



International Dialogues on Education

Past and Present

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GOLZ
Editorial

RETTNER
The Centenary of William H. Kilpatrick's "Project Method": A Landmark in Progressive Education Against the Background of American-German Relations After World War I

WATERKAMP
Götz Hillig and his search for the true Makarenko. What did he find?

RETTNER
After the German November Revolution 1918: The Compromise on Religious Instruction in Elementary Schools in the Weimar Constitution

BALIRAM & YOUDE
A Meta-analytic Synthesis: Examining the academic impacts of feedback on student achievement

LÜBCKE, MUßÉL & FRANZ
The privilege of being politically active - a qualitative study on the political commitment of university students

CHEN
Towards a Safe and Respectful Campus: Perspectives of Multicultural Education

ALGERMISSEN
Book Review

RETTNER
Book Reviews

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	<i>Reinhard Golz</i> Editorial	6-9
	<i>Hein Retter</i> The Centenary of William H. Kilpatrick's "Project Method": A Landmark in Progressive Education Against the Background of American-German Relations After World War I	10-36
	<i>Dietmar Waterkamp</i> Götz Hillig and his search for the true Makarenko. What did he find?	37-55
	<i>Hein Retter</i> After the German November Revolution 1918: The Compromise on Religious Instruction in Elementary Schools in the Weimar Constitution	56-75
	<i>Baliram & Youde</i> Personal and Reflective Epistemology in Pre-Service Teacher Education	76-90
	<i>Stefanie Lübcke, Fabian Mußél & Anja Franz</i> The privilege of being politically active - a qualitative study on the political commitment of university students	91-102
	<i>Hsuan-Jen Chen</i> Towards a Safe and Respectful Campus: Perspectives of Multicultural Education	103-113
	<i>Ulf Algermissen</i> Book Review	114-116
	<i>Hein Retter</i> Book Reviews	117-123

Reinhard Golz (Germany)

Editorial

Dear Readers,

This issue aims in particular at discussing historical and current developments in pedagogical and social science research and thus literally lives up to its title: "International Dialogue on Education: Past and Present". You will find more information about our editorial policies and guidelines at www.ide-journal.org/instructions-to-contributors/, www.ide-journal.org/news/ and other sub-pages of our journal.

The first three articles in this issue deal in particular with historical-comparative aspects of education. This is followed by four articles that focus more on current pedagogical and research methodology issues. In a final section you will find reviews of books published in 2018.

The contribution by **Hein Retter** is dedicated to a milestone in the history of progressive education: 100 years ago, in September 1918, William H. Kilpatrick's essay "The Project Method" was published in the USA, causing a sensation not only in America, but also internationally. Retter shows how Kilpatrick's project method came to Germany when its popularity was already waning and criticism dominating. Retter focuses on Kilpatrick's previously unpublished letters from 1931-34. The article deals with contemporary social backgrounds, especially the relations between American and German educators of the time. Ambivalences of Kilpatrick and John Dewey in relation to the race question in the USA are discussed. Retter critically responds to claims in the younger Germans' reception of Dewey's work that there was no interest at the time in Dewey, Kilpatrick and American pedagogy in the Germany of 1918-1932.

Dietmar Waterkamp's contribution is a critical-constructive examination of the work of the West German Makarenko researcher Götz Hillig (born 1938) and in this context also with different contemporary and current interpretations of the work of Anton Semjonovitch Makarenko (1888-1939). Waterkamp describes Hillig's search for the "true" Makarenko and goes into the question of what Hillig found - also in the context of some controversial East-West German discussions. A look at Makarenko's lifetime points to the majority of his writings being published during the Stalinist period of the Soviet Union. Waterkamp underlines the possibility of drawing conclusions from Hillig's work and suggests what change in Makarenko's image would result from Hillig's research.

The second article by **Hein Retter** was initially intended for the issue in May next year, but we were able to include it here because it also refers to an important historical date - 100 years of the German November Revolution of 1918 and the following time of the Weimar Republic. Here we are particularly concerned with developments in educational policy discussion and practice. The leading political parties had completely different ideas about the role of religion in public education. Retter describes the complexity of finding a compromise from a multi-perspective view.

The contribution of **Nalline S. Baliram & Jeffrey J. Youde** contains meta-analytical research on the academic impact of feedback on student performance. Based on Irons (2008), the authors define feedback as "any information, process or activity that enables or accelerates students' learning, based on comments related to either formative or summative assessment activities" (p.7). The study aims to summarise quantitative research studies to further investigate the impact of feedback on university students performance. Based on their findings, the authors can show that the overall effect is moderate and statistically significant (hedges' $g = .40$), which supports the idea that best practice feedback has a positive impact on academic performance. The results suggest that the content-specific feedback provided by the teacher at the K-12 level has a positive effect on student academic performance. The authors point out that further research is needed to verify the construct.

Stefanie Lübcke, Fabian Mußél & Anja Franz deal with students' problems when politically active and representing their own interests at university. This qualitative investigation of political involvement in higher education presents the most important results of research into student involvement at the Otto-von-Guericke-University in Magdeburg. The study focuses on the question of why and how students become active in university policy discussion. Semi-standardised interviews are conducted with students from different educational backgrounds. The Civic Voluntarism model of Brady, Schlozman and Verba as well as Bourdieu's theory of capital were used to evaluate the interviews. This provides an insight into the relationship between participation-relevant resources, or capital, and political commitment. On the basis of the comparison of the interviews, hypotheses are developed that can be regarded as the results of the study. The study thus provides insight into the significance of social origin and political participation, as well as socialisation-related factors.

Hsuan-Jen Chen describes ways to a safe and respectful campus and perspectives of multicultural education. For the author, a specific type of multicultural education is the essential basis for creating such a campus. The author argues that from the perspective of power relations, schools are places that help maintain existing relations by reinforcing the ideology of assimilation. One problem is that not all perspectives are evaluated. As a result, pupils who are not part of the norm are treated unfairly at school. This can have a negative effect on learning as the school is not a safe environment for them. Multicultural education must be designed to help students take multiple perspectives and learn to accept diversity. This article illustrates why multicultural issues should be examined in the context of power relations. This is followed by a critical examination of the assimilation ideology and the role of schools in this process. The author also mentions the difference between assimilation and integration and analyses how students can be endangered by assimilation processes. The article permits differentiated perspectives in dealing with the concept of multicultural education.

In his review **Ulf Algermissen** presents a book by Olga Graumann that addresses the question of whether inclusion is an unrealizable vision. The reviewer points out that this book is not only intended for specialists in the field of special education, or for educationalists and students in general, but is also interesting for parents of disabled children to help in making a decision or choice of schools.

Hein Retter reviews three publications that appeared recently: firstly, an anthology, edited by T. Jacobs & S. Herker, on the conception of historical reform pedagogy (progressive education) and the practice of Jena Plan pedagogy and its perspectives for a modern school. The reviewer deals secondly with the book by H.G. Callaway on pluralism, pragmatism and American democracy. Both books have a common point of intersection: the question of race in its different meanings for white thinking and African American thinking in the USA of the last 100 years, thus in the time of educational progressivism after 1900, the time of social constructivism from 1930, and the time of the Civil Rights Movement from the sixties until today. Retter also reviews (thirdly) the book by J. E. King & E. E. Swartz on heritage knowledge in the curriculum and calls it very encouraging for all those who continue to suffer from everyday racism in the United States.

Announcement

We will continue to maintain a broad thematic focus on educational developments from historical, international and comparative perspectives. Furthermore, not only educational scientists and practitioners can exchange information about their research results, but also representatives of related fields in the human and social sciences. We publish articles that are scientifically verifiable, permeated by humanistic, democratic values, social responsibility, respect for autonomy, diversity and the dignity of individuals, groups and communities.

We stand for liberal, independent educational research and publication activity and against the unrestrained commercialization of access to scientific publications. Despite rising production costs for the further development of the design, the expansion of our globally operating IDE team, etc., the entire editorial work remains free of charge for the authors.

We publish two issues per year; the first is published at the end of **May** and the second at the end of **November**.

This means for the next issue:

- For editorial planning reasons, it is recommended that the **provisional titles** of the intended contributions for issue 1-2019 (to be published at the end of May) be submitted to the Editorial Board **as early as possible**, but no later than 15 March 2019.
- The deadline for sending the **complete articles** is **15 April 2019**.
- Authors are again requested to strictly adhere to our editorial standards and requirements (see: www.ide-journal.org/instructions-to-contributors/)

We look forward to further high-quality contributions: articles, essays, book reviews, conference reports and information on research and teaching projects.

Acknowledgement

Again we have good reasons to thank all those who made the publication of this issue possible through contributions, peer reviews, translations, corrections, editorial and electronic-technical work. And again we thank our cooperation partners at the College of Education, National Chengchi University and the Institute of Guanxiology Studies, both Taipei (Taiwan), the School of Education at Seattle Pacific University, Seattle (USA), and the Society of Friends and Supporters of Otto-von-Guericke-University Magdeburg (Germany) for their continued support.

[Reinhard Golz](#) – on behalf of the [Editorial Board](#)



Hein Retter (Germany)

The Centenary of William H. Kilpatrick's "Project Method": A Landmark in Progressive Education Against the Background of American-German Relations After World War I

Abstract: In 1935 a book was published in Germany with essays by John Dewey, the most famous American philosopher, and his equally internationally-renowned pupil, William H. Kilpatrick. Kilpatrick's essay, "The Project Method", published in 1918 (September), had triggered a storm of enthusiasm in the USA to convert the curriculum of public schools to the project method, which, however, in principle, had been used decades earlier in manual training schools. The article is the starting point of a larger investigation which shows how Kilpatrick's Project Method came to Germany when its popularity had already evaporated and criticism dominated. This attempt at historical construction is based on previously unpublished letters by Kilpatrick 1931-34. To do this, we must describe the contemporary background, in particular the relations between American and German specialists in education, which were institutionally fostered by the Teachers College of Columbia University, New York City, and the Zentralinstitut für Erziehung und Unterricht (Central Institute for Education and Teaching), in Berlin. Both institutions were engaged in an exchange of educational experience through study trips until 1932. The different attitude and the ambivalence of Kilpatrick and Dewey with regard to the race question in the USA will also be mentioned. Claims of the more recent German Dewey reception that there was no interest in Dewey, Kilpatrick and American education in Germany between 1918-1932 are given critical examination.

Keywords: William H. Kilpatrick, John Dewey, Project Method, American-German relations in education; Peter Petersen

概要 (Hein Retter : 威廉·克伯屈 (William H. Kilpatrick) 方案教学法百年纪念：第一次世界大战后，德美关系背景下的进步式教育之里程碑)：1935 年，在德国出版了由美国最著名的哲学家约翰·杜威 (John Dewey) 和同样享有国际声誉的他的学生威廉·克伯屈 (William H. Kilpatrick) 共同撰写的一本书。克伯屈的文章“方案教学法”于 1918 年 (9 月) 出版并引发了一股热潮。通过将公立学校中的教学计划转变为方案教学法，在原则上，已在几十年前的人工培训中有所运用。本文展现了克伯屈的方案教学法是如何来到德国，以及当它的受欢迎程度已经逐渐减退，批评占据主导地位。我们关于这一历史性结构的尝试是基于 1931 年至 1934 年克伯屈未发表的一些信件。因此，对当时的背景进行一下描述是必要的，特别是从属于纽约哥伦比亚大学师范学院和柏林中央教育学院的美国和德国的教育者们之间的关系。一直到 1932 年，两所机构共同努力，通过访学的方式来促进教学经验的交流。克伯屈和杜威对美国种族问题的不同态度及矛盾心理也有所提及。关于在 1918 年至 1932 年德国对杜威、克伯屈以及美国教育学没有兴趣的论断加以了纠正。

关键词：威廉·克伯屈 (William H. Kilpatrick)，约翰·杜威 (John Dewey)，方案教学法，德美教育关系，彼得彼得森 (Peter Petersen)

Zusammenfassung (Hein Retter: Das hundertjährige Jubiläum von William H. Kilpatrick's Projektmethode: Ein Meilenstein in der Progressive Education vor dem Hintergrund der deutsch-amerikanischen Beziehungen nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg): 1935 erschien in Deutschland ein Buch mit Essays von John Dewey, dem berühmtesten Philosophen Amerikas, und seinem ebenso international bekannten Schüler William H. Kilpatrick. Kilpatrick's Aufsatz "The Project Method", veröffentlicht 1918 (September), hatte in den USA einen Begeisterungssturm ausgelöst, den Lehrplan der öffentlichen Schulen auf die Projektmethode umzustellen, die jedoch im Prinzip schon Jahrzehnte zuvor in der manuellen Ausbildung

verwendet worden war. Der Artikel bildet den Ausgangspunkt einer größeren Studie, die zeigt, wie Kilpatricks Projektmethode nach Deutschland kam, als ihre Popularität bereits schwand und die Kritik dominierte. Unser Versuch einer historischen Konstruktion basiert auf bisher unveröffentlichten Briefen von Kilpatrick 1931-34. Es ist notwendig, den zeitgenössischen Hintergrund zu beschreiben, insbesondere die Beziehungen zwischen amerikanischen und deutschen Pädagogen, die vom Teachers College der Columbia University, New York City, und dem Zentralinstitut für Erziehung und Unterricht in Berlin institutionell gepflegt wurden. Beide Institutionen sorgten in Zusammenarbeit für einen pädagogischen Erfahrungsaustausch durch Studienreisen bis 1932. Erwähnt werden auch die unterschiedliche Einstellung und die Ambivalenz von Kilpatrick und Dewey in Bezug auf die Rassenfrage in den USA. Behauptungen der jüngeren deutschen Dewey-Rezeption, dass es in Deutschland 1918-1932 kein Interesse an Dewey, Kilpatrick und der amerikanischen Pädagogik gab, werden korrigiert.

Schlüsselwörter: William H. Kilpatrick, John Dewey, Projektmethode, Amerikanisch-deutsche pädagogische Beziehungen; Peter Petersen

Аннотация (Хейн Реттер: К столетию разработки У. Х. Килпатриком метода проектов: основополагающий концепт прогрессивной педагогики в контексте германо-американских отношений после Первой Мировой Войны): В 1935 году в Германии вышла книга очерков Джона Дьюи, известнейшего американского философа, и его всемирно известного ученика и последователя Уильяма Х. Килпатрика. Работа Килпатрика «Метод проектов», опубликованная в сентябре 1918 года, была с восторгом принята в США; все буквально ринулись перестраивать учебный план публичных школ, внедряя метод проектов, хотя его уже доводилось использовать несколькими десятилетиями ранее в обучении рабочим профессиям. В статье рассказывается о том, как метод проектов, разработанный Килпатриком, пробивал себе дорогу в Германии, в то время, когда его популярность практически сошла на нет и в научных дискуссиях по данному вопросу преобладали критические оценки. Предпринимаемая нами попытка исторической реконструкции данного этапа основывается на неопубликованных письмах Килпатрика в период с 1931 по 1934 гг. Для этого необходимо описать условия этого периода, в частности, контакты между американскими и немецкими педагогами, которые обеспечивались на официальном уровне со стороны Педагогического колледжа Колумбийского университета города Нью-Йорка и Центральным институтом воспитания и обучения в Берлине. Сотрудничая, оба этих образовательных учреждения до 1932 года осуществляли педагогический обмен опытом – направляли своих специалистов – соответственно в Нью-Йорк или Берлин – в ознакомительные поездки. В статье также затрагивается аспект, связанный с различием во взглядах Килпатрика и Дьюи на расовый вопрос в США. Корректируется оценка высказываемых в последнее время идей, что в Германии в период с 1918 по 1932 гг. не было интереса ни к трудам Дьюи, ни к работам Килпатрика, ни ко всей американской педагогике.

Ключевые слова: Уильям Х. Килпатрик, Джон Дьюи, метод проектов, американо-германские педагогические контакты, Петер Петерсен.

1. Introduction

William Heard Kilpatrick (1871-1965) was a well-known professor in the Philosophy of Education Department at the Teachers College of Columbia University (TCCU), New York City. In the first half of the 20th century TCCU became the leading institution of teacher training in the US, also the leading US institution of so-called "progressive" education, often connected with a liberal-left political attitude. The academic teacher who was considered the spearhead of that progressive direction within the wide field of education, was embodied by Kilpatrick. It was special circumstances that made Kilpatrick the leading figure in American project pedagogy for the next two decades. The aroused fire of American public-school teachers' enthusiasm for the "project method" as the centre of a new curricular movement soon seemed to be extinguished in the face of the American nation's economic and political challenges in the 1930s.

Although the expectations of supporters of the project idea were greater than could be confirmed by the reality of everyday school life, today we may say that the international long-term effects have

been greater than one might have expected. Thus, it is quite normal for schools today, at least in Germany, to offer project days or even a project week as a supplement to the normal curriculum every school year. Children then choose a topic from a range of subjects and work on it in a group. The results will be presented to parents and the public at a closing event. Also, in other fields of learning, such as in management courses, in the arts or – as mentioned before – in vocational training “projects” play a role. Project-based learning today is one of the established alternative methods in school and the education system.

In September 1918, Kilpatrick published the short essay “The Project Method” which “catapulted [him] to fame” (Parker, 1992, p. 2). But Kilpatrick’s thoughts did not come out of the blue. The educational idea of the project had already gained a foothold in the United States more than three decades earlier, most strongly in manual training schools and vocational schools for the agricultural and industrial professions. Here project work developed in several didactic directions. A few years before the publication of his well-known 1918 essay Kilpatrick had already been involved in a “project” in TCCU teacher training. From 1916, the project method had been considered as a standard method in vocational schools and also mentioned in textbooks of general pedagogy in the USA (Knoll 2011, 272f). So, it was by no means new virgin territory that Kilpatrick entered with his essay. Rather, it was already a pedagogically cultivated area.

Such and more information with a detailed historical retrospect on the project idea, how it came from the USA to Europe and spread here during the economic and scientific success of an up-and-coming America, can be found in the book by Michael Knoll (2011). Knoll had also published his research in many individual articles in American specialist magazines since the 1990s. Today Knoll's book, written in German, is indispensable if you want to orientate yourself in the history of the project concept. Knoll’s basic work of 2011 is in its last section particularly interesting for German readers, because in a concluding chapter the discussion of the project idea in the Federal Republic of Germany after the Second World War is documented. An important question for the German discussion of the project idea concerns John Dewey's share in American project pedagogy and his particular influence on Kilpatrick’s project idea. Knoll addresses this question in detail, and I will return to this briefly in this essay. Earlier presentations of this subject (Magnor, 1976, III; Oelkers, 2009, p. 188f) require considerable revision.

This article outlines Kilpatrick's project pedagogy based on his programmatic essay of 1918. Finally, it should be clear how Kilpatrick’s project plan came to Germany. There was a volume edited in 1935 by the German educationalist and representative of New Education, Peter Petersen (1884-1952). The book was entitled: “Der Projekt-Plan. Grundlegung und Praxis” (Petersen, 1935). It contained essays, translated into German, by both William H. Kilpatrick and John Dewey. For the first time in Germany texts by Dewey and Kilpatrick were placed under a common educational point of reference.

The first part of my research deals with the personal relationships of the actors and the time contexts from which this book emerged. As a source, which has not yet been sufficiently evaluated by educational history research, the journal “Pädagogisches Zentralblatt” (abbr. PZ) is used, published since 1921 by the “Zentralinstitut für Erziehung und Unterricht” (abbr. ZEU; Central Institute for Education and Teaching), in Berlin. The legal status of the ZEU was a foundation, with a remit for all of Germany, but assigned to the Prussian Ministry of Education. In the last 30 years, Dewey's leading interpreters in Central Europe have argued that the tradition of the monarchist German Empire had continued after 1918 in the mind of German educationalists, viz. in the Weimar Republic, Germany - in comparison to other countries - had been isolated from American democracy and the USA. And Dewey's democratic ideas on education (inclusive of his “pragmatism”) had neither been known nor wanted at all - or “misunderstood”, at least watered down (Füssl 2004,

p. 80f.) I would like to suggest a reassessment of this point of view. To be the saviour of the Germans was not Dewey's intention.

Dewey's contributions to Petersen's edition of 1935, to begin with, are not a direct support of Kilpatrick's concern to give recognition to the project idea but are texts that provided German readers with an insight into Dewey's educational thinking before and after the First World War. Apart from Helen Parkhurst's Dalton Plan, Kilpatrick's project method turned out to be the most important conception of exported American Progressive Education after World War I (Holt, 1994). But we also know that the German translation of Kilpatrick's and Dewey's texts was published under Nazi rule. The contexts of the acting persons under the conditions of the Third Reich – not to forget Petersen's change to Nazism in his publications – are to be dealt with in a following essay.

Today the textbooks of educational historians in German-speaking European countries (Germany, Austria, partly Switzerland) see the reception of Kilpatrick's project idea as beginning with this book in 1935, containing treatises by Kilpatrick and Dewey. No one asked about the (hi)story that made this volume possible. That's what my contribution will deal with. In view of racial bias that has still not disappeared in the USA, it is inevitable to touch on a problem that the American and German reception of the project method has so far pushed aside: the problem of the "color line" (W.E.B. Du Bois). We should ask, if the project method played a role in Kilpatrick's and in Dewey's thinking – perhaps – to see "projects" also as a tool of integration for white and non-white children in the class-room. This idea was realized, later, for example, with the Jigsaw Technique initiated by social psychologist Elliot Aronson (see his Wikipedia entry).

2. William H. Kilpatrick – Biographical Aspects and Academic Influences

Kilpatrick was a Southerner (in detail: Beineke 1998, pp. 1-50). Unlike John Dewey, whose hometown was Burlington, Vermont, he came from Georgia (GA). Born in White Plains (GA), the young William was socialized in a religious home; his father was a Baptist Church preacher. Kilpatrick took his B.A. at the small (Baptist) Mercer University in Macon (GA) in 1891, and one year later (after studies at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore) his M.A. He first worked as a teacher and Principal at Georgia public schools from 1892-1897. "He returned to Mercer University as a professor of mathematics (1897-1906) and served as acting president (1903-1905). He went to Teachers College, Columbia University" (Bronars Jr. 1978, p. 746). Kilpatrick left Mercer University in a situation of conflict: "The trustees were concerned about his doubting the virgin birth" (Parker, 1992, p. 3). But the conflict was much deeper because Kilpatrick saw his integrity violated by personal accusations (Beineke, 1998, pp. 40-47).

During his time as a teacher Kilpatrick had already attended summer courses and spent shorter stays at several universities, so again in 1895 at Johns Hopkins. As early as 1893 Kilpatrick had visited Francis W. Parker, the "father of the progressive educational movement" (Dewey, LW 5, p. 320).¹ He was inspired by Parker's "Quincy method" of free student learning, whereas, in summer 1898 at Chicago University, he did not find Dewey particularly impressive. In 1907 Kilpatrick enrolled at TCCU in New York City. Here Dewey (who had changed from Chicago to New York), Thorndike and Monroe were among his main teachers. With work on an historical topic he received his doctorate in 1912 from Paul Monroe at Columbia University. Kilpatrick spent the rest of his academic life there. At TCCU he became a lecturer in education in 1909, assistant professor in 1911, associate professor in 1915 and full professor in 1918, retiring in 1937 as emeritus professor. Kilpatrick remained associated with the TCCU throughout his life. He held many public offices in the service of the common good and received many academic honours (Parker, 1992, p. 4).

On the occasion of Dewey's 100th birthday Kilpatrick wrote a short essay in 1959 (reprinted in 1966) about his encounter with him as a student at TCCU:

I entered upon my 1907 work with Prof. Dewey thinking that in philosophy he was still a neo-Hegelian. For a time, Dewey – along with many others – had followed his neo-Hegelian line; and I, too, after working in philosophy at Johns Hopkins in 1895-1896, had accepted it as my personal outlook. But now I found that Dewey, stressing the conception of process, the continuity of nature, and the method of inductive science, had built an entirely new philosophy, later called Experimentalism. As I worked with him during three constructive years, I gave up neo-Hegelianism and accepted instead the new viewpoint, thereby gaining a fresh and invigorating outlook in life and thought. From that time until Prof. Dewey's death in 1952, I had great satisfaction in the many contacts with him. Dewey read and approved the manuscript of my 1912 book "The Montessori System Examined" (Kilpatrick, 1966, pp. 14-15).

Indeed, Kilpatrick always advocated John Dewey's ideas. He was considered as the chief interpreter of Dewey's pedagogy by many of his contemporaries and followers, regardless of whether his colleagues - or even Dewey himself, as some critics believe – thought this was appropriate or not. Also, personally, his close relationship with Dewey is evident. When a bust of Dewey was unveiled at a ceremony on November 28th, 1928, Kilpatrick "gave the main address extolling Dewey's contributions to philosophy and education" (Dykhuisen, 1973, p. 235). Kilpatrick chaired the academic celebrations of Dewey's 70th birthday in 1929 (ibid., p. 243). Kilpatrick was the editor of the volume "Educational Frontier" (1933), the basic book in which well-known academics from TCCU and other universities demanded "social reconstruction" under the spiritual leadership of Dewey. The book was an intellectual answer to America's dwindling confidence in democracy in the face of people's economic misery during the Great Depression but showed no interest in mentioning the race problems in American democracy (McCarthy & Murrow, 2013).

