

DIVERSITY IN LATVIAN TEXTBOOKS

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LATVIJAS
CILVĒKTIESĪBU
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—
LATVIAN CENTRE
FOR HUMAN
RIGHTS AND
ETHNIC STUDIES



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Foreword

All societies are diverse, but democratic and inclusive societies differ from autocratic or totalitarian ones by embracing diversity as a value and source of richness, while nevertheless ensuring cohesion. The ethnic diversity of Latvian society is a frequently cited fact: according to the Department of Citizenship and Migration Affairs Latvians presently represent 59% of the population, while Russians are 29%, Belorussians 4% and Ukrainians, Poles, Lithuanians together – 6,5%. Numerically small (less than one percentage point) but traditionally significant minorities are Jews and Roma. In addition, between 1 and 2 percentage points of “other” ethnicity includes numerous other ethnicities and nationalities, including the 177 Livs recorded at the last population census in 2000.

Political discourse and the media do, at least partially, reflect the multi-ethnic character of society, even though the extent and character of this reflection remains an issue to analyse deeper. However, considering the crucial importance of education in the formation of Latvia’s new generation of residents, it is of at least equal importance to focus attention on the way diversity is reflected at schools. An essential component of this is the teaching materials used, the textbooks. Do the books mirror the society and social context in which the school children actually live, both broadly and in terms of the multi-ethnic classroom itself? Moreover, do the textbooks put a positive value on diversity, as the increasingly diverse European Union and United States encourage us to do? Are the representations of the Other – whether traditional ethnic groups (majority and minority) or newcomers or those residing outside of the European Union – free of prejudice and ethnocentric bias?

These are the questions we had in mind when embarking on this project, in which we have analysed a selection of textbooks for grades 1–9 published in Latvia in both the Latvian and Russian languages. Through quantitative analysis we have attempted to measure the ethnic representation in the texts of the books. Although no comprehensive qualitative analysis has been included here, some texts have been analysed using discourse analysis, as an illustration of the treatment in these text books of some social integration issues as well as the representation of non-European cultures.

We hope that the results of this study not only will serve as an indication of where further research could be fruitful, but also will be practically useful for those who are involved with the production, evaluation and everyday use of textbooks: authors and publishers, staff of the Centre for Curriculum Development and Examination of the Ministry of Education and Science, teachers and parents.

Ilze Brands Kehris

1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The increased attention being paid worldwide to the content of textbooks can be explained by the special role of textbooks in public discourse. The textbook is not only a supportive tool for the teacher; it is a guide, a very first introduction to the complexity of the modern world. The textbook reflects the past and present of the society, but it is also a powerful tool for forming its future. It is crucially important that the textbook, which is perceived as an official and authoritative source, contains accurate facts, impartial interpretations, and is free of biases, stereotypes and generalisations.

Multiculturalism is still a relatively new concept in Latvia, although lately public interest toward multicultural principles and values has increased, including application of those principles in education. Important dimension of multicultural education has been to some degree overlooked, though: inclusion and fair representation of different ethnic groups not only in terms of equal access to the education system, but also in terms of the education curriculum. This means that minorities do not just have the right of not being directly discriminated against by stereotypes and biased judgements included in the textbooks, but also have the right not to be discriminated against by omission.

Majority–minority relations and social integration, given the history of recent occupation, and the multiethnic nature of Latvian society, are among the biggest issues facing modern Latvia. How are they addressed in textbooks? Do textbooks take into account the multicultural nature of the school environment in modern Latvia? Do they avoid ethnocentric viewpoints, ethnic and cultural stereotypes and biased representations? How well do they prepare children for life in the increasingly diverse European Union?

This study analyses selection of textbooks for grades 1–9 published in Latvia by means of both qualitative and quantitative analysis of text and illustrations in order to determine, whether they reflect the multiethnic nature of Latvian society, and if multiculturalism's principles are observed, i.e. if ethnic minorities are proportionally represented along with the majority, if the balance between the cultural heritage of the Latvian nation and those of the national minorities is achieved, and whether the textbooks contain ethnic, cultural and religious stereotypes.

The findings of the study indicate that social interaction between ethnic Latvians and minorities is poorly reflected in textbooks, that minorities are underrepresented in Latvian–language textbooks and Latvians in Russian–language textbooks, and that the information space of Latvian–language and Russian–language textbooks is as separated

as one of the Latvian– and Russian–language media. The textbooks’ authors often take an ethnocentric viewpoint, when describing countries of the Third World and its inhabitants, that presenting non–Christian religions attention is usually drawn to its fundamentalist aspects, and that migration issues are addressed exclusively from a negative perspective.

The conclusion of the study is that the present textbook evaluation system is not fully efficient, and that criteria applied during evaluation should be more specific. Involvement of the outside experts, such as specialists on minority culture, on religion, migration and social integration issues, in the elaboration of the evaluation criteria would be desirable. Multicultural training would be beneficial for experts evaluating the textbooks’ content, as well as for the textbooks’ authors.

2. DEFINITION OF TERMS

Bias

‘(PREFERENCE) – a tendency to support or oppose a particular person or thing in an unfair way by allowing personal opinions to influence your judgment.’(Cambridge Dictionary of American English)

‘A partiality that prevents objective consideration of an issue or situation.’ (www.thefreedictionary.com)

Category

‘... an accessible cluster of associated ideas which as a whole has the property of guiding daily adjustments.’ (Allport, 1979)

Discrimination, racial

‘Any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life.’ (Part I, Article I of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination)

Ethnocentrism

‘The view of things in which one’s own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled and related with reference to it.’ (Sumner, 1906)

‘Ethnocentrism is based on a pervasive and rigid ingroup–outgroup distinction; it involves stereotyped negative imagery and submissive attitudes regarding ingroups, and a hierarchical authoritarian view of group interaction in which ingroups are rightly dominant, outgroups subordinate.’ (Levinson, 1969)

Multicultural

‘The term ‘multicultural’ refers to the fact of cultural diversity, the term ‘multiculturalism’ to a normative response to that fact.’ (Parekh, 2000)

Multiculturalism

‘Multiculturalism is about the proper terms of relationship between different cultural communities. The norms governing their respective claims, including the principles of justice, cannot be derived from one culture alone but through an open and equal dialogue between them.’ (Parekh, 2000)

Multicultural education

'A philosophical position and movement that assumes that the gender, ethnic, racial, and cultural diversity of a pluralistic society should be reflected in all of the institutionalized structures of educational institutions, including the staff, the norms and values, the curriculum, and the student body.' (Banks, 2003)

Prejudice

'... an avertive or hostile attitude toward a person who belongs to a group, simply because he belongs to that group, and is therefore presumed to have objectionable qualities ascribed to the group.' (Allport, 1979)

Stereotype

'Either favorable or unfavorable, a stereotype is an exaggerated belief, associated with a category. Its function is to justify (rationalize) our conduct in relation to that category.' (Allport, 1979)

Tolerance

'Tolerance is respect, acceptance and appreciation of the rich diversity of our world's cultures, our forms of expression and ways of being human. It is fostered by knowledge, openness, communication, and freedom of thought, conscience and belief. Tolerance is harmony in difference.' (UNESCO Declaration of Principles of Tolerance, 1995)

3. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this project was to examine a selection of Latvian school textbooks in order to determine whether they reflect the multiethnic nature of Latvian society, and if multiculturalism's principles are observed, i.e. if ethnic minorities are proportionally represented along with the majority, if the balance between the cultural heritage of the Latvian nation and those of the national minorities is achieved, and whether the textbooks contain ethnic, cultural and religious stereotypes. In short, the purpose was to determine whether the textbooks support the goals set in the National Programme of Integration of Society in Latvia.

Eighty-one textbooks for Grades 1–9, published in both the Latvian and Russian languages and covering a variety of subjects¹, were selected from the List of Recommended Textbooks provided by the Centre for Curriculum Development and Examination (CCDE) of the Ministry of Science and Education (MoES). The textbooks were further submitted to both quantitative (content) and qualitative (discourse) text analysis. The content analysis aimed at determining the proportionality of the representation of ethnic majority and minorities in the textbooks through frequency of use in the text of characters' names, authors and sources, as well as of the names of traditional holidays. The discourse analysis concentrated on the interpretation of social integration issues such as minority–majority relations, language, citizenship, as well as on the portrayal of other nations, descriptions of non-Christian religions, and on the way migration of population issues are addressed.

The project solely concentrated on the evaluation of the textbooks from the aspects mentioned above, and did not attempt to evaluate didactic, scientific or cultural aspects of the textbooks' content. Neither did the analysis cover the other aspects of the education process, such as the teacher's role, class interaction and individual assignments.

3.1. Historical background

Majority–minority relations and social integration, given the history of recent occupation, and the multiethnic nature of Latvian society, are among the biggest issues facing modern Latvia. The legacy of the Soviet era, with its fifty-year long consistent Russification policy, was marginalisation of the Latvian language and the Latvian culture, which, given the unique ethnic composition of Latvian society, was perceived as a threat to the integrity of the Latvian

¹ History textbooks have been excluded from the scope of the research on the grounds that interpretation of historical events is a separate issue, for which different research methods than the ones used in this study should be applied.

national identity by many ethnic Latvians. The language-dividing line ran across all areas of social life, being perhaps most pronounced in education. Two different types of schools were established under the Soviet regime, one with Russian as the main language of instruction, and the other with Latvian. The Latvian Russian-language schools followed the same curricula as all other Russian-language schools within the territory of the Soviet Union. Children in Latvian-language schools had more Russian language classes than children in the Russian-language schools had Latvian. As a result, secondary education in Latvian took eleven years but only ten in Russian. Another aspect of the Soviet Russification policy was the 'absorption' of other national minorities – *'all of Latvia's historical minorities, especially those of Slavic origin, had to attend Russian schools and soon began to associate themselves primarily with Russians'*². As a result, in the school year 1990/91 only 53.4% of children attended Latvian-language schools, while 46.4% attended Russian-language schools.³

Since Latvia regained independence in 1991, reinforcement of the Latvian language has become one of the state priorities. In 1992, the State Language Centre was founded in order to ensure the preservation, protection and development of the Latvian language. In 1999, the Language Law was adopted, which stipulated that the Latvian language is the only state language of the republic. The National Programme for Latvian Language Training started in 1996, aiming to assist Latvian residents, who did not speak Latvian or did not speak it fluently, in the acquisition of Latvian as a second language. The Education Law adopted in 1998 defined Latvian as the language of education in the Latvian Republic, and stipulated two phases of transition to education in Latvian: from 01.09.1999 all higher education institutions; from the same date state and municipal education institutions either start to implement minority education programmes, or switch to the Latvian language as the main language of instruction; and from 01.09.2004 all state and municipal education institutions, as well state and municipal professional education institutions, starting from Grade 10, use Latvian language as the only language of instruction. The law also allowed for education in other languages in private schools and in the state and municipal education institutions that realise minority education programmes, and stipulated that the Ministry of Education and Science (MoES) had to define those subjects that should be taught in the state language. The Education Law of 1991 declared state language acquisition compulsory for all educational institutions, regardless of the main language of instruction.

Eleven state-financed minority schools have been established between Latvia regaining independence and 2004 – six Polish schools, one Belarussian, one Estonian, one Jewish,

2 Silova, I. and Catlaks, G. Multicultural Education in Latvia, Vol. 1 in Research in Multicultural Education and International Perspectives. Information Age Publishing, 2001 p.133

3 Etnopolitika Latvijā. Pārskats par etnopolitisko stāvokli Latvijā un tā ietekmi uz sabiedrības integrāciju. Ed. E. Vēbers, Riga 2001 p.16

one Lithuanian, and one Ukrainian. The aim of the education reform of 2004 is to use the state language as the main language of instruction in all Latvian schools, which, according to the norm stipulated in the Education Law adopted in 2004, foresees that 60% of instruction will be in Latvian, and 40% in the minority language.

All these measures have brought significant changes: in 2003/2004 school year⁴, 70.4% of all school children in Latvian comprehensive schools attended schools with the Latvian language as the main language of instruction, 29.2% attended schools with Russian as the main language of instruction, 0.3% attended schools with Polish as the main language of instruction, 0.1% with Ukrainian as the main language of instruction and 0.03% with Belarussian as the main language of instruction.⁵

At the same time, tensions between the Latvian majority and the Russian-speaking minority, especially in the field of education, have increased as many of the latter perceived changes in the education legislation as a threat to their right to preserve ethnic identity.

Both language (education reform 2004) and social integration (citizenship, naturalisation, minority identity) issues stay central to Latvian public discourse. Alienation of a part of society, segregation of the information space, lack of dialogue between Latvian and Russian speakers, alleged lack of loyalty towards the state on the part of the Russian speakers – these are topics frequently covered in the Latvian media. They stir discussions and divide opinions, sometimes reinforce existing stereotypes and sometimes create new ones. How do these processes affect education?

3.2. Education and social transformations

Educational transformations are always the result and the symptom of the social transformations in terms of which they are to be explained.

E. Durkheim

Education is fundamental to the formation of society. There can be many functions assigned to education, including socio-economic ones such as labour market control, but perhaps the three fundamental functions endure: transfer of knowledge and skills, transfer of norms and values, development of social skills.

4 Resident population' composition by ethnicity in 2003 was as follows: Latvian – 58.5%, Russians – 29.0%, Belarussians – 3.9%, Ukrainians – 2.6%, Poles – 2.5%, Lithuanians – 1.4%, Jews – 0.4%, Roma – 0.4%, Germans – 0.2%, Estonians – 0.1%, other ethnicities – 1.0%. Source: 2003 Statistical yearbook of Latvia, Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia, 2003, p. 41

5 Data of the Ministry of Education and Science of Latvia, www.izm.gov.lv, accessed 04.08.2004

The range of knowledge, skills and values transferred depends not only on the present situation in the society, but also on its own projections for the future. If there is a need for change in the society, perhaps the most effective way to implement it is through the education system, which will equip citizens of tomorrow with the skills and values necessary for continuous development. In order to facilitate societal transformations, changes in the education system should not only reflect the current social and political trends, but to a certain extent predict its further development, and accommodate for possible future needs: *'... izglītība ir galvenais nākotnes veidošanas instruments, un, pieņemot, ka mēs zinām, kādu nākotnes sabiedrību mēs gribam redzēt, varētu plānot noteikta veida atbilstošu izglītības sistēmu, kura izkoptu cilvēkos atbilstošas īpašības, zināšanas, uzvedības modeļus.'* [...Education is the main tool for building the future, and assuming we know what kind of society we would like to see in the future, an education system might be planned to develop in the people ideas of adequate features, knowledge and behaviour.]⁶

After the collapse of the Soviet Union in the late '80s, for all countries of the post-Communist block a difficult, and sometimes painful, process of re-constructing national sovereignty has started, involving changes across all fields of society, including education. For the newly independent countries, new education programs were necessary, new curricula had to be developed, old textbooks had to be revised, and new learning materials created in order to support the curricula. The process was often hindered by a lack of financial means; however, slowly but surely, education reforms in the newly independent countries took off.

3.3. Legislation

Since Latvia regained independence in 1991, the Latvian parliament (Saeima) has passed a number of laws regulating national education:

1991 – Education Law guaranteed equal rights to education for all Latvian residents, reinforced the position of the state language by making its acquisition compulsory for all schools regardless of the language of instruction, stipulated the equal duration of school studies in all Latvian schools, and allowed parents or guardians to choose the language of instruction for their children.

1998 – Education law stipulated the Latvian language as the language of education in state and municipal schools, leaving an opportunity to receive education in other

6 Catlaks, G. Demokrātiskās pārmaiņas izglītībā; valsts izglītības politikas pārskats 1991.–2001. Ziņojums konferencē "Veidojot pilsonisko kultūru Centrālās un Austrumeiropas valstīs", 2001. gada 19. – 21. novembrī www.politika.lv, accessed 12.06.2003

languages in private educational institutions or in those state and municipal schools that are implementing the minority education programmes, coordinated with the Ministry of Education. The Law foresees minority education programmes based upon educational standards worked out by the Ministry of Education, with the additional content necessary for the maintenance of the minority ethnic culture and integration into Latvian society.

1999 – The General Education Law stipulates that a pre-school education programme will ensure the student's preparedness for the primary education acquisition, providing him/her with the basic state language skills. The Law also allows the combining of the elementary school and the secondary school education programmes with the minority education programmes by including the minority's native language and other content related to the minority identity and integration into Latvian society.

Regulation of the Cabinet of Ministers (No. 463, 2000) stipulated that within a minority education programme at least three subjects should be taught in the Latvian language. The Regulations were amended on 13.05.2003 (Regulation No. 260) with the provision explicitly including the ratio 2/5 for the minority language in Grade 10 of minority education programmes, with a minimum of five subjects taught in Latvian. The regulations also specified that the state examination language, starting from 2007, will be Latvian.

19.08.2003 the Cabinet of Ministers accepted the "Regulations on the share of minority language in the professional education programmes" No. 470, similarly establishing the ratio of minority language in instruction at up to 2/5 of the overall instruction.

In January 2004, the Parliament passed at the second reading amendments to the Law on Education, which did not mention explicitly the ratio of 3/5 and 2/5 between subjects taught in the state language and in the minority language respectively, but stipulated instead that minority languages can only be used as the language of instruction to teach the minority language itself or to teach other subjects related to the maintenance of the minority identity and culture. It stirred up a very controversial reaction among the public and in the media, and the State President Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga stated that if the amendments were passed in this wording at the third reading, she would return it to the Parliament. Finally, in the third reading, the language of instruction ratio, which was earlier stipulated in the Regulations No. 260 from 2003 of the Cabinet of Ministers, was incorporated into the Education Law in February 2004.

3.4. Education policy and practice

It is important to note that although the terms 'minority', 'minority education' and minority education programme' are repeatedly mentioned in the Latvian legislative acts, there is no official definition of 'minority' provided by Latvian legislation. Another significant fact is that regardless of changes in the status of schools and changes in the language of instruction and teaching methods, segregation between 'Latvian' and 'non-Latvian' schools has been maintained. *'Using the idea of ethnic integration as their main argument, both Latvian- and Russian-speaking groups have pleaded for maintaining separate schooling structures for different ethnolinguistic groups. – writes I. Silova, – Each group, however, had different, often conflicting goals in this pursuit. As a result, the concept of integration has undergone major conceptual modifications and, in its extreme interpretations, led to equating integration with ethnic separation.'*⁷ Where during the Soviet regime two types of schools existed, now there are three: Latvian-language schools, Russian-language schools (which have already become or are about to become 'bilingual') and other minorities' schools. The segregation practice apparently suits both sectors of society – ethnic Latvians and minorities. A limited number of the minorities' representatives send their children to Latvian-language schools – according to the MoES statistics, out of all pupils in the Latvian-language schools, 92.5% are ethnic Latvians, 4.7% – ethnic Russians, 0.7% – ethnic Lithuanians, 0.5% – ethnic Poles, and 0.5 – ethnic Belarussians. In comparison, out of all pupils attending Russian-language schools, only 70.9% are ethnic Russians, 12.89% are ethnic Latvians, 4.7% – ethnic Belarussians, 3.9% – ethnic Poles, and 3.6% – ethnic Ukrainians.⁸

It is interesting to note that while in the Latvian-language schools 92.5% of all schoolchildren are ethnic Latvians, in Russian-language schools ethnic Russians constitute only 70.9%.

As Table 1 shows, the main dividing line still runs between Latvian and Russian (or bilingual) as the languages of instruction, as only a few other minority schools claim their minority language as the main language of instruction.

7 Silova, I. From symbols of occupation to symbols of multiculturalism: re-conceptualizing minority education in post-Soviet Latvia. PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 2001 p. 10

8 Data from the Ministry of Education and Science of Latvia. www.izm.gov.lv , accessed 04.08.2004

Number of comprehensive schools and special schools by language of instruction:	2003./ 2004. school year	2002./ 2003. school year	2001./ 2002. school year	2000./ 2001. school year	1999./ 2000. school year
Latvian as the language of instruction	741	731	735	734	737
Latvian and Russian languages of instruction	138	148	149	154	160
Russian language of instruction	159	166	175	178	190
Polish language of instruction	4	5	5	5	5
Ukrainian language of instruction	1	1	1	1	1
Belarussian language of instruction * incl. 1 with Lithuanian language of instruction	1	1	1	1	*2

Table 1. Latvian schools by language of instruction.*

Data from the Ministry of Education and Science of Latvia.

<http://www.izm.gov.lv/lv/>

accessed 21.03.2004

*Other sources indicate 6 schools with Polish language of Instruction and 1 school with Lithuanian language of instruction in year 2003–2004.

The new legislative acts established the new legal and administrative principles of the Latvian education system, but new educational standards and revised curriculum were required. The Ministry of Education and Science (MoES) is developing curricula for all Latvian schools, including minority schools. In 1998, an Integration division was established within the General Education department of the MoES, its main goal being to support and facilitate minority education in Latvia.

To support the new curriculum, new textbooks were necessary. In 1994, the Centre for Curriculum Development and Examination (CCDE) was established under the Ministry of Education and Science (MoES), among its functions being: *'to organise development of primary and secondary education content, its approbation and correction', 'to work out primary and secondary education subject standards and subject programmes' models' and 'to organise textbook evaluation and approval'*⁹

The State Primary Education Standard and Secondary Education Standard are defined by the Cabinet of Ministers Regulation from 30.12.2000, and stipulate the subject's or the course's main objectives and tasks, its compulsory content, and the way in which results are evaluated. According to the Education Standards, every teacher has the right to work independently, according to his/her self-devised education programme, and decide on

⁹ Izglītības un zinātnes ministrijas Izglītības satura un eksaminācijas centra Nolikums [Regulation of the Ministry of Education and Science on the Centre for Curriculum Development and Examination] (No. 11, from 10.01.2002), <http://isec.gov.lv/normdok/inolik.htm>, accessed 18.06.2004

the time necessary to spend with the class on the specific topics mandated by the Education Standard. At the same time, the teacher bears responsibility for providing pupils with the opportunity to receive education in accordance with the Education Standard.

3.5. Social integration as a concept

The reconstruction of the independent national state in Latvia, with one of its main focuses being the reinforcement of the Latvian ethnic identity, Latvian language and Latvian culture, has increased tensions between ethnic Latvians, Russians and other minorities. Although Latvia has been a multiethnic community for centuries, these tensions were relatively dormant during the interwar (1918 – 1940) republic, partially because of the high degree of segregation in society, with ethnic Latvians and minorities separated in almost all spheres of public life. Ethnic tensions were not pronounced during the time of the Soviet occupation (1945 – 1991) either, also largely due to segregation between Latvian and Russian speakers in educational and cultural fields: they could have worked at the same places, but sent their children to different schools, attended performances at different theatres, and rarely met at weekends.

However, since 1991 interethnic relations have come into focus. As a result of the Soviet policy of mass deportations of ethnic Latvians and an influx of immigrants mainly of Slavic origin from other Soviet republics, in 1989 ethnic Latvians comprised 52% of the whole population in comparison to 77% in 1939. Within the same period, the population share of ethnic Russians increased from 10% to 34%. The number of Belarussians and Ukrainians also increased, although not so drastically, and new ethnic groups, ‘untypical’ Latvian minorities, like Armenians and Tatars, appeared. As mentioned above, as a result of the extensive Russification policy during the occupation, other minorities switched to the Russian language as their language of daily communication, creating two distinct communities in Latvia – Latvian and Russian speakers. As Russian language was dominant in Latvia during the Soviet years, allegedly putting the Latvian language in danger of extinction, it is still perceived by a part of the ethnic Latvian population as the ‘language of occupation’ and therefore has negative connotations. The fact that a large part of the Russian-speakers had (and to a large extent still have) very weak knowledge of the Latvian language, or no knowledge at all¹⁰, contributes to the formation of a language cleavage.

