

**EDUCATION AND SOCIETY IN MOSCOW:
TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS**

©LAURIE HAWKINS

B.Ed., University of Lethbridge, 1981

**A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Education
of The University of Lethbridge
in Partial Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Degree**

MASTER OF EDUCATION

**LETHBRIDGE, ALBERTA
APRIL, 1999**

ABSTRACT

Within the span of less than a decade, Russian teachers have lived through the collapse of the Soviet Union, the end of Communist rule, the emergence of a free market economy and levels of inflation which have pushed much of the population into poverty. Restrictive government policies have been replaced with an infrastructure often described as corrupt and ineffective. New laws on education now allow for innovative curriculums and methodology, but economic restrictions have limited much possibility for change.

The purpose of this descriptive study is to examine the perceptions of Moscow educators regarding public education and society in Russia. Selected teachers were surveyed and interviewed about their perceptions of recent social, political and economic changes within Russia; communism and the future of communism in Russia; democracy in Russia; schooling, students and teachers in general in Moscow; the creditation and training of educators in Russia; their responsibilities as educators in Russia; and the future of their individual professional lives.

The study discusses the context of education and schooling in Moscow, provides data from a Likert type questionnaire and personal interviews, discusses the quantitative and qualitative data and uses a one way analysis of variance (ANOVA) with teachers' age as the variable. Major findings include teachers' perceptions that the political and economic changes in Russia are "inevitable." Teachers' lives continue to be restricted, however, that restriction is dictated by economics as opposed to political repression. The fall of the communist state is considered desirable and teachers are unsure if the

communist party will ever again form the government of Russia. Teachers do not consider themselves to be "free" or Russia to be a true democracy, and most are undecided if Russia will become a true democracy in their lifetime. As well, the quality of public education is seen to have suffered since the end of the Soviet state with severe underfunding limiting the opportunities for innovative practice. Teachers, however, believe that educators in Russia are well-prepared to be professional teachers in post-communist Russia. They also believe that teachers are responsible for fostering a sense of Russian nationalism and instilling proper values in students. They have an important role to play in shaping Russian society in the future and are optimistic about the future of the teaching profession and the role they will play in determining that future.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The completion of this study was made possible because of the support and guidance of many people. Sincere appreciation is extended to my thesis committee which included Kas Mazurek (as Supervisor), Maggie Winzer, Brian Titley and Mark Sandilands. Their encouragement and advice are very appreciated. Special thanks to Olga Golikova who spent many hours translating, arranging interviews, and assisting with translation, distribution and collection of the survey instrument. Recognition for their tireless support and encouragement must also go to Art Hawkins, Tara Hawkins and Colin Thomson.

Autobiographical Preamble

August, 1995, was a month of turmoil, anxiety, apprehension and excitement for my family as we began an adventure that would change our lives forever. Our home was sold, collectibles stored and our suitcases filled. Three days of hotels, airports and turbulent flights culminated with our arrival at Sheremetevyo Airport in Moscow, Russia.

My husband and I were granted a two year leave of absence (which was extended to three years) from our positions with Lethbridge School District # 51, Alberta, Canada. We were hired by the Anglo-American School of Moscow to teach English-speaking children. Our two sons, aged seven and thirteen, were with us and would become students at the Anglo-American School. Upon arrival we were greeted by school personnel and driven to our guarded and furnished apartment. The adventure of living and working in Moscow began.

Moscow is a city that has experienced incredible change in the last decade. Indeed, the only constant in Moscow today is change. Many Muscovites walk through their city awed by the new neon lights, foreign cars and the masses of goods that are all too available for those with money. Over the last decade, the rule of the almighty dollar has produced unimaginable riches for a tiny minority. Unfortunately, for the vast majority it has resulted in a devastating level of hopelessness as most struggle to survive the elevated prices of basic items such as food and housing.

Larissa Pavlova, (name used with permission), a public school teacher in Moscow who sells old clothes evenings and weekends to supplement the family income, sums up

her frustration with post-communist Russia: "The rich get richer while the rest of us tread water or drown. I work harder than I did in the old days and sometimes that makes it hard to remember what we have gained. Freedom is sweet, but it's a heavy, heavy load."

The opportunity to meet Russian educators like Larissa was captivating. I was keenly interested in what was happening in Russian schools and was particularly intrigued with the plight of teachers in Moscow. In addition to wanting to understand the political, economic and cultural changes since the fall of communism (or what Russians refer to as "Soviet Times") I became especially fascinated with the question of What are Russian teachers' perceptions of public education in Moscow today?

When I returned to Lethbridge in August, 1997, I shared this interest with Dr. Kas Mazurek from the University of Lethbridge. Together we formulated a plan to expand a study that he was conducting in Poland. We agreed that I would modify and distribute a survey which he had distributed in Poland and that I would interview as many Russian teachers as possible with the support of a Russian translator.

It is almost impossible to complete this kind of research without being physically present in Russia. Fortunately, our residency in Moscow facilitated this endeavour. In particular, the Russian Nationals who served at the Anglo-American School as "local hires" became instrumental in providing contacts. Accordingly, upon my return in August, 1997, to fulfil my third year contract with the Anglo-American School, I was able to begin this research.

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	PAGE
1 Teachers' perceptions of changes within Russia.....	38
2 Teachers' perceptions of communism and the future of communism in Russia.....	40
3 Teachers' perceptions on democracy in Russia.....	42
4 Teachers' perceptions of schooling, students and teachers in general in Moscow.....	45
5 Teachers' perceptions regarding creditation and training of educators in Russia.....	47
6 Teachers' perceptions of their responsibilities as educators in Russia.....	48
7 Teachers' perceptions of the future of their individual professional lives.....	51
8 Ages of respondents.....	51
9 ANOVA x age.....	52

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
Abstract.....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	v
Autobiographical Preamble.....	vi
List of Tables.....	ix
CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY.....	1
Rational for the Study.....	6
Purpose of the Study.....	8
II. CHAPTER TWO: THE CONTEXT OF EDUCATION AND SCHOOLING IN MOSCOW.....	9
III. CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY.....	27
The Questionnaire.....	27
Sample.....	28
Interviews.....	29
Analysis of Data.....	30
Ethical Considerations.....	31
Limitations.....	31
IV. CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS AND DATA ANALYSIS.....	33
Description of Sample.....	33
Perceptions.....	35

Survey Results.....	37
Generational Differences.....	51
Interviews.....	54
V. CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION.....	66
Discussion of the Findings.....	66
References	82
Selected Bibliography.....	85
Appendices.....	90

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

In the early 1980s, a revolution in traditional communism emerged in The Soviet Union. This revolution has been labelled *Reconstruction*. *Reconstruction* was literally that: a reconstruction of the socio-economic bases of the country by moving it toward a free market economy. This greatly changed all aspects of Russian society and the changes are particularly manifested in Moscow. The term *Reconstruction* has a specific connotation in modern history as it applies to the Soviet state. The term and its movement are associated with the rise of Mikhail Gorbachev to power in the Soviet Union.

Mikhail Gorbachev was the youngest and best educated man to join the Politburo. He became a candidate member in 1979 and a full member in 1980. Gorbachev began his political career earlier as a student at Moscow State University. As a member of the Communist Party, Gorbachev was chosen to head the Komsomols (Young Communists) at Moscow State University. In March, 1985, he assumed the powerful position of Secretary General of the Communist Party of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Gorbachev's sweeping and pervasive *Reconstruction* resulted in economic, political and social reform. With the support of Foreign Minister E. A. Shevardnadze, Gorbachev set in motion increased contact with the West. Emigration was made somewhat easier, wider information from abroad became available. Internal criticism of the existing regime was allowed, human rights were discussed and initial steps toward economic and

administrative improvements were introduced (Nikandrov, in press).

Importantly, this *Reconstruction* involved changes to and important responsibilities for the school system. This was evident quite early in the movement, as witnessed in new guidelines for the reform of the Soviet school system. The preamble to a decree on school reform of the Soviet school system issued on April 4, 1984, states:

The immense tasks posed by the final years of this century and the early years of the next one will be accomplished by those who are sitting at school desks today. They will have to continue the cause of Great October, and they will bear the responsibility for the country's historical destiny, and for the all-round progress of society and its successful advance along the path of communist construction.
(cited in Pearson, 1990, p. 21).

Certainly by June, 1988, young Russians were ripe for Gorbachev's report to the Party Conference wherein he described a society "of genuine and real humanism, a system of effective and dynamic economy, a system of social fairness, lofty morality and culture and genuine people's government" (cited in Pearson, 1990, p. 31).

Pearson reports that there were many letters and articles in the Soviet Press which discussed the rekindling of "moral energy stifled for so long by the formalism of the school system" (1990, p. 25).

As Gorbachev continued his reforms under *Reconstruction*, he called for all to "work together with the organs of the state to protect children and help them become genuine human beings, ideologically convinced, work-loving, educated, worthy citizens of their great motherland" (cited in Pearson, 1990, p. 25). Changes soon became evident within the schools.

Beginning in 1986, children began attending school at age six, vocational training was encouraged and all students were expected to master at least one basic mechanical skill. The number of high school and college graduates had grown by millions and these graduates were regarded as the educated middle class which would carry Russia through to the millennium. School books that had previously omitted names or had blanks in history and literature were replaced with new comprehensive texts. Innovative teachers who demonstrated a more child-centred and cooperative methodology were beginning to command a new respect (Nikandrov, in press).

However, that was not enough. The Soviet system of education was still severely criticized as authoritarian and obsolete (Nikandrov, in press). There was a perceived need for further reform and this reform would soon arise from a political crisis that has, perhaps forever, changed the face of Russia.

Newly elected Russian President Boris Yelstin issued a decree (July 20, 1991) which ordered the dismantling of the Communist Party which had ruled Russia for seventy-four years. The Soviet Communist regime came to an end with the failed coup of August 19, 1991. Yelstin led the "real revolution" (cited in Read, 1993, p. 6) which brought a new independence to Russia and the disintegration of the Soviet Empire. As Read states: "The ideological and totalitarian controls imposed on Russian educators by the October revolution of 1917 were at long last lifted" (1993, p. 7).

Within a year, Yelstin issued a decree which promised to give the highest priority to educational reform. The changes resulted in the Law of Education, adopted in 1992 and

amended in 1996. Therein was proclaimed a very humanistic view of education.

(Nikandrov, in press) summarizes the law:

General human values, free personal development, love of one's country, civil maturity, unity of educational space, protection of national culture and regional traditions, multiculturalism, free access of education for all, programs that better met student ability and development and democratic administration were prioritized.

However noble these new goals and objectives might be, they could not easily be implemented without a massive infusion of money into the education system to retrain teachers, devise new curricula and provide adequate teaching resources. Such assistance, perhaps understandably in light of Russia's continuing financial crisis, to date has not been made available. School reform was and continues to be terribly underfinanced (Read, 1993).

Furthermore, it is important to appreciate that the communist system of seventy-five years "has produced a great many of the wrong sort of teachers and principals to participate and lead in the design and carrying out of the needed reforms" (Read, 1993, p. 9). Few underpaid educators were prepared to undertake the massive work that was demanded by the sweeping changes. The nation was in economic and social crisis.

Today, impoverished teachers are asked to maintain high levels of literacy and numeracy as they continue to work in ill-equipped and ill-furnished schools. Indeed, teachers' base salaries are so low they do not even decently cover the cost of living. Teachers are often forced to offer private tutorials simply to provide for the basics of life. Students are frustrated as their futures are precarious because of the chaotic economy and

uncertainty of employment.

Private schooling (a concept not allowed in Soviet times) is growing and disparities between public and private schools are huge. Private school tuition is very high and few citizens are able to afford the costs. Many students suffer from poor health, adolescent crime rates are skyrocketing, substance abuse is common and incentives for scholarship are few. Prestigious universities and institutes demand entrance examinations that most students are ill-prepared for unless they can pay for private tutorials as a means of preparation. Few families can afford these tutorials and, as a result, fewer students are entering these institutions. Even for the fortunate ones who succeed in obtaining a post-secondary degree, there is no guarantee of employment upon graduation (Kovaleva, 1994).

This is frustrating for Russian teachers as, until but a decade or so ago, teachers were educated in a system that bred scholarship and commitment. The teacher was seen as the purveyor of information and the subsequent assessor of student achievement. The teacher was often a member of the Communist Party and worked very hard to instill a sense of Soviet identity. Indeed, the education of Russia's young to become devoted workers, socialist internationalists and patriots who were wholly committed to the virtues of communism has been the preoccupation of the Soviet state since the 1919 Declaration on the principles of communist education (King, 1979).

Education and society in Moscow today face many new realities. Among these is the question of how, in a floundering economy, does a system of upbringing and education

saturated with communist doctrine become changed into a system founded on respect for rights of the individual?

Rationale For The Study

Political, economic and cultural developments since the fall of communism in Eastern Europe and the republics of the former Soviet Union are revolutionizing those societies. It is unclear what the long-term consequences and manifestations of such rapidly changing circumstances will be. Equally unclear is our knowledge of what the attitudes toward, and perceptions of, these changes are for the people of those nations. The question, however, is very important for educators. If we believe that teachers are directly charged by the state with the task of shaping the next generation's values and attitudes, then how these teachers view current changes in which their society is engulfed is likely to affect how they will interpret the emerging new order for their future students (Mazurek & Majorek, ongoing).

This issue is currently being explored in a research project undertaken by K. Mazurek and C. Majorek within the context of Polish society with teachers-in-training as subjects. Their study, initiated in 1992, is now in its fifth phase and has two major objectives: First, to determine teachers'-in-training perceptions of the profound social changes which have taken place in their nation since the fall of communism in Poland; Second, to discover teachers-in-training perceptions of what the future of schooling and of the teaching profession will be in the new Poland (Mazurek & Majorek, ongoing).

The changes in Moscow and the rest of Russia over the last decade are at least as

profound as the changes in Poland. Mazurek, unsuccessfully, attempted to continue his research in Russia. Gaining access to institutions and obtaining permissions proved very difficult and time consuming. Furthermore, a very real Russian resistance to and mistrust of foreign researchers constituted a difficult obstacle. Generations under totalitarian regimes have learned to be cautious in sharing their opinions. When those opinions are sought by outsiders, the resistance is all that much more pronounced. As Mazurek suggests, Russia is very simply a difficult place for non-Russians to do research in the social sciences (Mazurek, personal communication, July, 1997)).

However, by 1997 I had already lived in Moscow for two years and during that residency had cultivated many Russian friends and colleagues in the teaching profession. Perhaps the most difficult obstacle to conducting research in Moscow had been overcome. Through contacts with Russian colleagues and friends I felt the surveys could be distributed and interviews arranged. This proved to be the case and so this study, extrapolated from Mazurek's and Majorek's ongoing research, explored teachers' perceptions within the context of society in Moscow.

There are some significant modifications. This study's survey instrument is tailored to a different population as certified teachers, not teachers-in training, were surveyed in Moscow. Also, the questions on the survey are slightly reworded to speak to the political, economic and social situation in Russia.¹

¹ See Appendix A for the questionnaire that was distributed in Moscow.

Purpose Of The Study

The purpose of this descriptive study was to examine the perceptions of selected Moscow educators regarding public education and society in Russia. The seven specific objectives of the study were to identify teachers' perceptions of: recent social, political and economic changes within Russia; communism and the future of communism in Russia; democracy in Russia; schooling, students and the teaching profession in Moscow; creditation and training of educators in Russia; responsibilities of educators in Moscow; and the future of Russian teachers' individual professional lives.

CHAPTER TWO
THE CONTEXT OF EDUCATION AND
SCHOOLING IN MOSCOW

Moscow is home to over 11 million people. It is estimated that at least 2 million more come into the city to work or go to school. According to Mikhail Susloparov, press secretary for Russia's Education Ministry, Moscow currently has approximately 250 private schools, 1,500 public schools and an ever changing number of so-called special schools. The latter train students extensively in subjects such as mathematics and science, classical music or the performing arts, ostensibly preparing their students for careers in these areas (Palchikoff, 1996).

With the exception of some of the special schools, the Russian public education system emphasizes student achievement over creative development, providing a very disciplined approach to learning. Exams are given regularly and grades are assigned from the very first year of schooling. Teachers in Moscow firmly expect parents to intensely tutor their children at home, on a daily basis. Thus, Russian schools have been aptly described as being "more European than American" (Searle, cited in The Moscow Times, Dec. 1996, p. 11). As Richard Searle, Director of the British International School in Moscow, puts it, "Russian education is deeper and less practical -- there is more pure learning than hands-on-learning." Searle continues this description with a positive interpretation. "If the product at the end of the day is a bilingual, or a literate, well disciplined student then these schools are an enviable thing. There are many good things about these schools although they do not allow for much originality of thought or

creativity” (Searle, cited in The Moscow Times, Dec. 1996, p. 11). When one considers the mood for change and innovation that was apparent fifteen years ago in Russia, Searle’s observation seems somewhat remarkable.

