# **Human rights education**

- what role does it play in the modern Russia?

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## Summary

TITLE:	
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## Focus and research questions

The intention of this thesis is to explore the role Human Rights education (HRE) may play in the modern Russia. Taking the cultural-sociological approach to HRE as the analytical framework, the understanding of *human rights* as *values* is central in order to study HRE in the Russian context. Thus, the focus of the study is not the Russia's responsibility, as a member of the Council of Europe, to integrate actively HRE into its educational policy. Rather to study HRE as a phenomenon, bringing *new* values: *new* interpretation of *human rights* into Russia.

Three aspects, related to HRE, are to be studied: the Russian educational policy, Russian human rights culture and pedagogical tradition. All three are overlapping and necessary to be taken into the analysis in order to the reveal the process of HRE's initiation in Russia more fully. The exploration of the main research problem: *What role does HRE play in the modern Russia*, is to be made with the help of three sub-questions.

The first sub- question is:

To what extent is HRE integrated into the Russian educational policy?

Here the Russian educational policy documents will be examined in order to find out the way HRE is mentioned, eventually interpreted. Besides, general visions on education, its role and priorities are also of interest here.

The second research question:

What are the key characteristics of the Russian human rights culture?

addresses the notions of *mentality* and *values* as the parts of the Russian human rights culture. The Russian philosophical thought is also taken as the contribution to the interpretation of the *Russian* values.

The third research question:

What is the connection between the Russian pedagogical tradition and HRE?

investigates the traditions of the Russian pedagogy as the values communicating sphere. The character of the change from the Soviet to the *Russian* pedagogy is viewed as an important reference, related to the HRE's integration into the educational system in Russia as well.

## Methodology and data sources

The present study is an exploratory case study, aiming to reveal the role HRE plays in the modern Russian context.

Thus, several hypotheses related to HRE and the modern Russia, are formulated. The hypotheses are about possible connection of HRE to the Russian: educational policy, human rights culture and pedagogical tradition. The methodological implications are discussed in chapter 2.

The theoretical background of HRE, based on the literature review, as well as argumentation for the choice of the cultural –sociological approach to HRE is the content of the chapter 3.

International organisations' documents, concerning the HRE's integration into the national educational policies (chapter 4) are presented in order to give a more concrete definition and interpretation of the notion of HRE. The analysis proceeds to the presentation of the Russian educational policy (chapter 4) in the form of the key policy documents.

The presentations of the characteristics of the Russian human rights culture (chapter 5) and pedagogical tradition (chapter 6) are given on the background of the literature review and the research done earlier. The analysis of the pedagogical tradition and its change from *Soviet* to *Russian* is supported by the empirical data: the HRE project in one single Russian region and the Russian HRE experts' views. The obtained empirical data is the result of the participant- observation and interviews.

#### Conclusions

Very clear and precise conclusions are difficult to make in an exploratory study. More or less clear conclusions-implications are still possible. The main conclusion is that HRE *does* play a role in the Russian modern context.

Nevertheless, the *role* it plays should be regarded as expectations of *stakeholders* to HRE, or groups interested in the HRE's initiation into the Russian educational and societal context.

Answering the first sub-question, concerning the extent of the HRE's integration into the Russian educational policy, the following has been found out: per today [year 2005] the extent of the integration can be described as *poor*, HRE being at its initial stage.

HRE is only on *its* way to become one the priorities, emphasized by the Russian educational policy. Firstly, the present focus on education as contributing to the creation of a *national culture*; and secondly, the fact, that HRE is mentioned only in one single document, originating not from the Russian Ministry of Education but another governmental body, and thus lacking the official status, supports the view on HRE as a *new wave* for Russia. Therefore it is only to speak about the *role* HRE *may* play in the modern Russia.

Answering the second sub-question about the characteristics of the Russian human rights culture, ambivalence about *values* [collective versus individual] in the Russian society, and, in particular, ambivalence about *human rights* as values [Russian/true versus Western/alien] was found. In this sense HRE may play the role of the *tool*, bringing the interpretation of *human rights* as the individual values into the Russian society in a quite considerate and gentle manner. Via pedagogical practice.

Answering the third sub-question about the connection between the Russian pedagogical tradition and HRE, it has been found, that HRE may be a continuation of *humanisation* of the pedagogical tradition, started in the *perestroika* period, as the urgent need of the abandonment of the communist ideology in education and the Soviet-doctrinal approach to the learning process.

Thus, it can be finally concluded that HRE may play the *role* for the following *stakeholders* or main interest groups:

- The *Russian society* [macro-level] and an individual, the *Russian citizen* [micro-level]

The Russian society is seen as interested in getting the possibility to develop into a pluralistic and democratic society. The Russian citizen, as adjusting to the *new* realities [Russian and global] *may* appear [by discovering HRE] to be interested in the revival of the liberally- educated intelligentsia, the majority of which has been destroyed by the totalitarian Soviet rule [Lenin's & Stalin's Gulag], and the remaining representatives of which have chosen dissident destiny in the communist Soviet Union [1960-80s];

- The Russian *school* [meso level] and teachers [micro-level]

who may happen to be affected not only by the humanist character of HRE's content, but also by its methodology: *active learning*; respected position of a *child* 

and his/her social and cognitive creative potentials in the centre of the learning process.

- The Russian state [macro-level] and the Ministry of Education [meso-level].

Still, only as a long-term perspective. For, in case Ministry of Education, consisting of people, *products* of the changed by HRE *school* and *society*, may appear to be interested in the further integration of HRE into the educational policy. Then, it is the political and bureaucratic aspects that should be paid attention to, for they can be decisive factors concerning policy initiation and implementation.

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## List of abbreviations

EU- The European Union

HRE- Human Rights Education

HREA- Human Rights Education Associates

NGO- Non-governmental organisation

**NVP- Basic Military Training** 

OSCE- Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe

RF- The Russian Federation

**UN- The United Nations** 

UNESCO- United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation

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## 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Background for the theme

We do not have peace and human happiness to bequeath to our posterity, but rather the eternal struggle for the maintenance and improvement by careful cultivation of our national character (...) Our successors will not hold us responsible before history for the kind of economic organization we hand over to them, but rather for the amount of elbow-room (space in which one can move freely) we conquer for them in the world and leave behind us (...) Max Weber in Tribe (1989:198)

Russia is being given different epithets today. What is central though is the discussion about the character of democracy it is trying to establish. This discussion also creates the basis for speculations as to what kind of democracy that is actually appropriate to Russia taking into consideration its history, cultural traditions and mentality of the people living there. *Russian* democracy, always mentioned as a democracy of a *special* character, has been put under different names: *governed* democracy, *governing* and the nowadays *sovereign* democracy (Kovalev: 2006; Aale: 2006). One may regard it as the attempts to find its identity.

Still, it is not only democracy that is *special* in Russia. One speaks about Russian *special*: way, soul, character, values. Opinions advocating these specialities are coming from literature, history and traditions of the relationship State- individual. What makes Russian democracy, way and soul so *special*?

Mendelson & Gerber (2005) note that the failure of robust democratic institutions to develop, coupled with a lack of understanding of the past, has left Russians uneducated about democracy, ambivalent about Stalin, and confused about Russia's place in the world (Mendelson & Gerber 2005/06: 84). Clement & Paillard (2005) go even further in Le Mondue Diplomatique and give ten characteristics of the contemporary Russian society in. These characteristics do not only describe what is going on in Russia today, but also clarify the existing stereotypes about Russia and Russians. These clarifications are: *Russian soul*, imperia, Chechen gangrene, migration, nationalism, oligarchs, communist party, fictitious political space, regions and social opposition (Clement & Paillard: 2005, my translation).

No matter whether one in the West is conservative or liberal, the myth about *Russian soul* still exists in his/her mind and is associated with magnanimity, generosity, outrage, enormous landscape and freedom without boundaries; supported by reading Tolstoy or Dostoevsky. Thus, for some, *Russian soul* is a mixture of revolutionary romantics and faith in destiny; for

others it is a melting pot of the market's profits and religiousness. Both views have one thing in common: they have the tendency to place Russia on a separate planet, also in the frames of the global capitalism debate. Meanwhile, Russian contemporary reality speaks for itself. For Russia has inherited from the Soviet Union the praxis of the cruel power use and brutal social situation. Today it is being combined with pursuing big money, egoism and overemphasized consumption. So that in Russia, like in other places, *humanity* and *compassion* becomes a lacking good (ibid. 2005).

Without going into details of each mentioned characteristic, it is nevertheless possible to argue that they are interconnections and even consequences of each other. The conflict with the Chechen republic, lasting for almost 10 years already, is described by Le Mondue's authors as gangrene because of its spreading character into the other parts of Russia, first of all in the form of cruel treatment of the civil population by police (ibid. 2005). Change of the geopolitical situation after the Soviet Union break-up and this conflict in particular have caused the immigration processes that put tolerance and friendliness of the population in Russian regions into test. Moscow and St Petersburg, the two biggest central cities in Russia are today associated with the neo-fascist marches under the slogans *Russia for Russians* and *Long live Russian weapons* (Gabrieljan: 2005), and murder and persecutions of the foreign (mostly dark-coloured) students (Amnesty: 2006a, Charny:2005)

It is possible to speculate whether these changes are the consequences of the Soviet Union collapse or may be influenced by the tendencies of the global world development. One thing is clear; they are the concrete challenges to modern Russia. They are also challenges for they bring *human rights discourse* up to the surface where notions of tolerance, respect, xenophobia, ethnicity, multicultural society, communication, critical thinking, open minds, initiative and responsibility are central.

In the Soviet Union international friendship has been propagated for years. Today, in Russia, where more than one hundred different nationalities are seeking to their roots and traditions, skills to live together and tolerate each other are as relevant as never before. The question then arises as to how and where to get these skills?

Via mass-media? Russia has been put this year on the 121<sup>st</sup> place on the list of freedom of speech by *Reporters without Borders* (Reporters: 2006).

Or may be via education? Here the perspectives are more inspiring. For example, by developing the field of *human rights education* (HRE). For HRE is one of the new tendencies penetrating the Russian educational system, together with other types of civic studies.

Paulo Freire (1998) notes that transformation of the world implies dialectic between the two actions: denouncing the process of dehumanization and announcing the dream of a new society (Freire 1998: 74). Russia seems to follow this dialectic quite precisely, for the country has been experiencing social change in the form of the transformation from a closed society to a more open and pluralistic one, and back again to a more closed society today, during the last century. HRE might therefore be viewed as a mediator of these transformational processes and a helping hand to keep balance when the situation is getting very serious.

## 1.2 My motivation

My interest to HRE as a theoretical educational field is perhaps the result of the general interest to the problem of the Russian identity search. The problem is under the intensive debates today, though mainly in the classical, *Russia versus the West*, manner, arguing about what direction to take. It may be a difficult dilemma indeed. Still, I get an impression that the discussion is actually about, whether the Russian society should be a *closed* society, or not. Initiated in 1985 *perestroika* and *glasnost* brought optimism and hopes for more openness and pluralism. Today the discussion is narrowing to the so-called Russian values, which are claimed to be different and better from the values of the Western Europe. Not egocentric, not materialistic, and what is most important, not individualistic. The *true* Russian values are said to be the values of the Russian orthodox religion. That is the kind of view that I find to be a very simplified view, and that makes me consider HRE as a *tool* bringing information to people and enlightenment.

My interest to HRE, as a practice, is the result of seeing HRE project in action, in the Russian context. What I saw then reminded me the times of my own studying at the lyceum, in my hometown Elista, at the beginning of the 90s, the culmination period of perestroika. The way of studying then was by sitting at the round table [a shock for the soviet school] in the history class and *discussing* the current political events in the country. Every pupil was supposed to say his/her opinion and was supposed to *think* something about the past historical events, also the connection with the present situation. It was difficult and unusual then, and the most part of the pupils were reserved and *closed*. Still, for a short period of time.

Much of the same I have seen during the HRE project, I am describing in the paper. Ten years later, still not very different from my own experience as a schoolchild. That makes me sure that without dialogue as the basis of the learning process, there is little can be made in order to get people use their *common sense* and their capacity to *think critically*, also later in their lives.

## 1.3 Research questions

The main research question of the present analysis is defined as:

What role does HRE play in the modern Russia?

Since the research question is rather broadly defined and the notion of *role* can be interpreted in many different ways, three sub-questions are chosen in order to make the scope of *role* more precise. Whether HRE plays a role will be found out about with the help of three sub-questions. The first sub-question is:

To what extent is HRE integrated into the Russian educational policy?

To investigate this question, the Russian educational policy documents will be looked upon. The main focus will be laid on the priorities of education in Russia and its role in forming an image of a Russian citizen; but also values education is thought to bring in. Analysis of the Russian educational policy will be made on the ground HRE is defined in the international documents of the UN and the Council of Europe.

The second sub- question to be addressed is:

What are the key characteristics of the Russian human rights culture?

Based on the analysis of the Russian educational policy documents and remembering that human rights culture is defined as one of the goals of HRE, it is necessary to look at the Russian human rights culture expressed in values, mentality and attitude to law, or legal mentality, that has been formed so far in Russia. Characteristics of this culture may bring additional information in order to understand the extent HRE is present in the Russian educational policy.

The third sub- question is:

What is the connection between the Russian pedagogical tradition and HRE like?

Here the emphasis will be put on discovering traditions of the Soviet and Russian pedagogies, and whether they are different. Eventually how different they are in the sense of transmission of values, but also what innovations HRE may bring to the Russian educational system?

## 1.4 Conceptualizations and limitations

There are some frequently used concepts in the present paper that are necessary to be clarified. These are: HRE, human rights culture and *modern* Russia.

HRE, or Human Rights Education, is quite a broad field. It is difficult therefore, if not to say impossible to evolve all its interpretations and existing theories about HRE. It has been important in the present analysis to stress the priority given to the cultural-sociological approach to the problem of HRE, which considers human rights as values and views the creation of the human rights culture as its ultimate goal. It means that any other way to approach the subject of HRE, whether its political or legal aspects, are more or less excluded from the present analysis.

The treatment of the [Russian] human rights culture as concept is limited to the three aspects of culture: values, mentality and attitude to law. These aspects are considered to be decisive what creation of culture of human rights in general concerns, although there are definite difficulties to operate such an ambivalent concept as mentality, for example. Nevertheless, these three are taken as central points in order to understand the nature of the relationship State-individual in the Russian society, which, in its turn, can be quite decisive for the formation of human rights culture.

The term *modern Russia* means first of all a definite time period, Russia at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century (2000-2006), defined as the country with a *special* type of democracy. The process of value change and searching for its national idea are also the components of the term modern Russia. They are necessary for the present analysis to give a more finished picture of what the processes of social change in today's Russia are about. In this sense it is quite inescapable to refer to the previous to *modern* Russia historical periods. *Perestroika* period is the central reference here.

#### 1.5 The structure of the thesis

Having presented shortly the context of *modern Russia* and research question in the introduction, I proceed to the presentation of the methodological means in chapter 2. Here

research strategy, data sources and logic of exploratory analysis are described, as well as the problems concerning quality and ethical implications of the research.

In chapter 3, the theoretical background of HRE will be presented, also its challenges and critiques. The discussion of universality of the human rights is also included into the chapter, for it seems to be quite an intensive and important debate characterized by the polarized opinions. Since HRE is quite a broad field, also lacking substantial research, it is important to outline the way notions of HRE will be treated further in the analysis. Thus, the choice of the cultural-sociological approach to HRE and viewing *human rights* as a set of values; and creation of human rights culture as its goal, are the part of this chapter as well.

In chapter 4, I go over to the international documents on HRE and proceed to the presentation of the key documents presenting the Russian educational policy. Definitions and interpretations of HRE and its goals by the international institutions [UN and Council of Europe] are the central issues here. It is the documents of these organisations that serve as an orienteer for the countries' formation of the educational policies, HRE included. By analyzing the text of the Russian documents, the intention is to find out whether HRE is mentioned or any reference made to the *human rights* dimension in education.

Chapter 5 is devoted to the theoretical implications on the Russian human rights culture. The aspects of this culture are necessary to be revealed in order to find out what role HRE may play in Russia, not only in the educational, but also in the cultural context. The latter is also relevant to the development of the Russian society and the problem of choosing the direction of the development. Human rights culture will be analyzed by looking at the Russian mentality, cultural and legal, and values. Reference to the times of the Soviet Union will be made as necessary to understand the transformation of Russia from the authoritarian state to the *modern* Russia. Thoughts of the Russian philosopher, *Nikolay Berdyaev*, on the paradoxes of the Russian national character will be also presented here.

In chapter 6, the Russian pedagogical tradition, the aspect of *values* as seen in it, and the hidden curriculum of HRE will be presented. The presentation is mainly based on the theoretical material, but also a mini-illustration of HRE in the Russian context is included. This empirical data is the result of the participation in the HRE project in Russia, which is also supported by the Russian experts' views on HRE.

Final conclusions and ideas for further studies will be outlined in chapter 7.

## 2. Qualitative methodology

Choice of the methodological means to conduct research is justified to a large extent by the research question. Having chosen to look at the social and educational phenomenon *Human rights education* in the contemporary Russian context, I found *case study* to be an appropriate research strategy to use. Qualitative researchers are said to be influenced by interpretivism (Bryman 2004: 279). This is perhaps natural since an attempt is made by a researcher to understand reality in general by looking at the aspects of this reality in a closer, phenomenological context.

## 2.1 Case study

Yin (1994) defines *case study* as an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident (Yin 1994: 13). It is the desire to understand a complex social phenomenon that leads to the usage of a case study as an appropriate research strategy. Though attracting a lot of criticism, also as mentioned above, the strength of a case study is in its ability to deal with different sources of evidence: theories, documents, archives, interviews, etc (Yin: 1994).

It is usual to differentiate between three types of case studies: *explanatory*, *exploratory* and *descriptive*. Yin (1994) gives quite a detailed description of each of them, but notes also that the boundaries between them are not very clear. One might imply on the basis of the titles that an *explanatory* case study would seek for explanation of a case study data, an *exploratory* – to explore or reveal status or function of a phenomenon, a *descriptive* would give an illustration and in- depth information about a phenomenon. Nevertheless, boundaries between these three strategies are by no means clear and sharp (Yin 1994: 4).

