how these principles have been employed in the analysis of all the biographical narratives. The next section explains what kind of categories of personhood functioning have been deduced from the analysis of the biographical narratives. Personhood functions which have been identified as supporting of those individuals who have identified themselves as successful are discussed in detail.

Principles of analysis

As has been explained in chapter 2, personhood develops through an individual's participation in socio-cultural activities. Main functions of personhood are revealed at a time of personal crisis (Leontiev, 1978) or challenging moments (Dodonov, 1985). A crisis is understood as a conflict between different object-motives in different activities, which arises because of the transformations in activities. The ways in which the crisis of motives is resolved characterises personhood functioning. Chaiklin's analysis of Vygotsky and Leontiev's approaches to personhood concludes that

> personality is a way to focus attention on changes in activity; […] it is not simply to look at any changes but to understand the dynamic interactions among the multiple motives that are present in an activity (Chaiklin, 2001, p. 244).

When Dodonov (1985) talks about motivating and orienting elements of personhood, he does not imply characteristics or qualities of a person. Instead, the elements should be interpreted as characteristics of an individual's participation in socio-cultural activities. Identification of the elements is achieved through an exploration of activities and individuals' interpretation of them. Therefore, it is certainly not "any changes" that are considered in order to identify personhood functions, but relationships between how orienting and motivating elements reveal themselves through activities at different points in time. Motivation and orientation are two aspects of the object-motive.

Therefore, the first step in the analysis of biographical narratives is to identify what kind of socio-cultural activities the interviewees participated before and after 1991. Identification of these activities can be achieved by means of defining the object-motive, that is what the participants were focusing on and what motivated their participation in the activities. Reasons that prompt individuals to shift the focus, after deliberating among different motives, help identifying the changes that have occurred in their working lives.

The next stage of the analysis is to identify motivating and orienting elements of personhood, based on the analysis of the activities before and after 1991. Motivating elements, represented by aims and intentional behaviour, and emotional accounts of reality, are identified by considering what interviewees' main aims were in their working lives and what supported them emotionally in their attempt to achieve those aims.

Orienting elements, represented by knowledge and images, and networks of cognitive actions, are identified through eliciting what interviewees knew about the activities in which they participate and in which ways they operated with information and knowledge. In the third stage of the analysis, motivating and orienting elements are compared as they were before with what they have become after 1991.

Fifteen female and fifteen male participants were interviewed. There are six people in each professional area (business, civil workers, qualified workers, unqualified workers and the unemployed) and ten people representing each decade (1970s, 1980s and 1990s). Depending on these and gender, all participants are assigned codes. Thus, a male participant who was working for his own business at the point of the interview and who went to school in the 1970s was coded as Business M 70 and a female participant who was working as an unqualified worker at the time of the interview and went to school during the 1990s is coded as Unqualified F 90. Each biographical narrative has been subjected to all three stages of analysis. The analysis is described below, beginning with an illustrative interview with Nickolay, a musician.

Nickolay. Civil servant, Male, 1970s

Background information

Nickolay describes his school experience as a smooth educational trajectory which was not marked by any major disruptions or conflicts. He was a high-achieving pupil and had good, though neutral, relationships with teachers. Very early on, he became interested in music and realised he had a talent for playing musical instruments. He enrolled in a musical school and since then it occupied most of his out of school hours. He was not interested in many subjects in school and thinks that some of them did not contribute to his development.

After finishing school, Nickolay entered a music college and later on a conservatoire. According to him, getting a higher education degree was obligatory for those who intended to play professionally, e.g. in an orchestra. He fulfilled all the criteria that his professional trajectory entailed and he was "noticed" for his achievements by an employer and got his first job as a musican. At the time of the interview, he occupied the highest position in the orchestra. He had travelled around the Soviet Union and after the Iron Curtain fell, his orchestra toured in other countries, including the USA. He also realised

that he wanted to share his experience with others, so he got a lecturer's position at a higher education institute.

After 1991, Nickolay realised that the money he was earning as a musician was not enough to provide for the family. Thus, in addition to working in an orchestra and lecturing at an institute, he also got a job as a security guard at a local factory. He was not upset by it as he believed that one had to "bite the bullet" and do one's best to provide for one's family. He found a way to provide for himself and his family without losing his professionalism as a musician. Although he declared he was happy with what he got, he admitted he experienced a lack of money and blamed the government for providing limited resources to support theatres (quite a few theatres in Russia are funded by the state). He said he would prefer to have one job and be paid enough for it.

Analysis of professional activities

There are two main activities that define Nickolay's working life. The first activity concerns his long professional engagement in the music and arts industry (Activity 1). The other activity, which started only after 1991, involves the interviewee's engagement in seeking opportunities for additional income (Activity 2). The two activities differ in their orientation, duration and outcomes. At the time of the interview, Nickolay participated in both activities concurrently.

Within Activity 1, Nickolay focused mainly on progressing in his professional area, which was motivated by a wish to develop his talent. This object-motive had been consistent in this activity for almost 20 years. He admits that the wish to play a musical instrument came very early in his life:

> I wanted to play an instrument since I was a child. My father and I were walking past a music school and I heard somebody playing the piano. I wanted to be able to play musical instruments, too. My parents did not push me to do anything. It was my decision. I always take decisions independently.

The work on this object-motive has resulted in a number of outcomes (see Fig. 1[1]), such as getting a higher education degree, obtaining prestigious jobs in his field and eventually getting the highest possible position in the orchestra. These outcomes have achieved continuously throughout the interviewee's life; there are no major conflicting motives. Motivation is based on getting satisfaction from developing one's talent further; the job and financial reward are considered matters of less priority.

> After I left the music school, I changed the musical instruments I played. While I was in the music school I played an accordion, but later I started to learn woodwind instruments. I first learnt to play them on my own but then joined a college. In year three, I already played in the orchestra; we were supporting our amateur ballet group. So after I completed further education, it was time for me to study for a higher education degree. At that time it was obligatory. Now, one can get a job if they can play well, but at that time one was supposed to have a higher education degree. Due to the fact that I got a higher education degree in music, I got the right to teach music in higher education. At the moment I occupy the highest position possible in my orchestra and also teach at the university part-time.

Fig. 1: Nickolay. Activity system 1

Motive:

Getting satisfaction from developing one's talent

Object: progressing in one's professional field

Outcome:

Gradually occupying higher positions within the profession
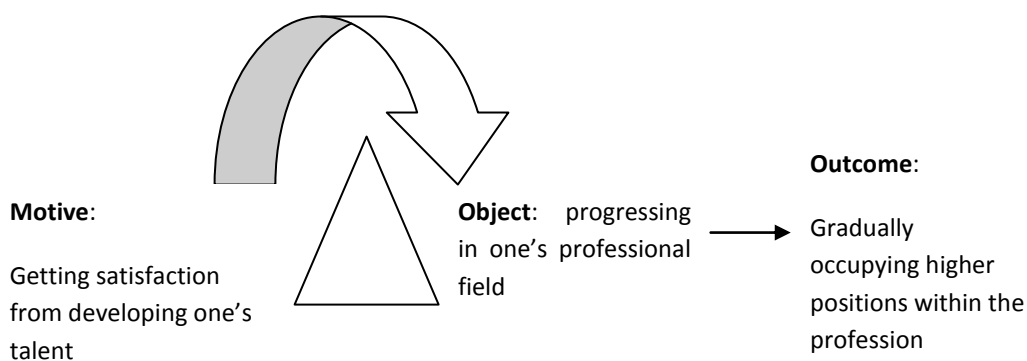
In Activity 2, Nickolay's focus is different. After the changes in 1991, Nickolay realised that he and his family were experiencing financial difficulties. The salary of a civil servant was not enough. Therefore he looked for additional jobs which paid a lot even if they had nothing to do with his professional interests. The object-motive in this activity is seeking

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[1] Object-motive is represented graphically as consisting of two elements; motive and object. This was done in order to demonstrate orienting and motivating functions performed by the object-motive

other ways of getting income which resulted in getting sufficient income to provide for his family (Fig. 2).

AP: Are you satisfied with the financial situation you are in at the moment?

Nickolay: In principle, - yes. We can live with what we have but a bit more money would not hurt. The money I earned before is not enough any more because my daughter is at the university in Moscow and I send all the money I earn as a musician there to support her. My wife and I live on the money I get from my teaching and my job at the factory.

Fig. 2: Nickolay. Activity 2

Motive: Provide for the family

Object: getting additional jobs which are not in his field

Outcome: Getting enough income to provide for the whole family
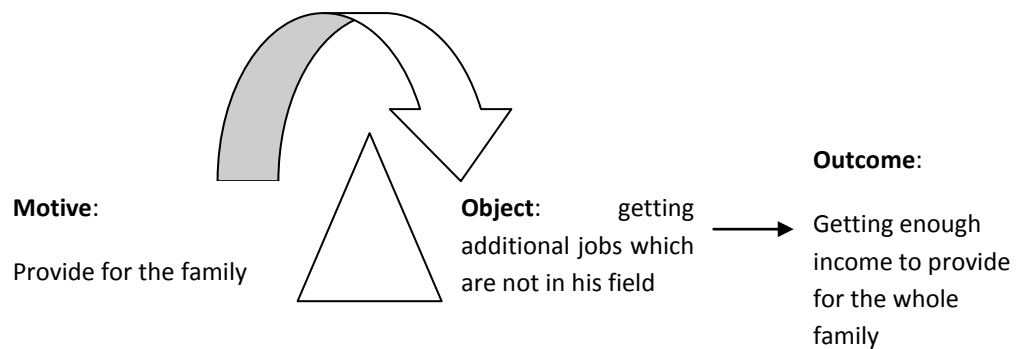
Nickolay takes professional satisfaction from continuing to work on his professional career and he has coped with his financial situation by expanding his job search to include options outside his profession. The two object-motives are not in conflict; on the contrary, they complement each other. Activity 2 has merged with Activity 1 without shifting the subject's position dramatically within his professional activity.

Elements of personhood

<u>Motivating elements</u>

Intentional behaviour, orientation and activeness

In both activities, before and after 1991, Nickolay set himself clear goals; he knew exactly what he wanted to achieve (Fig.3).

Emotional accounts of reality

Nickolay is motivated by his love for music which continues from activity 1 to activity 2 (Fig.3). This defines him as a person but his professional ambitions are supported by his dedication to his family. Both emotional accounts stay stable over time.

Orienting elements

Knowledge and images

Nickolay shows in-depth understanding of the rules within his profession both before and after 1991. What he knows changes but the quality and breadth of knowledge remains the same (Fig. 3).

Schemes and networks of cognitive actions (that regulate selection, transformation and practical application of the contents of knowledge and images).

Before 1991, the way Nickolay interpreted the information he gathered was by accepting and following the rules that society presented to him. After 1991, the way he operates with information and knowledge improves; he now learns about what happens outside of his profession (Fig. 3).

Fig. 3: Nickolay's ideal elements of personhood; before and after 1991

Time	Motivating elements		Orientating elements	
	Aims and intentional behaviour	Emotional accounts of reality	Knowledge and Images	Networks of cognitive actions
Before 1991	Clear aims and goals	Responsibility and dedication to work; Dedication to the family	Good knowledge of his profession and the labour market in the USSR	Knowing and following the rules
After 1991	Clear aims and goals	Responsibility and dedication to work and even greater dedication to the family	Good knowledge of his profession and the labour market in the post-communist Russia	Learning, accepting and following the new rules.

Personhood functions

The next stage of analysis involves considering transformations that motivating and orienting elements have undergone over time. The definitions of the personhood functions (Dodonov, 1985; chapter 2, p. 54) have guided the comparison of the elements.

The definition of the worldview, with its focus on both orienting and motivating elements, requires analysis of all four different types of elements. Worldview includes cognitive processes, affect and social skills of assessing events and making decisions. In Nickolay's case, orienting elements have changed over time in the way that demonstrates that with time he has increased what he knows and has learnt to apply it in a different context. However, underneath this approach are clear-cut aims in life and stable emotional account of reality, expressed through dedication to both family and profession. Overall, the way in which Nickolay manages the worldview is 'broadening' as he has expanded what he knows and what he can do. After the change in 1991, he increased his area of interest to incorporate those venues in the labour market that helped him get extra income for the family. Thus he was guided in his working life by an interest and dedication in his professional field combined with high awareness of what the labour market could potentially offer.

Character is defined as stable emotional relations of a person in typical situations in life. Motivating elements, therefore, are more important in the analysis of character. In Nickolay's case, the emotional accounts can be characterised in terms of ambition and ethic. He has sustained motivation to succeed over a lengthy period of time which is evident through the stability of his aims and dedication to his profession, as well as the family. Therefore, his ambition is high. With regard to ethic, he is dedicated to music which is his profession. Family is important but music dominates. The ethic can be defined as 'professional'.

Abilities, in Dodonov's (1985) terms are both knowledge and skills, and realised as processes. Abilities are also linked to individuals' motivation to develop them further. With regard to Nickolay's working life, his abilities before 1991 were developing within his professional area. After 1991, motivated by an aim to provide for the family without losing his profession, he acquired another job. He has made use of other abilities and developed them further. In other words, his ranged if abilities has expanded.

Orientation defines the way individuals intentionally change their lives. It involves both types of elements. In Nickolay's case, his orientation can be defined as 'professional' as he has dedicated his life to music, has learnt the rules of his profession and has used it to

provide for the family and himself. His orientation is well-defined and it has stayed stable over a long period of time.

Thus, Nickolay's personhood functioning is defined in terms of 'broadening' worldview, 'high' ambition, 'professional' ethic, a 'wide range of abilities' and a 'strong' orientation towards his 'profession' (Fig. 4).

Fig. 4: Nickolay's personhood functioning
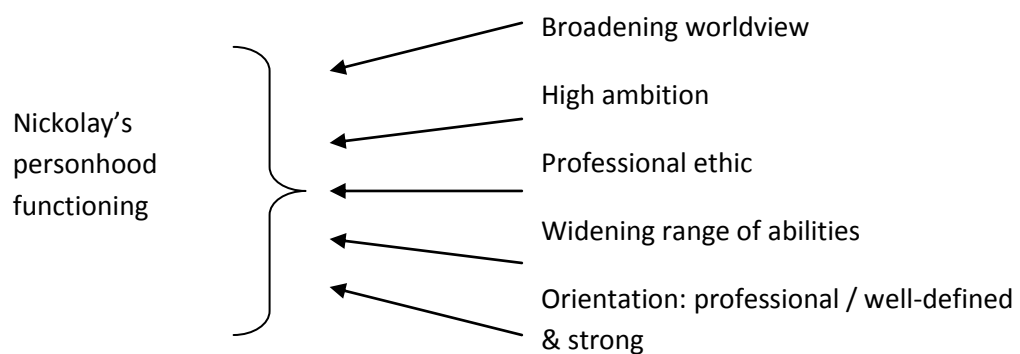
Contextualised categories of analysis

Guided by the aim to identify what personhood functions have supported the interviewees in overcoming the challenges of the post-1991 situation, all thirty biographical narratives have been analysed according to the principles described above. The definitions of worldview, character, abilities and orientation derived from all the interviews have been compared and refined. It has been found that the worldview is usually broad or narrow; character can be defined in terms of ambition (high or low) and ethic (professional or personal). The range of abilities either increases or stays limited to the same field or area. Orientation has been defined in a number of ways which have been synthesised into 'professional' orientation, orientation towards 'survival', orientation towards 'other people' and orientation to the 'self'. These are discussed below with illustrative examples from the data analysis.

Worldview

The analysis of biographies has revealed that participants have either expanded what they knew and how they operated with knowledge since 1991, or continued to operate in the ways that they were accustomed to in the Soviet time. As has been shown above, Nickolay's methods of knowledge and information management have extended outside familiar territory of the music industry. In contrast, Arkadiy (Unqualified M 80) has restricted what he knows to the driving which he practised before 1991. After 1991, although it became very difficult to provide for himself and the family with the salary he was earning from his job as a driver at a local college, he did not for other jobs intentionally. His network of cognitive action derived from the analysis of the activity before 1991 indicates that he adhered to the rules of the Soviet economy which meant he stayed in the same job for a long time.

> AP: Are you happy with the job you are doing at the moment?
>
> Arkadiy: I have done this for most of my life. I am not happy – not enough money. But what can I do? I am not sure somebody else will pay me more for what I do. I know the people at the college. They will never kick me out.

The change did not inspire Arkadiy to learn a different way of operating in the labour market. This link between the elements can be described as a narrow worldview. Stepan's (Qualified M 70) occupation is the same. He has been a driver all his life. Compared to Arkadiy, though, he is a qualified driver. He obtained his qualified status when he was in the army. Before 1991 he worked for a large industrial enterprise driving the director. After 1991, the company was closed down, and he lost his job. Stepan admits that he had to learn fast:

> When all this happened, yes, you feel your life is falling apart. I had children to feed. They need things. But actually, the situation was a blessing in disguise. When I used to drive my boss, I could not do anything else. It was an everyday job. After the change, everybody started opening up their businesses, and they needed somebody to drive their goods from warehouses to kiosks. [...] It is great for me now because I can much more and I am my own boss. The money is still not enough because the truck I am driving is not mine. We are struggling but ...

Stepan has expanded what he knew and how he operated with the knowledge he has acquired. He has broadened his worldview.

Character

The change in motivating elements has been defined in terms of ambition, which implies a determination to succeed against all challenges and hurdles on the way, and in terms of ethic, which is an ethical code that rules individual's lives. Participants have tended to describe the changes in motivating elements as either a high ambition or low ambition, the latter implying a lack of determination to succeed. In terms of ethic, some participants focus more on their profession, like in the case of Nickolay; some others do not have a particular dedication to a profession, occupation or a job, instead they are preoccupied with managing the conditions of their everyday life, such as improving their accommodation, buying property, clothing or being able to afford children's education. So, their ethic is not 'professional' but 'personal'.

Low ambition is demonstrated through the analysis of an interview with Katya (Unemployed F 90). Katya has changed what she wanted to do a number of times. She admitted that she had dropped out of college because she did not spend enough time on her studies. Her parents insisted that she should go to the university but after she had tried to study there for one semester she realised she "was not cut out for the university". At the time of the interview, Katya was living in her new partner's apartment, and was financially dependent on him, which she did not like. When prompted to talk about her future, she said, "The future is unknown, isn't it? Perhaps we will get married, or may be I will find a job that pays loads of money and then all be well". This shows that although her aspirations are high, her perseverance to achieve is not. The ambition is defined as 'low'.

Professional ethic is demonstrated by Dmitriy (Civil M 80), a medical doctor, who specialises in complex operations on young babies. During the interview he revealed that he loves his job and cannot see himself doing anything else, despite the fact that he cannot really provide properly for his wife and children because he works for the state health service and the salary is very low. He admitted that he had struggled with this moral dilemma for a few years, and although he wished to create better conditions for his children, he did not find enough strength to leave the job that he loves. His aims and emotional accounts of reality have not changed; they have remained focused on a profession.

