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Article

What kind of economics is taught in Russian schools? Principles of teaching economics and the discourse of social education

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Keywords: teaching market economy in Russia, economic education, discourse analysis, computer-assisted web interviewing method


- Teaching of economics in a Russian school reflects the existing contradictions between the abstract goals of Russian social science education and the realities of modern Russian economic life.
- New social science textbooks demonstrate an increase in criticism of the market economy, the actualization of the role of the state in the economy and the rehabilitation of the Soviet experience.
- The decisive role in the development of market thinking in Russian schools belongs to social science teachers, whose working conditions and economic thinking in the rural and urban schools differ significantly.
- The teachers in the rural schools turned out to be more conservative in their attitude towards modern practices of teaching economics.
- The teachers in the city schools demonstrate a greater level of critical reflection on the “ideal” goals of teaching social studies in the context of the realities of the economy in Russia.

Purpose: The study investigated the change of the position of the official social science basic documents, textbooks and teacher’s opinion in relation to the general understanding of the market economy in the context of the modern Russian economic life.

Design/methodology/approach: The article was prepared on the basis of the critical discourse analysis of the official social science documents, as well as three basic lines of social science textbooks. Computer-assisted web interviewing method is used for interviewing teachers.

Findings: Despite the turn of economic education at school towards a greater focus on real practices of economic activity, new social science textbooks demonstrate an increase in criticism of the market economy and the rehabilitation of the Soviet experience, as well as avoiding stating and analyzing the socio-economic problems of modern Russia. Teachers in the rural schools take a more conservative position regarding the new practices of teaching economics, while teachers in the city schools are more critical of the existing goals of Russian education.

Implications: Economic education in the Russian school should be more focused on the study of modern economic problems of Russian society. Textbook authors should pay more attention to the de-ideologization of economic education and the development of critical economic thinking skills at school.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Economics is a crucial part of teaching social science in Russian schools, along with law, politics, ethics and philosophy. This practice has been maintained in Russian society since the Soviet times. However, economic knowledge has undergone significant changes in the course of social science that has revived since 2000. The reason for it was the market reforms in Russia in the 1990s that can be considered to eliminate the command-administrative economy and as a process of cultural transfer of economic values from the West and Russia (Apple, 1990; Rutland, 2016; Kortukov, 2019). By Michele Espagne, the transfer cannot equate to the usual transfer from one culture to another but is associated with social circulation and mutual transformation of cultural values (Espagne, 1988). Compared to other former socialist countries (Kopińska, 2019; Dancs & Fülöp, 2020), the case of post-Soviet Russia turns out to be more complicated. If in the cultural interaction of Russia and Western societies in the 1990s and 2000s we could talk about the mutual influence associated with the growth of academic mobility, political cooperation, the increase of the intensity of cultural exchanges, then in economic relations it was more about attempts of direct transfer of the values of the Western model of a market society into Russian economic culture. It resulted in a special form of cultural and economic identity and post-communism that, on the one hand, showed itself in the direct borrowing of foreign models of economics and management and, on the other hand, in the preservation of the Soviet stereotypes in the environment of the business community, public service and the mass consciousness management and management practices (Webber, & Liikanen, 2001). In this regard, the teaching of economics in the modern Russian school fully reflects this contradiction.

Teaching economics also has to compete with the information environment outside school. One of the most crucial problems of teaching social studies in modern Russian schools is that the general principles of teaching social studies are significantly overestimated, ambitious, and far from being fully corresponding to the reality surrounding a student. Elena Bryzgalina calls one of the critical problems of modern social science "the contradiction between the requirements of formal educational institutions and informal agents of socialization and other institutions" (Bryzgalina, 2012, 20). How are these problems reflected in the teaching of economics? What is the discourse of school economics education today? We will try to answer these questions in this article.

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In the process of preparing the article, we relied on the basic official documents defining the educational process at the course of social science in Russia. We analyzed the federal state educational standard (further – Standard) (Federal'nyj, 2012), the concept of teaching social science in the Russian Federation (Konceptciya, 2018), the documents of the Federal Institute for Pedagogical Research (Universal'nyj kodifikator, 2020) that determine the structure and content of control measurement materials for the Unified State Exam in 2020 (further – USE). Our article is also based on the discourse analysis of the most common social science textbooks. The choice of textbooks was determined by the policies of the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation. There is a federal list of the textbooks recommended for teaching in Russian schools and teachers are required to choose the textbooks from this list (Federal'nyj perechen' uchebnikov, 2021). Addressing the issues of teaching economics at school as a discourse required us to pay attention to the position of teachers at modern Russian schools. In this case, we relied on the results of the all-Russian interviews of teachers conducted by the Higher School of Economics in 2018 and the results of our own interviews with rural and urban teachers conducted in the autumn of 2021 in the Lipetsk region (Central Russia).

2 THE MAIN GOALS AND PRINCIPLES OF TEACHING ECONOMICS AT SCHOOL AND THE REALITIES OF ECONOMICS IN RUSSIA

Although the social studies course begins in the 5th or 6th grade (depending on the curriculum), students become well-acquainted with economic knowledge only in the 9th grade and later in the 11th grade. Before that, the focus of their attention was on specific topics related to the economy: labor (6th grade), man and the economics (7th grade), the economic system, and the concept of property (8th grade). In the future, all the topics are presented once again in the broader context of studying economic knowledge in grades 9 and 11. Thus, the tasks' content and their nature are associated with increasing complexity, with new sections, and with a complicated cyclical return at different stages of education to the same issues.

In an ordinary Russian school, no more than 1 hour per week is allocated for teaching economics in grades 7, 8 and 9 in one of the six months (from 27 to 33 hours per week are allocated for the rest of the subjects). The situation changes in grades 10 and 11, where a major of education is presupposed: natural science, mathematics or social and humanitarian. If the major is not social and humanitarian, then students continue to study social studies for no more than 1 hour per week (basic level). Students in classes with a social and humanitarian major study social studies 2 hours a week all year round in both 10 and 11 grades (advanced level). Moreover, in the case of the advanced level, 1 hour per week is allocated specifically to the economic block. Federal education statistics show us that between 2016 and 2019, the number of students who remained in grades 10-11 ranged from 43 to 60% (Rossiya v cifrah, 2019, 138). At the same time, the number of classes in the social and humanitarian profile in 2016–2018 was exceeded natural science and

mathematics classes by 1.5 times (Rossiya v cifrah, 2019, 140).

The state's main expectations regarding social science education in Russia are formulated in the federal state educational standard of secondary general education. It is the key document defining the goals and basic principles of teaching social science in a modern Russian school (Federal'nyj, 2012). The standard is focused on forming several student's characteristics that have a general civil, moral, and legal orientation. These characteristics are also associated with healthy lifestyles, thoughtful career choices, and self-education. The economic component is not revealed right here. However, it is disclosed in detail in the standard block of requirements for mastering the basic educational program, where economic knowledge is divided into primary and advanced levels. The requirements for the basic level, compulsory for study in all schools in Russia, are as follows:

"1) formation of the knowledge system about the economic sphere in the society as a space in which the economic activity of individuals, families, individual enterprises and state is carried out;

2) understanding the essence of economic institutions, their role in the socio-economic development of the society; understanding the importance of ethical norms and moral values in the economic activity of individuals and the society; the formation of a respectful attitude towards other people's property;

3) the formation of economic thinking: the ability to make rational decisions in the conditions of relatively limited available resources assess and accept responsibility for their possible consequences for themselves, their environment, and society as a whole;

4) possession of the skills to search for the relevant economic information in various sources, including the Internet; the ability to distinguish between facts, arguments, and value judgments; analyze, transform and use economic information to solve practical problems in educational activities and real-life;

5) the formation of project skills: the ability to develop and implement projects of an economic and interdisciplinary focus based on fundamental economic knowledge and values;

6) the ability to apply the acquired knowledge and formed skills for the adequate performance of the leading socio-economic roles (a consumer, manufacturer, buyer, seller, borrower, shareholder, employee, employer, taxpayer);

7) the ability for personal self-determination and self-realization in the economic activity, including the field of entrepreneurship; the knowledge of the characteristics of the modern labor market, the knowledge of the ethics of labor relations;

8) understanding the place and role of Russia in the modern world economy; the ability to navigate current economic events in Russia and the world" (Federal'nyj, 2012).

Compared with the basic, the advanced level focuses on the systematic nature of economic knowledge and the ability to argue the point of view. The fifth point of the requirements for an in-depth level of economic knowledge focuses on "the formation of the knowledge system on the institutional transformations of the Russian economy during

the transition to a market system, the dynamics of the main macroeconomic indicators and the current situation in the Russian economy" (Federal'nyj, 2012). Thus, the standard declares its focus on the formation of market thinking.