10 According to the research study ‘Valoda. 2003. gada oktobris – 2004. gada janvāris’, in 2003 12% of all (non-Latvian speakers) respondents admitted having no knowledge of Latvian language at all, and 46% of respondents assessed their knowledge of Latvian language as corresponding to the 1st (lowest) degree. (Valoda. 2003. gada oktobris – 2004. gada janvāris. Baltijas Sociālo Zinātņu institūts, 2004. http://www.bszi.lv/downloads/news/Valoda_2003.pdf accessed 03.06.2004)

The Citizenship Law of 1994 limited automatic citizenship to the citizens of the interwar republic and their direct descendants. Those who arrived later and their descendants (60% of ethnic Russians among them), were to undergo the naturalisation procedures, which include a Latvian language and history examination. The main reason behind the citizenship restriction was the questioned loyalty to the independent Latvian state of those who migrated to Latvia during the occupation years. This consideration was further reinforced by the fact that Russia has historically included the Baltics in the domain of its geopolitical interests, and continually tried (and keeps trying) to use the presence of a large number of ethnic Russians in Latvia as an instrument to influence the internal affairs of the Latvian state. In order to regulate the naturalisation process, a complicated system of 'windows' was introduced, which was lifted in 1998. In spite of the enormous effort on the part of the Naturalisation board, including numerous research studies, surveys and implemented programmes, all in all the naturalisation process has been slow, and at the beginning of 2004 almost half a million Latvian residents still have the status of non-citizen¹¹. Citizenship, therefore, became another dividing line in the society.

The Citizenship Law, because of the high number of the non-citizens it created, caused a lot of controversy both in Latvia and within the international community. Minority rights in Latvia became a topical issue, and different international organisations, such as the Council of Europe, the United Nations Development Program and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, have recommended that Latvia take measures to ensure the observation of minority rights in accordance with the standards of Western democracy. On the domestic scene, the newly emerged civil society, represented by various non-governmental organisations and academic institutions, campaigned for the observation of minority rights. In 1998, the Latvian government responded to the challenge by commissioning a group of experts to draft a Framework Document for the National Programme of Integration of Society in Latvia. The resulting document was submitted to public discussion, which, thanks to the active role of NGOs, grew to an unprecedented scale – more than 25 000 people participated in it. In December 1999, the Framework Document was approved by the Cabinet of Ministers, and in 2001 the National Programme of Integration of Society in Latvia was adopted.

The Programme defined the essence, goals and objectives of social integration as follows:

'For integration of society to take place, diverse groups within the society must reach understanding among them and learn to work together in one single country. The foundation for integration of society is loyalty to the state and awareness that each individual's future and personal well being are closely tied to the future stability and security of the State of Latvia.'

11 Data from Citizenship and Migration Board, 01.01.2004.

Integration is also based on a willingness to accept Latvian as the state language, and respect for Latvian as well as minority languages and cultures.'

*'The **goal** of integration is to form a democratic, consolidated civil society, founded on shared basic values. An independent and democratic Latvian state is one of these fundamental values.'*

*'The **task** of integration is to facilitate an understanding of the future in all dependable and loyal Latvian residents, and simultaneously to promote an understanding among all residents that living together in one state is necessary, that only together we can improve prosperity and security, and that each person must contribute his/her knowledge, initiative, and good intentions to the development of Latvian society.'*

The Programme also recognised that existing interethnic relations and individuals' attitude towards the state may need to be changed:

'Social integration and civic participation are part of the process, which will shape the future of Latvia. Changes of the attitude in residents toward the state and toward one another are foreseen in the context of this process.'

And outlined a multiculturalistic approach to ethnic relations in the society, introducing concepts of language and cultural diversity:

'Integration means broadening opportunities and mutual enrichment. It is better to know several languages than to know only one. Experiencing several cultural environments offers a better perspective than being confined to only one. The integration process reinforces common values, interests, and knowledge both at the individual level and within society as a whole.'

3.6. The role of multicultural education in the social integration process

'The fundamental premise of intercultural education says in effect, No person knows his own culture who knows only his own culture.'

Gordon W. Allport

Multiculturalism developed as a concept in the early 1970s, immediately acquiring passionate advocates as well as sceptical opponents. The first see multiculturalism as a cure for ethnic conflicts and an agent of social cohesion, the latter object that it stimu-

lates cultural fragmentation and minorities 'ghettoization', and hinders the integration of minority groups into the mainstream society.

It is very difficult to give a comprehensive definition of multiculturalism because of the wide spectre of its application. We can talk about multicultural politics, multicultural education, multicultural history, multicultural psychology, and – not surprisingly! – multicultural studies. The best attempt at a comprehensive definition is probably the widely used anonymous 'celebrating diversity in all areas of society life'. According to Will Kymlicka, *'the term 'multicultural' covers many different forms of cultural pluralism, each of which raises its own challenges.'*¹²

The British political scientist Bhikhu Parekh in 'Rethinking Multiculturalism' writes: *'Multiculturalism is about the proper terms of relationship between different cultural communities. The norms governing their respective claims, including the principles of justice, cannot be derived from one culture alone but through an open and equal dialogue between them.'*¹³

Debates on the issue of multiculturalism may still go on, but over the last 30 years it has been incorporated into the public policies of Canada, Australia, the United States, Great Britain, Germany and other countries, embracing different aspects of society, including education.

The multiculturalism theory is being applied to education both in terms of students' representation and educational content. Professor James A. Banks, a specialist in social studies education and one of the 'founding fathers' of multicultural education, gives it the following definition: *'A philosophical position and movement that assumes that the gender, ethnic, racial, and cultural diversity of a pluralistic society should be reflected in all of the institutionalized structures of educational institutions, including the staff, the norms and values, the curriculum, and the student body.'*¹⁴

James A. Banks identified five dimensions of multicultural education: content integration, the knowledge construction process, prejudice reduction, equity pedagogy, and the empowering of the school's culture and social structure. Content integration, he says, deals with the way examples and content from a variety of cultures and groups illustrate the key concepts, generalizations and issues within the subject area.¹⁵

12 Kymlicka, W. Multicultural citizenship. Oxford University Press, 1995. p. 10

13 Parekh, B. Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory, Palgrave Macmillan, 2000 p. 13

14 Multicultural Education Issues and Perspectives. Edited by J. A. Banks, C.A. McGee Banks. John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 2003, p. 430

15 Ibid., p. 20

Some very important dimensions of multicultural education are the inclusion and fair representation of different ethnic groups, not only in terms of equal access to the education system, but also in terms of the education curriculum. This means that minorities do not just have the right of not being directly discriminated against by stereotypes and biased judgements included in the textbooks, but also have the right not to be discriminated against by omission. In other words, the absence of stereotypes may sometimes be explained by the absence of any reference to minorities.

Multicultural curriculum foresees not only minorities' presence in the textbooks as characters, but also greater recognition of their historical and cultural contribution, and strives to replace ethnocentric, condescending ways of presenting 'other' cultures, religions and traditions through the subjective prism of the dominant culture with unprejudiced accounts of their achievements. Recognition of their own group's achievements and contribution by others is tremendously important for the members of the group: *'If a culture is not generally respected, then the dignity and self-respect of its members will also be threatened.'*¹⁶

A special accent is being placed on acknowledging minorities' holidays – after all, traditional holidays may be regarded as certain 'peaks' of national identity manifestation, and sharing a holiday has repeatedly proved to be an excellent way to get acquainted with another culture. A vivid multicultural example is the St. Patrick's Day celebration in New York – people of all colours and religious denominations join Irish Catholics for the big parade and celebration.

The purpose of introducing a multicultural curriculum is not to undermine the importance of one's own culture – on the contrary, it aims at enhancing the exceptionality of this culture by placing it in the context of other cultures. Rey A. Gomez, Early Childhood education specialist, believes that *'Teaching with a multicultural perspective encourages the appreciation and understanding of other cultures as well as one's own. Teaching with this perspective promotes the child's sense of the uniqueness of his own culture as a positive characteristic and enables the child to accept the cultures of the others.'*¹⁷

The importance of the role of education in the society integration process was also highlighted in the National Programme 'The Integration of Society in Latvia' (*'Sabiedrības Integrācija Latvijā', 1999*), where one of the goals is formulated as: *'...to establish the educa-*

16 (Margalit and Raz 1990:447–9, as quoted in Kymlicka, W. Multicultural Citizenship. Oxford University Press, 1995 p.89)

17 Gomez, Rey A. Teaching with a Multicultural Perspective, EDO-PS-91-11 Archive of ERIC/EECE Digests. <http://ecap.crc.uiuc.edu>, accessed 11.05.2003

tional system as a main instrument for development of an awareness of the values of tolerance and civic society and for development of an awareness of the political culture of the younger generation; to ensure elaboration and implementation of minority educational programmes which would correspond to the above-mentioned goals and at the same time would promote preservation of identity among minorities and their integration into Latvian society.'

The education system has also been characterised as a key element in the social integration process by the authors of the report *'Etnopolitika Latvijā. Pārskats par etnopolitisko stāvokli Latvijā un tā ietekmi uz sabiedrības integrāciju'* [Ethnic policy in Latvia. Report on the ethnic policy situation in Latvia and its impact on social integration]: *'Latvijas izglītības sistēmai vajadzētu kļūt par galveno sabiedrības integrācijas procesa virzītāju un īstenotāju, kura nodrošina vispārcilvēcisko un Latvijai raksturīgo vērtību apguvi un pārmantojamību, starpkultūru izglītību un minoritāšu kultūras identitātes saglabāšanas iespējas.'* [The Latvian education system should become a main guiding and implementing force of the social integration process, which ensures the acquisition of universal human, as well as specific to Latvia, values and the transfer to the next generations of intercultural education and minorities' cultural identities preservation possibilities.]¹⁸

How can education foster the social integration process, and what changes should be introduced to the curricula? *'Not only for development of minority education programmes, but also for general education, attention should be paid to intercultural education; emphasis should be put on Latvian life, on the values of civic society, and on democratic interaction. Study programmes should provide knowledge of different views and should reflect the reality of Latvian society in all its diversity,'* says the National Programme *'The Integration of Society in Latvia'*. L. Dribins suggests that education policy is revised in accordance with the new requirements: *'Bilingvālās izglītības, integrācijas un politiskās nācijas mērķa pretstatīšana nacionālās valsts idejai var radīt tikai bīstamu konfrontāciju. Reāls un neatliekams ir cits uzdevums: pilnīgi attīrīt nacionālās valsts politiku no pagātnes etnokrātisma ietekmes, no valsts etniskas homogenizācijas tieksmju recidīviem, no antieuropeisma. Jo sevišķi – izglītības politikā.'* [Only dangerous confrontation can be achieved by opposing the aims of bilingual education, integration and a political nation to the idea of the national state. Another task is real and urgent: to cleanse the national state policies from the ethnocentric tendencies of the past, from the recurrences of the state ethnic homogenisation inclinations, from anti-europeanism. Especially in the policy on education.]¹⁹

18 Etnopolitika Latvijā. Pārskats par etnopolitisko stāvokli Latvijā un tā ietekmi uz sabiedrības integrāciju. Ed. E. Vēbers, 2001 p. , www.politika.lv, accessed 28.05.2003

19 Dribins, L. Izglītības diskusijas jaunie akcenti, Publicēts sabiedriskajā portālā Politika.lv 11.02.2003

However, according to I. Silova, *'While the national program mentioned the importance of other integration components such as "the values of tolerance and civic society", "the political culture of the younger generation", and "preservation of identity among minorities", none of these components had been institutionalized in education legislation.'*²⁰

The question of the necessity of new revised textbooks is also being raised: according to the school self-evaluation reports (SFL, 1999)²¹, there is a lack of teaching materials in Latvian schools that reflect the multicultural nature of Latvian schools and classrooms. For example, teachers in Latvian schools with a considerable number of non-Latvian students find that school textbooks do not reflect other cultures such as Russian, Lithuanian, Ukrainian and others. Similarly, analyses of the textbooks used in Latvian and Russian language schools (Grigule and Pāvula, 1998; Silova, 1996) show that they are often ethnocentric and do not reflect Latvia as a multifaceted, diverse state²². For instance, the Latvian language and literature textbooks published in the 1990s for Russian language schools, *'focus mainly on Latvians in the Latvian countryside, without any mention of national minorities'*.²³ The social integration aspect of education is perceived as a one-way process: *'Until now, the notion of "fostering ethnic integration" and "promoting multiculturalism" has been primarily understood as a process of integrating non-Latvian students, usually of Russian origin, into Latvian society.'*²⁴

The initial concept of the National Programme of Social Integration in Latvia, approved by the Cabinet of Ministers 07.12.1999, included a paragraph on the content of textbooks, which was not incorporated in the final condensed version of the Programme: *'Unfortunately, the literature published during the period of Latvian independence is also unsatisfactory from the point of view of social integration and education in values. An analysis of teaching materials published in Latvian and Russian illustrates that these books have an ethnocentric orientation and consequently they do not highlight an image of Latvia as a modern culturally diverse country, where not only Latvians but also minorities are living.'*²⁵

20 Silova, I. From symbols of occupation to symbols of multiculturalism: re-conceptualizing minority education in post-Soviet Latvia. PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 2001, p. 186

21 As quoted in Silova, I. and Catlaks, G. Multicultural Education in Latvia, Vol. 11 in Research in Multicultural Education and International Perspectives. Information Age Publishing, 2001, p. 143

22 Ibid.

23 Needs assessment study. Silova et al., 1999, as quoted in Silova, I. and Catlaks, G. Multicultural Education in Latvia, Vol. 11 in Research in Multicultural Education and International Perspectives. ., Information Age Publishing, 2001, p. 143

24 Ibid.

25 The Integration of Society in Latvia. A Framework Document, The Naturalization Board of the Republic of Latvia – Riga, 1999, p. 34,

http://www.np.gov.lv/index.php?en=info_en&saite=publik.htm, last time accessed 09.08.2004

3.7. The textbook as a part of public discourse

The increased attention being paid worldwide to the contents of textbooks can be explained by the special role of textbooks in public discourse. The textbook is intended as a guide, as a very first introduction to the complexity of the modern world. 'School textbooks play a central role in the process of political socialisation', writes I. Silova²⁶. The textbooks represent the '*authorised version of society's valid knowledge*'²⁷, and '*since information presented in textbooks is often perceived as 'authorised'*'²⁸, it is rarely questioned by the students. The textbook serves as a supportive tool for the teacher, whose task nowadays is not only to lay the foundations of basic knowledge, like maths, geography, and history, but also to introduce children to the complex issues of the multifaceted reality: social inequality, ethnic tensions, international terrorism, and global conflicts. Therefore, the school textbook should contain accurate facts, impartial interpretations, as well as reflect past and present situations in the society, and at the same time avoid biases, stereotypes and generalisations. The textbooks' content should be maximally objective and unbiased, protected from the influence of short-lived political intrigues and mystifications. However, this goal is hardly attainable, because '*the controversies over 'official knowledge' that usually center around what is included and excluded in textbooks really signify more profound political, economic and cultural relations and histories. Conflicts over texts are often proxies for wider questions of power relations. They involve what people hold most dear.*'²⁹

What is 'official knowledge'? Who creates it? '*Curriculum always represents somebody's version of what constitutes important knowledge and a legitimate worldview,*' write Sleeter and Grant (1991)³⁰. But who is this somebody, and what guarantees his authority to 'shape the knowledge'? Who assumes responsibility for the textbook content being based upon common values and unbiased? Who controls the whole process?

26 Silova, I. De-Sovietization of Latvian Textbooks made visible. *European Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 7, p. 36 1996

27 Olson, D. (1989) as quoted in Silova, I. De-Sovietization of Latvian Textbooks made visible. *European Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 7, 1996, p. 36

28 Ibid.

29 Apple, M. and Christian-Smith, L. The Politics of the Textbook, in *The Politics of the Textbook*, ed. by Apple, M. and Christian-Smith, L. Routledge, 1991 p.3

30 Sleeter, Ch. and Grant, C. Race, Class, Gender and Disability in Current Textbooks in *The Politics of the Textbook*, ed. by Apple, M. and Christian-Smith, L. Routledge, 1991 p. 80

4. TEXTBOOK PROVISION

4.1. Other countries

Textbook provision differs from one country to another, depending on social, economical and political conditions, historical and cultural heritage. In the transitional countries the whole system of textbook production and distribution usually undergoes significant changes in order to adjust to the new social, economical and political reality.

Political changes in Central and Eastern Europe in the 1990's brought new challenges for textbook production: changes of curricula, education reforms, and new market conditions. In the Baltic countries, after separation from the USSR, where all textbooks were developed, approved, published and distributed by the state, the textbook procurement system had to be developed from scratch, and in the shortest possible time period. In addition to the task of developing the new curricula, adjustment to a free market economy was necessary. *'School book publishing is impeded by the small size of the national markets, which are further reduced by the presence of the national minorities,'* – writes Ian Montagne, author of the global survey carried out in 2000 by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, Education for All (EFA).³¹ The survey detected three significant trends in textbook provision during the 1990s:

- Decentralisation of selection and procurement
- Economic liberalisation with a greater role for the private sector
- Increased cost recovery to achieve systematic sustainability

Following decentralisation of the market and private sector involvement, the newly independent states needed to introduce new control mechanisms over the textbooks' content. All countries of the former Communist block have these mechanisms in place, but they differ widely:

Bulgaria

Contracts for the publication, inclusive of distribution, of new and replacement school textbooks are open to all publishers in a bidding system.

Croatia

There is a special Law on Textbooks. The minister of education approves the list of textbooks each year. Parallel textbooks are permitted after careful examination.

³¹ Copyright © Ian Montagnes 1999 <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001234/123487e.pdf>, accessed 28.06.2003

Estonia

Concerning school textbooks, the Ministry of Education is facilitating the development and production through supporting the purchase of textbooks being approved by schools. Textbooks are ordered by schools directly from the publisher which means that books are not sold through the book trade as in other countries. Publishers deliver directly to school libraries which lend out books to students. The books must then be returned after each year, and each copy is expected to be used for approximately four years.

Georgia

The Ministry of Education, after researching and study, must approve school textbooks. The author of an approved textbook signs an agreement with the publisher.

Hungary

The Ministry of Education prescribes content, approves and provides a recommended list. Teachers can select from the list of recommended textbooks, but also use additional materials of their own choice.

Lithuania

The Ministry of Science and Education holds the initiative for the publishing of textbooks. The Ministry announces tenders for the publication of a book. Any publishing company is entitled to take part in the competition. The winner of the competition is registered; the book is granted a registration number and is included in the list of published books.

Russia

All textbooks for the subjects which are compulsory are submitted for approval to the Federal Expert Council on General Education. Approved textbooks are included in the Federal List of textbooks.

Slovakia

Publishing houses may apply to publish textbooks in a special public tender pursuant to the Act on Public Procurement to the Ministry of Education.

Different control mechanisms are also employed in Western countries. (Table 2) Strictness of control differs not only across the countries, but also across states and provinces, like in the case of the United States and Canada. Most of the European countries do not impose strong control measures, and often leave it up to the teacher to decide which textbook to use in class. Germany and Switzerland, though, supply schoolteachers with lists of recommended textbooks, which have been approved by the educational authorities of the lands and cantons.

State	State provides list of approved textbooks	Choice of books for use in class
England	No	Teachers – free choice
Australia	No	Teachers – free choice
Canada	Province or territory usually provides recommended list of approved titles	District or school usually from recommended list
France	State prescribes content and format, approves all textbooks for use in schools and provides recommended list	Teachers – from list of approved textbooks
Germany	Federal Land prescribes cost, content, format and quality and provides list of approved textbooks	Teachers – from approved textbooks list
Ireland	No	Teachers – free choice
Italy	State issues circular on cost and frequency of updates, but does not prescribe or approve	Council of teachers – free choice
Japan	State–approved (or a few state–produced) textbooks with prescribed content	Local boards of education or head teachers determine which books will be used from prescribed list
Korea	State compiles some and authorises or approves other textbooks	Choice of state–compiled, state–authorised or state–approved textbooks
Netherlands	No	Teachers – free choice
New Zealand	No	Teachers – free choice
Singapore	State prescribes content and produces Approved Textbooks List (ATL)	Teachers – from ATL
Spain	No general prescription, but the Autonomous Community (via the regional/local education authority) usually provides a recommended list	Schools/teachers – usually from recommended list
Sweden	No	Teachers – free choice
Switzerland	Cantons usually prescribe content and provide recommended list for compulsory phase	Teachers – usually from recommended list; free choice for upper secondary
USA	About half of the States recommend textbooks after some process of review	Teacher (or school committee) choice; in about

	against State curriculum guidelines	half of the States from approved list
Wales	No	Teachers – free choice

Table 2. Different mechanisms of textbooks' content control in the Western countries.

Source: International Review of Curriculum and Assessment Frameworks. Comparative tables and factual summaries. www.inca.org.uk/pdf/comparative.pdf, accessed 24.11.2003

Japan, Korea, Singapore and Philippines impose very strict regulations, and usually leave very little, if any, choice for the teacher.

In the United States of America and Canada, regulations are also strict, and each state or province has its own set of rules.

The question arises which system is more effective: the 'authoritative' one, where education ministries and boards control the textbooks' content, or the 'liberal', which leaves it up to the teacher to decide which materials are suitable for the children? There is no single answer, as there can be many arguments found both for and against each system. For example, strong control implies numerous bureaucratic procedures and limits the teacher's creativity, while free choice given to the teachers is potentially dangerous as it simply puts too much trust in one person's hands. The variety of existing control mechanisms over the textbooks' content, or the absence of such mechanisms is more dependent on the country's general education system, its historical background and traditions than on the multicultural norms prevalent in the society. It can be illustrated by the example of the Netherlands and Canada – both countries score very high on the 'multicultural scale', and prize themselves on the high degree of tolerance in their ethnically diverse societies, yet while the Netherlands' educational authorities do not interfere with the teacher's choice of textbooks, Canadian provinces have very strict sets of rules. Therefore, different means may be employed in order to ensure the multicultural content.

Let us take a better look at how the textbook provision is being regulated in the Ontario province of Canada.

Selection and use of textbooks in Ontario schools are primarily defined by the Education Act (Chapter E.2, R.S.O., 1990, as amended) and Regulation 298. According to the Education Act, the Minister for Education establishes procedures for the selection and approval of textbooks, and enters into agreement with any board, person or organisation in respect of the development and production of learning materials. The teacher then has

a duty to use only textbooks that have been approved by the Minister in the subject area, and in all other areas to use only textbooks which have been approved by the board. It is also the duty of the principal of the school, in addition to his responsibilities as a teacher, to ensure that all textbooks used by the students have been approved either by the Minister or by the board.³²

Textbooks approved by the Minister are included in the Trillium List, which is available on the Ministry of Education website and is regularly updated. School boards select textbooks from the list and approve them for use in their schools.