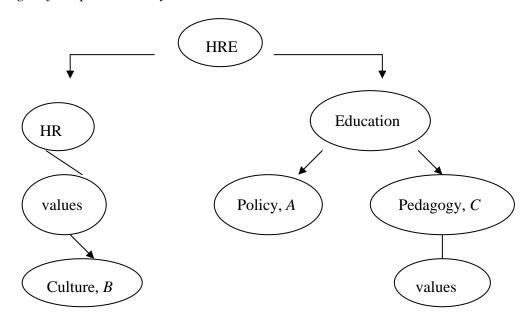
Having defined the main research question of the present paper as *What role does HRE play* in the modern Russia? the intention is to explore the role HRE may play in the present state of Russia, a state that is floating away from democratic principles (1.1). The type of the case study used for this purpose can be defined as exploratory though preserving characteristics of the descriptive study also.

Yin (1994) proposes viewing an exploratory case-study as a hypothesis- generating process, which has its goal not to conclude a study but to develop ideas for further study (Yin 1994:

110). This means that further in the paper attempts will be made to find out the place and role of HRE in the modern Russian context by looking at its *cultural* and *educational* dimensions.

## 2.2 Logic of the exploration process

Figure 1: Logic of the present analysis



Following Yin's reasoning of importance to identify the *case* and *units of analysis* (Yin 1994:23), I define the social phenomenon *HRE* as the case of the study, and *human rights* and *education* as units of analysis (fig.1).

Education sphere can be analyzed by looking at the state policy and vision on the function of education (A in fig.1). Therefore it may be appropriate to look at the Russian educational policy documents in order to see the extent of the integration of HRE into the Russian educational system. Thus the hypothesis I will be: Russian educational policy has connection to HRE. This hypothesis will be tested by answering the sub-question 1: To what extent HRE is integrated into the Russian educational policy?

Human rights may be considered as values constituting culture. It may also be implied that human rights are a part of human rights culture (B in fig.1), analogical as political rights are the part of political culture. In case there is process of value change, as a result of policy or ideology change, the culture of human rights will be changing as well. That is what is happening in Russia today. Change from the authoritarian state structure Soviet Union to the nowadays Russian special democracy is inevitably bringing with it a change in values. It is

thus possible to make up the hypothesis II: Russian Human rights culture has connection to the process of the HRE's integration, what can be found out by research sub-question 2: What are the key characteristics of the Russian human rights culture?

Education, again, can be regarded as a sphere that communicates values. In this sense one may consider a pedagogical tradition (C in fig.1) as an instrument of transferring values. The hypothesis III thus will be: Russian pedagogical tradition has connection to the process of HRE's integration. That is what the sub-question 3: What is the connection between the Russian pedagogical tradition and HRE like? is expected to find out about.

It is important to note here that any causal relationship between these hypotheses is excluded. For it can hardly be stated that due to the *human rights culture* that is in Russia or due to the pedagogical tradition, HRE is having this or that status in the modern Russia. There may only be a spurious connection between them, but no causality.

## 2.2.1 Data collection steps

Having found out the logic of exploring HRE as a phenomenon and its role in the contemporary Russian context, it is necessary to make clear the means of how to do this exploration. Further on, steps have been made in order to collect data material.

Step 1: Theoretical background of the phenomenon, HRE, has been studied. At that stage the attempt was made to look through all the aspects of HRE, its essence, history and critiques. Having had some preliminary knowledge of HRE being quite a broad, somewhat vague and contradictory area, I was eager to find out more about approaches and models able to treat the theme in a more concrete way.

Step 2: In order to get more precise definitions of HRE the central documents related to the subject have been addressed. Mainly these were the documents of the core international organisations, the UN and the Council of Europe, working actively in promoting HRE and its integration into the countries' educational policies.

Step 3: Having collected the theoretical basis of HRE as a field and its interpretation from the UN and Council of Europe's documents, my interest shifted to the Russian educational policy documents. Documents related to the HRE-theme should have existed, I thought, for Russia has been a member of the Council of Europe since 1996 and should have followed its

Recommendation to Member States on teaching and learning about human rights in schools<sup>1</sup>. The main source in this search was the internet site of the Russian Ministry of Education and Science. Surprisingly enough I have found out that there were two of them, http://www.mon.gov.ru/ and http://www.ed.gov.ru<sup>2</sup> /Federal Educational Agency/. Having made quite an extensive search and having not found any documents mentioning human rights or HRE explicitly, I came to the conclusion to use two central official and rather general documents issued by the Ministry: National Doctrine of Education and Conception of the Modernization of the Russian Education for the period until 2010. My purpose then was to find out the priorities and role *education* is prescribed to in Russia, and the official [state] view on education. By continuing searching on a broader subject of citizenship education I came across the document mentioning human rights. This document does not have status of an official document of the Ministry of Education of Russia. It is issued by another state organ, Civil Society Institutions and Human Rights Council under the President of the RF, Mr. Putin, functioning as the advisory council of experts on human rights situation in Russia. The document was attached to the present paper-analysis for it includes both the evaluation of the contemporary situation with citizenship education, and HRE in particular, in Russia; and concrete suggestions related to the integration of citizenship education into the Russian educational system.

Parallel to the *step 1*, 2 and 3 there was collected theoretical material touching the subjects of the *human rights culture* in general, *Russian human rights culture* in particular and *pedagogical tradition* seen in the reality of the Soviet Union and contemporary Russia. I was interested in the theories of the modern Russian and foreign philosophers, sociologists, educationists as well as the Russian classical philosophers. The latter were of a particular interest also because during the soviet times they were forbidden and replaced by the communist and loyal to the Marxist-Leninist ideology philosophers. As a result, the theory of the Russian philosopher at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, *Nikolay Berdyaev*, never recognized by the official Soviet philosophy, was attached to the analysis. At the same time, theoretical material devoted to the Russian pedagogy, soviet pedagogy and its values-dimension was collected as well.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Recommendation R(85)4 to Member States on Teaching and Learning about Human Rights in schools was adopted by the Committee of Ministers in may 1985

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Neither <a href="http://mon.gov.ru">http://ed.gov.ru</a> have English version.

Step 4: Step 4 was an excellent possibility to do my own *small* fieldwork after I had got the opportunity to join and see a *human rights educational project* in reality, in Russia. This project was the result of cooperation between Norwegian Human Rights NGO and the local authorities and NGOs' activists of the Murmansk region in Russia. It was also an excellent opportunity to see the functioning of HRE in a miniature format and gather empirical data on the HRE reality in Russia.

Step 5: As addition to the empirical material available from *Murmansk project* I have interviewed *Moscow experts*. They are experts in the HRE field in Russia for which they have been working for several years under the roof of the biggest human rights NGO in Russia, *Memorial*. My main interest then was their views on the *educational* situation for it is known to be under reform for more than 10 years already; as well as their views on the perspectives of HRE in Russia.

#### 2.3 Sources of data

#### 2.3.1 Documentation

Yin (1994) considers documentary information to be quite a stable source of data, also possible to be reviewed (Yin 1994: 80). As mentioned earlier (step 2&3) a lot of official documents issued by the key international organisations as well as by the Russian Ministry of Education and other state bodies have been gone through. There is a hope that bias of selectivity is reduced to rather a big extent though cannot be completely excluded. Numerous newspapers' articles and magazines have also been used as source material in the paper. The main advantage of the documentary material is its broad coverage of the topic and ability to look upon it from different standpoints.

## 2.3.2 Secondary sources

Theoretical implications related to the notion of *HRE*, *human rights* and *human rights culture*, made by other researchers have also been widely used in the data collecting process. These sources were highly valuable and necessary especially in order to find out about the history of HRE as a field, its challenges and possible critics.

## 2.3.3 Participant observation

May (2001) notes that researchers using the method, *participant observation*, do not have any firm assumptions about what is important. Instead, the method encourages researchers to

immerse themselves in the day-to-day activities of the people whom they are attempting to understand (May 2001: 148).

Gold (2004) classifies participant observers' roles due to the degree of involvement with the members of a social setting. The classification ranges from *complete participant* [total involvement], via *participant-as-observer* to *observer-as-participant* to the *complete observer* [total detachment] (Gold in Bryman 2004: 301). I define the extent of my own participation while collecting data during the *Murmansk* fieldwork as *participant-as-observer*. That means that I was a functioning member of the social setting and my status as a researcher was known to the participants of the project. The degree of my involvement into the project and its activities I would define as semi-involvement, for I still had the time and possibility to be a *researcher*, keeping my own notes and conducting interviews. Discussions, sessions and free time activities during my stay there were the opportunities to make observations and keep field notes. Yin (1994) notes the insight into interpersonal behaviour as the strong side of the participant-observation as a method (Yin 1994: 80). That was what I could freely observe: interpersonal communication, behaviour, what were the participants interested in more, what less.

Bryman (2004) warns about *going native* or losing the sense of being a researcher and going too closely into the social setting and people involved into one's study (Bryman 2004: 302). It is difficult to state that I exclude any possibility of me *going native*, what is to some degree an inevitably risk associated with participant observation (Bryman 2004: 302). Nevertheless the social setting I studied existed for quite a short period of time, during which I tried to get as much information as possible mainly by observation and to some extent by additional interviewing. Besides, I had all the opportunities to remain a *detached* researcher for I had had sufficient time to keep notes and raise questions when they appeared.

#### 2.3.4 Interviews

Qualitative interviews have been made mainly during my fieldwork, the *Murmansk* –project, and when interviewing the HRE *experts* in Moscow. Both groups of interviews were of an *open-ended nature*.

In case with the *Murmansk- project*, the interviews were taken as an additional material, usually on the basis of the observations made some time earlier. The main target groups were the participants: pupils and teachers, and I was especially interested in their understanding of

the HRE as an educational field, and their attitude and expectations from the project they were involved in.

In the case with the Moscow- HRE-experts I was more interested in their general views on the HRE's integration into the Russian educational system, the extent and eventual difficulties connected with such integration. Though they are the representatives of the Russian NGOs and do not work in the formal educational institutions in Russia. They are closely connected to the latter for though the main part of the HRE projects is taking place outside school walls today, they are results of the tight cooperation between local NGOs and teachers.

All of my interviewees were contacted beforehand by phone and agreed an appointment. The only drawback that happened was the sudden unavailability of the employee in the Russian Ministry of Education, whose views the paper lacks. This employee was of interest to me for the work being done by the *Department of the state policy in the field of education*, under the Russian Ministry of Education and Science.

An interview-guide (appendix 1) was prepared on beforehand as well. Still, during the *Murmansk*- project, the guide was to be somewhat modified, for new questions appeared as a result of observations. Finally, the interview-guide has become a kind of checklist. Thus, I took some additional interviews of the participants on the basis of the observations made earlier. I also needed to be flexible to find time for interviewing the participants but at the same time not using the time they could spend for recreation, or for communication with each other. So that, the interviews were *occasional*, usually taking place during the breaks, meals or sightseeing tours. All the interviews were translated from Russian and transcribed on my return back to Norway, and are marked with *my translation* further in the text.

## 2.4 Quality of the research and research results.

Case studies have always got a lot of critique due to the lack of rigor and biased views that could influence the direction of findings and conclusions. The fact that they provide too little basis for scientific generalization is also quite a common critical notion addressing case studies as a research design (Yin: 1994). In order to avoid being criticized the cases study investigator has to prove the *validity* of his/her research steps. It is possible to do it by maximising the following four quality aspects of any research design: construct-, internal- and external- validity; and reliability (Yin 1994: 18).

## 2.5 Validity

#### External validity

External validity deals with the problem of whether the results of a study can be generalized beyond a specific research context (Bryman: 2004), but critics usually state that a single case study is a too poor basis for generalizations (Yin 1994: 36). What *case studies* concern it is common to speak about analytical generalization, not a statistical one. The possibility to generalize the result of the case study to other areas and social settings is the possibility to make analytical generalizations (Yin 1994).

Thus, in the case of the present paper by making the Russian HRE context as explicit as possible, I tried to achieve some particular results, hypotheses, which could be generalized to a broader theory. HRE as a social and educational phenomenon that has led initially to the case study can also lead to other cases, as for example *development of the civil society in Russia* or *problems of establishing democracy in Russia*, to which the results of the present study could eventually be generalized.

#### Internal validity

Internal validity or causality presupposes a good match between researcher's observations and the theoretical ideas they develop (Bryman 2004: 273). Yin notes (1994) that internal validity is a concern only for explanatory case studies, in which an investigator is trying to determine whether the event x has led to the event y (Yin 1994: 35). The type of the present research was declared to be an exploratory case study and does not presuppose making any causal statements. Thus, I cannot assume that, for example, an obscure character of the HRE in the Russian educational policy documents (x) causes the slow and poor integration of the HRE into the educational system (y).

The problem of the internal validity can still be treated in the following way. Yin (1994) proposes two tactics, *pattern-matching* and *explanation-building*, to secure internal validity of a case study (Yin 1994: 35). The question of internal validity could possibly be extended to the broader problem of making inferences. It can then be assumed that every conclusion or observation made in the analytical phase of doing a research is an inference. For example, having examined the international documents on the HRE I could make the conclusions related to the Russian educational policy documents. Having studied Russian documents I again may infer that the new conclusion is the result of the earlier collected and analyzed

documentary evidence. Then that tactic of the *pattern-matching*, or a kind of interplay between the predicted and the actual patterns, is being used.

#### Construct validity

In order to explore social reality, explain a social phenomenon or describe it, a researcher uses concepts as binding them to the theory and making some conclusions as a result. The researcher is also encouraged to deduce hypotheses from a theory that is relevant to a concept (Bryman 2004: 73).

In the paper I have formulated hypotheses about *the role of the* [Russian] human rights culture (I) as well as the role of pedagogy (II) related to the theory about HRE in general; and relevant to the concepts of human rights, education, human rights culture in particular. Still, will this allow me to say that the construct validity is secured?

Yin (1994) mentions the possibility of being criticized again on the basis of a researcher's subjectivity (Yin: 1994). He suggests the following solutions to deal with such a criticism, by using *multiple sources of evidence* and establishing a *chain of evidence*, actual during the data collection phase (Yin 1994: 34). Use of the multiple sources of evidence or *triangulation*, as it is defined by Webb, presupposes usage of more than one method of collecting data while studying a social phenomenon (Webb in Bryman 2004: 275). The fact that the different data sources (2.3) have been used for the present analysis allows me to say the *data triangulation* (Patton in Yin 1994:92) has been achieved. Efforts to establish a chain of evidence by having started with the theoretical analysis of the HRE field, then educational policy documents and finished with the empirical data, gained as a result of participant observation and interviews, have helped me solve the problem of the *construct validity* more or less.

## 2.6 Reliability

Reliability is about demonstrating the operations of a study, which if repeated, would give the same results (Yin1994: 33). The general way of approaching the reliability problem is to make as many steps as operational as possible and to conduct research as if someone were always looking over your shoulder (ibid.37). Thus, I want to believe that the described data collection steps (2.2.1) have contributed to the analysis' coherence; and if repeated, they would bring more or less the same results, the same conclusions.

## 2.7 Ethical implications

Diener & Crandall (1978) define four main areas of the discussion about ethical principles in social research. These are: harm to participants/physical and psychological/, lack of informed consent, invasion of privacy and deception (Diener & Crandall in Bryman 2004: 508). Thagaard mentions (1998) the importance of the informed consent a research gets from his/her informants for one can never know how a research project can develop and what final form it can take (Thagaard 1998: 203, my translation).

In order to neutralize the possibility of these dangers to happen, a researcher should be aware of the confidentiality, which may be secured, for example with the help of using pseudonyms. I have chosen to keep the names of my informants confidential as well, though they assured me verbally that there was no problem in seeing their names in the paper. On the contrary, they would be glad to be the active propagators of HRE in Russia, also by giving information to the present paper. HRE is not that sensitive field to do research about as for example criminological issues are. Nevertheless, the reason of keeping my informants, especially teachers involved in the *Murmansk* -project, is justified by the recently adopted controversial law<sup>3</sup> on NGOs activity (NGO-law: 2005, Amnesty: 2006b) in Russia.

Informed consent is quite an ethical dilemma for a researcher, also because of the unpredictability of the final results and representation of a study. The one thing is to give the potential informants as full information about the project as possible. Quite another thing is to get their consent to publish the final presentation of the results which, as I have said, may be influenced by the analytic technique. For example, some information may be found as less important for the study than it seemed in the beginning of the research process. I have tried to make this fact as precise as possible for the informants who contributed to the present study. Therefore, I feel quite secure about the information I have got from the teachers participated in the *Murmansk* - project and presented in the analysis, for my interviews with them were conversational interviews, when I could ask again and clarify some points together with them.

*Invasion of privacy* is connected to the informed consent also because it is given on the basis of a detailed understanding of what the research participants' involvement is likely to entail (Bryman 2004: 513). It is a thought that the difficulties of getting an interview with the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Law aimed at the restriction of the activity of NGOs in Russia demanding its registration and transparency of financing. Got a lot of critics from among others, HRW, Amnesty Int. for its discriminative character especially what the foreign NGOs' activities in Russia concerns, assaulting the civil society in Russia and not meeting the criteria of the Council of Europe. Adopted in May 2006.

representative of the Russian Ministry of Education may be seen in this sense. The fact that there was no interview possible as a result, in spite of the thorough explanation of the topic and assurances of anonymity, may have been the consequence of the informant's interpretation of own participation in the project as a threat to his/her own privacy.

## 3. HRE, theoretical background

Human rights education has more questions than answers. This is because the answers must come from the people themselves as they become empowered to identify their problems themselves...

(Koenig in Andreopoulous: 1998)

This *a-la-Socrates* method of finding out the truth is the best one to discuss the matters of HRE. By putting up questions and wondering about the political and social situation in a country, HRE topic may be quite relevant to discuss, also as to what consequences it may bring about for a society. Baxi (1997) notes that HRE begins to gather a global momentum precisely at a historical juncture when new forces of production, digitalization and biotechnology have begun fostering new international divisions of labour through the rolled-up processes of globalization. If the ideological superstructures are varieties of postmodernist ethics, the Realpolitikk of the emergent world is increasingly rights wary (Baxi 1997: 153).

Dalai-Lama (1992) observes that we are at the dawn of an age in which extreme political concepts and dogmas may cease to dominate human affairs. We must use this historic opportunity to replace them by universal human and spiritual values and ensure that these values become the fibre of the global family that is emerging (Dalai-Lama in Claude 1992: 52). If this is right, it is possible then to speak about change of the paradigms the global society is developing in. Spring (2004) goes further in stating that the hidden curriculum of the HRE is a paradigm that interprets world events according to their effect on human rights rather than economic growth and consumption (Spring 2004: 166).

The most *creative* definition of the HRE, to my mind, is the one given by Reardon (1997), whose conclusion is that the HRE, as a derivative of the peace education, is studying of the *impossible* (Reardon 1997: 21). What is *impossible* about HRE and how new it is on the global scale are the matters to be looked upon further in the chapter.