We have already noted that the standard requirements are overly ambitious and do not correlate well with the realities of public life in Russia (Linchenko & Golovashina & Anikin, 2020). We also noted that the standard's principles and requirements are concretized in the FIPM (Federal Institute for Pedagogical Measurements) documents, directly showing what students need to know to pass the exam successfully. The crucial role among them is played by the codifier of the content elements and requirements for graduates' training level (Universal'nyj kodifikator, 2020). However, with all the detailed elaboration of the codifier, it focuses only on the successful passing of the exam within the formal testing. It leaves the question of the ambitious goals that the standard states undefined. The very mechanism of how the learned units of knowledge should contribute to the formation of high life goals of the student remains unclear. In our case, it is a participant in the economic life.

A significant step forward was made several years ago, when on December 30, 2018, the Concept of Teaching the Subject "Social Science", which was prepared by the Russian Academy of Education, came into force (Konceptciya, 2018). The very idea of the concept is to make social science more practice-oriented, using the broad context of relevant information about modern Russian society. A separate task of the concept is associated with the formation of legal, economic, political literacy. In the block of economics, there are aspects related to the fight against corruption and capital and labor markets' functioning. The concept must focus on "behavioral specific economic situations, the ability to adequately assess their capabilities in the field of production and consumption, consciously approach the choice of a future profession" (Konceptciya, 2018). Remarkably, the concept introduced the requirements for understanding the characteristics and details of Russia's entrepreneurial activity and the critical role of the knowledge economy. The concept prioritizes financial literacy, a term that has become one of the most important in the public policy lexicon in Russia over the past two years (Konceptciya, 2018). However, despite the concretization of individual economic activity areas, the concept leaves unanswered some fundamental problems that significantly complicate the open conduct of business in Russia. These problems are associated with bureaucratization, oligarchic capitalism, a high level of corruption, the raw material nature of the economy, the problems of small business development in Russia, and the shadow nature of the existence of a migration society.

A study by the Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences revealed that among Russian citizens who noticed some deterioration in the social sphere, 61% noted the bureaucracy's activity as ineffective. An entrepreneur in such an environment is forced to resort to two means: diplomacy and bribery. It gives rise to corruption and the growth of problems with small business development in Russia (Byurokratiya i vlast' v novoj Rossii, 2019).

According to the official data of the General Prosecutor's Office of the Russian Federation, published on the website, "... every year more corruption crimes are registered, committed on a large or enormous scale, or causing considerable damage (in 2019 - 5 408, in 2018 - 5 365, in 2017 - 5,136). The number of revealed facts of receiving and giving bribes and mediation in bribery (in 2019 - 13 867, in 2018 - 12 527, in 2017 - 12 111) is growing. Damage from the acts of corruption in the past year amounted to about 55.1 billion rubles, which is 8.8% of the amount of damage caused by all types of crimes in the Russian Federation" (General'naya prokuratura RF, 2019). According to the International Anti-Corruption Movement Transparency International, Russia, according to the Corruption Perceptions Index Russia, in 2019 ranked first among European countries and took 137th place out of 180 (Rossiya v Indekse vospriyatiya korrupcii-2019, 2019).

The situation with entrepreneurship also remains controversial. As Deputy Alexander Avdeev noted at the plenary session of the State Duma, "For ten years we have not made one step closer to solving the problem of increasing the share of small and medium-sized businesses in the economy" (Falyahov, 2020), which directly indicates the continuing problematic trend in business development. A complex of problems associated with the harsh conditions of a competition (41.4%), a high tax burden (37.4%), insufficient credit sources and finance (35.2%), as well as administrative barriers, corruption and crime (19.7%) make it difficult to do business in the open. It directly negatively affects the sustainability of economic development throughout the country.

An essential indicator of the Russian economic situation is the dynamics of the real incomes of the population. In this case, even such an official source as Rosstat (Federal State Statistic Service) records the annual drop in income since 2007 (Federal'naya sluzhba gosudarstvennoj statistiki, 2020). The graph evidences this (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Dynamics of real incomes of the population of Russia 2000-2018 in %



The situation with the migration society, which Russia has been de facto since the early 2000s, is no less complicated. It is confirmed by all significant Russian researchers' studies of migration processes (V.I. Mukomel, A.V. Dmitriev, M. Mkrtchyan). Simultaneously, the migration factor is less noticeable in public life since the overwhelming majority of migrants work in trade and construction, usually have a difficult financial situation and legal status, and are not active participants in public life (Malakhov & Simon, 2018).

Thus, an analysis of the vital normative documents related to the teaching of social studies in Russia and some of the most noticeable problems of the modern Russian economy shows that, despite the efforts of the authorities and the public, the economic component of the social science course remains to a large extent theoretical and only in some issues applicable to realities of Russian economic life. However, how does such a contradiction between education goals and the realities of economic life manifest itself in the discourse of economic education itself at school? We tried to find this out based on the analysis of several of Russian most popular social science textbooks and the results of several studies of teachers in Russia and several studies with the results of interviewing teachers in Russia.

3 TURNING TO SOCIAL SCIENCE TEXTBOOKS: ISSUES OF REPRESENTATIVE SAMPLING AND METHODOLOGY

Russian schools for teaching social studies can use only those textbooks that are recommended by the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation. The list of the textbooks is federal and is posted on the official website (Federal'nyj perechen' uchebnikov, 2021). The presented list contains five lines of textbooks (covering the period of study from 6 to 11 grades) and 3 more separate textbooks for studying social studies in separate classes. The publishing house "Prosveshchenie" dominates among the publishing houses. The further positions are occupied by the publishing houses "Russkoe slovo" and "Drofa". The dominance of the publishing house "Prosveshchenie" in recent years has been due to the fact that the main shareholder of this company is Arkady Rotenberg, a businessman and a friend of Vladimir Putin. Despite the presence of a choice between the lines of textbooks, Russian schools are mainly guided by the line of textbooks edited by L.N. Bogolyubov, first published in the 1990s. This is indicated by the results of an all-Russian interviewing of teachers of social studies conducted in 2018 by the Higher School of Economics (Chernobaj & Tuchkova, 2019, 238). The second no less popular line of textbooks are the textbooks edited by A.I. Kravchenko and E.A. Pevtsova, which were massively purchased by Russian schools in the early 2000s. (Komarchuk, 2015, 124). The information about the most popular social science textbooks, identified in the 2015 and 2018 studies, has been clarified by us thanks to the official document on the procurement of school social science textbooks in 2019–2021, provided to the authors of the article by the Institute for the Development of Education in the Lipetsk Region (Table 1).

The presented document allows us to refine the parameters of the sample of the

textbooks for our analysis. In this case, the significant criteria are the total number of the textbooks currently available in regional schools in Russia, the presence of the textbook in the federal list of the recommended ones, as well as the coverage of the whole course of social studies by the textbook (grades 6-11). It is quite obvious that, first of all, our analysis should be directed to the line of the textbooks edited by L.N. Bogolyubov, which meets all three criteria. The second line of the textbooks for us is a group of textbooks edited by A.I. Kravchenko, which also meets all three criteria, although in recent years its purchases have been reduced. The third line of textbooks are social science textbooks for grades 6-11 of the publishing house "Russkoe Slovo", published since 2019 by the authors' team of M.V. Kudina, M.V. Rybakova, G.V. Pushkareva, I.V. Churzina (under the editorship of Nikonov V.A.). We will focus our attention on these three lines of textbooks. The line of textbooks edited by O.A. Kotova and T.E. Liskova, which is a reference manual for preparing for the exam in social studies in grades 9 and 11, as well as those textbooks that are currently not recommended by the Ministry of Education are beyond our analysis.