For a textbook to be approved by the Ministry of Education for use in Ontario schools, it should be congruent with the curriculum policy and accompanied by a Teacher's resource guide, have a Canadian orientation, and be a Canadian product. The Canadian orientation requirement is explained in the following manner:

*'The content must have a Canadian orientation. It must acknowledge Canadian contributions and achievements and use Canadian examples and references wherever possible. ...The vocabulary and examples should be familiar to Canadians.'*³³

About 'Canadian product':

*'Textbooks must be manufactured in Canada and, wherever possible, are to be written, adapted, or translated by a Canadian citizen or citizens or by a permanent resident or residents of Canada.'*³⁴

One of the textbook's content evaluation criteria is Bias, which means that *'The content should be free from racial, ethnocultural, religious, regional, gender-related, or age-related bias; bias based on disability, sexual orientation, socio-economic background, occupation, political affiliation, or membership in a specific group; and bias by omission. The material should present more than one point of view, and be free from discriminatory, exclusionary, or inappropriately value-laden language, photographs, and illustrations.'*³⁵

32 Ontario Ministry of Education. Guidelines for approval of textbooks. 2002. Available on the Ministry of Education website at <http://www.edu.gov.on.ca>, accessed 24.11. 2003

33 Trillium List: Textbook Submission Procedures. p.7. <http://www.edu.gov.on.ca>, accessed 24.11.2003

34 Ibid., p.8

35 Trillium List: Textbook Submission Procedures. p.7. <http://www.edu.gov.on.ca>, accessed 24.11.2003, p.9

4.2. Latvia

Overall control over the content and quality of school textbooks in Latvia is exercised by the Centre for Curriculum Development and Examination (CCDE), which is under the direct supervision of the Ministry of Education of Latvia. One of the functions of the CCDE is to 'organise textbooks' evaluation and approval'. The process of textbook evaluation is regulated by the following three documents:

- *Regulation on the approval of educational means – textbooks in accordance with the State Basic Education and State General Secondary Education standards (Nr. 213 from 12.05.2003)*
- *Regulation on the textbooks experts committee (Nr. 64 from 06.05.2003)*
- *Regulation on textbooks' inclusion into the list 'Recommended textbooks for general educational organisations'.*

In accordance with the CCDE regulations, a textbook is submitted for evaluation by the publisher after initial approbation has taken place. The evaluation is performed by two reviewers – one is a practicing school teacher, the other a high school teacher, or a specialist selected by the CCDE. The evaluation criteria are set by the CCDE in the Addendum to the Regulation. If the reviewers' opinions differ, then the textbook is submitted for further evaluation to the relevant experts committee. Based on the committee's evaluation the textbook receives the CCDE approval, or is rejected. In cases with a negative evaluation, the publisher has the right to improve the content of the textbook according to the experts' recommendations and appeal for the textbook's repeated evaluation within one month. The textbook is then evaluated by the Appellation Committee, which is chaired by the General Education Department director, three relevant specialists invited by the chairman, and a representative of the relevant subject teachers' professional organisation or, alternatively, another specialist invited by the committee's chairman. CCDE's approval of a textbook is valid for the period of the validity of the relevant education standard. For textbooks which have received CCDE approval before the Regulation came into force, the validity of approval is limited to 3 years.

The first 25 criteria for the evaluation of the textbook require a general evaluation from the perspectives of scientific truthfulness and practical application, organisation of the education process and methodology, acquired skills and integrity of topics, design and printing quality, etc. There is also a set of 11 criteria for the evaluation from the

perspective of the particular subject (bilingual studies, mathematics, physics, biology, chemistry, natural science, history, history of culture, music, history of religion), and for evaluation of cartography.

Within the general criteria, one is set as follows:

‘The Latvian Republic’s Constitution and other legislation stressing human rights, including the basic principles of children’s rights, race, nationality and gender equality, have been respected in the textbook.’

Within the specific subject’s criteria, regarding History textbooks:

‘Topics from everyday life are included in the description of the historical processes, attention is paid to gender equality issues, the national and the ethnic minorities’ role in the historical processes.’

And regarding History of Religion textbooks:

‘Provides guidance towards a neutral, tolerant attitude towards different world views, at the same time critically evaluating them from the standpoint of basic humanistic values.’

There are currently 24 publishers who print textbooks in Latvia, Jumava, Zvaigzne ABC, RAKA, LVAVP, Filosofiskās Izglītības Centrs and Retorika A being among them. The list of recommended textbooks is published by the CCDE at the Centre’s website <http://www.isec.gov.lv>, and the newest additions to the list are also included in the CCDE e-bulletin, available to subscribers, as well as published in the newspaper *Izglītība un Kultūra* [Education and Culture]. In May 2003, the list of recommended textbooks included 633 textbooks, 472 of them in Latvian, 9 in Russian, 52 in English and 30 in German languages.

5. REVIEW OF PREVIOUS PROJECTS/RESEARCH

5.1. Other countries

Textbook analysis became an independent field of study decades ago. According to Falk Pingel, deputy director of the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, international textbook revision dates back to the period after World War I, and was started in the Nordic countries, when ‘a free association of concerned individuals and organisations (*Foringen Norden*) appealed to educational publishing houses to screen their textbooks and remove biased representations of their neighbouring countries’. In 1925, the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, the responsible body within the League of Nations, suggested that all national commissions should initiate a comparative analysis of textbooks in order to revise biased texts and avoid ‘misunderstandings of other countries’ in the future. In 1932, the Committee passed a resolution to develop a model for international consultations on textbooks. Finally, in 1937, under the auspice of the League of Nations, twenty-six states signed a Declaration Regarding the Teaching of History (Revision of School Textbooks), containing many principles that are still valid today.³⁶

During the second part of the 20th century, as a consequence of the cataclysms of World War II and the Holocaust, the annexation of previously independent states’, the Cold War, the collapse of the Soviet Empire and the formation of new states, European Union enlargement, history textbooks understandably were (and to some extent still are) the primary target for analysis and revision. However, a shift has occurred over the last years towards the analysis and revision of other subjects’ textbooks, recognising that implicit content is no less powerful than explicit one. *‘International textbook analysis with the aim of promoting international understanding deals mainly with history, geography and civics schoolbooks, as these subjects in particular are relevant for an education towards democracy, human rights and international as well as intercultural awareness. In the last few decades, researchers have pointed out that language textbooks and readers also contribute considerably to what students know and how they think about others – not least because poetry, for example, makes no claim to be ‘objective’.*³⁷

The Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Braunschweig, Germany, which was founded in 1951, has carried out a number of projects in cooperation with the UNESCO and other international partners (among them the Franco–German Textbook

³⁶ Pingel, F. UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision, Hannover: Hahn, 1999 p. 9

³⁷ Ibid., p. 8

Project, the German–Polish Textbook Commission, the Israeli–Palestinian Textbook Project, Holocaust Education, Europe in Textbooks and others), and established an ‘international network of research institutions and curriculum development centres in order to exchange information about the updating of curricula, textbooks and teacher training programmes with regard to peace, human rights and democracy.’³⁸

5.2. Latvia

Latvian textbooks have been previously examined on at least three occasions:

In 1996, *European Journal of Intercultural Studies* published an article by I. Silova ‘De–Sovietization of Latvian Textbooks Made Visible’³⁹, where the author examines the political, cultural and social changes in two Latvian language textbook editions, one published in 1980 during the Soviet era, and other in 1994 in the newly independent Republic of Latvia. The main conclusions of the study are that two textbooks reflect a major shift in social values and ideas. In comparison to the Soviet textbook, the new edition creates a more precise image of Latvia and its geographic location in relation to its neighbouring countries, and encourages Russian–speaking learners to acquire knowledge, appreciation and respect of Latvian culture, history and traditions. ‘*The old edition presents Soviet heroes and communist leaders as role models, whereas the new edition emphasises Latvian citizenship and family values*’.⁴⁰ Another important finding is that there is a distinctive shift of the spatial scene from urban to rural settings. A very interesting notion is the author’s conclusion that ‘*while the images of old friends and enemies have been dropped, images of new friends and enemies have not been reconstructed*’.⁴¹

In 1998, an analysis of the textbooks used in Latvian and Russian language schools was carried out by Grigule and Pāvula.

In 2002, E. Pičukāne, I. Ķikule and S. Zemīte published a report on the research study ‘*Gender role portrayal in Latvian language textbooks*’⁴², the purpose of which was to evaluate the use of gender stereotypes in Latvian textbooks. The authors conclude that

38 Pingel, F. UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision, Hannover: Hahn, 1999 p. 37

39 Silova, I. De–Sovietization of Latvian Textbooks made visible. *European Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 7, p. 35–45 1996

40 Ibid., p. 44

41 Ibid.

42 Pičukāne, E., Ķikule, I., Zemīte, S.: *Dzimuma lomu attēlojums mācību grāmatās latviešu valodā*. Rīga, 2002

gender stereotypes are present in Latvian textbooks, and with very few exceptions there is a clear tendency to segregate male and female gender roles, which in turn may negatively influence the student's sense of identity, self-consciousness, and the formation of relationship models in the family, as well as job segregation in the employment market in the future, etc. There is also an interesting observation regarding textbook materials based on folklore and ethnography; without reducing the value of the past and cultural legacy, the authors conclude that if one third of all textbooks portray people in traditional national costumes, the question may be raised whether the past is being romanticised too much.

At least one study on stereotyping has previously been carried out in Latvia. Apart from the above mentioned gender stereotypes study, in 2000 I. Šulmane and S. Kruks published a study report '*Ethnic and Political stereotypes*'⁴³, where they analysed the ethnic, national and political stereotypes, symbols and social concepts that can be found in modern Latvian and Russian language press in Latvia. According to their findings, only 5% of stereotypes found in the media are critically discussed, and the acceptance of stereotypes by both journalists and their audience legitimise the existing situation, support current attitudes, and foster the reproduction of stereotypes. The largest proportion of stereotypes – 30% – can be found in publications about politics, including education and language policy. Social stereotypes comprise 20%, mostly being observed in foreign travel accounts in the Latvian press. Only 3% of stereotypes are economically related, which, according to the authors, allows one to conclude that collective ethnic identity is rather insignificant in the field of economics. There are almost no publications describing the nature of relationships in a multicultural environment. The authors of writing with stereotypes are mainly Latvians and Russians, other minorities contribute less than 1%. The Latvian press is more self-critical than their Russian counterpart, Latvian positive auto-stereotypes are usually based upon traditional values and 'Latvian features' (hardworking habits, sense of beauty, and close relationship with Nature). There are less critical statements about 'them' in the Latvian newspapers than in the Russian newspapers.

43 Šulmane, I., Kruks, S.: Etniskie un politiskie stereotipi. Rīga, 2000. Sorosa fonds Latvija. LU Sociālo zinātņu fakultāte, Komunikācijas studiju nodaļa

6. METHODOLOGY – SHORT DESCRIPTION

In order to achieve the goals of this study, selected textbooks were submitted to both quantitative and qualitative text analysis. For quantitative analysis measurable categories, such as Characters, Authors and Sources and Holidays were established in order to quantify ethnic, cultural and religious representation and the frequency of its use in the text. There was also quantitative analysis of textbooks' illustrations aimed at measuring the representation of Latvians, Russians, other Latvian minorities and other nationalities, as well as the differences in portrayal of people with Caucasian and non-Caucasian features. The qualitative textbooks' analysis aimed at determining whether ethnic, cultural and religious stereotypes, prejudiced views, biased judgements, and generalisations are present through examination of text fragments and illustrations.⁴⁴

6.1. Use of terms

Latvian textbooks – all textbooks of the sample;

Latvian-language textbooks – textbooks published in the Latvian language;

Russian-language textbooks – textbooks published in the Russian language;

Technology and Science textbooks – Maths, Geography, Biology and Natural science textbooks;

Language and Literature textbooks – Latvian language, Russian language, Latvian literature and Russian literature textbooks;

Man and Society textbooks – Social science, Civil rights, Economics, Ethics, Health, Home economics and Sports textbooks;

Music textbooks – Musical education textbooks;

Character, Ambiguous – ethnic background is difficult, or impossible, to determine;

Character, Other – Anglo-Saxons, Belarussians, Estonians, Germanic (German, Austrian, Swiss), Jewish, Lithuanian, Liv, Mediterranean (French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese),

44 For more detailed description of the methodology, please refer to Appendix I.

Other East European (Albanian, Bulgarian, Croatian, Czech, Hungarian, Romanian, Serbian, Slovenian, Moldovan), Polish, Roma, Scandinavian (Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, Finnish), Ukrainian, Other (those not included above);

Caucasian – representative of the European (or Caucasoid) geographic race;

Non-Caucasian – representative of any other race except for Caucasoid.

7. QUANTITATIVE TEXT ANALYSIS (CONTENT ANALYSIS)

7.1. Characters

All textbooks

This section will analyse the proportional representation of different Latvian ethnic groups, according to the current demographic situation (Latvians – 58.5% of the whole population, Russians – 29%, Belarussians – 3.9%, Ukrainians – 2.6%, Poles – 2.5%, Lithuanians – 1.4%, Jews – 0.4%, Roma – 0.4%, Estonians – 0.1%)⁴⁵.

The total number of characters in the sample is 26811, every textbook on average containing 330.99 characters. According to the findings, 35% percent of all characters fall into the Ambiguous category. Latvians comprise 30% of all characters, Others – 20%, and Russians – 15% (Figure 1)

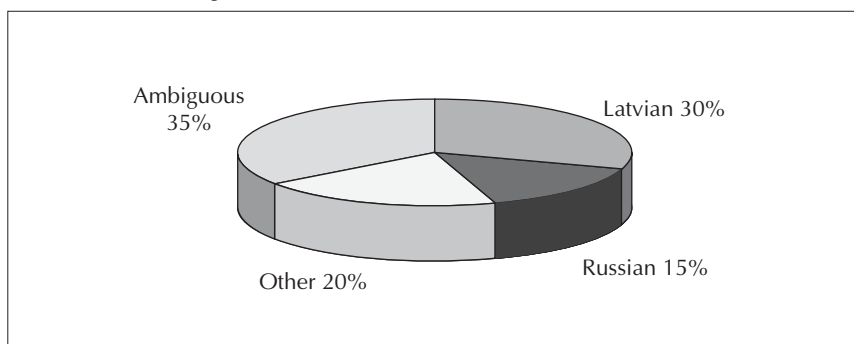


Figure 1. Ethnic composition of the textbooks characters – all textbooks

Further analysis of the category Other shows that Anglo-Saxon is the most popular group – 30.98%, and there are 20.62 characters of Anglo-Saxon origin mentioned in every textbook on average. Next popular are the Scandinavians – 20.74%, average per book – 13.8. They are closely followed by characters of Germanic origin – 17.38%, 11.56 average per book, and characters of Mediterranean origin – 11.84%, 7.88 average per book.

⁴⁵ Statistical Yearbook of Latvia 2003, Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia, 2003, p. 41

For comparison, characters of Lithuanian origin comprise only 1.1% (0.74 average per book), Poles – 0.98% (0.65 average per book), Estonians – 0.78% (0.52 average per book), Roma – 0.02% (0.01 average per book), while Belarussians do not appear at all. Of all the traditional Latvian minorities, only characters of Jewish origin are high on the list at 4.56%, average per book – 3.02. (Figure 2)

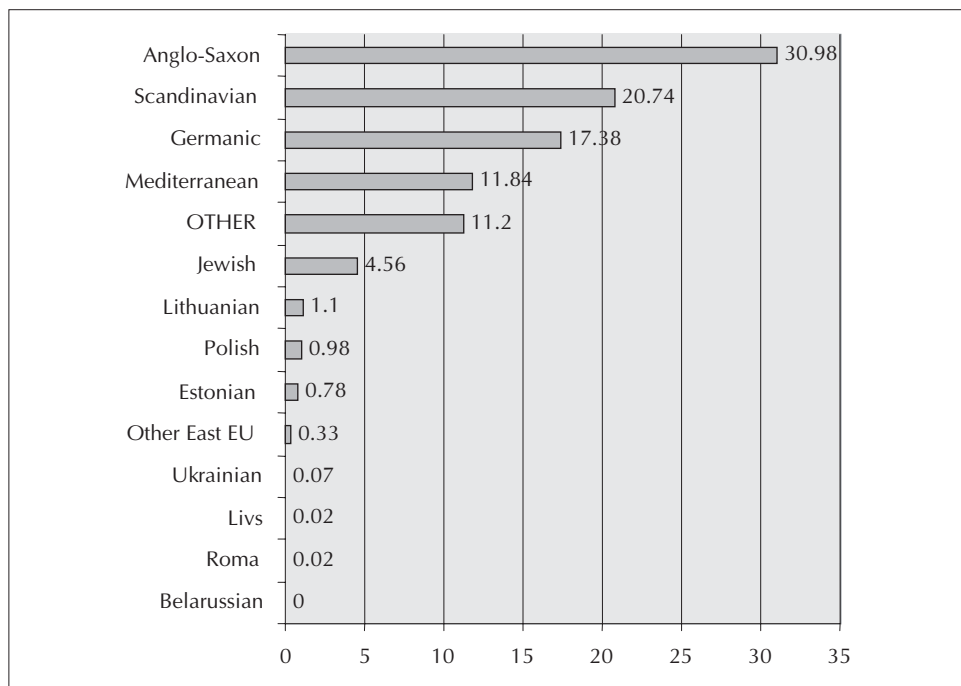


Figure 2. Detailed ethnic composition of the Other category, %

Ethnic composition of the characters differs across Latvian- and Russian-language textbooks. The total number of characters in the Latvian-language textbooks is 17785, of which 43.83% are characters of Latvian origin, 35.75% of all characters are of Ambiguous origin, the category Other comprises 17.85%, while Russians contribute a mere 2.57%. Characters of Latvian origin occupy similar space in the Russian-language textbooks – 2.15%, characters of Russian origin being the largest group – 39.25%, characters belonging to Other ethnic groups comprising 24.55%, and Ambiguous – 34.05%. (Figure 3)

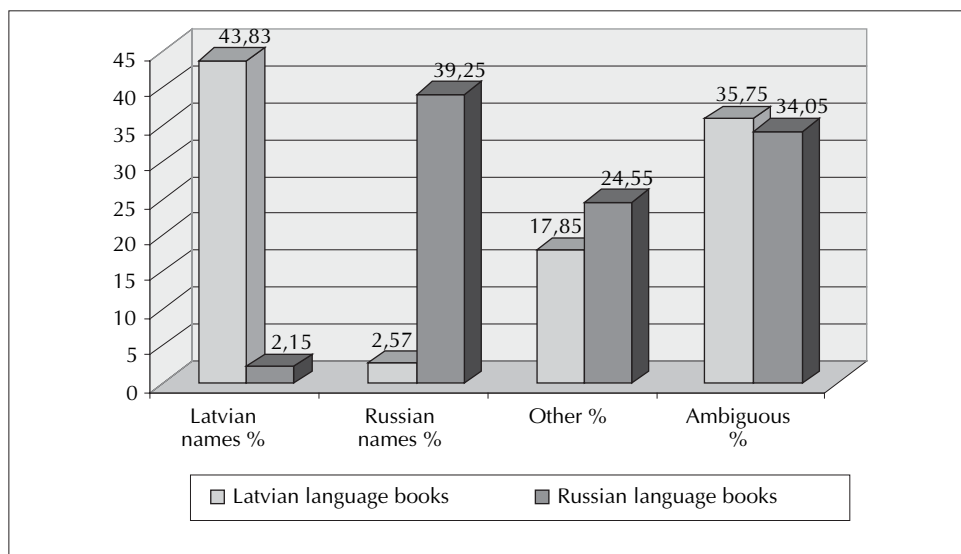


Figure 3. Ethnic composition of the characters – Latvian vs. Russian – language textbooks, %

The detailed ethnic composition of the Other group is also quite different for **Latvian-** and **Russian-language** textbooks. The biggest ‘foreign’ group of characters in the **Latvian-language** textbooks are Scandinavians – 29.96%, closely followed by characters of Germanic origin – 24.92%, the next biggest group being Anglo-Saxons – 16.23. Of Latvia’s traditional minorities, Belarussians and Roma are not present at all; Ukrainians are represented by 0.06%, Lithuanians by 1.07%, Estonians by 1.32%, Poles by 1.42%, and Jews by 1.76%. Characters of other East-European origins contribute 0.57% of the total number. Livs, an indigenous group, constitute 0.03%. (Figure 4)

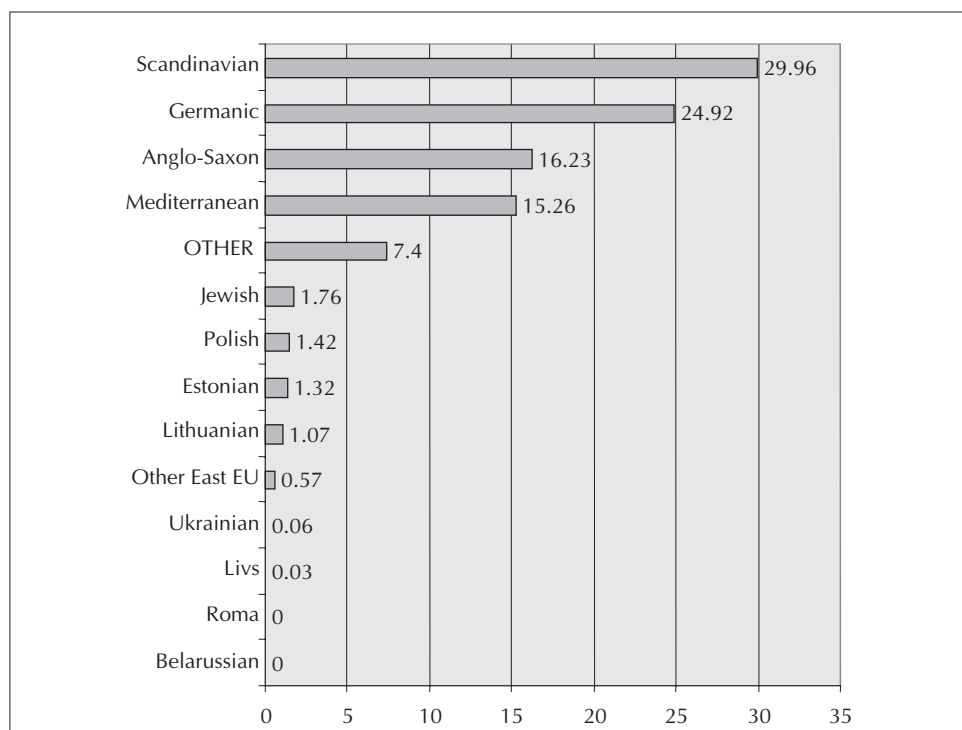


Figure 4. Detailed composition of the Other category in the Latvian-language textbooks, %

The biggest ethnic characters group within the Other category in the **Russian-language** textbooks are Anglo-Saxons at 52.12%, the next group is Other at 16.65%, characters of Jewish origin make up 8.53%, Scandinavians comprise 7.54%, characters of Mediterranean origin 6.95%, and of Germanic origin – 6.54%. Belarussians, Estonians and Livs are not present, Roma contribute 0.05%, Ukrainians – 0.09%, Poles – 0.36%, and Lithuanians – 1.17%. Characters of other East-European origins are not present. (Figure 5)