## 3.1 HRE's prehistory

Human rights as a subject of educational activities are still a relatively recent phenomenon (Spiliopoulou 1998: 7). For the first time HRE was discussed at the international congress on the *Teaching of Human Rights*, in Vienna in 1978. The result of the discussion was the conclusion that the HRE should first of all be based on the principles of the UDHR, where

indivisibility of all human rights is especially emphasized (Symonides 1998: 21). The UDHR created shortly after the Second World War as the echo of the Holocaust shows that an individual, a human being has been put into the centre of the international concern. 30 basic human rights that are written down in the declaration as well as mechanisms of their protection made the global community to agree upon the superiority of such international institutions, as UN and Council of Europe, in protecting the rights of every person. This contributed to the reconsideration of the role of the national state, as well as the political situation in the latter. Things are not that easy of course and the problem of violations of human rights, also by the state, is the modern reality of the world. National states may be viewed as loosing their power in the modern global world but they are far from vanishing (Castells: 1998).

Today, in the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, discussions around the HRE are even more contradictory, also inside HREA. In spite of the agreement of the triad of human rights, free markets and democracy as the most desirable pattern for a society to function (Conley & Ettinger 1998: 31), disagreements appear when democracy and universality of the human rights are to be discussed. Thus, while some experts see the HRE as a progressive driving force towards democracy establishment, others insist on its role in the understanding of the rights and responsibilities by people, and encouraging a civil initiative. The lack of research on this subject contributes to the mystification of HRE.

Disputes about the nature of HRE and whether it is the part of the citizenship education, peace- or tolerance- education, or stays on its own are also quite intensive. Reardon (1997) argues, for example, that HRE should be integrated in all forms of peace education, for it only through the human rights framework the discussion about the creation of peace making capabilities and skills is possible (Reardon 1997: 22). HRE is said to pursue various goals in countries. These goals depend on the social and political situation in a country. Thus, in post-totalitarian or authoritarian countries, where the ex-Soviet Union can definitely be placed, HRE is associated first of all with the development of civil society and the infrastructures related to the rule of law and protection of individual and minority rights (Tibbits: 2002).

Other ongoing debates concern the methodology of HRE. How should it be taught and by whom? Should it be a separate subject at school/ university or may be the creation of an atmosphere of mutual respect that is the goal of penetration of human rights issues in the everyday life of schools and other educational institutions? Is it possible to speak about a universal *human right culture*'s existence as it is possible to speak about political culture for

example? Discussions are quite contradictory also because HRE can be said to have its own peculiarities and characteristics for each specific country.

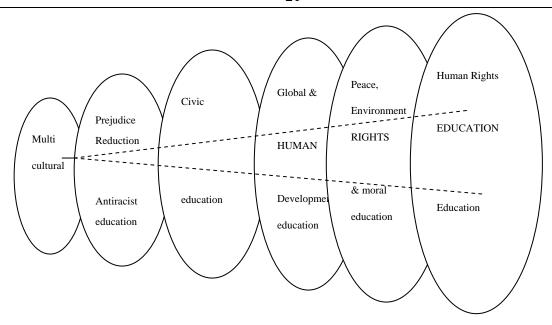
## 3.2 Challenges of the HRE

Spiliopoulou (1998) notes that HRE is increasingly being recognized as an effective strategy to prevent human rights abuses, and contributes to building a free, just and peaceful society. *Human rights* may be promoted in three ways. The first one is via *knowledge* or information about human rights and mechanisms for their protection. The second one is via *values*, *beliefs* and attitudes upholding human rights and developing human rights culture. The third way is via action or an encouragement to action to defend human rights and prevent human rights abuses (Spiliopoulou 1998: 171). The main challenge of HRE is therefore in the absence of neutrality. It is not and cannot be indifferent as to what values, what knowledge is being transferred by the educational system and school curricula.

As Yeban (2002) points out, contradictions and misunderstandings about HRE also appear because there are other names for human rights educational activity, such as: peace-, gender-or civic education that also claim to be HRE (Yeban: 2002a). Considering HRE as part of peace education is the most usual. Peace education, in its turn, has become a worldwide movement and as a continually changing field goes by various names: conflict resolution, multicultural education, development education, world order studies and environmental education (Reardon 1997: 21). Reardon (1997) nevertheless emphasizes that there is a difference between the conceptual core of *peace* and *human rights education*. In the case of peace education, the impact is being made on *violence*, its reduction and elimination; while the issue of *human dignity* is at the core of HRE (ibid. 22).

Tarrow (1992) proposes the unifying scheme where HRE is penetrating all other types of humanistic education: peace/environment and moral education, global & development education; civic education; prejudice & antiracist education; multicultural education. HRE can be a uniting factor which enhances efforts to *produce* informed and active citizens in their communities.

Figure 2: HRE in relation to current educational responses to the need for informed and active citizens (Tarrow 1992: 31)



## 3.3 Critiques of the HRE

HRE as a field is being attacked by critics because, as mentioned earlier, sustainable research on the subject is still lacking. This also contributes to the misunderstandings about the content and methodology of HRE. Baxi (1997) expresses the necessity of the recognition of critiques of human rights enunciations for it is essential for HRE's mission of developing a *universal culture of human rights* (Baxi 1997: 151). Meanwhile, the notion of the human rights culture and whether it can be universal at all is put under doubt by the theoreticians (Donelly:1982). The debate somewhat resembles the one around the universality of human rights as such.

The idea about the universal human rights culture, as well as HRE in general is considered to be *utopical*, *dysutopical* and *egocentric* at the same time. *Utopical*, for its goals often are unreachable and vague. *Dystopical*, for its consequences may lead to an undesirable situation. Egocentric, for the emphasis on the individual rights as a driving force for the progressive development of the humankind is doubted (Baxi: 1997). HRE, mentioned earlier, as the study of the *impossible* may seem naïve and idealistic indeed. Still, it does not mean that the human rights educators are not aware of its idealistic character. Most likely they do.

It is also being noted that in its current state, HRE is only a collection of interesting and discrete programs, but not a fully-fledged field (Tibbitts: 2002). This situation may be explained by the absence of a broader research as well as proved information about what models, programmes and techniques that function better in HRE. Besides, doubts about HRE effectiveness have also been raised since results are not quick. This kind of criticism points

thus to viewing HRE as a long-term perspective in the process of a society development, that cannot be separated from the transformational processes of a society in general.

Lister (1991) points out the criticisms HRE is being most often addressed with. Firstly, *human rights* are too complex for immature minds and understate *responsibilities* while overstressing *rights*. Secondly, *human rights* are too individualistic and private. Thus, group rights and importance of the public domain is underestimated. Thirdly, teachers of *human rights* go too far. They are not satisfied with teaching *about* human rights, but want to teach *for* human rights, want *human rights schools* and *human rights classrooms* (Lister 1991:252).

Others went even further criticizing the duplicity of human rights. Baxi (1997) notes that the propagation of *human rights* comes mainly from the West and does not make human rights discourse pluralistic, but on the contrary, deepens the contradiction between *West* and *South* (Baxi 1997: 151; Lister 1991: 252). Debating the origins of *human rights* leads thus to the discussions and doubts about their universality as values.

## 3.4 Universality of human rights

Discussions concerning the issue of *human rights* universality take its roots in philosophy, ethics and morality. As Koenig (1998) notes, politically and socially responsible individuals who think in terms of *human rights*, often do so in the terms of 1948: human rights as abstract universal metaphors of progress (Koenig 1998: 126). Viewing HRE as a study of the impossible is perhaps the result of this kind of conviction.

Universality of human rights is doubted mostly due to the argument that in different cultures the understanding of what human rights are is also different. As Morrison (2000) puts it, values do not exist in a void. They give meaning to the culture and society in which they are expressed. *Cultural* values can be universal but applied in particular situations (Morrison 2000: 123). One of the key differences between the modern Western and the non-Western approaches to human dignity is the much greater individualism of the Western human-rights approach (Donelly 1982: 311). In the liberal democracies of the Western world the ultimate repository of rights is the human person. The individual is held in a virtually sacralized position (Legesse in Donelly1982: 311).

Within the limits of the paper it is difficult to go deeply into this discussion. Ozar (1986) points to the two specific features of human nature: *human freedom* and *human rationality*, when discussing the universality of *human rights*. Human freedom is mostly about the freedom of taking choices. It means that unlike the other species, people are able to make

choices. This unique human capacity demands therefore a *special* treatment of them in return. One should not use others as means to achieve his/her own individual purposes; treatment of people should be *special* (Ozar 1986: 10). Such a standpoint is familiar to the to Kant's *categorical imperative* that advocates the treatment of a human being as a value in itself, not as means to achieve a purpose. It is possible to speak about such a notion as *human dignity* inside these frames. Both knowledge about the impropriety of the discrimination of other people as well as our expectation not to be treated badly by the other people, make us aware about *our* human dignity. Morrison (2000) writes about the acute awareness modern scholars have of the need of multicultural and multi-religious cooperation and mutual acceptance concerns. The search for behaviour values which reflect the shared sense of *human dignity* can be found in *human rights* (Morrison 2000: 129).

The second feature of human nature, *human rationality*, implies that people are not just passive sensors of the world around them. They do not just react to stimuli, but put information together to form a generalized truth about the world. They use truth to understand each new situation that is arising. Consequently people are able to reshape the world and to share their experiences of the world with one another in language, symbol and culture (Ozar 1986: 10).

Reardon (1997) suggests viewing the human rights as universal values, for they provide the framework for comparisons of human conditions on the basis of the most global criteria available. Though he does not deny the western origin of *human rights*, the latter has a sufficient degree of universality adaptable to most cultures (Reardon 1997: 28). The Vienna Declaration of 1993<sup>4</sup> states that all human rights are universal, indivisible, interdependent and interrelated. As for the peculiarities of the historical, cultural and religious backgrounds that the countries have, they should be taken into account, when the prior responsible actor, the *State*, is urged to promote and protect human rights and fundamental freedoms (Vienna: 1993).

The State is also obliged to incorporate the subject of human rights, humanitarian law, democracy and rule of law as a subject in the curricula of all learning institutions in formal and non-formal settings. Governments with the assistance of intergovernmental organisations, national institutions and non-governmental organizations, should promote an increased

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Adopted by the World Conference on Human Rights, Vienna, 25 June 1993.

awareness of human rights and mutual tolerance (The right to HRE 1999: 44-45; Spiliopoulou 1998: 187). Nussbaum (1999) adds that many attacks on universalism suppose that any universalist project must rely on truths eternally fixed in the nature of things, outside human action and human history. Nevertheless, universalism does not require any metaphysical support. For universal ideas of the human do arise within history and from human experience (Nussbaum 1999:37).

In my opinion, the fact that the international community came to an agreement in 1948 in the form of the UDHR is already a proof of the existence of *universal* human rights, valid for whatever country, religion or culture.

## 3.5 Approaches to HRE

The idea to view HRE in three dimensions: legalistic, political/ideological and cultural/sociological, belongs to the HRE theoretician from the Philippines *Felice Yeban* (table 1). I find this view interesting for it makes the issues and goals of HRE much more precise. As mentioned earlier, HRE gets reproaches on its vagueness and too broad approach. Three different approaches to HRE allow looking at the subject from different standpoints, where *human rights*, being at the centre, provide a fine dialogue between culture, law and political freedom. While *law* is the keyword of the legal dimension, *freedom*- of the political, and *values*- of the cultural, all together they compose a holistic view on HRE, as well as on its goals, content and methodology.

Table 1: Different approaches to HRE (Yeban: 2002b)

	Legalistic	Political/ideological	Cultural/sociological
View of human rights	as a set of rules governing the state and its citizens		as a set of values and cultural norms with which the state and the citizens interact with each other

Goal of HRE	Teaching people their rights as manifested in international and domestic legal documents	Raising people's consciousness about their oppressive situation using human rights as the tool to make the assessment	Raising people's awareness of the need to build a culture that is based on human rights' principles and values
Content of HRE	The inter-nal Bill of Rights and the Domestic Bill of Rights Philosophical and historical bases of HR State responsibility, HR mechanisms Action	The inter-nal Bill of Rights and the Domestic Bill of Rights Philosophical and historical bases of HR State responsibility, national situation, social analysis Action	The inter-nal Bill of Rights and the Domestic Bill of Rights  HR as a set of values  Cultural bases of HR, national situation, cultural and social analysis  Action
Process/ methodology	Lecture and activities Use of case studies	Lecture and activities  Use of concrete experiments	Lecture and activities  Use of concrete experiments
Facilitator	Experts in HR laws, usually lawyers	Experts in HR laws and politics, usually lawyers, paralegals, activists, development workers	HR lawyers, educators, social scientists, development workers
Analytical framework used	Legal framework	Marxist/ liberal framework	Sociological/anthropological framework
Strengths	Popular use of the legal language and the language of rights	Concrete experiences of oppression as a very potent tool to make the issue of HR very personal	Indigenization of HR concepts  It hides the confrontational dimension of HR (good for undemocratic countries)
Weaknesses	Knowledge of HR	The ideological framework	It hides the confrontational

laws does not	used sets the limits for HR	dimension of HR (not good
automatically raise		approach in an already
one's consciousness		democratic environment)
HR are treated as a		
body of esoteric		
knowledge to be		
memorized		

Some theoreticians emphasize the prevalence of the legalistic dimension when speaking about HRE. Koenig (1998) notes that until recently, human rights have been taught by law professors and human rights experts to those who are interested in human rights advocacy, [while] it is not highlighted by them as a holistic world view for which commitments and obligations have been developed to protect a value system that underlines our right to be human (Koenig 1998: 119).

Approaching the theme of HRE as three different dimensions would not of course mean that these three do not intertwine with each other in case the implementation of HRE policy is to be analyzed in the particular society. Still, the goals that each of the approaches pursues are somewhat different. In the legalistic approach, the aim of HRE is seen as teaching *rights* as manifested in international and domestic legal documents. Political/ ideological approach presupposes raising of people's consciousness about their oppressive situation as its goal while using *human rights* as the tool to make an assessment.

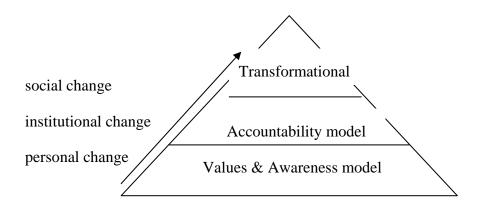
Raising people's awareness of the need to build a culture based on human rights' principles and values is the goal of the cultural/ sociological approach. It is the cultural/ sociological approach that actualizes the discussion of *human rights* as values and as the language of communication between the *State* and its citizens, and therefore will be of the main theoretical framework for analyzing HRE in the context of modern Russia.

### 3.6 Models of HRE

Tibbitts (2002) proposes three operating models for HRE as an idealized framework for understanding contemporary HRE practice. These models are: *the Values and Awareness model, Accountability model and Transformational model* (Tibbitts: 2002). The rationales for each model are linked implicitly with particular target groups and a strategy for social change and human development (ibid. 2002). What is especially emphasized is their mission not to

spread information about human rights only, but also about the mechanisms of their protection, for it is in fact these mechanisms that differentiate HRE from other kinds of education, e.g. global or peace education. The models can be presented graphically as a *learning pyramid* where one moves from the broadest *Values and awareness model* through the *Accountability* up to the top, the *Transformation model*.

Figure 3: *Models of HRE (Tibbits: 2002)* 



The *Value & Awareness model* defines the transmission of basic knowledge of human rights issues and their integration into public values as the main focus of HRE. The school curriculum is considered to be the mean to achieve such integration. Human rights topics that would apply to this model are the history of human rights and mechanisms of their protection. The key pedagogical strategy is engagement: to attract the interest of the participant. The transmission of the knowledge about human rights can happen both at the human rights related lessons within citizenship, history, social science and law, as well as in the form of informal youth activities (ibid. 2002).

The *Accountability* model presupposes direct involvement of the participants into the protection of individual and group rights through their professional roles. Topic choices would concern the specialized areas and the ultimate goal is skill development. As the activities closely bound to professional groups, in-service training for lawyers, prosecutors, judges, police officers and the military, is given priority. (ibid. 2002)

The *Transformational model* views HRE as direction to the empowering of an individual both to recognize and prevent human rights abuses. This model assumes that students may have had personal experiences of human rights violations and therefore can be found in

programs in refugee camps or post-conflict societies. In school settings, a deep case-study may be used in order to study a human rights violation, where participants may get roles of *we* and *they* for better understanding psychology of human rights abuses and conflicts in real life (ibid.2002). The models described above can serve as a tool for classifying educational programs and can contribute to better understanding of the priorities and values that education is supposed to bring.

Three models of HRE, described above, may serve as an answer to the critics concerning abstractness and vagueness of the HRE. They can be considered to be an additional and clarifying material to the three approaches to HRE (3.5) for their precision of goals, methods to use and target groups for human rights educationists to deal with. For further analysis it is the *Values & Awareness model* that is of particular interest. It presupposes penetration of *human rights* and related subjects into the school system and curriculum, and can therefore be considered as a basic initial stage for the introduction of HRE.

## 4. Documents on HRE

In the previous chapter, the theoretical background of HRE has been outlined. Taking into account that HRE is quite a broad and controversial area, it is important to make clear the way HRE will be approached further in the analysis. It has been stated so far that the viewing human rights as a set of values, and human rights culture as a potential goal of HRE are the central concepts of the cultural-sociological approach to HRE. It is this approach that will be used in order to explore HRE's role in the Russian context. Nevertheless, to get a more concrete definition of what HRE is, it is necessary to look first at the documentation on the subject. In the present chapter, international HRE documents will be presented first, the Russian documents are following after.

### 4.1 HRE in international documents

The notion of HRE is not that old<sup>5</sup>, though some experts consider even the adoption of the UDHR in 1948 as a starting-point of the HRE (Symonides 1998: 11). In the Human Rights Education handbook, HRE is defined as *all learning that develops the knowledge, skills and values of human rights* (Tibbits: 2002).

As mentioned earlier, considering the UDHR as a prism to look at the human rights' situation on the global scale, makes it possible to speak about the existence of the universal values. These are the values without which the life of a human being would not be complete. It seems that the theoreticians and practitioners dealing with HRE do not even doubt the universality of values. Proclaimed by the UN the *Decade for Human rights Education (1995-2004)* makes the issue of human rights and its place in the educational process even more interesting and important to analyze. Here the universality of human rights is stated explicitly and the respect for the dignity of all people is pursued as the supreme goal (UN: 1995). According to the achieved agreement, countries are obliged to follow the decisions made, and consequently send reports to the UN about the implementation of these decisions on the local-country level. In order to look how far the idea of HRE has penetrated the Russian educational policy, it is necessary to have a look at how the essence and the goals of HRE are defined in the international documents. Original sources are thus the official documents of the UN and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Somewhat about 12 years that the term has been taken to operation by the ministries of education, human rights organizations and teachers.

