

Morality for kids in cultural and historical measurements: patterns, translated by primary school textbooks and their transformation in the post-Soviet period*

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ABSTRACT: The article is aimed at searching for principles of cross-cultural comparison of moral systems. We accept anthropologically oriented approach, and undertake the study of the moral guidelines that the Russian society translates to the younger generations. Comparative analysis of the Soviet and post-Soviet textbooks have revealed both quantitative and qualitative changes in the moral standards, appraisements and judgments to be translated to children: the representativity of individualizing moral foundations expands, while the representativity of those 'working on the benefit of group' shrinks. Translators of moral standards in the Soviet period had a generalized nature: a large, stable social community – the Soviet people, the state – are represented in this role in the soviet textbooks. In the post-Soviet period the situation has changed: the function of moral socialization performed by more personalized subjects – a small group, family.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Primers; Spelling; Language Teaching; Textbook; Moral Education; Social Perception; USSR; Russia; XX-XXI Centuries.

Introduction

As evident from the results of questionings, the morals of the Russian society and quality of interpersonal relationships are now the «pain spots» of mass

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consciousness¹. Are there any reasons for panics and accusations against family, mass media and, of course, school, or does the problem lie in the fact that the importance of morality, as such, is the same, but the change of the basic moral standards is perceived as the moral insanity by bearers of different moral standards?

Moral systems of different cultures and different historical epochs are essentially distinguished, and at times involve quite opposite principles and ideas. However, they may have universal components: cooperativeness (mutual aid), loyalty, respect for the power, control of sexuality, etc. What does make possible the formation of these universals, and set the stage for the distinctions?

Tackling this question is complicated by the undeniable fact that the moral psychology, as well as psychology in general, has taken roots in Western culture. The works by J. Piaget, L. Kohlberg and G. Rest concerned with development of moral consciousness and behaviour of an individual in accordance with the moral standards are classics of the moral psychology². Such orientation towards the values of Western culture resulted in the narrowing of the field of such moral issues as «Care/harm» and «Fairness/cheating»³. Cross-cultural differences that were discovered later⁴ made the researchers to abandon the Universalist approach and turned their attention to the moral guidelines peculiar to different cultures.

Based on the review of anthropological publications, Jonathan Haidt supplemented two 'classical' aspects with three aspects that draw our attention to the ideas of Durkheim that morality is largely concerned with the unification of people in society. These three criteria of morality – «Loyalty/betrayal», «Authority/subversion», and «Sanctity/degradation» – are opposed to two individualizing principles or foundations («Care/harm» and «Fairness/cheating») which generate virtues and practices that protect people from each

¹ A.V. Yurevich, D.V. Ushakov, *Nravstvennost v sovremennoy Rossii*, «Psihologicheskie issledovaniya: elektron. nauch. zhurn», vol. 1, n. 3, 2009, <<http://psystudy.ru/index.php/num/2009n1-3/41-yurevich3.html>>, in Russian (last access: December 28th, 2013).

² L. Kohlberg, *Essays on moral development: Vol. II. The psychology of moral development*, San Francisco, Harper & Row, 1984; J. Piaget, *Le jugement moral chez l'enfant*, 1932 (English translation: *The Moral Judgment of the Child*, London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co.); J.R. Rest, D. Narvaez, S.J. Thoma, M.J. Bebeau, *A Neo-Kohlbergian approach to morality research*, «Journal of Moral Education», n. 29, 2000, pp. 381-395.

³ J. Haidt, J. Graham, *When morality opposes justice: conservatives have moral intuitions that liberals may not recognize*, «Social Justice Research», n. 20-1, 2007, pp. 98-116.

⁴ G. Fang, F. Fang, M. Keller, W. Edelstein, J. Kehlet, M.A. Bray, *Social moral reasoning in Chinese children: A developmental study*, «Psychology in the Schools», n. 40, 2003, pp. 125-138; J.G. Miller, D.M. Bersoff, *Culture and moral judgment: how are conflicts between justice and interpersonal responsibilities resolved?*, «Journal of Personality and Social Psychology», n. 62, 1992, pp. 541-554; J.G. Miller, D.M. Bersoff, *The role of liking in perceptions of the moral responsibility to help: a cultural perspective*, «Journal of Experimental Social Psychology», n. 34, 1998, pp. 443-469.

other and allow them to live in harmony and act autonomously taking care of their own purposes⁵.

These basic systems can be regarded as ‘training modules’ which are the evolving modular systems that generate a large number of more specific modules which help children to identify patterns of goodness or wickedness valued or condemned in peculiar cultural environment as they come into the culture. Thus, the society establishes the conception of goodness and reproduces it in the process of child rearing.

1. *Organization and methods of research*

The study which findings are presented in this article is aimed at the analysis of the moral guidelines that the Russian society takes as the behavioural ‘criteria’ and translates to the younger generations. We pose the following questions:

1) What kind of moral attitudes are translated to primary school children by textbooks, and what kind of indicators can serve as a good reason to place a particular moral judgment, prescription and appraisement into specific category of ‘moral guidelines’?

2) What changes in the nature of moral foundations to be translated occurred in the first post-Soviet decade, and how, in this connection, has changed the content of primary school textbooks on literary reading?

3) How has changed the relationship between the texts translating different moral foundations in the post-Soviet period (in terms of quality), and how have changed the key images used for such translation?

In searching for the answers, we have analysed teaching material and cultural messages that it contains and that are translated to primary school children by the course of literary reading, which has, perhaps, the most direct relationship to moral socialization. The thesis that primary school textbooks on reading are intended not only to form and develop technical skills of putting letters together to make words, requires no proof. Such textbook presents to a primary school student the canon of priority images which is the first of its kind recommended by the state and pedagogics, and represents a set of every-day value orientations, as well as techniques for interacting with social and natural worlds and for self-interacting.

As a part of our study we have analysed content of 15 textbooks on literary reading (*Rodnaya Rech*: «mother tongue») for primary school.

1. Three *Rodnaya Rech*’ textbooks (1-3 grades) published by Prosveshchenije Publishing House in 1982-1983. Our study covers the statistical universe

⁵ Haidt, Graham, *When morality opposes justice: conservatives have moral intuitions that liberals may not recognize*, cit., pp. 98-116.

of textbooks on this subject for Russian-speaking elementary school children published at this period.

2. Twelve *Literaturnoye Chteniye* (literary reading)⁶ (1-4 grades) textbooks published by Prosveshchenije, Dropha and Ventana-Graph Publishing Houses in 2001-2005⁷. According to the experts' data provided by the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation, the above teaching aids comprise 80% of the total number of textbooks on these subjects.

