

HOW COULD STUDENTS BECOME LOYAL CITIZENS? BASIC VALUES, VALUE EDUCATION, AND NATIONAL ATTITUDES AMONG 10th-GRADERS IN ESTONIA

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Abstract. This is the first part of a longitudinal quantitative study analysing the effect of value education on high school students' value structures in the context of history classes and national attitudes. The aim of this paper is to describe the structure of basic human values of Estonian first-year high school students, to link them with their national attitudes and to test for differences based on the presence of value education during the history classes. The sample includes 22 randomly selected 10th grade classes from different Estonian high schools, with altogether $n = 408$ students. Respondents filled an online survey including Shalom Schwartz' value scale and a set of questions measuring national and other kind of attitudes and the existence of value education during the history classes.

Keywords: basic values, value education, national attitudes, citizens' loyalty

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1. Introduction

In Europe, but also elsewhere the citizens' loyalty to the state is once again an increasingly important issue. As instability in the world is growing, governments have to handle problems such as the constantly growing number of immigrants, the rise of different extremist groups and an increasing threat of terrorism more actively. While these risks have so far had external character, there is a trend of them becoming more and more internal. It is therefore increasingly important to deal with the radicalizing citizens and finding ways to raise their loyalty to the state.

Loyalty and citizens' values are part of any person's value structure, which is mainly developed through the process of socialization.

Several authors have written about socialization. Already Plato (1992) talks about the role of the state for children's education and how it affects the

development of the state. Erikson (1993) has explained the connection between the interdependence of the individuals' growth and historical change. Gilligan (1998) is the author of the theory of gender and moral development. Harris and Liebert (1991) have claimed that children play an active role in their own development. Hurrelamann (2009) has emphasized that socialization is in particular an individual's personality development. The theory of Kohlberg (1983) says that the development states of a person's morals are improving with the increase of his/her knowledge.

Gill (1997) has written that the socialization process starts from home and continues at school. Therefore, besides the family, the school system has a significant potential for shaping persons' value structures, including their loyalty and overall attitudes towards the state. In this paper we compare the value structure of Estonian students from a representative sample of the schools in the country, to see if there exists any school effect on their value structure. Secondly, we will analyse the link between basic values and their national attitudes and finally we explore the presence of value education during the history classes, and try to evaluate whether value education has an effect of students' value structures.

2. Basic human values

The analysis of this paper is based on the value theory of Shalom H. Schwartz (1992). According to his approach, values are special kinds of beliefs – those that organize other beliefs. Values can also be defined as the guiding principles in the life of an individual or a group. Schwartz distinguished the following characteristic features of values: 1) values represent significant goals or generalized inner standards; 2) values are ordered according to their relative importance, forming a relatively stable system; 3) the system of values serves as a standard for forming and expressing attitudes, selecting and rationalizing actions. Therefore, values form a meta-system with a regulative impact on more specific attitudes and behaviours. Schwartz presented a classification of values based on their presumable motivational goals. He also differentiated between individual or societal perspectives for purposes of creating that classification.

On the *level of individual* values, Schwartz distinguishes between ten (motivational) value types – *hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, security, universalism, benevolence, conformity, tradition, power and achievement* (Schwartz 1992). But based on his refined theory (Schwartz et al. 2012) he has increased the number of independent value types to 19 by defining subtypes of self-direction, power, security, conformity, benevolence and universalism values. The full list of value-types with their core motivational goals is shown in Figure 1.

According to Schwartz, there exists also a universal structure of dynamic relations among the basic values, which are organized with the help of two (presumably) orthogonal dimensions: from Self-transcendence/altruism (embracing the welfare of others) to Self-enhancement/egoism (emphasizing one's own

Table 1. Definitions of the Motivational Types of Values in Terms of Its Motivational Goal (Schwartz et al. 2012)

