

TALLINNA ÜLIKOOL
SOTSIAALTEADUSTE DISSERTATSIOONID



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KARIN LUKK

Kodu ja kooli koostöö struktuuraalsest,
funktsionaalsest ning sotsiaalsest aspektist



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EESSÕNA

Kodu ja kooli temaatikat olen põhjalikumalt uurinud viimased kuus aastat. Lapsevanemad ja perekond on aga olnud minu uurimisobjektiks juba varem, kui bakalaureuse- ja magistritöö raames uurisin pereliikmete – lapsevanemate ja laste – väimekuse eri aspekte. Perekondadega süvitsi tegelemisest jäi püsima huvi perekonna kui omaette sotsiaalse üksuse vastu.

Oma igapäevatööga seotult (üldhariduskooli õppe- ja arendusjuht) keskendusin väitekirjas lapsevanemate ja kooli omavaheliste kokkupuutepunktide, ühise koostöö ja partnerluse uurimisele. Olles ise üksteist aastat töötanud (ja ka praegu aktiivselt tegutsev) klassijuhatajana üldhariduskoolis, on minu seos kodu ja kooli koostöö temaatikaga väga tihe. Üheks olulisemaks faktoriks antud teema valikul sai tähelepanek sellest, et koostöö lapsevanemate ja kooli vahel ei toimi tänapäeva muutunud tingimustes efektiivselt. Sellest ajendatuna alustasin teoreetilise materjali kogumist erinevate kooli ja kodu koostöö praktikate kohta. Kogutud materjalist kujunes käesoleva väitekirja teoreetiline raamistik. Selle põhjal koostas Tallinna Ülikooli läbi viidud sihtfinantseeritava uurimisprojekti “Kool kui arengukeskkond ja õpilase toimetulek” raames lapsevanematele mõeldud küsimustiku lähtekohad, mis koostöös *prof. emer.* Viive-Riina Ruusiga vormusid lõplikuks küsimustikuks, millele rajaneb käesoleva väitekirja empiirika.

Väitekirja koosneb viiest kodu ja kooli koostöö erinevaid aspekte käsitlevast artiklist ning nende artiklite analüütilisest ülevaatest, mis toob välja üldised teoreetilised lähtekohad, peamised tulemused ning uurimistulemustel põhineva diskussiooni.

Väitekirja valmimise eest sooviksin tänada kõiki uurimisprojekti liikmeid, kes aitasid küsimustikke läbi viia, lisaks Viive-Riina Ruusi, Ene-Silvia Sarve, Monica Sakki ja Loone Otsa ka koostöö eest artiklite kirjutamisel ning samuti Linda Pallast, kes abistas andmete statistilisel töötlemisel. Eriline tänu kuulub minu juhendajale, professor Marika Veissonile, kelle innustav toetus on alati olnud tuntavalt minu kõrval.

SISSEJUHATUS

Muutused meie tänapäeva ühiskonnas on mõjutanud ka haridust. Erinevad arengud ja üleskerkinud probleemid on näidanud, et traditsioonilised mudelid koolis ei toimi enam efektiivselt, mistõttu tuleb koolidel leida uus tee ja uued lähenemised ning seda ka kodu ja kooli koostöös, mis on üheks olulisemaks teguriks soodsa õpikeskkonna kujunemisel, lapse arengu ja tema koolis toimetuleku toetamisel. Kiirete muutuste ajastul aitaks arengut toetada terviklik ehk holistiline lähenemine. Õppeprotsessis tähendab terviklikkus eelkõige erinevate üksikelementide omavaheliste seoste tajumist ja arvestamist ning õppimist nähakse kui inimese erinevaid tunnetusvaldkondi hõlmavat transformatsiooni, milles on oluline pidev avatus uuendustele ja muutustele ning kriitiline mõtlemine (Schreiner *et al.* 2005). Õppeprotsessi juhtimisel lähtutakse nii käitumuslikust, afektiivsest (tunded) kui ka kognitiivsest (teadmised) aspektist (Cheng 1997; Pilli 2005).

Holistilise hariduse kontseptsiooni elemente on esinenud kõikidel ajastutel ning neid on välja toonud erinevad autorid nagu Comenius, Pestalozzi, Montessori ja Dewey, kuid viimaste aastate jooksul on see tõusnud eraldiseisvana teiste haridusfilosoofia suundade kõrvale (Schreiner 2005). Nii võib leida ka Eestis esinenud hariduskontseptsioonides ühiseid elemente holismiga, näiteks H. Liimetsa süsteemse lähenemise teoorias, mis analüüsib nähtusi terviklikkuses, hõlmates nende laiemaid taustsüsteeme. Samas on holistilises hariduses süsteemsust sageli vastandatud holistilisusele, nähes süsteemset lähenemist kui ühte osa mehaanilisest hariduskäsitusest (Pilli 2005). Süsteemne lähenemine Eesti hariduses ning samuti viimastel aastatel enamkasutatavad süsteemi- ja süsteemse mõtlemise teooriad on aga kantud kriitilise hariduskäsituse põhimõtetest, mistõttu on need käsitletavad holistilise lähenemise osana, mis on oma olemuselt kriitilise hariduse järgmiseks sammuks.

Struktuuralselt tähendab holistiline lähenemine kõikide osapoolte kaasamist, mis kodu ja kooli koostöö tasandil hõlmab õpilasi, õpetajaid, kooli juhtkonda ja lapsevanemaid. Kõikide osapoolte kaasamine loob õpilastele nii individuaalselt kui ka grupina võimalikult soodsad võimalused õppimiseks ja arenguks. Üha enam on hakatud teadvustama lapsevanemate koolielus osalemise tähtsust lapse arengus. Suurenenud huvi kooli ja kodu suhte vastu on viimase aastakümne üks olulisemaid muutusi, mis on diskussiooni sellel teemal laiendanud haridussüsteemi kõikidele tasanditele: nii näiteks on koostöösuhte arendamist lastevanematega rõhutatud Eesti säästva arengu riiklikus strateegias “Säästev Eesti 21” (Säästev... 2005), koostöö tähtsust Eesti arengus üldiselt on rõhutatud “Eesti inimarengu aruandes 2007” (Eesti... 2008) ning laiema teavitustöö tulemusena on lapsevanemad omakorda hakanud enam tähelepanu pöörama oma õigustele haridusvaldkonnas kaasärääkimiseks ja õpivad uut rolli kooli partnerina.

Käesoleva uuringu probleemiseade aluseks on järgmine küsimus: kuidas funktsioneerib kodu ja kooli koostöö ning mida saavad kool ja lapsevanemad teha kooli-kodu koostöö arendamiseks?

Antud väitekirja eesmärgiks on anda hinnanguline ülevaade kooli ja kodu koostööst Eestis, selle erinevatest aspektidest (struktuuralsest, funktsionaalsest ja sotsiaalsest) ning tuua välja koostöö arendamise võimalusi.

Eesmärgi saavutamiseks on seatud järgmised ülesanded:

- 1) Anda ülevaade kooli ja kodu koostööst tervikliku kasvatusprotsessi osana;
- 2) Anda hinnanguline ülevaade kooli ja kodu koostööst Eesti koolides lapsevanemate hinnangu põhjal järgmistes aspektides (aluseks küsimustik):
 - a. struktuuriline aspekt: kooli-kodu koostöö vormid
 - b. funktsionaalne aspekt: kooli ja kodu koostöö funktsioneerimine, selle efektiivsus lapsevanemate hinnangul
 - c. sotsiaalne aspekt: kooli-kodu koostöö kui sotsiaalne kapital

Käesoleva väitekirja aluseks olev uuring on osa laiaulatuslikust uuringust, milles kaasati nii õpilased, õpetajad kui ka lapsevanemad ja koolijuhid. Antud väitekirja keskendub lapsevanemate osale. Tegemist on kvantitatiivseid meetodeid kasutava ülevaateuuringuga, kus lastevanemate arusaamade ja hinnangute analüüsimiseks koolielu erinevate aspektide osas kasutati kirjalikku küsitlust, mis on esitatud töö lisana.

Väitekirja koosneb viiest artiklist ja analüütilisest ülevaatest, mis toob välja artiklites esitatud üldised teoreetilised lähtekohad, peamised tulemused ning artiklites analüüsitud uurimistulemustel põhineva diskussiooni. Artiklid käsitlevad erinevaid kodu ja kooli koostöö aspekte:

- Artikkel I. Sisu: kasvatusprotsessi holistiline iseloom, vanemate ja õpetajate vaheline suhtlemine, lapsevanemate hinnang kooli väärtustele, keskkonnale ja õpetajate professionaalsusele;
- Artikkel II. Sisu: kasvatus ja hariduse seos demokraatiaga, demokraatia hindamise mudel hariduses, erinevate huvigruppide väärtused, kodu-kooli koostööd takistavad tegurid;

- Artikkel III. Sisu: erinevad sotsiaalse kapitali teooriad ja vormid, nende seos kooli-kodu koostööga; õpetajate tüpoloogia ja koole iseloomustavad faktorid lapsevanemate hinnangu alusel;
- Artikkel IV. Sisu: jätkusuutliku arengu kontseptsioon, haridusmuutuste jätkusuutlikkuse hindamise kuuekomponendiline mudel;
- Artikkel V. Sisu: kodu ja kooli koostöö uue paradigma – partnerluse paradigma – põhipunktid ja uurimistulemused antud punktides lähtuvalt.

Teoreetilised lähtekohad ja mõisted

Uuring, mille üheks alaosaks on käesolev uuring, lähtub oma metodoloogilistes alustes K. Lewini (1975) ökoloogilisest vaateviisist, mille kohaselt käsitatakse indiviidi ja keskkonna suhteid vastastikku üksteist mõjutavaina (Bronfenbrenner 1986). Kooli käsitatakse kui õpilase arengukeskkonda, millega tal tuleb kohaneda. Kooli vaadeldakse kui kogukonda (*community*), mida iseloomustab liikmete teatav psühholoogilise heaolu tase ja sotsiaalne kliima. Taustafaktoritena võetakse arvesse kooli füüsilise keskkonna mõningaid parameetreid kooskõlas arengukeskkonna mitmetasandilise mudeliga (Bronfenbrenner 1986).

Termini “kooli ja kodu koostöö” (*home-school cooperation*) kõrval kasutatakse antud suhte kirjeldamisel mõisteid “kodu ja kooli partnerlus” (*home-school partnership*) ja “lapsevanemate osalemine” (*parental involvement*). Kuigi tegemist on erinevate terminitega, on nende sisul ühine alus, mida võiks sõnastada kui toimivat suhet, mida iseloomustavad ühine eesmärgitunnetus, vastastikune austus ja valmisolek läbirääkimisteks (Godber 2002).

Perekonna all mõistetakse ühiselt koos elavate isikute kogumit. Perekond on esmane sotsiaalne ühendus meie ühiskonnas. See esindab elutähtsat uue põlvkonna arengu suunaja rolli ning kannab suurt vastutust korrapärase ühiskonna funktsioneerimise eest ning samuti moraalsete väärtuste loomise eest ühiskonnas (Don Edgar 1993). Perekond on esmane üksus, kus laps omandab oma mõtted ja arusaamad ning seda võib vaadelda kui isiku kompetentsuse ja heaolu arengu võtit (Saarni 1999).

Holismi käsitletakse töös kui ideoloogiat, mille kohaselt süsteemi kõiki koostisosi vaadeldakse üksteisega seotuna ning üksteist mõjutavaina. Tervik määratleb, kuidas selle osad toimivad või käituvad ning tervik koosneb enamasti selle osade summast (Schreiner *et al.* 2005). Suurem rõhuasetus antud töös on holismi struktuurilisel aspektil.

Jätkusuutlikkust (*sustainability*) mõistetakse kui dunaamilist seisundit, milleni viib jätkusuutlik (nimetatud ka “säästev”) areng (*sustainable development*). Jätkusuutlikku arengut nähakse sihipäraselt suunatud arenguna, mis taotleb tasakaalu ja ühise eksisteerimise jätkumist. Jätkusuutliku arengu teostumine eeldab kõikide osalemist tagavat poliitikat, sidusat juhtimiskorraldust, samuti vajalike hoiakute ja ühiste väärtuste kujundamist (Säästev... 2005).

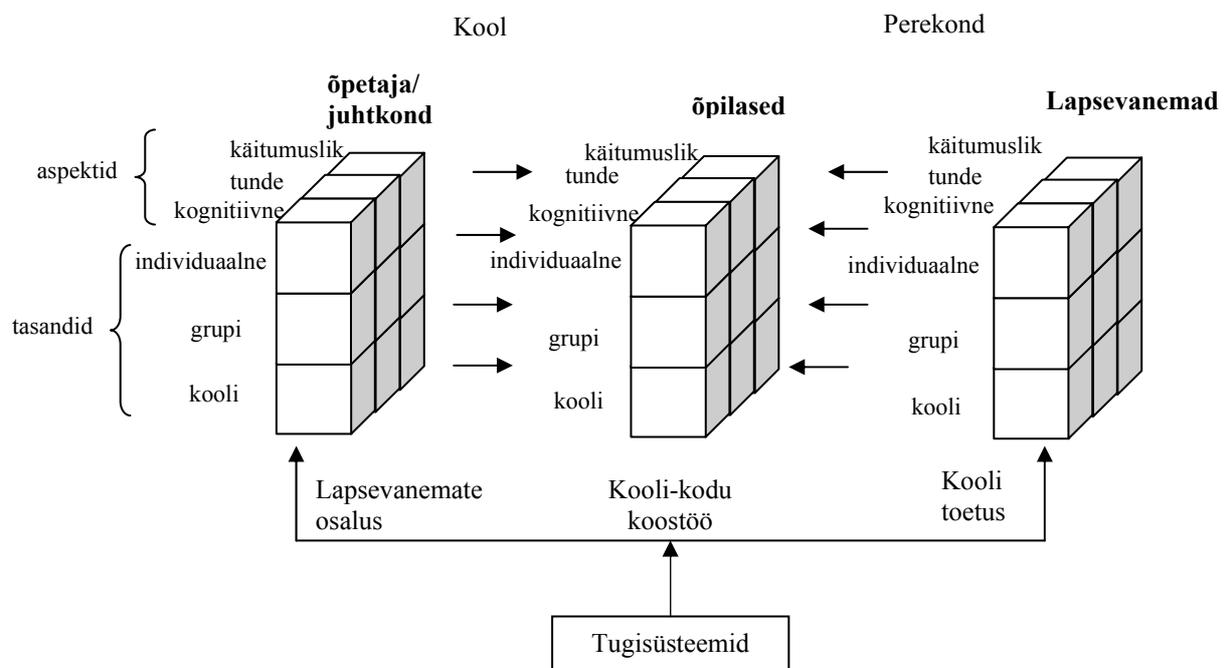
1. TEOREETILINE ÜLEVAADE KODU JA KOOLI KOOSTÖÖ ERINEVATEST ASPEKTIDEST

1.1. Kasvatusprotsessi terviklik olemus (Artikkel I)

Tänapäeva hariduskeskkond on muutuvam ja nõudlikum võrreldes varasemaga: tehnoloogia, samuti majandusliku ja poliitilise kliima kiire arengu tõttu on hariduslikud eesmärgid muutunud keerukamaks, nõuded haridusele on kõrgemad, samas kui avalikkuse ootused haridusele on vasturääkivad. Koolid peavad toime tulema mitmesuguste erinevate rollide ja funktsioonidega. See aga eeldab, et koolid arendavad end pidevalt vastavalt uuenduste vajalikkusele muutavas keskkonnas. Killustunud parandusabinõude asemel vajame kooli reorganiseerimiseks uut printsiipide kogumit – terviklikku ehk holistilist lähenemist (artikkel I). Pöörates korruga tähelepanu vaid ühele uuendusele, jäetakse sageli arvestamata need jõud, mis vääramatult antud nähtusega kaasnevad ning võivad soovitud tulemust kas vähendada või hoopis olematuks muuta (Poindexter 2003). Seetõttu on arengu planeerimisel oluline arvestada kõikide protsessis osalevate pooltega ning samuti erinevate üksikosade omavaheliste suhetega. Terviklik lähenemine võimaldab vaadelda probleeme erinevatest aspektidest, luues selle kaudu võimaluse ennetada uusi, tegeldavast küsimusest välja kasvada võivaid probleeme.

Tervikliku ehk holistilise kasvatusprotsessi kesksed seisukohad hõlmavad kolme põhipunkti. Esiteks vaadeldakse inimest ja teda ümbritsevat keskkonda tervikuna, mitte osade summana. Sellest tulenevalt lähtutakse arenguprotsessis nii inimese käitumuslikust, afektiivsest kui ka kognitiivsest aspektist. Struktuuriliselt hõlmab holism antud põhipunkti kohaselt kõikide arengu seisukohalt oluliste osapoolte kaasamist. Teiseks holistlikku lähenemist iseloomustavaks printsiibiks on, et ei usuta mitte teadmiste ülekandesse, vaid personaalsesse tähenduse loomisse, mis on mõjutatud inimese elukontekstist ja suhetest. Kolmandaks oluliseks holismi tunnusjooneks on, et teadmist käsitletakse mittelõplikuna. Ratsionaalse kõrval väärtustatakse intuiitiivset ja emotsionaalset (Pilli 2005).

Terviklik ehk holistiline lähenemisviis on mõtteviis, mis püüab hõlmata ja integreerida nähtuse erinevaid kihte (Miller 2000). Antud mõtte edasikandmisel kooli õppeprotsessi struktuuri kirjeldamiseks (Cheng 1997) saab koolis toimuva tegevuse süsteemi jaotada erinevateks osaluskihtideks: *kooli juhtkonna-, õpetaja- ja õpilaskiht*. Parema tulemuse saavutamiseks tuleks kindlasti kaasata ka neljas osapool, kes lapse arengu seisukohalt on üks olulisemaid – *lapsevanem* (Vincent 1996). Kõigi nelja osapoole omavahelisi suhteid on kujutatud joonisel 1.



Joonis 1. Seosed õppe- ja kasvatusprotsessi erinevate osapoolte vahel: kihtide süsteem (kohandatud Cheng 1997)

Õppeprotsessi kihtide süsteemina (mitte üksikute elementidena) nägemine aitab paremini tajuda terviklikku pilti kogu protsessist. Selleks, et saavutada tegevuse maksimaalset efektiivsust, peaks õpetajakiht mõjutama õpilaskihti tervikuna, mitte üksnes teatud üksikut elementi kogu komplekssest süsteemist. Ehk teisisõnu: õpetajad peaksid mõjutama õpilasi nii käitumuslikust, afektiivsest ehk tunde- kui ka kognitiivsest aspektist ja seda nii individuaalsel, grupi kui ka kooli tasandil. Kooli-kodu koostöös tuleb tervikliku lähenemise seisukohalt arvestada nii lapsevanema ja lapse omavaheliste mõjutustega (individuaalne tasand) kui ka kindlasti lapsevanemate osaluse, nende kaasamisega teistel tasanditel (grupp ja kool) (artikkel I).

1.1.1. Tervikliku lähenemise demokraatlik aspekt (Artikkel II)

Demokraatiat käsitletakse traditsiooniliselt kui poliitikat, kus otsustamine toimub enamuse otsuse alusel (Dahl *et al.* 2003; Lanning 2008; McCallum 2008). Laiemalt vaadatuna aga on demokraatial mitu liiki: otsene ja kaudne demokraatia (selle tuntumad liigid on esindus- ja delegatiivne demokraatia), lisaks ka tööstus-, leppe-, elitistlik- ja osalusdemokraatia (Dahl *et al.* 2003). Osalus- ehk partitsipatoorses demokraatias võivad kõik seotud ja huvitatud osapooled oma arvamust väljendada, mistõttu on see valitsusvorm kõige lähedasem tervikliku lähenemise põhimõttele. Antud demokraatiaga püütakse kõrvaldada nii otsese kui ka kaudse demokraatia ühte olulisemat puudust – vähemuste diskrimineerimist (Dahl *et al.* 2003). Osalusdemokraatia ei taga kõikide osapoolte huvide saavutamist, küll aga on kõigil võimalus kaasa rääkida olulisemate otsuste tegemisel ning nii omandatakse võimalus oma seisukohti esitades teisi veenda nende õigsuses. Osalusdemokraatia kasutamise positiivne trend on olnud märgatav alates kahekümnenda sajandi keskpaigast (Davis 1999; Leftwich 1996). Osalusdemokraatia on üheks sobivamaks vormiks õppivatele kogukondadele ja organisatsioonidele.

Demokraatiate sõltuvust haridusest rõhutas Dewey juba 1916. aastal, väites, et ainult see haridus, mis ise kannab endas demokraatlikke protsesse, saab tõeliselt teenida demokraatia edendamise eesmärki (Dewey 1966). Samas on erinevate maade hariduses, eriti otseses koolielus, tuntavalt valitsev autoritaarne/autoritaativne õhkkond (Pshunder 2005), mida erinevate reformide kaudu suunatakse demokraatlikult õppiva ja otsuseid vastuvõtva kogukonna moodustumise poole (Howard-Hamilton 1995). Demokraatlikule lähenemisele hariduses on primaarselt omane: usaldus, hoolivus, moraalsed otsustused ja tegevused, austus, osalus ja ühine vastutus (Landau, Gathercoal 2000; Beane 2002; Power, Power 1992). Antud omadusi peavad tunnustama ja järgima kõik seotud osapooled ehk huvigrupid. Oluline on antud protsessis see, et muutused ei tohi jääda üksnes välisteks – ministeeriumi või teadlaste tasandile, vaid peavad tulenema kooli tasandilt (Darling-Hammond *et al.* 1994).

1.2. Lapsevanemate osalus koolielus (Artikkel I)

Lapsevanemate osalemist on mitu uurijat nimetanud peamiseks jõuks uues haridusstrateegias (Cassel 2003; Fantuzzo 1999; McNeal 1999). Samas aga tunnevad vanemad, kes seisavad silmitsi muutuva haridus- ja õpikeskkonna probleemidega, end ebakindlalt, mistõttu ei saa nad ka oma lapsi raskustes aidata. See seab aga koolide ette lisaks laste harimisele ka lastevanemate koolituse ülesanded.

Lapsevanemate osalemine on mitmedimensiooniline mõiste, millest neli peamist on järgmised (Eddy 2004; Shepard, Carlson 2003):

- vanema-lapse dimensioon: lapsevanema ja lapse omavahelised vestlused koolist, koos õppimine;
- lapsevanema-õpetaja dimensioon: kooli igapäevastes tegevustes osalemine (koosolekute ja tundide külastamine, vestlused õpetajatega);
- lapsevanema-kooli dimensioon: kooliarenduses osalemine;
- lastevanemate organisatsiooni dimensioon: erinevates lastevanemate organisatsioonides osalemine.

Tugev koostöövõrgustik kooli ja kodu vahel toetab soodsalt õpikeskkonna kujunemist ning lapse iseloomu arenemist. Mitu uuringut (Cordy, Wilson 2004; Hill, Craft 2003; McNeal 1999; Peraita, Pastor 2000) on vaadelnud lapsevanemate osaluse määra suhet laste koolis toimetulekuga ning tulemused näitavad selget positiivset seost lapsevanemate osaluse suurenemise ja laste moraali, hoiakute ning õpitulemuste paranemise vahel. Lapsevanema aktiivsuse tõus kooli-kodu partnerluses vähendab tunduvalt lapse koolist väljalangevuse riski. Märkimisväärselt tugev on lastevanemate osaluse seos laste käitumuslike väljunditega (õppe edukusega on seos nõrgem) ehk mida aktiivsemad on lapsevanema suhted kooliga, seda väiksem on lapse destruktiiivse käitumise tõenäosus (Cordy, Wilson 2004).

Samuti on leitud, et vanemate osaluse mõju laste akadeemilisele edukusele erineb lapse sotsiaalsest grupist (näiteks perekonna struktuur) või sotsiaalsest staatusest sõltuvalt. Nii näiteks on täheldatud vanemate kaasamise ja laste akadeemilise edukuse vahelist negatiivset seost kõrge sotsiaal-majandusliku staatusega laste puhul (Peraita, Pastor 2000) ja on ka uuringuid, kus lastevanemate osaluse ja lapse õppeedukuse vahel ei ole märkimisväärset seost täheldatud (McNeal 1999). Erinevused uurimistulemustes viitavad vajadusele uurida lapsevanemate osaluse kvalitatiivset iseloomu ning läheneda lapsevanemate osalemisele koolielus kui sotsiaalsele kapitalile (McNeal 1999).

1.2.1. Lapsevanemate osalus kui sotsiaalne kapital (Artikkel III)

Sotsiaalne kapital on põhimõistena kasutusel mitmes eluvaldkonnas (organisatsioonikäitumine, sotsioloogia, majandus jm). Erinevate definitsioonide (Bourdieu 1986; Coleman 1994; Lin 2001; Perna, Titus 2005) üldistusena käsitletakse sotsiaalset kapitali kui eelist, mille inimene saab tänu oma asukohale teatud suhete võrgustikus.

Sotsiaalse kapitali mõiste algust seostatakse nii John Dewey nimega, kes viitas sellele oma teoses “School and Society” 1900. aastal (Portes 1998) (kuigi otsest definitsiooni ei esitanud), aga samuti ka Jane Jacobsi (Portes 1998) nimega 1960ndatel, kelle tööd juhtisid uurijate tähelepanu inimest ümbritseva suhtevõrgustiku olulisusele. Termin *sotsiaalne kapital* võttis esmakordselt kasutusele Pierre Bourdieu 1972. aastal (Bourdieu 1986). James Coleman (1994), kes oma definitsiooni adapteeris Glenn Loury (1977) tööst, omab kindlasti märkimisväärset tähtsust antud mõiste populariseerijana. Coleman näeb sotsiaalset kapitali kui ühte kapitali vormi majandusliku ja inimkapitali kõrval. Majandusliku kapitali all mõistab ta perekonna sissetulekut ning inimkapitali all vanemate haridust. Seega defineerib Coleman sotsiaalset kapitali selle funktsiooni kaudu ehk näeb seda väärtuse allikana. Colemani teooria puhul on aga otseselt raske eristada sisu ja funktsiooni ehk seda, mis sotsiaalne kapital on või mida ta teeb (Portes 1998). Coleman järgi on sotsiaalset kapitali loovateks mehhanismideks suhete võrgustik, vastastikuse kasulikkuse kohustus, usaldus ja sotsiaalne norm. Sotsiaalne kapital on neutraalne allikas, mis loob võimalused erinevateks tegevusmuutriteks, kuid kasu ühiskonnale/kogukonnale sõltub siiski selle individuaalsest kasutamisest (Edwards, Foley 1998).

Bourdieu eristab oma teoses “The Forms of Capital” (1986) kolme erinevat kapitali vormi: majanduslik, kultuuriline ja sotsiaalne kapital. Bourdieu definitsiooni kohaselt on sotsiaalne kapital vahendiks kas aktiivsete või potentsiaalsete allikate juurde, mis on seotud vastastikusel tutvusel ja tunnustamisel põhineva võrgustikuga.

Robert Putnam (2004) definitsiooni aluseks on arusaam sotsiaalsest kapitalist kui kõikidest sotsiaalsetest võrgustikest saadavast ühishinnast. Putnam kohaselt on sotsiaalne kapital võtmeteguriks demokraatliku süsteemi loomisel ja säilitamisel. Ta näeb sotsiaalset kapitali kui üksikindiviidi ühiskonnaga siduvat elementi ning seega ühtlasi ka ühiskonna elujõulisuse ühe mõõdikuna. Putnam viib sotsiaalse kapitali mõiste individuaalselt tasandilt laiemale – kollektiivi tasandile, tuues põhipunktidenä välja normid ja usalduse kui sotsiaalse kapitali algallikad ning seades seega suhted kõige aluseks.

Nan Lini (2001) sotsiaalse kapitali kontseptsioon lähtub individualistlikumast vaatenurgast, nimetades seda investeringuks sotsiaalsetesse suhetesse õigustatud vastutasu ootusega. Nan Lini lähenemine moodustab teatud määral teiste mõistete aluse (Bourdieu, Coleman, Putnam, Eriksson).

Francis Fukuyama (1995, 2000) kirjeldab sotsiaalset kapitali kui teatud kindlate (ehk eriliste) mitteametlike väärtuste ja normide kogumit, mida ühe grupi liikmed jagavad ning mis võimaldab neil edukalt koos eksisteerida ja tegutseda.

Võrreldes erinevaid lähenemisviise kooli ja kodu koostöö aspektist, võib märkimisväärsetena välja tuua kolme uurija tööd: Coleman, Bourdieu ja Lin. Kuigi Coleman ja Bourdieu lähenemised tunduvad sarnased, on need oma aluselt teatud määral siiski erinevad. Coleman rõhutab sotsiaalse kapitali rolli normide, usalduse, autoriteedi ja sotsiaalse kontrolli edastajana, mida inimene peab mõistma ning omaks võtma, et olla ühiskonnas edukas. Haridusuuringutes on enam kasutusel Colemani lähenemine, mis on laiem (võrreldes Bourdieuga) ning loob seega uuringutele paremini opereeritava raamistikku. Coleman (1988) toob ka välja viisid, kuidas lapsevanemate kaasamine kooliellu aitab luua sotsiaalset kapitali: selle aluseks on kahte tüüpi suhteid – suhted vanemate ja lapse vahel ning lapse enda vanemate suhted teiste kooliga seotud vanematega.

Bourdieu (1986), kes uuris grupi liikmete edukuse erinevusi, leidis, et sotsiaalse kapitali hulk, millest saab laps kasu erinevate sotsiaalsete võrgustike ja suhete abil, sõltub nii nende võrgustike suuruselt kui ka sellest hulgast majanduslikust, kultuurilisest ja sotsiaalsest kapitalist, mis on lapsel juba olemas. Bourdieu näeb sotsiaalset kapitali kui mehhanismi, mida domineeriv klass kasutab oma positsiooni hoidmiseks (Lin

2001). Bourdieu mõiste on seega kitsam kui Colemanil, sest haarab ainult individuaalse tasandi sotsiaalset kapitali ning seetõttu ei saa seda käsitleda kui universaalset lähenemisviisi lapse arengut toetavate kooli ja kodu suhete kirjeldamiseks.

Võttes aluseks Colemanil ja Bourdieu tööd, arendas Lin (2001) sotsiaalse kapitali teooria, mis keskendub nendele mehhanismidele ja protsessidele, mille kaudu omandab indiviid sotsiaalsetes võrgustikes asuvad vahendid ja allikad. Lin oletab, et väikesed ja suletud võrgustikud ehk siis tugevad sidemed võivad neid vahendeid tugevalt endas hoida, samas kui nõrgalt seotud võrgustikus võib indiviid saavutada juurdepääsu vahenditele, mida tugevate seostega võrgustik ei võimaldaks. Ehk nõrgad seosed võrgustikus võivad moodustada "silla" teiste võrgustike juurde, milles sisalduv info ja vahendid võivad indiviidi arengut enam soodustada, kui tugevate seostega võrgustik (näiteks perekond või lähedaste sõprade ring) (Lin 2001). Lin väidab, et kuigi indiviidid loovad üldjuhul suhteid nendega, kellel on sarnased hoiakud, vaated ja sotsiaalmajanduslik taust, siis ometi otsivad mõned indiviidid suhteid ka nendega, kellel on teatud määral "parem" sotsiaalne staatus, selleks et saada lisaressursse ja kasu (Lin 2001; Perna, Titus 2005). Seega tuleks lapse arengut toetava sotsiaalse kapitali puhul pidada silmas nii tugevate seostega võrgustikke – perekond, sõbrad – kui ka nõrgemaid – lastevanemate ühendused ning lastevanemate suhted õpetajate ja juhtkonnaga.

1.2.1.1. Sotsiaalse kapitali vormid (Artikkel III)

Sotsiaalne kapital on multidimensionaalne nähtus. Putnam (2004) tõi oma töödes välja kaks vormi: *siduv sotsiaalne kapital (bonding social capital)* ja *ühendav sotsiaalne kapital (bridging social capital)*. Woolcock (2001), kes ühendas Colemanil, Bourdieu, Putnami ja Lini lähtekohad, lisas neile kahele veel kolmanda sotsiaalse kapitali vormi: *lülitav sotsiaalne kapital (linking social capital)*.

Esimene vorm – *siduv sotsiaalne kapital* – viitab homogeensetele suhetele lähedaste grupis: näiteks perekonnas lapsevanema, lapse ja tema lähisugulaste suhted. *Siduv sotsiaalne kapital* pakub kuuluvustunnet, rahuldades inimese olulised vajadused: kuuluvus- ja armastusvajaduse, emotsionaalse toetuse ning tunnustuse vajaduse. Seega on see ühest küljest aluseks, kuid samas ka sõltuv perekonna vaimsest heolust. Terrion (2006) on oma uuringutest lähtuvalt väitnud, et kuuluvustunne on grupi moodustumise ja selle ühtsuse arenemise seisukohalt määravaima tähtsusega. Kuuluvustunne tekib aga omavaheliste suhete kaudu.

Ühendav sotsiaalne kapital hõlmab seoseid erinevate gruppide vahel: heterogeensed suhted kaugemate sõpradega, suhted naabritega ja suhted teiste lapsevanematega. Woolcock (2001) rõhutab *ühendava* sotsiaalse kapitali horisontaalset iseloomu. Sellel tasandil loodud suhted jäävad väljapoole otsest suhtlusringi, kuid põhinevad eelkõige mitmesugustel sarnasustel: demograafilised karakteristikud, sotsiaalmajanduslik staatus, uskumused ja väärtused, elukogemus või ka olemasolev sotsiaalne kapital.

Lülitav sotsiaalne kapital kujutab endast vertikaalset dimensiooni. *Lülitav* vorm on oluliseks lisaväärtuseks *siduvale* ja *ühendavale* sotsiaalsele kapitalile, võimaldades saada lisaressursse "sarnastest" võrgustikest väljastpoolt (Terrion 2006). *Siduv ja ühendav* vorm pakuvad võimalusi lastevanematel suhelda ja luua sidemeid teiste vanematega, saada uusi kontakte, kuid *lülitav* sotsiaalne kapital võimaldab perekondadel juurdepääsu infole, nõuannetele ja vahenditele, mida eelnevad vormid ei taga – see aitab arendada seoseid võimupositsioonil olevate võrgustikega.