First we read the textbooks in whole, without any selection of literary works or specific images. The result of quantitative analysis of the text is given in Table 1.

Table 1. *Total number of texts in 'Rodnaya Rech'' and 'Literaturnoye Chteniye' textbooks that was analysed*

	<i>Number of Texts</i>	<i>Portion of Universe, %</i>
Soviet period (<i>Rodnaya Rech'</i>)	518	28
Post-Soviet period (<i>Literaturnoye Chteniye</i>)	1352	72
Total	1870	100

Even a cursory examination gives the impression that the textbooks published over the same historical period conform to the unified canon. The post-Soviet textbooks are very similar in their content, and get materials from the same source. The selected literary works inevitably overlap and generally show consensus on what should be taught to children.

According to the calculations, 673 (36%) out of 1870 analysed texts may be assigned to those directly related to the morality.

Table 2 gives the results of calculation of the portion of texts fallen in the categories – or moral foundations as J. Haidt put it – to be analysed.

Table 2. *The Representativity of Moral Foundations in the Texts in Primary School Textbooks of the Soviet and post-Soviet periods (% of texts with 'moral' orientation)*

<i>Moral Foundation</i>	<i>Soviet Period (208 texts)</i>	<i>Post-Soviet Period (465 texts)</i>
Care/harm	24	30
Fairness/cheating	14	30
Loyalty/betrayal	42	22
Authority/subversion	6	5
Sanctity/degradation	17	10

⁶ It's a new name of *Rodnaya Rech'* course of study. Tasks and character of these two courses are identical.

⁷ In the spring of 2005, the Ministry of education of the Russian Federation approved a new list of textbooks, which analysis is a task for future research.

As evident from Table 2, in the post-Soviet textbooks «Care/harm» and «Fairness/cheating» categories became more ‘weighty’, while the portion of texts fallen in «Loyalty/betrayal» and «Sanctity/degradation» categories became smaller. «Authority/subversion» category suffered practically no quantitative changes.

Thus, formal (quantitative) changes are obvious. Let’s turn to analysis of the contest of the above categories and consider each of them successively.

2. «Authority/subversion»

Let’s begin with examples of «Authority», the category that is represented rather ‘poorly’. Who are to be honoured according to the Soviet and post-Soviet textbooks?

The Soviet textbooks define a model of social hierarchy [ladder] rather clearly. In the first section of the 1-grade textbook this model is translated by five texts out of twelve: «We are active kids – we are Octobrists!⁸ You, October, don’t forget – communism is there yet [...]»⁹.

The fragment emphasizes the idea of vertical cultural transmission – the succession of perception and development of a particular ideology, and the subjects and sources of this succession are not specific persons, but social groups, and even depersonalized entities – symbolic events important for the social community («You, October, don’t forget – communism is there yet»). So apart from «Authority» which is obvious, «Loyalty» and «Sanctity» which imply honouring of the objects sacred for the group of subjects are also pronounced in the system of moral foundations. The whole complex is reproduced in the literary works intended for the next age group – the third-grade students getting ready to become pioneers: «The Young Pioneers had not yet come to the world, when Lenin called fighters for the cause of the workers to be prepared, but the young pioneers determined to be faithful to Lenin’s precepts»¹⁰. We also classify this and similar works with those translating the ‘verticalness’ moral foundation as a measure underlying such virtues as leadership and followership, including deference to legitimate authority and respect for traditions.

⁸ The Young Octobrists was an organization for children aged seven to nine. After the age of nine, in the 3rd grade, Young Octobrists would typically join the Young Pioneer organization.

⁹ M.S. Vasileva, L.A. Gorbushina, E.I. Nikitina, M.I. Omorokova, *Rodnaya rech. Kniga dlya chteniya v 1-m klasse*, Moscow, Prosveschenie, 1980 (in Russian), p. 4.

¹⁰ N.K. Krupskaya, *Be Prepared!*, in M.S. Vasileva, L.A. Gorbushina, E.I. Nikitina, M.I. Omorokova, *Rodnaya rech. Kniga dlya chteniya v 3-m klasse*, Moscow, Prosveschenie, 1974 (in Russian), pp. 7-8.

A fairly complicated moral motivation of behaviour is translated in the story *The Word of Honor* by L. Panteleev. This is seemingly simple to classify the motive with the «Sanctity» foundation by J. Haidt typology:

– Why are you still standing here then?

– I gave my word...

I was about to laugh, but choked my laughter and thought that there was nothing to laugh at, and that the boy was absolutely right. If you give your word, keep it no matter what happens – at any circumstances. And no matter whether it's a game or not¹¹.

However, there is another motive involved – the desire to obey the vertical orientation or hierarchy:

When the boy saw the officer, he somehow straightened, stood upright and became a few centimeters higher.

– Comrade guardsman – the officer asked him, – what is your rank?

– I am a Sergeant, – said the boy.

– Comrade Sergeant, I order you to leave the guard post.

The boy kept silence, sniffed and said:

– And what is your rank? I don't see... How many stars do you have?

– I am a Major.

And then the boy put his hand to a broad peak of his gray cap and said:

– Aye, Comrade Major: you ordered to leave the guard post¹².

We can assume that in this case there is a discrepancy between the motives that determine the essence of the boy's action (to keep his word), and the way of its implementation (obedience to the superior). It is precisely this formal aspect of the behaviour of the Soviet child reflected in the story that is the immediate product of militaristic attitudes of education which are so typical for the Soviet pedagogy. In fact, the military game (both because this is a game and because it is military) suggests the ritualized nature of the action.

By introducing one or another of symbolic systems the ritual makes it possible to create / strengthen a certain group identity¹³ and consequently loyalty to the group or persons occupying the top positions in the social hierarchy. Therefore, there is no content which is absolutely indifferent to the format¹⁴ (in our case, to the ritual), and this principle gives us a good reason to consider that both moral foundations gave approximately the same importance for the behavioural motivation of the protagonist of the story.

¹¹ L. Panteleev, *The Word of Honor*, in M.S. Vasileva, L.A. Gorbushina, E.I. Nikitina, M.I. Omorokova, *Rodnaya rech. Kniga dlya chteniya vo 2-m klasse*, Moscow, Prosveschenie, 1974 (in Russian), pp. 68-73.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ M. Douglas, *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology*, London, Barrie and Rockliff, The Cresset Press, 1970, pp. 289.

¹⁴ L.G. Ionin, *Sotsiologiya kulturyi*, Moscow, ID GU VShE, 2004 (in Russian).