Fifteen years earlier, Michail Gorbachev had set in motion the conditions for change in all aspects of Soviet society. He had attempted to revitalize the Soviet economy by establishing new policies that would promote new ideas and ways of doing things. These policies, *perestroika* (restructuring) and *glasnost* (openness), allowed for much change in political thinking, and economic and educational policy in the Soviet Union.

Gorbachev was severely challenged as he attempted to promote his *Restructuring*. Unrest among the many nationalities in the Soviet Union grew and economic conditions continued to worsen. Faith in the centralized communist system declined as food supplies became sparse and often inadequate. Alcoholism was rampant.

Housing was inexpensive but overcrowded, telephones were scarce, public transportation was slow, outdated and overcrowded. Health care was limited in spite of excellent scientists at work. Schools, universities and research institutes maintained high standards and illiteracy was rare, but educational policy stayed inequitable and outdated (Kirchner, 1991).

While Gorbachev’s inauguration of political reform continued, rumblings of unrest began in post-secondary institutions. Although appreciation had grown abroad for Soviet scientists, artists, musicians, and athletes, few improvements were seen in the daily living standards for the well educated or talented Soviet citizen. Much of the educated

population was sophisticated, vocal and ambitious. They began to demand freedom of expression, individual rights and monetary reward (Pearson,1990).

In spite of the unrest, the public primary and secondary schools continued to carry on as they had for decades. Many educators continued to perpetuate Lenin's admonition that *children were the green shoots of the revolution*. Parents continued to encourage their children to enroll in Leninist youth groups. At age seven, students celebrated their titles as *Little Octobrists* and would look forward to their graduation to the *Young Pioneers* at age nine. These youth groups worked to further the inculcation of Communist ideology. Training in athletics, fitness and community service continued to be very political. At age 15 most Pioneers joined *Komsomol*, the League of Communist Youth. Participation in the Komsomol's work projects, lectures, and sporting events did not ensure a better education or job, but failure to belong might bring embarrassment to the family and could hinder one's career (King, 1979).

For as long as anyone remembered, school began on September 1st, after a summer break. Most children began their academic careers by attending Kindergarten. These institutions provided education and daycare for children from the age of two months until their entrance into school proper. The main objective of these Kindergartens was the care and strengthening of the children's health and their physical development.

Kindergarten were guided by the principle that children must grow up healthy, cheerful, spirited and well coordinated. It was expected that children would learn to speak well if the teacher's speech was correct in every aspect. Therefore, it was clearly

important that teachers model the Russian language correctly (Bronfenbrenner, 1970). Today in Moscow, school principals continue to listen at the door of the Kindergarten, checking up on the correctness of a teacher's use of the language.

Teachers instilled respect for working people and aroused interest in work, society and nature. It was important that in the course of play and activities that children developed the qualities of well-being, self-control and persistence. Young students were encouraged to love their native district and to respect their *Motherland*. Pictures of Vladimir Illich Lenin were proudly displayed and children were encouraged to respect his memory because their teacher was taught to love and respect his memory.

Children's aesthetic education encompassed a love of the beauty in surrounding life, nature, and art. They were to develop an ear for music and poetry. The desire and ability to draw, model, sing, dance, listen to music, read poetry with expression, and tell stories were strongly encouraged. It was believed that an attractive and comfortable environment, a clean building, and the neat appearance of children and adults helped to develop artistic sensitivity. The daily routines included eating, sleeping, conditioning, exercises, lessons, and play. It was expected that these activities were to be organized in an acceptable manner and were to be repeated from one day to the next in order to create in children a sense of customary sequence. Play and work training developed organization and the capacity for quick and precise action of one kind or another (King, 1979).

A good part of the day was spent outside, where children played together under the watchful eye of the staff. Often students stayed at the school long after lessons were

completed, waiting for parents to pick them up. Teachers earned extra salary by staying behind to watch these children (Sokolova, 1993).

Most public school kindergartens in Moscow today still abide by these methodologies and practices. Many programs today are, for the most part, “models” of the aforementioned ideology.

Very quickly the rules for pupils were learned and strictly enforced. The following is a list of rules posted at one school in Moscow. According to the teachers I spoke to, it is typical of the rules which are still firmly adhered to by some school directors in Moscow today. The translator is unknown.

1. To acquire knowledge persistently in order to become an educated and cultured citizen and to be of the greatest possible service to his country.
2. To study diligently, to be punctual in attendance, and not arrive late for classes.
3. To obey the instructions of the school principal and the teachers without question.
4. To arrive at school with all the necessary textbooks and writing materials: to have everything ready for the lesson before the teacher arrives.
5. To come to school clean, well groomed and neatly dressed.
6. To keep his/her place in the classroom neat and tidy.
7. To enter the classroom and take his/her place immediately after the bell rings: to enter and leave the classroom during the lesson only with the teacher's permission.
8. To sit upright during the lesson... To listen attentively to the teacher's explanation and the other pupils' answers, and not to talk or let his/her attention wander to other things.
9. To rise when the teacher... Enters or leaves the room.
10. To stand to attention when answering the teacher; to sit down only with the teacher's permission; to raise his/her hand if he/she wishes to answer or ask a question.
11. To be respectful to the school principal and the teachers.
12. To be polite to his/her elders, to behave modestly and respectfully in school, in the street and in public places.
13. Not to use coarse expression, not to smoke, not to gamble for money or other

things.

14. To protect school property; to be careful of his/her personal things and the belongings of his fellow students.
15. To be attentive and considerate of old people, small children, and the weak and the sick; to give them a seat on the bus or make way for them on the street, being helpful to them in every way.
16. To obey his/her parents, to help them take care of his small brothers and sisters.
17. To maintain order and cleanliness in rooms, to keep his/her clothes, shoes and bed neat and tidy.
18. To cherish the honour of his/her school and class and defend it as his/her own.

School, in effect, sorted out the young. All students attended classes through the eighth grade in their neighbourhood school. Students who showed great potential and achievement in art, music, athletics and foreign language could go to a special school that emphasised one of those disciplines. The educational monolith, in which every Soviet pupil turned the same page of the same standard textbook on the same day in every school across eleven time zones, did make room for the precocity of exceptional students (Bennet, 1996).

A battery of tests at the end of the eighth grade determined a student's next step. For most families this became a time of intense anxiety and personal cost. Tutors were hired by many parents. If students achieved low scores, they might enter a vocational school for a period of one or two years. These schools prepared their students for factory and service jobs. Those who fared better on the exams could gain admission to a more advanced training school that usually lasted four years. Graduates would enter careers as tradesmen. Exceptionally good students would continue in high school where the winnowing would begin anew upon the completion of a high school program. Less

than 20 per cent of the graduates would enter one of the country's universities. Moscow State University and the Foreign Relations Institute, both in Moscow, were considered the most prestigious. There were also more than 800 prestigious technical institutes for degrees in areas such as engineering and computer programming (Gershunsky, 1993).

An academic curriculum, rigid assessment, excessive homework, group competitiveness, strict discipline, and polytechnical training were the characteristic features of the Soviet school. Rote learning, speed, continuous assessment, and high pass rates were prioritized. These were the ideals. The Ministry of Education did not accept IQ or heredity as factors influencing pass rates. It was generally accepted that if students were unsuccessful the teacher was ineffective. Success was achieved through hard work, concentration, diligence and perseverance on the part of the student and rigid demands from the teacher. Pupil conduct was a very serious matter as unquestioning obedience, full attention and loyalty to the teacher and school were expected. "The school, from the director down to a Pioneer group leader, the parents, and classmates exerted a great deal of psychological pressure on failing students" (Zajda, 1980, p. 81).

Gorbachev's plans for a restructured and more open society in Russia included ideas for a complementary school system. He supported new programs which planned to stabilize and develop education in Russia. Education was, as always, a topic of passion for educators and parents and many considered the existing system to be authoritarian and obsolete. Innovative teachers were acknowledged because of their more humane and cooperative teaching methods. In Moscow, and throughout Russia, local authorities were

given more power, private initiative was encouraged and curriculum changes were made that hopefully provided for the changing needs of children (Nikandrov, in press)

Educators hoped that the social movement fed by Gorbachev's *perestroika* could create a more democratic and humane socialism. Perhaps a system that was once so saturated with communist doctrine could now be founded on respect for the rights and needs of individuals. This social movement progressed, as economic and political changes enveloped the country (Sokolova, 1993).

However, by 1991 the Soviet Union was in a deep political and economic crisis. The abolition of the Union happened almost overnight. Boris Yeltsin was democratically elected as the first Russian president and, within a year of his leadership, a new Law on Education (as noted earlier) was developed.

The Law on Education adopted in 1992 and amended in 1996 proclaimed a more humanistic concept of education. Nikandrov (in press) provides a translation of the priorities stated in the law:

Priority of general human values, of man's life and health, of free personal development; education of love for one's country; protection by education of national cultures and regional tradition under the conditions of multi-culturalism in the country; free access of education to all, adaptivity of the educational system to students abilities and development; secular Education in state-run and municipal institutions of education; freedom and pluralism in education; democratic state and society oriented administration of education and autonomy of educational institutions.

Aleksandr Nekrich states in his article, Schools in Motion (1994, p. 48) that the "new system of education is called upon to protect the national cultures and regional

cultural traditions within a unified federal culture and educational space". He states that the principle of freedom and pluralism could now be enforced. The state was still to guarantee the right to a free general education and, on a competitive basis, a vocational education within the limits of the state's standards. The right to obtain an education in one's native language was announced. Support for those in need was to be continued during the time an education was being obtained and differences in students' abilities were to be acknowledged. Nekrich states that the principle of enrollment selection in accordance with student ability is nothing new. There had been model schools, and these schools were an inseparable part of the Soviet *nomenklatura* state, just like the model collective farms, state farms, and the Kremlin hospitals and sanatoriums.

The Russian Federation's Law on Education spoke directly to the inclusion of an elite education for highly gifted children. Paragraph 7 of the Law on Education reads: "The state shall encourage the provision of an elite education for citizens who manifest outstanding abilities" (Nikandrov, in press). Although many educators believed that these programs could become hotbeds of sedition, many realized that by supporting talent the state could gain a direct benefit. International recognition for talent in the fields of athletics, fine arts, mathematics, natural science, political science, and economics could be heightened. New levels of expertise could be acquired that encompassed ideas and methodologies that fit with a market economy and entrepreneurial activity. Students were no longer compelled to join socio-political organizations. The requirements obtained from the above noted youth groups would no longer be needed to gain admittance to some

higher educational institutions.

This progressive mood did not last long because promises for increased educational funding were not kept. Following the decree for the Law of Education, only 3.9 per cent of Russia's national income was budgeted by the Russian Federation for maintenance of all types of educational establishments. Pre-schools and kindergartens were forced to close because of shortages, high costs and the disrepair of buildings. Qualified teachers were difficult to find. The avalanche-like growth in prices forced many teachers into poverty. Teachers were forced to leave their profession in droves, hoping to find better paying jobs. Teaching materials and equipment were insufficient and outdated and the level of teacher training was not satisfying students and parents (Gershunsky, 1993).

Boris Gershunsky shares this insight in his article Russia in Darkness... On Education and the Future:

As a result of deformed tasks set before school education, wrong relationships in schools, poor material provision of the majority of schools, and low qualifications of the teaching staff, the Russian school fails to perform its main social functions--to develop and realize the pupils' individual abilities, their socialization, vocational self determination, and to give them access to culture. As a result, most of the senior schoolchildren, in excess of 90 per cent, do not consider school education to be conducive to their development and realization of their abilities. . . . The program and methodological provision of Russian schools is deplorable. (1993, p. 71)

The new and progressive goals decreed by the Law of Education were thought to be unclear. Plans to formulate these goals were even less clear. Schools attempted to develop new curricula but professional development for implementation was limited and resources were difficult if not impossible to find. As one teacher summarized for me,

“teachers quickly fell back in to the old way of doing things.”

That thinking was shared by many of the Russian educators that I had an opportunity to meet during my three year stay in Moscow. Although some teachers did report that they had included in their programs topics of personal interest, for the most part any change in methodology or curriculum was minute. For example, one school that I visited had attempted to implement a school-wide theme based on environmental concerns. Most of the teachers at that school were unconvinced that these kind of programs held much value. Time limitations and a lack of resources limited success.

Though non-standard or “innovative” practices were tried and in some cases flourished, new frustrations did become evident and are very visible today. Limited educational resources and poorly paid teachers made the challenge of “innovation” unrealistic. R. KH. Shakurov frankly states in his article Which Dictates the Conditions: Chaos or Market:

The general education school today is failing to accomplish its tasks; it is not capable of supplying the technicums and higher educational institutions with adequately prepared graduates. Indeed, the lack of financial resources; the acute shortage of equipment, instruments, furniture, construction materials and tools; the deterioration and obsolescence of textbooks, the decline of methodological literature, visual aids and the haste of in which courses had been introduced have created conditions that cause much frustration for educators. This combined with low teacher salaries, reduced incentives to work, lack of confidence in tomorrow, apathy and indifference has resulted in a crisis within the public education system. (1994. p. 63)

Also, there were reported breakdowns in interactions with administrative bodies and outside enterprises and organizations. Often local businesses and factories would

sponsor schools in their area, providing equipment and material aid. These sponsorships have declined and the opportunity for student practical training and job assignment for graduates has diminished (Shakurov, 1994).

Teachers I spoke with reported that public schools see fewer qualified instructors. Many programs simply cannot be offered as there is no one to teach the course. Teachers are unwilling to improve their expertise, make use of new methods or work to develop themselves professionally when the working conditions are so demanding and their salary is so low. It is understandable that few educators are working to humanize and democratize the teaching process with new methodology.

It was reported that teachers lacked the dynamic, creative, self directing and hard-working professional traits necessary to bring about change and modernization. As Read (1993, p. 15) states: "Some continue to bravely soldier in the classrooms waiting for decisions and directions to come from above." Shakurov concurs with this summary, "Most people continue to live with the old methodological baggage, which is primarily authoritarian (1994, p. 67). Their comments are arguable but heavily supported.

I.F. Dement'Eva in The Schools Under Conditions of the Market, expressed a mixed view of the changes that were to be implemented after the Law on Education was passed: "The work of pedagogical collectives is becoming invigorated, interesting innovations in the organization of students' instruction are coming into being, forms of interaction between the schools and parents are being perfected" (1994, p. 43). However, Dement'Eva also acknowledged that there was much confusion and that a successful

implementation of new programming must involve a focus on teachers' working conditions. Dement'Eva reports that teachers were dissatisfied with the pay system, schedules, benefits, pension security and insurance and this dissatisfaction had led to widespread apathy.

In 1993 E.S. Sokolova and V.M. Likhacheva, research associates with the Scientific Research Centre of the Komsomol Central Committee Institute of Youth, distributed a questionnaire to school students. He found that students want their "schools to be better, studies to be more interesting, and school life to be better." Half of his surveyed participants indicated that they liked their school but they "want lessons to be conducted better, relations with teachers to be better and the kids to be more respected and given greater independence." (1991, p. 14)

Teachers complained that though the "knowledge level remains a most important terminal value for their students; in everyday life, this knowledge often fails to find practical application" (Nikandrov, in press). Fewer students are linking their level of education to opportunities for a career.

Kovaleva (1994, p. 19) states: "A process of devaluation of education in young peoples' consciousness is emerging." He also reports that education in Russia lacks the conditions necessary for normal functioning given the economic crisis the country is experiencing. He believes that the long absence of a modern, normative-legal basis of education, many years of the left-over principle of education financing, and the declarative character of defining the sphere of education as a high-priority social institution have all

taken their toll.

Many schools in Moscow and throughout Russia are in need of major repairs and some offer hazardous conditions. Natalya Shulyakovskaya reported in The Moscow Times (April, 1998, p. 20), that researchers with the Moscow Radon Research Complex had discovered dangerously high levels of radon in School No. 184 in north Moscow. Using a hand-held radiometer that picks up gamma radiation and a radon analyzer, researchers found that the levels were dangerously high; the analyzer showing 273 becquerel. The reaction and only plan of action from the school director was, "We will ventilate." The report in The Moscow Times also stated that Radon is blamed for approximately 10 per cent of all lung cancer deaths in a year in the United States and the numbers are growing of those suffering from the disease in Moscow. In 1997, Mayor Yury Luzhkov had initiated a program directed at studying radon but no additional funding was presented.