	Value	Conceptual definitions in terms of motivational goals
SDT	Self-direction–thought	Freedom to cultivate one’s own ideas and abilities
SDA	Self-direction–action	Freedom to determine one’s own actions
ST	Stimulation	Excitement, novelty, and change
HE	Hedonism	Pleasure and sensuous gratification
AC	Achievement	Success according to social standards
POD	Power–dominance	Power through exercising control over people
POR	Power–resources	Power through control of material and social resources
FAC	Face	Security and power through maintaining one’s public image and avoiding humiliation
SEP	Security–personal	Safety in one’s immediate environment
SES	Security–societal	Safety and stability in the wider society
TR	Tradition	Maintaining and preserving cultural, family, or religious traditions
COR	Conformity–rules	Compliance with rules, laws, and formal obligations
COI	Conformity–interpersonal	Avoidance of upsetting or harming other people
HUM	Humility	Recognizing one’s insignificance in the larger scheme of things
BED	Benevolence–dependability	Being a reliable and trustworthy member of the in-group
BEC	Benevolence–caring	Devotion to the welfare of in-group members
UNC	Universalism–concern	Commitment to equality, justice, and protection for all people
UNN	Universalism–nature	Preservation of the natural environment
UNT	Universalism–tolerance	Acceptance and understanding of those who are different from oneself



Figure 1. Circular structure of the refined values theory of Schwartz (Schwartz et al. 2012).

interests) and from Openness to change (accepting change, risk and unpredictability) to Conservation (preservation of the status quo) (Schwartz 1992). Based on this kind of relations, basic values form a circular structure as seen in Figure 1, where more similar values (like stimulation and hedonism) are close to each other and conflicting values (like power and benevolence) appear on opposite sides. Pursuing one type of values, will always conflict with other types of values on the opposite side of the circle.

3. Value education

Value education is the process by which people give values to others (Powney et al. 1995). There are two main methods of value education. One of these methods is *values clarification*, also known as rational education of ethics which discusses values. Rational education of ethics is primarily based on deontological ethics by Immanuel Kant. The second method is *character education* or education of individual nature. This method deals with the development of good characteristic traits and is mainly based on ethics of virtues by Aristotle (English 2006). Both these methods have their limitations and problems. If the values clarification is used, it is important to take the child's proximal zone of development into account (Vygotski 1963). Kohlberg (1981) sees the dangers of character education in indoctrination, i.e. forcing values on students. Aristotle (1996) has underlined that one has to avoid *acrasia* (ἀκρασία) or velleity. For example, a child knows what is good behaviour, but he or she does not act accordingly. The same is emphasized by Noddings (1992).

Aristotle's approach to the connection of *acrasia* and knowledge can serve as a critique towards Kohlberg's theory of moral development. Kohlberg's (1983) theory of moral development claims that when human knowledge about morals is growing, their moral behaviour will also increase. However, it must be said that discussing values is useful and it is appropriate to use the highest level of Bloom's (1956) taxonomy, namely the assessment level. Combining character education and values clarification at the same time, we can get a much better result, rather than using only one method. Neither should we forget about the drawbacks of these two methods.

This is a part of self-regulative inner mechanism of an individual, which makes every fact or knowledge personal. As the school has an important role in socializing and the value education, it is important to discuss about moral issues at school.

4. Estonian context

As the given paper is exploring the attitudes of Estonian high school students, the next paragraph will give a short description of the Estonian background.

The population of Estonia is 1.3 million, which means that in global scale, it is really a small country, but nonetheless it has a rather diverse society, with very different social groups living side by side. During the 20th century Estonia experienced many social disruptions, and almost every generation born in this country has socialized in rather different circumstances. Estonia became independent in 1918 and over two decades it evolved to an advanced nation-state with homogenous Estonian-speaking population. Like many other Eastern European countries, this reality changed radically in the turbulence of World War II when Estonia transformed into a Soviet Socialist Republic. In addition to fundamental ideological shift, the ethnic composition of Estonia started to change, while tens of thousands of Estonians fled to the West and more than 30000 were deported to Siberia, hundreds of thousands Russian speaking workers were settled to Estonia. In 1989 the proportion of Estonian-speakers in the Estonian population had decreased to 62%. The last fundamental shift took place in 1991, when Estonia become an independent state again and started re-integration into Europe, which formally culminated with the EU membership in 2004. Therefore during the last two decades Estonia has undergone a rapid transformation towards an open and democratic society, which has involved also a change of peoples' value structures.