Some sections of the 1-grade textbook published in 2004 (by Prosveshchenije Publishing House) end with a centerfold titled *From the Old Books* containing which are statements of unknown origin (no reference to the source, author or the occasion on which the statements were made) that express apparently some ‘universal’ moral guidelines. In the majority of cases these guidelines are classified with the «Authority» foundation – respect for elders and people with higher social status, and in this case – for the teachers («Respect your parents, teachers and elders, and follow instructions of these first and advices of these latter»); «When elders speak, listen to them attentively and never interrupt»¹⁵. These statements represent moral values and guidelines of post-figurative cultures¹⁶. However, since the textbook is oriented to the children growing up in the culture that more likely can be described as the pre-figurative one, the statements are perceived as an artificial attempt to make the unstable socio-cultural situation stable.

In another centrefold the theme of respect for elders is in part continued – «“Father” and “mother” are sacred words» but there is an additional moral aspect – a requirement of moral purity, which is fulfilled primarily through quivering attitude to the objects that are sacred for the group, and the attitude is enhanced by another statement – «Live not as you want, but as God commands»¹⁷.

Since we mentioned the ‘moral purity’, let’s consider the examples that we have placed into the category that translates the moral foundation of «Sanctity».

3. «Sanctity/degradation»

In the Soviet textbooks this category includes texts of different content. The 1-grade textbook has section titled *What is Good and What is Bad* that begins with poem of the same name by Vladimir Mayakovsky¹⁸. Broadly speaking, the evaluations («good/bad») are applied to phenomena of two types: first type represents phenomena that do not depend on the human will and, consequently, are not related to morality (weather events: hail or wind is bad for walking, and sunshine is good), and second type evaluations of personality which implies adherence to moral prescriptions or their violation. What are the moral foundations that provide the basis for evaluative relations?

¹⁵ *Rodnaya rech: Uchebnik dlya 1 klassa nachalnoy shkolyi*. Pod red. L.F. Klimanovoy, Moscow, Prosveshchenie, 2004 (in Russian), p. 23.

¹⁶ M. Mead, *Culture and Commitment. A Study of the Generation Gap*, New York, Natural History Press/Doubleday and Co., 1970.

¹⁷ *Rodnaya rech: Uchebnik dlya 1 klassa*, cit., p. 76.

¹⁸ Vasilyeva et al., *Rodnaya rech. Kniga dlya chteniya v 1-m klasse*, cit., pp. 85-87.

There are only two foundations: harm to/care of the weak and vulnerable, and violation of the rules of hygiene. For the most part the poem is concerned with cleanliness and neatness and actually comes to the conclusion: «if you're now a piggy, you'll become a downright pig when you grow up bigger». It may appear that these rules are applicable only in the field of hygiene and health care, and cannot be regarded as moral principles. However the fact that the subject who violates them is evaluated very negatively («bad, untidy boy!»)¹⁹, and that the evaluations, both negative and positive (in case when the subject observes the rules), allows us to treat such prescriptions as those related to the morality.

We have interpreted the poem as the one translating such value as «Sanctity (purity)», because it is precisely the foundation that, according to the authors of the theory of moral foundations, was formed as a reaction to repulsion caused by something dirty and disgusting. The repulsion arising in connection with certain facts or behavioural manifestations is interpreted by people as a sign of violation of this moral foundation. Such repulsion is so strong and unpleasant, and apparently affects the psyche so deeply that the person suffering from it wants to eliminate the source of repulsion as soon as possible, and does not even attempt to analyse the nature of this feeling, that is, to understand the behaviour of another person that causes the repulsion at least from the standpoint of whether it affects the behaviour of other people or is exclusively personal matter²⁰. It underlies the widespread idea that the body is a temple which can be desecrated by immoral activities and contaminants (an idea not unique to religious traditions).

The 4-grade textbook published in 2004 (by Prosveshchenije Publishing House) has two interesting examples 'working' to the benefit of «Sanctity». The fragment from the story *People of God – Home Chest* by B. Zaitzev – tells the story of a boy, woman cook's son, who lived at an estate and turned out to be mentally and physically retarded at the age of three, as well as of his relationship with other persons living at the estate – the masters and servants²¹.

This is the only text in the textbook in which healthy and handicapped – and primarily communicably handicapped people, since the boy's cannot speak clearly – interact. Nevertheless, people, especially children, understand and love him – he is a friend of the master's daughter, and every day is treated with tea and gingerbread or pie. How do the inhabitants of the estate perceive the boy? May we interpret their friendly attitude towards him as the one that corresponds to the moral foundation of loyalty to in-group (we-group) or care? Or should

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ J. Haidt, *The emotional dog and its rational tail: A social intuitionist approach to moral judgment*, «Psychological Review», n. 108, 4, 2001, pp. 814-834.

²¹ *Rodnaya rech: Uchebnik po chteniyu dlya uchashchih'sya nachalnoy shkolyi. V 3 knigah. Kniga 3. Dlya 4 klassa. Ch. 2.* Sost. M.V. Golovanova, V.G. Goretskiy, L.F. Klimanova, Moscow, Prosveshchenie, 2004 (in Russian), pp. 14-17.

be take it for something else? His mother «by her Russian-woman's inclination loved him more than others, and felt sorry for him»²² – this is the classic 'female' foundation of attitude towards people based on the aspiration to take care of the vulnerable who need it most of all. As for strangers, their attitude towards the boy shows awe of «a holy fool» («blessed fool» or «fool for Christ») inherent in the Orthodox tradition rather than just care of a weak person. What was the perception of a holy fool in the Orthodoxy? People usually perceived him as a member of in-group (we-group), but specially gifted and behaved in a shocking and unconventional way that they could not understand and copy – he was both «group-fellow» and «alien» (or «stranger») at the same time. For instance, the story says that «[...] he seems not to do anything, but live being a part of community» («the group-fellow»); but «he can say you something in his own language, giggle and run away following his moods»²³ («the alien»). Such borderline position allowed the holy fool to act like a 'mirror' reflecting human vices that he showed in a caricature manner so that people could see themselves as viewed by others. It is possible that the estate inhabitants' attitude permeated by similar expectations was so tender because his friendliness and carelessness, when regarded as a mirror image of their life and relationships, told them of safe and happy life – as long as the mirror reflected the world in this manner, they could stay tranquil and try to appreciate what they had. Thus, the moral foundation of interaction with the boy described in the story is more likely the awe of the objects sacred for the group, although the motives of care and loyalty to the group-fellows also support and enhance the effectiveness of this moral foundation.