Kilpatrick was a founding member of the John Dewey Society in 1935, and editor of its first yearbook (Beineke, 1998, p. 218). On November 10th, 1947, in the distinguished presence of John Dewey, in a solemn meeting at TCCU, the William Heard Kilpatrick Award (the Kilpatrick Medal) was given to Prof. Boyd Bode and presented by Kilpatrick (ibid., p. 316). In 1951, Samuel Tenenbaum, Kilpatrick's biographer, was successful in convincing Dewey to write an introduction to the book on Kilpatrick, after Dewey had benevolently taken note of Tenenbaum's script - but also after emeritus Kilpatrick advised the young author to first delete certain names that might have caused Dewey displeasure (Beineke, ibid., p. 341).

By the way, in Dewey's giant work this is his only essay on Kilpatrick's project method – a special honor for Kilpatrick, forgetting earlier troubles with the often misunderstood "project". If one checks the "Correspondence of John Dewey" (Dewey, 2005), the letters to Kilpatrick are throughout friendly; they show no hidden disagreement with Kilpatrick. In my view, at least three basic aspects of Dewey's world of thought can be found in Kilpatrick: first, the commitment to a renewal (reconstruction) of education on the "progressive" path (for long, until now, a point of controversial debates in the Dewey reception), second, an experimental-pragmatic philosophy and, third, the commitment to democracy in the Deweyan spirit.

Apart from Dewey, the influence on Kilpatrick exerted by the famous psychologist at TCCU, Edward Lee Thorndike (1874-1949), can also be clearly felt. The philosopher Dewey and the experimental psychologist Thorndike were more opponents than friends in their different epistemological views (Tomlinson, 1997). It was Thorndike, not Dewey, who had the greatest success in professionalizing teacher training, by introducing empirical methods and research into learning theory (Retter, 2012, p. 295). Thorndike's influence on Kilpatrick with his modern methods of empirical psychology and publishing successful textbooks must not be underestimated. Kilpatrick's cognitive power to present complicated facts simply and catchily was more due to Thorndike's than Dewey's influence. Dewey was much more decisive for Kilpatrick's philosophical messages on democracy and education. Kilpatrick was always talking about democracy in a thoroughly convinced and serious

way, whereas with Dewey the democratic thought rather formed the foundation on which he built his political philosophy; the word "democracy" often remained in the background, as shown in particular in Dewey's best-known book, "Democracy and Education" (1916, MW 9). Kilpatrick, as he later revealed, had a significant role in the creation of the book – we may call it Dewey's 'bible of democracy':

When he [John Dewey] himself had finished seven chapters of "Democracy and Education" he turned these over to me for criticism and to suggest other topics for completing the book. I was then teaching a course in Principles of Education; so, I made a list of philosophic problems that troubled me in this course and turned them over to Dewey. At first, he rejected my list, but later he redefined a number of the problems and these now appear as chapters in the completed book (Kilpatrick, 1966, p. 15).

3. The Essay, "The Project Method" (W.H. Kilpatrick), 1918

Kilpatrick's famous article on "The Project Method" which was in his time often reprinted and is now celebrating its 100th anniversary, begins with the following words (we quote a reprint from 1929, 11th edition):

The word 'project' is perhaps the latest arrival to knock for admittance at the door of educational terminology. Shall we admit the stranger? Not wisely unless two preliminary questions have first been answered in the affirmative: First, is there behind the proposed term and waiting even now to be christened a valid notion or concept which promises to render appreciable service in educational thinking? Second, if we grant the foregoing, does the word 'project' fitly designate the waiting concept? Because the question as to the concept and its worth is so much more significant than any matter of mere names, this discussion will deal almost exclusively with the first of the two inquiries (Kilpatrick, 1929, p. 4).

Kilpatrick points out that another term, such as "purposeful act", could be suitable as a term for the presented pedagogical concept – and furthermore, the reader should not take the term "christened", which he used, too seriously, for, as an educational term, "project" had been in use for a long time. Kilpatrick admits that he doesn't know who the inventor is and warns his readers right at the beginning: "Not a few readers will be disappointed that after all so little new is presented." (Kilpatrick, *ibid.*)

What is a project, pedagogically speaking? It is a "wholehearted purposeful act carried on amid social surroundings" (Kilpatrick, *ibid.*, p. 5). We should note that Kilpatrick's 1918 paper does not contain the subtitle he added to later reprints: "The Use of the Purposeful Act in the Educative Process". The demand is not made here that the project method should take the place of the normal curriculum completely. In fact, in the years that followed, the general discussion went exactly in this direction.

Kilpatrick tells the reader in 1918 that he has long recognized the need to make the manifold relationships of the variables of educational processes practicable through a unifying concept. This term he looked for had to take into account in particular: "the factor of action, preferably wholehearted vigorous activity", "the laws of learning", "the ethical quality of conduct." Kilpatrick is convinced that "education is life - so easy to say and so hard to delimit" (*ibid.*, p. 3f.). It is important to see that Kilpatrick stresses the ethical dimension of purposeful action. We know, he has the reputation - not without reason - that his ideas on the project method tend to be child-orientated, emphasizing the child's intentions in place of the requirements of the teacher on the basis of the normal curriculum. But one should not forget that the purposeful act, the project, that draws from

the full steam of life, is integrated into a value system, ethical behavior and conduct, in a manner Dewey had described shortly before in "Democracy and Education".

Nevertheless, the assignment of the project method to the so-called child-centered approach derives its right from the equation of "life" and "education". Kilpatrick states that not all purposes of life are worthy, but the "project method" refers to the "purposeful act" as "the typical unit of the worthy life". (We can add that, in particular, the child's life is worthy, and "activity" is part of children's life.) Vice versa "the worthy life consists of purposeful activity and not mere drifting" (Kilpatrick, *ibid.*, p. 4).

You can see the change of view between "old" and "new" education in the light of the project method. The old thesis that education is preparation for life (the traditional interpretation) is replaced by the "progressive" thesis: that education "is life itself". This is, however, originally not Kilpatrick's idea, this view comes from Dewey. In "Democracy and Education", published in 1916, Dewey said in chapter 18 ("Educational Values"):

Since education is not a means to living but is identical with the operation of living a life which is fruitful and inherently significant, the only ultimate value which can be set up is just the process of living itself (Dewey, MW 9, p. 248).

For today's readers, it is important to know that this view is not realist populism but shows the radical nature of a philosophy that abolishes the difference between action and thought, practice and theory, fact and claim – in order to replace those differences by the biological unity of active ACTION. The old psychology (or better: physiology) divided action in stimulus and response, Dewey criticized. He replaced this difference by the claim that stimulus and response (which creates action) are only two phases of the same thing. Coordination happens between different parts of the same matter in an organic circuit. The conscious becoming part of the physio-psychic basis of action is called EXPERIENCE. Dewey assumed that action has its condition by instrumentally successful working coordination. The whole model, however, is a mixture of common sense and speculation – anyhow, it is not clear in the details. Strictly experimental psychologists of Dewey's time, like Thorndike at TCCU or Charles Judd in Chicago (Dewey's successor as professor there) could only warn against such thinking.ⁱⁱ

For the first time in 1896, Dewey developed the elements of his new logic of instrumental experimentalism in his essay "The Reflex Arc Concept in Psychology" (EW 5, pp. 96-109). Of course, Dewey's holistic concept, transferred to psychology and pedagogy, can also open up new insights. So, the subject "pedagogy and pragmatism" was indeed new and fascinating twenty years ago. On the other hand, one should also critically analyze the consequences if, at the same time, - for whatever reason - universal recognition of Dewey's pragmatic view was demanded by some Deweyans. Neither the special features of Dewey's concept were taken into account, nor were the pragmatic enthusiasts of pedagogical pragmatism aware that Dewey did not identify his own notion of action with "pragmatism", even though he was one of the founding fathers of "American Philosophy". So, it was not astonishing that some contemporary educationalists tried to prove that German pedagogy, blinded by nationalism, couldn't recognize the value of Dewey's pragmatism and his thinking on democracy (Böhm & Oelkers, 1995; Tröhler & Oelkers, 2005; critically Retter 2009, p. 191; 2015; 2016). Indeed, the core of Dewey's view of "pragmatism" is neither to be found in Peirce nor in James. Louis Menand stressed that Dewey's organic circuit "is biologized Hegel" (Menand, 2001, p. 329). Kilpatrick, however, was far from plumbing such depths in Dewey's philosophy. He saw the whole thing in a more practical way. Kilpatrick formulated, standing in the bucket line with Dewey (without mentioning Dewey):

A man who habitually so regulates his life with reference to worthy social aims meets at once the demands for practical efficiency and of moral responsibility. Such a one presents the ideal

of democratic citizenship. [...] As the purposeful act is thus the typical unit of the worthy life in a democratic society, so also should it be made the typical unit of school procedure. We of America [sic!] have for years increasingly desired that education be considered as life itself and not as a mere preparation for later living. The conception before us promises a definite step towards the attainment of this end. If the purposeful act be in reality the typical unit of the worthy life, then it follows that to base education on purposeful acts is exactly to identify the process of education with worthy living itself. The two then become the same. (Kilpatrick, *ibid.*, p. 6).

We can conclude that the normative basis of Kilpatrick's project method is the idea that the equivalence of education with life is only conceivable regarding the claim of conduct, of valuable ethical action as part of the "good life". This idea then finds its acme insofar that the thus normatively determined educational process has a democratic quality. The democratic citizen in a democratic society is both a prerequisite and an objective of the project method. The project method as the foundation of the educational process seems to eliminate all motivational problems of the students, from Kilpatrick's point of view: "There is no necessary conflict in kind between the social demands and the child's interests" (*ibid.*, p. 12), because those disorders of children's interest are (or should have) now have been eliminated that the traditional school had generated.

It is striking that Kilpatrick hardly talks about the teacher's role in the project method. Indirectly, it becomes clear that the teacher does not play a bossy, dominant role, but is rather the preparing arranger of open-start situations in the role of a coordinator. There is also no question here of checking what has been learned. The teacher has to steer the child through the difficulties which accompany project work. Tasks can be too simple or too difficult, the use of required tools must first be learned etc. Anyway, Kilpatrick stated: "The teacher's success – if we believe in democracy – will consist in gradually eliminating himself or herself from the success of the procedure" (*ibid.*, p. 13). Today one should add: This is an old educational wisdom, but in a modern performance society absolutely far from reality. At least in the normal learning process, the theoretical demands of the teaching contents grow with the increasing age of the pupils in higher education. At the end of this introduction to Kilpatrick's project method, let's hear him speak again when he distinguishes four different types of projects:

Let us consider the classification of the typical kind of projects:

Type 1, where the purpose is to embody some idea or plan in external form, as building a boat, writing a letter, presenting a play;

Type 2, where the purpose is to enjoy some (aesthetic) experience, like listening to a story, hearing a symphony, appreciating a picture;

Type 3, where the purpose is to straighten out some intellectual difficulty, to solve some problem[s], e.g. finding out whether or not dew falls, to ascertain how New York outgrew Philadelphia;

Type 4, where the purpose is to obtain some item or degree of skill or knowledge, like learning to write at grade 14 on the Thorndike Scale, or learning the irregular verbs in French.

It is at once evident that these groupings more or less overlap and that one type may be used as a means to another end. It may be of interest to note that with these definitions the project method logically includes the problem method as a special case" (Kilpatrick, *ibid.*, p. 16)

Kilpatrick defines the so-called problem-based method as a special case of the project to eliminate it as a competing model and explains these four types. He considers that the Type 1 projects (sometimes also Type 4) have an inner structure which he sees as a loose sequence of "purposing, planning, executing and judging". We know these elements are Herbartian pedagogical tradition, as Dewey made use of it in "How we think" and in his late work, "Logic. Theory of Inquiry", in a five-step scheme. The general idea of Kilpatrick's paper is repeated at the end: to establish the "wholehearted purposeful activity in a social situation as the typical unit of school procedure". This conception should be "the best guarantee of the utilization of the child's native capacities now too frequently wasted". Kilpatrick closed:

With the child naturally social and with the skillful teacher to stimulate and guide his purposing, we can especially expect that kind of learning we call character building. The necessary reconstruction consequent upon these considerations offers a most alluring 'project' to the teacher who but dares to propose (Kilpatrick, *ibid.*, p. 18).

Last century, at the beginning of the twenties, there was great enthusiasm for Kilpatrick's project method in US public schools and other educational institutions. This meant the end of the traditional school subjects. They were to be replaced by life-orientated projects in which groups of children acquire the skills and knowledge they would otherwise learn in specialized training. Knoll (2011) shows in detail the rise and fall of Kilpatrick's project pedagogy in the USA. One of the main points of criticism was that thorough knowledge was not sufficiently acquired in the projects but was rather a condition for projects with higher expectations. The structure of the subjects cannot be dispensed with. Also, according to Kilpatrick, the children determine their actions themselves to a large extent and the role of the teacher is not sufficiently defined. The term "project" is unclear and replaces clarity with "flexibility". In the end, Kilpatrick no longer wanted to use the term 'project'; he preferred to speak of a "wholehearted, purposeful activity" which needs an "activity program" (Tenenbaum 1952, pp. 248); privately, in a letter, he admitted to having made a mistake (Knoll, *ibid.*, p. 132). Historically we should see this not as a defeat, but as a readiness to learn.

German educators were well informed about the then current US discussion on progressive education and the project movement. They evaluated the discussion in American journals. In a report about the "project method" the PZ informed German teachers (written in German):

No wonder, then, when we hear that the method suffers no less from some of its followers than from its opponents and that many teachers and school inspectors are suspicious of it; and many adults who cannot get rid of their own school tradition probably want to dismiss it with the expression "soft pedagogy". Nevertheless, the method is used successfully in most newly established schools and in many existing state schools. (Unfortunately, nothing precise can be determined about the number). As a result, it is emphasized that the children of schools with "project teaching" have sufficient knowledge in the elementary subjects but are mentally much more advanced than the pupils in other schools. [...] Behind it stands the whole modern educational science of the United States, represented in the narrower sense here by W.H. Kilpatrick ("The Project Method"; *Teacher Coll. Col. Un.*), in the following by J. Dewey. The "Project Method" is therefore a concrete attempt to put the educational principles given there into practice (Friebel, 1927, p. 34).

In no way was this report of a German education specialist with US experience an attack on the American project method, but smiling, friendly and hopeful. In a report informing German readers about new teaching methods in the USA, the mathematics methods expert D.W. Reave, TCCU, said:

The project method has been used considerably, especially in the lower grades. It has not found favour, however, in the secondary schools; and its use in elementary schools is condemned by some authorities (Reave, in Lietzmann, 1931, p. 260).

4. Thomas Alexander and the USA-Germany Exchange of Experience in Education

Until the First World War, institutional relations between scientists in the USA and the German Empire were diverse and friendly. Many American scientists had studied and received their doctorates at German universities. For the young academic subject of psychology, Wilhelm Wundt (1833-1920) had an international reputation at the University of Leipzig. (Petersen was an academic pupil of Wundt; he became his first biographer in 1925). Regarding education, Wilhelm Rein (1847-1929), a professor at Jena University, was an international magnet, also for Americans. Similarly, philosophy at the universities of Berlin, Heidelberg and Freiburg attracted Americans. William James (1842-1910), who had studied in Germany, was highly regarded by his German colleagues, in particular by Carl Stumpf and Friedrich Paulsen, at Berlin University. The First World War subsequently thoroughly destroyed German-American relations. In 1923, the Weimar Republic was still a state where it was not clear whether it would survive the constant crises in the face of imminent political upheavals within and imminent military intervention from without. The Rapallo Treaty with the Soviet Union in 1925 and the acceptance into the League of Nations (to which the USA did not belong) in 1926 strengthened the Weimar Republic.

Before the First World War, American students of philosophy, psychology and education came to Germany in large numbers to study there. In the twenties the opposite tendency becomes apparent: after the First World War, the German Reich had become a democratic republic (Weimar Republic). Now German educators wanted to find out more about progressive education in the USA. In the Weimar Republic there were many new reformist pedagogical directions, which, however, were also interesting for educational reformers in the USA. Among those interested in Germany was Prof. Thomas Alexander, TCCU, who published his positive impressions of the new educational developments in Germany (Alexander & Parker, 1929). Alexander (1931) informed German educators about the state of development of experimental schools at American universities and teacher training institutions, including the TCCU, not without self-criticism.

Dr. Georg Kerschensteiner (1854-1932), former director of state schools in Munich from 1895-1919, was honorary professor at the University of Munich from 1920. He is regarded as the nestor of the German vocational school and the idea of the work school in the public education system, which he realized in the elementary schools of Munich. In the years before World War I he travelled to the USA, where he became familiar with the conditions school and education. Since then he was friends with John Dewey. In 1925 Kerschensteiner compared the educational system in Germany with that of the USA in an essay in the PZ. He did not deny a certain backwardness of public education in America and the lower standards at American universities - not least by citing self-critical voices from the USA. On the other hand, he stressed the rapid progress made by the US education system. Kerschensteiner recommended German government agencies to learn from the Americans, and he recommended a constant exchange of experience between German and American educators (Kerschensteiner, 1925, p. 13).

It was a good coincidence that a German official of the Prussian Ministry of Education, Erich Hylla (1887-1976), travelled to the USA and to the TCCU on behalf of his minister to find out about American education, teacher training and curricula. Hylla had grown up in Silesia. After an educational career, he also studied psychology at the University of Breslau (Wrocław) - under William Stern, with a focus on diagnostics. He became school superintendent of Eberswalde (near

Berlin); in 1922 he moved to the Prussian Ministry of Education. One of his tasks here was the development of curricula in the school system and it was for this reason that he was in the USA in 1926/27 to gather new experience there.

In fact, there was a need on the German side to learn from America and its pedagogy. In 1926, Hylla made the first contacts relevant to the American journey of German educationalists. He got to know both Dewey and the professors at TCCU. As Bittner (2001, 88, Fn. 5) writes, the invitation of a group of German educators to the TCCU was envisaged with Prof. del Manzo. R.T. Alexander was at the ZEU in Germany in 1926 and discussed such a project with Franz Hilker, the educationalist and foreign department manager at ZEU (Böhme, 1971). Günther Böhme, who documented the history of the ZEU between the two World Wars, emphasized the importance of Alexander for the international recognition of the ZEU by strengthening German-American relations. Böhme wrote (transl. H.R.):ⁱⁱⁱ

Especially lasting and strong were the relationships that were able to be established with the American school system [...]. They have become momentous not only through the growing recognition of the ZEU as Germany's pedagogical centre, but also for Hilker's development towards comparative pedagogy, for which Thomas Alexander in particular opened his eyes. He first visited the ZEU in 1926 in the course of his studies on German pedagogy. Together with Hilker, he prepared the program for the visit of a group of the "International Institute of Teachers College of Columbia University", to which Thomas Alexander belonged. The study trip was conducted by Thomas Alexander in 1927 and was reciprocated by a pedagogical study trip to the United States of about 30 [actually 25; H.R.] German educators under Hilker's direction in 1928. During his stay in the United States Hilker held lectures at the Teachers College of Columbia University [...] Until 1933 student and study groups came to Germany every year under Alexander's leadership (Böhme, 1971, pp. 149-150).

20

It is uncertain if such a study trip of American education specialists to Germany actually took place in 1927, as Böhme asserted (*ibid.*, 150), because the PZ did not report any such event. It could be that the plan was limited to visiting the 4th World Conference of the New Education Fellowship (NEF), which took place in Locarno (Switzerland), in August 1927.

Who was Alexander? [Richard] Thomas Alexander (1887-1971), born in Smicksburg, Pennsylvania, had studied as a teacher in the USA and, under John Dewey's influence, was committed to progressive pedagogy. Even before the First World War he had been interested in reform pedagogy in Europe. First, he was in Turkey, then in Germany. In 1908/1909 Alexander had studied under Wilhelm Rein in Jena. Until the war started he traveled more than once to Germany to study school and education. He worked from 1914 to 1924 at George Peabody College in Nashville (Tennessee), and in 1917 he earned a PhD degree with a historical study of the Prussian school system, a work that is still hard to surpass and set standards (Alexander, 1919). In 1924, he joined the TCCU, New York City. Alexander became Deputy Director of the 'International Institute' at the TCCU, founded in 1923.

The Director of the International Institute was Kilpatrick's doctoral supervisor, Prof. Paul Monroe. Apart from his long-time academic friend William F. Russell, Alexander's colleagues in Education at the TCCU were (among others): William H. Kilpatrick, Isaac L. Kandel, Robert B. Raup, Georg S. Counts, Harold Rugg and William C. Bagley. Alexander was the initiator of the foundation of the "New College", which from 1932 introduced a new concept of teacher training as an independent unit of Teachers College, but it had to close in 1939.

John Dewey, who taught philosophy at Columbia University, was associated with the TCCU through a lectureship. The TCCU professors were mostly Dewey's followers, but not all of them - and not all of them with the same enthusiasm as Kilpatrick.

In the "International Institute" of the TCCU Alexander was regarded as the Germany expert - not without good reason, although Kandel, who had emigrated from Europe to the USA, also possessed a broad and excellent knowledge of education in Europe. Kandel had also spent a guest semester with Wilhelm Rein in Jena before the First World War, in 1907. In the twenties Alexander also contacted Rein's successor in Jena, Peter Petersen – and was impressed. He was an intern at the University school in Jena, which had the status of an experimental school. It is the place of origin of the so-called Jena Plan (usually written in German as "Jenaplan").

In his 1929 book Alexander described a day trip for the children of the Jena University School and accompanied a group of Petersen's students on a pedagogical excursion with the aim of meeting the socialist school reformers in Vienna (Alexander & Parker, 1929, pp. 58-63; pp. 63-66). In the "Mitteilungen" (news and reports) from the Petersen Institute in Jena, the "Whitsun trip to Vienna" in the summer semester of 1926 is listed along with many other study trips (Petersen, 1929, p. 13). Petersen had been Professor of Educational Science at the University of Jena since 1923. He repeatedly emphasized Alexander's positive role for Jenaplan pedagogy:

Inspired by the visits of Prof. Alexander of Columbia University and his colleagues, we wish that the "minimum subject matter" for spelling, geography and history could also be worked out for the German circumstances (Petersen, 1932, pp. 71-72).

In the chronicle of the "Erziehungswissenschaftliche Anstalt" (Petersen's Institute in Jena) the lecture of "Prof. Marie Steinhaus-Moskau" is mentioned, "which at the same time in July 1927 showed a valuable part of the exhibition of the 'Russian Working School'", organized by the ZEU, in Berlin. Furthermore, lectures by "Miss Lucille Allard and Prof. Dr. Thomas Alexander -Newyork" and by "Prof. Dr. Raup - Newyork" are documented (Petersen, 1929, p. 14; Retter, 2007, p. 162).

After the First World War it was Alexander at the International Institute, TCCU, who successfully sought to re-establish contacts between American and German educators. He was friends with the German reform pedagogues, in particular with Fritz Karsen, Franz Hilker and Peter Petersen (see Wikipedia entry: Richard Thomas Alexander). Karsen, the socialist school reformer from Berlin, accepted Alexander's invitation in 1926 to get to know the pedagogy of the USA for six months (Karsen 1993, p. 10f.). Hilker and Petersen did this in 1928 as members of a delegation of 25 school principals and experts in school administration from all over Germany. After agreement between Alexander and Hilker, the TCCU had invited and organized the program for the contact trip.

5. Concerning education: Contemporary historical aspects of German-American relations

There is a wealth of research on the German-American cultural exchange in the context of study visits and contacts between American and German academics before and after 1900, which is not considered here (see also Füssl, 2004). Daniela Bartholome (2012) examined the network of the Berlin university philosopher Friedrich Paulsen (1846-1908) with his friends at American colleges and universities. In the era of the German Empire, studying in Germany was much more popular than studying in France and England for American students (Bartholome, *ibid.*, p. 133). The idea of the German university had influenced the development of higher education in the USA. In the USA, however, the educational qualification required to enter university before the First World War was usually lower than the German 'Abitur' (Bartolome, *ibid.*, p. 133).

