Education in the Period of Post–Soviet Transition in Ukraine

Benjamin Kutsyuruba

Abstract: The collapse of the Soviet Union marked a critical turning point in the development of Ukraine's national identity. The period of independence of Ukraine is characterized by significant changes at the societal level. Few organizations reflected the complexities and contradictions of societal changes as poignantly as schools. This article describes educators' experiences in a context of large-scale philosophical, ideological, social, political, and economic changes of the post-Soviet era, and the teachers' interpretation of the impact of related changes upon education in general and Ukrainian schools in particular within the period of independence. This article will inform policymakers about the factors that affect schools in times of societal transformations and will provide a source of reference for planning reform policies during the period of transition in the system of education.

Keywords: education, postmoderism, post-Soviet transition, reform, Ukraine

The downfall of the Soviet regime in 1991 and the resulting political, economic, and social transformations were critical in their impact on the establishment of an independent Ukrainian society. Disintegration of the USSR caused severe political and social crises, economic decline, and a decrease in living standards.[1] While before 1991, "Soviet Ukraine was no more than part of an authoritarian, oppressive empire,"[2] after its declaration of independence the country chose a path that balanced political democratization of the society, economic reform, and social stability.[3] Ukraine's initial goals were to disengage from the former centralized command system, assert control over economic processes on its territory, introduce market reforms, and end its previous isolation from the global

Benjamin Kutsyuruba is Assistant Professor in Educational Policy and Leadership, and Associate Director of Social Program Evaluation Group in the Faculty of Education, at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario. His research and teaching areas include educational policymaking; leadership; mentorship; trust and moral agency; transnationalization of higher education; safe schools; and educational change. Copyright © 2011 World Affairs Institute

economy. Reforms in the political arena, decline in demographics, the rising cost of health-care, growing unemployment, and environmental damage were some of the issues that the newly formed country had to face.

Without a doubt, all of these factors greatly affected education.[4] Moreover, the educational system was one of the first social spheres that underwent rapid and radical transformation after Ukraine gained independence. Education, like Ukrainian society in general, was caught amid a transition from totalitarian Marxist-Leninist ideology to democracy and pluralism. The new realities required profound educational reforms, including the structural organization of secondary schools, universities, curricula, and teacher and educational administrator training programs at all levels.[5]

Two decades later, this transition is still believed to be incomplete. The struggle between the forces of progress and pluralism on one side and bureaucratic totalitarian forces on the other continues to frame societal events.[6] The Orange Revolution of 2004, and more recent political, economic, and social developments, pointed to the ongoing struggle between these forces in Ukrainian society. As Tetyana Koshmanova and Tetyana Ravchyna have posited, despite the fact that some recent events have moved Ukraine substantially closer to meeting Western standards of democracy, the country must still develop a stable civil society and considerably reform its educational system.[7] In education, practices and institutional cultures of post-Communism have remained fairly unchanged since Soviet times, and have created greater disparity between education-policy declarations and actual practical changes.[8]

Although the collapse of the Soviet Union provided an opportunity for research-ers to study education in depth during the period of transition, extensive research on transformations within the realm of education has not been conducted and remains mainly secondary; much closer attention to these matters are paid in such fields as political science, sociology, policy sociology, anthropology, and others. Notably miss-ing from the literature are the voices of teachers—unarguably one of the groups most significantly and directly affected by post-Soviet reforms in elementary and secondary education. In an attempt to enhance our understanding of the complexities of teach-ers' experiences and provide policymakers with a reference point for planning reform policies in schools, an extensive study was conducted, examining elementary and secondary teachers' experiences in a context of large-scale philosophical, ideological, social, political, and economic changes of the post-Soviet era (1991–2005) and their interpretation of the impact of related changes upon the educational system and teacher collaboration within Ukrainian schools. This paper draws on select findings related to teachers' perceptions of the nature of post-Soviet societal changes and the impact of those transformations on education policy, reform, and practices in schools.

Conceptually, I position the study within the framework of constructive postmod-ernism, which views society as characterized by social constructions of belief systems, awareness of otherness, and interdependence in social, political, and economic realms. Upon the review of theoretical perspective of transitology, which views post-Soviet state and societies as transitioning from Communist rule and a state-regulated econo-my to democracy and market economy, I present the contextual description of the state of education and educational reforms in post-Soviet Ukraine. Further, I describe the purpose and methodological underpinnings, discuss the findings, and conclude with implications and recommendations for theory, policy, and practice.

Postmodernity and Post-Soviet Transition

According to Raymond and Marion Golarz, schools have historically been a reflection of the larger society of which they are a part and have been seen as social laboratories wherein societal norms and trends are first manifested.[9] The ways in which schools function have been influenced by the values and belief systems of the broader society, which are certain to change during the periods when society is in transition. Ukraine's political and cultural fluctuations have resulted in a collapse of a former system of values and beliefs, and have created the need for a new system.[10] This need prompted post-Soviet Ukrainian society to move from the modernist Soviet era of foundational truth and unified perspective into a new era characterized by postmodern views of plurality, diversity, and interdependence in social, political, and economic realms.

The totalitarian societal order in the former Soviet Union can be characterized by the dominance of modernist views based on rationality[11] and "metanarratives," or ultimate best ways.[12] Modernist perspectives have not only driven general organizational and social theories, but also have dominated the theories that have been used to structure educational systems,[13] emphasizing order, accountability, structure, systemization, linear development, and control in schools. Bryan Turner characterized modernity as:

> the consequence of a process of modernization, by which the social world comes under the domination of asceticism, secularization, the universalistic claims of instrumental rationality, the differentiation of the various spheres of the lifeworld, the bureaucratization of economic, political and military practices, and the growing monetarization of values.[14]

These developments aligned with a modernist age, in which reason was believed to be capable of creating a unifying structure of thought and knowledge. During the Soviet regime, rather than being viewed at the forefront of social change, education was viewed as the stabilizing force that socialized individuals and groups into an awareness and acceptance of their place in the social and organizational orders.

These views began to give way to postmodernist perspectives with the introduction of *perestroika* (restructuring) and *glasnost* (openness) in the 1990s, the period of social and cultural openness instituted by Mikhail Gorbachev to revitalize the Soviet system[15]. Chernetsky has posited that these movements were indicative of the "Soviet postmodernism" in manifesting an outright crumbling of an empire's "metanarrative"—that of Soviet Communism-building.[16] *Postmodernity*, as a historic era and a human social condition in which economic, political, cultural relations, and organizational and personal lives become organized around very different principles than those of modernity,[17] is characterized by its cultural logic or dominant style of *postmodernism* as a set of critical ideologies that reject, in whole or in part, attempts to homogenize and to explain human nature, society, or the foundations of knowledge.[18] As a result of the policies of *perestroika* and *glasnost*, the collapse of the USSR and Communist rule in Eastern Europe, and the subsequent opening up of Soviet Union culture to increased global contact, Ukrainian post-Soviet society faced the new, unexplored terrain of postmodernism.[19] Furthermore, Ukrainian society still experiences struggles between the forces of modernity and postmodernity at the political, social, and economic levels.[20]

Post-totalitarian developments in Eastern Europe led to a collapse of the educational thinking and practice of the countries of the former "Soviet bloc," directing their schooling systems to predominantly Western European perspectives.[21] Similarly, the vector of

changes in Ukrainian system of education focused on the "transition from the 'Soviet school' model to the democratic European one."[22] The existing educational system, characterized by uniform requirements, centralized planning and administration, faced new challenges. Centralized financing and management of education, authoritarian pedagogy noticeably gave way to the elements of decentralization and pedagogy of cooperation[23]. Schools, like other areas of social life, were caught on the cusp of a new era, "one between a modernist paradigm (characterized by professional values such as responsibility, meditative role, and concern for bottom-line results) and the postmodern pattern (with swift currents of institutional changes marked by decentralization, pluralistic demands from multiple voices, and school system redesign)."[24]

The questions that require clarification are whether schools have remained intractably modernist in the midst of an increasingly postmodern world;[25] whether education discarded the good that was gained in modernist era and started anew; and whether schools built upon the previously formed foundation. Helpful in this regard may be the *constructive postmodernism perspective*.[26] Having moved beyond its deconstructive, oppositional origins,[27] constructive postmodernism seeks to incorporate the best features of pre-modern and modern societies into a new worldview, a way to live in harmony with nature and with each other as the postmodern age unfolds.[28] Locating postmodernism as after-modernism rather than as anti-modernism clears the way for new political and social strategies that can embrace difference, diversity, pluralism, and incommensurability.[29] It also expands our ability to appreciate otherness in a pluralistic and increasingly global society.[30] It is from this standpoint that I discuss the nature of post-Soviet transition and its impact on Ukraine's educational system, policy, and reforms.