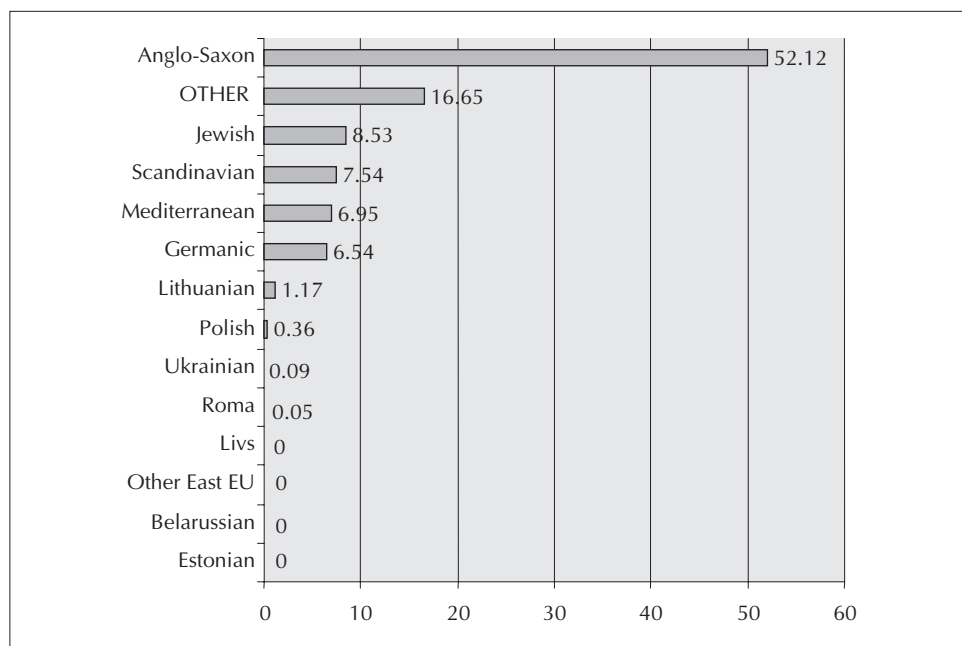


Figure 5. Detailed composition of the Other category in the Russian-language textbooks, %

Certain differences can be observed also across textbooks (both **Russian–** and **Latvian–language**) belonging to different subjects. The biggest numbers of characters of Latvian origin can be found in Technology and Science textbooks and in Music textbooks. The biggest number of characters of Ambiguous nature can be found in Language and Literature textbooks, characters of Other origin are best represented in Man and Society textbooks, and, finally, characters of Russian origin are relatively well represented in Language and Literature, and Technology and Science textbooks, and poorly represented in Music textbooks. (Figure 6)

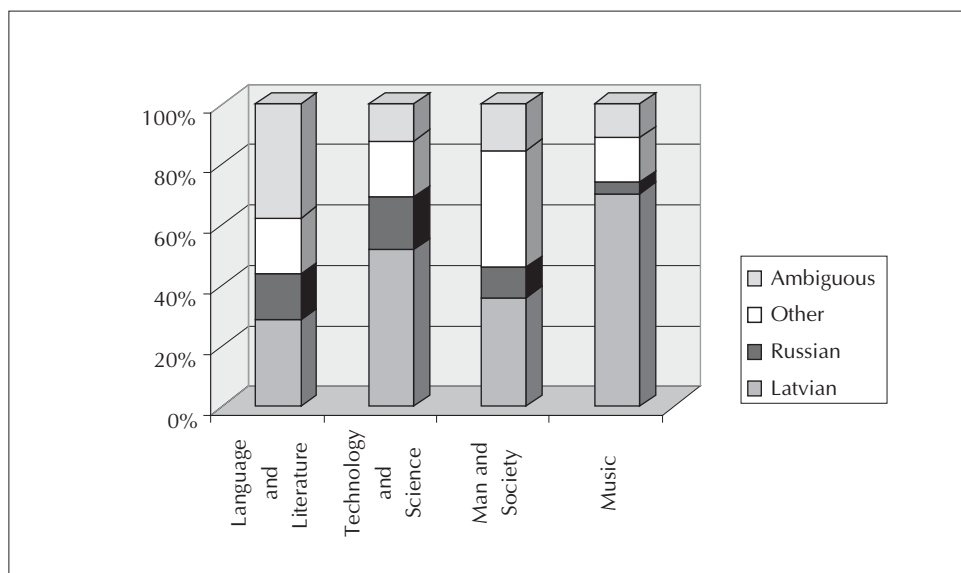


Figure 6. Ethnic composition of the characters – comparison across the subjects

In order to understand the reasons behind uneven distribution of the characters of different ethnic background across the textbooks belonging to the different subjects, **Latvian–language** and **Russian–language** textbooks should be examined separately.

Language and Literature textbooks

At a first glance, the ethnic composition of characters in Language and Literature textbooks seems very logical: the biggest group are Ambiguous characters – 38%, the next biggest group is characters of Latvian origin – 29%, characters of Other origin comprise 18%, closely followed by characters of Russian origin – 15%. The high

percentage of the Ambiguous category is due to a large number of fairy-tales within the textbook content. The characters of the fairy-tales in most of the cases have no ethnic background, as they are either impersonated animals (The Bear, The Fox, The Stork) or characters whose names better indicate their position in the family or profession than ethnicity (First Son, Stepmother, Woodcutter, Shoemaker, etc.). (Figure 7)

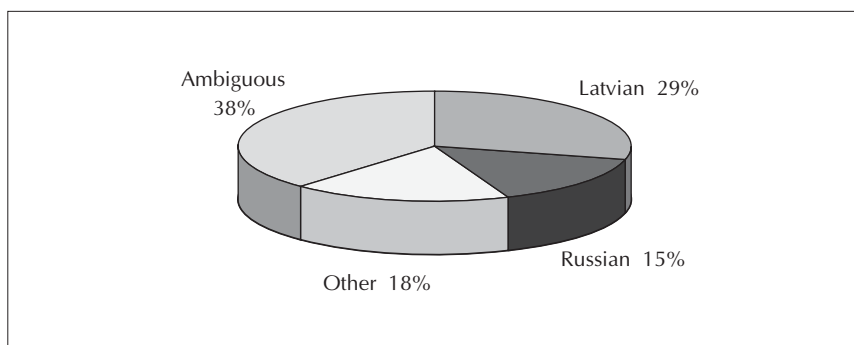


Figure 7. Ethnic composition of the characters – Language and Literature textbooks

However, if Latvian-language textbooks are examined separately, the distribution looks different. The biggest two groups in the Latvian-language Language and Literature textbooks are characters of Latvian (42%) and Ambiguous (39%) origins. Dominance of the characters of Latvian origin is to be expected, given that the subjects in question are indeed *Latvian* language and *Latvian* literature. However, the multicultural curriculum requires, and this requirement is being increasingly observed by most Western countries, that no Language or Literature textbook is based exclusively upon the ‘national majority resources’, and that characters and authors of other ethnic backgrounds are used as well. In Latvian-language Language and Literature textbooks, characters of the Other group contribute 16% of all characters, and characters of Russian origin in particular contribute 3%. (Figure 8)

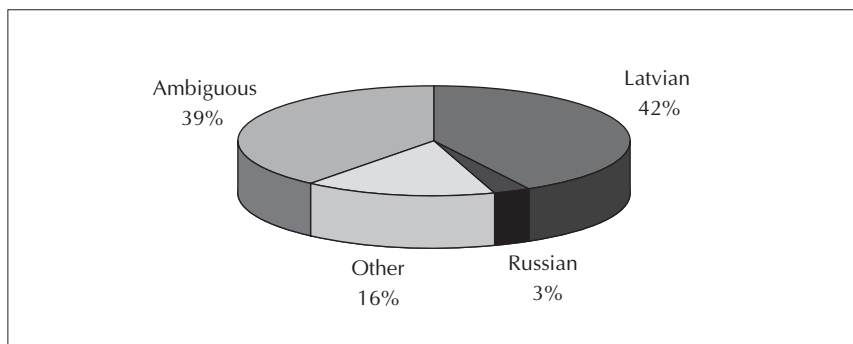


Figure 8. Ethnic composition of the characters – Language and Literature textbooks, Latvian–language

In its turn, in the Russian–language Language and Literature textbooks characters of Russian origin form the biggest group (41%), the next biggest is the Ambiguous group (again, due to the relatively big number of fairy–tales, whose characters' ethnic background is often undistinguishable), characters of Other origin contribute 23%, and characters of Latvian origin are simply not present. (Figure 9)

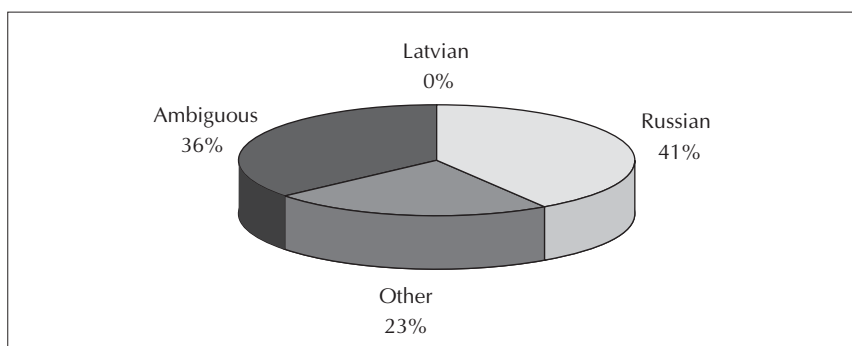


Figure 9. Ethnic composition of the characters – Language and Literature textbooks, Russian–language

In the Latvian-language Language and Literature textbooks, characters of the Other group are divided as follows: Scandinavians – 35.32%, characters of Germanic origin – 29.2%, characters of Mediterranean origin – 14.52%, and of Anglo-Saxon origin – 13.92%, with all others, including traditional Latvian minorities, contributing only 8%, Estonians being the most prominent group at 1.61%. The two biggest groups, Scandinavian and Germanic, if the percentage is calculated as of the total number of characters in the Latvian-language Language and Literature textbooks, significantly exceed the number of characters of Russian origin: if Russians contribute 3%, Scandinavians contribute 5.6% and characters of Germanic origin 4.6%. (Figure 10)

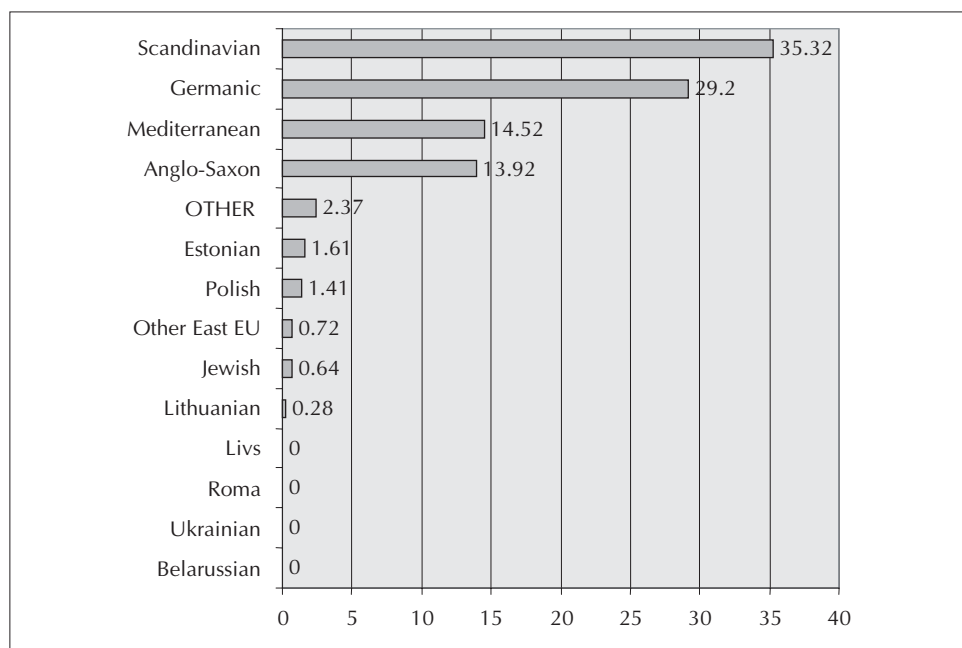


Figure 10. Detailed composition of the Other category in Latvian-language Language and Literature textbooks

Looking at the detailed composition of the Other category in Russian-language Language and Literature textbooks, it is obvious that the most significant group among characters of non-Russian origin are Anglo-Saxons – almost 55%. Jewish, Scandinavian, Mediterranean and Germanic are all in the range of 7–10%. The high number of the characters of Jewish origin can be explained by the frequent use of Old Testament fragments in Literature textbooks. Contrary to the Latvian-language textbooks, the presence of other traditional minorities, even if a rather insignificant one (Poles – 0.33%, Roma – 0.06, Ukrainians – 0.06) can be observed. (Figure 11)

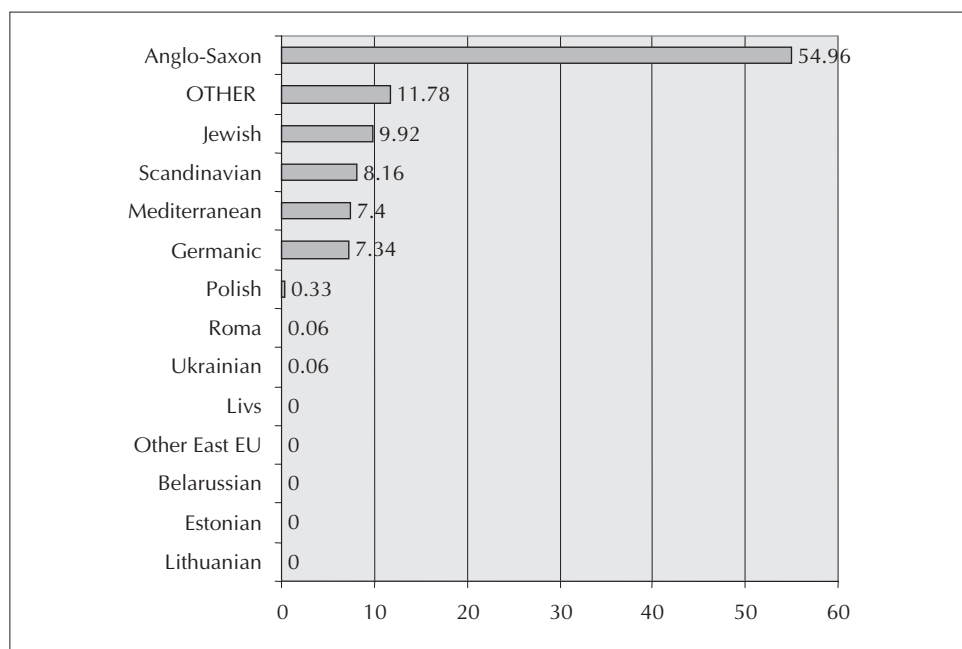


Figure 11. Detailed composition of the Other category in Russian-language Language and Literature textbooks

Technology and Science textbooks

The number of characters of Latvian origin in Technology and Science textbooks really stands out – 52% of all, in comparison, for example, to the Language and Literature textbooks, where it takes up only 29%. It should be noted here that in the majority of the Technology and Science textbooks analysed, Latvian characters are represented in the assignments, and given that quotations in the Technology and Science textbooks are rather rare, characters of other ethnic backgrounds (those falling into category Other) appear only in certain fragments, like scientists' biographies, etc. A set of Maths textbooks for Grade 3 presents an exception, which will be analysed further in more detail. 17% of the characters of Russian origin are being contributed mainly by the textbooks published in the Russian language. (Figure 12)

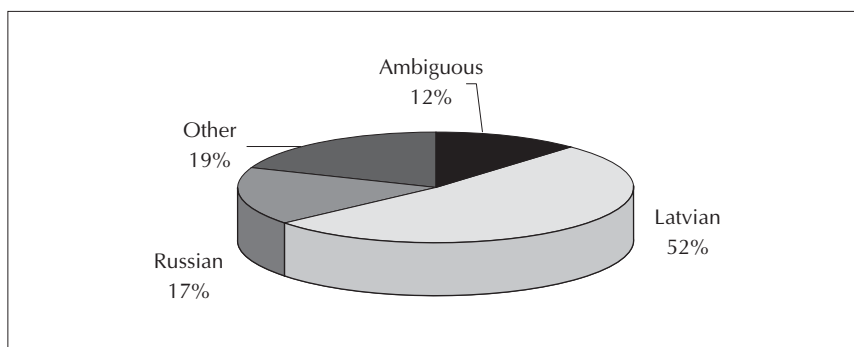


Figure 12. Ethnic composition of the characters – Technology and Science textbooks

Man and Society textbooks

In the Man and Society textbooks, characters of Latvian origin contribute 35%, characters of Russian origin 10%, Ambiguous 19%, and characters of Other ethnic origin 36% – a rather high figure in comparison to the textbooks belonging to other subjects (Figure 13), which is to be expected, given that the Man and Society textbooks (Civil rights in particular) deal with the description of minorities living in Latvia, as well as address issues of diversity of the world population in general.

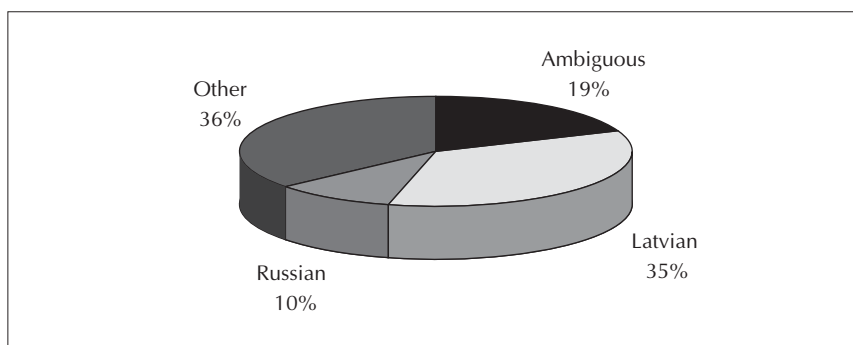


Figure 13. Ethnic composition of the characters – Man and Society textbooks

However, after a closer look at the ethnic composition of the Other category, it becomes apparent that non-Latvians are again mainly represented by characters of Anglo-Saxon, Mediterranean, Scandinavian and Germanic origins, traditional Latvian minorities contributing only a small part: Jews – 6.69%, Lithuanians – 4.88% (part of which should be attributed to the fact that one of the Social science textbooks is a translation from the Lithuanian language), Poles – 1.47%, Ukrainians – 0.36%, and Estonians – 0.36%. (Figure 14)

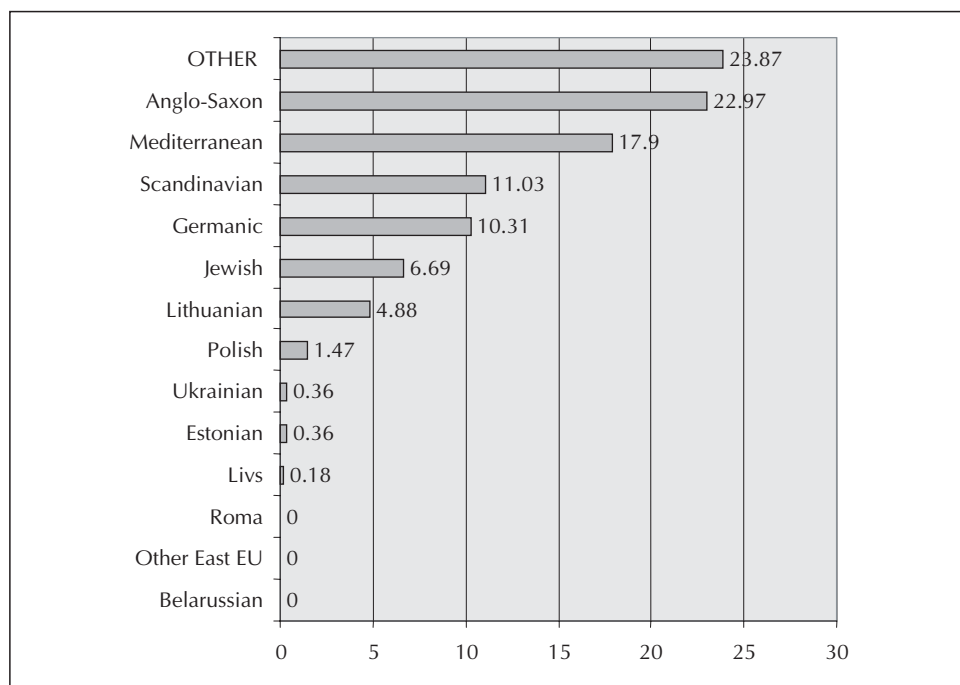


Figure 14. Detailed ethnic composition of the Other category – Man and Society textbooks

Music textbooks

It is important to note that all analysed Music textbooks are in the Latvian language, and consist primarily of Latvian folk songs or songs and pieces by Latvian composers. This selection is reflected in the representation of the ethnic groups: characters of Latvian origin comprise 70% of the total number of characters, Russians contribute only 4%, Others – 15%, and characters of Ambiguous origin – 11%. (Figure 15)

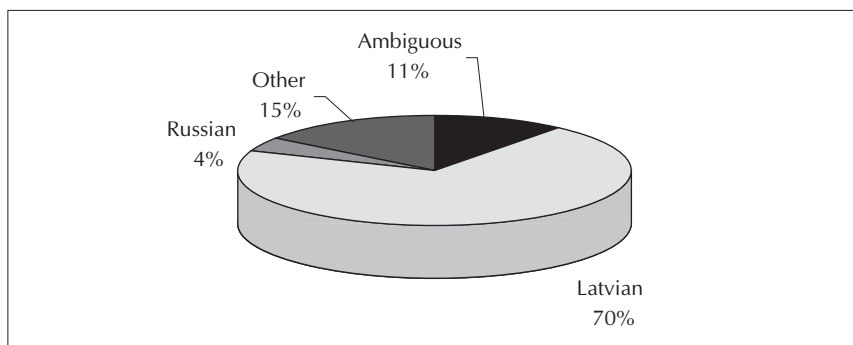


Figure 15. Ethnic composition of the characters – Music textbooks

However, the further analysis of the category Other shows that in Music textbooks only characters of Mediterranean, Anglo-Saxon, Germanic and Scandinavian origin can be observed, while characters belonging to the traditional Latvian minorities and neighbouring countries are simply not present, with the exception of the Jews (which appear in Christmas songs and gospels). (Figure 16)

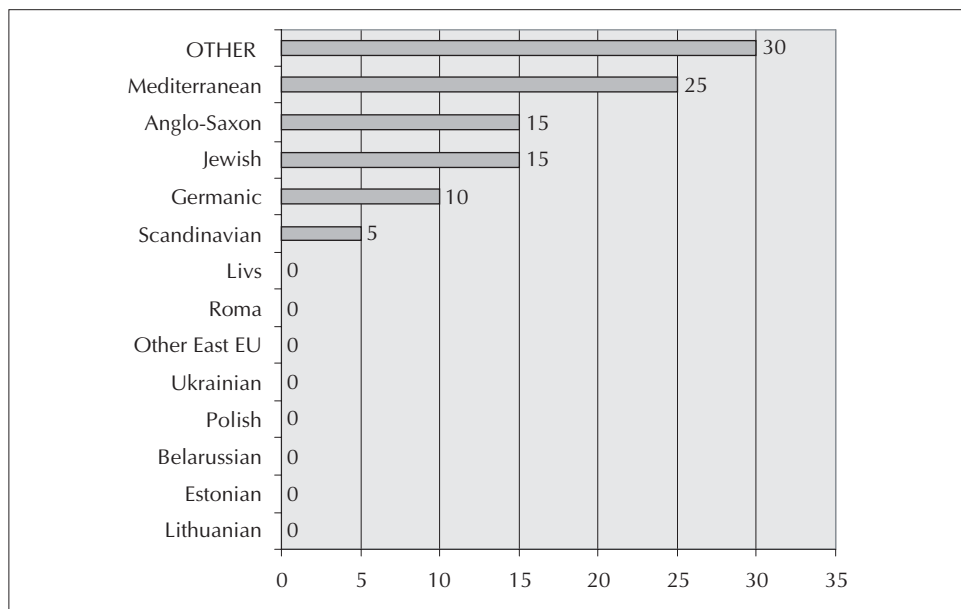


Figure 16. Detailed ethnic composition of the Other category – Music textbooks

Summary

- Latvians comprise 30% of all characters, Others – 20% and Russians – 15%.
- Ethnic composition of the characters differs across Latvian- and Russian-language textbooks:
 - only 2.57% of all characters in the Latvian-language textbooks are Russians;
 - only 2.15% of all characters in the Russian-language textbooks are Latvians.
- Other traditional Latvian ethnic minorities are poorly represented in both Latvian-language and Russian-language textbooks.
- Most popular characters of the Other category are Anglo-Saxons, Scandinavians and characters of Germanic origin:
 - the most popular 'foreign' group in the Latvian-language textbooks is the Scandinavians;
 - the most popular foreign group in the Russian-language textbooks is the Anglo-Saxons.
- Ethnic composition of the characters differs across the subjects:
 - the biggest number of Latvian characters can be found in the Technology and Science, and in Music textbooks;
 - characters of Russian origin are best represented in the Language and Literature, and Technology and Science textbooks;

- o the biggest number of Other characters can be found in the Man and Society textbooks.