Analüüsid antud vorme lähtuvalt kolmest eelvaadeldud põhilisest sotsiaalsest teooriast – Colemanil, Bourdieu ja Lini teooriast – võib tuua välja järgmised seosed: Colemanil lähenemine tegeleb enam *siduva* vormiga, sest põhineb tugevatel sidemetel. Lin rõhutab mõlemat tüüpi suhete – nii tugevate kui ka nõrkade – olulisust sotsiaalse kapitali kujunemises, mis on *ühendava* vormi põhisisuks. Bourdieu tegeleb võimu ja domineerimise küsimustega, keskendudes vertikaalsetele suhetele ehk siis kirjeldab kolmanda vormi, *lülitava* sotsiaalse kapitali probleeme.

Coleman ja ta kolleegid on võtnud kokku eri uuringud ning teinud järelduse, et sotsiaalne kapital on lapse akadeemilises edukuses otsustavaks determinandiks (McNeal 1999). Coleman väidab, et vanemate osalus koolielus loob lapse koolituseks lisaressursi, mis mõjutab eelkõige lapse käitumuslikku väljundit. Näiteks lapsevanemad, kes vestlevad oma lapsega koolist ning osalevad tihedalt koolielus, edastavad alateadlikult lapsele sõnumi kooli ja hariduse tähtsusest.

1.3. Kodu ja kooli koostöö paradigma põhipunktid (Artikkel V)

Eesti piires on lapsevanema kõrge osaluse määraga koolide positiivseid näiteid suhteliselt vähe. Erinevate uuringute (Poliitikauuringute... 2005; Põhikoolist... 2003) tulemustes on kooli-kodu koostööd Eesti tasandil hinnatud puudulikuks või nõrgaks. Enamasti piirduvad suhted õpetajate ja lapsevanemate vahel probleemide aruteluga. Lastevanemate väike kaasatus aga loob olukorra, kus arengut suunab vaid üks pool, mistõttu ei saavutata terviklikkust – õppetöö korralduse ja kvaliteedi kohta käivad otsustused jäävad vaid kooli hooleks ning tulemuseks on ebaühtlane edasijõudmine õpingutes, mille üheks tõenduseks on väga suur klassikordajate ja põhikoolist väljalangenute arv (Poliitikauuringute... 2005).

Kodu ja kooli koostöö ei ole protsess, kus saab kindlate reeglite alusel täpselt määratleda, mis on edu tagavad strateegiad ja meetodid. Iga laps on individuaalne ja nagu eelnevalt mainitud mängib iga lapse arengu juures rolli teda ümbritsev võrgustik oma erinevate mõjuteguritega. Kodu ja kooli efektiivse koostöö aluseks on partnerlussuhe. Partnerlus on mõiste, mida on rõhutatud ka Eesti hariduse jätkusuutlikkuse tagamisel (Säästev... 2005). Kodu ja kooli kui võrdsete partnerite omavahelise töö organiseerimisel saame rääkida põhipunktidest, millest lähtudes protsessi kulgu ühiselt juhitakse.

Peamised punktid kodu-kooli partnerluses (Carlisle *et al.* 2005; Driessen *et al.* 2005; Evertson, Weinstein 2006; Hutchinson 2007; Walker *et al.* 2005) (pikemalt on antud punktid lahti kirjutatud artiklis V):

1. Lapse ja perekonna tundmine: lapse arengu toetamiseks on õpetaja jaoks oluline tunda iga last ning tema perekonda, et selgitada välja nii lapse kui ka pere tugevad küljed ja nendest lähtuvalt seada põhilised fookused, mille alusel organiseerida koostööd vanematega. Antud punkt on oluline tagamaks holistlikku lähenemist, mille kohaselt tuleb õpilase arengu toetamisel arvestada tema elukonteksti ja suhteid (Pilli 2005).
2. Lapsevanemate ja õpetajate koostöö: selle põhipunkti aluseks on keskkonna loomine, kus kõik perekonnad tunnetaksid oma vajalikkust – seda, et neid hinnatakse. Vanemate ja õpetaja suhted võivad muutuda võistlevaks ning vastanduvaks (Driessen *et al.* 2005), kui neid ei suunata otseselt partnerluse ja empaatia eesmärgist kantuna.
3. Kooli-kodu koostöövormide varieerimine: Eesti koolides on mitu traditsioonilist koostöövormi (lastevanemate koosolekud ja lahtiste uste päevad). Lapsekesksest lähenemisest tulenevalt on sisse viidud kohustuslikud arenguevestlused lapse ja tema vanema(te)ga, e-kooli rakendamine, samuti korraldatakse koolides ühiseid üritusi lapsevanematega ja tegutsevad lastevanemate organisatsioonid (millest peamiseks on hoolekogu). Kooli-kodu koostöövormide puhul peab arvestama, et konkreetse perekonnaga töötamiseks ei ole võimalik ideaalselt sobivat mudelit ette anda, küll aga võimaldab koostöövormide varieerimine leida erinevatele peredele sobiv variant (Driessen *et al.* 2005; Evertson, Weinstein 2006).
4. Lapsevanemate ja kooli koostöö: siia alla kuulub lapsevanemate kaasamine kooli arendustöösse, mille üheks eelduseks on vajalike eelteadmiste andmine ehk siis lapsevanemate koolitamine (Fager, Brewster 1999; Hutchinson 2007). Üha enam vanemaid on tänapäeval mõistnud oma osatähtsust nii lapse kui ka kooli arengu seisukohalt ning soovivad aktiivselt osaleda olulisemate kooli arengut puudutavate küsimuste aruteludes, kuid mitte kõik koolid ei ole selleks veel valmis (Lukk 2005). Uus sisehindamise süsteem on siinkohal koolidele toeks, kuid kasu, mis koolid lapsevanematega koostööst saavad, sõltub suuresti koolist.
5. Usalduse loomine: hästitoimiva koostöö aluseks on iga partneri vajaduste ja väärtuste tunnistamine (Eesti... 2008). Väärtustest lähtuva koostöö neli peamist elementi on järgmised (Carlisle *et al.* 2005): väärtuste määratlemine, ühiste väärtuste loomine, väärtuste tasakaalustamine ja väärtuste uuendamine. Ühendades need tuntud arengutsükli kirjeldava Demingi-ratta mudeliga, võib usaldusel põhineva koostöö arengumudeli tuua välja järgmiste põhipunktidenä: määratlemine, sünergia, tasakaal ja uuendamine.

Kui vanemad mõistavad oma võimalusi ja rolli, siis saavad nad ka efektiivselt aidata oma lastel õppida. Vajaliku muutuse sisu seisneb eelkõige selles, et vanemad ja õpetajad ei töötaks enam eraldi, vaid ühiselt lapse arengu toetamiseks (Musti-Rao, Cartledge 2004). Töö lapsevanematega on üheks olulisemaks teguriks, mistõttu tuleb sellele koostöövaldkonnale eraldi tähelepanu pöörata.

1.4. Muutuste jätkusuutlikkus koolis (Artikkel IV)

1.4.1. Jätkusuutliku arengu kontseptsioon hariduses

Jätkusuutliku arengu kontseptsioon põhineb suures osas elukestva õppe kontseptsioonil, mille üheks karakteristikuks on terviklik ehk holistiline lähenemine. Holistiline lähenemine on jätkusuutlikkuse oluliseks eelduseks, kuna käsitleb elukeskkonna erinevaid probleeme – nii majanduslikke, sotsiaalseid kui ka keskkonnaküsimusi – vastastikku sõltuvatena (ARIC 2000; Mandolini 2007).

Hariduse kvaliteet tänapäeva maailmas on teatud määral vastuoluline. Kui globaalselt rõhutatakse üha enam jätkusuutlikku haridust, siis lokaalsel tasandil on rõhuasetus peamiselt erinevate testide ja eksamite läbimisel ning väärtustatakse teadmisi, mis on olulised nüüdisaegse majanduse kontekstis. Üheks põhjuseks selles on ajafaktor ehk ülepaisutatud programmid ei võimalda tegeleda väärtuskasvatusega, mis nõuab suhteliselt suurt ajalist ressursi. Teisest küljest peavad õpetajad informatsiooni ja konkreetsete teadmiste- oskuste omandamist peamiseks või domineerivaks eesmärgiks formaalhariduses (Quince 2006), samas kui holism rõhutab õppimises pigem tähenduse loomist, milles on oluline osa ka tunnetel ja näeb haridust kui toimetuleku ning edu vahendit (Pilli 2005). Kindlasti on teadmistel oma vajalik roll, kuid ainult teadmiste keskendumine ei taga jätkusuutlikku arengut. Teadmiste kõrval on oluline koostöö, mille vajalikkust Eesti arengu seisukohalt on rõhutanud “Eesti inimarengu aruande 2007” peatoimetaja M. Heidmets (2008).

Kuigi haridussfäär on suhteliselt konservatiivne ala ühiskonnas, siis ometi allub ka haridus (kuigi võib-olla mõningase viivitusega) laiematele paradigmaatilistele muutustele (Shallcross *et al.* 2006). Samas aga ei tuleks muuta haridust, selleks et sobitada seda nüüdisaegsesse maailma, vaid pigem muuta maailma väärtuste kaudu, mis peituvad jätkusuutlikus hariduses (Quince 2006). Selliste muutuste läbiviimine nõuab aga laia võrgustikku, kus töötavad koos nii ühiskonna kolm sektorit – avaliku, äri- ja kolmanda sektori esindajad – kui ka formaalne, mitteformaalne ja vabaharidus (Säästev... 2005). Jätkusuutlikus hariduses nähaksegi õppimist laiemalt kui formaalharidussüsteemis toimuva õpetamise tulemust – õppija võtab vastutuse õppimaks oma elukonteksti erinevatest kogemustest. Õppimine on kõikide inimeste võimalus kohaneda kiiresti muutuva maailmaga (Mandolini 2007; Pilli 2005).

Jätkusuutliku arengu kontseptsioon hõlmab endas nii eetilisi, moraalseid kui ka vaimseid tähendusi, mis nõuavad muutusi nii hoiakutes, väärtustes kui ka käitumises, sest jätkusuutliku arengu edukus sõltub individuaalsel ja grupi tasandil tehtud otsustest oma käitumise kohta, mille aluseks on omakorda väärtuste süsteem (ARIC 2000; Mang 2005). Väärtuste muutumine on aga pikaajaline protsess, mis teostub nii formaal- kui ka mitteformaal- ning vabahariduse koostoimel.

1.4.2. Jätkusuutlike muutuste karakteristikud

Uuringud, milles on vaadeldud erinevate muutuste elluviimist hariduses, on keskendunud antud muutuste rakendamise edukusele, kuid vähem on tähelepanu pööratud nende muutuste jätkusuutlikkusele: karakteristikutele ja faktoritele, mis toetavad muutuste püsijäämist, nende jätkusuutlikkust (Sindelar *et al.* 2006).

Ühendades haridusmuutuste püsivuse karakteristikud (Scherer 2006) ja jätkusuutliku arengu põhimõtted (ARIC 2000; McKeown 2002; UNESCO Education sector 2005) moodustub kuuest karakteristikust koosnev mudel koolisüsteemis läbiviidavate muutuste jätkusuutlikkuse hindamiseks (artikkel IV):

- Sügavus: võtmesõna – *väärtused*;
- Kestvus: võtmesõna – *tasakaal*;
- Õiglus: võtmesõna – *vastastikune sõltuvus*;
- Mitmekesisus: võtmesõna – *võrdõiguslikkus*;
- Jäävus: võtmesõna – *põlvkondadevaheline side*;
- Kapital: võtmesõna – *sünergia*.

Sügavus. Õpiprotsesside sügavus koolis. See hõlmab nii sisulist kui ka organisatsioonilist külge. Haridusreformi jätkusuutlikkuse tagamiseks peab keskenduma nii teadmiste omandamisele kui ka igapäevaelus vajalike väärtuste kasvatamisele. Oluline on seejuures asjaolu, et vaid ühest suurest kampaniast antud muutuste sisseviimisel ei piisa – pigem tuleb arvestada pikaajalise protsessiga, kus väärtused on põimitud igasse õpitavasse programmi, tegevusse ja kooli poliitikasse tervikuna (Mang 2005).

Kestvus. Tasakaal on üheks jätkusuutliku arengu võtmesõnaks. Jätkusuutlik areng on demokratiseeritud, de-centraliseeritud ja pluralistlik protsess, kus ressursside moodustumine peab olema tasakaalus nende jaotumisega / kasutamise (Selby 2006). Peab olema saavutatud sobiv tasakaal soovitatavate eesmärkide ja kasutatavate vahendite ning ressursside vahel – ainult nii on võimalik saavutada protsessi pikaajaline kestvus (Wagner *et al.* 2006). Kõikide huvigruppide koostöö aitab saavutada tasakaalu eesmärkide saavutamisel ning suurendab ühist arusaamist, mis omakorda toetab muutuse kestvust (Szilagyi, Szesci 2005; Smith 2006).

Õiglus. Vastastikune sõltuvus. Iga üksikindiviid on osa suurest süsteemist. Sarnaselt on ka iga kool haridussüsteemis seotud teiste koolidega, mistõttu peab arvestama, et ühes koolis toimuvatel muutustel on paratamatult mõju teistele temaga seotud koolidele ning seepärast peab muudatusi tehes jälgima, et uuendused süsteemi ühes osas ei kahjustaks teisi osi (jälgitaks õigluse printsiipi).

Mitmekesisus. Muutuste jätkusuutlikkust toetab mitmesuguste erinevuste ühendamisel maksimaalse positiivse mõju väljatoomine, mis aga eeldab kõikide protsessis osalevate huvigruppide võrdsete õiguste ning samuti võrdsete võimaluste tunnustamist (Hudson 2005).

Jäävus. Põlvkondadevahelised seosed on olulised jätkusuutlike muutuste tagamisel. Need seosed kannavad endas mentorluse rolli (Shallcross *et al.* 2006). Meie tegevused täna moodustavad aluse homsetele muutustele. Ülalpool kirjeldatud vastastikune sõltuvus omab nii horisontaalset dimensiooni – koolidevahelise sõltuvuse karakteristikut – kui ka vertikaalset ehk see eksisteerib nii ajas kui ka ruumis (ARIC 2000).

Kapital. Kapital kui kooli jätkusuutlike muutuste karakteristik hõlmab endas kõikide huvigruppide koostööst tulenevat sünergia (Hudson 2005) ehk kui kõik osapooled ühendavad oma ressursid ehk kapitali, siis on tulemuseks midagi enam kui sisestatud kapitalide summa (Juniper, Moore 2002; Shallcross *et al.* 2006).

Kodu ja kooli koostöö efektiivsemaks muutmine on protsess, mille juhtimisel tuleb lähtuda jätkusuutlikkuse põhimõttest. Muudatused hariduse valdkonnas ei toimu (ega ka pea toimuma) kiiresti: hariduse konservatiivsus tagab ühtlasi ka selle stabiilsuse, mistõttu tuleb kavandatavad sammud hoolikalt planeerida ning viia ellu eesmärgiga luua elujõuline ja jätkusuutlik süsteem. Iga koolikogukond on omanäoline, samuti selle õpilased ja nende vanemad, ning seetõttu ei saa esitada konkreetset, kõikidele sobivat kooli ja kodu koostöö mudelit, mis toimiks efektiivselt iga kooli puhul. Pigem on vajalik tutvustada eri mudeleid ja põhipunkte, mis juhatavad kätte suuna vajalike muudatuste elluviimiseks.

2. EMPIIRILINE UURIMUS KODU JA KOOLI KOOSTÖÖST

2.1. Uurimuse metoodika kirjeldus

Uuringus kasutatud andmed on kogutud TLÜ kasvatuseduskonna sihtfinantseeritava teadusteema “Kool kui arengukeskkond ja õpilase toimetulek” (registreerimise kood 0132495s03) osana. Projekti üldeesmärgiks oli välja selgitada, kuidas tunnevad õpilased end koolis, millised asjaolud mõjutavad õpilaste toimetulekut ja väljalangevust koolis.

Uurimus viidi läbi 2004.–2007. aastal. Uurimuse puhul oli tegemist ülevaateuuringuga, meetodiks küsitlus. Uuringusse kaasati kõik huvigrupid: õpilased, õpetajad, koolijuhid ja lapsevanemad. Uurimisprobleemaatika seisukohalt moodustas keskse osa küsimustik õpilastele – uuriti 7., 9., ja 11.–12. klassi õpilasi, seejärel nende vanemaid ning nende koolide õpetajaid ja koolijuhte, kus uuritavad lapsed õppisid. Huvigruppidele suunatud küsimustike sisuline koostamine toimus individuaalselt erinevate uurijate poolt (käesoleva töö autor vastutas lapsevanemate küsimustiku koostamise eest), millele järgnes küsimuste vormiline ühtlustamine projektimeeskonna poolt. Erinevatele huvigruppidele suunatud küsimustikud sisaldasid nii ühtseid temaatilisi plokkide (hinnang koolile kui organisatsioonile ja õpetajate tegevusele; suhted erinevatel tasanditel) kui ka spetsiifilisi, ainult antud huvigrupile suunatud küsimuste gruppe.

Käesolevas töös analüüsitakse lapsevanemate küsimustiku abil saadud tulemusi. Küsimustik lapsevanemale koosnes 49 küsimusest (lisa 1), mis hõlmasid järgmisi teemaplokkide (aluseks nende uurijate tööd: Cassel 2003; Gullatt, Lemoine 1997; Hill, Craft 2003; McNeal 1999; Peraita, Pastor 2000): 1) lastevanemate üldine hinnang koolile: usaldus, kodu-kooli suhe, hinnang otsustusõigusele koolis; 2) kooli-kodu koostöövormid; 3) raskused ja takistused kooliga suhtlemisel; 4) kooli vaimsus; 5) kooli iseloomustavad karakteristikud; 6) lastevanemate hinnang õpetajatele; 7) lapsevanema ja lapse suhted; 8) lapse turvalisus; 9) perekonna karakteristikud; 10) vastaja üldandmed.

Lapsevanemate küsimustiku teemaplokkide on analüüsinud erinevad projektiga seotud uurijad. Käesolevas väitekirjas keskendutakse kodu-kooli aspektidele järgmiste küsimuste alusel (lisa 1):

- Struktuuriline aspekt: küsimused 7, 8;
- Funktsionaalne aspekt: küsimused 1–6, 9–12, 14, 16–19, 23;
- Sotsiaalne aspekt: küsimused 1–4, 6, 10–11, 14–16, 18–19, 24, 33, 35–36.

Uuringu valim koostati põhimõttel, et selles oleks proportsionaalselt esindatud 1) erineva õppeedukusega koolid viimase viie aasta riigieksamite tulemuste alusel; 2) maa- ja linnakoolid, 3) eesti ja vene õppekeelega koolid. Kokku osales läbiviidud uuringus 65 kooli, mis moodustab 10% Eesti koolidest. Erinevate huvigruppide lõikes oli osalejate arv järgmine: 3838 õpilast, kelle vanematele jagatud küsimustikest tagastati täidetult 2048 (mis on aluseks antud töös esitatud uurimistulemustele), lisaks osales uuringus 120 koolijuhtkonna esindajat (direktor, õppealajuhataja) ja 624 õpetajat. Küsitluste läbiviimisel osalesid kõik uurimisgruppi liikmed.

Andmete analüüsil moodustasid uuritud grupid eraldi tervikud, ei kasutatud üks ühele vastavusse viimist. Uuringu tulemustes on teatud teemade puhul võrdlevalt või paralleelselt analüüsitud erinevatele huvigruppidele suunatud küsitluste tulemusi, mille on välja toonud uurimisgruppi kuulunud teised uurijad (näiteks kõikide uuritud gruppide – õpilased, lapsevanemad, õpetajad ja koolijuhid – võrdlus artiklis II, vanemate ja laste küsitluste tulemuste analüüs ning võrdlus artiklites III ja IV).

Andmete statistilisel töötlusel koostati enamasti koondtunnused, mille aluseks oli faktoranalüüs. Koondtunnuste puhul lähtuti nõudest, et Cronbachi alpha väärtus oleks vähemalt 0,60. Lisaks kasutati klasteranalüüsi grupeerimisel, samuti ANOVA-t (*one-way*) gruppidevaheliste erinevuste väljaselgitamisel ning f- ja t-testi keskmiste ja dispersiooni võrdlustel. Erinevate tunnuste vaheliste seoste mudeli väljatöötamiseks kasutati regressioonanalüüsi.

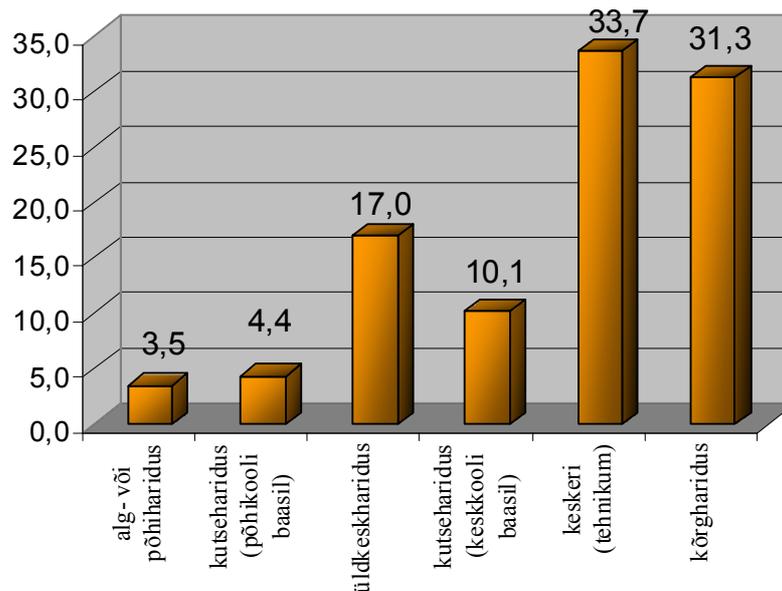
Andmete töötluks kasutati programme SPSS for Windows Version 10.0 (andmete sisestusvormid ja analüüs) ning Microsoft Excel 2000 (analüüsi tulemuste graafiline esitamine).

2.1.1. Valimi iseloomustus

Uuringus osalenud 2048 lapsevanemast moodustasid 88% naised ja 12% mehed. Vastajate keskmiseks vanuseks oli 42 aastat (min 19 aastat, max 82 aastat). Küsimustikule ei vastanud ainult emad-isad, vastajate hulgas oli ka vanavanemaid, kasuvanemaid jt lapse hooldajana määratletud isikuid, mis selgitab ka vanuse minimaal- ja maksimaalväärtusi.

Perekonnaseisu alusel moodustasid suurema grupi abielus olevad vastajad (65%), neile järgnesid lahutatud (13,9%) ja vabaabielus elavad lapsevanemad (11,5%) ning viimased kaks gruppi olid vallalised, 4,9% ja lesed, 4,7%.

Haridustaseme osas eristusid tugevamalt kaks gruppi: keskeri ja kõrgharidusega vastajate grupid (joonis 2), protsendid vastavalt 33,7% ja 31,3%. Järgmise suurema grupi moodustasid keskhariidusega vastajad: 17,0%



Joonis 2. Valimi jaotuvus haridustaseme alusel

Järgnevalt on esitatud uuringu tulemused kodu-kooli koostöö paradigma põhipunktidest lähtuvalt (vt punkt 1.3): lapse ja perekonna tundmine, lapsevanemate ja õpetajate koostöö, kodu ja kooli koostöövormid, lapsevanemad ja kool partneritena. Viiendat – usalduse põhipunkti – käsitletakse eraldi vastavates alapunktides, millega nad on seotud ning pikemalt diskussiooni osas. Eraldi punktina on esitatud kodu ja kooli koostööd takistavad tegurid. Teatud alapunktides on toodud võrdlusi antud uurimisteema raames teistele huvigruppidele suunatud küsimustikest saadud tulemustega.

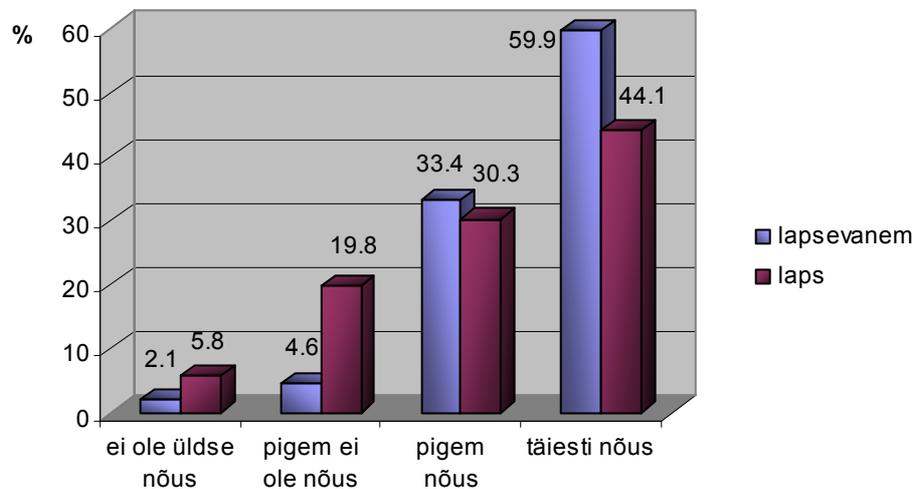
2.2. Uuringu tulemused kodu ja kooli koostöö põhipunktidest lähtuvalt

2.2.1. Lapse ja perekonna tundmine

Lapse arengut toetavate õpetajate jaoks on oluline tunda iga last ning tema perekonda, et selgitada nii lapse kui ka pere tugevad küljed. Nendest lähtuvalt saab seada põhilised fookused, mille alusel organiseerida vanemate kaasamist kooliellu.

Vanemate hinnang hoolivuse tasemele perekonnas (artikkel III ja väide “Meie peres hoolitakse üksteisest”) näitas, et pisut enam kui pooled (59,9%) olid antud väitega täiesti nõus, 33,4% pigem nõus, 6,7% ei olnud või pigem ei olnud nõus. Võrreldes vanemate ja laste arvamust hoolivuse tasemest perekonnas (joonis 3), ilmnes statistiliselt oluline erinevus ($p=0.000$). Lapsed hindasid hoolivuse taset võrreldes vanematega madalamaks. Enam kui 20% lastest väitsid, et “ei nõustu”/“pigem ei nõustu” väitega, et perekonnas hoolitakse üksteisest. Üheks põhjuseks antud asjaolule võivad olla ka probleemsed suhted teismeeas õdede-vendade vahel

(kuna uuriti 7., 9. ja 11. klasside õpilasi, siis moodustasid enamuse teismelised), kuid lõplikke põhjusi antud uuringu metoodika põhjal välja tuua ei saa (vaja oleks täiendavaid kvalitatiivseid uuringuid). Samas aga tuleks antud probleemile siiski tähelepanu pöörata, kui vähem kui pooled lastest saavad sellele vastata täieliku nõustumisega.



Joonis 3. Vanemate ja laste hinnangu võrdlus hoolivusele perekonnas

Lastest väitsid 9,5%, et nad on hiljuti kogenud kodus vägivalda, samas kui 5,1% vanematest arvas, et nende laps võis seda olla kogenud (statistiline erinevus $p=0.008$).

Uuringus analüüsiti erinevaid laste eluga seotud aspekte, mille pärast vanemad muret tunnevad. Tulemused (artikkel V) näitasid, et 18,6% vanematest muretsevad suhete pärast perekonnas. Vene õppekeele koolide vanemate ja pealinna vanemate puhul oli see näitaja veelgi kõrgem (vastavalt 36% ja 23,5%), võrreldes maapiirkondades elavate peredega (13%).

Kommunikatsioonil ehk suhtlemisel on määrav roll sotsiaalse kapitali tootmisel (Terrion 2006). Lapsevanemate ja laste arvamused mitmes kooliga seotud küsimuses (artikkel III) (uute meetodite ja tehnikate kasutamine koolis; auväärsete traditsioonide olemasolu koolis; koolil on aegunud vaated; koolil on kindlad eesmärgid ja strateegia, kuidas neid saavutada) erinesid statistiliselt olulisel määral ($p<0.01$). Märkimisväärsed erinevused olid kooli eesmärkide ja uute õppemeetodite ja -tehnikate kasutamises. Enamik vanematest (82,6%) arvavad, et koolil, kus nende laps õpib, on selged sihid ja kindel eesmärk, mille poole suundutakse ning samuti strateegia eesmärgi saavutamiseks. Laste puhul oli see näitaja 71,7%. Sama suund esines ka uute õppemeetodite ja -tehnikate kasutamise puhul koolis (selle väitega nõustus 67,2% vanematest ja ainult 42,6%). Sellised erinevused on üheks märgiks asjaolust, et kooli ja hariduse küsimustes üldisemalt on kommunikatsioon vanemate ja laste vahel vähene.

2.2.2. Lapsevanemate ja õpetajate koostöö

Õpetajate ja lapsevanemate koostöö üheks olulisemaks karakteristikuks on aeg, mida koostöö jaoks on võimalik kasutada. Uuringus küsiti vanematelt, kas nende hinnangu kohaselt on õpetajatel nende jaoks aega. Suurem osa vastanutest (62%) märkis, et õpetajad leiavad aega ka lapsevanemaga tegelemiseks, kuigi ainult 8% väitis, et õpetajatel on vanema jaoks *piisavalt* aega. Samas aga oli 38% neid, kelle arvamuse kohaselt ei jää õpetajatel lapsevanemate jaoks aega.

Õpetajate ja lastevanemate vaheline kommunikatsioon on kodu-kooli koostöö võtme-elementiks. Samas aga ei vasta õpetajate pakutu alati lastevanemate ootustele. Võrreldes teemade pingeridu, millest lapsevanemad tahaksid õpetajatega vestelda ning millest õpetajad tegelikult räägivad, siis on märgata selget erinevust (tabel 1).

Tabel 1. Vestlusteemad lapsevanema ja õpetaja/klassijuhataja vahel

Lapsevanemate soov	Tegelik olukord
1. Laste turvalisus	1. Laste hinded
2. Laste areng ja tulevik	2. Laste käitumine ja moraal
3. Laste hinded	3. Konkreetsed pahandused
4. Laste tervis ja toit	4. Laste turvalisus
5. Laste käitumine ja moraal	5. Laste tervis ja toit
6. Koolikiusamine	6. Laste areng ja tulevik
7. Lastevaheline sõprus	7. Koolikiusamine
8. Konkreetsed pahandused	8. Lastevaheline sõprus
9. Õppevahendid	9. Klassi- ja kooliväline tegevus
10. Klassi- ja kooliväline tegevus	10. Õppevahendid
11. Kooli arengukava	11. Kooli arengukava
12. Muutused koolikorralduses	12. Muutused koolikorralduses
13. Kooli remont	13. Kooli remont
14. Transport	14. Transport

Lapsevanemad ootavad enam vestlusi õpilase arengu, tuleviku ja turvalisuse teemal, samas kui õpetajad keskenduvad eelkõige hinnetele ja õpilase käitumuslikele väljunditele. Kooli arengukavaga seotud vestlusi, milles arutletakse ka kooli eesmärkide ja üldiste sihtide üle, ei peeta eriti sageli – statistilist erinevust erinevate piirkondade koolide hulgas ei esinenud. Statistiliselt oluline erinevus ($p < .001$) esines antud teema olulisuse osas, kus Tallinna koolide lapsevanemad pidasid seda teemat tunduvalt olulisemaks: 31,1% arvas, et see on väga oluline, samas kui linna- ja maakoolide lapsevanemate näitajad olid järgmised: 18,8% ja 17,5%.

Võrreldes kõrgema ja madalama õppeedukusega koolide erinevusi, ilmnes statistiliselt oluline erinevus vestlusteemade sageduse näitajates: kõrgema õppeedukusega koolides vesteldakse sagedamini õpilase arengut ja tulevikku puudutavatel ning samuti kooli arengukava teemadel. Madalama õppeedukusega koolides vesteldi enam õpilase hinnetest ja käitumisest ning konkreetsetest pahandustest (artikkel I).

Lastevanemate hinnangud õpetajate kohta grupeeriti klasteranalüüsi abil. Moodustus neli klastrit (artikkel III):

- 1) Lapse arengu toetaja (42,6%): selle grupi moodustavad õpetajad, kes tunnevad huvi lapse käekäigu vastu, jälgivad õpilast süstemaatiliselt ning nad kasutavad hindamist eeskätt lapse õppimise ja arengu toetamiseks. Need õpetajad suudavad luua tunnis positiivse kliima.
- 2) Positiivselt range õpetaja (32,5%): need on õpetajad, kes suudavad tunnis korda hoida, hindavad õiglaselt ning on piisavalt nõudlikud.
- 3) Ainele orienteeritud õpetaja (10,5%): need on õpetajad, kes valdavad hästi oma ainet ning suudavad õpilasi hästi eksamiteks ja tasemetöödeks ette valmistada.
- 4) Karm võistleja (14,4%): selline õpetaja näeb peamise õppe- ja kasvatusprotsessi mõjutajana karistust; ta ei aktsepteeri keskmisest erinevat õpilast ning arengu aluseks peab ta eelkõige võistlust ja konkurentsi.

Kahte esimest välja toodud õpetajatüüpi võib nimetada **õpilasele orienteeritud õpetajateks**: need on pedagoogid, kes loovad sellise kliima, kus lastel on võimalik ja nad ka soovivad õppida; nende õpetajate jaoks on oluline laste targemaks saamine, nende arenemine; nad oskavad märgata laste probleeme ning neile adekvaatselt reageerida. Viimased kaks õpetajatüüpi on enam **ainekeskse lähenemisviisiga õpetajad**, s.o õpetajad, kes keskenduvad enam ainele ja teadmistele kui õpilasele ja tema arengule.

2.2.3. Kodu ja kooli koostöövormid

Antud uuringus vaadeldi järgmiseid koostöö vorme: lastevanemate koosolekud (eraldi ja koos lastega), arenguvestlused õpetajaga vanema ja lapse osavõtul, avatud uste päevad, õpilaste, õpetajate ja lastevanemate ühised väljasõidud ning lastevanemate ühenduses osalemine (artikkel I ja V). Kõiki neid vorme uuriti kahest aspektist: sagedus ja sobivus vanemate hinnangu kohaselt. Sageduses oli ette antud skaala: mitte kunagi, kord aastas, mõni kord aastas, vähemalt kord veerandis.

