



RELIGIOONIPEDAGOOGIKA PSÜHHOLOOGILISED ALUSED

Olga Schihalejev (2009) Tartu Ülikool

USUS03.005

1. **Kursuse maht:** 3EAP / 2AP

2. **Õppetöö vormid:**

- sissejuhatav loeng
- e-õppe seminarid
- individuaalne töö

3. **Kursuse eesmärgiks on, et kursusel osalenu:**

- tunneb olulisemaid kaasaegseid usulise arengu teooriaid ja
- oskab neid praktika seisukohast lahti mõtestada;
- reflekteerib enda kui õpetaja rollist ja piiridest, õpetuse neutraalsuse tagamise võimalustest

Ootan, et kursusel osalejad löövad kaasa aktiivselt ja reflekteerivalt interneti foorumites, esitavad üksteisele küsimusi ning vastavad endale esitatud küsimustele.

Õppeülesanded:

Kursus koosneb järgnevatest teemadest:

SEPTEMBER-OKTOOBER: lapse füüsiline emotsionaalne, sotsiaalne, kognitiivne, moraalne ja usuline areng. Koostatakse tabel (40 p) j täidetakse test (10 p)

NOVEMBER: Eesti laste usulise mõtlemise uuringu. Higeheidlikud probleemid:

Fundamentalism. Lein. Süütunne. Mõni muu ennast huvitav hingeheidlik probleem. (1 artikli referaat, 20+5+5 p)

DETSEMBER: õpetaja isik. Neutraalsuse võimalused (ül 10 p); Kuidas õpetaja biograafia, temperament jmt mõjutab õpetamist? (10p)

4. **Hinne**

A – 90-100p

B – 80-89p

C – 70-79

D – 60-69

E – 50-59%

F – alla 50 %, plagiaat

LAPSE ARENG

ERIK ERIKSON (1902-1994)

TAUST JA ÜLDIST

Ta tundis sügavat huvi inimese elukaare vastu ning uuris paljude kuulsate inimesi ja Ameerika vähemusrahvuste esindajate arengulugu.

Erikson rõhutas varase arengukäigu olulist rolli isiksuse kujunemisel. Tema põhiideid ja uuringuid on märkavalt mõjutanud kuulsad psühholoogi Sigmund Freudi teooriad. Erikson on Freudi kolmanda ego psühholoog. Aga kuigi ta pooldas Freudi ja tema koolkonna liikmete ideid ja põhimõtteid, nagu näiteks teooriat Oidipuse printsibist, pööras ta rohkem tähelepanu ühiskonna ja sotsiaalse keskkonna rollile inimese arengus.

INIMESE ARENGU TEOORIA

Erikson kujutab inimese arengu käiku astmelisena, kus iga astme läbimise edukus määrab seda, millisena jõuab inimene järgmise asteni. Erinevatel arenguetappidel peab inimene lahendama kindlaid probleeme ning sellest, mismoodi ta neid lahendab, sõltub tema tulevane iseloom, harjumused - tema isiksus. Inimene õpib samm-sammult erinevate probleemidega toime tulla ning seega kaasneb tema iseseisvumine ja areng ühiskonna täisväärtuslikuks liikmeks. Samas ühiskond suunab ja kujundab inimese arengut oluliselt (kooli, töökoha, perekonna kaudu).

ASTMED

1. Esimene eluaasta: Globaalne usaldus vs. usaldamatus => baasturvalisus, optimism
2. 1.-3.a.: Autonomia vs häbi ja kahtlus => eneseusaldus, iseseisvus
3. 4.-5. a.: Initsiatiiv vs süütunne => tegutsemisjulgeus, algatusvõime
4. 6.-11.a.: Töökus, usinus vs alaväärsustunne => nauding ja rõõm toimetulekust, oma võimete tundmine
5. murdeiga: identiteet vs rollide hajumine => identiteet, stabiilsus ja rahuldustunne
6. noorus: intiimsus ja solidaarsus vs isolatsioon => võime püsisuhete loomiseks
7. täiskasvanuiga: loovus vs stagnatsioon => eneseteostus isiklikus ja ühiskondlikus elus
8. küpsusiga: integraalsus vs meeleheide, tülgastus => rahulolu minevikuga ja valmisolek tulevikuks

VAATA LISAKS:

<http://www.learningplaceonline.com/stages/organize/Erikson.htm>

http://www.businessballs.com/erik_erikson_psychosocial_theory.htm

LAWRENCE KOHLBERG, 1927-1987- AMEERIKA PSÜHHOLOOG

UURIMISMEETOD

Lawrence Kohlberg kasutas moraalse arengu astmete määramiseks (1958) lugu Heinzist, kellel polnud raha kalli rohu ostmiseks, et abikaasat raskest haigusest päästa, kuid apteegis on rohi olemas. Kas Heinz peaks minema vargile?

Teatud astmel pole oluline, kumma variandi vastanu valib, vaid KUIDAS PÕHJENDAB oma vastust. Sulgudes on toodud tüüpiline põhjendus vastaval astmel.

KÕLBELISE ARENGU ASTMED

Prekonventsionaalne moraal – põhjendused seotud momendi kasuga/kahjuga

1. aste - kuulekus ja karistuse vältimine (4-7a): Käitumine on orienteeritud karistusest hoidumisele, formaalne reeglite täitmine. Sisemiselt omaks võetud moraalireegleid pole. (Ei tohi, sest saab karistada; Tohib, kuid ei tohi vahele jääda)

2. aste - kasu ja vastastikkus (7-10a): käitumist motiveerib individuaalne kasusaamine ja vastastikkulisus. Kindel arusaam sellest, mida tohib teha ja mida mitte, normid on välised. (Ei tohi, sest muidu vaevab teda kaua, et tegi halvasti; Tohib, sest hiljem tunneb end hästi, et head tegi)

Konventsionaalne moraal – põhjendused seotud teiste inimeste seisukohtadega

3. aste – hea poiss ja armas tüdruk: motivatsiooniks on kaaasinimeste tunnustus, hukkamõistu vältimine. Teiste käitumist hinnatakse motiividest lähtuvalt. Laps usub, et hea inimene püüab kenasti käituda ja püüab seda ka ise. Vastastikused isikutevahelised ootused, suhted ja kuulekus (Ei tohi, kuid proovigu paluda; Tohib, sest naine ootab seda)

4. aste – seadus ja kord: sotsiaalsele süsteemile ja südametunnistusele truuks jäämine. Rõhk liigub kohustuste täitmisele, olemasolev sotsiaalne kord või autoriteet tuleb säilitada. Neljandal astmel on otsus juba sisemiselt suunatud, ratsionaalsem (Ei tohi, sest seadus keelab; Tohib kuid kandku ka karistust ja maksu kasvõi eluaeg kinni)

Postkonventsionaalne moraal – põhjendused seotud isiklike kriteeriumitega

5. aste – ühiskondlik kokkulepe: seadus kui inimõiguste tagaja; sotsiaalne kokkulepe või kasulikkus, ebaõiglased seadused tuleb muuta. Kuna on kokku lepitud, siis kuuluvad muutmisele (tohib, sest elu on ülim kui seadus; ei tohi, sest teadlasel on õigus saada oma leiutisest tulu)

6. aste – universaalsed eetilised printsiibid: kõlbeline mõtlemine lähtub sisemiselt läbi töötatud universaalsetest eetilistest printsiipidest, konkreetset seadused reflekteeritakse nende valguses. (Tohib, sest inimese päästmine on suurem väärtus kui teise omand; Ei tohi, sest teisedki, kes rohtu vajavad, on samaväärsed)

- Faasid on vanusest sõltumatud

- Faasidel on oma loogiline järgnevus. Areng võib ka peatuda.

- Faasidest üle hüpata ei saa. Kestvus paar nädalat kuini mitu aastat. Teatud situatsioonides on võimalik tagasilangus

- Inimene võib oma eluga toime tulla igas faasis. Vajalik siiski kooskõla ja tasakaal sisemise mina ja keskkonna vahel
- Ühest faasist teise üleminekuks on vaja teatud kognitiivseid Võimeid.

KOMMENTAAR JA KRIITIKA:

- faasid on , aga kas täpselt sellises järjekorras?
- Eri situatsioonides võivad inimesed kasutada erinevaid moraalse käitumise norme (eksamil mahakirjutavad õpetajad)
- Ka laste käitumine võib olla 6. Faasi tasemel ja täiskasvanu käituda 1. Astme järgi kuuleka käsutäitjana

Kriitika Carol Gilliganilt: Kohlberg uuris poisse, tüdrukutel käib areng teisiti.

Gilligan eristas tüdrukute kolm astet:

1. enesehoolitsus – kes täidab minu vajadusi
2. eneseohverdus – enne teiste vajadused
3. eneseaustamine – inimesel õigus ise otsustada, aga ilma teisele kahju toomata

VAATA LISAKS

Ülevaade nüüdisaegsest diskussioonist. *Josephine Russell.* Tõlkinud Kadri Lutt. Kogumikus: Väärtused, iseloom ja kool: väärtuskasvatuse lugemik Koostajad: M.Pöder, M.Sutrop, P.Valk (Tartu, 2009, lk. 45-90).

<http://faculty.plts.edu/gpence/html/kohlberg.htm>

http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_g2602/is_0003/ai_2602000337/?tag=content;col1

FRITZ OSER (PEDAGOOGIKA PROFESSOR SAKSAMAALT)

- oli Kohlbergi õpilane
- dilemma lugu Paulist ja tema kihlatust Maryst.

MEETOD

Paul oli edukas arstitudeng, kes oli sooritanud hiilgava ametieksami astumaks internatuuri. Sõidab Brasiiliasse. Lennukatastroof. Paul töötab pääsemise korral minna Aafrikasse arstiks. Pääsebki. Jõuab Londonisse – kirik kuninglikult haiglalt hiilgava karjääripakkumisega. Paljud vähihaiged vajavad teid! Mida peaks Paul tegema? +Mary ootab last, ei saa teha kaitsepookimisi. + Mary allergia, mille tõttu ei saa minna + Paul ei lähe ,poole aasta pärast autoõnnetus, kus jääb halvatus – kas J karistas?
- Oser küsitles 290 inimest üle maailma

TEORIA

NB! faasid edasises arengus ei kao, vaid säilivad ka kõrgematele astmetele jõudes.

1. Heteronoomiline faas

Inimene peab tegema, mida Jumal tahab

Deus ex Machina J jõudu peetakse aktiivseks pooleks, mina pean tegema seda, mida J tahab, J kui metafüüsiline politsei. J kui kontrollorgan, tohutu silm või kõrv. Maagilisus.

N: Miks vanaema suri – J tahtis nii, J teab, mis ta teeb – so preoperatsiooniline mõtlemine + maagiline J-pilt (J saadab ingleid, kuradeid, haigusi ja tervist)

2. Bipolaarne faas

Laps avastab oma mina, => bipolaarne suhe “Käsi peseb kätt”, kaupmehe moraal. Teatud tegevusega (intensiivne palve) on võimalik Jumalat mõjutada, karistust pehmendada või vältida. Jumal kui suhtluspartner. Laps teeb asju hirmust + animistlik arusaam maailmast. Seda esineb ka täiskasvanuil (püütakse intensiivse palvega J-t mõjutada). Absoluutsele autonoomiale orienteeritus.

N: Paul saab Londonis ka head teha! Või ravid 99 inimest terveks Aafrikas ja saab koju tulla.

3. Deistlik faas (vt: Hobbes, Hume Locke – 17.saj on samast mõtteviisist sündinud)

J. lükkas asja käima ja edasine teda ei puuduta, inimene peab nüüd teostama end vabaduses. J kõrvaldatakse asjade toimimisest (=> võib viia ateismi; J pole kaitsja, persoon, karistaja vms.)

N: Paul andis lubaduse ekstreemses olukorras, peab nüüd vaba südametunnistuse järgi rahulikult otsustama.

4. Päästeplaani faas

Igas inimeses on peidus Jumala plaan, inimesel on otsustamise vabadus, kuidas seda täita. Jumala avastamine igapäevaelus. J ON ISE vabadus, rahu, armastus, mitte see, kes seda annab. J on kategooria, mis võimaldab elada rahu, armastuses. J avastatakse igapäevaelus. Igapäevaelu kui jumalik tähendamissõna.

5. Inimsuhte faas

mõned inimesed vaid siin. Inimene avastab, et ta pole üks, on seotud teistega oma keskkonnas. J-t saab leida

kaasinimestes, J kohtab mind teiste inimeste kaudu.

N: Paul peab rääkima teiste inimestega, J võib rääkida nende kaudu.

6. Universumi faas

Oser väidab, et ei leidnud seda. ? ema Theresa. J on kõik kõiges (Paulus)

Ei eraldada enam inimest ja J-t, sealpoolsust ja siinpoolsust, 'kohalejõudnus taevas'

PAN-ENTHEISM – on autonoomne Jumal, kes võib end ilmutada ükskõik mille kaudu

Vrdl: panteism – J on loodus ja loodus on jumal, J ilmneb kõiges

JÄRELDUSI

- Oseri järgi on iga inimene religioosne, igal inimesel on huvi religiooni vastu. Seetõttu on religioosset mõõdet välistav haridus kuritegu
 - Faasid tuleb läbida, see on arengu protsess
 - Iga faas on omaette tervik, igas faasis võib oma elu ära elada
 - Iga faas püüab vastuolusid tasandada ja tasakaalustada
- Hirm – usaldus
Lootus – resignatsioon, pettumus
Vabadus – sõltuvus
- see teooria on kultuuriuniversaalne

VT LISAKS:

Oseri kriitikat ateistilt:

<http://freethinkingjoy.blogspot.com/2008/02/atheist-view-of-osers-religious-stages.html>

J. PIAGE'T (1896 – 1980)

KOGNITIIVSE ARENGU ASTMED:

Piaget tõi välja mitmed faktorid, mis stimuleerivad lapse vaimset arengut, millest suhtlemine on üks olulisemaid. Need viivad kognitiivsete dilemmadeni ning sunnivad vaatama oma tõekspidamisi üle. Vaadeldes lapsi tegi järelduse, et kõik lapsed muutuvad kindlas järjekorras, kuigi erineva kiirusega.

1. Sensomotoorne aste (sünnist- 2a)

Selles astmes on lapse kognitiivsed võimed piiratud mootorsete refleksidega, vahetu kogemuse kaudu saab õppida. Nt 7. elukuuks omandatakse objekti jäävus ehk et asi on olemaas ka siis, kui seda pole parasjagu vaateulatuses. Õpivad juhtima oma liigutusi, mis omakorda võimaldab areneda kognitiivsetel võimel. Lapsed õpivad kohast käitumist ning hale ja esimeste sõnadega suhtlema teiste inimestega, õppides oma hooldajatelt, imiteerides nähtut ja kuuldot ning eksperimenteerides oma lihaste ja häälega.

- Intuitiivne võime uurida keskkonda läbi tegevuse (suu, sõrmed jm)
- arusaam, et peidetud asi ei kao ära (peitusemäng)
- kõne kui sümboolse mõtlemise alus – esimesed sammud sinna poole
- jäljendamine, sh ka mälu järgi
- laps hakkab ette kujutama oma potentsiaalseid toiminguid ja nende tagajärgi

N: 2a Kati, kes vaatab auto alla jäänud rott: "Ilu-ilu rotikene, ei hoidnud emme käest kinni kui üle tee läks!"

2. Operatsioonide eelne (1,5 -:- 6/7a)

Siin kujuneb võime mõelda läbi erinevad võimalused enne, kui tegutsema hakatakse. Samuti sümboolne mõtlemine, nii kõnes kui ka mängus. Siiski, loogilise mõtlemise aluseks olevad struktuurid pole veel omandatud: lapsed ei saa võrrelda koeri ja loomi, suurema vahega kivikeste reas usuvad nad, et on rohkem kive, kuna see on pikem jne. Kujutuspildidel oluline roll. Piaget nimetas seda egotsentriliseks (mitte egoistlikuks) etapiks – lapsed ei ole võimelised nägema asju teise perspektiivist.