Education During the Period of Transition

Reforms in education cannot be understood without making sense of the environment or larger societal contexts in which they operate. In this section, I discuss the transitory nature of post-independence Ukrainian society, followed by an overview of the state and major reform directions of post-Soviet system of education (focusing on elementary and secondary schools).

Society in Transition

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the proclamation of independence, Ukrainian society was undergoing three radical transformations—from regional outpost to nation-state, from authoritarianism to democracy, and from command economy to market economy—simultaneously.[31] Managing such change has become a generational challenge of "tearing apart the old and building the new."[32] Tearing apart an old empire was easier, as decayed structures crumbled; building a new state was a more difficult task, as new structures took time to erect. Furthermore, once the old was torn apart, gaps appeared before the creation of the new. Carlos Pascual and Steven Pifer[32] continued that building a new society was not an overnight task due to profound changes in human infrastructure: writing new laws, educating legislators to pass them, creating institutions to oversee them, training individuals to enforce them, educating the public to understand the differences, creating the checks and balances in a society that allow a new social order to prevail, and internalizing the culture of a society based on openness and freedom.

Transformations in Ukrainian society closely resembled changes in other Eastern European countries after the collapse of the Soviet regime. Changing societies in the countries of the former Eastern bloc were, for the most part, characterized by the revolutionary change, as opposed to the more-or-less gradual process that occured in Western Europe. Documented were significant ideological transformations, from the collective responsibility and collective values emphasized by the Soviet system to the individual responsibility valued by democratic tradition of Western and European nations.[33] Pieter Batelaan and Ieva Gundare outlined the main characteristics of the changing society in Central and Eastern Europe: [34]

• The change in Central and Eastern Europe from a more (the East) or less (the West) state controlled economy into a market economy;

• The change from a more or less centralized society into a decentralized society;

• The change from a society based on the national state as organizing principle, to a society based on multinational networks;

• The change from an industrial society into an information society; and,

• The change from a mono-cultural/egalitarian society in terms of values (particularly with reference to religion, family, and social relations) into a multicultural society, diverse in terms of values.

All of these characteristics, albeit to varying degrees, were involved in the transformation of post-Soviet Ukrainian society.

The studies of the transitory post-Soviet period are often situated within the transitology approach that attempts to develop a deeper understanding of what took place in the Communist world in 1989–1990 that led to the collapse of the old regimes in Eastern Europe and the USSR.[35] As John Pickles has stated, projects of Communism that emerged across the region in the twentieth century have been and still are being dismantled and replaced by alternative visions, institutions and practices of capitalist market economies and democratic polities.[36] Transitology that emerged with the ending of Communism viewed the post-Soviet state and societies as transitioning from Communist rule and a state-regulated economy to the establishment of institutions of a democratic society, the promotion of political pluralism, and the development of a market economy. Scholars have critically reviewed the transitology approach and examined comparability and limitations of trends and foci within transitology discourse.[37] Many transitology studies plunged into measuring the "progress" of former socialist societies toward the Western ideals of democracy, often assuming its linearity and inevitability.[38] Pickles highlighted the predispositions of transition theorists, political leaders, and policy-makers towards thinking of post-socialism as a process of economic convergence toward a natural market economy and a political return to Europe. Furthermore, the institutions, values and practices of Western political economy were assumed to be universal, superior to indigenous belief systems, religious, ethnic, linguistic and cultural identity claims, and hence the only feasible alternative to the totalitarian Communist system.[39] Defining "transitologies" as complex mixtures of historical, political, economic, ideological, and sociological transformations, which reflect the

simultaneous processes of destroying the past and redefining future, Robert Cowen urged scholars to focus on "exploring moments of educational metamorphosis" instead of assuming that the equilibrium conditions and the dynamic linearities of development of educational systems could be predicted.[40] Similarly, the most recent direction in transitology, identified by Rudolf Tökes, "seeks to make distinctions between generic and unique factors in pre- and post-Communist contexts that contributed to the fall of the old regimes."[41] In line with these arguments, this study examines the effects of specific practices, institutions and actors in their complex social and institutional settings and geographies.

Post-Soviet Education

Few organizations reflect the complexities and contradictions of societal changes as poignantly as schools. As Koshmanova and Ravchyna have stated, during the complex transition to sovereignty, democracy and a market economy, Ukraine has taken steps to become a more open society that is compatible with European educational systems.[42] One of the main priorities of the government has become the development of a detailed plan of reforming and transforming the system of education from the "Soviet" into the national one, congruent to the needs of an open democratic society and European standards in education. Educational reforms represented a compromise reached among divergent groups wielding zones of influence within the government. As Catherine Wanner has noted, by targeting education for reform, political leaders capitalized on the potential of education to articulate and instill new norms of social and cultural behavior in the newly established country[43]. Educational reforms followed economic, political and cultural transformations and challenged the status quo of the newly emerging national identity with divergent philosophies, diverse religions, economic theories, and pedagogical ideas.[44] As a result, the government restructured and revised educational infrastructure and curricula at all levels. New private and elite secondary schools (lyceums, gymnasiums, and alterative schools), new courses, programs and projects, models and techniques of teaching and learning, and information technologies were introduced to make education flexible and open to student needs in a multicultural society.[45]

An influential blueprint for education, written by a commission from the Ministry of Education and released in 1992, outlined how the educational system should be reformed to reflect changing political and social realities. The report claimed that post-Soviet educational reform intended to eliminate the "authoritarian pedagogy put in place by a totalitarian state which led to the suppression of natural talents and capabilities and interests of all participants in the educational process."[46] In place of *uniformity* and *collectivism*, propagated by Soviet education, the commission asserted that the new educational system must strive to develop *individuality*, *nationality*, and *morality* among students and teachers in schools. Wanner concluded that educational policymakers advocated pursuing an educational program through an individualist approach by cultivating individuality at the same time that it encouraged conformity to a national identity. By emphasizing such individuality and conformity to national identity, reforms encouraged "an awareness of differences in experiences, memories, and identities."[47]

This report presented a sole systematic assessment of the needs of educational reform in the first few years of independence, as politicians were preoccupied with the immediate needs of political and economic reform. The following years became a period of stagnation and partial losses of the achievements of the initial reforms. By 1996, a new education law

was passed and government commissions were established to prepare policy documents on structural and substantive reform to the education system. However, the pace of change and reforms was slow, "since many educators and education administrators [were] products of the previous education system and not familiar with alternative models."[48] According to Wanner, the formal, structural aspects of Soviet education were easier to reform than the practices instilled by the values of the Soviet system.[49]

Analyzing the evolution of the educational reform efforts in Ukraine within the 1990–1999 period, the Ministry of Education concluded that although significant positive changes had been carried out during this time, unfortunately, not all provisions of the strategic plans of the development of education in Ukraine had been implemented. Among the positive outcomes were the democratization and decentralization of management and financing, the de-ideologization of education, the occurrence of institutions promoting the development of democracy and formation of a market economy, the decrease of ideological pressure, and the acceptance of pluralist perspectives within society. [50] The most significant areas of regress—or the absence of positive changes—were a lack of attention to development and implementation of new social ideology, partial transition to the new paradigm of education, and fragmentary character of reforms in the system of education. In general, while the desire to transform the system was repeatedly declared by the political leadership and budgetary constraints, lack of political commitment, expertise and overall strategy made the pace of reform extremely slow.[51] Consequently, Ukrainian education continued to structurally and institutionally resemble centralized Soviet practices. Furthermore, the widening inequalities between rural and urban schools, mushrooming of private tutoring, widespread bribery and corruption have become deeply rooted practices of the educational landscape in post-independent Ukraine.[52]

Teachers, as some of the main stakeholders in education, found themselves in the middle of the reforms and were directly affected by their outcomes. Economic crisis, inflation, and social instability caused falling wages and significant delays in payments.[53] Teachers needed to search for additional earnings or other forms of maintenance for their existence, which resulted in the deterioration of quality of teaching and deprofessionalization. They were forced to contend with the multiple layers of reforms in their curriculum and instruction practices,[54] frequently being called upon to do unwanted or menial tasks below their professional training to keep the school functioning.[55] Teachers had less time and opportunities for individual professional development, studying of new sources of educational information, and performance of additional measures to increase student achievement.[56] The emerging individualism in Ukrainian society, with its emphasis on individual liberty, rights, and interests, forced teachers to work in isolation, resulting in conservatism and resistance to innovation. As mentioned before, teachers' voices have not been widely expressed when it comes to their understanding of the impact of post-Soviet societal changes on their professional and personal lives. Hence, there was the need for the study detailed in this article.