Council of Europe<sup>6</sup>. The documents of these international institutions function as guidelines for the governments and ministries in formation and implementation of the educational policies and eventual reforms of the latter.

### 4.1.1 United Nations

The definition of HRE as given by the UN General Assembly in 1994 is the following:

(HRE)...a life-long process by which people at all levels of development and in all of society learn respect for the dignity of others and the means and methods of ensuring that respect in all society" (Silan 2004:4)

In the *Draft Plan of Action for the UN Decade of HRE* the normative bases of the HRE are given as:

...training, dissemination and information efforts aimed at <u>building a universal culture</u> of <u>human rights</u> through the imparting of knowledge and skills and the moulding of attitudes directed to:

- the strengthening for respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms
- the full development of human personality and the sense of its dignity
- the promotion of understanding, tolerance, gender equality and friendship among all nations, indigenous people and racial, national, ethnic, religious and linguistic groups
- the enabling of all persons to participate effectively in a free society
- the furtherance of the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

(Symonides 1998: 12, Silan 2004: 4; Spring 2004: 67)

In paragraph 4 of the *Draft Plan* it is noted that for HRE to be effective it should be shaped in such a way as to be relevant to the daily lives of the learners and engage learners in a dialogue about the ways and means of transforming human rights from the expression of abstract norms to the reality of their social, economic, cultural and political conditions (Baxi 1997: 149). Such viewing of HRE's essence makes it possible to say that the notion of the *universal culture of human rights* is bound to the particular features of the local culture and creates a dialogue between the global and local world as a result.

Goals of HRE as proclaimed in the *Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace*, *Human Rights and Democracy*<sup>7</sup>. HRE is expected to develop:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Two main international institutions, the most active in the HRE field at the present time.

- a sense of universal values and types of behaviour on which a culture of peace is predicated;
- personal responsibility, education must help to develop an ability to cope with difficult and uncertain situations;
- the ability to recognize and accept the values which exist in the diversity of individuals, genders, peoples;
- the ability of non-violent conflict-resolution [and] promote inner peace in the minds of students
- the ability to make informed choices, feeling of solidarity and equity at the national and international level;
- a sense of respect the cultural heritage, protect the environment.
  (The Right to the HRE 1999: 108)

The result of the UN's General Assembly in 2005 was the acceptance of *The World Program* for Human Rights Education that emphasizes the agreement of the international society about the fundamental role of the HRE as increasing respect and understanding of human rights. The goal as defined per today, is to make people and officials understand that everybody has responsibility for the realization and respect of human rights at the regional/national level as well as at the international level.

# 4.1.2 Convention of the Rights of the Child<sup>8</sup>

This document is important to remember about for it represents a general view on how children live and what kind of atmosphere and environment is the most appropriate for their development. Quite a broad view on the goals of education as part of a national educational policy is also given in the document (Symonides: 1998). The 29<sup>th</sup> article of the UN *Convention on the Rights of the Child* renews the discussion of education's assisting role in the development of a child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to the fullest potential (Tibbits: 2005). Education should be directed to the development of:

- a) the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential;
- b) the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Approved by the General Conference of the UNESCO in Paris in November 1995

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession by General Assembly in November 1989. Ratified by 190 states till the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1998. USA and Somalia are the only two countries that have not ratified the convention yet.

- c) the respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values, for the national values of the country in which the child is living, the country from which he or she may originate and for civilizations different from his or her own;
- d) the child's readiness to a life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin

(The right to HRE 1999: 2; Ray 1994: 26)

## 4.1.3 Council of Europe

The Council of Europe framework emphasizes both the content and the process of HRE, referring to knowledge, skills, values and social participation. Knowledge alone is likely to be inadequate; experience is crucial (Osler 2005: 12). Suggestions concerning teaching and learning about human rights in schools as stated in *Recommendation to Members States*<sup>9</sup> are of particular interest. In spite of the fact that the recommendations issued by the Council of Europe are only recommendations to the member states, and therefore are not obligatory to follow as well as do not imply any reporting to the issuer of the document, a national state cannot ignore them either. This *Recommendation* is the text that expresses agreed positions as to what schools could and should be doing to promote knowledge and awareness of human rights issues. The challenge is to make this text a basis on which teachers can act and to enlist further support from governments for its full implementation (Starkey1991b: 20).

Since 1989, the Council of Europe has given special attention to the pressing needs of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe in the field of human rights education (Nicholson 1998: 89). Contacts have been established between Russian NGOs and OSCE/ EU where special attention is being given to the development of a framework curriculum for the inservice training of teachers involved in civic education on this phase of mutual cooperation (Nicholson 1998: 90).

It looks like the *European* debate concentrates on the questions of the changing image of the global world. In particular, skills necessary for surviving and functioning in the democratic pluralistic society are vividly discussed. Being the part of social and political education, HRE

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Recommendation R(85)7 to Member States on teaching and Learning about Human Rights in Schools was adopted by the Committee of Ministers in May 1985. Recommendation 1346(1997)1 *On HRE* emphasizing the guidelines for reforming an educational policy.

involves intercultural and international understanding and emphasizes the importance of intellectual and social skills necessary to understand notions of human rights:

Table 2: Goals of HRE (The right to HRE 1999: 152; Starkey 1991b: 26-27; Tarrow 1992:23)

Intellectual skills:	<ul> <li>a) Written/oral expression: ability</li> <li>to listen and discuss</li> <li>to defend one's opinion</li> <li>b) Judgements: ability</li> <li>to collect and examine material from different sources (also massmedia);</li> <li>to analyze collected material;</li> <li>to identify bias, prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination</li> </ul>
Social skills:	<ul> <li>a) recognize and accept differences</li> <li>b) establish positive and non-oppressive personal relationships</li> <li>c) resolve conflict in a non-violent way</li> <li>d) take responsibility</li> <li>e) participate in discussions</li> <li>f) understand the use of the mechanisms for the protection of human rights at local, regional, European and world levels</li> </ul>

Documents issued by the Council of Europe mention exactly what knowledge should be obtained. It is the knowledge about:

....main categories of human rights, duties, obligations and responsibilities; the various forms of injustice, inequality and discrimination; people, movements events in the historical and continuing struggle for human rights; the main international declarations and conventions on human rights...

(The rights to HRE 1999: 152; Tarrow 1992: 23)

It is emphasized also that the process of learning about human rights should be positive, so that pupils do not to feel powerless and discouraged when confronted with numerous examples of human rights violations (The rights to HRE 1999: 152). Attention is especially given to the qualities of teachers, those who are involved in HRE. These teachers should:

- be encouraged to take and interest in national and world affairs;

- have the chance of studying or working in a foreign country or a different environment;
- be taught to identify and combat all forms of discrimination in schools and society and be encouraged to confront and overcome their own prejudices.

(The right to HRE 1999: 153)

The teacher's role is crucial not only in the process of transferring knowledge, but also in the creation of an atmosphere of participation and equal treatment, for pupils to feel comfortable and appreciated. Creation of a democratic environment or an atmosphere of equal participation, where views might be discussed and expressed freely, is seen as a desirable component of the learning situation. Parents and other members of community should be encouraged to participate in school activities, as for example, inviting the non-governmental organisations for cooperation and exchange of information. As to the relationship of pupils and teachers; teachers are to be positive to pupils and recognize the requirements of the latter as important, no matter if these are of academic, artistic or practical use (ibid. 153).

### 4.2 Summary I: universal culture

On the basis of the international documents, following conclusions can be made. First of all, HRE is defined as all kinds of learning that develops knowledge, skills and values of human rights. Knowledge about human rights and mechanisms of their protection are the prior tasks of HRE. Skills to be attained are intellectual and social, including the capability to express ones own view, to collect and judge critically the collected material, to participate in discussions and take responsibility.

It is emphasized that HRE can only be multi-disciplinary which means that it should not be considered as a separate subject in school or a university, but on the contrary as contributing to the content of history, social science and literary subjects. As a life long process, it is directed to different age groups. Thus, appropriate educational programs are to be developed according to the age and character of the target groups. Development of a sense of universal values and building a universal culture of human rights are the main long-range perspectives of HRE. The question then may arise: what [universal] human rights culture is about?

# 4.2.1 What is human rights culture about?

The universal culture of human rights is to be achieved through the imparting of knowledge and skills, as stated in the UN documents (4.1.1). There is hardly a possibility to go into deep discussion as to whether a universal *human rights culture* is possible or not. For the first time,

human rights culture was aired as the goal of HRE in the World Plan of Action on Education for Human Rights and Democracy in Montreal in 1993<sup>10</sup> (The right to HRE 1999: 93).

Koenig (1998) defines culture as:

(...) an integrated pattern of human behaviour that includes thought, speech, action and artefacts and depends upon human capacity for learning and transmitting knowledge to succeeding generations(...) (Koenig 1998: 122)

Taking Koenig's definition of *culture* into consideration, it can be concluded that human behaviour based on the principles of the respect for human rights and human dignity is *human rights culture*.

Symonides (1998) notes, that *human rights culture* is based on the ideals of human rights, behavioural and cognitive skills in order to protect human rights standards in everyday life, both private and public (Symonides 1998: 28). It is possible therefore to state that human rights culture should not be considered as a substitute for local culture or be superior to it, but rather as suggesting a common set of values to the latter (Spring 2004: 72) and contributing thus to creation of such a way of life, a *habitus*, where the value of *human life* and *human dignity* would be of prior importance.

Osler (2005) adds that for a democracy to flourish, basic democratic structures are not enough. What is required is the building of human rights culture, where diversity is not considered to be weakness but strength. Such a culture would include opportunities for all communities to engage in the public debate and the decision-making process (Osler 2005: 4). Therefore, *human rights* as values and as a component of human rights culture are closely related to democracy; its building and sustainability.

# 4.3 HRE in the Russian educational policy documents

Three documents are chosen in order to make up a picture of the modern Russian educational policy. The decisive factor for their choice was that each of them reflects quite a different angle of treating the question of the reformation of the Russian educational system. Reformation is an ongoing process that started in the perestroika period, in the beginning of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Declaration adopted by the International Congress on Education for human rights and democracy, UNESCO World Plan of action on Education for Human Rights and Democracy

the 90s. Recent and quite significant events in the Russian history, like Gorbachev's perestroika, transition to the market economy under Yeltsin, or intensified search for a national idea under Putin, must be paid attention to, also as correctors of educational reforms during the last twenty years.

The *National Doctrine of Education* (4.3.1) is the document to be presented first. It gives an overall view on the educational system in general, from the goals of education till the practical matters of its financing.

The second chosen document is the *Conception of the Modernisation of Russian Education in* the period till 2010 (4.3.2). The document is interesting for it includes the particular time period till the year 2010, during which the Russian educational system is viewed as developing in unison with the tendencies of global developments.

The last document, the *Pamfilova- document* (4.3.3), named here after the leader of the Civil Society Institutions and Human Rights Council under the President of the RF, Mr. Putin, *Ella Pamfilova*. This document is a proposal and a recommendation to the Ministry of Education and the Russian Parliament on the citizenship education in Russia. It does not have the status of an official document yet. The document also contains a particular time perspective, from 2005 until 2008, during which concrete measures are proposed to be taken by the Russian government on the further integration of the citizenship education into the Russian educational sphere. It is also the only document at present time, which mentions *human rights* and HRE distinctively.

### 4.3.1 National Doctrine of Education

*National Doctrine of Education* is an elaborate explanation of the goals and social and financial side of the educational sphere in Russia. A lot of space is devoted also to the responsibilities of the *State* in the field of education. It is mentioned in the documents that the strategy goals of education are closely bound up with the problems of development of the Russian society in general. The main challenges the Russian society is facing today are:

- to overcome social and economic crisis as well as to provide the higher living standards and national security
- to restore status of Russia in the world community as the greatest State in the field of education, culture, science, high technologies and economy
- to form the basis for stable social and economic and cultural development of Russia.

(National Doctrine: 2002<sup>11</sup>)

*Education* is defined in the document as the field of accumulation of skills and knowledge, which forms the most favourable conditions for revealing and developing of creative abilities of every Russian citizen. Besides *cultivating diligence* and *high moral standards* education is destined to provide:

- historical interaction between generations; reservation, dissimulation and development of national culture
- upbringing of patriots of Russia, citizens of legal, democratic and social State, who respect personal rights and freedom and have high moral standards
- diverse and timely development of children and youth, forming of the skills of selfeducation and self-realization
- forming of integral world outlook and modern scientific ideology, development of the culture of interethnic relations in children and youth
- systematic renovation of all the aspects of education, which would reflect changes in the sphere of education, economics, science, engineering and technology
- life-long continuing education
- different types and kinds of educational institutions and variety of educational programmes which would secure individualization of education
- interaction between levels and grades of education
- development of distant education, working out of programmes for realization of IT in education
- academic mobility of students
- development of national traditions in the work with gifted children and youth, participation of pedagogical staff in scientific activity
- training of highly educated and highly qualified specialists capable of being professionally advanced and mobile in the time of society informatization and development of new technologies
- ecological education which is destined to form careful treat of the nature

(*National Doctrine: 2002*<sup>12</sup>)

There are many state obligations concerning *education* that are declared in the document. Some of them, related to HRE, are included in the presentation. Thus, in the field of education the *State* is obliged to provide:

- forming in the social consciousness the attitude towards education as the greatest value of citizen, society and State
- cultivation of high moral standards and respect for law in young generation
- harmonization of national and ethnic relations
- preservation and support of ethnic originality of citizens of Russian Federation, and humanitarian traditions of their culture

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Document without pagination, page 1 in print-out.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Web document without pagination, page 2 in print-out

- preservation of languages and culture of the small peoples of Russian Federation
- support for various forms of self-organization of trainees being themselves as integral part of the system of education; forming of civil legal culture of the youth
- integration of Russian system of education into the world educational system taking into account national experience and traditions

(National Doctrine: 2002<sup>13</sup>)

## 4.3.2 Conception of the Modernisation (...)

The document of the Russian Ministry of Education, *Conception of the Modernization of the Russian Education for the period until 2010*, is a plan of activities aiming at the reforming the educational system in Russia according to the global and local changes in political and social spheres. The document was released to implementation in 2002 and consists of two big parts. The first part is devoted to the role of education in the process of development of the Russian society. The latter is defined as the transformational society towards democratic and legal state (Conception: 2002<sup>14</sup>). The second part of the document declares the priorities of the Russian educational policy.

The transformational processes that influence not only Russia but the whole world and lead to reforming of the educational systems are the following:

- rapid development of societies, widening of a political and social choices that makes people be ready and competent to make a choice;
- transition to post-industrial, information society; mutual influence of different cultures as its consequence that requires more flexibility and tolerance;
- emergence of the global problems that can only be solved by the cooperated international community; this demands a modern way of thinking from the youth (Conception: 2002<sup>15</sup>)

It is also stated that the economic and social inequality in the Russian society is a huge problem that results in unequal access to education. The modernization of the educational sector is therefore defined as a political task, not only the inner task of the Russian Ministry of Education.

In the *paragraph 1.2* of the document, school is called an important factor of humanisation of the socio-economical relations. A developing society needs educated, moral, smart and

<sup>14</sup> Web document without pagination, page 2 in print-out, my translation

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Web document without pagination, page 2-3 in print-out

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Document without pagination, page 2 in print-out, my translation

flexible people; people who are able to make decisions on their own and who feel responsibility for their own homeland (Conception: 2002<sup>16</sup>). Education's potential resources therefore are to be fully used for consolidation of the society, preservation of the wholeness of the socio-cultural space of the country, overcoming of ethnic conflicts by giving priority to human rights, equality of national cultures and confessions. (Conception: 2002<sup>17</sup>)

Paragraph 1.3 gives a short description of the contemporary state of the Russian system of education. Among other things, it is being admitted that while political and social changes at the end of the 80s- beginning of the 90s made a remarkable impact on the education in the form of decentralization, academic freedom, appearance of private educational institutions and various curriculum programs; social and economical difficulties of the 90s have slowed down these reform processes. The contemporary curriculum in Russia is out of date and overloaded, and does not provide pupils with fundamental knowledge that is important in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Knowledge that is decisive for the modern century is mathematics and IT, Russian and foreign languages, the humanities and social sciences, particularly economics, history and law (Conception: 2002).

Under *Priorities of the educational policy*, in the *paragraph 2.2*, the reformation of school as an institution is discussed. School is seen as a place where not only a transferring of knowledge is happening but also the development of one's personality, searching and learning skills. At the same time, it is being mentioned that the process of *vospitanie* [*upbringing*] should be emphasized in education:

(...) upbringing is a part of the pedagogical activity that is integrated into the whole process of learning and development. Its tasks are to form a civil responsibility and legal mentality in the pupils, aspects of culture and spirituality, initiative taking, self-efficiency, tolerance, ability to successful socialization in the society and adaptation to labour market (...) (Conception: 2002<sup>18</sup>)

### 4.3.3 Pamfilova-document

As mentioned earlier, the *Pamfilova*- document is a proposal of the state programme *Citizenship education of the Russian Federation population*. The program has the time perspective from 2005 till 2008, and is aimed at establishing appropriate conditions for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Document without pagination, page 3 in print-out, my translation

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Document without pagination, page 3 in print-out, my translation

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Document without pagination, page 9 in print-out, my translation

strengthening the democratic basis of the Russian society and state, as well as developing a legal state and a civil society.

Education aimed at bringing up the democratic citizenship is defined as a *life-long process* of transferring of knowledge and skills in order to:

- to strengthen respect of human rights and basic freedoms; to understand human rights and duties, norms of behaviour and values; ethical and moral standards of the society;
- to achieve an all-round development of human personality and the sense of human dignity
- to contribute to mutual understanding, tolerance, gender equality and friendship between nations, religious and language minorities;
- to guarantee everyone equal possibilities to participate in the life of society based on the principles of democracy and rule of law;
- to build peace, dialogue and peaceful solving of conflict; to achieve consensus;
- to guarantee social justice and sustainable development (Pamfilova- document <sup>19</sup>:2005)

HRE is considered to be a part of the citizenship education in the document, where its goals and methods are also mentioned. Goals of citizenship education as stated in the document are:

- to form legal and human rights culture;
- to form an active, socially competent and skilful personality who knows his/her rights and is capable to protect them (Pamfilova-document<sup>20</sup>: 2005)

As noted in the document, citizenship education is necessary to Russia for the social-economic changes following the break-up of the Soviet Union and the transformation of the Russian Federation to a market economy, social differentiation of society, devaluation of moral values- all this influenced public consciousness of the Russian population in a negative way. Unsatisfactory level of development of the democratic culture and legal knowledge; escalation of national and racial intolerance; religious conflicts; escalation of extremism and xenophobia; political passivity and legal ignorance of the people are the characteristics of the contemporary Russian society. They are the factors that are slowing down the national development and puts national security into danger.