- võime mõelda esemetest ja sündmustest sümboolses tähenduses (klots kui auto, paberitükid kui mängu tegelased jne)
- abstraheerimisoskus – st sõna ja objekt ei pruugi koos esineda
- puudulik on põhjuslikkuse taipamine, kogus (*N: veekogus erinevates klaasides*), aeg (*N: 4a Ken, kes teatab pühapäevakoolist tulles: "Emme, me peame nüüd minema oma kodukohta, sest keiser käskis kõik inimesed üles kirjutada!"*), puudulik ka mõttekäikude pööratavus, võrdlus, erinevad perspektiivid
- egotsentrilisus – mõtlemine enda perspektiivist (ei ole samastatav egoismiga!)

3. Konkreetsete operatsioonide aste (7 – 12a)

Piaget leidis, et nüüd on võimelised võtma teise perspektiivi, samuti arenevad välja loogika ja hierarhilise mõtlemise kategooriad

Suudavad lahendada lihtsamaid probleeme, opereerides konkreetse informatsiooniga, mitte üldistuste tasandil.

- Loendamine, klassifitseerimine korraga ühe tunnuse alusel
- seoste ja sõltuvuste taipamine, võime pöörata sündmuste käiku tagasi (*N: vee valamine*)
- hakkab nägema sündmuste põhjusi väljaspool iseennast (*N: pimenemine ei tule magamaminekust*)
- arusaamine, et inimestel on erinevad tunded
- ~ puudub deduktiiv-hüpoteetiline mõtlemine ja oskus lahendada süllogisme

4. Formaalsete operatsioonide aste (12=>)

Võime mõelda süstemaatiliselt, korruga mitme muutujaga, abstraktsel tasandil sümbolitega ning suudab ennast ise motiveerida. Õpitakse nii lugedes, uusi ideid järgi proovides, sõpradelt ja vanematelt. Siiski, mitte kõik ei jõua sellesse staadiumisse.

- abstraktsete seoste taipamine
- deduktiiv-hüpoteetiline mõtlemine: võimalikkus, tõenäosus, tulevik, õiglus, väärtuste kategooriad
- võime mõttes läbi mängida omi võimalusi
- võime näha vastuolusid inimeste arutlustes

NB! SÄLIVAD KA VARASEMAD ASTMED! – SEE SÕLTUB OLUKORRAST JA SELLEST KUI KINDLALT END SELLE KESKEL TUNTAKSE.

TUGEVUSED

1. Rõhutas, et areng on nii sisemiste kui väliste mõjutegurite ühistöö tulemus (kõik ei sõltu kasvatuses ja samas ka geenid üksi ei dikteeri)
2. Meie mõttestruktuurid muutuvad, mitte ainult teadmiste maht.
3. Lapsed mõtlevad täiskasvanutest kvalitatiivselt erinevalt
4. Refleksioon oma mõtlemise üle kui oluline tasand mõtlemises – kuidas sa mingi järelduseni jõudsid
5. Eriti oma hilisemates töodes leidis Piaget, et egotsentrism on omane kõigile astmetele, aga erineval viisil. Kui imikutel on probleemiks objektide eraldamine oma nägemisväljast sõltumatuteks ühikuteks, siis koolieelikutel on see keeleline ja ruumiline probleem, Noorukid on võimelised mõtlema oma väärtuste üle, kuid oma väärtuste üle reflekteerides eeldavad nad et kõigil teistel (eriti nende vanematel) on tühised väärtused. Nii on igal astmel oma reflekteerimata uskumused, mille üle ei reflekteerita ja mistõttu pole neid võimalik muuta.

KRIITIKAT

1. liiga kitsas! – keskendumine vaid kognitiivsele arengule ja eeskätt loodusteadusliku mõtlemise arengule!
Eirab passiivset teadmist.

2. Areng jätkub:

Perry (1981):

- moraalne ja intellektuaalne absolutism (igale probleemile on konkreetne lahendus)
- relatiivsus ja nähtuste situatiivsus
- lähtumine isiklikest väärtushinnangutest

Belenky jt (1986)

+ soolised erinevused:

- tüdrukud võtavad asju isiklikumalt ja emotsionaalsemalt, poisid abstraktsemalt
- + sageli ei saanud lapsed aru, mida neilt küsiti – sest küsimused ei haakunud laste probleemidega.
- + ei antud lastele piisavalt aega vastamiseks

Bruner ja Egan: NARRATIIVSED TEADMISSTRUKTUURID!

- väikesed lapsed valdavad narratiivseid mõtlemisviise
- NB! jutustuste kasutamne, kus on peategelane, kirjeldatakse tema tegemisi ja mõtteid jne

TEADMISTE JA KOGEMUSTE SUHE

- spetsiifiliste kogemuste omandamine võib üldiste mõtlemisstruktuuride arengust ees käia
- NB! usuline kogemus, emotsioonid

ka varasem kogemus ja eelteadmised võivad õppeprotsessi häirida – seega on vaja neid teada!

SOTSIOKULTUURILISE KESKKONNA MÕJU KOGNITIIVSELE ARENGULE, KEEL JA MÕTLEMINE

- religiooni keele eripära
- usuline kirjaoskamatus

VT LISAKS

<http://hubcap.clemson.edu/~campber/piaget.html> ja Faith Presnell

<http://www.muskingum.edu/~psych/psycweb/history/piaget.htm>

JAMES W. FOWLER

(sünd 1940, teoloogia ja inimarengu professor, metodisti kiriku õpetaja)

Põhiteos: Stages of Faith, 1984

PEAMISED MÕJUTAJAD

Jean PIAGET' (1896 –1980) lapse kognitiivse arengu teooria

- KUIDAS areneb mõtlemine
- Kultuuriuniversaalsus
- Mõtlemine kui reaktsioon keskkonnale. Struktuurid. Assimilatsioon ja akomodatsioon
- areng on vormi, mitte sisu muutus
- arengu seotus keskkonnaga

Erik ERIKSONi (1902-1994) isiksusliku ja sotsiaalse arengu teooria

- Igale astmele on omane teatud põhikonflikt, millega toimetulekul kujuneb teatud kvaliteet, mis loob eeldused edasiseks toimetulemiseks. Lahendamata jäänud konflikt võib end edasises elus teravalt tunda anda.
- elulooline perspektiiv
- arenguastmete muutumine läbi kriisi
- kultuuriuniversaalsus

Lawrence KOHLBERGi (1927-1987) moraalise arengu teooria

- Kõlbeline areng on seotud kognitiivse arenguga. Moraalne areng ei saa jõuda ette kognitiivsest arengust, küll aga maha jääda!
- lugude meetod
- kõrgeim aste on printsiibi tunnetamine
- moraalne areng eeldab kognitiivset küpsust
- areng võib seiskuda mistahes tasemel

USK=

- JF ei esita konkreetset usu definitsiooni

- "ma usun, et usk on üldnimlik". Juba sündides omame me võimet uskuda. Kuidas see võime teostub, oleneb sellest, kuidas elu meid vastu võtab ja missuguses keskkonnas me kasvame.

- Usk on inimloomuse universaalne loomujoon, äratuntavalt sarnane sõltumata usulise praktika ja uskumuste sisu ning vormi mitmekesisusest.

- isiku või grupi elust osasaamise viis, elusündmuste vaheliste seoste seletamise ja elu mõtestamise viis, inimese enese- ja elumõistmise viis.

- Inimese fundamentaalne küsimus suhte järele igavikulisega

USU SISU on kirjeldatav kolme kategooriaga:

- 1) väärtused, mida me teadlikult või alateadlikult tunnustame
- 2) väekujundid (images of power) – kellele või millele omistatakse jõud/vägi
- 3) väejutud (master stories) – mida räägitakse ja mille abil interpreteeritakse elu ja sündmusi

PÖÖRDUMINE tähendab muutust usu sisus, mitte astmes. Pöördumine ja astmemuutus võivad, aga ei pruugi koos esineda.

JF uurib, KUIDAS inimene usub, eristab 6 (+1) astet, millest igaüks võib olla omamoodi täiuslik.

- üleminek ühelt astmelt teisele toimub läbi KRIISIDE
- usuline areng ei saa edestada kognitiivset arengut, küll aga sellest maha jääda!
- Usuline areng on orgaaniliselt seotud järgmiste arengu dimensioonidega:
 - kognitiivne areng, - sotsiaalne areng, - moraalne areng, - tunnetuse areng, - identiteedi ja isiksuse areng
 - jumalapildi, maailmapildi ja maailmavaate areng, - sümbolite mõistmise areng,
- usk on multidimensionaalse arengu tulemus

USUASTMED

0 Esmane või diferentseerimata usk. Sünnist kuni 2. eluaastani

Hoolitsevate täiskasvanute (vanemate) kaudu õpitakse usaldust, kujuneb välja võimekus rituaalideks, sealhulgas ka usulisteks rituaalideks. Usulise arengu seisukohalt kriitiline periood, kus baasturvalisuse ja usaldusvõime tekke kaudu pannakse alus tulevasele jumalasuhtele. Siin kogetud hoolivus ja vastastikulisus kandub hiljem edasi usulisse mõtlemisse. Usk ise on siin veel uurimisele kättesaamatu.

- Ohuks on mutuaalsuse vähesus(=> nartsissism või isolatsioon)

Üleminek seoses mõtlemise ja keele arenguga

1 Intuitiiv-projektiivne usk. Alates 2. eluaastast

Arusaam Jumalast ja elu olemusest on eelkõige intuitiivne, Jumalat kujutatakse valdavalt antropomorfseks, samas esineb ka palju spirituaalseid jooni (armastus, vaim, kõikjalolev), segu universaalsest ja isikustatud Jumalast, kes toimib maagilisel moel, kõike peetakse võimalikuks. Kujutlusvõime areng seostab kogetava maailma tervikuks. Intuitiivne elu olemuse taipamine. Väga tugev esmaste täiskasvanute mõju: imiteerimine, mitte kriitika. Domineerib afektiivne ja egotsentriline mõtlemine. Usu seisukohalt on olulised jutustused.

- Ohuks on võimalik "seestumus" negatiivsetest kujutlustest, kujutluste kinnitamine tabude ja doktriinide poolt. Üleminek seoses konkreetsete operatsioonide tasandile jõudva mõtlemisega.

2 Müütilis-sõnasõnaline usk. Alates 4.–13. eluaastast

Põhiküsimus: "Milline lugu õige?" Siin ilmneb inimesel soov eristada reaalselt ja kujutletavat. Sellega kaasneb teatud „must-valge“ nägemine (Lähete pörgusse!) Sidustav element on jutustus, mis kannab tähendusi.

Uskumusi ja norme mõistetakse sõna-sõnaliselt ja must-valgelt, sümbolite mõistmine on ühedimensiooniline.

Jumalat kujutletakse endiselt antropomorfseks, üldistusi on nõrgalt. Sümbolite mõistmine ühedimensiooniliselt (palve = soov). Keskkel kohal on kuuluvustunne, samuti jutustused ehk narratiiv. Mõtlemine ja õppimine toimub lugudes ja lugude kaudu. - Sümpaatia ja empaatiavõime.

- Ohuks võib kujuneda osaduskonna ülekontroll, suuresõnaline perfektsionism, enese õigemakspidamine teisitimõtlejate suhtes. Tähtsate teiste väära suhtumise läbi võib kujuneda väärastunud enesehinnang. Üleminekut põhjustab sisemiste vastuolude tunnetus (seda ei sõnastata!). Erinevate lugude ratsionaalne kõrvutamise; vastuolu vanade ja uute autoriteetide vahel.

3 Sünteetilis-konventsionaalne usk. Alates 10.–21. eluaastast

Põhiküsimus: "Milline grupp on õige?" Primaarsed on suhted eakaaslastega, seetõttu on kirjeldatud ka kui "klanniusku". Usk sünteetiliselt kodust väljapoole laienuv maailmatunnetust – väärtusi, infot jne Kohanetakse grupi normidega (konformism) – usutakse ja käitatakse nii nagu teised, sest iseseisvate otsuste tegemiseks puudub veel piisav enesekindlus (Vrdl: J.M. Hulli mõiste "religionism"). Iseloomulik teismeliste, võib osutada

paljudele "laeks". Abstraktse mõtlemise teke toob kaasa senisest sümboolsema jumalakujutluse tekke, mida sageli esitatakse suhete keeles. Maailm on jagatud meieks ja nendeks. Autoriteedid on need, kelle grupp on selleks tunnistanud, neid seisukohti ja uskumusi ei sõnastata, ei reflekteerita.

- Oht omaks võtta teiste arvamused sedavõrd, et edaspidi muutub isiklike seisukohtade kujundamine raskeks. Ülemineku võimalikke katalüsaatoreid on vastuolud autoriteetide vahel, kodust lahkumine, oma mina üle reflekteerimine.

4 Individuaativ-reflektiivne usk. Alates 13.–30. eluaastast

Põhiküsimus: "Mida mina usun?" Läbi kriiside muutub usk üha enam isiklikuks. Hakkavad välja kujunema loogilised ja läbiproovitud süsteemid, iseseisev maailmavaade. Tekib kriitika usuliste osaduskondade suhtes. Usulisi sümboleid demütologiseeritakse, hakatakse nägema nende laia tähendust ja mitmetimõistetavust, sümboolid tõlgitakse mõtestatud kontseptsioonidesse. Puudutab minimaalselt alateadlikke protsesse.

- Ohuks on liigne enesekindlus, "sekundaarne nartsissism"

Üleminek ajendiks vajadus tegelda oma isiksuse süvakihtidega, lapsepõlvega, kujutlustega; senine maailmapilt hakkab tunduma liiga lameda ja steriilsena

5 Paradoksaalne-konsolitatiivne ehk siduv usk. Alates 35.–40.

Põhiküsimus: "Kus on mu juured?" Sellel astmel hakkavad inimesed paremini taluma vastuolusid, omandavad heatahtliku, positiivse skepsise. Suhtumine minevikku muutub rahulikumaks, õpitakse elama enda tehtud otsustega, saadakse aru maailma ja iseenda ebatäiuslikkusest. Tõdemus, et palju meie minast seostub sotsiaalse päritolu, usulise traditsiooni, etnilise grupiga. Oma kollektiivse alateadvuse avastamine. Usulisse osaduskonda kuulumine ja usulised sümboolid võivad uuesti oluliseks muutuda. Kaotuse sakramendi ja tegudekohustuste tagasipöördumatus realsuse tunnetamine. Piirid muutuvad poorseteks ja läbilaskvateks, paradoksi tunnustamine, vastandväited võivad olla korruga tõesed.

- Ohuks on küüniline tagasitõmbumine või liialeminev rahulolu enesega

Üleminekuks on oma igavikulise missiooni tajumine selles tegelikus maailmas, kõige kokkukuuluvustunne

6 Universaliseeriv usk

Põhimoto "Kõik on üks". Nüüd ollakse vabad poliitilistest, sotsiaalsetest ja majanduslikest raamidest, mille inimesed endale ise loovad. Inimene ei muretse siin enam ainult enda või oma grupi, vaid inimkonna kui terviku heaolu pärast. Neid võib kirjeldada kui isetuid, armastavaid ja õiglast inimesi, kes väljendavad tõe kogu oma eluviisiga, püüdes muuta või muutes maailma. Tõde, mis kui absoluut on praktiline, elulähedane ja tegelikkusele suunatud, piir profaanse ja sakraalse vahel on kadunud. On võimelised ennast ohverdama ideaali nimel ja pälvivad tunnustuse sageli alles pärast surma. Need inimesed muudavad inimkonna arusaama normaalsest. Nad on valmis osaduseks kõigi madalamate astmete inimestega ja ka teiste religioossete traditsioonide esindajatega.

N: Ema Teresa, M. Luther King, Mahatma Gandhi, Dietrich Bonhoeffer Harvaesinev

Lisaks esitatud seitsmele astmele ei välistanud Fowler veel muude, veelgi kõrgemate astmete olemasolu, kuid nende kohta ta oma uuringutes tõendeid ei leidnud. Ükski aste ei ole tema meelest parem kui teine, kuid kõrgemad astmed on sidusamad ja terviklikumad kui madalamad astmed. Ka ei ole need astmed fikseeritud etapid, vaid väljendavad eelkõige teatud eluperioodide arenguhooni.

Kõik esitatud vanusepiirid on tinglikud. Paljud inimesed ei pruugi üldse kunagi kõrgematele astmetele jõuda. Näiteks eelviimasele, paradoksaalse usu astmele jõudis Fowleri uuringute kohaselt 7 protsenti inimestest; viimasele, universaliseeriva usu astmele ainult 0,3 protsenti inimestest.