The second text is *The Tale of the Toad and the Rose* by V. Garshin²⁴. Since the images in this literary work are symbolic, and feelings that they provoke are rather strong, independent analysis of the text will most likely be challenging for school children: it requires consistent intellectual work and search of clues.

However, the depth and intensity of emotions, in particular, of disgust and indignation that the children may feel when reading the description of appearance, thoughts and behaviour of the toads, 'suggest' that there is a threat to moral precepts and principles²⁵, and hence, on the one hand, make the logic analysis of the text more difficult and on the other on the one hand make its intuitive perception easier²⁶. To be more precise, they not even suggest but associate with emotions that usually reveal violation of morality, and thus

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Rodnaya rech: Uchebnik po chteniyu. Dlya 4 klassa. Ch. 2, cit., pp. 226-234.*

²⁵ Haidt, *The emotional dog and its rational tail: A social intuitionist approach to moral judgment*, cit.

²⁶ J. Greene, J. Cohen, *The neural bases of cognitive conflict and control in moral judgment*, «Neuron», n. 44, 2004, p. 389.

facilitate the automatism – automatic interpretation of the events provoking such emotions as immoral.

Actually, if we analyse the toad's motivation²⁷ we cannot call it low or disgusting, since the toad was striving for perfect things²⁸. More likely that low and disgusting is the archaic form of adopting these perfect things – an attempt to assume and, in the literal sense, swallow up the fascinating things. Similar ambitions formed the basis of certain rituals of eating totem animals that are typical for many archaic cultures and connected with the belief that by eating a sacred animal people can get spiritually higher or acquire supernatural powers.

In fact, in this case people act the same way – they pluck the flower and dry it, but such death seems preferable for the Rose. The Rose managed to give several bright moments to a dying boy, and to keep a memory of him.

However, according to the results of the empirical studies made by J. Haidt, the above arguments can be supported only by individuals with pronounced liberal orientations who act predominantly in accordance with 'individualizing' moral foundations or concepts of justice and care of those in need, that is to say, with the moral prescriptions that allow an individual to defend his/her uniqueness and that manifest themselves in interpersonal interactions at the level of individuals. Conversely, conservatives who value cohesion, vitality and group success much more than individual success, behave in accordance with more moral foundations, including the aspiration for purity and innocence, which apparently forms the main idea of Garshin's tale.

4. «Loyalty/betrayal»

In addition to «Authority» and «Sanctity», the third moral foundation described by J. Haidt as more significant in non-Western cultures is «Loyalty (group cohesion)» which violation is interpreted as betrayal of the group.

The image of «group-fellow» in the Soviet and post-Soviet textbooks is formed mainly on the principle of exclusion, that is, contrast to the image of «alien» which is essential to enhance the moral imperative of assistance to «group-fellows» and to strengthen the group cohesion. In all probability, like at the early stages of history the perception of «they» is the starting point of the process of self-determination through the desire to separate «they» and «we» (to get isolated from «them»).

²⁷ The reasoning about the toad's 'motivation' sounds rather strangely, but I think the relativity of the categories used is clear.

²⁸ Apparently, the artist who illustrated this literary work had something similar in his mind – his toad is sad and quite graceful; however, both the toad and the surrounding branches and leaves are gray, while the hot pink flower on the gray background clearly symbolizes tenderness and beauty of the world.

The concept of «alien» inevitably comes about in situations when certain phenomena of different culture do not agree with those adopted by the we-group's culture. The term «alien» has several meanings used in the ordinary sense, rather than in scientific discourse:

- someone who comes from a different place or foreign land outside observer's own culture;
- someone odd, unusual, in contrast to ordinary and common environment;
- someone unacquainted, unknown and incomprehensible (impossible or very difficult to understand);
- someone supernatural, almighty, having power and control over human affairs;
- someone ominous and life-threatening.

Thus, the term «alien» does not initially imply hostility. The category of «alien» and the idea of positive attitude towards it – no matter how strange it may seem to the observer are at the centre of *The Legend* by V.V. Veresaev. Here is also reference to the moral norm of justice from the standpoint of deserved thing: terrible punishment upon sailors for impudent destruction of something that was unknown and alien to them – «Merry sailors were not killed. They returned to the ship, but since then they never smiled»²⁹. It is important that «the subject punished the sailors» is not identified: they ruined the wood sacred for natives and, at first glance, it seems logical that it was the wood that punished them. This would have happened, and, probably, the punishment would have suggested the death of the profaner of the holy place if he were a native. However the profaners were punished «by their own culture» and got an inescapable feeling of guilt that was very difficult to compensate even by high moral actions in the future. So, the main idea representing the author's attitude to «alien» is: «How all this is difficult, deep and mysterious!»³⁰.

As a whole, the «we» category is formed by mutual likening of people, that is, by mechanisms of imitation and contagion, while «they» is formed by elimination of these mechanisms. Perhaps that is the reason why the image of alien is always impersonal – if one keynote is to «Know Thy Heroes» so that to get an opportunity to repeat their deeds in details, the same is not needed in respect to alien. The «alien» is conceived and perceived in the light of his group membership [belonging] (as opposed to individualized «group-fellow») which is expressed by well-known principle of intergroup perception «for-me-they-all-are-alike».

By way of illustration we can mention poem *Rus* by I.S. Nikitin included in the post-Soviet textbooks published by all three publishing houses: «Tatar

²⁹ *Literaturnoe chtenie: Uchebnik dlya uchaschihsya 4 klassa obsheobrazovatelnykh uchrezhdeniy: v 2ch. Ch.2*, Avt.-sost.: L.A. Efrosinina, M.I. Omorokova, Moscow, Ventana-Graf, 2005 (in Russian), p. 50.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

hordes» and «a dark storm-cloud (from the West)». In the Soviet textbooks we can read that, «out of the smoke and fire poured the bourgeois forces»³¹, and that «armies of many thousands of enemies tried to stifle the state of workers and peasants»³².

It is easier to fight against depersonalized evil, that is, the evil lacking in feelings, emotions and sufferings which gives rise to no sympathy, and therefore it is easier to transform the image of alien into the image of enemy³³.

The most common way to construct the image of enemy involves a combination of two planes: metaphorical, beyond the everyday life or abstract, that is, empirically unverifiable plane, on the one hand, and specific plane, on the other. The first plane which ordinary consciousness does not perceive completely, is not entirely clear, and apparently must provoke an uncertain sensation of participation in the great and mysterious mission of fight against the evil, as such, but emotional heat [intensity of emotions] caused by metaphorical images, but not backed by feelings and everyday experiences would abate sooner or later. Actualization of everyday empirical experience feeds it.

