

TATJANA KIILO

Promoting teachers' efficacy through social
constructivist language learning: challenges
of accommodating structure and agency

The case of Russian-speaking teachers in Estonia



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8

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The case of Russian-speaking teachers in Estonia



Institute of Sociology and Social Policy, University of Tartu, Estonia

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LIST OF ORIGINAL STUDIES

The dissertation draws upon original publications, which are referred to in the text of the dissertation by the following respective Roman numerals.

- Study I Kiilo, Tatjana and Kutsar, Dagmar. (2012). When language becomes a power: Russian-speaking teachers in bilingual general education system in Estonia. *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 33 (2): 245–62.
- Study II Kiilo, Tatjana and Kutsar, Dagmar. (2012). Exploring constructivist social learning practices in aiding Russian-speaking teachers to learn Estonian: an action research approach. *Educational Action Research Journal* 20 (4): 587–604.
- Study III Kiilo, Tatjana and Kutsar, Dagmar. (2013). Dilemmas of professional self-identity of Russian-speaking teachers in Estonia: adapting and accommodating to the changes in language-in-education domain. *Journal of Baltic Studies: published online 26 June 2013*.

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AUTHOR'S CONTRIBUTION

The dissertation is entirely based upon the original research of the author and the supervisor contributed to the published **Studies I–III** only as the second author. The author was responsible for the defining of the research problem, formulating the research questions, working through the documents and empirical material, data collection and analysis. Drafting and writing the articles was also a responsibility of the author.

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INTRODUCTION: THE AIM AND CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

During the past century an increase in ethnocultural diversity has become a source of tension and even covert as well as overt conflicts in most Western societies, including the post-socialist countries. It is fascinating to observe the contemporary societies' ideological, political and public policy level deliberations on 'managing' ethnic diversity. Within this discourse I have a special interest in education and particularly in public policy choices in the domain of language-in-education, such as language in teaching and learning in ethnically diverse communities, multicultural and multilingual education, and connections between education and language policy.

According to Kymlicka (2001), educational policy along with language laws are the tools of state's nation-building; and at the same time, the language-in-education domain is one of the targets for minority rights claims. Bromell (2008 p. 147) questions how to assess trade-offs between the minority's rights to their societal culture, incl. rights to preserve and develop native languages through education, and the state's nation-building aspirations provided the finite resources of the state.

This question is applicable also to the situation of the network of Russian-medium schools in Estonia. Since 1991, when Estonia's independence was re-established and the status of the Estonian language as the only official language was restored, the Russian-medium schools have always been an arena for (un)articulated tensions between the state's nation-building interests and the Russian-speaking minority's cultural rights claims. During the period of the Soviet occupation of Estonia, Russian-medium educational institutions were operated in parallel with Estonian-medium schools. In the 2010/2011 academic year (when the current fieldwork of the present doctoral study started), of the 545 general education schools (excluding schools for adult students), Russian was the language of instruction in 58 schools, and both Estonian and Russian were used in 28 schools (Estonian Ministry of Education and Research, 2011). The attempts of the Estonian state to *Estonianize* the Russian-medium schools and to support the harmonization of the educational system include two of the most significant language-in-education policy decisions: introduction of instruction in Estonian into Russian-medium general secondary schools (pursuant to the Basic Schools and Upper Secondary Schools Act of 1993 (*Põhikooli- ja gümnaasiumiseadus*)) and establishment of the Estonian proficiency requirements for teachers, including a control mechanism via a system of language inspection as regulated by the Language Act 1995 (*Keeleseadus*). The first measure contains both compulsory and optional components. Estonian-medium instruction is compulsory in all upper secondary general public educational institutions (with minor exceptions approved by the Government) starting from the 2011/2012 academic year. Participation in the language immersion programme is optional for schools and kindergartens, and

language immersion is available in 54 Russian-medium schools and kindergartens (data as of 2009/2010) (Brown 2012 pp. 204–5).

These policy shifts are justified by the government as measures whose aim is to decrease the segregation existent in the Estonian educational system and promote social cohesion and equality among the graduates of schools in Estonia. It is important to note that the governmental rationale behind the policy shifts in the language-in-education domain is not solidly accepted by the respective interest groups. The essence, format and necessity of the changes are widely debated among different political parties, leaders of the Russian-speaking community, teachers and students. The main questions subjected to close scrutiny in Estonian society are: would the shifts in the language-in-education contribute to equality of educational attainments? Are the measures proportional in respect to the aims to be achieved? What are the risks associated with the policy implementation? What would be the intended and unintended consequences of the policy implementation? What are the alternatives to the reform proposed by the government?

Implementation of the language-in-education decisions has also inspired many scholars to participate in academic-level debate on the proposed policy shifts and to critically (re)examine different aspects of the reform. For example, according to Vetik and Helemäe (2011 p. 17), the idea behind the transition to the Estonian-medium instruction in the secondary schools is to help the Russian-speaking youth ‘to achieve parity with their Estonian counterparts as they enter the labour market’. At the same time, Saar (2008 p. 70) argues that mistakes made during the implementation of the transition to Estonian-medium instruction create sceptical attitudes among Russian-speaking community regarding the government’s actual intentions behind the reform. Russian-speakers do not totally believe the official justification of the reform and are concerned about the risk of assimilation of Russian-speaking youth to the Estonian-speaking community. The Russian-speakers recognise the inequality of (linguistic) possibilities and the lack of choice within the educational system in Estonia, and the compulsory transition to the Estonian-medium instruction is not seen as the ultimate solution to the problems (*ibid.*).

Brown (2012 p. 207) claims that the development of Estonian-medium instruction in the Russian-medium schools is complicated by the poor readiness of teachers and their lack of knowledge of the Estonian language. This is mentioned also by Masso and Kello (2011 p. 134), who also note that besides Estonian language courses the teachers may need methodological consultancy and emotional support. According to them (p. 131), for some educators the changes in the language-in-education domain have occurred too fast and are thus regrettable. The researchers (*ibid.*) warn against a constant environment of stress in teachers’ professional lives and unclear or even contradictory professional requirements. In reference to the main assumptions of the social learning theory by Bandura (1977) on the role models in teaching and learning, and on the effect of sociocultural environment (i.e. interactions with adults,

including teachers) for the child's development, and especially for the development of language and reasoning processes as stressed by Vygotsky (1962, 1978), the teachers' self-efficacy in their professional lives has a major impact on their students. Therefore, teachers' feeling of disempowerment and low self-efficacy in learning the Estonian language may affect in the longer perspective the students' attitudes, experiences, motivational orientation and world-views and can reinforce broader social problems (Masso and Kello 2011 p. 134).

In the current study, I proceed from the statement made by Brown (2012 p. 207), who emphasizes that although the legislation on the transition to the Estonian-medium teaching was adopted more than 15 years ago, the expansion of the Estonian-medium teaching is still considered to be uneven and great disparity is observed between the quality of teaching in Estonian in different regions; and the conclusions made in their studies by Masso and Kello (2010, 2011), Saar (2008), Vetik and Helemäe (2011). By 'placing ethnic categories into the institutions and policies of government' (Rata and Openshaw 2006 p. 7), the decisions in the domain of language-in-education (a part of the nation-building process) have contributed to politicising language in Estonia, and, as an outcome, the repositioning of 'the groups [in society] in relation to each other [...]' (ibid.), including professional groups and communities. A significant structural change occurred in the domain of education, affecting also the position of educational professionals.

The aim of the current doctoral study is to present the in-depth exploration of the interplay between structure and agency in cases of legitimation of the Estonian language by Russian-speaking teachers in Russian-medium schools in Estonia.

The objective of my study is to explore individual experiences of the Russian-speaking educators while coping with the political requirements of the *Estonianization* of the Russian-medium schools in Estonia. My focus is on teachers as the agents of legitimation and mediation of the Estonian language in Russian-medium schools within the context of the social and power relations the teachers are involved in. I also focus on the processes of the internalization of the teachers' agency in response to the described structural changes, and as being embedded into their professional self-identity models. My research is guided by the assumption that a closer look from the sociological perspective at the position of the Russian-speaking teachers within the Estonian educational system could contribute to the understanding on how educators can best adapt to the changes in language-in-education policy. This in turn is a necessary precondition for the successful implementation of the planned policy shifts aimed at bridging the gap between Estonian-medium and Russian-medium schools.

To reach the study aim, the constructivist social learning theory was operationalized into the two-year Estonian language learning mentoring

programme¹ for 50 Russian-speaking teachers. The aim of the mentoring programme was to bring the Russian-speaking educational professionals up to the level in the Estonian language required by the state regulations and provide them with resources for personal and professional growth. The programme was targeted to increase the reflexivity of teachers as professionals in respect to their role as legitimators and mediators of the Estonian language and culture in the classroom and to support the development of the integrative motivation and positive professional identity. The participants in the mentoring programme enjoyed plenty of autonomy in deciding on the language learning individual working plans and the desired outcomes. They also received support from the mentors, who were mostly teachers from Estonian-medium schools. Researchers were directly involved into the design, implementation and evaluation of the programme.

The current doctoral dissertation is based on three closely interrelated, original studies that follow the logic and structure of a cyclical analytical process of action research. The empirical data originate from the mentoring programme, including ex-ante and ex-post data collection and analysis.

The following objectives and research questions were set to facilitate the inquiry process throughout the work on the dissertation:

STUDY I. *The objective of **Study I** is to explore a historical and societal context for Russian-speaking teachers as professionals in Estonia in terms of language and power.*

The research questions are: How can the social position of the Russian-speaking educators in Estonia be defined within the sociological categories of language and power? Could the historical and societal context (incl. state language policy) have possible consequences in the form of low self-efficacy of Russian-speaking educators in learning and mediating the Estonian language?

STUDY II. *The objective of **Study II** is to make insights into the constructivist social learning practices of Estonian language learning amongst Russian-speaking educators.*

The research questions are: How can constructivist social language learning practices contribute to enhancing the agency of Russian-speaking teachers? To what extent could an action research approach compensate for the negative

¹ The research is based on the two-year mentoring programme designed according to the 'Conception of Individual Language Learning with the Assistance of Mentors' by the Supervisor of the current study (Kutsar 2008) and co-financed from the European Social Fund: Mentori toel individuaalse keeleõppe projekt ("Keeleõppe arendamine 2007–2010" tegevuse 5.7. "Vene õppekeelega haridusasutuste pedagoogide ja juhtide eesti keele õpe") [Project on individual language learning with the assistance of mentors ('Development of language learning 2007–2010' Action 5.7. 'Estonian language learning for teachers and administrators of the education institutions, with Russian as the language of instruction')].

effects of the unfavourable contextual factors and help the teachers to adjust to policy shifts in the language-in-education domain?

STUDY III. *The objective of **Study III** is to examine different models of the Russian-speaking educators' self-views, which are constructed and practiced in their everyday working lives while adjusting to the policy shifts in the language-in-education domain.*

The research questions are: How does the obligation to mediate the Estonian language in the classroom impact on the teachers' professional self-views? How is the meaning of the Estonian language shaped in the process of (re)construction of the teachers' professional self-identities? What are the conditions for productive models of self-views to emerge as a response to the changes in the language-in-education domain? What are the mechanisms preventing actionable knowledge of the Estonian language acquired by Russian-speaking educators from becoming coherently embedded in their self-views?

The dissertation draws upon original publications – **Studies I–III**; and *the aim of the introductory article* is to present an analytical overview of the **Studies**. Its first section presents the theoretical framework, which places the research problem within the relevant social theories. The second section provides an overview of the methodological aspects of the doctoral study. The findings are presented in the third section and discussed in the fourth. The introductory article ends with concluding remarks followed by a short summary in Estonian.

I. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The aim of this section is to provide an overview on the theoretical perspectives and frameworks I applied to understand the position of the Russian-speaking teachers within the Estonian educational system.

In general terms while working on the theoretical framework, my interest was in the interplay between the social structures and individual or collective actions (agency). The main theoretical considerations during my work on the dissertation were connected to the following research questions:

- (1) how can the categories of power and language (as conceptualized on the basis of works by Bourdieu) be useful in explaining the disempowerment of human agency (i.e. low self-efficacy of educators) in broader socio-historical settings?
- (2) how is the meaning of social change constructed as derived from particular [agents'] interactions and relations within the particular ((co)constructed) context, and how can individual and collective agency be enhanced?
- (3) how do individual and collective positions/dispositions and actions shape agents' self-identities within their professional context (based on the ecological model of human development and intersubjectivist perspective of identity formation)?

In respect to my research problem the concurrence of language and power in Estonia, i.e. shaping the structural change in the domain of language-in-education, comes into focus. In my work, I explored the ways in which the Russian-speaking teachers, as reflexive professionals, perceive, evaluate, interpret and reinterpret the changes in the language-in-education domain and how these collectively and individually constructed meanings are translated into (social) actions in the course of the mentoring programme. The last question requires a theoretical perspective on self-identity (re)formation mediated by interactions and social relations. An attempt was made on my part to explore the process of the teachers' professional self-identity negotiation based on the changes in the professional social structure, which in turn caused the changes in their interactions and social relations.

While working through the relevant social theories it was challenging to navigate the broader sociological debate about theoretical concepts, such as 'structure', 'agency', 'power', 'language', 'profession', 'identity', 'tradition' and 'change', and to develop my interpretation of these concepts. The theoretical section starts with the debate on language and power followed by the discussion on the duality of structure and agency. The third part of this section elaborates the self-identity formation issues in the context of the sociological debate on professionalism.

I.1. Critical account of ‘national language’ as a tool of power

Discussion of critical accounts of language is central to the present study. The sociological and philosophical debate on language is very complex and diverse. Fairclough (1989) reviews the following approaches to language study: linguistics, sociolinguistics, pragmatics, cognitive psychology and artificial intelligence, conversational analysis and discourse analysis (including language and ideology studies), and social theory (with references to Michel Foucault, Jürgen Habermas, Pierre Bourdieu etc). To illustrate the plurality of views on language and interrelatedness of research on language and social life, Mawson (2010 p. 25) claims that ‘the philosophy of man became the philosophy of language in the twentieth century and, we can see that linguistic theories such as those of Saussure offered metaphorically applicable terms for accounting for human activity’. Corson (1993 pp. 2–3) examines four lines of debate on the relationship between language and power: 1) ‘language as an instrument for wielding power even while reflecting [...] upon the rhetorical force of that usage’; 2) post-structuralist debate on the instability of human subjectivity and discourses about power distributions and social structures; 3) debate that links ‘power and language by means of ideology’, including studies on language in the ‘structural relations of domination’; and 4) debate about ‘any power that language has in shaping thought and world view’.

For the purpose of the current research in the domain of language-in-education, I need to rethink the concept of ‘language’ and to explore the sociological meaning of ‘national language’ or ‘official language’, i.e. to place ‘language’ into the domain of social institutions and practices of national educational system. Fairclough (2006 p. 8) claims that ‘discourse’ as a ‘particular way of conceptualizing and researching language’ allows for approaching ‘language as one facet of social life which is closely [...] interconnected with other facets of social life, and is therefore a significant [...] aspect of all the major issues in social scientific research – economic systems, social relations, power and ideology, institutions, social change, social identity and so on.’ Fairclough (1989 p. 20) suggests that the critical accounts of language require the conceptualization of language ‘as a form of social practice’, a ‘discourse’. According to Fairclough (*ibid.* 23) ‘there is not an external relationship “between” language and society, but an internal and dialectical relationship’ and continues: ‘language is a part of society; linguistic phenomena *are* social phenomena of a special sort, and social phenomena *are* (in part) linguistic phenomena’.

Fairclough (*ibid.* pp. 20–22) discusses also other meanings of the term ‘language’, e.g. language as *langue* and *parole* in the work of Ferdinand de Saussure, and comes out with a theoretical assumption on the essence of ‘national language’, which is relevant to the object of my study. Notably, Saussure understands *langue* in a unitary and homogeneous sense. ‘Saussure

writes as if all language communities whatever their social conditions had their *langue*, and for him the possession of *langue* is a condition for the possession of language' (*ibid.* 21). Another important claim of Saussure referred to by Fairclough (*ibid.*) is that 'everyone in a language community has equal access to and command of its *langue*'. The Saussurean notion of *langue* is therefore dominated by 'rhetoric of standardization' (*ibid.* p. 22), Fairclough's (*ibid.*) assumption is that this interpretation of *langue* refers 'to transmutation of standard languages into mythical *national languages*'; and continues his elaborations on the rationale for this transmutation:

'A political requirement for creating and sustaining a nation state is that its unifying institutions should have legitimacy among the masses of the people, and winning legitimacy often calls for such rhetoric.' (*ibid.*)

These theoretical elaborations on standardized, unified and legitimate qualities of *national languages* are reminiscent of the Pierre Bourdieu's considerations on language as an instrument of power and action, a legitimate language – official language (1991a). In his essay (*ibid.*) Bourdieu critically examines the presuppositions of the linguistic theory of Chomsky and Saussure. Bourdieu (*ibid.*) performs an analysis of the language legitimation practices as a gradual social process. By doing this Bourdieu breaks with the dichotomy of '*langue*' and '*parole*', and brings in 'the question of the economic and social conditions of the acquisition of the legitimate [linguistic] competence and of the constitution of the [linguistic] market in which this definition of the legitimate and the illegitimate is established and imposed' (*ibid.* p. 44).

The main assumptions behind Bourdieu's (*ibid.* p. 45) conceptualizations of official language are: (1) the language is '*a code*' in two senses, firstly, it establishes equivalence between sounds and meanings; and secondly, it functions as 'a system of norms regulating linguistic practices'; (2) 'the official language is bound up with the state, both in its genesis and in its social uses' – [nation-]state formation predetermines the conditions 'for the constitution of the unified linguistic market, dominated by the official language'; (3) integration into a single 'linguistic community' is a product of the political domination; (4) teachers are the agents of the state responsible for the legitimation of the official language – they 'are empowered *universally* to subject the linguistic performance of speaking subjects to examination and to the legal sanction of academic qualifications'. The linguistic market is a 'set of political and social conditions [power relations] of the production of the producers/consumers' (*ibid.* p. 57) of language.