Kõige enam levinud koostöövormiks on lastevanemate koosolekud (lisa 2), mida korraldatakse üldjuhul mõni kord aastas. Teistest vormidest on koolides kasutusel arenguvestlused kas ainult koos vanemaga või koos vanema ja lapsega ning avatud uste päevad, kuigi viimaseid korraldatakse siiski väga vähestes koolides. Võrreldes koostöövormide esinemissagedust vanemate hinnangul nende vajalikkuse ja sobivusega (lisa 2),

selgus, et lapsevanemad oleks huvitatud kõikide nende vormide kasutamisest vähemalt kord aastas. Kõige enam sooviti ikkagi lastevanemate koosolekuid, sellele järgnesid arenguevestlused koos lastega ja avatud uste päevad ning viimastena märgiti lastevanemate ühenduses osalemist ning ühiseid väljasõite. Seega on Eesti hariduses üldlevinud ainult üks kodu ja kooli koostöövorm – lastevanemate koosolekud, samas aga on lastevanemate osaluse määr kõrgem koolides, kus kooli ja kodu koostöövormide variatiivsus on suurem (artikkel I). Traditsioonilised vormid (lastevanemate koosolekud; lahtiste uste päevad) nõuavad edasiarendamist (võimalusel tuleks kaasata õpilasi ühistesse aruteludesse) ning lisama peaks kindlasti uusi.

2.2.4. Lapsevanemate hinnang koolile ja koostööle

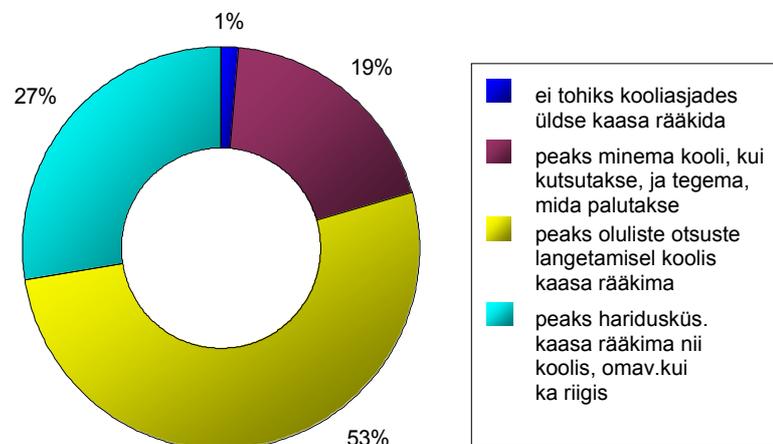
Kooli ja kodu koostöö üheks aluseks on vanemate positiivne suhtumine kooli, usaldus ning rahulolu kooli sammudega lapsevanemate kaasamisel tähtsamate otsuste tegemise.

Lastevanemate hinnangute koondtulemustest arvatati keskmised, mille tulemused olid järgmised (keskmised hinnangud skaalal 1–6):

- Rahulolu kooli-kodu suhtega: 3,81
- Usaldus: 4,35
- Rahulolu otsustusõigusega: 3,1
- Rahulolu koostöö sagedusega: 3,71
- Üldhinnang: 4,15

Antud uuringus selgus, et lapsevanemad on rahul kooli-kodu suhtega (artikkel II): keskmine hinnang 3,81 (skaalal 1–6) ning nad usaldavad õpetajaid: keskmine hinnang 4,35 (skaalal 1–6). Dispersiooni näitajate (vastavalt 1,25 ja 1,39) ning skaala miinimum- ja maksimumväärtuste olemasolu (ehk mõlemal juhul esines hinnangutes nii 1 kui ka 6) alusel võib täheldada siiski teatud arvamuste kõikumist antud küsimuses.

Kõige madalamalt hinnati lastevanemate otsustusõigust: keskmine hinnang 3,1 (skaalal 1–6) ning selles küsimuses varieerusid lapsevanemate arvamused ka kõige enam (dispersioon 2,39) (artikkel I ja II). Samas aga leidsid vastanud, et lapsevanematel peaks siiski olema võimalus kooli arengu seisukohalt oluliste küsimuste otsustamisel kaasa rääkida ja seda nii kooli, omavalitsuse kui ka riigi tasandil (joonis 4).



Joonis 4. Vastanute hinnang lastevanemate otsustusõigusele

Kooli ja kodu koostöö sagedus on samuti üks näitajatest, mis oli lastevanemate hinnangul keskmine: 3,71 (skaalal 1–6).

Ankeedis küsiti ka lastevanemate üldist hinnangut koolile, kus tuli kõiki tahke silmas pidades anda hinnang 6 palli süsteemis “väga kehvast” kuni “suurepäraseni”. Lastevanemate üldine hinnang oli väga kõrge: 75% vastanutest hindas kooli 4-st kuni 6-ni, keskmine oli 4,15.

Missugused aga on need olulisemad hinnanguindeksid, mis määravad ära lastevanemate üldise hinnangu koolile? Selleks viidi läbi regressioonanalüüs (lisa 3), kuhu valiti lisaks eespool käsitletud tunnustele ka lapse suhet kooliga väljendavad tunnused, millel oli statistiliselt oluline seos lastevanemate koolile antava

üldhinnanguga (lapse soov kooli minna; lapse hinnang koolile: kas see on koht, kus tal on igav või mitte?). Analüüsi tulemusena valmis järgmine regressioonimudel:

$$y = 2,487 + 0,274x_1 + 0,146x_2 - 0,145x_3 + 0,063x_4 - 0,109x_5 + 0,05101x_6$$

ehk lahti kirjutatuna:

vanemate üldine hinnang koolile = $2,487 + 0,274 \cdot \text{usaldus õpetajate suhtes} + 0,146 \cdot \text{hinnang kooli-kodu suhtele} - 0,145 \cdot \text{lapse soov kooli minna} + 0,063 \cdot \text{rahulolu koostöö sagedusega} - 0,1099 \cdot \text{hinnang kooli igavusele lapse arvamise järgi} + 0,05101 \cdot \text{hinnang lapsevanema otsustusõigusele koolis}$

Regressioonimudelitest nähtub, et kõige enam määrab vanemate hinnangu koolile nende usaldus õpetajate vastu, millele järgneb hinnang kodu-kooli suhtele ja kolmandal kohal on lapse soov kooli minna.

Kooli hinnati uurimuses mitme valdkonna alusel: õppe- ja õpimeetodid, juhtkond, kooliruumide kasutus, lastevanemate majandusliku olukorra arvestamine, koolikultuur, kooli maine, kooli traditsioonid ja meietunnetus, kindlad eesmärgid, demokraatia olemasolu, füüsilise keskkonna vastavus nüüdisaja nõuetele ning ka tugistruktuuride – hoolekogu, õpilasomavalitsuse – töö osakaal koolis (artikkel V).

Antud tunnustest lähtuvalt koostati faktoranalüüsiga erinevate koolide keskkonda kirjeldavad faktorid. Valides kriitiliseks omaväärtuseks (*eigenvalue*) 1, eraldus kolm faktorit. Suuremate faktorkaalude järgi ehk siis tugevama seose alusel võib neid koolitüüpe, mida antud faktorid kirjeldavad, nimetada järgmiselt (artikkel V):

1. **Elujõuline** (kirjeldusvõime 34%): koolis on tugev meie-vaim ja demokraatlik juhtimisstiil; koolil on kindlad eesmärgid ning tugevad traditsioonid ja aastatega saavutatud hea maine; samas ollakse avatud uutele ideedele.
2. **Progressiivne** (kirjeldusvõime 24%): avatud ja edasipürgiv, tänapäeva kiire arenguga sammu pidada püüdev kool; juhtimisstiilis on eesmärgiks selgus ja läbinähtavus, mistõttu kaasatakse otsustamisprotsessi nii hoolekogu kui ka õpilasomavalitsus.
3. **Pidurdunud** (kirjeldusvõime 13%): kool on kinni vanas mõttemallis ja harjumustes; koolielu üheks olulisemaks tunnuseks on majanduslikust ebavõrdsusest tingitud kihistumine.

Antud kolme faktori abil saab kirjeldatud kokku 71% alg tunnuste koguvariatiivsusest, mis on piisav selleks, et antud mudelit heaks pidada.

2.2.5. Kodu ja kooli koostööd takistavad tegurid

Uurimuse ühe teemaploki moodustasid ka kooli ja kodu koostööd takistavad tegurid. Analüüsil klasterdati põhjuste loetelu, et tuua välja üldised grupid, mis takistavad kooli ja kodu efektiivset koostööd. Takistavate tegurite grupe eristus klasteranalüüsil neli ning neid iseloomustaksid järgmised märksõnad (artikkel II):

1. **Isiklik tõrge (17%)**: siia gruppi kuuluvad põhjused, mis on seotud lapsevanema otsese negatiivse kogemusega koostööst kooliga.
2. **Argielu probleemid (22%)**: selle grupi moodustavad põhjused, mis tulevad väljastpoolt kooli – probleemid tööl ja kodus, ajapuudus.
3. **Mõttetuse tunnetamine (35%)**: seda gruppi iseloomustavad põhjused, mis tulenevad lapsevanema kogemusest, et tema senisest tegevusest ei ole midagi kasu olnud, süsteem ei toimi nii nagu vaja ning koostöö kooliga võib lapsele isegi negatiivselt mõjuda.
4. **Distantseerumine (25%)**: see grupp hõlmab põhjuseid, mis näitavad lapsevanema huvi puudumist koolis toimuva vastu ning püüdu end lapse kooliprobleemidest eemal hoida.

Loetelust selgub, et vanemate suurimaks kartuseks on see, et nende liiga aktiivne sekkumine võib põhjustada kaaslase ja/või õpetajate halvaks panu ning nii võivad nende head kavatsused kasu asemel hoopis kahju tuua. Mitu vanemat märkis, et nende lapsed ei vaja enam nende abi, nad saavad ise hakkama. Ühest küljest võib see nii ka olla, kui aga kõrvutada seda pingereas kohe järgnevate põhjendustega, siis võib seegi olla vaid vanemate püüd õigustada endale (ja ka teistele) vähese tähelepanu pööramist oma lapsele. Meie elustiil on muutunud väga pingeliseks ning vanematel tõepoolest napib aega millekski muuks peale elatise teenimise. Kool taandub sageli väärtuste pingereas tahapoole.

3. DISKUSSIOON JA KOKKUVÕTE

3.1. Holistiline lähenemine kui haridusreformi põhiprintsiip

Tänapäeva ühiskond liigub elustiili suunas, mis seab uued nõuded haridusele ning ainult need koolid, mis käivad kaasas pidevate muutustega, suudavad pakkuda lastele haridust, mis tagaks neile edu hilisemas elus (McKeown 2002; Selby 2006; United... 1996). Haridusreformide võtmesõnaks on terviklik ehk holistiline lähenemine, mis hõlmab kõiki süsteemi valdkondi ja selles valitsevaid suhteid ning seoseid. Kooli õppekeskkonna reorganiseerimisel tuleb lähtuda kõigi osapoolte – juhtkonna, õpetajate, õpilaste ja lapsevanemate – koostöö printsiibist, sest mida ühtsem on lapse kasvatusel tegelev võrgustik, seda tugevam on selle mõju lapse arengule (artikkel I).

Erinevates maades korraldatavad haridusreformid näitavad suurt edasiminekut kasvatusteadusliku mõtte, uurimuse ja praktika valdkonnas, eriti selles osas, mis puudutab efektiivsusele suundumist ning koolipõhist juhtimist (Cheng 1997). Samas aga on need suunad siiski tugevalt kammitsetud traditsioonilistest ideedest ja tõekspidamistest, mille üheks põhjuseks on asjaolu, et reforme püütakse ellu viia vaid ühes valdkonnas korraga. Uuringud on näidanud, et õppimise ja õpetamise terviklik käsitlemine on efektiivsem kui teised lähenemisiisid, mis on suunatud korraga vaid ühe uuenduse elluviimisele – sellised nagu aktiivõpe, koostööl põhinev õpe või tehnoloogia arendamist toetav (Poindexter 2003).

3.2. Demokraatlike põhimõtete rakendamisest koolis

Eri osapoolte kaasamise positiivne efekt avaldub üksnes siis, kui seda rakendatakse üldise põhimõttena kooli kui tervikliku organisatsiooni korralduses ehk kui kooli juhtimises rakendatakse osalusdemokraatia printsiipe kõigil tasanditel (artikkel II). Osalusdemokraatia on üheks sobivamaks vormiks õppivatele kogukondadele ja organisatsioonidele. Hariduse demokratiseerimist on rõhutanud ka Majanduse ja Koostöö Arengu Organisatsiooni (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development ehk OECD) raport erinevate maade haridussüsteemide kohta (näiteks – OECD report on Estonia 2001). Demokratiseerumine kooli tasandil sõltub suurel määral demokraatlikest protsessidest riigi tasandil, kuigi teatud määral on selles tegemist ka kooli sisekultuurilise küsimusega (Ruus, Sarv 2000).

Eesti haridussüsteemis on viimased aastad toonud mitu positiivset muutust demokraatia põhimõtete rakenduses: õpetajate kaasamine ühistesse probleemianalüüsidesse ja otsustusprotsessi, kooli ja lapsevanemate koostöö osatähtsuse tõus, ühised eesmärgipüstitused, mis kõik on muutunud kooli arengu protsessi olulisteks osadeks. 2006. aastast kehtima hakanud kohustuslik koolide sisehindamine kujutab endast ühte kõige suuremat etappi koolide reformimisel nüüdisaja nõuetele vastavateks haridusasutusteks. Sisehindamise protsess koondab endasse eduka haridusreformi tagamise peamised põhimõtted (lisa 4), loob ühtse süsteemi, hõlmates nii horisontaalseid (töö huvigruppide või erinevate osapooltega, terviklik lähenemine kasvatusprotsessile, enesehindamine) kui ka vertikaalseid (strateegiline juhtimine) aspekte.

Käesoleva uuringu kohaselt on demokraatlike printsiipide rakendamisel Eesti koolides märgatav lõhe teooria ja praktika vahel. Koolijuhid ja õpetajad tõstavad oluliste väärtustena koolis esile eelkõige demokraatlikud väärtused – aususe, sallivuse, head suhted ning samuti rõhutatakse kõikide huvigruppide kaasamise osatähtsust kooli arengu kavandamisel ja otsustusprotsessis (artikkel II). Samas aga ei tunneta lapsevanemad ega õpilased nende väärtuste praktilist ellurakendatust koolis ning toovad välja peamiste väärtustena, mida koolis hinnatakse, hoopis utilitaarsed väärtused – akadeemilise edukuse, hinded ja distsipliini. Antud lõhet võib teatud määral vaadata kui kommunikatsioonilõhet kooli ja kodu vahel, sest kool ei ole suutnud edastada oma demokraatlikke vaateid ja põhimõtteid lapsevanematele. Lapsevanem, kelle põhitöö ei ole enamasti seotud hariduse ja kasvatusel küsimustega, vajab kindlasti juhendamist antud valdkonna professionaalide – haridustöötajate – poolt. Teisest küljest võib põhjuseks olla ka asjaolu, et kooli juhtkonna ja õpetajate esile toodud demokraatlikud väärtused ei peegeldu reaalses koolielus ehk teoreetiline teadmine ei ole tegelikkuses ellurakendatud.

3.3. Kooli-kodu koostöö struktuuralsest ja funktsionaalsest aspektist

Kooli ja kodu koostöö on üks valdkondi, mis koolide tänapäevastamise protsessis vajab suhteliselt suurt tähelepanu ning juhendamist. Kõige raskem on viia sisse muutusi nendes valdkondades, mis on alati eksisteerinud, kuid mille rõhuasetused, sisu ja struktuur on olnud üles ehitatud teistsugustele printsiipidele. Varem oli kodu-kooli koostöö võtmeks õpetaja, kelle arvamus ja juhtnöörid olid autoriteediks lapsevanema jaoks. Nüüdisaegne kodu-kooli koostöö keskendub protsessile – ühisele tegevusele, mille aluseks on partnerlussuhted. Lõpptulemini jõutakse ühistööna, kus kõikidel osapooltel on õigus ja võimalus oma arvamuste-ettepanekute esitamiseks. Valmis mudelid ette ei anta – iga laps on unikaalne ning tema arengut toetavad kooli-kodu koostöö võrgustiku eesmärgid ja ülesanded viiakse ellu konkreetsest lapsest ja konkreetsest situatsioonist lähtuvalt.

Lapsevanemate osalus koolielus on Eesti koolides hetkel suhteliselt erinev, kuigi uue sisehindamise süsteemi käivitumisega on märgata positiivset muutust kodu ja kooli partnerluse suurenemise suunas (Lukk 2005; Nassar, Rebane 2002). Enamik vanematest on huvitatud koostööst kooliga, et tagada oma lapse maksimaalne areng ning tema edaspidine toimetulek.

Kooli ja kodu koostööd aitab kindlasti suurendada erinevate koostöövormide varieerimine ja koolide teadlik töö selles valdkonnas (artikkel V). Kui lapsevanem on kooliga rohkem seotud, tunneb ta end ka vastutavana oma lapse haridusliku käekäigu eest ning suhtub kooli positiivsemalt. Traditsioonilised vormid (lastevanemate koosolekud ja lahtiste uste päevad) nõuavad edasiarendamist (võimalusel tuleks kaasata õpilasi ühistesse aruteludesse) ning lisada tuleks kindlasti uusi. Lastevanemate osaluse määr on kõrgem koolides, kus kooli ja kodu koostöövormide variatiivsus on suurem (artikkel I), sest vanemal on võimalus leida oma sotsiaalkultuurilisest taustast ning teistest teguritest lähtuvalt sobiv vorm.

Kooli ja kodu efektiivse koostöö aluseks on lastevanemate positiivne suhtumine kooli ja õpetajatesse ning usaldus, millel oli käesoleva uuringu kohaselt üldise hinnangu kujunemisel kõige suurem osakaal. Praegu on koostöö rajamiseks sobiv alus olemas, sest lapsevanemate üldine hinnang koolile on hea ning samuti usaldab suurem osa lapsevanemaist kooli, kus nende laps õpib. See näitabki selgelt, et järgmine samm tuleks teha koolil – ehk koolid peaksid hakkama samuti lapsevanemaid rohkem usaldama. Hetkel ei tunne suur osa lapsevanemaid, et neil oleks kooli arengu seisukohalt oluliste küsimuste otsustamisel suurt sõnaõigust, kuigi nad peaksid seda oluliseks.

Üheks määravamaks teguriks koostöö iseloomu kujunemisel on see, millisena näevad lapsevanemad kooli ja õpetajaid. Antud uuringu tulemusena eristus kolm koolitüüpi, mida võib nimetada *elujõuliseks, progressiivseks ja pidurdunuks* (artikkel III). Esimeses kahes koolitüübis on soodne pinnas heaks kooli-kodu koostööks olemas, sest koolid on avatud muutustele ning suunduvad oma eesmärkides demokraatliku ja kõiki huvigruppe haarava juhtimisstiili suunas. Kolmas aga on meie haridussüsteemis veel esinev, kuid samas arengut pidurdav koolitüüp, kus koostöö lapsevanemaga piirdub vaid probleemide aruteluga. Õpetajate kirjeldamisel tõid lapsevanemad välja neli gruppi, mida laiemalt vaadatuna saab jaotada kaheks: ühele poole jäävad *õpilase arengut oluliseks pidavad õpetajad*, kelle hulka kuuluvad õpetajatüüpidega *lapse arengu toetajad* ja *positiivselt ranged õpetajad*. Teise poole moodustavad õpetajad, kes on pigem aine- kui õpilaskesksed: nendeks on *head ainetundjad ja karmid võistlejad*, kes õpetuse-kasvatuse ühe arengumeetodina näevad konkurentsi ja võistlust ning parandusmeetodina karistust.

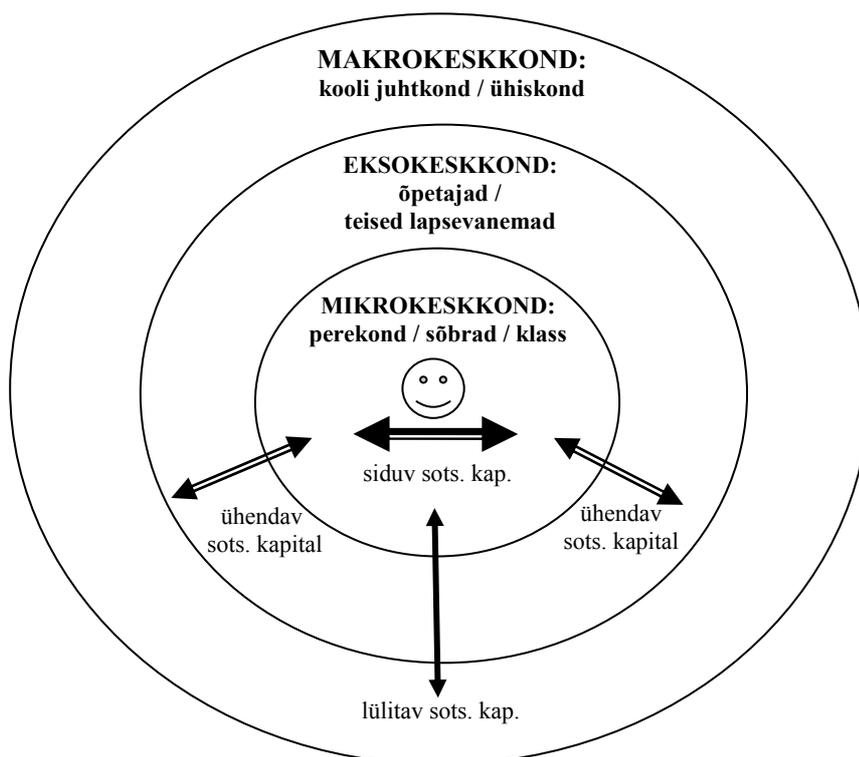
Viimase tüübi õpetajatega on raske leida ühist keelt lapsevanematel, kes lähtuvad oma kasvatuses teistest lähtealustest. Seda, et selliseid õpetajaid meie koolis siiski veel esineb, on näha ka sellest, et mitmel juhul ei taha lapsevanemad kooliga koostööd teha ning peamised põhjustegrupid näitavad, et sageli on lapsevanemad kogenud koolis negatiivset vastuvõttu, mis on viinud konfliktideni isiklikul tasandil, või on nad tunnetanud, et nende pingutusi ei hinnata ja nende arvamust ei väärtustata. Samas aga on ka lapsevanemaid, kes ei saa kooliga koostööd teha välistest teguritest tingituna (liigne töökoormus ja muud probleemid) või ei tunne nad selleks vajadust ning ei tähtsusta koostöö olulisust enda ja oma lapse jaoks. Samas aga suureneb lapsevanemate osaluse määra suurenemisega koolielus ka nende vastutus- ja ühtekuuluvustunne. Vanemad hakkavad pöörama enam tähelepanu haridusalastele vestlustele lastega, uueneb nende teadlikkus haridusprobleemidest, vanemad on valmis vestlema õpetajaga ka oma lapse kognitiivsest arengust üldisemalt, mitte rääkima ainult hinnetest ja lapse väärkäitumisest, nagu see praegu enamasti on, mis aga omakorda viib meid olukorran, kus suur osa potentsiaalsest sotsiaalsest kapitalist, mida hea kooli-kodu suhe võib pakkuda, jääb kasutamata.

Õpetajate roll on kasvava mitmekesisuse raamistikus märgatavalt muutunud (eriti linnakoolides). Õpetajad on pideva surve all: ühest küljest koolidele seatud kõrgete standardite (riigieksamid, tihe õppekava) nõudmiste tõttu, teisest küljest aga elus toimetuleva õppida oskava inimese kasvamiseks vajaliku keskkonna loomise pärast (artikkel IV). Sellises vastuolulises õhkkonnas töötamine vajab igakülget tuge, mis omakorda rõhutab lastevanematega koostöö olulisust. Suurte muutuste aluseks saab olla ainult muutus mõtteviisis – õpetajad peavad õppima nägema lapsevanemas partnerit (mitte vaenlast, ohtu või tüütust). Koolist saadav informatsioon aitab lapsevanematel mõista ja aidata oma last. Mida rohkem õpetajad teavad lapse kodusest kasvukeskkonnast, seda suuremad on nende käsutuses olevad ressursid, mis võimaldavad neil rahuldada nii lapse kui ka vanemate vajadused (artikkel V).

3.4. Kooli-kodu koostöö sotsiaalsest aspektist

Vanemate kaasamine on üks osa komplekssest nähtusest – sotsiaalsest kapitalist. Sotsiaalsel kapitalil on mitu definitsiooni, mis üldises plaanis nimetavad seda eeliseks, mille inimene saab oma suhetest teatud sotsiaalses võrgustikes. Suhete iseloomust, tugevusest ja suunast sõltuvalt eristatakse kolme erinevat sotsiaalse kapitali vormi: *siduv*, *ühendav* ja *lülitav sotsiaalne kapital* (*bonding, bridging, linking social capital*) (artikkel III).

Lapse arengukeskkond koosneb erinevatest sotsiaalsetest võrgustikest, mis kokku moodustavad võrgustike süsteemi. Kohandades sotsiaalse kapitali teooriat lapse arengukeskkonna uurimisel ühe tuntuma, Bronfenbrenneri (1986) ökoloogilise teooria neljale hierarhiliselt organiseeritud interaktsionaalse süsteemi tasanditele (mikro-, meso- ehk kahe mikrokeskkonna interaktsiooni-, ekso- ja makrotasand), omandab last ümbritsev võrgustike süsteem kuju, mille alusel jaotub see kahte suuremasse gruppi: erinevad võrgustike tasandid ehk keskkonnad ja suhted – nii eri tasandite võrgustike sees kui ka nende vahel (joonis 5).



Joonis 5. Bronfenbrenneri keskkondade teooria seostatuna sotsiaalse kapitali vormidega kooli-kodu koostöö raamistikus

Siduv sotsiaalne kapital hõlmab antud uuringus suhteid perekonnas kui lapsele kõige lähemalolevas võrgustikus. Vastavalt Colemanile (1988) on vanematel primaarne roll lapse akadeemilise edukuse toetamises. Tugevad sidemed ja suhted lähigrupis põhinevad hoolivusel, efektiivsel suhtlemisel, jagatud eesmärkidel, väärtustel ja ootustel.

Võrreldes vanemate ja laste arvamust hoolivuse tasemest perekonnas (artikkel III), ilmnes, et lapsed hindasid hoolivuse taset võrreldes vanematega madalamaks. Viiendik lastest ei tundnud, et pereliikmed hooliksid üksteisest. Üheks põhjuseks antud asjaolule võivad olla ka probleemsed suhted teismeeas õdede-vendade vahel (uuritavate vanusest tulenevalt oli enamik teismelisi), mis aga kindlasti ei selgita täielikult saadud tulemust. Seega tuleks antud küsimusele eraldi tähelepanu pöörata (kvalitatiivse lähenemise kaudu). Uuringust selgus ka koduvägivalda kogenud laste hulk, mis ulatus ligi kümnendikuni. Samas aga erines laste arvamus selles küsimuses vanemate omast statistiliselt olulisel määral.

Peresuhted on lapse turvalisuse esmased tagajad. Tulemused (artikkel V) näitasid aga, et suur osa vanematest mureseb suhete pärast perekonnas. Piirkonniti ja koolitüübiti oli selles osas märkimisväärsed erinevusi: vene koolide laste vanemad ja pealinnas elavate laste vanemad on enam mures peresuhte pärast, kui seda on eesti koolide ja maapiirkondades elavate laste vanemad. Selliste näitajate põhjus võib asuda elustiilide erinevustes. Pealinnas elavad pered peavad tulema toime märgatavalt stressirohkema keskkonna, kiirema elustiiliga ja iga päev tuleb lahendada rohkem probleeme. Vene õppekeele koolide vanemad aga tunnevad end ebakindlalt meie pidevalt muutuvas ühiskonnas (Lukk *et al.* 2006), muretsedes enam töökohta, enda ja ka laste tuleviku pärast. Sellised alateadvuses pidevalt toimivad stressifaktorid võivadki tekitada pingeid ka pereelus.

Kommunikatsioonil on määrav roll sotsiaalse kapitali tootmisel (Terrion 2006). Lapsevanemate ja laste arvamus mitmes kooliga seotud küsimuses erinesid statistiliselt olulisel määral. Märkimisväärsed lahknevused laste ja vanemate arvamusel olid kooli eesmärkide ja uute õppemeetodite ja -tehnikate kasutamise osas. Sellised erinevused on üheks märgiks asjaolust, et koolist ja haridusest üldisemas tähenduses kodus ei räägita. Keskendutakse pigem konkreetsetele hinnetele ja probleemidele. See aga ei toeta sotsiaalse kapitali kasvamist perekonnas, sest pigem rõhutatakse vaid numbrilist tulemust, mitte sisu. Lastele ei edastata mõtet haridusest kui ühest tähtsamast väärtusest elus. Sügavasisulised vestlused ja koolielu analüüs aitaksid noorel inimesel näha tulemuse taga pigem olulisemana protsessi, õpetaksid ennast hindama, endale ise eesmärgi püstitama, neid ellu viima ja järeltõlge tegema – õpetaksid õppima.

Sotsiaalse kapitali esmaseks funktsiooniks on võimaldada juurdepääsu inim- ja kultuurilisele ning teistele kapitali vormidele, institutsionaalsetele ressurssidele ja välisele abile-toetusele (Perna, Titus 2005). Kuigi perekonnal on tähtis osa sotsiaalse kapitali ressursina, on osa uurijaid (Lin 2001) näidanud ka väljaspool lähikondlaste gruppi jäävate võrgustike olulisust, millega perekond – lapsed ja vanemad – on seotud *ühendavate* suhete kaudu.

Kool on institutsioon, kus lapsed veedavad suhteliselt suure osa oma ajast. Coleman (1994) rõhutab lapse ja tema vanemate suhteid, kuid toob olulisena kõrvale ka vanemate suhted teiste täiskasvanutega, eriti teiste vanematega, kes on seotud sama kooliga, kus nende lapsed käivad; samuti ka lähemad suhted õpetaja/klassijuhataja ja lapsevanema vahel. Kuigi kooli kogukonna seosed on märgatavalt nõrgemad perekonna või lähedaste sõprade omadest, ei vähenda see nende olulisust. Nõrgad seosed võivad toimida “ühendussillana” erinevate võrgustike vahel, võimaldades ligipääsu informatsioonile, mis on erinev, kuid samas vajalik, võrreldes tugevate seostega grupis saadavale (Terrion 2006).

Sotsiaalse kapitali rajamine põhineb usaldusel (Jack, Jordan 1999), millel on uuringu käigus läbiviidud regressioonanalüüsi kohaselt kõige suurem ennustav jõud vanemate üldise hinnangu kujunemisele kooli suhtes (artikkel III). Käesolev uuring näitas, et enamik vanematest usaldab kooli. Vanemate ootused õpetajatega suhtlemisel näitavad vajadust saada informatsiooni lapse arengu ja tulevikuperspektiivide kohta ning eeldatavalt ka suuniseid, kuidas arengut toetada. Koolil ja kodul on erinevad rollid, mis aga pigem rikastab kui takistab koostööd. Lastevanemate peamiseks sooviks on saada objektiivset infot, samuti eeldavad nad koolilt lastele hea hariduse andmise kõrval ka efektiivset koostöö korraldamist, mille aluseks on hästitoimiv suhe õpetajaga.

Sotsiaalne kapital keskendub sotsiaalsetele võrgustikele ja nende toimimise mehhanismidele (Perna, Titus 2005), millest peamiseks on suhted erinevatest sotsiaalsetest võrgustikest ja struktuuridest indiviidide vahel. *Lülitav* sotsiaalne kapital hõlmab indiviidi suhteid sotsiaalsete struktuuridega vertikaalliinil, mis kooli seisukohalt tähendab vanemate kaasamist kooli üritustesse, samuti arendustegevusse, koosolekutel osalemist, hoolekogu tööd, lastevanemate suhtlemist kooli juhtkonnaga ning lastevanemate koolitust. Hästitoimiva vertikaalse võrgustiku eelduseks on erinevate oluliste karakteristikute olemasolu koolis: hea lastevanemate kaasamise süsteem, vajalike ressursside olemasolu ja kättesaadavus lastevanematele, kooli sotsiaalse võrgustiku homogeensus (ühtsed sihid ja ühtne strateegia) ning kooli üldine kliima (Perna, Titus 2005).

Kui lapsevanemad, õpetajad ja kooli juhtkond mõistavad oma võimalusi ning rolle, siis suudetakse koostöös luua uus väärtus – sotsiaalne kapital, mis toetab laste toimetulekut ja edukust. Ühiskond vajab paradigmuuutust õpetajate ja vanemate omaette töötamisest partnerlusele lapse ühise tuleviku nimel. Suhe õpetajate ja vanemate vahel peaks sisaldama vastastikust mõjusust ja jõudu, mis hoiaks suhted tasakaalus. Üldine suund peaks olema vanematele ettekirjutuste tegemise asemel õpetada neid nägema ja omandama uut rolli kooli partnerina (Musti-Rao, Cartledge 2004).

Kooli ja kodu efektiivse partnerlussuhte aluseks on lastevanemate positiivne suhtumine kooli ja õpetajatesse ning usaldus. Praegu on koostöö rajamiseks sobiv alus olemas, sest lapsevanemate üldine hinnang koolile on hea ning samuti usaldab suurem osa lapsevanemaist kooli, kus nende laps käib. See näitabki selgelt, et järgmine samm tuleks teha koolil (Deven, Moss 2002) – ehk koolid peaksid organiseerima oma koostööd viisil, mis motiveeriks vanemaid osalema ning pakuks neile vajalikku informatsiooni lapse arengu toetamiseks. Hetkel ei tunne lapsevanemad, et neil oleks kooli arengu seisukohalt tähtsamate küsimuste otsustamisel suur osakaal, kuigi nad peaksid seda oluliseks. Lapsevanemad ootavad koolidelt enam valmisolekut nende kaasamiseks kooli arengusse, mis omakorda toetaks ka laste arengut, sest lapsevanemate osaluse määra suurenemiseks kasvab ka nende vastutus- ja ühtekuuluvustunne.