The official visit of German educators to the USA on an institutional level in 1928 was preceded three quarters of a year earlier by contacts between American educators and colleagues from German-speaking countries and regions. A large number of educators from the USA – to be exact

162 (Koslowski, 2012, p. 64) – travelled to the 4th World Conference of the New Education Fellowship (NEF) in Locarno in August 1927. From several sources (Kluge, 1992; Retter, 2007, p. 171f.; Koslowski, 2012, p. 64) it can be reconstructed that Petersen saw T. Alexander again in Locarno, and he got to know Harold Rugg (TCCU), as well as C. Washburne (Winnetka) and Marietta Johnson (Fairhope). He met them all for a second time the following year in the USA, with the German travel group; the "Winnetka Calculation Method" was developed by Washburne, which made charting individual learning progress possible. Petersen was to introduce this at the time at his Jena University School (Petersen, 1930, p. 199). The PZ published the main lectures of the Locarno Conference from 3rd to 15th August 1927 in advance:

4. Internationale Pädagogische Konferenz des Arbeitskreises für Erneuerung der Erziehung in Locarno vom 3.–15. August 1927. Die Reihenfolge der Hauptreferate zwischen dem Eröffnungsabend am 3. August und der Schlußversammlung am 15. August mit einem freien Tage für einen gemeinsamen Ausflug (9. Aug.) ist folgende: 4. August: Prof. Pierre B o v e t -Genf: Der Sinn der Freiheit in der Erziehung. — Dr. Alfred A d l e r -Wien: Erziehung zum Mut. — 5. August: Prof. Dr. Carson R y a n jr.-Swarthmore College Pa., V. St. A.: Elementarlehre und individuelle Methoden. — 6. August: Prof. Giuseppe L o m b a r d o - R a d i c e -Rom: Wahre und falsche Freiheit in der Erziehung. — 7. August: Prof. Dr. Ovide D e c r o l y -Brüssel: Erziehung und Freiheit. — 8. August: Dr. Carleton W a s h b u r n e -Winnetka, Ill., V. St. A.: Freiheit durch individuelle Meisterschaft. — 10. August: Dr. Paul D e n g l e r -Wien: Die Schulgemeinde als Institution an höheren Schulen. — 11. August: Dr. Lucy W i l s o n -Philadelphia: Neue Methoden an höheren Schulen. — 12. August: Wilhelm P a u l s o n -Berlin: Die Freiheit des Erziehers. — 13. August: Dr. Adolphe F e r r i è r e -Genf: Die Disziplin der Freiheit und die Mittel zu ihrer Erlangung. — 14. August: Mrs. Marietta J o h n s o n -Fairhope, Alabama, V. St. A.: Die Erhaltung der kindlichen Kräfte. — Künstlerische Kinderarbeiten aus vielen Ländern sowie Lehrmaterial werden in A u s s t e l l u n g e n gezeigt werden.

22

Main lectures at the 4th NEF World Conference, Locarno, 1927. Source: Pädagogisches Zentralblatt, 6, 1927, p. 452

The German group's trip to America in the spring of 1928, which included the educationalists Friedrich Schneider (Bonn/Cologne) and F.E. Otto Schulze (Königsberg) in addition to Petersen (Jena), was led by Franz Hilker. He headed the foreign department of the ZEU in Berlin, a pedagogical centre in the Weimar Republic whose importance for the dissemination of new pedagogical developments internationally and in Germany through teacher training, courses and public relations work in the Weimar Republic can hardly be underestimated (in detail, Tenorth, 1996). As Deputy Head of the ZEU, Hilker was also editor of the PZ, the monthly magazine of the ZEU.

The PZ published essays by leading experts from educational science and practice and informed about all new pedagogical developments including school legislation, advanced training courses, pedagogical conferences - in Germany and internationally. There was a close connection between the ZEU, which had two branch offices in Köln and Essen, and the ministries of education of the German states (Länder), so that important events such as the educational exchange between the USA and Germany via the official gazettes of the Länder ministries of education, which began in 1928, reached German pedagogues nationwide (Füssl, 2004, p. 72f.). But already in the years before, the PZ had occasionally published essays and book reviews about the education system in the USA. Reports by Franz Hilker (1928) and Friedrich Schneider (1970, 18-23), but also Petersen's letters, which he wrote to his wife in Jena, prove how important the trip to the United States was for the German participants in 1928. Relevant parts of Petersen's reports in his letters were published by Barbara Kluge (1992, pp. 202-223) Petersen was fascinated by the experiences he gained from this

journey and stay in the USA. By far the most important person of the American-German welcome evening on April 4th, 1928, in New York, was without doubt John Dewey. Hilker reported:

[Then] John Dewey, the revered old leader of American education, also spoke to us in his simple, winning manner (Hilker, 1928, p. 529).

Petersen's first impression of Dewey was very similar - namely filled with great respect, as the letters to his wife show; the same applies to the "old Kilpatrick" he had now met. Kilpatrick was 13 years older than Petersen, who was 25 years younger than Dewey. Petersen had mentioned Dewey and his famous Laboratory School in Chicago in his 1926 book "The New European Educational Movement" which lasted until Dewey's departure from Chicago in 1904. Petersen told his wife, Else, about the American-German welcoming evening in a letter:

First, old John Dewey spoke, wisely philosophically from the silent world of ideas. What is all this for me, Else, I know this name, I've been using it for 20 years, now I'm standing in front of him, shaking hands, talking to him and knowing that in autumn, if he's still alive, I'll discuss with him... On Wednesday he'll talk to Kilpatrick, to us, I'll see K. [Kilpatrick] as well. Thorndike also spoke to us. I know his work, I need it a lot - as you know... Now I'm sitting right in front of this man..." (Petersen, in Kluge, 1992, p. 204).

Edward L. Thorndike, whom Petersen also met for the first time, was no stranger to Petersen from 1922 at the latest, after Thorndike's "Psychology of Education" had become known in German in 1922 (translated by Otto Bobertag, a pupil of William Stern). An academic highlight was the participation of the German group in the conference of American university teachers at the TCCU on general problems of education in the USA. Hilker reported to his German readers in the PZ:

At the opening ceremony, the member of our study society Prof. Dr. Peter Petersen -Jena spoke as the first speaker of the day about Germany's relations to American pedagogy (Hilker, 1928, p. 530).

Petersen wrote to his wife in Jena:

Yesterday, April 4th, was a serious day for me; they had me as - first speaker on the program of the 1st National Americ. Conference of Education - I had after the first words my full rest; spoke slowly, clearly, with warmth etc. and had a full success. Dr. Alexander said "very well delivered" and it depends on his judgment (Petersen, in Kluge, *ibid.*, p. 204).

The German group completed a round trip of many weeks through a large number of schools and educational training centers in the USA. Friedrich Schneider and Peter Petersen had an invitation from Peabody College in Nashville to hold summer school courses, arranged by Alexander. At the Demonstration School at George Peabody College (established by Alexander during his time at Peabody College) Petersen introduced elements of the Jena Plan. He wrote later:

From April to October 1928 I was invited to the USA to visit various cities (New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Columbus (Ohio) , Detroit, Ann Arbor, Winnetka, Milwaukee, Chicago, Iowa (JA), Raleigh (NC), Boston) and to give lectures during the summer semester 1928 as guest professor at the George Peabody College in Nashville (Tennessee), as well as to set up an experimental class according to the so-called Jena Plan (Petersen, in Kluge, *ibid.*, p. 199).

As Hilker mentioned the Germans stayed in New York until April 11th, 1928; a series of lectures at the TCCU had been organized for them, and they attended the TCCU training schools in New York.

Nicolas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, had greeted the German guests at their first reception at the TCCU. Butler, 1931 Nobel Peace Prize winner, was a widely educated philosopher. After receiving his doctorate in 1884, he had studied in Berlin and Paris. For him, the American-German contact with professors was the resumption of a great tradition of Columbia University and the TCCU, which he himself had initiated decades ago. In 1887 Butler became president of the New York School for the Training of Teachers, which in 1893 was renamed Teachers College. Beginning as a school to prepare teachers for the children of the poor, the College affiliated with Columbia University in 1898 as the University's Graduate School of Education, with a co-educational experimental and developmental unit (the Horace Mann School) - and flourished thereafter.

As President of Columbia University since 1901, Butler negotiated regular guest lectures with Kaiser Wilhelm II in Germany in 1905 through an exchange of professors between Columbia University in New York City and the Friedrich-Wilhelm University in Berlin. Butler's signature can be found on the agreement (Paulus, 2010, p. 74). As a student at Berlin University, Butler had a friendly relationship with the German philosopher Friedrich Paulsen (1846-1908) until his death. This is shown by their correspondence which had existed since 1884.

The fact that Paulsen had a direct influence on Columbia is confirmed by a completely different source in the welcoming statement of the Associate Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, Robert H. Fife (Professor of German Language):

Gewiß muß Columbia eine Gesellschaft deutscher Pädagogen mit besonderer Freude begrüßen, weil es deutscher Pädagogik soviel verdankt. Wir Amerikaner haben unsere eigenen Ideale vom Wesen einer Universität, wie der Besucher von auswärts bald herausfinden wird, aber es gibt ein deutsches Universitätsideal mindestens, das Columbia in sein Glaubensbekenntnis einschließt. Das ist die notwendige und unauflösbare Vereinigung von Lehre und Forschung. Dieser krönende Charakterzug der deutschen Universitäten, den Friedrich Paulsen einst mit unvergeßlicher Beredsamkeit zeichnete, ist tatsächlich das Arbeitsprinzip aller größeren amerikanischen Universitäten. Nicht weniger wichtig ist ein anderes Ideal,

Source: *Welcome address (excerpt), Prof. Dr. Robert N. Fife, Columbia University, 1928*

[Translation] Certainly Columbia must welcome a society of German educators with special joy, because it owes so much to German pedagogy. [...] There is at least one German ideal of university life that Columbia includes in its creed. This is the necessary and indissoluble combination of teaching and research. This crowning characteristic of German universities, which Friedrich Paulsen once described with unforgettable eloquence, is in fact the working principle of all larger US universities [...] (Fife, 1928, p. 534).

Under the influence of Paulsen's university ideas, Butler contributed to the development of pedagogy in the USA into an independent science after 1900 through the further expansion of the Teachers College, New York (Bartholome, p. 120; p. 157f.). This was not least achieved by the appointment of John Dewey to Columbia University, although Dewey worked much more on philosophical than on educational topics in New York. Immediately before the USA entered the war, Butler fought against all "anti-American" (i.e. German-friendly or neutrality-oriented) tendencies at his university. After the end of the war he promoted the resumption of relations with the

universities in the Weimar Republic. In 1926 Butler's book, "Der Aufbau des amerikanischen Staates", was published in German in Berlin. Alan Ryan stressed:

One reason why the Teachers College had been established in the first place was the experience of American liberals who had gone to Germany; they found German educationalists imaginative, open-minded, and kindly and German schools old-fashioned, rigid and brutal (Ryan, 1995, p. 163).

The Dewey biographer Ryan was right. The law and order rule in the educational system of Prussia, which was the mirror of a monarchic estate society until 1918, was mentioned also by Alexander (1919, preface). This was completely unimaginable for Americans but did not mean that there was nothing to learn for America's schools, Alexander added. In the elementary schools, (but not everywhere in grammar school), this situation was overcome in the political system of the Weimar Republic. Here one could find a strong interest on the part of many teachers in ideas of New Education.

The detailed travel plan of the American pedagogues for their study stay in Germany from 17th June to 28th July 1929 appeared in the PZ (1929, p. 381f.) (see appendix). The programme included attendance in several school classes, participation in conferences and discussions at all administrative levels - from the simple school to school supervision up to the Ministries of the States (Länder) of the Republic, like Hesse, Saxony, Thuringia, Bavaria and Prussia. Excursions to cultural monuments, some with German colleagues, were part of the accompanying programme; the 1929 programme, for example, provided for a "get-together with Rhine pedagogues (a Rhine steamer cruise)". The American travel groups were not isolated but integrated into the diversity of German educators in the individual provinces.

The University School in Jena is not mentioned as a place of visit. But the leader of the group of visitors who, as described above, went to the University school in Jena for a surprise visit on July 8th and 9th, 1929, "Miss Lefarth", can be identified. It was the German-American Hedwig Lefarth, who was the contact person for Petersen at his stay in the USA in 1928, in particular during his guest professorship at George Peabody College, Nashville (Kluge, 1992, p. 217f.).

For the end of August 1929, the PZ had drawn attention to an offer of lectures by American lecturers, with the title: Lectures by professors at Columbia University New York (Teachers College) on education and educational science in the United States. The lecture series took place at the Pedagogical Institute Mainz under Prof. Erich Feldmann (PZ, 1929, p. 466). The success of this event is reflected in the number of 1,200 participants (Retter, 2007, p. 187). This meeting became the starting point for Kilpatrick's correspondence with his German colleagues, first with Feldmann and later with Peter Petersen. Entries in Kilpatrick's diary make clear that he was pleased to meet Petersen in 1928 and impressed by Petersen's liberal views; on the other hand, Kilpatrick's impressions from his German stay in Mainz, in August 1929, were very ambivalent.^{iv}

One month earlier, from 17th - 28th July, 1929, the American study trip had taken place in Germany. At that time, in 1929, Petersen held a visiting professorship in Chile; he could neither welcome his American colleagues in Mainz, nor the study group from the USA that found out about the German education system in July 1929. Neither could Petersen attend the 5th NEF Conference in Helsingör, which took place from 8th - 21th August 1929 - with 240 (!) participants from the USA (Koslowski, *ibid.*, p. 64). US specialists interested in the reform of education showed a great deal of interest in European reform concepts after the crisis of progressive education had become reality in their own country. This may have been one more reason why Petersen's school surprisingly attracted attention in the USA even though he was not at all in Jena.

The teachers of the "Petersen-Schule" had to prepare weekly reports for each school year in which they documented the behavior of the children, the lessons and conspicuous events. For the 13th

week of the school year 1929/30, 8th – 13th July 1929, Förtsch, the teacher who led the middle group, commented:

[Monday and Tuesday, 8th – 9th July, 1929]: Visit of 17 Americans, led by Miss Reid and Miss Lefarth and coming from the Odenwald School, who arrived here on Sunday afternoon. Since Prof. Johannsen [deputy director of Petersen's University Institute] was unable to attend due to illness of his child, Dr. Döpp-Vorwald [assistant] and I had arranged their visit to the school and all related questions. On Monday of 7th-11th our guests were present in all groups of students. At 11 a.m. sharp the bus stood ready to take us [...] in 1½ hours to the Landerziehungsheim Ettersberg [country boarding school, founded by Hermann Lietz]. It had been set up so that we could have lunch together. A guided tour through the home by Dr. Windweh and the visit of a small drawing exhibition by Mr. Beckmann lasted about 4 hours. So, we still had enough time to visit the Schiller House and the Goethe House in Weimar, and at the end we walked through the park. We were all highly satisfied with this day and returned to Jena in the most joyful mood around 8 o'clock. On Tuesday they again were present in our school [...] (University Archive Jena. Stock S I, No. 151).

In PZ, 10, 1930 (p. 367) there is an announcement: "Second study trip of American education specialists to Germany", with an indication of the program. The places named are Bremen, Hamburg, Dresden, Weimar, Stuttgart, Munich and Oberammergau, Frankfurt am Main, Cologne, Düsseldorf, Essen, Berlin, from 22nd June to 2nd August 1930.

The study trip of American educators to Germany in 1931 was announced as a joint event of ZEU and TCCU, with the note that the TCCU was certified as proof of qualification for participation in this "course on comparative education" (Studienreise 1931, p. 337). In the PZ the official announcement was as follows:

Studienreise amerikanischer Pädagogen. Das Zentralinstitut veranstaltet in Gemeinschaft mit dem International Institute an Teachers College Columbia University New York vom 22. Juni bis 1. August eine Studienreise amerikanischer Pädagogen durch Deutschland, die folgende Städte berühren wird: Lübeck, Berlin, Magdeburg, Halle, Dresden, Kassel, Frankfurt a.M., München, Stuttgart, Heidelberg, Bonn, Köln, Düsseldorf, Essen, Münster. Die Veranstaltung soll den Charakter eines Lehrgangs zur vergleichenden Erziehungskunde tragen, der vom International Institute als solcher anerkannt und testiert wird. An der Reise werden etwa 15 Damen und Herren teilnehmen. Die Gruppe setzt sich zusammen aus Lehrern und Lehrerinnen, Schulleitern und Schulaufsichtsbeamten. Die Führung liegt in der Hand des stellvertretenden Leiters des Zentralinstituts, Oberschulrat a. D. F. Hilker.

Study trip of American education specialists to Germany 1931 – Source: PZ, 11, 1931, p. 337.

For 1932 there are no entries for study trips or a cooperation between TCCU and ZEU in the PZ. It is indicated that Prof. Alexander, TCCU, was taking over the management of a newly-founded academy which was to introduce a new form of teacher training (PZ 12, 1932, p. 43f.). This has been mentioned above, the academy was The New College.

6. John Dewey's "Democracy and Education" - Aspects of the German Dewey Reception

From 1928 until the end of the Weimar Republic, good institutional contacts existed between the New York International Institute at the TCCU and the Berlin ZEU. Hilker's travel report, titled "Pädagogische Amerikafahrt", opened the October issue of PZ, 1928. This essay was followed in the same issue by contributions from American professors and the welcoming lectures given by the representatives of TCCU and Columbia University in German translation - and then also Kilpatrick's lecture ("Philosophie der Erziehung") and Kandel's lecture ("Der amerikanische Geist der Erziehung").

Not only Kilpatrick, but also some of his colleagues, whose contributions were published in 1928/1929 in the PZ, referred to the importance of John Dewey for New Education; this was especially the case with Prof. Robert B. Raup, who, as mentioned above, had already given a lecture in 1927 in Jena, together with Petersen. In several articles in the PZ, Bagley provided information about school and teacher training in the USA, and he was quite self-critical with regard to the qualification level of the lecturers.

Kandel's address on the occasion of Dewey's 70th birthday, 1929, about Dewey's reception abroad, also mentioned Germany. He highlighted the long-known dissertation at the University of Halle by Lucinda Boggs (1901) and quoted Kerschensteiner's esteem for Dewey in detail. Kandel mentioned that German students, if they did not speak English, had had little opportunity to get to know Dewey, and at the same time he emphasized Hylla's recently published German translation of Dewey's "Democracy and Education". Kandel stressed:

The International conferences on education, especially that of the New Education Fellowship, are focusing marked attention on American education and the forces that made it and will inevitably lead to widespread study of its leading philosopher and interpreter. Similar results may be expected from the growing interest abroad in American life and thought and the exchange of educational visits (Kandel, 1930, p. 73f.).

Kandel was right with his thesis that until the appearance of the German translation of "Democracy and Education" in the Weimar Republic, Dewey was much more readily acknowledged by secondary literature than by translated original writings. As early as 1910 Aloys Fischer, the international, highly-esteemed Munich university Professor of Pedagogy, had expressed his opinion of John Dewey, who was not too well-known even in America at the time, in the leading German psychology journal, "Zeitschrift für pädagogische Psychologie" (Journal of Educational Psychology):

Recently, the German side has repeatedly referred to the educational work of John Dewey, and rightly so, in particular for his writings on "School and Society", "the present situation of pedagogy", "morality in education" and so on. Not only the American school problem is discussed in a fundamental way, but the problem of education, as it exists for modern democracy, for the constitutional state in general, is dealt with; more profoundly, more fruitfully, more incisively than by those who hope for salvation from all kinds of hygienic and methodological improvements and lose themselves in the otherwise useful special details of didactics (Fischer, 1910, p. 376).

Dewey's pragmatic logic was by no means not completely unknown in Germany before the First World War. In the published Leipzig dissertation of the Canadian psychologist John MacEachran (1910), accepted by Wilhelm Wundt, interested people could find sufficient information (in German).

The war not only prevented contacts, it also changed attitudes. Dewey developed a particularly critical relationship towards the Germans. In "German Philosophy and Politics" (1915) he tried - not strikingly - to prove that Kant's dualism, reinforced by Hegel's absolutism and Nietzsche's "will to power", was the cause of German nationalism, which had led to the German war against the Entente in Europe in 1914. This was also an endorsement of the USA's entry into the European war. Dewey was convinced that America should give a clear signal in fighting for democracy. Friends who were also his critics on this point, like Jane Addams, saw in this statement, as the socialist Max Eastman put it, more "a contribution to the war effort rather than to philosophy" (Eastman, in Ryan 1995, p. 191). People were shocked by the "brutality of the pragmatist position" as it was spelled out by Dewey, Ryan commented (*ibid.*, p. 195).

There is something more to remember. At the beginning of the 21st century, Jürgen Oelkers (2000, p. 3f.) lamented the failure of Germany pedagogues to not, like Dewey, have combined education and democracy (Oelkers, 2000, p. 3f.), presenting Dewey's "German Philosophy and Politics" as a new discovery. Oelkers followed Dewey's logic without any historical distance and without seeing that Dewey's treatise was one of many reactions that flared up in Europe, as well, after the outbreak of war, trying to injure the other side with national disgust.

Kerschensteiner in Germany, for instance, published a blazing call, "Offener Brief an meine amerikanischen Freunde" (Open letter to my American friends) that they should "not be misled by the lies of our enemies" (Kerschensteiner, 1914, p. 385). Oelkers' context of discovery, presented with an accusation, was hardly suitable for becoming a resilient context of justification, because the moral accusation - unlike historical analysis - does not pose any reflexive critical questions and doesn't tolerate any contradiction. Dewey had expressed in his "war script" of 1915 (MW 8, pp. 108-204), and in "Democracy and Education" (MW 9, 103; 105), that the Prussian ideal of the nation state demanded the subordination of the individual to the state, i.e. the anti-democratic equation of social with national education. A social idea binding democracy, as Dewey advocated it, was not viable for him in Germany - never. It would be negligent to present Dewey's view a hundred years ago today as scientific truth without considering the context and showing the weakness of his reasoning.

It is quite correct to claim that in the German Empire Bismarck's social laws were state policy against the Social Democrats. But this could prevent neither the strengthening of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) after 1890 nor the November Revolution of 1918. In the subsequent Weimar Republic the SPD-dominated Prussia led to a further expansion of social policy in favour of the workers, i.e. the foundation of the so-called welfare state in the German (Weimar) Republic. And Dewey? Unfortunately, his idea of "social" only had to do with good neighbourliness and the sharing of experience, and less with political decision-making. Thus, his social idea remained an idea - naturally valuable, proclaimed with an impressive power of persuasion that can almost be described as quasi-religious (Retter, 2018a). But even today, the world's most powerful democracy, the United States, still lacks a network of social security for the underclass, especially for the poor, sick and elderly; we know that Western European standards are much higher. Why? Dewey, who constantly spoke of the change of society for the better, hated the European idea of the state and disdained the "machinery" of the big parties in his own country. What a pity! That the condition of the leading political parties is an important indicator of the quality of democracy, Dewey suppressed. Current views on Dewey's social philosophy are primarily moral appeals to follow it without analyzing its problems.

In the years following the First World War, Dewey first spent time abroad to complete his important philosophical works before retiring. For him, the Germans were politically backward and not capable of democracy. R.T. Alexander's effort at some differentiation was not visible here in Dewey's statements. However, Dewey's view of Germany, which was understandable from the point of view of state policy until 1918, contradicted the friendly contacts of all colleagues who, like George H.

Mead, had studied in Germany. The lectures on pedagogical topics put up some defense against the growing dissatisfaction with the progressive education that fascinated America's educators. In Turkey and China, where he was invited for a longer stay, "Democracy and Education" had been translated in 1928. In Japan, which understandably did not appeal to him politically, the complete translation only appeared long after the Second World War. Even in Mexico, where Dewey gave lectures before his trip to Europe in the summer of 1926 and reported on his impressions (LW 2, p. 194f.; p. 199f.; p. 206.f), a translation of his book did not promptly follow. Seen in this light, the appearance of the German translation of "Democracy and Education" in 1930 was by no means a requiem in the choir of European translations, but a forerunner for the dissemination of Dewey's educational philosophy on the continent, an achievement that was also important for Austria and Switzerland.

Hylla published his German book about his US experience in 1928, entitled, "Die Schule der Demokratie" (The School of Democracy), meaning the comprehensive school system of public education (Hylla, 1928a). An essay on Dewey's view of education followed (Hylla, 1929). Germany only had a comprehensive system in a few reform schools. Petersen's repeated efforts to expand the Jena University School - it was an eight-year elementary school (Volksschule) - into a comprehensive school with 10 and 12 school years respectively, were foiled by the Ministry of Education in Thuringia. Also, in 1928, the German America scholar Georg Kartzke published a book about American schools, colleges and universities, but without mentioning Dewey. That was different with Hylla. In his book as well as in several essays in the PZ (Hylla, 1929), he stood up for John Dewey. In addition, Hylla's America book also provides information about the Winnetka Plan (C. Washburne), the Dalton Plan (H. Parkhurst) and Kilpatrick's project method. In the same journal he had previously published a treatise on educational research in the USA. (Hylla, 1928b). His essays were related to his book. Together with Kartzke's book on the American school system, Hylla's study was reviewed in detail by Hilker, in PZ 8, 1929, p. 482.

On behalf of the ZEU, Petersen published the book series "Pädagogik des Auslands": monographs that either report on the pedagogy of a country or come from well-known reform specialists in education abroad. In some volumes, such as Adolphe Ferrière's book "Pädagogik der Tat", John Dewey plays a major role, so that his name was present at several levels of reception in Germany. However, only the thin volume "The School and Society", in the German translation of 1905, provided information in the Weimar Republic on Dewey's practical pedagogy. But apart from the volume "Schools of To-Morrow", dating from 1915 (which had some problematic racial aspects), Dewey had not written a book of pedagogical significance until then (This changed in the thirties).

The information on American pedagogy available to the broader pedagogical public in Germany from 1928 onwards was much more substantial than can be said for other countries, although essays and information on education in the Soviet Union can also be found several times in the PZ. Seen in this light, doubts are permitted about the assertion: "Especially with Hylla's translation of Democracy and Education a new phase of understanding began" (Bittner, 2001, p. 84). When Dewey's book appeared in German in 1930 (translated by Hylla), it received many reviews documented by Bittner (2001, p. 231) - also in the official magazine of the Prussian Ministry of Education and in all important teachers magazines. The German educators were well prepared for the appearance of Dewey's "Democracy and Education. Most initial translations of "Democracy and Education" into European languages did not take place until after the Second World War. Search engines such as WorldCat now provide online access to national libraries, so the fact is verifiable.