Many schools are plagued by plumbing, heating and sewer systems that are in hazardous conditions. Kitchens are outdated and there are too many cases of "mysterious illnesses" being reported. Valeria Korchagina, a staff writer for The Moscow Times, reported in February, 1998, that residents of a large section of eastern Moscow had suffered headaches, nausea and rashes. Some schools had been closed as the result of a "mysterious, foul smelling gas, apparently leaking from sewage" (The Moscow Times, February 10, 1998, p. 3). Vladimir Chikunov, the director of a school on Fryazevskaya Ulitsa was reported as saying: "some of the children even had

nosebleeding. Teachers, too, have been suffering from high blood pressure and sore throats. Almost all of the students have sore eyes" (The Moscow Times, February 10, 1998, p. 3). City officials complained that they lacked the equipment that could establish the precise chemical contents of the gas and that they did not have enough cars to go to locations when people called (The Moscow Times, February 10, 1998, p. 3).

In 1991, The Institute of Youth's Scientific Research Centre in Moscow surveyed over 1300 students between the ages of 14 and 17. The Institute was looking for the factors that caused the greatest dissatisfaction among students. The responses included: the lack of the right to choose school subjects and teachers, the lack of a necessary material base and up-to-date equipment, the quality of the cafeteria, the dissatisfaction with the organization of the school process and the quality of teaching and the deplorable state of their school buildings. The expense for their parents was also a major concern. Students who plan on continuing their education must spend hours with tutors because "we do not learn what we need to in school" (Kovaleva, 1994, p. 11). It seems that the conditions have continued to deteriorate since 1991.

A headline in The Moscow Times (June 10, 1998, p. 9) states: "Student's Strike for Fear of Being Left Behind." Journalist Boris Kagarlitsky reported that "striking students were frustrated with a system of education that was directed toward meeting the needs of a developed industrialized society." Many of these students are very vocal in their dissatisfaction. Numerous articles in The Moscow Times speak to the plight of the frustrated Russian student (see Selected Bibliography for examples).

An increasingly dishevelled economy and decreased industrial production have resulted in a large number of the intelligentsia feeling that they are redundant. University professors can earn far more driving a gypsy cab than they can instructing at an educational institution. Teachers must often tutor for long hours or try to find a second job as their salaries are so low. Indeed, many teachers across Russia are not receiving their salary on a regular basis.

However, some of the young that were so restricted under the Soviet Regime have embraced the changes and have taken advantage of the market and private enterprise that has opened new opportunities. Most of these young people claim their knowledge of a foreign language is their best asset. Foreign companies new to Moscow and the rest of Russia seem to arrive on a daily basis, hoping to capitalize on the huge potential market. These companies need a bilingual staff to help run their corporations and Russian law dictates the need for Russian partners in business and industry. Educators are leaving their professional positions in droves to find employment with a foreign company that offers a better salary and a higher level of security.

The influx of foreign investment has provided jobs for some but many young students today feel that they have few prospects for making a career. Some argue that the best positions are already occupied by young people who advanced during the last years of Soviet power. Some believe that chances for upward mobility have actually decreased as they watch their well-educated parents trading in contraband textiles at the corner kiosk. Since 1960, most of the courses in Pedagogical institutes have been extended to

five years. However, these institutes are seeing a sharp decline in the number of students who plan on a career in public education. How many prospective teachers can afford to spend five years in a demanding post-secondary program? Certified teachers are also expected to continue their education and improve their skills. Refresher courses are offered and in-service is part of a teacher's continuing education. Teachers are complaining bitterly that the monetary compensation is too low for the demands of the job. In-service for teachers has declined and is considered by some as a "waste of time." "Five years of hard work in courses that are outdated only to work in horrible conditions for nothing...why would I become a teacher?" is how one teacher put it to me.

This sad statement reflects much about the perceptions of teachers in Moscow regarding the current state of public education. In one decade these teachers have witnessed the break up of the Soviet Union, the end of communist rule, the emergence of a democratic, free market economy, and the resulting changes for their students. The predictions for the future are as overwhelming. As Kovaleva reports, "In the context of future and societal changes in Russia, the painful transition to the market economy, and the overall decline in the standard of living, we may anticipate that the crisis in the Russian system of Education will worsen in subsequent years" (1994, p. 19).

Gorbachev's hopes for a more open and restructured Soviet Union have produced remarkable changes. Unforeseen and negative results include an economy in ruins, political and social unrest, and impoverished schools and teachers. Many teachers believe that Gorbachev's reforms have failed to bring any improvement. This painful transition to a

market economy has resulted in a lower standard of living for most of Moscow's students and their teachers.

The teachers who have participated in this study have much to say about this crisis. They are passionate about their students, passionate about their country and will be instrumental in guiding the future leaders of Russia if we believe that: "World experience has shown that the state of young people's education is of crucial importance to the modernization of society" (Kovaleva, 1994, p. 20). Clarification about current teachers perceptions is valuable as Russia attempts to overcome so many obstacles that threaten the future and modernization of its society.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the research design, research sample, ethical considerations, and methodological limitations.

The research began in September 1997 with the distribution of a questionnaire to Russian teachers, all nationals, living in Moscow, Russia. Data was also collected from personal interviews with a select group of these Russian teachers. A Russian translator was hired to assist with the verbal and written translations, the distribution and collection of the questionnaires, and as a guide to and from the interview sites.

Questionnaire

This is a descriptive study which used a questionnaire (Appendix A) to survey Russian teachers regarding their perceptions of the changes in post-communist Russia and the resulting implications for public education in Moscow, Russia. The questionnaire used was developed by Kas Mazurek of The University of Lethbridge, Alberta (Mazurek & Majorek, ongoing). His questionnaire was originally distributed to teachers-in-training at four Polish Universities. I modified his instrument to speak to a Russian sample and the questionnaire was translated into Russian before distribution.

Thirty-seven items from Mazurek's 51 item survey (on a Likert type 5 point scale) were used to determine the perceptions of Moscow teachers of the economic and political situation in Russia and the current state and future prospects of schooling and teachers. The questions were then grouped into the following categories:

- Teachers' perceptions of changes within Russia.
- Teachers' perceptions of communism and the future of communism in Russia.
- Teachers' perceptions on democracy in Russia.
- Teachers' perceptions of schooling, students and teachers in general in Moscow.
- Teachers' perceptions regarding creditation and training of educators in Russia.
- Teachers' perceptions of their responsibilities as educators in Russia.
- Teachers' perceptions of the future of their individual professional lives.

Sample

The target population consisted of certified teachers currently teaching in the public school system in Moscow and teachers who had left the public school system. Those who were not employed as teachers in the public system were either teaching in private schools or had left the profession altogether.

Six hundred surveys were distributed to public schools in Moscow. The initial return rate on the first 300 surveys was less than 2 per cent. Three hundred more surveys were then distributed in a much more involved process that took nearly 7 months. Russian colleagues and friends were approached by the translator and me. We then asked these individuals if they could distribute the surveys to certified teachers whom they knew. We found that we had little hope of seeing a return unless there was some kind of a "personal connection." Teachers were simply not prepared to complete the survey otherwise. The networking began and many hours were spent travelling to the Moscow districts distributing and collecting the completed surveys. The return rate was dependant on the personal delivery and pick up of each survey because the mail system in Moscow can be unreliable. We were able to see a return of 103 surveys from a total of 600 that were eventually distributed. The final return rate was 17 percent.

Interviews

Interviews began as structured discussions and in most cases ended as storytelling sessions as the interviewees were encouraged to share their professional and personal histories. Specific questions were asked regarding the participant's schooling history, family and financial background, teaching specialization, employment history, and current employment status. The previously noted seven categories (into which the survey questions were grouped) were then used as a basis for further discussion during the interview.

Most of the 27 interviews were conducted in the private homes of the participants with a Russian translator present. This format allowed a level of comfort for each participant that might not have been experienced in a more formal setting. The interview times ranged from one hour to five hours as Russian cultural mores call for a casual approach to such discussion. Participants were presented with a small gift of flowers, wine or chocolates upon my arrival to their homes. Russian social niceties dictate such gestures.

The invitations for the interviews were arranged by colleagues who had friends or relatives in the public teaching profession in Moscow. I believe that the success of the interview process was facilitated by the fact that I lived and was employed in Moscow and was fortunate enough to have met and befriended many Russian nationals. The frustrations that plague foreign researchers are well known. Russia is a difficult place to conduct this kind of study.

The translator who was hired to assist with the interviews was a certified Russian teacher who was instrumental in arranging many contacts, travel plans and interview times. The translator was invaluable as countless hours were saved because of her knowledge of the transportation system in Moscow and her ability to gain entrance into the mazes of Russian buildings. The actual interviews involved extensive support of this translator. Even if subjects spoke English to some degree, the nuances of the language required for academic research required the intervention of a fully bilingual translator.

The interviews were audio-recorded and then translated from Russian into English. I also kept notes from each interview as many of the participants offered so much that I wanted a written record of the questions that arose from the different interviews. Often the discussions would bring up issues that I would refer to in subsequent interviews. The stories that were shared could become the basis for further research.

Analysis of Data

The data from the 51 item Likert type questionnaire was tabulated and then computer analyzed using the SPSS for MacIntosh version 6.1.1. Demographic data from the questionnaires were tabulated and summarized. The frequency of answers generated by the participants was used to determine what teachers' perceptions and attitudes were within seven categories of questions. A one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to determine if there were statistical differences between perceptions of teachers based on their age. Means, frequencies, standard deviations, and reliability were generated.

Comments from the interview questions were grouped in the same categories as the

data collected from the surveys. Interviewed subjects were encouraged to share their insights and stories and were not limited to answering questions derived from the categories of the survey.

Ethical Considerations

Approval for this study was gained from the Human Subject Research Committee, Faculty of Education, University of Lethbridge. Permission to distribute the surveys was granted by the heads of the Russian schools that were involved in the study. The heads of these schools would not, however, assist in the distribution of the survey within their schools except for two cases where I knew the principal.

The translator who was hired explained to each interview participant the purpose of the research and how the results were going to be used. A cover letter (Appendix A) was attached to each survey. This letter further outlined the purpose of the study and clarified my association with the University of Lethbridge. It was made clear to the participants that individuals would not be identified. Questionnaires were coded to represent the different professional groupings (teachers presently employed in the public schools in Moscow, teachers presently working in private schools, teachers who had left the profession). All participants were assured that their participation was completely confidential.

Limitations

It cannot be assumed that modern Moscow mirrors the rest of Russia. Similarly, the teaching profession in Moscow is not necessarily comparable to the profession elsewhere

in Russia. Moscow is a massive city which works as the heart of a huge country within which there are stark differences between rural and urban populations. This study is limited to the particular perceptions of a convenience sample of teachers in Moscow. As suggested above, their perceptions are not necessarily representative of those held by teachers of smaller rural and urban centres.

Moscow is seen as a “city of foreigners” by Russians living elsewhere. It is very much under the international spotlight and the influx of foreigners has changed the complexion of the city dramatically. It is a simplification to suggest that the political, economic and social situation in Moscow is a microcosm of what one finds in greater Russia. It should be noted, however, that some of the teachers who completed the survey and consented to the personal interviews received their teacher training and, in some cases, once taught in institutions and schools outside of Moscow.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DATA ANALYSIS

The purpose of this descriptive study is to examine the perceptions of selected Moscow educators regarding public education and society in Russia. Teachers were surveyed and interviewed regarding the following:

- Teachers' perceptions of changes within Russia.
- Teachers' perceptions of communism and the future of communism in Russia.
- Teachers' perceptions on democracy in Russia.
- Teachers' perceptions of schooling, students and teachers in general in Moscow.
- Teachers' perceptions regarding creditation and training of educators in Russia.
- Teachers' perceptions of their responsibilities as educators in Russia.
- Teachers' perceptions of the future of their individual professional lives.

This chapter provides data analyses from the questionnaire and includes a description of the sample, a discussion of the seven categories of questions used to determine teachers' perceptions, and a discussion of the interviews with the teachers. A one way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was undertaken using teachers' ages as the independent variable. Only statistically significant results are reported. The quantitative and qualitative measures are integral components of the study. The interviews support the empirical data and reveal nuances in teachers' attitudes and perceptions which are subtle and telling in the interpretation of the data.

Description of Sample

Questionnaires (n=600) were distributed to Russian national teachers in Moscow who were teaching in public schools, who were teaching in private schools or had at one time taught in public schools in Moscow. The teachers were all residents of Moscow.

Russia, and had received their teaching diplomas from Pedagogical Institutes in Russia.

The sample was divided into three categories of certified teachers: group one - public education teachers currently teaching; group two - private education teachers currently teaching; and group three - teachers who had left the profession. Public education teachers comprised the largest group (64%) in the sampled population. Private education teachers comprised 28% of the sample and teachers who had left the field comprised 8% of the sample.

One hundred and three questionnaires were returned for a return rate of 17 percent. Respondents were asked to identify their gender, age, teaching specialization, level of specialization, first year of schooling, parental income and parental background. The majority of the respondents were female (92%). The largest age group represented (33%) was in the 37 to 51 year age range.

There were seven categories of teaching specialization: Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry; Biology, Geography; Russian Language and Literature; History, Social Studies; Pedagogy, Psychology; Music, Arts; and Other. The largest group of respondents (24%) indicated that they were specialized in the category of "Other". The second largest group (22%) were specialized in the category of "Russian Language and Literature. Other sizable groups include "Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry," (14%) and "History, Social Studies," (12%).

There were four categories of level of specialization. The majority (68%) of the respondents' level of specialization was at the Middle School Level. Primary school

teachers (19%), University/College instructors (10%) and other (3%) made up the rest of the sample.

Surveyed respondents were also asked questions regarding their own first year of schooling, their parental income, and their parents' social background. The majority (89%) began their first year of schooling (Grade 1) in a city. Most (60%) described their parents as having an average income and most (67%) described their parents as being peasants. Nearly all of the respondents (95%) indicated that their parents were originally Russian born.

Perceptions

The perceptions and attitudes of the surveyed participants were determined using 37 items from a 51 item questionnaire using a 5 point Likert-type scale. A select group of 27 teachers supplemented the data collected from the survey instrument through an interview process.

The instrument was originally developed by professor K. Mazurek of the University of Lethbridge but, for the purpose of this study, Mazurek's questions were reworded to reflect the situation in Russia. As well, 14 statements from the Mazurek instrument were deemed irrelevant for this study. The excluded statements spoke to the issues of religion, ethnic violence in Eastern Europe, social class divisions, the unification of East and West Germany, and political threats to and by Russia.

Although the data collected from the excluded statements is of interest to this researcher, this study focuses only on teachers' perceptions regarding the following seven

themes: societal changes in Russia; the future of communism in Russia; democracy in Russia; schooling, students and teachers in Moscow; creditation and training of Russian educators; responsibilities of educators; and the future of teachers' professional lives in Moscow. It was decided to categorize the individual questions from the survey into these themes as presentation and discussion of the data collected would be facilitated and themes rather than individual questions would facilitate the interview process.

For each of the survey items, respondents were asked to choose a response which indicated the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with the statements. Each statement was followed by a five point scale on which: 1 was strongly disagree, 2 was disagree, 3 was undecided, 4 was agree, and 5 was strongly agree. The presentation of the results is simplified by the grouping of strongly agree with agree and strongly disagree with disagree. Frequencies of responses are presented as percentages. The seven categories or themes were reworded into a question format to facilitate discussion during the interviews.

The responses to the 37 questions from the surveys were then examined using a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) to determine if there were any significant differences in interactions between the questions and the age of the respondent. Age was considered a critical factor in that the older the teacher, the longer he or she worked within the communist regime. A significance level of .05 was set for this study. Levels of .90 and above were also of high interest.

Survey Results

Category I: Teachers' perceptions of changes within Russia

The six statements on the survey that related to teachers' perceptions and attitudes towards the changes within Russia are as follows:

- The changes in Russia are superficial; deep down little has changed.
- For the average person, there will be little difference between living in Russia when it was a communist state and life in post-communist Russia.
- The changes which have occurred in Russia over the last decade were not really the result of Gorbachev's initiatives as such changes would have taken place regardless of who was in power.
- The failed August coup (1991) in Russia confirms that changes in Russia are irreversible.
- The recent changes in Eastern Europe are so complex that I feel I do not really understand them.
- The changes in Russia are irreversible.

The media report profound changes in education and society in Moscow since the end of communist rule in Russia. Indeed, few articles or reports in the media speak of little else when discussing society in Russia (see Selected Bibliography for examples).