The educational system – 'an instrument of "intellectual and moral integration"' of the nation – plays an important role in the construction, imposition and legitimation of an official language (*ibid.* pp. 48–49). Unification of the linguistic market (based on domination of an official language) is a complex process involving different institutions and mechanisms, including

political and economic unification (being not solely a subject of linguistic policy of a state) (*ibid.* p. 50). Therefore, the educational system as an institution has a dual position – being an agent of the language legitimization process (as imposed by a state) and at the same time being influenced by the other mechanisms of the unification of the linguistic market (not always and not solely controlled by a state). Bourdieu claims that the position of different languages (cultural contexts) within the educational system becomes important for ‘those who seek to defend a threatened linguistic capital’ (for example, minority groups), because the educational system possesses ‘the monopoly in the large-scale production of producers/consumers, and therefore in the reproduction of the market’ (*ibid.* p. 57).

The recent research on language and power also suggests critical consideration of the interests of different actors’ in the domain of language. While participating in the reproduction of the linguistic market both state and non-state actors could influence the position of ‘the languages of less powerful’ (Brown 2012 p. 196). In the critical study of language ‘the structure of social relations within the social space and the position of those within that space from whom the variation emerges’ (Mawson 2010 p. 51) should be addressed. Any linguistic competence presupposes acquisition of ‘a whole social matrix, originating from the structures of society’; and a system of differentiation ‘that is socially constituted and set accordingly to (ultimately) power structures within the social space as a whole’ (*ibid.* p. 55). Furthermore, language operates as ‘a symbolic power’, since it participates in the production and reproduction of ‘systems of dominance in line with established social structures’ (*ibid.*).

To summarise, the Bourdieu’s perspective on official language and language legitimization practices suggests a focus on how language is used, when ‘people exercise their social power, social competence and impose their authority’ (**Study I**). The interplay between language and power in the language-in-education domain is further elaborated in **Study I** of the current research.

1.2. Dual character of structure and agency

Following the developmental path of the social sciences I was challenged in my research by the dualism of subjectivism and objectivism, and by the difficulties of escaping the opposition between these two, and recognizing the duality of structure and agency (**Study I**).

In 1966, Paul Diesing in his article on subjectivist and objectivist arguments ‘by reference to specific social science methods’ (p. 125) arrives at the conclusion that subjectivism and objectivism ‘pass one another by, rather than [meet] one another’. Diesing (p. 124) states that the main argument of objectivists’ is based on the universal characteristics of the scientific method, while the subjectivists focus on the universal characteristics of human subject-matter; and his conclusion is that in comparing the specific social science

methods we do not find any ‘grand dualism, but rather detailed disagreements over theory and method [...] the two opposing theories turn out to be supplementary, each important in its own way and each equally scientific’ (p. 131). In his book on science and ideology, Diesing (2005) reinterprets the philosophical dualism of subjectivism and objectivism as a contradiction of different scientific traditions, as a challenge ‘to understand ourselves both as subject and as object, both as free and as determined’ (p.329).

Pierre Bourdieu’s method of scientific inquiry, which Bourdieu himself labelled as ‘*constructivist structuralism* or *structuralist constructivism*’ (1989 p. 14), ‘permits engagement with both structuralism or holism and constructivism or individualism, as one phenomenon’ (Bigo 2011 p. 234). Bourdieu sees the major contribution of ‘structuralist revolution’ in application of the ‘*relational* mode of thinking’ to the social world, which could be represented as ‘an ensemble of invisible relations’ (Bourdieu, 1989 pp. 15–16). Bourdieu claims that the structuralist vision, ‘an analysis of relative positions and of the objective relations between these positions’ (where ‘objective relations are the relations between positions occupied within the distributions of the resources [...]’ (*ibid.* p. 17)), is a necessary but not sufficient moment of research (p. 16). Another necessary moment of research is ‘a sociology of the perception of the social world, that is, a sociology of the construction of visions of the world, which themselves contribute to the construction of this world’ (*ibid.* 18). Although Bourdieu (*ibid.*) names three challenges of the constructivist vision: ‘construction is not carried out in a social vacuum but subjected to structural constraints; [...] structuring structures, cognitive structure, are themselves socially structured because they have a social genesis; [...] the construction of social reality is not only an individual enterprise but may also become a collective enterprise’. Bourdieu’s theoretical principles of the research inspired me ‘to switch’ between two visions (structuralist and constructivist) in the course of my research. I started by exploring structural characteristics determining the position of Russian-speaking teachers (**Study I**) and finished my work by investigating the teachers’ perception of their profession and of their dispositions within the language-in-education domain (**Study III**).

The problem of subjectivism and objectivism conforms to the long-standing debate on how to define the notions of structure (‘an unavoidable epistemic metaphor in the social sciences’ (Sewell 1992 p. 27)) and agency. In **Study I**, I give the simplified definition of structure and agency based on their opposition, dualism, as follows: *agency is the capacity of individuals to influence/change their life-spans and structure stands for systematic arrangements, which limit or determine the individuals’ choices*. Later in my text, I refer to the Anthony Giddens’ ‘Theory of Structuration’ (1984) and his conceptualization of structure. Structure incorporates the rules of production and reproduction of social systems and resources and is by its nature ‘dual’ and potentially mutable (*ibid.*). Giddens claims that ‘the constitution of agents and structures are not two independently given sets of phenomena, a dualism, but represent a duality’

(1984 p. 25). Structure is always both constraining and enabling (empowering) agency. Human agents are 'knowledgeable' and able to apply knowledge reflexively 'in the production and reproduction of interaction' (*ibid.* p. 29).

Sewell reconceptualized the metaphors of structure and agency based on his 'critique, reformulation, and elaboration' of Giddens' 'duality of structure' and Bourdieu's concept of habitus², as follows:

'Structures [...] are constituted by mutually sustaining cultural schemas and sets of resources that empower and constrain social action and tend to be reproduced by that action. Agents are empowered by structures, both by the knowledge of cultural schemas that enables them to mobilize resources and by the access to resources that enables them to enact schemas. [...] Structure is the continually evolving outcome and matrix of a process of social interaction' (Sewell 1992 p. 27)

Structures are therefore in constant change, making possible the empowerment of individual agents provided that resourceful and powerful agency 'sustains the reproduction of structures and makes possible their transformations' (*ibid.*). Sewell's reformulation of the concepts of 'agency' and 'structure' are based on three necessary theoretical assumptions: (1) recognition of the agency of social actors; (2) recognition of the possibility of change and transformation of structure (*ibid.* p. 3); (3) recognition of knowledge and resources as determinants of the agent's position and dispositions.

According to Sewell, empowering of the human agency occurs through access to resources ('capital' in Bourdieu's sense or 'media of power' in Sewell's sense (1992 p. 9)). In my view, this interpretation of 'empowerment' is asymmetrical and influenced more by the structuralist vision than by the constructivist approach; the constructivist vision (referred to in **Studies I and II**) is agency-centred and also asymmetrical, and suggests that individual empowerment entails developing critical consciousness, positive identity, and taking social action (Carr (2003) and Gutierrez (1995); referred to by Hipolito-Delgado and Lee (2007)). In **Study I**, the reference (Lukes 2005 p. 71) to the generic sense of power 'as being the abilities or capacities of individual agents or collectivities activated by agents or collectivities to do so' is reminiscent of the Sewell's conceptualization of 'resources' as 'media of power' (Sewell 1992 p. 9) and includes also the possibility of change (action). Lukes' (2005 p. 68) claim on the essence of 'the power of the powerful', which 'consists of their [powerful] being capable of and responsible for affecting (negatively or

² Habitus is 'a system of schemes of perception and appreciation of practices, cognitive and evaluative structures which are acquired through the lasting experience of a social position', it is 'a system of schemes of classification' (Bourdieu 1989 p. 19). Although the social world could be constructed based on 'plurality of possible structuring', it still presents itself 'as a highly structured reality' (*ibid.*), 'as a symbolic system which is organized according to the logic of difference, of differential distance', as a product of 'double structuring' (*ibid.* p. 20).

positively) the (subjective and/or objective) interests of others [...]', refers to both action and capacity for action leading to empowerment or dis-empowerment of others (less powerful). According to Lukes (*ibid.*) 'the powerful will include those who both contribute to and are in a position to reduce or remedy others' powerlessness'.

In **Study I**, I defined the focus of my research as being on 'roles, taken or imposed, or behaviour, opportunities (choices) and capacities (abilities) of agents within power relations'. Having summarised my work on **Studies II and III**, I understand that 'power relations' could actually be substituted in this sentence by the term 'social relations' (Garner, Raschka and Sercombe 2006 p. 68). Focusing on social relations allows us to go beyond the terminology of control, domination, paternalism, and resource (or capital)-centred approach, beyond 'the inevitable focus on ideological and political conflict or accommodation [...]' (*ibid.*). 'A social-psychological focus on, for example, the many ways in which people seek commonality and mutuality through their interactions' (*ibid.*) should also be considered.

Pierre Bourdieu's method of scientific inquiry based on duality of subjectivism and objectivism, constructivist and structuralist visions, presupposes an engagement with the study of the dynamics of power and social relations in concrete sociological arenas. To conclude, the duality of structure and agency and understanding of social life as an 'interplay of power and structure' (Lukes 2005 p. 69) allows us to speak of the (dis)empowerment of human agency by means of structural changes, changes in social relations, the changes in resources, and the abilities (capacities) of the individual agents or collectivities (**Study I**).

1.3. Theorizing self-identity formation in a teacher's profession

The position of Russian-speaking teachers is examined in the study also from the perspective of professional self-identity formation (**Study III**).

In the research, teachers are seen as *reflective* (Schön 1983) and *reflexive practitioners* who are 'constantly engaged in the process of questioning (self-monitoring) one's own knowledge claims and those of others as he/she engages in social interaction and the micro-practices of knowledge/power' (D'Cruz, Gillingham and Melendez 2007, p. 83).

The concepts of 'profession' and 'professionalization' are widely debated among sociologists and have been variously defined also due to the convergence between Continental and Anglo-American sociological understandings of 'professionalization' (Evetts 2008). Edman (2001 pp. 302–303) presents a brief overview of the development of sociology of professions – from the functionalist assumptions of *the trait approach* (focusing on special characteristics of professionals) to *the power approach* (focusing on power

relations within the professions). In his work, Edman (2001 p. 301) considers professionalization as an ‘interplay between professional structures and social fields’ (social field – in Bourdieu’s terminology) and argues that the most important mechanism regulating this interplay is jurisdiction – ‘the legitimate right to exercise occupational practice in a field’ (*ibid.* p. 304). The jurisdictions are shaped and produced by actors inside and outside the system of professions (*ibid.* p. 305).

Edman’s perspective on professionalization is helpful in understanding the context of theoretical and practical debates on accountability, autonomy, roles, interplay of knowledge/power, ideology, regulations etc in the teacher’s profession. These discourses could be seen as a part of social relations within professional structures and relevant social fields. The jurisdictions (legitimacy) in a teacher’s profession is shaped and produced by various actors in the related fields/arenas. In **Study III** five subsequent arenas were determined following Bronfenbrenner’s ecological approach (1979 pp. 21–9) and Mantero’s (2004) discursive model of a teacher’s identity formation. They are: (1) the classroom (microsystems layer), which contains interactions with the students; (2) the profession (mesosystems layer), including interactions within the teaching’ community; (3) the Russian-speaking community (exosystems layer), including the local governments, parents, media, politicians etc; and (4) Estonian society (macrosystems layer), which contains the language-in-education ideologies, attitudes, values, laws and regulations relevant to the teachers’ profession. The fifth system, the chronosystem, refers to the evolution in systems and in the perceptions of change and tradition of these systems over time.

A teacher’s professional identity has recently emerged as a separate research field within the research on the teaching’ profession. Beijaard, Meijer and Verloop (2004 p. 109) argue that the research on a teacher’s professional identity formation could contribute to the understanding of how teachers accommodate and adapt to change in their everyday professional lives. Such research could reveal the ‘friction in [a] teacher’s professional identity’ (*ibid.*), a teacher’s positions and dispositions in social relations and possibilities of realization of positions/dispositions into social actions. This means that exploring a teacher’s self-identity formation could help to link the context (i.e. changes in the context and evolution in systems) to the teachers’ (re)interpretation of their everyday professional experiences with an orientation towards exercise of their agency (*ibid.* pp. 122–123).

In my work, I limit (to some extent) theorizing on the concept of ‘identity’ and process of self-identification to intersubjectivist understanding of identity developed in the works of Mead (1956), Habermas (2002) and Lacan (1999). More detailed accounts on intersubjectivist perspective of identity formation are presented in **Study III**.

To summarise, a teacher’s professional self-identity refers to their perception of self (‘sense of self’/ ‘self-views’). At least some of the aspects of self-views are socially constructed through interactions with and in relation to others in the

teachers' professional practice (within the relevant layers/ fields, according to Mantero, 2004). It is important to note that the process of identification is gradually developmental and is mediated by linguistic discursive communication (Habermas 2002 p. 46–7). Exploring the process of professional self-identity formation of teachers could be helpful in understanding the teachers' reaction (the ways of accommodation) to the changes in the fields relevant to their profession. The theoretical assumption is that the self-identity (re)formation process is triggered when the teachers encounter the discrepancies in the significant layers/fields (Mantero 2004, p. 148) and in their perceptions of change and tradition in the relevant fields over time. Some changes are therefore qualified 'as formative or transformative for the emergence of identity' (Bamberg 2011 p. 8).

In **Study III**, I refer to theoretical perspective of Bamberg (2011) on three dilemmas of identity formation ('navigation' – in Bamberg's terminology) to explain the mechanisms of accommodation and adaptation to change. Bamberg (2011, p. 6) argues that 'identity takes off from the continuity/change dilemma, and from here ventures into issues of uniqueness (self-other differentiation) and agency [...] notions of self and sense of self start from the self/other and agency differentiation and from here can filter into the diachronicity of continuity and change'. Within the paradigm of the continuity/change dilemma across time, continuity is understood as 'tradition' or 'reproduction in action' (Williams 1981 cited in Mantero 2004, p. 148); and 'change' refers to the outside factors (events) inserted into individual lives (Bamberg 2011, p. 8). In **Study III**, three dilemmas of identity (re)formation were operationalized into the following questions relevant to the case of the Russian-speaking teachers in Estonia: (1) How do the teachers sort out and present a sense of self, based on the changes in the language-in-education domain; the Estonianization of their workplaces and profession? (2) How 'tradition' and 'change' are articulated in the teachers' professional self-identity in the interplay within the layers of the classroom, the profession, the community, and the society? (3) How do the issues of language-in-education influence self-identity differentiation and integration processes? (4) How do teachers perceive their ability for 'active and agentive locus of control' (Bamberg 2011 p. 9) and how is their agency (discretion in the professional domain) realized in the broader social and political context of the community and the society?

2. METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In this section my goal is to introduce the constructivist learning paradigm as the main methodological framework for the current study, to discuss the action research approach to the scientific inquiry in general and describe the action research process as it was applied to the mentoring programme³ (implemented in 2008–2011). I also give an overview of the data analysis methods used in **Studies I–III**.

2.1. Constructivist language learning

My main empirical focus is on how individuals accommodate and adapt to social transformations and change in particular sociopolitical and sociohistorical settings. Based on theoretical considerations the constructivist perspective to learning was chosen as the methodological approach for the design of the Estonian language learning process within the mentoring programme – subject to action research.

In the constructivist perspective, learning emerges out of experience, through the intermediary of environment (for example, classical constructivist perspective on learning is presented in Dewey's (1916) text). Learning becomes an action and the outcome of learning is personal and collective growth (*ibid.*). Learning is therefore possible by means of interaction with others.

The constructivist learning stance assumes certain role-models for *learners* and *teachers*. Both the teachers and learners should orientate towards social action and co-construction of knowledge, new meanings and understandings. Dialoguing and interaction are at the heart of the constructivist learning process. New knowledge may also be associated with the transformation of the learner's own identity (Timmermans 2010). Learning is always contextual and determined by the environment (including the previous personal experience, attitudes and beliefs etc. of a learner).

The constructivist approach as applied to Estonian language learning in the mentoring programme (designed according to the conception by Kutsar (2008)) was meant to help Russian-speaking teachers to become more efficient both in the language acquisition and as legitimators and mediators of the Estonian language and culture in the classroom. I assumed that low self-efficacy in language learning was caused by the contextual factors associated with the implementation of the changes in the language-in-education policy domain. Provided that knowledge and resources are determinants of an agent's position and dispositions, the knowledge of the Estonian language and social learning experiences acquired by means of the mentoring programme were supposed to change the asymmetry in social and power relations, to empower the teachers in

³ Refer to footnote on page 11.

their professional practice and increase their efficacy as legitimators of the Estonian language and culture. Based on the constructivist social learning theoretical perspective the idea behind the mentoring programme was to bring in small structural change, change in relationships, interactions and in resources (dispositions) of participants (agents), to empower the teachers to meet the requirements of the language-in-education policy in a more effective way. The outcomes of the programme were supposed to become embedded in the (re)construction of the understandings, meanings and discourse of other systematic arrangements and result in (social) action and changes in the self-views (identities) of the participants. This methodological perspective is introduced in **Study II** by means of the input-output-outcome relationship model (Figure 1). The model describes the expected mediating role of the constructivist language learning practices in the language learning process and determines the methodological focus of the research, which includes the links between the language learning process (incl. constructivist perspective), the contextual factors, practical arrangements of the mentoring programme, and the teachers' personal and professional development on both an individual and collective level.