In short, this is the result of my research: First, there was no ideologically or nationalistically based, particular obstruction of Dewey's pedagogy in Germany. There was no German "national defensive struggle against Dewey", as Bittner (2001, p. 67f.) claimed. But there were different attitudes and assessments, also critical voices; this is simply diversity of opinion. Compared to the fact that Dewey

had many more opponents in his own country, that was perfectly normal. Secondly, even Dewey, who can be said to have always been guided by good intentions, has been confused in some political diagnoses, and on several occasions, he failed to translate his ideas into long-term successful practice (Retter, 2016).

7. Conclusion

Interpreters of the Dewey Renaissance in Switzerland and Germany after 1990 regretted that Dewey was unknown in Germany and that his pragmatism was hardly noticed (Oelkers, 1993; Bittner, 2000; 2001; Tröhler & Oelkers, 2005). But the sources evaluated here don't confirm this impression. Furthermore, sources that have not yet been taken into account prove that Dewey's nimbus found serious critics outside his following (see Retter, 2012; 2016; 2018b). The awakening resistance among colleagues at Teachers College, whose spokesmen were Bagley and then Kandel, primarily concerned progressive education. But Dewey was by no means out of the line of fire. The extenuating argument fell that Dewey had been misunderstood or that the moderately-judging Dewey has nothing to do with the radicals of progressive education. This criticism is discussed in another part of my research. The same basic criticism that King & Swartz utter from an African-American view today, has existed for a long time but has hardly been noticed:

During the early twentieth century, white progressive child-centered philosophers and educators like John Dewey, George Counts, and William Heard Kilpatrick advocated that schools become sites of democratic practice. However, their worldview and adherence to a racial hierarchy trumped their rhetoric and blocked them from acknowledging and learning from black scholars who were working at the same time – scholars such as W.E.B. DuBois, Carter G. Woodson, Anna Julia Cooper, Alain Locke, and Horace Mann Bond" (King & Swartz, 2018, p. 20).

A historical reassessment of Dewey and Kilpatrick is hard to circumvent, at least in some regards. In fact, it has already begun (Konrad & Knoll, 2018).

Abbreviations

PZ = Pädagogisches Zentralblatt (Pedagogical Central Magazine)

SPD = Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democratic Party of Germany)

TCCU = Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City

ZEU = Zentralinstitut für Erziehung und Unterricht (Central Institute for Education and Teaching)

APPENDIX – Program of American Pedagogues in Germany, 1929.

MITTEILUNGEN AUS DEM ZENTRALINSTITUT FÜR ERZIEHUNG UND UNTERRICHT UND DEN MIT IHM IN VERBINDUNG STEHENDEN STELLEN

Studienreise amerikanischer Pädagogen in der Zeit vom 17. Juni bis 28. Juli 1929, veranstaltet vom Zentralinstitut für Erziehung und Unterricht in Gemeinschaft mit dem International Institute, Teachers College Columbia University, New York. Hauptprogramm: 16. Juni: Hamburg. Zusammenkunft der Reiseteilnehmer. Vorbesprechung und Mitteilungen. Zusammenkunft in der „Mensa“ mit Hamburger Pädagogen. Vortrag von Herrn Landesschulrat Prof. Dr. Umlauf: „Überblick über das Hamburgische Schulwesen“. — 17. u. 18. Juni: Lehrerbildung und Schulwohlfahrtspflege. Das Hamburgische Versuchsschulwesen. — 19. Juni: Harburg. Die Preußische Mittelschule. — 20. Juni: Lübeck. Landesschulrat Dr. Schwarz: „Die Eigenart des Lübschen Schulwesens (Kern und Kurse)“. Hospitium in der Oberrealschule zum Dom. — 21. bis 25. Juni: Berlin. Begrüßung im Zentralinstitut für Erziehung und Unterricht. Überblick über das deutsche und preußische Schulwesen. Empfang in verschiedenen Ministerien, im Rathaus und Überblick über das Schulwesen der Stadt Berlin. Die Ausbildung der Zeichenlehrer, Werklehrer, Musiklehrer, Turn- und Sportlehrer, der Gewerbelehrerinnen und der Technischen Lehrerinnen. Universität, Technische Hochschule und Handelshochschule. — 26. Juni: Magdeburg. Berufs- und Fachschulen, Versuchsschulen. — 27. Juni: Halle. Kindergärten, Frauenschule, Hilfsschulen. — 28. Juni: Empfang im Volksbildungsministerium, Überblick über das Schulwesen Thüringens. Vortrag von Prof. Dr. Hans Wahl im National-Museum. Gedächtnisfeier am Grabe Schillers und Goethes in der Fürstengruft. Teestunde bei Frau Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche. Schillerfestspiele im Nationaltheater. — 29. Juni: Leipzig. Mädchenschulen, Frauenberufsschule, Mädchenoberschule, Sozialpädagogisches Frauenseminar. — 30. Juni bis 2. Juli: Empfang im Sächs. Volksbildungsministerium. Überblick über das Sächs. Schulwesen. Die deutsche Jugendbewegung. Jugendtreffen auf Burg Hohnstein. Die sächs. Lehrerbildung. Volks- und höhere Schulen. Pädagogische Ausstellungen über den biologischen und erdkundlichen Unterricht in Sachsen. Ausstellung „Jugendwandern“ und Heimatschulmuseum. Studentische Selbsthilfe und Gemeinschaftsarbeit, Teilnahme am Eröffnungsabend der „Internationalen Schulungswoche für studentische Selbsthilfe und Gemeinschaftsarbeit“. — 3. Juli: Chemnitz. Industrieschule, Handwerkerschule, Landerziehungsanstalt für Schwachsinnige. Volkshochschulheim Schloß Sachsenburg. — 4. u. 5. Juli: Nürnberg. Schulwerkstätten, Offener Zeichensaal, Turnen, Spiel und Sport. — 6. u. 7. Juli: München. Empfang im Unterrichtsministerium. Überblick über das Bayerische Schulwesen. Berufsschulen. Meisterkurse. Ausflug in die Bayerischen Alpen. — 8. Juli: Heidelberg. Universität — das heutige studentische Leben. — 9. Juli: Odenwaldschule. Landerziehungsheim. — 10. u. 11. Juli: Frankfurt. Sozialpädagogische Einrichtungen, Kinderdorf. Wegscheide. Schulbauten und Schuleinrichtungen. — 12. Juli: Mainz. Die Lehrerbildung in Hessen. — 13. Juli: Wiesbaden. Frauenberufsbildung. — 14. Juli: Zusammensein mit rheinischen Pädagogen (Rheindampferfahrt). — 15. Juli: Bonn. Die preußische Lehrerbildung. Der Schreibunterricht. — 16. u. 17. Juli: Köln. Volks- und höhere Schulen, weibliche Berufsschule, der Unterricht in Nadelarbeit. — 18. u. 19. Juli: Düsseldorf. Die konfessionelle Privatmädchenschule: Die St. Annaschule in Düsseldorf

und die Diakonissenschule in Kaiserswerth. Die Niederrheinische Frauenakademie. Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftskunde im Unterricht. Schulgärten und Freilichtbühne. — 20. Juli: Barmen. Fachschule für Weberei und Färberei, Turnen, Spiel und Sport. — Elberfeld. Waldschule. — 21. u. 22. Juli: Essen. Schule für Musik, Tanz und Sprechen, Folkwangschule. Waldtheater. Schülerrudern. Die Werkarbeit im Rahmen des Gesamtunterrichts vom 1. bis 8. Schuljahr, Kunstgewerbeschule und Handwerkerberufsschule. — 23. Juli: Die Heimat im Unterricht, Werkschulen der Vereinigten Stahlwerke, Lehrlingswerkstätten, Werkstätten der Dinta, Deutsches Institut für technische Arbeitsforschung. — 24. Juli: Dortmund. Das Handelsschulwesen. Lehrlingsausbildung, Facharbeiterprüfungen. Das Arbeitsphysiologische Institut. — 25. Juli: Münster. W. Deutsches Institut für wissenschaftliche Pädagogik. Institutsschule. Schlußfeier im Friedenssaale des Münsterschen Rathauses. 26. u. 27. Juli: Schulbesuche in einzelnen Gruppen nach besonderer Vereinbarung (in Münster, Dortmund und Essen). — Schlußausprache.

Fortbildungslehrgang in Deutsch und Englisch für Mittelschullehrer und -lehrerinnen in Cüstrin im Juni und August 1929. — Veranstaltungsfolge: Sonnabend, den 8., 15., 22. Juni, den 17., 24. und 31. August: Dr. Lebede: Übersicht über die Strömungen in der modernen Deutsch-Literatur. — Sonnabend, den 8., 15., 22. Juni: Lektor W. Mann: Britain of To-day. — Sonnabend, den 17. 24. und 31. August: Dr. Hertwig: Übersicht über die Strömungen in der modernen englischen Literatur.

Programme, July 17th-28th, 1929: Study visit of American education specialists to Germany
Source: *Pädagogisches Zentralblatt*, 9, 1929, pp. 381-382.

Endnote^v

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Endnotes

i See "Dewey, J." bibliography. Quoted is group (EW, MW, or LW) and page.

ii A further example of Dewey's completely different assessment from that heard so far from Deweyans is a report by William Stern (1871-1938). Stern was one of Germany's most respected psychologists, reporting, rather incidentally, that Dewey had also indirectly played a role at the 9th International Psychology Congress at Yale University in New Haven. It is good to know that after 1900 Dewey, apart from his philosophical texts, was mainly known as a psychologist; his book "Psychology" (1887; 3rd ed. 1891), and important essays were appreciated. From 1899 to 1900 he was president of the American Psychological Association. Dewey came off surprisingly badly in a ranking of American psychologists. Stern reported in 1929: "In order to document the significance of the leading American psychologist, a kind of secret ballot was held 23 years ago in the form of a psychological attempt at order. A number of evaluators were asked to list the ten most important psychologists in the country and put them

on a scale. 20 years of secrecy of the results was guaranteed. Today we learn that the list was created as an average of all rankings supplied" (Stern, 1929, p. 45): Dewey was ranked 9th (!) on this list of ten positions. In first place stood William James, as to be expected. Of all things, Dewey's worst opponents, with whom he had a publicist dispute, namely Hugo Münsterberg (3rd place) and Josiah Royce (7th place), were considerably ahead of Dewey in the evaluation of his performance (In 1929, both had long since died).

iii The author is responsible for these and all other translations from German texts into English.

iv The context will be shown in the following research report, 2019. – The diaries of Kilpatrick, a treasure trove for research, belong to the archives of Gottesman Libraries, TCCU; today online use is possible for a fee, after personal registration. Service link: <https://library.tc.columbia.edu>

v One can find nearly all the mentioned references of the author also in ResearchGate, with the URL: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Hein_Retter

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Dietmar Waterkamp (Germany)

Götz Hillig and his search for the true Makarenko. What did he find?

Summary: Beginning in the twenties of the previous century, the writings of Anton Semjonovitch Makarenko, an educator who was born in the Ukranian part of the former Russia and mainly spoke and wrote in Russian, attracted much attention among educators not only in the Russian-speaking world and in communist states but also in the Western world and other countries. He lived from 1888-1939, which means that the bulk of his writings were published in the Stalinist period of the Soviet Union. The most detailed investigations into his writings and professional and private life were accomplished by the West German researcher Götz Hillig (born 1938) at the University of Marburg. He dedicated his professional life to the famous educator and produced a critical edition of Makarenko's important works together with a multitude of analyses and commentaries covering most of the disputed questions regarding his life and work. To most of them he found a convincing answer. So far, Hillig's immense, yet diversely published work has not been explored to see which new picture of Makarenko can be drawn from Hillig's scrutiny. He himself did not finish this task as he focussed on delivering a fully clarified basis of texts and a complete history of Makarenko's life. This article underpins the necessity of drawing conclusions from Hillig's works and gives a first idea of the change in our picture of Makarenko which flows from Hillig's work.

Keywords: Anton Semjonovitch Makarenko (1888-1939), Götz Hillig (born 1938), text criticism, Makarenko editions, interpretations of Makarenko's pedagogy in East and West

概要 (Dietmar Waterkamp: Götz Hillig 和他要寻找的真实的马卡连柯(Makarenko), 他找到了什么呢?): 二十世纪二十年代以来, 安东·马卡连柯(Anton Semyonovitch Makarenko)的著作引起了俄语世界、共产主义国家以及西方世界和其他国家的教育者们的关注。他来自前俄罗斯的乌克兰地区, 但主要用俄语交谈和写作。他的生命之旅是从 1888 年开启, 直至 1939 年, 这意味着他的大部分著作都发表在前苏联的斯大林时代。关于他的著作以及职业和私人生活最详细的研究是由来自西德的马尔堡大学的学者 Götz Hillig (生于 1938 年) 完成的。他将自己的职业生涯贡献给了这位著名的教育家, 并完成了一部其重要作品的评论著作, 以及大量的关于他的工作和生活经常被讨论的一些问题的分析和评述。他为大多数的问题找到了令人信服的答案。直到今天, Hillig 的大部分作品分散在各种出版物当中, 但尚未提及的是从他的研究中产生了马卡连柯的怎样的新形象? 他自己没有得出这个问题的答案, 因为他专注于作品本身和一个脉络清晰的生命轨迹。本文重点介绍了 Hillig 的研究成果, 以及他的研究对马卡连柯形象的一些可能性的改变。

关键词: 安东·马卡连柯(Anton Semyonovitch Makarenko) (1888-1939), Götz Hillig (生于 1938 年), 文本评论, 马卡连柯作品, 东西方诠释

Zusammenfassung (Dietmar Waterkamp: Götz Hillig und seine Suche nach dem wahren Makarenko. Was hat er gefunden?): Seit den zwanziger Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts zogen die Schriften von Anton Semjonovitch Makarenko die Aufmerksamkeit in der russischsprachigen Welt, in kommunistischen Staaten und auch der westlichen Welt und weiteren Staaten auf diesen Erzieher. Er stammte aus dem ukrainischen Teil des früheren Rußland, sprach und schrieb aber überwiegend in der russischen Sprache. Sein Leben währte von 1888 bis 1939, das bedeutete, daß die Mehrheit seiner Schriften in der stalinistischen Periode der Sowjetunion veröffentlicht wurde. Die detailliertesten Untersuchungen seiner Schriften und seines beruflichen und privaten Lebens wurden durch den westdeutschen Forscher Götz Hillig (geb. 1938) von der Universität Marburg vorgenommen. Er widmete sein berufliches Leben dem berühmten Erzieher und brachte eine kritische Edition wichtiger Werke heraus, außerdem eine Vielzahl von Analysen und Kommentaren zu den am meisten diskutierten Fragen seines Werkes und seines Lebens. Für die meisten dieser Fragen fand er überzeugende Antworten. Bis heute ist das große, aber in unterschiedlichen Veröffentlichungen verstreute Werk Hilligs nicht unter der Frage betrachtet worden, welches neue Bild von

Makarenko sich aus seinen Forschungen ergibt. Er selbst gelangte nicht bis zur Beantwortung dieser Frage, weil er sich auf die Aufgabe konzentrierte, eine geklärte Textbasis und einen geklärten Lebenslauf herzustellen. Der vorliegende Artikel unterstreicht das Erfordernis, Schlussfolgerungen aus Hilligs Arbeiten zu ziehen, und deutet an, welcher Wandel im Bilde von Makarenko sich aus Hilligs Forschungen ergeben würde.

Schlüsselwörter: Anton Semjonovich Makarenko (1888-1939), Götz Hillig (geb. 1938), Textkritik, Makarenko-Werke, Interpretationen in Ost und West

Аннотация (Дитмар Ватеркамп: Гетц Хиллиг в поисках настоящего Макаренко. Каковы успехи поисков?): С двадцатых годов двадцатого века работам педагога Антона Семеновича Макаренко уделялось внимание в русскоязычных странах, в коммунистических странах, странах западного мира и других государствах. Макаренко, родившийся в Харьковской губернии, в основном общался и писал на русском языке. Годы жизни Макаренко: 1888 - 1939. Это означает, что большая часть его трудов была опубликована в период сталинского правления. Западно-германский исследователь Гетц Хиллиг из Марбургского университета (род. в 1938 году) предпринял попытку подробнейшего изучения работ Макаренко, его профессиональной и частной жизни. Хиллиг посвятил свою профессиональную деятельность знаменитому педагогу, издал целую серию работ о его наиболее значительных произведениях, кроме того, опубликовал большое количество материалов с анализом и комментариями к наиболее часто обсуждаемым вопросам творчества и биографии Макаренко. На большинство этих вопросов Хиллиг нашел убедительные ответы. Большой научный капитал, накопленный Хиллигом, «рассеян» по отдельным публикациям, и до сих пор не изучался специалистами на предмет того, каков же «портрет» Макаренко, созданный Хиллигом по результатам его исследований. Сам Хиллиг тоже не пришел к ответу на этот вопрос, поскольку был в первую очередь сконцентрирован на задаче создать точную платформу трудов Макаренко и максимально прозрачно выстроить его биографию. Настоящая статья подчеркивает необходимость научной рефлексии над результатами исследований Хиллига и показывает проекции, через которые может сформироваться обновленный взгляд на жизнь и творчество Макаренко.

Ключевые слова: Антон Семенович Макаренко (188-1939), Гетц Хиллиг (род. 1938), текстология, труды Макаренко, интерпретация на Западе и Востоке

The initial situation

Götz Hillig's lifelong research on Makarenko is certainly the most impressive achievement of an individual researcher in Comparative Education in Germany. For some of the years Siegfried Weitz and Irene Wiehl also participated in this monumental task. They were the so-called 'Makarenko' research team and a part of the Comparative Education Research Unit which Leonhard Froese had installed at Marburg University in 1968. Up to now, the community of comparativists in Germany has not answered the question of how the picture of Makarenko was changed by Hillig's research. In the 1950s and even more so at the beginning of the sixties the picture of Makarenko in Germany was ambivalent. On the one hand, there was the appraisal of some comparativists such as Gerhard Möbus and Horst E. Wittig who interpreted Makarenko against the background of the political system then prevalent in Russia (Möbus, 1959; Möbus, 1965; Wittig, 1961). Makarenko, in their view, had helped to prepare young people for the utopia of a communist society. The criticism from the side of fundamental Roman Catholic educationalists (Feifel, 1963; Nastainczyk, 1963) was similar. On the other hand, there were educationalists who conceded that Makarenko distinguished between politics and education (Adolphs, 1962; Rüttenauer, 1965). They credited Makarenko with genuine inspiration in the world of education.

The overall reserved attitude towards Makarenko in West Germany was cracked open astonishingly by Leonhard Froese. He knew communism from experience and had fled from the Soviet Union, more precisely from the Ukraine, after finishing school. Froese was under twenty when he arrived in Germany and had to serve in the German army. Severely wounded, he left the Wehrmacht and started his university studies in 1944. Seventeen years later, in 1961, he was appointed Professor of

Education at Marburg University, after writing his main work on the development of Russian thinking in education. He designed this work in analogy to the work of his academic mentor Herman Nohl in Göttingen who had written a book on 'the German movement' which dealt with German intellectual history in the nineteenth century, especially the history of educational ideas. For Froese, the Russian idealistic movement was at its height in the liberal writings of Tolstoi. Froese believed that it was Makarenko who carried the liberal thinking of late 19th century Russia into the communist era. Some of his doctoral students counted Makarenko among the classic figures in education and compared him with Pestalozzi. Froese smoothed the way to a new interpretation of Makarenko, among others he drew the young Götz Hillig, born in 1938, to his chair and gave him a lifelong task. Hillig acquired both languages which were involved, Russian and Ukrainian in both forms: oral and written.

The intellectual climate in West German universities and also in some other West European countries in the second half of the sixties was favourable to a new picture of Makarenko. Students were open-minded towards ideologies based on Marxism, they wished to understand Bolshevism better and willingly accepted the idea that there had existed an educator of universal standing in the Soviet Union. In the understanding of this person East and West could meet on equal terms. And yet, also in Western countries experts had to rely on the Makarenko edition which was edited in the Soviet Union, specifically in Moscow. The first edition of the Collected Works appeared in the years 1950-52 (seven volumes) and was issued by the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences (APN). This edition became the widely-used textual basis for Makarenko readers in the world, being translated into several languages. Yet, this publication situation implied dependency with regard to the selective work of the Russian editors. From edition to edition in the decades after World War II the Makarenko texts underwent changes in accordance with changes in political ideology. This was also the case with the German translation of the Russian edition from 1950-52 in the GDR.

Froese and his co-workers in Marburg disliked this state of affairs, they wished to create a solid basis for academic work on Makarenko. Their planning was bold enough: they wanted to issue a new edition of Makarenko's works in Russian (where necessary, also in Ukrainian) and a new German translation: a bi-lingual edition of all his works. In addition, a new academic and scientific biography was to be produced.

The courage to start such an undertaking resulted from Hillig's initial work and partly from Weitz who had shown that texts in Makarenko's hand existed which had not been taken into consideration in the Moscow edition, and – even more important – that many texts in the Moscow edition had been revised by the Moscow editors in favour of their thesis that Makarenko was the outstanding educational figure of the Soviet Union. Prior to the academic editors, Makarenko's widow, Galina S. Sal'ko, had manipulated Makarenko's manuscripts in a similar way, in order to augment his posthumous fame. After Makarenko's death she guarded his estate closely and only handed the manuscripts over to the official archives – handwritten or typed – one by one. As early as the 1960s, experts could see that sound research into the source material would bring about a new text basis and a changed picture of his life and personality. Yet one fundamental assumption was shared by the Western and the Russian Makarenko experts and this had not been verified so far, i.e. that Makarenko was so important that he was worth this effort. Hillig all the more respected this uncertainty the longer he worked, keeping an intellectual distance and was wary of vindicating Makarenko, knowing that new archive materials could change the findings. The factual knowledge was limited when he began and he focussed his effort on widening it. His mentor Froese, in contrast, appeared fully confident when he stated in 1966 that Makarenko was "the most interesting pedagogical figure of our century" (Froese, 1966, p. 314). No other Makarenko researcher equalled Hillig's perseverance, nor his rigour nor his gift for detective work and no-one else left such an oeuvre on the theme of Makarenko.

In the 1960s and 1970s, pedagogy in West Germany and other Western states was fortunate to be

able to refer to Makarenko as a representative of Soviet pedagogy, his work permitted the study of a way of education that fitted into a socialist or even communist society. The topic was needed in university classes and also school classes, in order to meet the strong interest in socialist ideas and revolutionary practice at the time. The topic of Makarenko brought pedagogy in tune with the times in Western countries, i.e. the then centrality of Marxist and socialist ideas which indeed were manifold. The subject of pedagogy had something to offer to students in turbulent times. The prominence of this topic also guaranteed financial help for Hillig's research trips behind the iron curtain.

Comparative Education also enhanced its reputation with the help of the 'Makarenko theme', and this was the case with the whole field of education in the academic world. Leonhard Froese was one of the founding members of the section 'Comparative Education' in the German Society of Educational Science. Besides Froese, other professors were able to integrate the 'Makarenko' theme into the political and intellectual history of Russian education. One of these was Oskar Anweiler at Bochum University who characterised Makarenko as one of the few Russian educationalists who had emerged with pedagogical innovations. In the GDR of those years and even later no genuine research on Makarenko existed, but more than a few educators introduced practical aspects of Makarenko's pedagogy into schools and young people's education.

Hillig's merits

Hillig's intention was not directed towards the systematic interpretation of Makarenko's pedagogy, but rather the reconstruction of texts and a new edition of Makarenko's works, and, in addition, a new biography, all of which was to consume all his time and energy. A systematic analysis, however, was very much on the minds of Siegfried Weitz, Hillig's colleague, and Wolfgang Sünkel, an educationalist in Erlangen, both of whom accompanied Hillig's work. Yet, as long as a reliable text basis was lacking, every systemic interpretation had to be premature and Hillig avoided perpetuating the interpretations of the seventies. When in 2004 he published an article under the heading: "Anton Semjonowitsch Makarenko – was bleibt?" he meant "What can we say for sure about Makarenko's biography?" (Hillig, 2004).

However, his editorial work remained incomplete. For all German scholars and students desiring to go deeper into Makarenko, this fact is a big obstacle. This is also true of Russian readers, for a large part of Makarenko's writings they cannot but go back to the Soviet edition of the eighties. So must German readers with the GDR edition from the seventies with respect to all writings which were not translated and edited afresh by Hillig. The completion of the work that Hillig brought forward may not be possible, because there appears to be no-one who can match Hillig's work. The edition of Makarenko's Collected Works in Marburg remains a torso, Makarenko's scholarly biography was not written. (Parts of such a biography can be found in: Hillig & Weitz, 1976; Hillig, 1980; Hillig, 1989a; Hillig, 1998; Hillig, 1991; Abarinov & Hillig, 2000.) The editions and translations issued in Moscow and in East Berlin are still indispensable for researchers of all countries. This is painful as Hillig revealed the shortcomings of these editions. Only as far as the Marburg edition contains the same texts as the Moscow and East Berlin editions do, or as far as the Marburg edition is the only place to find a Makarenko text, may we speak of a reliable text. In other cases, researchers must consider a text to be at least partly not concordant with the original manuscript.