Table 1. Information on the procurement of new social studies textbooks for schools in Lipetsk region in 2021

Class	Authors	Publishing House	No. In Federal list	Amount		
				2021	2020	2019
6	Bogolyubov L.N., Vinogradova N.F., Gorodetskaya N.I.	Prosveshchenie	1.1.2.3.3.1.1.	1561	902	625
6	Kotova O.A., Liskova T.E.	Prosveshchenie	1.1.2.3.3.2.1.	449	137	366
6	Kravchenko A.I., Agafonov S.V.	Prosveshchenie	1.1.2.3.3.4.1.	30	0	0
6	Petrudin Yu.Yu., Logunova L.B., Rybakova M.V. (under the editorship of Nikonov V.A.)	Russkoe slovo	1.1.2.3.3.3.1.	185	0	21
7	Bogolyubov L.N., Ivanova L.F., Gorodetskaya N.I.	Prosveshchenie	1.1.2.3.3.1.2.	889	862	461
7	Kovler A.I., Soboleva O.B., Chaika V.N., Nasonova I.P.	Ventana-Graf	1.2.3.3.5.2	0	5	0
7	Kotova O.A., Liskova T.E.	Prosveshchenie	1.1.2.3.3.2.2.	170	490	0

7	Kravchenko A.I., Pevtsova E.A., Agafonov S.V.	Prosveshchenie	1.1.2.3.3.4.2.	125	0	0
7	Pushkareva G.V., Sudas L.G. (under the editorship of Nikonov V.A.)	Russkoe slovo	1.1.2.3.3.3.2.	130	0	25
7	Soboleva O.B., Korsun R.P.	Ventana-Graf	-	0	0	4
8	Bogolyubov L.N., Lazebnikova A.Yu., Gorodetskaya N.I.	Prosveshchenie	1.1.2.3.3.1.3.	724	589	677
8	Kotova O.A., Liskova T.E.	Prosveshchenie	1.1.2.3.3.2.3.	562	0	92
8	Kravchenko A.I., Khashulatonov R.I., Agafonov S.V.	Prosveshchenie	1.1.2.3.3.4.3.	95	30	0
8	Nikitin A.F., Nikitina T.I.	Drofa	-	0	0	10
9	Bogolyubov L.N., Lazebnikova A.Yu., Matveev A.I.	Prosveshchenie	1.1.2.3.3.1.4.	541	937	5781
9	Kotova O.A., Liskova T.E.	Prosveshchenie	1.1.2.3.3.2.4.	212	0	243
9	Kravchenko A.I., Pevtsova E.A., Agafonov S.V.	Prosveshchenie	1.1.2.3.3.4.4.	90	24	0
9	Gaman-Golutvina O.V., Korsun R.P., Soboleva O.B.	Ventana-Graf	1.2.3.3.5.4.	0	15	0
9	Nasonova I.P.	Ventana-Graf	-	0	0	62
9	Nikitin A.F., Nikitina T.I.	Drofa	-	0	0	174
9	Kudina M.V., Churzina I.V.	Russkoe slovo	1.1.2.3.3.3.4	179	60	40
10	Bogolyubov L.N., Lazebnikova A.Yu., Matveev A.I.	Prosveshchenie	1.1.3.3.5.1.1.	433	596	708
10	Grinberg R.S., Koroleva G.E., Soboleva O.B., Tsyplakova O.G.	Prosveshchenie	1.1.3.3.5.5.1.	20	15	0
10	Kotova O.A., Liskova T.E.	Prosveshchenie	1.1.3.3.5.2.1.	149	51	227

10	Nikitin A.F., Gribanova G.I., Skorobogatko A.V., Mayutyanov D.S.	Drofa	1.3.3.9.4.1.	0	0	66
10	Kudina M.V., Rybakova M.V., Pushkareva G.V.	Russkoe slovo	1.1.2.3.3.3.4	135	115	312
11	Bogolyubov L.N., Gorodetskaya N.I., Lazebnikova A.Yu.	Prosveshchenie	1.1.3.3.5.1.2.	553	830	1857
11	Gaman-Golutvina O.V., Kovler A.I., Ponomareva E.G.	Prosveshchenie	1.1.3.3.5.5.2.	34	0	0
11	Nikitin A.F., Gribanova G.I., Martyanov D.S.	Drofa	1.3.3.9.4.2.	0	0	55
11	Kravchenko A.I., Khasbulatov R.I., Agafonov S.V.	Drofa	1.3.3.9.7.2.	0	10	0
11	Kotova O.A., Liskova T.E.	Prosveshchenie	1.1.3.3.5.2.2.	116	75	235

We considered the educational texts themselves and the didactic apparatus, the use of visual and symbolic tools, and rhetorical strategies for presenting educational material. This focus of the research made it inevitable to turn to the methodology of the critical discourse analysis. In our article, we used Siegfried Jäger's methodology of the critical discourse analysis (Jäger, 2001), which focuses on the origin and transformation of legitimate knowledge, the functions of knowledge in the processes of constituting the subject and society (Jäger, 2001, 32). Jäger defines knowledge as "all kinds of contents which make up a consciousness and/or all kinds of meanings used by respective historical persons to interpret and shape the surrounding reality" (Jäger, 2001, 33). In defining the discourse concept, Jäger follows Jürgen Link, who sees it as "an institutionally consolidated concept of speech since it determines and consolidates action and thus already exercises power" (Link, 1983, 60). Siegfried Jäger's model is well-known and has already been repeatedly applied to the analysis of printed publications. Its stages are a general review of the publication and the selection of specific fragments of discourse, the study of the context (visual elements, the structure of the presentation, the topics covered), the fixation of rhetorical techniques (the form of argumentation, symbols, tropes), the isolation of the ideological component and the general intention of the text. The result is an in-depth analysis of the specific discourse fragments and the discovery of a discourse strand. The discourse strand is an analytical construct that Jäger defines as the sum of text fragments (discourse fragments) on one topic (Jäger, 2001, 47). In our case, we used the Siegfried Jäger model to analyze all three lines of textbooks, which made it possible not only to

identify the features of discourse strategies and ideological influences but also to compare the textbooks with each other.

The course of economics in the Russian school covers several topics: a general idea of the economy and its place in society, the concept of economic growth, the concept and types of economic systems, the essence and mechanism of the market, the relationship between the economy and the state, factors of production, property, money, firm economics, entrepreneurship, legal foundations of business, trade, taxes, banking system, family economics, the world economy, and international trade. All these topics in textbooks are necessary since these topics are indicated in the federal standard. However, within a small article framework, the discourse analysis of all the designated topics is not possible. Moreover, it is essential to understand that we are dealing with one of the forms of post-communism. That is why we have concentrated on the most "sensitive" topics for the Russian case: a general understanding of the economy, types of economic systems, the role of the state in the economy.

It's no exaggeration to notice, that until now Russian social science textbooks continue to reproduce Soviet language practices, the language of historical materialism. They also continue to use the individual elements systems theory of society by Talcott Parsons. Even though such solely "socialist" concepts as "collective farm," "state farm," "labor cooperation," "socialist competition," "over-plan" have entirely disappeared from the textbooks, individual concepts or phrases continue to be reproduced even in the most modern textbooks. This reproduction of Soviet linguistic practices is manifested, among other things, in the preservation of such terms as "class" (Bogolyubov & Gorodeckaya & Ivanova, 2014, 105), "the anger of the revolutionary crowd" (Kravchenko & Pevcova, 2011, 10), "forced concession leaders to the masses" (Kravchenko & Pevcova, 2011, 44), "industrial relations" (Bogolyubov & Gorodeckaya & Ivanova, 2014, 110). The term "industrial relations" (Produktionsverhältnisse), along with the terms "productive forces" (Produktivkräfte), "means of production" (Produktionsmittel), is one of the key terms of K. Marx's political economy. In this case, it is important that, as in Soviet times, fundamental economic relations in the textbooks edited by L.N. Bogolyubov are described only through the Marxist economic model. The interpretation of a person as a participant in economic relations can also be considered a reference to the Soviet narrative in the recently published textbook edited by M.V. Kudina. Linking self-realization, material well-being, and personal growth, it is noted that "by acquiring certain skills of professional activity, a person grows as a spiritual person, striving for self-improvement in all areas of life" (Кудина & Рыбакова & Пушкарева, 2019, 191). An even bigger problem in all the textbooks we have analyzed is using a simplified version of Parson's theory of society. The consequence of this is such constructions as four spheres of social life (Bogolyubov & Gorodeckaya & Ivanova, 2014, 22), as well as extremely rigid classifications of society both in the textbook edited by L.N. Bogolyubov (Bogolyubov & Gorodeckaya & Ivanova, 2013, 9) and in the textbook edited by Kravchenko (Kravchenko & Pevcova, 2013, 11), the systemic structure of society (Bogolyubov & Lazebnikova & Smirnova, 2017, 100-101),

multiple allocations of functions of almost all studied phenomena and processes. In this case, the problem rests not so much on the textbooks as on the formulation of the federal standard itself, which is also focused on the systems theory of Parsons and does not contain a single reference to more relevant theories (system theory N. Luhmann, sociology P. Bourdieu, the theory of social imaginary C. Castoriadis, actor-network approach B. Latour, J. Law).