The constructivist approach to language learning was operationalized in the mentoring programme activities by means of the following three constructivist social learning practical approaches (Input 1 in Figure 1): the appreciative inquiry method (Cooperrider et al. 2003; Preskill and Catsambas 2006; Fry et al. 2002), the threshold concepts theoretical perspective (Meyer and Land 2003, 2005; Meyer, Land, and Baillie 2010), and the intercultural learning tools (Hofstede 2001; Bennett 1986, 1993). These theoretical and practical approaches are described in more detail in **Study II**.

As a general framework, this combination of approaches supported the interactions and dialoguing between the participants, created a supportive intercultural environment for learners, and addressed the troublesome nature of language learning associated with the reconstruction and reintegration of personal and professional identities of the participants, thereby forming the mediating factors in the learning process (Figure 1). These approaches helped to transform the general methodological considerations described in this section into the 2-year-long action-oriented mentoring programme, including the modelling of the productive social context, encouragement of certain social practices associated with language learning, and supporting the inclusion of learners into the target linguistic community. However, there was a high degree of variability as to what extent each of the approaches was applied in the mentoring practices.

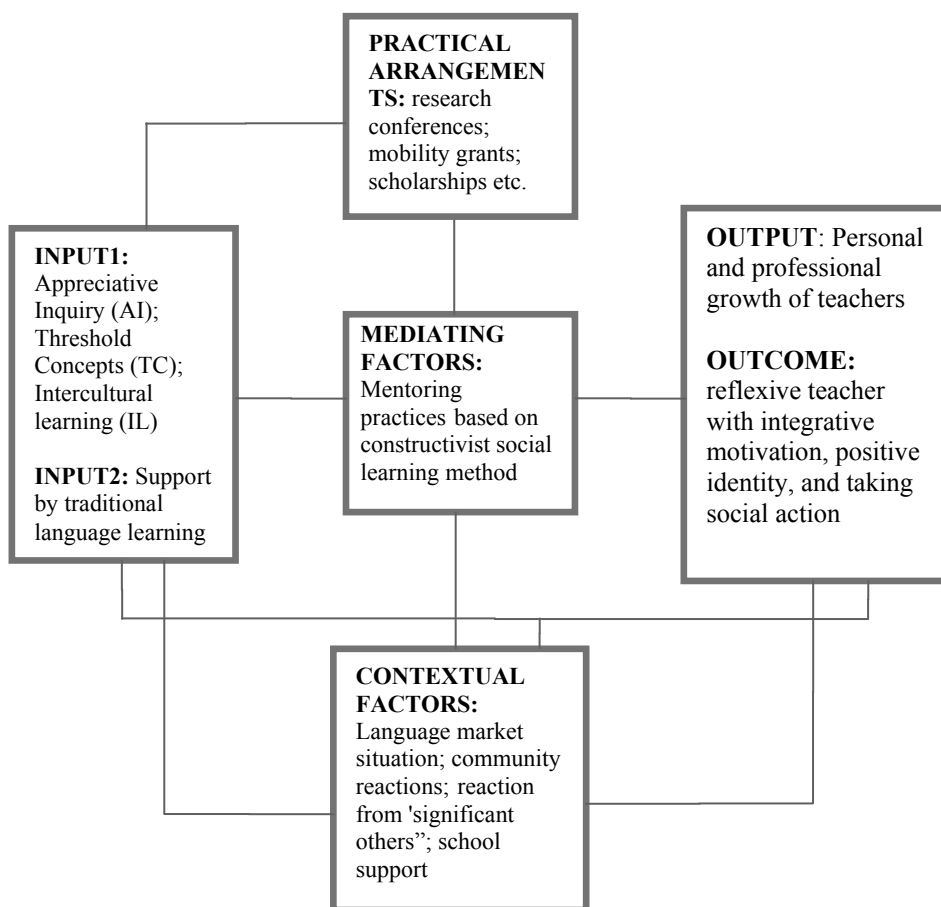


Figure 1. Input-output-outcome relationship model (Study II).

2.2. Data and methods

In the data and methods section, firstly, the action research methodology is introduced, followed by a presentation of the cyclical process of action research in the current study; secondly, the issues of data corpus-construction and methods of analysis are addressed. The principles of action research as described in this section are in line with and compliment the general methodological constructivist stance and three concrete operational approaches (the appreciative inquiry method, the threshold concepts theoretical perspective, and the intercultural learning tool) applied in the mentoring programme in relation to language learning by the Russian-speaking teachers.

2.2.1. Action research as a method of scientific inquiry

Historically, the development of action research methodology dates back to the first half of the twentieth century. Several leading figures, such as Lewin (1946), Corey (1953), Carr and Kemmis (1986), Elliott (1991) could be mentioned, and who have worked on the key concepts and practices of action research: Theoretically, the tradition of action research is rooted according to Somekh (2006 p. 12) in Lewin's social psychology and John Dewey's perspective on 'learning by doing' (Dewey 1973 referred to in Somekh 2006 p. 12). According to McTaggard (1994 p. 316) some of the ideas behind the concept of action research originate from the practice of Jacob L. Moreno, who introduced this method by group participation in community development initiatives. Somekh (2006 p. 12) argues that theories of action in action research 'draw heavily on the European philosophers, Habermas, Gadamer and Arendt'. Eikeland (2006) explores in his work the relevance of the Aristotelian concept of *phrónêsis* and Aristotle's *praxis*-orientation for action research.

Action research was chosen as the primary research methodology for the current doctoral study because it helps to understand the complex social processes and situations (Somekh 1995) and 'to overcome the limitations of traditional methodologies when researching changing situations' (Somekh 2006 p. 1). In the action research methodology the agency is understood as 'the capacity of a self to take actions that will have an impact on a social situation' (*ibid.* p. 15). Kemmis and Wilkinson (1998 p. 21) characterize action research in terms of 'a spiral of self-reflective circles', including such stages as 'planning of change, acting and observing the consequences of the change, reflecting on these processes and consequences, and then re-planning, and so forth' (*ibid.*). Kemmis and Wilkinson (*ibid.* p. 22) place collaboration into the heart of the action research process, arguing that 'action research is directed towards studying, reframing, and reconstructing practices, which are, by their nature, social'. In addition, action research uncovers participatory meaning that individuals engaged in research try 'to get a handle on the ways their knowledge shapes their sense of identity and agency, and to reflect critically on how their present knowledge frames and constrains their actions' (*ibid.* p. 23). The action research process is also described by the authors (*ibid.* p. 24) as emancipatory, critical (focuses on language (discourses) and power issues), and recursive (reflective, dialectical). Methodologically, action research is 'not the machinery of research techniques but an abiding concern with the relationships between social and educational *theory* and *practice*' (*ibid.* p. 34).

Eikeland (2007 pp. 47) poses the question of 'how do action researchers produce, test, and validate knowledge?' According to Eikeland's classification of action research approaches and researchers' strategies (*ibid.* p. 48), it is possible to apply conventional research technics or radical self-reflection to produce, test and validate knowledge in action research.

In designing the action research with the Russian-speaking teachers conventional research techniques were applied and eight methodological principles of the inclusive definition of action research (summarised by Somekh (2006 pp. 6–8)) were followed: (1) the integrative nature of research and action in a series of flexible cycles; (2) the collaborative partnership of participants and researchers; (3) the development of knowledge and understanding of a unique kind; (4) a vision of social transformation and aspirations for greater social justice for all, underlying the design of action research; (5) a high level of reflexivity and sensitivity to the role of the self in mediating the research process; (6) explanatory engagement with a wide variety of existing knowledge; (7) engendering powerful learning for participants, and (8) placing the inquiry in an understanding of broader social contexts. The implications of methodological principles are discussed in more details in **Study II**.

Based on 46 publications during the period of 2000–2008, Somekh and Zeichner (2009) introduce five indicative ways of how action research is used in various local educational contexts, including (1) action research aimed at promotion of greater social justice in societies in transition; (2) action research initiated by governments to support school reforms and teacher development; (3) action research as a form of control over teachers (without true ownership of the research process); (4) action research implemented in partnership with schools and universities; and (5) action research as a ‘teacher-directed form of professional development’ (*ibid.* p. 18). According to this indicative classification action research implemented with the Russian-speaking teachers in Estonia could be positioned as a project initiated (partly) by the Estonian government (Estonian Ministry of Education and Research) to support school reform. As Somekh and Zeichner (2009 p. 19) suggest, ‘the political purposes of action research’ should be acknowledged when presenting and interpreting the results. The authors’ (*ibid.*) general conclusion on the potential of action research as a methodological tool is as follows:

‘Action research can be seen as a potent methodology for educational reform precisely because its core principle of combining *action* with *research* inevitably challenges the routines of the *status quo*. It gives the teachers, who carry it out, a means to develop agency to bring about change; [...]

This conclusion provides the rationale for the application of action research methodology in the case of the Russian-speaking teachers in Estonia. The expected benefit of the action research methodology as implemented within the framework of the mentoring programme is that it focuses on change, on individual and collective actions and allows for critical (self-)reflection. The aim of the current study is to present the exploration of the interplay between structure and agency. Based on previous elaborations, the action research methodology supports the development of participants’ agency, shapes their sense of identity and facilitates structural change. Being engaged with the study of the power and social relations in the action research settings (context of

action research community) it is possible to capture the interplay between structure and agency in a dynamic way – observing, critically reflecting and facilitating change in participants’ relationships, interactions and in their resources. It is also important to move beyond the project community context and explore the positions (and dispositions) of action research participants in their everyday context.

2.2.2. General strategy of the study, data corpus construction and methods of analysis

A cyclical process of action research was applied through the design of the two-year mentoring programme and as an integrative framework for **Studies I–III**. In **Study I** the research problem is contextualized, and the preliminary analysis of the situation and position of Russian-speaking teachers in historical retrospective is accomplished. **Study I** serves as an important input for planning of actions in the mentoring programme. **Study II** presents the design and preliminary results of the mentoring programme. In the action research terminology the process of inquiry in **Study II** could be labelled as ‘observatory’. **Study III** serves the purposes of critical reflection on the output and outcome of the implemented actions during the mentoring programme. **Study III** demonstrates the complexity of professional interactions and dilemmas teachers as professionals face in their everyday working lives. The conclusions of **Study III** allow for redirecting to the contextualization and planning stage in order to discuss the problem from a new perspective, based on the experiences from implemented actions. The logic of the action research was used in a similar way, primarily to design the mentoring programme based on three operational-level approaches (appreciative inquiry, thresholds concepts and intercultural learning tools), including events such as research conferences, seminars and mobility grants. Figure 1 in **Study II** gives an overview of the main stages of the integrative approach to actions in research during the mentoring programme.

Empirical data were collected as suggested by McTaggart (1994 p. 327), ‘in the usual naturalistic research ways’. The choices made in data corpus-construction are discussed in more details for **Studies I–III** separately. It is important to note that validation of data collection methods and the sources was accomplished by means of respondent (participant) validation, co-authorship (for **Studies I–III**), rigorous approach to sampling and data collection, and ‘continuous reflexivity and self-scrutiny’ (Pyett 2003 p. 1171) while working on the analysis of data. Where possible, the original snapshots (quotations) from the documents and interviews are included in the presentation of findings in order to enable the reader to critically examine the researchers’ interpretations of the qualitative material. The methods, data sources and results were checked several times with the expert group comprised of operating organizations’

representatives, researchers and other stakeholders, and also discussed with the participants during and after the mentoring programme.

Study I is a desk-based study, where the legislative acts and strategic documents within the domain of language policy and language legitimization practices in historical retrospective are analysed. In **Study I** the history of Estonia over the last century (from 1918 to 2008) with the changes in the legislative landscape and the respective linguistic situation is briefly considered. The specific focus is on the legislative acts and strategic documents from the period 1989–2008. Some secondary data from Statistics Estonia, Activity Report 2008 of the Language Inspectorate, and the Estonian Ministry of Education and Research are also referred to in the introductory part of the article. The conclusions and previous qualitative and quantitative analysis accomplished on the similar topics are used to elaborate upon the findings and validate the results.

Study II relies on qualitative data obtained from the following sources: (1) materials (posters, presentations etc) from research conferences at the end of each stage of the mentoring programme; (2) structured self-evaluation reports submitted monthly by each mentoring pair (Appendix 1 – List of mentoring pairs; Appendix 2 – list of open-ended questions in the self-evaluation report form) during the mentoring programme. The structured self-evaluation reports inform the researchers about the aims, objectives, activities, successes, difficulties and results in Estonian language learning as jointly documented by the mentoring pairs (for more details on the content of self-evaluation reports please refer to **Study II**). The reports of ten mentoring pairs (selected after consultation with the expert group based on geographical and professional profiles of the mentees) are used as an empirical source for the analysis. One of the limitations of the data-corpus for **Study II** is that the reports are not uncontroversial as a source of empirical data, taking into account the communication model used to direct the evaluation process, the formality of the situation of asking questions and other specific circumstances, including the language used in the reporting, which was supposed to be Estonian for both parties (mentors and mentees).

In **Study II**, the elements of discourse analysis have been applied and data analysis has been carried out on two levels: (1) the first level of the analysis is formed from the participants' observations and (self) reflections on variable 'repertoires' within the mentoring practices; (2) the second level of the analysis uncovers critical insights and reflections of the researchers, focusing on the contexts of the 'repertoires' identified during the first-level analysis.

In **Study III** the collaboration with the 50 Russian-speaking teachers who participated in the mentoring programme continues. New empirical data on their professional experience after the end of the programme is collected and used for the analysis. A two-step data collection procedure included (1) a quantitative questionnaire focusing on different aspects of personal agency in the Estonian language learning process and utilizing the language in the professional

environment; and (2) nine qualitative interviews aimed at collaborative interpretation and reflection on the results of the survey (Appendix 3 – Interview schedule from Study III).

In the online quantitative questionnaire, indicators of teachers' personal and professional integrative motivation, self-efficacy in learning the Estonian language and utilization of the knowledge of the language in their professional activities are included. Invitations to answer the quantitative on-line survey (Appendix 4 – Quantitative questionnaire used in Study III) were sent to the 50 mentees, former participants in the mentoring programme. The total number of started surveys is 42, the number of finished and completed surveys is 39. The response rate is 78%. This response rate is considered to be sufficient taking into consideration the format and purpose of the survey – 'identify the most controversial/difficult topics associated with the teachers' self-views and to craft meaningful questions for the discussions with the interviewees.' (**Study III**).

Probably the non-response (including unfinished and incomplete surveys) is associated with the length of the questionnaire and refusal of respondents to participate in the survey due to personal reasons. An effort was made to interview (by telephone) the respondents who refused to answer the questionnaire. The main reason for non-response mentioned during telephone communication is a high workload, lack of time, and lack of interest in the programme results. Little evidence of non-response bias is identified; weighting cannot be applied due to characteristics of the sample.

The survey results are analyzed using the descriptive statistical methods accompanied by cluster analysis by the k-means clustering algorithm (run on IBM SPSS 20.0.0) based on four significant variables determining the position of teachers in respect to language-in-education issues (Appendix 5 – Details of cluster analysis in Study III). The process and results of cluster analysis are described in **Study III**. In addition, based on the survey results six major focal points for the semi-structured interviews are established (listed in **Study III**). Non-response might have introduced no significant biases in the major focal points for the interviews.

The semi-structured interviews were recorded, transcribed and analyzed 'by hand' by the author of the current work in Russian – mother tongue of all interviewees and original language of the interviews. The methodological significance of the language of the interviews is taken into consideration. The language is an important part of the contextual settings for the interviews. In some cases, the Russian-medium interviews were the only possible way to guarantee full understanding of the researcher's questions by the interviewees (because of the insufficient knowledge of the Estonian language). The interviewees were open with the researcher and their answers were exhaustive. According to my reflection as a researcher, in some situations there were signs of exaggerations by the interviewees in their understandings of the situations under discussion and few attempts were noticed to influence the

researcher's opinion. These biases might have occurred due to the language of the interviews and researcher's ethnic background.

The transcriptions were read several times and notes were taken aimed at defining the possible interpretations. Afterwards the text was rearranged 'in a logical manner according to the researcher's understanding of the texts and contexts' (Ruiz 2009). As in **Study II**, elements of discourse analysis have been applied. The analysis is aimed at revealing the construction of discourse and how it fits in the interpretative context (Gill 2009 p. 175) the teachers find themselves in. Methodologically, the term 'elements of discourse analysis' mentioned above refers to the scrutiny of "'action orientation" or "function orientation" of discourse' (*ibid.*) in the empirical data. Discourse is seen primarily as '*social practice*' (*ibid.*) of constructing meanings. In **Study III**, the authors look for evidence of how the teachers perceive the realization of their agency in different interactive situations within and between the significant contextual layers of the classroom, the profession, the community and Estonian society. Discourse analysis allows focus to be put on the teachers' identity work related to language-in-education issues. In the analysis of the empirical material, the reader's attention is drawn to various models of the teachers' self-views as they are constructed, deconstructed, negotiated, and 'continuously practiced and tested out' (Bamberg 2011 p. 15) in the process of the identity work performed in their everyday professional interactions (including during the interviews with the researcher). As Gill (*ibid.* p. 176) suggests, the role of a researcher is to be 'involved *simultaneously* in analysing discourse and analysing the interpretative context'. This is also true for the whole research project (including **Studies I–III**) provided that contextualization and reflectivity are stressed as important principles of the action research methodology.

2.2.3 Research ethics

The research was conducted pursuant to the *Code of Ethics of Estonian Scientists* (Estonian Academy of Sciences 2002), approved by the General Assembly of the Estonian Academy of Sciences and aimed at 'highlighting the moral dimensions of science and the social responsibility of scientists'. The research was also informed by the Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research (British Educational Research Association 2011). As recommended in the *Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research* (*ibid.* p. 4), the focus of the ethical considerations and moral judgements during the research activities was on the person (participants), knowledge, democratic values, the quality of educational research, and academic freedom.