<sup>20</sup> Web document without pagination, page 2 in print-out, my translation

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Web document without pagination, page 1 in print-out, my translation

It is being noted that despite the positive tendencies of the development of the civic education field in Russia, nevertheless the level of:

- a) political and legal culture in Russia
- b) guaranteeing of the human rights and freedoms [also in the educational institutions]
- c) institutions and mechanisms of implementing of the state educational policy in the regions
- d) preparation of the teacher staff and employees of the social sphere
- e) development of the programs on the civic education as integrated into the program of the professional education... is far from sufficient.

(Pamfilova-document<sup>21</sup>: 2005)

Elaborating on the methodology to be used in the citizenship education, it is noted that:

Axiological methods in citizenship education can be realized on the basis of the mutual adaptation of the democratic values and Russian culture, where attention is given to the regional peculiarities and traditions of self-governing. The history of multinational Russia has proved importance of the formation of the following moral values: patriotism, devotion to the homeland, superiority of moral values over material values, magnanimity and empathy, justice, tolerance to other cultures and nationalities (Pamfilova-document<sup>22</sup>: 2005)

Quite a large part of the document is devoted to the description of the citizenship education programs working in Russia. It is mentioned that almost all of them are NGOs initiatives. It is especially two central human rights NGOs, *Memorial* and *Moscow Helsinki Group*, which have achieved systematic level of HRE by constant organization of seminars, camps and courses on human rights. (*Pamfilova*-document<sup>23</sup>: 2005)

# 4.3.4 Summary II: national culture

It is often said that our official publications are full of absurdity. That is not true. They are extremely logical. They have only one thing wrong with them: they contradict reality, but they contain no other contradiction

(Boris Kagarlitsky 1989:246)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Web document without pagination, page 4 in print-out, my translation

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Web document without pagination, page 2 in print-out, my translation

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Web-document without pagination, page 10 in print-out, my translation

All three *Russian* documents presented in the chapter define the contemporary Russia as a country experiencing political and social crises. Nevertheless, only *Pamfilova*- document (4.3.3) elaborates more precisely on history and pre-conditions these crises may have. The latter said to have roots in the times of the Soviet Union break-up and transformation of the social and political systems that this event has brought. The Russian society is described as a society characterized by the devaluation of moral values. Even more, the potential threats to the Russian national security, such as religious conflicts, extremism and xenophobia, are listed in the document as well.

Making up an educational policy during the times of the ongoing social, political and economic crises must be a difficult task, for it can also be complicated by the character of the political power and social traditions in the country. Most likely, difficulties may appear while trying to achieve a compromise between various views on the situation in general, as well as on the role of the education system and its content as influencing this situation. As for the Russian case, the country is in the process of an uncertain transition towards the democratic governance, which population has had little democratic experience; and where the scope of engaging in the educational debates is limited due to the greater focus being given to the more visible aspects of the political and economic affairs (Webber 2000: 16).

Meanwhile, as it follows from the documents (4.3.2), educational reforms are seen as echoing the development of the global society, namely the transition to an *information* society. It may lead then to the necessity of the reconsidering of the curriculum, as well as methods of learning and the administrational mechanisms of the educational institutions. It is noted that the contemporary Russian curriculum is considered to be overloaded and not providing knowledge and skills, necessary for the *new*, 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Reminders about Russia's great past as a leading country in the sphere of culture, science and education are stated quite explicitly in the documents. In the *National Doctrine*, the necessity is even declared about the restoration of the Russia's status as the greatest state in the field of education, culture and science. In order to achieve this goal, the notion of *fundamental knowledge* is mentioned. Meanwhile no detailed elaboration follows as to what *fundamental knowledge* may mean. And what knowledge that is needed for an information society.

*Education* is expected to bring up patriots of Russia and develop national culture. Meanwhile, any detailed information about what characteristics the Russian national culture may have is absent. Vospitanie or upbringing concept resembles the Soviet rhetoric though, when every citizen was supposed to be brought up not only by family, but also in schools and at the places

of work. The idea of *upbringing* has a long tradition in the Russian pedagogical tradition and was quite central in the soviet education. The school has always been considered as an upbringing institution.

The *Pamfilova*-document is the only one so far, witnessing that the notions of HRE are stated explicitly as desirable to be initiated into the Russian educational system. Though HRE is considered to be a part of the citizenship education, the document is the only place, where the necessity of the creation of human rights- and legal cultures is mentioned, also by giving credit for the regions' traditions of self-governing and peculiarities of the local cultures in Russia.

# 5. Russian human rights culture

...in Russia, if you want to understand anything, you have to start with 1917 and even that is not really good enough, you have to go right back to Ivan the Terrible and Vladimir, the first Christian king of Russia...

(Boris Kagarlitsky 1989:351)

Creation of the universal culture of human rights and development of a sense of universal values are the goals HRE pursues, as it was stated earlier in the paper (4.1.1). Meanwhile, it has also been noted that creation of the universal [or global] human rights culture does not presuppose ignoring aspects of the local human rights culture.

What is expected though is a unification of the local and global cultures in their views on the human rights standards. Or, as Reardon (1997) notes, the perspectives of HRE are in the way that human rights standards can be taught as the concepts of dignity and justice that identify and acknowledge social wrongs and cultural faults, and as the guidelines through which societies can conceptualize and pursue cultural change (Reardon 1997: 29). Although the focus on human rights was originally concentrated on the notion of the *individual*, the works of the UN, UNESCO and the Council of Europe accentuate that culture, language and standard ethnic traits are now seen as [necessary] variants of the *universal core of humanness and selfhood* (Markowitz 2004: 334). Consequently, each person is viewed as the bearer of a particular culture, part of a broader collective identity, within the purview of human rights.

Referring to the cultural-sociological approach to HRE (3.5) and the *Pamfilova*- document (4.3.3), where raising peoples' awareness of the need to build a culture based on the human rights principles and values is stated; further an attempt will be made to answer the second research sub-question: *What are the key characteristics of the Russian human rights culture?* Russian human rights culture will be analyzed by looking at the following aspects: *mentality* (5.1), *legal mentality* (5.2) and *values* (5.3).

As noted in the epigraph, one has to look back into the history, consult philosophy and literature in order to understand the way people think and behave today. Due to the limits of the paper, there is little possibility to go long back into Russian history, and therefore the analysis of the Russian human rights culture is made mainly in the comparative perspective with the Soviet Union /1917-1991/, as the main period of *homo soveticus* <sup>24</sup> existence and the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> The term describing a soviet man, used for the first time by the Russian sociologist, Aleksandr Zinovjev (1922-2006)

formation of an attitude to *human rights* as such. A small reference to the Russian philosophical thought (5.4) will be made as well.

## 5.1 Mentality: Russian or Soviet?

Society has not just a head, but also a soul, and when the soul has changed, then the body will be transformed as well.

(Louis Blanc, French politician)

It might fairly be asked whether it is possible to generalize about Russian mentality at all, remembering that there are more than a hundred different nationalities living all over the territory of the modern Russian Federation, possessing their own languages and cultural traditions. The question would be quite relevant and at the same time be a subject of a broad and heated discussion. Looking back on the realities of the Soviet Union, characterized by the propagation of friendship among nations and having resulted in the superiority of the Russian language and culture, it may also be stated that the Soviet Union has become quite a homogeneous society at the end, the society of *comrades*.

There is no physical possibility here to elaborate on the peculiarities of every culture that are represented in Russia today. Collapse of the Soviet Union gave birth to their identification, but Moscow as a centre, and its traditional influence on the regions has never been challenged though <sup>25</sup> (Muzykantsky 2005: 8). Russia still remains quite a centralized country, also concerning decision-making. Several authors note a sacred image of the authorities people in Russia have, which has hardly ever challenged (Yakovenko in Muzykantsky: 2005, Voskresenskaya: 1994). Despite its reputation for unpredictability, Russia is in fact a remarkably conservative nation, whose mentality and behaviour changes slowly, if at all, over time, regardless of the regime in power (Pipes: 2004).

Yakovenko (2005), the contemporary Russian sociologist, distinguishes in his theory the following features of the Russian mentality: *syncretism, Manichaeism, insularism*, and a *split cultural identity* (Yakovenko in Muzykantsky 2005: 8).

Syncretism, is such a state of a society and culture that is characterized by the fusion and blending of their elements. Yakovenko (2005) writes:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> The statement can be challenged by the conflict in Chechnya as a possible example of the Chechen opposition to the Russian state, and central government in Moscow in particular.

In a syncretic society, knowledge about the world- the norms of behaviour, literature, religion, abilities and skills- exist in an aggregate, non-discrete form. The entire history of mankind is a continual process that works toward the fragmentation of primary syncretism (ibid. 8).

In the case with Russian mentality, it fixes the level that has been achieved in the fragmentation of *syncretism* as final, obstructing its further fragmentation (ibid. 9). As one of the possible consequences of such a fragmentation is the tempo of the development of the civil society in Russia. Civil society initiatives, usually grass root initiative, imply a diversity of self-governing bodies or very fragmentary parts, where the initiative might belong to a single individual. Muzykantsky (2005), on the contrary, notes that *syncretism*, which also allows viewing the world in its wholeness, not as fragments, may happen play a positive role in the coming age of globalisation (Muzykantsky 2005: 15).

Manichaeism, the second feature of the Russian mentality, is quite peculiar in seeing the world as:

(...) arena of the eternal struggle between two forces- light and darkness, good and evil. In this struggle there are "them" and "us". "Us" are always on the side of light, while "them" are on the side of darkness. A Manichee always needs an "enemy", real or imaginary. Enemies may also be ideological opponents or business competitors (Yakovenko in Muzykantsky 2005: 10).

*Manichaeism* makes the world in a way a simpler place to live for it depicts it as divided into definite camps, *friends* and *foes*. The global reality of today is a more complex system of the interconnections, movements and flows of information that do not promise a long life to such a simplification of the world. While discussing the contradictory self-image of Russia, Pipes (2004) depicts it as an image of two minds, existing in parallel. On the one side, a great past, and on the other, fear for an unpredictable future. He writes:

When asked, without reference to other nations, how they feel about themselves and their country, Russians brims with pride. They mention their "dramatic history, rich culture, friendships, honesty (...) They especially like to boast of their victory in the World War II and of their leadership in space exploration (...) and consider themselves to possess the greatest capacity for friendship of any nation in the world (...) picture changes radically when they are asked to think of themselves in relation to other nations (...). Having lost its sense of national identity after 1991, Russia is struggling to create a new one based on a blend of tsarism, communism and Stalinism. (...) people's identification with strong governments, at home and abroad, is a central part of this effort. And a "strong government" means military prowess that foreigners will respect or just fear (...) Russians still see themselves as surrounded by foes. (Pipes: 2004)

Such a contradiction *us* and *them* was indeed intensified in the times of the Soviet Union, when the global picture as divided into two aliening parts had reached its culmination. Muckles (1990) gives an interesting example of a soviet textbook, coloured by propaganda, but showing what learning meant for several generations in the soviet Russia:

Unlike people living under socialism who are products of a collective society, people in the West are brought up in a dog-eat-dog society disguised under the mask of "a society of free individuals". Individualism, encouraged by centuries of capitalist existence cripples human beings and alienates them from one another. The sick bourgeois society breeds non-communication and mutual distrust among people, indifference to and disregard for one's fellowmen. The philosophy of individualism (...) leads to misunderstanding between the young and the old, widens the generation gap, contributes to the break-up of families with the children often left to their own devices and the parents often doomed to loneliness and misery at an old age (Muckle 1990:96).

Emphasizing the securitization of identity in Russia, Morozov (2002) notes that Russia today quite often finds itself in defensive isolation from the outside world, feeling insecure in the face of what is usually described as Western geopolitical and cultural expansion (Morozov 2002: 409). The world is taking on an Manichean image where values of Good and Evil are confronting each other, and where the good nations and civilizations are struggling to defend their historical freedom from the marching of Westernization (Morozov 2002: 415).

The third feature of the Russian mentality, *insularism*, is related to *who cares*- attitude, which may result in such social complexes as decadence and depression, and which:

(...) posits the real world as wallowing in vice, while all attempts to rectify and improve the situation are doomed to failure (...) nothing will work anyway since the world is hopeless (Yakovenko in Muzykantsky 2005: 10).

Lester (1995) argues that passiveness of the Russian population is quite understandable and connects it with the aftermath of the post-communist transformation, when most of the citizens were to expend their energies on maintaining a basic everyday survival (Lester 1995: 40).

The last feature, *split cultural identity*, is based on different systems of values and the absence of a dialogue between them, only monologues (ibid. 11). The statement about different systems of values leads far back into the history of Russia. The prominent Russian cultural theorist, *Grigory Pomerants*, describes the Russian culture as a *crossroads culture* (Pomerants 2000: 215, my translation). In order to understand the Russian culture, it is necessary to remember some aspects that have influenced it. These aspects are Byzantium [its ranking

system]; the huge Steppe: pre-Mongolian, Mongolian and Tatar [wildness and autocracy]; and the West [longing for personal freedom] (ibid. 215-216). To understand the *problem* of Russia, it is necessary to remember that Russia is:

a) a crossroads culture; b) a westernized culture; c) a culture that has experienced three brutal destructions: Tartar-Mongol, Europeization and Sovietization; d) a culture of inclinations to periodical collapses; e) a cultural onion, which can only exist in its whole, complete form (ibid. 216).

## 5.2 Legal mentality

There are two possible ways to look at the legal mentality, or attitude to law. On the one side, it may be seen as citizens' attitude to law: to what extent citizens are law-abiding and to what extent they respect and trust the law. On the other side, how citizens are being treated by the law: whether it is impartial or not.

The first view has to do with knowledge of laws by the citizens, and their belief or assuredness that they will be treated fairly by the law system. Here the cultural aspect is present implicitly, for attitude to law is being formed during the history of the country, its traditions and development characteristics. It is difficult to know whether it is unbelief in the law impartiality that leads to the bad treatment of citizens by the law system; or is it the law system due to its long traditions of corruption and bureaucratization that causes people to doubt that the treatment by law can be just. The intention here is not to analyze the functioning of the *law* as an instrument regulating the societal life, but sooner its cultural aspects in the form of the attitude and respect to law or the absence of it from the side of ordinary people.

Gabidullin (2005) suggests the following principles of international law as criteria to see the quality of the functioning of a law system in a country:

- high level of the legal knowledge in the population
- high level of the civil activity
- independence of the judicial authorities
- impartiality of judicial authorities
- equality of citizens in front of law
- priority of law
- priority of human rights and basic freedoms
- citizens' respect to the law and court system (Gabidulin 2005: 53, my translation).

Two of them, equality of citizens in front of law and citizens' respect to the law and court system, have cultural dimension. The reality of the Soviet Union may be quite decisive here, also in order to understand more fully the features of the Russian mentality, described earlier.

On one side, impartiality of law and the equal treatment by law were guaranteed by the soviet constitution. On the other side, Soviet Union, a one-political- party- authoritarian state had been the structure where a peculiar social stratum, *nomenclature*, was created. *Nomenclature* was the bureaucrats who had leading positions on different levels: local, regional and state authorities. These people had enormous privileges, both material and social (Kryshtanovskaya 1996: 715). They were also called *apparatchiks* and membership in the ruling communist party was obligatory for them. The development of the nomenclature system has achieved its culmination during *the Brezhnev*<sup>26</sup> *period* by getting the two biggest privileges: considerable material privileges and immunity from prosecution (Gabidulin 2005: 57, my translation).

Decades of the nomenclature's privileged position did have its impacts on the legal mentality of people in their viewing of the court and law system, not as being impartial, but selective in its treatment of the citizens. Such a situation has caused a legal nihilism and contempt for the law, the court system, and the police. Gabidulin (2005) calls it a *quasi-legal mentality*, where officially the priority of law was stated, but everybody was sure of the statement's falsehood (Gabidulin 2005: 59, my translation).

Rusakova (1999) observes a *specific* interpretation of the notion *rights*. *Rights and responsibilities* were translated as *prava i objazannosti* [*rights and obligations*] into Russian. The consequences of such a translation were the misunderstood meaning of the *rights* by the Soviet people. They thought they had to deserve their rights: so, they were obliged to serve the *State*, behave properly, as good Soviet people ought to, in order to get the right to go to work or to get educated (Rusakova: 1999, my translation). Such an interpretation could also have resulted in the lack by soviet people of inner responsibility, and a responsibility for ones own decisions and deeds.

In the quite extensive research on *Soviet society*, Slapentokh (1989) notes that a *good* Soviet citizen is expected to be ready to work long hours or weekends, even if it brings the loss of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Ruler of the Soviet Union from 1964 to 1982

income. (S)he was also expected to watch the behavior of the members of the collective and take an active part in meetings, criticizing *wrong* people (Slapentokh 1989:26-29).

### 5.3 Values

...Russian society is the first known example of a cynical society...

(Cornelius Castoriadis 1993: 288)

Yasin (2005) describes the ongoing change of values in Russia as a diffusion of the old [Soviet] values into the *new* values (Yasin: 2005a, my translation). It is difficult to generalize about this transformation. To make an attempt to understand what it is like, it might be necessary and useful to clarify what values were the values of the Soviet society.

### 5.3.1 Soviet background

The Soviet Union is known to have been quite a generous state in the sense of providing citizens with social welfare services. Housing, kindergartens, holiday leaves were available for a minimum fee and were guaranteed as long as one had a job. At the same time, there were no jobless people in the Soviet Union. Although one could do quite a meaningless job receiving an average wage for it, this was not a big problem as far as he/she was a part of a *collective*. There was a collective duty, a collective conscience and a collective work. It brought to the surface a collective moral as the only possible, where collective was understood both as caring for the interests of a group/ community and as a combination of the national, collective and personal interests. The ideal Soviet individual completely identifies himself or herself with Soviet society and the current political regime and always regards social interests as much more important than individual (Slapentokh 1989: 19).