7.2. Authors and sources

This section will analyse the representation of authors and sources of different cultural backgrounds. It would not be accurate to apply ethnic criteria to the authors, as an author may belong to a culture different from his own ethnic background. Therefore, the main criteria selected to measure the cultural representation of the authors was the original language the writer wrote in.

There are a total of 5630 different authors and sources quoted in the textbooks of the analysed sample, meaning that approximately 70 authors and sources are on average quoted in every textbook.

The majority of the authors/sources in the Latvian textbooks belong to either a Latvian or Russian cultural background, 44% and 38% accordingly. Given that Russian language textbooks represent only 21% of the total number of analysed textbooks, its contribution of 38% of all authors and sources seems very significant, but can be explained by the fact that authors of the Russian language (as a subject) textbooks, as a rule, traditionally illustrate the grammar rules by short (very often a single sentence) quotations from classical Russian literature and famous Russian writers, indicating the author either by full name or initials; similar quotations are used in the assignments. These short one-sentence quotations, which are characteristic of the Russian-language textbooks, inflate the total number of Authors/Sources of Russian origin, giving a false impression of extensive use of these sources across all textbooks. Ambiguous sources are employed very rarely; a mere 5%, and authors/sources of other origin (neither Latvian nor Russian) contribute 13%. (Figure 17)

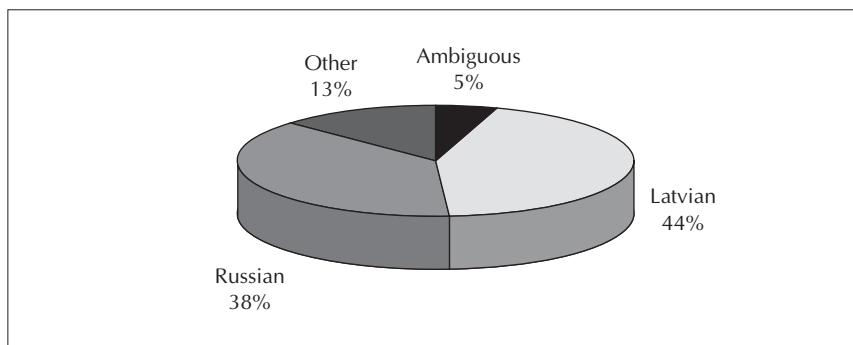


Figure 17. Ethnic composition of the Authors/Sources – all textbooks

Upon analysis of the Other category of authors/sources, it becomes obvious that similar to the characters, the English, Americans, Germans and Scandinavians are leading the list. However, contrary to the characters, Latvia's closest neighbours, such as Lithuanians and Estonians are included in the top ten ethnic groups, contributing 3.95% (compared to 1.07% of Lithuanian characters) and 2.37% (compared to 1.32% of Estonian characters) accordingly. The presence of authors from another Eastern European country, the Czech Republic, should be noted. (Figure 18)

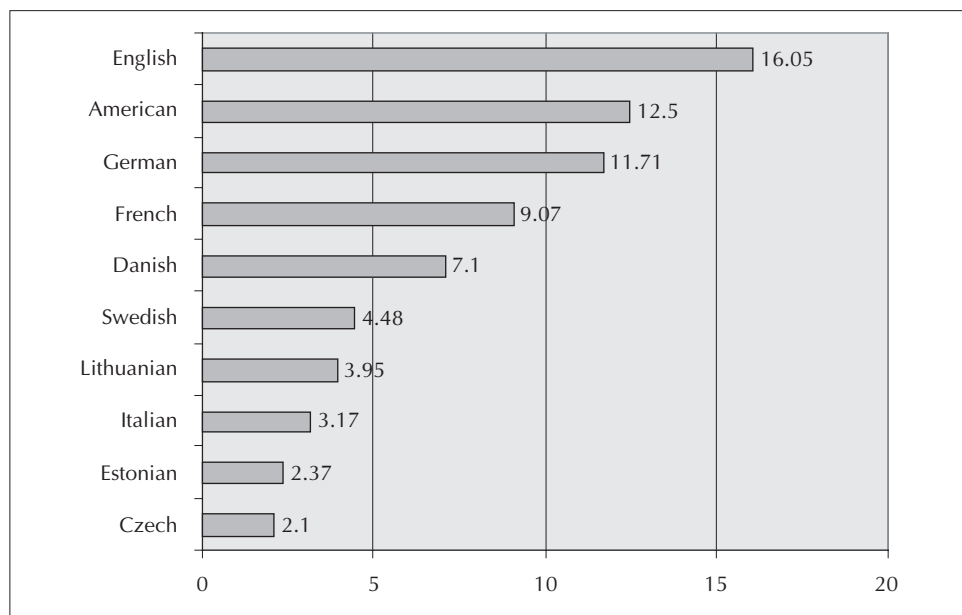


Figure 18. Top ten Authors/Sources groups – detailed composition of the Other category, all textbooks, %

Again, if Latvian–language and Russian–language textbooks are analysed separately, the picture looks different. For example, in the Latvian–language textbooks authors/sources of Latvian cultural background contribute not 44%, but 75%, while authors/sources of Russian background occupy a mere 3%, not 38%, and only authors/sources belonging to the Other category stay at more or less the same level – 14%. (Figure 19)

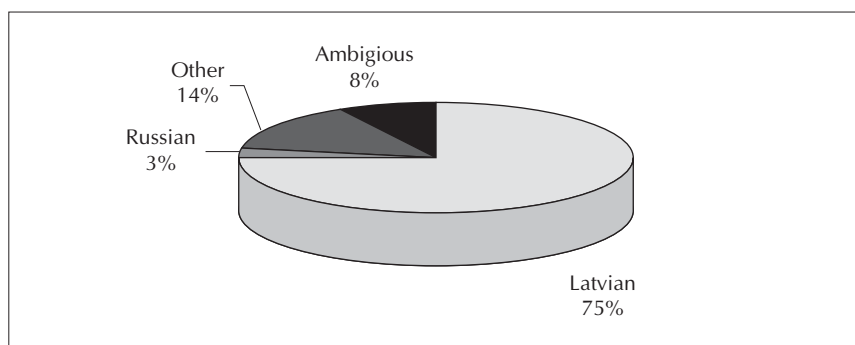


Figure 19. Ethnic composition of the Authors/Sources – Latvian–language textbooks

Russian–language textbooks reflect in reverse the representation in the Latvian–language textbooks – they dedicate the same 3% to authors/sources of Latvian background, authors/sources of Russian background comprise 81%, 13% fall into the Other category, and 3% are Ambiguous. (Figure 20)

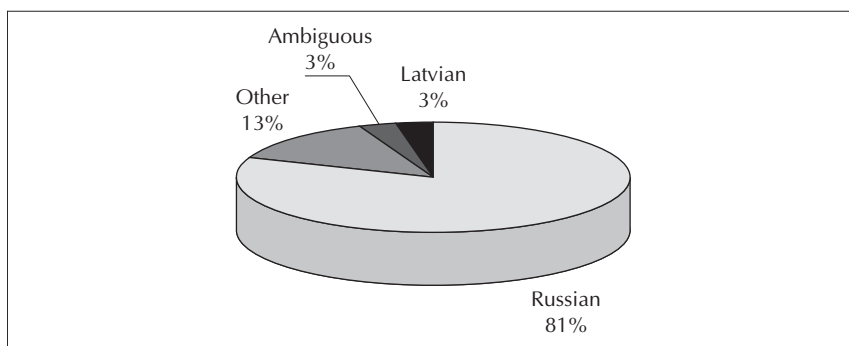


Figure 20. Ethnic composition of the Authors/Sources – Russian–language textbooks

British, American, German, French and Danish authors and sources are the top five in all Latvian textbooks. British authors and sources are more widely used in Russian–language textbooks (23.83% of all Other authors) than in Latvian–language textbooks (14.06% of all Other authors), while Latvian–language textbooks give preference to American

(12.7%), French (9.98%) and Danish (7.94%) authors and sources when compared with the Russian-language textbooks (10.34%, 7.84% and 5.96% respectively). German authors and sources are equally popular with both Latvian-language and Russian-language textbooks – slightly over 10% of the Other category. (Figure 21)

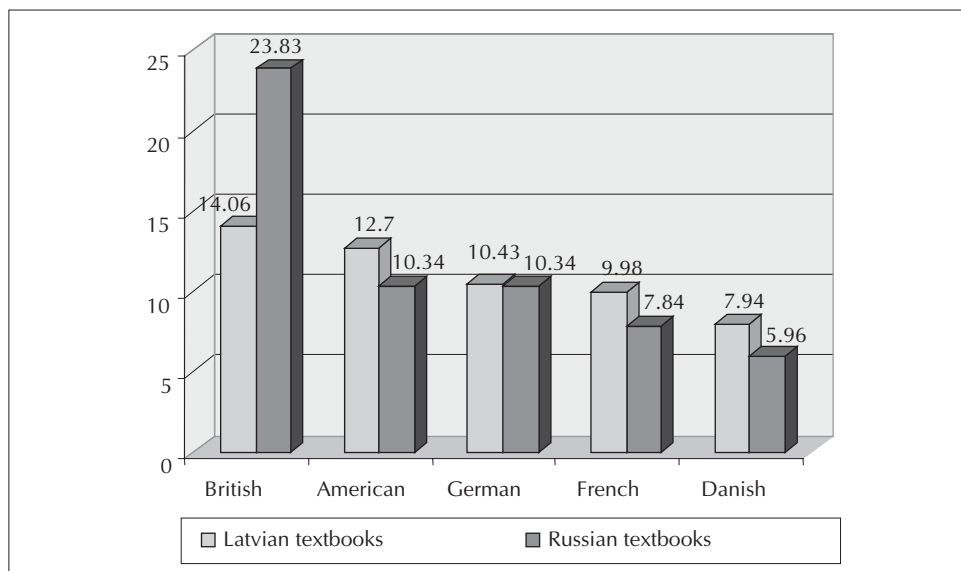


Figure 21. Detailed composition of the Other category – comparison between Latvian-language and Russian-language textbooks.

Summary

- The majority of all authors and sources used in all textbooks belong to either Latvian or Russian cultural background.
- British, American, German and Scandinavian authors and sources are most popular among the Other category.
- Lithuanian and Estonian authors and sources are included in the top ten.
- Latvian-language and Russian-language textbooks' choice of authors and sources differ widely:
 - Latvian authors contribute only 3% to the Russian-language textbooks;
 - Russian authors contribute only 3% to the Latvian -language textbooks;
 - Latvian-language textbooks give preference to American, French and Danish authors and sources;
 - Russian-language textbooks prefer British authors and sources;
 - German authors and sources are equally popular with both.

7.3. Holidays

Holidays are mentioned 831 times in the Latvian textbooks of the sample, which means that holidays are mentioned on average 10.3 times per book. According to the textbooks, the most popular holiday in Latvia is Christmas (*Ziemassvētki*), which is mentioned on average 2.75 times per book, the second popular is Midsummer celebration (*Jāņi*), mentioned on average 1.9 times per book, and the third popular is Russian Orthodox Christmas (*Рождество*) – 1.49 times on average per book. All other holidays are mentioned less than one time on average per book. Yet again, the picture changes if Latvian–language and Russian–language textbooks are being analysed separately.

In the Latvian–language textbooks, Christmas (*Ziemassvētki*), Midsummer Day (*Jāņi*) and Easter (*Lieldienas*) are the three most frequently mentioned holidays (38.14%, 26.89% and 9.84% respectively). That means that Christmas is mentioned on average 3.39 times per book, Midsummer Day – 2.39 times per book, and Easter – 0.88 times. The next biggest category is Other – 7.38%, which mainly consists of traditional Latvian holidays of *Metepi* and *Ūsiņi*, and the recently ‘imported’ All Saints Day, or Halloween (which is also quite popular with the authors of the Russian–language textbooks). The neutral New Year is mentioned only on average 0.61 times per book, and the holidays of ethnic minorities are not mentioned at all. (Figure 22)

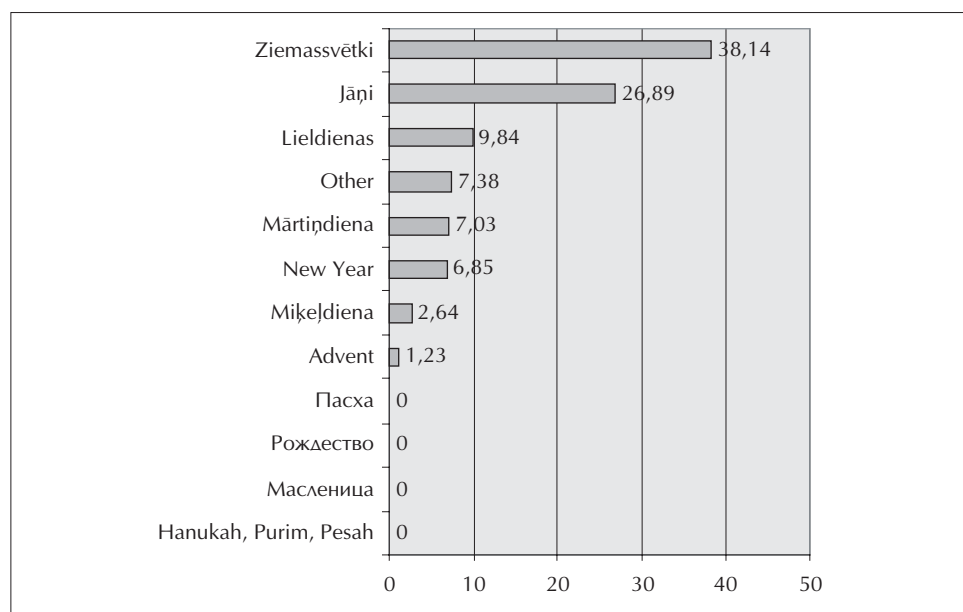


Figure 22. Holidays in the Latvian–language textbooks, %

Christmas (*Рождество*) is also the leading holiday in the Russian–language textbooks – 54.75%, or 7.12 times on average per book. Midsummer Day, however, is nowhere near (3.17% comparing to 26.89% in the Latvian–language textbooks). The next biggest after Christmas is Other – 16.29%, or 2.12 times on average per book, followed by the New Year – 9.5%, or 1.24 average times mentioned per book. Russian–language textbooks, to a limited extent, mention holidays of other creeds and national traditions: the St. Martin’s Day (*Mārtiņdiena*), Midsummer Day (*Jāņi*), Easter (*Lieldienas*), St. Michaels (*Miķeļdiena*). As in the Latvian–language textbooks, Halloween is very popular, and is the main contributor to the Other category. (Figure 23)

The traditional Jewish holidays of Hanuka, Purim and Pesah are not mentioned either in Latvian–language nor Russian–language textbooks.

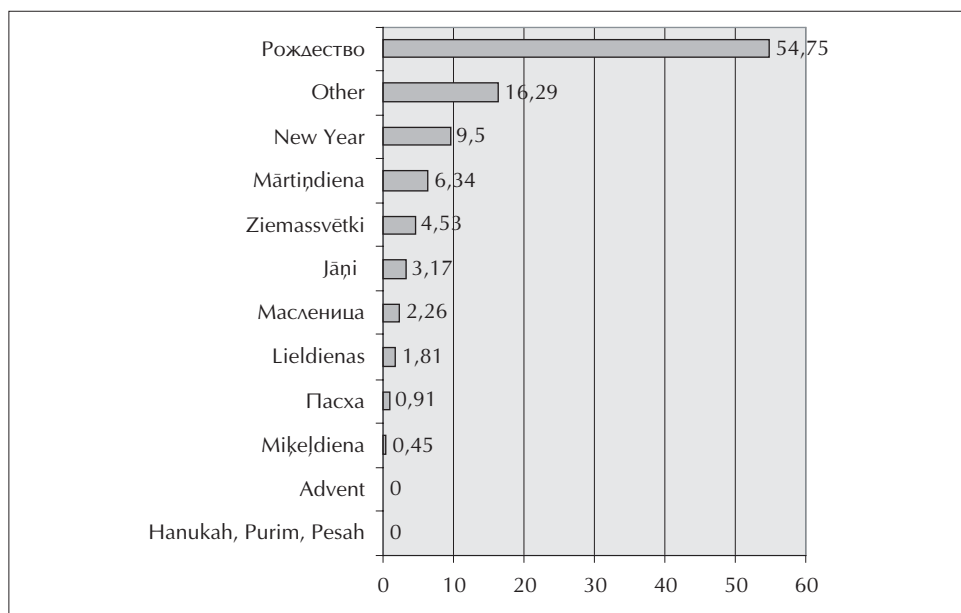


Figure 23. Holidays in the Russian–language textbooks, %

Summary

- Christmas (*Ziemassvētki*) and Midsummer (*Jāņi*) are the most frequently mentioned holidays in the Latvian textbooks.
- Holidays mentioned in the Latvian–language textbooks differ from the ones mentioned in the Russian– language textbooks:

- **Christmas** (*Ziemassvētki*), **Midsummer** (*Jāņi*) and **Easter** (*Lieldienas*) are the most frequently mentioned holidays in the Latvian–language textbooks;
- **Christmas** (*Рождество*) and **New Year** are the most frequently mentioned holidays in the Russian–language textbooks;
- There are no cross–references in either Latvian– or Russian–language textbooks to the ecumenical holidays (*Ziemassvētki* – *Рождество*, *Easter* – *Пасха*).
- There are no references in the Latvian textbooks to the holidays of traditional Jewish minority.

7.4. Illustrations

There is a total of 10822 illustrations in the analysed textbooks. In 8098 of them humans are not present, so only 2724 have been analysed further.

Out of the 2724, 2479 illustrations (91%) depict people of Caucasian appearance, while 132 illustrations (4.85%) portray people of non–Caucasian appearance, and 113 illustrations (4.15%) represent people of Ambiguous appearance. (Figure 24)

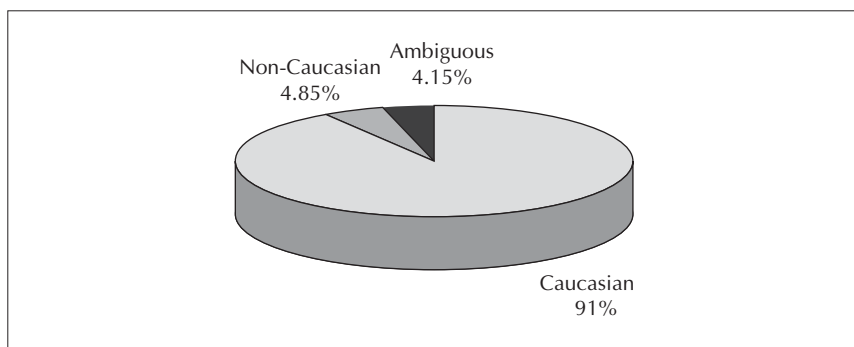


Figure 24. Composition of people of Caucasian, Non–Caucasian and Ambiguous appearance portrayed in the illustrations of the Latvian textbooks, %

There were 358 illustrations identified which portrayed people of Latvian ethnic background and those of the traditional Latvian minorities. 339 of them depicted ethnic Latvians, and only 19 depicted Latvian ethnic minorities.

Analysing the background/setting of the pictures, it becomes apparent that people with non–Caucasian features are mainly portrayed in rural settings – 52.27% of all illustrations

depicting people with the non-Caucasian features are set either against the background of a small village, or a separate dwelling in the middle of the forest, desert, savannah, etc., or simply against a scene of nature. 31.82% are set against a neutral background, where it is difficult to determine the exact nature of the setting, and only 15.91% of all illustrations portraying people with non-Caucasian features show them in urban surroundings. In their turn, people with Caucasian features are mainly portrayed against a neutral background (51.07%); the rest are split between urban settings (26.66%) and rural landscapes (22.27%). (Figure 25)

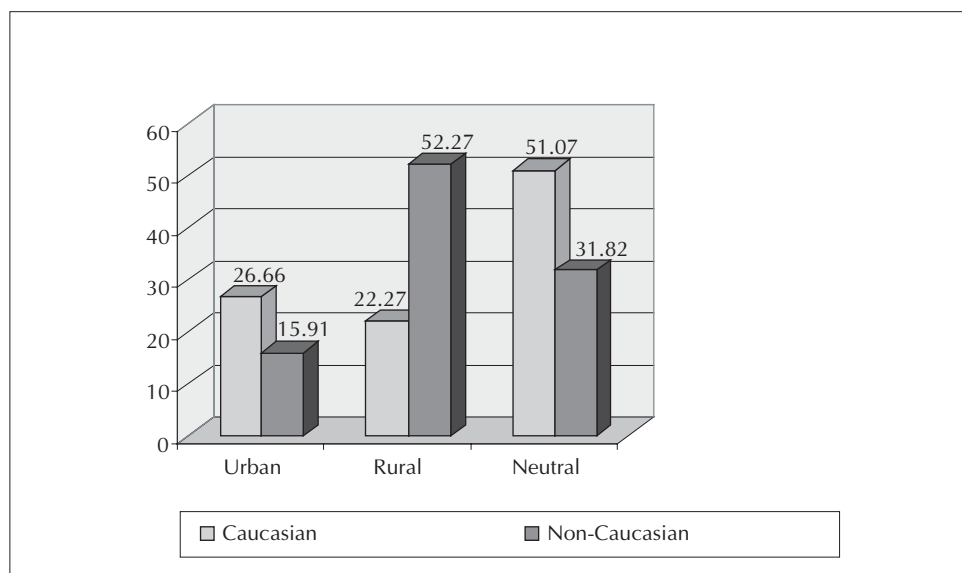


Figure 25. Background/setting used in the illustrations portraying people with Caucasian and non-Caucasian features, %

In 63.64% of all illustrations dedicated to the people with the non-Caucasian features, they are presented in traditional costumes, while only 14.39% of the illustrations show them in modern attire. 21.97% of illustrations show their subjects dressed neutrally, i.e. no certain conclusions can be drawn about the type of clothes they wear.