Considering earlier value studies, during the 1990s people in Estonia tended to set less importance on universalistic values and more on hedonistic individualistic values (Lauristin and Vihalemm 1997). At the same time more changes were observed among the Estonian Russian-speakers (Kalmus and Vihalemm 2004), who currently form 30% of Estonian population (Statistics Estonia). In addition to the distinction of Estonian-speakers' and Russian-speakers' value structures in Estonia (Masso and Vihalemm 2003, Rudnev 2009, Lilleoja and Tart 2011, Tulviste et al 2014), there seems to be also a clear differentiation based on gender (Kalmus 2010, Schwartz and Rubel 2005) and education (Schwartz 2006, Lilleoja and Tart 2011). Still, both in Estonia and in the world, the most significant factor predicting value preferences is age (Schwartz 1994, Niit 2002, Kalmus and Vihalemm 2004, Schwartz and Rubel 2005), which is expressed through a universal trend of the younger being more individualistic and the older more collectivistic. Therefore, we expect that Estonian high school students would put relatively high importance on individualistic values, like hedonism, stimulation and achievement. We also expect to see differences in value preferences based on gender and ethnicity.

According to the data from the Estonian Education Information System EHIS (2015) there are a total of 527 schools (primary schools (grades 1–9) and secondary schools (grades 9–12) in Estonia of which 84 schools use Russian as the language of instruction. In 1993 *the Basic Schools and Upper Secondary Schools Act* was passed, which stipulated that the main language of instruction at the secondary education level is to be Estonian, however it is possible to use another language according to the decision by the Local Government Council. In 2007 the Estonian Government decided on a gradual transition of the language of instruction on the secondary education level. This meant that starting from the 2011/12

academic year at least 60% of the entire secondary school curriculum would be taught in Estonian.

The National Curriculum for Kindergartens, approved in 2009, stipulates that it is compulsory to teach Estonian from the age of 3 to all pre-school children who use some other language. The country has since the introduction of this commitment supported the salaries paid to the teachers of Estonian in pre-schools, teacher training and the development of teaching materials. Estonia has tried to cultivate loyal citizens by teaching the Estonian language. (Analysis and suggestions...)

There are three national curricula in Estonia: for pre-primary educational institutions, primary schools and upper secondary schools (gymnasias). According to them, pupils' competence of values is very important. Values that are considered important in the national curriculum are derived from the Estonian Constitution, the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child, and the European Union's founding documents. According to the curriculum of the basic schools the baseline values are general human values (honesty, caring, reverence for life, justice, human dignity, respect for self and others), and societal values (liberty, democracy, respect for the mother tongue and culture, patriotism, cultural diversity, tolerance, environmental sustainability, legacy, solidarity, responsibility, and gender equality). (National curriculum for basic schools 2011, National curriculum for upper secondary schools 2011)

Citizens' values are freedom, tolerance, respect for culture, democracy, cultural diversity and patriotism. These values reflect the main modern values of Western civilization. Estonia joined the European Union in 2004 and as a result, Estonian attitude started to become more similar to Western Europe. The societal values are derived from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted in 1948 and the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union. The importance of patriotism is reflected even in the Estonian Constitution of 1992, which states as follows: "With unwavering faith and a steadfast will to strengthen and develop the state which embodies the inextinguishable right of the people of Estonia to national self-determination and which was proclaimed on 24 February 1918, which is founded on liberty, justice and the rule of law, which is created to protect the peace and defend the people against aggression from the outside, and which forms a pledge to present and future generations for their social progress and welfare, which must guarantee the preservation of the Estonian people, the Estonian language and the Estonian culture through the ages".

5. Method and data

The study is based on the Estonian data, which was collected in February 2014 through an online survey. Primary sample included 40 randomly picked high schools out of 210 Estonian high schools. In those 40 high schools teachers of 10th grades history class were contacted and asked if she or he would be willing to conduct a survey during his class in schools computer lab, where every student answered the questionnaire independently. Finally, 22 schools participated in this

study, the response rate was 55% and the final sample included every 10th Estonian high school. Three of the schools were Russian-medium schools.

The sample distribution, based on gender and school language is presented in Table 2.