Toward a Study of Teachers' Perceptions of Post-Soviet Societal Impact on Education

An extensive study examined elementary and secondary teachers' experiences in a context of large-scale philosophical, ideological, social, political, and economic changes of the post-Soviet era (1991–2005) and their interpretation of the impact of related changes upon

system of education and teacher collaboration in Ukrainian schools. This paper presents a description of select findings related to teachers' perceptions of the nature of post-Soviet societal changes and the impact of those transformations on education policy, reforms, and practices and activities in schools.

For the purposes of this study, the term *societal changes* was an eclectic notion that included broad economic, ideological, philosophical, political, and social transformations in a society. *Economic changes* referred to the state of economy and transformations that affected the economic conditions of Ukrainian society after the collapse of the USSR. *Ideological changes* referred to the societal transformations connected with the collapse of the Communist Party ideology of the Soviet Union. *Philosophical changes* related to the transition to different philosophies, perspectives, and systems of values and beliefs in the society. *Political changes* referred to the shift in the civil, national, and public policies, as well as structure, order, and behavior at the government and local levels. *Social changes* related to change in the nature, the social institutions, the social behavior or relations of Ukrainian society, communities of people, or other social structures. These categories were mainly heuristic, and there was a great degree of overlap between them.

Research Methodology

This study adopted a naturalistic paradigm orientation with an interpretive constructivist approach to methodology,[57] which prompted the use of qualitative methods of inquiry, such as document analysis, focus group interviews and individual interviews.

Participants

The participants in this study were fifty-five elementary and secondary school teachers from eight school sites in the city of Chernivtsi, Ukraine. There are 54 general education schools in the city, with the total of about 23,000 students and close to 1900 teachers. Most of the schools are classified as secondary comprehensive schools, comprehensive educational institutions of levels I–III (I level: primary or elementary school; II level: basic school; III level: senior school, as a rule, including professional specialization); however, there also are 7 gymnasiums, 3 lyceums, and 2 private schools.[58] All participants had been in the teaching profession within the education system of Ukraine during the period of time from 1991 to 2005. They were randomly selected from respondents to the call for participation. Fifty-two of the participants were female teachers, while only three male respondents participated in the study. Despite all the efforts on my part to get a balanced gender representation of the respondents, participation was voluntary, and the numbers above seem to indicate greater willingness on behalf of female teachers to participate in this study. However, instrumental in this case was the overall decrease of male teachers in Ukrainian schools due to the unfavorable economic and social transformations. The purposeful selection of the school sites aimed at including schools of various types, sizes, and languages of instruction. Eight schools were selected, including two elite schools (a lyceum and a gymnasium school), four general secondary schools (two medium-sized and two large schools), and two general secondary schools for national minorities.

Data Collection and Analysis

Document analysis. As broad macrolevel changes affect governmental and administrative levels, in times of wide system changes, documents and policies change accordingly.

Ministry of Education, Department of Education, and school policies and procedures issued during the period of 1991–2005 were reviewed, analyzed, and translated into English. The purpose of this method was to gather the necessary information about the documented influence of the societal changes on the schools. The material and information obtained from the analysis were instrumental in creating an outline of issues and questions for the next steps in research methodology—focus groups and individual interviewing.

Qualitative interviewing. Two major types of qualitative interviewing used in this study included focus group interviews and individual interviews. Eight focus group interviews were conducted with two to eleven participants in each group. As a follow-up to focus groups, fifteen semi-structured individual interviews were conducted. The interviews were audio-taped, transcribed, and translated at a later date. All participants were assigned pseudonyms. The questions for the interviews were partly planned and partly prompted by the themes evident from document analysis. The questions were also prepared from the issues that emerged in the previously conducted focus group discussion. Transcripts of all focus group discussions and individual interviews were analyzed using qualitative research software, and important issues that emerged were grouped into themes. The use of these methods provided the study with rich, descriptive, and generous amount of information required to analyze the impact of societal changes on selected schools in one city in Ukraine.

Overview of the Findings

The following section provides an overview of participating teachers' perceptions related to the nature of post-Soviet societal changes and the impact of post-Soviet societal changes on schools.

Nature of Post-Soviet Societal Changes

The analysis of data revealed that the collapse of the Soviet Union was seen by the school professionals as a major catalyst for change. In their responses to the questions regarding the nature of societal changes, teachers indicated that their perceptions were very subjective: for some teachers, who were in euphoria about the change, everything may have seemed positive; for others, who were pessimistic about the transformations, everything may have seemed negative. Different types of societal transformations (e*conomic, ideological, philosophical, political*, and *social*) were perceived as possessing a "double-sided" nature, with both positive and negative outcomes for the participants' personal and professional lives. The comment of one of the participants, Rimma, vividly portrays the nature of societal changes: "The changes, if shown in a diagram, could be depicted in a form of parabola, because after the recession, there was a gradual ascent of our economy, our social conditions, our social life, even our relationships with people." However, as positive and optimistic she sounded, Rimma also continued that eventual decline in most areas have followed. This negative trend was further confirmed by many others who perceived there were more negative changes than positive: "What I can say is that there were a lot of changes, but none of them were beneficial for common people. What was done was beneficial for somebody else, a small circle of people … As for us, these changes went in a different [negative] direction," posited Vaselyna. However, the majority of respondents argued that it was erroneous to state that changes were absolutely positive or absolutely negative in nature. They agreed that everything was different from what it used to be as a

result of the collapse of the Soviet Union; moreover, many of the respondents mentioned that the country was still in the process of transition and it was hard to evaluate the nature of change and its impact on society to the fullest possible extent.

The most frequently discussed area of societal changes was related to the economic situation in the country during the period of independence of Ukraine. In their discussions, teachers compared the state of economy in the Soviet and post-independence times, reflecting upon advantages and disadvantages for the country in general, and their lives in particular. The factors leading to positive changes in the economy were seen to include development of entrepreneurship, permission to open private businesses, opportunities for additional income, permission to go abroad, and relative economic stability in the preceding years. Rebuilding of the economic system, transition to the new economic relationships, inflation, instability, unemployment, industrial decline, increased corruption, inadequate financial remuneration, and delays in salary payments were all viewed as the negative characteristics of economic transformations in Ukrainian society. While transition to market economy and capitalist system allowed certain categories of population to increase their income and establish their own businesses, teachers remained disadvantaged due to inability to adapt to changing economic realities. One of the comments vividly captured the economic impact on teachers and choices they had to make in the post-independence period: "those people who were intellectually prepared [educated] by our Soviet higher education institutions, appeared to be in the lowest strata of the society, because they remained at their jobs with no opportunity to fulfill themselves in business; there was no possibility to do that if you are working in school." As a result of economic transformations, teachers and schools had to survive without appropriate funding, support, and resources from the government. Moreover, societal attitudes toward schools and teachers changed due to the fact that teachers' jobs lost their prestige and financial advantages amid the society's increased attention on monetary value. Therefore, many educators (especially male teachers, serving as the main breadwinners for their families) left their teaching jobs in search of more lucrative careers. Document analysis also revealed that many male educators resigned as teachers and either worked outside of their profession in Ukraine or went abroad to Spain, Portugal, Norway, or Russia to provide for their families.[59] In addition, statistical data from the UNESCO Global Monitoring Report indicated that male teachers in the 2002–2003 school year constituted only 1 percent in primary education and 22 percent in secondary education institutions.[60]

Most *ideological* transformations were connected to the collapse of the Communist Party ideology. This ideology, dominant in the Soviet society, exerted ideological pressure on education through pre-service and in-service training for educators and ideologically-laden youth organizations, consisting of three echelons—Zhovtenyata (Жовтенята, Ukrainian for *Oktyabryata* or *Children of October*, the first echelon of Soviet Youth organizations), Pionery (Піонери, the *Pioneers*, the second echelon of Soviet Youth organizations), and Komsomol (Комсомол, an abbreviation of Коммуністичний Союз Молоді or the Young Communist League, the third echelon of Soviet Youth organizations). As the majority of responses suggested, the collapse of the Soviet ideological system led to the weakened ideological pressure and changes in the system of moral values and ideals in the independent times. Furthermore, the former ideals of the Soviet times have lost their significance, and teachers felt confused as they had to adapt to different (and ever-changing) moral assumptions in the instructional process.