4 DEMOCRATIC LEGACY OF THE 1990s: DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE EDITED BY L.N. BOGOLYUBOV AND A.I. KRAVCHENKO

The textbooks edited by L.N. Bogolyubov and A.I. Kravchenko used in most Russian schools have some significant similarities, which are associated with their common ideological position - a neutral (textbooks by L.N. Bogolyubov) or a critical (textbooks by A.I. Kravchenko) approach to interpreting the dominant role of the state in the economy, paying attention to the fundamental macroeconomic problems of the Russian economy, a critical attitude to the Soviet experience and the planned economy in general, an appeal to democratic values. That is why we present here the results of the discourse analysis of both textbooks. Until now, the line of textbooks edited by L.N. Bogolyubov is more popular. In earlier versions of the textbook, the author gave the following definition of economics: "economics as a science studies the use of limited resources of the society to produce material goods in the face of constantly growing needs of people" (Bogolyubov, 2008, 138). It means that the primary purpose of economics is to help manufacturers produce as much "material goods" as possible. This definition, which refers to the historical materialism of the Soviet era, is not correct since it reduces the problem of the relative scarcity of resources exceptionally to the sphere of production. It is curious that in later versions of the textbook, this definition was transformed into "economics is the science of the economy, how it is run and managed, the relationship between economic entities (entrepreneurs, businesses, banks) through the production, exchange, distribution and consumption of necessary life benefits and services" (Bogolyubova & Lazebnikova & Litvinov, 2014, 16).

The topic "Economics: Science and Economy" is disclosed in the textbook in the context of two definitions of economics (as science and as economic practice), the definition of macroeconomics, microeconomics, measures of economic activity (production, distribution, exchange, and consumption), the concept and types of economic benefits, absolute and relative economic values, GDP, GNP. The paragraph ends with a short text by one of the Perestroika era's ideological inspirers, academician Leonid Abalkin, dedicated to the topic of mutual complementarity of the state and the market. Unlike the textbook by L.N. Bogolyubov, the topic "What is economics?" in the textbook edited by A.I. Kravchenko appears only in grade 8 and looks less meaningful (Kravchenko, 2010). The textbook also considers economics as a science and an economy, defines resources and

their types, and offers students information about the economy's structure. The textbook defines the production, shows the industries and types of enterprises. The definition of needs is given, too. Significantly, both textbooks do not mention the history of economic thought and its leading schools.

An essential part of Siegfried Jäger's critical discourse analysis is a context analysis, which involves referring to graphic performance, the structure of transmitted meanings, fragments of discourse that are not directly related to the text material. Moreover, here we find the complete absence of illustrations in the textbook by L.N. Bogolyubov, while in the textbook A.I. Kravchenko, we find a diagram of the structure of the economy and a humorous picture about money and household appliances. The structure of the transmitted values unfolds from the general (the concept of economy) to the particular (the sphere of economy, the structure of economy), from the concept of economic activity to indicators. More interesting in this regard are fragments of discourse and topics that textbooks do not deal directly with. Suppose the textbook A.I. Kravchenko does not even refer to the examples that concretize theoretical positions. In that case, the textbook by L.N. Bogolyubova ends the paragraph with a large fragment of text devoted to the criticism of the Russian authorities' economic policy in the 1990s. Using the example of real and nominal GDP, the author shows a magnitude of the decline in the Russian economy in the 1990s and during the crisis year of 2009. Separately, it is explained that the main reason for the crisis in the Russian economy is its raw material nature (Bogolyubova & Lazebnikova & Litvinov, 2014, 21).

Another essential element of Siegfried Jäger's approach is the analysis of rhetorical techniques. A comparative analysis of the two textbooks revealed several differences. If A.I. Kravchenko's argumentation strategy in the textbook resembles a terminological dictionary with abstract theoretical arguments, the textbook by L.N. Bogolyubov was more polemical. It is characteristic that each paragraph of the textbook began with problematic questions designed to interest students. However, the most polemical textbook was associated with the desire to use Russian reforms' negative experience in the 1990s. The textbook is also focused on a critical interpretation of the Russian economy's state in the 2000s. In this regard, the use of the very figure of Academician of the USSR Academy of Sciences Leonid Abalkin is very symbolic since it reflects the values of liberal economy and democratic dialogue.

The results of the thematic review of the next topic of interest to us, "Economic Systems," revealed several similarities and some differences in the content, contextual and rhetorical nature. In both textbooks, this topic is disclosed in the context of the analysis of the market economy ("Market relations in the economy," "Market society"). The main topics covered in both textbooks included the market's definition, positive and negative aspects, the mechanism of supply and demand balance, the concept of competition, and its types. However, the textbook by L.N. Bogolyubov, too, turned out to be more completed since it included the detailed market structure, a block of information about modern monopolies, and the difficulties of developing a market system in Russia. The paragraph

of the textbook ends with an excerpt from *The Road to Serfdom* by the prominent Austrian scholar Friedrich August von Hayek, introducing readers to the benefits of the market and its implications for economic innovation in the long term.

The contextual analysis of this topic in textbooks revealed weak illustration and the presence of schemes. In this case, of particular interest are the illustrations in the textbook by A.I. Kravchenko, executed in the humorous tone of anti-militarism. Moreover, in the textbook, A.I. Kravchenko's material is not divided into subheadings whereas in the textbook by L.N. Bogolyubov the blocks of information have subheadings in the form of questions. Overall, the structure of the transmitted meanings unfolds from the general (the concept of the market and market economy) to the particular (market laws, market structures) and is explained through the concepts of demand, supply, and competition. It is much more interesting to turn to fragments of discourse and topics that are not disclosed directly. Here, both textbooks, despite their interpretation's specifics, complement each other in their criticism of the socialist economy and the planned economy. They are also highly critical of the current state of the Russian economy. For example, in the textbook by L.N. Bogolyubov, the difficulties of Russia's transitional economy are examined in detail, the issues of getting rid of corruption and criminal pressure in business are discussed. The paragraph ends with a text fragment indicating the prospects of a socially-oriented market economy. It is emphasized that "Russia's national task is to overcome poverty. The middle class should make up at least half of Russia's inhabitants, ensuring the stability and vitality of society" (Bogolyubova & Lazebnikova & Litvinov, 2014, 42). Although this thought sounds like a slogan, it summarizes the paragraph and allows students to analyze the text of Friedrich August von Hayek. As for the criticism in the textbook by A.I. Kravchenko, concluding the paragraph, he also uses the example of Henry Ford and the American economy to show the middle class's role in the formation of the American economy. Further, an essential thought for us is summarized: "The capitalist economy has accomplished what the socialist economy could not provide: the growth of needs and the growth of production at the same time, and not at the expense of each other. It turned out that you can be very wasteful and, at the same time, very productive. You can spend a lot and get even more. The vicious circle of the economy of limited resources was broken" (Kravchenko, 2005, 72).

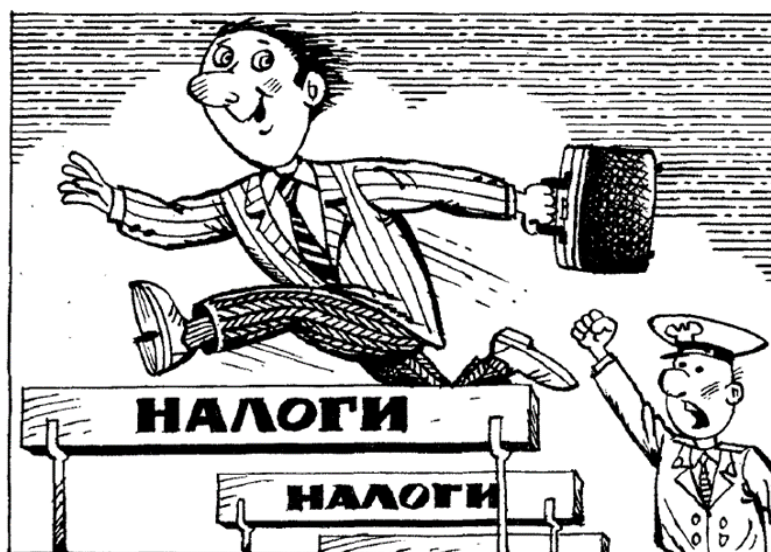
The analysis of the use of rhetorical means also allows us to discuss some differences. The textbook by L.N. Bogolyubov demonstrates the text as a set of definitions replacing each other without arguing the position. The textbook by A.I. Kravchenko focuses on the cause-and-effect relationship and the sequence of the blocks of the information offered to the student. In substantiating the advantages of a market society, economic laws are used, and their economic activity growth consequences are shown. Simultaneously, playing in the systematic description and content, the textbook by A.I. Kravchenko wins in the collective symbolism. First, we are talking about a series of funny pictures that clearly show that an increase in military spending leads to a decrease in bread and sausage. Secondly, the questions at the end of the paragraph are quite critical concerning the

experience of the Soviet economy. Students are invited to analyze why, with one of the highest employment levels in the world in the late 1980s, the Soviet economy was one of the least efficient. The textbook also raises important questions about whether unemployment can be at a high level of employment and how harmful to the birth rate was the active involvement of women in production in the USSR in the 1980s (Kravchenko, 2005, 72). Simultaneously, the textbook by A.I. Kravchenko, in contrast to the textbook by L.N. Bogolyubov, does not seek to use the opinions of the famous scientists and references to the scientific research.