Abilities

In Nickolay's case, it is evident that he has been able to expand the range of his abilities and learnt to work in an area different to his own profession. Participants from the business category have also expanded the range of abilities. It is evident through the analysis of orienting elements. If before 1991 they concentrated on the profession of their choice, then after 1991 they learnt skills of business management and entrepreneurship. In contrast, Olga (Civil F 70) has tried to stay within the same range of abilities. Olga has worked for the last ten years (before the time of the interview) in a large city hospital as an economist. Her main duties included collecting and analysing statistical data. She admitted that her salary is tokenistic, and but for her husband they would have starved. She thought of changing her job several times but as she admits herself:

> I am not sure what to do, where to go. This is the only thing I am good at and I am sure if I went somewhere else I would just make a fool of myself, or they will not employ me in the first place because they will see I do not have other skills than these.

The development of abilities is closely linked with the worldview. Olga has admitted that she has not actually tried to look for another job and, as it has been identified, did not know how to look for jobs. One of her hopes was that a member of the family would be able to help. Thus, her narrow worldview influenced her attitude to her abilities. The situation is different in Natasha's case, who at the time of the interview was unemployed. Natasha (Unemployed F 70) admitted that after 1991 she found herself in a very difficult situation because she had been made redundant and she was a single mother of one. Before 1991 she worked as engineer but said that many engineers were made redundant during the first few years after the events of 1991. Natasha decided to re-train as an accountant because she was told by a friend that a lot of people were re-training at that time and that could give her an opportunity to get a job. The market, however, was soon filled with a sufficient number of accountants, and she found it impossible to get employment. It appears, though, it is the way she operates the new knowledge and skills that hinder her employment opportunities:

> I miss the job I had before. It was a very stable life. I knew what I was doing and I knew what was expected of me. I did not particularly like being an engineer but I did not care that much, as long as I could make a decent living. The world is too unpredictable now. There is too much information and everything changes. I cannot keep up.

It seems that Natasha's orienting elements have not changed since 1991. She knows how to be in a stable and secure situation but does not have the skills to make sense of the fast changing post-communist environment. Although a wider range of abilities has developed, the narrow worldview prevents it from being applied in practice.

Orientation

There have been more differences identified in the ways in which orientation has developed. In addition to the professional orientation, which has been discussed in Nicolay's case, three other kinds of orientation have been identified. A most common tendency has been to aim to survive in the difficult situation of post-communism. Nine out of ten individuals from the 1970s cohort and seven out of ten from the 1980s cohort have developed an orientation towards 'survival'. This type of personhood functioning implies that before 1991 individuals were relatively satisfied with the income and lifestyle they had. After 1991 they experienced a sudden decrease in the level of living and have developed fear of not having sufficient means to provide for the family. Thus, all they aimed to achieve and wanted to have is sufficient means to sustain a decent lifestyle and not to lose the source of income. Stepan (Qualified M 70) comments:

> My biggest fear is that what if one day I do not have orders for deliveries coming in. I need the orders to be able to live, to feed the kids. That is why I make sure I am on best terms with everybody, so hopefully they will not forget me in the difficult times.

'Survival', therefore, is a personhood function that is characteristic of the post-communist period, as it has been more evident by the changes that ensued after 1991.

Another kind of orientation is also related to the changes in Russian society. Analysis of the narratives has revealed that some participants have developed an orientation towards what was commonly seen to be important aspects of success. These include professionals that are deemed popular and various consumables that appeared on the Russian market as import of goods increased. Such 'popular' notions of success include valuing new kinds of professions, for example interpreters and business managers. Buying a car is perceived to be one of the most important characteristics of success. If orientation is towards these commonly valued consumables, then it is usually indicated that somebody else already is in the possession of them. The reference that has been frequently made in the interviews is 'other people'. For example, Maxim (Civil M 90), thinks that becoming a lawyer is likely to move him into better employment. He says that "everybody else seems to be doing it and lawyers earn a lot". Maria (Unqualified F 70), clarifying what she wanted for her future admitted:

> Just what everybody else wants now – a better flat and a nice car. You are judged by the kind of car you drive, especially in our city where there are, all of a sudden, so many rich people.

At the other end of the spectrum is orientation to what interviewees are interested in themselves, often irrespective of whether there is a demand for that profession, occupation or hobby. Both orienting and motivating elements seem to indicate an interest in learning about oneself. This orientation has been more characteristic of the 1990s cohort. For example, Lidiya (Civil F 90) used to be a nurse but got disappointed in the profession. She realised that she was really interested in psychology and at the time of the interviewed was preparing for entry examinations to the University. When asked about what she intended to do when she graduated, she answered that she did not know. She also did not know what kind of jobs a psychologist could have, but admitted that "it does not matter. If you love what you are doing, the job will come." Valeriy (Business M 90) has tried a variety of jobs. His main motivation, in his own words, is

> to learn what really make me tick; what is important; what matters. I do not want a life being stuck doing what I dislike. Yes, what I am doing now is not working that well, but I will move onto something else.

In addition, it has been revealed through analysis that some participants have developed a strong, well-defined orientation, whereas others identification of the orientation has been more difficult.

Definitions of contextualised functions of personhood

The above section has provided an explanation of what kind of personhood functions have been revealed through the analysis of biographical narratives. The definitions of the worldview, character, abilities and orientation, couched in the terms generated through the analyses of the biographical data are provided below.

<u>Worldview</u> is understood as broadening or narrowing. Broadening worldview means that if a person retains the breadth of knowledge and important information and seeks to expand it, she manages to learn about new rules of the labour market and economy in Russia. If the tendency is to gather and accumulate information and knowledge about one's professional field only, the worldview functioning is regarded as narrowing.

<u>Character</u>, due to the focus of this thesis on working lives, is defined as ambition. Following Dodonov, I did not aim to enumerate a list of qualities that characterised an individual emotionally; instead I looked for ways to identify whether an individual had persevered through difficulties or let life take its own course by relying on other people or giving up. Thus, depending on this, ambition is categorised as high (developing further) or low (staying stable or decreasing). Character also includes a moral aspect of personhood functioning, referred to as ethic. By ethical issues, I meant those values that people use in the combination of professional and private lives, and the emphases they place on them. In the time of crisis, the interviewees tended to focus either on taking one's inspiration and enthusiasm in their working life or profession, or motivated themselves by improving their own lives and that of their families (this might have included children's well-being, one's own health, material gain). This does not mean that those who were mostly motivated by a professional life did not consider a family or other aspects of private life at all; it just indicated that some people prioritised professional calling over private life. Thus, ethic is defined as either 'professional' or 'personal'.

With regard to <u>abilities</u>, the analysis of the interviews has revealed that interviewees tend to develop certain abilities more than others. A wide range of abilities indicates that a person has managed to develop a number of skills different from the initial occupation; it also implies learning a different way of handling information which after 1991 became an

important skills. A selected range of abilities implies that individuals tend to retain the same knowledge and skills and do not try to develop any talents different from their main profession or occupation. They also retain the same way of knowledge operation as they did before 1991.

Orientation, being the dominant function, is more complex than others. In order to pursue the aims of this thesis, orientation is defined as those purpose programmes that channelled a working life into a certain direction. Some individuals after 1991 changed from, for example, following their career to finding ways of surviving and adapting in the new circumstances. Some others turned to "other people" (other people's ideas of how life should be), i.e. away from the self. Thus, in this analysis, orientation is categorised as profession-oriented, survival-oriented, other people-oriented or oriented at the self. In the case of the latter, life revolves around exploration of one's own interests and trying out possibilities. This can be guided by a broad worldview or may not be.

These criteria for analysis are summarised in the table below:

Fig. 5: Personhood functions

Personhood function	Definition
Worldview	➢ Widening
	➢ Narrow
Character	• Ambition: high or low
	• Ethic: personal or professional
Abilities	○ Full range
	○ Selected
Orientation	❖ professional
	❖ survival
	❖ other people
	❖ self

Personhood functioning: successful transition to the post-1991 world of work

'Success'

Interview questions thirteen, thirty four and thirty five of the interview schedule (Appendix E) have specifically addressed the issues of how the participants conceptualised success and whether they thought they had overcome the challenges of the post-1991 situation successfully. Their opinions of success have been compared to the participants' views of whether they thought they had overcome the difficulties or not. A theme has emerged as a result of the comparison. Success has been identified as being able to survive under the new circumstances and gaining some opportunities for further development. Financial stability is regarded as one of the main characteristics of successful overcoming of the crisis. By financial stability interviewees implied that families could be provided for and be able to invest into the future. In addition, success has been associated with being satisfied with the current job.

Eight interviewees have described their transition from the Soviet type of economy to the market relations as successful. Five of these participants represent the Business category. Two professionals are from the Civil Servants category and one participant from the Qualified Workers category.

The eight analysed biographies have been compared in terms of the personhood functions. It has been revealed that despite substantial differences in life circumstances, all eight participants have developed their personhood functioning in a similar way: their worldview was broadening, their ambition was high and rising; they engaged a full range of abilities and developed a strong orientation (irrespective of what that orientation was).

According to Dodonov (1985) personhood has to be considered as a dynamic unity of all its functions; it is a particular combination of the functions that makes personhood what it is. Thus, the next step in the analysis was to see whether those participants who did not identified themselves as successful in overcoming the post-1991 challenges, developed the same combination of personhood functions as described above. The comparison of the analyses has shown that only the eight participants who have identified themselves as successful have developed that particular combination of personhood functions. In other analyses one or more functions are different. For example, in Natasha's case (Unemployed F 70) the range of abilities has been identified as wide but the worldview is narrow.

Below broadening worldview, high ambition, a wide range of abilities and strong motivation are discussed in detail with illustrative examples from the biographies of eight 'successful' participants.

Broadening worldview

All eight participants broadened their awareness of the labour market after 1991. They all considered new options which were emerging in the labour market. Five participants from the Business category changed their professional activity completely. Three of them were made redundant after 1991 (Business M70, F70, M80) , one other (Business F80) wanted to increase her income because she saw new opportunities and the fifth participant (Business F 90) was driven by her orientation to the self and wanted to try herself out in another area.

For example, Lena (Business F 90) always believed she would be very successful. She went to university after the change of the political regime and gained a Bachelor's degree in psychology but already, during her studies, realised that it was not something she wanted to do in the future. She then changed between a few administration positions where she learnt to network. She was offered a job at a furniture retail company and got really interested in the business. However, she admitted she did not like to report to somebody else. She then decided to borrow money and open her own business. At the time of the interview, she admitted that the business could be better but she still had to learn a lot and therefore felt quite satisfied with what she had achieved by that point. Based on the analysis of the movement in the motivating and orienting elements (Fig. 9 below), her worldview has been defined as broadening. The way she operates with knowledge has changed. Before 1991 her knowledge was restricted to one professional field, but after 1991 she learnt the rules of the labour market. It has to be emphasised that the connections with other functions is important. Her ambition is high; her drive to succeed has been transferred into another professional area (Fig. 3).

Fig. 6: Lena (Business F 90): motivating and orienting elements

Time	Motivation		Orientation	
	Aims and intentional behaviour	Emotional accounts of reality	Knowledge and Images	Networks of cognitive actions
Before 1991	Clear professional aim	Drive to succeed intellectually; Wanting to do something she thought she liked	Limited knowledge about the chosen field; Limited information about the labour market	Developing one's own interest without taking into account the rules of the labour market
After 1991	Clear (but different) aim	NOT wanting to work for somebody else; Drive to achieve and succeed; Desire to learn about herself	Increased knowledge about her own abilities; Good knowledge of the new field	Learning the rules before entering the field

High ambition

In terms of "affective accounts of reality", all eight participants who successfully overcame the social crisis of 1991 maintained high ambition throughout their life. During the time of change, their ambition did not decrease; on the contrary, they seemed to persevere even more. Thus, for example, Alex (Qualified M 90) admitted that he did not have a good start in life. He spent his childhood in an orphanage. However, he argued that all the difficulties he had encountered during his childhood made him "dream of better times in the future". At the orphanage, he acquired a vocational certificate in carpentry. He enjoyed carpentry as it allowed him to work outside and he felt a "sense of achievement" every time he produced a new item. He felt confident at what he did and this, in his opinion, helped him establish good links with clients and colleagues. Although he admitted that at the orphanage in Soviet time there was not much information about professions and jobs, and there were limited options of occupations to train in, he learnt about the world outside the orphanage from friends. "I have a good eye for things like that", he commented. At the

time of the interview, he had several jobs which he "juggled". He explained that it was impossible to have a carpenter's job which was full-time. However, he liked doing it a lot and he knew that with the building industry growing, his skills would be always useful. He believed that what had supported him over the years was his will-power and strong belief in himself. Based on the analysis of motivating and orienting elements (Fig. 4 below) of his personhood, his ambition (affective account of reality) was defined as high. Motivating elements have stayed stable, including aims, intention and drive to succeed. Again, this is supported by a widening worldview which is evident in how the networks of cognitive actions have been adapted to the new situation in the labour market (Fig. 4).

Fig. 7: Alex (Qualified M 90): motivating and orienting elements of personhood

Time	Motivation		Orientation	
	Aims and intentional behaviour	Emotional accounts of reality	Knowledge and Images	Networks of cognitive actions
Before 1991	To achieve success in carpentry	Drive to be the best he can in carpentry	Excellent knowledge of his occupation and the conditions in the labour market	Resorting to networks to broaden awareness of the labour market
After 1991	To achieve even higher success in carpentry	Not wanting to change occupational fields; love for carpentry; strong drive to succeed	Increased knowledge of the occupation; growing awareness of the demand for carpentry at the labour market	Continuing to grow networks through clients and colleagues

Full range of abilities

For the eight participants the transition from before to after 1991 has been in terms of expanding what they were able to do. During the crisis of 1991 they resorted to other skills which they had not used fully before. For example, Ravil (Business M 70) commented that sales had never been his strong point. In Soviet times, he gained a degree in engineering and a good position at a local factory. He progressed up to a managerial position. Always on good terms with other people, he found networking very easy. He admitted he had an entrepreneurial nature. For instance, when his peers were summoned to join the army, he

found a way to avoid it. After the change in 1991, he was made redundant. Ravil admitted it was quite a hard time for him and his family. However, he quickly realised that retail sales were going to be one of the main areas where "money could be made". Ravil admitted he had to learn fast (accounts, taxation, for example). However, he emphasised that "it was never too late to learn a new thing. You never know what life is going to throw at you". Based on the analysis of motivating and orienting elements of his personhood (Fig. 5), it has been identified that a full range of abilities has been developed. It is evident that Ravil first acquired the necessary knowledge and skills (Fig. 5, orientation) in one professional area, before 1991. He then used his determination to succeed to acquire the necessary skills in his new occupation (Fig. 5, motivation). The wide range of abilities is supported by the widening worldview, as he learnt the new rules of the transformed economy.

Fig. 8: Ravil (Business M 90): motivating and orienting elements of personhood

Time	Motivation		Orientation	
	Aims and intentional behaviour	Emotional accounts of reality	Knowledge and Images	Networks of cognitive actions
Before 1991	No clear aim of what he wanted to be BUT a strong intention to get higher education	Drive to achieve and ambition followed by the gradually emerging interest in the profession	Gradual increase of professional expertise; Appreciation of social rules (e.g. avoiding the army)	Using one's talent and "connections" to manipulate the knowledge of the social rules
After 1991	No clear professional aim but there is a clear aim to sustain a desired income and lifestyle	Drive to achieve and ambition but these are mixed with very strong nostalgia for the profession.	"social rules" knowledge; Good awareness of the implications of the 1991 change	Using one's talent and "connections" to manipulate the knowledge of the social rules

Well-defined orientation

The analysis of the eight biographical narratives has revealed that the participants have developed a number of different types of orientation, but in all eight cases orientation is well-define and strong. For example, Veronika (Business, F 80) claimed she had always had an orientation for survival i.e. in her own words, "keeping afloat, having enough money and never stop moving". However, analysis of the interview narrative showed that during her childhood, Veronika was oriented towards developing her passion for ballroom dancing. She was very successful and dreamt of becoming a professional dancer. She got married quite early and had two children. Veronika admitted: "My dream was no longer possible. I knew it. There are not that many professional dancers with two young children around. However, I was not going to give up on myself. I wanted to have a good life and a lot of money". Once the activity of professional dancing was no longer available, Veronika began participating in other activities which she thought would bring her financial rewards and satisfaction. She succeeded in the new activities, too. At the time of the interview, she was the owner of a small café in Perm. Professional orientation has been replaced by personal orientation but it has remained strong. Figure six shows a summary of motivating and orienting elements of Veronika's personhood (Fig. 6). Strong orientation is supported by the widening worldview (as the networks of cognitive actions change to allow Veronika to learn the rules of the changed labour market). Her ambition is high as the emotional account of reality show that both before and after 1991 her drive to succeed has been strong.

Fig. 9: Veronika (Business, F 80): motivating and orienting elements of personhood

Time	Motivation		Orientation	
	Aims and intentional behaviour	Emotional accounts of reality	Knowledge and Images	Networks of cognitive actions
Before 1991	Clear aim	Drive to succeed in dancing	Knowledge of profession and labour market rules	Following the rules of the profession and labour market
After 1991	Clear aim (but different field)	Drive to achieve Providing for the family	Awareness of the labour market rules; Knowledge of trajectories of success	Breaking the labour market rules; Learning new rules quickly

Professional or personal ethic

It has to be noted that most of the participants have demonstrated that they pursued their working trajectories for the sake of their immediate environment, including their families, sustaining the level of lifestyle they were used to or creating a lifestyle they wanted. Thus, most of them have developed a personal ethic rather than professional. As with orientation, it seemed less important which affective account was dominant in supporting the function of orientation, as long as it was an intense, strong and continuous motivation.

Conclusion

The chapter has provided an analysis of biographical interviews by thirty individuals who have experienced the political and economic transformation in Russia in 1991. Particular attention has been paid to the narratives of those individuals who have identified their journey as successful. The analysis has employed the analytic concept of personhood functioning, based on Dodonov's (1985) approach. Connecting individuals' participation in working activities before and after 1991 with a particular focus on the object-motive has helped identifying what personhood functions have supported individuals during the time of economic and social crisis. The findings show that it is a combination of a broadening worldview, high ambition, a wide range of abilities and strong orientation, that have helped individuals overcome the challenges of the post-communist situation. Due their theoretical origin, personhood functions are processes, and therefore, have an analytical advantage over lists of skills or characteristics, which only provide descriptions of what is expected of individuals. Personhood functions explain how individuals progress over time. Couched in the terms generated from the analysis of biographical interviews, they will be employed in the analysis of the interviews with students, defined in the following way:

- Worldview is defined as broadening if individuals expand their awareness of what they do and the labour market on the whole; if a person limits knowledge acquisition to one particular field, worldview is defined as narrowing.
- Character is defined in two ways. On the one hand, it is considered in terms of ambition – an affective function which either prompts an individual to aim to achieve high or keep expectation relatively low. On the other hand, character is regarded in terms of ethic which is defined as 'professional' if individuals demonstrate particular dedication to their profession or occupation, or 'personal' if individuals focus on their personal lives as a source of motivation.