As a researcher, I acted to promote 'knowledge-based decisions and to stand up against the use of unproven results and unscientific claims, when the decisions crucial to society are being taken' (Estonian Academy of Sciences 2002 p. 2). The outcomes of the research were published in the international

peer-reviewed journals, allowing for critical review and (re)assessment by the academic community. The basic conclusions were presented to and discussed with the members of the expert group (supervisor of the dissertation also belonged to the expert group) and other professionals involved in the mentoring programme. My hope is that the outcomes would be used ‘to the best interests of the society’ (*ibid.*).

My mission was to treat all participants (mentors, mentees, members of the expert group and other professionals involved in the implementation of the mentoring programme) with dignity, fairly, sensitively, and without prejudice (British Educational Research Association 2011 p. 5). In the specific issues related to the research ethics, the research was guided by principles and practices typical for action research, such as informed consent, protection of confidentiality, anonymity, and autonomy of the participants, addressing dual-role issues of a researcher and the participants in the action research (Nolen and Putten 2007). A voluntary informed consent from participants was acquired for publication of the research findings for the **Studies II–III** and the right of participants to withdraw was fully recognized (British Educational Research Association 2011 p. 6). Although the participants were provided with information concerning the research, including methods of analysis, aims and objectives, data gathering, storage and usage, publication and dissemination of the results. All personal data are kept confidential.

In the storage and use of data used in the research my aim is to ‘ensure that data is kept securely and that the form of any publication, including publication on the Internet, does not directly or indirectly lead to a breach of agreed confidentiality and anonymity’ (*ibid.* p. 8). Data is stored electronically, in encrypted form, and can be accessed only by the researchers.

Being engaged in action research, I was aware of my dual role as a researcher and facilitator (insider) in the mentoring programme. The confidentiality and participants’ privacy questions were addressed accordingly during the collection and interpretation of the empirical data. (*ibid.* p. 5)

2.2.4. Validity of the present study

The critique of action research as a method of scientific inquiry comes from both the positivistic and postmodern premises. In order to evaluate the validity of the present study, firstly, I present the main positivistic and postmodernistic assumptions concerning the limitations of the action research approach.

According to Kock et al (1997), recognition of some criticisms from the positivist perspective could be beneficial for the quality of the action research process. Kock et al (*ibid.* p. 7–8 referring to Orlikowski and Baroudi (1991), Cook and Campbell (1976), Berkowitz and Donnerstein (1982), Jonsson (1991), Francis (1991) and Rapoport (1970)) draw attention to the following critiques of action research methodology associated with the lack of focus on ‘the development of sound research procedures, techniques and methodologies’:

(1) contingency of the research findings – consequently action research lacks the potential to produce scientific results with high external validity (applicable outside the action research environment); (2) low control over research environment, which leads to difficulties in testing strong theories (built on causal models); (3) personal over-involvement of researchers, which is associated with the risk of conflicts of interest and personal biases in the conclusions (i.e. lack of internal validity).

The following questions could be posed guided by these critical considerations: under which conditions could action research be considered as a legitimate research methodology; and how to address the validity challenges in action research? Kock et al (1997 pp. 16–18) suggest several ways to address the validity and legitimacy challenges. First of all, ‘the successive move across iterations [in action research] should strive to expand the research scope’, which in turn would result in higher external validity of action research projects. Secondly, it is also advisable to design the research process in such a way as to allow for ‘the collection of data about the same units of analysis in relatively independent settings’. Thirdly, ‘a long-term assessment of effects observed in early iterations’ is suggested as a guarantee to address the validity concerns.

In the present study, I also acknowledge the limits of action research from the perspective of external and internal validity. The risks related to personal over-involvement of the researchers was also under critical consideration. To compensate for the limits of action research methodology a long-term assessment of the effects reported in **Study II** was implemented in **Study III**. In order to decrease the risk of over-involvement of the researchers, it was decided that the researchers should not directly participate in the mentoring dyads activities. The researchers’ involvement took place as a second-level intervention. The issues of the external validity were addressed by introducing a broader perspective on macro-level contextual settings in **Studies I and III**, i.e. an ecological approach to a teacher’s profession in **Study III**, and desk-based documentary analysis in **Study I**.

McTaggart (1994) draws attention to the emergence of the postmodern criticisms of action research. The first set of criticisms is associated with the fact that action research methodology is very often claimed to be emancipatory and empowering for the co-researchers. Both ‘emancipation’ and ‘empowerment’ are highly contested terms that according to McTaggart (1994 p. 325) ‘need to be relativised as one part of the many discourses which constitute and contest the ground of action research.’ In **Study II**, the question of ‘empowerment’ of participants in action research is also raised as follows: does the action research ‘unlock [the] agency of individuals’ (Somekh 2006 p. 21) and empower the participants in action research or just serve the purposes of social control and domination? Further we refer to the claim of Somekh (2006 pp. 23–24) that collaboration in action research ‘should not aim to ‘empower’ the teachers by introducing them [to] new understandings of our world’, but rather be based on mutual engagement and ‘commitment to doing

things together'. This argument at least partly addresses the post-modern ideological critique associated with the term 'empowerment'. McTaggart's approach to the issue of 'empowerment' in action research methodology is based on the assumption that:

'It is the very purpose of action research to make the discourses of practices and about practices problematic. In any case, understanding how the world (institutional or broadly neo-capitalist) works may give one a sense of power in some realm, but at the same time it efficiently strips it away in most others.'
(McTaggart 1994 p. 326)

Based on the discussion on 'empowerment' in action research, empowering of human agency is not the ultimate aim of the action research methodology as such, although it is a possible (but not necessary) outcome of the learning process (including development of new knowledge and – in our case – acquiring a relation to language) structured and organized according to the methodological principles of action research. The 'emancipatory' perspective is considered by Brown and Jones (2001 p. 4) as also problematic because it 'presupposes values which cannot be agreed upon universally or permanently'. It is difficult to navigate between different (often conflicting) interests of agents involved in action research.

The second group of critical arguments is associated with the problematic field of '*reflection, subjectivity and experience*' (McTaggart 1994 p. 327). Answering the question 'How can the researcher both 'observe' reality [and be a] part of it and thus be implicated in its continual creation and recreation?' Brown and Jones (2001. p. 5) propose drawing on 'poststructuralist theories of subjectivity, language and meaning' and understanding the task of 'practitioner research as being targeted at producing a construction of self in relation to the professional/social context being faced' (*ibid.* p. 8). The reflective writing is becoming central to the process of action research as situated in the frames of the poststructuralist thinking (*ibid.*). In our case the issue of reflection, subjectivity and self-identity is directly addressed in **Study III**, which focuses primarily on the professional identity (re)formation and change – on how the experience of action research has been translated into real work situations. The reflective writing as a method for personal and professional growth has also been utilized during the action research process with the Russian-speaking teachers in Estonia (for example, in the form of monthly reports jointly submitted by pairs).

To conclude, the exercise of mapping the critiques of action research helped to evaluate the validity risks in the present study. A combination of different methods and approaches was used to compensate for the limits of action research and to ensure the rigor and quality of the present research.

3. FINDINGS

3.1 STUDY I: When language becomes power: Russian-speaking teachers caught up with power relations

Study I aims at mapping the position of a Russian-speaking teacher in Estonia within the sociological categories of power and language and exploring to what extent the low self-efficacy of Russian-speaking teachers as the agents of legitimation of the Estonian language in Russian-speaking schools can be explained in the categories of power and language.

The study revealed that several institutional, contextual and operational settings related to language-in-education (including agents' interests) in the Estonian education system, and discordances have led to the disempowerment of the Russian-speaking teachers' agency. Low self-efficacy of the Russian-speaking teachers (including self-efficacy in learning the Estonian language) can be explained by the changes in the power and social relations during the transitional period of the early 1990s. On an individual level, an ambiguous position in power and social relations (evident from the analysis of the legislative and strategic documents) can result in troublesome personal and professional identity of teachers and cause difficulties in accommodating to a new situation, including acceptance of the authority and the obligation for the legitimation of the Estonian language.

To summarise the findings, the position of the Russian-speaking teachers can be concluded in terms of Morgan (2004 p. 83) as 'caught up with power relations'. The language has acquired a dual role. It performs as an instrument in power relations by becoming a part of the power structure and simultaneously, it is an object of the power relations and the ultimate aim of political struggles. Based on theoretical considerations on the possibility of empowerment of human agency, **Study I** advocates for a more empowering approach, which is the key for changes in power relations and bettering the position of the Russian-speaking teachers in Estonian society. The assumption taken as a springboard for the action research is that through the empowering experience language can become a resource for the personal and professional development of teachers, which in turn can change the structure of social relations in a way which helps avoid significant conflicts between the main actors (the Estonian state and the Russian-speaking community).

3.2. STUDY II: Constructivist language learning as a collaborative ‘act of doing’

By applying action research as a method of scientific inquiry, **Study II** provides insights into the constructivist social learning practice of Estonian language learning amongst Russian-speaking teachers and aims at answering the question: *how can constructivist social learning practices contribute to enhancing the agency of Russian-speaking teachers as professionals?* The constructivist social learning approach was expected to compensate for the negative effects of the contextual factors. The outcomes of the language learning process are analyzed in **Study II** from the teacher-centred micro-level perspective.

The study suggests that in the case of Russian-speaking teachers in Estonia the development of integrative motivation to learn the Estonian language should not be set against the instrumental motivation. A constructivist approach to language learning helped in building up learner’s confidence and integrative motivation; the responsibility for learning was placed with the learner in his or her own right. Change in attitudes towards the Estonian language, Estonian culture and society in general is reported as an outcome of an affective and a cognitive experience provoked by the constructivist stance. As a result resistance to learning the Estonian language decreased. A new, positive meaning was attached to the Estonian language and to language learning. It was not only the progress in language learning, but also collaboration within the action research around the official language learning that served as an impetus for the personal and professional growth of the teachers.

3.3. STUDY III: Between ‘tradition’ and ‘change’: teachers accommodating and adapting to language-in-education policies

Study III explores different models for the educators’ self-views that are constructed and practiced in interactions within the Estonian education system. This interest is associated with a more general and global concern of how to reduce the separation of the ethnic schools in Estonia by making policy shifts in the domain of language-in-education. Moreover, **Study III** is expected to contribute to the discussion on the sustainability of change achieved via the mentoring programme.

The cluster analysis divides the teachers into three provisional clusters. The first group of teachers does not accept the Estonian language legitimization authority and is opposed to the language-in-education political decisions. These teachers reported decrease in motivation to learn Estonian after the end of the mentoring programme. For the second group of teachers the Estonian language has become a part of their everyday professional activities: they are

implementing the Estonian-medium teaching and they do not experience any decrease in motivation to learn it. Teachers from this cluster are also critical towards some of the language-in-education decisions. Teachers from the third cluster report a strong motivation to introduce students to Estonian culture and support their integration into Estonian society, but they are not personally interested in implementing Estonian-medium instruction. The motivation of teachers of this cluster to learn Estonian remained stable.

The analysis of the interviews emphasizes that the self-views of the teachers contain strong affiliation with the ethnic Russian or Russian-speaking community in Estonia, although the references for this affiliation are not constant and commonly shared. The knowledge of the Estonian language is not perceived as a reference influencing the in-group (Russian (-speakers)) classification, and does not contain a segregating meaning. In learning the Estonian language the instrumental-individualistic orientation (as opposed to the collective orientation) dominates. The teachers perceive that they are being left alone in executing their role as language learner and Estonian language legitimizer.

While commencing the Estonian-medium instruction (with imperfect knowledge of Estonian) the teachers encounter the discrepancy between 'tradition' and 'change'. This discrepancy occurs in relation to the outcomes of teaching, the outcomes that are expected by the policy-makers (the state), the parents, the students, other stakeholders, and anticipated by the teachers themselves. The teachers in general fail to accept the new model of professionalism advocated by the state – an educator proficient in both language and subject teaching. This new approach to professionalism challenges the congruence between the teachers' professional self-views and their actions. Therefore, the teachers are being forced to engage in individual and collective deliberations – identity work – aimed at restoring the congruence and balance of self-views. The qualitative part of the analysis revealed the following dilemmas and/or possible scenarios for the teachers' identity work related to language-in-education issues:

(1) Pursuant to the conflicting discursive realities associated with the language-in-education issues in the Estonian society and the Russian-speaking community (as observed and reflected on by a teacher), it is possible that the self-identity of a 'victim' is internalized within the framework of the agency dilemma. The two alternative models of self-identity for the active agency (provided the acceptance of the necessity of 'change') are also evident from the analysis in **Study III** and labelled as 'a confident professional' ('rescuer') and 'someone to mistrust' ('persecutor').

(2) Regarding the content and outcomes of subject teaching the dilemma of 'subject *and* language teacher' vs 'subject *or* language teacher' (in the context of professionalism of a teacher the dilemma is translated into the dilemma of 'the primacy of proficiency in language vs proficiency in subject teaching') appeared to be challenging for the educators. There are examples of

internalizing the external requirements and integrating them into the educators' understandings of professionalism and there are examples of failing to adapt to the teaching of subject and language together resulting in sacrificing the language for the subject, i.e. remaining 'a subject teacher' in the traditional meaning, which in its turn refers to the failure to internalize their role as Estonian language legitimator.

Study III reveals that learning in action and openness to new concepts, ideas, and engagement in the normative and moral identity work are becoming essential for the teachers' self-development given the changes in their working conditions. The results of **Study III** also stress the importance of context while attempting to facilitate the professional and personal growth of teachers (empowerment of teachers' agency). The changes achieved in a purposefully formed project community could be reversed due to the conflicts embedded into the teachers' relations to and interactions with the students, school administration, colleagues, parents and state institutions.

4. DISCUSSION

Although the language policy decisions, including decisions in the domain of language-in-education, were taken in Estonia almost two decades ago, not all the desired and undesired effects have been mapped or fully explored on an academic level. As a social scientist and author of the current work it is my duty, based on academic knowledge, to inform society about the essence of changes brought about by the shifts to the language-in-education policy domain and to explore the context and process of their implementation within the relevant social field (in the terminology of Bourdieu) – the social arena of education.

The Estonian state has shown its commitment to implementing the integration policy and to create ‘a culturally diverse society with a strong Estonian state identity [...], sharing democratic values’ (*Eesti Vabariigi Valitsus* 2008 p. 3). Knowledge of the Estonian language and culture among the Russian-speaking teachers is also emphasized as an essential prerequisite on the way towards a more cohesive educational system and common linguistic community. The teachers are considered by the state as responsible for the legitimation of the Estonian language and culture within the education system. Both the broader socio-cultural settings and the particular social and power relations in which the teachers are involved in their everyday professional practices determine the realization of their individual and collective agency in respect to the legitimation of the Estonian language and culture. Estonian language (*as a national language*) became a part of the (recently transformed) power and social structures in the national education system and performs as an instrument in power relations. At the same time, it is still an object of the power relations and the ultimate aim of political struggles. Based on Sewell’s definition of social structures (Sewell 1992 p. 27) an assumption can be made that the social changes (in our case *legitimation of the Estonian language as national language*) cause the appearance (probably temporarily) of parallel social structures of two linguistically separated communities. The existence of parallel structures is articulated in the teachers’ identity work (as evident from **Study III**) and at the macro-level is characterized by social and cultural segregation of the two communities in Estonia. The agents affected by these parallel structures are forced and accustomed to navigate between two (or more) often opposing and conflicting meanings of social change that are determined by social and power relations within and between the structures.

Provided the assumption on the existence of parallel social structures is true, there is also a duality in the ‘mutually sustaining cultural schemas and sets of resources that empower and constrain social action [...]' (*ibid.*). Estonian society is not homogeneously structured and ‘the knowledge of cultural schemas’ obtained within the structures, where the Estonian language is still not positioned as an instrument in power relations, does not enable agents (*in our case teachers*) ‘to mobilize resources and [...] enact the schemas’ (*ibid.*) while

operating within the structures characterized by a well-established linguistic market dominated by the Estonian language. Access to the knowledge of cultural schemas could also be constrained by the social structures. Discordances caused by parallel structures might disempower the agents. The teachers are not only ‘caught up with power relations’ (Morgan 2004 p. 83), they are also caught up with tradition and change, within parallel structures, while searching for a ‘sense of a synchronic self’ (Bamberg 2011, p. 18). The question is, whether, and if so how, individual and collective agency of non-Estonian teachers can be enhanced under the conditions of parallel structures, parallel linguistic markets.

The discussion is organized around three theses that could be of importance in an interpretation of the findings in **Study I–III**. Firstly, I discuss some objective and subjective aspects of the linguistic market as it determines the capacities of the Russian-speaking teachers to learn the official language. Secondly, I claim that constructivist second language learning supports the enhancement of teachers’ agency within the sub-structure of the learning community. Thirdly, I address the sustainability and transferability of outcomes achieved within the constructivist learning community to everyday professional life. In the last part of the discussion section, I elaborate on what the alternative approaches (beyond the constructivist and positivist stance) to the organization of the teachers’ Estonian language learning as part of their professional development are.

Thesis 1. The failure of the linguistic market determines the low self-efficacy of Russian-speaking teachers to learn the official language and accommodate to the changes in the language-in-education domain

In the traditional or positivist paradigm (underpinned by the idea of a teacher responsible for the transfer of knowledge – in our case the legitimization of the Estonian language) in a teacher’s profession as briefly described by Pitsoe and Maila (2012 p. 320), the teachers being ineffective in achieving the competencies required for their profession would probably be deprived from ‘the legitimate right to exercise occupational practice in a field’ (Edman 2001 p. 304) provided that the ‘legitimate right’ is granted to the teachers by the state. When applying this top-down positivist approach to the professional development of Russian-speaking teachers we see that the role of a teacher (as a learner of the Estonian language) is to absorb the knowledge of the national language and culture and to transfer it (when required) by means of bilingual teaching to the classroom. The system of language courses and language examinations intended to control the knowledge of the language of teachers are compatible with both the positivist paradigm in teachers’ professional development and with the ‘*rational or positivist tradition* in language planning and policy’ (Canagarajah 2005 p. 195). The rational approach to language planning fits Saussure’s idea of ‘*langue*’, the properties of which are discussed

and attributed to the notion of ‘official language’ by Bourdieu (1991a), and language-in-education policies could be considered as a part of the rational process of ‘the constitution of a linguistic market’ (Bourdieu 1991a p. 55) aiming at creating ‘the conditions for an objective competition in and through which the legitimate competence can function as linguistic capital, producing a profit of distinction on the occasion of each social exchange’ (*ibid.*). The findings from **Studies I and III** raise the question of why the rationally planned project of ‘the constitution of a linguistic market’ in and by means of the positivist language-in-education policy implementation has not been successful. What are the factors that do not fit into the positivist tradition in language planning and policy, and prevent the Estonian language and culture from being reproduced in all schools in Estonia?