We find the greatest number of critical interpretations of the Soviet experience and the modern Russian state in the topic "The role of the state in the economy," which in the textbook by L.N. Bogolyubov is revealed in the 11th grade, and in the textbook by A.I. Kravchenko in 8th and 10th grades. At first glance, both textbooks talk about similar topics: economic functions of the state, direct and indirect instruments of the state regulation of the economy, monetary policy, fiscal policy, types of taxes, the state budget, and public debt. All of these topics are mandatory in terms of the state standard. Textbooks differ only in examples. Suppose the textbook by L.N. Bogolyubov focuses on the problem of how much the market needs government assistance. In that case, the textbook by A.I. Kravchenko critically shows the uniqueness of the tax policy in Russia. It analyzes several historical stories dedicated to the topic "Taxes and Uprisings" and the strategic mistakes of the Russian authorities' tax policy in the 1990s. Curiously, the textbook by L.N. Bogolyubov avoids the drawbacks of the market mechanism, while the textbook by A.I. Kravchenko, either in the 8th or in the 10th grade, ignores the topic of the limits of the state in the economy. The contextual analysis of the textbooks on this topic also did not reveal significant differences. The textbooks use schemes of the economic systems and the role of the state in them, the functions of taxes (A.I. Kravchenko), directions of state regulation of the economy (L.N. Bogolyubov). The most interesting, as in the previous topics, are the fragments of discourse, which are intended to illustrate theoretical positions in the textbooks. Suppose a more neutral textbook by L.N. Bogolyubov, at the end of the paragraph, seeks to show that the state only indirectly has the right to influence market relations. In that case, the textbook by A.I. Kravchenko surprises us with a whole series of fragments that, on the one hand, turn out to be examples for the theoretical provisions of the paragraph, and on the other hand, raise some questions that are not directly related to the paragraph. In particular, in the textbook for the 8th grade, we find a semantic intention associated with the criticism of the existing taxation system in Russia and information about the history of popular uprisings as a reaction to tax increases. The textbook notes that "over 40 different types of taxes are applied in Russia. Practice shows: the more taxes in a country, the worse they are paid. The following formula can express the Russian specificity of taxation: the more sophisticated the government is in coming up with the types of taxes and methods of their withdrawal, the more skillful the population and business become in inventing ways to circumvent the law" (Kravchenko, 2010, 93)¹. A picture of a man running away from the tax inspector and jumping over numerous tax

signs awaits us (Figure 2).

Figure 2. A picture serving as an illustration of the situation with many taxes in Russia and the reluctance of entrepreneurs to pay them (Kravchenko, 2010, 93)



On the page below, we find a detailed description of the three uprisings (the Salt Riot in Moscow in 1648, the unsuccessful tax of Cardinal Mazarin and the Paris uprising of 1648, and the North's unrest in America due to British taxes in 1766). The paragraph ends with a description of the positive qualities of the American tax system. This criticism is in the textbook for grade 10, where we find the following statement: "Today's Russians, consumers and producers, pay up to 40 types of taxes - more than in other countries. Some are so inexplicable that they could confuse any inhabitant of Ancient Rome, who was the record holder for the number of taxes" (Kravchenko, 2005, 117)². The textbook discusses public debt issues, which are illustrated by the examples of state bankruptcies in 16th century Spain and 18th century France. The next block of information already shows the ineffectiveness of the tax policy of the Russian Empire. The paragraph ends with a series of statements urging people not to be afraid of internal and external public debt. It is shown that Russia is a debtor like Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, Venezuela, Nigeria, and at the same time, a creditor for several Third World countries. The textbook is optimistic in its assessments, emphasizing: "It is strategically more profitable for the West to have a rich and democratic Russia than a poor and aggressive one" (Kravchenko, 2005, 120). As in the previous topics, the textbooks became quite similar in the use of argumentation strategies when it came to theoretical positions. Defending the idea of the priority of indirect methods of the state influence on the market, the textbook by L.N. Bogolyubov, through the practical tasks at the end of the paragraph, seeks to show young readers their important status as taxpayers. The textbook also uses a fragment of the article by the Russian economist A.N. Porokhovskiy, who talks about the complexities of the Russian market model and the important role of the state (Bogolyubova & Lazebnikova & Litvinov, 2014, 89). In turn, the critical argumentation of the tax policy in the modern Russian state in the textbook of A.I. Kravchenko finds its culmination in two practical tasks, which show

the tax measures' senselessness of the Russian government in 1992. Moreover, the shortcomings of Russia's tax policy compared with the tax policy of Genghis Khan, who, according to the author of the textbook, took no more than 10% of the tribute from the conquered peoples (Kravchenko, 2005, 121).

5 TOWARDS THE FUTURE? DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE NEW RUSSIAN TEXTBOOKS

Unlike the textbooks analyzed above, the series of the textbooks edited by M.V. Kudina, M.V. Rybakova, G.V. Pushkareva, I.V. Churzina, published by the "Russkoe Slovo" publishing house, impresses not only with the expansion of practical situations of everyday economic life but also with an abundance of colourful illustrations, diagrams, graphs, and portraits of outstanding personalities of the past. This tutorial represents a significant step forward. The topics of interest to us are touched upon in the tutorial twice. For the first time it is in the 9th grade textbook and the second time - in the 11th grade textbook. Unlike the textbook by L.N. Bogolyubov, another definition of the economy is given, which relates to material and non-material benefits and needs. It is noted that "the economy is a system of management, the sphere of practical activity of people to meet the material and intangible needs of man and society, as well as a science that studies the laws of this sphere of activity" (Kudina & Churzina, 2019, 9). In grade 9, the acquaintance with the concept of economics is consistently revealed through a description of its involvement in everyday life, material, and intangible benefits, the main participants in economic activity (producer, consumer, entrepreneur, employee). Next, students get acquainted with a brief history of economic doctrines: mercantilists, physiocrats, Keynesians, neoclassicists. This is followed by a block of information on the economy's role in modern society, where nothing is said about modern society. Instead, students learn about the relationship between economic production and spiritual self-improvement of a person (Kudina & Churzina, 2019, 13). In the 11th grade textbook, the authors again return to the leading schools of economic theory, but a significant place is already given to micro and macroeconomics and the most significant Soviet and Russian scientists-economists. A separate word is devoted to the theory of economic cycles by N.D. Kondratyev. However, the fact that the classic Soviet economist was shot by the NKVD in 1938 is not reported. The paragraph ends with a description of the role of the economy in modern society, where, instead of describing modern economic processes, they tell us in detail about a person as a participant in economic relations and his leading roles, which again are reduced only to the owner, consumer, employee, representative of the household (Kudina & Rybakova & Pushkareva, 2019, 191). An essential problem in considering this topic is that in both 9 and 11 grades, students simply receive factual knowledge about the leading schools of the economic theory of the past without understanding their evolution and without describing their relevance in the modern world.

The contextual analysis of the topic "What is economics?" revealed a high level of use

of illustrations, diagrams, and drawings. Moreover, if in the 9th-grade textbook illustrations indicate the historical aspects of economic activity, then in the 11th-grade textbook, students see mainly portraits of the most important representatives of the past and present economic teachings. A whole page of this section is devoted to the contribution of the Soviet scientists. At the moment, it is worth paying special attention, since, in the other sections of the textbook, there are numerous references to the great significance of the Soviet era. The structure of the transmitted meanings unfolds from the general (the concept of economics) to the particular (economic theory), which is not objectionable. Only the final part turns out to be contradictory, where, instead of analyzing the modern economy, we find abstract reasoning about a person and his needs, the satisfaction of which is being involved in the process of economic activity.