The Lethbridge Herald, for example, ran a full page article entitled "Meltdown in Russia" (March 9, 1999). The premise of the article stated: "In less than a decade Russia has gone from superpower to near-bankrupt basket case pleading for food aid from its former enemies." The article went on to state that "at its peak, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics occupied a sixth of the world's land surface, its military and industrial power rivalled the United States and it projected communist ideology as an alternative way of life for all people living under western style capitalism" (The Lethbridge Herald, March 9, 1999, p.A8).

Few can doubt the achievements of this former superpower. However, the complexion of Russia has severely changed given the *Reconstruction* policies of Gorbachev, the demise of communism in Russia and the move to a free market economy by the supposedly democratic-minded Yelstin. Russian citizens are living the changes and teachers' perceptions of these changes are important.

Table 1 shows the means and standard deviations for the questions related to these changes.

Table 1
Teachers' Perceptions of Changes Within Russia

Question	N	M	sd
10. The changes in Russia are superficial; deep down little has changed.	94	3.4	1.04
13. For the average person, there will be little difference between living in Russia when it was a communist state and life in post communist Russia.	100	2.1	.96
21. The changes which have occurred in Russia over the last decade were not really the result of Gorbachev's initiatives as such changes would have taken place regardless of who was in power.	101	3.1	1.02
23. The failed August coup in Russia confirms that changes in Russia are irreversible	101	3.1	.91
30. The recent changes in Eastern Europe are so complex that I feel I do not really understand them.	102	3.0	.95
31. The changes in Russia are irreversible.	102	3.3	.84

M= Mean

As the means and large standard deviations indicate, the responses to the questions in Category 1: Teachers' Perceptions of Changes Within Russia, were somewhat contradictory. Using the percentages of responses to each question, 61 per cent of the respondents agreed that the changes in Russian society are superficial, a higher percentage

(77%) did not believe that for the average person there would be little difference in living in communist Russia and post-communist Russia. Almost half of the respondents (48%) agreed that the changes in Russia are irreversible and 40 percent of the respondents felt that these changes were the results of initiatives undertaken by Gorbachev. An almost equal percentage agreed (36%) as disagreed (35%) that they understood the recent and complex social changes in Eastern Europe and in Russia. Almost half of the respondents agreed (47%) with the statement: "The failed August coup (1991) in Russia confirms the changes in Russia are irreversible."

Category II: Teachers' perceptions on communism and the future of communism

The second category of statements in the survey related to teachers' perceptions of communism and the future of communism. Seven statements were included in this category:

- Russia's liberation from Communist domination could not have taken place without glasnost and perestroika.
- The communist party will never again form the government of Russia.
- The fall of the communist state in Russia is the result of actions and initiatives by Russians, it is not the result of external forces and circumstances.
- Even if the Soviet Union had not developed the attitude of glasnost and the policy of perestroika, the communist state would have fallen in other Eastern European countries.
- The fall of the communist state in Russia is a desirable development.
- The Russian people will be better off now that the communist state in Russia has ended.
- Communism will remain a viable political force in parts of Eastern Europe.

The future of communism in Russia and Eastern Europe is an issue explored in the media and is of concern to the entire world. Russians may be considered "free" today but a variety of opinion polls show that almost two-thirds of those surveyed are "nostalgic

for Soviet-era welfare, social order, and the pride of being part of a superpower” (The Lethbridge Herald, March 9, 1999, p.A8).

As the means and standard deviations indicate in Table 2, there is a wide variety in responses to the questions in Category II.

Table 2

Teachers' Perceptions on Communism and the Future of Communism

Questions	N	M	sd
1. Russia's liberation from Communist domination could have not taken place without glasnost and perestroika.	100	3.7	1.02
5. The communist party will never again form the government of Russia.	102	3.4	.89
7. The fall of the communist state in Russia is the result of actions and initiatives by Russians, it is not the result of external forces and circumstances.	100	3.2	1.0
23. The failed August coup in Russia confirms that changes in Russia are irreversible	101	3.1	.91
34. Even if the Soviet Union had not developed the attitude of glasnost and the policy of perestroika, the communist state would have fallen in other Eastern European countries.	100	3.5	.80
47. The fall of the communist state in Russia is a desirable development.	102	3.5	.90
49. The Russian people will be better off now that the communist state has ended.	101	2.3	1.04
51. Communism will remain a viable political force in parts of Eastern Europe.	102	2.6	.95

The majority of the respondents (67%) surveyed agreed that Russia's liberation from Communist domination could not have taken place without glasnost and perestroika. However, only slightly more than half (52%) agreed that if the Soviet Union had not developed the attitude of glasnost and the policy of perestroika, the communist system would have failed in other European countries. Respondents were largely undecided

(45%) or in agreement (40%) that the communist party would never again form the government of Russia. When asked if the fall of the communist state was a desirable development over half (59%) agreed. A similar percentage of the respondents (55%) agreed that Russian people will be better off given the end of communist rule in Russia. Few respondents (14%) agreed that communism would indeed remain a viable force in Eastern Europe. Less than half of the respondents (45%) agreed that the fall of communist rule in Russia was the result of actions and initiatives by Russians as opposed to the result of external forces or circumstances.

Category III: Teachers' perceptions on democracy in Russia.

The third category of statements in the survey related to democratic forces within Russia. Four statements spoke to the influence of these democratic forces in Russia.

- In my lifetime, Russia will become a true democracy.
- Russia is now a true democracy.
- Democratic forces are responsible for the fall of the communist state in Russia.
- Today, Russians are free.

The Communist party had tried to manage every aspect of life for the citizens of the Soviet Union. Since the demise of communism in Russia, Russian citizens are considered to be "more free" than any time in their history. This rocky transition from state-control to a more democratic form of leadership has created a well reported crisis in Russia (see Selected Bibliography).

Slightly more than half of the respondents (56%) were undecided if Russia would become a true democracy in their lifetime. However, an almost equal number (23%) of

respondents agreed as (21%) disagreed that they would see Russia as a true democracy. The results were significantly different when the question was restated: "Russia is now a true democracy" as 72 per cent of the respondents disagreed with this statement. This is supported by the responses to the statement: "Today, Russians are truly free," as slightly more than half of the respondents (54%) disagreed that Russians are truly free and only 7 per cent of the respondents were in agreement. Respondents were largely undecided (28%) or in agreement (57%) with the statement that "democratic forces are responsible for the fall of the communist state in Russia".

Means and standard deviations for this category of statements are shown on Table 3. The results indicate some scatter among the responses to the statements.

Table 3
Teachers' Perceptions on Democracy in Russia

Question	N	M	sd
20. In my lifetime, Russia will become a true democracy.	100	3.0	.89
22. Russia is now a true democracy.	102	2.0	.85
28. Democratic forces are responsible for the fall of the communist state in Russia.	101	3.5	1.01
38. Today, Russians are truly free.	101	2.3	.87

Category IV: Teachers' perceptions and attitudes towards schooling, students and teachers in general in Moscow

Seven statement related to teachers's perceptions and attitudes towards schooling, students and teachers in general:

- The quality of education will become better now than it was under the communist state of Russia.
- As a teacher, I have more professional freedom and autonomy than I would have had as a teacher in the communist state of Russia.
- What has happened in Russia over the last half decade will affect me as a professional teacher.
- Now that the communist state in Russia has fallen, schooling will be more objective and non-ideological.
- Under the Russian communist state equality of educational opportunity for all Russian children existed.
- In the communist Russian state, teachers disseminated a biased social viewpoint.
- Equality of educational opportunity for Russian children will become greater now than it was in the communist state of Russia.

The structure of the Soviet school system provided care for children from infancy through to adulthood. Pre-schools and kindergartens led the way to school proper. Prescribed texts and curriculums were consistent through the country and Communist party youth organizations were an integral part of the education process. Homework was mandated, attendance rates were high and portraits of Lenin were often the focal point of classrooms.

The Soviet Union celebrated its literacy rate; teachers were purveyors of information and were well respected for their efforts. However, Soviet education was criticised for its authoritarian methodology and its limited focus in the areas of the social sciences, world history, literature, and creative problem-solving. Soviet educators recognized a need for change before the end of the Soviet state. Russian teachers' responses to how that system of education has changed are valuable.

The first question in this category stated: "The quality of education will become better now than it was under the communist state in Russia". Slightly more than half

(51%) of the respondents disagreed with this statement although 61% of the respondents agreed that, as teachers, they have more professional freedom and autonomy, now than when a communist state existed in Russia. A similar percentage (64%), agreed that what has happened in Russia over the last decade will affect them as professional teachers.

An almost equal number of teachers responded as undecided (43%) as in agreement (42%) that schooling will become more objective and non-ideological now that the communist state has fallen. Slightly more than half (55%) agreed that during communist rule teachers voiced a pro-communist ideology.

Most (77%) of the respondents were in agreement that, under the Russian communist state, equality of educational opportunity for all children existed. This was supported by the responses to the last item in this category which was similar, but negatively worded. Teachers disagreed (71%) that equality of educational opportunity for Russian children will become greater now than it was in the communist state of Russia. Means, standard deviations for each question in this category are shown on Table 4.

Table 4
Teachers' Perceptions and Attitudes Towards
Schooling, Students and Teachers in General in Moscow

Question	N	M	sd
4. The quality of education will become better now than it was under the communist state of Russia.	101	2.5	1.01
11. As a teacher, I have more professional freedom and autonomy than I would have had as a teacher in the communist state of Russia.	99	3.5	.95
17. What has happened in Russia over the last decade will affect me as a professional teacher.	100	3.6	1.04
33. Now that the communist state in Russia has fallen, schooling will be more objective and non-ideological	102	3.3	.87
36. Under the Russian communist state equality of educational opportunity for all Russian children existed.	101	3.8	.95
48. In the communist Russian state, teachers disseminated a biased social viewpoint.	102	3.5	.87
50. Equality of educational opportunity for Russian children will become greater now than it was in the communist state of Russia.	100	2.0	.95

Category V: Teachers' perceptions regarding creditation and training of educators in Russia

Three statements on the survey focused upon teachers' perceptions regarding the creditation and training of Russian educators:

- Teachers trained and hired under the communist regime in Russia should have their credentials and certification reviewed.
- Professors in schools of pedagogy who were trained and hired under the communist regime in Russia should have their credentials and certification reviewed.
- The education and training I received in my school of pedagogy has adequately prepared me to be a professional teacher in post-communist Russia.

The almost revolutionary changes since the 1992 Law of Education was passed in Russia now allow public schools in Moscow the freedom to essentially invent their own

design. Curriculum and methodology will, without question, experience some transition. Because some teachers follow their students for up to three years it is important that those teachers are adequately trained to meet the needs of their students.

Teachers were divided in their responses to the questions in Category V. More than half of the respondents (62%) disagreed that educators who were trained and hired under the communist regime in Russia should have their credentials and certification reviewed.

When asked if professors in schools of pedagogy who were trained and hired under the communist regime in Russia should have their credentials and certification reviewed, teachers were again divided in their responses with slightly more than half (54%) disagreeing with the statement. The results were different when the respondents were asked if their own education and training had adequately prepared them as professional teachers in post-communist Russia. Few (10%) disagreed with the statement and 68% felt that their education and training had prepared them for teaching in today's Russia.

Means and standard deviations indicate this wide scatter among the responses to the statements in this category. Table 5 presents these results.

Table 5

**Teachers' Perceptions Regarding Creditation
and Training of Educators in Russia**

Question	N	M	sd
14. Teachers trained and hired under the communist regime in Russia should have their credentials and certification reviewed.	100	2.3	1.13
42. Professors in schools of pedagogy who were trained and hired under the communist regime in Russia should have their credentials and certification reviewed.	101	2.5	1.13
46. The education and training I received in my school of pedagogy has adequately prepared me to be a professional teacher in post-communist Russia.	100	3.8	.92

Category VI: Teachers' perceptions of their responsibilities as educators in Russia

Three statements on the survey related to teachers' perceptions of their responsibilities as educators in Russia. The means and standard deviations are shown on Table 6.

- It is the responsibility of teachers to properly interpret the recent events in Eastern Europe and Russia for their students.
- It is the responsibility of teachers to foster a sense of Russian nationalism in students.
- It is the responsibility of teachers to instill proper values in their students.

Russian teachers employed during "Soviet times" placed a heavy emphasis on *vospitanie*. The closest English translations of the term might be *character education* or *upbringing*. *Vospitanie* had as its stated aim the development of communist morality. Teachers were to ensure their students were knowledgeable, devoted, Soviet citizens who behaved altruistically. Values were taught and supported through the Communist youth

groups that were part of the educational process (Bronfenbrener, 1970).

Teachers' responses to the questions in this category reflect a continued devotion to *vospitanie*. The majority (78%) were in agreement that it is the responsibility of teachers to interpret properly the recent events in Eastern Europe and Russia for their students. Respondents also strongly agreed (82%) that teachers have the responsibility to foster a sense of Russian nationalism in their students. Nearly all (94%) of the respondents agreed that teachers have the responsibility to instill proper values in their students.

Table 6
Teachers' Perceptions of Their
Responsibilities as Educators in Russia.

Question	N	M	sd
39.It is the responsibility of teachers to properly interpret the recent events in eastern Europe and Russia for their students.	100	3.8	.69
41.It is the responsibility of teachers to foster a sense of Russian nationalism in students.	101	4.1	.61
43.It is the responsibility of teachers to instill proper values in their students.	101	4.3	.63

Respondents were in strong agreement that teachers have the responsibility to interpret properly recent events in Eastern Europe; to foster a sense of Russian nationalism in their students; and to instill proper values in their students. As the means and standard deviations indicate in Table 6, there is less scatter within the responses.

Category VII : Teachers's perceptions of the future of their individual professional lives

Seven statements on the survey focused on the perceptions and attitudes that teachers have regarding the future of their professional and personal lives. Means and standard deviations for the statements in this category are shown on Table 7.

- Being a teacher in Russia will be more difficult over the next decade than it has been in the past decade.
- Now that the communist state in Russia has fallen the school curriculum should be revised.
- I am optimistic about the future of the teaching profession in Russia.
- I understand the recent social changes in Eastern Europe and in Russia sufficiently well to accurately interpret them for my future students.
- Teachers have an important role to play in shaping Russian society in the future.
- I would rather be a teacher in the Russia of ten years ago than in the Russia of the year 2,000 A.D.
- I am worried about the future of Russia.

The latest economic crisis, which exploded in August, 1998, has exacerbated the problems Russia has experienced over the last decade. Media reports share with the world countless stories of poverty, crime, and horrific living conditions within the country. If we believe, as Solzhenitsyn (1991, p. 39) believes, "Teachers are the cream of the nation. They are people with a calling to whom we entrust our future," then teachers in Russia have an overwhelming task ahead of them.

Respondents strongly felt that being a teacher in Russia over the next decade will be more difficult than it has been in the past decade as 76% agreed with the statement. They also largely agreed (71%) that, now that the communist state in Russia has fallen, the school curriculum should be revised. Few (9%) of the surveyed teachers disagreed with

the statement that the school curriculum was in need of revision.

It is encouraging that the majority (60%) of the respondents were optimistic about the future of the teaching profession in Russia. However, this optimism was not reflected in the responses regarding the future of Russia. An overwhelming majority of the sample (96%) agreement with the statement: "I am worried about the future of Russia."

Half (51%) of the respondents believe that they understand the recent social changes in Eastern Europe well enough to accurately interpret them for their future students. This is an interesting result as teachers responded to a similar question in Category VI quite differently. A higher percentage (78%) responded in agreement that it is "their responsibility to interpret these events correctly."

Most of the respondents (70%) were in agreement that teachers have an important role to play in shaping Russian society in the future. Responses were inconsistent but encouraging when teachers were asked if they would rather be a teacher in the Russia of ten years ago or in the Russia of the year 2,000 A.D. Only 33% of the respondents were in agreement with the statement and 40% disagreed.

Means and standard deviations for the responses in this category are shown on Table 7. All but two of the statements show a significant scatter between those responses.

Table 7

Teachers's Perceptions of the Future of their Individual Professional Lives

Question	N	M	sd
9. Being a teacher in Russia will be more difficult over the next decade than it has been in the past decade.	102	3.9	1.01
19. Now that the communist state in Russia has fallen, the school curriculum should be revised.	101	3.7	.87
24. I am optimistic about the future of the teaching profession in Russia.	102	3.6	.88
26. I understand the recent social changes in Eastern Europe and in Russia sufficiently well to accurately interpret them for my future students.	101	3.5	.67
27. Teachers have an important role to play in shaping Russian society in the future.	101	3.8	.81
29. I would rather be a teacher in the Russia of ten years ago than in the Russia of the year 2,000 A.D.	101	2.9	1.09
37. I am worried about the future of Russia.	101	4.3	.58

Generational Differences

Age is considered a critical factor in that the older a teacher, the longer he or she worked within the communist regime. A one way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was undertaken using teachers' ages as the variable. Teachers in the study spanned a broad range of ages as shown on Table 8.