Käesoleva uuringu kohaselt (artikkel V) on lapsevanemate üheks suuremaks mureks suhted: suhted õpetajate ja klassikaaslastega, samuti peresuhted. Teise suurema probleemide plokina tõi uuring välja vanemate mure koolitoidu ja laste tervise pärast. Koolide toitlustussüsteem on viimase dekaadi jooksul märgatavalt muutunud, liikudes suures osas erafirmade kätte, mis aga on põhjustanud hindade tõusu ning toidu kvaliteediga seotud probleemide suurenemise.

Kuigi uuringu kohaselt näivad vene koolide lapsevanemad oma laste tuleviku pärast enam muret tundvat kui eesti koolide laste vanemad (artikkel V), siis ei pruugi see otseselt tähendada seda, nagu oleks vene koolides probleeme rohkem. Eesti vanematel on suures osas kujunenud arusaam sellest, et kasvatusküsimustega tegeleb enamasti kool ning seetõttu ei tunne nad nii palju muret oma laste arengu pärast, mis aga tähendab ka seda, et nad ei tunne nii suurt vajadust kooliga aktiivselt koostööd teha (Veisson *et al.* 2006). Vanemate aktiivne osalemine koolielus pakub lapsele turva- ja kindlustunnet tuleviku suhtes (sest tal on probleemide tekkimise korral toetus olemas; laiemal tugivõrgustiku korral on lapsel kindlasti keegi, kelle poole pöörduda). Vanemate tunnustamine kooli partneritena aitab oluliselt parandada lapse kasvukeskkonda (Stern 2003).

Eesti hariduse ja kooli probleemid on eelkõige seotud väärtuste süsteemiga (Tulva, Väljataga 1999). Vanemate ootuste ja tegeliku olukorra vahel koolis on märgatav erinevus. Ainult üks kolmandik vanematest pöörab põhitähelepanu lapse arengule ja mitte niivõrd hinnete. Kuigi enamik vanemaid tunnistab, et väärtustab arengut enam kui hindeid, siis realselt see nii ei ole. Teatud määral on see tingitud ka õpetajate tegevusest, kes vanemate hinnangu kohaselt hindavad koolis õppeedukust enam kui ühtegi teist lapse arenguga seotud aspekti. Vähe (kui üldse) pööratakse tähelepanu sotsiaalsele arengule, toimetuleku- või õpi- oskuste kujundamisele. Peamiselt keskenduvad õpetajad õpilaste ettevalmistusele eksamiteks ja taseme- töödeks, nad hindavad häid õppetulemusi ning keskenduvad akadeemilise edukuse indikaatoritele – nende peamiseks mureks ei ole laps kui indiviid, kes vajab toetust ja juhatus oma arengus (Ruus, Ots 2005). Uuring tõi välja murettekitava fakti sellest, et mida vanem on laps, seda vähem individuaalset tähelepanu ja hoolitsust ta vanemate arvates saab (artikkel V), kuigi just teismelise-aastad on need, kus õpilane vajaks enam juhatus ja tuge. Üksijäetuna tunneb laps end ebakindlalt, mis omakorda on üheks riskifaktoriks toimetulematusele ja koolist väljalangevusele (Koolikohustuse... 2002; Põhikoolist... 2003).

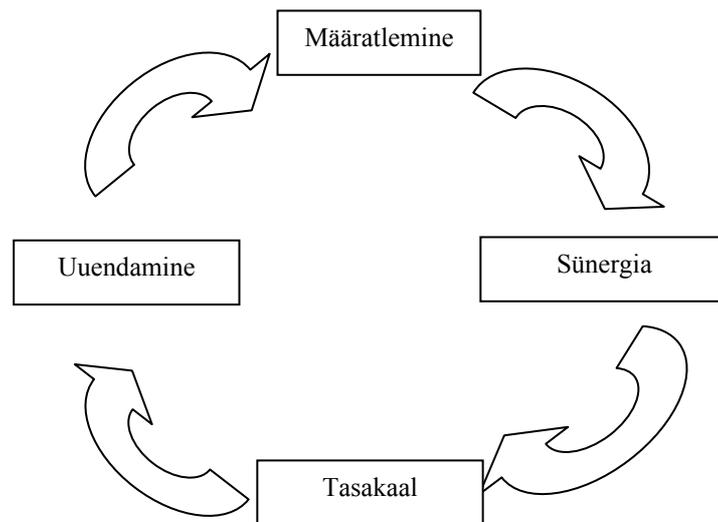
Samas ei saa selles protsessis näha süüdlastena ainult lapsevanemate ja õpetajate töö puudujääke. Eesti haridussüsteemis peitub konflikt: iga lapse arengut väärtustav riiklik õppekava ühelt poolt, mis oma õppe- ja kasvatusesmärkidenä sätetab kooli kõrgeimaks sihiks ja väärtuseks inimese arengu selle terviklikkuses (Põhikooli... 2002) ning riigieksamid, riiklikud tasemetööd ja koolide pingeritta seadmine nende alusel teiselt poolt, mis selgelt väljendavad turumajandusliku ühiskonna väärtusi. Kuigi turumajanduse põhimõtete rakendamise kahjulikkuse üle koolide arengus on palju arutletud, on see siiski Eestis üldlevinud nähtuseks (Ball 2006). Niikaua kui koolide võrdlemise ainsaks aluseks on riigieksamite tulemused, on väga raske rakendada iga lapse individuaalset arengut väärtustavaid humanistlikke ideid (Ruus, Ots 2005).

3.5. Kooli ja kodu jätkusuutliku koostöö mudel

Kasvav teadlikkus uuest paradigmat – jätkusuutlikust arengust – on toonud mitu muudatust meie ühiskonna erinevatesse sektoritesse. Hariduse ette on jätkusuutlik areng tõstatanud suure ülesande – rakendada jätkusuutliku ja säästva arengu põhimõtteid praktilisse ellu (artikkel IV). See aga eeldab, et haridussüsteem ja -asutused on ise suutelised oma igapäevases korralduses tagama jätkusuutlikkuse.

Jätkusuutliku tsükli aluseks on teatud kindlad eeltingimused ning iga tsükliline protsess läbib erinevad arenguastmed. Kodu ja kooli efektiivse partnerluse peamiseks eelduseks on head suhted (Sutton 2006; Vincent 1996). Heade suhete aluseks on aga usaldus. Usalduse loomine ei ole lihtne ega lühikese ajaga saavutatav. Usalduse loomine on kompleksne protsess, mis hõlmab endas kahte peamist aspekti: jagatud väärtused, mis moodustavad protsessi tuuma, ning kommunikatsioon kui vahend selleni jõudmiseks. Antud uuringu kohaselt ei ole lapsevanemate ja õpetajate väärtused sarnased. Lapsevanemate hinnangu kohaselt ei toeta õpetajad nende laste toimetulekut koolis, nad arvavad, et õpetajad ei jälgi pidevalt nende lapse arengut ning ei tunne muret lapse tulevikus toimetuleku pärast.

Usalduse loomiseks ei ole võimalik anda ette kindlat universaalset reeglit, sest protsessi osapooled – õpetajad ja vanemad – on kõik omaette indiviidid ja erinevad igal konkreetsel juhtumil (Carlisle *et al.* 2005). Kindlasti aga tuleks tõsta suhtlemise taset, et saavutada suhe, mida iseloomustaksid jagatud väärtused ja ühtsed eesmärgid. Ühendades neli väärtustega seotud dimensiooni (artikkel V) (väärtuste määramine, väärtuste loomine, väärtuste tasakaalustamine ja väärtuste uuendamine), antud uuringu tulemused (artikkel V) ning Eesti haridussüsteemis jätkusuutliku arenguprotsessi kirjeldamisel enamkasutatava kvaliteeditükli – Demingi ratta – peamised astmed (planeeri–tee–kontrolli–tegutse uuesti) (Greenwood, Gaunt 1995; Johnson 1993), moodustub kooli-kodu efektiivse koostöö arengumudel, mis tagaks hea suhte kvaliteedi ja jätkusuutlikkuse (joonis 6).



Joonis 6. Kodu ja kooli efektiivse koostööprotsessi arengumudel

Määramise aste hõlmab partnerite tundmaõppimise protsesse, tugevuste ning eesmärkide ja murevaldkondade väljaselgitamist; samuti kooli ja hariduse väärtuste ning muu olulise informatsiooni tutvustamist lapsevanematele. Sellel astmel olulisemaks aluseks on vastastikune austus ja erinevate vaatenurkade arvestamine, valmidus dialoogiks ning probleemidele lahenduste leidmiseks ehk demokraatliku protsessi põhimõtete järgimine. Sünergia astmel toimub aktiivne koostööprotsess. Sünergia on üks termineid, mis kannab endas holismi põhimõtet, mille kohaselt tervik on midagi enam kui selle üksikute osade summa (Schreiner 2006). Tasakaaluperioodi märksõnaks on ühtsus (eesmärkides, tegevuste sisus), erimeelsused on lahendatud, konsensus saavutatud ning see on ka astunud sammudele hinnangu andmise periood. Uuenduse astmel seatakse uued eesmärgid, uued sihid lapse arengu toetamiseks ja sellega algab uus koostöösüklil (artikkel V).

Kokkuvõte

Käesoleva väitekirja kokkuvõttena on ära toodud uuringus esilekerkinud küsimused ja vastuolud, samuti kasutatud uurimis- ja analüüsimeetoditest tingitud piirangud.

Käesolev väitekirja kirjeldas kodu ja kooli koostööd Eestis erinevatest aspektidest lähtuvalt. Väitekirjas toodi välja olulisemad punktid lapsevanemate ja kooli koostöö arendamiseks. Kõige olulisem on kaasata lapse hariduse arenguprotsessi kõik osapooled ning saavutada koostöö, mida iseloomustaksid jagatud väärtused ja ühtsed eesmärgid. Protsessi efektiivsuse aluseks on usaldusel põhinev suhe. Kuigi lapsevanemad märkisid uuringus, et usaldavad kooli ja õpetajaid, siis mitme teise küsimusega seotud tunnuste tulemuste analüüsimisel selgus nende rahulolematust õpetajate ja kooliga mitmes usalduse loomisel olulistest punktides: vanemate arvates ei toeta õpetajad laste toimetulekut koolis, ei jälgi pidevalt nende arengut ning seetõttu tunnevad vanemad ebakindlust oma laste tuleviku suhtes (vt punkt 3.5). Selline vastuolu tõstatab küsimuse usalduse mõiste sisust lapsevanemate arvamustes. Antud vastuolu põhjusi aitaks enam avada edasised kvalitatiivset iseloomu kandvad uuringud.

Holistiline lähenemine on antud väitekirja üks kesksemaid termineid, samas aga keskendutakse väitekirja temaatikast tulenevalt enam holismi ühele põhipunktile – inimese ja teda ümbritseva keskkonna tervikliku käsitlemise struktuursele aspektile ning vähem on analüüsitud teisi, nagu näiteks teadmiste ülekande *versus* personaalse tähenduse loomine (vt punkt 1.1). Holism rõhutab inimese elukonteksti ja suhete mõju õpiprotsessile. Käesolev uuring tõi välja mitu erinevust eesti ja vene koolikogukonna vahel, mille üheks põhjuseks on kindlasti erinev kultuuriline taust, aga samas kerkib siinkohal esile ka küsimus: mil määral on need erinevused mõjutatud kultuurilisest taustast ja mil määral mängivad siin rolli vene kogukonna n-õ elukontekstilised erinevused tänapäeva Eesti ühiskonnas? Käesoleva uuringu temaatilisest fookusest ja meetodikast tulenevalt antud probleemile vastust anda ei saa.

Holismi üheks oluliseks tunnusjooneks on, et teadmist käsitletakse mittelõplikuna – siit edasi kerkib üles rida küsimusi: mil määral on meie koolikultuuris jäetud ruumi kriitilisele mõtlemisele, intuiivsusele ja emotsionaalsusele, mis kõik holistilise hariduskontseptsiooni seisukohalt omavad ratsionaalsuse kõrval õpiprotsessis olulist rolli (punkt 1.1)?

Kasutatud uurimis- ja analüüsimeetoditest tulenevalt võivad tulemused olla mõjutatud asjaolust, et andmete analüüsil ei seostatud konkreetset õpilast konkreetse vanemaga. Lisaks sellele eristus üks küsimus märgatavalt suure puuduvate väärtuste arvu poolest (jäetud vastamata), milleks oli õpetajaid kirjeldav küsimus (küsimus nr 19, lisa 1), kus 21% vanematest jättis osa või kõik lahtrid täitmata. Põhjusi võib olla erinevaid: küsimuse mittemõistmine, õpetajate mittetundmine, üldistusraskused, soovimatus anda hinnangut. Antud probleem ja samuti ülalnimetatud küsimused vajavad edaspidiseid süvitsi minevaid uuringuid.

Käesoleva väitekirja tulemused on rakendatavad kooli lastevanematega töö reorganiseerimise ning õpetaja-koolituse õppekavade täiendamise alustena. Samuti on väitekirjas välja toodud mudelid demokraatia ja muutuste jätkusuutlikkuse hindamiseks hariduses, mida saab rakendada edasistes uuringutes.

Kokkuvõtteks võib öelda, et hariduse ees seisvad väljakutsed on keerulised ja seetõttu ei saa ei koolid ega lapsevanemad nendele üksi vastu seista; nad vajavad üksteise tuge. Kui perekond ja kool töötavad partneritena koos, siis õpivad lapsed efektiivsemalt, naudivad kooliskäimist ning õppimist, samuti pakub see rohkem võimalusi tunda toetust ja tähelepanu lapse elus oluliste täiskasvanute poolt (Epstein 1996).

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STRUCTURAL, FUNCTIONAL AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF HOME-SCHOOL COOPERATION

Summary

Our society today is moving on a new way of life that requires new meaning of education and only the schools that have successfully put necessary changes into practice can provide students with the level of education that would guarantee them success in their later life. According to the concept of holistic education the broader is the network the child is living in, the stronger is its influence on child's development and therefore it is important to involve all stakeholders in child's developmental process. Cooperation between school and family creates more effective learning environment for a child.

Introducing holistic approach in school-development embraces implementing the ideas of democracy. The process of building a democratic school is a complex one and requires an effort to maintain a delicate balance between the needs of individuals and the interests of the group, trying to reflect the differing perspectives of people from different backgrounds and experiences. All the tensions cannot be solved with a certain formula or prescription, but according to the principle of democratic community, the internal problems have to respond in their own way based on individual and collective experiences which would lead to the forming of a democratically educated learner.

Parent involvement has been identified as a primary component of school climate, and is also linked with key educational and social-emotional outcomes for students and also their school performance. Many researches have proven its positive impact on child's academic improvement (Cassel 2003; Cordy, Wilson 2004; Eddy 2004; Fantuzzo 1999; Hill, Craft 2003; McNeal 1999; Peraita, Pastor 2000; Shepard, Carlson 2003). But at the same time it is not simply parental involvement in children's education that matters for the improved academic achievement, rather it is the production of social capital through specific human interactions in the school. Social capital or social connectedness has been defined as the cultural resources and interpersonal bonds shared by community members (Jack, Jordan 1999). Parental involvement can be conceptualized as a form of social capital that provides individuals with access to resources that improve their academic achievement.

The thesis is composed of five articles and an analytical summary of these articles. The theoretical part provides an overview of a holistic approach in education, its democratic aspects, discusses parental involvement in the framework of a social capital and introduces models for assessing democracy and sustainability of changes in education.

The empirical study is based on the research carried out in 2004–2007 in 65 Estonian schools. The research was called "School as a developmental environment and students' coping" (supported by Tallinn University, grant no. 0132495s03). The research followed the holistic paradigm studying both students, teachers, school administration and parents. The current thesis is based on the study of parents.

The main results of the study were as follows.

On school-level in general Estonian schools share democratic values but there is a gap between theory and practice (teachers and school administration stress democratic values, but parents and students do not), which may also be called a communication gap as teachers have not succeeded to pass their democratic view to the children and their parents.

With the growing diversity in schools, the role of teachers, especially in urban schools, has changed dramatically, becoming decidedly more challenging. Teachers are under constant pressure from the school district to achieve established standards of excellence, making it essential to work collaboratively with parents toward a common goal of children's success in school. Instead of considering parents as a threat or nuisance, teachers have the opportunity to elicit help from parents.

The current situation in Estonian schools show parents' high interest towards participating in school and their child's development but not all schools eagerly accept it. The school need to reorganize their structure of home-school cooperation in order to support the relationship based on partnership. The focus of efforts for both parents and teachers needs to be the academic achievement of the child. The relationship between parents and teachers should be one in which both have mutual power and influence regarding the child's education. It is essential that schools and particularly teachers recognize parents as assets. Only then we can

speak about building social capital that enables parents to better support their children. There are two tasks schools face in this process – one of them is increasing parent involvement through varying the forms of cooperation and the other is the schooling of parents.

The educational situation in Estonian schools does not support the improvement of home-school cooperation process. The forms of parental involvement that schools generally practice are not suitable for all parents. Therefore it is extremely important to implement the new way of thinking – rather than being bound to concrete forms of home-school cooperation, teachers should be creative, open to new ideas, and, based on the knowledge obtained from conversations with parents, find the forms of involvement suitable for every family.

An effective home-school partnership is based on good relationships (Sutton 2006; Vincent 1996). Good relationships are built on trust. Trust-building is a complex process that embraces two main aspects: shared values that may be seen as a heart of the process and communication as the means to get there. According to the results of the current research, parents do not share the same values as teachers. They think teachers do not support their child's coping; they believe that teachers do not monitor the child's development systematically, and they are concerned about their child's future. Russian parents tend to be more concerned about their child's future, probably because they are a minority group and the language barrier may become an obstacle in their further studies. Trust cannot be built on that basis. There is no way to prescribe or standardize a single way of going about building trust, as teachers and families differ. But there is a need for improving communication in order to achieve the desired aim of shared values.

The current thesis described the main aspects of home-school cooperation in Estonian schools. The results of the research can be used as the bases for reorganization of home-school cooperation system in schools and also as a resource of suggestions to improve the curricula of teacher-education courses. Two models for assessing democracy and the sustainability of changes in education that were introduced in the thesis can be used as a starting point for further studies.

ARTIKKEL I: Parental involvement in the framework of holistic education

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Abstract

Holistic education aims to bring forth love for learning, a goal that is not easily achieved by academic “curriculum”. Great changes taken place in nowadays world have drastically changed the meaning of education and the art of teaching thus requiring changes in ‘traditional’ curriculum. The aim of the research was to find out the parents’ opinion on an effective school that would provide their children with the competence needed for a successful life and to assess it from the holistic point of view. The results revealed that effective schools in nowadays world are the ones having altered their curriculum (according to) to be consistent with the demands of society where success can be achieved only through understanding the world as a whole. The study is based on parents’ evaluation of schools bringing out the values of school, the aspects of quality of learning environment and teachers’ proficiency. As fostering collaboration is one of the principles of holistic education the collaboration, communication and relationships between school and parents are also discussed. In conclusion it may be said that parents value the schools where the ‘traditional’ curriculum is interweaved with the ideas of holistic education.

Keywords: parental involvement, holistic education, effective schools, ineffective schools

The continuing crisis in public education – high rates of grade failure and low educational achievement – reflect high levels of student and parent disengagement in education and the urgent need for change (Fantuzzo 1999). The great changes taken place in the world today have changed the meaning of education and the art of teaching. Our economy is leading us towards high-tec society and schools have to prepare students for the “world of tomorrow” (Cassel 2003). The critical point for change is that “knowledge” is becoming our true capital base and premier wealth producing resource. Education is everything in preparing for this post-business society. But the old ‘traditional’ educational model that condenses the world into instructional packages (Miller 2000) is not efficient any more to a great extent. The education of young human beings used to be like moulding them into future workers or citizens (Miller 2000), but nowadays schools have to seek alternative ways for survival.

That in turn sets new standards for teacher training as well as teachers are having a key-role in building a new learning society. The role of teacher training has been preparing individuals to stand in front of children in the classroom and impart acceptable knowledge. In recent years the limitations of this approach have led to the development of new kinds of teacher education which significantly change the role of a teacher from the mechanics confined to the classroom walls to people having a holistic view of the learning process (Miller, Ramos 1999). A holistic approach that looks at teaching and learning from an integrated perspective has been proved to be more efficient than any other approaches adopting only one innovation at a time (for example active, collaborative, technology-enhanced or student-centred approaches) as adopting one innovation, without accounting for the forces that work against it, can neutralize or negate desired outcomes (Poindexter 2003). The reason of that trend lies in capture the bigger picture instead of narrow purposes.

The holistic nature of education process

The principles of holistic education provide that refreshing shift our educational reform urgently needs. School education has to be a holistic process, in which students both individuals and groups can receive maximum opportunity to learn and develop themselves to be versatile persons. But, unfortunately, the concept of holistic approach and how it can maximize learning opportunities often remains unclear.

A holistic way of thinking seeks to encompass and integrate multiple layers of meaning. (Miller 2000) The concept of *layers’ system* could be used to understand the holistic nature of education process in school as well (Cheng 1997) and provide a more comprehensive unit for managing school activities in a holistic way.

The school process can be separated into actor layers such as *the administrator and teacher layer* and *the student layer* (Cheng 1997). Thinking in terms of layers (rather than cells) provides a more comprehensive unit to think about the holistic nature of the school process. In order to maximize the effectiveness of teaching process, the teacher layer should influence the student layer as a whole. In other words, teachers at different levels should influence their students through all their behavioural, affective and cognitive performance. And they influence not only individual students but also students in groups and students as a group in a school-level (Cheng 1997). This is a holistic teaching.

In order to facilitate school education and maximize its effectiveness, parents should be encouraged to involve in this holistic process as well. Parental involvement has been identified as one of the major forces of new educational strategies by many researchers (Fantuzzo 1999). When all these parties are put together the layer system takes the form as shown on Figure 1.

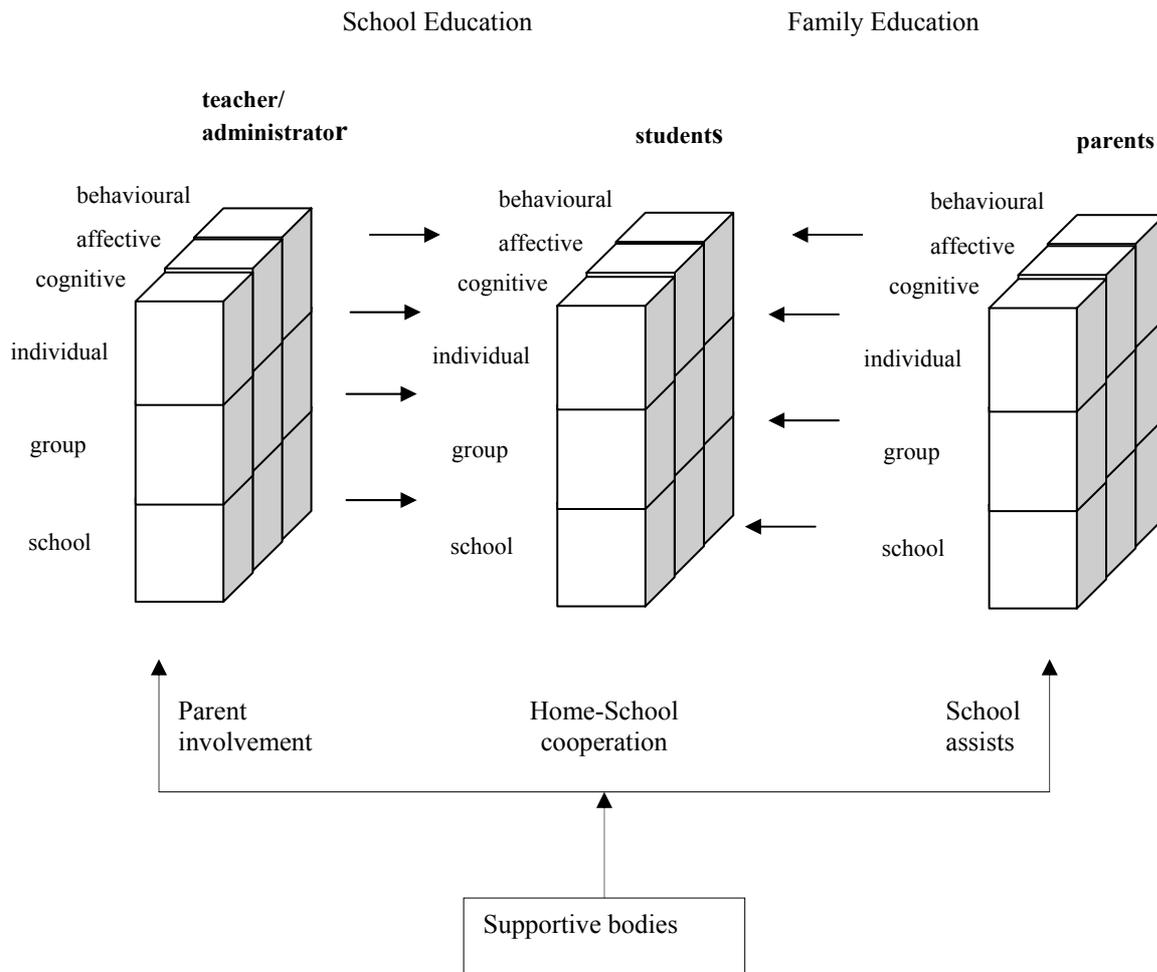


Figure 1. The home-school cooperation – the layers' system (adapted from Cheng 1997)

Parental involvement in school education has multiple dimensions which often have different impacts on school performance (Eddy 2004; Shepard, Carlson 2003):

- 1) overt parental involvement: which involves visiting meetings and classes and talking to teachers;
- 2) participation in parents organization;
- 3) parent-school cooperation: participation in the daily operations of the school and participation in school decision-making;
- 4) parent-child dimension: conversations about school, education and/or studying etc.

Total home-school collaboration should be one of major tendencies in educational reforms. The layer concept can be used as the building block for reengineering schools to provide holistic education and maximize opportunity for effective teaching and learning. (Cheng 1997)

Effective and ineffective schools and the problems of students' educational attainment

Effective schools have been identified in terms of characteristics associated with high student achievement and conversely, schools lacking these characteristics are conceived as ineffective schools (Griffith 2004). The major indicators the schools in Estonia are assessed by are the results of State Exams that allow comparison of average achievement of students in all basic subjects. The other important characteristics are also enrolment and drop-out rates which are both strongly related to achievement indices: the higher is the students' attainment the lower is the drop-out rate in that school (Griffith 2004; Smith et al. 2004).

Dropping out of basic school has become one of the major problems in Estonian educational development. These students leave schools before they have obtained the required educational attainment – basic education. The national statistics of Estonia reveal that the number of people without basic education has increased since 1990 and especially during the last few years (Haridus... 2001; Koolikohustuse... 2002; Põhikoolist... 2003).

Holistic education aims to call forth from young people a passionate love of learning that is not directly measured by the points of national exams. In holistic education every child is more than a future employee; every person's intelligence and abilities are far more complex than his or her scores on standardized tests (Miller 2000). So it may seem that statistics of school effectiveness and holistic education are the terms that cannot be used together. But in reality the students who have been educated in holistic environment are more likely to be successful in their academic life as their 'natural' love of learning helps them to obtain more in comparison with the students who have learned by passive memorization of plain "facts" (Miller 2000).

Although the number of public schools that are entirely committed to holistic principles is not very high in Estonia, there are still some schools who try to put the ideas of holistic education into practice. The education process of the schools who have succeeded to do it considers all the parties related to child's development: school, teachers, parents and students. One of the major fields other schools have not paid their attention to is a home-school collaboration. It is an unused social resource and when being left aside it leaves a significant hole in the holistic approach of a child's education.

Majority of parents want their children to be successful at school, but many parents do not know how to assist their children in ways that improve school performance (Eddy 2004; Hill, Craft 2003). Parental involvement in education is associated with improvements in school behaviour, social competency, and school performance. There are many researches supporting the claim that parent involvement leads to improved educational attainment (Garcia-Bacete 2003; Hill, Craft 2003; McNeal 1999; Peraita, Pastor 2000). These findings have formed the basis for different educational reforms where parental involvement is one of the key elements of the programs (Cassel 2003; McNeal 1999).

Research methods

The main stress of the research was on the differences of parental involvement in effective and ineffective schools to bring out the parent-related aspects in well-organized environments. School climate is a complex phenomenon, which is influenced by different factors formed in the frame of the tight network. All of the components of that network affect each other thus thoroughly complicating extracting any of them as a clean factor. But some comparisons still can be pointed out to paint a picture of parental involvement in schools that provide the best possible learning environment, the environment that has been improved to be a successful one through many years.

The aim of the research was to compare parental involvement in effective and ineffective schools and therefore sampling was conducted to obtain statistically comparable samples of the effective schools (having the highest indices of students' achievement according to the results of annual state exams) and the ineffective schools (showing the lowest indices of achievement). The sample was composed of 40 schools (20 the most effective and 20 the most ineffective). The questionnaires were sent to parents whose children studied at these schools and the final sample for examining parent involvement was composed of 1,554 cases.

The questionnaire consisted of 50 different items and it assessed different aspects of the relationships, cooperation and communication between school and parents; the parents' evaluation of teachers and social climate at school. Parents responded to the questions using number scales ranging from 1 (*never/not at all/very bad etc*) to 6 (*always/very much/very good etc*). Average scores were used in calculations. The analysis was based on the quantitative research methods (f- and t-tests were used to compare means and dispersion).

Results

Relationships between parents and school

The main aspects of parent-school relationships studied in the research were trust, parents' opinion about the parent-school relationships, satisfaction with the amount of time and attention teachers/school provides for communication with parents. Most of the parents can trust their child's school but comparison of the means and variations of two groups: effective and ineffective schools, revealed a statistically significant difference ($p \leq .001$): the parents of effective schools think higher of their child's school but at the same time their opinions vary more than of the ineffective schools' parents. Parents' opinion about the nature of the relationships was quite similar in both schools although 30% of parents of ineffective schools (comparing to 15% of effective schools' parents) said they would change the school if they had a chance.

Cooperation between parents and school

Most of the parents (51%) were satisfied with the frequency of cooperation. Different forms of cooperation were studied in the research and some differences were observed between effective and ineffective schools. The results showed that in effective schools more parents' meetings and discussions about child's improvement were held together with the child. And the parents of effective schools were more willing to participate in the meetings where the child could attend the discussion about his/her achievement. The parents of ineffective schools preferred traditional forms of parental involvement: like traditional parents' meetings (with parents and class teacher only) and the open-door days (the days when parents can visit classes).

Nowadays more and more parents have started to understand the importance of parental involvement in school and they have become very active in reforming the school system: 80% of parents would like to participate in discussions about school development. But not all schools eagerly accept it. More than a half of parents (Chart 1) were not satisfied with the school's policy on involving parents in school-reforming process. In effective schools parents are given chances to express their opinion about different plans of the school and therefore these parents found the policy of school satisfying.

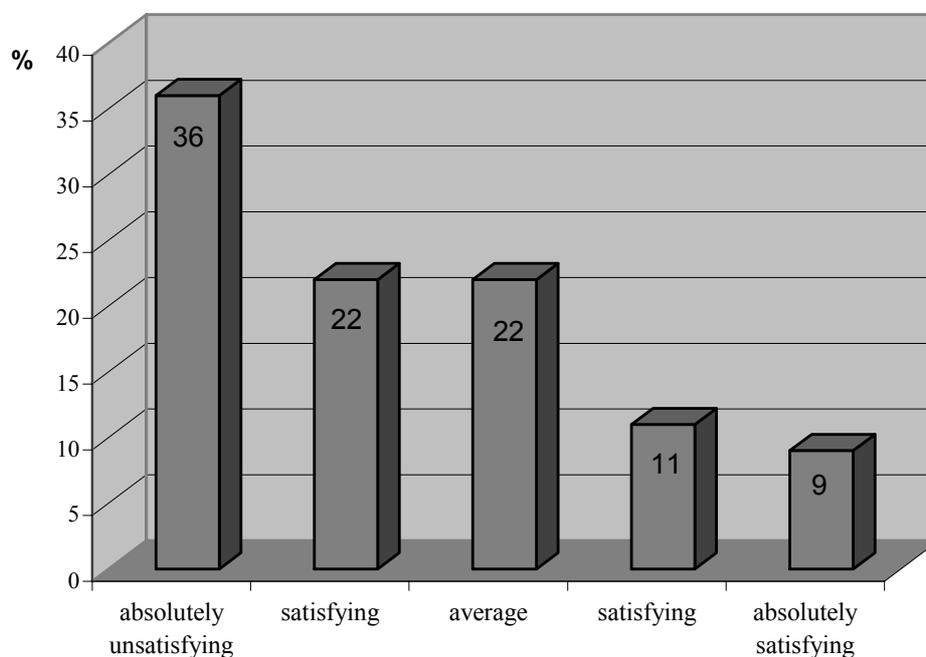


Chart 1. Parents' opinion of the school's policy on involving parents in school-reforming process

Communication between school and parents

Communication between teachers and parents is one of the key-elements of parental involvement associating in itself all three aspects of the concept of social capital. The main topics teachers discuss with parents are (ranked in the order of significance according to parents' opinion):

1. Child's grades
2. The curriculum of school
3. The out-of-classroom activities
4. Friendship
5. Bullying
6. School catering and health problems
7. Security of children
8. Morality and behaviour of children
9. Transport
10. Child's academic achievement and future prospects

The most remarkable difference between effective and ineffective schools was in mean and dispersion of conversations about the curriculum. Parents of effective schools had discussions about school curriculum and the educational purposes of school more often. In ineffective schools teachers talk to parents mostly about child's grades and behaviour. In most cases parents do not like to come to school and so they try to do it very rarely and only in cases of some kinds of problems. If (it is) possible they try not to involve in their child's life at school.