- Abilities are regarded as a function which demonstrates how individuals use their talents and capabilities. It is possible to widen the range of abilities and engage in doing things never previously experienced, or continue doing what individuals think they are best at.

- Orientation is considered in terms of a combination of four different purpose programmes. Being oriented towards a 'profession' implies that an individual plans a career carefully within a particular professional field. Orientation at 'survival' is related to the situation of the social crisis in Russia. Individuals are oriented towards 'other people' if they prioritise popular notions of success in work and careers; in other words, if they seek the answers for what to aim at in other people's lives. Orientation at the 'self' implies that individuals aim to satisfy their individual interests without much regard for popular notions of success.

Chapter 7
Analysis of the interviews with students

Introduction

Analytically, preparation for work in this thesis has been conceptualised as a network of two activities, vospitanie and professional orientation where the object-motive is personhood. From the theoretical position of the socio-cultural and activity theory, students are perceived as both subjects and objects of pedagogic relations, depending on the position they are in. They develop their personhood through engaging in socio-historic and culturally specific settings. Personhood, being both material and ideal, involves students in constructing and developing pedagogic relations, thus "developing the personal culture under the canalising directions of the collective culture" (Valsiner, 1998, p. 30). The role of the analysis presented in this chapter is to describe in analytic terms the personal culture; in other words the outcome of preparation for work. Importantly, it explains how students view preparation for work. The students have not been directly asked about vospitanie and professional orientation. The semi-structured interviews have provided opportunities for students to describe preparation for work as they see and experience it. The interview questions that asked about the role of the school in the students' preparation for work (Appendix D) aimed to identify the importance the students attribute to the school as a social context, which is part of their preparation for work but this was based on an assumption that students might not see the school as a significant context for their preparation for the world of work.

Students' personal culture is analysed in terms of personhood functioning based on Dodonov's (1985) theory (see chapter 2 above). Dreier's (1997, 1999) argument is complementary to Dodonov's position in that it sees persons develop by participating in different social contexts. Participation in social context is not an isolated experience because social contexts are interrelated in the structure of social practice. The analysis of the professionals' personhood functioning was considered as "the unfolding of a personal trajectory arranged for in many historically specific ways" (Dreier, 1999, p. 20). The professionals' memories and perceptions of the current situation were considered in terms of the continuity or discontinuity of personhood functions over time. In this chapter, personhood is considered from the point of projection. Thus, though the idea of historicity and the travel of personhood functions across time and space is still

preserved, the focus is placed on young people's perspectives of the projection of their working lives in the future. Dreier (1999) comments:

> […] when persons project their trajectories from a given point in time, it is composed of a particular structure of participations and concerns. The sense of direction to a trajectory, therefore, has a particular cross contextual complexity and composition to it. What persons mean by finding a direction to their lives normally not only means what they aspire to be part of in one context, but particular "throwout" for a future composition of their conduct of life with attached modes of participation and concerns (p. 22).

The analysis of this 'throwout' (see the quotation above) can qualify students' personhood functioning not only in terms of the current moment but also in relation to the prospect in the future working life. At the time of the interview, the participants were at the point of an important social change in their lives, which focused their activities on developing those particular aspects of personhood that were mostly related to work and employment. In this chapter, the findings from the analysis of students' personhood functions are compared with the findings based on the analysis of the professionals' personhood functions. Based on this comparison, conclusions are drawn about preparedness of the students for the world of work in the conditions of post-communism.

In addition, the findings of the analysis are discussed in this chapter alongside the findings gained as a result of the interviews with the teachers and repertory grids with students. The final aim of the analysis is to gain an understanding of how students are prepared for the world of work in the historically dynamic and diverse environment of the case study school, under conditions of the economic and political transformation in post-communist Russia, thus responding to the main research question. Limitations of this analysis are also discussed.

First, this chapter presents an explanation of principles and methods used in the analysis of the interviews with students. This is followed by the presentation of the analysed data and their interpretation. Finally, the findings are discussed alongside the findings from the interviews with the teachers' and repertory grids (chapter 5).

Principles and methods of analysis

Vospitanie and professional orientation which form preparation for work in Russian schools have so far been analysed from the perspective of activity theory. Teachers' positions with regard to their values and views of preparation for work have been identified through considering all the elements that constituted activity systems. It has been found that teachers view students' position in the activity systems as passive. This may be viewed differently by the students. In addition, students may view other activities in which they participate as more important for their preparation for work. In order to identify their position in vospitanie and professional orientation, and possibly other activities, the interviews have been analysed from the activity theory perspective. This implies that each element of the activity system has been considered separately and then all the elements have been analysed in relation to each other.

The data collected through interviews with thirty students in the case study school have been coded as 'subject' if students talked about the main agent in their preparation for work (not necessarily themselves). 'Tools' has been chosen as a category of analysis if students mention ideas, processes or methods that they deem important for the preparation for work. These have been identified as part of the answer to different questions in the interview as it was impossible to ask students direct questions about what mediated their participation in the activities. 'Rules' has been used as a category of analysis when students mention conditions under which they live and study, and those factors that support or constrain their preparation for work. The text of the interview is coded as 'community' when students mention other parties who are part of activities that constitute their preparation for work. 'Division of labour' is used when students refer to the roles played by different parties in preparation for work. Identification of the division of labour can help establish the number and kinds of activities in which students take part in order to prepare for the world of work. Finally, the object-motive of the activities is identified through the analysis of students' aims and foci with regard to the future working life; this also involves priorities for their own development, or at times aspects of themselves and activities that need transformation. The 'outcomes' of the activities may or may not be related to the object-motive. The dynamic between the two elements of the activity system shows how realistic students' aims are.

The segmentation of the data into elements of activity systems forms the first stage of the analysis. Its aim is to explain the position of the student in the activity or network of activities. However, in order to explain the projection of personhood functioning (which should explain how prepared students are for the world of work), it is necessary to qualify the findings from the stage of analysis as personhood functions. As students lived and studied at the same time as the interviewed professionals who have participated in this research, it is assumed that they were going to face similar challenges in the labour market as the interviewed professionals did. Hence, in order to meet these challenges they may require a similar personhood functioning. Based on this argument, qualifications of personhood functions that were named as a result of the interviews with the professionals have been applied in the analysis of the interviews with the students.

In particular, the worldview has been identified as widening or narrowing. Character is understood in terms of ambition (higher and lower) and in terms of ethic (personal or professional); abilities are either selected or their range is widening. Four types of orientation have been used: professional orientation, orientation towards survival, towards other people or the self The analysis of the interviews with the professionals has demonstrated that some functions, such as widening worldview, higher ambition, a widening range of abilities and a strongly defined orientation are more likely to lead to smoother adaptability to the conditions of the market economy during the transition from the Soviet economic and political regime (see pp. 191 in chapter 6 for a definition). The same idea is applied in the analysis of the interviews with the students. It is presumed (based on the argument above) that other kinds of functions, such as narrowing worldview and selected abilities may signify functions that have been formed in the contexts that emphasise reliance on the idea of predictability of the future and the need to develop one set of abilities. This may imply that the activities in which students participate still preserve elements of the past.

Qualifying of personhood functions has been achieved through the synthesis of the findings from the activity theory analysis. With regard to the worldview, those elements of the activity systems and their combinations have been analysed, that inform about how the student tends to acquire and process information about working life. For example, the worldview can be defined based on the consideration of what mediates the work on the object-motive, (e.g. a student learns a lot about her desired profession) and the tools (she uses her newly acquired skills to learn more about the position of this profession in the labour market). The worldview in this case is defined as widening

because the student is not only focusing on professional skills, but tries to learn about the opportunities this profession might offer. Orientation has been defined based on the analysis of the relationship among activity system elements that demonstrate the student's general disposition towards work and style of life. For example, if it has been found that the outcome of an activity is to achieve a high social position in society and it is mediated through a predominantly materialistic approach to life (tools), the orientation is defined as towards "other people" - away from exploring one's interests and potential and instead aspiring to achieve what is commonly perceived as "prestigious". Based on the findings from the interviews with the professionals, that have demonstrated that the type of orientation is less important than how well-defined and strong it is, it is important to establish how strong students' orientation is. This can be achieved through the analysis of the relationship between the subject and division of labour. With regard to character, higher ambition means that the student demonstrates high expectations towards her own performance, even if the professional choice has not been made; if a student demonstrates a lack of motivation for high achievement, then ambition is defined as lower. Professional or personal ethic is defined depending on whether the student considers a particular profession as the main motivational factor, or it is family life and organisation of living conditions that take priority. A student's tendency to focus on the development of a wide range of abilities has been identified if a student has demonstrated that she does not focus on one skill or one academic subject; abilities are defined as selected if a student, through the relationship between the tools and object, demonstrates that she focuses on the development of one type of abilities.

As a result of the analytic process described above, four different types of personhood functioning have been identified. The underpinning idea is that students are likely to share approaches to the ways they organise their own preparation for work and may interpret the collective culture that organises their development (Valsiner, 1998) in similar ways. The aim of this exercise is to see which types dominate within the sample group of student and analyse some factors that might have shaped the typology the way it is. The types have been identified based on the similarity of the ways in which the students described preparation for work, that is their references to the elements of the activity system shared the same characteristics. For example, eight students out of thirty share the same object-motive – they are practising the skills of the chosen profession; the type is called 'career'. The remaining three types are 'achievement', 'connections' and 'suspension'. The four types are considered as four different perceptions of preparation for work and four different positions in activity networks. The

sections below explain how these types have been identified through the demonstration of the ways in which both stages of the analysis have been conducted. Students' interviews have been coded as F1, M2 where F and M stand for female of male, and the numbers indicate the number of interview.

Type: 'achievement'

Activity theory analysis

There are four students representing this group. These four interviewees define the object-motive as a plan that one can construct and carry out during a life course. The examples include an intention to have children at an exact age of 26-27 (F10) and particular relationship with the future husband ("I do not want him to be under my thumb", F5). The plans include careers but the profession has not been chosen yet: "I will devote my life to my career. I do not want to stay in the kitchen like many other women." (F5). The outcome is a high, stable and prestigious position in society; this includes a university degree, a big house and a good family with children (see the excerpts below).

AP: What is your life going to be like when you grow up?

F10: What I see in the future is that I will have graduated from a university, got a good job. Then I would like to get married and live with my husband somewhere nice. When I am 26-27 years old I would like to have a baby.

AP: So you certainly want to get a higher education degree?

F10: Yes.

AP: But what kind?

F10: I am not sure yet but I know that I will need higher education in the future.

AP: What kind of adult life will you have?

F5: I will devote my life to my career. I do not want to stay in the kitchen like many other women. I want one child or two of them, maximum. I want my husband to do something with my profession. I do not want him under my thumb. I want a big house. I want to make my career first and then have children.

The tools that mediate the development of the object-motive are beliefs in hard work and perseverance. They believe that if they study well at school, behave well and get a university degree they will achieve the outcome. Student F5 expresses high respect for her mother who has achieved everything herself through working hard and persevering in difficult times. Student F3 believes that irrespective of where the person is they should still do their best. These ideas are very similar to the ones expressed by the teachers from group A.

AP: What is the difference between school and your future working life?

F3: You have to do your best whether you are at school or at work. You have to make an effort not to be thrown out of either school or work.

AP: Do you know a grown up person who you think is successful?

F5: My mum. She is a very clever woman. She worked at the "Goznak" company but left because of maternity leave. She was not there for a long time and they downgraded her. She started from scratch when she returned and went up. Then she took a maternity leave for my sister and they downgraded her again. However, she went back and again achieved the highest position possible.

Another tool, linked to the ones mentioned above, is the students' belief in academic achievement. They try to be good at all the academic subjects, not restricting themselves to a particular area, e.g. "All lessons will be useful at some point in life" (F3). Student F5 shares this view although not all academic subjects are to her liking (see excerpts below).

AP: Are there classes that prepare you for adult life?

F3: Everything is supposed to prepare you for adult life.

AP: Why?

F3: Why! All lessons will be useful at some point in life.

AP: Are there lessons that will not be useful?

F3: I do not really know… Domestic science. I will not need it in life. I am not going to make clothes because I just do not like it at all. But our teacher "hammers" it in our heads that it will be very useful, that we shall

become wives and mothers. In the future, mothers will not be like the ones in the past. But the teacher tries to do her best anyway and we do not do anything, just kill away the time.

AP: Can you tell me which lessons prepare you for future professional life?

F5: I will need maths. I do not know which profession I will choose but maths is required everywhere. Russian is important because of literacy – one has to write without mistakes. Literature. We study different life situations. Pechjorin (The Hero of Our Time by Lermontov)… I have recognised my own features in him, good and bad. You can better understand yourself by looking at the mistakes of others.

AP: Are there any lessons that have nothing to do with your future life?

F5: I do not like home economics but I think I will need it in life. I am not sure…

The rules that support their wish for high achievement are interpreted as the situation in Russia with regard to jobs and high competition. Their interpretation of the rules is that the current situation is worse that it was when their parents started working. They are aware of what life was like during the Soviet times. They know that the jobs were guaranteed (F10) and a university degree did not have the same importance as it does in modern day Russia (F3).

AP: Is there a difference between how your mother got her first job and how you will?

F10: The difference is the time, in the structure of our state. In the past, after graduation, one would have been appointed to a factory or plant or somewhere like that. Now, after one graduates, one has to look for a job oneself.

AP: Is there a difference between how your mother looked for a job and how you will?

F3: Of course there is. She was not even looking long. She came, asked for a job and she got it. She did not even have a university degree. Now, one cannot get a good job without higher education.

The subject position of these students is strong. They demonstrate considerable confidence and self-belief. For example, student F3 thinks that she is preparing herself

for the future work on her own without much support and she believes that she will be successful in anything she will put her mind to. Student F10 shares similar sense of confidence. She believes that she will manage a large company in the future; although she is not sure what area this will be in, she is sure she will succeed.

> AP: Who do you think is influencing your professional choice more – school, family, you or something else?
>
> F3: I am trying myself. The school is trying to help but not in the way it should. I am trying to think myself about what is better for me. The school and parents are not helping very well.
>
> AP: Can you describe a grown up Julia?
>
> F3: I want the adult Julia to be engrossed in work and to be interested in it. She has to do a job.
>
> AP: What job?
>
> F3 I do not know. Anything I will do, I will do well.
>
> AP: Can you describe a grown up Lena?
>
> F10: I am going to be a director of a large industrial enterprise. I know for sure that this is what I am going to do.
>
> AP: but what kind of industry?
>
> F10: I do not know. It does not matter.

Fig. 1: 'Achievement' type; activity theory analysis

Tools
Perseverance & hard work;
Good academic achievement;
Higher education degree;

Subject
Student:
confident

Object
A life plan

Outcome
High achievement and position

Rules
Difficult to get a job;
Unpredictability;
High competition.

Community
Family;
School.

Division of Labour
Student is in charge;
School provides academic support;
Family is either supportive or neutral
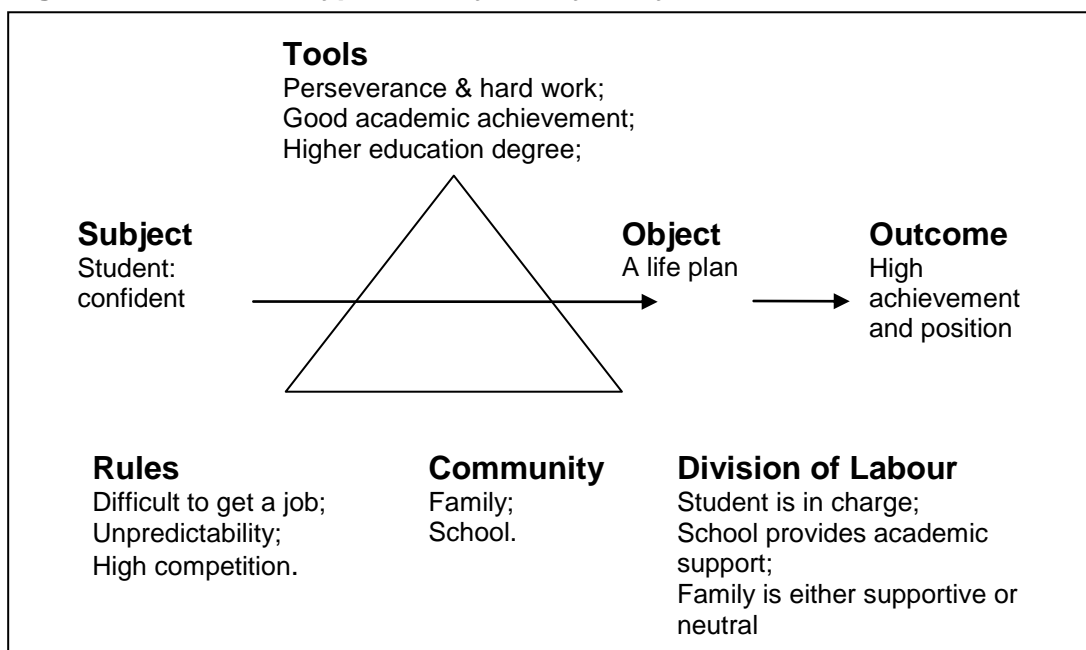
In terms of the division of labour, it is evident that the students are in charge of the activities. The school's role is identifiable through the students' description of their attitudes to the academic work. As has been seen in the excerpts above, the students see school as a provider of academic knowledge that will be useful in the future. The family's role is either neutral, "The school and parents are not helping very well" (F5) or generally supportive of the student's ambitions, "My dad thinks I will achieve anything I want!" (F5).

Community includes family and school. Other parties, such as after school clubs, are not mentioned.

Personhood functions

The synthesis of the findings gained as a result of the activity theory analysis is presented in Figure 2. It summarises the analysis of the relationship among different elements of the activity system which represents students' preparation for the world of work and explains the ways in which personhood functions are defined for this group of students.

In terms of the worldview (Fig. 2 section 1), the work on the object, which is the focus on a definite and predicted life plan, is mediated by a belief that hard work alone will be enough to achieve the stable and successful life that they aspire to. No other strategies are considered, however, the rules are that of economic instability and unpredictability in the labour market. Thus worldview is defined as narrowing. Although these students apply themselves effectively in all of the academic subjects, which widens the range of the abilities (Fig. 2, section 3), they are not exploring any of them professionally as their professional choice has not been made. Ambition is high (Fig. 2, section 2a) because the students' subject position is that of confidence and self-belief, that has been mainly achieved through academic success; they also set high expectations for themselves by seeing the outcome as a high status and financial stability and are confident they can overcome the difficult challenges set by the current economic situation. The life plan may be rigid but they have set an aim to work for. The students' definition of the object includes details of plans and aspirations that deal with private life and organisation of living conditions, such having a large house. It considers a career vaguely as one of the aspirations that will help the construction of the life plan. None of the tools are tools of a profession. This defines the ethic as personal, rather than professional (Fig. 2,

section 2b). Orientation is strong as evidenced through a strong position of the subject and the division of labour that indicates that a student is in charge of their own preparation for work. However, the orientation is towards 'other people' because the object and outcome are described in terms usually associated with the practical arrangements in the adult life. The students' interpretation of the future does not show indications of professional interest, an eagerness to survive or a desire to discover oneself, that would make orientation professional, towards survival or the self.