The manner in which ominous context «alien = hostile» is actualized in intergroup interaction is illustrated by *The Star* fairy-tale by V.V. Veresaev: a brave young man brought light to his people who had been dreaming of it for a long time living in darkness. However when they saw their homes, dearly loved persons and themselves in the light, they felt repugnance³⁴ (thus, «alien» adopted as the standard can cause re-evaluation of usual phenomena, and, therefore, bring the threat to identity because we are what we like and striving for). Fear of the alien capable to change the whole system of the world-concept and self-concept and hence having supernatural powers (if it may defy and transform everything that is considered stable and sacred) incites people to act. The enlightened people in Veresaev's story tried to destroy both the star and the boy who brought it because they believed them to be «the root of all evil». The typical course of events is as follows: invasion of «alien» leads to re-evaluation of the «own», and negative identity calls for compensation which can be achieved through humiliation and creation of even more negative image of the alien – and search for real object to fit this negative image – the image of enemy is personified and becomes the object of aggression.

We can say without exaggeration that the image of enemy in the Soviet textbooks is one of the central. It will suffice to mention that in the 1980 edition of the textbook there is a separate theme dedicated to the army (and no themes related to pedagogy or medicine, for example). It cannot be disputed that behind

³¹ Vasileva *et al.*, *Rodnaya rech. Kniga dlya chteniya v 3-m klasse*, cit., p. 99.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 107.

³³ S. Keen, *Faces of Enemy. Reflections of the Hostile Imagination*, San Francisco, Harper & Row, 1986.

³⁴ *Literaturnoe chtenie: Uchebnik dlya uchaschihsya 4 klassa obsheobrazovatelnykh uchrezhdeniy*, Ch. 2, cit., pp. 51-58.

this cult of ‘power’ structures [security forces] is both traumatic historical experience and the ‘cold war’, which was topical at that time and accompanied by numerous armed conflicts in which the Soviet Union was latently involved.

However, the post-Soviet textbooks cover the «Loyalty» moral foundation within the same ‘paramilitary’ theme – also combined with cruelty to «aliens»: «And Oleg hung his shield on the gates of Tzargrad [Constantinople]»:

Oleg came to the seaside and began to fight. And he killed a lot of people around the city, destroyed a lot of mansions and burnt a lot of churches. And many other evils were done by Russians to Greeks, as enemies usually do [...]. And Oleg ordered Greeks to give two thousand ships, and twelve hryvnias per person as tribute, and there were forty men on board of each ship; and then he ordered to give a tribute to the Russian cities: first of all, to Kiev and then to Chernigov, Pereiaslavl, Polotsk, Rostov, Lyubech and other cities, as these cities were ruled by the princes dependent on Oleg³⁵.

In the work titled *Kuzma Minin and Dmitry Pozharsky at the Head of Militia* the enemy is identified only in the last line – «To war with the Poles», while the whole song describes the preparation for the war for their homeland underlining the boldness and bravery of the Russian warriors, and their determination to defend the homeland «with all hands» [together]³⁶. It is indicative for solidarity on negative basis that the enemy remains unknown until the last moment; the only important thing to mobilize the group is to see the threat and to resist it.

The ‘enemies’ in the Soviet textbooks, as well as in ‘adult’ Soviet literature, are extremely diversified, including representatives of the former privileged classes – the Whites, officers, capitalists, and priests, the enemies at the time the Second World War – the Nazis and spies smuggled into the Soviet Union to conduct subversive activities, and a variety of ethnic and ‘national’ enemies of the Russian Empire – invaders³⁷. In the post-Soviet children’s literature only the last-mentioned type remained but it was used very actively.

One of the basic methods of constructing the image of enemy is the use of different criteria in assessing the actions of «us» and «them». As an example let us consider two literary works arranged one after another in the first section – *Heroic Song and Legend*. The section begins with *bylina* (Russian epos) about *Volkh Vseslavovich*³⁸. The enemy is represented by a certain Saltyk, King of

³⁵ *Rodnaya rech: Uchebnik po chteniyu dlya uchaschihsya nachalnoy shkolyi. V 3 knigah. Kniga 3. Dlya 4 klassa Ch. 2*, Sost.: M.V. Golovanova, V.G. Goretskiy, L.F. Klimanova, Moscow, Prosveschenie, 2004 (in Russian), pp. 4-6.

³⁶ *Literaturnoe chtenie: Uchebnik dlya uchaschihsya 4 klassa obscheobrazovatelnyih uchrezhdeniy: v 2ch, Ch.1*, Avt.-sost.: L.A. Efrosinina, M.I. Omorokova, Moscow, Ventana-Graf, 2005 (in Russian), p. 8.

³⁷ L. Gudkov, *Ideologema «vrage». Tehnika propagandy i mobilizatsii. Sostavlyayushchie ritoriki «vrage» v sovetskom totalitarnom iskusstve i literature*, <<http://psyfactor.org/lib/gudkov5.htm>>, in Russian (last access: December 28th, 2013).

³⁸ *Literaturnoe chtenie: Uchebnik dlya uchaschihsya 4 klassa obscheobrazovatelnyih uchrezhdeniy: v 2ch, Ch.1*, Avt.-sost.: L.A. Efrosinina, M.I. Omorokova, Moscow, Ventana-Graf,

the southern lands. He intends to conquer all the Russian cities and to do harm directly to the epic hero, the protagonist. His negative image is created through translation of aggressive thoughts and evil deeds (Saltyk is extremely rude to his wife), but in general, his image is rather comic – the illustration shows him as a ridiculous little man with thin legs, but in a magnificent garment. By the way, the garment clearly shows that he is a representative of Muslim culture – the king is drawn in a robe and with a dagger at his belt, and the queen – with the veiled face.

Exactly the same aggressive plans are made by Tsar Ivan IV in the next work of the same section – *The Legend of the Conquest of Siberia by Yermak*, and are fulfilled by Yermak by order of the Tsar. Here is what the Tsar tells Yermak: «There are rich soils behind the Ural Mountains. Go there, catch Kuchum Khan, and bring his people under the authority of Russia»³⁹. Although as a conqueror Yermak is portrayed in the same manner as Saltyk, but he is handsome and slender, and rides a graceful white (the colour of purity and lofty thoughts) horse. These ‘double standards’ are even re-doubled by the fact that as the aggressive actions are supposedly driven not only by mercantile motivation of the king, but also declared concern for the conquered peoples – «and Kuchum’s people will feel better with us».