### Slapentokh (1989) writes:

The majority of city residents lived in communal apartments(...) The behaviour and values spawned by communal apartments fit very well into collectivistic ideology and strongly affected the mentality of the Soviet people. They greatly contributed to the feeling that life without privacy<sup>27</sup> was normal (ibid. 181).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> There is no word for *privacy* in the Russian language

Meanwhile what happened, was that soviet people had found out after a while that diligent and conscientious work for official goals was not rewarded as much as the abuse of their position in public sectors for personal interests, or their activity in the second [black] economy. The result of this discovery was the strong deviation of real Soviet life from the official model: the Soviet people had developed a mentality that allowed them to ignore public interests and to absorb themselves in private or illegal activity in their workplace, while preserving a surface allegiance to the Soviet system (ibid. 13).

Functioning of the soviet society as grounded on profound lies, in the reality was an *antisociety* (Waage 1990: 229). People had to pretend in private, with their families and friends that they were loyal to [soviet] politics, while concealing their black market deals, apartment exchanges, tricks to help them get into a hospital or a higher school (Slapentokh 1989: 159).

Slapentokh (1989) concludes that a Soviet citizen has existed in two parallel worlds, as an *ideal* Soviet citizen and as a *good* Soviet citizen (Slapentokh 1989:22). The difference between them lies in the viewing of individual interests. An ideal Soviet citizen would exist in order to give himself/herself away to the interests of the state *only*. A good soviet citizen was the one who was achieving his/her interests through conscientious work for the state, and not through illegal or semi-legal activities (ibid. 23).

Though the value of the collective and being a part of a collective goes a long way back into the Russian history, to  $mir^{28}$  (Figes: 2002), the reality of the Soviet Union may be seen as a strengthening factor of the prevalence of the collective values over the individual interests. The Soviet state became the definer of the boundaries of in-group membership, of the norms and values governing the behaviour of its members, and of their rights. In such an integrated social system, individual rights and obligations are reciprocal; they are operative within the context of the state as a social collectivity (Pollis 1992: 150-151).

# 5.3.2 *Human rights* – European ideal, not Russian?

The historically proven alliance of Russia and collective morality gives birth also to the debate as to whether *human rights*, first of all as rights of a single individual, can be sown on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Mir can be translated both by world and a community, and meant the decisions made by the whole village in Russia, thus the whole community participated in the decision-making process. The Russian reshit vsem mirom is equivalent to the decided by all together

the Russian soil. The Russian philosopher Nikolay Berdyaev (2004) notes that Russia does not define itself as East, and therefore contradistinguishes itself to the West. Meanwhile, Russia must be viewed both as West, and as East-West, a meeting point of the two worlds (Berdyaev 2004: 290, my translation). The discussion about the origins of Russia, *eastern* or *western*, spills over into the discussion of human rights in general; and to their appropriateness to the Russian cultural context in particular. The many-centuried contradiction between *Westernizers* and *Slavophiles*, two different literal, philosophical and political traditions, may also be considered as a debate about individual freedom and collective [traditional] morals<sup>29</sup>. The fact of the recent appearance of the alternative to the UDHR *Declaration on Human rights and dignity* initiated and adopted by the Russian Orthodox Church in March 2006, witnesses that this contradiction is far from reaching any compromises.<sup>30</sup>

The examples of the arguments of the modern *Slavophiles* [neo-Slavophiles], advocating the uniqueness of the Russian civilization, may be the following:

The Western civilization, politically and economically dominant in the world, works as a reductionist system, decreasing the socio-cultural and life-building diversity of the world in course of the all-pervading westernization. The very concept of Westernization presupposes the existence of one and the only subject of history- the West (...)(Panarin in Morozov 2002: 415)

or

Vigorous imposition of the values of the Western civilization in Russia (...) is able to seriously hamper the development of the national self-awareness of the Russian citizens and presents a threat to the national security of Russia as a self-sufficient state, a separate superb civilization (Kharichkin in Morozov 2002: 419).

It is important to note here that the Russian civilization is being opposed to the Western civilization and regarded as needing a protection from the harmful western influence.

At the same time, the Soviet Union gave birth to the *dissident movement*. Dissidents can be viewed as modern *Westernizers* [neo-Westernizers], having reacted first of all on the unfairness of the treatment of a single individual by the *State*. The Nobel Prize winner, human rights activist and dissident, *Andrey Sakharov*, has regarded the *closeness of the society* as the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> More information about Westernizers –Slavophiles' contradiction on the views of the Russian culture in Russian philosophy. Vol. 1: The beginnings of Russian philosophy. The Slavophiles, the Westernizers. Chicago, 1965

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Declaration on Human rights and dignity, appealing that the true Russian moral standards and values do exist

biggest disadvantage and danger for development. Pointing out to the soviet government its ignorance of the problems with *human rights* and therefore disregard for progress and security of mankind, Sakharov wrote in 1972:

I still emphasize the importance of the democratization of society, development of glasnost' and pluralism, the rule of law and guarantee of human rights (...) Our society is infected with apathy, hypocrisy, egoism and hidden brutality (...) Alcoholism, the sign of moral degradation of the society, has reached the size of a national catastrophe. For moral recovering of the country, the liquidation of the conditions leading people to the hypocrisy and causing the feelings of own powerlessness, frustration and disappointment, is needed (Sakharov 1991: 59-60, my translation).

The impact made on the democratic development is important here. For, if to consider the reality of the Soviet Union as the part of the Russian civilization as well, the question then appears as to what is to be preserved from the influence of the Western civilization. Sakharov's successor, Sergey Kovalev <sup>31</sup> (2005), challenges the trustworthiness of the statement that human rights discourse is coming to Russia from the West, as a Western-phenomenon:

On the contrary, it has its own roots in the Russian traditions. During the Soviet Union, in the country behind the iron curtain, there was not much communication with the West, so that there is no need to overestimate the role of the western ideas in the creation of the legal mentality in Russia. UDHR was first printed as samizdat<sup>32</sup> and was passed from hands to hands under the danger of confiscation and punishment if found (Kovalev in Gabidulin 2005: 69).

It is noteworthy, that Donelly (1982) does not deny the fact that human rights are indeed an artefact of modern Western civilization. Nevertheless, he refers to the possible confusion of the terms *human rights* and *human dignity*. For, the notion of *human dignity* is central to the non-western cultural traditions and human rights are a device to realize and protect human dignity (Donelly 1982: 303). It can be therefore implied that both, the Russian and Western civilizations are aimed at the protection of human dignity, but understand its protection mechanism *human rights* in somewhat different ways.

 $^{32}$  Circulation of uncensored writings in typescript. Very spread way to get touch in *forbidden* books, texts in the Soviet Union.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> The first Human Rights Ombudsman in Russia. Human rights -legend, spent 10 years in Gulag.

## 5.4 Nikolay Berdyaev: paradoxes of the Russian character

The prominent Russian philosopher, *Nikolay Berdyaev* (1874-1948), assured that Russia cannot be cured and raised from the ashes with the help of political means only. What is needed in addition is the revival of the Russian character (Berdyaev 2004: 270, my translation).

The belief that Russia is predestined to rebirth is central in Berdyaev's philosophy. While elaborating on the *Russian soul*, he viewed the role of the latter as seen in convergence with the Western values and virtues of the Western character. Russia is still remaining a transcendental country for a cultivated Western man, Berdyaev (2004) writes, attracting by its mysticism the first day and pushing away by its barbarity the other (ibid. 272). By analyzing attitudes of the Russian people to the state, nationality and freedom, he points out paradoxes, which also can be viewed as dichotomies.

Table 3: *Paradoxes of the Russian character* 

Attitude to state	Anarchist, anti-state Anti- bureaucratic	Most bureaucratic
Attitude to nationality	Very anti- nationalistic  Nationalism- alien to "Russian soul"	Most nationalistic country in the world
Attitude to freedom	The Russian is a wanderer = Absolute freedom	Extreme servility Obedience

Attitude to state: Russia is the anti-state county, and Russians are the most apolitical people. In this sense, the representatives of the Russian intelligentsia have always been the leading anarchists, the bearers of the progressive thought, often suffering for the idea of creating a fair society.

Everything that has with the State to do is positivist and rational, while the Russian soul wants authority chosen by God (...)Russian people do not want a free state, and freedom within the state, but freedom from the state(...) State is "they", not "us", both Russian radicals and conservatives have been thinking this way (...) (Berdyaev 2004: 274, my translation).

The paradox is that Russia in reality is the most bureaucratized country. Bureaucracy had developed into a tremendous giant organism and spread itself everywhere, touching every side

of the life of a human being. Berdyaev indicates that bureaucracy had to be developed for the state had to be strong, in order to attack and get new territories, or in order to defend itself from the invaders:

Everything becomes politics in Russia. The imperium has been created. Individuality was smashed by the giant sizes of the state that put people into a suppressive and apathetic state of being. No power left for a free creative life, everything is given to the protection of the State and its boundaries. (ibid. 276)

Attitude to nationality: Berdyaev notes that on the one side,

Russia is not a chauvinistic country at all. Nationalism or national pride is something that is very alien to the Russian character. Russian intelligentsia has always pursued only over-national ideals. No matter how banal and cosmopolite as they might be, the over-national spirit of the Russian people was reflected in them (ibid. 278).

On the other side,

Russia is the most nationalistic country in the world, with enormous extent of russification of the other nationalities, that made Russia a Holy Rus'(...) church nationalism is almost without any boundaries(...) (ibid. 278).

Attitude to freedom: Russians are described by Berdyaev as eternal wanderers, searching all the time for an absolute truth, and means, by which the world can be rescued:

Russia is a country of a boundless freedom of spirit, country of wanderers and seekers for God-given truth. Russia is far from bourgeois country, where the narrow bourgeois interests, which the West is characterised with, are both absent and unacceptable (Berdyaev 2004: 281).

The paradox is then in the extreme servility and obedience of the Russians. Boundless freedom slides over into boundless slavery; eternal wandering into permanent stagnation. Berdayev claims:

Russia is a country where the notion of human rights is absent, A country, characterized by inert conservatism, is not defending human rights,. All social classes: the nobility, merchants, peasants, bureaucrats, all of them either do not want or are afraid to go forward; preferring to stay back, be like everybody else. Everywhere individuality is suppressed by the organic collective (ibid. 283-284).

Russia has never learnt from Europe what is necessary and what is good, and never got acquainted with the Western culture. It has either submitted itself to it, or simply neglected it completely (ibid. 285).

Burbank (1989) finds Berdyaev's views of Russian culture to be profoundly critical. By defining the Russian people, both the masses and the intelligentsia, as suffering from a *sickness of the moral consciousness*, Berdyaev viewed them as unable to lead a disciplined, responsible and honourable way of life. Refusal to take an individualistic perspective on one's life is the central problem of the Russian character:

I see the sickness of the Russian moral consciousness above all in the denial of personal moral discipline, in the weak development of a sense of duty and a sense of honor, in the absence of consciousness of the moral value of a range of personal qualities (Berdyaev in Burbank 1989: 198).

The two following factors: absence of chivalry and the influence of Russian orthodoxy were decisive in contributing to the passivity of people in Russia. They also resulted in the inadequate development of an individualistic ethic and the lack of self-discipline that inclined Russians to accept the authority of others (Berdyaev in Burbank 1989: 203). Thus, by referring to the mentioned earlier notion of the Russian civilization, it can be stated, that its conservatism and the appreciation of the value of a collective, could result in the absence of the individual perspective on *human rights* as values.

## 5.5 Summary: ambivalence about human rights

Theoretical background and implications presented in the chapter is a necessary basis in order to understand a slow integration of the *individual* aspect of the notion *human rights* into the Russian culture, and mentality. Features of the Russian mentality as well as the peculiarities of Russia's history are necessary to be taken into account, when discussing human rights as *new* values for Russia. The emphasis on the value of every individual is new for Russia and people there, used to respect the collective and collectiveness.

View on human rights as collective versus individual values, finds its expression in the ongoing contradiction, *Slavophiles* versus *Westernizers*, which also has long tradition in Russia. It gives then birth to the further speculations about the origin of *human rights*, which because of their emphasis on the value of the individual should be considered as Western values, and therefore alien to Russia.

Still, culture and *values* aspect can, by no means, be treated as static. Most likely they are in the process of a constant transformation, being the consequences of the changes on the local [national], as well as on the global [international] level. The question then may appear as to

how the change of values is being communicated? Where the *new* values' appearance may be visible? Thus, the *educational* sphere can be considered as one of the *places*, where the change of values may be observable. That is the material for the next chapter.

# 6. Pedagogical tradition: from Soviet to Russian

School and university curricula are one of the costumes which the state adopts to disguise itself as a nation.

/Coulby 1997: 31/

The educational system in Russia remains being quite a centralized system, with common examination dates for the whole country and more or less common curriculum. Nevertheless, process of the transformation is happening as well, as the traditions of soviet education, though persisting to a big extent, are in the process of the adjusting not only to the situation inside Russia, buy to the new global reality as well. As mentioned earlier, the process of change in values cannot be considered as finished, for it happens simultaneously with the change of the political structure.

Hypothesis III (2.2) suggests a connection between HRE integration and Russian pedagogical tradition. In this chapter, therefore, the focus is made on the pedagogical tradition's change (6.1) in Russia as influenced by the process of change in values, mentioned above. Besides, such questions as creation of an atmosphere of participation in school (6.2), the teachers' role (6.2.1) and school organisational culture (6.4) will be also raised here. At the end of the chapter an illustration of the HRE project (6.5) in one of the Russia's regions will be given, followed by the views of the Russian HRE experts. All these issues are thought to bring answers to the sub-question 3 of the present paper: What is the connection between the Russian pedagogical tradition and HRE like?

# 6.1 Values in the soviet education. Change.

...all of Soviet ideology and education have been geared over the decades to bring up obedient and conformist people to resort to lying as a means of survival in a world where free and critical thought was persecuted...(Slapentokh 1989: 159)

Voskresenskaya (1994) writes that the process of developing a Soviet man with no nationality began approximately in the beginning of the 1930s (Voskresenskaya 1994: 209). This aim has be achieved first of all by the reduction of the number of languages of instruction, and diminishing the possibility to get education in one's native language as its consequence. If in 1934 the number of the languages of instruction was at its peak, being 104, by the year 1984 it fell down to 46, and to 39 in 1988 (Kuzmin in Voskresenskaya 1994: 209). The polytechnic dimension of the soviet pedagogy became more and more actual in the era of *Kruschev*, in the 1960s, when by prioritizing the natural sciences, the various forms of labour training entered

into the timetable in order to get more motivated young skilled workers (Dunstan 1992:5). The Russian educationist Boris Gershinsky (1994) describes the soviet educational reality in the following way:

For decades we were speaking about the all-round development of some abstract, invented by socialist theorists, without paying attention to each concrete individual as a unique personality.(...) Polytechnic turned into a certain set of pieces of knowledge and activities imposed on each (...) person without differentiating between people's dissimilar motivations, interests and abilities (...)

(Gershinsky in Voskresenskaya 1994: 217)

The discussion concerning the goal of the soviet education, an all-round development of the child<sup>33</sup>, reached its culmination soon after perestroika [was] started in 1985 and had the form of debates between the *innovators* and the *traditionalists* inside the *Akademija Pedagogicheskix Nauk* [Russian Academy of Pedagogical Science] (Sutherland 1992: 15). Traditionalists continued to insist on the possibility of all-round or polytechnic development of children. Innovators were the initiators of the alternative pedagogical methodologies and techniques, as more suitable for the changed situation in the country. They mainly criticized the character of the soviet polytechnic education for being rigid and doctrinal, as well as pursuing an unrealistic and idealistic goal: to teach every child everything (Sutherland 1992: 15). Excessive centralization in the curriculum has led to sameness in the schools, too many subjects, overloading of syllabuses and of pupils, fragmentation, and technocratic orientation (Muckle 1992: 59).

In 1988 it was officially decided about the change of Soviet pedagogy and admission of the right of all the innovative methodologies that have appeared so far, to function openly. Among the demands for pedagogy to change, was the complete renewal of Soviet education by putting the emphasis on much greater individuality, creativity and cooperation between teachers and pupils (Sutherland 1992: 14). In a way, it was a comeback to the *Russian* pedagogical traditions, such as revival of *Lev Vygotsky's* works on psychology and socialization of children, which had been banned in the Soviet Union.

Followed several years later, the *Law on Education*, proclaimed the humanistic nature of education, priority of general human values, human life and free personal development as the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> The Communist Party programme described the ideal Soviet individual as "the all-round developed, socially active personality which combines spiritual richness, moral purity, and physical perfection" (Slapentokh 1989: 19)

core principles of the educational policy (Mazurek: 2000, Webber: 2000). Among the goals<sup>34</sup> stated in that Law, it is the following three: *deideologization, humanisation and humanitarisation*, which can clarify the situation with the change of values in Russia.

Deideologization was about exclusion of the possibility of promoting one ideological viewpoint at the expense of the others. Farewell to the communist past when all the textbooks were full of communist ideals was the central idea of deideologization of education. The second goal, *humanisation*, put a greater emphasis on the needs of the individual on the one side and improvement of teacher-pupil relations on the other. What relationship concerns, a reconsideration of the roles a teacher and a pupil had in the soviet school was to be looked at. A soviet teacher had the role of a strict sage, whilst a pupil that of a passive recipient of his or her wisdom. *Humanitarisation* was about giving more attention and place to the humanities in the curriculum, as well as reforming their propagandist character (Webber 2000: 32-44).

Considerable changes were also made in the school curriculum in the perestroika period. Thus, the new subject *grazhdanovedenie*<sup>35</sup> [*civic studies*] was introduced. In 1989 the term *human rights* appeared in the school textbooks for the first time, which was primarily discussed as a correlation of rights and duties (Voskresenskaya 1994: 213). At the present time, civic studies are the part of the school curriculum in Russia. Quite a broad subject, it covers all questions related to the functioning of a society: political, social, economical and legal. In average one academic hour per week is given to this subject in the Russian schools today (Civics).

### 6.2 School ethos

...HRE is a matter of experience and awareness rather than a question of teaching a "subject" (Rey 1991: 135)

Human rights in classes are not only about the education in school, but about a way of life of a school. It is being pointed out that HRE not only pervades extracurricular activities, but it also

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> They are 6 central goals as defined in the Law on Education, which came into force in 1992: decentralisation and regionalisation: democratisation, deideologization, differentiation/ diversification; humanisation and humanitarisation. More information is available in Webber (2000) "School, reform and society in the new Russia"; Sutherland (1992) "Perestroika in the soviet general school: from innovation to independence?"; Mazurek (2000) "Education in a global society. A comparative perspective"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> *Grazhdanovedenie* [civics] as a subject started during perestroika is what *obschestvoznanie* and *obschestvovedenie* [knowledge about society] is today.

has its own *hidden curriculum*, which is ethos and organisational culture of school (Tarrow 1992: 24; Osler 2005: 12).