Two assumptions could be made in respect of these questions based on the findings from **Studies I and III**.

Firstly, the failure of the linguistic market to produce ‘a profit of distinction’ from the respective linguistic capital (the knowledge of the Estonian language) discourages the non-Estonians from learning Estonian and influences negatively the motivation of teachers to accept the language legitimation power in their profession. Vihalemm (2011 p. 153) refers to the moderate ethnic segregation in the labour market, in education, and to the problematic of the geo-economic enclaves of Ida-Virumaa, as factors, that influence the linguistic practices among the non-Estonians in Estonia. The research by Toomet (2011a and 2011b) helps to analyse the ‘objective profit’ gained from the Estonian language skills. Toomet (2011b) discusses the segregation of the work place and points toward the need to investigate more social relations between the two communities and whether the Estonian language skills grant access to the Estonian-medium social networks. All these findings along with the results of **Study III** indicate that the failure of the linguistic market to produce ‘a profit of distinction’ in the teaching’ profession refers not only to the monetary (objective) premium on the work place, but also to the failure to produce a social benefit in terms of social relations (social and symbolic capital). Formally, the ‘conditions for an objective competition’ are created, in reality the competition does not function solely on the objective basis, i.e. based on the linguistic capital of agents in the field. To conclude, the constitution of a linguistic market in the field of education is obscured as the linguistic capital cannot be fully transformed into social capital. The Russian-speaking teachers in Estonia lack self-efficacy in learning and (re)producing the Estonian language primarily because of the social segregation of the two communities, which is also true in their professional field – the field of education.

Secondly, an assumption can be made that the non-Estonian teachers, instead of contributing to the constitution of the linguistic market (dominated by the Estonian language) and (re)producing the legitimate language in the classroom, find themselves in the middle of linguistic oppositions (tensions and conflicting discourses (**Study I and III**)) and, as a result, they ‘re-translate’ the ‘social [in

our case ethnic and linguistic] differences' (Bourdieu 1991a p. 54) themselves and reproduce the parallel structures. Teachers, who as speakers of the language are 'lacking the legitimate competence [in our case of the Estonian language] are de facto excluded from the social domains in which this competence is required, or are condemned to silence' (*ibid.* p. 55). As the education system in Estonia is still partly segregated (based on language of instruction), this exclusion of non-Estonian teachers from the social domain of education reproduces further segregation – parallel structures, – and consequently also preservation of tensions between the state and the linguistic minority community on one hand, and tensions articulated in the teachers' professional self-view (re)formation, on the other.

To summarize, the positivist approach to teachers' professional development and language-in-education planning and implementation considers the educators to be the agents of the state in the national language legitimation attempts, and does not take into consideration the aspects of ideological tensions, collective and personal self-identities of teachers, including the aspects related to the social and power relations.

Thesis 2. Constructivist second language learning supports the enhancement of teachers' agency within the sub-structure of the learning community

The constructivist learning methodology is action-centred and it relies much on the execution of agency by means of enhancement of participants' self-efficacy. The constructivist approach to the teachers' professional development is claimed to be contextual, oriented towards social change, and being guided by the contingency viewpoint (Pitsoe and Maila 2012). **Study II**, as well as numerous previous studies on different constructivist learning-based models in teachers' professional development (see *ibid.* p. 321–322 and Dangel 2011), proved the effectiveness of the constructivist social learning in teachers' professional development.

How can the process of second language acquisition be understood through the constructivist learning stance? Although Bruner's (1975) research within the constructivist stance focuses more on early language acquisition, his ideas could also be relevant for understanding the constructivist language learning process (second language acquisition) in adult life. Bruner emphasizes the USE [author's emphasis] of language claiming that 'linguistic concepts are first realized in action' (1975 p. 1). The process of a child's language acquisition is 'made possible by the presence of an interpreting adult who operates not so much as corrector or reinforcer but rather as a provider, an expander and idealizer of utterances while interacting with the child' (*ibid.* p. 17). The importance attached to action is reminiscent of Bourdieu's (1991b p. 86) view on language as 'a body technique, [...] in which one's whole relation to the social world, and one's whole socially informed relation to the world, are expressed'. People acquire language not only by hearing speech spoken, but

also by speaking in a certain social context, through exchanges in the social space (*ibid.* pp 81–83). In **Study III**, I cited Habermas' (1986 p. 189) claims on language as being entwined with the development of ideas, and national character. Habermas (*ibid.*, p. 191) points out that 'language is the constitutive organ not only of thought, but also of social practices and of experience, of the formation of ego and group identities'.

In the present study the constructivist methodology helped to model a learning community for and together with teachers and their mentors, where the learning was self-driven, action-oriented, informed by feedback and supported by reflective practices. As a result the language learning became a collective act, and the knowledge of the Estonian language acquired a meaning of the actionable knowledge – the knowledge freely transformable into social capital and social actions within the context of the learning community. **Study II** proves that effectiveness (success) of second language learning depends on social context, social practices associated with the language, social relations and interactions with others. Learning a language means acquiring relation to the target language and to the linguistic community. Language should be realized in action. Acquiring a language is not only about learning the rules of grammar or vocabulary; but rather about becoming a part of a production and reproduction process of social relations mediated by means of target language (i.e. by entering and becoming active on the linguistic market).

Thesis 3. Though the sustainability and transferability of the learning outcomes to the everyday professional practices is subjected to constraints generated by the existing parallel structures it could be better achieved by means of collective actions directed at enacting the cultural schemas.

For the discussion, I paraphrased the question on knowledge transfer posed by Pea (1987) (Pea's interest is in the knowledge transfer from formal education to everyday life): how can knowledge acquired in constructivist learning community be transferred to everyday work situations? Will an improved knowledge of the Estonian language result in the increased capacity of Russian-speaking teachers to bring social change to their schools, communities and education system as a whole? The mentoring programme took place in a purposefully formed learning community of mentors, mentees (teachers) and researchers. I would like to discuss the risk that the changes brought up during the actions might not be integrated into the everyday' professional practices of teachers if the learning community does not receive institutional support and so might not continue functioning as a network.

Pea (1987) elaborates in detail the psychological mechanisms behind the problem of knowledge transfer and also analyses the problem of knowledge transfer as a cultural and interpretive problem. I am more interested in analysing this problem from the sociological perspective. Constructivist learning community could be considered as a sub-structured social and cultural space,

which empowers the agency limited by the structures in everyday life and work situations and supports the acquisition of actionable knowledge (in our case – *the Estonian language and culture*). The transfer of the actionable knowledge could be prevented according to Pea (*ibid.*) by cultural constraints or supported by (cultural) opportunities – available resources.

The researchers of nationalism (referred to by Laitin 2006 p. 49) draw attention to a possibility of ‘an assimilationist cascade’ (*ibid.*), when under certain conditions (‘mobility opportunities’) ‘members of the minority group would seek to learn the language of the dominant group and adopt its cultural practices’ (*ibid.*). Constructivist learning community (in terms of the theory of ‘tipping point’) provoked ‘the assimilationist cascade’ or/ and ‘the integrationist processes’ (*ibid.*) among the participants. **Study III** revealed that the theme of Estonian language learning remained outside the focus of the Russian-speaking teachers’ community (in their everyday working lives) as a collectivity. The mentoring programme helped to compensate for the feeling of ‘*loneliness*’ of teachers in learning the language, the individual positions of teachers (as mentees in the mentoring programme) were productively realized into the (social) actions (as shown in **Study II**). The constructivist learning community (the sub-structure) empowered the agents and enabled them to mobilize resources necessary for the acquisition of the actionable knowledge. **Study III** revealed several sources of tension embedded in the teachers’ interactions with different significant agents in the field of education (colleagues, state institutions, parents, students etc), as well as a few productive models of self-views with the potential for accommodating this tension in the teachers’ professional lives. The parallel structures that constrain the teachers’ social actions in their everyday professional lives could not be affected by the learning community (temporary sub-structure). Outside of the purposefully formed learning community the agents after the end of the programme were still not capable in the long run of enacting the cultural schemas defining their work place, and were not capable of actions leading to the transformation of the structures.

Research by Laitin (2006 p. 67) showed that ‘all residents of Estonia are moving toward a common 2 + 1 cultural framework – *they are adding rather than substituting cultural repertoires*’. Laitin raises the question on how robust the ‘two-tiered cultural equilibrium’ (*ibid.*) is. **Study III** allows to speculate on the revocability of the ‘assimilationist cascade’ (on the individuals’ level) and on the factors triggering the process. Laitin (*ibid.* p. 70) attaches great significance to the underlying social reality and claims that the Russian-speakers have accommodated to this reality partly due to the Estonian political decision to facilitate the integration processes. Laitin believes in self-(re)enforcing of the integrationist processes (Estonian language and culture acquisition by non-Estonians). This could also be partly true in the context of the present research (**Studies II–III**) – the integrationist processes started during the mentoring programme have a potential for becoming irreversible on

the micro-level of intervention. Still the failure to transfer in the long run the outcomes of the constructivist language learning to the professional life (as revealed in **Study III**) and to cope with the tensions originating from the parallel structures demonstrated the fragility of the ‘assimilationist cascade’ processes and its high (path) dependency on the structural and cultural settings in the Estonian society. The revocability of the cascade processes in the case of Russian-speaking teachers could be attributed to their everyday working context, which does not allow for the acquired knowledge (re)generation, construction and reconstruction of new meanings, conceptions and understandings based on the experiences from the constructivist learning community.

This conclusion does not downgrade the autonomy of agents in power and social relations, nor advocates for ‘the unidirectional culture transmission model’ (Valsiner 1996 p. 68) in human development, nor emphasizes the role of regulations and ideology. The findings from **Studies II** and **III** rather underline the importance of ‘the meaningfully structured environment’ and ‘impacts from other persons’ (by interacting with others) in human development, as suggested by the psychological co-constructionist perspective (*ibid.* p. 78). These two variables determine the success of the constructivist social learning practices, but they are also crucial for the acquired outcomes to become transferred in the long run to everyday life and work situations. People seek commonality and mutuality in their interactions with others (Garner, Raschka and Sercombe 2006 p. 68) and, based on this claim, the sustainability of the constructivist learning outcomes is subjected to ‘a collective enterprise’ (Bourdieu 1989, p. 18), collective implicit and explicit interests, and collective actions. Therefore in order to trigger the intergrationist processes in a society it is not enough to create ‘mobility opportunities’ for individual members of the minority community (based on competition inside the minority group, for example, by provoking incentives ‘to get the best jobs before their neighbors assimilate [...]’ (Laitin 2006 p. 49)) and wait for the adjustment of the minorities to the changes in the social reality. It is much more efficient to rely in the integrationist processes on the development of both individual and collective agency of the minorities, i.e to offer collective mobility opportunities.

Looking ahead: what would work?

My research is guided by the assumption that a closer look from the sociological perspective at the position of the Russian-speaking teachers within the Estonian educational system could contribute to the understanding on how educators can best adapt to the changes in language-in-education policy. This in turn is a necessary precondition for the successful implementation of the planned policy shifts aimed at crossing the divide between Estonian-medium and Russian-medium schools. The discussion of three theses showed that the constructivist approach to language learning increases the teachers’ efficacy for a limited period of time and within the frames of the sub-structured learning

community. The positivist approach in turn is constrained by the condition of parallel structures, i.e. social and linguistic segregation of the two communities, which (re)produces itself via the system of social and power relations. In order to advance the Estonian language learning and legitimation practices in the Russian-medium schools the following aspects and solutions could be considered:

(1) The constructivist social learning approach should be realized within the schools, where the teachers work, in different interactive situations in the classroom, the profession, the community and Estonian society. It would be probably much more difficult to change the interplay between the structure and agency in the school environment and to change the position of the teachers in the 'real life' social and power relations. At the same time, the actions taken and new resources acquired would be meaningful and appropriate within the existing structures and could be relied upon to accommodate the 'real' tensions associated with the change in regulations. The meaningful interpretation of the social change should occur within the context/ environment/ structures it causes the tension.

(2) Although the functional status of the Estonian language in the education system is the very basis in the constitution of the linguistic market provided that the language is not widely used in the target community, the findings from **Studies I and III** advocate use of policy implementation 'tools' that can be described as 'situated, collective, negotiated, and multipronged' (Canagarajah 2005 p. 200). The national language acquisition and (re)production by the non-Estonian teachers should be guided by an approach sensitive to different interests (often conflicting), and the process as such should be localized and oriented towards the homogeneous social and power relations the teachers are involved in as individuals and as a collectivity in their work place. The standardized positivist approach to acquisition of the official language does not allow for 'accommodating tensions in language-in-education policies' (Canagarajah 2005 p. 194) under the conditions of the parallel structures, and to some extent even contributes to the re-translation of the social differences, which results in reproduction of social segregation based on linguistic parameters. Therefore, the standardized positivist measures should be implemented carefully, slowly and in combination with the constructivist methods in order to give time for the unified (desired) social structures to replace the parallel structures.

CONCLUSION

The re-establishment of independence in Estonia in 1991 caused significant reconstruction of the linguistic market in Estonia, including the domain of education. Russian lost its privileges and the Estonian language became dominant on the linguistic market as regulated by the state. Significant changes were initiated in the language-in-education domain. Russian-speaking teachers without a good command of Estonian showed low efficacy in contributing to the legitimation of the Estonian language in the Russian-speaking schools.

The aim of the current doctoral study is to present the in-depth exploration of the interplay between structure and agency in the case of the legitimation of the Estonian language by Russian-speaking teachers in Russian-medium schools in Estonia. The objective of the current dissertation is to explore individual experiences of the Russian-speaking educators while coping with the political requirements of the *Estonianization* of the Russian-medium schools in Estonia. The dissertation is based on three closely interrelated studies following the logic and structure of a cyclical analytical process of action research based on the two-year-long Estonian language learning mentoring programme for 50 Russian-speaking teachers. The aim of the **Introductory article** of the doctoral study is to present the conceptual framework to these studies and discuss the results.

From the theoretical perspective, the macro level of the analysis is informed in the study by theoretical debates on legitimate language and the formation of the linguistic market. The teacher-centred ecological approach combined with the interactionist and intersubjectivist perspective of the identity formation process helps to explore the Russian-speaking teachers' position on the individual (micro) level. The discourse on structure and agency forms the meso level, which links the micro level considerations on identity formation to the macro level perspective on official language. Different theories are used as reference points to navigate from the question on interplay between structure and agency to the discussion on how the realization of agents' positions and dispositions into social actions occurs; and how the agents' self-identities are shaped in the course of these transformations.

Study I, a desk-based sociological analysis illustrates how the low self-efficacy in learning the Estonian language and disempowerment of teachers occurred due to the changes in the power relations over the past 20 years. Possible latent and observable conflicts between different agents in power relations (the Estonian state, the Russian-speaking community and the Russian state) contributed to the ambiguity of the teachers' position. As a result, the Russian-speaking teachers, while experiencing the troublesome personal identity transformation, failed to accommodate to the newly constituted Estonian-language-dominated linguistic market. As emphasized in **Study I**, the Estonian state's rationalist 'power over' approach to teachers' professional development has not been effective in motivating the educators to participate in the legitimation of the Estonian language and to learn the language themselves. **Study I** suggests that obedience-command relations between the state and the

educators should be reconsidered and an empowering approach aimed at increasing the proficiency of the Russian-speaking teachers in the Estonian language applied.

Study II demonstrates the constructivist social learning practices' capacity to empower Russian-speaking teachers' agency compared with rationalist-positivist approach to teachers' professional development. A constructivist social learning mentoring programme analysed in **Study II** has proved to be effective in enhancing teachers' capacity in Estonian language learning. The teachers – participants in the action research – have established a positive self-identity (as learners and legitimators of the Estonian language) and developed a positive attitude towards Estonian language learning; their integrative motivation was enhanced. The results of **Study II** originate from the constructivist learning community of teachers, their mentors and researchers. Further research was needed to evaluate whether the outcomes of the constructivist learning programme would also be mediated to classrooms and bring about transformational change in Russian-speaking schools.

An *ex-post* analysis, presented in **Study III**, explores the meaning of 'language' in teachers' professional self-identities and reveals the discrepancies embedded in their professional context. The conclusion is that the teachers' professional developmental needs should be addressed not only as subjected to individual choices and responsibility, but rather as a collective, teacher' community-centred enterprise. The professional context the teachers are operating in does not contribute to the sustainability of outcomes achieved in the constructivist learning community. The outcomes are vulnerable to the conflicts embedded in the teachers' relations to and interactions with the students, school administration, colleagues, parents and state institutions.

In the **Introductory article**, a thesis on the re-translation of the social differences, parallel linguistic markets and structures as an unintended consequence of the rational approach to the language policy implementation is introduced. Parallel linguistic markets and structures challenge the sustainability and transferability of the learning outcomes achieved in the constructivist learning community settings. The constructivist approach should be applied within the schools and local communities and involve the actors of the institutional and social environment that have the potential to shape and trigger the teachers' professional development. It is important to work towards the decrease in segregation between the two communities in Estonia in order to achieve a situation where the unified (desired) social structures replace the parallel structures. Enhancement of the teachers' agency is most likely to occur when the resolution of tensions associated with the construction of meanings under the condition of parallel structures are facilitated by the constructivist methods aiming at helping teachers to achieve a 'sense of a synchronic self' (Bamberg 2011, p. 18). 'Situated, collective, negotiated, and multipronged' (Canagarajah 2005 p. 200) language-in-education policy implementation tools should be given preference when managing the linguistic and cultural diversity in the field of education in Estonia.