Table 8
Ages of Respondents

17 -21	22-26	27-31	32-36	37- 51	51 - older
9%	9%	8%	21%	33%	20%

As Table 8 indicates, the largest group of respondents were between the age of 37 and 51 years. If the age groups were collapsed, 74 % of the respondents were 32 years of age or older. This second large group would have received their primary and secondary schooling under the communist regime. Certainly, a large group of these respondents would have received their post-secondary training under the communist regime as well.

All of the questions in the survey were analyzed using one way analysis of variance. Only statistically significant results are reported, as shown in Table 9.

Table 9
ANOVA x age

Question	N	M	SD	SS	F	p
22. Russia is now a true democracy.	102	2.0	.859	74.5	2.3	.046
28. Democratic forces are responsible for the fall of communist state in Russia.	101	3.5	1.01	102.6	2.9	.016
36. Under the Russian communist state equality of educational opportunity for all Russian children existed.	101	3.8	.952	90.7	3.3	.007
14. Teachers trained and hired under the communist regime in Russia should have their credentials and certification reviewed.	100	2.3	1.13	128.4	2.3	.046
27. Teachers have an important role to play in shaping Russian society in the future.	101	3.8	.817	66.7	3.2	.008
37. I am worried about the future of Russia.	101	4.3	.580	33.7	2.3	.049

As Table 9 indicates, respondents showed significant differences according to age on two broad types of statements: those relating to the reasons for the fall of communism

and those relating to the place of the educator in society. It appears that the older the respondent, the more likely that respondent was to agree with the statement. Note that statements 22, 14, and 37 are somewhat questionable in their significance.

The one way analysis of variance (ANOVA) also produced interesting results to two of the questions on the survey in that the F probability was very high. Teachers, regardless of their age, largely responded the same way to the statement: "The communist party will never again form the government of Russia, ($F= 5.95$, $p = .965$). Similar results ($F= 5.95$, $p= .900$) were discovered when teachers responded to the statement that asked if they would rather be a teacher in the Russia of ten years ago than in the Russia of the year 2,000 A.D.

Interviews

The seven categories of questions were also used as topics for discussion during the interviews of the twenty-seven subjects. Each category was put into a question format that guided the discussions. The questions were worded as follows:

- What are your perceptions of the changes within Russia over the last fifteen years?
- What are your perceptions of communism and the future of communism in Russia?
- What are your perceptions of democracy in Russia?
- What are your perceptions regarding the present state of schooling, students and teachers in general in Moscow?
- Do you believe that your creditation and training and the creditation and training of the professors in the Pedagogical Institutes in Russia is adequate given the changes in Russia?
- What do you believe are your responsibilities as an educator in Russia?
- What do you predict for your future professional life?

Category I: What are your perceptions of the changes within Russia over the last fifteen years?

Interviewees were somewhat overwhelmed with the general nature of this question. Most of the discussions were further broken down into the areas of political change, economic change, societal change, and the resulting implications for the classroom.

The majority of the interviewed subjects believed that the economic crisis in Russia would have happened regardless of what political party was in power. Russia could simply not compete in the world market given the costs of Chernobyl, the costs of the ethnic conflict throughout the country (particularly in Chechnya), and the rigidity of state control.

Teachers acknowledged the "resentment and inflexibility" of Soviet times but were almost nostalgic for Soviet-era welfare and order. Given the rising cost of living, the loss

of free medical care and education, and the mass poverty and unemployment, the “financial meltdown” of their beloved country brought most to tears. Twenty-four of the 27 interviewed subjects held little hope for much economic improvement in the near future given the present government and its reported level of corruption. The majority also felt that the economic situation would continue to plague the nation rather than improve it. One teacher summed up the responses of the interviewed subjects well: “We are survivors.... We can look backwards or we can look forward. I choose to go about my business. I work hard and hope for improvements...what else can I do?”

Teachers who had been employed during Soviet times reminisced about the opportunities for cultural programs and travel to Pioneer camps for their students. The need for fresh air and outdoor experience was mentioned by several teachers who saw little opportunity for some of their present students to experience such outings. They also spoke of the change in “mentality” of their students. “The abundance of foreign goods tempt our students.... they are consumed with the need for unnecessary toys.” was a response shared.

Most believed that they had little control over the what was happening in their city. Foreign companies provide much needed employment but these same companies have forever changed the face of their beloved city. “We watch beautiful buildings grow up overnight while our schools crumble and fall...what message does this give our children?”

Every teacher interviewed talked about the present “hard times” as a potential threat to the education of Russia’s children. “How can we shield our children from political

corruption and crisis, crime...they see wealth beyond their wildest dreams and yet so many cannot afford the basic necessities required for good health." Another respondent spoke of the deteriorated conditions of the public schools. "I believe some of our school are unsafe. We do not have enough money to make improvements, building materials are too costly."

The interviewed teachers did not view the changes in Russia as being "superficial" or "irreversible". Unlike the surveyed respondents who were contradictory in their responses, the interviewed subjects appeared to be overwhelmed with the amount of change their lives had experienced over the last decade. They felt and lived very real differences between living in communist Russia and post-communist Russia. The general feeling portrayed was that "change was inevitable" given the economic situation in their country. One teacher replied to the question with this response: "Real change can only come out of crisis. Who anticipated an easy transition? We have gained much ... but at a huge cost. Perhaps our young students will rise to the challenge that has been presented."

Category II: What are your perceptions of communism and the future of communism in Russia?

The majority of the interviewees and surveyed respondents agreed that Russia's liberation from Communist domination could not have taken place without glasnost and perestroika. One interviewee shared this comment: "The resentment caused by the management of every aspect our lives was stifling.... Many of us were open to new ideas."

It appeared that most of the interviewed respondents initially supported

Gorbachev's pledge to liberalize parliament, but the feelings were qualified with statements like "the demise of communism has brought little relief to most of us." Responses were varied when the interviewees were asked if the communist party would ever again form the government of Russia. About half of the interviewees were "unsure" in their responses. Surveyed respondents were almost the same: 45% of the survey responses were "undecided."

Almost all of the respondents looked back at Soviet times as a period in their lives that offered a "simpler, more organized, lifestyle." One comment sums up the general feeling of nostalgia:

I was such a happy child....I remember the pride I felt as a young Pioneer. I finished my schooling in 1982....I had studied so hard and was very proud to face my first class of students. I was a good teacher and my students were very successful on their examinations. Today is different. I realize all I was told as a student was not true... but I remember being proud.

Another teacher responded by asking me if I understood the "fight under the carpet." She clarified the phrase by saying "We knew something was happening between Russia and the west, but as Russians we did not know what.... We were a peaceful nation.... I did not know that we sold weapons." This same teacher used the term "socialist" instead of "communist" throughout her discussion. "No one in Russia believes that life can ever return to the way it once was.... As socialists we must do what is right for children.... They are our future". This same teacher believed strongly that the "socialists" would again come to power in Russia and only then would the economic conditions improve.

Most of the interviewed respondents considered the fall of the communist state to

be a desirable development. The survey results supported these findings: 62 per cent of the surveyed respondents also considered the fall of communism to be desirable. However, when asked if Russians would be better off now that the communist state in Russia has ended, the responses of interviewees were quite different. Only four teachers responded that they are "better off." One teacher responded that "the fall of communism is desirable but what we are experiencing now is intolerable."

Another respondent summed up her response to the question by saying "It is unlikely that Soviet style communism will ever return as the political force in Russia, but perhaps, a gentler, socialist style of leadership is needed to pull Russia out of its present economic crisis." However, further clarification revealed her intense distrust of the present government and an almost fatalistic perception of the current political situation. "What will be, will be. We have weathered far worse storms." Another comment was "Present control of finance is dictated by foreign investors and a few former members of the communist party." This same teacher followed that remark with the statement, "Communism, socialism, democracy....these are nothing but useless words that say nothing about the heart of our people. How could you possibly understand Russians and our passion for what is right and good?"

Category III: What are your perceptions of democracy in Russia?

Much discussion centred around the definition of "true democracy." Most of the teachers who were interviewed questioned the term. One teacher responded with the following question: "Do you know one nation on our earth that lives with true

democracy?" Another teacher responded to the question with this statement "We may have free parliamentary elections... freedom in the press... the right to travel if we can afford the luxury... but we are not free. We are bound to poverty, we are tempted by goods and our children are dissatisfied." Teachers who were interviewed were much more decisive within this category of questions than their surveyed colleagues. Over half of the surveyed participants were undecided if Russia would ever become a true democracy and only 4% of the surveyed participants agreed that Russia is now a true democracy.

A 76 year old interviewee who had been teaching in Moscow for 56 years and is presently teaching part-time in a public school offered this comment when asked about democracy in Russia: "Post-Soviet laws allow children to stay out of school.... These children are on the street... vagrants... how democratic that they can earn their own salaries in which to support their drug habits.... How democratic that so few can have so much.... I see young men driving expensive cars.... I know their mothers are hungry."

The interviewed teachers believe that democracy is a powerful force and most indicated that they welcomed an end to the force of totalitarianism. However, the general feeling portrayed was summed up well by the statement "Democracy is an idea - a way of eliminating too much government.... But what we had has been destroyed too quickly...new problems surface before old problems have been resolved. It takes time to change and adapt.... We have not had time to deal with one crisis before we are faced with another.... We need time to heal."

Category IV: What are your perceptions regarding the present state of schooling, students and teachers in general in Moscow?

Discussions with the interviewed subjects centred largely around this question. As all of the interviewed participants were teachers, these participants felt comfortable speaking about the current situation in schools in Moscow. The subjects were all in agreement that the political and economic crisis in Russia has deeply affected the quality of education for students attending public school. When asked what was the most critical effect, twenty-two teachers mentioned the issue of staffing. The majority of the respondents spoke of well qualified “good” teachers that had left the profession in search of higher paying careers. A severe shortage of foreign language teachers was reported: “So many can work for foreign companies, private schools and embassies where they are better paid for their service.” Teachers also reported that few “young and energetic teachers” are entering the profession. One teacher reported that the “only reason I teach in a public school is to acquire contacts for private tutorials...my teaching salary will not support my family.... I make almost 1,000 American dollars a month tutoring students.... This is why I am so tired.”

The majority of the interviewees spoke of the poor conditions of the public school facilities and the frustration they feel for students who cannot afford textbooks and items necessary for study. Seven teachers spoke of the long days many students spend at the school because they go into “after-school care” at the end of their instructional day.

I happened to be at a public Russian school on “pay-day.” I watched 31 teachers wait for over three hours for the “delivery of the salary.” Tired, stoic faces waited

patiently in the front foyer of the school. I sat amongst the teachers and asked if this happened often. The responses were largely distrustful, curt, and monosyllabic. Perhaps they were reluctant to complain given that some of their colleagues in rural Russia were not seeing any salary. I had interviewed at length five of the teachers who were waiting. They were reluctant to speak with me in the foyer in spite of their willingness to talk openly during the more private interview process.

Interviewees also spoke of the “changes” in the relationships they had with their students. Though well disciplined by western standards, the students were largely perceived as being either “studious and capable” or a “waste of time.” Parental support is insisted upon if a child is to be successful at school and the students who do not have that support are challenged to compete. Homework is assigned regularly and completion to perfection is expected. One teacher responded to my question regarding changes in student behaviour with the comment, “Good teachers do not have discipline problems.”

Each subject was asked “If money was of no concern...would you register your child in a Russian public school or a Western private school?” It was very telling that every respondent replied (most were amused by the question) that they would admit their own child into a Russian school before they would admit their child into any one of the private “Western” schools. Most of the teachers were knowledgeable about some of the private schools in Moscow and were appalled by the “lack of discipline and the low standards.” One teacher reported that her child would have no hope of entering a University or Institute in Russia if that child did not attend a Russian school. Another teacher

responded by saying, "Your methodologies produce lazy children who must be entertained.... My methodologies produce hardworking, knowledgeable, citizens."

When asked what changes are seen as positive given the new laws in education, the majority of the respondents agreed that the success of a school was largely dependent on the director of that school. "If the school director is progressive, innovative and encouraging, teachers will become that way. If the director is demanding and regimented the school programs will mirror that philosophy." Some spoke of the opportunity to include new programs in the curriculum, the inspiration many of the students have to learn a second language, the opportunity for student exchanges which were unheard of in Soviet times, the variety in literature and history courses that students are now exposed to, and the wealth of books that are now available in Russia. A teacher reported that she buys two of every good book she can afford, "One to have for myself and one to tear apart and put on the walls of my classroom for my students to enjoy."

Category V: Do you believe that your creditation and training and the creditation and training of the professors in the pedagogical institutes in Russia is adequate given the changes in Russia?

Interviewed and surveyed respondents were in agreement that teachers were well qualified to meet the demands of changing curricula in post-communist Russia. "We are very knowledgeable.... It is required to spend five years preparing for our career.... I do admit that some of my professors were not very good but I am well prepared to teach my classes."

Three respondents (all had graduated from Pedagogical Institutes within the last ten

years) spoke of the frustrations they experienced as they prepared for the entrance examinations that were required before admission into these institutes. "The pressure is enormous...my examinations were oral... I did not know what question I would be asked.... We learned to speak well, think on our feet, concentrate and share our knowledge. I fear our examinations could become written accounts of our learning - like you have in west. However, stressful and tense this process was.... We became very learned."

When I asked if they had much practical experience in the classroom before graduation all responded that their Pedagogical Institute had worked closely with the schools and most teachers would "intern" before graduation.

Teachers were concerned that tuition costs (largely unheard of in Soviet times) would limit many students from earning a post-secondary education. One comment was "You have to understand that Russia is a corrupt society....bribes have existed forever. There are seats in faculties because of good grades and there are seats in faculties because of money."

All of the teachers spoke of the abundance of new books, textual materials, newspapers, magazines, and journals readily available in Moscow. "Good teachers are very knowledgeable about their subject and are always anxious to learn more...Russians have a passion for books," was a comment that sums well the perceptions of the interviewed teachers.

Category VI: What do you believe are your responsibilities as an educator in Russia?

The majority of the teachers who were interviewed were precise and succinct in their responses. The survey results regarding this category of questions also indicated a clear message that Russian public school teachers believe they have a well-defined role to play in society. Teachers are part of an honoured profession that demands and deserves respect. Good teachers produce results. Good teachers have the respect of their pupils. Good teachers model the values of hard work, honesty, cleanliness, and organization. Good teachers love literature and history, and are extremely knowledgeable in their area of study. Good teachers instill in their students a love of Russia and nature. The following quote was shared by a younger teacher who had graduated with her teaching degree in 1994.

Russian teachers have never been paid well...most of us are women...we are caregivers...we provide knowledge...we teach discipline...our goal is to encourage a hardworking citizenship. Our students must be prepared for examinations. However, you must try to understand. We grew up believing Lenin was our grandfather. When Lenin's portraits were ordered to be removed from classrooms many of us wept. I'm sure teachers lost their focus...how do you leave out of your program what was for years the most integral part of your program? My first lesson in school was about Lenin and the Communist Party It was woven through all our subjects. I was very proud when I became a Pioneer. We were taught to be peaceful, and yes, I remember how excited we were when our teachers gave us new history books...it was like playing with our own history...but now...I do not know...we have lost our focus. What values do we teach our students? Does hard work necessarily produce success?

The issue of "hard work" was mentioned by three of the participants. They felt that

some of their students were “reluctant to produce much effort.” Many families cannot afford tutors and therefore the children in those families are considered to be disadvantaged. “Free education” is no longer a reality for many Russian students.

Category VII: What do you predict for your future professional life?

Teachers are very worried about the future of Russia. Both the surveyed and the interviewed groups of teachers were in agreement that the future for Russians is precarious at best. Though optimistic about the teaching profession and the influence teachers can have on their students all of the 27 interviewees expressed much concern regarding the current plight of Russian teachers. They see themselves as “victims.” Teachers are leaving the profession, few families can afford tutorials, school buildings are considered unsafe, thousands of children wander the streets, the ruble is devalued, and prices are rising.

Teachers in the surveyed and interviewed sample largely believe that the quality of education in Moscow has not improved from what it was under communist rule. Though teachers agreed that a more objective and ideological approach to instruction is now possible, the present economic crisis has and will continue to ravage the educational system. “Like our students, we are victims of chaos.”