The notion of the school ethos is important to look at for two reasons. The first reason is that the school as a democratic environment, including its organizational structure and atmosphere of communication, is a necessary basis where human rights culture can be planted and cultivated. A democratic environment presupposes a horizontal organizational structure where the voices of different interest-groups are represented. Ideally, a contact would be established between school administration, teaching staff, pupils and their parents. In this sense, such an innovation as *Ustav shkoly* [*School statutes*] introduced first in 1995 (Webber 2000: 78) is a perfect opportunity for schools to make up their own rules concerning life of the school in general.

School as democratic environment is important not only for a *successful* functioning of a school as a knowledge-based organisation, but also as a socializing institution. Discussing the pedagogical ideal, Kemp (2005) applies what he calls the *pedagogical hermeneutic*: a person forms himself/herself as an ethical individual while he/she is being formed by the others. The *Self* that the pedagogical hermeneutic implies is a communicative unity where the *Self* interprets itself and the others. Entrance into this unity happens via discipline and socialization, where a child with the help of language takes on the views of the others, as well as norms and values and thus becomes a socialized *Self*. A socialized *Self* is identical with yourself not only as an object, but also as a person one becomes by communicating with others (Kemp 2005: 230, my translation).

School atmosphere is the result of the combined actions of all parts of a local community. Its clue lies in the team nature of the school. Staff, pupils/ students, their parents and the wider community are all partners in the enterprise, creating an educational environment based on the human rights principles. It may well be appropriate for schools to work with NGOs which can provide information, case-studies and first-hand experiences of successful campaigns for human rights and dignity (Tarrow 1992: 49). Such an educational environment would be an example of respect for human dignity, similarities and differences and universal values.

Creating and sustaining a climate [that] is built upon small, everyday interactions among teachers, staff, students, and administration would contribute to the creation of a human rights ethos in which students [would] feel valued, respected and involved (Flowers & Shiman 1997: 166). In the *Pedagogy of Freedom* Paulo Freire (1998) writes about the necessity of showing respect for the autonomy of the student, no matter if she/he is a child, youth or an adult:

The teacher who does not respect the student's curiosity in its diverse aesthetic, linguistic, and syntactical expressions; who uses irony to put down legitimate questioning; who is not respectfully present in the educational experience of the student, transgresses fundamental ethical principles of the human condition (Freire 1998: 59).

In order to be successful in it, Freire (1998) suggests teachers using one sure mean, *common sense*, or good sense, as he calls it in the text:

It serves no purpose, except to irritate and demoralize the student, for me to talk about democracy and freedom and at the same time act with the arrogance of a know-all (...) it's my good sense in the first place that leads me to suspect that the school, which is the space in which both teachers and students are the subjects of education, cannot abstract itself from the socio-cultural and economic conditions of its students, their families, and their communities (...) (Freire 1998: 61-62).

Analyzing any practice in the light of *common sense* would help a teacher decide on the dilemma of authoritarianism. And by allowing the theory not to be very different from practice is the guarantee for him/her to be coherent.

HRE contributing to the creation of the democratic environment and atmosphere of participation in school does not have to be a separate subject in a school curriculum. It would rather infiltrate such courses and programmes as social studies, music, art, literature, language, philosophy, ethics, history, geography, economics and political science; and extracurricular activities. So that the entire school ethos becomes a part of the *human rights curriculum* (Tarrow 1992: 28).

For HRE, as demanding a multidisciplinary approach, understanding and cooperation between several teachers, would be very desirable (Best 1991: 120). It would touch then every dimension of the human experience. Concepts such as justice, responsibility, conflict, equality, liberty and freedom are neither discipline nor age-specific. Therefore there is no educational reason to confine their study to social studies or any other single subject area. HRE should be introduced into curriculum in a variety of content areas and should utilize the different resources and perspectives available in the school (Shiman 1991: 190). No matter what style of leadership in a school may be an open communication, consultations and debates are very much desirable. Otherwise, statements of values are likely to be followed more in theory than in practice.

#### 6.3 Role of teacher

Since there is still no clear objective standard for what constitutes a qualified HRE trainer (Tibbitts: 2002), it does not seem wise to discuss what qualities a HRE trainer should possess. There is neither national nor international certificate that could clarify the competencies of the HRE educators (ibid. 2002). That is in fact quite logical.

As pointed out earlier, HRE cannot but be bound to the context, political and cultural; as well as dependent on the target groups if its methodology, content and means of learning to be discussed. Flowers & Shiman (1997) argue that prospective teachers need to engage in philosophical and practical discourse that challenge them to consider the human rights dimension of almost every aspect of the teaching enterprise. This process will affect why one teaches, what one teaches, and how one teaches (Flowers & Shiman 1997: 162).

As it follows from the cultural-sociological approach to HRE (table 1), lawyers, educators, social scientists and development worker can be involved into the HRE activity. Nevertheless, by following consequently the discussion about the necessity of creating a democratic environment as a frame for HRE, it is possible to elaborate on expectations from the school teachers in fulfilling their job.

Implying that the democratic atmosphere in a school is a guarantee of the HRE success, the role of the teacher and his/her qualities is also to be changed. In this sense Freire's *Pedagogy of Freedom* has many useful critical aspects.

Freire (1998) notes that teaching is not just transferring knowledge; knowledge is to be constructed, where both a student and a teacher are active participants in the construction process:

The construction of knowledge (...) of the object to be known implies the exercise of curiosity in its critical capacity to distance itself from the object, to observe it, to delimit it, to divide it up, to close in on it, to approach it methodically, to make comparisons, to ask questions (Freire 1998: 80).

Teaching also requires curiosity, which is to be dragged out pupils:

There is also a certain kind of greed, an almost unbridled lust for giving orders, which creates negative reactions and a totally incompatible climate for the exercise of true authority. This kind of rigid giving or orders elicits no creativity at all from the student. It does not consider the student as having a taste for adventure (ibid. 86).

Curiosity is the central factor to get a wish to discover reality, intervene with it, reflect on it and may be even try to change it. Skills of reflection can be equated with the capacity to think in general, to be able to elaborate on things and events. To make people learn to think, that is the most necessary skill one needs to be able to function in a society (Arendt: 1998).

Such views on the learning process presuppose thus an active participation in it, and not only mechanical memorization of the facts being given. It also goes without saying that the passive lecture format is to be kept to a minimum in this case. Instead, participants should be engaged in a variety of active methods: small group projects, one-on-one discussions and interviews, an active learning situations where teachers, like their pupils, are out of their chairs and physically involved in problem solving and self-expression (Flowers & Shiman 1997: 167).

Perhaps the main achievement of the soviet pedagogy was the high status of a teacher, as a representative of the *intelligentsia*. It has also created a high moral where the teachers were regarded as national heroes. Though such a high status was somewhat diminishing already in the 1960's, there was nevertheless something particular about the teacher profession (Voskresenskaya 1994: 206). A teacher was undoubtedly an instance of the final truth and undoubted wisdom. At the same time, a teacher in the Soviet Union was expected to suppress his/her individuality and sacrifice it in order to satisfy the system's desire for commonality (Webber 2000: 95).

What the Russian school needs is a *new* type of teacher, a *pedagog*, who is capable of reacting to the educational needs of his or her pupils, and drawing on a range of pedagogical skills, to replace the traditional *uschitel-ispolnitel*' [teacher- executive], who saw his or her task as the transmission of knowledge according to curriculum (Webber 2000: 148).

Perestroika was a period that brought reconsideration of the mode of relationship between teachers/lecturers and pupils/students. The appeal to the progressive pedagogical approach is obvious in the *Pedagogika sotrudnichestva* [*The Pedagogy of Cooperation*]<sup>36</sup>, where new methods and relationships, based on cooperation and trust between all participants of the learning process, were supposed to replace the methods of compulsion the Soviet education

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Pedagogika sotrudnichestva [Pedagogy of cooperation] is the brightest example of a child-centred, progressive and new for the Russian educational system methodology. The initiation of the Pedagogy of cooperation was made on the pages of Uchitelskaya gazeta [Teachers' newspaper], perhaps the only arena that has provided a forum for teachers to discuss various pedagogical approaches. It is still playing big role today. Also, developed during the perestroika period idea of avtorskaya shkola [author school] was an experimental approach based on the principles of the pedagogy of cooperation.

was characterised with (Webber 2000: 23; Dunstan 1992: 81). Nevertheless, a lot is still to be done in this area. As experience in Russia shows, a teacher's wish is far from enough, though it is a decisive factor, of course.

# 6.4 Organisational culture of school

"School...from a prison-like institution to the temple of kindness" (Eduard Dneprov, Russian Minister of Education, 1990-92)

There is another aspect worthy of attention, namely the organizational culture of a school. Change to a horizontal structure from the vertical [hierarchical], which is still common to the contemporary Russian reality, is necessary, for it will cause the change of the communication mechanisms in schools as well. What is needed in Russia is a more democratic culture of an organization, Yasin (2005) notes, where teacher can use more variation, creativity in building up their own methods of presenting material; and give opportunities to the pupils to express their opinions too. Only in this case, fear and *slave mentality* can be expected to vanish and give space to open dialogue (Yasin: 2005b).

There is nevertheless another side of the coin. As Lawton (2000) fairly notes, school systems tend to be adversarial, and therefore very strong and resistant to change. Schools are very complex systems and to change them you have to get to know their culture. It is no use seeing unconnected parts (Lawton 2000: 27). The complexity of the school as an organization can also be seen in the varieties of views and values that collide on the school arena that demand from the teachers to use their interpersonal skills (Flowers & Shiman 1997: 164).

Hargreaves (2000) differentiates between two types of school cultures: *formal* and *welfarist*. In a *formal* school, life is orderly, scheduled and disciplined. No time is wasted, home work regularly set and marked, tests are frequent, expectations are high while tolerance for those who do not live up to them is low. With high pressure to achieve learning goals the social cohesion between staff and students is weak. A *welfarist* school is quite opposite. Atmosphere is relaxed and cosy, relations between teachers and students are informal and friendly, work pressure is rather low and academic goals are easily neglected in favour of social cohesion goals (Hargreaves in Lawton 2000: 29). The question is then what type of school would be a perfect place for HRE to function best. The question is not easy to answer, and there is hardly only one answer possible. Being multidisciplinary by nature and advocating the development

of the social and intellectual skills, HRE would feel more comfortable in a *welfarist* school. Still, a synthesis of these two types could have been a perfect solution perhaps.

These days the most part of the HRE projects happen either as a form of non-formal education, or in the schools more close to *welfarist* type. As Meintjes (1997) points out it is not necessary a disadvantage. His arguments for preferring the non-formal type of education at this stage are the following: 1) educators do not have to confront the obstacle of having to adapt their pedagogy to the goals and methods of formal education; 2) a multidisciplinary approach is possible in which knowledge may be drawn from the fields of history, philosophy, sociology, law, politics, economics, anthropology, etc.; 3) target groups may be organized in accordance with their specific needs and interests; 4) more freedom in curriculum; 5) can easily be adapted to the social and economical environments the target groups are coming from (Meintjes 1997: 76).

# 6.5 Murmansk- project: illustration of HRE in Russia

Taking into consideration the fact that the school may be an organisation quite resistant to change, an illustration of the HRE project, taken place outside the formal school will be presented further. As mentioned the *Pamfilova*- document (4.3.3), majority of the HRE projects taking place in Russia today are results of cooperation between Russian/ foreign NGOs and particular teachers, more rarely local authorities. The project to be presented further is no exception in this sense. It is a co-project of a foreign [Norwegian] NGO and the Murmansk regional educational authorities.

Under the name *human rights school* the project has been a 9-days-course during which ten participants from Norway and ten from Russia were to get acquainted with each other by participating in the discussions, games, role plays, drama and other activities. The participants were the 12-14 years old schoolchildren. Beside the two representatives of the NGO, two teachers from the Norwegian side and two teachers from the Russian side <sup>37</sup> have also participated in the project.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Teachers participating are originally from *gymnasium*, an educational institution in Russia with the learning process is divided into specialisations: the humanities, natural science, law. Usually on the basis of the formal school. They teach history in the gymnasium, and give *human rights lessons* in the local *Dom Tvorchestva [House of creativity]*, a public

Having revealed the decisive role the climate in the school can play (6.2), and the importance of the democratic environment as a school basis, the main interest is to find out what the participants of the project miss in their schools and what expectations they have to the present HRE project.

The main conclusions I can draw from my own observations of this project is the atmosphere of openness and friendliness learning process was conducted in. The participants especially seemed to like the relaxed manner of communication and learning. A usual *human rights school's* day began with a song or a game to get participants awakened and start their day. The learning tools used were short lectures, presenting material and followed by discussions. Some shyness was evident during the discussions, especially during the first days, but became considerably less with days passing. At the fourth and fifth days of the *school* there were heated debates and active participation in the discussions.

It seemed that such a free and relaxed atmosphere of learning allowing quite a free behaviour was especially liked by the *Russian* participants, perhaps due to the fact that discipline and *sitting straight with you back* still is quite usual in the Russian schools. Here, there was a feeling that they appreciated the possibility to be heard and be taken seriously. As one of the pupils told:

At first, you are feeling shy and awkward and do not dare to ask. We are not used to it (...) but after a while this shyness disappears (...)(a participant, my translation).

I find the expectations (appendix 2) from the *school* and from their own participation, written down by the participants, to be quite an interesting material and worthy to be attached to the present analysis. These expectations finally were collected on a placard on the wall, as that to be available during the whole period of *school*. Here they are collected in the following table:

Table 4: Participants' expectations<sup>38</sup>

#### Expectations from school Expectations from myself & others to learn how to get out from a conflict to learn to express yourself and not fear to situation in a right way be/ seem stupid to learn more about my rights so that to be to learn about myself and to share able to define when I am right/wrong knowledge with others to learn something new, something I do not expect support, understanding and common decision of a problem know about to learn more about Norway from the to learn how to understand, accept and be citizens of this country tolerant to learn to communicate with other people we are Norwegians or Russians, but we are (mentioned 3 times) together to learn about human rights so that I can want to find new friend have my own opinion expect to open myself, to use my potentials to learn how to use human rights want to understand another culture, other expect new knowledge people to learn how human rights are protected in want to feel at ease with the people I do not know, not to fear to learn about HR in other countries want to be active and try to express my opinions

As it is seen in the table, expecting *something new, new knowledge and new ideas* together with *to learn to communicate with other people* and *use own communication skills* are the most often mentioned expectations from the human rights school. It may consequently be interpreted in the following way:

- a) General knowledge about human rights; perhaps also their history, significance and mechanisms of their protection are topics of interest and curiosity for the participants;
- b) Emphasis on the usage of the communication skills might mean that participants miss or lack their practice at schools or lessons.

Cairns (2000) notes, that the school curriculum is just one aspect of the education. Everybody would acknowledge the central role teachers play. What is important then is the time available for teachers to carry out their functions, which not only include contact with their pupils but

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Only Russian participants' expectations are taken here

also a range of administrative demanding duties (Cairns 2000: 8). The lack of time that could be used for discussions and group work may be an especially acute problem when the educational system is quite centralized: ruled by the common curriculum, with a definite amount of time to be spent on concrete subjects.

*Russian* teachers explained their interest to the project by the lack of possibilities for discussions in their usual working situation at the school, and by general interest to the topic of *human rights*. They noted that:

Discussions concerning human rights and the situation with the human rights go parallel with the main program of obschestvoznanie [knowledge about society], usually as an additional lesson. That is because of the lack of time to have any discussion during the ordinary classes. In the ordinary class there is hardly enough time to give theoretical material; role games and group-works are rare (...) To prepare pupils for final exams is a time-consuming process, so that there is not so much time left to discuss things, or refresh the already discussed material.

(Teacher 1, my translation)

On the one side we are very short of time to bring the syllabus through, on the other side there is a genuine wish to be able to listen to every pupil. We see also that pupils are not afraid and indeed eager to express their opinions. We nevertheless try not to give only one "right" explanations or versions of an event, no matter if it is the revolution of 1917 or the World War II, but to bring as many arguments and versions as possible into the representation. We thereby avoid a situation where a teacher's version is the only one valid (...) Pupils are still dependent on their teachers: teachers are to be shown respect to and not everyone dares to argue with a teacher.

(Teacher 2, my translation)

Discussing the perspectives of HRE in the Russian educational system, it was mentioned that:

First of all, it is the knowledge about human rights that is to be given. Skills how to use the mechanisms of their protection are important too. (...) but knowledge and skills form a synthesis: an individual needs both, knowledge and skills, to make his/her civil position clear.

(Teacher 1, my translation)

The modern Russian curriculum is very academic. Like it was in soviet times. Little has changed. A positive thing is that a teacher has more freedom today in choosing methodology and running his/her own style in teaching to the degree it is possible. In fact there are no restrictions to it. There is not so much paper work today, comparing with the soviet times of writing all the reports and plans of the lessons(...) now we do not have to write the plans of the lessons and follow them blindly.

(Teacher 2, my translation)

Human rights lessons <sup>39</sup> are usually being conducted outside the school, in the Dom tvorchestva [House of creativity] <sup>40</sup>. Emphasizing the lack of the approval or support to the teachers' initiatives to arrange HRE activities from the side of the school <sup>41</sup> administration, teachers noted the following:

Pupils who attend human rights lessons become aware about their rights, and often, back to school, they try to defend themselves from teachers' unacceptable attitudes or insults. This is what not all the teachers like though. Administrations of schools are far from being positive to this too, arguing that an established order in school is being disturbed.

(Teacher 1, my translation)

The process of integration of HRE has also another, practical side. Namely, the number of *old* teachers in the schools, who have been working since the Soviet times, and continuing working today according to the write-plan-of-the-lesson rules, prevail. These teachers have more difficulties to change their visions and improvise during the learning process. *Young* teachers prefer not to work in schools after graduation because of the low wages, hardly sufficient to sustain their families.

Sharing their view on the image of the future Russian citizen there was no doubt expressed as to what skill he/she has to possess:

The image of the future Russian citizen, as we see it, presupposes the following skills: first of all, professionalism and competence in the chosen field of activity. Secondly (s)he would be an active citizen and a very moral person; and hopefully protected by law, we hope. It is important today to teach children to think on their own, to help them understand the importance of placing themselves into another's' shoes. This will make them both competitive and flexible.