Fowleri usulise arengu astmete praktiline väärtus seisneb eelkõige arusaama kujundamises, et igal inimesel on kasvupotentsiaal; et usuline areng ei toimu mingite eeskirjade või mudelite järgi, vaid läbi sisekogemuse.

Tegemist on äärmiselt sügava ja isikliku protsessiga. Samuti tõestab see kriiside loomulikkust ja vajalikkust ning aitab mõista, et valulised kogemused on midagi, mida arengu juures ei saa vältida.

Lisamärkusi

- Kõrgem aste mõistab madalamat, vastupidiselt mitte.
- Ükski aste pole teisest parem. Teatud tingimustel on iga aste loomulik ja parim.
- Liikumine ja areng kirjeldab tendentsi, mitte rangelt eraldatavaid etappe.

Vt lisaks Fowleri usuastmete mõõtmisest:

<http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Measuring+faith+development-a0160582430>

RONALD GOLDMAN'I USULISE MÕTLEMISE ARENGU UURING

Religious Thinking from Childhood to Adolescence (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964)

Readiness for religion : a basis for developmental religious education (New York : Seabury Press, 1974)

UURIMISMETOODIKA:

Uurimuse sihtrühm: 200 last vanuses 6 – 15+

Projektiivpildid.

1. pere läheb kirikusse
2. laps põlvitab voodi ees
3. laps täissoditud Piibli ees

Kasutatud piiblilood:

1. Mooses ja põlev põõsas
2. Kõrkjamerest läbimine
3. Jeesuse kiusatused

Näidisküsimusi: Kõrkjamere läbimise küsimused:

1. Miks tahtis J iisraellasi päästa?
2. Kuidas sa seletaksid vete taandumist? Kuidas su meelest midagi sellist sai juhtuda? Kas J tegi seda, kuidas?
3. kas su meelest see lugu on tegelikult ka juhtunud? Kas kõik või osaliselt? Miks sa nii arvad?
4. Kas see oli nii sellepärast, et sellest on kirjutatu piiblis?

Laste vastustest loeti välja:

1. Egotsentrilisus
2. Konkreetsus
3. J-pilt: 12-13a. tugevalt antropomorfne. Probleem J füüsilisuse ja kõikjal olemisega. Kasutavad seletamiseks tuttavaid analoogiaid.

NÄITEID

PÕLEV PÕÕSAS:

Küsimused:

Kas oled seda lugu varem kuulnud?

Loo lõpus öeldakse, et Mooses kattis näo kinni, sest ta kartis Jumalat vaadata.

A) Mida sa arvad, Miks M kartis? *Miks veel?*

B) Kas ta oleks pidanud kartma? Miks sa nii arvad?

C) Kas sina oleksid kartnud?

Kui kujutada ette, et M oleks oma hirmust üle saanud ja vaadanud, mida ta siis oleks näinud:

- Inimest
- Nägu
- Visiooni
- Valgust
- Tuld
- Inglise

A) Mida sa arvad, miks see maa, millel M seisis oli püha?

B) Kas J on kõikjal? Siis on kõik kohad pühad, või on see nii vaid teatud kohtade puhul?

C) Kas see pind on püha?

Kuidas sa seletad seda, et põõsas põles ja samas ei põlenud ära? Kuidas sinu meelest midagi sellist sai juhtuda?

A) Kui M oleks olnud kurt, kas ta siis oleks kuulnud J kutset?

B) Kui seal ligidalt oleks olnud teisi inimesi, kas ka nemad oleksid kuulnud J kutset Moosesele?

Kas sinu meelest on see lugu tõeliselt aset leidnud?

A) Kõik või ainult osaliselt?

B) Miks sa nii arvad?

A) Kui ma räägiksin sulle, et selline lugu juhtus minuga eile, kas sa usuksid? – Miks?

B) Kui see juhtus Piibli aegadel, kas see võiks juhtuda ka nüüd?

Laste

7a.: Põõsas läks põlema, sest keegi viskas tikku maha. *Miks ära ei põlenud?* Jumal oli seal taga ja viskas vett peale.

8a.: see tegelikult ainult paistis nii. Keegi oli seal ja pani põleva paberitüki JK!. Kui keegi ei vaadanud.

J oli põõsa sees ja hoidis tikke käes, eemalt paistis, nagu põõsas põleks.

6.a.: Lehed olid hästi tugevad. Nad polnud enne kunagi põlenud. Nad olid väga-väga tugevad.

6.a.: Mooses valetas!

KV: Jumal teeb imesid, pole probleem, Seletavad ime kirjelduse teksti endaga.

6.a: J tegi nii, et tuli ei põletanud põõsast või lilli *Mis sa sellega mõtled?* See oli vast eksperiment. Mu vend tegi ka eksperimenti ja andis mulle siis juua.

8a.: rohelised asjad (toored) ei põle hästi. J tegi selle hästi roheliseks.

9a: J ei lasknud. *Mida sa sellega mõtled?* Jumala vaim oli põõsa kohal ja see peatas leegid. *Kuidas?* Vaim on otsekui tulekustuti, nagu vesi või vaht või teised asjad.

II aste: (9-)

Semi – maagiline seletus:

9.a.: JK pani sinna PV ja see ei põlenud ära. *?kuidas?* See oli tõeline leek aga PV peatas selle. *Kuidas?* J oli seal ja ei lasknud tuld edasi.

8a. J võlus nii ja ütles: ära põleta põõsaid! *Kellele J nii ütles? Põõsale. Kas sel olid kõrvad, et ta sai kuulda?* . Ei , aga põõsas kuulis teda ja kuulas sõna. Võluvärk!

III aste:

11a.-

ei nähta seda puht füüsilise sündmusena. Hiljem kujuneb mõistmine sümbolina ? miraaž, hallutsinatsioon.

10: J tegi nii, Ta võib teha kõike. See ei pruukinud olla päris tuli vaid nagu tuli, Aga püha, et Moosese tähelepanu köita.

11: need leegid olid J. leegid mis ei põleta.

NB! Usuline mõtlemine on seotud kognitiivse arenguga. Ei saa ette jõuda, võib aga maha jääda!

SEPTEMBRI JA OKTOOBRI ÜLESANDED:

Igaühel on lugeda üks artikkel, mis käsitleb mõnda uuringut laste usulisest või moraalsest arengust.

Ülesanne 1: Koostada 3-5 inimese rühmades wiki ühe kooliastme arenguliste iseärasuste kohta (kursuse materjalide põhjal ning igaühe erinev panus on veel artikli materjalidest).

Ülesanne 2: Koostada 10 käsku õpetajale vastava earühmaga töötamiseks, mis lähtuvad ealiste iseärasuste arvestmisest. Foorum.

Ülesanne 3: Test erinevatest arenguteooriate tundmise peale

NOVEMBRI ÜLESANDED:

Referaat hingehoidliku probleemi käsitlemisest ja foorumis arutelu sellest.

DETSEMBRI ÜLESANDED:

1. Ülesanne õpetaja neutraalsusest ja selle piiridest
2. Ülesanne. Lugeda artikkel õpetajatest ning kirjutada päevikuvormis: Kuidas minu elulugu, minu temperament, millised inimesed on mõjutanud mind kui õpetajat?

CHALLENGES IN CREATING RESPECT FOR DIVERSITY: TEACHERS' PERSPECTIVES

Schihalejev, Olga (2009) Challenges in creating respect for diversity - Estonian Teachers and religious Diversity, in Anna van der Want, Cok Bakker, Ina ter Avest, Judith Everington (Eds.) Teachers Responding to Religious Diversity in Europe. Researching Biography and Pedagogy. Münster / New York / München / Berlin: Waxmann Verlag GmbH, (pp 41 – 54).

Schihalejev, Olga (2009) Portraits of the Estonian Respondents, in Anna van der Want, Cok Bakker, Ina ter Avest, Judith Everington (Eds.) Teachers Responding to Religious Diversity in Europe. Researching Biography and Pedagogy. Münster / New York / München / Berlin: Waxmann Verlag GmbH, (pp 149-160).

SHORT BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION ON THE TEACHERS

I have selected and conducted interviews with seven teachers, diverse in their educational, religious and personal background. The short overview with basic characteristics is presented in table 1. Three males and four females were interviewed, the age of respondents varied by their age from 24 to 54. All the respondents had some kind of professional schooling, but the schools as well as amounts of pedagogical preparation differed a lot. Two respondents have learned at the University of Tartu, Theological faculty and finished also a special teacher-training year. Five respondents have studied in different confessional high-educational institutions with just occasional courses on pedagogy in three cases and almost finished two year master program for teachers in two cases. The experiences of teaching RE differed: there were three “beginners”, with their second or the third year of teaching, in addition two respondents with less than ten years and two more than ten years of teaching experience. Some of teachers have had or have some other subjects to teach in addition to RE, others have not (3). The interviewed teachers belonged to different Christian confessions: Lutheran (3), Baptist (3), Catholic (1), three of seven respondents had religious upbringing at home.

The pilot interview was conducted in September, all the others between the 31.st of October and the 14.th of December 2007. For anonymity reasons I use pseudonyms instead of the real names.

Table 1

Name	Age	Education; T = theological P= pedagogical	Teacher experience (other profession)	Religion, religious upbringing	School
Loviise	24	T & P: MTS + mag TI EELC	2. (youth leader at church)	Pentecost, Baptist, yes	Village, next to Tallinn

Kristjan	26	T: TI EELC	2. (deacon)	Lutheran, some	Rural town,
Liisa	32	T & P: TU, mag	10. + social sciences	Catholic, yes	City, catholic
Heli	34	T & P: HTSB + mag TI EELC	3. + history	Baptist, no	Town
Peter	43	T & P: TU, mag	11 + philosophy	Lutheran, no	City, selective
Kadri	48	T & P: HTSB	7.+ social pedagogue	Lutheran, Baptist, no	Village
Ets	54	T: HTSB	10 (pastor)	Baptist, yes	Town

For privacy reasons we use pseudonyms for the six teachers interviewed (two males and four females). All of the respondents had some professional schooling as teachers but the schools as well as the degree of pedagogical preparation differed a great deal. Liisa and Peter studied at the theological faculty of the University of Tartu, completed a specialist teacher-training year and acquired a Masters' degree. Other respondents studied in different confessional high-educational institutions. Ets and Kadri had occasional courses on pedagogy, while others have had or are finishing a two year Masters level programme for teachers.

Loviise is 24 and is in her second year as a school teacher, although she has worked for some years as a church based youth leader. She had a religious upbringing in a Pentecostal family, but has become a Baptist.

Liisa is 32 and has three children. She has been a teacher of RE and social sciences for ten years. She is also a head teacher. She works in a Catholic school and is a Catholic herself.

Heli is 34 and has two children. It is her third year as a teacher of RE, history, ethics and philosophy. She did not have a religious upbringing, but became a member of the Baptist church when she was a teenager.

Peter is 43 and has three children. He has been a teacher of RE and Philosophy for eleven years in a selective Gymnasium. He had no religious upbringing, but is now a member of the Lutheran church.

Kadri is 48 and her children are grown up. She has been working as an RE teacher for seven years and is a social pedagogue¹ in her village. She converted to Christianity as an adult and, has been a member of Lutheran and Baptist Churches.

Ets is 54. He works as a pastor at a Baptist church and as a teacher of RE in different schools for more than ten years.

ANNEX 1: PORTRAITS

LOVIISE

¹ A social pedagogue is a social worker at school who helps with contacting families and finding solutions if a child has some social problems.

BIOGRAPHY

Loviise works at a school near Tallinn. The school is known for its modern environment and openness to new ideas. She started teaching RE a year ago, when she finished *EMK Teoloogiline Seminar* (Baltic Methodist Theological Seminary, MTS) and she teaches 16-18 year old students. She has two classes, and each meets once a week. She is still studying at the *EELK Usuteaduse Instituut* (Theological Institute of the Lutheran Church, TI), the master course for RE teachers. She has grown up in a Pentecostal family, but already in Gymnasium joined a Baptist Church and works for a Baptist Church as a youth leader. She changed her religious community to be with her friends; she values the social dimension of her religion.

She had no clear reason for becoming an RE teacher, although she is glad that she is. She mentions that her grandfather and mother were teachers and they were important for her. She thinks it is important that she enjoys communication, socialisation and creativity – all this has a crucial role in her choice of profession. She is glad that she works in a school valuing artistic and humanitarian skills, because it reflects her preferences.

PERCEPTION OF DIVERSITY

Loviise admits that her students have usually “zero background on religion”, but she does not see that as a problem. She wishes that they would be more forthcoming with their opinions and regrets that they are often too similar in their positions.

According to Loviise there are two kinds of students: those who have opinions and those who do not. She appreciates students who have the courage to think independently, diverge from others. She refuses to speak about ‘subgroups’. It seems that it is not unconscious but rather it corresponds to her aspiration that “every child would be a personality”, not just a member of any subgroup, even if it means clashes during lessons.

“Personality is the right word. /.../ I like it, if there are bounces in the class or so. Even if the opinion is probably not the most correct or said out most properly. But they are not such diffuse, with a foggy smile on their face and agreeing with all what I say.”

AIMS

As the aim of RE Loviise wants her students to find their own opinions, stand up for them, and be proud of them. She also wants students to be able to accept worldviews that differ from their own. She is less interested in teaching facts about religions, than in instilling tolerance of people who practice different religions.

She says that she would like to create positive attitudes towards religious people and believes that she has a crucial role. She hopes to influence students by using herself as a role model and to shape positive attitudes towards religious people.

“Maybe I am the only [believing] person whom they have seen so closely. And then if I was for example asked something, I would know nothing about Buddhism, but I have met a person he was very – very nice and it came out that he was a Buddhist. And if I see a word Buddhism or there is a seminar or something like that, then even if I do not know anything about it, do not remember any fact. But I have ((joyfully)) Aha! I know it. /.../ And in a way it is not competent, it is with one person actually. It remains here ((points to her heart)) to all of us.”

STRATEGY

She would like to have more diversity of opinions and also backgrounds among her students. She tries to encourage it by being very open about her own positions and eliciting other opinions. She reiterates that it is important for students to find their own outlooks, not repeat hers or their classmates'. To encourage students, who have not their own views or are too shy to share them openly, she offers a space for personal communication and asks for contributions personally. When students write their essays, she emphasizes their strengths and gives them personal feedback. She prefers to ask open questions to encourage students to explore their own positions.

She gives her students choices in planning their work, they often can choose the tasks to accomplish or come up with their own ideas. When diversity comes up in a lesson, she asks for explanations and does not hesitate to show her curiosity.

RELATION

Loviise is a self-confident and sociable person who feels safe in class. She uses her youth and ability to reflect to establish good relations with students and connects easily to their life. She explains unfamiliar or complicated religious concepts to them in simple way by telling amusing or interesting anecdotes. She wants to make students curious and have positive feelings to representatives of different religions

Since she has friends from several religions, she speaks about religions also using the examples of these concrete people. Her parents were Pentecostal but she joined a Baptist church because her friends went there.

“For young people faith does not matter. It is harsh to say, but relationships matter and where you have your relationships, there you go... If to compare Baptism and Pentecostals, at the personal level I do not have so much for Baptist Church, Pentecost Church is more intrinsic to me, but it happened to be so and it is so. Relationships matter to teenagers.”

As she herself has contacts with different religions by personal relations, she speaks about religions also using the examples of these concrete people. It corresponds to her biographical accounts, as she draws herself – her parents were Pentecostal and she admits that she likes it more but she went to Methodist and joined Baptist church as she had her friends there.

“For young people faith does not matter. It is harsh to say, but relations matter and where you have your relations, there you go... If to look at Baptism and Pentecostals, at the personal level I do not have so much for Baptist Church, Pentecost Church is more intrinsic to me, but it happened to be so and it is so. It is during teenage that the relations matter.”

LIISA

BIOGRAPHY

Liisa studied theology and pedagogy at Tartu University, where she is now enrolled in the master's course. The most influential person in her childhood was her younger sister. She started her teaching career at a school for special needs students. She dreamed of working in an orphanage but her work in the school was so satisfying that she stayed here. Now she teaches in a also history, civics, and personal-and-social development. She is also a head teacher.

PERCEPTION OF DIVERSITY

Liisa loves the energy and candour of teenagers. She Her believes that her students appreciate music and art. She obviously values ethical decision making, this dimension is absolutely a preponderant factor in the interview with her. She never speaks about conveying knowledge, but how students make ethical decisions in their everyday life, care about each other, stand up for outcasts, and take responsibilities for each other.