Post-Soviet societal events and phenomena resulted in transition to different philosophies, perspectives, and systems of norms, values, and beliefs in the society. Most frequently mentioned *philosophical* changes were national identity issues, development of Ukrainian language instruction, and establishment of schools for religious and national minorities. Besides the increased self-perception of teachers as citizens of the new country and free development, use, and protection of Ukrainian language, awareness of other nationalities in the society increased as well. According to the Constitution, citizens of Ukraine that belong to national minorities have a right, guaranteed by Constitution and educational legislation, to receive education in their native languages.[61] One of the recommendations from the local educational authorities was to consider multiethnic specifics of national education in multinational Chernivtsi region.[62] Such national minorities as Romanian and Jewish people became able to practice their traditions, speak their native languages, and provide education to their children. Furthermore, various religions were allowed to openly practice their faith and open private religious schools. A Christian Ethics course was introduced in Chernivtsi schools in 1999 with the purpose of surmounting moral and spiritual crisis in the country and promoting moral and ethical education of youth.[63] These aspects were regarded by most participants as contributors to the increased freedoms of conscience, expression and speech, and religion. Some teachers claimed that society became more liberated and people were no longer afraid to express their opinion, even if they were criticizing government decisions. At the same time, other teachers felt that despite the fact that people were given the right to freely express their opinions, they did not really have a say in what was happening in the society. In addition, participants emphasized a shift from collectivistic to individualistic views in the society. Younger and less experienced participants, especially, believed that life has changed so substantially, that societal interests did not trump personal interests of teachers any more, or as one teacher noted, "the interests of the collective used to be higher, but teachers have stopped talking about 'think first about Motherland, then about yourself' a long time ago." Collectivism was seen as gradually disappearing, and individualism was becoming more apparent in society and in schools.

Contemplating about *political* changes after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the majority of teachers indicated that the issue of gaining independence was one of the most significant changes in their lives. In the words of a history teacher, "societal changes were colossal: the State machinery has changed, the socialist Soviet Union collapsed, and independent Ukraine was established." Many perceived it to be instrumental in developing democracy, freedom of speech, establishing national language policies, and opening country borders. "At first, there was a little confusion in our society about what to do and how, but then people assumed the responsibility of doing it. They started to realize that everything depends solely on them and that, only due to their hard work, they can achieve something in the society," said one teacher regarding the post-Soviet democratic developments. Political transformations at the governmental level were perceived to have led to a change in the political order, government structure, multi-party system, and reform. The change in the government and parliament structures were deemed ineffective; as teachers noted, government inefficiencies were evident through poor implementation of the reforms, the lack of support and care for common people, lack of knowledge and expertise to carry out their professional responsibilities, disorder and increasing corruption at the governmental level. Some participants also expressed mixed feelings about the relatively

recent political developments related to the Orange Revolution and Presidential Elections of 2004, stating that their expectations were not fulfilled by the outcomes of these political changes.

For most of the respondents, changes in the social sphere were perceived to be the worst, as people lost their former ways of life and were forced to adapt to the new social realities. Quite a few teachers felt that relationships in communities and families became more "hard-hearted and colder" as a result of people becoming more "isolated and withdrawn". They recognized the "lack of connection and communication between parents and children that influenced students' upbringing, attitudes towards others, and achievement in schools." Of extreme concern for many was the fact that significant numbers of students were being brought up by grandparents, relatives, or parents' friends because their parents went to work abroad. Results of the monitoring research of psychological problems in student environments revealed that 20 percent of students in Chernivtsi region had a mother working abroad, and 12 percent have a father working abroad. Moreover, this research indicated that 11 percent of them experienced rejection in their student collectives.[64] Another study found that, as of January, 2006, there were more than 1600 students of migrant workers in the schools in the city of Chernivtsi.[65] Therefore, according to Chernivtsi educational authorities, pedagogues needed to take into consideration the fact that significant percentage of parents were away from their homes, and children did not receive appropriate upbringing from them.[66] Teachers' responses suggested that the moral and spiritual, as well as physical, health of the nation had deteriorated. Moreover, a decrease in social guarantees for the population and changing economic relationships led to greater stratification according to socioeconomic levels in the society and in school collectives.

The Impact of Post-Soviet Societal Changes on Schools

All participants observed a direct impact of societal transformations on the educational system. The shift in societal views and perspectives and transformations in economic, political, and social spheres during the first years of independence were seen as instrumental in bringing change to Ukrainian schools. All of the respondents believed that the new system of education oriented toward Western (European and North American) format. These transformations were perceived by teachers as natural consequences of the events in society and changes in students' needs and intellectual capacity. In the eyes of the respondents, the transition from the old Soviet system to the new Ukrainian system has not yet been completed.

Several periods of transformation were outlined. The initial transitory period was marked by instability, lack of solid foundation, lack of direction and goals, and changing requirements. This period was followed by "school democratization," characterized by rejection of the ideological aspects of the Soviet education and shift in the focus and goals towards new perspectives. The time of "school democratization" was perceived to have resulted in "greater freedom and flexibility in the choice of instructional materials, freedom of conscience, and freedom to implement certain instructional methodologies." Paradoxically, many of the respondents observed a tendency toward a more rigid control and increased supervision of instruction, as well as overwhelming paperwork, in the years to follow. One of the respondents presented an overview of the period of transition in the system of education, indicating that "after a time of total control and supervision

of the Soviet school, there was a period when teachers could actualize themselves as personalities ... After 1995 or 1997, the government 'came to its senses,' and bureaucratic machinery started working full swing ... This caused non-stop requirements and commands to grow in frequency with every year." Other participants were convinced that increased paperwork impeded creativity and did not allow reaching their full teaching potential. More importantly, all participants felt that attitudes towards education and teachers in society deteriorated and exerted negative influence on their ability to provide high quality instruction to students. Schooling and teachers' work became more difficult because the authority, prestige, and reputation of schools were lost and teachers' social status degraded.

Major educational reforms mentioned by the participants as most influential in their work included the establishment of Ukrainian language as the main language of instruction; the emergence of elite schools and schools with specific instructional profiles; the switch to a 12-year school system; reviewing of the grading scale and marking procedures; and the introduction of new school curricula and programs of studies. These reforms elicited mixed feelings in many participants, as they were perceived to have both positive and negative outcomes for schools. Most of them were believed to be introduced haphazardly, without proper preparation or foundation for innovation. As one teacher noted, "in order to switch to a system where students go to school at the age of 6, the government needed to create a necessary foundation, good program, good textbooks, and then do the switch … but not bring children to school and then start changing it." Reforms in education resulted in the introduction of various new school curricula that mostly emphasized the development of learning skills of individual students. The tendency towards individualization of education was especially evident in the guidelines of the State Program "Teacher," as the priority task of modern Ukrainian schools was provision of favorable conditions in the educational institution for the development of individuality. [67]

Discussion: From a Modernist to Postmodernist Orientation

Analysis of the data has pointed to the fact that Ukrainian society experienced a shift from a modernist era of the Soviet Union to an era of independence characterized by increased influence of postmodernist thinking. The collapse of the Soviet Union, which served as a major catalyst for this transition, resulted in significant transformations in economic, ideological, philosophical, political, and social spheres. Some of the societal conditions of the age of postmodernism are transparency of cultural and national backgrounds, global information revolution, increased travel and mobility, interdependent economy and trade systems, political uncertainty and economic instability, and multiple perspectives on living, thinking, and believing in the world.[68] Participants in this study observed and found themselves amidst many of these conditions in the fast-changing, compressed, complex, and uncertain society.