There are a several reasons why parents do not want to involve in school. The following rank shows the first five reasons that had the highest indices of incidence:

1. That may cause more trouble to their child
2. Their child does not need any help – he/she is independent enough
3. Parents do not have strength – too many problems at work and at home
4. Parents do not have time for that
5. The cooperation with parents is very badly organized

The results reveal that parents' biggest fear is the threat that other students or even teachers would change their opinion and behaviour about the child, and eventually their good intentions may cause damage instead of being beneficial. A lot of parents also thought that their children did not need their help any more; that they could manage on their own. But it may also be parents' excuse for not paying enough attention to their child. That this may be the truth can be concluded especially from reasons following on. Our life-style has become very stressful and it is more and more difficult to find time for anything else than just earning a living. Very few parents (and most of them from ineffective schools) mentioned also bad personal relationships with teacher(s) and teachers' use of a scientific and very complex language as hinders of communication.

The parents' evaluation of school

Three aspects were studied:

Parents' evaluation of values of school

Parents' evaluation of quality of learning environment

Parents' evaluation of teachers' proficiency

There were a lot of characteristics that differed greatly between effective and ineffective schools. Tabel 1 shows the differences that were statistically significant ($p \leq .001$ in all cases).

The parents of effective schools brought out many aspects: the children in effective schools feel that they do belong there, they can feel secure and their natural curious mind is not crushed down. Effective schools pay much attention to the improvement of learning conditions: making repairs and supplying the classrooms and teachers with the necessary equipment and materials. These schools value children's achievement and support their endeavours to self-improvement. Ineffective schools in general do not pay so much attention to a child. They have not also formulated their goals clearly and therefore their work is chaotic. And these shortcomings manifest in the general climate of the school influencing negatively children's attitude and motivation.

Tabel 1. The significant differences in parents' evaluation of school

	Effective Schools	Ineffective Schools
Values	Security of children is highly valued	Not much attention is paid to security of children
	Striving for better achievement but the main stress is not solely on knowledge but on wider understanding of the world	More just plain facts than understanding is taught and schools cannot lead children to better academic achievement
	Children's endeavours to self-improvement are supported	Not much attention is paid to child's own endeavours
	Curious mind is valued and supported	Curious children are considered to be a burden
	Strong traditions	Not any certain traditions
	School culture is directed at the development of a dignified citizen	School does not set higher goals
Learning environment	Classroom discipline is maintained	Classroom discipline is not maintained
	School has clear aims and directions	The courses of action of school are chaotic
	School has a good reputation	School does not have a significantly good reputation
	The 'our-feeling' or belonging is very strong	The belonging is weak or lacking at all
	The rooms in school are mostly used in students' interest	The rooms are not used in the consideration of students' needs
	The learning conditions meet the needs of modern society	The learning conditions are not satisfying
Teachers' proficiency	Teachers have high competence in their subject	All teachers are not competent in their subject
	Teachers' can maintain classroom discipline	Classroom discipline is not always maintained
	Teachers can excite students' interest in their subject	Teachers does not excite students' interest in their subject
	Teachers prepare the students for exams and level tests	Teachers cannot prepare the students for exams and level test so well

Discussion

Our society today is moving on a new way of life that requires new meaning of education and only the schools that have successfully put necessary changes into practice can provide students with the level of education that would guarantee them success in their later life. According to the concept of holistic education the broader is the network the child is living in, the stronger is its influence on child's development. Therefore cooperation between school and family creates more effective learning environment for a child. Parental involvement is closely related to the parents' opinion about the school. In effective schools where the child can attend parents' meetings and parent-teacher discussions the parents are more interested in involving the school-life. Varying the forms of parental involvement helps to excite parents' interest in cooperation with school. And parents also expect schools to let them join in discussions of aims and plans of the school. When the parental involvement increases, parents' sense of responsibility grows and it helps to increase the belonging. And when parents become a part of school society they may freely discuss deeper problems with teachers. Currently most of parent-teacher conversations are about child's academic achievement, about grades and misbehaviours. Parents avoid deeper conversations which unfortunately leads to the situation where much of a potential social capital a good parent-teacher relationship could provide is left unused.

Living in conditions of market economy forces schools to fight for their survival and therefore it is very important to know the aspects of school environment, which characterize effective schools. The key-words of effective schools according to the parents' opinion are child-centeredness, discipline and striving for higher goals through clearly formulated aims and directions of development. They have a strong belonging and the learning environment meets the needs of a modern society.

Conclusively it may be said that effective schools in nowadays' world are the ones having changed their curriculum according to the demands of society where success can be achieved only through understanding the world as a whole. While few public schools are entirely committed to holistic principles, many teachers try to put these ideas into practice. And the schools that have succeeded in this field are mostly considered

as effective. Collaboration is one of the principles of holistic education and the schools that have built up a strong home-school collaboration system have found a strong groundsel for their educational process. There are some other aspects of holistic education and of an effective school that are coincident: child-centeredness, striving for better achievement but the main stress is not solely on knowledge but on wider understanding of the world, supporting the curious mind etc. So it may be said that parents value the schools where the 'traditional' curriculum is interweaved with the ideas of holistic education.

What helps to build the schools following the paths of holistic education? One of the most important bases here is a teacher training. It has always been difficult to introduce the changes when the workers are cleaved to the old system. Therefore it is essential to start from preparing the teachers who value home-school cooperation and have necessary skills for working with parents. Our life-style has become very stressful and for parents it is increasingly difficult to find the time for activities other than just earning a living which means that it is schools' (teachers') responsibility to organize the work of parental involvement in the most effective way. That is why in teacher training programs more attention should be paid to introducing the principles of effective parental involvement.

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ARTIKKEL II: DEMOCRATIC APPROACH TO SCHOOL DEVELOPMENT: INVOLVING ALL INTEREST GROUPS

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Democracy aims to achieve a shared understanding by involving all interest groups. In the process of school development democratic approaches embrace school administrations, teachers, students and parents as participants in vision building and decision-making. This article provides a survey of some of the main building blocks of democracy in schools. Different aspects have been analyzed: values, rights, school climate, students' relationships, their certainty about the future, the role of teachers and also parental involvement which is considered to be one of the key elements of school development but has still been overlooked in many schools. The article is based on an extensive study carried out in Estonia. The results revealed several differences in values, in perception of school climate and certainty about the future between different parties at school: teachers, students and parents; differences between Estonian and Russian students were also studied.

Keywords: democracy, school development, parental involvement, school climate, coping

The importance of democracy in education

Democracy is traditionally viewed as a system in which policy is decided by the preference of the majority in a decision-making process. This simple concept has been interpreted and applied in various ways throughout history. Various mechanisms have been developed through which the people control (or are supposed to control) the government. There are several kinds of democracy: direct and indirect democracy (the most well-known kinds are representative and delegative democracy), plus alternative kinds of democracy such as bioregional, anticipatory, grassroots and participatory democracy (Wikimedia 2006). Participatory democracy involves consensus decision making and offers greater representation. In current times the focus has turned towards wide participation of all interest-groups and stakeholders in negotiation and decision-making. The growing positive attitude towards and use of participatory democracy has been the mainstream trend since the middle of twentieth century (Davis 1999; Leftwich 1996). Participatory democracy can play an important role in learning communities and learning organizations.

As Dewey (1966) already pointed out democracies depend on education – but only an education that itself incorporates democratic processes can truly serve a democracy. The growth of democratization reveals tensions associated with the concept and practice of democracy, particularly as applied to education (Haynes 2000; Schou 2001). On governmental level the democratization of education has been underlined by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) reports on education in different countries (for example – OECD report on Estonia, 2001). Here democracy means the wide participation in educational decision-making, including curriculum development, stakeholders and especially – non-governmental organisations (NGOs). The democratization on school-level depends on the democratic processes on state level but in some degree there is also the subject of inter-school culture of participation, empowerment and cooperation. In recent post-soviet democracies that process has usually been pointed as “democratization, humanization, participation” (Ruus, Sarv 2000).

Many theorists and philosophers in the field of education (Darling-Hammond et al. 1994; Dewey 1966) have stated, that the democratization of education on school and classroom level depends on school culture and especially – on teacher. In his books on society and education Giroux (1989) underlines, that teacher as introducer of democracy in classroom needs to obtain the experience and attitude at least from her/his initial teacher training. Democratic changes in higher school, especially in teacher training are mostly connected (especially since middle of nineties) with ideas of learning organization and knowledge management. As Fullan and Hargreaves (1999!) have pointed out – the school (including university) and learning process (including teachers initial and in-service training) have to change towards system approach, knowledge creation and team-work/cooperation (Fullan 1995; Hargreaves 1999).

It is important to stress, that school-culture, especially classroom culture and educational environment in higher schools during the Soviet system has always been autocratic and if ever there was some kind of democracy – it was mainly a strict “democratic centralism” – the power of majority over minority and expectation of obedience by minority without negotiations (Sarv 1999). Educational renewal in Estonia began in 1987, during the “rush-time” of Perestroika in the Soviet Union. In education there was a “breaking of hierarchies” and a widely synergetic revolution. Today we see the characteristics of integration of “top-down” and “down-top” reforms and of wide participatory democracy in this (Ruus, Sarv 2000).

The ultimate aim of school development is to transform the authoritative atmosphere of the school (Pshunder 2005) to a democratic learning and decision-making community (Howard-Hamilton 1995). And the change must come not only from the “outside” – ministry or academic scholars but from school-based educators who live the daily realities of school-life (Darling-Hammond et al. 1994). When people working at school decide to change, they need to build their vision for change together, including all parties and their perspectives: district, administrators, teachers, students, parents and community. While these participants are working to change, the efforts themselves become a form of learning that not only enhances a change effort, but results in the shaping of a community of democratic knowledge that can have lasting significance. (Howard-Hamilton 1995; Schou 2001). It is important to understand that there cannot be “one best system” for educating all people in all places around the world. In its place the concept of democratic practice in schools, communities of learning grounded in their own specific contexts and realities of their own society should be introduced (Lieberman et al. 1994; Schou 2001). The recent years have brought many positive changes according to that concept into Estonian educational system: learner-centred curricula in most schools, enabling teachers to participate in collaborative problem solving and decision making, building partnership with parents and the attempt to try ideas as expanded functions of leadership, collegial decision making, collaborative goal setting, interdisciplinary studies and others. The research on 60 school-development plans in 2000–2001 showed, that schools have orientation to differentiate into four directions according to their *inclusiveness/participation-exclusiveness* and *innovativeness/high values-conservativeness/utilitarian values* (Sarv 2002). The schools with higher level of inclusiveness and innovativeness have more elements of participatory democracy on different levels, such as teachers co-operation in school-curriculum creation, students and parents participation in curriculum-development processes, the role of students’ self-government in decision-making in school (Sarv 2002).

The virtues of involving all parties in democratic school development

Democracy provides the means of communicating the vision of community and transforming that vision into reality. Democracy also serves as the link between individual and collective development (Beane 2002; Howard-Hamilton 1995). There are certain primary virtues that are advocated in the democratic approach to school development, such as caring, climate of trust, moral decisions and actions, respect, involvement, and unified responsibility (Landau, Gathercoal 2000; Beane 2002; Power, Power 1992). These virtues are contained in the rules adopted by all community members from all the involved parties. These new attitudes lead towards changed community in general, helping schools to develop towards learner-centeredness.

As a part of the changes in school organization, many schools have increased opportunities for teachers and also students to participate in the process of school governance and decision making (Lieberman et al. 1994; McCulloch 1993): expanded leadership roles for teachers, participatory structures, site-based management that allow school staff to have greater involvement in the life of school-community have resulted in a richer learning environment for all. Involving students into school development is not a new idea and many schools expose democracy and community in their mission statements but very often it does not function in reality, the headmasters and teachers still govern autocratically (Pshunder 2005). Few, if any, formal opportunities for students are available to participate in deciding what matters most to students – school discipline and social life (Pshunder 2005). Although most schools have some form of student government whose function is typically and carefully confined to organizing social events mostly. Research consistently indicates that democratic framework at school for decision making promotes moral character development and responsibility which leads to a decrease in dropout rates, in acts of violence in and around schools, and also results in an increase in levels of daily attendance (Kohlberg 1981; Landau, Gathercoal 2000).

When speaking about students’ democratic education it is important to notice that both the knowledge taught in the classroom and the school climate, the culture of school has a deep educative character. Implanting the ideas of democracy into classroom teaching has to be assisted by general school policy (Howard-Hamilton 1995; Lieberman et al. 1994) – open discussions and problem solving together with children, questionnaires

for children in order to get their opinion about important decisions to be made in the school development process and so on. Such systems help students to understand that rights in a democracy must always be balanced with social responsibilities.

One of the social democratic strategies at schools is parental involvement (Vincent 1996). Many schools have created close relationships with parents, in which their commitment, goals and strategies for children can be shared. Such partnership helps to connect parents to schools in ways that serves multiple purposes. Parental involvement in school may have four different levels: (Cheng 1997; Shepard, Carlson 2003; Eddy 2004):

- participation in educating individual students;
- participation in parents organization;
- participation in the daily operations of the school;
- participation in school decision-making.

In current paper we concentrate on parents participation in the daily operations of the school and in school decision-making. The reasons that hinder the effective home-school cooperation are also discussed.

Parental involvement in education is associated with improvements in school behaviour, social competency, and school performance. There are many substantial researches supporting the claim that parent involvement leads to improved educational attainment (Garcia-Bacete 2003; Hill, Craft 2003; Peraita, Pastor 2000; McNeal 1999). These findings have formed the basis for different educational reforms where parental involvement is one of the key elements of the programs (Cassel 2003; McNeal 1999).

The model for assessing democracy in education

In education researchers (Beane 2002; Davis 1999; Howard-Hamilton 1995; Landau, Gathercoal 2000; Patrick 1994; Power, Power 1992) have outlined different building blocks of democracy which should be looked at when comparing educational systems: values, rights, system structures, school processes, learning content, balance, training and outcomes. Some key-questions and statements to open up the meaning of these eight points (Davis 1999; McCulloch 1993; Patrick 1994):

- 1) Basic Values: Values associated with democracy are enshrined in a school development plan or mission statement. Both the students, parents and support staff are involved in the policy formulation.
- 2) Rights: Do students and teachers have the same rights? Are rights bracketed together with responsibilities?
- 3) System Structures: This point embraces the cooperation between different parts of educational systems.
- 4) Structures Within Schools: The general structure of school governance.
- 5) Learning Content: The curriculum and what is taught at school should involve the basic elements of democracy such as freedom of expression, the educational equivalent of the free press. However, the process of democracy in school cannot be limited only to that area, students should also have an opportunity to participate in decisions on the curriculum and its assessment, to feel that they are valued at school, resulting in an enjoyable school experience.
- 6) Balance: The balance between freedom and constraint is one of the key elements as well. The changes toward a democratic system have to appear in every level of educational system.
- 7) Training: The core questions here are: What training or rethinking is seen as necessary when democratising education? How closely are teacher training programmes connected with their practical outcome – schools? Does the curriculum of these programmes involve the elements of democracy like cooperation, effective decision-making; does it stress human rights and teach the political background of democracy?
- 8) Outcomes: A continual debate within this area is access to higher education versus lifelong learning. The educational system often stresses the importance of results or outcomes (the point of state exams) rather than the competences essential for successful adult-life. How has this conflict affected the students' certainty about their coping in their future life? What are the schools really preparing their students for?

Assessing an educational system according to these eight points gives a good general review of the current situation. Some of the sub questions of different points overlap as they may measure different sides of one phenomenon. Democracy is a political culture that generally implies the simultaneous operation of several elements and therefore it is important to study different smaller units to get the entire picture.

The research questions and methods

The focus of the research this article is based on, included school factors that presumably had a connection with either students' truancy or their low academic achievement. The underlying question of the research was what schools can do to support students' coping and prevent their dropping out and other unacceptable behavioural outcomes and to what extent this can be done. But this article does not give the whole overview of the results of the research as it concentrates only on the aspects related to the topic of democracy. The research in whole embraced different aspects of school climate and learning environment. The methodological approach of the research: ecological understanding of individual in its environment (according to Bronfenbrenner's system), systems view on school as organization. The research methodology included quantitative and qualitative approach. The basic data was gathered using self-report questionnaires for school-leaders, teachers, students and for parents. Questionnaires used 4–5-point Likert-scale was used for 90% of statements. Full anonymity was pursued for all participants (including teachers and students) and schools. It was an extensive cross-sectional study carried out in Estonia in 2004. The questionnaires to all examined parties (school administration, teachers, students and parents) consisted of the same content blocks about the questions studied. The blocks embraced a wide range of different aspects connected to the school climate and learning environment. The thoroughness of the questionnaires allowed for use of the data the research provided, to study some of the democratic building blocks in Estonian schools as well. Although assessing democracy in Estonian schools was not the main aim of the research it can still provide some information about the situation.

Content blocks of the questionnaires (- includes democracy-related aspects):*

- Teachers', students' and parents' evaluation of school as organisation* – cooperation, leadership, information, goals, relationships in organisation, (incl values, participation in decision-making, learning motivation, innovativeness)
- Evaluation of reality of professional work* (incl available technology)
- Relationships (between students; between students and teachers)*
- Parent-school cooperation, parental involvement*
- Questions about coping strategies
- Personal data

Main dimensions for analysis:

- inclusiveness or participation versus exclusiveness;
- innovativeness and high values versus conservativeness, passiveness and narrow/utilitarian values;
- cooperation versus individualism;
- short term versus long term perspectives in educational process;
- teachers view on students' participation and possible role in educational process and school-life.

The sample consisted of 65 schools in Estonia (10% of Estonian schools). The respondent schools form the adequate representation of schools – geographically, by working language (Estonian or Russian), by results of state exams during last 3 years (best and weakest results in their area – county or city), by participation in innovative processes. The number of participants: 120 representatives of school administration, 624 teachers, 3838 students from 7th, 9th and 11–12th grades and 2048 parents. The analysis of the results described in this article was based on the quantitative research methods (f- and t-tests were used to compare means and dispersion; regression analysis for a connection model; and cluster analyses for grouping). These results are seen as a background for the next stage of the research – the qualitative part. The aim of the second stage is to describe the school culture on a school bases in order to analyse the aspects that could increase the effectiveness of learning process more thoroughly. In the second stage of the investigation an international comparative research is planned as well.

According to this article's topic, the following points were brought out in analysis: the differences in values of the main interest groups at school describing one side of basic values and balance at school; the home-school cooperation: parents' rights to have a say in decision making, their satisfaction with frequency and forms of cooperation, and the factors that hinder home-school cooperation as the parts of the rights and system structure points in school democracy; school climate in students' perception: relationships with classmates and freedom of speech as the part of learning content and last but not least the students' certainty about coping in their future lives as a descriptive characteristic of the outcomes.

As the two fundamental elements of democracy are the government by the majority and the protection of individual or minority rights the differences between two ethnic groups in Estonia – Estonian and Russian students (797 students) – were studied in some of the questions.

The Results

1. Teachers' view on students' participation and possible role in educational process and school-life.

In general teachers (52%) found, that students self-government has important role in school and students could have a greater role in educational process – 45–50%. As the students' self-government and participation in decision-making are important factors for “schooling for democracy” it should be looked at more specifically.

In basic schools the Z-score for students' participation was ,02 and secondary school – 0,1. This means, that in basic schools the participation in decision-making is somewhat higher than in secondary schools. At the same time for Estonian and mixed (both Estonian and Russian) schools the Z-score was positive (0,08 and 0,02) and for Russian schools – negative (-0, 46). It means, that in Russian schools the role of students' participation in educational decision-making is lower, than in other schools and teachers in general value its growth less. This difference can be interpreted as a difference in democratic aspects of classroom-level school-culture in schools working in different languages. If we take into account, that teachers' pre-service education in these types of schools differ as well (most of teachers of Russian schools have obtained their profession from Russian teacher training institutes or universities, teachers of Estonian schools – from Estonian higher schools), some influence of teacher training education can be supposed here.

For democratic participation on school level (role of students self-government) the difference was lower – in secondary school this influence was higher than in basic schools, and no difference between Estonian and Russian schools was observed. But – male teachers see students' self-government's role much lower than female teachers, young teachers (age group 20–30) much lower than older ones, in cities – much lower than in countryside schools. Another important fact was that the higher the teacher's qualification is the more the teacher appreciates her/his school's students' role in governance.

The analysis of that block of questions revealed that the pattern of teachers' views on students does not depend so much on teachers' personality and pedagogical biography but on the school-culture teacher is working in. The most effective student' self-governments and wider and widely supported participation in educational decision-making appeared to be in these schools that had more qualities of learning organization and where the teacher cooperation and involvement in inter-school team-work (incl in-service further education) was the highest.

It has to be mentioned, that parents saw the role of students' self-government higher than teachers. As we did not asked students themselves about the role of self-government, this is one of questions for further research. But it is quite obvious, that parents' opinion reflects students' attitudes and evaluations, to some extent of course.

2. The ranks of values of different parties at school

Students', parents', teachers' and schoolmasters' 1) sequence of values, and 2) the percentage of respondents who considered the respective value important or very important and/or mean values on a 5-point scale (Table 1).

Table 1. The ranks of values of different parties at school

Value	Students	Parents	Teachers	Schoolmasters
Academic achievement	1. (3,35) 81,7%	1. (3,34)	3.–4 (3,45)	10. (3,44)
Politeness	2. (3,27) 73,7%	4. (3,18)	6. (3,37)	8.–9. (3,49)
Honesty	3.–5. (3,17) 65%	3. (3,23)	2. (3,49)	2. (3,65)
A wish to improve oneself	3.–5. (3,16) 64,2%	6.–7. (3,13)	not among choices	not among choices
Discipline	3.–5. (3,15) 63,1%	2. (3,24)	10. (3,25)	11. (3,40)
Wide knowledge	6.–7. (3,11) 60,1%	5. (3,14)	8.–9. (3,27)	not among choices

Students' security	6.-7. (3,11) 58,4%	6.-7.(3,13)	1. (3,54)	1. (3,79)
Good relations with people	8. (2,99) 54,4%	8. (3,11)	5. (3,43)	4. (3,59)
Caring	9. (2,96) 51,8%	9. (3,10)	7. (3,29)	6. (3,54)
Students' health	10. (2,94) 50,8%	10. (3,06)	3.-4. (3,45)	3. (3,61)
Tolerance	12. (2,86) 45,6%	13. (3,01)	not among choices	5. (3,58)
Correct appearance	13. (2,80) 46,9%	12. (3,02)	15. (2,98)	12. (3,28)
Activeness of thought	11. (2,88) 46%	11. (3,04)	11. (3,22)	not among choices
School enjoyment	14. (2,73) 41,7%	14. (2,96)	12. (3,19)	7. (3,53)
Obedience	not among choices	not among choices	14. (3,03)	13. (3,18)
Creativity	not among choices	not among choices	8.-9. (3,27)	8.-9. (3,49)

Analysing the sequence of students', parents', teachers' and schoolmasters' values, it appears that in students' and parents' hierarchy of values academic achievement is most important, while in the opinion of teachers and schoolmasters this is much less so. According to the latter, most important is students' security. Students place politeness in second position, whereas parents place discipline and teachers and schoolmasters' honesty instead. Schoolmasters and teachers place children's health in third position, which in the opinion of students themselves appears only in 8th place and in the case of parents even lower. Good relations with people and caring are in the opinion of students average values at their school. Teachers, but especially schoolmasters, give the named values a much higher place. Least important in the opinion of students are tolerance, activeness of thought, and school enjoyment. School enjoyment for the schoolmasters appears to be much more important and can be found in the centre of the values hierarchy. Correct appearance belongs in the case of most respondents among the relatively less important values. Schoolmasters and teachers consider least important obedience, in case of parents and students, data about this is unfortunately lacking.

According to the main dimensions of the analysis it may be said that the utilitarian value (such as academic achievement) is often higher than democratic values or the values of humanistic point of view. How the values differ between different clusters of teachers and types of schools is the question for further study.

3. The home-school cooperation

Half of the parents (51%) were satisfied with the frequency of cooperation and they assessed it with the index of 3,71 (on a 6-point scale), which means, that there is still a large number of parents who would like to cooperate with the school more often. The parents have started to understand the importance of parental involvement in school and they have become very active in reforming the school system: 80% of parents would like to participate in discussions about school development. Most of them are ready to join in the discussions both on a school (53%) and local authorities or even a country level (27%). But not all schools eagerly accept it. More than a half of parents (58%) were not satisfied with the school's policy on involving parents in the decision-making process. The average index of parents' assessment in that question was 3,1 (on a 6-point scale), which was the lowest among all asked questions about school's policy in different areas.

The analysis of different forms of cooperation showed that in schools where more parents' meetings and discussions about child's improvement were held together with the child, students' academic success was on average higher than in other schools (the difference was statistically significant; $p < .001$). Parents of students from these schools were more willing to participate in the meetings were the child could attend the discussion about his/her achievement. The traditional forms of parental involvement, like traditional parents' meetings (with parents and class teacher only) and the open-door days (the days when parents can visit classes), were also mentioned by many parents, but a research has shown that schools holding on to these forms only are not successful ones (Lukk 2005).

The reasons that hinder the effective home-school cooperation were grouped by cluster analysis and four different groups of reasons were distinguished:

Personal aversion: this group is formed by the reasons that are connected with parent's direct negative experience in the field of home-school cooperation (17,2% of cases).

Problems of everyday life: this group consists of reasons that are outside of school – problems at work, in family, lack of time and strength (22,2%).

Senseless efforts: some parents have tried to join in the decision making at school but have seen their efforts as senseless; they have experienced the malfunction of the system and even noticed that cooperation with the school may have a bad side-effect on their child (35,2%).

Keeping a distance: this group of reasons shows the lack of parent's interest towards the school and child's studies, such kind of parents try to distance themselves from the problems at school (25,2%).

These results show that in parents' opinion the focus of home-school cooperation is more on exclusiveness than inclusiveness. The parents who have been ready to cooperate have lost their willingness because of the negative experience with school. The number of parents who either cannot find time or are not interested is quite large, but it still cannot be an excuse for no home-school cooperation at all. Knowing these facts, it is now school's – both administration's and teachers' – obligation to become an active party of the process organizing the work in a way that would motivate parents to participate.

4. School climate in students' perception

School climate is formed by various components, which are closely related to each other and therefore different correlations (all of them statistically significant, $p < .0001$) were brought out. The system of values at school is averagely correlated ($r = .406$) with the style of communication between students and teachers; it is also correlated with the innovativeness of school at the average level, $r = .390$. The perception of school enjoyment or school optimism has a significant correlation with academic achievement ($r = .417$) and psychological well-being of students ($r = .366$).

The regression analysis, where probability of dropping out was viewed as a dependent variable, revealed that school optimism had the highest prognostic value ($\beta = .333$), the second important factor was family support ($\beta = .097$), and the third was coping or academic achievement ($\beta = .089$). When school optimism in turn was set as a dependent variable, current state of achievement had the highest prognostic value ($\beta = .255$), then came the relationships with the teacher ($\beta = .220$).

The relationships between students at school were different when comparing the two ethnic groups – Estonians (E) and Russians (R). Estonians had better relationships with their peers than Russian students (E – 73.3% and R – 69.9%), Estonians were also more eager to help others in a group-work and they got help from peers when asked for it more often (E – 51.5%, R – 37.5%). Russian students had more quarrels with their peers (R – 1.3%, E – 12.5%).

But in assessing the readiness of their school for changes, the results were quite the opposite. In students opinion the new teaching and learning techniques were more used in Russian schools (E – 40.3%, R – 52.6%). Estonian students thought more of their schools as old fashioned and fixed to old traditions (E – 43.6%, R – 35.5%). All the differences between these groups were statistically significant, $p < .01$.

Freedom of speech, according to students' subjective observations, Russian students can express their opinion more often than Estonian students (R – 57.3%, E – 51.6%). Besides this, there are more students among Russians who find that teachers are really interested in their learning process (R – 36.6%, E – 31.8%). And two thirds of all students think that teachers consider students' opinion and again the Russian index was higher than that of the Estonians (R – 70.6%, E – 65.9%).

These results show students' opinion about the main dimensions of democracy at school describing the aspects of cooperation, inclusiveness and innovativeness. The results support the need for a democratic, learner-centred environment at school that would guarantee the children their right to feel free and good at school. School optimism plays an important part in both students' academic achievement and their psychological well-being. The low indices of cooperation in group-work and high occurrence of quarrels in Russian schools indicate the necessity to introduce the basic rules of democratic management in the classroom. As students feel their uncertainty about these questions it is important to teach them problem solving techniques, their rights and rights of others, but also responsibilities. The prerequisite for changes has already been set, although Russian language schools are more open to implement innovations (in students' perception), which may be the result of them being a minority group and therefore forced to struggle for their survival.

5. Students' certainty about coping in their future lives

This part analyzes an aspect of short term versus long term perspectives dimension describing students' certainty about their coping. A great number of students (81.5%) believe that they can cope well at school, they are not afraid of behavioural problems that may occur (82% of girls and 68% of boys are certain about that). Almost one fifth (18.5%) are worried about the graduation and two fifths about entering university. 62% of all students are sure of not being unemployed in the future but there is a remarkably big difference between Estonian and Russian students (E – 73.7% and R – 17.9%; $p < .01$). Russian students seem to be much more worried about their future employment and coping in life. But the opinions about coping at school are absolutely different. Students of Estonian schools are more confident about managing well at school (E – 84.7% and R – 72.1%, $p < .01$). But at the same time they are more concerned about the incapacity to graduate (E – 19.5%, R – 15.4%, $p < .01$) and they are significantly more afraid of not entering university (E – 41.6%, R – 26.7%). These indices are not so high among Russian students at all, which may show that Russian students feel quite comfortable at school but they are uncertain about their life in our society in general.

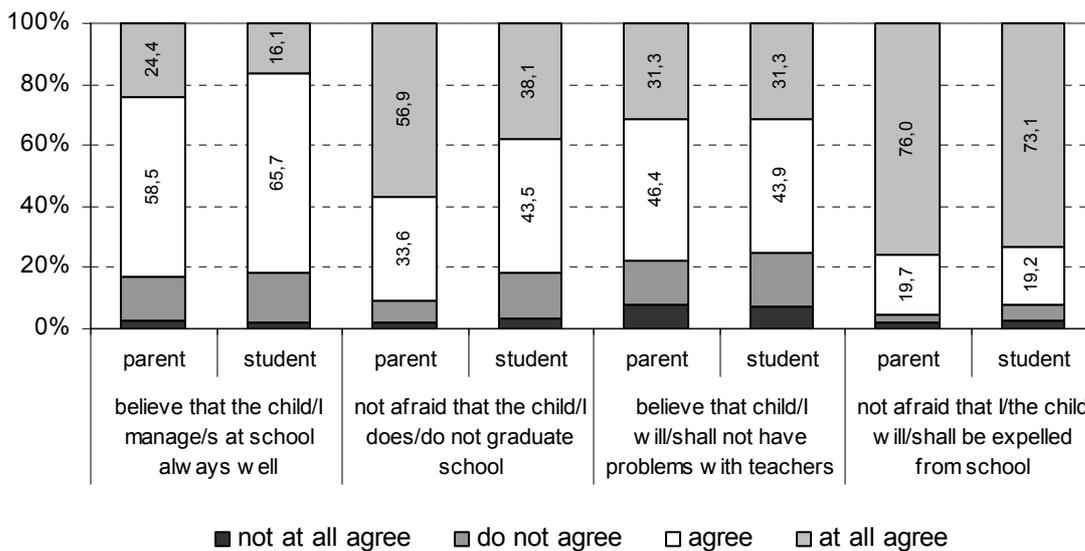


Chart 1. The comparison of students' and parents' opinions about coping at school

Comparing the differences between students' opinions and the opinion of their parents concerning coping at school (Chart 1), the most significant differences ($p < .01$) appear in certainty about graduation and general coping. There are no remarkable differences concerning behavioural problems. This shows that parents lack sufficient and true knowledge of their child's academic potential, which is the result of a poor home-school cooperation. They know their child's behaviour and therefore can draw adequate conclusions.

Conclusion

The process of building a democratic school is a complex one and requires an effort to maintain a delicate balance between the needs of individuals and the interests of the group, trying to reflect the differing perspectives of people from different backgrounds and experiences. The problems in the process of change must not be viewed as inevitable failures but as challenges that can be met and overcome. All the tensions cannot be solved with a certain formula or prescription, but according to the principle of democratic community, the internal problems have to respond in their own way based on individual and collective experiences which would lead to the forming of a democratically educated learner. In the changing world that requires workers with developed problem-solving skills and higher-order thinking processes, and citizens who share democratic values and practice, the move toward democratic practice in schools has to be considered as essential.

Speaking about Estonian educational system and schools it is important to notice that at present there are two contradictory aspects concerning democracy in the system: from one side the decentralization, schools' autonomy, their right for self-government (including school-curriculum development) are declared and introduced by the Ministry of Education; from the other side – the Ministry has created a system of centralized directives, control and standardization mechanisms (including state-tests, state-exams). So the democ-

ratization on teacher level has increased in terms of curriculum-creation and decreased in terms of directives about grading, documentations etc. The participation of teachers (and their organizations) in educational decision-making on state level is almost nonexistent.

On school-level in general Estonian schools share democratic values – headmasters and teachers value honesty, tolerance, good relations and they understand the importance of involving all interest groups or parties in vision-building and decision-making process. But students' rank of values is much different – when it comes to school the most important value is of a utilitarian one – academic success, a wish to improve themselves. The parents' opinion is very similar to that of the students – academic achievement is the most important and they have even more radical views giving discipline the second place. This raises the question of a gap between theory and practice, which may also be called a communication gap as teachers have not succeeded to pass their democratic view to the children and their parents. Parents should be guided on their way to close relationships with school. Most parents are ready to cooperate but they need assistance and of course they need to feel accepted and welcomed at school.

The changes in schools depend a lot on national education policy. If the education policy states that education should foster democracy it is important to be sure that the teacher training programmes have been altered to promote trainees learning cooperatively, with the teacher training curriculum stressing decision-making and including knowledge of political education and human rights. The level of cooperation between schools and teacher training programmes has to be sufficient to prepare young teachers for democratic class management. Schools should play a large part in initial teacher training as full partners of higher education institutions. It helps to establish a democratic framework for the evolution of teacher education between partners with equal and complementary strengths in professional development. It also offers the possibility for more democratic modes of teacher education partnerships through the transfer of power between differing but complementary sets of experts. It permits 'content' to extend beyond the classroom to the socio-political context within which schools, pupils, teachers and parents operate. It incorporates democratic values and the notion of education as liberation thus maintaining congruence with the aims of education itself.