Fig. 2: Personhood functions; 'Achievement'

Section	Personhood function	Evidence
1	**Narrowing worldview**	**Object + Tools + rules:** constructing a definite life plan and having only one strategy how to achieve what they want in the conditions that require flexibility and a range of different strategies
2a	**Character (higher ambition)**	**Subject + outcome + rules:** self-belief and confidence support their aspiration to achieve high in life despite the current difficult conditions
2b	**Character (personal ethic)**	**Object + tools:** their life-plan does not specify particular professional aspirations, neither do the methods with which they prepare themselves for work
3	**Abilities: widening range**	**Tools:** students continue to explore all the academic subjects, without focusing on one of them
4	**Strong orientation towards "other people"**	**Subject + division of labour:** the students are in charge of their own preparation for work and are confident they can achieve what they want **= strong orientation** **Object + outcome:** these represent a commonly accepted formula of success in life; no individual interpretation = **orientation towards "other people"**

Type: 'connections'

Activity theory analysis

There are eight students representing this type. One of these students is female. In the centre of their preparation for the future world of work is meeting requirements set by their family. These include getting the grades to enter the university faculty that the parents think is important (M7, M10) or even fulfilling the parents' unrealised dream (F17). The outcome of the work on this object-motive is being well-off (Fig. 3), i.e. "getting decent money" (M7), "have more than just enough money, so that I can have a good car and travel a lot" (M13), "becoming an accountant will mean that I can earn a lot because accountants do" (F15).

> AP: Why do you want to study at a faculty of physics and mathematics?
>
> M7: Because this will give me a chance to get a decent job.
>
> AP: What do you understand by a "decent job"?
>
> M7: Getting decent money.
>
> AP: What do you want to become?
>
> M10: I do not know. My mum wants me to become a lawyer. So I may go to the law faculty. If I do not do that, I will study at the avia-space faculty and then will get a job at the plant where my father works. They will give me the position of an engineer to begin with, and later on we will see.
>
> AP: So – you told me that most probably you will be an accountant. Why?
>
> F15: My mum studied to be an accountant and a sales assistant at the same time. All her life she wanted to be an accountant but she did not do it because of one person…

What mediates the work on such an object is a system of beliefs that financial prosperity is achieved through using 'connections' that their parents have. These tools are values mediate an approach to preparation for work which is dependent on the parents' using the connections in the future. In some cases, parents themselves are 'connections' for these young people. For example student M5 believes that it does not matter what profession he will get because he will work at the same company as his mother. Student M7 formulates his future plan as "my parents are going to get me into

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some job". Student M11 relies on his father's friend's support to get him a job at Luckoil, an oil and fuel company, "My dad's friend works at Luckoil. He does not have his own children. He said to my dad that he would help me after I finish University."

AP: How will physics and mathematics help you get decent money?

M7: Well, we are going to wait and see. We've got connections now…
and in any case my parents are going to get me into some job.

AP: Where will they be able to "get you into"?

M7: Kamkabel or Luckoil [two major, most prosperous companies in the city of Perm], (comment by AP).

AP: What do you want to be in life?

M5: I do not know. They have been asking me since year 5: "What do you want to be?" I do not know. I will go to work with my mum as a sales representative. You can walk the whole day and show different goods to different companies. It is a big company with a certificate for many goods. You can come and see if they have run out of some goods. So you take a note of that and deliver them. Then you can upgrade if mum helps.

AP: Are you going to continue school education?

M5: No, I am going to a marine college to be trained as a tourism manager.

AP: So, what does this kind of manager do?

M5: I do not know. I can get any profession. I will work with mum anyway. She will get me a job.

Fig. 3: 'Connections' type; an activity system analysis

Tools

Somebody else's idea of what to do;
Success equals money;
Connections are the main route to success

Subject:

Student &
family

Object

Meeting the
requirements
necessary to secure
the use of
"connections"

Outcome

Financial
prosperity

Rules

Connections provide jobs;
Normal route to a job are not
enough.
Rich families – better chances of
success

Community

Family;
Connections

Division of Labour

Other people identify the
trajectory that the student is
following; school is a place
where necessary education
is gained

The rules that these students think are guiding their preparation for work are the actual conditions in Russia, namely that connections and networks are the main route towards getting a job. These rules guide students' motivation to work on the object, which is meeting the requirements that will help them use the connections. In addition to this, the rules include new capitalist relations, for example, "Do you think I am going to sweep streets? The situation is different nowadays. You pay others to do it. You pay and things get done" (M5). Student M8 thinks that financial success and having a network of friends are connected.

AP: Do you know anybody of your age you think will be successful in life?

M5: I have many friends like that. They study "so-so" and have rich families. They will definitely be successful. There are those who just study…

AP: What school subjects do not prepare you for the world of work?

M7: Technology.

AP: Why?

M7: Do you think I am going to sweep streets? The situation is different nowadays. You pay others to do it. You pay and things get done.

AP: Do you know any adults who are successful, in your opinion?

M8: my dad is. He is a businessman and he has made sure my mum and I do not want for anything. He has loads of friends and acquaintances.

Division of labour is clearly defined. The student does what her parents think are necessary to do in order to use their connections to the best advantage. The role of the school is to provide the adequate education. Students M7 and M14 say that they are obliged to get a University degree and in the subject area that will give access to the industries where they have connections. Student M7 is expected to study physics as his parents have connections at an oil company and student M14 has to study at the faculty of economics in order to get a job at a fruit distribution company.

AP: Where do you gain information about your future work?

M7: From parents. They say: "If you get a degree, we will get you a job. If you do not, you will look for a job yourself."

AP: What do you want to do in the future?

M14: my mother is a manger at a company that sells fruit. She says that this is a good place to work and she can get me a job if I have a degree in economics. They do not employ people without a University degree.

The subject position in this activity system is shared by both the student and their family. This is evident in how students talk about the ways in which they are prepared for work. They always link their action to those of their parents. Together they are preparing a route for their future employment. Students are active because they are actively engaged in the process of getting the right type of education. The community

also involve the school and the networks of parents' friends. Figure 3 summarises the activity theory analysis.

Personhood functions

The synthesis of the analysis of the relationship among different elements of the activity system is summarised in Figure 4. The worldview is defined as narrowing because of the relationship between the object, outcome and rules. The object, which is a focus on meeting the necessary requirements to make use of connections in the future is only one possible route to what these students want – financial prosperity. However, their focus on connections as one route leading to success is reiterated through their account of the rules. They single out the new economic conditions in Russia only from this perspective, which is the use of connections (Fig. 4, section 1). With regard to character, ambition is defined as low. This is evidenced through the relationship between the subject, outcome and division of labour. Although the outcome is presented as highly ambitious, their subject position is not strong. They are not driving their own preparation for the world of work. They share the subject position with the family, and the family plays a powerful role in guiding their preparation to the entry into the labour market (Fig. 4, section 2a). Another aspect of character, ethic, is defined as personal. This is based on the analysis of the object, outcome and tools. None of the elements are characterised by devotion or disposition towards a professional field. Their vision of the future (outcome) includes references to material aspects of life only (Fig. 4, section 2b). These students are encouraged by their parents to focus on the development of one set of skills and knowledge, only those linked to the requirements of entry to an appropriate department at a university. This defines abilities as selected (Fig.4, section 3). Orientation of personhood is not strong despite the fact that the students are subjects in the activity system. This position is shared, and the power, as the analysis of the division of labour shows, belongs to the family. In addition, these students are oriented towards standards commonly perceived to be associated with success; mediating tools are represented by such values as appreciation of those with high income and getting a job through using connections, rather than one's own achievements. Hence, orientation is defined as 'other people' (Fig. 4, section 4).

Fig. 4: Personhood functions; 'Connections'

Section	Personhood function	Evidence
1	**Narrowing worldview**	**Object + outcome + rules:** focusing one route only but financial prosperity may achieved through different routes
2a	**Character (low ambition)**	**Outcome + subject + division of labour:** high expectations for the future are not supported by a belief in oneself or desire to succeed on one's own
2b	**Character (personal ethic)**	**Object + outcome + tools:** these elements interact to produce a position that includes references to materialistic aspects of life, and not professional ones
3	**Selected abilities**	**Tools + object:** the students study only those subjects that will help them meet the set criteria (to get the job)
4	**Orientation (weak) and 'other people'**	**Subject + tools:** the subject position is shared with the family and the tools include values that represent commonly accepted norms of living, not the product of individual interpretation of the desired future

Type: 'career'

Activity theory analysis

There are eight students representing this type (four females and four males). In terms of the object (see Fig. 5), these students work on developing particular skills in a professional area they have already chosen. The outcome is working in the chosen profession. For example, a girl who wants to be a designer practices her drawing skills (F11). A student who wants to become a professional ballroom dancer competes internationally (F6). Student M12 is seriously working on software design and student M15 attends a zoological club because he is preparing to be a veterinarian. They have researched the area they are interested in and know exactly what is required of them.

An interior designer

AP: What do you want to become?

F11: I want to be a designer. I have a great desire to be a designer. I keep practising my drawing skills because a designer is supposed to be good at drawing. I am also improving my technical drawing. I even understand technical drawing better than I did before.

A ballroom dancer

AP: Why do you want to become a ballroom dancer?

F6: I am not sure. I really like ballroom dances. I cannot live without it now. If I gave them up, I am not so sure what would happen.

AP: What does the work of a dancer involve?

F6: She trains students, gives seminars and goes to competitions. I go to competitions. Last year I won the championship of Russia. I am already quite professional. I have been to England and many other countries. I took the 8th place in England which is considered to be very good.

The tools include knowledge about the chosen profession and opportunities to practice the necessary skills. These students either attend an out of school club, such as a club for ballroom professional dancing, or have access to opportunities where they can practice their skills, such as going to their parents' place of work. The future technologist explains in detail what his future duties will include (M3). The future ballroom dancer has already won at international competitions (F6). The future beauty therapist claims that she is practicing her skills on all her friends and observes professionals at work in salons (F7).

A technologist

AP: What does a technologist do?

M3: He looks after the machinery at the plant, checks it from time to time and takes some measurements; he also works with others to produce new plans. People who work with the machinery do not always know how this machinery works, you see. So a technologist is there to repair and maintain the equipment.

A beauty therapist

AP: So, what are the duties of a beauty therapist?

F7: Helping people, advising them, choosing their make-up for them, their hairstyle. One has to know what to mix and blend… to know every composition. One has to know techniques of massage and make up application. All this stuff, you know.

Another tool that mediates their preparation for life is a belief that life is unpredictable, although their professional path is well-defined. Hence, they are not developing a life plan.

A tourism manager

AP: How do you see your future adult life?

F13: I think I will be a responsible person with a sense of purpose in life. I think I will achieve what I want. However, I can see my adult life quite vaguely because everything might change.

An architect

AP: How do you see you future adult life?

M4: In all colours of a rainbow.

AP: which colours?

M4: I do not know – all of them. There are dark and light days in life. It does not necessarily happen that you have finished education, got a job and everything is fine. There is happiness and all that stuff. Sometimes there are moments in life which are not interesting.

Seeing life as unpredictable mediates a more open approach towards gathering of information and acquiring knowledge. The students are actively learning about the labour market through talking to other people and through the media. Student F6, for example, has learnt about the professional paths of her coaches. She believes that her "career has lots of different opportunities. I will dance for a while and travel but I can also work as a coach afterwards. There is always a need for ballroom coaches. Everybody wants their daughters to dance". Student M15 has read about famous software developers and has realised that in the future the labour market will be

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welcoming of software developers. "Have you seen what is going on? People are crazy about computer games. Even shops use some special software".

The ways in which these students see the current conditions in the country, that is the rules, are different from the other groups. They know that the world has changed and they acknowledge the transformations but they have worked out a strategy to deal with them. Part of this strategy is dependent on the professional training. For example, they believe in other ways of getting a job apart from using connections. This is supported by another set of rules, that is professional cultures in which they are involved.

A beauty therapist

AP: Ideal way of looking for a job?

F7: Just to come to a company or salon and get a job. Normally, that is where they talk to you. Just to appeal to people in communication and everything and so that they should take you. It is more difficult to get a job like that without connections but you have asked about the ideal way...

A veterinarian

AP: what are the ways of looking for a job nowadays?

M15: they have started doing personal interviews. A lot of people use connections...

AP: so, how do you think you will look for a job?

M15: I will not have a problem. People these days buy very expensive cats and dogs and they spend money on vaccines and treatments. Most likely I will work at a veterinarian centre or... work on my own.

The subject position is very strong. These students are actively engaged in their own preparation for the future world of work. In terms of the division of labour, they see the school playing a supporting role in their preparation for work. This means that they can study the subjects they need and also develop social skills that will be useful in the future (see the excerpts below).

A tourist manager

AP: Do you think the school helps you prepare for your working life?

F13: I think so. I like organising things… I am part of the students' organising committee… there are sometimes school events that need organising and I am always involved. I talk to people and get tasks sorted out.

An architect

AP: How do you think the school helps you with preparation for work?

M4: There are opportunities in the school to study things that I will need in the future. They teach me subjects that I will definitely need.

With regard to the division of labour, the family gives these young people the freedom of choice. Compared to other groups, these students do not mention the family as often and do not provide as many details. Only one student (F7) mentions that her parents are putting pressure on her to go to the university whereas to her knowledge there is no subject taught at the university that will prepare her to become a beauty therapist.

A tourist manager

F13: Before, I wanted to go the faculty of economics but then I changed my mind. That happened because I found out more about the profession. My brother goes to the university, so he brought some information home.

AP: So, who do you think influenced your professional choice?

F13: I think I did most of the work myself. My mum said: this is your life – you should decide what you want to do.

A technologist

AP: So, why have you chosen this profession?

M3: Because my dad works in this industry. So, following dad.

AP: Does your dad want you to become a technologist?

M3: He does not mind. I want it myself. And also I have a few talents for such things like chemistry, physics and maths.

A veterinarian

AP: who do you think has influenced your choice of profession?

M15: I love animals. This is all I ever wanted to do – to be with animals. When I was very young my parents enrolled me into a zoological club at our palace of culture. I still go there every week. I am a bit of a pro now.

A beauty therapist

AP: Are you going to the University?

F7: My parents insist.

AP: And you? Do you want to?

F7: Yes, I do, it is important for life… But there are no faculties at the university that can prepare me to become a beauty therapist. They have designers, lawyers but nothing to do with beauty therapy.

The community includes the family, out of school clubs, the school and media. This is the only group that mention the impact of media on what they do.

Fig. 5: 'Career' type; an activity system analysis

Tools

Professional knowledge and skills
Opportunities for training
Belief in unpredictability of life

Subject:	**Object**	**Outcome**:
Student	Meeting the requirements of the chosen professional field	Getting into the chosen professional field

Rules	**Community**	**Division of Labour**
Current conditions in Russia; Professional cultures	Family School Media Friends	The subject makes the choice and uses community as resources of support

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Personhood functions

The worldview in the analysis of these students' personhood functions is defined as widening. The position of the subject is very active and strong; the students are in the driving seat of their preparation for work. They have interpreted the rules as conditions in the labour market that need to be investigated, not complied with. Hence, they make efforts to learn more about their chosen field, which strengthens their motivation to work on the object, which is practicing their professional skills (Fig. 6, section 1). Their ambition is high because their focus in on the challenging task of mastering professional skills and make sure they are useful in the new economic conditions. The tool that mediates the development of this function is the students' belief that life in the future cannot be predicted (Fig. 6, section 2a). The ethic is professional as all the elements of the activity system are working together towards realising a professional ambition. They have tools in place which support their preparation for entry into the desired professional field and their motivation is strong; they do not acknowledge the influence of other parties on the professional decision because it is already part of their life (Fig. 6, section 2b).

Abilities, as a personhood function has been more difficult to define than others. The object, outcome and tools are oriented towards developing skills in one professional field, hence narrowing the range of abilities. However, the analysis of the division of labour shows that the students value the school not only because it helps them in their professional area but also because it develops them socially; this implies that they are aware that in order to achieve the outcome they need to develop more than just their professional skills (Fig. 6, section 3). Orientation is strong as the relationship between the subject position and division of labour signify that these students are confident and in charge of their own preparation for work. The type of orientation is both professional and towards the self. In addition to all the elements of the activity system being oriented towards one professional area, the students are also motivated by it because they are genuinely interested in it – it involves the subjective interest, not necessarily related to the rules. It seems, though, that the students have ensured that their pursuit of their own interest is also compatible with the current demands in the labour market; they have explored the rules, that is the professional cultures, and found that they can achieve success pursuing their own individual interest instead of complying with what is commonly perceived to be success (Fig. 6, section 4).

Fig. 6: Personhood functions; 'Career'

Section	Personhood function	Evidence
1	**Widening worldview**	**Subject + object + rules:** active subject, in charge of preparation for work, does not work on professional skills only but finds out about how this profession's potential in the labour market
2a	**Character (high ambition)**	**Object, outcome + tools:** the focus on high achievements but this is combined with a rational view that life cannot be planned, hence one has to success irrespective of the changes
2b	**Character (professional ethic)**	**All the elements of the activity system:** the whole system which relies on the motivation and confidence of the subject is geared towards achieving the outcome
3	**A wide range of abilities**	**Division o labour:** the school does not only provide academic support but also opportunities for developing social skills
4	**Strong orientation: professional and the self**	**Subject + division of labour + object = strong orientation:** students orientation is well-defined and they are in charge of shaping their own path to the working life **All the elements in the activity system:** the professional interest is also a very individual interest, not a response to a commonly perceived set of norms

Type: 'suspension'

Activity theory analysis

There are ten students in this category (six female and four male participants). A difference has been identified in the ways that female and male participants have constructed their preparation for work, so they will be discussed separately. The unity factor between the male and female students is their suspension of choices about the future, hence why they are of the same type.

It is important to start the presentation of this part of the analysis of the male students' interviews with the accounts of the division of labour and the subject. The roles that different parties play in these students' preparation for work are divided. The family seems to have identified a plan which they want their children to take, whereas

students themselves have an alternative plan. For example, student M1 admits that his father has told him to become a lawyer, whereas he has an alternative plan of becoming a karate coach. He attends a sports club outside his school hours, similarly to the students from the 'career' category. However, the power of the decision is not his but his family's (see the excerpt below).

A lawyer or karate coach

AP: What do you want to become?

M1: A lawyer.

AP: So you have already decided?

M1: Well, I have not really decided myself. Dad has. He said: finish school and go to the law school. If this does not work, I can follow the steps of my colleagues at the karate club. I can become a coach and have my own team.

Student M2 perceives the division of labour in a similar way. He would like to be a solo guitarist, however, there is already another, more feasible plan put in place for him, which is a job of an oil engineer. As in the example above, there is no connection between the two options (see the excerpt below).

An oil drill engineer or a solo guitarist

AP: Have you decided on a particular direction in your future working life?