The most prominent observation among participants was the ability to hold and express multiple perspectives. Ukrainian society seems to be in transition from a Soviet era of foundational truth and unified perspective to a society of plurality, diversity, and interdependence. Philosophically and ideologically, broader and faster dissemination of information was seen to place "old ideological certainties in disrepute as people realize there are other ways to live."[69] After the collapse of the Communist Party ideology, the weakened ideological pressure in the independent times led to the shift in the system of moral

values and ideals. As Petro Kononenko and Ivan Holowinsky argued, political and cultural changes in Ukraine have resulted in a collapse of the former system of values and beliefs and created a need for a new system.[70]

Participants' responses in this study supported this view; they believed that change in the philosophical perspectives that guided societal relationships resulted in the deprecation of the old "Soviet" system of values, norms, and beliefs. The old system was based on the Marxist-Leninist *collectivism*, in which individualism was not allowed and the individual's interests were always considered secondary to the interests of the collective and the society.[71] For many, the change was especially evident in the gradual disappearance of the *collectivistic* views and increased emphasis on the *individualistic* perspectives in the society, in which societal interests became secondary to personal interests of individuals. However, most of the participants pointed to the fact that the new system of norms and values had not yet been fully established and was still in the process of transition. The Ministry of Education of Ukraine recognized the lack of attention to the development and implementation of new social ideology as one of the most significant areas of regress, or absence of positive changes.[72] Furthermore, a number of respondents believed that monetary values prevailed in the society, as people strove for money and material welfare. As Turner noted, monetarization of values is one of the main characteristics of the modernist age.[73] Thus, despite many of the characteristics of the move towards postmodernist perspectives, societal conditions still possessed many features of modernity.

Another characteristic of postmodern worldview, *the collapse of belief* or the growing suspicion that all belief systems are social constructions,[74] was observed in general awareness of otherness which was deemed unimaginable and impossible in the "one gray mass" era of Soviet regime. Such factors as freedom of conscience, freedom of religion, and freedom of speech respectively led to greater recognition of multiethnicity and national minorities, greater expression of religious beliefs and convictions, and liberation and ability to share different opinions and access to published information that was forbidden in the Soviet times. In postmodern society, people experience "a shift from a small number of singularities of knowledge and belief to a fluctuating, ever changing plurality of belief systems."[75] However, although teachers observed greater freedom of expression, they often felt unnoticed and unempowered in their opinions in society.

All teachers indicated that Ukrainian society experienced *economic* transformations unheard of in the Soviet era, such as transition to a market economy and the capitalist system, development of entrepreneurship and small businesses, open borders and more widespread ability to travel abroad for leisure, business, or employment. Economically, postmodern societies are characterized by the decline of the factory system and development of economies that are built around the production of smaller goods rather than large ones, services more than manufacturing, information and images rather than products and things.[76] However, general unpreparedness for these changing realities resulted in uncertainty and instability, industrial decline, unemployment and corruption, and decrease in the material welfare of the population. Contrastingly, according to John Gray, economic empowerment of citizens and the development of material guarantees for the preservation of individual liberties are essential prerequisites for sustainable growth of democratic institutions.[77]

In the *political* realm, participants believed that Ukraine's independence and sovereignty were instrumental in promoting the development of democracy and freedoms

of speech, conscience, and religion. Political aspects of postmodern societies include decentralization, flatter decision-making structures, blurring of roles and boundaries and political disorder and uncertainty.[78] However, despite the change in the political order and introduction of decentralized government structures, the Ukrainian political system was often deemed inefficient and corrupt.

Changes in the *social* sphere were perceived by the respondents as having the most negative connotation, because people lost the former ways of living and had to adapt to the new social realities. Most significantly, society was affected by the transformations of social relationships in families and communities. Participants indicated that relationships became hard-hearted and colder as people seemed to be more isolated and withdrawn. Andy Hargreaves argued that in the restructured postmodern world, the "lack of permanence and stability can also create crises in interpersonal relationships, as these relationships have no anchors outside themselves, of tradition or obligation, to guarantee their security and continuance."[79] Instrumental factors in such degraded social relations were economic instability and relative easiness to cross the borders that forced parents to go abroad in search of employment and leave their children to be brought up by relatives or friends. As a result, families of migrant workers often fell apart, and their children lacked in proper upbringing and did not perform well in schools. A general decline in the process of proper upbringing of children in families and tendency toward deteriorated communication, respect, obligation, and connection among family members seemed to contribute to the societal moral and spiritual degradation. Social sphere transformations were perceived to be closely connected to the economic changes: limited financial abilities and loss of free medical care contributed to the poor "physical health" of the nation, while a decrease in social guarantees resulted in the greater socio-economic differentiation in society.

School as a Microcosm of Society

In the light of the previous discussions, an important issue was whether schools have remained intractably modernist in the midst of an increasingly postmodern world.[80] Hargreaves noted that schools and teachers are being affected more and more by the demands of the increasingly complex and fast-paced, postmodern world: "challenges and changes facing teachers and schools are not parochially confined to education but are rooted in a major sociohistorical transition from a period of modernity to one of postmodernity."[81]As the country made a transition from a totalitarian Marxist–Leninist ideology to democracy and pluralism, changes that occurred at the societal level greatly affected education. The post-Soviet Ukraine faced the new, unexplored terrain of postmodernism.

The majority of the participants' answers directly or indirectly indicated the impact of societal changes on the schools. School was described as a mini-system, a mini-model, or a barometer that reflected absolutely all events in the society. Similarly, documentary analysis revealed the evidence of direct impact of societal transformations on the system of education.[82] According to the participants in this study, the shift in societal views and perspectives, as well as transformations in economic, political and social spheres, in the years of independence were instrumental in bringing about changes (both positive and negative) to the Ukrainian educational system.

The role of the state in initiating change was widely recognized by the participants. Analysis of the documents revealed that declaration of Ukraine's intention to transform into a democratic state with the regulated market economy gave birth to the strategic plans

to reform education as part of a nation-wide transformation.[83] As Wanner pointed out, due to the capacity and potential of education to articulate and instill new norms of social and cultural behavior in the newly formed country, the system of education was one of the first spheres to be subjected to the reforming process.[84] Most participants viewed school system changes as natural consequences of the events in society and requirements of time and the new era, characterized by increased intellectual capacity, creativity, and liberation of the student population. However, Olena Fimyar also argued that government's growing openness and receptiveness towards Western educational discourses was conditioned by the nature of sociopolitical and economic transformations being constrained by weak state's structure (characterised by lack of robust institutionalised civil society and violations of the rule of law).[85]

According to the Ministry of Education National Report, the vector of changes in education focused on transition from the "Soviet school" model to the democratic European one.[86] However, as Jan Janmaat argued, despite the fact that democratization and grassroots initiatives have been allowed to make limited inroads into school education, the centralized system of the Soviet era was carried over, with the school system remaining almost totally in state hands.[87] The majority of respondents conferred that despite the numerous changes, many characteristics of the Ukrainian system of education were the same as the Soviet command-type school system, and the transition had not yet been completed.

The process of change was slow and some reforms have not taken root in the education system due to a number of reasons. First, the most important reason was perceived to be the fact that it was difficult to move away from the system of education in which schools and teachers have been inculcated for more than seventy years. In line with Marta Dyczok's argument,[88] one of the respondents asserted that was especially the case with more experienced teachers, who were "products of their epoch," not familiar with alternative models, and seemed unwilling and unable to keep pace with the fast changing realities. As Ukrainian teacher preparation still remains grounded in the old theoretical paradigm of totalitarian thinking, this may generate obstacles for Ukraine's integration with Europe.[89] As Wanner found, the formal structural aspects of Soviet education were easier to reform than the practices instilled by the values of the Soviet system.[90]

Second, economic crisis, inflation, significant cuts in educational budgets, lack of resources, and delays in payments for educators negatively affected the progress of reforms and forced schools into the survival mode. One of the most prominent postmodern dilemmas for teachers was the decisive test of *professional commitment* amidst the decline of material welfare and deterioration of societal attitudes. Being forced into the survival mode because of extreme inflation, working at several jobs, annulled Soviet bank-book savings, low teacher salaries, and considerable delays in salary payments, many teachers (especially male professionals) eventually left teaching for more lucrative careers and entrepreneurship. Another monetary aspect identified in the literature that considerably slowed reform attempts was widespread corruption and bribery in education.[91] (However, surprisingly this notion never surfaced in any of the conversations with the participants—perhaps due to issues of confidentiality and trust). A combination of these factors resulted in the deterioration of quality of teaching and deprofessionalization.