So far, we are also missing an account of the progress in understanding Makarenko which Hillig has brought about. As long as this desideratum is not fulfilled, the temptation will continue to reproduce the interpretations of the sixties and seventies. What has Hillig achieved for a sound interpretation of Makarenko's pedagogy in Germany's educational community? I can only try to make an attempt at an answer in this article.

A similar question concerns Russia and the Ukraine. What did Hillig contribute to understanding

Makarenko in the case of Hillig's research really being absorbed by experts in these countries. This question cannot be answered here. Yet, it must be said that in the spirit of comparative education Götz Hillig did not treat his topic only with respect to pedagogy in Germany, but looked also at the benefit that Russian and Ukrainian colleagues could gain from his research for their scholarly work. Hungarian, Polish and Czech researchers were also informed about

Hillig's discoveries. In the field of comparative education researchers intend to transcend the community of the own language or of that language in which the object of studies has emerged. Hillig often gave speeches at conferences in Russia and the Ukraine especially and published in journals in those countries. His most formidable publication is a collection of his 61 articles which were originally issued in Russian and Ukrainian. It is an 800-page volume in a format larger than usual: DIN A 3. Hillig entitled it "On the way to the true Makarenko (1976 – 2014)" [Unterwegs zum wahren Makarenko]. He submitted this opus to the Pedagogical University of Poltava where Makarenko had formerly completed his studies to teach at secondary level. Poltava University granted Hillig the equivalent of a German 'Habilitation'. Later, the Habilitation (i.e. the permission to hold lectures) was bestowed upon Hillig by the School of Education at the University of Marburg.

As a comparativist, I tried to find a scientific or scholarly reason for the unfinished state of Hillig's editorial work on Makarenko – i.e. a reason which is within the scholarly discipline itself. It is rooted in the tendency of mutuality which is inherent in comparative education. It especially plays a role when a scholar is focussed mainly on studying one country – as a foreigner. The deeper a researcher enters the educational phenomena of a country other than his or her own and the more a researcher thinks and writes from the background of a language area different to his or her own, (meaning in most cases: different from the mother tongue), the more the researcher wants to speak in this language area and finally also to have an impact on intellectual or even political discussions in the country which is the object of research. In the long run this motive may outstrip the intention to explain the foreign object to the research community in the own country. Standing on the border between two language areas the researcher must keep a balance. The prospect of confronting foreign colleagues with a new picture of a well-known phenomenon in their own country seems to be more worthwhile than presenting the object to colleagues in one's own country who need basic explanations to understand the deeper meanings of events in a foreign country. In the case of Hillig the opportunity must have been attractive to deliver a better textual basis to the Russian and Ukrainian colleagues in order to explore Makarenko. The comparativist whose research is focussed on one country may in the long run be drawn across the border, as it is alluring for a foreign expert to address the community of scholars who speak the language of the topic of research. To gain awareness in the foreign community of researchers is obviously more challenging than to convince the scholars in the own language community of the distinctiveness of own research outcomes in a research area which is only sketchily known in the own country.

Götz Hillig intended to give German researchers a 'new' Makarenko. Indirectly the Russian researchers could profit also, above all they could help to generate a new Russian edition of Makarenko's writings which would lay the groundwork for a new German edition. From the beginning of his work Hillig expected a new Russian edition which indeed was released in the eighties (eight volumes). This was somewhat late, but more important was that it disappointed him. The considerable number of his own new findings were not included, although he had repeatedly published them in journals in Russian and German. He usually sent these publications to the journal of the Russian Academy of Pedagogical Sciences (APN). They reacted only in private conversations, officially they rejected the efforts to work towards a 'new' Makarenko. Their defensive, head-in-the-sand attitude was shared by their colleagues in the GDR. One of the most knowledgeable colleagues was Werner Kienitz of the East Berlin Academy of Pedagogical Sciences who co-operated with Hillig after 1990 by proofreading his translations from Russian to German, yet in the community of the former Academicians who had meanwhile gathered in the new political party 'The Left' (Die Linke)

he was not prepared to recognise Hillig's merits. He could only bring himself to describe his colleague as "the enterprising Hillig" (Zukunftswerkstatt Linke Bildungspolitik, 2008). Even someone who is only an outside observer of the German studies of Makarenko will feel hurt by this attribution. Hillig did not want to steal Makarenko from the educationalists in Russia nor in the GDR, he offered co-operation many times, he informed them of his findings – so comprehensively, in fact, that he chided himself for his openness and described his expectations as "naive" yet he could not overcome the Soviet taboo on the Marburg endeavour.

Hillig accompanied the successive appearance of the eight-volume edition in Moscow with critical comments, especially intensive ones for the volumes 1 and 2 which were issued first. In the years before he had criticized the forerunner edition which became widespread in its second version of 1957/58. He had substantiated deformations of meaning, omissions, newly-formulated interpositions, factual errors and writing errors in this thitherto valid seven volume edition. Now in the eighties, he hoped to see numerous amendments considered in the new Russian edition and also his published discoveries from archives where he had researched. The new Russian edition was pre-empted by the Marburg edition which was bilingual, also in eight volumes, planned as the beginning of a more comprehensive edition entitled the "Collected Works". When the first volumes of the Marburg edition had appeared, it remained questionable whether both editions could ever be fused. How long the Marburg editors had hoped to unite both teams and editions into one is not known. The fact that the Marburg edition was bilingual in a nearly exact juxtaposition of the Russian original text and the German translation illustrated the will of the Marburg editors to influence both communities of Makarenko commentators.

Hillig undertook painstaking textual criticism of the Moscow editions, not only that of 1950/52 (abbr. to Sočinenija – seven volumes) in first and second edition, but also that of 1983-1986 (eight volumes). The seven-volume edition was the basis of the knowledge about Makarenko in many countries. The editors of the eight-volume edition in Moscow indeed eliminated some errors and included some newly-found texts, but then Hillig's textual analyses nevertheless showed that a considerable number of distortions outlived the purification of the texts and others were even newly added. The distortions were mainly politically motivated and aimed at maintaining the propagated picture of Makarenko as the greatest Soviet pedagogue (Hillig, 1984a). The interest in a scholarly satisfying critical edition was still low.

Hillig's critical works are numerous and apply to all parts of the latest Moscow edition. He also ascertaining and safeguarding d the shorthand texts of Makarenko's lectures which he found in archives and provided evidence of the divergencies of the Makarenko series published by the University of Lviv (former Lvov) under the aegis of Fedir Naumenko. Especially the Sočinenija of 1957/58 literally mutilated Makarenko's lectures. The Soviet edition claimed to include all the publications issued in Makarenko's lifetime, yet some publications during his lifetime remained undiscovered, others were dropped when they proved inopportune. For example, the latter fate befell Makarenko's attacks on the Educational Science of his time in the Soviet Union. Hillig's greatest effort was needed to verify the numerous editorial interventions in the editions of 1957/58 and of 1950 to 1952. Only in the lecture of March 1st, 1939, entitled "Communist education and communist behaviour" did Hillig succeed in substantiating 300 interventions – in a text of 75 typoscript pages. Whole passages were eliminated in other texts. Hillig's meticulous way of establishing the original texts as exactly as possible may be seen in the procedure that he applied to those texts which were Ukranian in the original, yet reproduced in the Soviet edition only in Russian. He translated the Ukranian originals which were preserved in archives, into Russian or asked a native speaker to do this independent of the official Russian version to which he compared the new translation. This is how he became aware of certain tendencies in the official Soviet translations from the Ukranian into Russian with regard to Makarenko's texts.

The eight-volume Marburg edition appeared between 1976 and 1979, at least four years ahead of the Soviet edition. Hillig makes use of introductions to each volume and of footnotes in the texts to explain specific questions in the texts, either concerning the status of the texts or their contents, especially the discrepancies to the corresponding versions of the Moscow edition. Hillig published articles in German journals in order to comment on his decisions in textual questions. Some of these articles were also published in Russian journals.

Hillig experienced painful disappointments when his critical text analyses were neglected by the Moscow editors and not a single one of them was willing to work with him on ensuring the authenticity of the texts. From today's knowledge this looks like a continuation of the defeats which Makarenko himself had suffered and now also the most energetic preserver of his works had to undergo. Similarly disappointing for Hillig was the fact that no co-operation with the East Berlin translators and editors of Makarenko's works (1959-1963) was achieved. However, Hillig's work was not ineffective, because leading GDR educators decided to abstain from a second GDR edition of Makarenko's works in the eighties. Nevertheless the GDR editors agreed with their Russian colleagues not to comment on the Marburg edition officially.

Hillig held the editorial practice in Moscow responsible for a selective cognition of Makarenko's educational beliefs. The latter's sceptical and even hostile attitude towards the family as an agent of socialisation was hardly known, just like his sceptical and negative attitude towards school as an educational institution (Hillig, 1984b). Hillig showed us that Makarenko was an advocate of residential accommodation and education, respectively education in so-called colonies if they followed his methods. Makarenko's canonisation as the Soviet educator par excellence after 1940 hampered the knowledge of this educator because some of his statements and texts were sacrificed (Hillig, 2001) in favour of promulgating the picture of the ideal educator. In the thirties Soviet educational theory in general executed a turnaround in favour of family and school and Makarenko paid tribute to it only superficially, e.g. he declared the family to be the basic collective in society, yet this application of the most important of Makarenko's concepts (the collective) is absurd if Makarenko's understanding of this concept is taken seriously. Hillig elaborated that for Makarenko 'collective' is not a sociological concept but only understandable in the context of his pedagogical methods (Hillig, 1984a, p. 279 f).

Hillig perceived it as a tragedy that he was alone with the immense task of working on the textual criticism of Makarenko's collected writings. He ascertained, for example, the texts which were part of the early editions of the Pedagogical Poem and were discarded in later editions or - in a few cases - re-integrated. This started with the three-part series in the Russian yearly periodical Almanach, 17th and 18th year. More publications of the Poem followed as books: 1934/ 1935/ 1936: as a book in three parts, 1934/ 1936: as a book in two parts, 1935/ 1936: a Ukrainian edition, which was not so much abridged as the Russian editions. These text passages are now to be found in the West German journal "Pädagogik in Ost und West" beginning with the 1974 volume. Unfortunately, this journal was abandoned in 1993, therefore this textual material is only conserved in some libraries. Hillig shows that abridgements in the second part of the Poem were also initiated by Maxim Gorki who wished to make the text more intensive. In 1937 - twenty years after the October revolution - a new make-over edition of the Poem was published in one single book which was taken into the Collective Works in 1950. Meanwhile, so-called Soviet patriotism was officially supported and many ironical or sarcastic statements by Makarenko aimed at the contemporary state of society were eliminated. Inner-Soviet criticism of society could then either arise from general anti-Soviet criticism or from Stalinist criticism of his communist predecessors and rivals or was anti-Stalinist. Makarenko was not a Communist in the sense of the Bolsheviks, yet he was not anti-Stalinist, on the contrary, he rather felt that some of the Communist intelligentsia of the twenties were his enemies.

Successes and adversities in Hillig's work

Hillig's critical work on the text of the Poem helps us to recognise that the Poem - at least its first edition - was written and also published under pressure of time. Parts of the Poem went directly from Makarenko's hand into print. The contents were obviously new and the linguistic presentation was stimulating, especially the many dialogues.

The events which occur in the Poem belong to the first years of Stalin's rule, nevertheless the Poem is not a Stalinist work and the author was not a Stalinist. Phrases which were inserted into later editions need to be deleted. The Marburg edition which contains the Poem in Volumes 3 to 5 is a purified version.

Götz Hillig caused some embarrassment to the East Berlin colleagues. They relied on the Moscow edition of 1957/58 (and earlier editions) but also knew about his textual criticisms of these editions and the Marburg translations of the Russian texts. Yet, they felt obliged to stick by the text of the Moscow edition and neglected the meticulous work that was done in Marburg, where he went back to the original texts, i.e. original manuscripts, typoscripts and first editions. Hillig reacted to their dilemma with empathy and pitied them.

Although Hillig reached strongly into the community of pedagogical scholarship in Russia and the Ukraine and managed to find individual supporters for his work and theses, the Marburg work remained taboo and received commentaries only in short polemics. This sidestepping was surely a defeat with respect to the expectations that had existed in Marburg, yet even more were Hillig's ambitions disappointed by the abandonment of the Marburg edition halfway through. The original planning of the Marburg edition was scheduled for two sections, the first section comprising 13 volumes, mainly collecting Makarenko's publications during his lifetime, the second section planned for 7 volumes, including his inherited works - pedagogical and literary, and also documents in Makarenko's hand from his time as the head of the Gor'kij-colony and as a functionary of the Dzershinsky Commune. Additionally, there were diary notes which were planned to appear as a primary section publication in Marburg, and finally also letters. This was a fine programme and became Hillig's life's work, being temporarily shared by some colleagues. The volumes 1, 2, 3 - 5, 7, 9, 13 in the first section were published. Then the edition stopped. These volumes were published between 1976 and 1978. That was a considerably fast rate, considering that the founding of the Marburg Research Institute of Comparative Education, comprising the Makarenko research unit as one of its three pillars was the year 1968. Besides the Marburg edition, Hillig edited individual writings of Makarenko in journals. These contributions were intended to be parts of the full edition. Outside observers wondered during the seventies and eighties where Hillig had gathered his knowledge of the original scripts, i.e. handwritten, typoscripts, shorthand reports and primary publications (in journals). Hillig used a stay of several weeks in the Soviet Union subsidised by the German Research Foundation (DFG) and more trips there to work in archives in Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev and to meet Makarenko researchers working in Moscow libraries and archives. The archive CGALI (The central state archive for literature and arts in Leningrad) was his most important goal as it has a collection of Makarenko archive material which has been complemented over time by his widow Galina with works from Makarenko's legacy, not all of them untreated by her. Hillig's relatively early access to valuable documents and his success in obtaining copies, mostly photographed, were Hillig's trumps in the production of the Marburg edition. He enjoyed support from Soviet, Czech, Polish and Hungarian colleagues and slowly created a fund of documents which grew into the Marburg Makarenko archive. This is now preserved at Bremen University. In the preface to the Marburg Makarenko edition Hillig named seven libraries supporting him, let aside archives. He worked in no less than in the archives in Moscow, Leningrad, Char'kov, Kiev and L'vov.

The Marburg edition was accompanied by a series entitled 'Opuscula Makarenkiana', which between 1984 and 2003 amounted to 25 titles. They treat individual occurrences and problems in

Makarenko's life and work. Nearly all of them were written and published by Hillig who for most of them presented new findings from archives. As the volumes are mostly bilingual (Russian and German) some of them have book size (e.g. Hillig, 2003). This issue, however, is an exception because it is only monolingual, namely Russian. Another example is Nr. 12 which documents Makarenko's conflicts with representatives of Ukrainian Social Education (Feb./March 1928), Marburg, 1991, 178 pages. The documents refer to Makarenko's transition from the Gor'kij-colony to the Dzershinsky Commune. They are in both versions, Russian and German, opposite one another. The book provides 10 documents from these two months in the year 1928 following Hillig's method: parallel bilingual, detailed textual criticism in annotation, description and verification of source; the Soviet variants of these ten documents are also presented bilingually. Hillig could thus document how these 10 documents had been presented in Soviet publications. There are appendices with a register of names and a register of locations.

The present-day reader gains insight into the conflicts which Makarenko underwent, learns about Makarenko's statements and by this about his perceptions and beliefs. The reader learns about the handling of Makarenko's texts by Soviet editors. The German reader can form a picture of Makarenko which is more detailed than those pictures from the hitherto existing editions. The 25 volumes of 'Opuscula Makarenkiana' contain several texts which are commendably edited and could have been inserted into the Marburg edition of Makarenko's collected works. Unfortunately the 25 issues are available only in few German libraries.

The plan of 20 volumes for the Marburg Makarenko edition indeed looked to be a huge task, yet needed not be out of reach for Hillig and his co-operative friends, as is proved by the amount of Hillig's publications. Little consolation comes from the fact that the Russian edition of 1983-1986 failed to achieve the self-imposed aim of 9 to 10 volumes when it eventually came in with 8 volumes. The responsible scholars in the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences in Moscow apparently wanted to reply to the announcement from Marburg and drew a line without exact substantiation.

If the Marburg researchers had at least completed the first section (Volumes 1-13) of the planned edition of 20 volumes, present-day researchers would be in a better position. Of course, the second section (7 volumes) promised to be equally important, as can be seen from Hillig's publications. Yet, the attained state of the Marburg Makarenko edition makes it difficult for researchers to comment in an informed way on the subject of Makarenko. Hillig's plentiful textual criticism publications are of great scholarly value and should be considered whenever possible. However, at the same time, it unsettles present-day readers because they wonder which Makarenko texts are reliable beyond those clarified by Hillig. It may happen in some cases that Hillig's admirable work discourages individual researchers and hampers the discussion on Makarenko. No one who is interested in Makarenko likes to become stuck in textual criticism questions. Many of them are answered in Hillig's work yet the lack of a scholarly checked complete edition in German will impede the discussion on Makarenko. A Hillig redivivus will not appear.

Hillig's ambition to create a bilingual Russian-German Makarenko edition may look like entering into a competition with the Russian editors. Although this impression is in some ways true, nevertheless Hillig hoped for a long time during his work on Makarenko that not only his Russian counterparts would understand this as an offer of co-operation, but also the other researchers beyond the river Elbe, as well. It is true that he intended to deliver a new text basis for all Makarenko researchers in the world, yet he hoped for a willingness to cooperate among the Russian editors. Perhaps, he waited too long for a sign from Moscow. He had a rather strong position, yet despite this his wooing led more and more to a defeat the longer he waited. When from a certain point of time, he knew that he could not win, his position became weaker and weaker. The time was not yet ripe.

Leonhard Froese communicated in May 1968 to the interested public that the publisher in

Ravensburg had dropped the project 'Makarenko's Collected Works' for financial reasons and that no chance existed for another way of financing. At this date the fate of the Marburg edition was already sealed (Froese, 1989). Seen from today, it is hard to understand that further financing could not be procured. One would have expected this of Froese. Obviously, the financial burden of such a bilingual edition had not been foreseen – or some colleagues in the unit believed too optimistically in cooperation with the Moscow editors.

Hillig's efforts to clarify Makarenko's relation to Stalinist Power

The crucial question for the Makarenko-Hillig topic is: Which new traits of a 'true' Makarenko picture can be identified by the reader of the German texts in Hillig's edition and his publications? Do the sources which Hillig published change the colouring of the picture? The preparedness to look at Makarenko as an historically extraordinary pedagogue was widespread among many educationalists in West Germany until the eighties of the 20th century, and was no weaker in the states under Soviet influence. Yet, in recent years, voices have been heard in Germany, repeating some of the criticism of the fifties (leaving aside the Roman Catholic view of that decade). One of the critical authors is a journalist from the town of Schwerin in Mecklenburg named Manfred Franz. He wrote a chapter in an edited volume, which is entitled: *Beschädigte Seelen: DDR-Jugend und Staatssicherheit*, published in 1996 (Informal translation: *Damaged Souls: Youth in the GDR and the State Secret Police*). His chapter is headed: *A.S. Makarenko, der Hauspädagoge des sowjetischen Staatssicherheitsdienstes und sein Konzept der kommunistischen Kollektiverziehung* (Informal translation: *A.S. Makarenko, the favourite pedagogue of the Soviet Security Police and his concept of Communist training for collectivism*) (Mothes, 1966, pp. 20-37).

Manfred Franz is a well-informed reader of Makarenko's works. He did not refer to the works of Hillig, yet he may know at least parts of them. Instead he cited the GDR edition of the eighties. As the heading of his chapter says, he is convinced that Makarenko's pedagogy subserves Stalinist rule. So was the Swiss educationalist Karl Kobelt. His PhD dissertation of 1996 was headed "Anton Makarenko – A Stalinist Pedagogue. Interpretation against the Background of Russian-Soviet Educational Policy". The dissertation was accepted by the University of Basel by the much appreciated professor of East-European History, Heiko Haumann. Kobelt made use of the Marburg edition and appended annotations of several of Hillig's publications to his work. His verdict on Makarenko as a Stalinist is sustained throughout his book. His method, however, of identifying structural analogies between Stalinist ideology and Makarenko's pedagogy is weak evidence (Kobelt, 1996). Even in Russia after Communism, an educationalist condemned Makarenko as a pedagogue who worked and wrote for the Communist Party and its secret policy. In the case of Jurij Petrovitch Asarov (1931 – 2012) the negative attitude towards Makarenko resulted from his religiosity.

It seems as if no-one in former West Germany stood up for Makarenko in order to preserve the positive image which had prevailed in West Germany since the sixties. Obviously, the preparedness to defend Makarenko had been impaired. Only some of the educationalists who were formerly active in the GDR made replies and spoke up for a more differentiated picture of Makarenko. Several of them meanwhile work together in the political party 'Die Linke' (The Left) (Zukunftswerkstatt Linke Bildungspolitik 2008; Günther-Schellheimer, 2014). Günther-Schellheimer recalled that Makarenko's pedagogy also played a role in the post-Stalinist period which was ruled by the Stalin critic Khrushchev, because under Khrushchev upbringing in boarding schools and character forming by manual work were emphasized (Günther-Schellheimer, 2014, p. 160). Educational ideology changed during the decades under Stalin and Khrushchev. The change under Khrushchev might have been brought about by the intensive propaganda for Makarenko's pedagogy after Makarenko was declared the most important educator of the Soviet Union. It was abandoned after

Khrushchev's resignation.

The search for the true Makarenko remains a task for the science of education. Makarenko's image varies between Stalinist and humanist. Hillig collected all of Makarenko's statements on Stalin from 1936 which undoubtedly stem from Makarenko himself (Hillig, 1998; Hillig, 1989c). Most of these statements were not unknown, but then only little-known because more than a few were deleted in later editions. For those of Hillig's friends who tried to classify Makarenko in a theoretical manner – mainly Siegfried Weitz and Wolfgang Sünkel – the attribute 'Stalinist' was no option at all, they evaluated Makarenko's laudatory statements on Stalin as self-protection. Yet, obviously, not all of them were enforced and some are startling. From where stems the rigour with which Makarenko wanted to settle up with enemies of Stalin and from where does the devotion of some of his addresses to Stalin come? Are these reactions part of his character? Sure enough, many people were scared then, as every unit in society had to deliver denunciations according to predetermined figures, and in 1936/1937 the terror had reached unprecedented dimensions. Also Makarenko himself was fortunate to escape a dangerous denunciation (Hillig, 1995).

Hillig did not excuse or discharge Makarenko. He offers a partial explanation for Makarenko's avowals to Stalin by the loss of Makarenko's protector, Maxim Gorki, who died in June 1936 in Moscow. Hillig made no attempt to interpret Makarenko's pedagogy with respect to the history of educational theories, he would have found such an undertaking premature. He saw his task as ascertaining and safeguarding the text basis and clarifying the biography. The intended scholarly confirmed biography was not completed, yet a multiplicity of events and situations has been described in the 25 volumes of 'Opuscula Makarenkiana'. In total, Hillig helped to relieve Makarenko of the attitude of admiration which came up in German pedagogy in the 1960s and 1970s, yet he did not favour a one-dimensional valuation. The German interest in Makarenko emerged in the 1920s – within the so-called humanities-based school of pedagogy (*geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik*) which was headed by Herman Nohl – the academic teacher of Leonhard Froese. Yet, Makarenko's thinking on pedagogy was rather afar from this German tradition, it did not fit into the categories of the *geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik* and its philosophical orientation. Makarenko's approach to pedagogy was not an academic one, it was an emergency approach, an existential answer. For Makarenko, pedagogy was in essence a struggle which was inescapable, and Makarenko accepted it. For him, the position of an academic pedagogy was principally inappropriate. The Olympus of the self-appointed pedagogical thinkers, in his opinion, had to be encountered with mockery and sarcasm. The adoption of the struggle which was unavoidable, obviously brought him closer to the Bolshevik Party, although he did not join their ranks. The letter which Makarenko wrote to Fedor Borisov on 15th July 1938, a former inhabitant of the Dzerzhinsky Commune, documents his outlook on the world at that time (Hillig & Weitz, 1968). Only some months before his death he asked to be affiliated with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, yet Makarenko's death prevented the Party officials from dealing with his request. Ten years earlier Makarenko's preparedness for struggle led him into a conflict with influential persons in the field of education in the Ukraine. He reproached them for still cultivating a bourgeois concept of education in order to close their eyes to the inevitability of struggle. After the Stalinist turn in interior policies Makarenko felt he was the winner of this quarrel.

It is true that Makarenko repeatedly failed in his struggle, yet, he also had successes, for instance, the recognition of the Gorki Colony as an experimental facility and a model in the year 1923. Later he failed with the Gorki Colony in Poltava and in Kurjash near Charcov and finally abandoned it to its fate after he had drawn the 60 best colonists to the newly-founded Dzerzhinsky Commune (Hillig, 1994). In this however, he failed also, and soon he wished for nothing else but to get away from there when the heads of the Commune restricted his competencies. In order to be able to leave the Gorki Colony, he had tied himself to the State Secret Police (NKVD) of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist

Republic (Ukrainian SSR) who had founded the Dzerzhinsky Commune. His dream and aim remained Moscow, he wrote many more texts in Russian than in Ukrainian. Subsequent to his work in the Dzerzhinsky Commune he changed to the administration of the Ukrainian Work Communities in Kiev. Finally in 1937, he and his wife managed to move to Moscow where he got a position in the Moscow association of writers. From then on he wanted to be a writer, however, this was a hard way of earning his living and he suffered pecuniary difficulties. The writings that followed the Pedagogical Poem did not only meet acceptance, but also harsh criticism from a literary point of view.