Thus, though during the post-Soviet period the image of «alien and enemy» was employed far less actively compared to the Soviet era, but still actively enough for us to continue considering this phenomenon as one of the main tools of group consolidation. In totalitarian societies the image of ‘enemy’ is vitally important in maintenance of the closeness of social and cultural system, creation of reliable inner barriers against ‘pernicious’ foreign influence, on the one hand, and in formation of the set to destroy internal enemies, on the other. In democratic societies based on the civil freedom of self-expression and on informed consent to accept the ‘rules’ there is no need to use such mechanisms. However, a question as to whether present-day Russian is democratic state is out of the format of this article.

5. «Fairness/cheating»

According to Haidt, next moral foundation – «Fairness» – defines ‘individualizing’ cultural bases. However, it is not that simple – in primary school textbooks the theme of justice is found rather often, but not in the context of universalism (fairness as acceptance of and adherence to universal

2005, pp. 4-7.

³⁹ *Literaturnoe chtenie: Uchebnik dlya uchaschihsya 4 klassa obscheobrazovatelnyih uchrezhdeniy: v 2ch, Ch.1*, cit., pp. 15-17.

rules and regulations), which is basic to individual rights and freedoms of every member of the group.

It should be noted that the norm of fairness being by itself a cultural universal can be implemented in different forms, and the choice of form has both group/cultural and perhaps individual specificity.

«The beauty of the debt is payment» [One good turn deserves another] – this saying is given together with Leo Tolstoy's fable *The Ant and the Dove*⁴⁰ in the 1980 textbook to represent the main idea of the fable, in the authors' opinion. The case in point is obviously fairness in the form of mutuality – norm aimed at implementation of group's interests and maintenance of group cohesion through the adoption of system of mutual obligations. Hence, J. Rest revises Kohlberg' ideas of the role of fairness in the formation of individual's system of moral judgments apart from those that are assigned by Kohlberg to the level of conventional moral ideas of fairness as of respect for the rights of all participants in the interaction – respect for partner, unification of procedures and elimination of prejudices which Rest calls «procedural fairness», and studies «distributive fairness» – a set of rules of reward distribution – and attributes such ideas of fairness to the earlier stages of moral development of individual that are oriented to pattern of personal interest⁴¹.

The social significance of distributive fairness, however, gained acceptance in the works of cultural anthropologists: L. Tiger and R. Fox take a «network of gratitude» established as a result of actualization of the norms of distributive fairness as a unique human adaptive mechanism that makes possible division of labour, exchange of various types of goods and services (by providing conditions for training of specialists) and formation of a system of interdependencies that unite individuals in highly efficient organizational units⁴².

Accordingly, the norm of fairness in the form of mutuality translated in Tolstoy's fable is obviously positive for the maintenance of integrity, cohesion and vitality of the group. Essentially similar settings and behaviour patterns are translated by folk tales⁴³.

In the post-Soviet textbooks the norms of “procedural fairness” are represented much better. Fairness as moral foundation of individual behaviour is inherent mainly in the situations when fairness is first violated and then restored⁴⁴. In the last-mentioned work the reader's attention should be drawn

⁴⁰ Vasileva et al., *Rodnaya rech. Kniga dlya chteniya v 1-m klasse*, cit., p. 36.

⁴¹ L. Myyry, K. Helkama, *Moral reasoning and the use of procedural justice rules in hypothetical and real-life dilemmas*, «Social Justice Research», n. 15, 2002, pp. 373-391; C.A. Wendorf, S. Alexander, I.J. Firestone, *Social justice and moral reasoning: an empirical integration of two paradigms in psychological research*, «Social Justice Research», n. 15-1, 2002, pp. 19-39.

⁴² L. Tiger, R. Fox, *The imperial animal*, New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1971.

⁴³ Vasileva et al., *Rodnaya rech. Kniga dlya chteniya v 1-m klasse*, cit., pp. 102-107.

⁴⁴ *Rodnaya rech: Uchebnik po chteniyu dlya uchashchisya 2 klassa nachalnoy shkolyi. Ch. 2*, Sost.: L.F. Klimanova, V.G. Goretskiy, M.V. Golovanova, Mocsow, Prosveschenie, 2004 (in Russian), pp. 85-86, 159-165, 96-103.

to actualization of strong emotion, that is, remorse of the main character – the boy who did unseemly thing.

«Fear», «shame», «duty», «responsibility», «honour», «face saving», «conscience», «sense of guilt», «self-esteem», etc. are the motives and feelings that act as regulators of individual behaviour. The researchers place particular emphasis upon the significance of fear, shame and sense of guilt in specific cultures. In this case, let us focus our attention on the distinctions between shame and guilt.

In distinction to shame making people to look at themselves through the eyes of «important persons», the sense of guilt is inner and subjective, and implies self-trial⁴⁵. It covers not only actions, but also secret thoughts, and is more flexible in its content. Therefore, it is no coincidence that the norms of procedural fairness is much better represented in the post-Soviet textbooks published at the period characterized by wider variability of lifestyles and daily practices in comparison with the Soviet period. However, the theme of distributive fairness remains one of the most important: since this moral foundation creates the moral content of fairy tales included in arranged in folk sections⁴⁶.

6. «Care/harm»

Finally, one more ‘individualizing’ moral foundation is «Care», that is to say, assistance to the poor and needy. It should be noted straight away that proportion of texts and illustrations oriented to translation of the morality of care in the post-Soviet textbooks became bigger than in the Soviet ones.

It is partly due to our understanding of care and therefore requires some explanations. The researchers repeatedly paid attention to the significance of this category in the Soviet ideology and, moreover, considered it as the basic category to look at the relations between the state and citizens⁴⁷. Among other things, E. Bogdanova illustrates this thesis by reference to the fact that in the 1997 Soviet Constitution the «care» category occurs 12 times, and defines the nature and rules of relationships of the various objects and subjects: state

⁴⁵ R. Benedict, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese culture*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co, 1946.

⁴⁶ *Rodnaya rech: Uchebnik po chteniyu dlya uchashihsya 2 klassa nachalnoy shkolyi. Ch. 2*, cit., pp. 42-53.