Solzbenitsyn labels Russia a country “in catastrophic ruin with a population deprived of the habits and skills of a viable society.” He feels the young are “unprovided for by either family or school” (1991, p. 40). His ideas are not represented well by the teachers I had an opportunity to meet. To keep pace with the incredible unfolding of

events of the past decade has been an overwhelming task for most Russians. The Russian teachers who agreed to be interviewed for this study have weathered the storms and most look optimistically towards the future. It is impossibly difficult to make predictions and to devise plans for future action, but as one wise educator (she had been teaching in Moscow for 56 years) said. "Teachers are givers.... We give our heart and soul to the wee ones in our care.... This gives me hope.... It has been our mission. and will continue to be our mission, to instill a love of life, a love of Russia and the love of learning in our students. Small, well thought-out steps, will bring us to where we want to be."

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to examine the perceptions of selected Moscow educators regarding public education and society in Russia. This chapter presents a discussion of the study, possibilities for further study, and some conclusions.

Discussion of the findings

The seven themes into which the survey questions are grouped became the base for discussion during the interview process. The data collected from the surveys and the transcripts from the interviews resulted in a mass of information that allows for some conclusions to be drawn. These conclusions reflect the perceptions and attitudes of Russian educators regarding the following questions:

What are your perceptions of the changes within Russia over the last fifteen years?

What are your perceptions of communism and the future of communism in Russia?

What are your perceptions of democracy in Russia?

What are your perceptions regarding the present state of schooling, students and teachers in general in Moscow?

Do you believe that your creditation and training and the creditation and training of the professors in the Pedagogical Institutes in Russia is adequate given the changes in Russia?

What do you believe are your responsibilities as an educator in Russia?

What do you predict for your future professional life?

The first theme focuses on the concept of "change." Russian educators in Moscow live in a society that has seen incredible transition in the last fifteen years. Many of the study participants were educated in a rigid system that combined discipline and a

thorough grounding in of reading, writing and arithmetic with an emphasis on *vospitanie* or communist morality. Curriculum was standard, texts were prescribed, and individuals were taught to subordinate their individual interests to those of the collective. To serve one's society with genuine responsibility, to be self-disciplined and obedient, were the ideals.

Gorbachev's policies of *glasnost* and *perestroika* opened the doors for a new kind of thinking. Soviet education was seen as outdated, limiting, and in need of reform. However, severe economic decline and the unravelling of the Soviet Union thwarted many of Gorbachev's ideas for reform.

The abolition of the Soviet Union in 1991 saw the severing of political, economic and societal ties with republics that had shared a history with Russia for centuries. As Russia experienced the transition from communism to capitalism, production was reported to have fallen by 50 percent. Official statistics showed a drop in Gross Domestic Product (GDP), or the total value of the economy, of over 50 per cent in the years 1989-1996, (Russian Economy, 1999). The decline of one the world's largest infrastructures, political chaos, huge production slumps, the loss of resources and support from the republics and new competitions have resulted in well documented changes for all Russians.

Media reports (see Selected Bibliography) share horror stories of ordinary Russians who have suffered in the transformation of their economy. The restrictions of the Soviet lifestyle may have vanished, but so have many of the securities of Soviet life.

The educators who participated in this study were asked some general questions.

Their responses were telling. As committed educators who are passionate about their role in Russian society, they related the “changes” they have witnessed in the political, economic and social arenas of Russian society to the context of schooling in Russian society.

Surprisingly, over half of the surveyed respondents agreed that the changes in Russia are superficial; that deep down little has changed. A higher percentage believed that, for the average person, that individual would see differences between living in post-communist Russia than communist Russia. These contradictory responses were clarified through the interview process.

Study participants spoke openly of the restrictions and inflexibility of the Soviet school system. They complained of the rigidity of assigned texts and mandated curriculums. They spoke of harsh discipline, excessive homework and the power of school directors. They also talked about the need for, and welcoming of, educational reform. One teacher offered this commentary: “One of my greatest joys has been the reshaping of the way Russian literature is taught...many of the internationally admired authors of the 20th century were banned in the Soviet Union. Students can now discuss Soviet rule using contemporary documents and family memories to arrive at their own conclusions.” This comment reflects the appreciation for the changes and the possibility for less restrictive programming in schools. However, every teacher that participated in this study discussed the ramifications for schools given the economic crisis within the nation. One teacher summed up the feelings of frustration: “We are more restricted now

than we ever were in Soviet times.... We may not be bound by curriculum, but we are certainly bound by economics.... Our school cannot afford books, we cannot compete with private schools that offer programs in technology. We need more teachers and our schools need repair.”

Few believe that the recent changes in Russian society can be reversed. The society is going through a profound crisis which has affected all fundamental aspects of life. The teachers who participated in this study believe that these changes must be met with a “creation of a social condition” that allows for the development of Russia’s young students. It is an overwhelming task. These Russian educators, working in impoverished conditions, are assigning themselves the task of educating a future leadership that, in turn, can work to stabilize their society.

Whether that future leadership will involve a return to communist ideology was also a question that was asked. This second theme involved discussion of the future of communism in Russia. Respondents were largely undecided if the Communist Party would ever rule in Russia again. Raised in a communist society, and in many ways nostalgic for the social order that Soviet rule provided, the teachers who were interviewed viewed the current politics in Russia as “a failed democracy or a smokescreen democracy.” This is not to say they wanted a return of the oppression of Soviet rule; rather, they believed that unless there was some immediate relief from the economic instability in their country the communists could be democratically voted back to power.

Boris Yelstin has referred to his own country as a “criminal superpower” (cited in

Maly, 1996, p. 77). One interviewed teacher responded to the question regarding the future of communism by referring to the "criminal and corrupt" nature of Russian government - past and present:

There are so many unprincipled people in Russian government. We have Always been a corrupt society. Bribery has always existed. We celebrated the death of communism, and when the tanks rolled through the city towards the White House. I was on the side of Yelstin. I wanted to take tea down to those at the White House. But now...how do you trust a man who fires people like they are dogs...his friends are unsavoury...he lives like a king outside of the law. Under the guise of democracy, the wealth of the criminal world has increased..Very much like the communists who pretended to give to the have-nots, while they lived in luxury.

Recent polls in Russia show the communist party to have a strong hold on the voting population, particularly in the rural areas. A consensus also appears to be emerging in favour of more state control in that "the state needs to take capital in hand, and put it to the task of improving the life of ordinary citizens" (Bernstein, 1998, p. 11). As Bernstein reports in The Moscow Times, (Jan. 16, 1998, p. 11), "The state itself must be transformed from an instrument used by private interests to plunder society's resources into an instrument that protects the interests of society as a whole."

Teachers who participated in this study were generally appalled by the corrupt features of the present Russian economy. They did not perceive themselves to be living in a "true market economy based on democratic principles." Most of the interviewed participants did see the development of a market economy as positive, but only if that development involved legitimate effort, by the state to ensure improved living standards for the ordinary Russian citizen.

These teachers largely shared the opinion that education and health care were “well provided for during Soviet times.” However, those systems that were once touted by Soviet leadership as examples of “the human, caring face of socialism” are now reported to be in complete shambles. Life expectancy and the literacy rate have plunged. Journalist Laurie Garret, citing the World Health Organization, reported in The Moscow Times, (Feb 25, 1998, p. 15) that in 1993 alone, the life expectancy at birth for Russian males dropped from age 61 to age 58. Current statistics on literacy rates are not considered to be reliable but Olga Zykov, a psychiatrist who heads the No to Alcoholism and Drug foundation in Moscow, estimates there are about 15,000 street children in Moscow alone. The Human Rights Watch reports that 113,000 are surrendered to state custody by Russian families annually, (The Lethbridge Herald, March 1, 1999, A11).

The Soviet mechanisms that had managed society and, in particular, education and health care, are perceived to be “broken.” Dr. Lev Mogilevsky, co-director of an infectious disease treatment facility in Russia believes that “health care is on the brink of complete ruin.... We don’t even know how to create a system that works,” (cited in Garret, The Moscow Times, Feb. 25, 1998).

Given that education and health care were considered widely accessible under communist rule, and that the current and massive funding crisis has nearly collapsed both systems, one can understand the hesitancy on the part of Russian educators when it comes to predicting the future of the communist party. Both the surveyed and interviewed teachers were largely undecided if the communist party would ever form the

government of Russia, though more were convinced it would not, than it would. The restrictions under Soviet rule were seen as oppressive, but the restrictions under a collapsed economy are seen as "more oppressive."

The third theme that arose from the survey questions and discussions during the interview process was the force of democracy in Russia. Surveyed participants were largely undecided if Russia would become a true democracy in their lifetime and they were very clear in their disagreement that Russia is now a true democracy. The teachers interviewed supported these perceptions but clarified themselves with the belief that there has only been a "reshuffling of the communist party in Russia". I believe this is a popular opinion shared by many Russians. One, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, is a particularly powerful proponent of this viewpoint. Solzhenitsyn's writings were banned during Soviet rule in Russia. However his book, Rebuilding Russia, (1991) was familiar to most of the teachers I had the opportunity to interview. He wrote:

Time has run out for Communism. But the concrete structure has not yet toppled, and we face the danger of being crushed by the debris instead of finding freedom...What have five or six years of noisy *perestroika* brought us but a half-hearted reshuffling of the party Central Committee and an ugly, fake electoral system whose sole aim is to preserve the power of the Communist Party. Enough of party bureaucracy, enough of a society built on lies. (p. 9)

Solzhenitsyn believes that only a "root and branch" reform will give back Russians their country and revitalize the traditional values of the people.

Private enterprise and private property will be needed to create a climate of freedom and initiative, provided that private monopolies do not replace state socialism. He also

believes that for much too long everything in Russia has been under the control of people who had not the slightest understanding of the enterprises they were managing. Perhaps, with the emergence of a free market economy, some control will be turned over to "individuals with knowledge."

The teachers who were interviewed largely agreed with Solzhenitsyn's analysis. This comment by an interviewee sums well their perceptions: "The people who were in power during Soviet times are still essentially in power. They have tremendous control of our nation's resources and the wealth of our nation continues to line the pockets of a few."

Teachers also spoke of the "Americanization of their cities." The market economy and so-called democratic restructuring of the Russian political system has been blamed on everything from a "mysterious anti-communist and anti-Russian plan being carried out by American imperialists" to the work of "secret enemies inside Russian society" (Perekhvalskaya, 1995). The Russian cultural identity is perceived to be threatened because the spread of American culture has been so rapid. Bookstores are full of translated books, soap operas rule the television sets and western movies stars are idolized. Freedom cuts both ways. One wonders if the Russian intellectuals who wished for freedom so fervently ever imagined that freedom would lead to such foreign influence. As Elena Perekhvalskaya, a popular writer who presently lives in Moscow, states in her article Culture Shock from the West "Perhaps creative freedom is more demanding than creative restriction" (p. 27).

The fourth theme that arose from the survey and the interviews related to teachers' perceptions regarding the present state of schooling and of students and teachers in general in Moscow. The first concern (that was repeatedly expressed) was the issue of salary. Teachers cannot survive on their paltry wages given the high cost of living in Moscow. All of the interviewed participants either depended on the income of a spouse or parent, or supplemented their incomes with monies from tutorials and after-school supervision. Much empathy for colleagues in the rural areas of Russia was expressed.

The shortage of teachers was also a primary concern. Many public schools cannot offer programs that were once part of the national curriculum because there is no one to teach the program. Foreign language teachers are becoming scarce as these teachers have become highly employable in the private school or business sector.

Many school buildings border on decrepit and the discrepancies between schools within a few blocks of each other are obvious. Often, admission to "better equipped" schools is ensured if parents are able to provide "gifts" to that school. Therefore, some schools are able to acquire more and more while others steadily run down, to the point of being unsafe. School sponsorship by local business or industry has decreased and the inconsistency between institutions has built resentments.

Equality of educational opportunity for Muscovite children is seen to have decreased since the end of the Soviet state. The majority of the surveyed respondents disagreed that equality would improve in the new Russia and interviewed respondents were united in their concerns. Teachers spoke passionately about "inconsistencies" and "the growing

number of private schools that served so few. These private schools cater to about 1% of the school children - a "negligible number which is explained by heavy costs for parents." (Nikandrov, in press). Access to higher education is also a huge concern. The opportunity for higher education is seen as "severely limited" when compared to the access students had during communist rule.

A more objective and non-ideological curriculum is seen as a positive development. The monoideology which once pervaded all teaching at all levels left little room for personal choice and development during Soviet rule. However, according to Nikandrov (in press), the present curriculum can be described as an "ideological vacuum." Teachers interviewed in this study did not share Nikandrov's opinion. It was acknowledged that educators disseminated a biased viewpoint under communist rule but, as one teacher stated: "New curricula and programs continue to emphasize the values of effort, responsibility, honesty and a commitment to building a better Russia."

Teachers would like to be more innovative but many felt restricted by the lack of resources, limited technology and the power of the school director or principal. The following presents a common opinion of the influence of school principals. "There are inconsistencies in many public schools because of the inconsistencies of school directors. We are very fortunate at our school, because we have the support of a good principal. Some of my colleagues in other schools are not as fortunate." Another teacher saw innovation has something only seen in "content." She felt that methodology was much the same as when she was a student 17 years ago.

Much concern was expressed regarding the difficulty of university and prestigious technical school admittance examinations. Additional lessons and tutorials are required if students plan to gain admittance to one of these higher level institutions. The pressure on these students is considered immense, as success can mean the avoidance of conscripted service to the Russian army. As one interviewed teacher shared: "I will bribe anyone to prevent my son from going to the army. He is not safe from this possibility until he is 28 years old. We will cheat. I will damage his health, we will do whatever we must to avoid the army." This same teacher, who is presently employed at a private school for non-nationals, professed to give much of her salary to instructors at the University where her son and daughter attended. Her children "spent hours after classes getting support from their teachers." She admitted that "The officials do not know I work at a private school. I am listed as a professor at an institute where I pay another professor to cover for me".

This teacher also shared an interesting perspective on the "improved quality" of teachers in Moscow today. She reported that "teachers must be very good to survive.... You need connections to get tutorials.... You must have recommendations.... Your past students must have successfully passed their examinations." Her opinion was shared by another interviewee: "We work very hard to ensure our students are successful. If you have no one to help support you, it is impossible to survive without the income tutorials provide. We need them and they need us."

Public schooling in Moscow and throughout Russia is considered to be more disciplined and time-consuming than public education in North America. Teachers

involved with this study spoke with pride as they shared the accomplishments of their students. Student notebooks were shown to me as examples of “quality you would not see in a western school.” I watched seven year old children painstakingly copy notes in perfect cursive script. Perfection was demanded and the children were excited to show me their work. I listened to eight year old children read Tolstoy eloquently. I observed unquestioning respect and obedience for teachers and all adults in a number of schools I visited. I watched children perform traditional songs and dances beautifully. I snacked with adolescents enjoying fresh fruit and yogurt provided by the school. I laughed with high school students as they practiced their English and I stumbled with my Russian and I dined with educators who view the challenges ahead as “an opportunity to build a new Russia.”

Participants were asked if they believed that their own creditation and training and the creditation and training of the professors in the Pedagogical Institutes is adequate given the changes in Russia. Surveyed respondents were definite in their agreement that training for educators is adequate. Interviewed respondents clarified these responses by adamantly defending the training and post-secondary education they had received.

Although the changes in post-communist Russia are perceived to be profound, teachers were united in their belief that Russian educators understand the changes well enough to interpret them for their future students. Teachers are very proud of their creditation and they believe that students continue to be “trained well”. As a teacher who had over thirty years of experience teaching in Moscow reported:

Our programs are strict. We have specific assignments for our students. We expect them to work hard. Learning is time consuming. I believe we do a better job of training our young than you do...even without electricity. If our students are to be successful we must teach them well...we do not have time for games, for foolishness. We have access to much information. Our students can see for themselves what is happening. The demands on our students will become greater than ever before. If they are prepared to work hard they will do well on examinations. My niece goes to school in the United States. Her English is better than mine but it is not perfect. She finds her studies there very easy. We laugh at her stories.

I suggested to this teacher that Russia might need some "creative problem-solvers" if the country was to see political, economic and social improvement. I then asked if creative problem solving strategies were part of the mandated curriculum in Russian schools. Her response was curt and her tone derogatory. "I've solved more problems in my lifetime than you could dream up. We will be successful because we know the value of knowledge, hard work and sacrifice."

It is expected that teachers continue their education. Interviewed teachers reported that most schools offer "inservice" and teachers are all expected to attend. Interviewees acknowledged that there is much inconsistency in the amount of professional development available for public school teachers and often the priorities of the school director dictate the direction of professional development for a particular school.