Makarenko did not fail completely, he was strong and wise enough to find a way out of difficult situations. His widow Galina, who had joined the Communist Party early and worked in the Commissioners' Office of Education in the Ukrainian SSR, assumed the task of stylising her deceased husband as the Soviet pedagogue per se, which must have seemed an impossible task from the beginning. However, she found supporters, especially professors like Ivan Afanasjevič Sokoljanski, Valentin Vasil'jevič Kumarin and Konstantin Semenovič, and furthermore Alexander Alexandrovič Fadejev from the Soviet association of writers. She reached her aim in a relatively short time.

Makarenko's credibility in his correspondence with Gorki, first published by Hillig

Hillig put Makarenko in the framework of his time - when the regime became totalitarian and changed into despotism. Hillig avoided romanticising Makarenko, he avoided comparisons, yet saw Makarenko as a singularity and not as an example or a case for anything more general. The most difficult question certainly is whether Makarenko can be adjudged as credible in his writings, i.e. that he described real events, real characters and real pedagogical actions and that he made his real motives recognisable in his writings. During his writing of the Poem, i.e. from approx. 1930 to 1934, there were enough reasons to restrain from showing one's personal thinking and behave carefully. Communist rule showed its ruthlessness initially towards the peasants.

Hillig showed that Makarenko understood how to adapt his biography to the then current pressures. The efforts of adaptation that were necessary in the thirties in the Soviet Union can hardly be imagined today. However, it can be presumed that Makarenko in his friendship with Maxim Gorki created a space for frank speech. We may conclude that in their friendship Makarenko could be more credible than in other relationships. In his letters to Gorki he should have spoken in a more unconcealed, direct and truthful way than in any other writings. As Gorki mostly lived in Sorrento in Italy in the twenties and thirties, the communication between both men had to take place as an exchange of letters.

Götz Hillig edited the correspondence between Gorki and Makarenko diligently in a bilingual presentation. Only 50 years after the death of both writers the correspondence appeared unrestrained and unchanged. The Soviet and East German Makarenko editions did not pay much regard to textual criticism. Between 1982 and 1986 Hillig was allowed to receive copies (photocopies) of the letters in the Gorki archives of the Institute of World Literature at the Academy of Sciences of the USSR (IMLI) in Moscow. He issued all the then known letters completely, they stem from the years 1925 to 1935 with a break from 1929 to 1932 (Hillig, together with Newskaja, 1990).

Hillig's edition (together with Newskaja) will be cited here by referring to page numbers.

This edition could also have been part of the Marburg 'Collected Works' which were broken off.

The ten years from 1925 to 1935 were important for Makarenko who had to battle for a position in Soviet society. In the years 1926 to 1928, Makarenko faced the difficulty that he wanted to leave the Gorki Colony at Kurjash, although the colony still bore the name of Gorki and he had reported his

successes among the young people there to Gorki. Nevertheless, he wrote to Gorki that he was surrounded by a "sea of sloppiness and parasitism" (54). This sounds extremely unkind with respect to an institution which he had so often praised and which was his own creation. The help that Gorki offered him to improve his situation by making use of his connections was refused by Makarenko with a strange argument: his respect for Gorki was too great to confront him with the difficulties in the colony. This should sound humble, but, in fact the undertone seems to say that Makarenko did not wish Gorki to visit the colony. However, Gorki identified the colony with his name, and he would not understand if Makarenko guided him into the newly-erected Dzershinsky Commune. Makarenko would have liked this because the Kurjash Colony no longer seemed to be representative, it could throw a bad light on Makarenko. As there was no escape from this dilemma, Makarenko started to paint a positive picture of Kurjash again. How distorted is his argument by which he tries to extricate himself from this contradiction: "You need not help us; our struggle is too trivial to draw your name into it." He bends over backwards in self-denial against his patron who esteemed him highly. This is not a credible attitude.

Another attempt at escape is Makarenko's information that "they" (the impersonal pronoun) savaged him because of his pedagogy. "The fault of it is only and alone that it stems from me and is not put together from stereotypes. It needed to come to this point." (55). The heroic attitude of the solitary fighter standing against a superior enemy pleases him. Even more, he rejects any interference by Gorki because he does not want to be dependent on Gorki's interventions. He is the hero who sacrifices himself – a nearly egomaniacal pose. And he deepens his contradictions: on the one hand, "they" shout against him, the heretic, on the other hand, "they" (he disguises the Ukrainian Commissariat for Education into someone anonymous) offer him the leadership of additional colonies. His egocentrism requires admirers and also enemies, whereupon the thinking of the enemies must appear devious or even absurd. The present-day reader might assume that these enemies were political, yet nothing indicates this. Makarenko did not fight rising Stalinism nor Soviet socialism.

In the communication with Gorki Makarenko's self-disclosure aims at preparing his patron gently and in a psychologically smart way for his intention to leave the Gorki Colony, because he could not afford to lose this protector. For Makarenko it is not only a pleasure that Gorki will visit him in the colony, in a certain way it is also threatening. The edifice of staginess, exaggerations and even lies could break down, if Gorki gained insight. Makarenko constructs a talk with his opponents for Gorki which is not credible. Allegedly, his opponents have turned against him because he keeps to the values of discipline, duty and honour. They reproach Makarenko for neglecting class awareness in the colony. Makarenko on his part interprets their reproach as the expectation that he should make the students parrot the textbook.

A realistic reason for Makarenko to decline Gorki's help is his wish to quit the Gorki colony. However, he hides his plan from Gorki. He prepares arguments of which he will make use later. He has to remain a hero for Gorki and he boasts how strong he is in Kurjash with 400 'Gorki babes', at the same time lamenting that he was finished. He has to get his 400 youngsters through "under conditions of most bitter destitution".

At the beginning of the year 1928 it was clear that Gorki might come to the colony. Makarenko writes: "We expect you in the colony." (57). Makarenko wants to guard against disagreeable conversations and confesses "an error" to Gorki: he did not inform Gorki that the colony had received 16,000 rubles from the authority, instead he had suggested that the authorities were neglecting the colony. He asks for Gorki's pardon for non-information. This is the moment when he also feels the need to disclose to Gorki his recent commitment to the Dzershinsky Commune which had existed at the latest from December 1927. In his own wording it sounds like this: "In December they (impers. pronoun) gave me the Dzershinsky Commune additionally und immediately started yelling: Why employ the Gorki system there, too?" Makarenko's phrasing is strange: "They" gave him

the commune – as if this happened against his will. They gave him that and immediately started to yell. They did not shout at Makarenko but against the Gorki system. The enemies' malice strikes Gorki himself!

Makarenko's depiction is in no way credible. The reader may shake his/her head about the logical twists in Makarenko's description of the colony, yet the outcome is that Makarenko believed in his right to be deeply piqued. It is the pose of an unduly self-confident man who does not receive the appreciation he deserves.

Gorki bears Makarenko's inconsistent attitude and regards it as an expression of pride, he feels abashed because he is asked to stay passive in a situation when help is obviously needed. He concludes that the colony needs more money and sends them 20,000 rubles (it is still a time of inflation in Russia), and he promises to send music instruments for the brass orchestra in the colony. The cause for the gift of money seems to be the information in Makarenko's letter of the 14th March in 1927 that the People's Commissariat for Education of the Ukrainian SSR granted the colony 11,000 rubles less in autumn than was normal (44).

Gorki's visit to the colony was delayed from June 1928 to July 1928. Makarenko writes to Gorki how much the colonists are looking forward to Gorki's visit, but Gorki's visit is to be a surprise for the inhabitants of the colony, so he does not tell them the exact date of the visit. He lets Gorki know that he would not circulate the date of his coming if Gorki mentioned it in a letter. The reason for not announcing the date is a matter of speculation. A welcoming event for the patron which would need preparation can be omitted. Did Makarenko still hope that Gorki would not come and cancel his visit? Then, Gorki arrives and stays in the colony for one night, not more – from the 8th to 9th July 1928. After this visit Makarenko raised the veil in a letter to Gorki – not earlier than the 22nd November 1928: Makarenko left the Gorki colony in Kurjash a few months after Gorki's visit. Surprisingly, he reports that he crept out of the colony early in the morning before the colony awakened. Neither the children nor the colleagues got a good-bye from him. After that, he did not return to the colony. His justification fits the other explanations he gave: he wanted to prevent the children from crying. Yet, he also confesses: "All this diplomacy was in vain." (62). Was he really so sensitive or did he want to hide that the colony was already falling apart and that he had lost the backing of the children and colleagues?

This is a moment when the anonymous enemies come into sight again. In Makarenko's view they play the personnel against each other, the older colleagues left the colony – to go anywhere. What were the accusations against him? Makarenko says: the older colleagues were charged with 'Makarenko-ism'. The new director of the colony is – if we follow Makarenko – a chief of the children's association, the 'Pioneers', who is illiterate (62). One of the 'enemies' is probably Chairman Arnantov of the Ukrainian Central Committee on Social Education. This person – reports Makarenko – gave him an ultimatum: "Change to the common system of social education – or leave!" "Seriously - I could not ruin eight years' work and the whole colony." (64). Was it his generosity to abandon the colony – better than to destroy it in advance?

Makarenko did not inform Gorki until four months after he had left the famous Gorki colony. Probably he did not know that Gorki had been informed earlier – by a letter from one of the colonists – as Gorki sometimes got letters from colonists (commentary by Hillig – p. 224). It seems that Makarenko had difficulties in contriving a proper legend. As early as the 8th September he had written a letter to Gorki in which he asked for a souvenir of Gorki's visit to Kurjash, suggesting a pocket-knife, which the children would keep in his honour (commentary by Hillig – p. 223). Yet, he does not mention his abandoning the Gorki Colony at Kurjash nor his change to the Dzershinsky Commune (commentary by Hillig – p. 223).

Nevertheless, according to Makarenko, his legacy remains indestructible. Four months after his departure, he tells Gorki know that his work in Kurjash is still stable: the departments, the

commanders, the saluting, the interrelationships. Makarenko concludes: "For the downfall of the colony there existed no serious reasons." (64). It looks as if it did not perish – in truth – only Makarenko disappeared. In his self-manifestation he remains a magnet. Later, after Gorki's death in the year 1938, he writes that many of the colonists defected to the Dzershinsky Commune, and, finally, all of them, when they found out that Makarenko had become the director of the commune. These are the two sides of Makarenko. On the one hand, we hear him lament combined with absurd allegations, on the other, he sounds like an unassailable winner.

In the above-mentioned letter to Gorki in 1938 Makarenko confesses that the Public Prosecutor of the District of Charkov intended to incriminate Makarenko because of the decline of the Gorki Colony. Götz Hillig considers this indication of Makarenko's 'failure' to be realistic (commentary by Hillig – p. 226, 227).

Gorki also intervened in this case on behalf of Makarenko, as he did before in order to help Makarenko to be re-appointed in his function at Kurjash, not knowing that Makarenko himself had worked for this change. Although Makarenko had laid a veil over the circumstances of his leaving the colony, the problem remained for Makarenko how to convey this fact to his benefactor. The colony bore Gorki's name even though the namegiving was not sealed by any authority. When Moscow launched a plan to name a new colony after Gorki, Makarenko felt involved, but the plan was not put into action. Hillig attested Makarenko several times that he exaggerated highly in his letters to Gorki, but the word 'exaggerate' only partially describes Makarenko's linguistic manoeuvres. Gorki himself explained Makarenko's conflict with the Commissariat for Education in Kiev as resting on a nationality dispute between Ukrainians and Russians with Makarenko being a russophile Ukrainian.

Nonetheless Gorki is disappointed. He writes to Makarenko on 1st January in 1933 that the colonists were no longer reacting to his letters. I know nothing about them. What a pity! What good children they were there!" (73). Now, finally, disappointment has arrived on Gorki's doorstep, yet he does not yet know how much the letdown is due to Makarenko. Makarenko reacts to this letter the same day when he reads it. He clarifies nothing but sets out a new 'perspective', unfolding his plans to be a writer and begging Gorki's sponsorship. A writer from then on was to be his new profession, and he admits that he has relinquished the youth colony and Kurjash especially. At this moment he confesses that the colony was a big strain for him. Gorki adapted to the new situation und started the endorsement for the writer Makarenko.

It is to Hillig's merit that a complete edition of this exchange of letters is available. He also published Makarenko's letters to his wife Galina and Makarenko's pocketbook. The exchange of letters with Gorki is of interest regarding Makarenko's credibility, because the relationship with Gorki created a space of openness, it was more protected than other communicative partnerships, mutual trust was possible. Although Makarenko, like all Soviet citizens of the Stalin period and especially those who played a role in public life, lived under immense pressure, the friendship with Gorki offered a unique opportunity for open speaking. From this point of view Makarenko's statements are disappointing, even more so because they unmask him. He lacks the courage to induct Gorki into his plans, he builds facades and entangles himself in his lies. Yet, he knows how much he needs Gorki and that he must not lose his sympathy. So he manoeuvres, uses half-truths and lapses into silence over long periods of time. The picture of his positions in the institutions which he wants to convey to Gorki is by no means credible. A view from the present could put forward the excuse that Makarenko was reticent, because he did not trust Gorki's closeness to the NKWD and even to Stalin himself, but there is no indication at the time of such a fear in Makarenko. Rather Makarenko seemed to share Gorki's political views. The vision of being able to re-forge characters was common to both men. With Gorki Makarenko feels familiar enough to write frankly about the use of fists in the colony to oppress tendencies among the colonists which were directed against the community

(45). The topic of fighting in the colony often caused quarrels with the 'ladies' of the Ukrainian People's Commissariat for Education, yet Makarenko denied these incidents and only entrusted the truth to a person he trusted and from whom he need not fear betrayal. And it seems that he conveyed this truth to Gorki with some pride.

Nevertheless, Makarenko manoeuvres with the truth vis-à-vis Gorki. Gorki tolerated the inconsistencies and the doubtfulness of Makarenko's statements and resumes the friendship and the patronage. Although he was Gorki's protégé, Makarenko's pretense and use of half-truths seem to have become his second nature. He manifests a considerable degree of egocentrism which probably warns people who know of this against easy trust in him.

Hillig exercised restraint when analysing the person Makarenko and his pedagogy, his work was aimed at supplying a carefully compiled text basis and also factual basis which would help to carry out thorough analyses and even provoke them. He had no interest in reviving the attribute 'Stalinist' with regard to Makarenko and his pedagogy, however it came back through at least one serious author who knew Hillig's work well. Hillig's aim of gaining an unprejudiced view of Makarenko – the longer the more - not only dismantled the ideologically inspired interpretations in Communist countries, but also the idealistic ardour of his academic mentor Leonhard Froese even if this was not his intention.

Is Makarenko a 'classic' figure in pedagogy?

We lack a critical edition of Makarenko's works. But we need not only rely on the eight volumes of the Moscow edition (1983-86) or on the translation of the former Soviet edition into German by the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences in the GDR (former German Democratic Republic [East Germany]), which was published between 1959 and 1975 by 'Volk und Wissen', we can also rely on the volumes of the incomplete Marburg edition which unfortunately comprises only a part of Makarenko's works. This was undoubtedly a failure of the Marburg unit which was not able to accomplish its ambitious plan. They did achieve much on their way to their goal, their efforts were admirable, the premises to reach the goal were fulfilled, more than a few educationalists in Germany West and East and in other European countries were fascinated by the Marburg colleagues, especially by Götz Hillig. They all finally had and have to live with an unsatisfying result. What can be said about this undertaking now that a certain time has passed?

This undertaking was surely meant to overcome the Cold War in East and West on one small front: in the field of pedagogy and, within it, in the one arena: the edition and the interpretation of the works of a famous pedagogue in the Soviet Union. The Marburg researchers came without the intention to alienate Makarenko from the Soviet Union who regarded Makarenko as their hero. Yet in the atmosphere of the Cold War they could not look at the Marburg plan as a neutral scientific undertaking. Froese had made them advances, yet this was not enough to establish an academic co-operation. Did the Marburg researchers really not foresee this hindrance? It is hard to decide what might have been possible if this project had been established at a high political level on both sides.

Froese and his co-workers must have seen this difficulty and Hillig concluded that he would do as much as possible as an individual researcher. And he attained a lot. He got copies of numerous documents from libraries and archives in the Soviet Union. To those documents belonged handwritten scripts, typoscripts, newspaper articles, letters, first editions of books, articles in scholarly journals, diaries and notebooks. The libraries and archives were obviously prepared to regard Hillig as a normal user and researcher and they did not mind putting Hillig's publications on their shelves. This was a treasure for Hillig's project. The Marburg Makarenko Archives were well filled. The Marburg colleagues seemed to be close to their goal in the early eighties.

Yet, the goal was not reached. The goal of a Moscow-Marburg co-operation in editing all of Makarenko's works turned out to be too optimistic and not very realistic. Nevertheless, the bilingual Marburg edition need not be simply forgotten. The money that was needed to complete the edition

could not be raised. Such an effort obviously could only be accomplished by researchers from several universities, i.e. West German universities. A financially-based co-operation between institutes of different universities was uncommon then and could only be arranged by a national organization like the German Research Foundation (DFG). Apart from the organisational difficulties, the co-operation between the professors of Comparative Education in West Germany was not close enough to unite all or several of them in one project. The Makarenko project was established as a Marburg project. Either Marburg succeeded or the project perished. After the publisher had resigned from the project, the financing for the one-man Makarenko research group in Marburg did not cease, that is why Hillig could go on publishing in journals and continue his series 'Opuscula Makarenkiana'. In sum, the Makarenko research in West Germany was predominantly a matter of a few individuals, especially one – Götz Hillig. Shared and co-ordinated research activities were not to be seen, apart from some edited volumes with several authors who put together their articles. As strong as Hillig's efforts were – common action was weak, especially with respect to securing the financing of the project. This was not a good position in contrast to the Academies in Moscow and East Berlin who felt they were the legitimate guardians of Makarenko's legacy and who indeed watched over the documents and had the funds to bring out editions.

It was ambitious of Froese and others to proclaim Makarenko as a classic figure in pedagogy. Most so-called classic figures in pedagogy were founders or at least stimulators of a specific branch of pedagogy, e.g. Froebel for kindergarten pedagogy, Pestalozzi for the elementary school (but also for adult education), others became famous for the pedagogy of the impaired child (e.g. Montessori) or as founders of specific schools or specific school subjects, e.g. physical education (GutsMuths). In the Soviet Union and the GDR, Makarenko was read as a practitioner and his pedagogy was applied there in children's homes and in holiday camps, experiments were also carried out in schools. In West Germany Makarenko was mainly read as a practitioner who acted on the basis of a general theory, only Sozialpädagogik specialists regarded him as a social work education expert, especially with regard to home education. In East Germany Makarenko is today understood as a Sozialpädagogik specialist (Mannschatz, 2017). This gives him a specific position within pedagogy. What should a classic figure in pedagogy be? The so-called 'foundations of education' (German: Allgemeine Pädagogik) which is a basic discipline in the field of pedagogy, often deals with classic figures and understands itself as sustainer of a chain of legacies. For each one the question must be asked: What qualifies this person to be a classic? This question cannot be answered without considering personality. A small essay in this direction is my short analysis of the exchange of letters with Gorki which may give critical insight into Makarenko's character. This is what educationalists can do – so many decades after Makarenko's life.

To employ a political attribute like 'Stalinist' is no help to pedagogical thinking. Pedagogical practice should not be described in political terms. We should look at Makarenko's pedagogy as a variant of pedagogical practice. We know some facets of his pedagogy: disrespect of bureaucracy, a fixed picture of a hostile environment, self-apprehension of a lonely fighter who keeps course in the storm, collecting allegiances among the colonists, the voluntarism of action (in the interpretation of Kobelt): volatile, fierce, driving the big group by setting greater and greater aims, a pedagogy which tolerates or even stimulates physical violence with regard to the great aims of the group, which demands high effectivity in physical work in the interest of the big group, the use of lies and feint, it is a pedagogy in the struggle for movement in the big group, based on two attitudes: low esteem for the family as an institution for raising young people compared to collective upbringing in homes and colonies of young people and – finally – a critical attitude towards school. It is a pedagogy in an extreme situation applied by an impulsive but also reflective personality.

Götz Hillig made a huge effort to find the "true" Makarenko. He did not claim to have reached his

aim, yet found numerous new aspects. In the sixties and seventies many readers of Makarenko were convinced they knew who Makarenko was. Hillig made the experts realize that the "true" Makarenko was and still is unknown. Hillig's achievement is undeniable. We now know that the truth about Makarenko is open, no- one should be too sure. On the basis of Hillig's work a new search may begin, it will be challenging. Reading Hillig diligently may show us which continuations of his 'road to Makarenko' are possible.

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Hein Retter (Germany)

After the German November Revolution 1918: The Compromise on Religious Instruction in Elementary Schools in the Weimar Constitution

Abstract: A tiny section on the agenda of the National Assembly of the Weimar Republic from February to July, 1919 was entitled "Religious instruction and the public elementary school", part of the preparation for the new Constitution of the German Reich, the so-called Weimar Constitution [Weimarer Reichsverfassung; abbr. WRV], of August 11th, 1919. The three democratic parties, the moderate-socialist SPD, the Catholic Zentrum Party and the liberal-democrat DDP, were the political mainstays of the Weimar Republic, which existed from 1919 to 1933. But these three parties had absolutely different ideologies concerning the role of religion in public education, especially in the elementary school (Volksschule), the lower school system. While the topic 'religion and school' in the Weimar Constitution has been often presented from a politically leftist point of view in the past, here, following the principle of a plurality of historical perspectives, the interests of the Catholic Zentrum Party will be more strongly focussed upon. I would like to also show how difficult the circumstances were that eventually led to an agreement regarding the school articles of the Weimar Constitution. Article 146(1) WRV required a national school act which was to be the framework for further educational laws of the 'Länder' (states). All political attempts failed to produce such a national law (Reichsschulgesetz) during the era of the Weimar Republic (in the interest of standardization of state education) because of different policies in the 'Reich' and the 'Länder' (which were responsible for school education and its legal basis). Just like the parties' differences in school policy could not be bridged in the years after establishing the Constitution of 1919.

Keywords: religious education, religious instruction, Weimar National Assembly, Weimar Constitution, religion in German Elementary Schools

56

概要 (Hein Retter: 1918 年德国十一月革命之后：在魏玛宪法中，对小学宗教课程的妥协：在魏玛帝国宪法中，对国民学校宗教课程的妥协。本文涉及 1919 年 2 月至 7 月魏玛共和国国民议会上须完成的议程的一小部分：“宗教课程和公立学校”。当时的三个民主党派，即社民党、天主教中心党和自由民主党是 1919 年至 1933 年德意志帝国所在的魏玛共和国的政治支柱。但是，这三个党派对宗教在公共教育中的作用有着截然不同的看法，特别是在国民学校中。文章阐释了为达成最终的妥协，当时的情况有多么的艰难。虽然，教育史学家从政治左翼角度描述了魏玛宪法中“宗教和学校”这一主题，但从历史多视角的角度来看，天主教中心党的利益基础在此应更多地考虑在内。魏玛宪法的起草者们意识到，在学校文书中所涉及的关于宗教课程的妥协还需进一步的监管。在魏玛宪法第 146 (1) 条中，帝国教育法被要求作为国家立法的框架。在魏玛共和国时代，为实施这一帝国法律的反复尝试，一方面，导致了各州和帝国政府不同利益的落空；另一方面，各党派之间关于学校政策的差异亦无法弥合。

关键词：宗教教育，宗教指令，魏玛国民议会，魏玛宪法，宗教在德国小学

Zusammenfassung (Hein Retter: Nach der deutschen Novemberrevolution 1918: Der Kompromiss zum Religionsunterricht an Grundschulen in der Weimarer Verfassung): Der Kompromiss zum Religionsunterricht der Volksschulen in der Weimarer Reichsverfassung. Mein Beitrag behandelt einen kleinen Ausschnitt aus der Agenda, die die Nationalversammlung der Weimarer Republik von Februar bis Juli 1919 abzuarbeiten hatte: "Religionsunterricht und öffentliche Schule". Die drei demokratischen Parteien, die gemäßigt sozialistische SPD, die katholische Zentrumspartei und die liberal-demokratische DDP, waren die politischen Säulen der Weimarer Republik, die im Deutschen Reich von 1919 bis 1933 bestand. Aber diese drei Parteien hatten völlig unterschiedliche Vorstellungen bezüglich der Rolle der Religion in der öffentlichen Bildung, insbesondere in der Volksschule. Gezeigt wird, wie schwierig die Umstände waren, um schließlich doch noch einen Kompromiss zu erreichen. Während das Thema 'Religion

und Schule' in der Weimarer Verfassung von Bildungshistorikern bisher eher aus politisch linker Sicht dargestellt wurde, soll hier unter dem Aspekt der Mehrperspektivität von Geschichte die Interessenlage der katholischen Zentrumspartei stärker Berücksichtigung finden. Den Vätern der Weimarer Verfassung war bewusst, dass der in den Schulartikeln ausgehandelte Kompromiss zum Religionsunterricht weiterer Regelungen bedurfte. Gefordert wurde in Artikel 146(1) WRV ein Reichsschulgesetz als Rahmen für die Ländergesetzgebung. Wiederholte Versuche, ein solches Reichsgesetz in der Ära der Weimarer Republik zu verwirklichen, scheiterten zum einen an divergierenden Interessen der Länder und der Reichsregierung, zum anderen waren die schulpolitischen Differenzen der Parteien nicht überbrückbar.