In illustrations presenting people with Caucasian features, the majority are shown dressed in a modern fashion or neutrally – 46.15% and 45.42% respectively. Only 8.43% (compare with the 63.64% of non-Caucasians) are dressed in traditional national costumes. (Figure 26)

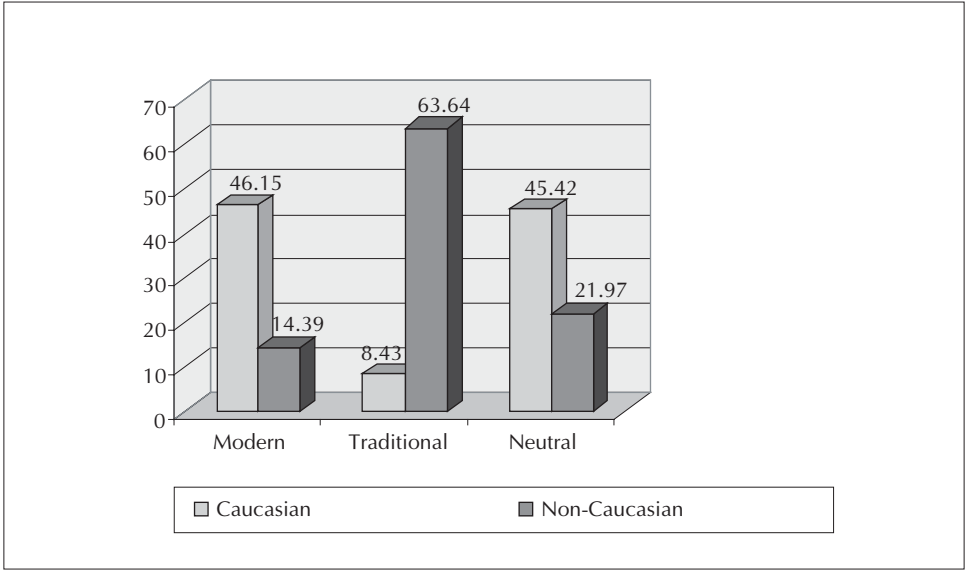


Figure 26. Attribution of the different types of clothing, seen in the illustrations, to the people with Caucasian and non-Caucasian features, %

The majority of the types of activity in which people portrayed in the illustrations are engaged are unspecified (neutral) (49.24% for non-Caucasians and 45.5% for Caucasians). For non-Caucasians the second biggest is a Business/Professional type of activity (32.58%), and the smallest is Leisure/Entertainment (18.18%). Caucasians seem to spend more time at leisure (29.61%), and less in business (24.89). It is important to note here that non-Caucasians employed in professional activities are mostly portrayed performing simple manual tasks (cutting wood, ploughing land, loading and unloading cargo, etc.), while their Caucasian counterparts are depicted in conference rooms, in front of personal computers and sophisticated machinery. (Figure 27)

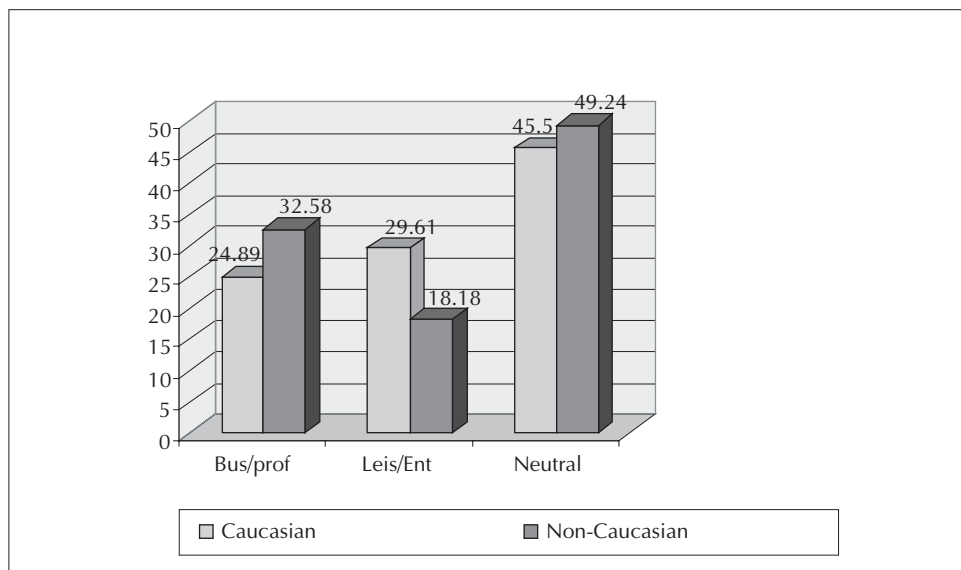


Figure 27. Activities, in which people with Caucasian and non-Caucasian features are engaged, as portrayed by the illustrations, %

Summary:

- The majority of illustrations depict people of Caucasian appearance.
- Out of 358 illustrations which portray ethnic Latvians and Latvian ethnic minorities, only 5.3% portray Latvian ethnic minorities.
- The majority of Caucasians are portrayed in neutral settings and dressed in modern clothes, while other races' representatives are mainly shown in rural settings wearing traditional costumes.
- The majority of Caucasians are portrayed while engaged in more sophisticated work activities (operating high-tech machinery, in front of personal computers) than people of other races, who are shown fulfilling simple manual tasks (ploughing land, cutting wood).

8. QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF TEXT AND ILLUSTRATIONS

8.1. Social integration aspects

This section will analyse and reflect upon the main social integration aspects – language, citizenship, civic participation and social interaction between ethnic Latvians and Latvian ethnic minorities – in the Latvian textbooks.

Language

Valoda

Language

Pats nomazgā kājas

Wash your feet,

Un nomazgā muti,

And wash your face,

Un kārtīgi zobus iztīri tu,

And thoroughly brush your teeth,

Bet tas nebūs viss vēl –

But this will not be all –

Pirms paša miega

Before you go to sleep,

Mēs tīrīsim tavu valodu.

We will clean your language.

Pielīp dubļi pie zābakiem,

Dirt sticks to boots,

Gruži – pie biksēm,

Lint –to trousers,

Un plastilīns cieši pie pirkstiem līp klāt;

And plasticine sticks to your fingers;

Tā svešiem vārdiem

Those foreign words

Tava valoda aplīp,

Stick to your tongue

Un vakarā vajag to izpurināt –

And should be shaken off at night

Lai nokrīt kā dadži

So that fall off

Steigā pakerti vārdi:

Words picked up in a rush:

‘Kurtka’, ‘samosvals’, ‘bante’, ‘davai’,

‘Kurtka’, ‘samosvals’, ‘bante’, ‘davai’⁴⁶

Kas dara kaunu

Which do shame

Vienīgi tavai –

To your one and,

Vienīgi latviešu valodai.

Only Latvian language.

Mēs ņemsim tos vārdus

We will take those words

Un nomazgāsim –

And wash them –

Lai balti uz savām valodām iet,

So that clean they can return to their languages

Lai tava valoda,

So that your language

Rāma un stipra,

Gentle and strong,

Tumsai nākot, mieg mierīgi ciet.

With the dark approaching, can peacefully fall asleep.

Tu aizmigi –

You will fall asleep –

Baltas būs kājas un rokas,

White will be your feet and hands,

Pat ausis būs sārtas, pat deguns būs sārts,

Flushed will be your ears, and flushed will be your nose,

Un tīrs un balts

And white and clean

Tev gulēs uz mēles

Asleep on your tongue,

Līdz pašam rītam ikkatrs vārds.

Till the next morning, every word.

46 Kurtka – jacket (RU), samosvals – dump-truck (RU), bante – bow (RU; DE), davai – let’s (RU). – MK

This poem is offered to third grade children in a Latvian language textbook.

The Latvian language plays a crucial role to the maintenance of the independent Latvian state, further development of Latvian culture and preservation of the historical heritage, as engraved in the State Language Law, adopted in 1999. The integrity and purity of the language, the development of modern terminology and freedom from unnecessary loan words are the primary tasks of Latvian linguists. Those who study the Latvian language should learn that, like any other language, it needs to be cherished and protected from the unnecessary influences of other languages.

However, it is uncertain if this is the message conveyed to the third-graders by the cited poem. If the intention was to show that for each foreign word (it should be noted that only Russian words are used as examples, with the possible exception of *'bante'*, which can also have German roots) mentioned in the poem there is an equivalent original term in the Latvian language: *'kurtka'* – *'jaka'*, *'samosvals'* – *'pašizgāzējs'*, *'bante'* – *'lente'*, and therefore there is simply no need to substitute, then it was done in an awkward manner. What children may become aware of after reading this particular piece of poetry, is that those innocent Russian words, meaning 'jacket', 'dumper truck' and 'bow', are for some reason dirty words, that 'stick to your tongue like dirt sticks to the shoes' and 'do shame to your Latvian tongue', and after using them it is necessary to wash your mouth with soap. Children, after being introduced to the Russian language in such a way, would be right to conclude that there are 'good' and 'bad' languages, those which make you a good girl or boy, and those which make you a bad one. Those children in the classroom whose native tongue is Russian might experience a denigrating attitude towards the language they speak at home, which may lead to problems with their ethnic identity and cultural association. *'If a culture is not generally respected, then the dignity and self-respect of its members will also be threatened.'*⁴⁷

*'Integration is also based on a willingness to accept Latvian as the state language, and respect for Latvian as well as minority languages and cultures, ' – says the National Programme of Social Integration in Latvia.*⁴⁸

47 (Margalit and Raz 1990:447–9, as quoted in Kymlicka, W. Multicultural Citizenship, Oxford University Press, 1995 p.89)

48 National Programme of Social Integration in Latvia, The Naturalization Board of the Republic of Latvia, Riga, 2001, p. 7

Good practice

In comparison, here is an example of a different, more ‘friendly’ linguistic approach from the Latvian language textbook for Grade 4.(Zīle. *Valodas gudribu grāmata 4. klasei*). Children are invited to read a poem by Vitauts Ļūdenis:

Laimiņas Valoda

Laima’s Language

Māmiņa – tā ir māmiņa

Mommy is mommy

Laimiņas valodā,

In Laima’s language,

tētis – tas ir tētis

Daddy is daddy

Laimiņas valodā,

In Laima’s language,

vecmāmiņa – tā ir vecmāmiņa,

Granny is granny,

vectētiņš – tas ir vectētiņš

Grandpa is grandpa

Laimiņas valodā,

In Laima’s language,

Lelle – tā ir lelle

A doll is a doll

Laimiņas valodā,

In Laima’s language,

vainadziņš – tas ir vainadziņš

A wreath is a wreath,

Laimiņas valodā,

In Laima’s language,

Usma – tā ir Usma,

Usma is Usma,

Mežotne – tā ir Mežotne,

Mežotne is Mežotne,

Daugava – tā ir Daugava,

Daugava is Daugava,

Rīga – tā ir Rīga,

Riga is Riga,

Latvija – tā ir Latvija,

Latvia is Latvia,

Laimiņas valodiņā,

In Laima’s language,

Un, ja tā labi ieklausās,

And, if you listen well,

Un, ja tā labi padomā,

And if you think about it,

Diāna, Zane, Mārīte, Krišjānis, Anna runā

Diana, Zane, Marite, Krisjanis, Anna speak

Laimiņas valodā,

Laima’s language,

mūsu valodā,

Our language,

latviešu valodā.

Latvian language..

The same sentiment – your native tongue is precious, and should be cherished – is achieved without derogatory statements about other languages. Moreover, as an additional assignment students are invited to think of how the same poem would be read by a child who was born in Russia, England or any other country. The textbook’s authors also suggest that some students may try to alter the poem this way, with help from the teacher and peers.

A Civic Studies textbook for Grade 9 introduces minority language and minority schools issues.

In the chapter 'Skola' [School] the authors introduce the excerpt from the LR Law on Education that guarantees equal rights to education for everybody, irrespective of their material and social status, race, ethnicity, religion, political views and health condition: *'Visiem Latvijas iedzīvotājiem neatkarīgi no viņu mantiskā un sociālā stāvokļa, rases, tautības, reliģijas, politiskās pārliecības, veselības stāvokļa ir vienlīdzīgas tiesības iegūt izglītību.'* [All Latvian residents regardless of their property and social status, race, nationality, gender, religious or political convictions and state of health, have equal rights to education.]

It is followed by the excerpt from the UN Universal Declaration on the Human Rights stipulating that every human being has rights to education. The following four pages review the different stages of education, explain the difference between the academic and professional education systems, and describe possible career choices. Then, separated by three asterisks, comes a paragraph about the expected expansion of the Latvian job market after EU integration, and the exceptional importance of proficiency in different languages. Which is followed by the statement:

*'Izglītības likums nosaka, ka mācības Latvijas Republikā notiek latviešu valodā, kas ir valsts valoda. **Citās valodās** līdztekus latviešu valodai mācības var notikt nacionālo un etnisko minoritāšu skolās, ārvalstu dibinātās izglītības iestādēs, augstākās un vidējās mācību iestādēs, kurās jaunieši tiek apmācīti svešvalodu specialitātēs.'* [The Law on Education stipulates that **studies in the Latvian Republic are in the Latvian language**, which is the state language. Education in **other languages** can be acquired in national and ethnic minorities' schools, foreign-founded education establishments, and higher and secondary education establishments which specialise in foreign language acquisition.]

It is unclear if these two consequent paragraphs are linked together. If the logical link was intended, then is the fact of minority schools' existence being explained by the growing importance of different languages under the EU conditions? Moreover, are the Latvian schools handicapped as a result of Latvian being the only language of instruction? Further on:

'Augusta nogalē uz soliņa pie mājas sēdēja Kristīne, Maša, Gžegošs un Ābrams. Viņi runāja par aizvadīto vasaru un sprieda par skolu. Pavisam drīz būs pirmais septembris un sāksies skolas gaitas. Maša, kuras vecāki ir krievi, stāstīja, ka viņas skolā mācības notiek krievu valodā, Gžegošs pavēstīja, ka viņš, tāpat kā iepriekšējā gadā, mācīsies poļu skolā, bet Ābrams teica, ka mamma viņu sūtīšot ebreju skolā. Bērni izbrīnīti cits citā paskatījās: 'Kāpēc mēs, sētā

spēlējoties, runājam latviski, bet skolā mācīsimies dažādās valodās?’ [At the end of August, Kristine, Masha, Gzegozs and Abram were sitting on a bench near the house. They talked about the summer and discussed school. Very soon the first of September would come, and school would start. Masha, whose parents are Russian, said that at her school lessons take place in the Russian language, Gzegozs informed that he, the same as last year, will study in a Polish school, while Abram said that his mother is sending him to a Jewish school. The children looked at each other in surprise: ‘Why do we, sitting here, speak Latvian, but at school we study in different languages?]

‘Ko tu zini par minoritāšu skolām?’ [What do you know about minority schools?]

Using the logic of working with a textbook, the answers to the questions at the end of the chapter should be looked for in the chapter itself – and then the obvious though rather absurd conclusion would be: children go to minority schools in order to learn different languages which will offer them better career possibilities when Latvia is integrated in the EU...

The logical construction of the chapter, where the minority school issue is somehow stuck between the EU integration, state language requirements, and the advantages of multilingual abilities for career development, prevents a clear understanding of the minority education topic. Is it about equal rights to education regardless of race and ethnicity, stipulated by the LR Education Law, which was mentioned in the beginning of the chapter? Or is it also about minorities’ rights to preserve their own language and cultural identity in a democratic state? An additional paragraph addressing minority education would benefit the whole chapter, and prevent possible misunderstandings.

In the chapter ‘*Sabiedrība*’ [*Society*] a definition of the ethnic group is given:

‘Etniskā grupa ir tādu cilvēku kopums, kuri pieder pie vienas tautas, runā vienā valodā un kuriem ir vienādas tradīcijas.’ [An ethnic group is a group of people who belong to the same ethnicity, speak the same language, and have the same traditions.]

Further in the text Latvians, Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Jews and Poles are mentioned as Latvia’s biggest ethnic groups, and the reader can try to apply the definition in practice, immediately noting several inconsistencies: Jews belong to the same nationality, although the majority of Jews living in Diaspora do not share a language; many of the ethnic Ukrainians and Belarussians in Latvia speak Russian in everyday life, but observe their own traditions.

The textbook also offers the following statement: *‘Ikviens cilvēks pieder pie kādas etniskas grupas.’* [Every person belongs to an ethnic group.]

There are many children in the classrooms of Latvia who cannot as easily belong to a single ethnic group as the textbook expects them to. The option of a multiple ethnic identity is lacking.

*‘Etniskās grupas ietvaros pastāv lielas atšķirības, taču tās pārstāvjus vieno **valoda, kopīgas ieražas, dzīves uztvere, domāšanas veids.***’ [There may be big differences within an ethnic group, but its representatives are united by **language, common customs, perception of life, and way of thinking.**]

If one can argue that common language is not a necessary prerequisite for the ethnic group existence, then the assumption that members of the ethnic group are bound by common *perception of life* and *way of thinking* is very far fetched, if not dangerous. What are the differences mentioned in the first part of the sentence, if they are not differences in *perception of life* and *way of thinking*? What else makes the members of the same ethnic group different – appearance? gender? temperament? social status?

Minorities and citizenship

The same Civic Studies textbook for Grade 9 uses the following example to illustrate the situation of citizens and non-citizens among the younger generation of Latvian residents.

Two youths, Jānis and Andrejs (their names identify them as an ethnic Latvian and an ethnic Russian respectively), meet at an ice-hockey training session. When the coach announces that all players have to submit their passports in order to prepare for an upcoming trip to Germany to participate in an international tournament, Andrejs, who does not have a Latvian passport, looks worried. It turns out that he does not have a Latvian non-citizen’s passport either, and therefore cannot travel abroad. Jānis is stunned, and starts to recollect what he knows about the situation of non-citizens in Latvia, suddenly understanding that he has never paid too much attention to the issue, and has no idea whatsoever what are the differences in the rights and responsibilities of citizens and non-citizens, and what are the implications of these differences for everyday life. *‘Vai patiesi Andrejs netiks uz ārzemēm tāpēc, ka nespēs sagādāt vajadzīgos dokumentus, bet viņš pats tiks, kaut arī nespēlēs labāk, toties ir pilsonis?’* [Can it be true that Andrejs will not go abroad just because he cannot produce the necessary documents, but he himself will go to the tournament just because he is a citizen, although is not a better hockey player?] – thinks the shaken teenager.

Jānis starts to question his friend on the matter – how come Andrejs, who was born and lived his whole life in Latvia, does not have Latvian citizenship? Andrejs replies that his parents immigrated from Russia in the 1970s, and neither of them are Latvian citizens, and explains to his friend that according to the Latvian legislation citizenship is automatically granted to the children only if at least one of the parents is a Latvian citizen. And he asks Jānis: *‘Vai tas ir taisnīgi?’* [Do you think it is fair?]

Jānis, who seems to regain composure in the meantime, avoids a direct answer to the question. He is said to ‘think for a while’ and then to answer, managing both to befriend Andrejs and to demonstrate a deep understanding of the Letter of Law: *‘Tu esi mans labākais draugs, un es domāju, ka tu noteikti esi pelnījis Latvijas pilsonību, bet likumi jau attiecas vienādi uz visiem. Jābūt taču kādam likumam, kas nosaka, kurš ir pilsonis un kurš tāds nav. Turklāt tu droši vien vari iegūt pilsonību, ja vien gribēsi, tikai jāizpilda likuma prasības.’* [You are my best friend, and I think that you are definitely entitled to Latvian citizenship, but the laws apply to everybody. There certainly should be a law, which says who is a citizen and who is not. Moreover, you can surely get citizenship if you want to. You just have to fulfil all the requirements.]

To which Andrejs ‘abruptly answers’: *‘Bet es tā īsti nemaz negribu būt Latvijas pilsonis, – tad man būs gadu jādien armijā, kāpēc man tas? Un vēl mocīties, rakstīt iesniegumu, kārtot eksāmenus – paldies!’* [But I don’t really want to become a Latvian citizen, – then I would have to serve in the army for a year, why do I need it? And then to suffer, write an application, pass examinations – no, thanks!]

‘Nu, ja tu gribi tikai labumus, bet nevēlies pildīt nekādas saistības, tad tev patiesībā arī nav nekādas jēgas kļūt par pilsoni.’ [Well, if you only want to gain advantages, but do not want to have responsibilities, then it really makes no sense for you to become a citizen,] – is the final observation of the politically mature Jānis.

The example used in the textbook is ethnically biased. It does not facilitate societal integration – on the contrary, the episode can be used as a plausible explanation not only of the existence of a large number of non-citizens among the young generation in Latvia, but also of the futility of attempts to integrate them, as they are not ready for such commitments. Thirdly, the moral standards set by the story told are of a dubious quality. Let’s have a look at each point in turn.

Ethnic bias: the two characters are strictly divided as ‘good’ (Jānis – empathetic, knowledgeable of law and civil rights, and obviously ready to fulfil his duties as a citizen,

including service in the army) and 'bad'(Andrejs – badly organised: could not take care of his legal status and ID on time, ignorant of the obligations citizenship brings along with the advantages, disloyal to the Latvian republic, and lazy as cannot be bothered with the formalities, citizenship examination and so on). Such role assignments go very well with the stereotypes which are commonly spread throughout the Latvian media, and clearly have no place in a civic education textbook.

From the social integration viewpoint, one can hardly call the dialogue described as constructive and positive. In fact, within the quoted passage, the problem of the non-citizens marginalisation had been quickly identified, discussed and justified: yes, there are such people among us; as they are not loyal enough towards this country they do not really deserve citizenship, neither do they care about it, and that is why the state of things is as it is. Andrejs has listed the following personal reasons against obtaining citizenship:

- Compulsory military service obligations
- Related formalities
- Citizenship examination

The textbook in question was approved by the MoES in 2000. According to the survey of Latvian inhabitants 'On the Way to a Civic Society – 2000', published by the Baltic Data House and the Naturalization Board of the Republic of Latvia, the most often mentioned reasons why non-citizens do not plan to apply for citizenship of the Republic of Latvia are doubt in their ability to pass the language and history exams (59% and 54% of respondent respectively), lack of financial means (every other respondent), the fact that they already have a non-citizen's passport (43%), 'not seeing the necessity of citizenship of the Republic of Latvia' (36%), belief that naturalisation is humiliating (every third respondent), perception of the ability to participate in elections as unimportant and not feeling that they belong to Latvia (every fourth respondent), no time for paperwork and exams (every fifth respondent), and, finally, only 8% mentioned no wish to serve in the army.⁴⁹

The survey's authors note that service in the army was most often mentioned as a factor by the young (15–30 years old) respondents. Without doubt, it is an influencing factor for young non-citizens, but an elusive attitude towards compulsory military service is a common phenomenon in contemporary Latvian society, including ethnic Latvians, and is reflected in media publications:

49 On the Way to a Civic Society : Survey of Latvian inhabitants, Baltic Data House; The Naturalization Board of the Republic of Latvia – Riga, 2001, p. 32,
http://www.np.gov.lv/index.php?en=info_en&saite=owcs2k.htm, last time accessed 09.08.2004

‘Neskatoties uz iesaucamo jauniešu vēlmi izvairīties no dienesta armijā, katastrofāli sliktu veselības stāvokli, zemo izglītības līmeni un citām likstām, Militārā dienesta iesaukšanas centrs (MDIC) cer apgādāt armiju ar jauniesaucamajiem arī turpmāk.’ [Despite the draftees’ wish to avoid army service, the disastrously poor state of health, the low level of education and other difficulties, the Army Service Draft Centre hopes to continue providing the army with new draftees.]⁵⁰

*‘Kamēr nedienēs ministru un deputātu dēli, armija būs tāda, kāda tā tagad ir.’
‘Latvijas armija pašreizējā veidolā rada pārāk sliktu auru, pārāk daudz negatīvas pieredzes, lai sabiedrība lepotos un uzticētos tās aizsardzības spējām, par spīti visiem gudrajiem cilvēkiem, kas tur ir, un viņu labajiem darbiem. [Until ministers’ and MPs’ sons are drafted to the army, the army will stay the way it is now. The Latvian army with its present image displays too negative an aura, too many negative experiences, which prevent the society from being proud of its defence forces, and from trusting these forces, in spite of all the intelligent army people and their achievements.]⁵¹*

Moreover, according to data from the Ministry of Defence of Latvia, ‘2003 gadā nozīmīgi pieaudzis sabiedrības atbalsts profesionālu bruņoto spēku izveidei. Šo ieceri atbalsta vairāk nekā 80%, turklāt vairāk nekā puse sabiedrības šādu pāreju atbalsta pilnībā.’ [Society’s support for the creation of professional armed forces has grown significantly during 2003. This concept is being supported by more than 80%, moreover, more than half of the society supports this transition in full.]⁵²

Therefore, it is not fair to put the blame for unwillingness to serve in the army exclusively on the non-citizens.