⁴⁷ I. Mihaylovskaya, *Kontseptsiya prav cheloveka i ih znachenie dlya postkommunisticheskoy Rossii*, «Rossiyskiy byulleten po pravam cheloveka», n. 9, Moscow, Institut prav cheloveka, 1997, <<http://www.hrighs.ru/text/b9/Chapter5.htm>>, in Russian (last access: December 28th, 2013); E.A. Bogdanova, *Sovetskiy opyt regulirovaniya pravovyih otnosheniy, ili «v ozhidanii zaboty»*, «Zhurnal sotsiologii i sotsialnoy antropologii», vol. IX-1, n. 34, 2006, pp. 77-90 (in Russian).

concept of social relations is expressed as follows: «The Soviet society is a society in which the law of life is concern of all for the good of each and concern of each for the good of all»⁴⁸.

This category is represented in a wide diversity of senses and attitudes which certainly leads to weakening of its meaning. Conceptually, in this category all moral foundations collide with each other: the morality of care becomes indistinguishable from the «verticalness», «fairness» and «respect for authority». As a result, the «care» which the modern Western psychology presents as the moral norm that governs interpersonal relationships and interaction in the primary groups, turns into ideological mechanism of social regulation. However, some «flair» of the classical interpretation of its essence remains: this is the norm of family relations, first of all, and considering the fact that in the Soviet ideology the borders of family were so wide that covered all Soviet people, it is logical that the care was implemented as the principle of paternalism. The care becomes total ('pervasive' and 'continuous'), based on clear social hierarchy (the subject is always stronger and more powerful), focused on the reproduction of relations of subject (the one who cares) and object (the one who is cared)⁴⁹ which naturally leads to diffusion of responsibility of the 'object' who being released from the responsibility becomes 'released' from the rights as well.

In this article we orient ourselves to the psychological understanding of care, and analyse the character of its representation as the moral foundation.

As illustrated above, in the post-Soviet textbooks the theme of «group cohesion» is also pronounced, but the nature of separation into «ours» and «their» differs essentially from that at the Soviet period. The Soviet textbooks suggest that «ours» include, first of all, family members and friends which makes the line between «group cohesion» and care rather transparent: a child represented in texts and visual material of Russian textbooks, is oriented to the interests of their immediate environment – the family, and reproduces the family model in other context⁵⁰.

The care as moral foundation introduced into psychology by K. Gilligan, reflects, in her opinion, the specificity of women's moral development. Therefore, it is logical to look at the examples centralized on female images.

The image of women in the Soviet textbook is pictured within the Soviet gender contract – the «working mother» that emerged in the 1930s: a woman engaged in social production is a full-time worker, but she also brings up children, sharing this responsibility with the state institutions and relatives, and

⁴⁸ The Constitution of the USSR, 1977, cited by Bogdanova, *Sovetskiy opyt regulirovaniya pravovyih otnosheniy, ili «v ozhidanii zaboty»*.

⁴⁹ Bogdanova, *Sovetskiy opyt regulirovaniya pravovyih otnosheniy, ili «v ozhidanii zaboty»*, cit.

⁵⁰ *Rodnaya rech: Uchebnik po chteniyu dlya uchashchihsva nachalnoy shkoly. V 3 knigah. Kniga 3. Dlya 4 klassa. Ch. 2*, Sost.: M.V. Golovanova, V.G. Goretskiy, L.F. Klimanova, Moscow, Prosvetshenie, 2004, (in Russian), pp. 137-143.

runs the home. A woman can be a weaver at the factory, a tractor driver in the field, an engineer on a construction site, or a doctor in a small northern settlement. «Why do people / From our factory / Say that – my mother / Has hands of gold? / I will not argue, / They know better – / Because they work / Together with my Mom!»⁵¹. In fact, it turns out that the woman is closer and ‘more familiar’ to her colleagues rather than to her own children.

The car orientation in the Soviet textbooks is by no means declared as ‘female’ orientation. To the contrary, women provide care nearly more rarely than men⁵². The central image of the Soviet textbook is image of Lenin, the leader of the world proletariat, rich in moral imperatives and contexts. The image of Lenin appears to be a basis of social hierarchy and, therefore, inspires the moral foundation of «verticalness/respect for authority». However, to maintain the vitality of constructed image it must find more specific, humane traits that would change the perspective of perception. Since we are dealing with the perception of primary school children – who are still very close to the family – these must be the traits that humanize the image, and help to take the child from the ‘big social circle’ into the ‘small circle’ of close and clear everyday life which is full of warmth of human interaction. These traits translate the norm of care that even if it holds a peripheral position and, perhaps, due to this position, escapes the attention, and its translation proves to be really effective.

For example, in his story *In the Mountains* N. Khodza narrates how Lenin «moulded his will power» when he and his friend got over dangerous place in the mountains risking their lives: «A revolutionary has no right to let fear prevail his will. We, my friend, must mould our will every day and every hour». The last lines of the story are: «He reached down and plucked few simple blue flowers. – For Nadezhda Konstantinovna [Krupskaya] – Lenin said softly. – She loves field flowers»⁵³. By the way, Krupskaya, even if she plays the leading part in a number of literary works included in primary school textbooks, appears only as a revolutionary and translator of ideological norms, but in no work as a caregiver which is the ‘typical’ female image.

Therefore, it is hardly surprising that a major proportion of the texts translating the norm of care can be found in the section *Lenin with Us*. Actually, the title of the section sets the readers to perceive Lenin as a man who is dear to everybody. Texts where the leader of the world proletariat is represented in daily communication with children, workers, Red Army med amount to more than 50% – five out of eight texts. Thus, we return to the «care» which is one of the strongholds of the Soviet ideology.

⁵¹ Vasileva et al., *Rodnaya rech. Kniga dlya chteniya v 1-m klasse*, cit., p. 79.

⁵² For the examples – see Vasilyeva et al., *Rodnaya Rech’, 2-grade book for reading*, cit., pp. 106, 105, 123-126, 131-135, 187-189.

⁵³ Vasileva et al., *Rodnaya rech. Kniga dlya chteniya v 3-m klasse*, cit., p. 315.

In the post-Soviet textbooks we can see restoration of traditional gender pattern. An occasion for reflection on the extent to which the ‘traditional nature’ is maintained is given by the task offered to the first-grade students: it presents a number of riddles. Each riddle lists the actions or definitions (social roles) and offers the children to pick the noun that is best matched to the definition⁵⁴. A boy in these riddles is defined as a «student», «schoolboy», «son» and «prankish child», and in this case, it is logical that his father is a «craftsman», «worker», «parent», «friend» and «husband»; a girl is a «Smiley Face», «fidget», «little lady», «granddaughter», «daughter» and «helper», and mother is a «housewife», «woman», «daughter», «wife», «cook», «seamstress» and «comforter». The children are offered the appropriate set of women’s functions: to «wait», «meet», «ask», «feed», «read», «cook», «wash», «sew», «fry», «bustle about», «sing», «escort», «get tired», «laugh», «look after» and «protect». The illustration for the text shows a red cat (!) with three kittens sleeping with their muzzles buried in mother’s belly, and mother cat is happy and touched when looking at them.