When describing her students, first she refers to them as active or passive, having their own ideas, or following everyone else. These two seem in her view to be overlapping and are connected to ethical decision making. She speaks about courage to attest a bully during class-harassment as an example of having own opinion.

“For example, bullying. Then it is very clear that in many classes there are those who dare to admit it. Although the bully might be a class leader and they stand against him. And there are those who keep their opinion to themselves and side with the bully, follow a stream.”

She mentions ethnic differences among students, and refers to students with physical disabilities, but she does not believe that they are separators in her school. She believes that religious dividing lines are not between denominations, but between interpretations of religion. She opposes strict and more liberal families, as she knows that there are so many different approaches even in Catholicism, that no generalisations would be appropriate.

AIMS

Although she works in a confessional school, she teaches about different religions. For Liisa teaching religious content is only a tool, not an aim of RE. Love and cooperation are the main aims of RE. „[The main aim of RE is] for children to believe in love. I think that it is the most important.“ A very important task of the school is to develop train students to cooperate with other people and manage in a society.

STRATEGY

She never says that she must cope with differences; she rather uses differences among students and sees them as enriching and necessary for her lessons. She does this without thinking about it in her everyday work. She uses a lot work in groups so that students can use their special gifts to perform a common task – to organise, draw or do something else. She tries to group children with different backgrounds and who normally do not work together. As an engine of such a group work she sees responsibility to each other.

Lisa loves and appreciates children she works with. When she speaks about children who claim to be skinheads, she never condemns them but says that they have had a difficult childhood or are just unhappy. She

does not blame children, but parents. She believes that under a tough surface there is a vulnerable and traumatized child who wants to be appreciated.

“They said, that during summer they had gone and run a Japanese person out of our town. They had persecuted him as far as he went away. And they did not see anything [wrong] in it. They rather believed that they saved their town from an ‘Asian invasion’; they saw themselves as Estonian national heroes. At the same time I pitied these children, because they were from such a miserable background. And well, a Nazi who says bad things about a black person starts to cry when his mother and father divorce and his father does not come to see him. Well, you can see how traumatised and how unhappy they are.”

RELATION

Liisa says that everything she does is connected somehow to her life story. She grew up in a family with five children. Her parents were scholars, almost never having time for their children and she as one of the oldest had many responsibilities and close relation with her younger sister until now. Even if Liisa did not say so, one can see that her sense of responsibility has contributed to her teaching.

In her childhood she had really few friends, and because of her Jewish heritage it was difficult to make friends. The friends that she did have were brave and she valued them highly.

“Teachers denigrated my little sister in front of others in the class, then it was awkward for others to start friendship. But at the same time these who were our friends, they are up to now and they are very nice and strong persons.”

Now she admires children who stand up for these who are pariahs. Although Liisa concealed her religious identity in when she was young, religion is not a separate but an integral part of life. For her it does not matter if religion is taught by dealing about ethical dilemmas, different projects, history or by studying world religions. Liisa combines religious studies with other subjects she teaches: personal development, social science, history. In the same way the differences among students are natural. She hopes to inspire love, not ‘despite’ the differences but ‘because’ everyone can contribute by own uniqueness to make life better for everyone.

HELI

BIOGRAPHY

Heli has been a teacher of RE, philosophy and ethics in a medium-sized town for two years. Last year she started teaching history and civics for 16-19 year old students. She had no religious upbringing. She became Christian after finishing secondary school; influenced by a free church, now she is a member of the Baptist Church. She has studied at *Kõrgem Usuteaduslik Seminar* (Higher Theological Seminary of the Union of Evangelical Christian and Baptist Churches of Estonia, HTSB) and continues her studies at TI, on the master course for RE teachers.

Her first experience as a teacher was during her last year in gymnasium – in a teachers’ day she was teaching some lessons and liked it very much. She has not decided yet if being a teacher is right for her,

because she has had some problems maintaining class discipline. She values her religious background as a key to teaching RE, and to understanding religion.

PERCEPTION OF DIVERSITY

She sees her students as very diverse, mainly in their attitude to religion – they can be interested or not interested or to have prejudices. She says that she does not believe that there are students who are totally resistant to the subject; they take it with humour and try to integrate new knowledge in their own way.

“Very versatile, I find, nowadays. Well, certainly there is a contingent, who is very interested, well, if we speak about religious education, such religious topics. For many, the biggest part are those, who has several prejudiced questions and such, well, commentaries so. There is a part certainly, who are not interested maybe at all but they are so quiet usually, they have not been very outspoken. They have been rather curious, yes, and I respond to them gladly, as much as I can. But they are different indeed.”

But motivation is not the most important diversity, the most important distinction for her as a teacher is in students’ learning styles. She thinks about it when planning her lessons.

Religious diversity is not asked directly by her but some students write in essays about their religious beliefs. She says that they are more open when they write than orally. She thinks that the atmosphere in class is not encouraging or that students are embarrassed in front of each other. She also believes that most students have not developed yet their own worldview.

AIMS

She sees the aim of RE as the acknowledgement of plurality and respect for other opinions.

“[The aim of RE is] that there would not develop an opinion that there is my opinion and a wrong opinion. So I find that my role would be the same – that children start to understand that in addition to their opinion there could exist more different opinions what are not false but are also – beside his own position there is another right position, which could be equally true. And it is certainly wise to use those students’ convictions in a lesson. So that it is not me who is speaking, not me who speaks only my versions, but there are new and new ways of thought come and things what I probably do not know. That they themselves would get to know each others worldviews.”

She believes that the main aims of RE are to help children to identify their own worldview, look for answers to existential questions, and to become more tolerant of people with different worldviews.

STRATEGY

She tries to answer the questions and react to comments. Instead of discouraging questions, she tries to use questions to encourage additional questions.

To satisfy the needs of different learning styles she tries to use different teaching-learning methods, to have variety of them. Here one can notice a strong influence of her recent studies; she says “As in didactics we have been taught...” She finds that by work in groups one can only benefit from diversity present in a class, get to know students who think differently. To encourage more personal contributions and to accommodate

different learning styles she uses pictures, drama, and poetry. In order to help students to understand another point of view, she sometimes asks them to defend a position with which they disagree.

Some children think more analytically; other think more practically, so she tells stories from everyday life, invites members of different religions to class, or shows documentaries about religion, to supplement lectures and textbooks.

RELATION

Heli almost never asks students about their religious convictions. She admits that it is not in accordance with her experience at school but rather with her own experience as a Christian, when she was hurt by other people. She does not avoid discussing her beliefs when students ask. Since she did not have strong religious convictions when she was a teenager, she does not expect many of her students to have them.

“Maybe I identify myself again with the age group, when I was approximately at that age. In some ways you have a mess in your head still, what is this world about. I have a feeling that there are a few who know what they think to be true.”

She has found that she benefits most from active learning, so she prefers methods that enable students to be active learners. Her lessons are very much ‘learning about’, as the official curriculum in public schools demands. Helping students to grow in the spiritual sense is very much as a duty of religious communities, not of schools, except for religious schools. Heli has tried to overcome this gap by asking students their opinions so that they become more aware of their own emerging worldview.

PETER

BIOGRAPHY

Peter works in a selective, academically high level Gymnasium. He had no religious upbringing at home; religious issues became interesting for him during military service in Afghanistan and studies at university. He is a member of the Lutheran Church. He has accomplished two higher educations: one in Biology and one in Theology, both in Tartu University. Now he studies at masters’ course. He has been a teacher of Biology for three years and later he has worked as a teacher of RE and Philosophy for over ten years. He teaches RE for 16-19 years old students. He is valued highly, has been selected as the teacher of the year 2006. He is married and has three children.

PERCEPTION ON DIVERSITY

When asked to describe students, he starts with common qualities – they are smart and many-talented, as good in humanities as in exact sciences. In Peters’ view they have surprisingly many prejudices towards religious people. A religious person means for students “a Christian fundamentalist who believe in creation in seven days”. That is a reason they do not regard their RE teacher as a ‘real believer’.

When asked about diversities Peter names Jehovah Witnesses and afterwards Adventists and Satanists. The reason to highlight them is their different views on issues.

“They always recourse in their answers on their religion, if needed oppose to rest of the class...They have ready made answers for many questions ... their answers do not have to be the same as the main version I plan on and they catch attention. And it is felt by others as well – if others improvise then in the case of their answers one can feel a strong homework.”

Peter likes diversity. He stresses his good and friendly relations with students from very different religious background. In some cases, as Satanists, he ascribes it as a transient passage of life, a part of sincere search for truth and meaning he can see and admire. According to his experience these young students will not stay as Satanists for long, after finishing Gymnasium, in 3-4 years they are usually not Satanists anymore.

Some national differences (Russians, exchange students from Denmark, Germany) do not affect teaching and even if they can have some influence on relations among students, it is very seldom occasion. There are sometimes some students who are reserved and maybe do not possess as high academic abilities as others do.

AIMS

The main aim of the subject is breaking prejudices towards religion as such, showing that religion is worth of being regarded as normal. His aim is not to make students religious but rather he hopes that after studying religion they can make more aware and intentional choices on these issues.

“I try to bring them to the point that they are able to make adequate religious choices in their life. In a word ... In a word, the aim is to give to students such a luggage of knowledge and skills that they could in their life make reasoned, not only religious, but every kind of decisions for shaping their future life.”

Peter believes that he can help students to develop in their religious thinking (in Fowler's terms) regardless if they are Christians, atheists, Satanists or do not have any religion. Also he wants that students would be able to reflect and find arguments for and against their own opinions on religious issues. In this respect, even if he teaches a lot in terms of 'learning about', he incorporates many reflective exercises and disputes which give enough space to 'learning from' aims of RE In this respect content of the subject become also important as resources to achieve aims of personal growth.

STRATEGY

Peter tries to work individually with students who are reserved by nature or do not have as high academic abilities as other students. He tells about a girl who writes him letters even now, many years later, and who has become a teacher. He encourages the students who do not want to make statements orally by setting their written thoughts as examples and he tries to compose teams for a group work in a way that their voice could be heard as well. Although he valued highly personal reflection, Peter does not encourage students to be too open about own convictions in the lesson as he does not want to make them vulnerable.

“I do not prohibit it. But I do not encourage them. It is such an era now of nicking each other. From time to time it is searched for possibilities to nick. And afterwards it is regretted. If the nicking takes place on

the religious grounds, maybe even regretted afterwards, but someone will remember it for the rest of his life. I have been cautious in that question.”

The strategy towards Jehovah witnesses is kind of softening judgments about them and teaching a material so that their opinion would not be classified into marginal ones. Satanist expect from Peter that he is critical to them but he surprises them by praising their honest search.

RELATION

He sees clearly his role as a teacher of RE for kids with no religious background, as he used to be and with a long process of search for religious answers. He does not have any ambitions to convert children to any religion, but rather to show religion as a normal part of life:

“That religion is not idealised, that it is not thought that only angels deal with it... But it is understood that it is a serious sphere of life, there are seriously taken thoughts, problems, that religion creates seriously taking culture – it is a sphere of life which cannot be easily erased, along with that vanish a lot.”

He understands his vocation in helping his students – most of them very competent and ambitious – to come to terms with important philosophical life issues. He also wants to convey such values as respect and tolerance and this is something he shows to all his students regardless of their personal faith or relation to religious phenomena. In addition he desires them to have a new awareness about religion – as a field of human life that deals with important issues and should be respected and taken seriously.

KADRI

BIOGRAPHY

Kadri works in a rural school. She started her career as a teacher of Estonian, without having teacher training. After years of working in several schools she studied in HTSB to become an RE teacher. She has taught RE to 7-14 year olds for seven years and she is also a social pedagogue in a county. She values both vocations and finds that they complement each other.

“They both [RE teacher and social pedagogue] are very important for me. If I think that I would quit one of them – then, well, I would never want to give up religious education. At the same time, as a social pedagogue, it expands... you can see the students more broadly. You know them better. These both are very important for me.”

Kadri is married and she has two adult children. She became a Christian during a revival in a charismatic Lutheran congregation. For several years she was a member of a Baptist Church, but now she is back in a Lutheran church. Religion determines her professional choice; she thinks that being an RE teacher and a social pedagogue are tasks given to her by God. She describes herself as a person who loves peace: “I think I am a calm person, and I try to avoid conflicts. And I am friendly.”

PERCEPTION OF DIVERSITY

Kadri believes that these children who have studied RE are more tolerant and one can speak with them about religious convictions more openly than with children who have never studied RE. She sees gender as the main source of diversity in a classroom. The boys and girls mature at different rates and think very differently. Girls develop earlier and expect boys to behave in a more calm and tranquil mood but boys are not ready for that. At the same time she wonders that boys make often more mature ethical choices than girls. Although it is harder for boys to behave in a way expected at school, she finds them more interesting. She speaks of a boy who joined RE lessons a year later than other students. In the beginning he saw religion as a fairy tale.

“But after he started to ask. And his questions were very interesting. And although others new, well, nobody said anything bad to him but calmly endured it. And now, well, ... It is always difficult with him as he is so spirited and he fidgets and... But then he brings such a relevant example or a question that I shiver ((with joy)).”

She identified three groups of students: those whose parents are active church members – they speak about it and know about their faith; those who are ‘just’ church members, who recognize a denomination where they were baptised; and those who have no religious background.

AIMS

Kadri sees RE as a vital subject that allows students to think about very important questions, and about their values. She believes that RE offers a safe space and relaxed timetable to do it.

“You can talk with children, actually about so important issues, what are so vital. And it seems that there is some tempo in other subjects or pressure, so... I can take time for talking and thinking about issues what are important in one’s life.”

STRATEGY

In the sixth grade there are separate lessons for girls and boys. The separation by gender was not intentional, but Kadri likes it and says that children benefit from it. She says that students are more open if they study with classmates of their own gender. She encourages them to speak about their views and convictions.

“It is positive indeed if they dare to tell their own positions. I do not remember a case when it works in a bad way, such a situation. I rather encourage them to express their opinions. Otherwise in the future they do not dare to do it, when they are older.”

When possible, she asks students to talk about Sunday school or their church; she also asks their opinions and encourages them to look at the truth in different ways. She admits that sometimes children from fundamentalist families believe they have the only truth and try to impose it on others. In these cases she has personal talks with them to help to see that it is their truth, not necessarily someone else’s. She finds it very important for students to be considerate of differences and to see themselves as people whose worldview is still being formed.

Kadri invites people of different denominations to speak to the class or goes with children to visit churches and in order to meet people for whom religion is important and who speaks about it openly. She hopes that this brings more diversity into her classroom.

RELATION

Kadri sees herself as 'a person of peace' who values and creates a safe and positive learning environment for her students. In the classroom, she loves to use stories and methods which avoid conflicts. She focuses on the group processes about each student's development and well-being. She sees herself more as a person of feelings than of reason and takes a holistic approach to knowledge. For example, she changed her denomination. She returned after her church offered more opportunities for fellowship.

Her work as a social pedagogue is important to her. It enables her to see children in their context and value personality development. As she has friends of different confessions, she invites them to her lessons or brings her students to their churches.

ETS

BIOGRAPHY

Ets was raised as a Baptist. He studied at HTSB when students were only required to take a few pedagogical courses. He teaches RE in a suburban school; he is also a pastor of a Baptist Church and a chaplain in the Defence Forces. This is his first year but has been taught RE to students of all ages and in several schools for more than ten years.

PERCEPTION OF DIVERSITY

Ets does not see any differences among students. In his interview he expressed strong opposition between Christianity and money-centred world; also he opposes Christianity and other religions. He refers to religions outside of Christianity as superstitions. He insists that Christianity is the way to give dignity for human beings and is especially important for Estonians, as "we have Christian roots". He admits that his students have different religious backgrounds but that most of them have no religious background. He does not value academic achievements but rather students who have family centred values.

"There was a very intelligent young lady. I asked her, how does she see her future, and what kind of university does she choose. She answers that no, I do not want to go to university. Although she had abilities and potential and had a very high academic level. She says, that I want a job what I like and I want a family. I said that indeed I like such ladies..."

AIMS

He sees the main aim of RE to form “a devoted, God-fearing person”. He also hopes to give pastoral care and to foster pride in being Estonian. Although the content of RE is world religions, he gives an overview of world religions in order to make them feel less offensive when Christianity is taught. He sees Christianity as the basis for human dignity and human values.