Speaking of the moral standards implied by the passage in question, it is clear to the reader that Andrejs is egocentric, immature, and sloppy. But what about his counterpart Jānis? What set of moral values does he reveal in the process of discussion? In the beginning he calls Andrejs his ‘best friend’ and expresses no doubt that as such Andrejs deserves citizenship. He is modest, as shown by his recognition that he is not a better player than Andrejs, and demonstrates enough sensitivity to feel uncomfortable about participation in the tournament being secured by citizenship rather than sports merits. All in all he leaves an impression of a mature person and a reliable pal, until there is a sudden change of heart – after one careless statement (by his best friend), without any

50 Neatkarīgā Rita Avize, 26.01.1999

51 Diena, 24.01.2002

52 Latvijas Sabiedrības attieksme pret valsts aizsardzības jautājumiem. 2003. gads [Attitude of the Latvian society towards the state defence issues]. <http://www.mod.gov.lv/index.php?pid=03346>

further enquiries or explanations, he turns into a passionless judge and reads a verdict to the newly made outcast Andrejs. The situation described cannot be called an inspiring example of true friendship among two teenagers, regardless of their ethnic background.

Latvians and Russians – mutual exclusion

Another interesting phenomenon is the mutual exclusion of ethnic Latvians and ethnic Russians in Russian–language and Latvian–language textbooks respectively.

As has already been indicated by the quantitative analysis, Latvian–language and Russian–language textbooks exist in two separate information spaces that rarely overlap. Not many stereotypes are to be found, because in the textbooks' reality Latvians and Russians simply ignore each other. Those studying with the Latvian–language textbooks could get the impression that Latvia is a monocultural state, populated exclusively by ethnic Latvians; while Russian–language textbooks mainly describe another state's reality (Russia), with occasional returns to Latvia, exclusive of its Latvian population. Reading Latvian textbooks, it is hard to believe that in real life all these Kristaps, Lienes, Marutas and Nikolays, Olgas and Ivans actually live in the same country, walk the same streets, play in the same backyards and go to the same cinemas.

For example, Maths textbooks of the selected sample adhere to the unspoken rule – Latvian–language textbooks are exclusively populated by Latvian characters, and in the Russian–language textbooks only Tanyas and Vityas share apples, go shopping and build sandcastles in order to make readers add, subtract, multiply and divide.

Moreover, if two identical textbooks are published in the Latvian and Russian languages (normally a textbook originally written in Latvian would be translated into Russian), the original Latvian names would be carefully replaced by Russian. For example, the Maths textbook for Grade 4, which has been published in both languages, offers the following assignment to the Latvian readers:

Tēvs ir nopircis Aijai, Ainai un Ausmai 10 ābolu. Palidzi tos sadalīt visām māsiņām vienādā skaitā! [Father has bought 10 apples for Aija, Aina and Ausma. Help to divide the apples among the sisters, so that each one gets an equal share!]

The same assignment in the Russian–language version of the book reads:

Отец купил Ане, Асе и Алене 10 яблок. Помоги сестрам разделить их поровну.

[Father has bought 10 apples for Anja, Asja and Aljona. Help to divide the apples among the sisters, so that each one gets an equal share!]

And so on – *Andris*, *Brencis* and *Centis* turn into *Misha*, *Pasha* and *Gosha*, *Aija* becomes *Alla*... Only occasionally does the translator insert a couple of Latvian names paired with Russian characters: *Jānis* and *Jura*, *Dima* and *Kristaps*. Apparently the translator of the book decided to translate the names of the characters to make the material more relevant to the readers. The few Latvian names inserted could have been a tribute to the social integration process. But why does the Latvian original of the textbook not use Russian or other minorities' names at all? It is unclear which purpose is served by the continuous separation of ethnic Latvians and non-Latvians in the schoolbooks' texts, and it can by no means facilitate the social integration process.

Good practice

In the Maths textbook for Grade 3, Parts I and II, along with *Kaspars*, *Ilze* and 'Ozolu ģimene', *Sergejs*, 'Sokolovas kundze' and 'Petrovu ģimene' are riding the buses, visiting supermarkets and picking mushrooms. Curiously, even 'Vudi' (apparently 'Woods') have made it to the pages of this particular textbook, whose authors made an effort to include the very same people who interact in real life in the imagined activities of the textbook assignments.

The same trend can be observed in the two Natural Science textbooks for Grade 1, where the Russian book is a translation from the Latvian. The books are almost identical, with minor differences. One of the differences is that poems by the Latvian poet J. Osmaniņš have been replaced by riddles and proverbs, and that Latvian proverbs have been changed to Russian. This may be explained by the difficulties of literary translation. Another difference is that the Latvian book characters *Ilze* and *Kaspars* become *Tanya* and *Vitya* in the Russian translation, and only the name of the third character, *Jānis Kalniņš*, stays unchanged. Again, there are no characters with Russian names in the Latvian original.

Otherwise, the Natural Science and Geography textbooks do not mention Latvian minorities much, except in the places reserved for them, as in the chapters dedicated to the ethnic composition of the Latvian population.

It is symptomatic that even in the Civic Education textbook minority representatives appear only in 'minority-related' contexts. For example, the Civil Science textbook for Grade 9 uses short sketches of various life situations to illustrate different social, political

and ideological concepts. The characters in these sketches discuss different problems, exchange opinions, ask questions, etc. Out of 60 sketches, minority representatives appear in only three of them – predictably, the topics are: minority schools, citizenship, and naturalisation. They do not participate in discussions about other topics, such as family, legislation, politics, state and the constitution.

Separation from the Latvian reality, which is common in the Russian-language Language and Literature textbooks, is another issue. For example, at the beginning of the Russian language textbook for Grade 2, in the chapter introducing proper nouns, there is an attempt to connect to the local environment by introducing the poem by J. Osmaniš 'Mana Rīga' [My Riga], showing a map of Latvia with an assignment to find various Latvian towns and rivers on it, asking why Liepāja is called The City of Seven Winds, etc. The assignment asking the students to read and re-write the text, informs the students that:

‘Мы живем в Латвии. Рига – столица нашего государства. Главная площадь столицы – Домская площадь. Она находится в Старой Риге у знаменитого Домского Собора.’ [We live in Latvia. Riga is the capital of our country. The main square of the capital is Dome square. It is in the Old City, near the famous Dome Cathedral.]

Having established the geographical territory, the focus moves to personalities, and one could be under the impression that Dome Square, the Old City of Riga and the rest of Latvia with its large and small cities and rivers is populated exclusively by Vladimirs, Sergeys, Mashas, Dimas and Katyas – all specific Russian names, with no Latvians or representatives of other ethnic minorities visible at all. The exception is Juris Bērzs, who is the only Latvian mentioned in the textbook. Juris Berzs, resident of Liepu iela 10–2, Riga, LV–1029 is used as an example of how envelopes are inscribed in Latvia.

A Russian language textbook for Grade 9 informs the students in a punctuation assignment:

1) Москва – это древний город. Москва была основана в 1147 году. 2) Санкт–Петербург – архитектурный город–памятник России. В нем поражают своей неповторимой красотой Дворцовая площадь с Зимним дворцом, здания Невского проспекта, величественные храмы, музеи...3) Вологда – центр Вологодской земли. С начала 19 века мастерицы этой земли прославились умением плести удивительные кружева. 4) Палех – небольшой поселок. Из года в год едут в Палех туристы, мечтающие увидеть знаменитую палехскую роспись.

[1) Moscow is an ancient city. Moscow was founded in 1147. 2) St. Petersburg is an architectural city—monument of Russia. The Palace square with the Winter Palace, buildings on Nevsky Prospect, magnificent churches and museums amaze with unique beauty...3)Vologda is the centre of Vologda's region. From the beginning of the 19th century craftswomen of this region became famous for their skills in weaving amazing lace.4) Paleh is a small village. Year after year tourists come to Paleh to see the famous Paleh paintings.]

Finally, as an afterthought:

5) Рига – неповторимый и прекрасный город. В его облике увековечены многочисленные повороты истории.

[5) Rīga – a unique and beautiful city. Many events and turns of history are reflected in its appearance.]

The deeply-rooted tradition of Russian Language (as a subject) textbooks to use excerpts from Russian classics for different grammatical assignments is a fine practice, allowing students to get acquainted with the masterful language of literary geniuses. But not all of the assignments' texts are quotations from the classics. However, the majority of 'neutral' texts are dedicated to descriptions of Russian towns and places of tourist interest, leaving Latvia somewhere in the shade. Given that the analysed textbooks were written for children living and studying in Latvia, the almost total omission of Latvian scenery seems unjustified, as descriptions of the country's beautiful and historical places in the textbooks, apart from their purely enlightening function, are also meant to reinforce a sense of belonging and national pride.

Good practice

The following example from the Russian language textbook for Grade 9 shows that positive trends are indeed present, and perhaps should be further encouraged. It is an assignment on punctuation using sentences in Latvian language:

- 1) Oskars sacīja: 'Pateicos jums par ostas būvi.' 2) 'Kas tad nu man par tiem stāstīja?' Ivars nodudināja klusām. 3) 'Būs jāaiziet uz ezeru ausmā,' izlēma mazais Ignats. 4) 'Labi,' Jānis atsaucās, 'to es varu darīt.'

The students are asked to translate the sentences into Russian, and to evaluate the differences in punctuation rules between the two languages.

The assignment 'At the crossroad of cultures' tackles cultural differences by comparing different English and Russian proverbs; students are invited to answer the questions: how would Russians respond to the English proverb 'You can never be too careful', and how would Latvians respond to the same proverb?

The same textbook offers interesting assignments for translating from Ukrainian and Polish languages to Russian in order to illustrate differences and similarities between East- and South-Slavic languages.

Other nations' portrayal in the textbooks

If there are certain similarities observed between Latvian-language and Russian-language textbooks in the way Russians and Latvians respectively exclude each other from the textbooks' content, then there is even more similarity in their respective perception of other nations, where a sharp distinction is made between Western and non-Western ways of life; unfavourable towards the latter.

In the natural science textbook for Grade 4, the first page of the chapter '*Kādi izskatās cilvēki citās zemēs?*' [*How do people look in other countries?*] informs the reader that before Europeans conquered Asia, Africa, Australia and America, local people with completely different looks [*pilnīgi atšķirīga izskata vietējie iedzīvotāji*] lived there. [*Kamēr eiropieši nebija iekarojuši Āziju, Āfriku, Austrāliju un Ameriku, šajās pasaules daļās dzīvoja pilnīgi atšķirīga izskata vietējie iedzīvotāji.*] Approximately 500 years ago the Europeans started to oppress the other lands' inhabitants and forced them out of their places of residence. Because of this, people of different skin colours (black, red, yellow and white) now live on every continent. [*Apmēram pirms 500 gadiem eiropieši sāka apspiest citu zemju iedzīvotāju tiesības un izstūma tos no ierasto dzīvesvietu rajoniem. Līdz ar to tagad katrā kontinentā dzīvo visdažādākās ādas krāsas (melnas, sarkanas, dzeltenas, baltas) cilvēki.*] There are seven photos illustrating this page, with commentary: African, Latvian, Chinese, Indian, South American Indian, Australian Aborigine, Inuit. Except for the African boy and Latvian girl, everybody is dressed in traditional costumes.

True, the text on the next page says that '*Katrai tautai senāk bija raksturīgs arī īpašs ģērbsšanās veids, ko noteica gan praktiski apsvērumi, piemērojoties vietējam klimatam, gan senču tradīcijas rotu, tērpu zīmējuma un raksta, krāsu un formu izvēlē. Mūsdienās šādu tērpus, rotas un ķermeņu greznojumus var redzēt tikai tajās zemēs, kur pamatiedzīvotāji joprojām kopj savu senču tradīcijas.*' [*Every nation in the older times had its own characteristic style of dress, which was dictated both by practical considerations, in order to adjust to the*

local climate, by ancestors' traditional decorations, and by clothes' ornaments, colours and shapes.] The text is illustrated by five photos without commentary, which presumably portray African (two photos), American Indian, Chinese and Far North inhabitants, all wearing traditional national costumes.

The differences between the two pages cited above is that on the second page the selection of photos to illustrate the text is warranted, provided the explanations about the use of national costumes is limited to areas where people keep the ancient traditions, and the fact that everybody is depicted within the same context – i.e., all of the people portrayed are wearing traditional costumes. On the previous page, first of all, it is unclear, which part of the text is being illustrated by the photos – the completely different looks of people from the different continents 500 years ago (again, different in what – physical features? clothing?), or people of different skin colours living on every continent nowadays. In any case, why are the Latvian girl and the African boy dressed in modern clothes, while all the others wear traditional dresses (the South American Indian, actually, wears very little). The selection of the illustrative material looks to be random and has not kept possible interpretations in mind.

The text on the first page, stating that Europeans conquered Asia, Africa, Australia and America is an oversimplification of the 500 year–long colonial era, which may lead to further stereotyping of both former colonial empires, and post–colonial countries.

The Geography textbook for eighth–graders describes the richness and diversity of cultures in the world, concentrating entirely on superficial differences and 'curious', from the European point of view, local habits: *'У народов Азии большое разнообразие обычаев, традиций и привычек. Народы различаются как по одежде (В Мьянме (Бирме) как мужчины, так и женщины носят юбки, а во Вьетнаме все ходят в длинных штанах), так и по укладу жизни (в Индии принято вступать в брак только с представителями своей касты).* [There is a great variety of customs, traditions and habits among people of Asia. The nations differ in clothes (in Mjanma (Birma) both men and women wear skirts, and in Vietnam everybody wears long pants), as well as in life practices (in India there is a custom of marrying only representatives of your own caste).

The fragment cited above may be of doubtful educational quality, but evaluating this aspect is not the purpose of this study. What is important, is that stereotypical, shallow images of other nations are planted in the children's minds by it.

In the natural science textbook for Grade 3 (Chapter 'People in the world and in Latvia'), readers are told that *'Различие во внешнем облике и своеобразии стиля одежды людей,*

живущих в разных регионах страны и земного шара, обусловлены природными условиями в местах их постоянного проживания, а также традициями и культурой разных народов.’ [Differences in appearances and peculiarities of clothing styles of people who live in the different regions of the country and the globe, are dictated by the natural conditions of their habitats, as well as by tradition and culture.] Students are then invited to look at the illustrations and, judging by people’s appearance, determine where they come from, and what weather conditions are typical for those places. The illustrations consist of one drawing and six photographs. The drawing portrays a group of eight people, presumably a Latvian boy, a Spanish woman, an African woman, an Indian woman, a Latin American (possibly), a man from the Far North, a man from one of the Central Asian republics and a Japanese woman. Everybody, except for the Latvian, who is dressed casually in a sweater and a pair of slacks, is either wearing a national costume or is holding a ‘national’ item in their hands: The Spanish woman wears a long dress, her hair is decorated with flowers, and her face is partially covered by a fan, the African woman is carrying a huge bowl on her head, the Indian woman is dressed in a sari, and wears a caste mark on her forehead, the man from the Far North is wearing a parka decorated with fur, the Central Asian man is wearing a robe, a turban, and sitting barefoot in front of a pilav dish, and the Japanese woman is in a kimono kneeling down with a cup of tea in her hand.

In fact, many traditional ‘national’ images are nothing other than stereotypes, and here the cognitive function of stereotyping is put into use, speeding up the learning process. But putting the Latvian ‘host’ dressed in modern clothes in the same picture is not justified – if the purpose of the illustration is easy recognition of cultural backgrounds, he could have worn traditional Latvian attire.

The chapter ‘Kontinenti’ [Continents] of the natural sciences textbook for Grade 4 dedicates two–three pages to each continent, with a short description of its climate, topography, wild animals, etc. It also includes a couple of sentences about the inhabitants, for example, about Indians being the native inhabitants of America. When it comes to the African inhabitants, they are described as follows:

‘Āfrikā dzīvo daudz dažādu tautu. Starp tām ir gan pasaulē garākie, gan īsākie cilvēki.’ [There are many different peoples living in Africa. Among them are the tallest, and the shortest people in the world.] Immediately afterwards: *‘Padomā! Kādi izskatās Āfrikas iedzīvotāji?’* [Think! What do African inhabitants look like?]

It remains unclear whether the question refers to the information provided in the previous paragraph (if yes, then what is the answer expected – They are very tall or very short?),

or whether the answer should be sought with the help of the four photos illustrating the page. Two of them (a neatly dressed mother with a child against a background of lush green hills, and a man transporting a pig on a bicycle – in this context not necessarily condescending) are not negatively loaded. Two others depict mud huts, naked children with swollen bellies, tin roofs and starved dogs.

True, the poverty level in many African countries is the highest in the world, its people suffer from starvation, epidemic diseases, and on-going ethnic wars. Still, this is the second largest continent in the world, which contains a variety of different cultures, languages (over one thousand), political regimes and levels of economic development. Taking into consideration that this textbook's chapter is one of the first introductions of the fourth grade students to the African continent, then the very diverse African nation, which has contributed many great thinkers, scientists, writers, artists and human rights activists to the world, is being introduced in a simple-minded, if not derogatory, manner. The principles of impartiality are not observed while presenting the material: illustrations used by the Latvian textbooks tend to present Europe and the rest of the Western world from a tourist guidebook perspective, while pictures of Third World countries rather belong to a poverty assessment report.

In fact, it is not really a particularity of Latvian textbooks, but a common phenomenon within European countries. Teun A. Van Dijk, commenting on the results of existing studies of children's books and textbooks, writes: 'Briefly summarizing the major results of these studies, we find, first, that the home country, and then other Western countries or Western civilization, are systematically portrayed more extensively, more favorably, and as superior to the colonized, Third World, or 'Black' countries and civilizations of the southern hemisphere, notably in Asia and Africa.'⁵³

Below is a selection of 'positive' stereotypes of other nations from textbooks of the sample:

'Norvēģi ir ļoti neatkarīgi, patstāvīgi cilvēki, viņi paši atbild par sevi, nejaucas otra darīšanās un necieš, ka to dara citi. Darbā norvēģi ir pamatīgi, vispirms kārtīgi izdomā un tad strādā.'
[Norwegians are very independent, self-sufficient people, who take responsibility for themselves, do not interfere in other's business and cannot stand it if others do so. At work Norwegians are very thorough; first they carefully plan everything, and then get down to the job.]

53 van Dijk, T. Communicating Racism: Ethnic Prejudice in Thought and Talk, Sage Publications, 1987 p.46

‘Austrālieši ir lieli ēdāji un dzērāji. ... Tas ir nerakstīts likums – katram austrālietim ir draugs, un ar šo draugu viņu saista ciešākas saiknes nekā ar sievu.’

[Australians are big eaters and drinkers...There is an unwritten law that each Australian man has a friend, with whom he has closer connections than with his wife.]

‘Vāciešu nacionālās raksturīpašības ir pazīstamas – tā ir darba mīlestība, punktualitāte, taupība, organizētība, pedantiskums, nopietnība, cenšanās pēc kārtības.’

[The German national characteristics are well-known – these are love for work, punctuality, parsimony, being well-organised, pedantic, serious and striving for order.]

‘Francūziem patīk darba jautājumus apspriest, sēžot kopīgi pie maltītes. ... Uz vakariņām vēlams nokavēties vismaz 15 minūtes, jo punktualitāte nav raksturīga francūžu īpašība.’

[The French like to discuss business matters together at a meal. ... It is desirable to be late for dinner by at least 15 minutes, as punctuality is not characteristic of French people.]

‘Японцы невелики ростом и очень трудолюбивы.’

[The Japanese are of short height and very hard-working.].

8.2. Religion

The Geography textbook for Grade 8 touches upon the role of religion in a rather superficial manner: *‘Религиозные верования все еще имеют большое влияние на жизнь людей этого региона. Однако все чаще на традиционный для Востока образ жизни начинает влиять западный стиль жизни.’* [*Religious beliefs still have a very big influence on the life of people in this region, although the Western style of life is starting to influence the traditional Eastern ways more and more often.*]

Presumably, the intention was to address the issue of different state systems, and of separation of church from the state. However, the author’s way of opposing Eastern ways of life to the Western ones rather implies that although people of the East still hold on to their religious beliefs, Westerners, who have themselves denounced God, are increasingly spreading this influence to less advanced cultures. Thus the example provides pupils with a stereotype completely removed from the cultural and historical background of the East.

The same textbook says about the Jews: *‘Уже в древности этот народ неоднократно изгонялся с земель, на которых жил. ...Возможно, другие народы относились к евреям с недоверием из-за их самобытных традиций, а также занятий. В средние*

века евреи давали деньги взаймы под проценты, а христиане считали это обогащением за чужой счет. Самые жестокие преследования евреев (Холокост) происходили во время Второй мировой войны, когда по приказу Гитлера были убиты 6 млн европейских евреев.'

[Already in the ancient times these people were repeatedly expelled from the lands they were living in. ...Possibly, other people treated Jews with suspicion because of their strange customs and occupations. During the Middle Ages Jews lent money with interest, which Christians considered enrichment at other people's expense. The cruellest persecutions of Jews (Holocaust) took place during World War II, when on Hitler's orders 6 million European Jews were killed.]

A very peculiar attempt to investigate the causes of anti-Semitism: **possibly**, the other nations distrusted Jews because of their traditions and modes of occupation – possibly, there were also other reasons? Following the authors' logic, the extermination of 6 million European Jews on Hitler's orders was just the biggest episode in a chain of events triggered by strange customs and interest-bearing loans. This oversimplification of the historical causes of anti-Semitism and centuries of Jewish history reinforces anti-Semitic stereotypes, instead of countering them. Moreover, the quoted fragment itself contains two (possibly three) of the six categories of racist anti-Semitic stereotyping of 'the Jew' established by A. Pollack and N. Eger during analysis of German anti-Semitic literature of the 1930s and 1940s (the ones which can be attributed to the textbook fragment quoted are italicised):

- The 'deceitful', 'crooked', 'artful' nature of 'the Jew';
- ***The 'foreign' and 'different' essence of 'the Jew';***
- The 'irreconcilability', 'hostility', 'agitation' of 'the Jew';
- ***The 'commercial talent' and 'relation to money' of 'the Jew';***
- The 'corrupt' nature of 'the Jew';
- Jewish 'power and influence' and a Jewish 'world conspiracy'.⁵⁴

It is entirely shocking that at the beginning of the 21st century there is still a generation of Latvian children, for whom the first facts learned about Jews are 'suspicion', 'expulsion', 'strange customs', and 'usury'.