Moreover, the third reason was the need for more time to implement innovations offered by reforms in the educational sphere. Participants believed that initial endeavors lacked

the unity of direction and solid foundation. Many of the reforms were perceived to be introduced haphazardly and without proper preparation, attempting to destroy and discard the existing base without a clear idea of how to create the foundation for future development. As one of the respondents concisely put it, all Soviet education achievements were "thrown away as garbage." As Fimyar pointed out, at the policy formation stage, educational policies were initiated without prior public consultations or piloting.[92] At the stage of policy implementation, the reforms policies were not monitored, but a "control" over the policy process was undertaken. However, the "control" objectives were to test the policy procedure but not the policy outcomes. Therefore, as scholars argued, this resulted in chaotic administration of the policy process, based on a "fire-fighting" approach (i.e., focusing on immediate problems with little capacity for sustained policymaking).[93] In turn, chaotic administration of policy-making affected the predominantly negative perception of policies by education practitioners, creating the wide gap of misunderstanding and mistrust between governmental officials and educators.[94] The reciprocity of mistrust between educators and government may partially explain the teachers' concerns that authority, prestige, and reputation of schools were lost and teachers' social status degraded. As Mike Bottery argued, at the societal level trust is essential in building the relationships necessary for a flourishing society, as well as fostering good relationships between governments and school employees.[95]

The nature of educational reforms in Ukraine was fragmentary and yielded only a partial transition to the new paradigm of education set by the Ministry of Education policies. As Wanner argued, in post-independent Ukraine, as in other post-Communist countries, the changes pushed by the state policy directives were often not straightforward and reflected the complexities, contradictions and ambivalences of the post-Communist era.[96] Based on the respondents' perceptions of the school system transformations, a graphical representation could possibly take a *parabolic* or a bell curve shape (see Figure 1). First, following the collapse of USSR and declaration of independence in 1991 teachers observed a period of school democratization, characterized by rejection of the ideological aspects of the "Soviet school" and shift in the focus and goals of education. This period led to establishing of schools of a new type, introduction of new curricula, removal of politically and ideologically-laden subjects, greater freedom in the choice of instructional materials and teaching methodologies, and increased creativity in teachers work. The positive outcomes of this period were the democratization, decentralization, and deideologization of education and acceptance of pluralist perspectives in education and society. Following this period, participants indicated that around 1995–1996 came the time when they experienced the decline of reforms, increased administrative control, overwhelming red tape and paperwork that reduced creativity and turned teaching into what one respondent called "papermania." Similarly, the Ministry of Education and UNDP considered the years from 1996 to 1999 as the period of "stagnation," discontinuity, and partial losses of the achievements of the initial reforms caused by the four-fold reduction in the education budget.[97] Although scholars have provided further stages in the genealogy of educational reform in post-Soviet Ukraine,[98] no further periodization was provided by teachers in this study and, therefore, is not included in the diagram.
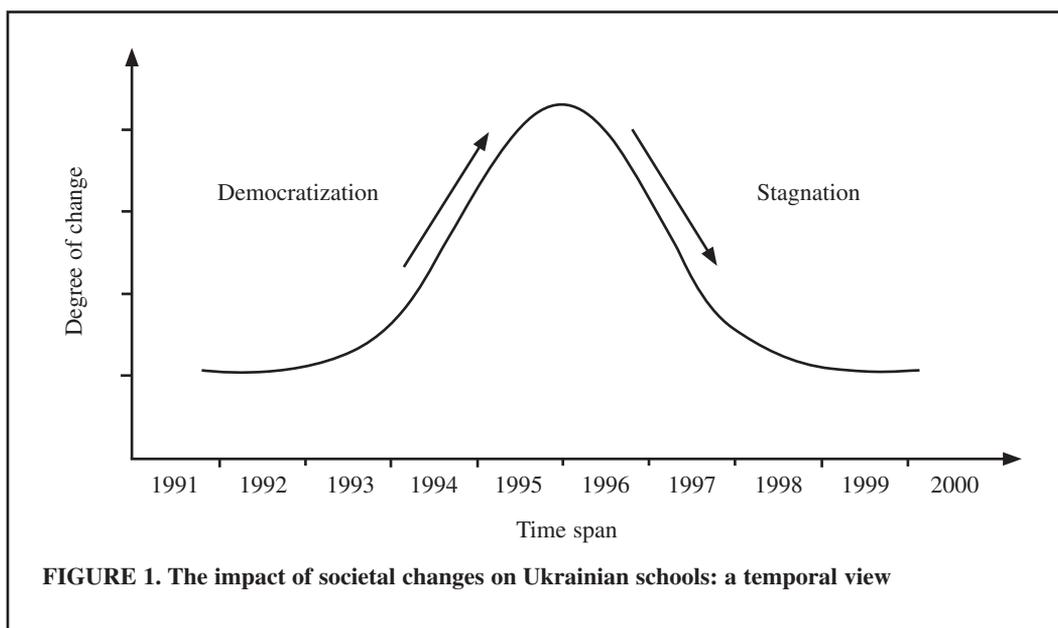
FIGURE 1. The impact of societal changes on Ukrainian schools: a temporal view

It seems that a parabolic representation of participants' perceptions of changes at school levels, in which the euphoria of change and related positive transformations were eventually displaced by struggles and prevalent negative attitudes, relates to the notion of *implementation dip*—i.e., the tendency for new initiatives to go through a period of decline after the initial change.[99]

In sum, aligning the respondents' comments with Spencer Maxcy's[100] perspective allows one to conclude that system of education of Ukraine was caught on the cusp of a new era, the one between a modernist paradigm, characterized by uniform requirements, centralized planning and administration, and concern for bottom-line result, and the postmodern pattern with fast institutional changes marked by decentralization, pluralism, and system restructuring. Despite the fact that certain educational aspects successfully transformed according to the requirements of the new postmodern era and enabled further development of the system, many components remained true to the characteristics of the modernist school system and were detrimental for further transformations.

Conclusions

As this study provided a description of elementary and secondary teachers' perceptions of post-Soviet societal changes, It highlighted the ongoing struggle between forces of modernity and postmodernity in post-Soviet Ukrainian society. The process of transition from modernist to postmodernist perspectives is time-sensitive, painful, and unpredictable. Gains of deideologization and freedoms of conscience, speech, and religion were counteracted by economic decline, political instability, and social insecurity. Despite the declared transition from the Soviet era of modernism to postmodernity, the Ukrainian society possessedmany characteristics of the modernist society. Teachers' perspectives on the impact of various societal changes on education in Ukraine, confirmed that schools

seemed to be caught on the cusp of this transition as the country grappled with the ways to implement reforms during the process of transformation from the "Soviet school" model to the democratic European one.

Despite the social and political consensus concerning the necessity to concentrate common efforts on the development of educational sphere, improvement of student preparation, and increasing the level of teacher qualification and some initial positive changes, the incomplete fulfillment of the plan of reforms in Ukraine was believed to be caused by the external factors, such as the negative effect of economic and social crises and other phenomena of the transitive period. It has been noted that the initial reform endeavors lacked the foundation to build upon, the unity of direction, and consistency in requirements in their pursuit to discard the old policies as unnecessary without a clear vision of the new system of policies. Schools require adequate time to implement innovations offered by reforms in the educational sphere. The process of implementation of reforms takes time and thought. Many of the reforms in the system of education were perceived to be introduced haphazardly, without the appropriate theoretical and practical foundations. Therefore, proper preparation, sound judgment, and consultations with teachers should be seen as crucial steps in the future implementation of school reforms and policies.

Such factors as material welfare, spirituality and morale, social security, societal attitudes, and changing fabric of social relationships exerted significant impact on schools and teachers' work. As various societal transformations affect the work and lives of all teachers, it is essential that a much greater effort be made on the part of the government to establish economic and political stability in the country, improve material welfare and social security of teachers, foster spirituality and morale, and help increase value of education and teachers' status in the society by recognizing the contributions that teachers make in educating and upbringing future generations of citizens. In order to foster reciprocal trust between the government and educators, teachers need to be assigned a status of public service (public capacity) workers. Furthermore, leaders and policymakers need to realize the usefulness of addressing macro (societal) factors in the process of educational reform implementation. It is my hope that this study would encourage policy-makers from the Ministry of Education and Departments of Education, as well as in-school professionals, administrators and teachers, in Ukraine to pay closer attention to the impact of social, political, philosophical, economic and ideological transformations in society on the field of education.

NOTES

1. Ministry of Education of Ukraine, *Education for All 2000 Assessment* (Kyiv, Ukraine: Institute of Content and Methods of Education, 1999).

2. Carlos Pascual and Steven Pifer, "Ukraine's Bid for a Decisive Place in History," *The Washington Quarterly* 25, no. 1 (2002): 175–192.

3. Marta Dyczok, *Ukraine: Movement Without Change, Change Without Movement* (Amsterdam, The Netherlands: Harwood Academic Publishers, 2000).