The topic "Economic systems" is consistently presented only in the 9th grade. In the 9th grade, students get to know the concept of an economic system, its types (traditional, command, market, mixed), and separate Japanese, American, Swedish, and Chinese versions of the mixed economy (Kudina & Churzina, 2019, 86). The textbook ignores the shortcomings of each system, although students are invited to highlight independently the positive and negative aspects of the phenomena being studied in the block of questions. A separate paragraph on the market system and the modern Russian economy is adjacent to this topic. It consistently reveals the concept of the market, the specifics of the market mechanism, the principles of pricing and competition, subjects of economic activity, the concepts of "demand," "supply," and "equilibrium price." Although students learn about a competition as the most crucial market mechanism, the textbook does not say a word about an unfair competition. It is followed by a block of information dedicated to the Russian economy at the present stage, which tells us about the formation of the market economy in Russia, import substitution, the success and level of the Russian economy in 2017-2019. At the same time, the textbook does not say a word about the economic difficulties of the 1990s and their causes and the crisis of the Russian economy after 2014. This topic is continued in the 11th-grade textbook, where the main stages of the Russian economy's development are revealed to the students. It is characteristic that only two proposals are devoted to the crisis of the 1990s (Kudina & Rybakova & Pushkareva, 2019, 364). Further, the main text of the paragraph is associated with the 2000s and a description of the Russian economy's general recovery. Without explaining the reasons for the 2014-2015 crisis, the figures for recovering the country's economic development are named. The following two pages describe Russia's macroeconomic development's leading indicators in the period of 2015-2017. Next we see a part of the paragraph (3 pages) devoted to the positive prospects for Russia's economic development in the era of the fourth industrial revolution. Students learn about the country's development priorities and the political leadership's economic plans until 2024. The paragraph talks a lot about digitalization and the state's stake in the development of human capital. However, unlike other paragraphs, the main focus is on the long-term plans of the Russian Government.

The analysis of the context of the topics devoted to economic systems and the specifics

of Russia's market economy revealed some illustrations, diagrams, and tables. Simultaneously, the most considerable illustrative material was presented in the text related to the centralized economy. For this, the authors of the textbook used several Soviet posters of the late 40s of the last century, calling for the restoration and recreation of the Motherland. The material on the mixed economy and the comparison of national models of the mixed economy is presented in the table. The graphic design and illustrative series change significantly in the transition to the study of Russia's modern economy. In the textbooks for grades 9 and 11, we see many figures in the tables or diagrams showing the data on the Russian economy's positive development.

One of the central themes in the economic block is the theme "The role of the state in the economy," which the authors of the textbook turn to in grades 9 and 11. In the 9th grade, students learn about the concept of "the state regulation of the economy," the possibilities and boundaries of the market regulation of the economy, economic goals, and functions of the state, social policy of the state. However, among these topics, we unexpectedly find a large block of information dedicated to Russia's military-industrial complex, the development of which the authors associate with the hope of restoring Russia's economic might in the world. At the same time, in terms of the text's volume, this block turns out to be equal to the block devoted to the social policy of the state, located at the end of the paragraph. The paragraph gives the positive and negative aspects of market regulation in detail, but not a word is said about the limits and negative side of the state's influence on the economy. The 11th-grade textbook expands the knowledge gained by students on this topic. Here we see a block dedicated to the state's role in the economy from the point of view of the legislative functions. The whole page on the current governmental programs in Russia aimed at innovation and modernization stands out here. It is followed by an extensive section on the public sector in the economy, where students learn about the concept of public goods, their types, features, the concept of "state interest," and the state's role in ensuring public supply goods. The paragraph ends with a block of information on public-private partnerships. However, even in grade 11, students are not informed about the boundaries of the state's influence on the economy. It is characteristic that in the block of questions after the paragraph, the boundaries of the state's capabilities in the economy are not revealed. We also do not find any information on the social responsibility of business in the textbook.

Like other textbook topics, the topic "The Role of the State in the Economy" contains several schemes and illustrations, the use of which turned out to be very appropriate in this context. We are talking about a scheme dedicated to the "invisible hand of the market", schemes of tasks of the state's economic policy and its essential roles in the economy (grade 9), a diagram of the directions of government programs in Russia, a series of photographs of social objects representing public goods (grade 11). The structure of the transmitted meanings unfolds from the general (the concept of the state's role in the economy) to the particular (specific tasks, functions of the state, and directions of the policy of supporting the public sector). The textbook contains several topics that are not

covered directly but are an essential part of the general text. In the textbook for grade 9, in the section of questions, we find a detailed listing of the main directions of the economic policy of the Government of the Russian Federation until 2024, which students need to correlate with the state's abstract economic goals. Curiously, the first goal is declared "to create new high-tech enterprises (start-ups)" (Kudina & Churzina, 2019, 143), where the concept of "start-up" is just used with a significant narrowing of the meaning of the English prototype. Another topic is creating a positive image of the military-industrial complex of Russia as the most important foundation of the national economy. The presentation of this topic is a bit controversial. Thus, the students are told that "the state undertakes the solution of problems that the market mechanism cannot provide, for example, ensuring national security. Today, the military-industrial complex plays a special role in the country's economy and in ensuring national security" (Kudina & Churzina, 138)³. At the same time, a few paragraphs further, the textbook clarifies the main goal of the military-industrial complex: "the creation and production of modern competitive weapons, military, and special equipment, ensuring the rearmament of the Armed Forces, other troops and formations of Russia and strengthening positions in the world arms market" (Kudina & Churzina, 2019, 138)⁴. It turns out that the production of weapons is one of the most important tasks of the national economy of Russia. A few pages further, military equipment is generally referred to as "socially significant goods" by the authors (Kudina & Churzina, 2019, 141). We observe a similar situation in the textbook for grade 11, where internal and external security occupies an essential place among public goods, to which a whole page of the text is devoted (Kudina & Rybakova & Pushkareva, 2019, 223).

Turning to the authors' rhetorical means, we see a single strategy that is characteristic of both the 9th-grade textbook and the 11th grade textbook about all topics of interest to us. The textbook does not so much problematize the material being studied as it is a simple story, some fragments of which sound like slogans. The most important source of argumentation is an appeal to the facts of the history of the economy or the history of Russia. It is characteristic that the Soviet historical experience of economic development has never been interpreted negatively. On the contrary, the block of the 11th grade devoted to the concept of economics, pointing the inconsistency of all economic systems, makes a paradoxical conclusion: "Many scientists believe that humanity has achieved the greatest success precisely in economic systems with a predominance of a planned economy, for example, in China, Singapore, The Soviet Union and other countries" (Kudina & Rybakova & Pushkareva, 2019, 188)⁵. This trend is repeated in other paragraphs. In the paragraph on economic systems, students learn most of the information about the planned economy. The description of this block does not contain any negative interpretation. The argumentation is based on the use of Soviet posters of the 1940s (Figure 3), which positively depicts the image of the restored country, as well as some statements by prominent military leaders of Soviet history (G.K. Zhukov, D.F. Ustinov), pointing to the progressive nature of the Soviet economy, which defeated fascism (Kudina & Churzina, 2019, 83-84).

Figure 3. Illustrative material for the block of information devoted to the command-administrative economy (Kudina & Churzina, 2019, 84)

1. Какой тип хозяйствования существует в условиях традиционной экономики? 2. Какая отрасль хозяйства является её базой?

Централизованная экономика

Централизованная (командная, плановая) экономика — система, в которой преобладает общественная (государственная) собственность на средства производства, коллективное принятие решений, централизованное руководство экономикой с помощью государственного планирования.

Примерами такого типа экономических систем можно считать экономику Советского Союза и бывших социалистических стран Восточной Европы.

Мысли великих людей

Наша промышленность в труднейших условиях вооружённой борьбы с сильным врагом, который нанёс нам такой огромный материальный ущерб, сумела за годы войны произвести почти вдвое больше современной боевой техники, чем гитлеровская Германия, опиравшаяся на военный потенциал Европы.

Георгий Константинович Жуков (1896—1974) — советский полководец, Маршал Советского Союза, четырежды Герой Советского Союза, кавалер двух орденов «Победа»

1  2 

Плакаты. «Пятилетку в четыре года — выполним!». 1948 г. (1) и «Ясен план. Скорей за дело! Строить Родина велела». 1946 г. (2) Художник В.С. Иванов

Как советские плакаты отражают особенности централизованной экономики?

The reasoning for the appropriateness of the market system is based on the concepts of "freedom," "responsibility," "competition." However, passing to the mixed economy description, we find the authors' statement that "the market system in its pure form has never existed" (Kudina & Churzina, 2019, 85).

The use of numbers in the argumentative strategy of the topic "The role of the state in the economy" looks even more impressive. In the 9th grade textbook, right after describing the opposing sides of the market, we find a lot of materials about Russia's military-industrial complex based on the national economy. It is noteworthy that the textbook tells us the figures for the intensive growth of arms production (an increase in the rate of military development by 15 times since 2013), and these are the only figures that we find in the entire paragraph. Against the background of these figures, materials on the state's role in the economy and on the social policy of the state, where the use of figures would be no less important, look quite abstract (Kudina & Churzina, 2019, 138).