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ARTIKKEL III: BUILDING SOCIAL CAPITAL THROUGH HOME-SCHOOL COOPERATION

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Abstract

The background to the study examines parental involvement in education as a form of social capital and focuses on how involvement may be developed through three dimensions of social capital: bonding, bridging and linking. Both groups (students and parents) were surveyed using questionnaires. The data of two different studies have been used: a cross-sectional study carried out in sixty-five schools in Estonia and a study of a comprehensive school to introduce practical implementations of the findings. The results of the studies indicate a high degree of readiness for cooperation from both sides – parents and the school, even though their understanding of responsibilities slightly differ. Parents and teachers should have mutual power and influence regarding the child's education, although schools have to take the prime responsibility in organizing the cooperation-process.

Keywords: parental involvement, social capital, home-school cooperation, family relationships, school climate

Current discourse in education acknowledges the partnership between parents and school. The increased interest in the relationship between home and school is one of the most positive educational developments of the past decade. Today, at all levels of education, there is overwhelming agreement that parents have a valuable role to play in the education of their children. Parental involvement is promoted at government level (Nassar, Rebane 2002) and the prevalent culture of rights encourages parents to exercise their rights in the field of education.

The term “involvement” is often used in this context synonymously with the words “partnership”, “participation”, “collaboration” or “cooperation”. But there seems to be a consensus in all these explanations: home-school partnership or cooperation is a working relationship that is characterized by a shared sense of purpose, mutual respect and the willingness to negotiate (Godber 2002). The base for a good relationship lies in communication and the gate-keepers of it are teachers. Teacher is an initiator, a coordinator and an evaluator of the process. The majority of parents wants their children to be successful at school but many parents do not know how to assist their children in ways that improve school performance (Hill, Craft 2003). Managing these tasks requires a new type of knowledge comparing to the one that traditional teacher training programs provide. The changes in teacher training (especially since the middle of the nineties) have mostly been connected with the ideas of learning organization and child-centeredness; less attention has been paid to a system approach, team work/cooperation and consulting skills – which are essential for building an effective home-school collaboration system; therefore these changes should be included in both teachers initial as well as in-service training.

Emphasizing the importance of home-school collaboration creates a new concept of educational development – viewed together with the other three parties at school: administration, teachers and students it forms a holistic approach which in turn is one of the prerequisites for implementing the idea of sustainable development. The holistic meaning of sustainable development embraces the integration of different aspects – economical, environmental, social, and cultural, broadening it beyond the primary concern for the environment as it is generally understood (United... 1996). The study of Raudsepp (2006) showed that the cultural and the social aspects of sustainable development have not been paid enough attention to in education, although education has a vital role in achieving objectives with respect to sustainable development in all parts of society as it supports forming people's values and behaviour (United... 1996). Therefore the teachers could be seen as policy makers and teacher-training faces another important task – to train teachers for working with different audience in order to target as many sectors of society as possible. Public awareness and understanding of sustainable development is one of the highest priorities of United Nations (United... 1996), therefore educating parents is definitely inseparable part of educational process at school. Involving parents has a dual purpose: it helps to encourage a new consciousness and directs both parents' attitude, their values and behavioural changes towards establishing more sustainable lifestyles and in the other hand parents become educators themselves imparting the idea of sustainability to their children.

Parent *involvement* has been identified as a primary component of *school* climate, and is also linked with key educational and social-emotional outcomes for students and also their school performance. Many researches have proven its positive impact on child's academic improvement (Cassel 2003; Cordy, Wilson 2004; Eddy 2004; Fantuzzo 1999; Hill, Craft 2003; McNeal 1999; Peraita, Pastor 2000; Shepard, Carlson 2003). But at the same time it is not simply parental involvement in children's education that matters for the improved academic achievement, rather it is the production of social capital through specific human interactions in the school. Social capital or social connectedness has been defined as the cultural resources and interpersonal bonds shared by community members (Jack, Jordan 1999). Parental involvement can be conceptualized as a form of social capital that provides individuals with access to resources that improve their academic achievement.

Like other forms of capital, social capital is a resource that students may draw upon when they need to enhance productivity. One of the primary functions of social capital is to enable a student to gain access to human, cultural, and other forms of capital, as well as to institutional resources and support (Coleman 1988).

There has been much discussion of the concept of social capital since it was introduced by Coleman (1994) as an extension of prior research on financial and human capital. Whereas financial capital describes a family's wealth or income, and human capital is measured by parents' education (especially by mothers' education). Coleman defines social capital by referring to its function, viewing social capital as a resource that can be drawn from. Bourdieu (1986) defines social capital as a resource made up of social obligations (or connections), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital. Later the definition of social capital was refined (Perna, Titus 2005) to include the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that exist in the social networks of individuals.

Coleman (1994) and Bourdieu (1986) offer two somewhat different conceptualizations of social capital. Coleman's approach stresses the role of social capital in communicating the norms, trust, authority, and social controls that an individual must understand and adopt in order to succeed. Coleman's approach is most frequently used in educational research (Perna, Titus 2005) as it is wider (comparing to Bourdieu's) and therefore useful for operationalisation in the frame of an empirical and quantitative study. Coleman identifies the ways in which parental involvement can build social capital, suggesting that social capital is derived from two types of relationships: the relationship between a student and his/her parents; and relationships between a student's parents and other adults, particularly adults who are connected to the school that the student attends (Coleman 1988).

Bourdieu (1986) focuses on the ways in which some individuals are advantaged because of their membership in particular groups. According to him, the amount of social capital to which an individual may gain access through social networks and relationships depends on the size of the networks as well as on the amounts of economic, cultural, and social capital that individuals in the network possess. Bourdieu views social capital as a mechanism that the dominant class uses to maintain its dominant position (Lin 2001). Bourdieu's use of the term is narrower than Coleman's, seeing the effect of social capital at an individual level only and therefore it cannot be viewed as the best approach to describe the home-school relationships supporting child's development.

Drawing on the work of Coleman and Bourdieu, Lin (2001) developed a theory of social capital that focuses on the mechanisms and processes through which an individual obtains the resources that are embedded in social networks. Lin suggests that, whereas closed networks, or strong ties, may effectively preserve resources, weak ties may enable an individual to access resources that are not available via strong ties. In other words, weak ties may serve as a "bridge" to networks that possess information and resources that are different from those that are provided by strong ties or by an individual's family and close friends (Lin 2001). Lin assumes that, although individuals generally establish relationships with individuals who have similar perspectives and socioeconomic backgrounds, some individuals seek relationships with individuals who are of a somewhat "better" social status in order to gain additional resources (Perna, Titus 2005).

Most scholars argue that social capital is not a single entity that families either have or do not have (Woolcock 2001). Rather, it is multidimensional, existing on at least three dimensions. The first dimension is *bonding*, which refers to homogeneous relationships within a close group – for example within the family between parent, children, and kin (Woolcock 2001). Bonding social capital provides a sense of belonging and is critical to the sense of well-being of the members of families and groups and fulfills immediate need for belonging, love, emotional support and solidarity. Terrion (2006) in her study of the connections forged between members of a temporary group stated that a sense of belonging was central to the development of cohesiveness in the group and that it was created through the group members' communication with each other.

Bridging, the second dimension, refers to connections with diverse social groups: heterogeneous relationships with more distant friends, relations and neighbours. Woolcock (2001) sees bridging as a horizontal metaphor, meaning that connections are made outside of the immediate network but with those who are similar in terms of demographic characteristics, including socioeconomic status, beliefs and values, life experience and existing social capital.

Linking social capital, the third dimension, contributes a vertical dimension. It is the addition of linking social capital to bonding and bridging that is vital to the achievement of the positive outcomes associated with social capital (Terrion 2006). Although bonding and bridging connect the parents of different groups with new contacts, linking social capital provides opportunities for families in the form of access to advice, resources and information; it helps to develop linkages with individuals in positions of power.

Looking at those three different approaches to social capital through its three dimensions some links could be drawn out – Coleman’s approach seems to deal more with *bonding* dimension as it is based on strong ties, close relationships while Lin assumes both kind of ties, strong and weak, to have their certain roles in building of social capital, which in turn describes the main content of *bridging* dimension. Bourdieu’s point of view, dealing with the questions of power and dominance, is more focused on vertical relationships and therefore discusses the problems of the third dimension – *linking*.

The research questions and methods

The current article provides a survey of two studies: one of them may be seen as a scientific foundation and the other as its practical expansion at a grass-root level. The first one was an extent cross-sectional study carried out in Estonia in 2004 by university scholars. The results of the research were introduced at different conferences (Lukk 2005a) and they encouraged some of the headmasters/head teachers to start the reorganization process at their schools. The results presented in the article are based on the data of the study, which was carried out in one of the biggest public comprehensive schools in Estonia in 2005.

The focus of the university study included school factors that presumably had a connection with either students’ truancy or their low academic achievement. The underlying question of the study was how and to what extent could school support students’ coping and prevent their dropping out and other unacceptable behavioural outcomes. The study embraced many aspects of the school climate and the learning environment, investigating the opinions of school leaders: headmasters and head teachers, teachers, students and also parents. The data were gathered using self-report questionnaires. The questionnaires to all examined parties (school administration, teachers, students and parents) consisted of the same content blocks about the questions studied. The blocks embraced a wide range of different aspects connected to the school climate and the learning environment.

The sample was composed of 65 schools in Estonia (10% of all schools). The number of participants included 120 representatives of school administrations, 624 teachers, 3838 students from 7th, 9th and 11–12th grades, and 2048 parents. The respondent schools formed an adequate representation of schools both geographically, according to the language of conduct (Estonian or Russian (27%)), and concerning the results of state exams during the last 3 years (the best and the weakest results in their area – county or city). Full anonymity was guaranteed for all participants (both individuals and schools in general).

The aim of the comprehensive school’s study focused on home-school cooperation and the main question was what should the school do to achieve a better cooperation with parents in order to support children’s coping at school. The method of the research was a questionnaire to parents and it embraced different aspects: the main learning orientations of the school; student’s daily routine at school; student-teacher relationships; communication between home and school; different forms of home-school cooperation; extra-curricular activities. The sample consisted of 504 parents (86% women and 14% men).

The analysis was based on quantitative research methods (f- and t-tests were used to compare means and dispersion; regression analysis for a connection model; factor and cluster analyses for grouping).

The results of both researches have been discussed in the framework of social capital, through its three dimensions (Woolcock 2001).

The first dimension: Bonding

Bonding describes the relationships within a family. According to Coleman’s (1988) perspective on social capital, parents play a primary role in promoting the attainment of their children. Close relationships within family are based on caring, effective communication, shared goals, values and expectations.

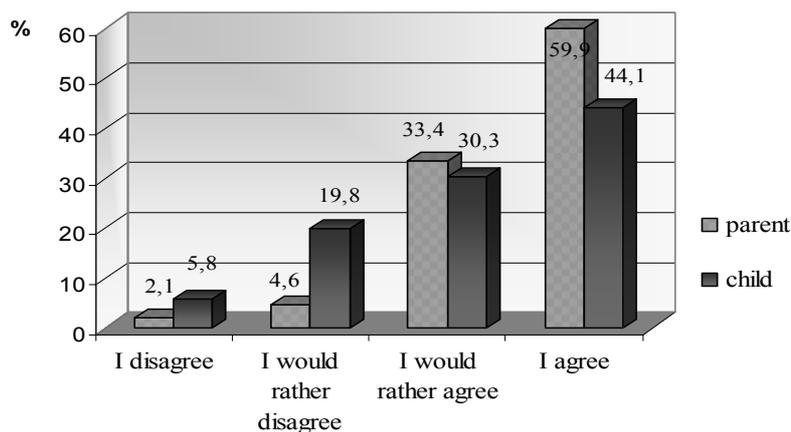


Figure 1. The family members care about each other

Comparing the opinions of parents and children about caring in the family shows a statistically significant difference ($p=0.000$) (Figure 1). Children tend to assess the level of caring lower than parents do. More than 20% of children stated that they do not/rather not agree that the members of their family care about each other. One of the reasons may be that the relationships between siblings are often problematic especially at adolescent age. However, it is a quite serious fact if only less than half of the students can express their complete agreement with the statement.

9.5% of the children said that they had experienced violence at home lately and only 5.1% of parents stated that about their child (the significance of the difference was $p=0.008$).

One of the questions studied the different aspects of child's life that parents are concerned about. The results revealed that 18.6% of parents worry about the relationships in their family. Parents from Russian schools and from schools in the capital city showed much higher percentages (36% and 23.5% accordingly) comparing to parents from rural or country regions (13%), which may be due to the more stressful lifestyle. People living in the capital city have to manage in a much busier environment and face more challenges in their daily life. Russian parents tend to feel quite uncertain in our contemporary society (Lukk et al. 2006) about their future and about their children's coping in their future lives. Having that uncertainty in their minds as an underlying factor of distress may also cause tensions in their family life.

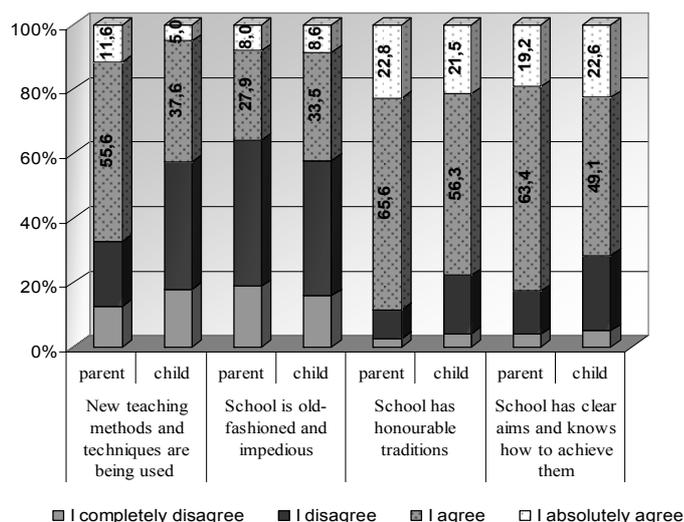


Figure 2. Parents' and children's opinion about the school

Communication plays a pivotal role in the production of social capital (Terrion, 2006). The analysis of the difference between parents' and children's opinions about the school revealed a statistically significant ($p<0.01$) difference in their views on some characteristics (Figure 2). The most remarkable differences

were about the clear aims of the school and whether new teaching methods and techniques are used in teaching process or not.

Most of the parents (82.6%) support the statement that the school, their child attends, has clear aims and knows how to achieve them. But at the same time only 71.7% of children seem to know that – which shows an information gap on that point. The same trend can be followed in the question about the new teaching methods and techniques as well (67.2% of parents and 42.6% of children).

Ranking the sequence of the topics, that families discuss about, showed that in most cases parents and children talk about school, which may seem as a very positive fact. But at a closer look it turns out that the main subject of these discussions is grades, not deep conversations about learning in general, about the things children study at school, or about how they have developed. In the context of social capital it means that a lot of resources have been left unused. Talking about grades does not deliver the message about the importance of education, it does not show the right way to choose as it does not lead the child to self-assessment, it does not help him or her to learn to set goals, to work out the plan, to carry it out and to draw conclusions – it does not help a child to learn the process of learning.

The second dimension: Bridging

A primary function of social capital is to enable a student to gain access to human, cultural, and other forms of capital, as well as to institutional resources and support (Perna, Titus 2005). Although the family has an important role as a resource of social capital it cannot be viewed as the only one. According to Bronfenbrenner's (2000) theory the network child is connected to is much wider and therefore while talking about *bridging* we move to the next sphere – school. School is an institution where children spend quite a large amount of their time. Coleman (1994) stresses the relationship between a student and his/her parents, but also the relationships between a student's parents and other adults, particularly adults who are connected to the school that the student attends: teachers and other parents. One may argue that the ties are much weaker in school community than they are in family and therefore they are not of such a great importance. But the weak ties may serve as a "bridge" to networks that possess information and resources that are different from those that are provided by strong ties or by an individual's family and close friends (Terrion 2006). Therefore the role of teachers as network coordinators cannot be underestimated.

Social capital is built on a foundation of trust (Jack, Jordan 1999). Studying how much parents trust the school their child attends showed that most parents (79,5%) trust their child's school and the teachers – the average index of trust was 4,35 (on a scale of 1–6). Regression analyses also revealed that parents' general opinion of the school is mostly predicted by trust; the second and the third variables were parents' opinion of home-school relationships and child's willingness to go to school – which is one of the factors that determines joy of school.

Parents' opinions about teachers were grouped by cluster analysis and four different clusters were formed.

- 1) Student orientated caring teachers: teachers who are interested in child's development, they monitor systematically student's improvement; they think that assessing or grading is a tool to support child's learning process and the most important is a positive learning environment at the lesson.
- 2) Positively strict teachers: teachers who maintain good discipline by being objective and reasonably demanding; student's opinion is important for them; they think that grades are objective descriptors of child's development.
- 3) Subject orientated teachers: teachers who have extensive knowledge in their subject and the most important for them is to prepare their students for their level tests and exams.
- 4) Strict competitors: teachers who consider punishment as the main factor influencing child's academic attainment; the base for development lies in competition; it is very hard for them to accept students who are too different from a "normal average".

These groups show clearly that there has been a shift towards child-centeredness in our schools, although a lot of work is still to be done to change the way of thinking of all teachers. The most important in that process is to have the general climate of school focused on child-centeredness and that would influence even the teachers who are still holding onto old-fashioned ways to try to keep up with the inevitable changes.

The forms of home-school cooperation vary greatly from school to school. The two main forms are parents' meetings and parent-teacher discussions (Lukk 2005b). The study showed that parents expect some changes in that field – they would like their child to attend the meetings or parent-teacher discussions as well; they would like to visit the classes; to have some kind of a parent organization.

The study of the comprehensive school revealed quite the same results – parents asked for more openness and child's presence while his or her development is being discussed. The evidence showed that parents cared deeply about their children's school progress and they wanted to know more about children's learning, but they did not want to share the teaching responsibilities with teachers. Parents clearly suggested that they needed more guidance and explanation. They wanted to learn more about what the schools' aims were and how children learn.

Parents expected schools to cover the basic aspects for parental involvement, such as simple and understandable communication about children's progress and problems, while their obligations should include encouraging their children to get the most out of school experiences. The parents' responses suggest that they believe schools and parents have different tasks and roles. However, parents suggested that having different tasks should not prevent them from complementing each other. Exchange of information is welcome and needed, but 30% said the schools' obligations should include 'providing high quality education' and 'taking the responsibility to guide them through educational activities'.

The parents of that particular school also suggested having some kind of a parent organization. After preparing for about half a year, a new system was implemented in the school – the parents of one age-group children (i.e. the parents of 7-th-grade students) formed a so called "education club" where different topics about child development and educational problems are discussed. The club meetings take place once a month and it is extremely popular among the parents of teenagers.

The analysis revealed that parents' opinions were generally very consistent with what they needed and wanted from the school in terms of both effective parental involvement and effective education for their children. But at the same time the respondents were often troubled and confused, and their responses were sometimes even contradictory. Parents clearly lacked sufficient knowledge about the schools and their financial constraints. However, according to parents, clear communication is a crucial point for parental involvement and this may provide a significant means by which parents and schools may start to develop effective relationships in the future.

The Third Dimension: Linking

Social capital focuses on social networks and the ways in which social networks and connections are sustained (Perna, Titus 2005), it is acquired through individual's relationships with other individuals, particularly through membership in social networks and other social structures. Linking social capital embraces individual's relationships with social structures on a vertical line, which in schools mean the parental involvement in different events, meetings, schooling organized by schools and parent organizations.

The underlying prerequisite of the effective functioning of that vertical line is the characteristics of the school: specifically, the extent to which the school encourages parental involvement, the volume of resources that may be accessed via social networks at the school, the homogeneity of the social networks at the school and the school climate in general (Perna, Titus 2005).

In the current study parents assessed schools by various variables, which were analyzed by factor analysis. Three factors were extracted:

1. Respectable/Honourable schools (descriptive power 34%): schools with a strong belonging and democratic leadership style; the school has well-established aims, strong traditions and a good reputation; at the same time they are opened to new ideas.
2. Progressive schools (descriptive power 24%): open-minded and forward-looking, these are the schools that keep up with the demands of the modern society; the leadership style is clear and objective – involving all interest groups.
3. Impeding schools (descriptive power 13%): schools that still hold onto old-fashioned ways and habits; implementing new ideas or views is an extremely slow process; students are regarded and treated according to their socio-economic status.

The results reveal that most of the schools have recognized the necessity for change, try to be opened and to involve different interest groups in school development. But all changes take some time until they function without serious problems. So there are still some reasons that hinder effective home-school cooperation. Researches have shown (Lukk et al. 2006) that parents who have been ready to cooperate have lost their willingness because of the negative experience with school. The number of parents who either cannot find time or are not interested is quite large, but it still cannot be an excuse for no home-school cooperation at all. Knowing these facts it is now school's – both administration and teachers – obligation to become an active party of the process organizing the work in a way that would motivate parents to participate.

The research carried out in the comprehensive school helped school administration to implement some very important changes. Studying the aspects of a “vertical line” and including parents in the process of drawing up the developmental plan for the school, it turned out that parents were very concerned about primary school children’s afternoon time. Their suggestion was to find the way to look after children until their parents come home from work – which means until about 5 o’clock. This idea led the school to introducing an absolutely new system – The Afternoon School. Primary school children (grades 1–4) can spend their time under supervision in different activity centers – reading center, drawing center, film center and playing center. The new system was highly approved by parents and it has had a great impact on the reputation of the school.

Once parents and teachers realize their capabilities and roles, they can work together effectively in helping their children learn. A shift is needed from the paradigm of parents and teachers working separately to parents and teachers working together for the benefit of the child. The relationship between parents and teachers should be one in which both have mutual power and influence regarding the child's education. The existing cultural discontinuity can be addressed by the teacher shifting from – “telling to showing” parents what to do – by explicitly teaching parents to assume new roles (Musti-Rao, Cartledge 2004).

Conclusion

With the growing diversity in *schools*, the role of teachers, especially in urban *schools*, has changed dramatically, becoming decidedly more challenging. Teachers are under constant pressure from the *school* district to achieve established standards of excellence, making it essential to work collaboratively with parents toward a common goal of children’s success in *school*. Instead of considering parents as a threat or nuisance, teachers have the opportunity to elicit help from parents. Just as more information about the *schools* allows parents to assist their children better, the more information teachers have about the children’s home environment, the better equipped they will be to accommodate the needs of the parents and the children.

Parental involvement is only a factor of the more complex phenomena – social capital. Social capital is a term that has different explanations and exists on at least three dimensions: bonding, bridging and linking. Different aspects of home-school cooperation in the framework of these three dimensions have been discussed in the article:

- the relationships within family as the indicators of *bonding*. The most important results were that more attention should be paid on caring between family members and parents should talk to the children about the importance of school and education instead of concentrating only on grades;
- parent-teacher communication and parents’ opinion about teachers as aspects of *bridging*. Parents trust school and teachers but they expect them to be more opened; varying the forms of home-school cooperation would provide more opportunities for parents to find the most suitable way of communication for them. A shift is needed from the paradigm of parents and teachers working separately to parents and teachers working together for the benefit of the child. Communication is the heart of the whole exchange process. Help and involvement may occur only when communication is recognized as the generator of fruitful relationships;
- school related questions as parts of the *linking* dimension. The results reveal that schools have recognized the necessity for change; they try to be opened and involve different interest groups in school development. A very important aspect of parental involvement is an exchange of expertise and abilities. Schools provide parents with ideas on how to help their children with adequate attitude and interest, and they invite parents to become involved with curriculum matters such as planning, classroom activities, and children’s assessment.

The focus of efforts for both parents and teachers needs to be the educational success of the child. The relationship between parents and teachers should be one in which both have mutual power and influence regarding the child's education. It is essential that schools and particularly teachers recognize parents as assets. Only then we can speak about building social capital that enables parents to better support their children.

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ARTIKKEL IV: CHARACTERISTICS OF SUSTAINABLE CHANGES FOR SCHOOLS

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The article discusses some aspects of the concept of sustainable development and its educational manifestation – education for sustainable development. The concept of education for sustainable development has been broadly accepted, but less attention has been paid to the extent to which innovations or changes are sustained over time, what characteristics or factors support their sustainability. A model of six characteristics of sustainable changes in schools has been introduced in the article and the changes concerning sustainable development in Estonian schools have been analyzed using qualitative research methods. The model consists of the following characteristics: depth, endurance, justice, diversity, conservation, and capital. According to the model, the positive changes in Estonian schools have been about the national curriculum, internal evaluation system as the basis for autonomy and self-management. The areas requiring deeper changes are justice or interdependence, diversity – respect for other people and connections between formal and non-formal education as well as between schools and teacher training institutions.

Keywords: education, sustainable development, school, values, teacher training, sustainable changes

Quality of education in today's world is somewhat superficial. While globally the importance of sustainable education is stressed, locally the main focus is on passing tests, hitting targets and obtaining the knowledge deemed essential in the context of a modern economy. In the main, children have not been taught deeper values, partly because there never seems to be time for such things, partly because many educators themselves consider information, skills, and training to be the sole or dominant purpose of formal education (Quince 2006). Spiritual matters have been left out as they cannot be factored into the economy. These trends have raised the question of necessity of changing education. But we should not be changing education to fit the modern world, but changing the modern world to reflect the values contained within an enlightened and sustainable education (Quince 2006). Such kind of changes requires much wider network – the sectors of formal, non-formal and informal education working together.

The process of implementing changes in schools is a complex one. On one hand schools are densely populated, actively constructed, finely balanced and continuously changing units. On the other, they are stable, subject to the head's authority and the influence of a peer groups controlled by faithfulness to shared beliefs and values (Shallcross et al. 2006). Therefore only holistic approaches based on collaborative, active cultures have the potential to overcome these apparent contradictions but this requires the clear concept of continuing development.

The concept of sustainable development

Fundamental concepts which underlie powerful paradigms are usually relatively straightforward and easy to grasp. In the area of social science, ideas which affect millions of people and guide the policies of nations must be accessible to all, not just to an elite (Selby 2006). The growing awareness of challenges to traditional development thinking has led to the increasingly wide acceptance of a new concept that has also become a new paradigm – sustainable development. Development that encourages us to conserve and enhance our resource base, by gradually changing the ways in which we develop and use technologies (McKeown 2002). The challenge of sustainable development is to put this understanding into practice (Steinemann 2003), changing our unsustainable ways into more sustainable ones. Social component has been recognized as the essential part of the new paradigm (Selby 2006).

As sustainable development is the concept that has ethical, moral, and spiritual connotations – it requires attitudinal and behavioural changes. The success of sustainable development will ultimately depend on the decisions individuals and groups make regarding their own behaviour and the bottom-line of these decisions is their value system (ARIC 2000; Mang 2005). But changing someone's value system is a task that is largely based on education. As discussed above today's education is more knowledge-based than based on spiritual development of children which in turn requires reorienting our education. The first two priorities of educational manifestation of the concept of sustainable development – Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) – are reorienting existing education and improving basic education (McKeown 2002; Selby 2006).

Study design and data collection

The research the current article is based on was the second phase of an extent study carried out in Estonia from 2004–2007* (the results of the first phase have been introduced in many articles: Lukk 2005a, 2005b; Lukk et al. 2006; Lukk, Veisson 2007). The second phase was a qualitative component of the survey – a small-scale follow-up study to the first quantitative phase (self-report questionnaires for all stakeholders: school leaders, teachers, students and parents) with the focus on more in-depth insights. The sub-sample of the study was composed according to the typology of schools based on the results of the first phase (the cluster analysis was used). The sample of the qualitative part consisted of 5 schools. Full anonymity was guaranteed for all participants (both individuals and schools in general).

The central point of the second phase was to study the school climate. The study embraced many aspects of the school climate and the learning environment. Qualitative research methods were utilized: semi-structured interviews with teachers and structured interviews with parents, observations (all class sessions of 7th grade students were observed for a week in one school) and document reviews (developmental plan of the school, class registers) were conducted with the intention of investigating how different aspects of the school climate were related to children's coping. The interviews with teachers embraced different aspects: students' coping, relationships (both students and teachers level), school management, curriculum, physical environment, educational policy. The main analysis method was content-analysis.

The article focuses on the changes taken place in Estonian schools, discusses different characteristics regarding sustainable development in schools. Among other questions about educational policy and curriculum changes in school the questions about ESD were discussed in two schools – an urban and a rural school. Teachers expressed their opinion about sustainable development in general and draw some examples of education for sustainable development in their school.

The characteristics of sustainable changes

Despite the growing body of knowledge about reorienting education, implementing changes and special education practices of ESD, less attention has been paid to studies about the extent to which innovations or changes are sustained over time, what characteristics or factors support their sustainability (Sindelar et al. 2006).

Combining the characteristics of lasting changes in education (Scherer 2006) and the principles of sustainable development (ARIC 2000; McKeown 2002; UNESCO Education sector 2005) a model of six characteristics can be formed for assessing sustainable development and sustainability of these changes in school:

- Depth: the keyword – values;
- Endurance: the keyword – balance;
- Justice: the keyword – interdependence;
- Diversity: the keyword – equity;
- Conservation: the keyword – intergenerational links;
- Capital: the keyword – synergy.

The following passages describe these six characteristics, analyze some of their aspects in Estonian schools and discuss their essence in the framework of ESD.

Depth. The depth of teaching-process at school. It involves both the content and the organizational side. To sustain education reforms, we must focus on learning that matters and that results in measurable achievement (Mang 2005). Success in ESD will take much longer and be more costly than single-message public-education campaigns. It is not possible to change something in school using just one course or one student-conference. Education for sustainable development cannot be based exclusively on knowledge. It is the matter of everyday values that run through every program (Mang 2005). To become permanent, changes associated with values to address sustainability must occur throughout the programs, practices, and policies of a school system.

Concerning structuring and placing ESD in the curriculum each country faces a fundamental decision. They must decide on a method of implementation – whether to create another subject, (e.g., Sustainable Development, Environmental Education) or to reorient entire education programs and practices to address sustainable development (McKeown 2002). It is important to distinguish the concept of teaching about sustainable development from teaching for sustainable development that means changing the goals and methods of education to achieve sustainable development.

Estonian national curriculum stresses teaching for sustainable development but comparing the ideas of the national curriculum to its practical implementations – curriculums of schools, it appears that schools are stressing more teaching about sustainable development. Most of the schools have included different subjects of sustainable development rather than reorienting their programs. The teachers express their opinion about ESD:

We have heard a lot about sustainable development. Our school even added three courses teaching sustainable life-style – they are separate parts of chemistry and geography courses.

Even in schools where environmental studies was one of the main study branches of the school teachers connected sustainable development only with the students studying in those classes:

Sustainable development is valued in our school. The students of environmental classes have many subjects about that topic, they organize camps of sustainable life-style etc.

Planning for change is an essential ingredient of success. Leadership that plans ahead to identify potential barriers, gain commitment, engage the public, prioritize projects, and implement tasks according to schedule will increase the chance of success. Analyzing the developmental plans of schools showed that none of them had the ideas of ESD in their vision or mission for the next three years.

Another important point in assessing the depth of teaching is the group of students the major of resources is targeted on. Teaching to the test or concentrating primarily on lifting up only those students who are just below the proficiency line are short-term strategies (Scherer 2006). Instead, schools should concentrate on teaching for understanding and connecting to all students – a strategy that has been a very difficult to implement in schools. Teachers indicate:

Although we have a special system at school to support the children with special needs – it is normally meant only for those we cannot keep up with the others. So, all the energy goes to helping them and we really cannot find the time for gifted children – they normally manage themselves and therefore they are not a “problem” for the school.

Schools that undertake reforms slowly and persistently produce greater lasting effects than those trying to get immediate returns (Scherer 2006). Adding some courses in the curriculum gives quick results by increasing knowledge but achieving the true meaning of sustainable development requires long-term strategies of changing the values.

Endurance. Balance is one of the keywords of sustainable development. A sustainable development is democratized, decentralized, and pluralistic process where creation of resources has to be balanced with their distribution (Selby 2006). A reasonable balance between the desired goals and the available means and resources must be established to assure the endurance of the process.

The concept of sustainable development involves three aspects: economic, environmental and social. The aim of sustainable development is to balance economic, environmental, and social needs (Harris 2000). The goals of these three elements are clearly multidimensional, raising the issue of how to balance objectives and how to judge success or failure. It is instructive to examine the problem from different disciplinary perspectives that draws up the next keyword – participation of all stakeholders in order to balance the different perspectives by exploring their internal logic and understanding them.

Estonian educational system has implemented the idea of internal evaluation process as a basis for development. The internal evaluation of school is the process that has been introduced in most of the countries in Europe – although in some of the countries it is only recommended (not mandatory as it is in Estonia since 2007) – for example in Belgium, Ireland, Austria, Great Britain, and Hungary (Õppeasutuse... 2006). The model used in Estonia is based on European EFQM Excellence Model (Õppeasutuse... 2006).

The process of internal evaluation includes the requirement of studying the opinion of all stakeholders. That change which came into force in September 2007 has remarkably increased the partnership with stakeholders in schools. Every school in Estonia has to present their first official internal evaluation reports by 2010. But some positive changes can already be noticed concerning partnership with all stakeholders. Teacher's opinion:

The current year [2007] brought big changes in our school-life. Now we officially have to develop our own self-evaluation system. /.../. The biggest change for me personally is the communication with parents.

When all stakeholders are working together it definitely helps to balance the objectives and increase understanding which in turn supports the endurance of changes (Szilagyi, Szesci 2005; Smith 2006). To make change last over time requires that reforms not be linked to one person. To assure the continuity, the leadership must be distributed to many (Wagner et al. 2006).

Justice. Sustainable development recognizes the interdependence of environmental, social, and economic systems and promotes equality and justice through people empowerment and a sense of global citizenship (Harris 2000). The same keyword can be expanded to a broader meaning. As part of a system, every school must consider its effects on every other school. An ethic of competition does not improve matters for all. Partnership and collective accountability can drive schools to work together.