The sample includes altogether 448 respondents – 181 men and 267 women. The average respondents' age is 16.4 years, the youngest student were 14 and oldest 18 (Figure 2).

Table 2. Sample distribution of genders, for Estonian-speakers and Russian-speakers

		Male	Female	Total
Estonian schools	No. of respondents	156	235	391
	Percentage	39.9	60.1	100
Russian schools	No. of respondents	25	32	57
	Percentage	43.9	56.1	100
Total	No. of respondents	181	267	448
	Percentage	40.4	59.6	100

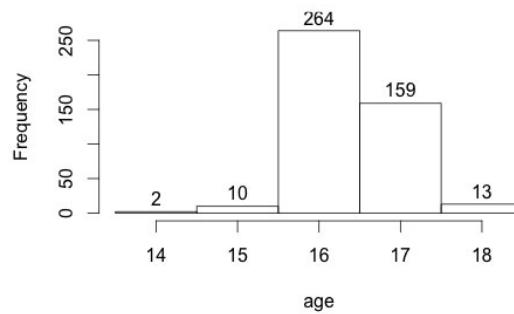


Figure 2. Age distribution.

The questionnaire included a value scale PVQ57-RR, where respondents had to evaluate their similarity with the described persons using a 6-point scale, from not like me at all to very much like me. The use of standardized value scale allows to externally validate the quality of given dataset by comparing it with results of other studies using the same scale. The best representable and available data about Estonian population, which includes Schwartz value scale, belongs to the European Social Survey. When including 16- and 17-years old respondents from both studies, the raw correlations between their value means is .87, which can be considered high enough, especially when taking account potential gender, ethnic and educational balances differ.

Previous studies have shown that the comparisons of means scores of attitudinal variables are strongly affected by individual's response styles. To correct for the response style bias, Schwartz has suggested to centre each person's responses on his or her own mean (details in Schwartz 2005a, 2006), which converts absolute value

scores into scores that indicate the relative importance of each value to the person. We use this procedure for both values and national attitudes.

6. Results

First we will take a look at the respondents' overall value structure. Figure 3 describes centred mean value scores for male and female students for each value types. It also includes 95% confident levels, which enables to evaluate if value differences are statistically significant or not.

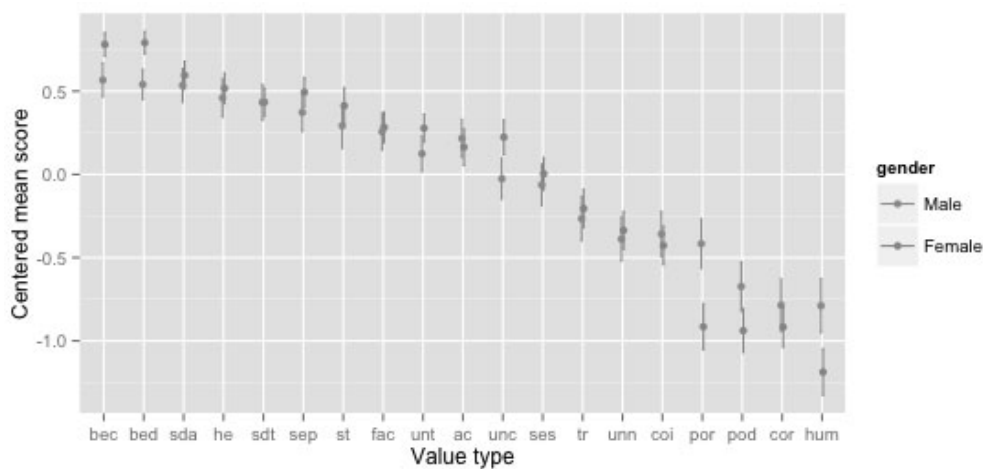


Figure 3. Male and female respondent centred mean scores for each value type with 95% confidence levels.

The most highly rated value for Estonian 10th grades is, similarly to the general population, benevolence. But as expected, they also value highly individualistic traits, such as hedonism, stimulation and freedom to determine one's own actions and ideas. Although relatively high importance is also given to personal security which belongs into conservation dimension. For most of the values there is no statistically significant difference between male and female students mean scores. Still, there are some differences – the girls have given higher scores for benevolence and also for the equality, while boys tend to value more material resources, dominance and a bit surprisingly the humility, although all these values are relatively less important for both genders.