“Well, I personally have stated it as sense of mission /.../ That if our people or the government sees the future as if after some years we will be among five richest countries, then I have to ask, ask why not to have a future vision of being among five the most humane countries after five or ten years. /.../ If we do not have such, well, decent slogans, well, public slogans for the future and if we will not teach them or say openly, then our people do not have any future. Then we are just money-machines which will wear out once, vanish and there is an empty country without Estonians. Without hope at the first place and then without people. /.../ And I do not see any other alternative beside Christianity which would offer a person the dignity that we need nowadays.”

STRATEGY

In order to reach his aims he speaks openly about his own convictions and presents himself as a pastor. When students think differently he does not condemn them, but tries to understand. He claims that “all the positions are acceptable in school, including teachers”. In teaching about different religions he compares them constantly to Christianity to underline that the positions are never value-free. Estonian culture is full of Christian influences and Estonians can't pretend as if they are still pagans, but rather should notice positive influences Christianity has in the history and contemporary life.

Ets opposes neutral teaching. He sees it as a betrayal of faith, nation and country:

“In my opinion it is not only betrayal of your faith, but actually of the state, your ethnicity. It is actually, it is real crime, what is announced at this level. If we see Muslims, they do not submit an inch to us. He comes here, puts his family here, sits on his pile of staff, puts his carpet on the ground and prays. He is not concerned with anything. And he demands his religious rights here in a European state or in Christian states and he gets them. And he steps forward as the next family, calls..., let's say, his neighbours here or his relatives. And they are not coming to our religion. But we submit all the time. /.../ It means ..., it is not neutrality in that sense, that, lets be just tolerant. But actually there is giving up your own thing. I do not hate Muslims or a person with a different religion or a heathen. It is inevitability of the life, they are next to us. But we cannot put up with it that another person comes to my home, declares his rules and drives me finally out.”

RELATION

Ets says that no one has had a major influence on him, but he takes bits and pieces from every person he meets. He values his religious background and uses his vocation as a pastor in school. As a chaplain in the army he values patriotism and has prayed with a non-religious person. He admires Poland, a religious country, where people have pastoral care. He presents himself as a pastor and offers pastoral care to anyone who needs it.

“In Estonia a child solves his problem by suicide. Well, if our intelligence has not reached the truth that a small child needs God, church and, let's say, pastoral support – because he will not get it always from home. And if he has no place to go, then it is horrible. Why are we otherwise one of the first countries by suicide rates? And

at the same time we slander pastors. On this level exactly I dare to introduce myself as a pastor – here is the solution for the problem actually.”



INTRA NATIONAL COMPARISON AND ANALYSIS

BIOGRAPHY: IT JUST HAPPENED TO ME

Respondents give several reasons for becoming teachers, and especially RE teachers. Religious background appears to have influenced the decision to teach RE. Some of the respondents have relatives who are teachers, and others were influenced by their interest for religion, while others enjoy communicating.

Loviise: "Maybe one of the prerequisites for being a teacher was fact that I have never been afraid of communication, of people. I have been very comfortable in communication."

Loviise, Kristjan and Peter state that their family background played an important role; some of their parents or grandparents are teachers and so they found teaching to be a natural choice. Loviise value her grandfather as a special person in this respect, who had been a good storyteller, had influenced her. She remembers his stories as candid and inspiring, and never dull. It seems that family background can be an important factor in becoming a teacher, but not necessarily in becoming an RE teacher.

A personal preference for the humanities in general (Loviise) or a specific interest in theology and existential questions (Liisa, Kadri, Peter) had a role in their choice of theology as a field of study and in the decision to become an RE teacher. In these cases, theological education has been, a personal quest and the teaching profession was chosen as a practical decision, a way to apply learning.

The teachers explained that they chose their profession because they like teaching (Kristjan, Ets), because they enjoy communication, and because they love children (Loviise, Liisa).

Liisa: "There is nothing that I dislike [in my job]. Especially work with teenagers. In my view they are those who have the most energy and the most such a good potential. And to see, how they put it into practice, it gives you a lot."

None of the interviewees admits to having made a conscious and planned decision to enter the profession. Liisa says that becoming an RE teacher 'just happened'; she was offered a job, she liked it, and the children became very dear to her. Heli credits her husband who 'forced' her to study. Like Liisa, she did not look for a job – one was offered to her.

When asked about the decision to become an RE teacher, Peter also avoids highlighting his role. It all just happened, he did not plan anything nor did have any worries about his future profession or job. On the one hand he refers to many relatives who were teachers. On the other hand he points out that he was asked to become a teacher and had no reason to refuse. In any case, he is satisfied with his job.

Peter: „But when the theological faculty was opened, then, not in the first year, but in the second, I decided that my interest needed to be recast and formed, so I started my studies /.../ And it happened somehow so, that if usually people are not very sure about their future, as there are no places for RE teachers... then at my school an RE teacher had her maternity vacation and I came to replace her. When she said that she was not coming back, I got the job."

All of the interviewees stated that their personal faith was one of the main reasons for becoming an RE teacher. But here the teachers' views differ greatly from their opponents' fears that children will be converted to some kind of religious worldview. How the teachers' faith influences their teaching?

During interviews it became evident that most of the respondents are very reflective about and avoid using their own convictions to influence the religious convictions of their students. Only Ets expresses the opinion that Christianity gives the necessary dignity and answers to understand life. It seems that he is open about this view with his students. All of the other teachers claim that their religious background helps them to understand the essence of religion and the religious way of thinking, not only of Christianity, but also of other religions. For example, Heli asserts that being a believer herself helps her to understand religion in general. She values her religious background as a means of grasping the religious world and understanding it.

Heli: "I understand the substance of this better. I do not even imagine that RE can be taught by a teacher who is not a believer. They say that it is more neutral and so on, but something important is missing from real understanding."

The importance of religion for a person also helps him/her to see the subject that she or he teaches as important, relevant and valuable for students. Kadri claimed that her religion has determined her professional choice; she sees being an RE teacher and a social pedagogue as her God-given task, which should be made with all her heart, it is not a mere chance or means to get salary.

The other side of the coin is revealing one's own religion. Teachers' responses to this question vary, although they do not entirely refuse to talk about their own religion or beliefs. Loviise, who seemed to be the least hesitant to talk about her religious convictions, does not use these to introduce her own religion. She wants to encourage the students to find their own positions and to be proud of them. More about the issue of revealing own convictions will be discussed in the paragraph of aims and strategies.

For teachers, their religious convictions are not obstacles, but rather seen as advantage in promoting respect and understanding not only to their own belief but also to other worldviews and help them to value the subject they teach.

DIVERSITY: MOST OF THE DIFFERENCES ARE NOT RELIGIOUS

Almost all of the teachers like the classroom population to be diverse. The only kinds of diversity that they feel they 'must cope with' are behavioural problems and a lack of interest in, and a negative attitude towards RE. Diversity amongst students is felt to make lessons more interesting. Loviise not only sees diversity in her class as something to cope with, but she would like to have more diversity of opinions and backgrounds in her classes.

Loviise: "This year in the first lesson the 10th grade fell out with each other almost. But I enjoyed it, positive, yeah. (...) There is a danger that they know quite how things must be. But at the same time – I like it, if there are bounces in the class or so. (...) Even if the opinion is probably not the most correct or said out most properly. But I like that they dare to say it. Even if it goes astray. But they are not such diffuse, with a foggy smile on their face and agreeing with all what I say."

She is opposed to referring to 'subgroups' in her class. It seems that this is not an unreflective view but rather it corresponds to her belief that "every child is a personality" and not only a member of a subgroup. Heli, Liisa, and Kadri also clearly point out that every child is unique and give several examples of the uniqueness of individual students. It is remarkable that the female respondents were more insistent on this point than the males were. However, this does not indicate that male teachers did not see their students as individuals; they just tend to employ more generalisations.

The teachers rarely mention religious background as an important aspect of diversity, especially in relation to their teaching. For some it is just a fact that most of the students, even in a religious school, have no religious upbringing at home nor belong to any religion². Apart for Ets and Kristjan, the teachers do not directly ask their students about their religious affiliation. Sometimes they do not know anything about the religious beliefs or affiliations of their students, but occasionally they find out about these during lessons. The students' beliefs can be revealed during oral or written discussions. Diversity is not a matter of *belonging* to one religion or another, but of *attitudes* towards or experiences of religion. If a teacher recognises hostile attitudes towards religion, then the family is seen as problematic, not the child. The children from families with a negative attitude to religion often comment that religion is 'crap'.

There is another reason not to use religion as a meaningful label for describing diversity. The distinction for teachers is not between religions or denominations, but between strict and more liberal interpretations of a religion. The inner diversity of one religion is so great, that no generalisation would be appropriate.

Liisa: "I think that most of the differences are not religious. I cannot say that all the Catholics of our school are similar. One family does not allow me to teach history in a way, that suggests that this Christianising was somehow violent. They [the parents] are such radicals."

Kadri does not focus on a distinction between religions. She does differentiate among three groups of students: those whose parents are active church members – they speak about this and know about their faith; those who are 'just' church members, who recognize the denomination in to which they were baptised; and those who have no religious background. Like Liisa she sees charismatic radical views as in some rare occasions causing problems in lessons.

Kadri: "There have not been any disputes directly but once it was kind of, I can remember. The girl was alone. No, there were two girls who went to a more charismatic church and they were very brave and others were ... not to say that they did make up an opposition. But they were outraged – should we go to hell then – it was important to know for them. Then I obviously explained in front of the class this issue, this was many years ago now. But, yes, we cope peacefully with that. Maybe these two have something to learn yet. They think they know everything, but they don't."

Peter was the only one who focused on denominations: Jehovah's Witnesses, Seventh-Day Adventists and Satanists. He highlighted these because of their different views on the topics studied.

Peter: "They always recourse in their answers on their religion, if needed oppose to rest of the class...They have for many questions ready made answers... their answers do not have to be the same as the main version I plan on and they [these responses] catch attention."

He emphasised his appreciation of diversity and his friendships with students of very different religious backgrounds.

Peter: "They [Satanists] are surprised in the beginning [when instead of being shocked or trying to condemn them, he praises them for taking a stand] but usually we are, so to say, have been very good friends."

² According to the last poll in 2000 over 80% of people aged 15-19 do not have or cannot define their religious affiliation (URL: <http://pub.stat.ee> (accessed 30 March 2008)). Also REDCo quantitative survey show even lower numbers in the agegroup 14-16 years old.

In the beginning of the school year Kristjan asks students to write what contacts students have had with church and religions. "In the first lesson I get to know, what they wait from the lesson, what contacts do they have with church or religious movements and stemming from that I can use the materials afterwards." First thing he mentions in this regard that there are some who claim that they are not interested in religion. But mostly they are well disposed to Christianity, about half have some experience with church – have attended Sunday school or have been baptised. It seems that children in a rural area have more contacts with church than in towns. When asked for more diversity he tells that homes' attitude towards religion is making difference. The children with background of a family with negative attitude to religion often comment that religion is a crap.

For Heli the main difference between students is learning style. Her strategies are intended meet the needs of students with different thinking, learning and communication styles. Peter and Loviise refer to talkative and reticent students; the latter often need special attention and more encouragement.

Loviise: "Last year I had a girl. In the lessons she never said a word. All the time she was sitting so ((squints eyes)). I saw all the time her gaze, all the time hundred percent of attention, her eyes were glistening, very sharply all the time. And she had such a small smirk on her face and she followed every my step, all the time such an over-observant than anybody else and never spoke anything. But when you read her test papers, well, then we had a huge personal communication by these comments. She wrote to me so straightforward. How she was forced to go to church and how her mother died and how she decided that it is all rubbish and she goes anyway and whatever things /.../ It is her style. Because she never says what she thinks. If I say something, she answers very laconically. She was probably at times very much hurt and closed, well..."

The teachers do not believe that students are reticent just because they are modest; sometimes they believe that there is just too much agreement in their positions, or a desire to conform with classmates. Loviise admires students who have the courage to reveal their own opinions, to think differently. This is the most important aspect of diversity for her. In her classes there are both students who are or too conforming, and those who have their own opinions. For her, pupils differ in terms of having their personal views, or superficial or too confirmative, persons who do not have their own opinions on the other hand.

This matter is important for other teachers, though their approach to it differs. For Peter it is more of an academic question, he wants his students to be able to construct a good argument. Liisa talks about students having their own positions or following the mainstream, always in relation to students' everyday ethical decisions and standing up for their fellows. Making ethical decisions is the central value for her. Other things, as academic achievements or social background are of the secondary importance, just 'variables' which help to understand or apologise child's decisions. For her the only thing which counts is ethical choices we make. For example she speaks about a girl who was standing for the 'outsiders':

Liisa: "[She is] very wise, very brave, very musically talented and such steadfast and thanks to this ha become to a leader of her class. And every time I present some ethical dilemmas, if we discuss in religious education, then she chooses this, which I, as a teacher, I have feeling is right. Always it is about love, justice – she always stands on the side of all good, embodies good. And now there is a boy who has got problems with alcohol and he cuts the classes and has huge family problems. And then this girl is who stands for him. And these boys who used to be his friends, with whom they sneaked to smoke sometimes, they have turned their back to him, because they feel as he has deteriorated. But the girl is who praises the boy and says that he is talented and stands for him. She is such a good child!"

Also Ets mentions ethical decisions. His interpretation of ethical decisions is rather stemming from the family centred values, not so much about life situations in the present school life.

Ets: "There was a very intelligent young lady. I asked her, how she sees her future, and what kind of university she chooses. She answers that no, I do not want to go to university. Although she had abilities and potential and was in a very good level. She says, that I want a job what I like and I want a family. I said that indeed I like such ladies"

A social class is never referred to as a major factor in diversity and Liisa is the only teacher to mention this. But she does not do so in the context of diversity but rather when she tries to make the interviewer value and understand students' misbehaviour. She refers to children who call themselves 'skinheads', but she never condemns them. Instead, she says that they have had difficult childhood, are asocial or are just unhappy.

Only Kadri saw gender as an important distinction between students. None of others spoke even in another context about 'boys' and 'girls'. Sometimes, when speaking about a concrete example they distinguished 'a girl' or 'a boy' but it did not affect the attitudes in any other way. Gender differences could be important for Kadri as she worked with younger children than others. It is the main diversity in a classroom she sees. The boys and girls develop at that age (pre-teenagers) in a different speed and think very differently. Girls develop physically quicker and expect boys to behave in a calm and tranquil mood but boys are not ready for that. But at the same time she adores and wonders that boys make more mature ethical choices than girls.

Kadri: "The lessons [with different genders] are so different. It is interesting that just the boys who are probably in some aspects are not so mature, not maybe physically so developed. What is interesting, for example, if we last year spoke about topics about marriage and I introduced different forms we have nowadays: registered marriage, wedding in church and cohabitation. And if we summarised I asked the same question from both groups, that in the future, which form you would prefer. Then boys thought either marriage or wedding. Most of them. And girls thought mostly that cohabitation. In this sense, girls are like being more flippant."

Only Ets does not see any differences among his students. All of the other teachers see diversity in their students' attitudes to religion, learning styles and motivation, ethical behaviour, conformity, or willingness to speak out and want to make use of these differences in their classes.

AIMS: IDENTITY FORMATION AND TOLERANCE

Religious education is seen as an important subject for students in order to build up their own identity and to foster tolerance and mutual respect towards other religions and beliefs. In respect to children's own beliefs teachers see the aim of RE three-fold.

Firstly, several respondents (Loviise, Heli, Peter) stress that they hope that RE is a helpful tool for students to think about their own convictions, to find out what do they believe in.

Peter: "I try to bring them to the point that they are able to make adequate religious choices in their life. In a word (+++) Yes, maybe I will not even say anything else. In a word, the aim is to give to students such a luggage of knowledge and skills that they could make adequate, not only religious, but every kind of decisions for shaping their future life."

Learning about different religions and different discussions during lessons can help in that.

Lisa and Ets have more precise ideas on the content of believing. Although Lisa works in a confessional school she teaches about different religions. But the content is only a tool, not an aim in itself. Lisa sees the

main aim of RE in a broad sense “that they would believe in love”. For Ets hope and dignity are important but he sees them through Christian and national spectacles. His main aim is “a devote, God-fearing person” mingled with courage and pride to be Estonian. Ets is very exceptional, even radical in his views, saying that there is no alternative beside Christianity in giving dignity and hope for a person.