Schlüsselwörter: religiöse Erziehung, religiöse Instruktion, Weimarer Nationalversammlung, Weimarer Reichsverfassung, Religion in deutschen Elementarschulen

Аннотация (Хейн Реттер: После ноябрьской революции 1918 года в Германской империи: Компромисс в вопросе преподавания религии в начальной школе, закрепленный в Веймарской Конституции): В статье рассматривается фрагмент документа, который должно было исполнять Веймарское учредительное собрание с февраля по июль 1919 года: «Уроки религии и школы». Три демократические партии - умеренная социалистическая СДП, партия католического Центра и либерально-демократическая НДП - являлись политическим оплотом Веймарской Республики, которая существовала с 1919 по 1933 год. Однако у этих трех партий были абсолютно противоположные представления о роли религии в образовательном дискурсе, в частности, в народных школах. В статье показано, насколько трудными были условия для поиска компромисса, которые в итоге все-таки был найден. В то время как тема «Религия и школа» в Веймарской Конституции ранее рассматривались специалистами в области истории образования скорее в духе левых политических сил, в данной работе, с учетом фактора исторической многоперспективности, больше внимания уделяется выявлению позиции и интересов в данном вопросе Партии католического центра. «Духовные» отцы Веймарской Конституции осознавали тот факт, что компромиссное решение по вопросу преподавания религии, закрепленное в соответствующих статьях Конституции, нуждается в дальнейшей регламентации. Статья 146 (1) Конституции предписывала распространить всеобщий закон о школьном образовании на законодательную базу земель. Неоднократные попытки реализовать данный закон на этапе существования Веймарской Республики провалились: во-первых, из-за того, что земли и правительство преследовали разные интересы; во-вторых, потому что по вопросу школьного образования было трудно подвести под общий знаменатель позиции политических партий.

Ключевые слова: религиозное воспитание, религиозная инструктория, Веймарское учредительное собрание, Веймарская конституция, религия в немецкой начальной школе

1. Introduction

In the late summer of 1918 it was foreseeable that the German Reich would lose World War I. When the Republic was proclaimed in November 1918, the German Empire collapsed. The November Revolution of 1918, which forced Emperor Wilhelm II into exile in the Netherlands, was carried out by leftist forces: moderate Social Democrats, radical Independent Social Democrats, and even more radical Spartacists. All were known as critics of religion and the churches. Well-known socialists had already announced years earlier that they would remove the role of religion from public life if they came to power. They demanded a strict separation of the state from church and an end to religious education in the public sector, separated as it was by confession, with a large amount of religious content, controlled by the Protestant and the Catholic Church local school supervising authorities, and practised by the local priest or pastor. Socialist and liberal parties, of course also teacher associations, would change this and claimed that religion should be a private matter (Stampfer, 1919).

Protestantism was the strongest religious denomination in the German Reich, especially in Prussia. But Catholicism represented a strong minority in Prussia, which dominated in traditionally Catholic areas. The Kingdom of Bavaria, which belonged to the German Reich, was traditionally Catholic.

With the end of the Prussian monarchy, the leading state in the German Reich, came the end of the Prussian Protestant state church. The alliance of 'Throne and Altar', which formed an essential part of the old order of values, no longer existed. In the flare-up socialist revolution of the November days in 1918, when workers' and soldiers' councils and socialist government commissioners took power, the Protestant church was part of the defunct order of values of the Empire. It was, at least at first, the big loser.

The Catholic Church, which in many respects played an oppositional role in Prussia, found itself in a completely different situation. The German Reich, which was founded after the Franco-German war in 1871, was an alliance of princes with their territories (Länder) under Prussian leadership, headed by the Prussian king as German Emperor. The representatives of the people in the newly-created Reich Parliament, the German Reichstag, were elected relatively democratically, with equal voting rights for all male citizens. This was quite unique in the monarchies of Europe in 1871. In European countries, in those days, the right to vote granted more political influence to the owning class than to the poor population. Even in the parliaments of the 'Länder' in the German Reich there was no equal and universal suffrage until 1918. Universal suffrage for women in Germany was introduced with the Weimar Constitution of 1919 - rather than by the victorious powers of the First World War. Until 1918, Prussia was ruled by three-class suffrage for men, graded according to income, which disadvantaged the working class.

The 'Zentrumspartei' (German Party of the Centre) was the oldest party in the German Empire, founded in 1870, and the party of German Catholicism. The Zentrum had survived the period of the "Church Struggle" that Chancellor of the Reich Bismarck had waged at the beginning of the German Reich, against the influence of the Catholic bishops and the Roman Curia. The Zentrum was represented in the German Reichstag from 1871 to 1933, a politically proven force that provided the Chancellor towards the end of the Empire - and then several times in the Weimar Republic. Now, in November 1918, there even seemed to be an opportunity to renew Catholicism in Germany. Leading Catholic politicians, such as Matthias Erzberger (1875-1921), were in the process of consolidating the alliance between the Catholic Zentrum Party and the Social Democrats (SPD) that had existed in the German Reichstag since 1917.

The Socialists had become the leading political power in November 1918 with the collapse of the German Empire that had lost the war. But they were divided. An opposition group that had existed within the SPD since the beginning of the war had become independent in April 1917 and founded the Party of Independent Social Democrats (USPD). It rejected the compromises that the SPD made with the bourgeois parties. Even after the split, the SPD, which now called itself the Majority Social Democrats (MSPD), was still strong enough to be the leading party of Marxism among the socialist groups. The Russian October Revolution of 1917 accelerated radicalization among the socialists. This was particularly true of the Spartakusbund, which formed the left wing of the USPD. It merged into the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) founded on 1st January 1919. Like the USPD, the KPD rejected parliamentarianism in favor of the Soviet model of Council representation. After many internal quarrels in December 1920 and the autumn of 1922, the USPD effectively dissolved itself in two waves. With the exception of a small remainder their delegates and members changed to either the KPD or to the SPD. The KPD in particular benefited most from the increase in membership.

On January 19th, 1919, the German National Assembly was elected. Their task was to draw up a new republican constitution. The election did not bring the socialists an absolute majority, but strengthened the bourgeois parties (including the Zentrum), which were supporters of the churches. On February 6th, 1919, the National Assembly in Weimar began its work because the capital Berlin was dominated by unrest and violence. The coalition of SPD, Zentrum and DDP had a majority of votes. From the very beginning, they were the democratic, constitutional parties in the Weimar Republic.

In addition to the Zentrum, the bourgeois camp of the parties represented in the National Assembly included three other parties. First, there was the German Democratic Party (DDP). It was a meeting place for left-wing intellectuals who supported Weimar democracy. Later, with increasing election losses, the DDP formed alliances with right-wing conservatism. The economic wing of German liberalism had gathered in the German People's Party (DVP). The leader of the DVP, Gustav Stresemann, showed himself to be an opponent of the Weimar Constitution in the National Assembly. After Stresemann became Chancellor of the Reich in August 1923, holding the office of Foreign Minister from 1924 until his death (1929), the DVP changed into a party supporting the Republic. Strong German conservatism was represented by the German National People's Party (DNVP). The DNVP wanted to restore the monarchy (by constitutional means). It was consistently critical of the Weimar Republic. Many national Protestant theologians also belonged to the DNVP. Even before 1918, the Zentrum and the Majority Social Democrats had already formed alliances in the Reichstag and represented common ground in certain political decisions. The left wing of the Zentrum dominated, actively supporting the coming republic. With the political overthrow in November 1918, the pressure for an agreement on fundamental political issues had grown much greater. A completely contrary attitude, which could not be bridged, was taken by both parties on the role of religion in public life. Social Democracy wanted to minimize the influence of religion; the Zentrum as the representative party of political Catholicism did not want to accept any political restriction of Catholic life. The left and right wing of the party agreed on this point. The following question was especially controversially discussed among the democratic parties. Should religious instruction in public schools be abolished, as the Socialists had always demanded, or should religious education be maintained to the extent that was the case in the Empire? That was the non-refutable claim of the Zentrum.

The following text describes the controversy over religious education/instruction in German public life, the teacher associations, the parents' associations and religious power groups as the background to the elaboration of the Weimar Constitution. The role of the Catholic Zentrum is the focus here, the basis of our consideration, following the principle of plurality of historical perspectives. The topic 'religion and school' in the Weimar Constitution has been often presented from a politically left view (Keim, 2009). Then, the Zentrum mostly plays the role of an extremely conservative reaction against all progressive forces.

The Zentrum was firmly anchored in political and social life, in the Catholic bourgeoisie, in a large number of Catholic institutions and the Catholic Church. It was clear that the Zentrum wanted to secure new opportunities for Catholicism by recognizing liberal democracy. Under no circumstances was the Zentrum ready to tolerate any restriction on Catholic life in the new republic after the fall of the Empire. This particularly affected Catholic education through Catholic schools, which was threatened by socialism, the leading political force. The Zentrum regarded the provision of Catholic religious education for children of Catholic families in public schools as its basic mandate for all constitutional work.

2. First Arguments About Religious Instruction After the November Revolution 1918

Today it is hardly known that the 1919 Weimar Constitution (WRV) gave religious education constitutional status as the only traditional subject of the state school. The fact that religion was enshrined as a "part of the regular school curriculum" (ordentliches Lehrfach) in the highest legal document of the German Reich in 1919 must astonish the unbiased observer in retrospect. The constitution of 1871 had no articles about matters of schools and education, because the federal states of the Reich (the Länder) were solely responsible for school matters. After all, the Marxist-

Socialist movement that ended the German Empire with the revolution in November 1918 - in the midst of the desolate situation of war defeat - had long been known for its criticism of religion and the church.

After the declaration of the "German Republic" by Philipp Scheidemann (SPD), on November 9th, 1918, Adolph Hoffmann (USPD), the Prussian Minister of Education, who had become known as an anticlerical, began to radically push through the separation of state and church in Prussia by decree. This was legally very questionable because it was not covered by law. Not only the church leaders protested against this, but citizens of both Christian major confessions suddenly came together to take joint anti-socialist action.

How great the excitement was, even in ecclesiastically not easily excitable Berlin, showed a rally which took place on New Year's Day 1919 in the Circus Busch Arena. It was directed exclusively against the church policy and cultural policy of the socialists. Despite the icy cold, about 60,000 people marched to the Prussian Ministry of Education at the end of the rally. And probably for the first time the Catholic *Te deum* "Thee, O God, we praise" and the Luther hymn "A Mighty Fortress is Our God" resounded together in the huge crowd (Scholder, 1977, p. 22).

Even before the elected representatives of the National Assembly had begun to draft a new constitution, the 'Liaison Council' formed by the provisional Protestant Church leadership in Prussia sent a petition to the future National Assembly on January 29th, 1919. The petition contained the signatures of almost seven million (!) Evangelic Christians who demanded maintenance of the Christian character of the state school. This was a thoroughly successful action that has remained unique in parliamentary history (Scholder, 1977, p. 23).

The radically negative church policy of Minister Adolph Hoffmann in Prussia had the effect of strengthening the liberal-democrat and conservative camp (including the Zentrum), as the results of the National Assembly elections showed. Konrad Haenisch (MSPD/SPD), who initially shared the office with Hoffmann, behaved more cautiously. After Hoffmann's resignation at the beginning of January 1919, Haenisch continued to run the Prussian Ministry of Education on his own - until 1921 Haenisch failed in his attempt to introduce a national School Act. Such urgently desired law which the Weimar Constitution required, was neither brought about in the school articles nor later in the era of the Weimar Republic until 1933, despite several attempts by the Reich government. So the role of religion and outlook on life remained unsettled in state schools.

The religious decrees from the Berlin Ministry of Education of November/December 1918 could be regarded, depending on ideological position, as a cleansing thunderstorm, or as a storm that caused severe damage. It was the time of workers' and soldiers' councils. In most parts of the German Reich where socialists were in power, e.g. in Brunswick and the small Thuringian states, the ministries were prepared to follow Prussia. In Hamburg, Bremen and Saxony religious instruction was completely abolished, initially at least (Goeschen, 2005, p. 27). However, the attempt to introduce the confession-free school in a surprise coup did not succeed.

Later decrees challenging church protests were revoked, mainly because they contradicted the then current constitutional law. But at the first moment of the turn of the political system there was the impression that the abolition of religion at school was only a matter of weeks - a development which the churches and broad social classes of believing Christians, especially in German Catholicism, regarded as extremely threatening. The religious hostility of the new socialist rulers in Prussia meant more power to the arm of the political separatists from Catholic-dominated Prussian provinces, like the Upper Silesia and the Rhineland. Their cry was - Forget Berlin, Forget Prussia, Forget the German Reich (Richter, 1996, 20, fn. 120).

On the other hand, it was clear that the former compulsory teaching and learning of Christian religion in Prussian schools in the Imperial era needed a clear correction. And this correction had

taken place with the religious decrees. In the Empire elementary school students had to participate in the lessons on religion and in extensive religious practice. The assignment of a Catholic child to a Protestant elementary school should not be against the parents' will, but only over a group size of 12 (Catholic) children did the law (Volksschulunterhaltungsgesetz, 1906, § 37) provide separate lessons in Catholic religion for these children in a Protestant school; practically this was often the starting point of an own Catholic denominational school (at least a separate school room with a Catholic teacher) with religious instruction; the same applied to children of a Protestant minority in Catholic regions. In the Imperial era only teachers who were members of the Protestant or Catholic church were employed in the state elementary school system (Volksschule), apart from teachers of 'technical' subjects, such as home economics or sport. The latter was the case in schools in urban areas with a great many students. In the predominant one-room school, the sole teacher had to teach religious instruction of his own denomination in accordance with the students' denomination. As a so-called 'free thinker', without membership of the Protestant or Catholic Church, a young man or woman normally had no chance of becoming a fully responsible teacher in the 'Volksschule'. But with the November revolution of 1918 there was much hope that this situation had changed. For the first time it was recognized by the legislator that religious instruction presupposes a positive decision of conscience on the part of the teacher. A teacher who does not believe what he teaches in Christian religion must not be forced to do so.

With an increasing number of dissidents among the teaching staff, this principle had been violated in the last decades of the Empire and had now become a problem which had to be solved. Even in that minority of territories of the German Empire in which not the denominational school but the simultaneous school prevailed - as in the Grand Duchies of Baden and Hessen (Hessen-Darmstadt), as well as in the Prussian province of Hessen-Nassau - religion was an ordinary subject, i.e. compulsory. That is why Gerhard Anschütz (DDP), a leading expert in constitutional and public law, was able to state in his commentary on the Weimar Constitution with reference to Article 149(1) WRV:

Religious instruction shall retain its previous position as an ordinary subject of instruction in schools in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 1 and 2, and Article 136 WRV, paragraph 4 (Anschütz, 1968, p. 689).

This means that the text of the constitution brings nothing new, apart from the fact that "no one may be forced to engage in an ecclesiastical act or solemnity or to participate in religious exercises or to use a religious form of oath", as WRV determined in Article 136(4).

The Zentrum and the SPD were political opponents on the question of religion, but as constitutional parties both had a common concern. So agreement, for instance, was possible in popular and community thinking as well as in some economic issues - and, of course, there was a basic consensus to build the new state, the republic. This was possible for the Zentrum by understanding the community not socialistically but in a Christian way. So both parties could assert their position as supporting the idea of community. Because the difference in political aims was not pronounced, the arsenal of common basic political concepts conveyed unity, which, however, only existed to some extent superficially. The mutual effort of gaining a certain congruity in basic political concepts was an important condition to ensure a coalition capable of governing.

In common with the DDP, the (liberal) democrats in the narrower sense, the Zentrum had to some extent their historical roots in the political movement of pre-March (i.e. in the era before the revolution of 1848), since political Catholicism as a minority party in the Rhineland had already demanded freedom for the Catholic Church in view of Prussian repression.

However, individual liberties, as represented by the DDP, never meant values per se to the Zentrum, but remained subordinate to the values of the church. Thus, from a Catholic point of view, it was quite logical for the education expert of the Zentrum, Joseph Mausbach, to attest to his own party as

a Christian People's Party that it was 'the safe centre' between the extremes of socialism (SPD) and liberalism (DDP) among the democratic forces of the Republic (Mausbach, 1920, p. 18).

3. Strategies of the Zentrum in the Dispute over Religious Instruction in the Constitutional Committee, 1919

The religious hostility towards political Catholicism from the Socialist camp in the days of the November Revolution in 1918 and afterwards lent the Zentrum unity, and they fought against any inter-religious relationship (Interkonfessionalität), liberalism, state socialism and state omnipotence (Tilly, 1987, p. 26). Prussia's economically important territorial gains since the 19th century, such as the Rhineland and Upper Silesia, were dominantly Catholic, but the Prussian state and its Protestant church did not treat Catholic minorities in a particularly friendly manner. For instance, Prussia instigated a policy of Germanization against the Polish population. This policy reached its peak in the years after 1900 when Polish children were forced to use German in the obligatory lessons of (Catholic) religious instruction in the elementary schools. Uprisings by the Polish people were the consequence, and the Zentrum party in Prussia and the Reich supported the Polish fight for religious freedom and Polish identity, at least with the heart.

Since 1871, when victorious Prussia sought to push back the influence of the Roman Catholic Church in its own country with the foundation of the Reich, the Zentrum as the party of the Catholics nevertheless tried to gain room for political action. In some respect, there was a difference between the Zentrum party and Rome. The Roman Curia fought against the principles of the Enlightenment, modern civil rights (especially against religious freedom and tolerance), against emerging liberalism and democracy, worldwide. This is shown by the "Syllabus Errorum" of Pope Benedict IX (1864) and the encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII (Immortale Dei, 1885) and Pius X (Pascendi Dominici gregis, 1907); this also hit Reform Catholicism hard. The Zentrum, however, although there were 'ultramontano' and dyed-in-the-wool conservative circles, on the whole argued more moderately, of course in a Catholic ductus, but the party was not the extended arm of Rome.

The papacy furthermore tried to counter the growing pressure of modernization and liberalism. In 1910, Pope Pius X opened the sad chapter of the Antimodernist Oath, which priests and members of ecclesiastical vocations had to swear. But this did not stop the development towards modern democracy. The Zentrum as a political German party played an important role in this process. Towards the end of the First World War, more and more liberal and left-wing forces gained influence in the party. They set the course for a new society. From 1917, active as a member in the Interfactional Committee, the Zentrum (together with SPD and the 'Fortschrittliche Volkspartei', the later DDP), was responsible for the democratization of the so-called October Constitution, which democratized the parliament, the German Reichstag - amidst the looming war defeat, ten days before the end of the Empire.

Democratization had become possible as a quite discreet 'revolution from above', after the Kaiser, Emperor Wilhelm II, and the Supreme Army Leadership were no longer able to disguise the war defeat with their persevering slogans. In any case they made clear their distance to the parliamentary system. It was convenient for those who were really responsible for the war not to have to face the question of war guilt publicly. Rather, they now wanted to leave full responsibility for everything that had to do with war or peace to Parliament. Nevertheless, such democratization was the aim of Social Democrats and Liberals. This became reality by law with the added sentence in the Constitution of 1871 that the government required the confidence of Parliament, the Reichstag (Mommesen, 1989, pp. 27-28).

It is typical that today the representations of contemporary historians do not depict the situation at that time, but rather the notions of democracy as an ideal that the experience of three-quarters of a century gained from mistakes makes possible. Political history thus becomes - without an

international comparative perspective - a picture of parties and politicians who from today's point of view are incapable, or half-hearted at best, of democratic action.

I think that the devaluation of the democratization of the Reichstag by the October Reforms in 1918, which respected historians have commented upon, is not justified in every respect. Even if it is true that the reason for this process had nothing to do with any preference for democracy of the Army Staff and the German Kaiser, this has no bearing on the facts. The motive to have proceeded in this process may be undemocratic – but this or any other motive does not play a role in the result, the creation of parliamentary democracy. Democratic processes live on majority decisions. How a majority of votes is achieved in each case is a completely different question.

What had previously been a dream for democrats, but had had no chance to happen in the German monarchy until then, became possible in the German Reichstag after October 28th, 1918, namely, a motion of no confidence from parliament, supported by the majority of the parliamentarians could force the Chancellor of the Reich to resign. With a view to the Weimar Republic, the Reichstag was endangered by a contrary development. In the Weimar era the respective ruling Chancellor of the Reich was often threatened by the problem of not finding a majority in parliament for his policy. Constant change of government as a result of government crises leads to political instability. It weakens citizens' confidence in parliamentary democracy. To gain political stability it is necessary to support not the extreme groups at the polls but the parties of the centre. This principle corresponded to the self-image of the Zentrum. Notwithstanding this, Germany's traditionally confessional separation played a negative role and increased the problem. However, what used to be regarded as weakness in the Weimar Republic had now become a positive feature of democracy: the democratic idea of a pluralistic society and the need to protect the rights of minorities.

The SPD, which before 1918 had always played the role of the opposition in the parliament of Reich and the Länder, had become the leading party in both the Prussian Landtag and the Reichstag. For the Zentrum, the step to becoming the constitutional party of a liberal republic from 1919 was far from big, even if the Zentrum left wing was more than once at odds with the conservatives of its own party and the German bishops. The Zentrum was the only party to have gained much experience in parliamentarianism, from the foundation of the Reich in 1871 to June 1933. It commanded experts in every field, viz. in matters of constitutional law, including education, whereas the SPD did not possess any of this. It was unfortunate that the Social Democrats lacked a highly qualified staff in relevant matters when the Republic was founded. As an education expert, Heinrich Schulz stood out above all others in 1919. Of course, there were personal relations between the Zentrum deputies on all sides, as well as a strong formation of wings in the party – and, of course, the party leadership pulled in the same direction as the church when it mattered, as in the school issue. However, this was by no means always the case in matters of day-to-day politics.

Social democracy failed to impose the secular school as the sole type of school in the Constitution, because of the resistance of the Zentrum and its conservative allies. This fact today is reported by some of my colleagues with sadness and moral indignation as a great narrative, namely as a missed opportunity at a historically favorable time. The greedy wolf of the Zentrum had eaten the Little Red Riding Hood of Secularity from a good SPD home, but a revolutionary hunter who might have been able to kill the big bad wolf and bring the school of unity into being had not been visible in the German Reich. This view is possible, but far from analytical neutrality, and it conceals an essential fact: the three Weimar constitutional parties (SPD, DDP, Zentrum) had completely divergent goals with regard to the school of the future from the very beginning:

- The German Democrats (DDP), supported by the German Teachers' Association (DLV) under the leadership of Johannes Tews, wanted the simultaneous school (with a comprehensive primary school of six years) which was then confusingly called the 'Gemeinschaftsschule' (community school);

- the Social Democrats wanted a secular comprehensive school without any loophole for a private school system;
- the Zentrum defended the existing confessional school in Prussia with church-based school supervision and a developed private school system - supported by conservative Protestantism, who found a home in the German National People's Party (DNVP).

The Zentrum was primarily a party of vested interests. Their policy was to secure the Catholic world in a modern society increasingly affected by religiously hostile socialism and by secularization. The pursuit of a political interest in no way excludes morally responsible action, but the interest pursued stood only for a defined part of the population. In contrast, the SPD's commitment to social justice affected the majority of the population, the working class – in general, all underprivileged people. Reading historians of later times you find that the SPD has been reproached for not really wanting the November revolution in 1918, or of losing any momentum even before it began. The well-known publicist Sebastian Haffner (1907-1999) wrote that the SPD in her political weakness did not serve the revolution, but counter-revolution (Haffner, 2012, p. 83).

That's a harsh verdict. Regarding the question of education, we must not forget that, even if the goal to reach unity and secularity in the educational system has not been achieved, the Social Democrats proved to be, on the one hand, a strict constitutional party, grounded in liberal democracy, and, on the other hand, a party of fairness, careful to weigh its own goals with the higher goal of not endangering the state of Weimar.

One could argue, however, that, after the fall of the Empire, the revolution and the pressure of the Paris negotiations of the victorious Allies (which took place under exclusion of the Germans), the overall task of creating a new constitution for a new state was much greater than the little dispute over school articles. The factually adequate answer to this objection is that, indeed, the drafting of the constitution by Hugo Preuß (DDP), who had the trust of Friedrich Ebert, was already a masterpiece. To discuss this draft in the conflict of political interests in the National Assembly in order to arrive at a law passed by a majority, the new constitution of the German Reich, meant a tremendous, much greater effort. No other section of the draft constitution led to such a heated discussion as the controversial topic of religious education among the school articles and their discussion in the Constitutional Committee - in view of the protests of church leaders and an unprecedented mobilization of the public by the representatives of parent, church and teacher associations. Actions such as school strikes or even, as indicated, the threat of political separation from the German Reich were an indication of the high degree of public tension.