Figure 4 compares also students value priorities based on school language.

The school language-based differences in value scores are larger than those based on gender, but due to the relatively small number of respondents from Russian-medium schools, they are mostly statistically insignificant. However, we can see that benevolence, hedonism, stimulation and maintaining one's public

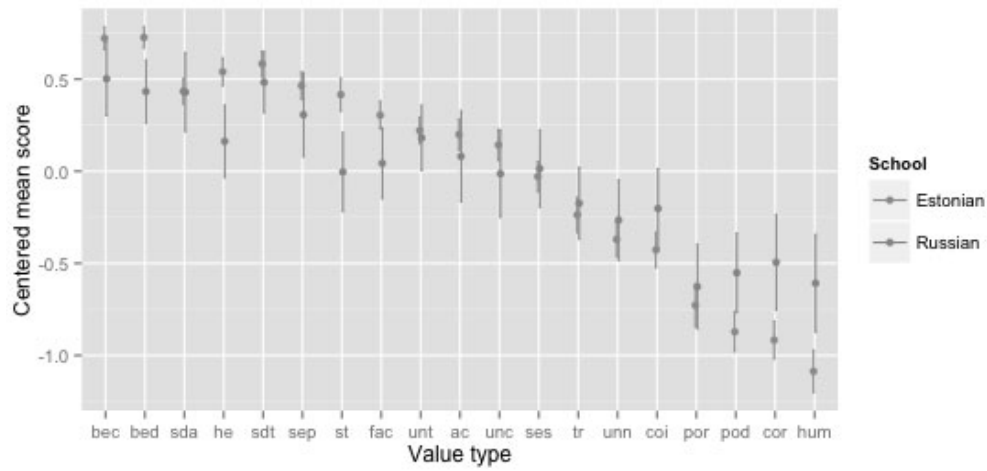


Figure 4. Estonian- and Russian-medium school students’ average scores for each value type with 95% confidence levels.

image are more valued by Estonian students, while humility and conformity for the rules and dominance are more important for Russian-speaking students. When looking at the overall value hierarchies, then they are quite similar, which means that the differences are relatively moderate.

The next Figure 5 compares male and female students’ attitudes towards different civic values – freedom, tolerance, respect for culture, democracy, cultural diversity and patriotism.

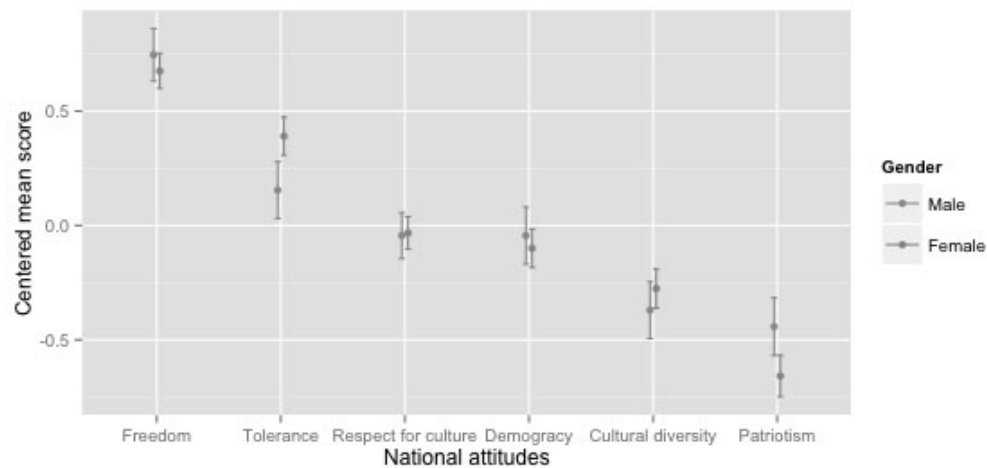


Figure 5. Male and female respondent centred mean scores for different citizens values with 95% confidence levels.