Teachers spoke of the wide availability, but horrific expense, of books, reference materials and resources now available in Moscow. As Kovaleva suggests "there is a loss of access to items for self-education - - in particular the formerly, low cost of books, periodicals, auxiliary and technical items" (1994, p. 11). Wide availability does not necessarily equate with access.

The last two themes referred to teachers perceptions of their responsibilities as educators and the predictions those teachers have for their future professional lives. These themes are better grouped as teachers in this study viewed the responsibility of “shaping Russian society in the future” as primary for educators in Russia. Seventy per cent of the surveyed participants and all of the interviewed participants agreed that teachers have an important role to play in the direction Russian society will take. Most (89%) of the surveyed respondents and all of the interviewed respondents felt that it is the responsibility of teachers to foster a sense of Russian nationalism in their students. Nearly all (98%) of the surveyed respondents and all of the interviewees agreed that teachers are to instill proper values in their students. Interviewed teachers concurred that the professional future for teachers in Moscow will be challenging but, because Russian teachers prioritize values, Russian nationalism and a commitment to student achievement, the future for Russian students is not as bleak as the media report.

Without question, teachers are devastated by the economic meltdown of their county and its systems. They are concerned about the unsafe conditions in some Russian schools. Teachers are concerned with the “Americanization of their students,” and the “huge numbers of street children that seem to emerge out of every metro station.” They foresee a shortage of teachers and without some promise of a basic livelihood they see practising teachers leaving the profession and contributing to that shortage. Technology is expensive and these teachers are well aware that future students will be hard pressed to compete with peers in other countries.

Six years ago Boris Gershunsky (1993) offered two suggestions for a “way out.” He states that Russia must “switch on the repression mechanism once again and force the population to work. A worker should know that labour will produce prosperity for oneself and one’s family.” His second suggestion was “to mobilize all inner resources to make the society richer.” Highly productive labour and a gradual switching to complicated market systems (while concurrently ensuring social protection of children, the old and invalid) will allow the worker to see some prosperity in their own lifetime (p. 67).

Gershunsky’s ideas are echoed by the educators who participated in this study for they, too, spoke of a return to “hard work.” One teacher’s response eloquently sums up the views her colleagues:

Russians need to believe that through hard honest work we can again be a productive society. Production means money and money is what will improve our schools, hospitals and social service. Teachers instill in their students everyday that hard work will produce success. Our future depends on this.

It appears that these Russian teachers are striving to incorporate the modern demands of society in Moscow into their traditional structure of education. A society in crisis needs stability and structure. Perhaps these educators have the right idea: academic standards must be high, work ethics must be strong, and hope kept alive.

REFERENCES

REFERENCES

- Bernstein, J. (1998, January 16). Liberalism gets the blame. The Moscow Times, p. 11.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1970). Two worlds of childhood. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Dement'eva, I. F. (1994). The schools under conditions of the market. Russian Education and Society, 36, 43-47.
- Garret, L. (1998, February 25). Post-Soviet health care system a shambles. The Moscow Times, p. 15.
- Gershunsky, B.S. (1993). Russia in darkness...on education and the future. San Francisco: Caddo Gap Press.
- Kagarlitsky, B. (1998, June 10). Students strike for fear of being left behind. The Moscow Times, p. 9.
- King, E. J. (1979). Other schools and ours: Comparative studies for today. London: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Kirchner, W. (1991). Russian history :7th Ed. New York: Harper Perennial.
- Korchagina, V. (1998, February 10). Mysterious gas sickens Moscow residents. The Moscow Times, p. 3.
- Korchagina, V. (1998, May 20). City school evacuated after mass health scare. The Moscow Times, p. 2.
- Kovaleva, A.I. (1994). The crisis in the system of education. Russian Education and Society, 6-21.
- Maly, M. (1996). Understanding Russia. Moscow: OAO PMHTK.
- Mazurek, K. & Majorek, C. Schooling and society in post-communist Poland: Perceptions of teachers-in-training. Research Project, Unpublished work. University of Lethbridge.
- Meltdown in Russia. (1999, March 9). The Lethbridge Herald, p. A8.

- Nekrich, A. (1994). The schools in motion. Russian Education and Society, 36(2) 48-53.
- Nikandrov, N. D. (In press). Education in modern Russia: Is it modern? In K. Mazurek, M. Winzer and C. Majorek (Eds.) International Perspectives on Education: A Comparative Approach. Columbus, Ohio: Allyn & Bacon, in press.
- Palchikoff, K. (1996, December 11). Rewriting the book on Russian schools. The Moscow Times, p. 11.
- Pearson, L. (1990). Children of glasnost. Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys Ltd.
- Perekhvalskaya, E. (1995). Culture shock from the west. Trouble escalates in the new world, Edmonton: Arnold Publishing.
- Read, G. (1993). Russia in darkness...on education and the future. San Francisco: Caddo Gap Press.
- Russia Economy [Online]. Available: HTTP:<http://www.megastories.com/russia/index.htm> [1999, April 10].
- Russia's children victims of chaos. (1999, March 1). The Lethbridge Herald, p. A11.
- Shakurov, R. KH. (1994). Which dictates the conditions: chaos or the market? Russian Education and Society, 36 (5),62-70.
- Shulyakovskaya, N. (1998, April 28). Radon inspectors have hard sell. The Moscow Times, p. 20.
- Sokolova, E.S. & Likhacheva, V.M. (1993). The perestroika generation. Russian Education and Society, 5-23
- Solzhenitsyn, A. (1990). Rebuilding Russia. London: Harper Collins.
- Zajda, J. I. (1980). Education in the USSR-(International studies in education and social change. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Akopov, D. (1998, April 2). Even beggars pay protection dues. The Moscow Times. p. 24.

Arnold, C. (1997, September 4). Schoolgirl sees 850th as chance to party. The Moscow Times. p. 5.

Bernstein, J. (1998, January 16). Liberalism gets the blame. The Moscow Times. p. 11.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1970). Two worlds of childhood. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Bennet, V. (1996, October 24). Curriculum perestroika leaves Lenin in the cold. The Moscow Times. p. 21

Bennet, V. (1998, May 12). The education tides are turning. The Moscow Times. p. 20

Berezanskaya, L. (1997, September 4). Academic finds new career illuminating. The Moscow Times. p. 18.

Brown, S. M. (1998, March 24). Making the grade at Moscow State. The Moscow Times. p. 20.

Butler, J. (1998, February 6). State kindergartens are the children's best bet. The Moscow Times. p. 11.

Butler, J. (1998, March 11). Schools in Russia still encourage uniformity. The Moscow Times. p. 11.

Butler, J. (1998, March 20). Victorian education is lesson in humiliation. The Moscow Times. p. 11.

Daigle, K. (1997, September 2). Paying heed to kids who can't. The Moscow Times. p. 20.

Dement'Eva, I. F. (1994). The schools under conditions of the market. Russian Education and Society, 36, 43-47.

Garret. L. (1998, February 25). Post-Soviet health care system a shambles. The Moscow Times. p. 15.

Gershunsky, B.S. (1993). Russia in darkness...on education and the future. San Francisco: Caddo Gap Press.

Global Studies. (1994). Russia, the Eurasian Republics, and Central/Eastern Europe. Guilford: Dushkin Publishing Group.

Glushchenko, I. (1998, May 20). Pupils have close encounter of French kind. The Moscow Times. p. 9.

Kagarlitsky, B. (1998, June 10). Students strike for fear of being left behind. The Moscow Times. p. 9.

King, E. J. (1979). Other schools and ours: Comparative studies for today. London: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Kirchner, W. (1991). Russian history :7th Ed. New York: Harper Perennial.

Klomegah, K. (1998, May 6). Curing drug addiction at its core. The Moscow Times. p. 32

Korchagina, V. (1997, November 6). Holiday means little to Russia's youth. The Moscow Times. p. 3.

Korolyov, A. (1998, May 27). Habit of blackening authorities poisons Russia. The Moscow Times. p. 12.

Korchagina, V. (1998, February 10). Mysterious gas sickens Moscow residents. The Moscow Times. p. 3.

Korchagina, V. (1998, May 20). City school evacuated after mass health scare. The Moscow Times. p. 2.

Kovaleva, A.I. (1994). The crisis in the system of education. Russian Education and Society. 6-21.

Lagnado, A. (1998, March 19). Gorby's unlikely saviour, 10 years on. The Moscow Times. p. 24.

- Mackenzie, J. (1998, February 6). There's no escaping Russia. The Moscow Times, p. 11.
- Maly, M. (1996). Understanding Russia. Moscow: OAO PMHTK.
- Mazurek, K. & Majorek, C. Schooling and society in post-communist Poland: Perceptions of teachers-in-training. Research Project, Unpublished work. University of Lethbridge.
- McLaren, B. (1998, June 2). Ministry: Infant death rate falling. The Moscow Times, p. 12.
- Meltdown in Russia. (1999, March 9). The Lethbridge Herald, p. A8.
- Mosolova, T. (1998, January, 28). Curious kids can enjoy wealth of museums. The Moscow Times, p. 15.
- Mosolova, T. (1998, March 25). The sky's the limit for young Moscow artists. The Moscow Times, p. 15.
- Mosolova, T. (1998, April 22). Local schools offer children creative options. The Moscow Times, p. 15
- Nekrich, A. (1994). The schools in motion. Russian Education and Society, 36(2), 48-53.
- Nikandrov, N. D. (In press). Education in modern Russia: Is it modern? In K. Mazurek, M. Winzer and C. Majorek (Eds.) International Perspectives on Education: A Comparative Approach. Columbus, Ohio: Allyn & Bacon, in press.
- Palchikoff, K. (1996, December 11). Rewriting the book on Russian schools. The Moscow Times, p. 11.
- Palchikoff, K. (1997, September 24). Tipper visits school with fuzzy friends in tow. The Moscow Times, p. 18.
- Pearson, L. (1990). Children of glasnost. Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys Ltd
- Perekhval'skaya, E. (1995). Culture shock from the west. Trouble escalates in the new world. Edmonton: Arnold Publishing.

- Popov, Y. (1998, January 28). Russia finally weds itself to brave Mr. Dollar. The Moscow Times, p. 9.
- Read, G. (1993). Russia in darkness...on education and the future. San Francisco: Caddo Gap Press.
- Rees, D. J. (1994). An update of events in the CIS and the Baltics. Springfield: Arnold Publishing.
- Rees, D. J. (1995). Troubles escalates in the new world: major events in the CIS and the Baltics. Springfield: Arnold Publishing.
- Rible, D. (1998, May 6). Moscow orphans find friends in U.S. Marines. The Moscow Times, p. 18.
- Rivituso, C. (1998, February 25). Be particular in choosing English class. The Moscow Times, p. 11.
- Russia Economy [Online]. Available: [HTTP:http://www.megastories.com/russia/index.htm](http://www.megastories.com/russia/index.htm) [1999, April 10].
- Russia's children victims of chaos. (1999, March 1). The Lethbridge Herald, p. A11.
- Sachs, S. (1998, March 31). Russia's new hip teenage world. The Moscow Times, p. 20.
- Shakurov, R. KH. (1994). Which dictates the conditions: chaos or the market? Russian Education and Society, 36 (5),62-70.
- Shulyakovskaya, N. (1998, April 28). Radon inspectors have hard sell. The Moscow Times, p. 20.
- Sokolova, E.S. & Likhacheva, V.M. (1993). The perestroika generation. Russian Education and Society, 5-23
- Solovyova, J. (1997, November 19). Graduates bring religion to secular vocations. The Moscow Times, p. 16.
- Solzbenitsyn, A. (1990). Rebuilding Russia. London: Harper Collins.

Thomson, G. (1999, March 6). Prisoners in a poisoned cage. Calgary Herald. p. H3.

Thomson, G. (1999, April 10). Memories of Moscow, Calgary Herald. p. H2

Thompson, S. (1997, September 4). One day in the life of the new Moscow. The Moscow Times, p. 5.

Whalen, J. (1997, September 18). Doughboy pitches Pillsbury to pupils. The Moscow Times, p. 1.

World Today Series. (1991). The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe:1991 -22nd Annual Edition. Washington: Stryker-Post.

Yablokova, O. (1998, March 25). Girls' school promotes pride. The Moscow Times, p. 18.

Zajda, J. I. (1980). Education in the USSR-(International studies in education and social change. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

APPENDIX A

COVER LETTER AND QUESTIONNAIRE

10 ноября 1997г.

Здравствуйте,

Меня зовут Лори Хокинс. Я приехала из Канады, где работаю в университете города Лесбриджа. В настоящее время я провожу исследования для своей диссертации, которая будет называться "Общество и образование в России, как их видят современные учителя".

Я приглашаю вас принять участие в этом исследовании, и была бы рада, если бы вы согласились дать мне интервью. Мне потребуется около часа, чтобы задать вам ряд вопросов и обсудить с вами вашу точку зрения на те изменения, которые происходят в системе образования России, в российском обществе, а также в соседних с Россией странах.

Если вы согласны уделить мне время и поделиться со мной вашими мыслями, я попросила бы вас подписать форму, прилагающуюся к этому письму. Со своей стороны я обещаю вам полную конфиденциальность нашего разговора: все цитаты, которые я буду использовать в своей работе будут анонимны, я не буду упоминать имен и другой персональной информации ни в описаниях, ни при общем анализе. Вы также можете просто отказаться от участия в интервью.

Заранее благодарна вам за вашу помощь.

Если у вас есть вопросы, пожалуйста, звоните мне домой (135-1345) или на работу (131-8700), а также вы можете связаться с моими научными руководителями в Канаде, которыми являются сотрудники университета города Лесбриджа доктор наук Кас Мазурек (403) 329-2462 и доктор наук Крег Лоуэн (403) 329-2455.

С уважением,

Лори Хокинс

Я _____ (имя)

согласен(-на) принять участие в интервью.

(подпись)

(имя)

Анкета

(Участие в данном анкетировании должно быть строго добровольным. Вы можете отказаться от участия в опросе, просто оставив эту анкету незаполненной. Данные опроса будут использованы для проведения исследования. Анкетирование является анонимным и все его результаты будут строго конфиденциальны.)

Информация об анкетирваемом:

(Пожалуйста, обведите нужный ответ)

1. Являетесь ли Вы

- студентом пед. вуза
- преподавателем

2. Какой курс института

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5

3. Пол

- М
- Ж

4. Возраст

- 17-21
- 22-26
- 27-31
- 32-36
- 37-50
- 51 и старше

5. Специализация

- Математика, Физика, Химия
- Биология, География
- Русский Язык и Литература
- История и Обществоведение
- Педагогика, Психология
- Музыка, Изобразительное Искусство
- _____ Др.

6. Вы будете/являетесь преподавателем

- начальной школы
- средней школы
- высшей школы
- _____ (др.)

7. Вы начинали преподавать

- в деревне
- в маленьком городке
- в большом городе

8. Можете ли Вы сказать, что зарплата Ваших родителей по тому времени была

- ниже среднего уровня
- соответствовала среднему уровню
- выше среднего уровня
- очень высокой

9. Ваши родители были

- рабочие
- крестьяне
- интеллигенция

10. По национальности Вы

- русский (-ая)
- украинец (-ка)
- белорус (-ка)
- _____ (др., укажите)

ВОПРОСЫ

Пожалуйста, укажите степень Вашего согласия-несогласия с каждым утверждением, обведя наиболее подходящий ответ. Варианты ответов:

АН - Абсолютно несогласен (-на)

Н/С - Несогласен (-на)

Н/У - Неуверен (-на)

С - Согласен (-на)

АС - Абсолютно согласен (-на)

1. Конец коммунистической эпохи в странах восточной Европы был бы абсолютно невозможен без гласности и перестройки.
АН Н/С Н/У С АС
2. Необходимо ввести преподавание религии в школах.
АН Н/С Н/У С АС
3. Этнические разногласия в России не будут развиваться.
АН Н/С Н/У С АС
4. Качество образования стало лучше, чем оно было при социализме.
АН Н/С Н/У С АС
5. Коммунистическая партия больше никогда не сможет быть правящей партией в России.
АН Н/С Н/У С АС
6. Социальные различия в российском обществе необходимы.
АН Н/С Н/У С АС
7. Падение коммунистического режима в Советском Союзе является результатом активности внутренних сил, а не внешних сил и обстоятельств.
АН Н/С Н/У С АС
8. Объединение западной и восточной Германии было необходимым этапом развития.
АН Н/С Н/У С АС
9. Быть учителем в России в ближайшие 10 лет будет сложнее, чем это было в предыдущие 10 лет.
АН Н/С Н/У С АС

10. Изменения в России поверхностны; в самой системе мало что изменилось.
АН Н/С Н/У С АС
11. Сейчас у меня больше профессиональной свободы и самостоятельности, как у педагога, чем это было в советское время.
АН Н/С Н/У С АС
12. Россия должна решить сначала свои внутренние проблемы, не заботясь о соседних государствах.
АН Н/С Н/У С АС
13. Для обычного человека нет большой разницы между жизнью в советское время и жизнью в постперестроечный период.
АН Н/С Н/У С АС
14. Учителя, которые получили дипломы в период господства коммунистической идеологии, должны пройти переквалификацию и получить новые сертификаты.
АН Н/С Н/У С АС
15. Русская православная церковь ответственна за падение коммунистического режима в Советском Союзе.
АН Н/С Н/У С АС
16. Сегодня Германия по-прежнему является угрозой для России.
АН Н/С Н/У С АС
17. Всё, что произошло в России за последние 10 лет, повлияет на меня, как на профессионального учителя.
АН Н/С Н/У С АС
18. Социальные различия внутри российского общества неизбежны.
АН Н/С Н/У С АС
19. Сейчас, в постперестроечный период, школьные программы должны быть пересмотрены.
АН Н/С Н/У С АС
20. В своей жизни я увижу Россию настоящей демократической страной.
АН Н/С Н/У С АС
21. Изменения, которые произошли в Советском Союзе, не были обусловлены субъективной деятельностью М.С. Горбачева, а являлись результатом объективных обстоятельств и произошли бы всё рано, вне зависимости от того, кто был бы у власти.