(Teacher 2, my translation)

# 6.5.1 Experts' views.

Having found out more or less how *human rights* are understood in the educational process by the pupils and the teachers, it seems necessary to have a look at the experts' views. Their view on the tendencies of the Russian education in general, and HRE's place in it, in particular. By

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Include also such subjects as peaceful conflict-resolving, tolerance and multiculturalism.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> In every town in Russia there is *a Dom tvorchestva*, an institution where various arrangements are being organised for children and school pupils

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> it is common to say *school* about *gymnasium*.

experts are meant here those, who actively work with HRE in one of the central human rights NGOs in Russia. Two of them are teachers by profession, and also active participants in the public debates concerning educational issues.

Admitting that there *are* some central tendencies of change in the content of the Russian education, the experts gave extra importance to the following moments. One of the recent educational events is the comeback of NVP<sup>42</sup> subject to the school curriculum. The subject was common during the soviet times, aiming at the learning about the history of the Russian army, but also presupposing participation of the male pupils in marching and singing military songs. Elaborating on the eventual consequences of the not a new innovation it has been noted that:

There is a tendency of the increasing militarization of schools, expressed in the comeback of the NVP subject in 2002. Is there any potential danger here? In my view, this subject contributes to the formation of the mentality of obedience and creates an atmosphere of the military upbringing in schools. There is also a danger of the agitation having a military-patriotic character. The elements of ideology and military consciousness are also in it.

(Expert 1)

The second tendency, defined by the experts, is *patriotism*. It echoes the expectation of education to contribute to the creation of a national culture, expressed in the Russian educational policy documents (4.3.1). It has been mentioned that together with the existing *state program* <sup>43</sup> on health in education, there exists a state program on the patriotic upbringing <sup>44</sup> of the Russian citizens. There is no state program on HRE though. Experts say:

About patriotism (...) it is especially interesting to discuss the history subject in schools. The thing is that it is still the particular image of Russia that is being created there, an image of the country-winner. An extra impact is made on the victories that have been in the history of Russia, so that the feeling of pride for the homeland and its history to be aroused among pupils (...) Is it that dangerous? The point is that pupils get only precise and factual information, an interpretation about a historical event, but do not necessarily get the opportunity to debate an event, its possible reasons and consequences it had brought. (...) also images of enemies are being created by emphasizing the Russia's greatness.

(Expert 1)

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> NVP /Nachalnaja Voennaj Podgotovka or Basic military training. The discussion about its comeback as an obligatory subject to school is lasting in the Russian Duma (Parliament) from the July 2005.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> State programs are the projects prioritizing a peculiar side of the education, like health, patriotism, sport and meaning that the priority of financing will be given to the projects connected to these aspects.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> State program on patriotic upbringing of the citizens of the Russian Federation for years 2006-2010 is the continuation of the same program for years 2001-2005, available at <a href="http://www.ed.gov.ru/files/materials/1641/full\_version.doc">http://www.ed.gov.ru/files/materials/1641/full\_version.doc</a>

Patriotism (...) one illustrative example: school-graduates<sup>45</sup> are offered to choose the following topic when writing their final exam in composition: Ljublju li ja svoju Otchiznu?[Do I love my homeland?] (...) The chronology of the development of the patriotic dimension of the education is the following: from 1991 on we were speaking about the liberalism and pluralism (...) and got back to the literature syllabus the writers and poets banned during the Soviet times (...) approximately since 1997 we [in Russia] began speak about the necessity of the patriotic upbringing and education (...) and around year 2000 this discussion has become quite concrete and intense. (...) Today the following ideal type is being cultivated: an ideal of the Russian officer from the tsar times: true orthodox Christian, patriot, who loves and believes in his homeland.

(Expert 2)

The latest trend penetrating the Russian school system is religion. Having been a secularised society for more than seventy years, the situation is developing in the following way today, according to the experts' views:

Today (...) there are regions in Russia where Osnovy pravoslavnoj kultury 46 [The basics of orthodox culturel is the reality. The introduction of this subject in the schools began as an additional course in 2002 and met protests first of all from the part of the parents. The course was not obligatory then. Today the picture is somewhat different. The subject is being viewed as a mean to go back to the true Russian values that are first of all to be found in the Russian orthodox religion and becomes especially relevant in the contemporary search for a national idea.(...) Any danger here? Well, firstly, Russia is a secular state, where the state is separated from the church. Secondly, even not all ethnical Russians are Christian, not speaking of the numerous nationalities living side by side in Russia (...) and lastly Russia has inherited an atheistic state from the Soviet Union that makes comeback of religion into schools to be a quite sensitive and controversial matter (...) A way out here? Today the regions have quite a big freedom to make decisions. So, I hope that the decisions made by the local authorities will pay attention to the cultural peculiarities, and will be based on the common sense first of all.

(Expert 1)

What religion in schools concerns, I see that it goes usually like an additional and not obligatory lesson, but the point is that this lesson may be put between, the 1st lesson, e.g. Russian language and 3<sup>rd</sup> lesson, e.g. mathematics; and pupils are not allowed to leave the school/ class because the teacher is responsible for them, so that pupils have to go to the class anyway.

(Expert 2)

<sup>45</sup> The 11<sup>th</sup> grade of the comprehensive school

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Osnovy pravoslavnoj kultury is the obligatory subject at school from the 1<sup>st</sup> September 2006 in 4 regions of Russia: Belgorod, Kaluga, Brjansk, Smolensk. In 11 regions it is an additional course, not obligatory to attend. More information at: http://www.pravoslavie.ru/news/060830164738

The state religion is the Orthodox Christianity (...) and therefore the state, supported by the Russian church insists on the initiation of the course in the schools by using the argument that the majority of population is ethnic Russians. But not all Russians are necessary Christian. (...)On the other side, to celebrate Halloween is also forbidden because of the prevalence of bad spirits in this holiday (...)

(Expert 3)

What the tempos of HRE integration concerns, it varies from region to region in Russia. Network between NGOs organising projects and public is still missing to a big extent. Regions are being prescribed an important role in working out materials and cooperating with the educational institutions at places. Still, the big NGOs operate often in Moscow and St Petersburg. It is here the methodological centres are located. Noticing the role of HRE *liberating minds* some practical problems HRE projects meet today have been discussed as well. Thus:

The positive aspect today is that parents begin to be more interested in what is going on in schools. Consequently, they are also interested in what is being taught to their children. This leads to the situation where parents become a decisive actor in numerous situations, more influential than, let's say, the Ministry of Education, or a school administration.

(Expert 2)

Well, HRE in Russia today is mostly in the form of seminars. Though fewer seminars are organised these days due to the lack of financial support (...), but the interest of teachers to such seminars is obvious. Frankly speaking, education today is an activity area for enthusiasts, who regard working in the educational sphere as a mission (...), for the financial award for the pedagogical work in the today's Russia is in fact humiliatingly small.

I think the formation of critical thinking in the pupils is a central issue today. Teachers are freer today in comparison with the previous times. Still, the problem is that quite often a teacher stays alone in his/her region, without support from colleagues or school administration. Teachers also lack network. (...) Very often the HRE seminars happen in the Doma tvorchestva [Houses of creativity], not in schools, and audiences are often very mixed: pupils, teachers, journalists (...), but they are real enthusiasts, those who initiate these seminars and discussions.

(...) besides, the situation with HRE varies a lot from region to region. For example, in Chechnya and Ingushetia, regions with serious political situation, HRE initiatives are more intensive. It looks like initiatives of teachers to discuss human rights appear mostly in the regions where there are NGOs working with the human rights, for they could get support and consultation from these organisations. This is a positive factor. It is usual for people to go to advocates with their every day troubles, today they come to "human rights teachers" as well, to get advice and help.

Cooperation between centre and the regions is not very well-developed. The reason is a lack of financing. Internet is a central device to keep contact, but it happens also that we have to write letters in some regions, where there is no access to internet, or

its functioning may be slow and therefore expensive for teachers (...). Telephone remains to be the most usual way of communication for us today. It is important for us to keep on, for such communication is a big moral support to teachers. Usually one of our consultants in the centre has contact with 10-20 teachers who need help with material and methodologies.

There is no practical support from the government or Ministry. Help is coming from abroad, like (...) e.g. Amnesty Int. textbook "Street Law", but this material needs to be adapted to the Russian reality (...). What is also necessary is an increased use of information technologies in schools and universities. It is important for teachers to keep themselves updated.

(Expert 3)

# 6.6 Summary: humanization of pedagogical tradition

As it follows from the present chapter *Law on Education* has played a decisive role in the transformation of the polytechnic character of education to the humanist. Perestroika can be viewed as the beginning of process of values change education is supposed to bring. Comeback of the humanities and an urge to get rid of ideology resulted in the appearance of various pedagogical methods and *alternative schools*, like gymnasiums and lyceums.

School statues, an innovation in Russian schools from 1995 on, can play a positive role, concerning the freedom of decision-making by school administrations. It can also help schools to become a part of local community, attracting parents and local NGOs to join the formation process of the educational activity.

Though the character of the learning process still remains quite *soviet*, or dogmatic, the changes, the new reality brings, influence school life as well. HRE in this sense is one of the aspects of the new reality. It is coming at the moment, when other innovative subjects are coming into Russian schools, like NVP and orthodox culture. Having a humanist nature, HRE can bring the values of open and equal participation in, in order to make school as a socializing institution.

In Russia today HRE is happening at the NGO level mostly. Still, this can by no means be seen as a loss. For experience NGOs gain in the HRE field can contribute to their more active activity in the communities, on the local/regional level. As Spring (2004) claims, human rights NGOs are contributing to the educational work of building a morality and rules of conduct for a global civil society. They can be said as helping to spin a web of morality around the actions of nation-states and a global civil society (Spring 2004: 98).

# 7. Conclusions

To observe that life is absurd is not an end, bur a beginning

/Albert Camus/

HRE has been analyzed here from the cultural-sociological perspective, which emphasizes the creation of the human rights culture as an ultimate goal of HRE. The intention of the present paper has been to explore the role HRE plays in the modern Russian context. To state for sure what this role may be, is a quite difficult, if not impossible task. Still, some characteristics of this role based on the research questions' findings of this paper are possible to make.

#### 7.1 Conclusion 1

When addressing the first sub-question: *To what extent HRE is integrated into the Russian educational policy?*, it has been found out that the emphasis in the main Russian educational documents is made on the creation of *national* culture, where patriotic dimension of education is pointed out as important. This makes it possible to say that Russia is very alive as a national state.

As it also follows from the Russian documents, the development of the Russian society and its educational sphere is seen as going in parallel with the development of the global society. The document on citizenship education emphasizes the necessity of the development of a sense of universal values, and creation of the human rights culture. This fact allows me to state that Russia does not view itself as an isolated island, but as a part of the contemporary global world, characterized with the increasing focus on *human rights* issues. On the one side, the unofficial status of the document proposing HRE makes it difficult to view HRE as integrated into the Russian educational policy.

On the other side, the fact that such a document exists as a proposal to the Ministry of Education and the Russian Parliament, makes it possible to suppose that it will be taken into consideration by these institutions. Then, HRE may become one of the future educational priorities and bring Russia closer to the *global world*. (fig.4)

Figure 4: Conclusion 1



### 7.2 Conclusion 2

When investigating the second sub-question What are the key characteristics of the Russian human rights culture? ambivalence about human rights as values has been found. Viewing human rights first of all as collective values strengthened by the Soviet experience, the consideration of human rights as belonging to every single individual is quite new to Russia, and people living there. Besides, it has been found out that the contradiction: collective (East/true Russian) versus individual (West) values has a long tradition in Russia in the form of Slavophiles versus Westernizers contradiction. During the soviet times it has got the form of communists versus dissidents contradiction. Today, it is neo-Slavophiles versus neo-Westernizers.

Therefore, based on the findings and theoretical implications, it is possible to place Russian human rights culture in the middle of the axis (fig. 5), with equal distance to national state and global world. The main reason for such a placement will be the ambivalence about *human rights* as values. Views on *human rights* as collective values and as individual are both present in the modern Russian human rights discourse; though the *collective* view is prevailing today. By placing Russian human rights culture in the middle of the axis; I nevertheless imply that the possibilities for this culture to develop either in the direction closer national state [or *Slavophiles*] or to global world [or *Westernizers*] are equal.

Figure 5: Conclusion 2



The characteristics of the Russian human rights culture and the way *human rights* are being understood in Russia are important factors. For, they have potential to explain the tempos and extent of HRE's integration into the educational policy.

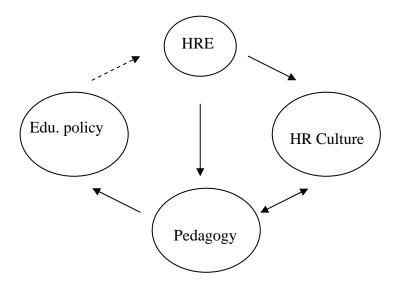
## 7.3 Conclusion 3

By investigating the third sub-question: What is the connection between the Russian pedagogical tradition and HRE?, it has been found that HRE and the values it brings can be considered as coinciding with the process of humanisation of the Russian pedagogical tradition. The process of humanisation has begun during perestroika as a logical consequence of abandonment of the communist ideology. What is happening now is the process of change of values, where a *child* becomes the centre of the educational process. It also brings the transformation of modes of learning, from doctrinal to *active learning*.

HRE has all the possibilities to play a role here as well. For, as a new tendency, penetrating the school, it is coming to the Russian education simultaneously with the religious and military aspects. Here I see a renewed form of contradiction: *Slavophiles* [religion] versus *Westernizers* [HRE], advocating *true Russian* versus *universal* values accordingly. This contradiction may be projected on a more general macro-level: national state versus global world.

Thus, as I see, HRE may play the *role* of a *critical power* that can, on the one side, bring Russian pedagogical tradition further in its *humanisation* process, by putting emphasis on the active participation in the learning process and on the school as a democratic environment. HRE may play the *role of a contributor* to the change of Russian human rights culture, by adding the value of the *individual* to the Russian traditional respect to the value of the collective. And, if HRE affects Russian pedagogical tradition and Russian human rights culture, it may cause a more active integration of HRE into the educational policy of Russia, which, in its turn, may give more attention to HRE in the state educational policy (fig.6)

Figure 6: Conclusion 3



Summing up and answering the main research question: What role does HRE play in the modern Russia?

I can say that HRE, due to its poor integration into the Russian educational policy at the present stage, *may* play a role in the modern Russian context, but in its several dimensions, dependent on the *stakeholders* or groups, being interested in the HRE's initiation to Russia.

These main potential interest-groups or *stakeholders*, for whom HRE may play a *role*, can be considered to be:

- The Russian society [macro-level] and an individual, the Russian citizen [micro-level]:

The Russian society is seen as *interested* in getting a possibility to develop itself into a pluralistic and democratic society. The Russian citizen, when adjusting to the *new* realities [Russian and global] *may* appear [by discovering HRE] to be interested in the revival of the *liberally educated* intelligentsia, the majority of which has been destroyed by the totalitarian Soviet rule [Lenin's & Stalin's Gulag], and the remaining representatives of which have chosen dissident destiny in the communist Soviet Union [1960-80s];

- The Russian *school* [meso-level] and teachers [micro-level]

who may happen to be affected not only by the humanist character of HRE's content, but also by its methodology: *active learning*; respected position of a *child* and his/her social and cognitive creative potentials in the centre of the learning process;

- The Russian state [macro-level] and the Ministry of Education [meso-level].

Still, only as a long-term perspective. For, in case Ministry of Education, consisting of people, *products* of the changed by HRE *school* and *society*, may appear to be interested in the further integration of HRE into the educational policy. Then, it is the political and bureaucratic aspects that should be paid attention to, for they can be decisive factors concerning policy initiation and implementation.

#### 7.4 Ideas for further studies

Following the Yin's definition (2.1) of the exploratory case study as a study bringing ideas for possible future research, some of the ideas will be outlined here. The main disadvantage of HRE, as a broad and vague field, can also be its main advantage. For, it gives many possibilities to discover different dimensions of HRE. I find the framework for HRE analysis through its three dimensions, legal, political and cultural-sociological, very interesting. And the following research problems deserve, in my opinion, future scientific investigations, also as related to HRE and the Russian context:

1) The political/ideological approach to HRE suggests an interesting view on *human rights* as a communication tool between the *State* and the *individual*. Taking the Russian context as a basis, a comparative historical analysis is possible in order to investigate the traditional (hierarchical) mode of this relationship and the one proposed by human rights discourse.

Russia, defined by some scholars<sup>47</sup> as having a post-imperial syndrome, has been historically quite an oppressive State, demanding obedience and devotion from its citizens. What can make people understand and *admit* that they are oppressed, on the one side; and, on the other side, what can make the *State* to believe that *human rights* are not about rhetoric, but are quite

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Russian ethnopologist Emil Pain discusses post-imperial syndrome in the terms of preserving imperial body, consciousness and order. More information available in *Russia in global affairs*, n.2 (April-June 2005)

concrete values and standards of the *political behaviour* also. The issues of state responsibility and creation/ functioning of the civil society are then the matters to be addressed.

2) The creation of the civil society is in fact an *old* discussion. Still, quite relevant to Russia. An interesting peculiarity of the Russian civil society debate is that, the discussion is mainly about what the civil society *is*? And not, *whether it exists* in Russia today. This is a sign that apriori knowledge about the notions of *civil society* and *democracy* are needed. Also, in order to avoid the contemporary way of building the civil society in Russia as an initiative coming from the government [up- down] and not vice versa [as grass root initiatives]. Contribution of HRE would be crucial in this sense, also as defining *empowerment* as one of its goals.

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# 9. Appendix

Appendix 1: Interview guide

#### Questions to the teachers:

- How do you understand HRE?
- What are the perspectives of HRE in Russia?
- Is HRE different from the civic studies? What is difference?
- Is HRE necessary for the Russian curriculum? Why?
- How did you begin to work with HRE?
- Is it difficult to change from the Soviet way of teaching to "active learning"?
- Do you present UDHR to your pupils? How?
- What is your relationship with the school administration?
- How do you see the future Russian citizen?
- What rights do you think are more important for Russia, political or social?

## Questions to the HRE expets:

- What are the perspectives of HRE in Russia?
- Who is the target-group for HRE in Russia? Why?
- What potential do regions have in HRE initiation?
- How do you work with the regions?
- What is HRE methodology for the Russian context?
- Is HRE necessary to be part of the Russian curriculum? Why?
- Should HRE be a separate subject at school?
- What are the tendencies of the development of the Russian curriculum?
- Do you cooperate with the foreign HR NGOs? How?

#### Appendix 2: Participants' expectations (Russian version)

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