Schools are interconnected systems. One school’s mission may send it to the top of the charts – but end up crippling a neighbour (Hargreaves, Fink 2006). The fates of schools are increasingly intertwined. What leaders do in one school necessarily affects the fortunes of students and teachers in other schools around them. As exemplary or high-profile institutions draw the most outstanding teachers and leaders, they drain them away from the rest. The more school systems run on the market principles of competition and choice, the tighter these interconnections become (Hargreaves, Fink 2006).

Although many discussions about the harmful effect of market principles on school development have been held it is still inevitable trend among Estonian schools. As long as the only variable for comparing schools are the points of state-exams and some schools are recognized as elite ones and they get most of the local resources, it is very hard to implement in Estonia the principle of interdependence as an important part of sustainable development.

Diversity. Recognizing the importance of diversity can help one to focus on humanity’s capacity to work together to meet the enormous environmental and social challenges (Hudson 2005). Unity in diversity – the phrase connected with the ideas of equity and social justice. In the context of sustainability, the term ‘equity’ has to do with fairness – whether all people have similar rights and opportunities.

Social justice is another realm of study that involves values. Social justice that is considered a central part of ESD in most countries includes meeting basic human needs and concern for the rights, dignity, and welfare of all people. It includes respect for the traditions and religions of other societies and cultures, and it fosters empathy for the life conditions of other peoples. Ecological sustainability and resource conservation are considered part of social justice (McKeown 2002).

The research results revealed deep problems of equal rights and dignity and also having respect for other people among Estonian schoolchildren. Harassment is definitely a characteristic that should be discussed. According to the children’s answers:

- Some forms of harassment were observed in 43% of schools studied;
- 25% of students had suffered harassment during the last 12 months;
- The most common form of harassment is verbal;
- 89% of pupils admitted they had harassed somebody during the last 12 months (mostly verbally);
- 5% of pupils are constant victims;
- Most of the acts of harassment take place at school (Chart 1).

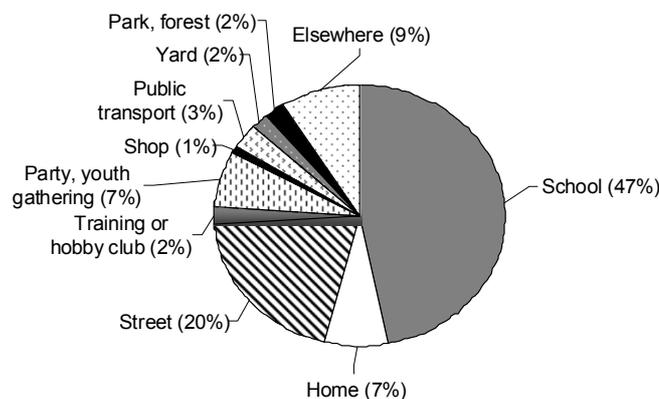


Chart 1. Places where harassments occur

These results show the lack of a real understanding of sustainable development in schools and proves that teaching knowledge does not support sustainable changes. Valuing and having a respect for other living creatures, for environment, for everything surrounding us – this is the core principle of ESD that is essential to obtain.

Conservation. When the World Commission on Environment and Development presented their 1987 report *Our Common Future*, they sought to address the problem of conflicts between environment and development goals by formulating a definition of sustainable development: “Sustainable development is development which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (Selby 2006).

The links between generations are necessary to guarantee the sustainability of changes. These links carry the role of intergenerational mentoring in disseminating messages about sustainable lifestyles (Shallcross et al. 2006). Our actions today are the basis for changes tomorrow. Interdependence that was discussed above as a horizontal characteristic between schools has its vertical dimension as well – it exists across both time as well as space (ARIC 2000). Past, present and future are inextricably connected. We are directly linked back in time by the oldest members of the community and forward nearly a century by those born today. It is important to appreciate that both continuity and change have fundamental influences during the courses of our lives. Understanding the concept of interdependence will assist us in recognizing our responsibilities for the future.

Capital. In the context of sustainability, communities have different types of capital that need to be considered – natural, human, and social capital (Quince 2006). All these types of capital are necessary for communities to function and they need to be managed by a community. A community that is living off the interest of its community capital is living within the carrying capacity (ARIC 2000).

Capital as a characteristic of sustainable development in school involves describing of *synergy* between all stakeholders (Hudson 2005) – the ideas of democracy, participation, involvement, holistic approach; and broadening the meaning it leads to embracing stakeholders both in formal, non-formal, and informal education.

For a community or a nation, implementing ESD is a huge task. Fortunately, formal education does not carry this educational responsibility alone. The non-formal educational sector (e.g., nature centers, nongovernmental organizations) and the informal educational sector (e.g., local television, newspaper, and radio) of the educational community must work cooperatively with the formal educational sector for the education of people. The influence of all sectors that are combined in implementing ESD creates a far larger effect that would be the sum of the influences these sectors could have working separately – a phenomenon of *synergy* occurs (Hudson 2005; Szilagy, Szesci 2005).

The synergy based holistic approach to sustainable development in schools implies that schools practice what they teach (Figure 1) by using the sustainable knowledge and values taught in the formal curriculum also in activities of non-formal curriculum (Juniper, Moore 2002; Shallcross et al. 2006).

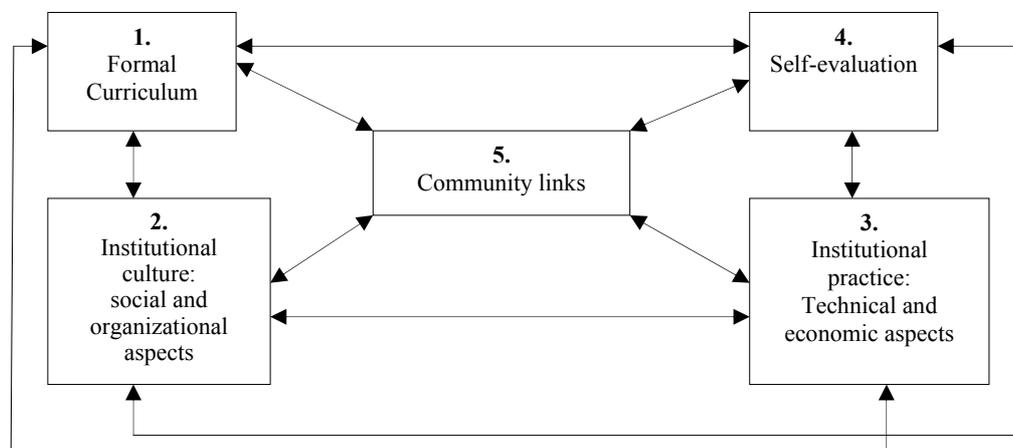


Figure 1. The main strands of a holistic approach of sustainable development in community (adapted from Shallcross et al. 2006)

Synergy effect of formal and non-formal sectors influences families to espouse sustainable worldview through the actions of their children. Our research examined how children spend their free time and one of the parents described it:

There is an environmental club [a nonprofit organization]. My child spends most of his free time there: doing some projects and researches, they have camps and excursions. He has been a member of that club for two years now. That has not always been easy – he sometimes comes home with these crazy ideas of how we should change our life-style. And he himself is so eager to do it that we all somehow just follow his example.

Increasing public understanding and awareness is the third priority of ESD (McKeown 2002) and both formal and informal sectors play an important part in achieving it. Synergy of formal and non-formal education, between cognitive, affective and active, are also relevant in the promotion of sustainable development in

universities – in faculties of education where future teachers are being trained (Shallcross et al. 2006). Teachers need to be proficient in interpersonal skills and knowledgeable about group processes such as communication and conflict resolution. This whole school agenda places great responsibility on teachers, and consequentially on teacher education institutions as moral agents (Higgins, Kirk 2006). It locates the learning to be a teacher within a situated learning model that places a professional obligation on teacher education institutions to discuss, deliberate, and implement actions that address sustainability, not only in their formal teacher education curriculum but also in the institution's social and institutional practices (Higgins, Kirk 2006). Teacher education institutions must strive to be organic learning organizations by practicing collaboration, participation, and adopting democratic leadership styles. Perhaps, most importantly of all, teacher education programs should educate students to become educational agents in the process of influencing transformative social and ecological change.

During the research different models of teachers' in-service training appeared that could be connected with the development of holistic or whole school approaches:

1. Centralized model (the most common): courses were run by a higher education institution (*Teacher training college*) or government (*the courses to introduce the process of internal evaluation in schools*).

This kind of approach sees the changes as externally driven and does not equip teachers with the skills to manage change within their own schools. Teacher's report:

I remember attending the course but not exactly what was taught there. Some facts – yes, I do remember, but in general I could not get the whole picture of it. I hope somebody knows better and explains me the things we have to do now [concerning the changes with the new internal evaluation process at school].

2. School-based model: courses were run by school staff – often untrained and used ready-made external training pack. The people who were chosen to run the course had an attitude of 'knowing everything' instead of guiding the participants onto the right track.
3. School-focused model: special persons are trained to become the "agents" of change to run professional development sessions in their own schools – a training the trainers approach. It requires collaboration with other schools, external advisors, and resource bases. In short, support networks are required that will assist schools in their way through change. If schools are granted greater autonomy, significant reforms can occur within schools, classrooms or communities, rather than being directed from national or district levels (UNESCO 2005), but schools need the skills and resources to manage this autonomy.

Conclusions

The growing awareness of a new paradigm – sustainable development – has brought many changes in every sector of our society. It is understood as a development that encourages us to conserve and enhance our resource base, maintaining a reasonable balance between the desired goals and the available means – this is the way the endurance of the process can be established.

Education for sustainable development is the educational manifestation of the concept of sustainable development and it faces a difficult task to put the principles of sustainable development into practice.

The concept of education for sustainable development has been broadly accepted by now, but less attention has been paid to the extent to which innovations or changes are sustained over time, what characteristics or factors support their sustainability. A model of six characteristics of sustainable changes in schools is one of the ways to describe sustainable development in schools. These characteristics are: depth, endurance, justice, diversity, conservation and capital.

According to the model the positive changes concerning sustainable development in Estonian schools have been the national curriculum supporting the ideas of ESD, internal evaluation system as the basis for autonomy and self-management. The areas requiring deeper changes are justice or interdependence (to diminish the role of market principles in schools), diversity – respect for other people and tighter connections between formal and non-formal education as well as between schools and teacher training institutions.

Transforming the concept of sustainable development into reality is not a short-term process – producing greater lasting effects requires long-term strategies that would support changing the values of the whole community.

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ARTIKKEL V: PARENTS' BELIEFS ABOUT HOME-SCHOOL PARTNERSHIP: RETHINKING THE PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT PARADIGM

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Abstract

The article provides insights into parents' beliefs about home-school partnerships. There have been discussions about the holistic paradigm, and fostering collaboration is one of the principles of holistic education. We discuss the communication and relationships among a child, parents, teachers and school, based on quantitative research (a questionnaire) carried out in Estonia in 2004-2007. The results revealed that the problems of Estonian education and schools are mostly connected with the schools' value systems. According to parents' beliefs, at secondary level schools, teachers value academic success more highly than any other aspect of a child's development. The parents from Russian schools are more concerned about their child's coping at school than the parents from Estonian schools.

Keywords: home, school, family, parents, parental involvement, partnership, holistic education

Introduction

During the last decade, there have been many changes in Estonian society. Our society's situation may be called a transition period or transition society (Magno, Silova 2007). The greatest problems of a transition society concern the social sphere: stratification with deepening financial problems and poverty, failure of coping, juvenile delinquency and violence. The problems of society are reflected in families as well: in the degradation of child rearing because of parents' mental exhaustion, superficiality and negligence, and the problematic relationships between family members that lead to the situation in which children do not feel protected and secure.

In order to cope with the challenges in transition societies, people need access to more information to be better able to understand changes (Magno, Silova 2007). Different studies carried out in Estonia (Lukk 2005; Veisson 2005) have revealed that parents are not aware or well-informed about the changes in the lives of their children outside the home, and the threats and risks their children have to face, and therefore they find it more difficult to fulfil their parental role and functions. But child development can never be viewed as the responsibility of only one agent or stakeholder. Positive development is a process only guaranteed by a wide network of individuals, institutions, and other resources, or, in other words, by a holistic approach.

Holistic approach in education

A holistic approach or holism means that everything exists in the context of relationships, connections, linkages and different meanings (Miller 2000; Schreiner, Banev, Simon 2005). Holistic education views individuals in the context of the whole society (Poindexter 2003). In order to facilitate school education and maximize its effectiveness, all stakeholders or agents should be involved in the educational process: school leaders or administration, teachers, students and parents. Parental involvement has been identified as one of the major forces of new educational strategies by many researchers (Fager, Brewster 1999; Fantuzzo, Greenfield 1999; Hill, Craft 2003; Peraita, Pastor 2000; Tulva, Väljataga 1999).

Parents' beliefs are influenced by current and past contextual and cultural elements, by the micro-climate of the family (Bronfenbrenner 2000), relationships and values (Talts 1997). An additional factor is the way the school impacts these beliefs. As noted by Vygotsky (1978), socio-cultural backgrounds, experiences, and events impact learning and development. Similarly teachers' and families' socio-cultural backgrounds affect their interactions and impact how parents are viewed and how the process of parent and family involvement is constructed (Suoto-Manning, Swick 2006).

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The previous paradigm for defining and understanding parent involvement aligned with the needs of teachers and school: it mostly dealt with the questions of discipline and behaviour; the teacher was seen as someone who imparts the knowledge of acceptable steps and necessary changes. This approach hardly depicted the many ways in which a parent or family member may be involved in his or her children's lives. At the present time, when more attention has been paid to a holistic approach, both parents and schools need some guidance. Many parents may be labelled unsupportive of education, poorly educated, and uncaring by unintentionally not meeting new definitions of parent involvement (Suoto-Manning, Swick 2006). It is the duty of educators to empower all parents to recognize the active role they already play in their own children's education (Carlisle, Stanley, Kemple 2005; Deven, Moss 2002; Stern 2003).

The core elements of the new – partnership – paradigm

The term "involvement" is often used in this context synonymously with the words "partnership", "participation", "collaboration", or "cooperation". But there seems to be a consensus that home-school partnership or cooperation is a working relationship that is characterized by a shared sense of purpose, mutual respect and the willingness to negotiate (Godber 2002). The basis for a good relationship lies in communication.

Some years ago home-school cooperation was mainly focused on organizational changes or quantitative reforms (increasing parents' participation in daily activities of schools, the number of joint activities, etc). But the new paradigm has shifted the focus to qualitative changes (Carlisle et al. 2005; Driessen, Smit, Slegers 2005; Evertson, Weinstein 2006; Hutchinson 2007; Walker et al. 2005); the key elements for parent and family involvement include focusing on the following elements (Suoto-Manning, Swick 2006):

1. Family and child: it is important to encourage educators to get to know children and their families in order to identify the child's and family's strengths and integrate these as the focus of involvement with families (Carlisle et al. 2005).
2. Involving all families in a partnership: the underlying prerequisite is to create an environment where all families would feel welcome. The relationship between parents and teacher if not directed consciously can become competitive and adversarial rather than collaborative and empathic (Driessen et al. 2005). Teachers have to work hard to find a balance between responding to the needs and capacities of individual students and supporting the development of a classroom community (Walker et al. 2005).
3. The multiple format of involvement: there are some traditional forms of home-school cooperation that are characteristic both to the old and the new paradigm: parent meetings and open-door-days (the days when parents can visit classes). The shift towards child-centeredness has brought new approaches to the format of parent-school cooperation and some new parent involvement forms have been added: developmental conversations (to provide the opportunity to follow the child through each developmental phase) are held with children and parents at least once a year (appointed by the law), different out-of-classroom activities held together with parents, participation in parent organizations. It is imperative to forefront the understanding that there is no one model or format of cooperation that works for every family and/or teacher (Driessen et al. 2005; Evertson, Weinstein 2006).
4. A lifelong learning approach in which the educators/schools learn alongside children and families: this includes involving parents in the school development process. Currently, more and more parents have started to understand the importance of parental involvement in school, and they have become very active in reforming the school system. The majority of parents would like to participate in discussions about school development (Lukk 2005), but not all schools eagerly accept it. It is the responsibility of schools to educate parents and help them to understand their new roles as partners of schools (Fager, Brewster 1999; Hutchinson 2007). The prevalent culture of rights encourages parents to exercise their rights in the field of education as well. How parents do it and the benefit schools can get from it depend greatly on schools.
5. Trust-building: true collaboration needs to value each partner and involves an exchange of values among the participants. This element embraces the whole process: it involves different parts of the elements discussed above. The four dimensions of the basic collaborative framework are value definition, value creation, value balance, and value renewal (Carlisle et al. 2005).

Once parents and teachers realize their capabilities and roles, they can work together effectively in helping their children learn. A shift is needed from the paradigm of parents and teachers working separately to parents and teachers working together for the benefit of the child (Suoto-Manning, Swick 2006).

The main objective of the current research is to provide a survey of different home-school partnership aspects in Estonian schools and assess them in the context of the core elements of the new paradigm. The hypotheses of the research are as follows:

- schools and teachers value academic success more highly than any other aspects of child development, especially in the 7th–9th grades;
- parents from Russian schools are more concerned about their child's coping at school than parents from Estonian schools.

Methods

Participants

The research was carried out in two stages. The sample of the first stage consisted of 65 schools in Estonia (approximately 10% of Estonian schools) and the parents of the 7th, 9th and 11th grade students were studied.

The analysis of the first stage revealed significant differences between the beliefs of parents of pupils at different school levels, and the main changes in a child's school behaviour take place at an early stage of school. Therefore the parents of primary school students (4th–6th grade) were included in the sample during the second stage. The sample of the second stage consisted of nine schools chosen according to the results of the cluster analysis of the first stage sample. The sample of the first stage of the research consisted of 2048 parents and of the second stage, 373 parents.

Material

The data was gathered using self-report questionnaires for parents. Questionnaires used 4–5-point Likert-scales for most responses.

The content blocks of the questionnaire:

- Parents' evaluation of school as organisation (incl. values, participation in decision-making, learning motivation, innovativeness)
- Evaluation of reality of professional work
- Relationships (between students; between students and teachers)
- Parent-school cooperation, parental involvement
- Questions about coping strategies
- Personal data

Procedure

The research was carried out in two stages in Estonia: the first stage in 2004–2005 and the second one in 2006–2007.

The respondent parents were chosen from schools that formed an adequate representation of schools in Estonia – geographically, by working language (Estonian or Russian), by results of state exams during the last three years (the best and the weakest results in their area – county or city). According to the working language, the schools in Estonia can be divided into three major groups: Estonian, Russian and bilingual schools (Estonian + Russian) – the schools having programs both in Estonian and Russian (Eesti... 2007; Haridus... 2008). The parents from all these three major school types were included in the sample. Full anonymity was guaranteed for all participants.

The data was analyzed in the context of the core elements of the new partnership paradigm. The analysis of the results was carried out using one-way-ANOVAs and T-tests. The results give a review of strengths and problems concerning Estonian education and schools in the framework of home-school partnership.

Results

1. Family and child:

Different aspects of parents' beliefs about their children were studied. The following passage provides a profile of the most significant problems (indicators) of families as parents view them: learning, excessive study load, school food, health, too excessive study expenses, relationships with teachers, relationships with class-mates, relationships in family, relationships with friends, smoking, sexual relationships, alcohol consumption, drug consumption.

Significant differences in these aspects/indicators were brought out between different school levels (Table 1) and school types (Table 2). The most significant differences were brought out in the comparison of the results by the level or stages of school and mostly in the aspect of relationships: child's relationships with class-mates and friends, and also about school food and smoking (Table 1).

Table 1. The aspects of child's life the parents were concerned about*

The aspect of child's life	The percentage of parents' "yes" answers		
	4 th -6 th grade N=301	7 th -12 th grade N=1423	Total N=1754
Child's relationships with class-mates	25.6%	16.6%	17.9%
Child's relationships with friends	18.0%	12.7%	13.5%
School food	39.0%	32.8%	33.8%
Smoking	5.9%	10.7%	10.0%

*All differences between grade levels were statistically significant at $p < .001$

The parents of younger children were most concerned about their child's food at school and also about the child's relationships. The parents of older children also worried about school food but were twice as likely to worry about their child's smoking.

Analyzing the differences of indicators by the working language of school revealed statistically significant differences in almost all indicators (Table 2).

Table 2. The indicators of aspects parents were concerned about*

	The percentage of parents' "yes" answers			
	Estonian N=1268	Russian N=649	Esto-nian + Rus-sian N=472	Total N=2389
Learning	37,5	60,5	43,2	44,8
Excessive study load	35,1	49,0	32,8	38,2
School food	29,3	50,3	40,5	37,1
Health	27,4	54,8	34,6	36,2
Excessive study expenses	28,0	38,2	36,0	32,2
Relationships with teachers	19,7	40,8	26,1	26,7
Relationships with class-mates	12,5	36,4	17,2	19,7
Relationships in family	11,9	35,8	17,6	19,4
Relationships with friends	6,9	30,5	13,5	14,4
Smoking	6,2	18,3	10,3	10,1
Sexual relationships	4,6	20,3	8,1	9,4
Alcohol consumption	5,5	14,9	7,4	8,3
Drug consumption	1,9	14,0	5,7	5,8

*All the differences between school types were statistically significant at $p < .001$.

Internal consistency (*Cronbach's alpha*) for parents' concerns was 0.834.

What are the areas of the child's life at school the parents of different schools are most concerned about? Learning holds the first place (Table 2) followed by excessive study load and the indicators connected with child's health (food and health problems).

2. Involving all families in a partnership:

The basis for engaging parents is readiness for communication which in turn presupposes sacrificing one's time. Analyzing parents' beliefs about teachers' readiness to devote their time and attention to children revealed that about half of the parents of primary school children thought that teachers did not have time for their children; they did not use an individualized approach. 36.6% of parents thought that teachers were too busy to have conversations with parents, but 55.4% stated that teachers found some time for parents.

8.6% of parents of lower level of basic school (grades 4–6) feel that teachers do not care about their problems; at the upper level (grades 7–9) the percentage is already 15.7% ($p < .001$). The difference was also observed by school type – the parents from Russian schools tended to give more positive evaluations of teacher-child relationships at school.

3. The multiple format of involvement:

The forms of home-school cooperation that parents value as necessary to guarantee child's development are shown in Figure 1.

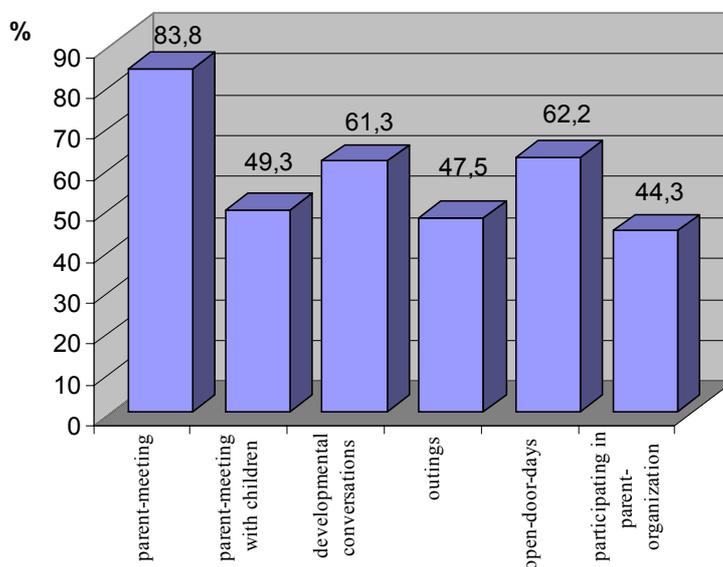


Figure 1. Parents' beliefs about the forms of parental involvement necessary for successful home-school cooperation

Most parents support traditional forms of home-school cooperation – parent-meetings with parents and class teacher, 83.8%, and open-door-days (the days when parents can visit classes), 62.2%. Developmental conversation held together with the child (parent-child-teacher) is a new form of parental involvement that was introduced in 2006 as a compulsory part of home-school cooperation. Participation in parent organizations had the lowest score (44.3% of parents assessed it as a necessary form of parent involvement). As this form of involvement is new and not so well-known, parents may not fully understand it and therefore cannot assess its necessity.

Comparing these indicators with the percentages describing the actual situation in schools showed somewhat different results: half of the parents (52.1%) have never participated in parent meetings together with children; 40.8% have never had a developmental conversation; about one third (37.8%) have never visited classes during open-door-days and almost half of parents have never taken part in outings or parent organizations (48.5% and 52.1% accordingly).

Regarding parents' satisfaction with the frequency of cooperation, there was a significant difference between Estonian and Russian schools ($p < .001$): the parents from Estonian schools were more satisfied with the frequency than the parents from Russian schools.

4. A lifelong learning approach in which the educators/schools learn alongside children and families:

One of the main functions of schools now is to support the idea of lifelong learning. We studied parents' beliefs about some aspects of school culture describing the values of lifelong learning in the home-school cooperation framework. 60.7% of parents thought that school culture supports the formation of a dignified citizen; 45.6% that the conditions of learning environment meet the needs of a modern society; 52% that school has clear aims and knows the direction of their development. But only 37.2% agreed with the statement that new learning and teaching methods were used in the school. Developing different learning skills is one of the most important parts in successful coping and lifelong learning process, and therefore the readiness to implement new ideas is essential for achieving the aim of lifelong learning. However, according to the results of the research, the idea of lifelong learning has not been fully implemented yet.

Involving all parties or stakeholders at school presupposes the existence of a democratic leadership style. But only 26% of parents think that the school their child attends has a democratic leadership style where everybody has equal rights and possibilities; this leaves three quarters of parents unsatisfied in this respect.

By school level significant differences ($p < .001$) were observed in different aspects concerning school development between the parents of students from 4th–6th grade and 7th–12th grade (Table 3).

Table 3. The positive beliefs of parents (%) about the aspects concerning school development*

The importance of conversations	4th–6th grade	7th–12th grade
Developmental plan of school	87,7 N=308	74,6 N=1854
Changes in school organization	79,2 N=303	68,6 N=1867
Study materials	85,1 N=322	73,9 N=1860
Renovation	63,1 N=293	53,1 N=1849
Child's development and future	96,7 N=329	94,4 N=1899

* The differences between grade levels were statistically significant at $p < .001$

Parents of both school levels value conversations about their child's development and future. Parents of younger students have more conversations about school development with their children than the parents of older ones, although the upper-primary and secondary school children are the group who should be interested in school development in order to get a good education.

5. Trust-building: Trust-building is always closely connected with sharing the values. We examined the main difference in values: while parents value the child's development and are concerned about his/her coping in the future, teachers concentrate on academic achievement, knowledge and better marks (Table 4).

Table 4. Parents' beliefs about teachers' values and activities

	Yes %
Teachers prepare students well for exams and level tests	54,3 N=1233
Teachers are interested in each student's development and coping in the future	29,2 N=668
Teachers systematically monitor students' coping	26,6 N=603
The assessment at school is first of all used for supporting child's learning and development	36,3 N=817
Teachers pay equal attention to teaching and educating	37,4 N=852
Teachers' overriding concern is students' learning	74,9 N=1701

The research also revealed that parents from Russian schools are more concerned about their child's future than Estonian parents are ($p < .001$), but at the same time 86.9% of them believe their child can graduate successfully – which in turn is one of the indicators of trust. Among Estonian parents the same indicator was 92%. By school level, there was a significant difference ($p < .001$) between the primary stage parents' and secondary stage parents' beliefs about their child's graduation: the parents of secondary school students were more confident about the successful graduation of their child while about one fifth of primary stage parents were not sure about their child's graduation which shows the necessity for a close cooperative network – to support child's coping on the one hand and to increase parents' confidence and trust towards school and teachers on the other.

Discussion

The changes in Estonian society have set new goals for the educational system, challenging our traditional paradigms of parent involvement. New expectations focus on a broader meaning of cooperation, requiring that much of the initiative be taken by the school. The principles of the new partnership paradigm embrace learning with and from the students and their parents, creating the environment that would motivate families to be involved, using multiple formats for involvement, and supporting trust-building based on shared values.

According to the results, both of the research hypotheses were proved. The first hypothesis was that schools and teachers value academic success more highly than any other aspects of child development, especially in the 7th–9th grades. The problems of Estonian education and schools are mostly connected with the value system in schools (Tulva, Väljataga 1999). There is a remarkable difference between parents' expectations and the actual school-life. According to the current research, only one third of parents pay attention to a child's general development rather than academic success, and schools/teachers also value academic success more highly than any other aspect of child development. Very little (if any) attention is paid to the development of social development, coping and learning skills. Even teachers at school first concentrate on preparation of children for exams and level tests; they value good results most of all and focus on the indicators of academic success only, and the main concern is not a child as an individual who needs support and guidance in his/her development (Ruus, Ots 2005). The research results reveal a worrisome trend in schools that the older the student is, the less care and individual attention s/he gets from teachers, even though the teenage years are the ones when students need extra guidance and support. Being left alone, students may feel insecure and lack confidence, which in turn is a risk factor for failure at school and dropping out of school (Koolikohustuse... 2002; Põhikoolist... 2003). The teachers of the upper primary stage of schools or at secondary level are focused on teaching their subject and students' learning (in its narrow meaning) rather than on the social development of children.

But parents and teachers are not the only ones to be blamed here. The former school system was more focused on school and teaching (Cassel 2003), and there is still the pressure by society on schools to value academic success more highly than humanistic values, which means that the formation of child's social competences is insufficient in schools (Veisson et al. 2007). There is a serious conflict in the Estonian educational system: the national curriculum is based on humanistic ideas of individual development of every child, but national level tests, state exams at the end of secondary school, and ranking the schools according to the results of the exams are the principles of a market economy. Although many discussions about the harmful effect of market principles on school development have been held, it is still a trend in Estonia (Ball 2006; Nassar, Rebane 2002). As long as the only variable for comparing schools are the achievements in state examinations, it is very hard to implement the humanistic ideas (Ruus, Ots 2005). Therefore it is essential to introduce new values in the whole society in order to guarantee the sustainability of education (McKeown 2002; United 1996).

The second hypothesis (parents from Russian schools are more concerned about their child's coping at school than parents from Estonian schools) was proved as well. The current research reveals that Russian parents are more concerned about their child's coping at school, as their indicators of the concerns were significantly different from Estonian parents' ones in every aspect. There seems to be an overall trend among Estonian parents to make the school responsible for their child's rearing and coping process. They seem to worry less about the child's future than Russian parents do, and therefore they are not so actively involved in school-life (Veisson et al. 2006). The active participation of parents in school-life makes the child feel secure and confident about the future; as in case of coping problems, he/she would always have somebody to turn to, somebody who would share the same values and who would be competent to support him/her. Seeing parents as partners of the schools would significantly improve a child's developmental environment (Stern 2003).

The current research revealed that parents of primary school children (4–6 grades) are more concerned about peer relationships. This is the period of the most intensive socialization process, and the problems of social coping emerge at this stage of development most often. Forming identity and self-confidence in the transition from a primary school learning system to a subject-based learning system causes different problems with class-mates, and by the 7th grade, the relationships have been fully formed. The parents of both primary and secondary stages are concerned about children's nutrition, about the food they are provided at school. There have been remarkable rearrangements in the catering system of school canteens in Estonia which is now organized by a private company. The changes have caused the rapid increase in prices, and the issues of food quality have been discussed in the media as well.

We found that the current situation in Estonian schools does not support the improvement of home-school cooperation process. The forms of parental involvement that schools generally practice are not suitable for all parents. Therefore it is extremely important to implement the new way of thinking – rather than being bound to concrete forms of home-school cooperation, teachers should be creative, open to new ideas, and, based on the knowledge obtained from conversations with parents, find the forms of involvement suitable for every family.

An effective home-school partnership is based on good relationships (Sutton 2006; Vincent 1996). Good relationships are built on trust. Building trust is not a simple process that can be achieved in a short time period. Trust-building is a complex process that embraces two main aspects: shared values that may be seen as a heart of the process and communication as the means to get there. According to the results of the current research, parents do not share the same values as teachers. They think teachers do not support their child's coping; they believe that teachers do not monitor the child's development systematically, and they are concerned about their child's future. Russian parents tend to be more concerned about their child's future, probably because they are a minority group and the language barrier may become an obstacle in their further studies. Trust cannot be built on that basis.

There is no way to prescribe or standardize a single way of going about building trust, as teachers and families differ. But there is a need for improving communication in order to achieve the desired aim of shared values. By putting together the four value dimensions (value definition, value creation, value balance, and value renewal) (Carlisle et al., 2005), the results of the current research and the main stages of the well-known quality cycle – Deming-circle (Plan-Do-Check-Act) (Greenwood, Gaunt 1995; Johnson 1993), a developmental model of effective home-school cooperation process that would guarantee the quality and sustainability of the relationship could be formed (Figure 2).

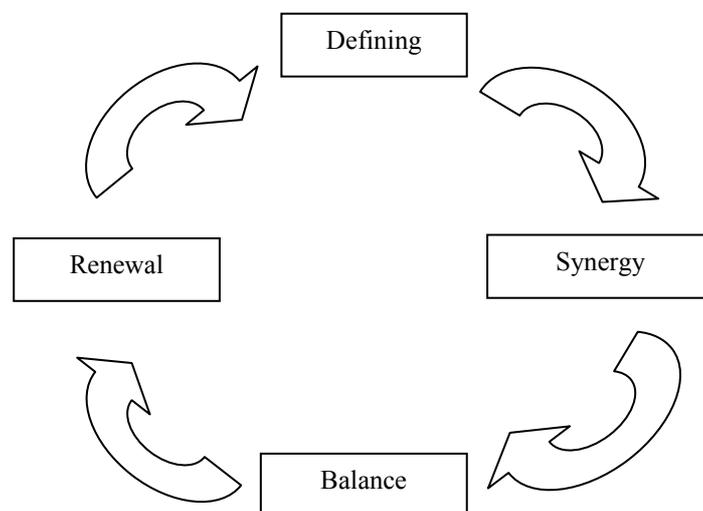


Figure 2. The developmental model of effective home-school cooperation process

The defining stage embraces the process of getting to know the family, finding out the strengths, aims and concerns of the family and child; it also involves introducing the values of school and education and providing parents with the necessary information. It is important to remember at this stage that the basis for good communication lies in respect and appreciation for a multiplicity of perspectives, the readiness for a dialogue and problem solving together – following the principles of a true democratic process. The synergy stage is an active cooperation process where both of the parties join their resources, and, working together, they achieve even greater success than working alone. The stage of balance is the period when the values of both parties – parents and school – are balanced; the differences have been settled; the consensus has been reached, and the steps taken are also assessed at this stage. The renewal stage is the preparation for the next level: choosing new aims, new goals to be achieved in the child's development. This is the cycle of continuous development and improvement.