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SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN

Sotsiaalkonstruktivistlik keeleõpe toetamaks õpetajate enesetõhusust: struktuuri ja agentsuse vastastikuse mõjustatuse väljakutsed

Venekeelsete õpetajate näide Eestis

Eesti iseseisvuse taastamine 1991. aastal tõi kaasa olulisi muutusi keelekasutuse korralduses, seda ka hariduse valdkonnas. Vene keel kaotas oma privileegid ning taastati eesti keele positsioon riigikeelena. Sellest ajast saadik on eesti keele roll haridussüsteemis olnud riigi poolt algatatud keele- ja hariduspoliitiliste regulatsioonide keskmes.

Kymlicka (2001) käsitleb hariduspoliitikat ja keeleseadusi kui tüüpilisi riigi rahvusliku ülesehituse instrumente, kuid samal ajal on need valdkonnad autori sõnul ka olulisel kohal vähemusgruppide õiguste eest seisjate poliitilistes kavades. Seda seisukohta illustreerib hästi vene õppekeele koolide võrgu olukord Eesti haridussüsteemis. Vene õppekeele koolid on alates 1990ndatest aastatest olnud nii varjatud kui ka avalike pingete keskmes. See on tingitud ühelt poolt riigi soovist legitimeerida eesti keelt haridussüsteemis ja teiselt poolt venekeelse etnilise grupi püüdlustest säilitada vene keele positsiooni Eesti keeleturul (i.k. linguistic market), sh hariduses. Vene õppekeele koolide võrk on Nõukogude Liidu okupatsiooni aja “pärandiks”, see oli aeg, millal toimusid vene- ja eestikeelsed üldhariduskoolid ilma oluliste kokkupuutepunktideta suuresti “paralleelselt”. Riigi tähtsamateks eesti keele legitimeerimise sammudeks üldharidussüsteemis on üleminek eestikeelsele õppele gümnaasiumiastmes ja eesti keele oskuse nõude kehtestamine seal õpetavatele pedagoogidele. Lisaks sellele toetab riik kakskeelse õppe juurutamist lasteaias ja üldhariduskooli teistel astmetel (nt keelekümblusprogramm). Õpetajatel on nende hariduspoliitiliste muudatuste elluviimisel keskne roll. Ühelt poolt on õpetajale antud õpilaste seas eesti keele kui riigikeele legitimeerija (kehtestaja ja oskuse kontrollija) võim, teiselt poolt on õpetaja ise eesti keele õppija rollis ning kohustatud täitma riiklikult kehtestatud keeleoskuse nõudeid.

Õppeaastal 2010/2011, kui sai alguse käesoleva väitekirja aluseks olev uurimus, oli Eesti Haridus- ja Teadusministeeriumi 2011. aasta andmetel 545 üldhariduskoolist (va täiskasvanuharidust pakkuvad õppeasutused) õppekeeleks vene keel 58 koolis ja 28 kooli töötasid mõlemas keeles.

Aeg on näidanud, et paljud venekeelsed õpetajad ei ole suutnud nende hariduspoliitiliste nõuetega kohaneda ning tunnevad, et nende kui professionaalide enesetõhusus eesti keele legitimeerimisel on madal. Browni (2012 lk 207) hinnangul eestikeelse õppe laiendamine venekeelsetes koolides on raskendatud eelkõige õpetajate ebapiisava valmiduse ja eesti keele kehva oskuse tõttu. Lisaks leiavad Masso ja Kello (2011 lk 134), et õpetajad vajaksid eesti keele kursuste kõrval metodoloogilist nõustamist ja emotsionaalset tuge. Kiired muutused õppeprotsessi keelekasutuses võivad põhjustada pingeid ka õpetajate

professionaalses elus, mis väljenduvad madalas enesetõhususes ja võimetuses toetada oma õpilasi. Teoreetilises mõttes on tegemist struktuuri ja agentsuse vahekorraga, mida käesolevas doktoriuurimuses venekeelsete õpetajate näitel käsitlen, selgitamaks venekeelsete õpetajate kui eesti keele legitimeerijate raskusi nendele pandud hariduspoliitiliste nõuete ja ootuste täitmisel.

Käesoleva doktoriuurimuse eesmärgiks on esitada süvaanalüüs struktuuri ja agentsuse vastastikusest mõjustatusest, kasutades näitena eesti keele legitimeerimist venekeelsete õpetajate poolt Eesti vene õppekeele koolides. Esiteks keskendun venekeelsete õpetajate individuaalsetele kogemustele seoses eesti keele legitimeerimise ja vahendamisega venekeelsetele noortele. Eelkõige käsitlen siin seda, kuidas õpetajad suudavad üksikindiviidi ja kogukonnana oluliste struktuursete muutustega kohaneda. Teiseks uurin struktuursete muutustate mõjul toimuvat õpetajate professionaalse identiteedi arengut ja agentsuse internaliseerimist (i.k. *internalization of teacher's agency*). Uurimuse kontekstiks on õpetajate sotsiaalsed ja võimusuhted.

Uurimiseesmärgi saavutamiseks kasutan sotsiaalkonstruktivistlikku lähenemist keeleõppele, mida rakendati kaheaastases keeleõppe mentorprogrammis. Programmis osales 50 vene õppekeele koolides töötavat venekeelset õpetajat ja nende mentiid. Programmi eesmärgiks oli toetada programmis osalejate eesti keele omandamist ja arendamist, sh oli ülesandeks aidata neil täita riiklikult kehtestatud keeleoskuse nõudeid ning pakkuda võimalusi professionaalseks ja isiklikuks arenguks. Muutused pidid väljenduma õpetajate positiivse professionaalse identiteedi ja integratiivse motivatsiooni väljakujunemises. Väitekirja autorina olin kaasatud programmi elluviimisse teadlase rollis.

Väitekirja koosneb kolmest omavahel tihedalt seotud rahvusvahelise levikuga eelrentsenseeritud ajakirjades ilmunud artiklist (uurimused I kuni III) ja analüütilisest ülevaateartiklist. Doktoriuurimuse viisin läbi tegevusuuringu meetodil; uurimuse aluseks olevad empiirilised andmed on seega pärit mentorprogrammist, kuid kogu protsessi hindamise eesmärgil kogusin lisaks ex-ante ja ex-post andmeid.

Ülevaateartikkel algab teoreetilise peatükiga, milles käsitlen teoreetilist arutelu keele legitiimsuse ja keeleturu kujunemise kohta. Tuntud prantsuse sotsioloogi Bourdieu (1991a) järgi on keelel mitmeid tähendusi ja rolle. Riigikeelt saab näiteks käsitleda võimu ja tegevuse (ingl k action) töövahendina. Bourdieu (ibid. lk 48–49) järgi on keelel „intellektuaalse ja moraalse lõimumise” instrumeendina” haridussüsteemis oluline roll ametliku keele konstrueerimisel, kehtestamisel ja legitimeerimisel. Keeleturu ühtlustamine on keeruline protsess, mis hõlmab mitmeid erinevaid institutsioone ja eeldab lisaks poliitilisele ka majanduslikku ühtlustamist. Viimane pole aga ainult riigi keelepoliitika subjektiks (ibid. lk 50). Eelpooltoodust tulenevalt on haridussüsteemil kui institutsioonil kahene positsioon. Ühelt poolt vastutab haridussüsteem riigikeele legitimeerimise eest, teiselt poolt on aga haridussüsteem mõjutatud teiste (riigi poolt mitte kontrollitud) keeleturu kujunemise mehhanismide poolt, nt rahvusvahelistumine, vähemusgruppide keel(t)e kehtestamine keeleturul jne.

Järgneva teemana esitlen ülevaateartikli teoreetilises peatükis kahte indiviidi (mikro-) tasandi teooriat: õpetaja-keskne ökoloogiline lähenemine ja interaktsionistlik-intersubjektivistlik vaade professionaalse identiteedi kujunemise protsessile. Arutelu struktuuri ja agentsuse vastastikusest mõjustatusest aitab luua ühtse teoreetilise raamistiku, mis ühendab identiteedi kujunemisega seotud teoreetilisi vaateid riigikeele käsitlustega. Ülevaates struktuurist ja agentsusest lähtun oletusest, et need on kahesed (Giddens 1984). Fookuses on võimu kontseptsioon: lähtudes struktuuri ja agentsuse teooriast, kas ja millistel tingimustel on võimalik indiviidi võimustamine. Struktuuri ja agentsuse kaheksus ning arusaam sotsiaalsest elust kui „võimu ja struktuuri vastastikusest mõjustatusest” (Lukes 2005 lk 69) annab võimaluse arutleda struktuursete muudatuste mõjul toimuva inimagentsuse võimustamise või võimu kaotuse üle.

Metodoloogia peatükk annab ülevaate konstruktivistliku õppimise teoreetilisest lähtekohtadest. Väidan Dewey’le (1916) toetudes, et õppimine on oma olemuselt kogemuslik ja tegevuslik ning õppimise tulemuseks on isiklik ja kollektiivne kasv. Õppimine toimub teistega suhtlemise, interaktsiooni käigus, st. nii õppijad kui ka õpetajad on orienteeritud uute teadmiste, tähenduste ja arusaamade koos konstrueerimisele. Timmermansi (2010) järgi on dialoog ja interaktsioon konstruktivistliku õppe keskmeks, kusjuures uue teadmisega võib kaasneda õppija identiteedi muutus. Õppimine on sõltuv õppimisprotsessi kontekstist ja on seetõttu keskkonna poolt suunatud. Lisaks osalevad õppimisprotsessis õppija enda eelnevad kogemused, hoiakud ja uskumused. Neid üldiseid põhimõtteid rakendati ka eesti keeleõppe mentorprogrammis, kus lähtuti kultuuridevahelise õppimise ja kultuurinavigatsiooni (Hofstede 2001; Bennett 1986, 1993), keeleõppe läviprobleemide läbitöötamise (Meyer ja Land 2003, 2005; Meyer, Land, ja Baillie 2010) ning õppeprotsessile väärtustava lähenemise (Cooperrider et al. 2003; Preskill ja Catsambas 2006; Fry et al. 2002) teoreetilisest käsitlustest.

Metodoloogia peatüki teises osas tutvustan tegevusuuringu põhimõtteid. Tegevusuuringu eelis teiste traditsiooniliste sotsioloogia metodoloogiatega võrreldes seisneb selles, et tegevusuuring lubab keskenduda muutusele, sh keerulistes sotsiaalsetes protsessides ja olukordades esiletulevatele muutustele (Somekh 1995). Tegevusuuring on tsükliline, ta põhineb osalejate ja uurimise läbiviijate koostööl, võttes samuti arvesse laiemat sotsiaalset konteksti. Tegevusuuringu aluseks on visioon soovitud sotsiaalsest muutusest. Tegevusuuring on tihti multidistsiplinaarne ning uuringu väljundiks on uus teadmine ja mõistmine (Somekh 2006 lk 6–8).

Ülevaateartiklis kirjeldan lühidalt ka doktoriuurimuse ülesehitust ning artiklites kasutatud andmekogumismeetodeid ja analüüsistrateegiaid; eraldi toon positivistlikust ja postmodernistlikust vaatevinklist lähtudes välja uurimuse valiidsuse küsimused. Andmekogumine, analüüs ja tulemuste valideerimine toimusid traditsiooniliste meetodite abil (intervjuud, küsimustik, dokumentide analüüs jne). Tulemused on publitseeritud teadusartiklitena (uurimused I kuni III).

Uurimus I võtab vaatluse alla mitte-eestlastest õpetaja positsiooni määratlevad ametlikud dokumendid (seadused, strateegiad jne). Uurimus toob õpetajate madala ennesetõhususe põhjusena eesti keele omandamisel välja muutusi makrotaseme võimusuhetes, mis toimusid Eestis viimase 20 aasta jooksul. Analüüsitud on varjatud ja avalikke vastuolusid põhiliste sotsiaal- ja võimusuhte osapoolte vahel (Eesti riik, venekeelne kogukond ja Vene riik), mis mõjutasid venekeelsete õpetajate ja vene õppekeelega koolide positsiooni venekeelses kogukonnas ja ühiskonnas laiemalt. Venekeelsed õpetajad ei ole suutnud (taas)kehtestatud keeleturu olukorras, kus eesti keelest sai ainuke riigikeel, kohaneda. Õpetajate kohanemiskeskuste üheks väljundiks on mitmed dilemmad, mis on seotud professionaalse identiteedi väljakujunemise ja uue, eesti keele legitimeerija, rolli aktsepteerimisega. Eesti riigi ratsionalistlik lähenemine õpetajate professionaalsele arengule (sh riigikeele õppele laiemalt) ei ole olnud piisavalt tõhus ega suutnud motiveerida õpetajaid riigi agentidena eesti keele legitimeerimisel osalema, sh ka ise eesti keelt nõutud tasemel omandama. Järeldan, et õpetajate positsiooni parandamiseks on vaja muuta riigi ja õpetajate vahelisi „kuulekusel-käsklustel” põhinevaid suhteid (inglise keeles obedience-command relations) ning pigem rakendada õpetajaid võimustavat lähenemist, toetades õpetajaid eesti keele omandamisel ja eesti kultuuriga tutvumisel.

Uurimus II analüüsib sotsiaalkonstruktivistliku eesti keele õppimise praktikate võimalusi venekeelsete õpetajate võimustamisel, mis on vastukaaluks senisele pigem ratsionaal-positivistlikule lähenemisele õpetaja professionaalsele arengule. Uurimusest selgub, et sotsiaalkonstruktivistlik mentorõppe programm osutus tulemuslikuks eesti keeleõppe meetodiks. Programmis osalemine toetas mitte ainult õpetajate keeleoskuse arengut, vaid mõjutas oluliselt ka nende suhtumist eesti keele õppimisse. Veelgi enam, neil tekkis huvi eesti keele ja kultuuri vastu ning nende suhtlusring laienes. Paljud programmi läbinud venekeelsed õpetajad lahendasid endas seni kantud eesti keele kasutamisega seonduvad sisemised pinged. Selgus ka, et eesti keele õppimisel arenes õpetajate hulgas integratiivne keeleõppe motivatsioon. Selline tulemus annab tunnistust sellest, et lisaks keeleoskuse paranemisele on programmis osalenud õpetajate puhul toimunud muutused nende professionaalses identiteedis, sh kasvanud on valmidus võtta oma ametialases tegevuses vastu keeleõppija ja keele legitimeerija roll. Uurimuse II tulemused pärinevad kunstlikult loodud konstruktivistlikust, õpetajatest (mentiidest), nende mentoritest ja uurimuse läbiviijatest koosnevast kogukonnast. Uurimuse II kokkuvõttes tõdetakse täiendava uurimuse vajadust, mis selgitaks välja, kas ja mil määral saavutatud muutused eesti keele oskuste ja kasutamisega seotud hoiakute osas kanduvad üle õpetajate igapäevasesse professionaalsesse tegevusse ning kui püsivad nad on koolikeskkonnas toimides.

Uurimus III põhineb ex-post analüüsil, mis võtab vaatluse alla keele tähenduse õpetajate professionaalse identiteedi kujunemisel ning tuvastab professionaalsesse konteksti juurdunud lahknevusi. Lahknevused põhjustavad pingeid õpetajate professionaalsel enesemääratlemisel, mille lahendamine (läbitöötamine)

võib viia uue õpetaja professionaalse identiteedi mudeli väljakujunemisele. Oma professionaalse identiteedi uus käsitlus aitab paremini kohaneda keeleturu tingimuste, st toimunud struktuursete muutustega. Uurimusest selgus ka, et professionaalne kontekst (õpetajate suhted õpilaste, kooliadministratsiooni, kolleegide, lapsevanemate ja riiklike institutsioonidega), milles õpetajad igapäevaselt toimetavad, piirab pikaajalises perspektiivis konstruktivistlikus keeleõppe kogukonnas saavutatud edu jätkusuutlikkust. Uurimuse III järelduses rõhutatakse kollektiivi/kogukonnakeskse lähenemise olulisust eesti keele ja kultuuri vahendamisel venekeelsetele õpetajatele. Eesti keele omandamisel ei piisa individuaalsest vastutusevõtust ja keeleõppe kohustuse aktsepteerimisest, määravaks saab kogukonna toetus või selle puudumine. Keele- ja hariduspoliitikast tulenev keeleõpe ja keele legitimeerimine on tulemuslik siis, kui temast saab venekeelsete õpetajate kogukonna poolt aktsepteeritud ja toetatud ühine ettevõtmine.