M2: Well, either somewhere in the music area or, I do not know… maybe something to do with technology. I will go to the technological college.

AP: To be trained for?

M2: an engineer of an oil drill.

AP: Why do you want to become either a musician or an engineer?

M2: I wanna be a musician because I like music. I like rock. As for the oil drill engineer … he is paid well.

Compared to the 'connections' groups, the family in this group have not set up a number of requirements for their children to meet. Instead, they are offering an alternative plan but because it is more realistic than entering the world of sport or music, the families seem to have established a position of authority and this has pushed the students to the periphery of an activity system – the community (Fig. 7).

Fig. 7:'Suspension' type (male students); activity system analysis
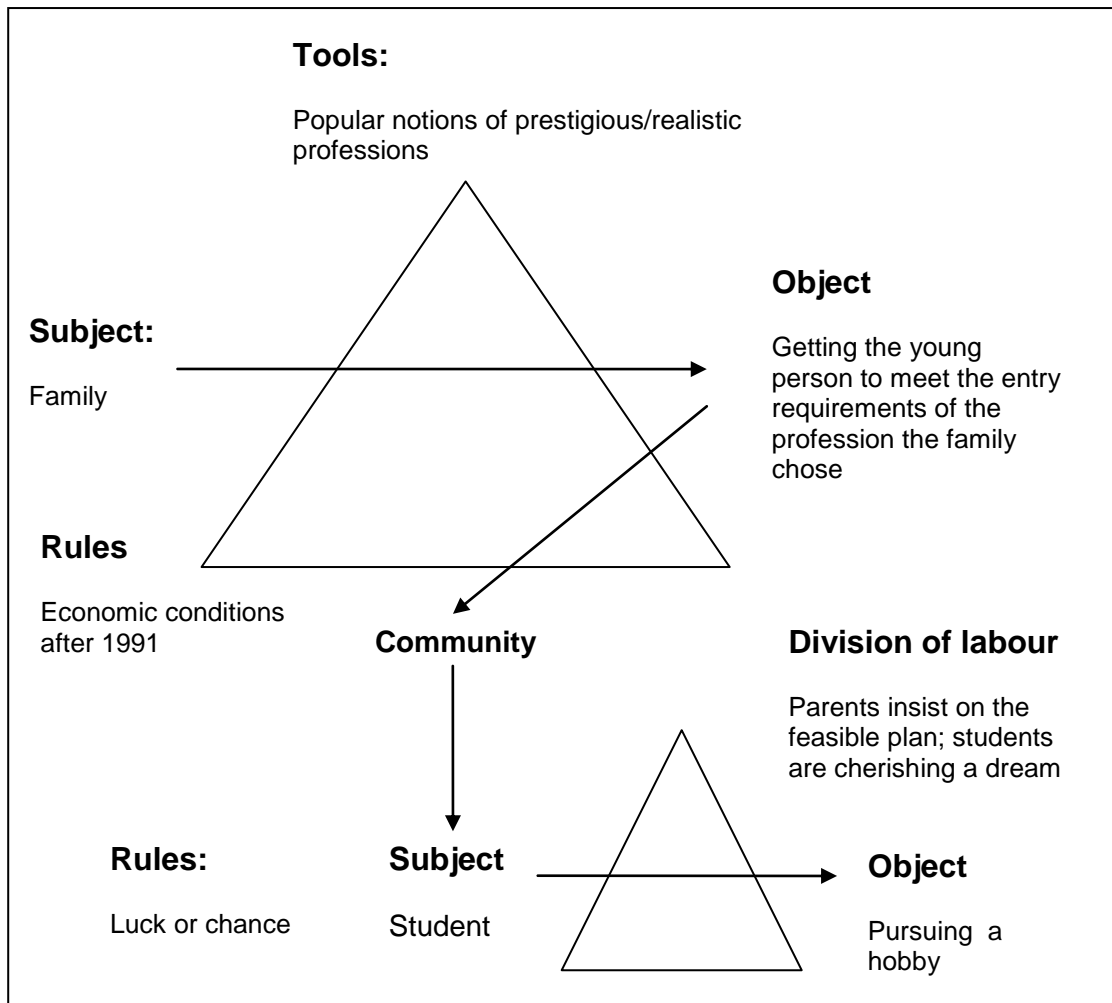
Such division of the roles and power imply that family and students are working on two different object-motives. The family is constructing a practical and feasible way for the student to get a profession and employment, and the student is more inclined to pursue a hobby. The family are working within the rules dictated by economic conditions, hence the choice of prestigious and profitable professions for the children. Professions of a lawyer and oil engineer are the results of the post-1991 changes which produced the need to educate more lawyers and, due to the export of oil, raised the salary for oil

engineers. Students' chance to achieve the outcome, i.e. becoming a musician or a sportsman, is predicated upon the idea of luck. They say, "If I am lucky, I will become a guitarist" (M2), "if it works out I may get into the Perm basketball team" (M9), "If I do not get a chance to become a footballer, I will pursue the career of a printer" M6).

A printer or footballer

AP: So, you are going to be a printer because your family runs this business?

M6: Yes, but to start with, I will go to a college.

AP: Which college?

M6: To the vocational college to get a secondary education certificate to be a printer. If I can, I will first try to develop a career as a sportsman.

AP: How are you going to do it?

M6: I will try to transfer to other clubs. There are specialised boarding schools in Moscow, Izhevsk, Novorossiysk and other cities. If I do not get a chance to become a footballer, I will pursue the career of a printer.

Although these students have some idea about what they might be doing in the future, the work on the object-motive in their own activity system is not mediated by in-depth professional knowledge. It appears that although they have a hobby, they are not engaged in a professional culture associated with that hobby. Student M9, for example, would like to play basketball professionally but he is not sure what his life as a basketball player will be like. The idea of becoming a solo guitarist is a welcoming one for student M2, however, he cannot name any details of what being a guitarist might involve.

A solo guitarist or an oil engineer

AP: What would you be doing in music?

M2: I'd like to be a solo guitarist.

AP: What does a solo guitarist do?

M2: Well, he plays the guitar and writes music.

AP: And the oil drill engineer?

M2: I do not really know what he does. He looks after the oil-ring and does some maintenance or something like that.

The school's role has been difficult to identify through the analysis of these interviews. These students produced a very limited response to the interview questions that aimed to gain students' perspectives about their engagement in school pedagogies. They answered, "I do not know", "not sure", "it is difficult for me to tell you". Short answers were given about the subjects that prepare or do not prepare for work but these were not supported by an explanation. For example,

An oil drill engineer or a solo guitarist

M2: May be chemistry prepares me for work.

AP: Why do you think so?

M2: Not sure. I just think so.

The activity theory analysis of the six interviews with female participants demonstrates that these young people are not subjects of their activity system (Fig. 8). Preparation for work is something that is done to them. The students do not have a hobby or interest that they pursue that might be defined as their own activity system. Instead they entertain a number of ideas of what they might be in the future. Their family is the subject of the activity system. The family of student F1 insist that she should become a lawyer but she is not keen. Student F8 has been told that she should become an accountant but she is not passionate about the idea (see excerpts below).

A lawyer, or designer or laboratory assistant

AP: So you want to be become a lawyer…?

F1: Yes, I want to become a lawyer. My parents do not mind. They said they could pay the fees if need be. But I am not sure. I want to be a designer, or to go to the chemical college to become a laboratory assistant.

An accountant, manager or archaeologist

AP: What do you want to become?

F8: I have not decided yet but mum says I should go to the department of economics to study something like accountancy or bookkeeping or accountancy control, something like that; or to become a manager.

The family's object-motive is an idea that their child should enter a professional field that is prestigious and financially viable. Compared to the families of the students in the 'connections' category, these families do not have a real plan and, hence, have not established requirements or conditions for their children to meet before they can enter that field.

An accountant, manager or archaeologist

AP: Excuse me, you told me that you wanted to become an accountant or manager. You also said that you are at your best when you communicate with people. How can this quality help you in the profession of an accountant or manager?

F8: Well, being an accountant is mum's idea. I would prefer to be a manager. I also wanted to become an archaeologist. There we go!

The work on this object is mediated by popular beliefs that certain professions were financially viable and prestigious (Fig. 8). The prestigious professions are those that are deemed to be more in demand in the current labour market than others. These young people provided a confused account of who they wanted to become and why.

A teacher, social worker or tourism manager or something else

F2: I would like to work in education or social work. I'd like to deal with problems such as AIDS, or to work with drug addicts in prison. I would like that.

AP: What are your plans for the future?

F2: I would like to become a teacher but everyone dissuades me, and I am unlikely to become one of them. They do not pay teachers well. This does not suit me. But apart from that I am very interested. I am also interested in becoming a tourism manager. I am not so sure why but I have been told it is something worth doing.

The excerpt above illustrates the ways in which these young people interpret the current conditions in the country (rules). They are told what professions are more or less likely to be paid better. Student F1 realises that she does not have much freedom of choice:

A lawyer, or designer or laboratory assistant

AP: Is there any difference between the way your parents looked for job and how you will be doing it?

F1: I think there is. Mum was told "Go where your soul takes you". So, she did. I think if you like the job you will do the work with pleasure. But if you do not you will go to work with a sour face...

Student F2 believes that "Most of the people do not work where they would like to. They work in order to survive". Student F9 defines success as "first and foremost, the attitude to you. Social position, the way other people relate to you. Then, it is financial well-being (what you earn)." These answers were not supported by any rationalisation, even when prompted, and came across as narrative statements copied from somebody else.

The fact that these students have other possible ideas about their future working life does not affect the activity system, which means that the ideas are not realised in any consequent actions. In addition, these ideas are contrasting. For student F1 the options are a lawyer, designer and laboratory assistant. Student F2 has mentioned a teacher, social worker and tourism manager as options. For student F8 the options range from being an accountant or a manager to becoming an archaeologist. The students have not been involved in any of these activities, so these options exist at the level of ideas only. The reflections of student F9 might shed light on the reason why these students' are not actively preparing themselves for the future adult life.

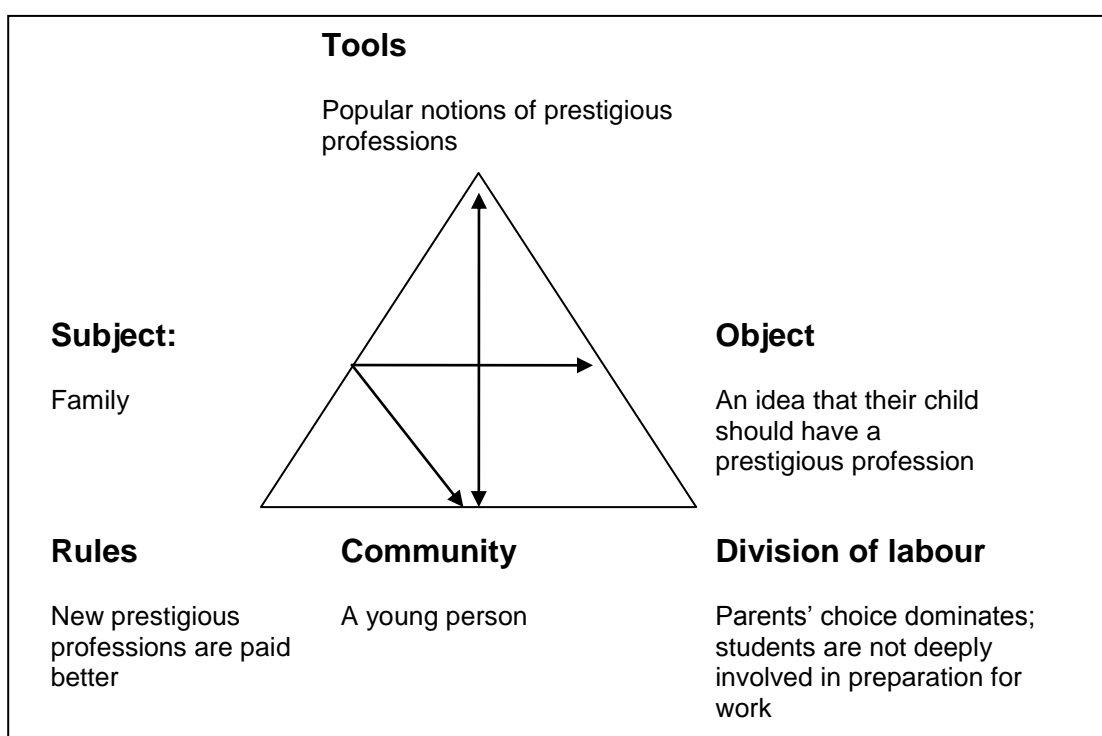*An interpreter, tourism manager or designer*

AP: Could you please describe your friend who, in your opinion, is going to be successful in life and why?

F9: It is me.

AP: Why?

F9: Well, I have not thought about it before but now I realise that I am not used to adult life. Mum has been protecting me all my life and I do not know anything about it. If I do not know anything about life I will have a bad life because I will be constantly getting acquainted with it. Those people who have found out what life is like in their childhood will have an easier life. Some things that other people know I may not even have a slightest idea about.

Fig. 8: 'Suspension' type (female students); an activity theory analysis

Tools

Popular notions of prestigious professions

Subject:

Family

Object

An idea that their child should have a prestigious profession

Rules

New prestigious professions are paid better

Community

A young person

Division of labour

Parents' choice dominates; students are not deeply involved in preparation for work

It has been difficult to establish what the students see as the outcome of the preparation for work in which they are involved. When asked to describe their adult life, they have focused on the details of one day, rather than described what they might want to achieve in the future. This description resembles the details of the life of their mother.

AP: How do you see your adult life?

F1: Waking up in the morning, making breakfast for the family and going to work. Then, you run back home to cook again. Then, you have take children from the nursery or school, go shopping. Then, wait for the

husband and give him something to eat. In the evening, just being with
your family, having tea, talking…

Personhood functions

The relationship between the object, subject and tools shows that students in this
category are not actively involved in preparing themselves for the world of work. The
object that the family is working on has only one focus – a prestigious profession,
which narrows the scope of options that a young person might explore. The mediating
tools are ideas of what prestigious professions are and their financial benefits but this
does not include any ideas of how a student might explore the labour market. The
student, who is not in the driving seat of this process, is not learning about the world of
work and not much about the profession. Thus, the worldview is narrowing (Fig. 9,
section 1). With regard to the character, the ambition is low. The students are not the
subjects in the activity system; the power is with the families who are offering an idea of
what the student might be doing in the future. The male students see hobbies as
potential options for work but most of these options are unrealistic as they are not part
of that professional culture. The female students are not seriously interested in
anything and entertain a number of unrelated ideas about future work (Fig. 9, section
2a). The ethic is personal because none of the activity system elements include any
reference to a particular professional field. When the ideas about the future life are
discussed students make references only to aspects of everyday private life (Fig. 9,
section 2b). It has been difficult to define these abilities. On the one hand, the students
have many options of what they may do. On the other hand, they are not pursuing any
of them in earnest. The family, being the subject of preparation for work do not see
abilities as something that needs to be work on, that is as the object-motive; the
student is only partially involved in the development of ideas about his or her future.
This implies that abilities are developing more as selected rather than in a wide range
(Fig. 9, section 3).

The analysis of this type of personhood is the only one where it is impossible to define
orientation. The student is not an active subject of the activity system and the division
of labour is such that the student is only involved in preparation for work as an
interested party. Orientation has not been formed (Fig. 9, section 4).

Fig. 9: Personhood functions; 'Suspension'

Section	Personhood function	Evidence
1	**Narrowing worldview**	**Subject + object + tools:** the subject is not actively driving the process of learning. Combined with the narrowly focused object and tools that related to one set of ideas, this makes the worldview narrowing
2a	**Character (low ambition)**	**Subject + division of labour:** the ambition is not nurtured or supported as the students are not driving their own preparation for work
2b	**Character (personal ethic)**	**All elements of the activity system:** none of the element include references to a thought-through choice of a profession
3	**Selected abilities**	**Subject+ object + community:** The family only partially involve the student in preparation for work and focus on one aspect of working life
4	**Orientation (not formed yet)**	**All elements of the activity system:** the students themselves are not in charge of any of the aspects of preparation for work, thus there is no evidence of orientation being formed

Tools of vospitanie and professional orientation

In the first part of the interview (see Appendix D) students were encouraged to talk about the school and describe some aspects of the school that they liked and disliked, what prepared them for work and what did not. The students found it difficult to provide any details about the tools of professional orientation, that is, visits to industrial enterprises and presentations given by representatives of different professionals. They could not remember having experienced such events.

AP: What, in your school, can you grade as "very bad"?

F9: It is that…mmmm….that there are not enough of those things…like developing solidarity and a sense of unity among all of us. There are no events. Like in other schools there are such events going on. I think it is already late for our school to have such events because everyone is already used to being on their own. But if you start from year one and you try to make people get used to it everything will be different. That is what does not satisfy me in school.

They did, however, undertake psychometric tests but did not find them very helpful mainly because it revealed what the students had already known. For example, M14 claims, "I know what I am good at, so the test said just that but it was fun to do it". F13 has suggested that the test should have been taken a bit earlier, not at fifteen. "At fifteen, I know whether I like maths or geography or if I like animals or... whatever the questions were... but I did not really know it when I was younger".

Vospitanie related questions, that is questions that asked students to talk about the positive and negative aspects of the school and reveal the details of their ideal day, provided more detailed answers. These, similarly to the questions about professional orientation, cannot be grouped into types as they are very similar irrespective of how the students have interpreted their own activities that prepare them for work. Vospitanie related responses focused on three main aspect of school life:

- Communication with peers
- Behaviour and attitude of the teachers
- Academic subjects

In terms of communication with peers, the students have admitted that they prefer the days when "things went smoothly" (F4) and "nobody argued and quarrelled" (M12). They have expressed a wish that in an ideal situation that would like to have more time for communication with friends.

> AP: Can you describe in detail an ideal day at school?
>
> F2: Most likely…a good meeting with the classmates. Everybody greets each other, talks to each other. There is enough time to talk...

With regard to teachers' behaviour and attitude, the students emphasised that they appreciated when teachers showed them respect and did not raise their voice.

> AP: What do you not like in the school?
>
> F2: Teachers' attitude. Splitting us into goodies and baddies. One of the teachers tells us: " You are good that is why I give an assignment of more difficult level. And you, you are bad, no brains – so you will get a simple task. I do not like this. Some of the teachers give marks according to what we look like.

F12: I do not like some of the teachers.

AP: what don't you like about them?

F12: Some of the teachers are too strict and they demand too much. The teacher of algebra speaks so fast, I cannot catch up with her. The teacher of chemistry does not treat us well. Not all of them are like that but...

The students also emphasise the importance of informal communication during the lesson which goes beyond the subject matter.

AP: What can you grade in your school as 'very good'?

F8: There are different moments. Sometimes it is fun and you feel better, especially at the lesson when teachers tell anecdotes just to make the topic more interesting. They tell different stories, say about their own life.

AP: Could you please describe an ideal day at school?

M8: the most important thing is that the teachers would not shout at us; none of them would get angry and they will tell us something interesting.