When comparing scores for different citizen values, for both male and female students the most important aspect is freedom, which is followed by tolerance. The respect towards the mother tongue and culture and the importance of democracy hold equal importance for Estonian students. The lowest average scores belong to cultural diversity and patriotism, which are by both genders preserved only as relatively important. The centred mean scores for most of the citizen values do not differentiate across genders, only tolerance is perceived as more important by girls and patriotism, by boys.

Figure 6 compares the same averages between Estonian- and Russian-speaking schools.

The centred mean differences across Estonian- and Russian-medium schools are again statistically insignificant. Although when looking at the hierarchy, students in Estonian schools tend to value more tolerance and students in Russian schools cultural diversity.

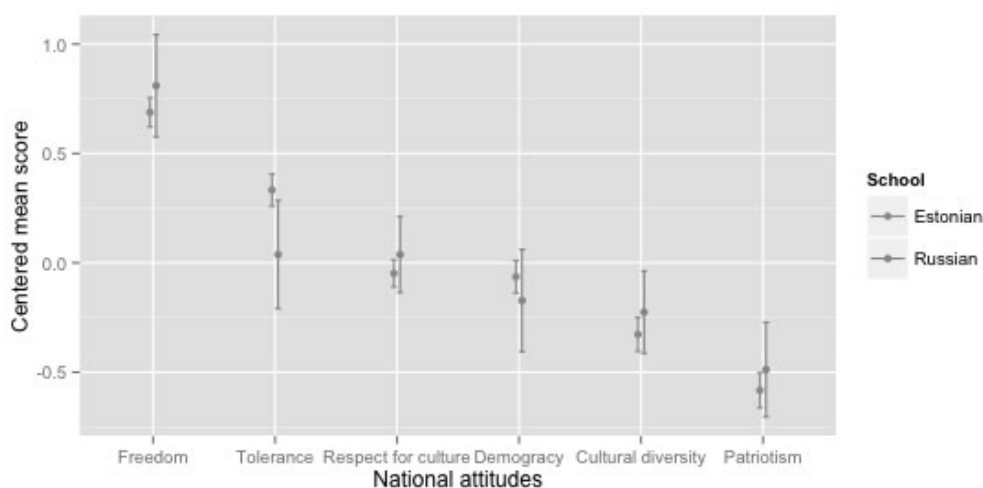


Figure 6. Estonian- and Russian-medium school students' average scores for different civic values with 95% confidence levels.

Another aspect of this paper is to study the existence of value education during history class. Respondents had to answer an open-ended question, if and how is value education implemented into their history class curriculum. Their responses were recoded in 3 categories – (1) there is no value education during history class, (2) there is some value education, but only in small scale and (3) value education is implemented fully into history class curriculum. 80% of students claimed that value education is not implemented into history class in any way, 19.5% reported that it is implemented in a small scale and only 10 students said that active value education is taking place during history class. In 8 schools out of 22 at least a quarter of students confirmed the presence of value education in any scale,

whereas all the Russian-medium schools belonged to the first group. Next, the potential effect of value education on students' national attitudes was tested. For the first comparison all students who belonged in the classes, where at least a quarter of the respondents had reported existence of value education were coded as 1 and others as 0. For the second comparison, the selection was done at individual level – students who reported the existence of value education were coded as 1 and others 0, presuming that they were receptive for it. Then the mean scores of 6 civic values were compared across two groups. As a result, **no significant differences** were detected between groups, which indicates that value education does not have an effect on students' citizen values either at individual or at the class level.

In the second phase of the study the same group answers were used in a series of regression analyses, where citizen values were defined as dependent variables and in addition to the existence of value education, the gender, age and school language were used as control variables. Again, based on both codings, no significant effect from the existence of value education for each of citizen values were detected.

Finally, we analysed the relationship between students' basic values and national attitudes, taking into account their socio-demographic and school background. Table 3 presents an overview of multiple regression analyses, where each citizen value was used as a dependent variable. At the first stage, socio-demographic variables of gender, age and language were included into the model. At the next stage, school background variables (overall rank based on final exams results, school size and location) were added. At the n last stage, basic values were also included. For each sub-model a multiple R-square is presented in the Table 3, which can be interpreted as a proportion explained variance of dependent variable by independent variables. And for each civic value, it is shown which basic values had a significant effect on them, which enables to describe the relationships between persons' basic value structure and national attitudes.