22. Россия уже является настоящей демократией.
АН Н/С Н/У С АС
23. Провал Августовского Пutschа подтверждает, что изменения в России необратимы.
АН Н/С Н/У С АС
24. Я оптимистично смотрю на будущее профессии учителя в России.
АН Н/С Н/У С АС
25. Для поколения моих родителей восточно европейские страны были угрозой Советскому Союзу.
АН Н/С Н/У С АС
26. Я понимаю происходящие изменения в России и в странах восточной Европы достаточно хорошо, чтобы излагать это своим (будущим) ученикам.
АН Н/С Н/У С АС
27. Учителя будут играть важную роль в формировании нового российского общества.
АН Н/С Н/У С АС
28. Демократические силы ответственны за распад советского государства.
АН Н/С Н/У С АС
29. Я бы лучше согласился быть учителем в России 10 лет назад, чем в России 2000 года.
АН Н/С Н/У С АС
30. Происходящие изменения в России и странах восточной Европы настолько сложны, что я не совсем понимаю их.
АН Н/С Н/У С АС
31. Изменения на территории бывшего Советского Союза необратимы.
АН Н/С Н/У С АС
32. Для поколения моих родителей нацизм был угрозой для советского государства.
АН Н/С Н/У С АС
33. Сейчас, после крушения коммунистической идеологии, образование в России будет более конкретным и неидеологизированным.
АН Н/С Н/У С АС

34. Даже если бы в Советском Союзе не началась эпоха гласности и перестройки, коммунистические режимы в странах восточной Европы всё равно бы пали.
 АН Н/С Н/У С АС
35. В течение моей жизни Германия представляла угрозу для России.
 АН Н/С Н/У С АС
36. В советский период существовало равенство образовательных возможностей для всех детей.
 АН Н/С Н/У С АС
37. Меня беспокоит будущее России.
 АН Н/С Н/У С АС
38. Сегодня русские совершенно свободны.
 АН Н/С Н/У С АС
39. Это является обязанностью учителя правильно объяснять учащимся изменения, происходящие в стране и за рубежом.
 АН Н/С Н/У С АС
40. Для моего поколения Европа была угрозой для Советского Союза.
 АН Н/С Н/У С АС
41. Обязанностью учителя является развивать чувство национального самосознания у учащихся.
 АН Н/С Н/У С АС
42. Профессора и преподаватели педагогических вузов, получавшие свои дипломы и звания в социалистический период, должны пройти переквалификацию и аттестацию.
 АН Н/С Н/У С АС
43. Обязанностью учителя является внедрение гуманитарных ценностей в сознание учеников.
 АН Н/С Н/У С АС
44. Коммунистическая партия никогда больше не сможет сформировать правительство в России.
 АН Н/С Н/У С АС
45. Сегодня НАТО является угрозой для России.
 АН Н/С Н/У С АС

46. Теоретические знания и практика, которые получают в педагогическом вузе, достаточны для того, чтобы выпускники были профессиональными педагогами в демократической России.

АН Н/С Н/У С АС

47. Падение коммунистического режима в Советском Союзе является объективным этапом развития.

АН Н/С Н/У С АС

48. В советский период учителя являлись выразителями общественного мнения.

АН Н/С Н/У С АС

49. Русские люди сейчас живут лучше, чем при социализме.

АН Н/С Н/У С АС

50. Равенство образовательных возможностей для детей в России сегодня более реально, чем в советский период.

АН Н/С Н/У С АС

51. Коммунизм останется видимой политической силой в странах восточной Европы.

АН Н/С Н/У С АС

QUESTIONNAIRE

Please note: Participation in this study is on a voluntary basis only. You may refuse to participate in this study simply by not completing this questionnaire. Such refusal will not have any consequences whatsoever. By completing the questionnaire, you are granting permission to the researchers to use the data so provided for the study. Your data will remain strictly confidential and any reports of the results of the study will be completely anonymous.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Please circle your response to the following:

1. Are you a student or a teacher:

1. Student
2. Teacher

2. Year of university studies:

1. Year 1
2. Year 2
3. Year 3
4. Year 4
5. Year 5

3. Sex:

1. Male
2. Female

4. Age:

1. 17 - 21
2. 22 - 26
3. 27 - 31
4. 32 - 36
5. 37 - 50
6. 51 and older

5. **Teaching Specialization:**
 1. **Mathematics, physics, chemistry**
 2. **Biology, geography**
 3. **Russian language and literature**
 4. **History, social studies**
 5. **Pedagogy, psychology**
 6. **Music, arts**
 7. **Other**

6. **Level of specialization:**
 1. **Primary 1 - 4**
 2. **Middle 5- 11**
 3. **University/College**
 4. **Other**

7. **When you began your first year of schooling (grade one) you lived:**
 1. **Village**
 2. **Little town**
 3. **City**

8. **Would you describe your parents as having:**
 1. **Below average income**
 2. **Average income**
 3. **Higher than average income**
 4. **Wealthy**

9. **Would you describe your parents as being:**
 1. **Workers**
 2. **Peasants**
 3. **Intelligencia**

- 10 **Would you describe your parents as being from:**
 1. **Russia**
 2. **Belarus**
 3. **Ukraine**

QUESTIONS

Please show the extent of your agreement or disagreement with the following statements by placing an "X" in the appropriate box. Please remember the scale is as follows:

SD = STRONGLY DISAGREE
 D = DISAGREE
 U = UNDECIDED
 A = AGREE
 SA = STRONGLY AGREE

1. Russia`s liberation from Communist domination could not have taken place without glasnost and perestroika.

SD	D	U	A	SA
----	---	---	---	----

2. Religion should be taught in the schools.

SD	D	U	A	SA
----	---	---	---	----

3. The ethnic violence which is occurring in some Eastern European countries will not occur in Russia.

SD	D	U	A	SA
----	---	---	---	----

4. The quality of education will become better now than it was under the communist state in Russia.

SD	D	U	A	SA
----	---	---	---	----

5. The communist party will never again form the government of Russia.

SD	D	U	A	SA
----	---	---	---	----

6. **Social class divisions within Russian society are desirable.**

SD D U A SA

7. **The fall of the communist state in Russia is the result of actions and initiatives by Russians, it is not the result of external forces and circumstances.**

SD D U A SA

8. **The unification of East and West Germany is a desirable development.**

SD D U A SA

9. **Being a teacher in Russia will be more difficult over the next decade than it has been in the past decade.**

SD D U A SA

10. **The changes in Russia are superficial; deep down little has changed.**

SD D U A SA

11. **As a teacher, I have more professional freedom and autonomy than I would have had as a teacher in the communist state in Russia.**

SD D U A SA

12. **Russia should take care of herself first and not worry about neighboring countries.**

SD D U A SA

13. **For the average person, there will be little difference between living in Russia when it was a communist state and life in post-communist Russia.**

SD D U A SA

14. **Teachers trained and hired under the communist regime in Russia should have their credentials and certification reviewed.**
- SD D U A SA
15. **The Catholic church is responsible for the fall of the communist state in Russia.**
- SD D U A SA
16. **Today, NATO is a threat to Russia.**
- SD D U A SA
17. **What has happened in Russia over the last half decade will affect me as a professional teacher.**
- SD D U A SA
18. **Social class divisions within Russian society are inevitable.**
- SD D U A SA
19. **Now that the communist state in Russia has fallen, the school curriculum should be revised.**
- SD D U A SA
20. **In my lifetime, Russia will become a true democracy.**
- SD D U A SA
21. **The changes which have occurred in Russia over the last half decade were not really the result of Gorbachev's initiatives as such changes would have taken place regardless of who was in power in Russia.**
- SD D U A SA

QUESTIONNAIRE

Please note: Participation in this study is on a voluntary basis only. You may refuse to participate in this study simply by not completing this questionnaire. Such refusal will not have any consequences whatsoever. By completing the questionnaire, you are granting permission to the researchers to use the data so provided for the study. Your data will remain strictly confidential and any reports of the results of the study will be completely anonymous.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Please circle your response to the following:

1. Are you a student or a teacher:

1. Student
2. Teacher

2. Year of university studies:

1. Year 1
2. Year 2
3. Year 3
4. Year 4
5. Year 5

3. Sex:

1. Male
2. Female

4. Age:

1. 17 - 21
2. 22 - 26
3. 27 - 31
4. 32 - 36
5. 37 - 50
6. 51 and older

5. **Teaching Specialization:**
 1. **Mathematics, physics, chemistry**
 2. **Biology, geography**
 3. **Russian language and literature**
 4. **History, social studies**
 5. **Pedagogy, psychology**
 6. **Music, arts**
 7. **Other**

6. **Level of specialization:**
 1. **Primary 1 - 4**
 2. **Middle 5- 11**
 3. **University/College**
 4. **Other**

7. **When you began your first year of schooling (grade one) you lived:**
 1. **Village**
 2. **Little town**
 3. **City**

8. **Would you describe your parents as having:**
 1. **Below average income**
 2. **Average income**
 3. **Higher than average income**
 4. **Wealthy**

9. **Would you describe your parents as being:**
 1. **Workers**
 2. **Peasants**
 3. **Intelligencia**

- 10 **Would you describe your parents as being from:**
 1. **Russia**
 2. **Belarus**
 3. **Ukraine**

QUESTIONS

Please show the extent of your agreement or disagreement with the following statements by placing an "X" in the appropriate box. Please remember the scale is as follows:

SD = STRONGLY DISAGREE
 D = DISAGREE
 U = UNDECIDED
 A = AGREE
 SA = STRONGLY AGREE

1. **Russia`s liberation from Communist domination could not have taken place without glasnost and perestroika.**

SD	D	U	A	SA
----	---	---	---	----

2. **Religion should be taught in the schools.**

SD	D	U	A	SA
----	---	---	---	----

3. **The ethnic violence which is occurring in some Eastern European countries will not occur in Russia.**

SD	D	U	A	SA
----	---	---	---	----

4. **The quality of education will become better now than it was under the communist state in Russia.**

SD	D	U	A	SA
----	---	---	---	----

5. **The communist party will never again form the government of Russia.**

SD	D	U	A	SA
----	---	---	---	----

6. **Social class divisions within Russian society are desirable.**

SD D U A SA

7. **The fall of the communist state in Russia is the result of actions and initiatives by Russians, it is not the result of external forces and circumstances.**

SD D U A SA

8. **The unification of East and West Germany is a desirable development.**

SD D U A SA

9. **Being a teacher in Russia will be more difficult over the next decade than it has been in the past decade.**

SD D U A SA

10. **The changes in Russia are superficial; deep down little has changed.**

SD D U A SA

11. **As a teacher, I have more professional freedom and autonomy than I would have had as a teacher in the communist state in Russia.**

SD D U A SA

12. **Russia should take care of herself first and not worry about neighboring countries.**

SD D U A SA

13. **For the average person, there will be little difference between living in Russia when it was a communist state and life in post-communist Russia.**

SD D U A SA

14. **Teachers trained and hired under the communist regime in Russia should have their credentials and certification reviewed.**
- SD D U A SA
15. **The Catholic church is responsible for the fall of the communist state in Russia.**
- SD D U A SA
16. **Today, NATO is a threat to Russia.**
- SD D U A SA
17. **What has happened in Russia over the last half decade will affect me as a professional teacher.**
- SD D U A SA
18. **Social class divisions within Russian society are inevitable.**
- SD D U A SA
19. **Now that the communist state in Russia has fallen, the school curriculum should be revised.**
- SD D U A SA
20. **In my lifetime, Russia will become a true democracy.**
- SD D U A SA
21. **The changes which have occurred in Russia over the last half decade were not really the result of Gorbachev's initiatives as such changes would have taken place regardless of who was in power in Russia.**
- SD D U A SA

22. **Russia is now a true democracy.**
- SD D U A SA
23. **The failed August coup in Russia confirms that changes in Russia are irreversible.**
- SD D U A SA
24. **I am optimistic about the future of the teaching profession in Russia.**
- SD D U A SA
25. **In my parents' generation, the Soviet Union was a threat to Poland.**
- SD D U A SA
26. **I understand the recent social changes in Eastern Europe and in Russia sufficiently well to accurately interpret them for my future students.**
- SD D U A SA
27. **Teachers have an important role to play in shaping Russian society in the future.**
- SD D U A SA
28. **Democratic forces are responsible for the fall of the communist state in Russia.**
- SD D U A SA
29. **I would rather be a teacher in the Russia of ten years ago than in the Russia of the year 2,000 A.D.**
- SD D U A SA

30. The recent social changes in Eastern Europe and in Russia are so complex that I feel I do not really understand them.
- SD D U A SA
31. The changes within Russia are irreversible.
- SD D U A SA
32. In my parents' generation, Nazism was a threat to Russia.
- SD D U A SA
33. Now that the communist state in Russia has fallen, schooling will be more objective and non-ideological.
- SD D U A SA
34. Even if the Soviet Union had not developed the attitude of glasnost and the policy of perestroika, the communist state would have fallen in other Eastern European countries.
- SD D U A SA
35. In my lifetime, Germany has been a threat to Russia.
- SD D U A SA
36. Under the Russian communist state equality of educational opportunity for all Russian children existed.
- SD D U A SA
37. I am worried about the future of Russia.
- SD D U A SA
38. Today, Russians are truly free.
- SD D U A SA

39. It is the responsibility of teachers to properly interpret the recent events in Eastern Europe and Russia for their students.

SD D U A SA

40. In my lifetime, the Russia has been a threat to Eastern Europe.

SD D U A SA

41. It is the responsibility of teachers to foster a sense of Russian nationalism in students.

SD D U A SA

42. Professors in schools of pedagogy who were trained and hired under the communist regime in Russia should have their credentials and certification reviewed.

SD D U A SA

43. It is the responsibility of teachers to instill proper values in their students.

SD D U A SA

44. The communist party will never again form the government of Russia.

SD D U A SA

45. Today, Russia is a threat to NATO.

SD D U A SA

46. The education and training I received in my school of pedagogy has adequately prepared me to be a professional teacher in post-communist Russia.

SD D U A SA

47. The fall of the communist state in Russia is a desirable development.
- SD D U A SA
48. In the communist Russian state, teachers disseminated a biased social viewpoint.
- SD D U A SA
49. The Russian people will be better off now that the communist state in Russia has ended.
- SD D U A SA
50. Equality of educational opportunity for Russian children will become greater now than it was in the communist state in Russia.
- SD D U A SA
51. Communism will remain a viable political force in parts of Eastern Europe.
- SD D U A SA

APPENDIX B

ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL



**University
of
Lethbridge**

Memorandum

November 28, 1997.

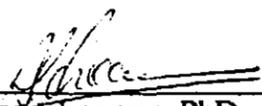
To: Ms. Laurie Hawkins
From: Craig Loewen, Chair
Faculty Human Subjects Research Committee
Re: *Proposal: Education and Society in Russia: Teachers' Perceptions*

This note is to advise you that your proposal has been reviewed by the Faculty Human Subjects Research Committee and has been approved.

Feedback on your project was positive, and it would appear that all requirements of the review process were met.

Please know that we wish you best of luck in your project!

Sincerely,



A. Craig Loewen, PhD
Associate Professor of Education.

cc: Dr. K. Mazurek, Advisor