With regard to academic subjects, the students have singled out those lessons that were unusual in some way; this includes both content and delivery.

AP: what lesson do you remember well that you really liked.

M10: there was this lesson of chemistry where we were told about how glass was made; this was very interesting.

AP: Can you remember a lesson that you liked and remember well?

F12: I like all lessons of biology, especially the practical part when we look at things through microscope or they show us human brain or something.

Discussion and conclusions

The analysis presented in this chapter has pursued two aims. The first was to find how prepared students were for the world of work. The second was to consider students' preparation for the world of work as part of the historically dynamic context of school practices. This includes students' involvement in vospitanie and professional orientation. Both sets of findings are discussed below.

The first aim has been met by analysing students' engagement in preparation for work as a network of activity systems, and based on this, their personhood functioning. As demonstrated earlier in the chapter, following an activity theory analysis, differences have been identified in the ways students viewed their preparation for work. As a result, four types of personhood functioning have been identified: 'achievement', 'career', 'connections' and 'suspension' (Fig. 10). Each type of personhood functioning indicates the ways in which young people are prepared and are preparing for the world of work.

Qualifying personhood functions in terms of the worldview, character, abilities and orientation has been possible following the analysis of the interviews with the professionals who have had experience in adapting to the economic conditions of the post-communist labour market (chapter 6). Those who have identified themselves as successful in meeting the challenges of the new market economy have demonstrated that their personhood functioning has developed in terms of widening worldview, high ambition, a widening range of abilities and a strong orientation. For the eight participants who have identified themselves as successful in dealing with the challenging of the new market economy, these functions have ensured they faced new challenges with the motivation to overcome them; they were flexible about the professional aspect of the job they did and persevered in the development of skills and knowledge that they perceived to be necessary to succeed. They were oriented strongly at success, even though success was interpreted as 'survival'. They stayed in charge of their working life and subordinated the circumstances to their will and ambition and learnt quickly about the new demands of the labour market.

The students of the 'suspension' type have developed personhood functions that are the opposite of the ones developed by the eight successful professionals. Their worldview is narrowing, the ambition is low, abilities are selected and orientation has not yet been formed (Fig. 10). These students' involvement in preparation for work is marginal. They are not learning about the world of work or about professions. In terms

of their future working life they do not see themselves as responsible for it and do not agree with their families' plans for them. This type of functioning does not suggest that the students are prepared to engage in the challenges of the market economy that requires independent action, flexibility and ability to learn widely, as demonstrated by the eight interviewed professionals.

Fig. 10: Types of personhood functioning

Narrowing worldview High ambition Personal ethic Wide range of abilities Orientation: strong & to "other people"	Narrowing worldview Low ambition Personal ethic Selected abilities Orientation: weak & to "other people"
Achievement 4 students	**Connections** 8 students
Career 8 students	**Suspension** 10 students
Broadening worldview High ambition Professional ethic Wide range of abilities Orientation: strong & "professional/ "self"	Narrowing worldview Low ambition Personal ethic Selected abilities Orientation – not formed yet

The students of the 'connections' type have formed an orientation but it is guided by commonly perceived notions of success, namely status and financial prosperity, which demonstrates dependence of thinking on others. Although they share all other functions with the 'suspension' type (Fig. 10), they have developed a better

understanding of the current economic situation because they are aware that using connections is a widely used methods of getting a job. Although they are not actively involved in their own preparation for work, they rely on their families to arrange their working life for them. Relying on the parents' connection is a short term solution which contradicts with the conditions of unpredictability and lack of stability in the labour market. Stability, as has been demonstrated by the eight interviewed professionals, is ensured by staying in charge of one's own life and knowing what it means to be ambitious, which students of this personhood type are not demonstrating.

The personhood functions developed by the students of the 'achievement' type are the same as demonstrated by the eight interviewed professionals but for the narrowing worldview. Their strong orientation, a wide range of abilities and high ambition appear to demonstrate that they are preparing themselves adequately for the world of work (Fig. 10). However, these personhood functions are developing in relation to academic success only (they are interested in and successful at most academic subjects), without extending it to the learning about the world of work, which the analysis of the interviews with professionals has demonstrated to be very important in the conditions of the market economy.

Personhood functions developed by students of 'career' type are identical to those of the eight interviewed professionals. They are the only students out of the sample group of thirty who are developing a widening worldview, that is concentrating not on the professional skills only but learning about the potential of the profession in the changed economic climate (Fig. 10). Compared to other groups, whose orientation is to 'other people', these students are oriented towards the 'self'. This implies that they are actively engaged in the construction and reconstruction of their own personhood, and at the time of the interview it was linked to one professional interest. It has to be noted that the eight individuals indicated during the biographical interviews (chapter 6) that they started their working life with a strong interest and active engagement in a profession or occupation, which is similar to how the students of the 'career' type are starting their journey in the world of work. Thus, it appears that this is the only group of students that are preparing themselves for the world of work in a way that embraces the recent changes in the Russian labour market.

With regard to the second aim pursued in this chapter – considering students' preparation for work as part of school practices, including vospitanie and professional orientation, the findings are less evident. Students found it more difficult to provide

descriptions of school practices. However, the findings that have been gained have some value for answering the main research question and are discussed below.

In terms of professional orientation, the students' accounts contradict those of their teachers in that they claim they do not participate in the events that the teachers name as the tools of professional orientation. They say they have not participated in the visits to companies or industrial enterprises or presentations delivered by the representatives of different professions. The only tool they have used is psychometric testing. Since the teachers' references to the tools of professional orientation are more rhetorical rather than related to real events, it may be concluded that they named these tools because they believe in their effectiveness and may not have applied them in practice. As there are no observation data, this contradiction in the findings cannot be fully resolved. However, it has to be noted that during my fieldwork I did not hear about career related events which have been carried out or which were planned.

Students' references to vospitanie are mainly related to the quality of communication between them and the teachers. This echoes the findings gained as a result of the repertory grids (chapter 5); the students were not appreciative of harsh discipline measures and lack of respect for them demonstrated by the teachers. The findings from the repertory grids exercise shows that these comments are made in reference to the teachers trained in the 1970s and, to an extent, to those trained in the 1980s.

For the three groups of students, career, achievement and connections, school is a place where adequate education is gained. For students of the career and achievement type the engagement in academic studying is motivated by their strong orientation to succeed in the future. For the 'connections' type it is motivated by the families' plans of how success can be arranged for them. The students from the 'suspension' type to the school make few references to the school as a provider of academic qualifications; their position is not clear.

What is evident, based on the analysis of all the interviews that the role of the school as a provider of academic qualifications, is the only role that the students attribute as having any relevance to preparation for work. There is only some evidence from the 'careers' group of students that school is also a place where they develop their social skills. Instead, it is families (for 'connections' and 'suspension' types) and out of school clubs (for 'career' type) that students describe as supporting them in preparation for the world of work. The research question asked in this thesis did not suggest exploring the

role of the families, as it is mainly focused on the school practices. However, preparation of students for work in this thesis is theorised as individuals' participation in a number of socio-historic activities and personhood functioning as a concept that links participation in different activities. From this point of view, school practices cannot function in isolation from other practices in which the students participate. Therefore it was inevitable that the family was going to be mentioned in one way or another in the students' interviews. The less expected outcome is that more than half of the students ('connections' and 'suspension' types) strongly rely on their families to construct opportunities for the future working lives. This echoes the teachers' views who consider the family as a very important in preparing students for work. However, the teachers do not expand on whether there is a working relationship between the school and families. It is evident, though, that the teachers from the 1980s cohort transfer the responsibility for the students' upbringing to the family. The findings about the role of the families in shaping students' personhood functioning have helped to establish how prepared students are for the world of work, but in addition, it has indicated that in order to answer the main research question fully, the relationship between school and families practices should be explored in-depth. This implies that additional data have to be collected which should involve school staff and family members.

The role of the out of school clubs is not discussed in the literature on vospitanie and professional orientation despite the fact that Russia has a long tradition of providing out of school services for children and young people. The clubs that the young people refer to in the interviews are run by the municipal centres, called in Russian 'palaces of culture' (Siegelbaum, 1999). These centres include dancing, science laboratories, zoological clubs, arts and crafts, drama societies, etc. (ibid.). It is evident from the analysis of the interviews with the 'career' oriented students that their preparation for work is mainly mediated by practicing their professional skills out of school, including such clubs. The teachers' interviews do not have references to the clubs, and as the focus of the thesis has not been on the school's relationship with outside agencies, is it is difficult to analyse the links between the school practices and services provided by out of school facilities. However, this finding suggests that in order to gain a full understanding of how students are prepared for work in schools, these relationships have to be explored.

With regard to the historical aspect of the main research question, it has been difficult to establish direct links between students' personhood functioning and particular historical dynamics that have been revealed through the analysis of the interviews with

the teachers. Some of the links can be explained as emerging themes rather than direct, analytically sound relationships between two sets of findings. Thus, the teachers from 1970s (A) and 1980s (B) cohort groups have shown a tendency to see students' position in preparation for work as passive. This has some relevance to the findings from the interviews with the students of the 'connections' and 'suspension' types who are not in charge of their own preparation for work. Instilling values of hard work which leads to predictable outcomes of success have been emphasised by the teachers from cohort group A; similar values are discussed by the students of the 'achievement' type of personhood functioning but there are only four of them. Getting a higher education degree, and generally seeing qualifications as a safe route to finding a job is pointed out by the students, which is also emphasised by the teachers from the cohort group B. Differentiation by ability has not been recognised by the students as important (based on their views of psychometric testing), whereas it is portrayed as a view held by the teachers from groups A and B. Such links are not analytically sound as there are no data from practice observations to explore how they are established and sustained in discursive practices that the teachers have pointed out asvery important for preparing students for the world of work. The tool that has been considered capable of serving as an analytical bridge between two sets of interview data, in the absence of observation data, is the concept of personhood functioning. Although theoretically personhood functions are those relationships between practices and individual development that explain how the personal culture is organised by collective culture (Valsiner, 1998), the absence of the observation data that show whether certain actions mentioned in the interviews do or do not happen in practice makes it impossible to make valid conclusions.

Overall conclusions in relation to the main research question are discussed in the next, final chapter.

Chapter 8

Discussion and Conclusions

Introduction

This thesis has offered an exploration of the ways in which students are prepared for employment in the context of post-communist Russia. Using the lenses of the socio-cultural and activity theory, the thesis has explored what constitutes preparation for work in Russian schools and has followed its trajectory of development over thirty years which have seen Russia emerge from the regime which was controlled by the Soviet government to a society that began to construct practices which are associated with democracy. This transition is usually associated with challenges at both macro and micro levels of societal functioning. The study, therefore, has considered preparation for work in schools both from the position of what was 'preached' and what was 'practiced', thus studying educational processes through documentary analysis and an empirical study.

Career education, career guidance and vocational education and training are inter-related processes which have been addressed by governments and educational systems in a culturally specific way. Preparation for work is a process that depends on such macro factors as production levels and new economic aims. In research, these processes are usually considered from the point of the recent past, such as an introduction of a new career education policy. It is less customary to study career-education processes as historically dynamic. This thesis has attempted to view preparation for work as a process, where the past, present and future are inter-related, and their interplay in the same context of a school may have implications for preparing young people for the world of work.

This concluding chapter of the thesis brings together the findings that have been gained as a result of the documentary analysis and empirical study, thus answering the main research question and its sub-questions (chapter 3, p. 61). The discussion begins by considering what preparation for work in Russian schools is; this includes unpacking the two main activities that constitute preparation for work, namely vospitanie and professional orientation. These are then considered from a historical perspective. This is followed by a discussion of how students are creating their own learning spaces using

school pedagogic activities and other resources, thus the pedagogic environment is considered alongside what is referred to in this thesis as 'personhood functioning'. Finally, the idea of an individual in history and history in an individual is explored; the main research question is discussed and limitations of this research are formulated.

Preparation for work in Russian schools

An exploration of the main research question has started with identifying what ideas, concepts and processes constituted preparation for work In Russia. This has formed an important stage in the research process due to the fact that preparation for work in schools has different cultural connotations. Although its main components seem to be represented in most Western educational systems, the forms of realisation, pedagogical processes and methods evolve as a response to the local needs, governmental agenda and educationalists' contributions to theory and practice. Thus, career education, career guidance and vocational training can be considered under the umbrella term of preparation for work.

Using the socio-cultural and activity theory as a guiding analytical framework, it has been possible to start the study of preparation for work in Russian schools from an exploration of concepts and processes that actually weave the cloth of pedagogy that aims to prepare students for the world of work. Through the review of Russian educational literature (Lutovinov & Poletaev, 1996; Nazarenkova, 1998) and the analysis of the textbooks (chapter 4) it has been established that two activities with distinctive but interrelated object-motives constitute preparation for work in Russian schools – vospitanie and professional orientation.

Professional orientation shares characteristics with what is often referred to as career guidance (Harris, 1999). Similarly to career guidance, professional orientation is defined as a process of providing students with information about professions, occupations and the labour market. The methods of career guidance are usually tools of providing information. Both the analysis of the textbooks (chapter 4) and interviews with the teachers in the case study school (chapter 5) have revealed that professional orientation has used such methods as taking students on visits to industrial enterprises to get acquainted with different industries; inviting professionals to the school to talk about their

professions and careers and finally, getting students to take psychometric tests that are designed to demonstrate their inclinations to a particular professional field.

In contrast, vospitanie does not share many characteristics with what appears to be its closest equivalent – career education. Having originated from the pedagogical theories that focused on ethics and social morale (e.g. Makarenko, 1976; chapter 2, pp 23-27), vospitanie is not limited to the issues of career and work; instead, its main aim is to support the development of a person as a whole. Being an organised and institutionalised process, vospitanie cannot be defined as development or socialisation, although it includes both (chapter 4, p. 100). The analysis of the teacher-training textbooks has demonstrated that vospitanie is an activity that underpins professional orientation and, to some extent, guides it. Thus, for example, the concept of a leading activity, which in pedagogical textbooks is defined as labour, was transferred to the conceptual apparatus of professional orientation which created a rationale for promoting training for manual occupations in the Soviet time.

The review of the career education literature has demonstrated a need for a link between career education and career guidance (Law, 1996, 1999). In the Russian textbooks on pedagogics and professional orientation this argument is evident in the form of a conceptual link between vospitanie and professional orientation (chapter 4). Through the interviews, the teachers have also highlighted the importance of both vospitanie-based tools and the tools of professional orientation. However, this is not realised in the practical context of the case study school, as evidenced through the interviews with students, who claim that they have not experienced the methods of professional orientation, such as visits to industrial enterprises and presentations by invited professionals.

The link between vospitanie and vocational experience has not been identified through the analysis of the case study data either, despite the fact that the Soviet teacher-training textbooks and the new Programme of Professional Orientation in Schools (Chistyakova, 2000) emphasise the importance of practical experience in preparation of students for the world of work. The teachers of the 1970s cohort group, however, refer to the industrial workshops that were used in the Soviet times; they consider it an important part of preparation for work. This does not, however, happen in the case study school as the interviews with the students and ethnographic data demonstrate.

The case study has also revealed that preparation for work is a within school process, not connected to industry or other agencies. The current movement in other cultural contexts is towards the development of school partnerships with industries and agencies that can

support schools' endeavours to prepare students for the world of work. An example of this is the UK where schools are expected to develop partnerships with the service called Connexions, which supports students at risk of social exclusion to find education and training that they need (Teachernet, 2009).

Historical dynamic of preparation for work

A core aspect of the main research question has been to explore how historical changes in Russia have affected the delivery of preparation for work n schools. This focus has been motivated by the political transformation Russia experienced after 1991. The research assumption has been that macro transformations at this scale are likely to affect educational theory and practice, which in their turn impact on the real experiences young people have in schools. That is why an exploration both of theory of preparation for work and data from a particular school context have been necessary to respond to the main research question.

The analysis conducted as part of this thesis demonstrates that preparation for work in Russia, as a network of two inter-related activities, has experienced an ideological shift. This is evident both through the analysis of the teacher-training text-books and the interviews with teachers. Both sets of findings show that the shift has been motivated by the political movement of de-ideologisation (Webber, 2000) of thought and practice. Thus, the text-books published during the Soviet era make pre-requisite references to ideas and mottoes promoted by the Soviet state. Examples include references to communist ideals, Soviet leaders, importance of hard work for the benefit of the state and patriotism. The same ideological references are made by the teachers of the 1970s cohort group. The textbooks published after 1991 have demonstrated a deliberate attempt to rid the text of all the communist jargon (see chapter 4 for details). References to the communist ideals have been replaced by narratives that argued against the collective and uniting nature of the communist pedagogy; the first references to a child-centred approach began to appear at this time, which were defined as the humanisation of education. This tendency is, to an extent, replicated in the findings gained as a result of analysing the interviews of the 1990s cohort group of teachers. They have shown little nostalgia for the communist values and some aspirations to help develop more competent professionals who could raise the level of service in Russia that was moving away from Soviet economic structures and practices.

Despite this identifiable shift in its ideological position, preparation for work has demonstrated relative stability in maintaining the same conceptual framework. This is evidenced through both, the documentary analysis and the case study. Irrespective of the year of publication, the teacher-training textbooks have revealed a narrative schema that is based on the inter-relationship of two pedagogical concepts – vospitanie and personhood. In short, the schema establishes personhood as the object of vospitanie. Vospitanie is considered to be the process that affects personhood the most, more than socialisation which is believed to be a more passive process. Personhood, in its turn is a functioning social system that is actively interacting with the social world, including the process of vospitanie. Vospitanie is believed to be capable of constructing conditions where personhood can develop as a response to the main needs of society. Personhood is not passive, and does not deny individuality, but its main theoretical role is to "realise individual way of societal being" (Dodonov, 1985, p. 37). This schema is present in the teachers' accounts of preparation for work. They also name personhood as the object-motive of preparation for work, and consider vospitanie as a powerful activity which shapes personhood functioning.

It is evident, however, through analysis of the interviews, that some of the philosophy underpinning the personhood-vospitanie dyad has been lost. The teachers have interpreted vospitanie and their own role in it, as leading the development of personhood; students' own participation in the development of their own personhood is not foregrounded. This is evident through the teachers' accounts of the position they attributed to themselves and families in the preparation of students for work. Students are mostly described as occupying a dependent position. Although it is widely acknowledged that preparation for work should be a process that organises an individual's trajectory for preparing to enter into the world of work (Carr, 1993; Canning, 2007), the literature also strongly emphasises the role of the individual's agency in the construction of this trajectory of participation (Wijers & Meijers, 1996). The analysis of the interviews with professionals in this thesis also demonstrates that it is through a strong orientation towards success and a widening worldview that the interviewees overcame the challenges presented by the post-communist labour market.