Secondly, teachers wish to foster personal development. Usually the teaching target is not settled as ‘what they should believe in’, but rather in terms of complexity of thinking. Peter is a good example of such a view; he hopes that after studying RE they can make more aware and intentional choices on these issues. Peter believes that he can help students to develop in their religious thinking (in Fowler’s terms) regardless if they represent some religion or not. Also, in view of personal development some teachers (Loviise, Heli) see the subject especially important for those who have troubles in appreciating their faith (different from others). RE has a special role in helping them to become proud of it, dare and have skills to reason own beliefs. So it fosters identity formation.

Thirdly, as balance for the last aim, teachers desire that students would be able not unreflectively to believe in something, but to reflect and find arguments for and against their own opinions on religious issues. For some it is more cognitive enterprise (Peter), for others it is rather a safe space with relaxed time schedule to reflect on what is important for them, what they value (Kadri).

But the aim of RE cannot be only thinking about own beliefs, but as seen from interviews, teachers value as much if not even more fostering mutual respect and tolerance. Plurality of opinions in society in general or in classroom in particular and need to appreciate it is stressed by all the respondents. For Heli one of the aims RE has is acknowledgement that plurality exists and students would develop a respect to a different standpoint from their own.

Heli: “ I find that my role would be the same – that children start to understand that in addition to their opinion there could exist more different opinions what are not false but are also – beside his own position there is another right position, which could be equally true. And those students’ convictions are certainly wise to use in a lesson so that it is not me who is speaking, not me who speaks only my versions, but there are new and new ways of thinking coming and things what I probably do not know. They themselves should get to know each others worldviews. “

It brings us to the second main aim teachers have in mind when teaching students: respect for the other religions. In some cases “the other” is seen as whatever religion. Teachers believe that student have often negative prejudices towards religion (Loviise, Kristjan, Peter, Ets), religion is seen by pupils as inferior and negative. Teachers want to show that picture is not so simple and one-sided. The aim of RE is breaking prejudices towards religion as such, showing that religion is worth to be regarded as normal. By sweeping it out a lot of valuable things are ignored as well. They hope to achieve their aims by different means. Some stake on knowledge and information, others rather on experiences. The two opposing views are seen clearly by example of Kristjan and Loviise. Kristjan opposes experience students have with religion (as usually negative) to knowledge about the teaching of religions they get from lessons (which would be the bases for tolerance):

Kristjan: “As they do not have contacts with this directly, consciously and they mention that they have met missionaries in street for example. Then they have negative experience with these people or with its dissemination. But at the same time they will not get the information, what is this religion teaching and what it is all about.”

Loviise would like also her students to accept different worldviews from their own. She is not interested so much that they would know some facts about religions, but rather that they have good attitude towards people from different religions. She says that she would like to set positive attitudes towards religious people

and sees a crucial role in her personality in creating them. In the next quotations she was telling very vividly about a situation how she hopes to influence by using herself as a representative of religious persons and shape the general attitudes towards them.

Loviise: "Maybe I am the only [believing] person whom they have seen so closely. And then if I was for example asked something, I would know nothing about Buddhism, but I have met a person he was very – very nice and it came out that he was a Buddhist. And if I see a word Buddhism or there is a seminar or something like that, then even if I do not know anything about it, do not remember any fact. But I have ((joyfully)) Aha! Aha! I know it. You know, even if there are many X-s, but I have, yes, yes! That emotion comes positive, this is the prejudice. And in a way it is not competent, it is with one person actually. It remains here ((points on her breast)) to all of us."

An interesting tension beside knowledge versus experience was a tension between the skills needed in the light of acknowledged differences. From one side there was group of those who stressed more analytical argumentation skills (Loviise, Kristjan, Peter) and from the other side those who stressed more empathetic cooperative skills (Kadri, Liisa).

STRATEGIES: TAKING ACCOUNT OF THE VULNERABILITY OF THE CHILD

It seems that the teachers are in favour of diversity of backgrounds and opinions in the classroom. For the most part, they see the differences among students as enriching and necessary for their learning.

Regarding openness about their own views and religious affiliations, teachers expressed their position in different ways. Most of the teachers reveal their background and personal views to their students when asked directly by the students.

Heli: "When they ask – some classes are such that if I come in, well if I am an RE teacher, then they ask right a way, teacher, are you a Christian, well, and what do you think about this and that and that. Then I speak, sure. But generally I don't start like this, that well, about my own long-long story of being a Christian I do not tell. And then I have had some examples. For example there is a question, teacher, do you really believe that the world was created in seven days and so and so. And then I have told about fundamentalist way of reading the Bible and about the others ways beside that. Sometimes they listen with mouth wide open, is it really possible to think in another way. Yes, when they ask, I tell indeed that I am a Christian."

Heli, Kristjan and Peter do not volunteer information about their religious convictions, while Liisa, Loviise, Ets were willing to do so.

A teacher can express an opinion in order to encourage students to voice their own. Teachers who are open about their opinions often encourage the expression of different attitudes and opinions in their classes and stress that it is important to arrive at one's own opinion, not repeat the teacher's or classmates' views.

Loviise: "I have extensively pointed out in a class that the most important thing to find, so to say your own, what do you believe in. If you don't know it, then you make decisions unconsciously as others do, what is fashionable, what somebody else dictates."

However, even Loviise, who lays the greatest emphasis on the importance about being open, admits that she does not find it appropriate to talk about intimate religion related experiences in the classroom.

Loviise: "In this sense these are my convictions. Look, it is what people are afraid of and that is why I probably left these out. I mean now very personal experiences. I talk about them in youth evenings [at church]. I think it is a different level. At school – I do not know if it is appropriate [to talk] about praying, praising and God's guidance. At school I have not done this. I do it at church all of the time; at school I have not done it."

This resistance to disclosing one's own beliefs is always related to the question of neutrality. The teachers express their approach to this in terms of the need to teach the subject in a neutral or objective way. Under the pressure of opponents of RE who claim that it cannot be taught objectively, teachers hesitate to mention their religious background. Peter feels himself ambiguous in using his personal background and religious convictions. The main reason for that seems to be criticism of antagonist of RE. They argue that it is impossible to teach RE neutrally and point at fallacies of theological faculty of Tartu University which is supposed, by the view of some critiques, to prepare Christian missionaries, not RE teachers. Under the pressure of this evaluation Peter sees his role mostly in providing space for discussions by taking the most unusual viewpoints, arguing for atypical statements, e.g. that there is no matter. Also he says that he is good in taking the viewpoints of Muslims or Buddhists. When asked, what is easier to teach – his own or other religion, Peter confesses:

Peter: "Very important accusation has been, already for ten years, that it is impossible for a person with a certain religious background to teach objectively. So probably subconscious has protested so bitterly that it is even more difficult to present my own religion than the other."

The teachers see that such a strong emphasis on the need to be neutral hinders students' reflection about and on personal worldview. Rather, they would like to see themselves and their own views as a means for creating a space for exploring different worldviews, creating discussion and context for personal reflection.

As when revealing their own beliefs, the teachers are more or less cautious about using students' experiences. They would like diversity, including fundamentalist views to come up in classroom but they would rather ask for contributions from a class to volunteer, not pick on particular students. Peter does not ask about his students' religious background in order not to enter into privacy of a young person. He argues most strongly against encouraging students to talk about their religious experiences and convictions, because he does not want to make them vulnerable. He refers to a very popular TV show "Ärapanija" (a show which ridicules and picks on peoples, their views, mistakes, etc).

Peter: "I do not prohibit it. But I do not encourage them. It is such a time now of picking on each other. From time to time opportunities to pick on each other will be looked for. And afterwards it is regretted. If the picking on is on religious grounds, maybe it will even be regretted afterwards, but someone will remember it for the rest of his life. I have been cautious in that respect."

At the start of the school year, Ets and Kristjan ask students to write about their religious backgrounds. The other teachers do not do this but occasionally it comes up in essays or discussions. Teachers can make use of diversity sometimes when students feel comfortable about opening up. Heli believes that most of her students have not yet developed their own worldview. She says that students are more open in writing than in discussion. The classroom atmosphere might not be encouraging or the students might feel embarrassed in front of each other. She is worried that the students could be teased afterwards, even if she is not aware of such occasions or her fear is not supported by any concrete experience.

Heli: "Well, probably it is possible to ask it if there is such a very good relation with a class but I have not dared to try. But when there is a discussion or a thing then surprisingly many wrote that who is from Pentecostal or any other, whatever what I would not come upon when I knew him/her only as a

student. In their discussions they write gladly about their opinions and who they are and what they really think. /.../ But yes, in a written form they open up much more probably it is a question of the inner climate of the class or something – they are ashamed of some more than of others, such a public opinion /.../ Maybe it is not secure enough for a child. But sure, who is bolder they say sometimes something. Who do not care what others think.”

Kadri uses her students’ experiences more than the other teachers do. She has taught the same students for many years, while the others have only one or two years with their students. Kadri thinks that it is very enriching for students to talk about their experiences; she takes advantage of opportunities to create a safe atmosphere and trusting relationship with her students. She encourages them to express their views and convictions. If the topic lends itself to this, she asks students to share their experiences and encourages them to see truth in different ways. She admits that sometimes children from fundamentalist families believe that they have the only truth and try to impose it on others. She thinks that it is a valuable experience for children to see how different they are in their religious convictions.

Even the teachers who avoid using their students’ experiences seem to encourage discussion and reflection. Peter likes students to think about their attitudes and opinions but does not like them to talk about their personal experiences with religion. In almost every lesson he asks for their opinions. He sees defending a point of view as an important skill to be practiced at school, as this helps them to understand the subject that is being discussed.

The teachers use a variety of teaching methods to take account of the diversity in their classes. These are used in two different ways. First, from the viewpoint of an individual child, different methods enable different students to participate in the learning process. Many teachers use a variety of methods, such as pictures, drama, and writing poems, to accommodate different learning styles. Some children think more systematically, and others are better at understanding ‘everyday life’, so teachers tell stories from life, invite members of different religions in to the classroom, or show documentaries about religions, to complement the lectures and readings. Second, group work allows students with different skills, backgrounds and characters to complement each other and to collaborate.

Heli: “I have used differences when I make groups. That there would be as many different personalities as possible together, that there would not be all the same groups, same familiar faces but that children with different ways of thinking would happen to be in the same group. And then you give some sort of problem solving task or what ever. Then they can learn to see the world maybe from a bit wider angle than before. In that sense you can benefit from it. To put in this way different [students] together.”

Love and appreciation of the students emerges throughout the interviews with different teachers. This aspect was the most explicitly articulated by Lisa. It is not a strategy for coping with differences, but rather an underlying approach which helps her to accommodate diverse personalities, backgrounds, and worldviews. It is an unconditional appreciation of the child, even if some of his/her antisocial views cannot be appreciated.

Liisa: “Well, I say when I was in that school [a school for children with special needs], then many children were by their views ... attitudes on life, well, they were Nazis by their ideology – skinheads and Nazis. And they did not see it ... and I was so sorry for them, they did not see it as negative, rather talked about themselves as heroes. (...) At the same time I was so pity for these children, because they were with such a miserable background. And well, a Nazi who speaks about a black person

bawdily and dirty starts to cry when his mother and father divorced and his father does not come to meet with him. Well, you can see how traumatised they are and how unhappy.”

RELATION: IT IS NOT ONLY ANGELS WHO DEAL WITH RELIGION

Most of the respondents had difficulties with the biographical question about influences on their professional choices. However, whilst analysing interviews, I found similar patterns in their personal and professional accounts.

Three teachers have a Baptist background, three have a Lutheran background, and one has a Catholic background. Three had had a religious upbringing, the other four did not. But it is not possible to draw conclusions related to a ‘Lutheran’ or ‘Baptist’ or ‘Catholic’ way of thinking. The teachers’ religious background, irrespective of the denomination that they belong to or the religious upbringing they did or did not have, has helped them to understand the religious dimension of life and religious people. What matters is the way that they came into contact with or related to religion. For Loviise, the most important dimension of religion is the social dimension. Loviise’s parents were Pentecostal and she admits that although she prefers this denomination she joined the Baptist church as a teenager because her friends were there.

Loviise: “For young people faith does not matter. It is harsh to say, but relations matter and where you have your relations, there you go... If to look at Baptism, Pentecostals, at the personal level I do not have so much for Baptist Church, Pentecost Church is more intrinsic to me, but it happened to be so and it is so. It is during teenage that the relations matter”.

The same preference can be noticed when she speaks about her teaching – she stresses the importance of relationships, atmosphere and personal contacts with members of different religions more than knowing the tenets of those religions.

Kristjan has (contrary to Loviise) become a Christian through knowledge and values highly facts and knowledge in his teaching.

Religion meant for Liisa comfort in difficult times. She and her sister felt like outsiders when they were children because of their national and religious background. She had few friends, but the few she had were very brave and they were very important to her.

Liisa: “Teachers denigrated my little sister in front of others in the class, then it was awkward for others to start a friendship. But at the same time those who were and still are our friends, they are very nice and strong people.”

Now she admires and notices the children who stand up for ‘outcasts’. She stresses cooperation and values. Liisa grew up in a family with five children and parents who were scholars. They had little time for their children and she, as one of the oldest, had many responsibilities. She has maintained a close relationship with her younger sister. The same caring attitude and sense of responsibility she had in childhood is also apparent in her work as a teacher. The striving for comfort is seen in her aim of RE “that they would believe in love”, even in harsh situations.

Heli confesses that the fear to ask students about their personal religious beliefs is not in accordance with experience she has at school but rather with her own experience when she became a Christian, feeling of being looked at and being hurt by remarks of others. Even though, she does not avoid the topic if children ask her about her personal beliefs or opinions, she is glad to share it. Also, as she did not have a certain convictions on these matters at that age, she does not believe that many students would have it either.

Heli: "Maybe I identify myself again with the age group, when I was at that age approximately. I know it was like this. In some ways you have a mess in your head still, what is this world about. And at last I had a feeling that there are a few who know what they think to be right. That the amount of information you get from everywhere is bigger and bigger. It was then big but now it is even bigger."
“

For Ets religion is a part of national identity and he conveys this attitude to the students. He values his religious background and uses it in his vocation as a pastor and as a teacher. As a chaplain in the Estonian Defence Forces he values patriotism and has also found that it is possible to pray with a non-religious person. He presents himself as a pastor and is ready to offer pastoral care to anyone who needs it, be it at church or at school.

Four teachers have had an intensive religious search: two have changed their denominations, and two others have belonged to more than one denomination. For Kadri religion has been something of a process, so she stresses the ever changing and growing nature of ones' beliefs in her lessons. Peter's way to religion was through a long search. He stresses the complexity of religious thinking as the goal of RE. He sees his role as a teacher of RE as being for students like himself who had no religious background. He does not have ambitions to convert children to any religion, but rather aims to show religion as a normal part of life, with good and bad elements.

Peter: "That religion is not idealised, that it is not thought that only angels deal with it... But it is understood that it is a serious sphere of life, there are seriously taken thoughts, problems, that create seriously taken culture – it is a sphere of life which cannot be easily erased, along with that a lot would vanish."

Unlike the other teachers, Ets did not see any differences among students and used teacher-centred methods. The others wanted students to work out their own convictions, not just repeat what the teacher or other students say. Two teachers have jobs at church, and four teach other subjects. Loviise and Kristjan value their job at church but see important differences in the two professions, underlying the need for a neutral and non-confessional approach at school. Their job in a church has made her more sensitive to the differences between the church and the school. Ets, in contrast, sees his pastoral job at school as very similar to the one in his church, probably because he had little training in pedagogy. Teachers who teach subjects other than RE find that it has helped them to understand students better and to see them from other perspectives.

Kadri: "They both [being an RE teacher and social pedagogue] are very important for me. If I think that I would quit one of them – then, well, RE I would never want to give up. At the same time working as a social pedagogue, it expands... you can see the students more broadly. You know them better. Both are very important to me."

Kristjan mentioned several times that his own experience of RE and the influence of his RE teacher has played a crucial role in his life and the way of teaching. But that does not mean copying the lessons he attended but rather he uses these experiences as the point of reference for his own way teaching. As his teacher he also asks for the experiences of students with religion but his approach is more oriented to world-religions.

Many teachers hesitated to talk about any particular people or events in their lives that influenced their present choices. It is rather the complexity of many events that contribute to personal developments and many people who influence their choices in one way or another. For example Liisa says that everything she does is connected somehow to her biography.