In contrast to the 9th-grade textbook, the 11th-grade textbook mostly appeals to vivid images and vivid examples, testifying to the state's priority in developing public goods. The main text on public goods is supported by a series of illustrations showing the improvement in the material condition of some public goods in Russia (photographs of parks, schools, buses, libraries). An entire page of the textbook is devoted to the illustrated

description of the modernization of the M 4 "Don" highway (Figure 4), which caused numerous car accidents in the past (Kudina & Rybakova & Pushkareva, 2019, 224).

Figure 4. An illustrated description of the modernization of the M 4 "Don" highway (Kudina & Rybakova & Pushkareva, 2019, 224)

требляются группами людей со схожими интересами, например собаководами, любителями чтения, автолюбителями, проживающими на одной территории, и т.д. К ним относят общественные библиотеки или бесплатные (или частично оплачиваемые) парковки для автомобилей.

Роль государства в обеспечении предложения общественных благ

Общественные блага может предоставлять не только государство. В XVII в. в Англии осуществлялось строительство маяков частными лицами ради своей выгоды, в то время как существовала специальная государственная служба, созданная в том числе для постройки маяков.



Это интересно



Участок трассы М-11 (1) и пункт оплаты (2)

Построена Федеральная автомобильная трасса М-4 «Дон» по маршруту Москва – Воронеж – Ростов-на-Дону – Краснодар – Новороссийск. Протяжённость автодороги составляет около 1540 км. В ближайшее время планируется ввод в эксплуатацию скоростной федеральной автомобильной дороги Москва – Санкт-Петербург (М-11). Общая протяжённость автомобильной дороги Москва – Санкт-Петербург составит около 700 км. Это одна из первых крупных автодорог России, проезд по которой на отдельных участках будет платным. Государство обеспечивает 75% финансирования строительства этой автотрассы, а также предоставляет проектно-сметную документацию и осуществляет подготовку территории.



К какой группе общественных благ относится автотрасса? Какую роль в создании этого блага играет государство?

Another form of argumentation used in each topic of this line of textbooks presents aphorisms and statements of famous politicians, economists, and public figures. So, within the framework of the topic "What is economics?" and in the 9th and 11th grade, the authors use Karl Marx's statements. The text of the paragraph ends with a proposal to analyze Vladimir Putin's statement (Kudina & Rybakova & Pushkareva, 2019, 193). In itself, the use of the quotes of current politicians in textbooks does not raise questions. However, concerning this textbook, a tendency was revealed to use many quotes of the current

Russian president. It is significant that in addition to Karl Marx (2 quotes), quotes of other political and cultural figures of the past economists are encountered no more than once. Simultaneously, in the 9th-grade textbook, we found four quotes of Vladimir Putin and five quotes in the 11th-grade textbook. It is also indicative that the quotes except one in both textbooks were located in the sections devoted to various aspects of the economy and were related not so much to the topic under study but the president's emotional statements in the mainstream of a patriotic orientation. For example, in a quote of Vladimir Putin in a 9th-grade student, his reasoning about Russia's ability to lead the world economy is supported by references to the USSR's atomic and space projects (Kudina & Churzina, 2019, 91). The paragraph of the 11th grade textbook on the Russian economy's topic ends in the same way. The paragraph's argument, built as a detailed description of the success of the Russian economy in 2022-2024, sums up a grand statement by President Vladimir Putin, who demonstrates a high conviction of Russia's success in the 21st century (Kudina & Rybakova & Pushkareva, 2019, 368). In the middle of the paragraph on the role of the state in the Russian economy, we also find a quote of Vladimir Putin, which summarizes and, in some way, contradicts the material about the military-industrial complex, pointing out the need to "liberate" the market economy in Russia from the tutelage of the state (Kudina & Churzina, 2019, 139).

The significant achievement of the textbook was the quotations about Russia's laws and regulations, allowing to support the argumentation of the textbook's main text visually. The block of information on the market economy is supported in the textbook by an extract from the Law of the Russian Federation "On Protection of Competition" (Kudina & Churzina, 2019, 90). In the 11th grade textbook, the paragraph on Russia's economic development successes and plans is supported by the table showing the dynamics of GDP in 2013-2017, based on the data from Rosstat (Kudina & Rybakova & Pushkareva, 2019, 365). Taken without comparison with the data of the same Rosstat about the fall in real incomes of citizens, the growth of corruption, and the reduction of small and medium-sized businesses, the data on the growth of Russia's GDP create a positive image of a developing country, which is far from reality.

6 DISCOURSE OF ECONOMIC EDUCATION IN RUSSIAN SCHOOLS: THE VIEW OF TEACHERS

The analysis of the discourse of economic education in the Russian school involves not only the study of official documents and textbooks, but also an appeal to the position of teachers. This is due to the fact that it is the teacher who decides what and how to teach, which textbook to use and how to evaluate certain events in economic life. In this regard, we turned to the research results of 2018 and 2021, which allow us to see the specifics of the process of teaching economics in a Russian school, not only in the capital cities, but also in the provinces.

The first study was conducted in 12 Russian cities and the Moscow region by the

specialists from the Higher School of Economics in 2018 (Chernobaj & Tuchkova, 2019). 1027 interviews were received based on the use of the CAWI (Computer –assisted web interviewing) method. The sample covered all federal districts of Russia. The study identified the demographic, labour and professional characteristics of teachers. 82% of social studies teachers in Russia are women. Their median age is 43 years. Young teachers make up no more than 21%. The study showed that 48% of teachers have a teaching experience of 20 years or more, and 15% have less than a year (Chernobaj & Tuchkova, 2019, 243). The direct relationship was found between the duration of working as a teacher and the work in the corresponding class: the older the class is, the more experienced teachers work in it. The analysis of the interviews showed that the majority of teachers (93%) consider teaching social studies an important and defining subject for the development of interdisciplinary connections and competencies, and only 7% stated that it is completely out of touch with reality. The results of the study, showing that modern social science textbooks in Russia are practically incapable of developing the competencies of economic initiative and entrepreneurship, have become important for our article (Chernobaj & Tuchkova, 2019, 248). In their opinion, modern social studies curricula also contribute weakly to the development of creative thinking and cooperation. It was noted in the interviews that “the tasks of the textbooks are uninteresting and irrelevant, the tasks of the textbook do not imply an advanced level of complexity; there are few examples from social practice” (Chernobaj & Tuchkova, 2019, 249). Modern Russian textbooks, according to the teachers, are more conducive to the formation of civil, legal and intercultural literacy and, to a lesser extent, develop financial, information and communication literacy.

The second study was conducted by the authors of this article in the Lipetsk region in the autumn of 2021. Our research covered not only urban, but also rural teachers. To better correlate with the study by the Higher School of Economics we also used the CAWI (Computer–assisted web interviewing method) method. The research was conducted in the form of an online survey. The main objectives of the study were to identify: a) the opinions of teachers regarding the justification of the hours allocated for social studies; b) current textbooks used in the school; c) availability of additional materials for studying economics; d) assessing the intelligibility of the economics paragraphs in textbooks; e) topics that are most interesting for students, f) the possibilities of the economic block of social studies to contribute to the formation of students' confidence in Russian financial and economic institutions. The study used a two-stage stratification sample with pre-recruiting schools. At the first step, the share contribution of each district of the Lipetsk region to the sample was recorded, at the second step, a quantitative task was formed for the settlements available for questioning within the districts. The schools and teachers were recruited with the help of educational organizations of the selected settlements. The recruiting tool was an official letter from our university. The target audience consisted of 5-11 grades teachers working in schools in the two main cities of the region - Lipetsk and Yelets, as well as in 16 districts. The sample included 139 interviews, 54% of which were

taken from urban teachers and 46% from rural school teachers. The analysis of statistical data showed that 84% of teachers in the Lipetsk region are women. The median age of teachers in rural schools is 51 years old, and in urban schools it is 46 years old. The sample limitations include incomplete geographic coverage, lack of fixed quotas for participating teachers and schools, and recruiting through official letters.

The results of the study showed that assessments of the economic aspect of teaching social studies, as well as the educational potential of textbooks among teachers in the Lipetsk region, vary significantly depending on the type of settlement (rural and urban settlements), as well as on the age of the respondents. The overwhelming majority of teachers in urban and rural schools consider the current allocation of hours for teaching economics to be justified. Another common thing is that they continue to work with the textbooks of the line edited by L.N. Bogolyubov. According to the teachers, the lack of an alternative is due to the fact that they are not allowed to work with the textbooks that are not recommended by the Ministry of Education. Another reason for the lack of an alternative is the lack of funding for schools, which prevents the purchase of new textbooks. At the same time, a significant difference was observed in the assessments of the textbooks themselves and in the methods of working with them. The majority (93% of respondents) of teachers in rural schools noted that they were completely satisfied with the textbooks of L.N. Bogolyubov. Among them, this book is used as the main one for working with students. Answering additional questions, they also noted that they do not seek to use additional economic literature, and also believe that all economic topics in the textbook are fully discussed. We identified this trend in the responses in 41 interviews.