Conceptually, both vospitanie and professional orientation aim to create conditions under which personhood can develop functioning that is deemed most adequate at a particular point in time. From a theoretical perspective, preparation for work in Russia does not focus entirely on the development of core skills (Canning, 2007) or skills of employability (Overtoom, 2000), which refer to one area of life only. Instead, professional orientation is

considered a part of vospitanie that aims to develop personhood as a whole social system which includes development in all areas and aspects of life. Recent research in career education and guidance (Law, 2006) demonstrate that such conceptualisation of preparation for work is most efficient. People are becoming more active in how they make links among different areas of their life, including information gathering, networking and professional development. Individuals are more likely to merge their different identities and social roles that they did before.

> It is a moot point which role offers more leverage on life – worker, partner, citizen or consumer. In people's lives, each is linked to all (Law, 1999, p. 35)

The above quotation implies that career education and guidance should cease creating lists (of qualities and characteristics) and focus on what links different points in these lists. Flores-Crespo (2007) concurs with this view by pointing out that education should not only provide quick access to the labour market, but should also contribute to expanding human capabilities. It has to be noted that although historically the conceptual link between vospitanie and personhood in Russian educational theory has been maintained and is advantageous for the direction that preparation for work can take in the future, the analysis of the case study has shown that this conceptual link is not used to its full advantage. For example, there is a strong emphasis on academic accreditation (emphasised by 1980s group) and the trait and factor aspect of development (supported by 1970s and 1980s cohort groups of teachers). Hillage and Pollard (1998) believe such an approach robs preparation for work of its potential to impact an individual as a whole.

Preparation for work: pedagogical environment of in the case study school

Investigation into what constitutes preparation for work in Russian schools and its historical analysis has enabled an insight into the kind of pedagogical environment in which students are prepared for the world of work. Although it has been impossible to gain

an opportunity to conduct classroom observation, I spent a considerable amount of time in the school and gathered some ethnographic data about how the school's approach to vospitanie and professional orientation were organised. This, combined with the detailed analysis of the teachers' pedagogical views, through the analysis of the interviews and repertory grids with students, has enabled me to draw some conclusions with regard to the dominant tendencies that shaped preparation for work in the case study school.

As has been argued in the previous section, preparation for work in Russian schools has followed its own culturally unique route through using vospitanie as the dominant pedagogic activity, and professional orientation as a supplementary one. However, the case study has demonstrated that the teachers have interpreted the theory in the ways that reflected their various, historically formed, views of preparation for work. With regard to theories of career education and guidance (see chapter 2, pp. 43-48), these views tend to point in the direction of not one, but several theories.

The analysis of the case study data has demonstrated that the teachers' positions with regard to preparation for work are split. The teachers of the 1970s and 1980s cohort strongly support differentialist views (Gothard, 1993; Brown & Brooks, 1984) as they consider the match between trait and factor as the one of the most important aspects of preparation of students for work. The teachers of the 1990s cohort do not deny the importance of the trait and factor aspects of preparation for work, however, they think that students' interests should play an important part in the construction of the future working life trajectory. All three groups consider psychometric tests to be extremely important for the identification of what students are most capable of, which in its turn should help them choose the most suitable career path. The trait and factor based approach to preparation for work is based on vospitanie being embedded in some of the ideological ideas inherited from the Soviet past. Thus, in the Soviet Union teachers were obliged to direct students to particular occupations. The teachers in the case study school continue to believe this is important; one of the teachers refers to it as an "unobtrusive propaganda". Recent studies in career guidance (Teachernet, 2009) advocate impartial guidance being preferable in supporting students as it provides more opportunities for students' active engagement in developing their future working life trajectories.

The structuralist approach (Hotchkiss & Borrow, 1996) is supported by all three cohort groups of teachers. They see the role of vospitanie, where they play the leading role, and view the families as dominant in preparing students for the world of work. Thus, it is the

social environment and its power that shape what a student will be doing in the future and how she or he will cope with it.

The analysis of the case study shows little support for career education theories that tackle issues of knowledge society (Drucker, 1993; Seltzer & Bentley, 2001). This is evident through the teachers' interpretation of personhood as inactive and passive. Such a passive position in pedagogic activities restricts the development of some attributes of employability in the knowledge society such as problem solving, self-organisation, risk management and communication (Seltzer & Bentley, 2001). However, the teachers' views reflect some of the ideas proposed by career-learning theory (Law, 1999) in that teachers conceptualise the object-motive of preparation for work as personhood which implies that an individual's life is not compartmentalised into work and other aspects of life, but is an inter-linked process.

The analysis of the case study has also demonstrated that no vocational experience is offered to the students. Fuller and Unwin (2004, cited in Taylor & Watt-Malcolm, 2007) argue that all learning environments in which young people prepare themselves for employment should be structured so that they could demonstrate their abilities and discover their identity. This is realised through offering students an opportunity to participate in a variety of environments, including apprenticeship-type experiences. It has to be noted that not all vocational experiences are useful for preparing students for work. Vocational experience used as a job-tasting exercise (Marsden, 1989) has been criticised for being too restrictive in terms of allowing the demonstration of abilities and discovery of identity.

Overall, based on the discussion above, pedagogical environment in the case study school can be characterised as a restrictive, rather than expansive learning space (Fuller and Unwin, 2004, cited in Taylor & Watt-Malcolm, 2007; Konkola et al., 2007). Expansive learning environments, Law (1999) argues, are defined as spaces which include

- Learning to deal with global and social complexity.
- Learning for change-of-mind flexibility.
- Learning to deal with self stereotyping and ghettoisation.
- Learning to learn (p. 46).

In contrast to this definition, the positions of teachers and students in the pedagogical relationships in the case study school are such that students do not have opportunities to

deal with complexity; instead the focus is on finding the right match between their abilities and a suitable occupation. There is an emphasis, expressed by the teachers of the 1970s and 1980s cohort on preparing students for a predictable future where the change of the initial choice of an occupation is not discussed as a possibility, which contradicts the conditions in the labour market. There is an element of stereotyping which is realised through teachers preferring higher education to any other options students might want to consider. And, finally, there seems very little emphasis on the aim to support students 'learning to learn'; instead, students are seen as passive participants of the process of preparation for work.

Students' preparedness for the world of work

Career education theories tend to consider transformations in an individual as the end product of career education and guidance. Irrespective of whether the end product is considered as core skills or employability skills, it is usually evaluated for how adequate it is in the world of work and employment. Recent arguments point out the importance of considering the end product against the cultural and economic context for which it has been prepared (Law, 2006; Turner, 2002). The findings in this thesis demonstrate that it is personhood functioning that has been named as the end product of preparation for work. Therefore, this section reports on what kind of personhood functioning has been found more effective in overcoming the challenges of the post-communist economy, and discusses this kind of personhood functioning against the findings gained as a result of analysing the interviews with students.

Personhood functioning in the context of post-communist Russia

It has been argued in this thesis that in order to explore individuals' preparedness for work, it is necessary to consider it as a social unit (Yaroshevskii, 1991), situated in a context (Lave, 1996), as a process, not an entity (Valsiner, 1998) and related to mediating devices that have been produced by socio-cultural activities (Holland & Lanchicotte, 2007). Dodonov's (1985) concept of personhood functioning has been especially useful in overcoming the tendency of compiling a list of qualities that an individual should posses, as in the case of listing core skills or skills of employability; and instead, considering an

individual's engagement in socio-cultural activities as a linked-in process. Some recent developments in career education and guidance move away from the former view and develop conceptualisation of preparedness for work in terms of links constructed among social contexts, rather than transferability of skills (Law, 1999, 2006; Turner, 2002). Hillage and Pollard (1998) interpret employability as "the capability to move self-sufficiently within the labour market to realise potential through sustainable employment" (p. 2). This is based on understanding of employability, not only as a skill to gain, maintain and change employment, but also an ability to maintain the quality work that individuals deem necessary for realising their potential.

The change in conceptualisation of the product of career education and guidance has occurred because the world changes on a global scale which affects the employer and employee relationship, knowledge and skills required working productively in the knowledge society, and attitudes of individual to work and employment (Brown, 1999; Sennett, 1998). The general tendency has been towards expansion and diversification of both opportunities and requirements. This change in the paradigm relates to the experiences of the professionals who participated in this research. Those who consider themselves as successful in overcoming the challenges of the market economy, have developed a widening worldview and a wide range of abilities. Over the years, these participants have worked on expanding the opportunity field, networks and the ways in which they acquire and process information. It has become important for them be flexible about what they learn and know, and which skills they develop (chapter 6). Widening worldview implies that these individuals have learnt to see "personal and external circumstances as inter-related" (Hillage & Pollard, 1998, p. 3). Karseth and Nerland (2007) find this kind of functioning important for maintaining modern professionalism:

> Modern professionalism depends on a reflexive management of knowledge and learning within a context of negotiation between different concerns (p. 335).

Law (1999) supports the above views as he argues that learning progression through the world of work develops ineffectively if individuals are "unable to see where and how to focus questions, not knowing whom to ask and what" (p. 37). Hillage and Pollard (1998) also point out that employers themselves do not know what kind of jobs they will be able

to offer in the future. Therefore a widening worldview is a function that appears to be considered effective outside the context of post-communist Russia as it responds to the demands of the labour markets globally. The same can be argued for a widening range of abilities. A job for life is deemed to be an idea of the past in many Western capitalist societies (Karseth and Nerland, 2007). The modern motto of career education and guidance is to prepare for the unexpected.

The professionals who have been interviewed as part of this research have experienced unpredictability which replaced the relative stability and secure employment hat existed in the USSR. Some processes such as de-ideoligisation of thinking (Webber, 2000) and westernisation of employment have generated in the labour market environment (in the years following the political coupe of 1991) specific features, not necessarily corresponding to the global changes. These features necessitated personhood functioning that may not be necessarily thought of as progressive or effective in the modern Western labour markets. For example, the interviewed professionals who have identified themselves as successful have developed an orientation towards 'survival'. This qualification of orientation has been generated based on the analysis of concrete real-life stories of individuals who have lived through the post-communist change. 'Survival' is associated with financial gain which allows overcoming the challenges that the post-communist economy placed in front of the participants of this research. Noddings (2003), who grounds her argument in post-modernism and the cultural context of the USA, argues strongly against focusing solely on financial gain or material conditions of life. She maintains that it is emphasis on money that has made educational outcomes poor. Instead, the focus should be on happiness.

> Given the state of the world and the documented loss of happiness among individuals, perhaps we should be more concerned with understanding and preventing violence, offering more courses in peace education. Understanding and treating substance abuse, promoting self-understanding and interpersonal relations, protecting the environment, teaching love of place, parenting, spiritual awakening, preparing for congenial occupation, encouraging lasting pleasure in the arts, and developing sound character and a pleasing personality (Noddings, 2003, p. 200)

Sen (1999, cited in Flores-Crespo, 2007) also argues that the movement in the modern labour market should be characterised by a "process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy" (p. 3). In the years of 2000-2001 when the participants of this research were interviewed, the sudden transformation in the country and increasing poverty levels raised individuals' interest in material and financial gain, which was a typical transformation for most of post-communist societies (Birzea, 1994). The fact that the professionals, who identified themselves as successful, have developed an orientation towards survival, points out that they adapted well to the new situation. Their orientation has not always been towards survival in their lives (some used to have a strong professional orientation), but it has always been well-defined and guided their professional journey. Orientation towards survival is a personhood function that has enabled the professionals to engage with the social environment in ways that made sense to them and saved them from unemployment which at that time just after 1991 was the greatest danger. The analysis of the interviews with these professionals has demonstrated that context-specific research in career education is very important as it prioritises some functions over others.

In this thesis the need to include affective aspects of individuals' participation in work and employment has been emphasised. Traditional career theories have not considered the affective aspect of participation in the labour market as a stable emotional relationship between individuals and social environments. In contrast, Dodonov's (1985) conceptualisation of personhood specifically addresses this issue through the introduction of character as a personhood function that is an integral part of the whole system of personhood. Thus, the analysis of the interviews with the eight professionals who have considered themselves as successful, shows that they have managed to expand a range of abilities because they have been motivated to succeed; their ambition, a function of personhood, has been equally high irrespective of the context in which they have decided to work. Often ambition is described as a cognitive function which relates to aims and goals, which is not what underpins a person's long-term engagement in the world of work. In order to maintain an interest and motivation to work and succeed, a person should develop an individualised emotional function that supports their engagement in work and employment. Law (1999) argues that people whose learning progression is not effective are "unable to say what gave them ideas about work and self" and are "readily persuaded by the stereotyped, fashionable, popular or superstitious" (p. 37-38). In contrast, the eight interviewed professionals have demonstrated a sound understanding of where their motivation came from and how it related to their working trajectory (chapter 6). They were mainly motivated by their desire to provide for the family, by love and attachment to their

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spouses and children. Only one participant, who finished school in the 1990s, was oriented to the exploration of the self (she wanted to explore what she was capable of doing and find out what interested her more); this was supported by professional ethic and high ambition.

Overall, the analysis of personhood functioning in the post-communism context, based on the analysis of thirty working biographies, has demonstrated that the functions that helped people cope with the challenges of the market economy and achieve a degree of subjective well-being (Noddings, 2003), are widening worldview, a wide range of abilities, high ambition and well-defined orientation; and the reliance of these functions on personal or professional ethic.

Students' personhood functioning and pedagogical environment in the case study school

The aim of the analysis of the students' interviews has not been to compare their functions with those of the interviewed professionals but to qualify their functioning in terms generated by that analysis; that is to identify what kind of students developed what kind of personhood functioning and consider it against the context of post-communist Russia and the pedagogical environment of the case study school.

The analysis of the interviews with students has revealed that the students have formed different activity system networks to prepare themselves for the world of work. Four types of personhood functioning have been identified as a result of the analysis. Two groups of students, referred here as 'connections' and 'suspension' have described their position in their own preparation for work as dependent on others, mainly their family. Students who represent 'achievement' and 'careers' types of personhood functioning have demonstrated an active engagement in the activity system networks that form their preparation for work. It is how they positioned themselves in activity systems or networks, that defined their personhood functioning.

'Suspension' and 'connections' groups of students have demonstrated personhood functions that, couched in terms generated through the analysis of professionals' interviews, are less likely to support them in the conditions of the post-communist labour market in Russia. In contrast to the eight professionals who have identified their working trajectories as successful, the students of 'suspension' and 'connections' types have developed a narrowing worldview and a limited range of abilities, which, as has been

argued above, can prevent individuals from engaging actively and effectively in a rapidly changing working environment. Students of these two types have demonstrated full dependence on their families, with some students in the 'suspension' category not being the subjects of activities that prepare them for work. The students in both of these groups have described their families as in charge of what they become in the future. However, students representing the 'connections' type, have demonstrated an understanding of the importance of networks and connections in finding employment. In the market economy this is perceived to be a useful employability asset (Overtoom, 2000; Clarke & Winch, 2006). However, this asset is not supported by high ambition and well-defined orientation, which form the basis of active engagement in one's own working trajectory, as Hillage and Pollard (1998) justifiably notice:

> merely being in possession of employer-relevant knowledge, skills and attitudes is not enough for an individual to either 'move self-sufficiently' in the modern labour market or 'realise their potential'. People also need the capability to exploit their assets, to market them and sell them (p. 2).

The set-up of activity systems in which the students of 'suspension' and 'connections' types are involved show a tendency to restrict the students' participation in their own preparation for work. The teachers in the case study school prioritise the development of values such as a conscientious attitude to work, but this is not grounded in vocational experience; these students show little interest in particular professional fields. This is supported by their families who, as in the case of 'connections' type have arranged the first employment for their children, hence removing the need for these young people to seek it on their own. The school's overall emphasis, as has been pointed out in the previous section, is on trait and factor matching, that is locating a niche in which a student might become successful. In other terms, this is a theory that aims to support an ability to make a choice. Law (2006) argues that such theories

> work best with people who are used to processing information, are in a position to draw on a range of experience, think systematically in linking idea to idea, are practised in speaking up for themselves – and asking pushy questions (p. 10).

A choice-oriented preparation for work is effective for individuals who act as described above. Others are less responsive to this approach (Turner, 2002). The students of 'suspension' and 'connections' types have demonstrated, through narrowing rather than widening worldview, a selected, rather than wide range of abilities, low ambition and an undefined orientation, that they have not developed assets described above as essential when engaged in a trait and factor based preparation for work in school. Often persons learn independently of school, and this learning that usually depends on family is decisive. Law argues that improvement of career education and guidance at school level

> depends upon co-operative inter-school and community links. [...] policy would envisage a person, in conversation with others in the neighbourhood and beyond, assembling and re-assembling configurations of possible selves in possible futures. The person would tentatively, but by 'due process', arrive at a decision not only that they can make but that they can live with (Law, 1999, p. 44).

Successful examples of such an approach include practices in the UK where schools collaborate with the services that support students who happen to be in a similar position as students of 'suspension' and 'connections' types (Teachernet, 2009; Turner, 2002).

The students of 'achievement' type of personhood functioning have demonstrated functions similar to those of professionals who have successfully overcame the challenges of post-communist economic situation. Their ambition is high and it supports their strong orientation to succeed in whatever they decide to do in the future. At the time of the interview academic achievement seemed to be their main priority and they linked it to their success in the future. Although flexibility in making a professional choice is an asset that is deemed desirable in the conditions of the knowledge society (Drucker, 1993; Wijers & Meijers, 1996), education alone does not determine effective adjustment to the condition of the market economy. Flores-Creso (2007) argues that higher education does not necessarily meet all of the needs as there are economic impediments in the way. Taylor and Watt-Malcolm (2007) point out the reason why focusing on one set of knowledge and skills may not be sufficient for adequate preparation of students for the world of work.

> The issue of access to different forms of knowledge is key to understanding whether schools provide expansive or more restricted learning environments (p. 32).

The interviews with the students of the 'achievement' personhood functioning type have demonstrated that they focus on academic studies, albeit showing an interest in a variety of subjects, and do not extend beyond the remits of the school. Teachers of the 1970s cohort have pointed out that the system of professional orientation in the Soviet Union benefitted from the range of opportunities students had to practice vocational skills, which expanded their understanding of work and employment. An ethnographic study of the school's approach to preparation for work has revealed that the school relies mainly on teachers' efforts to prepare students for the world of work, rather than on any other resources (chapter 5, p. 127).

Compared to the three groups of students that have been discussed, students of 'career' type have demonstrated personhood functioning similar to that developed by the eight 'successful' professionals. The main difference from the other groups is that 'career' students are involved in practising the chosen profession. This is not organised by the school but is reliant on the student's own initiative. Recent research in effective preparation for work shows that gaining practical experience in a professional or occupational field is important. Often realised in the form of apprenticeship, this approach has received substantial criticism as Taylor and Watt-Malcolm (2007) notice. However, increasingly, experiencing professions in real life (Teachernet, 2009) is becoming an important part of preparation of young people for the world of work. Recently the UK education system has undergone a substantial transformation in the 14-19 sector (DCSF, 2009). Diploma courses, or lines of learning, have been introduced. They offer students opportunities to experience learning in several different contexts such as schools, colleges and workplaces; the emphasis is placed on practical activities and integrated curriculum. This appears to contradict the fact that authorising knowledge of a particular field has become problematic. But Karseth and Nerland (2007) point out that

> The emphasis given to abstract and mediated forms of knowledge in a knowledge society implies a need for a profound understanding of the field in question (p. 336).