4. Mykola Zhulynsky, "Cultural, Educational and Linguistic Policy in Ukraine, 1991–1996," in Theofil Kis, Irena Makaryk and Roman Weretelnyk, eds., *Towards a New Ukraine I: Ukraine and the New World Order*, 1991–1996. Proceedings of a Conference Held on March 21–22, 1997 at the University of Ottawa (Ottawa, ON: Chair of Ukrainian Studies, University of Ottawa, 1997).

5. Tetyana Koshmanova and Tetyana Ravchyna, "Teacher Preparation in a Post-Totalitarian Society: An Interpretation of Ukrainian Teacher Educators' Stereotypes," *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 21, no. 2 (2008): 137–158.

6. Petro P. Kononenko and Ivan Z. Holowinsky, "Educational Reform and Language Issue in Ukraine," in N. Ken Shimahara, Ivan Z. Holowinsky and Saundra Tomlinson-Clarke, eds., E*thnicity, Race, and Nationality in Education* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2001): 213–232.

7. Koshmanova and Ravchyna, "Teacher Preparation in a Post-Totalitarian Society: An Interpretation of Ukrainian Teacher Educators' Stereotypes."

8. Kataryna Wolczuk, *Integration without Europeanisation: Ukraine and Its Policy toward the European Union* (Birmingham, UK: Centre for Russian and East European Studies, University of Birmingham, 2004).

9. Raymond J. Golarz and Marion J. Golarz, *The Power of Participation: Improving Schools in a Democratic Society* (Sebastopol, CA: National Training Associates, 1995).

10. Kononenko and Holowinsky, "Educational Reform and Language Issue in Ukraine."

11. Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization* (New York: Free Press, 1947).

12. Jean-Francois Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (translated by Geoffrey Bennington and Briam Massumi, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984, reprint, 1979).

13. Larry Sackney and Coral Mitchell, "Postmodern Expressions of Educational Leadership," in Kenneth Leithwood and Phillip Hallinger, eds., *Second International Handbook of Educational Leadership and Administration* (Dordrecht, Netherlands: Kluwer, 2002): 881–913.

14. Bryan S. Turner, "Periodization and Politics in the Postmodern," in Bryan S. Turner, ed., *Theories of Modernity and Postmodernity* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1990): 6.

15. Thomas Lahusen and Gene Kuperman, *Late Soviet Culture: From Perestroika to Novostroika* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993).

16. Vitaly Chernetsky, "Late Soviet Culture: A Parallax for Postmodernism [review of the book *Late Soviet Culture*]," *Postmodern Culture* 4, no. 3 (1994): 34–47; and Vitaly Chernetsky, *Mapping Postcommunist Cultures: Russia and Ukraine in the Context of Globalization* (Kingston, ON: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007).

17. Andy Hargreaves, *Changing Teachers, Changing Times* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1994); and Larry Sackney, Keith D. Walker, and Coral Mitchell, "Postmodern Conceptions of Power in Educational Leadership," *Journal of Educational Administration and Foundations* 14, no. 1 (1999): 33–58.

18. Sackney, Walker, and Mitchell, "Postmodern Conceptions of Power in Educational Leadership."

19. Chernetsky, *Mapping Postcommunist Cultures: Russia and Ukraine in the Context of Globalization.*

20. Viktoriya Syumar, "Viktor Yanukovych and Postmodernity," *Ukrains'ka Pravda* [*Ukrainian Truth*], June 4, 2010.

21. Rafal Godon, Palmira Juceviciene, and Zdenko Kodelja, "Philosophy of Education in Post-Soviet Societies of Eastern Europe: Poland, Lithuania and Slovenia," *Comparative Education* 40,

no. 4 (2004): 559–569.

22. Ministry of Education of Ukraine, *Education for All 2000 Assessment,* 3.

23. Ibid.

24. Spencer Maxcy, ed., *Postmodern Schools Leadership* (Westport, CN: Praeger, 1994): 3.

25. Henry A. Giroux, "Slacking Off: Border Youth and Postmodern Education," *Journal of Advanced Composition* 14, (1994): 347–366.

26. Gail C. Furman, "Postmodernism and Community in Schools: Unraveling the Paradox," *Educational Administration Quaterly* 34, no. 3 (1998): 298–328; Carl Henry, "Postmodernism: The New Spectre?" in David S. Dockery, ed., *The Challenge of Postmodernism* (Wheaton, IL: BridgePoint, 1995): 34–52; and Richard P. Nielsen, "Varieties of Postmodernism as Moments in Ethics Action Learning," *Business Ethics Quarterly* 3, no. 3 (1993): 251–269.

27. Jacques Derrida, *Speech and Phenomena* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1973); Michel Foucault, "Afterword: The Subject and Power," in Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutic*s (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982): 208–226; and Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge.*

28. Furman, "Postmodernism and Community in Schools: Unraveling the Paradox."

29. Turner, "Periodization and Politics in the Postmodern."

30. Sackney and Mitchell, "Postmodern Expressions of Educational Leadership."

31. Pascual and Pifer, "Ukraine's Bid for a Decisive Place in History," 177.

32. Ibid.

33. Michael E. Urban, ed., *Ideology and System Change in the USSR and East Europe: Selected Papers from the Fourth World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies*, *Harrogate, 1990* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992); Pieter Batelaan and Ieva Gundare, "Intercultural Education, Co-Operative Learning and the Changing Society," *Intercultural Education* 11, Supplement (2000): S31–S34; and Paul J. Kubicek, "Civil Society, Trade Unions and Post-Soviet Democratization: Evidence from Russia and Ukraine," *Europe-Asia Studies* 54, no. 4 (2002): 603–624.

34. Batelaan and Gundare, "Intercultural Education, Co-Operative Learning and the Changing Society."

35. Rudolf L. Tőkés, "Transitology: Global Dreams and Post-Communist Realities," *Central Europe Review,* no. 10 (2000), available at http://www.ce-review.org/00/10/tokes10.html (accessed January 22, 2011).

36. John Pickles, "The Spirit of Post-Socialism: What Is to Be Understood by It?," in John Pickles, ed., *State and Society in Post-Socialist Economies* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008): 1–18.

37. Robert Cowen, "Comparing Futures or Comparing Pasts?," *Comparative Education* 36, no. 3 (2000): 333–342; Valerie Bunce, "Should Transitologists Be Grounded?" *Slavic Review* 54, no. 1 (1995): 111–127; Tőkés, "Transitology: Global Dreams and Post-Communist Realities"; Pickles, "The Spirit of Post-Socialism: What Is to Be Understood by It?"

38. Iveta Silova, "Re-Discovering Post-Socialism in Comparative Education," in Iveta Silova, ed., *Post-Socialism Is Not Dead: (Re)Reading the Global in Comparative Education,* (Bingley, UK: Emerald Publishing, 2010): 1–20.

39. Pickles, "The Spirit of Post-Socialism: What Is to Be Understood by It?," 3.

40. Cowen, "Comparing Futures or Comparing Pasts?," 333.

41. Tőkés, "Transitology: Global Dreams and Post-Communist Realities," 1.

42. Koshmanova and Ravchyna, "Teacher Preparation in a Post-Totalitarian Society: An Interpretation of Ukrainian Teacher Educators' Stereotypes," 138.

43. Catherine Wanner, *Burden of Dreams: History and Identity in Post-Soviet Ukraine* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998).

44. Ibid.

45. Koshmanova and Ravchyna, "Teacher Preparation in a Post-Totalitarian Society: An Interpretation of Ukrainian Teacher Educators' Stereotypes," 138.

46. Ministry of Education of Ukraine, *Ukraina XXI Stolittya: Derzhavna Nastional'na Prohrama 'Osvita'* [*Ukraine of 21 Century: The State National Program of Education*] (Kyiv, Ukraine: Ministry of Education, 1992): 3.

47. Wanner, *Burden of Dreams: History and Identity in Post-Soviet Ukraine*, 82.

48. Dyczok, Ukraine: *Movement Without Change, Change Without Movement*, 98.

49. Wanner, *Burden of Dreams: History and Identity in Post-Soviet Ukraine*, 82.

50. Ministry of Education of Ukraine, *Education for All 2000 Assessment*, 78–80.

51. Olena Fimyar, "Educational Policy-Making in Post-Communist Ukraine as an Example of Emerging Governmentality: Discourse Analysis of Curriculum Choice and Assessment Policy Documents (1999–2003)," *Journal of Education Policy* 23, no. 6 (2008): 571–594.

52. Fimyar, "Educational Policy-Making in Post-Communist Ukraine as an Example of Emerging Governmentality: Discourse Analysis of Curriculum Choice and Assessment Policy Documents (1999–2003)," 573.