Doktoritöö ülevaateartikli lõpuosas arutlen uurimustes I kuni III loodud teadmiste üle ning esitan kolm kogu doktoriuurimust kokkuvõtvat teesi, mis selgitavad agentsuse ja struktuuri vastastikust mõjustatust eesti keele legitimeerimise näitel venekeelsete õpetajate poolt Eesti vene õppekeelega koolides. Esimene tees puudutab keeleturu toimimise dünaamikat. Väidan, et Eestis toimib samaaegselt kaks keeleturgu, kus on kehtestatud erinevad reeglid ja kus keeltele on erinevad positsioonid. Ratsionaal-positivistlik lähenemine keelepoliitikale (taas)toodab sotsiaalseid erinevusi ja (taas)toodab ka nende keeleturgude struktuurseid määratlajaid. Teises teesis põhjendan sotsiaalkonstruktivistliku lähenemise tulemuslikkust. Eesti keele õppest on välja kujunenud kollektiivne tegevus (inglise k. act), kus eesti keel on omandanud tegevusi võimaldava teadmise (inglise k. actionable knowledge) tähenduse. Tegevusi võimaldav teadmine õpikogukonnas transformeerub sotsiaalseks kapitaliks ja sotsiaalseteks tegevusteks. Uurimuse II tulemused näitavad, et riigikeele kui teise keele õppimine sõltub paljuski sotsiaalsest kontekstist, keelega seonduvatest sotsiaalsetest praktikatest, sotsiaalsete suhete võrgustikust ja interaktsioonidest teiste inimestega. Keele õppimine tähendab suhte loomist sihtkeele ja selle keele kogukonnaga. Keele omandamine tähendab seda, et õppija saab sihtkeele poolt vahendatud sotsiaalsete suhete tootmise ja taastootmise protsessi osaliseks läbi keeleturule sisenemise ja seal aktiivse osalemise. Kolmandas teesis väidan, et samaaegselt toimivad keeleturud loovad olukorra, kus konstruktivistlikus kogukonnas saavutatud keeleõppe edu ei ole õpetajate igapäevases professionaalses elus jätkusuutlik. Seetõttu tuleb sihipäraselt töötada selle nimel, et segregatsioon Eestis kahe lingvistilise tunnuse alusel määratletud kogukondade vahel kahaneks, sest selle kaudu on võimalik arendada sotsiaalsete struktuuride (sh keeleturu) ühtsust. Sotsiaalkonstruktivistlike meetodite rakendamine kunstlikult loodud kogukondades on vähem edukas tegutsevates töökollektiivides, nt koolides, ja kohalikes kogukondades meetodi rakendamisega võrreldes. Käesolev doktoriuurimus näitas, et õpetaja agentsuse võimustamine on tõenäoline siis, kui leiavad lahenduse pinged, mis

on tekkinud paralleelselt toimivate keeleturgudest mõjustatud tähenduste konstrueerimisel. Toetudes Bambergi terminoloogiale (2011 lk 18), peaks konstruktivistlike meetodite rakendamise eesmärgiks olema õpetajate aitamine „sünkroonilise mina-tähenduse”) saavutamisel oma professionaalses elus. Sellest tulenevalt peavad keelepoliitilised meetmed hariduses olema suunatud kollektiivsete muutuste esilekutsumisele, nad peavad olema läbiräägitavad, mitmesuunalised ja kohalikele tingimustele kohandatavad.

PUBLICATIONS

APPENDIX I – List of mentoring pairs

Mentoring pair	Mentee (M/F) / age (as of 2010)	Mentor (M/F) / age (as of 2010)	Mentee's primary subject at school	Mentor's occupation	Location of mentee's place of work (town)	Location of mentor's place of work (town)	Monthly reports used in Study II (Yes/No)	Interviewees (mentees) in Study III (Yes/No) / label and cluster in Study III
Pair1	F / 42	F / 46	Music	Public official	Tallinn	Tallinn	Yes	Yes / R9 / 3
Pair2	F / 48	F / 50	History/ Civics	Director of kindergarten	Tallinn	Tartu	Yes	No
Pair3	M / 38	F / 36	Geography	Public official	Narva	Tartu	Yes	Yes/ R8 / 3
Pair4	F / 46	F / 55	Music	Teacher	Tallinn	Pärnu	Yes	No
Pair5	F / 46	F / 64	Chemistry, Physics	Teacher, school administrator	Kiviõli	Paide	Yes	Yes / R4 / 2
Pair6	F / 49	F / 37	Arts	Teacher	Maardu	Maardu	Yes	No
Pair7	F / 40	F / 43	History	Teacher	Narva	Toila	Yes	No
Pair8	F / [not indicated]	F / 46	Music	Public official	Tallinn	Tallinn	Yes	No
Pair9	F / 47	F / 56	Physics	Teacher	Tartu	Tartu	Yes	Yes / R2 / 1
Pair10	F / 35	F / 31	Mathematics	NGO administrator	Tallinn	Tallinn	Yes	No
Pair11	F / 37	F / 56	Mathematics	Teacher	Tartu	Tartu	No	No
Pair12	F / 47	F / 47	Mathematics, IT	Private consultant	Kohtla-Järve	Keila-Joa	No	No
Pair13	F / 44	F / 50	History, Law	Teacher	Tallinn	Tallinn	No	No
Pair14	F / 51	F / 50	Geography	Teacher	Tallinn	Tallinn	No	No
Pair15	F / 35	F / 32	Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Music, Arts	Teacher	Tartu	Tallinn	No	No
Pair16	F / 49	F / 46	Mathematics, IT	Teacher	Tallinn	Viljandi	No	No
Pair17	F / 40	F / 46	Mathematics	Teacher	Tallinn	Viljandi	No	No

Pair18	F / 41	F / 24	Music	University lecturer	Tallinn	Tallinn	No	No
Pair19	F / 37	F / 36	Mathematics, Physics	Teacher	Tapa	Tapa	No	Yes / R3 / 1
Pair20	F / 52	F / 37	Chemistry	Teacher	Maardu	Maardu	No	No
Pair21	F / 38	F / 43	History, Civics	Teacher	Narva	Toila	No	Yes / R5 / 2
Pair22	F / 40	F / 28	Mathematics	MA student	Keila	Rakvere	No	No
Pair23	F / 43	F / 32	IT	Teacher	Kohtla-Järve	Tallinn	No	No
Pair24	F / 47	F / 52	Mathematics	Administrator	Tallinn	Tallinn	No	No
Pair25	F / 47	F / 53	History, Civics	Public official	Narva	Viljandi	No	No
Pair26	F / 52	F / 53	Chemistry	Teacher at kindergarten	Tallinn	Tallinn	No	No
Pair27	F / 45	F / 51	Mathematics	Teacher	Narva	Pärnu	No	No
Pair28	F / 53	F / 47	Biology	Teacher	Kohtla-Järve	Kehra	No	No
Pair29	F / 40	F / 50	Civics	Director of kindergarten	Paldiski	Tartu	No	No
Pair30	M / 44	F / 50	History, Media	School administrator, teacher	Tallinn	Tallinn	No	No
Pair31	F / 48	F / 50	Arts	School administrator, teacher	Tallinn	Tallinn	No	No
Pair32	F / 35	F / 29	Geography, IT	Teacher	Jõhvi	Kohtla-Järve	No	No
Pair33	F / 43	F / 48	Physical Education	School administrator	Tallinn	Pärnu	No	No
Pair34	F / 43	F / 27	Physical Education	NGO administrator	Narva	Tallinn	No	Yes / R6 / 2
Pair35	F / 57	F / 58	Biology	School administrator, teacher	Keila	Pärnu	No	No
Pair36	F / 55	F / 64	Mathematics	School administrator, teacher	Tallinn	Paide	No	No
Pair37	F / 36	F / 35	Physical Education	School administrator, teacher	Kohtla-Järve	Kohtla-Nõmme	No	No
Pair38	F / 49	F / 44	Mathematics	Teacher	Kohtla-Järve	Keeni	No	No

Pair39	M / 33	F / 36	Physics, IT	University lecturer	Mustvee	Tartu	No	No
Pair40	F / 44	M / 25	Mathematics	Public official	Narva	Tallinn	No	Yes / R1 / 1
Pair41	F / 39	F / 38	Physical Education	Teacher	Tallinn	Tartu	No	No
Pair42	F / [not indicated]	M / 27	Mathematics	NGO administrator	Tallinn	Tallinn	No	No
Pair43	M / 42	F / 52	Geography	Teacher	Narva	Rapla	No	No
Pair44	F / [not indicated]	F / 47	History	Teacher	Narva	Kose	No	No
Pair45	F / 43	F / 37	Mathematics, IT	Public official	Narva	Jõgeva	No	No
Pair46	F / 47	F / 47	IT	Private consultant	Kohtla-Järve	Keila-Joa	No	Yes / R7 / 3
Pair47	F / 32	F / 39	Mathematics, IT	Teacher	Tallinn	Tallinn	No	No
Pair48	F / 46	F / 60	Civics	Private company owner and CEO	Narva	Tallinn	No	No
Pair49	F / 47	F / 58	Biology	Teacher	Maardu	Viljandi	No	No
Pair50	M / 54	F / 36	Physical Education	Public official	Sillamäe	Tartu	No	No

APPENDIX 2 – List of open-ended questions in the self-evaluation report form (in Estonian, as originally applied)

Mentorpäeviku aruandevorm (täiendatakse koos):

Individuaalse keeleõppe tegevuskava ja eesmärgid [täidetakse projekti algul]

Mentii individuaalsed keeleõppe tegevused perioodi [...] jooksul olid:

Mentii tegevused mentori toel perioodi [...] jooksul olid:

Mentii eneserefleksioon (täidab mentii):

Millised olid sinu individuaalsed keeleõppega seotud eesmärgid antud perioodil?

Mis mahus eesmärgid saavutati? Põhjenda.

Millised tegevused ja toimingud aitasid eesmärgile lähemale jõuda?

Milliseid positiivseid kogemusi saad välja tuua?

Milliseid takistusi esines? Miks? Mida sellega seoses ette võtsid? Milliseid võimalusi veel oleks saanud kasutada?

Millist tuge või abi selle eesmärgiga seoses vajaksid?

Kui palju aitasid Sind oma eesmärkide saavutamisel kohtumised mentoriga? Põhjenda.

Milliseid avastusi või edasiminekuid saaksid välja tuua mentoriga kohtumistelt antud perioodi jooksul?

Mentori hinnang mentii keeleõppe arengule (täidab mentor):

Kas mentii õnnestus antud perioodil seatud eesmärgid täita? Selgita.

Millised olid suurimad tehtud edusammud mentorlusprotsessi käigus?

Kas edenemine on toimunud plaanipäraselt?

Milliseid arenguid saad välja tuua mentii keeleoskusega seoses?

Mis vajab edasi arendamist?

APPENDIX 3 – Interview schedule from Study III (in Russian, as originally applied)

А. Языковые курсы в сравнение с менторской программой (программой изучения языка с помощью ментора)

Комментарий: Как изучение языка с помощью ментора, так и языковые курсы могут быть довольно результативны. Цель интервью – опираясь на опыт респондентов, сравнить данные методы изучения языка, а также выявить их сильные и слабые стороны.

1. Есть ли у Вас опыт изучения эстонского языка на курсах? Есть ли у Вас опыт изучения языка на специальных курсах для учителей?
2. Приведите, пожалуйста, сильные и слабые стороны изучения языка на курсах.
3. Приведите, пожалуйста, сильные и слабые стороны изучения языка с помощью ментора.

Комментарий: далее я хотела бы уточнить отдельные аспекты изучения языка на курсах и с помощью ментора, опираясь на сравнительные категории. По каждой категории прошу дать оценку важности данного аспекта с точки зрения профессии учителя. Насколько данная категория важна именно для учителя русскоязычной школы. В какой мере учитывают языковые курсы, в сравнение с менторским проектом, связанные с данной категорией потребности изучающего язык учителя.

4. Охарактеризуйте, пожалуйста, свой опыт изучения языка:

Сравнительная категория	Важность/необходимость/специфика в профессии учителя	Вопросы
Развитие языковых навыков (понимание – восприятие на слух и чтение, устное общение и монолог, письмо).	Развитие каких навыков требует для учителя особого внимание? Развитие каких навыков представляется наиболее сложным для Вас как учителя?	Развитию каких навыков наиболее способствуют языковые курсы и менторская программа? Насколько позволяют данные методы обучения языку учитывать индивидуальные потребности учащихся по развитию определённых навыков?
Оценка развития языковых навыков, уровня владения языком	Квалификационные требования (экзамен), обратная связь о развитии языковой компетенции	Оцените, в какой степени данные методы позволяют оценить развитие языковых навыков учащегося? Насколько эффективна подготовка к экзамену, обратная связь по результатам экзамена?

Сравнительная категория	Важность/необходимость/специфика в профессии учителя	Вопросы
Учёт индивидуальных и профессиональных целей изучающего язык при планировании процесса обучения	Формирование индивидуальных краткосрочных и долгосрочных целей, установление связи между профессиональными целями учащегося и карьерой, и изучением языка, обеспечение устойчивости полученных знаний после окончания систематизированного процесса обучения.	Как проходит анализ Истории изучения языка (языковой биографии) (Language Biography)? как происходит постановка целей в соответствии с потребностями развития профессиональной карьеры учащегося? Оцените, в какой степени обеспечивают данные методы устойчивость полученных знаний? в том числе, уровень мотивации изучать язык после окончания программы или курсов? В какой степени содействуют данные методы развитию автономности (способность самим заботиться о развитии и сохранении языковых навыков)?
Развитие уверенности в себе при использовании языка в профессиональной сфере и в частной жизни – выявление и преодоление основных препятствий (страх, неуверенность, внутренний “барьер”)	Страх, связанный с использованием языка. Уверенность при использовании языка в специфических для учителя ситуациях, например, преподавание предмета на эстонском, курсы повышения квалификации, визит языкового инспектора, проекты, отчёты и т.п.), внутренние барьеры	Насколько важна для Вас систематическая работа над развитием уверенности в себе при использовании языка? Насколько эффективны данные методы изучения языка для выявления и преодоления препятствий в изучении и использовании языка?
Развитие самоопределения личности в ходе изучения языка	Различные роли: учитель, учащийся, изучающий язык (акцептирование того, что ученики знают эстонский лучше, неудача на экзамене, акцептирование негативного опыта). Роль учителя –предметника и учителя – языка, учитель “между” решением государства и ожиданиями общины.	В какой степени важна контекстуализация процесса изучения языка – например, учитывать социо-политический контекст профессии учителя в Эстонии? Насколько эффективны данные методы изучения языка в разрешении ролевых противоречий, связанных с профессией учителя? Например, принятие роли учащегося? или дополнительной ответственности за развитие языковых компетенций учеников? В какой степени необходимо затрагивать данные темы в ходе обучения языку?

Сравнительная категория	Важность/необходимость/специфика в профессии учителя	Вопросы
Знакомство с культурой, опыт приобщение к культуре	Понимание культурного контекста	В какой степени содействуют данные методы обучения языку приобщению к культуре? Насколько важно познание культуры в развитии мотивации учащегося?
Налаживание связей с носителями языка, способствование формированию профессиональных сообществ	Участие в профессиональных мероприятиях, общение с коллегами, посещение школ и т.п.	В какой степени содействуют данные методы обучения формированию профессиональных сетей и сообществ (куда входят носители языка и другие изучающие язык учителя)?
Действенность	В какой степени данные методы изучения языка отвечают потребностям и поставленным целям, а также в насколько оптимально соотношение результата с потраченными ресурсами (время, деньги)?	Сравните действенность форм изучения языка.

В. Обратная связь по результатам анкетирования

1. В вопроснике было несколько вопросов, связанных с конкурентоспособностью учителей – участников программы. В какой степени учителя ощущают наличие связи между конкурентоспособностью и знанием эстонского языка? Из ответов можно сделать вывод, что конкурентоспособность и сохранение рабочего места – важные стимулы для изучения языка почти для всех участников. Одновременно только треть участников опроса согласилась с тем, что знание эстонского языка влияет на продвижение их карьеры. Как бы Вы объяснили данный результат?
2. Что значит для учителей быть конкурентоспособным? Какие факторы определяют конкурентоспособность? Что определяют наличие связи между знанием языка и конкурентоспособностью учителя?
3. В анкете было предложено 3 варианта ответов, характеризующих мотивацию учителей изучать эстонский язык в контексте “влияния” на учеников: учить эстонскому, преподавать предмет на эстонском – участвовать в переходе на эстонский язык обучения в гимназии, знакомить учеников с эстонской культурой, способствуя их интеграции в эстонском обществе. Последний вариант получил самую большую поддержку. В чем на Ваш взгляд состоит роль учителя в русскоязычной школе в контексте интеграционных процессов? Почему именно культурный аспект вышел по результатам опроса на первый план?
4. С помощью анкеты я постаралась понять какие факторы, оказывают влияние на мотивацию изучать эстонский язык. В общем, мотивация участников

программы довольно высока, в том числе, и желание свободно владеть языком и быть успешным в изучении языка. С другой стороны, участники программы указали, что желание принадлежать к эстоноязычной общине мотивирует их в изучении эстонского языка в очень незначительной степени (желание принадлежать к эстоноязычной общине). Как бы Вы объяснили данное противоречие? что значит данное противоречие?

5. В опроснике я попросила дать личную оценку трём политическим решениям, связанным с языковой политикой в области образования: деятельность языковой инспекции, квалификационные требования к учителям и переход на эстонский язык обучения в гимназии. Примерно, треть всех респондентов, заполнивших анкету, не ответили на этот вопрос. Как Вы думаете, почему?
6. Учитель должен, с одной стороны, выполнять государственные предписания (программа обучения, Закон о языке, Закон об основной школе и гимназии и т.п.), с другой стороны важно сотрудничество с родителями детей. Переход на эстонский язык обучения и другие решения в области языковой политики – довольно чувствительные темы для русскоязычной общины. В анкете было два вопроса с целью выяснить то, как учителя воспринимают отношение родителей учеников к изучению части предметов на эстонском языке. *Я чувствую, что родители моих учеников не хотят, чтобы я преподавал(а) бы свой предмет на эстонском языке; Я чувствую, что даже если я буду владеть эстонским языком на требуемом государством уровне С1, родители моих учеников все равно предпочтут учителя эстонца.*). И на эти вопросы не ответило более половины участников опроса. Почему, как Вы думаете, эти два вопроса были оставлены без ответа?

Среди тех, кто ответил на эти вопросы, большинство не видит опасности в том, что местная община не примет их, если они начнут преподавать свой предмет на эстонском. Что означает для учителя то, что родители детей против образования на эстонском языке? Как учитель справляется в таких ситуациях?