CONCLUSIONS

The teachers in the Estonian sample share some common characteristics: they enjoy their work, young people, and listening to people with different viewpoints.

Although they like their work, they do not think that they had consciously chosen their profession. It is tempting to see the low prestige of teachers in Estonia and RE teachers in particular as a possible explanation for such a distancing of oneself from being an active choice maker. However, and although the low status of a teacher can be one of the factors, it is not likely to be a very important factor, as the teachers themselves value their profession very highly. Two explanations arising from the interviews can be identified. First, the teachers insist that they do not want to convert children, and they just happened to become teachers. For others, who took some responsibility for making a decision, this was related to their conviction that their lives were guided by God.

The teachers were all from different Christian denominations and used their religious background to understand people of other religions. All of them valued respect and wanted their students to develop this.

The teachers appreciate diversity of opinions and see this as a means of using religious convictions in the classroom. Some of them talk about their own religious convictions in order to encourage diversity of opinions and to break a code of conduct whereby religion is never discussed; others avoid this as inappropriate at school. Some of them wish to respect the privacy of those with religious backgrounds and/or affiliations and take seriously students' vulnerability in relation to these issues. They do not use students' religious convictions in classroom discussions, but prefer more academic discussions. Other teachers are concerned with students' personal development and make efforts to create a safe place to talk about such issues. Religious differences are rarely seen as an important aspect of diversity, as this is not usually a topic of discussion. Several teachers see discussion of religious differences as overly simplistic. Teachers prefer to stress different attitudes to religion, different learning styles and motivation to study, ethical behaviour, conformity or courage to differ. Finally, the teachers insist on seeing individual children instead of categories.

Many teachers struggle with finding a way to encourage not only students' cognitive skills but also identity formation and the emotional and spiritual growth of every child. However, the teachers do not have clear solutions to achieve these aims. The teachers in municipal schools feel vulnerable to the criticism that they are not objective and that they are interfering with students' beliefs.

LISALUGEMINE

LASTE JUMALAPILT JA USUÕPETUS USUVÕÕRAS KONTEKSTIS

Artikkel on ilmunud ajakirjas

„Kristlik Kasvatus 2005/1, lk 4-13.



Anna-Katharina Szagun on viie lapse ema, õpetaja, pastor, teoloogiadoktor ja religioonipedagoogika professor Rostocki ülikoolis. Ta on üks neist, kes oma tööga on kaasa aidamas pikaks ajaks kaheks kistud riigi sisulisele kokkusulutamisele. Uus aeg endisel Ida-Saksamaal tõi koolidesse ka uue kohustusliku õppeaine – usuõpetuse. Usuõpetuse õpetamine ja usuõpetajate ettevalmistamine kontekstis, kus umbes pool elanikkonnast end ateistidena on määratlenud, tähendab tõsiselt väljakutse religioonipedagoogikalt. A.-K. Szaguni uurimused sellisest kontekstist pärit laste usulise mõtlemise ja usuõpetuse õpetamise meetodika kohta on kindlasti huvipakkuvad meiegi oludes, on siis lugejaks koolis või kirikus töötavad pedagoogid..

Siinkohal on tore märkida, et kahel korral on Anna-Katharina käinud õpetamas tulevasi religioonipedagooge ka Tartu Ülikooli usuteaduskonnas. Tema loovate õppemeetodite ja bibliodraama kursused olid tõeliselt julgustavad ja inspireerivad kõigile osalejatele. Eriliselt on kursustele meelde jäänud ka Anna-Katharina avatud, peenetundeline ja südamlük isiksus.

Järgnevas artikkel annab ülevaate A.-K. Szaguni laste jumalapildi kujunemise uurimuse esimestest tulemustest. Loodetavasti annab nendega tutvumine meiegi õpetajatele uusi ideid.

Pille Valk

I. SISSEJUHATUSEKS

Praegused teooriad laste usulisest arengust on sündinud religiooses kontekstis kasvanud laste uurimisest. Seega võib küsida – kuivõrd peegeldavad niisugused uuringutulemused lapse arengut, kuivõrd hoopis sotsialiseerimist, st kas tegemist pole mitte pelgalt 'äraõpitud asjadega'? Minu uurimus püüab sellesse küsimusse selgust tuua ja esitada ideid uueks kriitiliseks lähenemiseks usuõpetuse meetodikale.

Uurimuse fookuses on lapse jumalapilt ja suhe Jumalaga. Enamus lastest, kes uuringus osalesid olid ateistliku taustaga.

Jumalapilti võib kujutada ellipsina, millel on kaks keset - kognitiivne ja emotsionaalne aspekt. Ellipsi kujunemises mängib kaasa kogu lapse elukeskkond. Kognitiivne aspekt jumalapildis võib nii takistada kui ka toetada emotsionaalset aspekti, mis lapse jumalasuhte arengus on määrava tähtsusega. Kuigi rangelt võttes ei ole võimalik neid kahte aspekti täiesti eraldada, võib erinevaid uurimismeetodeid kasutades siiski kaardistada aspektide vahelisi suhteid ja seoseid lapse elulooga, usuõpetuse õpetamise viisidega ning sotsiaalse kontekstiga. Eriliselt huvipakkuv oli uurida, kuidas kahe aspekti seosed mõjutasid lapse usulist arengut tervikuna.

II. UURINGU LÜHITUTVUSTUS

Uuringu käigus jälgiti 55 lapse arengut 4-6 aasta jooksul. Pooled lastest käisid erakoolis, pooled riigikoolis. Tegemist oli komplekse uuringuga: tähelepanu pöörati nii usuõpetuse metoodikale ja õpitulemustele kui ka hingehoiule. Oluline koht õpetamise metoodikas oli loovatel ülesannetel - käepärastest materjalidest kompositsioonide ja kollaažide meisterdamisel ning tunde- ja mõttemaailma peegeldavatel joonistustel.

III. UURINGU ALUSEKS OLID JÄRGMISED HÜPOTEESID LAPSE USULISE ARENGU KOHTA:

- Jumalapildi kognitiivne aspekt ja emotsionaalne aspekt (jumalasuhe) on omavahel seotud.
- Ateistlikust taustast pärit laste jumalapildis on küll kognitiivne aspekt, aga isiklik jumalasuhe ja usulised kogemused puuduvad.
- Selliste laste jumalapildis esineb tavapäraseid klišeesisid, mis peegeldavad pere ateistlikke või agnostilisi sättumusi (nt Jumal kui halli habemega vanamees pilve peal, kelle salapärast heasoovlikkust võivad uskliku loota vms).
- Sellist jumalapilti peetakse 'piibellikuks'. Piiblit ennast tõlgendatakse sõna-sõnaliselt (või vähemalt arvatakse, et usklikud asja nii mõistvad)
- Eelkirjeldatuga seostub ka ettekujutus kirikust, kui fundamentalistlikust ja agressiivsest institutsioonist (ristisõjad, inkvisitsioon jne).

IV. USUÕPETUSESE MUDELIST

Mõistan haridust kui isiksuse kujunemise protsessi, milles usuõpetusel võib olla oma oluline roll. Olen sügavalt veendunud, et positiivne ja avatud jumalasuhe aitab lapsel toime tulla oma arenguliste ülesannetega. See tähendab, et kogu usuõpetus peaks olema nõnda üles ehitatud, et ta sellise jumalasuhte kujunemist toetaks.

Avatud ja dünaamilise jumalapildi kujunemist soodustab selline usuõpetus, mis:

- aitab teadvustada ja luua sildu oma sisemiste kujutluspiltide maailma,
- haarab lapse sisemised kujutluspildid loomeprotsessi, aitab muuta neid sümboliteks,
- loob seoseid tänapäeva maailma, igapäevase elu ja religioosse traditsiooni vahel,
- aitab mõista religiooni tema ajaloolises arengus,
- pakub meetodeid hermeneutiliseks lähenemiseks religioosetele tekstidele, õpetab neid tõlgendama (eriti on see oluline nt loomislugude, imede, ülestõusmise, palve, kannatuse teemade käsitlemisel),
- sisaldab turvalisi võimalusi usuliseks praktikaks,
- tutvustab mitte-antropomorfeid Jumala sümboleid, mida rituaalides kasutatakse.

Häid võimalusi niisuguseks õpetuseks pakuvad kõikvõimalikud loovad meetodid – kunstiline eneseväljendus, dramatiseeringud jne.

Uuringu vältel protokolliti kogu tegevus lastega ja säilitati kõik laste joonistused ja kirjutatu. Eriti olulised olid lastega toimunud regulaarsed neljasilma vestlused (mis lindistati ja kirjutati hiljem üles). Kogu uuringu vältel oli lapse vestluspartneriks sama täiskasvanu.

VI. UURIMISMATERJALI KOGUMINE

Uurimuse esimeses, pilootuuringu faasis kasutati laste mõtlemise uurimiseks tavapäraseid meetodeid. Samas töötati välja ka uudsed meetodid. Et usk ja igapäevane elu on omavahel lahutamatult seotud, kasutati ka jumalapildi uurimisel nõ 'lähenemist mõlemast perspektiivist' – ühel juhul oli lähtepunktiks lapse 'otsene

jumalapilt', teisel juhul, kui lähtepunktiks oli igapäevane elu, peegeldus selles 'kaudne jumalapilt'. Kõige rohkem kasutati teabe kogumiseks laste loodud taieseid (kompositsioonid, installatsioonid jms). Miks?

- Lapsed suudavad mõtteid ja tundeid väljendada kujundites palju varem, kui nad suudavad seda teha verbaalselt (sõnades),
- Nii saab kujutada eri aegadel toimunud sündmusi ja vastandlikke asju,
- Taiese tähendus on omamoodi 'sümbolkoodiga' kaitstud. Laps saab ise otsustada, mil määral ta oma töö tähendust dialoogipartnerile avab.
- Taiese loomine motiveerib lapse sisemist tööd enesega, aitab kontsentreeruda ja asju 'selgemaks mõelda'. Hiljem sama töö juurde tagasi tulles ilmnes mõnigi kord, et laps interpreteeris oma loodut varasemast erinevalt, andes asjadele uue tähenduse. Uurimise seisukohast olid sellised muutused eriti huvipakkuvad.

Lisaks taiese loomisele ja neist rääkimisele kasutati ka sellist meetodit, kus laps pidi asetama plastiliinist kujukese või nuku omaloodud kompositsioonile või Jumala sümbolite juurde nii, et see paigutus väljendaks tema isiklikku suhtumist või distantsi Jumalast.

Otsese jumalapildi kuvandamise juures paluti lastel luua käepärastest materjalidest installatsioon, mis nende meelest võiks olla Jumala metafooriks. Tööd tehti vaikusel. Taiese seletused hoiti saladuses. Tavaliselt olid lapsed väga varmad uurijale oma tööd lahti mõtestama, samas kui kaaslastele seda rääkida ei tahetud. Figuuri paigutamine taiese juurde, mis väljendas lapse suhet Jumalaga, toimus dialoogi käigus uurijaga.

MIKS KASUTADA METAFOORE JA INSTALLATSIOONE JUMALAPILDI UURIMISEL?

MIKS METAFOORID?

Selline lähenemine ei sunni lapsele peale selgete seisukohtade esitamist Jumala olemusest. Metafooride kasutamine aitab taibata Jumala transtsendentsust. Iga loov metafoor väljendab vaid üht väikest jumalapildi nüanssi. Jumalat kui 'täiesti teistsugust' ei suudagi inimhõimust täielikult haarata. Lapsed õpivad seda taipama omal viisil, läbi loova dialoogi piiblitugudega. See julgustab neid avastama uusi aspekte Jumala juures ja uusi metafoore luues, areneb ka nende isikupärane jumalapilt avatuse ja dünaamilisuse suunas.

MIKS KASUTADA INSTALLATSIOONE PILTIDE ASEMELE?

Loomulikult ei saa eitada klassikalisi ikonograafilisi kujutlusi Jumalast, mida kasutatakse ka laste piiblite illustreerimisel. Aga need ei pruugi laste seisukohalt olla autentsed ja kooskõlas nende endi kujutlustega. Käepärastest materjalidest (nt looduslikud materjalid, kõikvõimalik padi-padi jne) installatsiooni valmistamine suunab loovalt 'eksperimenteerima' – see on hea väljakutse ja ergutus uuele mõtlemisele.

MIKS NELJASILMA VESTLUSED? MIKS DIALOOGID INTERVJUUDE ASEMELE?

Ateistlikus kontekstis on Jumalast rääkimine tihti tabu. Oma taiese interpreteerimine dialoogi käigus tõstatab turvalisuse küsimuse. Seetõttu peab sellise dialoogi juurde kuuluma ka hingehoidlik aspekt. Siin on kaks põhjust:

1. eetilisuus

Kui uurimus lähtub arusaamast, et usuõpetuse oluline eesmärk on lapse isiksuse arengu toetamine, siis ei tohi lapsi muuta pelgalt 'uurimisobjektideks'. Uurija peab olema professionaal, kes suudab last toetada ja talle teejuhiks olla. Ta peab oskama vastata lapse küsimustele ja looma turvalise keskkonna lapse otsivale Minale. Küsimustesse ja probleemidesse, mis dialoogis esile tulevad, tuleb suhtuda suurima tähelepanuga. Seda eriti olukorras, kus laste usuvõõrast tausta arvestades, lapsel enamasti polegi kedagi, kellega usuteemadel rääkida.

2. uurimismetoodika

Dialoog jumalapildist, selle mõlemat fookust (kognitiivset ja emotsionaalset) silmas pidades on väga isiklik. Oma sügavamate kogemuste jagamine kellegagi nõuab väga turvalist õhkkonda. Lapse soov jagada kellegagi oma fantaasiaid, tundeid ja saladusi peab kohtama täiskasvanu poolt tõsist ja lugupidavat suhtumist. Laps vajab vestluskaaslast oma sisemaailma mõistmiseks. Mõistev ja hooliv täiskasvanu aitab lapsel toime tulla oma tunnete ja mõtete väljendamisega ja see soodustab lapse enesemõistmise protsessi.

Milliseid taieeid ja materjale uurimuse vältel tehti ja koguti?

1. Eri aegadel käepärastest materjalidest valmistatud metafoorsed installatsioonid Jumalast,
2. Eri aegadel joonistatud perepildid, kus pereliikmeid kujutati loomadena,
3. Eri aegadel joonistatud pildid ja kollaažid oma igapäevasest keskkonnast,
4. Pildid oma eluteest, minevikust ja tulevikust,
5. Eri aegadel loodud kollaažid kriitilistest olukordadest,
6. Pildid endast puuna,
7. Eri aegadel joonistatud pildid kujutusretkest oma 'südame salakambrisse',
8. Volditud paberfiguur, mille pealispind kujutas seda, kuidas last näevad tema meelest teised ja mille sisekülg kujutas seda, kuidas laps end ise näeb,
9. Kompositsioonid, kus laps asetab ennast sümboliseeriva figuuri Jumalat sümboliseerivate metafoorsete esemete juurde,
10. Mitmesugused teksti- ja pildimaterjalid usuõpetuse tundidest,
11. Eri aegadel tehtud küsitlused palvepraktika ja palve mõistmise kohta,
12. Küsitlused vanematepoolse toetuse kohta,
13. Mitmesugused küsitlused ja testid, millega kaardistati lapse Mina-pildi arengut, hirne jms.

VII. TULEMUSTE ANALÜÜS

Kõik vestlused lindistati ja kirjutati hiljem üles. Tähelepanu pöörati ka kõikvõimalike mitteverbaalsete väljenduste ja reaktsioonide ülestähendamisele. Tulemuste analüüsiga tegeles regulaarselt kokkusaav uurijate meeskond, kuhu kuulusid eri valdkondade asjatundjad (teoloogia, religioonipedagoogika, pastoraalpsühholoogia, kasvatuspsühholoogia, kunstiteraapia). Teabe kogumine lõppes alles 2004.a. lõpus. Seega saab siinkohal rääkida vaid esmastest tulemustest.

VIII ESMASEID UURIMUSE TULEMUSI

Selle artikli kirjutamise ajaks ei olnud materjali läbitöötamine veel täielikult lõppenud. Siiski võib ka juba uurimuse selles faasis viidata mõningatele väga hitavatele tulemustele.