While gender, age and home language explain in average 4% (with the exception of tolerance), the introduction of school background adds only 1% of the explained variance. Therefore it seems that both socio-demographics and school

Table 3. Comparison of explained variance of citizen values by different predictors

Citizen value	Multiple R-squared			Basic values with significant effect (effect direction)
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	
Freedom	.03	.04	.16	BED(+)
Democracy	.04	.05	.14	SES(+), TR(+)
Respect for culture	.04	.05	.23	UNT(-), TR(+), POR(-), HUM(-)
Patriotism	.01	.02	.19	SES(+), TR(+), COR(+), HUM(-)
Cultural diversity	.05	.05	.15	UNT(+)
Tolerance	.12	.13	.25	FAC(+), UNT(+), SES(+), COR(+)

Model 1: socio-demographics (gender, age, language);

Model 2: + School background;

Model 3: + Basic values.

background have rather small influence on students' national attitudes. The only exception is tolerance, which is significantly less important for both male and Russian-speakers, as already seen on Figures 5 and 6.

Although the introduction of basic values increases the model R-square much more, adding another 9% to 18% of explained variance.

Basic values are strongest predictors for the respect towards the mother tongue and culture. As expected, there exists a positive relationship with the tradition value, and at the same time the Estonian language and culture are perceived as less important by the students, who have given higher scores for tolerance, power of resources and humility.

It is also to be expected that tolerance as a citizen value is firmly positively related with universalistic tolerance, but it is also in the same way related to the avoidance of humiliation, conformity to rules and to social security.

Also the patriotism is more valued by students to whom the social security and conformity to rules are more important. It has a positive link tradition and negative one with humility.

On freedom, democracy and cultural diversity the basic values have a smaller predictive power, as they explain around 10% of their variance. Freedom is significantly related only to benevolence-dependability, which means that students to whom being a reliable and trustworthy member of the in-group is especially important, tend also to value more freedom. At the same time it is important to keep in mind that both of these variables are significant for almost all the students.

The importance of democracy is positively related to tradition and social security, while cultural diversity links again with universalistic tolerance.

7. Discussion

In quantitative research the quality of data frequently determines if the results are reliable and if they can be generalized. In the current study we used random sampling to assure the generalizability over all Estonian 10th graders and used online survey to collect their responses. We find that the latter mode of data collection is most suitable for collecting these kinds of attitudinal responses, which include topics that might have certain degree of social desirability. Although we acknowledge that this method can also have certain disadvantages, such as respondents giving random (cognitively not considered) responses or having certain response styles. As based on Schwartz, the values are ordered according to their relative importance (Schwartz 1992), we centred scores before using them in comparisons to solve the latter problem. Another potential problem can be the understanding and interpretation of questions, especially as the sample included 3 Russian-medium schools (although in these schools half of teaching is in Estonian anyway). Another aspect, which should increase the reliability of the given results, is the use of standardized value questionnaire PVQ-R, which has been already validated in numerous studies. And we also found that the value hierarchies based on our collected data correlate significantly with results of the European Social

Survey, providing an external validity for the data quality. Therefore we expect that collected data is generally reliable and the described results are generalizable for all Estonian 10th graders.

As already mentioned, the results for comparisons of students' basic values were largely a match with earlier Estonian value studies (Lilleoja and Tart 2011, Tulviste et al. 2014). Both boys and girls value most benevolence and openness values, and they rate power-related, conformity and humility values lowest. Although an interesting aspect was a relatively high ranking for personal security, which tends to indicate that increasing uncertainty in the world is also having an impact on Estonian teenagers' sense of security, irrespective of their gender or home language. The latter fits with recent conclusion by Tulviste and colleagues (2014) that the values of (Estonian) youth in formative years are likely to be extremely sensitive to concrete historical events and their interpretation.