С другой стороны, довольно распространена практика отдавать своих детей в классы погружения или эстонские школы. Как воспринимают учителя желание родителей, чтобы их детей учил бы учитель-эстонец? Какое значение имеет это отношение родителей для учителя русскоязычной школы?

7. Анкетирование показало, что возможность принимать участие в дискуссиях по поводу развития системы образования слабо мотивирует в изучении эстонского языка (по сравнению с другими мотиваторами). Как бы Вы объяснили этот результат? Почему учителя не мотивированы участвовать в принятии решений, особенно, если речь идёт о языковой политике?

APPENDIX 4 – Quantitative questionnaire used in Study III

Дорогой друг!

Прошло уже более года после окончания проекта индивидуального изучения эстонского языка и я очень надеюсь, что общение с ментором стало импульсом для внутреннего развития и положительных изменений в Вашей жизни.

Я бы хотела поговорить с Вами о этих изменениях и очень прошу заполнить данную анкету.

Это форма обратной связи пилотного проекта индивидуального обучения эстонскому языку, который проводился в 2009–2010 гг. Главная цель анкеты – узнать, какие изменения произошли в жизни участников проекта за последний год.

Хотя заполнение формы является добровольным и анонимным, я буду очень признательна Вам за отклик и честную обратную связь. Ваше мнение и опыт очень важны для нас!

Результаты исследования будут использованы Фондом интеграции, Министерством образования и науки, Фондом открытой Эстонии для усовершенствования методики проекта и планирования новых образовательных программ. Анкета на русском языке и Вам не составит большого труда выразить свое мнение, выбрав подходящий Вам вариант ответа.

Большое Вам спасибо за то, что нашли время и возможность вместе с нами оглянуться в прошлое!

Пожалуйста, заполните анкету к 15 ноября 2011 года.

Я с радостью отвечу на любые ваши вопросы,

Татьяна Кийло
Отделение социологии Тартуского Университета
Tatjana.kiilo@gmail.com
тел. 510 6694

Анкета менти (ноябрь 2011)

1) Продолжаете ли Вы работать в той же школе, с той же нагрузкой и на той же должности, как и на момент окончания менторской программы в октябре прошлого года?



Да



Нет

Если ответ “нет”, пожалуйста, поясните произошедшие изменения:

- 2) Назовите, пожалуйста, предметы, которые Вы сейчас преподаете:
- на русском языке
- на эстонском и русском языках
- только на эстонском языке

- 3) Оцените свои навыки эстонского языка на настоящий момент (ноябрь 2011) в сравнение со временем окончания менторской программы (октябрь 2010).



Значительно улучшились



Улучшились



Остались более-менее такими же



Ухудшились



Значительно ухудшились

Обоснуйте свой ответ: _____

- 4) Дайте оценку поддержке, оказанную Вам администрацией школы, местным самоуправлением, государством в изучении эстонского языка после окончания менторской программы.

Развитию моих навыков эстонского языка способствовали после окончания проекта:	Очень много	Много	Затрудняюсь в оценке	Почти нет	Совсем нет
Администрация школы	1	2	3	4	5
Местное самоуправление	1	2	3	4	5
Государственные институты	1	2	3	4	5
Фонд интеграции	1	2	3	4	5
Другая организация (пожалуйста уточните):	1	2	3	4	5

- 5) В каком роде поддержки в изучении эстонского языка после окончания менторской программы и от кого Вы больше всего нуждались?

- 6) Сдавали ли Вы за последний год государственный(ые) экзамен(ы) по эстонскому языку?



Да



Нет

Если ответ “да”, укажите, пожалуйста, уровень экзамена (A2, B1, B2 или C1), а также результат (60% и более, менее 60%)

7) Опишите, пожалуйста, последний опыт сдачи экзамена по эстонскому языку:

8) Дайте оценку своей конкурентоспособности на рынке труда на настоящий момент (ноябрь 2011) по сравнению со временем начала (сентябрь 2009) и окончания менторской программы (октябрь 2010).

Моя конкурентоспособность сегодня по сравнению с...	Намного выше	Выше	Более-менее такая же	Ниже	Намного ниже
...началом менторской программы (сентябрь 2009)	1	2	3	4	5
... окончанием менторской программы (октябрь 2010)	1	2	3	4	5

9) Оцените, насколько изменилась Ваша уверенность в себе при использовании эстонского языка в рабочих ситуациях на настоящий момент в сравнение со временем окончания менторской программы.



Значительно повысилась



Повысилась



Осталась на том же уровне



Понижилась



Значительно понизилась

Поясните свой ответ:

10) Оцените, насколько изменилась Ваша уверенность в себе при использовании эстонского языка в частной жизни на настоящий момент в сравнение со временем окончания менторской программы.



Значительно повысилась



Повысилась



Осталась на том же уровне



Понижилась



Значительно понизилась

Поясните свой ответ:

- 11) На сколько Вы были мотивированы изучать эстонский язык во время менторской программы (сентябрь 2009 – октябрь 2010) и в настоящий момент?

	очень слабая	слабая	средняя	сильная	очень сильная
моя мотивация во время менторской программы	1	2	3	4	5
моя мотивация в настоящий момент	1	2	3	4	5

- 12) Насколько сильным было Ваше желание выучить эстонский язык на высшем уровне во время менторской программы (сентябрь 2009 – октябрь 2010) и в настоящий момент?

	очень слабое	слабое	среднее	сильное	очень сильное
во время менторской программы	1	2	3	4	5
в настоящий момент	1	2	3	4	5

- 13) Какие цели и причины мотивируют Вас в изучении эстонского языка и культуры? Оцените приведенные ниже утверждения.

	совсем не моти- вирует	слабо моти- вирует	средне моти- вирует	сильно моти- вирует	очень сильно моти- вирует
а) желание выполнять работу учителя более эффективно	1	2	3	4	5
б) желание стать лучшим учителем	1	2	3	4	5
с) желание преподавать эстонский язык своим ученикам	1	2	3	4	5
д) желание выполнить решение государства – преподавать свой предмет в гимназии на эстонском языке	1	2	3	4	5
е) желание познакомить своих учеников с эстонской культурой, помогая им интегрироваться в эстонское общество	1	2	3	4	5

f) желание использовать методические материалы на эстонском языке	1	2	3	4	5
g) желание участвовать в курсах повышения квалификации на эстонском языке	1	2	3	4	5
h) желание знакомиться и общаться с коллегами эстонцами и входить в эстоноязычные объединения учителей	1	2	3	4	5
i) желание узнать больше о педагогических традициях и работе эстоноязычных школ	1	2	3	4	5
j) желание инициировать и/или проводить проекты/мероприятия совместно с учителями эстонских школ	1	2	3	4	5
k) желание участвовать в обсуждении вопросов, касающихся школы и системы образования Эстонии на местном и государственном уровне, например, участвовать в мероприятиях, посвященных политике в области образования и/или высказывать свое мнение в СМИ	1	2	3	4	5
l) желание сдать экзамен по эстонскому языку и выполнить квалификационные требования	1	2	3	4	5
m)желание обеспечить/сохранить рабочее место и быть конкурентоспособным на рынке труда	1	2	3	4	5
n) желание освободиться от страха перед языковым экзаменом и/или проверкой инспектора	1	2	3	4	5
o) желание освободиться от давления администрации школы изучать эстонский язык	1	2	3	4	5

p) желание быть хорошо информированным о последних решениях в области образовательной политики (например, новая программа обучения, законопроекты и т.п.)	1	2	3	4	5
q) желание помочь членам семьи (дети, супруг(а)) в изучении эстонского	1	2	3	4	5
r) желание приобщиться к эстонской культуре, например, посещать театр, музеи, читать книги	1	2	3	4	5
s) желание найти что-то общее между эстонской и своей культурой	1	2	3	4	5
t) желание поддерживать взаимно обогащающие (дружеские) отношения со своим ментором	1	2	3	4	5
u) желание поддерживать взаимно обогащающие (дружеские) отношения с эстонцами	1	2	3	4	5
v) желание быть в курсе происходящего в эстонских СМИ	1	2	3	4	5
w) желание принадлежать к эстоноязычной общине	1	2	3	4	5
x) желание чувствовать себя свободно, общаясь на эстонском языке	1	2	3	4	5
y) желание быть успешным в изучении языка	1	2	3	4	5

14) Оцените, пожалуйста, насколько Вы согласны с приведенными ниже утверждениями по поводу изучения эстонского языка:

а) мне нравится изучение эстонского языка

полностью не согласен/согласна	не согласен/согласна	нейтрален/ нейтральна	согласен	полностью согласен/ согласна
1	2	3	4	5

b) у меня сильное внутреннее желание изучать и использовать эстонский язык

полностью не согласен/согласна	не согласен/согласна	нейтрален/ нейтральна	согласен	полностью согласен/ согласна
1	2	3	4	5

c) при изучении эстонского языка мне нравится преодолевать себя

полностью не согласен/согласна	не согласен/согласна	нейтрален/ нейтральна	согласен	полностью согласен/ согласна
1	2	3	4	5

15) По сравнению с периодом менторской программы Вы занимаетесь изучением эстонского языка:

- ☐ значительно больше
- ☐ больше
- ☐ столько же
- ☐ меньше
- ☐ значительно меньше
- ☐ совсем не занимаюсь

16) Какие возможности нахождения в эстоноязычной среде Вы используете? (выберите все подходящие ответы)

- ☐ СМИ на эстонском языке (газеты, порталы, телевидение радио и т.д.)
- ☐ языковые курсы
- ☐ общение со знакомыми эстонцами (в том числе, с помощью интернета, например Skype, MSN, электронная почта)
- ☐ занятия спортом и приобщение к эстонской культуре
- ☐ применяю язык на работе (работаю с документами, преподаю на эстонском языке, использую эстоноязычные материалы)
- ☐ учусь на курсах повышения квалификации и участвую в конференциях
- ☐ участвую в экскурсиях по Эстонии
- ☐ участвую в совместных проектах с эстонскими школами читаю книги
- другие способы (уточните)

17) Насколько Вы согласны с приведенными ниже утверждениями:

	пол- ностью согласен/ согласна	согласен/ согласна	затруд- няюсь ответить	не согласен/ согласна	пол- ностью не согласен/ согласна
а) Знание эстонского языка делает меня востребованным специалистом на рынке труда	1	2	3	4	5
б) Знание эстонского языка делает меня высокоценным специалистом со стороны администрации школы	1	2	3	4	5
в) Благодаря знанию эстонского языка я могу эффективно участвовать в принятии решений по развитию моей школы (составление программы развития, внутреннее оценивание и пр.).	1	2	3	4	5
г) Благодаря эстонскому языку у меня появились новые возможности для самосовершенствования (участие в профессиональных сообществах, курсах повышения квалификации)	1	2	3	4	5
д) В профессиональном смысле время, потраченное на изучение эстонского языка, стоит того	1	2	3	4	5

f) Из-за обязанности изучать эстонский язык постоянно испытываю на работе нехватку энергии и мотивации	1	2	3	4	5
g) Участвуя в курсах повышения квалификации на эстонском языке, я постоянно испытываю страх, что не смогу правильно выразить свои мысли	1	2	3	4	5
h) Когда я веду урок на эстонском языке, я боюсь, что дети владеют эстонским языком лучше, чем я	1	2	3	4	5
i) Когда я веду урок на эстонском языке, я боюсь, что дети не понимают моих объяснений и вопросов	1	2	3	4	5
j) Когда я веду урок на эстонском языке, я боюсь, что не пойму вопросы и ответы детей	1	2	3	4	5
k) Когда я веду урок на эстонском языке, я боюсь, что учу детей грамматически неправильному языку	1	2	3	4	5
l) Знание эстонского языка не делает меня лучшим учителем	1	2	3	4	5
m) Знание эстонского языка не оказывает влияние на мое продвижение в карьере	1	2	3	4	5

n) Мне жаль потраченного на изучение эстонского языка времени	1	2	3	4	5
o) Мне жаль потраченных на изучение эстонского языка денег	1	2	3	4	5
p) Я чувствую, что родители моих учеников не хотят, чтобы я преподавал(а) бы свой предмет на эстонском языке	1	2	3	4	5
q) Я чувствую, что даже если я буду владеть эстонским языком на требуемом государством уровне C1, родители моих учеников все равно предпочтут учителя эстонца.	1	2	3	4	5

18) Каково Ваше отношение к языковой политике государства в области образования?

	пол- ностью поддер- живаю	скорее поддер- живаю	затруд- няюсь ответить	скорее не поддер- живаю	совсем не поддер- живаю
a) к переходу гимназий на эстонский язык обучения	1	2	3	4	5
b) к языковым требованиям в отношении учителей	1	2	3	4	5
c) к деятельности Языковой инспекции	1	2	3	4	5

При желании обоснуйте свой ответ: _____

19) Насколько Вы согласны с приведенными ниже утверждениями:

	совершенно согласен/ согласна	согласен/ согласна	затруд- няюсь ответить	не согласен/ согласна	пол- ностью не согласен/ согласна
а) мое личностное отношение к языковой политике государства в области образования уменьшает мою мотивацию учить эстонский язык	1	2	3	4	5
б) государственная языковая политика уменьшает мотивацию моих учеников учить эстонский язык/ учиться на эстонском языке	1	2	3	4	5
в) опыт обучения на эстонском языке делает русскоязычную молодежь конкурентоспособной на рынке труда и при дальнейшем обучении	1	2	3	4	5
г) учителя-предметники должны отвечать за развитие эстонского языка учащихся	1	2	3	4	5
д) учителя русскоязычных школ должны сами заботиться о развитии и сохранении своих навыков эстонского языка	1	2	3	4	5

- 20) Насколько успешным Вы находите свое сотрудничество с ментором? 1 означает, что неудавшимся; 10 – очень успешным

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
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- 21) Поддерживаете ли Вы связь с ментором после окончания программы?

☐

да, часто

☐

нет, связь прервалась

Если Вы ответили “нет”, пожалуйста, объясните, по какой причине связь прервалась:

- 22) Если Вы поддерживаете связь с ментором, пожалуйста, опишите характер Вашего общения (например, посещаете вместе культурные мероприятия, сотрудничаете в педагогических вопросах, общаетесь семьями и т.п.)?

- 23) Ощущаете ли Вы поддержку ментора в изучении эстонского языка и после окончания программы?

☐

да

☐

нет

☐

связь с ментором прервалась

- 24) Поддерживаете ли Вы связь с другими участниками после окончания программы?

☐

да

☐

нет

Если Вы ответили “нет”, пожалуйста, объясните, по какой причине связь прервалась:

- 25) Если Вы поддерживаете отношения с другими участниками программы, пожалуйста, опишите характер Вашего общения (например, посещаете вместе культурные мероприятия, сотрудничаете в педагогических вопросах, общаетесь семьями и т.п.)?

- 26) Ощущаете ли Вы поддержку других участников программы в изучении эстонского языка и после окончания программы?

☐

да

☐

нет

☐

связь с другими участниками прервалась

27) Я готов(а) ответить на дополнительные вопросы исследователя в форме интервью (период проведения интервью – ноябрь-декабрь 2011)



да



нет

Если Вы ответили на вопрос утвердительно, оставьте, пожалуйста свои контакты

(телефон, адрес электронной почты):

Спасибо за содействие в проведении исследования!

APPENDIX 5 – Details of cluster analysis in Study III

The cluster analysis (K-means clustering algorithm (run on IBM SPSS 20.0.0)) is based on four variables from the quantitative questionnaire on accepting teachers' Estonian language legitimation power:

- motivational orientation in Estonian language learning to implement transition (“Motivator”)
- attitude towards transition to Estonian-medium instruction (“Attitude – transition”)
- reflection on the statement “subject teachers should be responsible for language development of their students” (“Attitude – language”)
- implementing bilingual instruction (yes/no) – variable based on qualitative parameters (“Subject RU and EST”)

Initial Cluster Centers

	Cluster		
	1	2	3
Motivator	1	5	3
Attitude – transition	5	3	4
Attitude – language	5	5	1
Subject RU and EST	1	1	0

Final Cluster Centers

	Cluster		
	1	2	3
Motivator	2	4	3
Attitude – transition	4	3	3
Attitude – language	4	4	2
Subject RU and EST	0	1	0

Distances between Final Cluster Centers

Cluster	1	2	3
1		2,790	2,820
2	2,790		1,749
3	2,820	1,749	

Number of Cases in each Cluster

	1	17,000
Cluster	2	10,000
	3*	14,000
Valid		41,000
Missing		2,000

* 39 questionnaires were labelled as complete in the final analysis; two questionnaires from cluster 3 were labelled as incomplete (*non-response*).

Cluster Membership

Case Number	Cluster	Distance
1	3	2,449
2	1	2,449
3	2	2,236
4	1	2,646
5	1	2,000
6	1	2,449
7	1	1,732
8	2	2,449
9	1	,000
10	3	2,236
11	1	2,236
12	1	2,236
13	1	2,449
14	3	2,236
15	3	2,236
16	2	1,732
17	2	1,414
18	1	2,000
19	3	2,236
20	3	1,732
21	1	2,449
22	3	2,000
23	1	1,732
24	3	1,414
25	3	2,646
26	3	,000
27	1	2,449
28	3	,000
29	2	3,000
30	1	2,449
31	2	2,236
32	1	1,000
33	3	2,236
34	2	3,162
35	1	2,449
36	2	,000
37	3	2,000
38	3	,000
39	1	1,000
40	2	2,000
41	2	1,732
42	—	—
43	—	—

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A list of publications:

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- Kiilo, T. and Kutsar, D. (2012) 'When language becomes power: Russian-speaking teachers in the bilingual general education system in Estonia', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 33(2), 245–262.
- Kiilo, T. and Kutsar, D. (2012) 'Exploring constructivist social learning practices in aiding Russian-speaking teachers to learn Estonian: an action research approach', *Educational Action research*, 20(4), 587–604.
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Uurimisvaldkonnad: sotsiaalsed probleemid ja heaolu, etnilised suhted

Publikatsioonide loetelu:

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