The challenges of education are ones which neither schools nor families can meet alone; they must support each other. When families and schools cooperate, the children learn more; they enjoy school and the learning process, and they experience a consistent sense of commitment and support from the important adults in their lives (Epstein 1996).

Acknowledgement

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LISA 1. KÜSIMUSTIK LAPSEVANEMALE

Kooli õpikeskkond ja õpilaste toimetulek

Ankeet lapsevanemale

Uurimisrühma kontaktandmed:

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Raadiku 8, Tallinn 12813

Austatud lapsevanem!

Tallinna Pedagoogikaülikooli teadurid viivad läbi üle-eestilise uurimuse, mille eesmärgiks on välja selgitada, kuidas tunnevad õpilased end koolis ja kui turvalisena nad tajuvad oma lähimat ümbruskonda. Uurimuse põhjal tehakse ettepanekuid kõigile asjaosalistele, kuidas muuta koolielu paremaks ja suurendada meie laste turvalisust. Ankeedile heatahtlikult ning ausalt vastates saate sellele omalt poolt kaasa aidata. Kõik küsitlused on anonüümsed, ka kooli nime ei avaldata. Teie vastuseid ei tutvustata teistele küsitletutele (õpilastele ja õpetajatele).

Kui Teil käib selles koolis rohkem lapsi kui üks, siis küsitlusele vastates pidage silmas ainult seda last, kes tõi Teile selle küsimustiku.

1. Kas Te usaldate kooli ja õpetajaid? Tehke, palun, oma vastusevariandile ring ümber.

Üldse mitte 1 2 3 4 5 6 Alati

2. Kas õpetajad hoolivad lastest piisavalt? (Valige üks variant)

- 1 Õpetajate töö on formaalne, nad ei hooli õpilaste muredest
- 2 Õpetajad tegelevad enamasti ainult valitud rühmaga
- 3 Õpetajad hoolivad igast lapsest ja tegelevad vajadusel individuaalselt
- 4 Midagi muud

3. Kas õpetajatel on Teie meelest aega lapsevanematega suhelda? (Valige üks variant)

- 1 Mitte eriti, nad on liiga koormatud
- 2 Õpetajatel jääb aega ka lapsevanemate jaoks
- 3 Õpetajal on lapsevanema jaoks piisavalt aega

5. Kuidas hindate kooli ja kodu suhet üldiselt?

Väga kehv 1 2 3 4 5 6 Suurepärase

6. Kui suur peaks olema lapsevanema otsustusõigus? (Valige üks variant)

- Lapsevanem...
- 1 ei tohiks kooliasjades üldse kaasa rääkida
 - 2 peaks minema kooli, kui kutsutakse, ja tegema, mida palutakse
 - 3 peaks oluliste otsuste langetamisel koolis kaasa rääkima
 - 4 peaks haridusküsimustes kaasa rääkima nii koolis, omavalitsuses kui ka riigis

7. Millisena hindate oma otsustusõigust koolis?

Täiesti ebapiisav 1 2 3 4 5 6 Täiesti piisav

8. Millist koostööd kooliga eelistate ja kui tihti erinevaid võimalusi koostööks Teie lapse koolis kasutatakse?

	Hinnang koostöö sobivusele					Kasutamise sagedus			
	See eriti	Ka see	See vist mitte	See üldse mitte	Ei oska öelda	Mitte kunagi	Kord aastas	Mõni kord aastas	Vähemalt kord veerandis
Lastevanemate koosolekud	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4
Lastevanemate koosolekud koos lastega	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4
Arenguvestlused õpetajaga vanema ja lapse osavõtul	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4
Õpilaste, õpetajate ja lastevanemate ühised väljasõidud	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4
Avatud uste päevad (võimalus tunde külastada)	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4
Lastevanemate ühenduses osalemine	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4
Muu (milline?)									

9. Kas koostöö on Teie jaoks piisav?

Täiesti ebapiisav 1 2 3 4 5 6 Täiesti piisav

10./11. Missugustel teemadel Te koolis õpetajatega vestlete ja kui oluliseks Te erinevaid vestlustemasid peate?

Vestlusteema	Vestluste tähtsus Teie jaoks					Vestluste sagedus			
	Väga oluline	Üsna oluline	Pigem ebaoluline	Üldse mitte oluline	Ei oska öelda	Üldse mitte	Kord aastas	Mõnel korral aastas	Iga kuu
Laste hinded	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4
Kooli õppe-/arengukava	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4
Lapse klassi- ja koolivälise tegevuse	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4
Lastevaheline sõprus/üksteisele abi osutamine	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4
Lastevaheline kiusamine	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4
Laste tervis ja toit	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4
Laste turvalisus	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4
Laste käitumine ja moraal (nt ropendamine)	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4
Uued suunad pedagoogikas/ koolikorralduses	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4
Konkreetsed pahandused	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4
Õppevahendid	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4
Kooli remont	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4
Transport	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4
Laste areng ja tulevik	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4
Mis veel?									

12. Mis Teid kooliga suhtlemisel takistab?

Raskused ja takistused	See takistab eriti	Ka see	See vist mitte	See pole takistu-seks	Ei oska öelda
Mul on kooliga suheldes negatiivne kogemus (minu usaldust kurnatav, mind on halvasti vastu võetud vms)	4	3	2	1	0
Mul on hirm, et koolis kuulen jälle oma lapsest midagi negatiivset	4	3	2	1	0
Mul pole jaksu, sest töö ja kodus on palju muresid	4	3	2	1	0
Mul ei ole aega kooliga suhelda	4	3	2	1	0
Siiani pole minu koostööst kooliga kasu olnud	4	3	2	1	0
Tunnen end oma lapse käitumise pärast süüdlasena	4	3	2	1	0
Laps on juba nii iseseisev, et ma ei pea sekkuma kooliasjadesse	4	3	2	1	0
Mul on õpetajaga/kooliga halvasti isiklikud suhted	4	3	2	1	0
Mu laps ei taha, et ma kooliga suhtleksin	4	3	2	1	0
Koostöö lapsevanematega on halvasti korraldatud	4	3	2	1	0
Ma ei tunne end küllalt pädevana kooliasjades kaasarääkimisel	4	3	2	1	0
Mul puudub võimalus (nt transport) koolile sobival ajal kooli minna	4	3	2	1	0
Õpetaja jutt on liiga keeruline ja teaduslik	4	3	2	1	0
Olen koolieluga vähe kursis	4	3	2	1	0
Mul pole niikuinii õigust midagi kooliasjades otsustada	4	3	2	1	0
Kardan, et kui liiga agaralt oma arvamust avaldan, kannatab selle pärast minu laps	4	3	2	1	0

13. Mida Te sooviksite, et koolis kindlasti ei räägitaks?

.....

.....

14. Millisena näete oma lapse suhet kooliga? Palun öelge, kas kool on Teie lapse jaoks koht, ...

	Ei ole üldse nõus	Ei ole nõus	Olen nõus	Täiesti nõus
kus tal on tihti igav	1	2	3	4
kuhu ta ei taha minna	1	2	3	4
kus ta tunneb, et on üksik	1	2	3	4
kuhu ta tunneb end kuuluvat	1	2	3	4
kus ta leiab kergesti sõpru	1	2	3	4

15. Mida arvate lapse tulevikust? Mil määral nõustute järgmiste väidetega?

Tulevikku vaadates...	Ei ole üldse nõus	Ei ole nõus	Olen nõus	Täiesti nõus
usun, et ta saab koolis alati hästi hakkama	1	2	3	4
kardan, et ta ei suuda kooli lõpetada	1	2	3	4
usun, et tal ei teki õpetajatega probleeme käitumise pärast	1	2	3	4
kardan, et ta võidakse käitumise pärast koolist välja visata	1	2	3	4

16. Milline on Teie arvates selle kooli vaimus, kus käib Teie laps? Kui tähtsaks peetakse seal järgmist:

	Üldse mitte tähtsaks	Vähe-tähtsaks	Nii ja naa	Tähtsaks	Väga tähtsaks
Õpilaste turvalisust	1	2	3	4	5
Õppe edukust	1	2	3	4	5
Õpilaste tervist	1	2	3	4	5
Häid inimestevahelisi suhteid	1	2	3	4	5
Viisakust	1	2	3	4	5
Korrektset välimust	1	2	3	4	5
Ausust	1	2	3	4	5
Abivalmidust, hoolivust	1	2	3	4	5
Koolirõõmu	1	2	3	4	5
Distsipliini	1	2	3	4	5
Otsivat vaimu, mõtteerksust	1	2	3	4	5
Sallivust	1	2	3	4	5
Laialdasi teadmisi, eruditsiooni	1	2	3	4	5
Püüet ennast täiustada	1	2	3	4	5

17. Millist vaimsust sooviksite Teie selles koolis näha? Kui tähtsaks peaks kool pidama:

	Üldse mitte tähtsaks	Vähe-tähtsaks	Nii ja naa	Tähtsaks	Väga tähtsaks
Õpilaste turvalisust	1	2	3	4	5
Õppeedukust	1	2	3	4	5
Õpilaste tervist	1	2	3	4	5
Häid inimestevahelisi suhteid	1	2	3	4	5
Viisakust	1	2	3	4	5
Korrektset välimust	1	2	3	4	5
Ausust	1	2	3	4	5
Abivalmidust, hoolivust	1	2	3	4	5
Koolirõõmu	1	2	3	4	5
Distsipliini	1	2	3	4	5
Õpilaste otsivat vaimu, mõtteeksust	1	2	3	4	5
Õpilaste sallivust	1	2	3	4	5
Õpilaste laialdasi teadmisi, eruditsiooni	1	2	3	4	5
Õpilaste püüet ennast täiustada	1	2	3	4	5

18. Mil määral olete nõus allpool toodud väidetega kooli kohta, kus õpib Teie laps?

	Ei ole üldse nõus	Ei ole nõus	Ei oska öelda	Olen nõus	Täiesti nõus
Koolis katsetatakse uusi õpetamis- ja õppimisviise	1	2	3	4	5
Koolis ollakse vanameelsed ega muudeta õpetamisviise	1	2	3	4	5
Koolil on auväärased traditsioonid	1	2	3	4	5
Kool teab, mida ta tahab ja tal on selged sihid	1	2	3	4	5
Koolis on meie-vaim	1	2	3	4	5
Koolil on hea maine	1	2	3	4	5
Kooli üldine kultuur on suunatud väärika Eesti kodaniku kasvatamisele	1	2	3	4	5
Kooliruumi kasutatakse intensiivselt õpilaste huvides	1	2	3	4	5
Õppetingimused koolis vastavad nüüdisaja nõuetele	1	2	3	4	5
Kooli raamatukogu on tõeline õppekeskus arvuti kasutamise võimalustega	1	2	3	4	5
Koolis on demokraatlik juhtimisstiil	1	2	3	4	5
Kooli juhtkonna poole on vajadusel kerge pöörduda	1	2	3	4	5
Lastevanemate majanduslik olukord mõjutab tugevalt laste positsiooni koolis	1	2	3	4	5
Vanemate vaesus pärsib oluliselt laste arengut ja õppimist koolis	1	2	3	4	5
Hoolekogul on koolis oluline roll	1	2	3	4	5
Õpilasomavalitsusel on koolis oluline roll	1	2	3	4	5

19. Milliste õpetajate kohta käivate seisukohtadega olete nõus?

Enamik selle kooli õpetajaid...	Ei ole üldse nõus	Ei ole nõus	Ei oska öelda	Olen nõus	Täiesti nõus
tunneb hästi õpetatavat ainet (aineid)	1	2	3	4	5
äratab õpilastes huvi aine vastu	1	2	3	4	5
suudab taktitundeliselt parandada õpilaste omavahelisi suhteid	1	2	3	4	5
suudab tunnis korda hoida	1	2	3	4	5
hindab õiglaselt	1	2	3	4	5
on just nii nõudlik nagu vaja	1	2	3	4	5
valmistab õpilased hästi ette eksamiteks ja tasemetöödeks	1	2	3	4	5
tunneb huvi iga õpilase käekäigu ja tuleviku vastu	1	2	3	4	5
jälgib süstemaatiliselt laste arengut	1	2	3	4	5
kasutab hindamist eeskätt lapse õppimise ja arengu toetamiseks	1	2	3	4	5
teeb omavahel koostööd ja toetab üksteist probleemide lahendamisel	1	2	3	4	5
pöörab võrdset tähelepanu laste õpetamisele ning kasvatamisele	1	2	3	4	5
peab esmatähtsaks õppimist	1	2	3	4	5

Enamik selle kooli õpetajaid...	Ei ole üldse nõus	Ei ole nõus	Ei oska öelda	Olen nõus	Täiesti nõus
märkab lastevahelisi probleeme	1	2	3	4	5
pigem karistab kui toetab õpiprobleemidega last	1	2	3	4	5
pigem karistab kui toetab käitumisprobleemidega last	1	2	3	4	5
pigem tõrjub kui toetab teistsuguse kultuuritaustaga või teisest rahvusest lapsi	1	2	3	4	5
õhutab lapsi omavahel võistlema	1	2	3	4	5
õhutab lapsi isekeskis koostööd tegema	1	2	3	4	5
võimaldab õpilastel õppetöö kavandamisel ja meetodite valikul kaasa rääkida	1	2	3	4	5
suudab luua positiivse koolikliima	1	2	3	4	5

20. Kas Teie lapsel on õpetajaid, kes teda Teie arvates ei salli?

- 1 Ei ole ühtki sellist õpetajat
- 2 On üks selline õpetaja
- 3 Mõned õpetajad on sellised
- 4 Enamik õpetajaid on sellised

21. Kui Teil oleks võimalik, siis kas paneksite oma lapse teise kooli?

- 1 Ei
- 2 Jah
- 3 Ei oska öelda

22. Kui paneksite lapse teise kooli, siis mis põhjusel ja mida loodaksite uuest koolist?

.....

.....

23. Millisena hindate oma lapse kooli üldkokkuvõttes, kõiki tahke silmas pidades?

väga kehv 1 2 3 4 5 6 suurepärane

24. Kas Teil on praegu muresid seoses oma lapsega?

Mulle teeb muret lapse...	Ei	Jah	Ei oska öelda
õppimine	1	2	3
suhted õpetajatega	1	2	3
suhted klassikaaslastega	1	2	3
suhted sõpradega	1	2	3
suhted perekonnas	1	2	3
tervis	1	2	3
koolitoit	1	2	3
üle jõu käivad õppekulud (kallid õppevahendid)	1	2	3
üle jõu käiv õppekoormus	1	2	3
seksuaalsuhted	1	2	3
alkoholi tarbimine	1	2	3
suitsetamine	1	2	3
narkootikumide tarvitamine	1	2	3
Midagi veel?			

25. Kas Teile tundub, et laps veedab liiga palju aega tegevusetult?

- 1 Ei
- 2 Jah
- 3 Ei oska öelda

26. Kuidas hindate oma lapse ajakasutust pärast kooli? (Võib olla mitu vastust)

Ta õpib kodus liiga palju
 Ta käib liiga palju huvialaringides
 Ta istub kodus liiga palju arvuti taga
 Ta käib liiga palju kaaslastega väljas
 Ta käib liiga sageli mängusaalides
 Ta teeb liiga palju sporti, käib trennis
 Ta vaatab kodus liiga palju TV-d, kuulab muusikat
 Ta on liiga palju tegevusetult kodus
 Laps teeb kõike parajal määral, midagi ei ole liiast

27. Kas Teie arvates on Teie laste koolis piisavalt vaba aja sisustamise võimalusi?

- 1 Peaaegu ei ole
- 2 Jah, mõned võimalused on
- 3 Jah, piisavalt
- 4 Ei oska öelda

28. Kas Teie arvates on Teie laste kodu ümbruses piisavalt vaba aja sisustamise võimalusi?

- 1 Peaaegu ei ole
- 2 Jah, mõned võimalused on
- 3 Jah, piisavalt
- 4 Ei oska öelda

29. Kuivõrd ohustab Teie lapsi kodu lähiümbruses...

	Ei ole	Mõne-võrra	Väga	Ei oska öelda
narkomaania	1	2	3	0
vargused, röövid	1	2	3	0
kallaletungid, peksmised	1	2	3	0
narrimine, mõnitamine	1	2	3	0
seksuaalne ahistamine	1	2	3	0
väljapressimine, petmine	1	2	3	0

30. Kuivõrd ohustab Teie lapsi koolis ja selle läheduses...

	Ei ole	Mõne-võrra	Väga	Ei oska öelda
narkomaania	1	2	3	0
vargused, röövid	1	2	3	0
kallaletungid, peksmised	1	2	3	0
narrimine, mõnitamine	1	2	3	0
seksuaalne ahistamine	1	2	3	0
väljapressimine, petmine	1	2	3	0

31. Kas Teie pere lapsed on sattunud viimase 12 kuu jooksul vägivalda ohvriks?

- 1 Ei
- 2 Jah, teda/neid ähvardati, sõimati, mõnitati
- 3 Jah, teda/neid togiti, tõugati, löödi
- 4 Jah, talle/neile tungiti kallale, peksti
- 5 Jah, temalt/neilt pressiti midagi välja
- 6 Jah, temalt/neilt varastati, rööviti midagi
- 7 Jah, teda/neid ahistati seksuaalselt
- 8 Jah, midagi muud.....

32. Kui jah, siis kus see juhtus?

- 1 Koolis
- 2 Kodus
- 3 Tänaval
- 4 Trennis või huviringis
- 5 Peol või muul noorteüritusel
- 6 Kaupluses
- 7 Bussis, rongis vms.
- 8 Hoovis
- 9 Pargis, metsas
- 10 Mujal (kus?).....

33. Kuivõrd nõustute väitega: Meie peres hoolivad kõik üksteisest väga.

- Ei ole nõus
- Pigem ei ole nõus
- Pigem olen nõus
- Nõus

34. Kui Teie lapsel on õppimisega raskusi, siis kas ta saab oma kodustelt abi?

- 1 Tavaliselt ei saa
- 2 Mõnikord saab
- 3 Jah, alati
- 4 Ei oska öelda

35.

Kas...	Peaaegu mitte kunagi	Mõned korrad aastas	Mõned korrad kuus	Mitu korda nädalas
vaidlete koos lastega poliitilistel teemadel?	1	2	3	4
vestlete oma lapsega/lastega raamatute üle?	1	2	3	4
vestlete oma lapsega/lastega filmidest või TV-programmidest?	1	2	3	4
kuulate koos lapsega/lastega klassikalist muusikat?	1	2	3	4
pärite oma lapselt, kuidas tal koolis läheb?	1	2	3	4
einestate kogu perega koos ühe laua taga?	1	2	3	4
suhtlete, vestlete, jutlete oma lapsega/lastega lihtsalt niisama?	1	2	3	4

36. Millised on Teie suhted oma lapsega?

- väga halvad
- halvad
- rahuldavad
- head
- väga head
- raske öelda

37. Teie pere elab

- eramajas/ridaelamus
- oma korteris
- üürikorteris, üüritud majas
- ühiselamus
- muu.....

38. Kas Teie laps käib oma kodule lähimas koolis?

- 1 Ei
- 2 Jah

39./40. Teie leibkonnas on kokku last.

	Vanus	Tüdruk	Poiss
Vanim, esimene	1	2
Teine	1	2
Kolmas	1	2
Neljas	1	2
Viies	1	2
.....	1	2

41. Teie kodune keel on keel.

42. Missugune alljärgnev vastus peegeldab kõige paremini Teie perekonna majanduslikku olukorda?

- 1 Meil pole piisavalt raha isegi toidu jaoks
- 2 Meil jätkub raha toidu jaoks, kuid riiete ostmine on juba raske
- 3 Meil on piisavalt raha toidu ja riiete jaoks, me saame veidi ka kõrvale panna, kuid seda ei jätku kallite kaupade (teler, külmkapp) ostmiseks
- 4 Me võime endale lubada ka mõningate kallite kaupade ostmist (nt teler, külmkapp)
- 5 Me võime endale lubada osta peaaegu kõike, mida soovime

43. Palun märkige kõik Teie enda ja abikaasa praegused töökohad

Töökoht	Minu töökoht	Minu abikaasa (teise lapsevanema) töökoht
Abitöölise, lihttöölise	1	1
Oskustöölise (nt treial, tisler, autojuht)	2	2
Teenindaja (nt müüja, juuksur, taksojuht)	3	3
Kontoritöötaja (nt sekretär, juhiabi)	4	4
Keskastme spetsialist (näit tehnik, politseinik, meditsiiniõde, ei nõua kõrgharidust)	5	5
Spetsialist, kes ei ole juht (nt õpetaja, arst, jurist, konsultant)	6	6
Spetsialist, kellel on alluvad (nt meister, töödejuhataja, osakonnajuhataja)	7	7
Asutuse või allüksuse juht	8	8
Ettevõtja	9	9
Midagi muud.....	10	10

44. Kui Teie ise või Teie abikaasa ei tööta, kas olete siis....

	Mina	Minu abikaasa (teine lapsevanem)
üliõpilane või kraadiõppes õppija	1	1
pensionär, invaliid	2	2
lapsehoolduspuhkusel	3	3
kodune	4	4
töötu	5	5
muu.....	6	6

45. Palun märkige enda ja abikaasa haridustase

	Teie haridus	Teie abikaasa (teise lapsevanema) haridus
Alg- või põhiharidus	1	1
Kutseharidus (põhikooli baasil)	2	2
Üldkeskharidus	3	3
Kutseharidus (keskkooli baasil)	4	4
Keskeriharidus (tehnikum)	5	5
Kõrgharidus	6	6

46. Teie olete aastat vana

47. Te olete

- 1 Naine
- 2 Mees

48. Te olete sellele lapsele

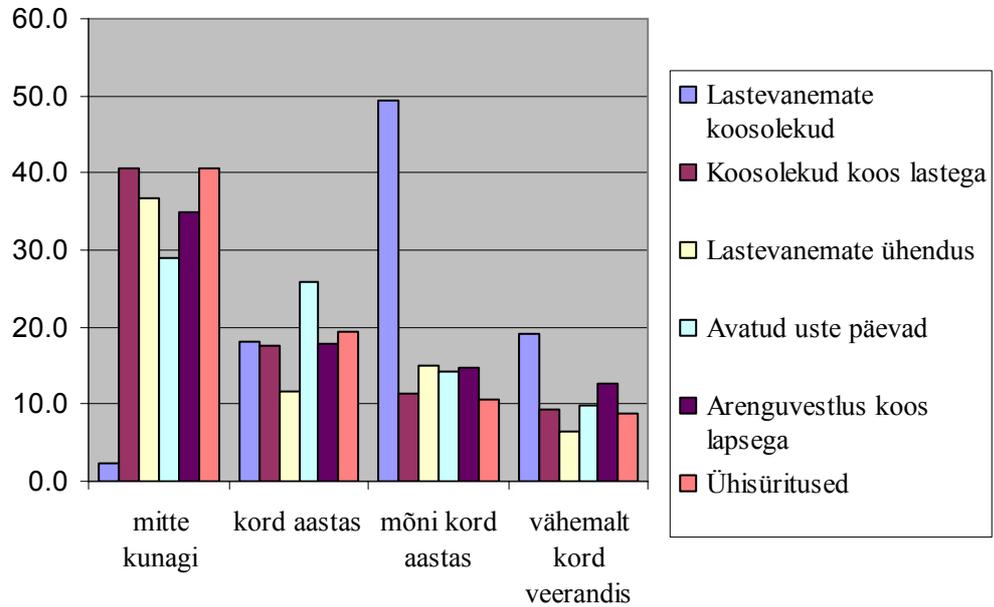
- 1 Isa
- 2 Ema
- 3 Kasuvanem
- 4 Vanavanem
- 5 Täiskasvanud pereliige (õde, vend vm)
- 6 Muu.....

49. Milline on Teie perekonnaseis?

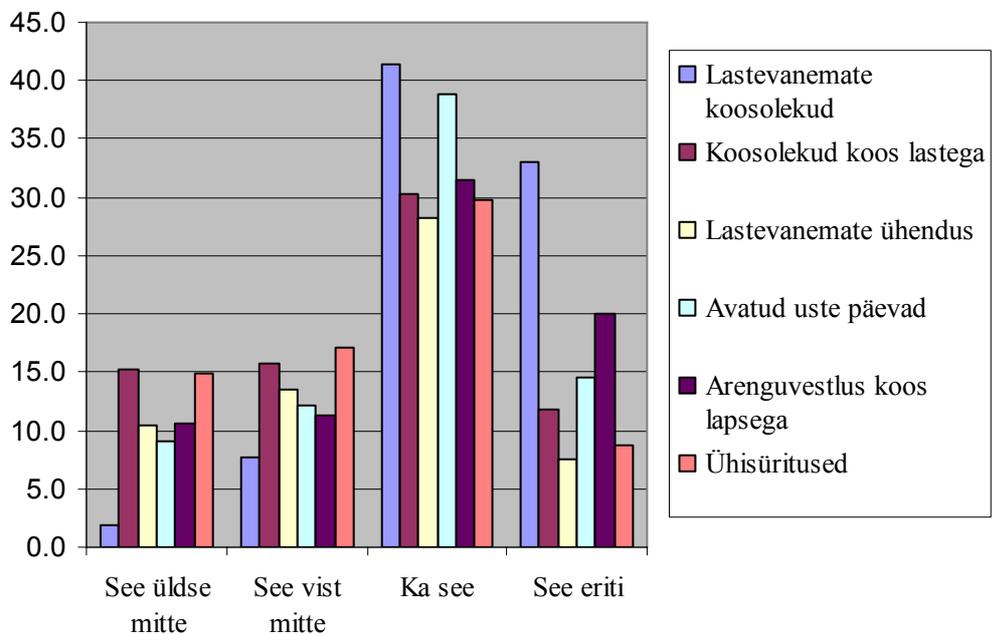
- 1 Abielus
- 2 Vabaabielus
- 3 Vallaline
- 4 Lahutatud
- 5 Lesk

TÄNAME TEID!

LISA 2. KOOLI JA KODU KOOSTÖÖVORMIDE ESINEMISSAGEDUS JA VAJALIKKUS



Joonis 1. Kooli-kodu koostöövormide esinemissagedus



Joonis 2. Lastevanemate hinnang kooli ja kodu koostöövormide vajalikkusele

LISA 3. REGRESSIOONANALÜÜSI KARAKTERISTIKUD

Regressioonanalüüsi teostamisel valiti sõltumatute tunnuste mudelisse võtmise meetodiks Forward-meetod, mis tähendab, et mudelisse on lisatud ainult need tunnused, mis mõjutavad sõltuvat tunnust statistiliselt olulisel määral.

Mudeli parameetrid (tabel 1) iseloomustavad mudeli toimivust antud valimis, mudeli prognoosi täpsust. Antud mudeli puhul on tunnuste vahel tegemist keskmise tugevusega seosega: $R = 0,598$. Determinatsiooni-kordaja alusel võib väita, et mudelisse valitud tunnused kirjeldavad ära ligikaudu 35% üldise hinnangu variatiivsusest. Tegelik hinnang erineb mudeli põhjal prognoositust 0,8 palli võrra.

Tabel 1. Regressioonimudeli parameetrid

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
6	,598	,357	,355	,81

LISA 4. HARIDUSREFORMIDE PÕHIPRINTSIIBID

Kooliarengu restruktureerimiseks ja õppimise maksimaalse efektiivsuse saavutamiseks on viidud eri maades läbi mitu reformi, millest tuntumad on koolipõhine juhtimine, uute õppekavade väljatöötamine ja kindlate arengukava vormide loomine koolidele omavalitsuste tasandil. Nende reformide rõhuasetuste erinevustele vaatamata on neis kõigis märgata teatud ühtseid suundi (Cheng 1997):

- Täiustamise põhimõttelt arenemise kontseptsioonile: traditsioonilise, pideva täiustamise arusaama kohaselt on koolil ühed kindlad, selged ja muutumatud eesmärgid ning kuni need ei ole saavutatud, tuleb koolisüsteemi pidevalt täiustada. Tänapäeval aga, kus haridusmaastik on niivõrd kiirelt muutuv, ei saa ka kooli ees seisvad ülesanded olla enam muutumatult kindlapiirilised ja selgelt püsivad. Kool peab kohanema keskkonnamuutustega, mis aga eeldab kooli iga aspekti – eesmärkide, õppekava, personali, organisatsioonilise struktuuri ning juhtimise, õpetamise ja õppimise tehnoloogia – pidevat arendamist.
- Kvantiteedilt kvaliteedile: kas koolihariduse kvaliteet vastab tänapäeva koolile seatud kõrgetele ja mitmekülgsetele ootustele ning kuidas seda on täiustatud ja mil moel on tagatud selle saavutamine? – see küsimus on saamas haridusreformide võtmeküsimuseks. Oluline ei ole mitte enam niivõrd teadmiste rohkus kui see, mida nende teadmistega osatakse peale hakata.
- Hakkamasaamiselt efektiivsusele: paljud lapsevanemaist on enamasti huvitatud vaid sellest, et lapsel ei oleks koolis suuri probleeme ning et ta tuleks õppimisega rahuldavalt toime. Kooli ja õppimise efektiivsusele ei pöörata erilist tähelepanu. Samas aga ei piisa lihtsalt igapäevasest hakkamasaamise tasemest, et vastata uue sajandi hariduse mitmekülgsetele nõuetele.
- Väliselt kontrollsüsteemilt koolipõhisele juhtimisele: traditsiooniline tsentraliseeritud juhtimissüsteem on peaaegu kõikidel elualadel andnud teed enastjuhtivale süsteemile ning sama tendents on toimimas ka koolis. Võimu nihkumine tsentraliseeritud tasandilt kooli tasandile on vajalikuks eelduseks kooli pidevale, eneseregulatsioonil põhinevale efektiivsele arengule.
- Üksikutelt tehnikatelt kõikehõlmavale tehnoloogiale: tänapäeva koolireformides on märgata kindlat liikumist lihtsate meetodite ja võtete rakendamisel mitut aspekti hõlmava põhjalikult väljatöötatud arengutehnoloogia suunas. Traditsioonilises tsentraliseeritud juhitud koolimudelid olid kindlad, standardised ja muutumatud eesmärgid, mille täitmist väljastpoolt ka kontrolliti. Sellises süsteemis iseenesest ei olegi mingit vajadust enastreguleeriva koolimudeli loomiseks. Tänapäeval aga pööratakse haridusreformides palju tähelepanu eelkõige sügavuti minevate, eri aspekte seostavate tehnoloogiate – sellised nagu strateegiline juhtimine, arengu planeerimine, osalusdemokraatia ja kvaliteedi tagamise tehnoloogiad (mille rakenduse üheks näiteks on Tallinna haridusametuste kvaliteediauhind) – rakendamisele.

Eespool toodud punktidest lähtuvalt võib välja tuua järgmised kümme põhimõtet, mis aitavad koolisüsteemi uutal alustel ümber korraldada (Cheng 1997):

- 1) üksikeesmärgidelt mitmekülgsete, eri valdkondi hõlmavate funktsioonideni;
- 2) kooli autonoomsuse ja omaalgatuslikkuse suunas koolipõhise juhtimise kaudu;
- 3) kooli täisväärtuslikule funktsioneerimisele teadmistel põhineva profiili abil;
- 4) pideva õppe ja arengu suunas tänu strateegilisele juhtimisele;
- 5) eneseregulatsioonil põhinevale süsteemile sise-initsiatiivikuse kaudu;
- 6) kooli mitmekülgse efektiivsuse suunas dünaamilise arenguprotsessi kaudu;
- 7) tervikliku kasvatusprotsessi suunas;
- 8) sünergia ja efektiivsuse suunas läbi ühtsuse;
- 9) täieliku kodu-kooli koostöö ja ühiskonna toetuse suunas nii vahendite kui ka ideede osas;
- 10) kooli edasiviiva jõu suunas muutustega kohanduva juhtimise kaudu.

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2003– Tallinna Ülikool, doktorantuur
2001–2003 Tallinna Pedagoogikaülikool, *MA*
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Täiendkoolitus

2006–2007 Tallinna Ülikooli Avatud Ülikooli Täiendõppekeskus, juhtimiskoolitus
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Teenistuskäik

2007– Sisters Group OÜ, koolitaja-lektor
2006– Tartu Kivilinna Gümnaasium, õppe- ja arendusjuht; inglise keele õpetaja
2005–2006 Tartu Kivilinna Gümnaasium, arendusjuht ja inglise keele õpetaja
1996–2005 Tartu Kivilinna Gümnaasium, inglise keele õpetaja

Muu organisatsiooniline ja administratiivne tegevus

2005– Tallinna Ülikool, kasvatusteaduste doktoriõppekava nõukogu liige
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Education and training

2003– Tallinn University, PhD studies
2001–2003 Tallinn Pedagogical University, MA studies
2000–2001 Tallinn Pedagogical University, BA
1992–1996 Tartu Teacher Training College, diploma in teacher education

2006–2007 The Open University Centre for Continuing Education of Tallinn University, leadership training course “The Head of General Secondary School”
2003–2008 Trans-European Division of SDA, St. Albans, United Kingdom, certificated training course “Certificated Family Life Educator”

Employment

2007– Sisters Group Ltd, lecturer-educator
2006– Tartu Kivilinna Gymnasium, headteacher and developmental manager; English teacher
2005–2006 Tartu Kivilinna Gymnasium, developmental manager and English teacher
1996–2005 Tartu Kivilinna Gymnasium, English teacher

Other organizational and administrative experience

2005– Tallinn University, the member of Curriculum Council of School of Doctoral Studies in the Institute of Educational Sciences
2005–2007 Tallinn University, the member the Council of School of Doctoral Studies in the Institute of Educational Sciences
2005– Baltic and Black Sea Circle Consortium (BBCC) member
1996– National director of the Children and Youth organization Pathfinders

TALLINNA ÜLIKOOL

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