Language-wise, the main differences appeared on ratings for benevolence, hedonism, stimulation and maintaining one's public image, which were valued more by Estonian-speaking students, and on humility, conformity for the rules and dominance, which were more important for Russian-speaking students. These results are also in line with Tulviste and colleagues' (2014) conclusions that compared with Russian-speakers, the ethnic Estonians are placing more importance on values related to openness to change and self-transcendence, and less importance on conservation and self-enhancement. Although the overall value hierarchies of Estonian-speakers and Russian-speakers are quite similar, meaning that the differences on their value structures are relatively moderate. While the most recently quoted article (Tulviste et al. 2014) claimed that value structures of ethnic Estonians and the Russian-speakers are the most diverging within the youngest age group (under 20 years), our results do not support that – at least among 10th graders the differences are not that large.

Besides the structure of basic values, we were more specifically interested also in students' national attitudes. Our questionnaire measured the importance of 6 different civic values – freedom and democracy, which are universal ideals; tolerance and cultural diversity, which represent cosmopolitan attitudes; respect towards one's mother tongue and culture and patriotism, which represent nationalistic attitudes. For both boys and girls, freedom was most important among these values, following tolerance, which got higher ratings from girls. When female students considered patriotism clearly of the lowest importance, male students valued it equally with cultural diversity. So while the universalistic ideals of freedom and democracy are equally important for both genders, the cosmopolitan values weigh up nationalistic values, which is especially clear among girls.

When comparing the same citizen values across linguistic groups, Estonian-speakers are slightly more cosmopolitan and Russian-speakers are slightly more nationalistic, although differences are not statistically significant. The latter is contradicting with results of the study by Toots and Idnurm (2012) who have concluded that Russian-speaking adolescents in Estonia demonstrate higher support of cosmopolitan values than the Estonians. In more recent study, Toots

(2013) has concluded that the level of patriotism among Estonian pupils does not directly depend on citizenship, which based on our results can be extended as also not depending on the home language. While earlier studies have shown the lack of patriotism among the Russian-speaking youth in Estonia, now it seems that the importance of patriotism is rather low among both groups. The question is whether this decline of patriotism is related with changes in the Estonian educational system or there are broader societal reasons. The data for our study was collected in early 2014, briefly before the start of Russian-Ukrainian conflict, which has also been seen as a threat for Estonia. Based on Moaddel and colleagues (2008) a foreign occupation tends to provoke nationalist awareness. As probably the risk for foreign occupation is working in the same way, it can be assumed that since the time of data collection there has been some increase of patriotism among Estonians, although it is not clear how these developments have influenced Russian-speakers.

Based on our study, the value education is not yet well integrated into the syllabus of history classes – most of the students do not recognize its appearance and currently there seems to be no effect of value education on students' civic values. These national attitudes are most strongly shaped by student basic values, which is in line with the value theory, whereas values are defined as standards for forming and expressing other kind of attitudes and rationalizing actions (Schwartz 1992). Therefore, to increase loyalty for the state, it can be done by emphasising the importance of tradition as a value. Students, who find traditions more important, tend to have more respect towards the mother tongue and culture and they are also more patriotic.

8. Conclusions

This paper is the first part of a longitudinal quantitative study analysing the effect of value education on high school students' value structures in the context of history classes and national attitudes. The aim of this paper is to describe the structure of basic human values of Estonian first-year high school students, to link them with their national attitudes and to test for differences, based on the presence of value education during history classes.

We found that the value structure of students overlapped with the results of earlier studies, confirming relative stability of their value systems and proving the reliability of our analyses. Although the value differences were slightly larger across language groups than between genders, the value hierarchies for Estonian-speaking and Russian-speaking students were rather similar. And there was even less variation in their civic attitudes. Estonian students value most universal ideals of freedom and democracy, while cosmopolitan values dominated over nationalistic values. Although based on changed geo-political circumstances, these figures might have been changing after the data collection in favour to nationalistic attitudes.

One of the main findings of this analyses is that the value education is poorly applied in teaching of history classes, which makes it difficult to evaluate, whether it could have an impact on students' basic values and their national attitudes. Based on our analyses, basic values and national attitudes have a clear link and, for example, patriotism is mainly driven by a higher evaluation of traditions.

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