Apparently, the desire to consolidate the traditional pattern, including family relations, is responsible for the prevalence of folk texts and texts by pre-revolutionary authors in the post-Soviet books (Table 3).

Table 3. *The Relationship between Texts of Different Periods That Translate the Morality of Care in the Soviet and Post-Soviet Textbooks (% of total number of texts)*

	<i>Authors</i>	<i>Folk</i>	<i>Foreign</i>	<i>Pre-revolutionary</i>	<i>Soviet</i>
Period					
Soviet		0	0	7	93
Post-Soviet		13	4	37	45

In the present-day textbook a woman is, first of all, mother, and the basic moral foundation of her behaviour is care of her child, affection and support. In this case, the woman in the texts included in the textbooks, is rarely the object of care. As a rule, the image of mother taking care of children is hardly personified by little, and her needs and interests of neither known to the readers nor taken into account by other characters, which gives grounds to assign this standard of care to the second stage of moral development, in accordance with the with the concept of K. Gilligan. In fact, a woman has no choice – moral dilemma – and her actions and even experience can be treated as prescribed ones, that is to say, the morality remains at the conventional level, and the woman is engaged in

⁵⁴ *Chtenie i literatura: Ucheb.dlya chetyirehlet.nach.shk, 1 kl., V 2 ch.. Ch. 1, Avt-sost. O.V. Dzhzheley, Moscow, Drofa, 2002, p. 67.*

the routine as a «caregiver» of young children, aging parents, hungry husbands and freezing kittens.

In general, the increased number of texts and illustrations intended to create / actualize the morality of care in the post-Soviet textbooks probably results from the current trend of individualization and narrowing of the represented category of «ours» to the level of the immediate environment – family and friends. As a result, the care in the form of custody / protection / support of loved ones becomes the basic moral foundation in the spectrum of foundations translated by schoolbooks.

Conclusion

Thus, the Soviet system of moral guidelines, as demonstrated by our analysis, was based on the categories that, first of all, involve strengthening of the social community, since the virtues, practices and institutions are oriented to binding people together in hierarchically organized interdependent social groups that are able to control everyday life and personal habits of their members. In contrast to them, other two foundations («Care» and «Fairness») are aimed at individualization, and reproduction of virtues and practices intended to protect people from each other and to allow them to live in harmony as autonomous agents that can focus on their own purposes.

Comparative analysis of content (texts and illustrations) of the Soviet and post-Soviet primary school textbooks has revealed both quantitative and qualitative changes in the moral standards, appraisements and judgments to be translated to children. Such moral foundations as care and assistance to the poor and needy, as well as fairness (in terms of «procedural fairness») in the post-Soviet textbooks are translated more consistently and extensively than in the Soviet times, and such categories as «group solidarity and loyalty to ‘we-group’», «righteousness – worship of the objects sacred for the group», and «distributive justice», on the contrary, relegate to the background. In other words, the representativity of individualizing moral foundations expands, while the representativity of those «working on the benefit of group» shrinks [gets narrow].

There are also changes in the objects to which certain moral norms and appraisements should be applied. Thus, «authoritative person/persons» respect for which is translated to the younger generation as a moral norm at the Soviet period are representatives of the older generation – purveyors of the Soviet ideology who proved their devotion. In fact, the ideological ‘maturity’ and political ‘literacy’ are the main features that determine the degree of ‘authority’. It is assumed that ‘authoritative person’ is generally older than the primary student, since the ‘person’ represents a certain social stratum of the Soviet social

hierarchy – a pioneer, member of the Komsomol, and communist, – and rarely gets any personalized features. In the post-Soviet textbooks, on the contrary, age is probably the main criterion to determine the degree of ‘authority’, and apparently associates with the scope and quality of life experience. However, in either case, the emphasis is put on the vertical cultural transmission which stability is the guarantor of the stability of socio-cultural community. Only during the Soviet period, the content of this transmission appears to be ‘correct’ ideological orientation, while in the post-Soviet time it gave way to much more abstract ‘folk wisdom’ which, reasoning from the text arrangement, is translated mainly by teachers and older relatives. Thus, if the image of ‘authoritative person’ in the Soviet textbooks is abstract, and requirements translated by requirements are specific, in the post-Soviet textbooks, on the contrary, it is suggested that the child should respect and obey very specific, dear persons (the circle of which is very limited), but the content of information that the child should adopt is rather poorly regulated.

This observation leads us to two topics: first, the problem of cultural regulation of the content of educational influence on the child, and second, the problem of public education and shared responsibility for its outcome. A significant reduction in the scale of educational influence, despite of not quite convincing attempts to make the educational material somewhat more ‘post-figurative’, in the terminology of M. Mid – a direct consequence of variability of life strategies and styles of life, that is, diversity of values which increased/derived from experience during the period of anomie of the Russian at the post-Soviet period.

Accordingly, the ‘big’ society which did not gain a clear understanding of «what is good and what is bad» distanced itself from the education of younger generations abruptly and unexpectedly. The Soviet model of ‘public education’, when every adult person believed himself/herself to be entitled to translate one or another of norms to children on behalf of the ‘Soviet society’, was replaced with the model of ‘parenting’ when only the closest adults are endowed with the responsibility for education of new members of society.

Generally, similar considerations may also be applied to other moral foundations translated by textbook. Thus, in the foundation of ‘loyalty to in-group’ in the Soviet textbooks the term group is used in reference to the Soviet state and the Soviet people. In the post-Soviet textbooks this line remains, but significantly ‘diluted’ with ideas of cohesion of small groups – mostly, family and friends.

However, there is something in common as to determination of groups and mechanisms of establishment and strengthening of group cohesion in the textbooks of different periods, and this is the exclusive principle of formation of group identity oriented to search for enemy and group consolidation in the process of confrontation to «external aggression». Therefore, projective character of this orientation that localizes all possible vague anxieties and

discontents of individuals, and consolidates the group which creates its own image as absolutely infallible one is quite obvious.

The distributive fairness («mutuality») oriented to strengthening of group cohesion which used to dominate in the Soviet textbooks, in the post-Soviet textbook remains, although as a 'neighbour' of the procedural fairness (fairness as adoption of and adherence to the universal rules and regulations).

Thus, the analysis of the content of school textbooks allows us to conclude that the moral sphere of the Russian society is getting more 'individualized'.