Thus, students of the 'career' type seem to have developed learning spaces that take advantage of the tools offered by the different environments in which they organise their preparation for work. Students focus on academic achievement, which is prioritised by the case study school. This is emphasised by the 1980s cohort of teachers and pointed out by the students in the interviews. In addition, these students are learning to function in a professional field which they consider to be their future working life. In a way, these students have organised what in the German system of education is referred to as a dual system (Clarke & Winch, 2006; German Culture, 2005), that is a combination of academic study and practical experience. This system is a "result of a remarkable and long-standing partnership between the state and employers" (Phillips, 2000, p. 305). The Soviet system of preparation for work also emphasised the importance of vocational experience, however, this was motivated by an aim to increase the workforce of manual workers (see chapter 4 above). The case study has demonstrated that, overall, the case study school has not provided enough opportunities to explore the world of work. However, the students of the 'career' type have organised a network of two contexts – school and out-of-school activity and have linked them in a meaningful way. This echoes Law's (1999) interpretation of preparation for work in schools. He believes that

> In order to achieve transfer of learning, a student must, at first imaginatively, relocate him or herself to somewhere else, doing something else, with someone else (p. 46).

Although imaginative relocation, according to the teachers' interviews happens in the case study school during lessons when teachers discursively construct situations that explore modern life values and create links to the world outside the school, it is only 'career' type students who have gained access to practical experience. These students respond easier to a trait and factor based career education and guidance, which leads to a choice; their arrangements outside the school are such that enables them to take from the school exactly what is needed for their preparation for work.

Preparation for work as a field of study: theoretical considerations

The socio-cultural and activity approach, selected in this thesis as the analytical framework, has proved to be a helpful tool for studying preparation for work. The initial idea underpinning this research was to establish what constituted preparation for work in Russia before it could be studied from a historical perspective and be linked to the study of students' engagement in it. The socio-cultural and activity theory has been found to be an adequate analytical tool because it considered both practice and individuals' development. As preparation for work is an institutionalised practice which aims to help students to prepare for employment and, hence, connects practice and individuals' needs, the socio-cultural and activity theory has been chosen to guide both methodological considerations and analytic processes.

Traditionally, research in careers education and guidance has aimed to evaluate an impact of particular initiatives and programmes (Finegold, 1993). It has sought to answer the question: "Has it worked?". Recently, however, there has been a shift towards research that seeks to understand processes underpinning preparation for work in more detail and to find connections among its different aspects. Such diagnostic research is predicated on the understanding of particular cultural foundations in which preparation for work has emerged. In this thesis, the socio-cultural and activity theory has been employed in order to avoid starting an exploration of preparation or work in schools from already known truths. Using the notion of an activity system, as a unit of analysis, has enabled an access to the study of what really constitutes preparation for work in Russia. If, from the very start, this research had been guided by an aim to locate activities that resemble career education or career guidance, as they are known elsewhere, then the study of vospitanie could have been missed. A more open-ended approach, where an activity system helped taking a snapshot of activities at particular times led to a finding that vospitanie is the basis of preparation for work, and professional orientation that shares characteristics with career guidance (as it is defined, for example, in the UK), is not considered separately from vospitanie.

An important element of an activity which defines and moves it forward is an object-motive. In this thesis, the concept of an object-motive has played an important role because it has traced different movements in preparation for work, both over time and in the interpretations made by different participants of the research process. A thematic

analysis, for example, would have not retained such a clear focus on what has been central to vospitanie and professional orientation. In fact, maintaining this focus has led to a revelation that the object-motive of preparation for work in Russian schools is personhood. Consequently, the study of personhood (as functioning that links points in time and different contexts) has enabled an exploration of both real-life working trajectories and projections of students' trajectories into the future.

There are other approaches, for example, advocated by Law (1999), that consider preparation for work as creating links between contexts and an individual, not lists which are deemed to be a property of an individual. He insists that career learning is inseparable from a person's participation in other aspects of her life. He also describes a career learning space that takes into account other aspects of a person's life. However, Law does not expand on an analytic framework that can help exploring different experiences of a person and explaining how this person is synthesising them into a journey she is taking through life. Personhood, in contrast, is not a person and is not a practice; it is a social structure-process that links subjective perceptions and objectified life contexts. Personhood functioning does not have to be applied to a working life. Widening worldview, for example, is likely to be descriptive of other areas of a person's life, than just work.

From this point of view, this thesis has made a contribution to the field of study of preparation for work in schools because it has offered an analytical tool that can be used effectively for exploring individuals' participation in contemporary careers education and guidance. With a growing need to understand preparation for work better, the concept of personhood functioning, understood as grounded in the socio-cultural activities, can be used to analyse career education and guidance in other cultural contexts. For example, the recent introduction of diplomas in the UK systems, as a combined academic and vocational route, is only in its first stage of development (DCSF, 2009). The analytical framework proposed in this thesis can be used to explore the ways in which students participate in two different cultural environments (educational and practice settings). The concept of personhood functioning will be a useful tool to explore links students may establish between these two environments.

History in person and person in history

One aspect of the main research question has implied an investigation of the ways in which individuals are participating in activities that are historically dynamic. This aim has been pursued through the main analytical framework and methodology and design of the study. From the point of view of the socio-cultural and activity theory, which has been employed as the main analytical framework, the issue of an individual in history has been explained through the process of cultural mediation, whereby cultural tools have been understood as capable to transcend boundaries of time and space. Through exploring different elements of an activity system, it has been sought to establish whether they made references to the past, present or future. The concept of personhood has been introduced to explain any relationships individuals establish between contexts and individual development.

Based on these theoretical considerations it has been assumed that identifying personhood functions, and qualifying them in terms of the socio-cultural contexts in which they have emerged, will help to explain the relationship between historical aspects of activities in which students prepare themselves for work. Methodologically, this theoretical assumption has been supported through the use of the methods which have sought to collect the participants' narrative representations of activities (through the use of interviews) and recordings of classroom activities (through the use of classroom observations). The combination of both methods, analysed through the lenses of activity theory, has been expected to provide sufficient evidence to explain in detail how students relate to particular situations where references to the past, present or future were particularly evident.

As has been reported above (chapter 3), during fieldwork it became impossible to collect observation data, and the study of practices in action were then restricted to ethnographic observations of the events and conversations happening in the school while I was collecting the data. The absence of observational data has presented a challenge in gathering sufficient evidence to demonstrate how values and beliefs that the teachers portrayed in their interviews were realised during lesson time. It has been hoped, however, that the use of the concept of personhood, which implies that knowing how personhood is functioning may provide explanations about the kind of activities in which personhood is immersed. The analysis of the interviews with the students, however, has demonstrated that it is impossible to make valid conclusions about students' relationships

with particular aspects of historically dynamic school pedagogies without the evidence of how this is realised in practice itself.

However, as has been argued above, there can be some tentative conclusions made about the relationship between students' personhood functioning and particular aspects of the pedagogic environment. Firstly, it has been found through the repertory grid exercise that students are able to perceive some differences among teachers of the three different cohort groups and describe them in qualitative terms that suggest that some teachers have made more references to the pedagogies of the past than the present or future. Thus, 'strict discipline' as a construct has been seen by students as characteristic of the teachers of the 1980s cohort, and not the 1990s. In addition, during the interviews the students revealed that discipline is often managed through strictness. The analysis of the interviews with the students has revealed that only the 'career' group of students perceive the future as an unpredictable journey, whereas other students have constructed a vision of predicted and stable futures. The teachers of the 1970s and 1980s cohorts also revealed tendencies to conceptualise future as something that can be predicted. Thus, for example, they have suggested that psychometric tests are a good method of identifying what students are good at and this should prevent them from entering the wrong kind of profession. This defines their vision of the future as something that can be set up when students are fifteen; this vision has characteristics of Soviet education which prepared students for a predictable future with guaranteed employment.

These tentative conclusions are suggestive of the possibilities that the research framework devised in this thesis can have when applied to the study of preparation for work. However, the process of analysis has made it clear that such studies should include observational data of the practices that constitute preparation for work in schools. Future research could concentrate on a school-based ethnographic study of these aspects of the curriculum .

Looking to the future

Preparation for work in schools, as a field of study, is supported by active research and continues to raise questions which are important for students, their parents, employers and wider community. This thesis has raised a number of issues that need further investigation.

One of the ongoing concerns is young people's active participation in preparation for the world of work. Although it has been argued for a number of years that the conditions of the knowledge society require an innovative approach to the preparation of young people for work, differentialist and structuralist views still persist. More detailed evidence is needed to inform approaches that take preparation for work beyond considerations of trait and factor and social structures.

> The focus is, ultimately, on the expansion of human freedom to live the kind of lives that people have reason to value, then the role of economic growth in expanding these opportunities has to be integrated into that more foundational understanding of the process of development as the expansion of human capability to lead more worthwhile and more free lives (Sen, 1999, p. 295 cited in Flores-Crespo, 2007, p. 47).

Another issue that has been raised as part of this research is the importance of including history into the analysis of social practices because without a historical focus these contexts may be perceived to exist in one temporal dimension. This thesis has argued that pedagogic environments are historically dynamic and understanding what constitutes this dynamic environment can contribute to a more insightful design of school activities that aim to prepare students for the world of work. As Law (2006) argues

> Indicators for diagnostic research [...] are in the cultural setting for our work. It might suggest that careers-education-and-guidance may have been useful in the past, but less so in the present; that it can work better in some cultural context, but not in others (p. 11).

There are a number of studies that have employed the socio-cultural perspective to explore school to work transitions, apprenticeship and concept of professionalism (for example, Daniels et al., 2005; Konkola et al., 2007). However, the use of the theory can be extended to the study of the actual practices of preparation for work in schools and higher education establishments. One of the ways to use the theory to its full potential is to employ the concept of personhood to the study of individual trajectories of participation in institutional practices and also to the exploration of life-long working trajectories. These areas of study can benefit from the use of the concept of personhood functioning as it responds to the new emerging needs of contemporary career education and guidance, as it is beginning to conceptualise an individual, not in terms of static skills or a list of assets but as a trajectory of participation in various activities that are individually interpreted. The current need, it appears, is to conduct diagnostic research that explores both practices and individual perspectives, and understand relationships between them.

Appendix A: Teacher training in Russia

A typical teacher training course lasts five years. Before 1992, it used to provide university students with a certificate of higher education and professional qualification of a teacher. Since 1992, a new policy required that all graduates achieve a Bachelor's degree and a professional qualification. Despite considerable changes in terminology and paperwork, the actual content changed only to a certain extent (Chepurnih, 2000). Such a course might vary slightly in different institutions across the country but the main curriculum content and structure share a lot of similarities (Pedagokika, 2006). The teacher training curriculum, as with the school curriculum, was unified across teacher training institutions in the Soviet Union (Schweisfurth, 2002). A teacher training course is comprised of four main parts, each of which consists of a number of subjects and courses:

1. Didactics;

2. Methods of delivery (related to a given academic subject);

3. Psychology.

4. Pedagogics.

Didactics provides an insight into the history of teaching methods and skills. It demonstrates common principles that unite teaching methods of all school subjects. Such psychological issues as visual perception or memory capacity are discussed in connection with teaching methods that can be used in the classroom in order to achieve effective learning results. A course in didactics offers accounts of the nature of learning and offers various approaches to it (Pedagokika, 2006).

A course that is closely linked to didactics is methods of subject delivery. Every discipline (mathematics, foreign language, history, etc.) has its own methods of teaching which are specific to the scientific domain this subject relates to. This course provides a tool-kit of teaching methods in a particular academic subject. For teachers of a foreign language, it demonstrates methods for developing reading skills, writing, listening

comprehension and conversational skills. The didactics course draws extensively on psychology and pedagogics courses.

A course in psychology lasts three years. It is aimed at introducing students to general psychology, psychology of childhood and social psychology. A course consists of lectures and seminars, both being extremely theoretical. This course provides foundations for didactics and pedagogics, as it introduces trainee teachers to scientific studies of human development and behaviour, as well as relationships between individuals and society.

A most important subject for trainee teachers is pedagogics. A course in pedagogics introduces students to theories of vospitanie, and trains them in acquiring professional skills of delivering vospitanie. Issues of intellectual, moral, ethical and aesthetic development are discussed in relation to classroom practices. Pedagogics is a social science that requires both knowledge of the content and practical skills of delivery. Trainee teachers undertake teaching experience in schools, where their progress is monitored by lecturers in the chosen subject and also by lecturers in psychology and pedagogics. A graduate is required to have obtained the knowledge and skills of classroom dynamics and to have developed skills to teach a subject and interact with students in the way that will influence their development. It is important to emphasise that practical skills are developed alongside theoretical acquisition of pedagogic concepts, which enables an initiation of a trainee teacher into the teaching profession.

The comparative analysis of the teacher training materials begins with the analysis of personhood, which pedagogics treats as a central pedagogic concept.

Appendix B: interviews with teachers

1. About the teacher

Could you please tell me when you started your career as a teachers and which 'years' do you teach?

What subject do you teach?

Have you ever had a different job? (not teaching)

2. About preparation for work as an activity or a network of activities

How do you prepare students for the world of work? (following from that, if not yet mentioned, why is it important to prepare students for work?)

What, in your opinion, are the most important aspects of preparation of students for the world of work?/ If they talk about vospitanie and professional orientation, then

How does vospitanie contribute to preparation of students for work?

How does professional orientation contribute to preparation of students for work?

3. About students (as a possible object-motive, i.e. personhood)

Can you predict what your students will become in the future?/How do you see your students in the future?/what will help them to get there?

How do you think a young person develops views about the world of work?

4. What does the teacher know about the world of work?

Where do the students gain information about the world of work?

What, in your opinion, are the ways to look for a job? /How do people look for jobs?

What would be an ideal way to find a job?

5. Historical changes

Do you think the changes as a result of Perestroika have influenced the attitude of people to work? In which way?

Do you think the changes as a result of Perestroika have influenced your life and work?

Could you please describe preparation for work as it was when you started working as a teacher?

Why do you think the old system of professional orientation was no longer applicable after 1991? + What do you think about that system? (any aspects that can be useful now?)

Appendix C: feedback from teachers

Dear Teacher,

Could you please read the summary below and identify any points that you disagree with. Please, provide a reason why you disagree with a particular point.

All teachers

The main differences among three groups of teachers are in the ways they approach vospitanie and professional orientation.

- The teachers from the 1970s group think that vospitanie and professional orientation are closely linked.
- The 1980s teachers consider the family to be more in charge of vospitanie and the school being responsible for professional orientation.
- The teachers representing the 1990s group think they are responsible for both, vospitanie and professional orientation but see them as two separate activities.
- All the interviewed teachers think that it is important to have psychometric tests, visits to industrial enterprises and presentations from professionals in the schools as the methods of professional orientation.

Agree:

Disagree (comments):

1970s group

Teachers who started their working experience in the 1970s feel that important elements of the Soviet education are missing from the current set-up of preparation for work in schools. They emphasise the need for the students to develop a contentious attitude to work and choose the right (suitable to their abilities) occupations. They believe that they can shape the students' personhood and that the family also plays an important role in directing the young person's future working trajectory.

1970s

Agree:

Disagree (comments):

Appendix D: interviews with students

1. School life (pedagogies)

Tell me about the things in your school that you could assess as "very good".
Tell me about the things in your school that you could assess as "very bad".
Can you imagine and describe for me an ideal day at school?
Describe a lesson you remember very well and you liked very much.
Described the lesson you really hated.
Describe the lesson that you think helped you prepare (in some way) for future work.
Describe the lesson that had nothing to do, in your opinion, with your future career.

School pedagogies

2. What is this young person most inclined to do in the future and what he/she can be?

What do you think you are best at?
Within which activity do you really feel happy (give examples: organising a party or a seminar, talking, persuading; working on one's own; with documents; read books; helping the teacher)?
What do you want to be?
Why have you chosen this profession/occupation?
What does a person of your profession do as part of his/her job?

How well they understand the requirements of the career they want pursue

Activity system; positions of students in the system

3. Views on the adult world of work

How are you going to build your life (work, family, etc.)?
What's the difference between going to school and going to work?
How do you imagine the adult world of work?
Why do people work?

Can you describe me your friend who, in your opinion, is going to be successful in li and why?
Do you know a person who is very successful?
Can you describe me a friend who, in your opinion, is going to fail in life and why?

What are the ways of looking for a job nowadays?
What would be an ideal way of looking for a job?

Where do you get information (knowledge) about our future work?
Who is more important in preparing you for your future job – school or family?

4. Perestroika change

Do you think you are going to come across any difficulties when looking for job?
Do you think there is a difference between how your parents were starting their careers and how you would?
How have conditions of employment changed since the time your parents were young?

Identifying students' values of work and interpretation of the rules; identifying strategies that that use or will use to get a job;

also their interpretation of the changes in Russia

Appendix E: biographical interviews

1. Year of birth?
2. Place of birth?
3. Did you move cities during your life?
4. What do you do?
5. Where do you work?
6. How many jobs have you changed?[1]

> Identify the journey undertaken; pivotal events.

7. Why did you change them? (ask the Perestroika questions here if the change was linked to it)

8. What are you job responsibilities? (or describe your daily routine)
9. Can you describe
what is positive in your work
what is negative in your work

10. What qualities of you personality are most important for your job?

> Compare these with the qualities required for the imaginable job

11. If you were not doing your current job, what job would you like to have?
12. Describe what you would be doing every day at that imaginable work place?

> 10-15 "triangles" analysis

13. Remember your time at school and tell me what kind of person you thought was successful, and which kind of person you would call successful now
The same about a person who is a failure.
Could you describe someone who you think is successful/not so successful?
14. How does "the adult world of work differ from your expectations of it in your last year at school?

15. How has this world changed as a result of the change in 1991?

16. Can you describe, please, the school/s you went to?
17. area
18. specialised or not
19. how many years did you attend that school?

> Get a feeling of what sort of school the interviewee was attending

20. What did you dis/like about the school?

21. What motivated you to go to school?

22. How did you behave at school (passive/active)?

> The idea is to compare interviewees' school experiences with their working lives. Comparison was very difficult to carry out.

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[1] If there have been several jobs I will ask the participant to compare them. Which one did you like better and why? Which one was easier?

23. What were your relationships with the teachers?

24. What did you want to become after finishing school (how did your intentions develop?)

25. What did you do to prepare yourself for this occupation?

> Was there really "a choice" or adapting to the current situation?

26. What do you think the school did to help you get into the adult world of work?

27. What/who influenced your choice most of all?

28. Why do you think you are where you are now?

29. If you had been able to change your school at your time, what would you have done (to help you get to where you wanted to?)

30. How should the school change now to adapt itself to the after Perestroika change?

31. Have you got any children?

32. How do you want your children's school help get into the adult world of work?

33. How do you help them?

> Get an idea of how adults perceive preparation for work in schools

34. Overall, are you happy with how your life has progressed since 1991? (why?) If, not, what should change?

35. Have you overcome those challenges successfully, in your opinion?

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