53. Lisa Granik, "Legal Education in Post-Soviet Russia and Ukraine," *Oregon Law Review* 72, no. 4 (1993): 963–975.

54. Koshmanova and Ravchyna, "Teacher Preparation in a Post-Totalitarian Society: An Interpretation of Ukrainian Teacher Educators' Stereotypes."

55. Wanner, *Burden of Dreams: History and Identity in Post-Soviet Ukraine*, 83.

56. Ministry of Education of Ukraine, *Education for All 2000 Assessment.*

57. Yvonna S. Lincoln and Egon G. Guba. "Paradigmatic Controversies, Contradictions, and Emerging Confluences," in Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, eds., *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2000): 163–188.

58. Chernivtsi on the Net, "Educational Institutions," available at http://www.city.cv.ua/Ukrainian/ScienceEducation/School.shtml (accessed March 23, 2011).

59. Halyna Myts', "From Fighting with the Teacher to Fighting ... For the Teacher," *Vysokyi Zamok*, September 2, 2004.

60. UNESCO Institute for Statistics, *Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2006* (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 2005).

61. Ministry of Education of Ukraine, "High-Level Education for All Youth: Challenges, Tendencies, and Priorities," paper presented at the 47th Session of the UNESCO International Conference on Education, Geneva, Switzerland, September 2004.

62. Department of Education and Science of Chernivtsi Regional State Administration, *Methodological Recommendations for Organization of Educational Process in General Secondary Schools in 2003/2004 School Year* (Chernivtsi, Ukraine: Chernivtsi Regional Institute of Post-Diploma Pedagogical Education, 2003).

63. Religious Information Service of Ukraine. "Chernivtsi to Have Own Christian Ethics Classes in Schools," available at http://www.risu.org.ua/eng/news/article;11604/ (accessed May 12, 2007).

64. Serhiy Botyuk, "Hunger for love," *Doba*, May 17, 2007.

65. "Mother of every fifth pupil is working abroad," *Doba*, November 1, 2007, 5.

66. Department of Education and Science of Chernivtsi Regional State Administration, *Materials for August conferences of teachers in Chernivsti region: Methodological recommendations for subject instruction and upbringing in 2002/2003 school year* (Chernivtsi, Ukraine: Chernivtsi Regional Institute of Post-Diploma Pedagogical Education, 2002).

67. Department of Education and Science of Chernivtsi Regional State Administration, *Materials for August conferences of teachers in Chernivsti region: Methodological recommendations for subject instruction and upbringing in 2002/2003 school year*, 11; and Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, "State Program 'Teacher,'" *Decree of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, no. 379* (Kyiv, Ukraine: Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, 2002).

68. Furman, "Postmodernism and Community in Schools: Unraveling the Paradox."

69. Hargreaves, *Changing Teachers, Changing Times,* 9.

70. Kononenko and Holowinsky, "Educational Reform and Language Issue in Ukraine."

71. Liisa Keltikangas-Jarvinen and Tuuli Terav, "Social Decision-Making Strategies in Individualist and Collectivist Cultures: A Comparison of Finnish and Estonian Adolescents," *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 27, no. 6 (1996): 714–32; and Anton S. Makarenko, *The Collective Family* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1967).

72. Ministry of Education of Ukraine, *Education for All 2000 Assessment.*

73. Turner, "Periodization and Politics in the Postmodern," 6.

74. Walter T. Anderson, *Reality Isn't What It Used to Be: Theatrical Politics, Ready-to-Wear*

Religion, Global Myths, Primitive Chic, and Other Wonders of the Postmodern World (New York: Harper Collins, 1990).

75. Hargreaves, *Changing Teachers, Changing Times*, 56.

76. Ibid.

77. John Gray, "From Post-Communism to Civil Society: The Remergence of History and the Decline of the Western Model," *Social Philosophy and Policy* 10, no. 2 (1993): 26–50.

78. Hargreaves, *Changing Teachers, Changing Times*: and Furman, "Postmodernism and Community in Schools: Unraveling the Paradox," 320.

79. Hargreaves, *Changing Teachers, Changing Times*, 9.

80. Giroux, "Slacking Off: Border Youth and Postmodern Education."

81. Hargreaves, *Changing Teachers, Changing Times*, 23.

82. Department of Education and Science of Chernivtsi Regional State Administration, *Materials for August conferences of teachers in Chernivsti region: Methodological recommendations for subject instruction and upbringing in 2002/2003 school year,* 11.

83. Ministry of Education of Ukraine, *Education for All 2000 Assessment.*

84. Wanner, *Burden of Dreams: History and Identity in Post-Soviet Ukraine*, 82.

85. Fimyar, "Educational Policy-Making in Post-Communist Ukraine as an Example of Emerging Governmentality: Discourse Analysis of Curriculum Choice and Assessment Policy Documents (1999-2003)," 571.

86. Ministry of Education of Ukraine, *Education for All 2000 Assessment.*

87. Jan G. Janmaat, "Nation Building, Democratization and Globalization as Competing Priorities in Ukraine's Education System," *Nationalities Papers* 36, no.1 (2008): 1–23.

88. Dyczok, *Ukraine: Movement Without Change, Change Without Movement.*

89. Koshmanova and Ravchyna, "Teacher Preparation in a Post-Totalitarian Society: An Interpretation of Ukrainian Teacher Educators' Stereotypes."

90. Wanner, *Burden of Dreams: History and Identity in Post-Soviet Ukraine*, 82.

91. Fimyar, "Educational Policy-Making in Post-Communist Ukraine as an Example of Emerging Governmentality: Discourse Analysis of Curriculum Choice and Assessment Policy Documents (1999-2003)," 573.

92. Ibid., 574.

93. Bohdan Krawchenko, *Administrative Reform in Ukraine: Setting the Agenda* (Discussion Paper, No. 3) (Budapest: Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative, 1997); and Royal Netherlands Embassy in Ukraine & International Centre for Policy Studies, *Transformation of Ukrainian education in the context of European integration* (Project report), available at http://www.icps.com.ua/files/articles/34/89/transformation_eng.doc (accessed February 12, 2011).

94. Fimyar, "Educational Policy-Making in Post-Communist Ukraine as an Example of Emerging Governmentality: Discourse Analysis of Curriculum Choice and Assessment Policy Documents (1999–2003)," 575.

95. Mike Bottery, The Challenges of Educational Leadership (London: Paul Chapman Publishing, 2004). Mike Bottery, "The Management and Mismanagement of Trust," *Educational Management Administration & Leadership* 31, no. 3 (2003): 245–61.

96. Wanner, *Burden of Dreams: History and Identity in Post-Soviet Ukraine*, 79.

97. Ministry of Education of Ukraine, *Education for All 2000 Assessment.*; United Nations Development Program, *Programme of support of formation of strategy on education reforming: Equal access to quality education* (Kyiv, Ukraine: UNDP, 2001).

98. Fimyar, "Educational Policy-Making in Post-Communist Ukraine as an Example of Emerging Governmentality: Discourse Analysis of Curriculum Choice and Assessment Policy Documents (1999–2003)," 576–577.

99. Michael G. Fullan, *Leading in a Culture of Change* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2001).

100. Maxcy, *Postmodern Schools Leadership*, 3.

DEMOCRACY

A JOURNAL OF IDEAS

First Principles:
The Role of Government

…*and much more.*

The midterm election results underscore a problem for progressives: Tea Partiers and conservatives have a more clearly defined view of the role of government than progressives. The burden is on progressives to articulate when and why we need government—and when and why we don't—to advance our life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness.

In our Winter Issue, we invite **Alan Wolfe**, **Rick Perlstein**, and **Eric Liu** and **Nick Hanauer** to remind us of our first principles—and why our ideas are better than the other side's. You'll also find **Thea Lee**, **Robert Atkinson**, **Harry J. Holzer**, **Sherle Schwenninger**, and **Heather Boushey** on the future of the American workforce, **Michael Bérubé** on the 15th anniversary of the Sokal hoax, **Alan Brinkley** on President Obama's philosophy, **Mary Jo Bane** on Robert Putnam's *American Grace*, and more.

"One way to guess what Obama might do."
—The Philadelphia Inquirer

Visit us at democracyjournal.org.
To read us in print, call 888-238-0048 for a subscription—just $24—
or ask for us at your local bookstore.

FOR YOUR PRINT SUBSCRIPTION, GO TO WWW.DEMOCRACYJOURNAL.ORG