About the Jewish religion: *'Религия евреев – иудаизм. В отличие от других религий, евреем считается ребенок, родившийся у еврейки – независимо от того, соблюда-*

⁵⁴ Pollak, A. and Eger, N.: Antisemitismus mit Anspielungscharakter. In: Anton Pelinka, Ruth Wodak (ed.): Politik der Ausgrenzung. Vienna: Czernin, 2002, pp. 187–210, as quoted in the European Monitoring Centre for Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) report Manifestations of Antisemitism in the EU 2002–2003, p. 12

ются ли в семье законы иудаизма.’ [The religion of the Jews is Judaism. Different from other religions, the Jew is a child of a Jewish mother, regardless of whether the family observe Judaic traditions.] Apart from being imprecise (a person who has undergone conversion to Judaism will be regarded as a Jew; the Reform movement recognises the child of a Jewish father as a Jew; converts to another faith are no longer regarded as Jews), the passage exaggerates the severity of existing religious rules, and implies a lack of personal choice in the matter.

The same textbook calls the Middle East ‘the cradle of religions’, explaining that three major world religions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam have emerged from this region, and that Islam is the youngest of the three faiths. After explaining that the Holy book of Muslims is called the Quran, readers are briefly introduced to two of the five pillars of faith (i.e. that God Allah should be prayed to five times a day kneeling down and facing Mecca, and that haj as the topmost life purpose of any Muslim). [На Ближнем Востоке возникли три влиятельные религии мира – иудаизм, христианство и ислам. На большей части территории преобладает самая молодая из этих религий – ислам (возник в начале VII века). Священное писание мусульман называется Коран. Богу Аллаху следует молиться пять раз в день, опустившись на колени и обратившись в сторону Мекки. Мусульмане хотя бы раз в жизни должны совершить паломничество (хадж) в Мекку – город в Саудовской Аравии, где родился исламский пророк Мухаммед.] No explanations are offered as to why it is important to face Mecca while praying, or what haj is about. The other three pillars of faith have been omitted. Without at least some explanations about the original true meaning of the religious customs, many of them may look bizarre to an outsider: try to imagine the reaction of a Muslim child who is abruptly told by a textbook that Catholics pretend to eat Christ’s flesh and drink his blood during communion.

Describing Islam traditions, attention is drawn exclusively to the fundamentalist aspects of the faith: ‘Исламские законы (шариат) определяют повседневную жизнь мусульманина, в том числе и в кругу семьи. Большие ограничения касаются женщин: существуют многоженство и браки с несовершеннолетними девочками; следует носить одежду, закрывающую все, даже лицо.’ [Shariat laws regulate the everyday life of a Muslim, including his family relationships. Restrictions are applied to women: polygamy is accepted, as are marriages with underage girls; it is required to wear clothes totally covering the body, including the face.] It is hardly an unbiased approach to present one of the world’s biggest religions speaking only of its fundamentalist movement, and it is important to draw a clear distinction between the religion of Islam, its fundamentalist movements and Islamic extremists.

8.3. Migration

Migration issues in both Latvian–language and Russian–language textbooks of the sample are interpreted only from the negative aspect, i.e., as a source of potential ethnic conflicts, and sometimes even as a prerequisite for ethnic conflict. No positive aspects of migration are mentioned, such as improvements to the demographic situation in the destination country, the influx of new workforce, skills and knowledge and increased cultural diversity.

For example, a Geography textbook for Grade 8, which is a translation from the Latvian language into Russian, and therefore available for both Latvian– and Russian–speaking children, informs readers that *‘Почти во всех странах Юго–Восточной Азии живут большое число иммигрантов из Китая и стран Южной Азии. Поэтому часто можно слышать и читать сообщения об этнических разногласиях между разными народами на территории одной страны, а также между разными государствами. [In almost all countries of South–East Asia there is a large number of immigrants from China and South–Asian countries. That’s why one can often hear and read about ethnic disagreements between different nations within the territory of the same country, as well as between different states.]* About Germany: *‘Большой наплыв иностранцев в страну создает различные проблемы, в том числе этнические разногласия.’ [The big influx of foreigners into the country creates various problems, including ethnic disagreements.]*

There is no distinction made between economic and forced migration, no mention of asylum seekers and refugees; the projected image of migration is of a regrettable, but unavoidable movement of people from one country to another in search of better (probably undeserved) life conditions.

‘В поисках лучших условий жизни в Европе селятся представители азиатских и африканских народов.’ [Searching for better life conditions, representatives of Asian and African nations settle down in Europe.]

Finally, the textbooks define migration as the only cause behind the existence of ethnic minorities, completely overlooking, for example, minorities which have been created by the joining of previously self–governing territories into a federal state (for example, Belgium and Canada).

‘И в самой Европе жители перемешаются из одной страны в другую как из–за национальных конфликтов, так и в надежде найти лучше оплачиваемую работу. Поэтому во многих странах есть так называемые этнические меньшинства. [Within Europe itself, inhabitants move from one country to another as a result of ethnic conflicts, as well as in the hope of finding better–paying jobs. This is why there are ethnic minorities in many countries.]

9. CONCLUSIONS

- Latvian minorities, except for Russians, are almost never present in the Latvian textbooks of the sample, and their contribution to Latvian culture and history is poorly reflected. Russians are mainly present in the Russian–language textbooks, which, in turn, exclude ethnic Latvians and non–Russian Latvian ethnic minorities.
- Both Latvian– and Russian–language textbooks are ethnocentric in their disregard of other ethnicities present in Latvia, and their social and cultural contribution; both are more open to ‘Western cultures’, although their specific ‘country preferences’ differ.
- There is no social interaction between ethnic Latvians and ethnic Russians portrayed in the textbooks. Moreover, when Latvian–language textbooks are translated to Russian, most of the Latvian names are replaced by Russian names. In the Latvian–language originals, there are no Russian names in the first place.
- The ‘textbook reality’ of Latvian– and Russian–language textbooks is overtly separated. Latvian–language textbooks create a monocultural information space, absent of minority representatives, while in the Russian–language textbooks Russian characters are detached from the Latvian social scene.
- Latvian– and Russian–speakers, as reflected in the textbooks, seem to have no common traditional holidays. The biggest Latvian holidays are hardly mentioned in the Russian–language textbooks, while non–Latvian holidays are not mentioned at all in the Latvian–language textbooks. There are no cross–references to the ecumenical holidays made. The only common denominators seem to be the neutral New Year, and, surprisingly, the recently ‘imported’ All Saints Day, which seems to be equally popular with both Latvian– and Russian–speakers.
- Minorities are mainly mentioned in the chapters directly related to the minority issues (ethnic composition of the population, citizenship, naturalisation), and are not mentioned in other parts of the textbooks. There is no other evidence of minorities’ presence in the society, no casual interaction between ethnic Latvians and minorities, with a very few exceptions. Minorities’ representatives are not used to illustrate the positive examples of loyalty to the state, civil participation, etc. – these roles are strictly reserved for ethnic Latvians. Interaction between

ethnic Latvians and Latvian minorities' representatives is hardly reflected, and the 'role distribution' is often biased.

- There is very little attention paid to the two other Baltic countries, Estonia and Lithuania, and their culture and traditions, despite strong historical, political and economic ties in the Baltic region.
- Altogether, judging by the quoted sources, Latvian textbooks tend to be more oriented towards Western rather than Eastern Europe.
- There are very few stereotypes in relation to Latvian minorities in the textbooks; most of the stereotypes found pertain to the description of other nations.
- Countries of the Third World (Africa, Asia and Latin America) are portrayed from a Western-based, ethnocentric and condescending point of view. Little attention, if any, is paid to their history, cultural and scientific achievements, etc.
- While describing non-Christian religions, the main accent is on trivia and 'unusual', from the Christian's perspective, practices, instead of the main principles of faith.
- One particular textbook, dealing with the issue of anti-Semitism, distorts historical facts, and reinforces existing negative stereotypes about Jews instead of countering them.
- Descriptions of Islam are negatively charged, and a strong accent is put on the fundamentalist aspects of the faith, without counterbalancing it with positive or at least impartial facts about the history of the religion and its contribution to the world.
- Migration issues are addressed exclusively from a negative perspective, as a source and even precondition of ethnic conflicts; migrants are portrayed as seekers of a good life, predisposing students towards negative stereotyping of newcomers; no positive aspects of migration, such as improvement of the demographic situation, imported skills, or cultural diversity are mentioned.
- Textbooks illustrations, portraying people of other races, tend to depict them in an exotic, primitive or archaic setting, in comparison to Europeans, who are shown as modern and progressive.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Control over textbooks' content, implemented by the CCDE, is organised along the same lines as in many other democratic countries. However, the applicable evaluation criteria pertaining to social integration and minority rights fields are too general, and allow for very wide and vague interpretations. The revision of the criteria is recommended, making them concise and more detailed, and incorporating those criteria into each subjects' standards. It may be a positive step to include an expert on social integration issues, as well as representatives of minority communities and religious groups, to participate in the development of these criteria. Perhaps experts on minority issues should also be represented on the textbook evaluation committee.

DESCRIPTION OF DESIRABLE ADDITIONAL EVALUATION CRITERIA

- Proportional representation of characters with different ethnic background.
- Minorities mentioned in all parts of the text, including as positive examples.
- Interaction between minorities and ethnic Latvians in everyday life, using both Latvian and minorities' names and last names in both Latvian–language and Russian–language textbooks.
- Reflection of the Latvian social scene in the Russian–language textbooks.
- Respectful attitude towards Russian and other minorities' languages, culture and traditional values; showing interaction between Latvian and minorities' languages (a good example could be an assignment on the correct spelling of Latvian names and geographical names in Russian; comparison between traditional sayings in Latvian and in minorities' languages; grammatical and phonetic similarities and differences, etc.).
- Avoiding ethnocentric points of view, and condescending attitudes towards non-European countries, as well as impartial accounts of other cultures, religions and traditions; instead of unusual, 'exotic' secondary facts and superficial generalisations, the main accent should be on basic values, historical achievements and cultural contributions to the world.
- Unbiased presentation of the non-Christian religions, including Judaism and Islam.
- Migration issues should be addressed in all the complexity of the issue, mentioning the positive along with the negative aspects of migration.
- Careful selection of illustrations, especially illustrations of people from other races and the Third World countries, to avoid stereotyping and unfair comparisons.

Involvement of the outside experts, such as specialists on minority culture, on religion, migration and social integration issues, in the elaboration of the evaluation criteria would be desirable. Multicultural training would be beneficial for experts evaluating the textbooks' content, as well as for the textbooks' authors.

The most efficient way to improve the textbooks' evaluation criteria, optimise the evaluation procedure, and, as a result, ensure the stereotype-free, unbiased content of Latvian textbooks would be through cooperation of the state institutions (MoES, Secretariat of the Special Task Minister for Society Integration) and the NGO sector. An exchange of experience and best practice with other countries, especially within the European Union, would also be very important.

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 31. Šulmane, I., Kruks, S, Etniskie un politiskie stereotipi. Rīga, 2000. Sorosa fonds Latvija. LU Sociālo zinātņu fakultāte, Komunikācijas studiju nodaļa.
 32. The Nationalism Reader, edited by Omar Dahbour, O. and Ishay, M.R., Humanity Books, 1955
 33. The Politics of the Textbook, edited by Apple, M.W. and Christian-Smith, L.K., Routledge, 1991
 34. Van Dijk, T.A., Communicating Racism. Ethnic Prejudice in Thought and Talk. Sage Publications, 1987
 35. Wood, P. Diversity. The Invention of a Concept. Encounter Books, 2003

METHODOLOGY

81 textbooks were selected from the list published by the CCDE. The study field had been limited to school textbooks for Grades 1–9. The combination of the following criteria was taken into consideration during the book selection:

- Widest possible subject coverage;
- Widest possible grade coverage;
- Widest possible publishing house coverage;
- Widest possible variety of authors;
- The most recent publishing dates.

Selected textbooks were divided into clusters, largely in accordance with the principles of division used in the CCDE List of Recommended Literature: Technology and Science cluster (Math, Geography, Biology, Natural science) – further in the text: Technology and Science textbooks; Language and Literature cluster – further in the text: Language and Literature textbooks; Man and Society cluster (Social science, Civil rights, Economics, Ethics, Health science, Home economics and Sports) – further in the text: Man and Society textbooks, and Music cluster – further in the text: Music textbooks.

History textbooks were purposefully excluded from the spectre of this study, based on the assumption that the interpretation of historical events is a separate issue, which requires methods different from the ones employed, and should be subject to separate research. To reach the objective of the study, both qualitative and quantitative methods were employed in the analysis of the texts and illustrations.

Quantitative analysis of the text

In order to measure the ethnic representation in the text fields of the textbooks, three measurable categories were identified:

- Characters
- Authors/Sources
- Holidays

Definition of the Character: either characters from stories or extracts by other authors, which are included or quoted in the textbook, or characters within the textbook itself (in both informative texts and assignments).

The following subcategories were established to assign characters to a specific ethnic group:

- Latvians
- Russians*
- Others /Anglo–Saxon, Belarussian, Estonian, Germanic (German, Austrian, Swiss), Jewish, Lithuanian, Livs**, Mediterranean (French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese), Other East European (Albanian, Bulgarian, Croatians, Czech, Hungarian, Romanian, Serbian, Slovenian, Moldovan), Polish, Roma, Scandinavian (Danish, Swedish, Norwegian and Finnish), Ukrainian, and Other (those not included above)
- Ambiguous – undeterminable

*Characters of Russian ethnic origin have been established as a separate measurable category, because Russians comprise the second biggest ethnic group in Latvia.

**Livs as an indigenous people of Latvia do not, strictly speaking, belong to the Latvian ethnic minorities, and represent a special category.

Definition of the Author: Author of the whole texts, text excerpts, direct quotations, song lyrics, music or illustrations, which are used in the textbook apart from the textbook's authors' original texts, whether quotations marks/ parentheses are used or not. If paraphrasing is used when citing another author, then the author's name and last name do not count as the author's, but as a **character's** name and last name.

Definition of the Source: the origin of the whole texts, text excerpts, direct quotations, etc., where the exact author is unknown – for example, folk songs, proverbs, epics, ancient chronicles.

The following subcategories have been established for authors/sources attribution to the specific origin:

- Latvian
- Russian
- Others / American, Austrian, Belarussian, Bulgarian, Czech, Danish, British, Estonian, Finnish, French, German, Hungarian, Italian, Lithuanian, Norwegian, Spanish, Swedish, Ukrainian, Slovak, Roma, Romanian and Other (those not included above)

Definition of the Holiday: traditional Latvian and Latvian ethnic minorities' holidays, such as Easter (*Lieldienas*), Midsummer Day (*Jāņi*), St. Martin's day (*Mārtiņdiena*), St Michael's day (*Miķeldiena*), Christmas (*Ziemassvētki*), Advent, New Year, Orthodox

Christmas (*Рождество*)⁵⁵, Butter Week (*Масленица*), Orthodox Easter (*Пасха*)⁵⁶, and the traditional Jewish holidays of Hanukah, Purim and Pesah.⁵⁷

Quantitative analysis of the illustrations

Definition of the Illustration: all graphic images, reproductions and photographs, excluding logotypes and pictograms.

Definition of Caucasian: *member of the European (or Caucasoid) geographic race characterized by white or lightly pigmented skins and variability in eye and hair colour.*⁵⁸

(The term selected may not be a perfect one, but taking into consideration demographic changes in the world, and in Europe specifically, it was given preference over the term 'European')

Definition of non-Caucasian: *member of any other race except for Caucasoid.*

The analysis concentrated on the differences in portrayal of people with Caucasian and non-Caucasian features, rather than on Latvians, Russians, other Latvian minorities and other nationalities, as although many different nationalities and ethnic groups live on the European continent, majority of them do not differ significantly in appearance, and it is often very difficult, if not entirely impossible, to identify the depicted person's ethnic background, unless there is a text commentary or the person portrayed is a well-known public figure.

During the first part of the quantitative analysis of the illustrations, all illustrations were divided into those where humans are present and those where there are no humans. The

55 The Orthodox Ecclesiastical Calendar is different from the Western Ecclesiastical Calendar, thus Christmas celebrations do not coincide

56 Same applies to Easter

57 Jewish holidays have been established into a separate measurable group as Jews are the only traditional Latvian minority of non-Christian religion, and therefore Jewish traditional holidays can be clearly distinguished from the rest. Other traditional minorities, like Belarussians, Ukrainians and Poles, who belong to the Orthodox and Catholic confessions, share major traditional holidays with Latvians and Russians. Celebration of the New Year grew in importance under the Soviet regime, when celebration of the religious holidays like Christmas and Easter was very much discouraged, and for both Latvians and minorities it became the only 'officially approved' holiday which had no connotations with the Soviet power and Communist ideology (celebration of Midsummer was banned for decades in the USSR).

58 *Encyclopedia Britannica* from Encyclopedia Britannica Premium Service.

<<http://www.britannica.com/eb/article?eu=108574>> [Accessed March 8, 2004].

former were divided into illustrations depicting people with Caucasian features and those portraying people with non-Caucasian features.

Among the illustrations depicting people with Caucasian features, those portraying Latvians and traditional Latvian minorities (i.e. Russians, Ukrainians, Belarussians, Jews, Poles, Roma, Lithuanians, and Estonians) were selected wherever possible. As already mentioned above, Latvians and Latvian minorities can be distinguished from the other people with Caucasian features only in two cases: if there is a text commentary, or if a person portrayed in the illustration is a well-known public figure. Among the rest of the illustrations portraying people with Caucasian features, the category Other (American, Austrian, Bulgarian, Czech, Danish, British, Estonian, Finnish, French, German, Hungarian, Italian, Lithuanian, Norwegian, Spanish, Swedish, Ukrainian, Romanian) has been identified wherever possible (if there is a text commentary, or if a person portrayed in the illustration is a famous public figure) .

During the second part of the analysis, all illustrations portraying people with Caucasian features have been compared with illustrations portraying people with non-Caucasian features, using the following evaluation criteria for the illustration content: background/setting (rural, urban or neutral), clothing (modern, traditional or neutral), activity type (business/professional, leisure/entertainment or neutral).

Research questions

Quantitative analysis of the text

1. Are Latvian ethnic minorities represented in the Latvian textbooks?
2. Are other nationalities represented in the Latvian textbooks?
3. Are Latvians represented in the Russian-language textbooks?
4. Are other ethnic minorities represented in the Russian-language textbooks?
5. What is the proportion of Latvians and non-Latvians represented in the textbooks?

Quantitative analysis of the illustrations

1. Are Latvian minorities portrayed in the Latvian textbooks?
2. Are other nationalities portrayed in the Latvian textbooks?
3. What is the proportion between Latvians and non-Latvians portrayed in the textbooks?

4. Are people with the non–Caucasian features portrayed in the Latvian textbooks?
5. Does the environment in which people with non–Caucasian features are portrayed (background/setting; clothing; activity type) differ in comparison to the environment in which Caucasians are portrayed? (*this particular question, aiming to measure bias, is actually on the borderline between the quantitative and qualitative analyses*)

Qualitative analysis of the text

1. What is the context in which the Latvian minorities are mentioned?
2. What is the context in which Latvians are mentioned in the Russian–language textbooks?
3. What is the context in which other minorities are mentioned in the Russian–language textbooks?
4. Do the textbooks contain ethnic, cultural or religious stereotypes?
5. Is there any interaction between Latvians, Russians and other Latvian minorities portrayed in the textbooks?

Qualitative analysis of the illustrations

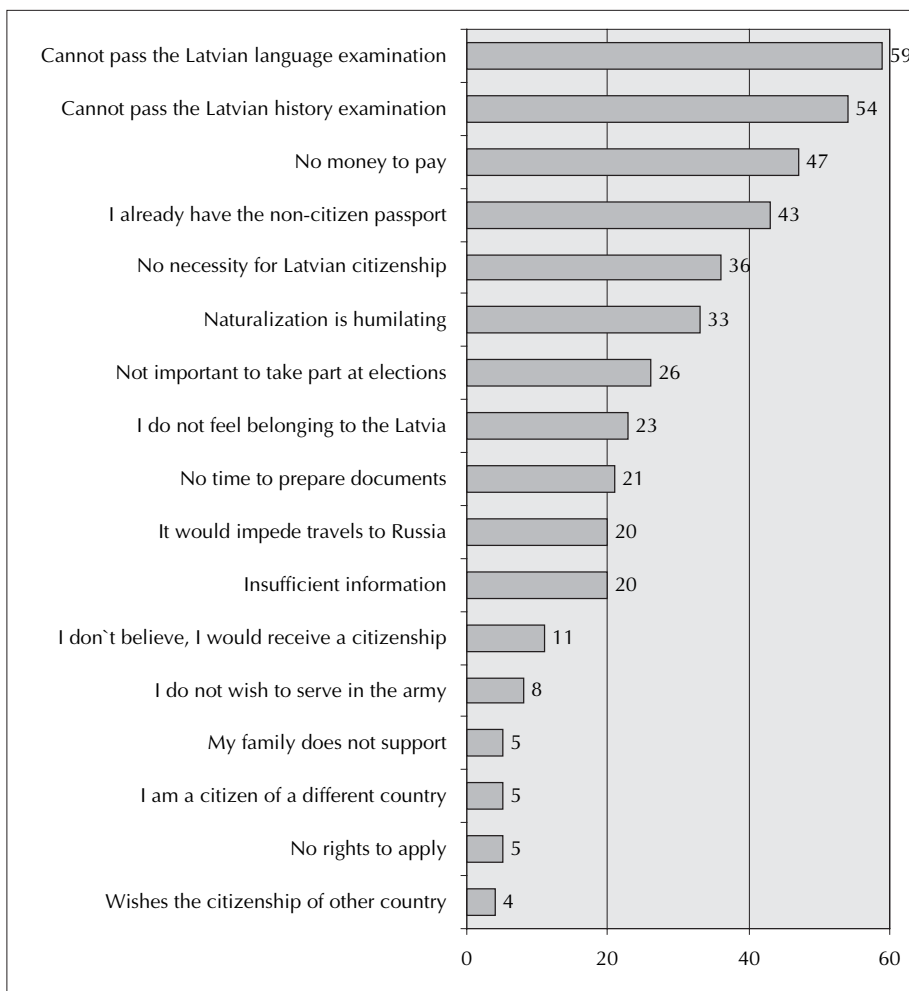
1. Do illustrations contain stereotypical images?
2. Are people of different ethnic origin depicted in comparable situations (i.e. setting, clothing, activity type)?

Appendix 2.

REASONS WHY NON-CITIZENS DO NOT PLAN TO BECOME LATVIAN CITIZENS

Why do you not plan to obtain citizenship?

(% of those, who are not citizens of Latvia, and who do not plan to become citizens of Latvia within next 12 months, n=803)



Source: On the Way to a Civic Society : Survey of Latvian inhabitants, Baltic Data House; The Naturalization Board of the Republic of Latvia – Riga, 2001, p. 32, http://www.np.gov.lv/index.php?en=info_en&saite=owcs2k.htm, last time accessed 09.08.2004