1. Usuvõõrast taustast tulnud lastel võis tihti täheldada suurt igatsust transtsendentsi järele:
Nt: Üks selline 10-aastane poiss kasutas Jumalast kõneldes tervisklubi metafoori. Ta ütles: "inimesed, kes siin klubis käivad, õpivad ennast tundma ja saavad võimaluse end treenida. Ma tahan seista selles saalis peegli ees, sest ma ei tea, kes ma olen, aga ma tahan seda teada saada. Õnnetuseks ei usu ma Jumalat."
2. Lapsed on võimelised väljendama oma abstraktsete installatsioonide kaudu väga sügavat teoloogilist mõtlemist transtsendentsetest asjadest.
Erivajadustega lapse, kes pärines usukaugest perest tegi nelja nädala pärast peale usuõpetuse tundide algust ühe skulptuuri. See kujutas Jumalat kui kogu maailma energiamasinat. Kask aastat hiljem konstrueeris ta stseeni, kus auto oli sõitnud vastu seinat. Ta seletas, et juht ei ole surnud. Tal õnnestus autost välja pääseda ja ta elab edasi. See oli Jumal, kes teda aitas.
3. Usulise taustaga lapsed loovad meeldejäanud usulistest elementidest ja fantaasiatest mängleva kergusega terveid metafüüsilisi süsteeme, mis võivad kõrvaltvaatajale tunduda õige kummastavad, kuid on lapsele oluliseks emotsionaalseks toeks. Agnostilises ja ateistlikus kontekstis on aga Jumalast kõnelemine tabuks. Seetõttu isoleeritakse ka metafüüsilised mõtlemise skeemid muust mõtlemisest ja nii kujunevad barjäärid igasugusele vabastavale usulisele kogemusele ka tulevikus.
4. Sageli kujutavad lapsed ette kohta, kus Jumal elab. See võib olla maja (tüdrukutel), saar (nii poistel kui tüdrukutel), kosmosejaam (poistel). Laste meelest on Jumal haavatav. Mõnikord mõtlevad lapsed välja erilise viisi, kuidas Jumal saaks olla hästi lähedal. (*nt: vajutades vastavale nupule kosmoselaevas muutub see nii tillukeseks, et selle saab sisse hingata*). Üldiselt kalduvad tüdrukud oma metafoorsete installatsioonide juures kasutama rohkem looduslikke materjale, poisid kasutavad enam tehiseid. Tütarlaste taimest on poistest enam esil ka püüd ilu ja harmoonia poole.
5. Jumalat kujutatakse moraalse institutsioonina, kes teab ja mäletab kõike. Selle väljendamiseks kasutatakse kaasaegsele tehnoloogiale viitavaid detaile (nt radarid, monitorid, arvutid). Mõned lapsed on 'leiutanud' ka pesumasina inimeste mõtete ja tunnete puhtakssaamiseks – Jumal saab inimesi puhtaks teha, aga mõned inimesed ei lase seda teha.
6. Jumalat peetakse kogu loodu hoidjaks. Ta on pigem haavatav ja abivajav, kui raevukas ja kõikvõimas. Looduskatastroofe näevad lapsed karistusena keskkonna halva kohtlemise pärast. Mõnedki lapsed on avaldanud arvamust, et inimese loomine oli tegelikult viga.
7. Süütunne võib lastel saada tihti mitmete sisemiste arengute käivitajaks. Selliste arengute kaigus muutub oluliselt ka käsitlus Jumalast.
Nt: 7-aastase tüdruku jaoks polnud Jumalal tema elus erilist rolli. Peale üht süütunde kogemust 8-aastasena leidis ta, et Jumal on osa igast inimesest, ka kõige kurjemast. Jumal elab igas inimeses ja teda ei saa hävitada. Selles mõttes on Jumal kõikvõimas. Aga Jumal saab inimest toetada vaid siis, kui inimene ise seda tunnistab ja Tema juhatus valmis on järgima.
8. Vaid ühes juhtumises 50st (9-aastane poiss) oli juttu, et on püütud Jumalaga lepingut sõlmida. See poiss tuli perest, kus üksikud kristliku traditsiooni elemendid elavad olid.
9. Agressiivse ateistliku ja fundamentalistliku kristliku taustaga laste jumalapilt ja arusaamine Piiblist olid sageli väga sarnased.
10. Lapsed, kes pärinesid sellistest kristlikest peredest, kus puudus soe ja südamlük õhkkond, lisisid tihti agressiivseid jooni oma jumalapilti.
11. Kristlikes peredes kasvanud laste jumalapilt on tihti väliselt 'äraõpitud', selle juures ei ole isikliku kogemuse juuri ja sügavust. Sellised lapsed väljendavad end õige

stereotüüpsel viisil, et Jumal kaitseb neid, aga ühtegi konkretiseerivat näidet nad selle kohta ei osanud tuua. Mitmedki neist ei seostanud Jumalat ühegi oma isikliku elu aspektiga või tegid nad seda vaid spetsiifilisele kontekstile viidates (nt. kirik või jõulud).

12. Väliste kristliku sotsialisatsiooniga ('väliselt õpitud usuga') lapsed kalduvad oma usku kaotama, kui nende sõnasõnaline piiblitõlgendus ja 'Kõikvõimsa Isa' jumalapilt sattub konflikti oma elukogemusega. Peale teatud üleminekuperioodi, mille vältel nad püüavad mõista, miks Jumal mõnes situatsioonis oma kõikvõimast abi pole ilmutanud, jõuavad nad tihti kahtlusteni Jumala olemasolus üldse ja neist saavad pettumuste tulemusena ateistid.
13. Eelarvamustest vabad lapsed, kelle pole ei agressiivset ateistlikku ega fundamentaalset kristlikku indoktrineeritud usku on avatud mõistma Jumalat kui mittepersonaalset transtsendentsi. Nad on valmis omaks võtma Jumala ligiolu kogu loodus ja oskavad näha Jumala toimimist ka oma isiklikus elus. Neil on oluliselt lihtsam omaks võtta ka piiblitõlgude sümbolset tähendust.
14. Näib, et isikliku jumalasuhte arengul on pikk 'peiteperiood'. Sageli võib lapse jumalapildi arengus märgata kogu olemise alusega seotud elemente ammu enne, kui laps teadvustab oma jumalasuhte. See teadvustamine algab oma elu usulise dimensiooni avastamisest.
15. Kui laps ei oska näha seost oma elu ja Jumala vahel, võib arvata, et tema isiklik jumalasuhte ei ole veel sündinud, või on see kahjustatud. Selle põhjuseks võib olla jumalapilt, mis ei haaku lapse maailmaga. Seega vajab see laps kaasaaitamist oma jumalapildi arengule ja muutumisele.
16. Need lapsed, kelle jumalapilt on mitte-antropomorfne ja transtsendentne, toetuvad rasketes olukordades oma jumalasuhtele ja ammutavad sellest jõudu oma arenguülesannetega toimetulekuks.
17. Usulisi kogemusi tuleb ette ka ateistlikus kontekstis, aga neid käsitletakse tabuna. Lapsed, kes midagi sellist on kogenud, peavad oma kogemust pidama salajas, sest eakaaslased naeraksid nad selle pärast välja.
18. Palvetamine ei pruugi olla seotud antropomorfse jumalapildiga. Palvetavad isegi ateistlikust taustast pärit lapsed.
19. 10-aastased poisid on juba õige teadlikud jumalapildi maskuliinsetest ja feminiinsetest joontest. Nende meelest ei sobi meestel tunnistada Jumala feminiinseid omadusi (samast tunnistades, et naised võivad asja näha teisiti). Fundamentalistliku kristliku taustaga lapsed eitavad täielikult naiselike jooni jumalapildis.
20. Uurimus andis selget tunnistust sellest, et antropomorfne jumalapilt on religioosse sotsialisatsiooni tulemus, st. see on lastele 'õpetatud'.
21. Enamus lapsi interpreteeris oma taieseid eri aegadel erinevalt, seejuures oli äratuntav selgituse seos hetke jumalapildiga. See tulemus seab kahtluse alla need usulise arengu teooriad, kus lapse usulise mõtlemise kirjeldamiseks on kasutatud täiskasvanute mälestusi.
22. Muutused pereelus võivad oluliselt mõjutada lapse jumalapilti. Samas pole selle mõju suund ennustatav. Seoste võrgustik kognitiivse ja emotsionaalse jumalapildi aspekti ning lapse eluloo vahel olid eriti selged purunenud perekondadest pärit laste juures.
23. Ateistliku või agnostilise taustaga laste usulise mõtlemise areng on väga variatiivne ja reeglipäratu. Märke sellisest arengust, nagu seda kirjeldavad mitmed astmelised

usulise mõtlemise arengu teooriad (nt Oser, Gmünder, Fowler), käesolevas uurimuses esile ei tulnud. Seega on põhjust mitmeidki seniseid seisukohti kriitiliselt üle vaadata.

IX. NÄIDE ÜHE LAPSE USULISEST ARENGUST

Bodo on üks noorimaid, suuremaid ja tugevamaid poisse oma klassis. Tema vanemad on lahutatud. Ta elab koos oma ema ja tolle uue elukaaslasega. Bodo armastab televiisorit vaadata, eriti seriaale, kus on tegemist tulnukatega. Tema vanavanemad on talle pisut tutvustanud kristlikke tõekspidamisi. Talle endale pakuvad huvi antiikse kreeka jumalad. Ta on andekas laps, aga õpitulemused koolis ei ole rahuldavad. Bodol on käitumisprobleemid ja tal on raskusi kodutööde tegemisega. Talle meeldib tehnika. Tema joonistused on kohmakad ja pingutatud. Psühholoogide hinnangul on selles lapses tugevalt allasurutud agressiivsus. Uurimuse esimestel etappidel ei kasutanud Bodo üldse värve. Tema joonistused inimestest tundusid lõpetamata või puudusid neil näod. Tegelased piltidel olid või agressiivsed. Nende käed olid sageli lõpuni joonistamata või kinni seotud.

1. ETAPP, 6-7. ELUAASTA

Bodo joonistab peamiselt koletisi või multifilmi tegelasi. Tema jaoks eksisteerib palju jumalaid, eriti oluline on Zeus. Piibli jumal paistab talle koletisena, kes on pidevas võitluses kurjaga (Hades). Jumal üritab kurja inimeste peadest välja kihutada. Jumal räägib inimestega erinevate hääldetega (näiteks orelihäälega, teiste inimeste häälega, omaenda südame häälega). Jumal on tegevuse initsiaator - nt. sõbraga äraleppimine- aga inimene vastutab selle teostamise eest ise.

Bodo armastab mängida Gameboyd ja Nintendot. Tal on merisiga, kuid eriliselt armastab ta rotte, kuna need elavad maa all ja käivad inimestele häbematuult närvidele. Tema elust Jumal puudub.

2. ETAPP, 7-8 ELUAASTA

Bodo kujutab ennast pildi keskmes oleva väga ohtliku loomana, kellel on kaks pead ja kuus jäset ning kes võib olla kena kui keegi teda ei tülitata.

Ta usk on jätkuvalt polüteistlik. Piibli Jumal on nagu taevase linna pea, igaveses liikumises maa ja universumi vahel. Kosmoselaev, millega Jumal liigub on tehtud nii pisitilluke, et inimesed võivad selle sisse hingata. Jumal püüab inimeste mõtetest ja tunnetest kurja välja puhastada ja asendada selle positiivsete väärtustega - nt võib ta anda loovaid ideid, kuidas planeerida ehitisi ja turuplatse. Kosmoselaeva abiga kogub Jumal surnute hingi taevase linna tarbeks ja saadab neid tagasi maapeale et nad sünniks paremate olenditena.

3. ETAPP, 8-9 ELUAASTA

Bodo armastab ehitada ja relvadega mängida. Ta on (rull)uisutaja ja vaimustatud graffitist. Ta tegeleb judoga. Olgugi, et tema elu paistab hetkel olevat ilma oluliste inimestevaheliste suheteta (pilt oma maailmast ei sisalda

ühtki inimolendit), valitseb tema ootusi igatsus perekonna järele, kus on kaks last ja kus pereliikmetel on üksteise jaoks aega.

Bodo esimene värviline joonistus kujutab Joonat kala kõhus. Kalal on eriti ohtlikud hambad ja tema pilk on täis vihkamist maailma ja Joona vastu, kes on kägeras nagu väike imik. Pilt kujutab poissi tema üksinduses.

Bodo on judos edukas. Ta on teadlik oma halbade õpitulemustest koolis ja teda vaevavad öised painajad. Ta kardab, et unenäod võivad tegelikkuseks saada ja temast võib saada tapja. Ta ei ole veendunud, et ta usub Jumalat. Ta usub, et igas inimeses on ebatavaline suur sisemine jõud, mida ta võib kasutada (kas kahjuks või hüvanguks). Jumal ei ole inimolend, vaid vägi, mis ilmub erinevates vormides. Samal ajal on see vägi siiski kuidagi seotud ka tema eluga 8sellele viitavad kolm sinist täppi, mis jumalasuhet sümboliseerivad). Ta ootab endiselt õe või venna sündi.

Endiselt on alles ka polüteism. On ka kosmosejaam koos raadiosaatjate ja vastuvõtjatega kõrgel pilvede kohal. Jumal juhib inimesi andes neile nõuandeid. See sõltub juba inimesest kas ta neid järgib või mitte. Palvetamine on viis kuidas usklik inimene saab astuda ühendusse Jumalaga ja abi paluda. Bodo on teadlik ka oma agressiivsusest, mis väljendub vägivaldas loomade vastu. Ta on võimeline loomi ka piinama, kuid püüab end kontrollida. Jumal juhatab inimesi tegema õigeid asju. Mõnikord Bodo usub Jumalat ainult veidikene. Aga Jumal ahvatleb mitteusklikke, kellel on vajadus religiooni järele. Ta kohtleb neid nagu terapeut, nii et nad saaksid võimaluse muutuda ja anda oma elule suuna paremuse poole. Sama kehtib ka Bodo suhtes. Bodo tunneb meeleheite musti sügavikke. Sellistel hetkedel ta vahetevahel palvetab.

4. ETAPP, 9-10 ELUAASTA

Puud, mida Bodo joonistab, peegeldavad tema agressiivset välispinda ja sisemust, mis vajab kaitset. Talle sündinud väike õde on pildile joonistatud kui suur ilus värviline liblikas, kes domineerib kogu perekonna üle. Isa ja kasuisa on kujutatud ühe figuurina - draakon, kellel on kaks pead. Bodo ise on segu maost, sokust, draakonist ja lambast. Ta on ema lähedal, kes on segu maost, kotkasilmast ja seenest. Ema ja poeg on seotud nagu Jumal ja loodus. Jumal on näidatud pildil punase ribana (päike) liblikas-beebil. Bodo südame salasapis hävitab Jumal kõik päeva kurjad mõtted ja teod. Nüüd saab Bodo hästi magada.

Bodo tegi Jumala metafooriks taas kosmoselaeva. Selle keskel oli hiigelsuur magnet millest tõuseb punane samm. Koos kujutavad nad armastust ja jõudu, mis meelitab ja muudab inimest paremaks (hõbedane varras samba otsas). Sammas sümboliseerib Jumala armastust, mis on hea ja mis võib materialiseeruda tema emas, beebis või tüdrukus, keda ta armastab. Bodo tunneb, et on osaline sellises muutumises. Etteantud Jumala sümbolkujude seast valib Bodo Matrioshka ja paneb selle kõige pisema nuku, kui Jumala sümboli kõige keskele.

Bodo käitumine on muutunud palju paremaks ja ta oskab palju paremini kasutada ära oma võimeid.

X KOKKUVÕTE

Kurtmine selle üle, et tänapäeva pered ei anna oma lastele enam kaasa kristlikke tõekspidamisi, on õige laialt levinud. Samas võib aga ka küsida, kas pealiskaudse usulise sotsialiseerimise puudumine nii kahetsusväärne ongi? Seda konteksti võib näha ka kui võimalust heatasemeliseks usuõpetuseks koolis (või pühapäevakoolis!), mis aitab kaasa avatud jumalapildi ja isikupärase dunaamilise jumalasuhte kujunemisele, millest võib saada oluline jõuallikas tulemaks toime kõige elus eesootavaga.

Käesoleva uurimuse esialgsed tulemused näitavad vähemalt seda, et läbimõeldud usuõpetus ja usuvõõras keskkond üheskoos loovad selleks head eeldused.

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