Unlike their colleagues in rural areas, the teachers in urban schools turned out to be more critical of both textbooks by L.N. Bogolyubov and A.I. Kravchenko. The main complaint of the majority of urban teachers (97% of respondents in cities) to the textbooks edited by L.N. Bogolyubov is that the legal, economic and cultural blocks in them are significantly outdated. In one of the most critical interviews it was noted: "The economic block in Bogolyubov's textbook is represented by old materials that are no longer relevant for 10 or 15 years. Not a single topic is fully presented. The topics are mixed. For example, the topic of 'economic growth' is combined with the topic 'budget' and 'entrepreneurship'" (Lyudmila, 44 years old)⁶. In another interview we read: "The main problem of Bogolyubov's textbooks is not even that they are outdated, but that they contain a lot of abstract reasoning that does not have concrete definitions and concepts. The textbook is understandable for students, but not specific. There are no schemes and not enough definitions in it" (Evgeniy, 39 years old)⁷. In 46 interviews with the teachers in urban schools, the tendency to use additional literature on economics, official statistics and reference books on economic theory actively was revealed. In seven interviews, we faced the desire to improve the educational process through the introduction of role-playing games and scientific seminars. It is significant that 32% of urban teachers tend to use not only recommended textbooks (mainly textbooks edited by M.V. Kudina) as additional literature, but also textbooks on economics that are excluded from the federal list. Thus, it

was revealed that the most popular and highly rated textbook on economics among teachers continues to be the textbook written under the editorship of I.V. Lipset, excluded from the federal list in 2019. One of the complaints of the reviewers of the Russian Academy of Education was that “the textbook does not develop a sense of pride of the country in students and involvement in what is happening, questions for discussion do not contribute to love for the motherland and can provoke unconstructive discussions” (Grozovskij, 2019).

We did not see any significant differences in the responses of rural and urban teachers regarding student interests within the economic block themes. The specifics of students' interests are directly related to their daily life, which manifests itself in a special interest in the topics of the family budget, loans, taxes, business practices. Only 9 % of all the respondents indicated that in their lessons they encounter students' interest in global economic problems and specific issues of economic theory. In this regard, the answers to the last question of our interview looked more controversial. We tried to find out how the economic block of social studies at school contributes to the formation of students' confidence in Russian financial and economic institutions. As expected, the more conservative teachers in the rural schools responded positively to this question in the majority (69% of interviews). The answers of the urban teachers turned out to be more differentiated, more than half (57% of interviews) of whom stated that building trust in financial and economic institutions was not defined as educational competence at all. 19% of respondents in cities indicated that they do not have time to monitor the economic consciousness of students due to the intensive academic workload of students. In three interviews, we found some information that the efforts of teachers to form financial literacy run up against a lack of understanding of the need to significantly develop these competencies among students in grades 7-9.

7 CONCLUSION

Despite all the efforts of the public and educational institutions, the Russian school teaching of economics reflects the existing contradictions between, on the one hand, the abstract goals of Russian social studies, its orientation towards an "ideal society" in the necessary normative documents, and on the other hand, the realities of modern Russian economic life with its growing bureaucratization, decreasing incomes of the population, high levels of corruption, raw-material nature of the economy, problems of small business development in Russia, as well as the shadow nature of the existence of a migration society. This was shown by our analysis of the basic documents of the Ministry of Education, as well as the most popular school textbooks.

In our study, we used the methodological ideas of Siegfried Jäger's critical discourse analysis. The final part of this type of the analysis examines ideological interrelationships and the role that society plays in constructing the discursive strand (Jäger, 2001, 38). Comparing the three most famous lines of the textbooks in 2005-2019, it is not difficult to notice several changes and ideological influences. Moreover, the textbooks edited by L.N.

Bogolyubov and A.I. Kravchenko, differing in content and completeness of the material's presentation, demonstrate some similar points. Inheriting the traditions of social education of the 1990s, they demonstrate a critical approach to the role of the state in the economy, to the Soviet historical experience and appeal to democratic values, the idea of a free market and pay sufficient attention to describing the difficulties of the 1990s and the problems of the modern Russian economy. However, the transformation of Russian education in the 2010s, which reflected current political trends and the foreign policy confrontation with the West after 2014, caused a change in the basic meanings in teaching economics at school.

In this regard, the line of textbooks edited by M.V. Kudina demonstrates some ideological innovations that were not characteristic of past years' textbooks. Firstly, it is about strengthening the critical interpretation of the market economy and the actualization of economic policy focused on state dominance. Secondly, we are also talking about the gradual rehabilitation of the Soviet experience and its unequivocally positive assessment. Thirdly, textbooks edited by M.V. Kudina strive to promote a uniquely positive image of the country and avoid describing Russia's economic development problems in the 1990s - 2000s. At the same time, this textbook is well illustrated and represents a significant step forward in acquainting students with the real practices of economic activity in Russia, the leading economic roles, and relevant information sources. The fact that all analyzed Russian textbooks, firstly, continue to reproduce the Soviet language practices, the language of historical materialism, and, secondly, continue to use individual elements of Talcott Parsons' system theory of society, completely ignoring current social theories, makes the discourse of school economic education in Russia inconsistent.

In this situation, the decisive role in the development of market thinking in Russian schoolchildren belongs to social science teachers, whose working conditions in the rural and urban schools differ significantly. The teachers in the rural schools turned out to be more conservative in their attitude towards modern practices of teaching economics and the use of up-to-date statistical information. They are fully satisfied with their current social studies education programs. In contrast, the teachers in the city demonstrate a greater level of critical reflection on the "ideal" goals of teaching social studies in the context of the realities of the economy. They strive to use modern economic literature, as well as the textbooks excluded from the federal list and criticized by the Ministry of Education. The study showed that a modern Russian teacher is forced to work mainly with the lines of textbooks by L.N. Bogolyubov and, to a lesser extent, A.I. Kravchenko. The most critical of these textbooks are the teachers in the urban schools in the region. Their main complaint is the abstract nature of the reasoning and the lack of modern data on the practices of economic life in Russia in these textbooks. In this regard, a new line of the textbooks edited by M.V. Kudina is a kind of response to teachers' requests, playing out the textbooks edited by L.N. Bogolyubov and A.I. Kravchenko in asserting the priority of a market economy and free competition, as well as criticizing the current version of capitalism in Russia. In this case the contradictions of the very discourse of Western

economic values in Russia are still especially noticeable in the practice of Russian social studies, creating additional barriers to the inclusion of young people in the economic life of the country, which has been continuing economic reforms for more than a third of a century.

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ENDNOTES

¹ “в России применяется более 40 различных видов налогов. Практика показывает: чем больше в стране налогов, тем хуже их платят. Российскую специфику налогообложения можно выразить следующей формулой: чем больше изоцряется

правительство в придумывании видов налогов и способов их изъятия, тем искуснее становится население и бизнес в изобретении способов обойти закон”.

² “Нынешние россияне, потребители и производители, платят до 40 видов налогов — больше, чем в других странах. Некоторые настолько необъяснимы, что могли бы поставить в тупик любого жителя Древнего Рима, являвшегося рекордсменом по количеству налогов”.

³ “решение проблем, которое не может обеспечить рыночный механизм берет на себя государство. Например, обеспечение национальной безопасности. Сегодня особую роль в экономике страны и в обеспечение национальной безопасности играет военно-промышленный комплекс”.

⁴ “создание и производство современных конкурентоспособных вооружений, военной и специальной техники, обеспечения перевооружения Вооруженных сил, других войск и формирований России и усиление позиций на мировом рынке вооружений”.

⁵ “Многие ученые считают, что наибольших успехов человечество достигло именно в экономических системах с преобладанием плановой экономики, — например, в Китае, Сингапуре, Советском Союзе и других странах”.

⁶ “The экономический блок в учебнике Боголюбова представлен старыми материалами, которые уже не актуальны 10 или 15 лет. Ни одна тема не раскрыта полностью. Темы смешаны. Например, тема ‘экономический рост’ сочетается с темой ‘бюджет’ и ‘предпринимательство””.

⁷ “главная проблема учебников Боголюбова состоит даже не в том, что они устарели, а в том, что в них очень много абстрактных рассуждений, не содержащих конкретные определения и понятия. Учебник понятен учащимся, но не конкретен. В нем нет схем и недостаточно определений”.

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