German Catholicism in particular had a lot to lose with the threat of the exclusion of religion from public elementary education, so that the Zentrum made every effort to preserve Catholic school education for Catholic children in view of an uncertain future, threatened by anti-religious socialism. Looking at East Germany after World War II and the suppression of the Churches under the system of so-called Real Socialism, the Zentrum's view was realistic.

Furthermore, in 1919 the Zentrum was concerned with the maintenance of the private school system. It offered the only possibility in the case of a small Catholic diaspora to grant the Catholics Catholic instruction in school in the frequently occurring case that the number of children was below the limit of 12 children. The state school required a minimum of 12 children. Thus corresponded to the legal term 'operating an orderly school' (geordneter Schulbetrieb) – particularly as the current law, the Elementary School Maintenance Law (Volksschulunterhaltungsgesetz) of 1906 said in § 34: "No child may be refused admission to the public elementary school in his or her place of residence solely on the grounds of religious confession."

The Empire and Weimar followed the same idea - avoid small one-room school houses if possible, and furthermore - education is more important than religion.

In contrast to the Zentrum, the problem of 'religion at school' was not quite as important for the SPD and DDP. However, if one considers the close connection between the school articles and the church articles of the Weimar Constitution, then one should not underestimate the discussion about religious instruction in the Constitutional Assembly. As usual, Protestantism was completely fragmented, with no common basis for action. Those who mourned the monarchy and the old Prussian state church (as a number of important churchmen did) saw the DNVP as their home. But in Friedrich Naumann, Martin Rade and Ernst Troeltsch, the DDP also had well-known and famous liberal theologians in its ranks. And then there were the Religious Socialists, Evangelic theologians with their supporters, who had turned to Marxism and were not represented in parliament as a separate group. They supported the secular school.

4. School Articles and School Compromises in the Weimar Constitution

On such politically rugged ground and under considerable pressure of time due to the negotiations of the victorious allied powers in Paris, a new constitution was created for the German Reich in 1919. Whoever claims that the WRV was misconstrued or overtaxed can be countered with the historian Fritz Stern (1926-2016) who said it was a "successful compromise of the former opposites" - and overall, the "achievements of the Weimar Republic in view of its difficulties were quite astonishing" (Stern, 1999, p. 123). The legal historian and constitutional lawyer Christoph Gusy emphasizes today, "there is nothing to suggest that the WRV led to the downfall of the Republic" (Gusy, 2016, p. 314).

Religion was enshrined in the new constitution. This seems to be a victory for the Zentrum. But at the same time this victory was strongly relativized. First, the Weimar Constitution successfully abolished school supervision by the churches, i.e. by the priest at the local school and at the district level (Kreissschulbehörde) - against the intention of the Zentrum. Secondly, the text of the law determined that

"Religious instruction shall be part of the regular school curriculum with the exception of non-sectarian (secular) schools. Such instruction shall be regulated by the school laws. Religious instruction shall be given in harmony with the fundamental principles of the religious association concerned without prejudice to the right of supervision by the state."
(Article 149(1) WRV)

The elementary school, however, remained exposed to various interests. It was a simultaneous school, but - as before - it was able to remain a denominational school. Moreover, by founding a new school, it could be a secular school. But this in turn is relativized by the addition that the parents' preference "should be considered as far as possible". It is obvious that there were some administrative difficulties in respecting the parents' will in any case. It was also clear that a school reform based on the will of parents would cost a lot of money.

On the other hand, the school articles with those sections concerning religious education (see below: Supplement 1) were formulated so far-sightedly that they were adopted by the Basic Law, the Constitution of the Federal Republic, in 1949, Article 7 (see below, Supplement 2) which is still today the legal basis for religious education in Germany; special regulations apply to Berlin and Bremen. Therefore, today teachers of Catholic or Evangelic religion have a secure job in Germany, which happily reminds university lecturers for religion of the Weimar Constitution (Kubik, 2018, p. 196). But, what were the so-called school compromises of the Weimar Constitution? The committee in which they were adopted discussed them in more than one reading.

At the start of negotiations the matter stood well for SPD and the Liberals, since they could intersperse the legislative authority of the realm for all school and university matters as relevant for the realm constitution. The Zentrum, whose Catholic electorate in Prussia was a much significant minority that formed majorities in closed milieus, was traditionally more interested in regulations by the laws of the Länder. But the signs of the times did not seem to be favorable for this: Socialists in a larger number of countries throughout the Reich formed the government; they had full control of the schools' religious instruction was the sole responsibility of the state; church interests could hardly be articulated through the school deputation (the local council of parents and citizens), either. That is why the Zentrum was interested in securing its interests more strongly at the Reich level, although here both groups, Socialists and Liberals, were usually opposed. In drafting the constitution, the Zentrum was indeed concerned with the preservation of the Catholic milieu with Catholic education for Catholic children – with no elimination of the church as demanded by the SPD and Liberals. The leadership of the Zentrum was under pressure. If central Catholic interests had been ignored by the party, it would no longer have made sense for Catholics to choose the Zentrum as "their" Party.

At the beginning of April 1919, the SPD submitted a proposal to the Constitutional Committee in which only primary and secondary schools were presented as one comprehensive system, without affecting the subject of religion. The Zentrum did the opposite, calling for "religion as an ordinary subject under the leadership of the religious societies (i.e. the Churches; H.R.) and extensive freedom rights for private schools", but without insisting on "securing the confessional school under the law of the Reich" (Wittwer, 1980, p. 91). The proposal was rejected by the SPD as completely unacceptable. Above all, any expansion of private schools would paralyze the idea of comprehensive school. In doing so, the SPD tried to pull the DDP on its side, as the German National Conservatives and the German People's Party on the other side supported the Zentrum's proposal. The SPD and DDP then presented the draft for an comprehensive national school system, which was also supported by socialist associations and the liberal German Teachers' Association. However, even here the SPD had to move away from its original goal, which was the abolition of religious instruction, in order to stress the complete secularity of state education.

Because the SPD and the DDP held the majority of votes in the committee, they would have passed their motion against the Zentrum in the National Assembly. But both did not want to endanger the tripartite coalition, because the Zentrum would have gone through with its departure as the ultimate weapon. The DDP signaled concessions to the Zentrum if it could be agreed to consider "religion as a proper, but not binding subject" for students, which in turn the SPD assessed angrily as "surrender to the Zentrum". But the Social Democrats finally agreed to follow the course of the DDP; this also applied to a certain flexibility in the private school question. And so, in the run-up to the later school compromises, an agreement was reached which the Zentrum considered as the choice of the lesser evil: the Zentrum affirmed the agreement.

There were losses on both sides, the SPD had to swallow the bitter pill that it had not got approval from its coalition partners for the separation of church and school, not only from the Zentrum but also from the DDP. The Zentrum reacted in an even more disappointing way after the first reading of the Constitutional Committee, when evaluating their own situation. Their members realized that the plan to secure the denominational school as the sole ruling type had no prospects of success.

The second reading came in June. The Zentrum could not be satisfied with the results of negotiations on the school issue. But a few days later everything had got another face. A dramatic political event changed the balance of power. The ultimatum given to the German Reich by the Allies to accept the Treaty of Versailles led to the resignation of the Scheidemann cabinet by the withdrawal of the DDP from the government on June 20th, 1919. The Zentrum told the SPD that it was prepared to work further in a new cabinet which had to be formed from one day to the next, the

Gustav Bauer (SPD) cabinet. However the Zentrum's condition was that the school question should be managed in the Catholic way.

This constellation, which of course included a weakening of the SPD, today still makes some German educational historians howl with the accusation that the evil Zentrum blackmailed the nice SPD and engaged in nasty "horse trading". I think it was a rather normal parliamentary practice of defending and pushing interests. But that's not all. First, the Zentrum leader Adolf Gröber (1854-1919) met the President of the Reich, Friedrich Ebert (they valued one another from the Reichstag, before 1918!). This prompted Ebert to appeal to all politicians to reach an agreement on the school issue in the interest of the state. Second, the Zentrum brought a completely new aspect to the deliberations: the role of parents and their decision regarding the school to be chosen for their child (Wittwer, 1980, p. 89) - just as the constitutional text in Article 146(2) WRV reflected it.

In terms of state policy, it was pure liberalism, because it was unbelievably risky not to determine the character of public schools regarding their outlook on life or 'Weltanschauung' and religion by means of a clear legal norm. Some people would just leave it to parental will and preference, but parents vote this way today, that way tomorrow, of course, because they always choose what they see as the best for their child. Neo-Marxist and leftish educationalists argued that the churches and bourgeois-conservative parties had made parents and the existing parents' councils an instrument of non-progressive school policy interests (Wagner-Winterhager, 1973, p. 69).

This critical view of the author mentioned makes it clear that the liberal democracy of Weimar only seemed 'democratic' to some interpreters of the '1968 generation' if the good socialist forces won out over outdated Christian conservatism. If one assumes that parents have their own interest in their children and the possibility of deciding on their further education, then from the point of view of very left educational historians these parents were victims of the ideologues of reactionary powers - especially if they did not opt for the educational programme of social democracy or communism. I don't support such an anti-liberal view, although no one should underestimate the particular value of politically critical thinking. That 'democracy' means diversity in the competitive situation of social goals and represents an open field for articulating political interests, on whose relevance majority decisions decide, seems to be beyond the willingness to learn of some representatives of neo-Marxist criticism.

The results of the negotiations between the parties, SPD and the Zentrum, for religious instruction in the elementary school system of Weimar Republic can be summarized as follows:

The core of the so-called first school compromise in Weimar was the equal subjugation of simultaneous, non-confessional and non-confessional (secular) schools to the will of the legal guardians, but taking into account the maintenance of an orderly school organization (Wittwer, 1980, p. 95).

All in all, making everything dependent on the parents was a clever move by the Zentrum. First, the draft constitution had previously invested the social significance of parents, as it were, with natural law priority - against the votes of the SPD: "The upbringing of young people to physical, mental and social proficiency is the primary duty and natural right of parents whose activities the state community watches over", Art. 120(1) WRV.

Secondly, the participation of parents in the school deputation in Hamburg had long been successfully put into action by Hamburg's Social Democrats.

Thirdly, 30 years earlier, Friedrich Wilhelm Dörpfeld (1824-1893), a well-known Evangelic school superintendent in the Rhineland, had advocated the reform goal of making school a cooperative matter for parents and the community, i.e. to grant the state only a framework competence, based on the model of the Netherlands. After all, in the Rhineland, in contrast to Prussia's far-flung power centre in Berlin, there was a Diaspora situation that called for independent parent initiatives; the idea of a cooperative was something like a quiet democratization 'from below' under politically

rather reactionary conditions in Prussia. This political approach played a certain role in socialist circles in the Weimar Republic under the term Guild Socialism (Retter, 2007, p. 734).

However, including the will of parents in the constitutional debate, a subject matter that socialists and liberals originally did not want to tolerate in any way, became a reality. Under different conditions, the confessional school was given a new *raison d'être*. It now functioned as an equal option to simultaneous and secular schools. Thus, the secularity of the state school - as the universal principle - was largely watered down and the idea of a comprehensive school system buried.

In both socialist and liberal teacher associations, which fought for the comprehensive idea this development provoked protest, which, however, was more of a reverberation, for everything happened almost at the last minute. Only one day passed between the consent of the parliamentary groups of the constitutional parties to the second compromise and the majority approval of the National Assembly on the constitutional text at third reading.

All that remained of the comprehensive school was formulated in Article 146(1), with the "general primary school for all", which was then set at four years in 1920 (in the *Reichsgrundschulgesetz*) - with the abolition of the 'preparatory schools'. In the Imperial era, education could also be done by a private teacher who wealthy families employed; also public higher education was fee-paying. Normally, (private) preparatory schools were attended for 3 years by those students who changed after that to the grammar schools for higher education and graduation. However, this affected only about 5% of all young people; increasing numbers of pupils and increasing educational needs were in favor of expanding the middle school system. Notwithstanding this, before the outbreak of the World War I, about 90% of school-age children attended elementary school (Nipperdey, 1998, p. 555). Higher education was separated from the lower system and involved fees. Until the end of the German Empire, particularly in Prussia, the Protestant population had a highly significant educational and vocational advantage over the Catholic population (*ibid.*, pp. 450-452). The phenomenon of modernization was mainly carried by Protestantism. On the other hand, the tendency towards secularization was much stronger among the Protestants than among the Catholics.

The lower educational system, elementary school, was free, and this also applied for the new type of primary school. Established by law in 1920, state primary education was then obligatory for all children, and preparatory schools for higher education were closed, after a transitory period. But the primary school could hardly give full justice to the social and liberal idea of integration of children of all social classes if the parent's decision for the confessional school required separation of confessions instead of allowing pluralist mixing in religious terms as well.

In the 1919 constitutional talks, it was important for the SPD and the Zentrum to include the third state supporting party, the DDP, in the first compromise found. This required a strengthening of the liberal position on the controversial school issue. That is why there was a further change to the text of the Constitution. In this second school compromise, it was a matter of giving priority to the simultaneous school, which the Liberals presented, inconspicuously, as a "normal" form of school over the denominational school and the secular school. This led to the final version of Article 146 WRV, § 2 as follows:

Nevertheless, within the municipalities, upon the request of those persons having the right to education, elementary schools of their own religious belief or of their own outlook on life (*Weltanschauung*) shall be established, provided that an organized school system in the sense of §1 is not thereby interfered with. The wishes of those persons having the right to education shall be considered as far as possible. Detailed regulations shall be prescribed by state legislation on the basis of a national law [Art. 146(2)].

What is decisive here is the word "Nevertheless", starting the quotation above. It refers to the final part of Article 146,1 – and it states that neither the status nor the commitment of the parents is decisive for admission to a particular school. It is useful to read §1 and §2 of Article 146 WRV as a whole. Article 146(1) finished with the words, "the admission of a child to a particular school shall be governed by his ability and aptitude and not by the economic and social position or the religious belief of his parents."

We see that the Zentrum was not the big winner of the dispute: although religious instruction is fully anchored in the constitution. But the denominational school type is not in a leading position, as the Zentrum had demanded. Rather, it is a special type which has to be applied for in deviating from the mainstream (simultaneous) school, which is not mentioned but assumed. The word 'nevertheless' draws attention to the fact that the application by parents or guardians to establish "primary schools of their confession or their outlook on life" is not the normally expected situation, but rather an exception to the rule of the legal text which preferred the simultaneous type – even if in practice the denominational school should continue to dominate. The latter was exactly the case in the Weimar Republic. The limiting accentuation of denomination schools is reinforced by the restrictive note that such applications must not interfere with the orderly running of the school, which will be endangered if the enrolments are too low. That meant, for only three Catholic children in a village no Catholic school would be established. The restriction is loosened by the addition: "The wishes of those persons of course having the right to education shall be considered so far as possible." The words "so far as possible" means that the state always has the last word.

The fathers of the constitution were not in a position to make this barbed roast edible for everyday school life in the new republic. This should be the task of a "state law according to the principles of a national law", as Article 146 WRV said. All hopes of better clarification of open questions and different interpretations were assigned to that imaginary national law (Reichsschulgesetz) as the place of fulfilment. But no-one ever considered later that in summer 1919 the contradictory pattern of interpretation of the school articles was solely due to the pressure of domestic and foreign policy constraints. This was the only way for the constitutional parties to reach agreement.

In the years of consolidation of the Weimar Republic, in which each party tried to defend its position, the mood was completely different - to the detriment of the expected national law and following the laws of the federal states of the Reich. Until its realisation, the old legal status was recognized as still valid, entirely in the sense of the Zentrum. Article 174 WRV stated: "Until the expected Imperial Act enters into force, the previous legal situation shall apply." It had been fixed in Prussia by the Elementary School Maintenance Law of 1906, which provided for the denominational school. On this basis, the school articles were incorporated into the Weimar Constitution at the third reading in the National Assembly on July 31st, 1919.

5. The Failure of the Reichsschulgesetz in 1928

As is well known, the Reichsschulgesetz, which was expected by so many people in the twenties, did not come into force, although several efforts by the Reich government had been made to this end, by different cabinets and ministers. Differences between the Reich government and the federal state governments became increasingly difficult to negotiate with regard to the parties' differing positions. Prussia demanded that the Reich should bear a significant share of the costs of the reform. In the Cabinet of Wilhelm Marx IV, after long, controversial debates between the parties forming the Reich government (Zentrum, DNVP, DDP, BVP), a draft version of the Reichsschulgesetz was published by the Reichsinnenminister von Keudell (DNVP) on 16th July, 1927, discussed in the Reichsrat, the Ländervertretung (which represents the German federal states), and rejected there in autumn 1927 in the final vote by 37 to 31 votes.

Nevertheless, the Reich government submitted Keudell's draft to the Reichstag, which referred it to the Education Committee in order to reach an agreement or, as the case may be, an agreement plus

changes. It was clear that the SPD, the DDP and above all the KPD were skeptical; the supporters were DNVP and Zentrum; the decisive factor was the behavior of the DVP, whose votes could have helped each of the two groups to a majority in the committee; but the liberal German People's Party, DVP, in particular proved to be a decisive critic of the draft; the Education Committee failed to come to an agreement; the project failed on March 15th, 1928 (Grünthal, 1968, pp. 186ff.; Tilly 1987, pp. 148ff.).

The bill also received criticism from the public in particular, from interest groups as diverse as the liberal 'Deutscher Lehrerverband' (DLV) and the 'Katholische Schulorganisation' (KSO), the Catholic School Organization. The Zentrum, too, which had come so close politically to the DNVP in 1919 on the school issue that one could speak of an alliance of the conservatives of the Protestant and Catholic church-faithful camp, was completely dissatisfied in some points with Keudell's draft law. However, as the German People's Party (DVP) proved to be a much sharper opponent of both the Zentrum and the Keudell bill, the latter was blamed for the failure of the law. A comment by the Prelate Johann Leicht of the (conservative Catholic) Bavarian People's Party (BVP) of December 18th, 1927, probably also applicable to the larger sister party, the Zentrum, was very fitting, "Better no school law than one that wants to rape us" (Grünthal, 1968, p. 239).

With the intensification of the opposition between the DVP and the Zentrum, the alienation of the Zentrum from the SPD grew, and the break of the governing parties in the Marx IV Cabinet on the school issue was not to be mended. The SPD opposition saw new elections as the most promising way.

It is of interest that in this muddled situation SPD education expert Heinrich Schulz emphasized the principle of constitutional loyalty in the situation of the mutual 'binding' of the political actors, as documented by the Weimar school compromises as part of the WRV. In the name of the Social Democrats, Schulz called for a return to the basics of the WRV after the v. Keudell bill and its changes had moved further and further away from the constitutional text. This was also a reminder to the Zentrum to remember the former common ground with the SPD - especially since in Prussia the Zentrum ruled with the SPD and DDP in a stable coalition - and Prussia as the leading federal state in the German Reich was much less dependent on a national school law to arrange its school system than was the case for the many small Länder (political regions). For Bavaria's BVP, too, the school issue was of little importance due to the dominance of the Catholic faith and the Concordat concluded in 1924 (which in part contradicted the WRV).

The late social democratic praise for what was achieved for the education system in the Weimar constitution is remarkable. After its concessions to the school compromises of 1919 (by moving away from the SPD demand for unity and secularity of the school), the SPD leadership had several reasons to feel this situation as painful. It could not be otherwise than that the adopted version of the relevant school articles aroused displeasure in the SPD base in 1919, even dismay, since unity and secularity no longer existed as principles. At that time Schulz defended the school compromise of Weimar Constitution to the party basis with the - correct - argument that political alliances also demand the willingness to make concessions (Wittwer, 1989, 99). At the beginning of 1928, however, the Social Democrat Heinrich Schulz appeared quasi as Lord Privy Seal of the school compromises and praised what had been achieved in the WRV. The potential for conflict among the parties, which prevented a Reich School Act from being passed, had now become much greater.

While the SPD in the Weimar Republic oriented its policy towards the preservation of democracy and demonstrated its willingness to compromise with its increasing endangerment, in the 1920s the Zentrum was far removed from the balanced attitude of 1919 during the constitutional discussion on religion and school.

The secular school, which according to 146(2) WRV could be established as an alternative to the regular school organized by the majority of denominations, was now, from the social democratic point of view, no longer a bad compromise, but a form of school that was well received and

successful among the population, even if it suffered from the lack of implementing provisions with regard to Article 146(2) WRV. However, it also became clear to the SPD that the number of 'secular schools' to be set up for children who (or whose parents) refused religious instruction was on the whole relatively low. Only in the large urban areas – in particular in the capital Berlin – and in regions with much industry there was some hopeful increase, especially in the early thirties. At any rate, Social Democrats would have risked a serious defeat if they had had to push through the principle of 'secularity of the elementary school system' (and thus the abolition of all confessional and simultaneous schools) in Prussia against the majority will of the non-socialist parties and the population.

From June 28th, 1928, the Cabinet of Müller II governed the German Reich - a grand coalition led by the SPD, which was to be one of the most stable in the Republic, under Chancellor Hermann Müller (SPD) and the governing parties SPD, DDP, Zentrum, BVP, DVP. But after all the futile attempts, there was too much resignation among the parties with regard to the resumption of the debt debate for the project to have had a chance of being concluded by a Reich law (Wittwer, 1980, p. 161).

6. The Myth of the Secular School

The lack of clarity in Article 146 WRV and further articles had direct consequences for the secular school, which at the time of the school compromises that came into force in 1919, as a term set in brackets, only existed on paper. In this function it had constitutional status, and, indeed, there were frequent cases of cancelling religious instruction in some regions or big cities, for instance in Berlin, Hamburg, Braunschweig, and in the industrial cities in Saxony and the Ruhr. But, officially, the Secular School was not allowed to exist because the law that would have given this school type validity was missing. Minister Konrad Haenisch (SPD) issued an emergency decree which allowed the municipalities to accommodate students who had been deregistered from religious instruction in 'class groups' (Sammelklassen). Usually they remained connected to the respective denominational school. If the number of such classes without religious instruction exceeded a reasonable administrative, human and spatial measure, the municipality could submit an application to establish an own independent school with its own headmaster, which the government then mostly granted. But such a school was not allowed to call itself a Secular School, neither on the letterhead nor by public subscription.

The law said, at age 14 a juvenile could decide on his own faith, independent of parental will, therefore, instead of participating, they were able to cancel obligatory religious instruction. Students who had cancelled were taught a substitute subject in group classes called 'Lebenskunde' (knowledge of life), a subject which implied moral behavior and social aspects (Theil. 1932). Statistics show that with a total number of 7 million students in the elementary school systems of the German Reich in the last years of the Weimar era, about 33,000 students participated in the instruction of 'Lebenskunde' (Geißler, 2011, p. 457).

On the question of the expansion and strength of the atheist school movement in Prussia in its commitment to the secular school, there is a remarkable statistic that challenges discussion with regard to the proportions identified. According to statistics, there were 33,405 elementary schools with 4,261,390 children in Prussia on May 1st, 1927. The number of general schools was 249 with 77,168 children. - 35,966 children in general schools were deregistered from Protestant or Catholic religious instruction, and 52,628 children in the general schools were free of confession; in 1932 there were 285 general schools in Prussia (Breyvogel & Kamp, 1996, p. 193f.).

In quantitative terms, secular schools thus played no role: their share of the general school system in Prussia was less than 1%, even though the share was higher in typical conurbations such as Berlin, as mentioned. The total number was also higher in a few other federal states of the Reich - such as the Free State of Braunschweig (Sandfuchs, 1994). At the beginning of the thirties there were 170,000 school-age children deregistered from religious instruction. The largest share is

accounted for by the most industrialized federal states of the German Republic, i.e. 88,000 in Prussia, and 47,000 in Saxony (Geißler, 2011, pp. 456-457). Statistics also show that at the beginning of the thirties 2,200 elementary teachers were not members of a denomination or church. They worked as teachers in subjects not relevant to religion or in secular schools (Geißler, *ibid.*). From an administrative point of view, general classes and schools were a considerable administrative burden for administrators and school authorities. In some places where general schools were established, hard school struggles broke out, dragging on for years and opening deep rifts between the church-bound middle classes and free thinkers. The opposing groups of parents and citizens knew their local press organs and the interest groups behind them. A good example of this is the school struggle in the town of Finsterwalde that went on until 1933 (Retter, 2018). The socialist formation of myths in the Internet, including Wikipedia articles, with regard to the 'secular school' type today gives in part unrealistic impressions. It hardly covers the entire spectrum of the school situation in the Weimar Republic. Later, under the rule of the National Socialists, the denominational character of German schools was abolished and replaced by National Socialist community schools.

Abbreviations of the quoted parties (Weimar Republic)

BVP	Bayerische Volkspartei / Bavarian People's Party
DDP	Deutsche Demokratische Partei / German Democratic Party
DNVP	Deutschnationale Volkspartei / German National People's Party
DVP	Deutsche Volkspartei / German People's Party
KPD	Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands / Communist Party of Germany
SPD (MSPD)	(Mehrheits-) Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands / (Majority) Social Democratic Party of Germany
USPD	Independent Social Democrats

Supplement 1

Weimar Constitution, 11th August, 1919 (excerpt, articles 142-149)

URL: https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Weimar_constitution (retrieved 20th August, 2018)

Section IV: Education and Schools

Article 142: Art, science, and instruction in schools are free. The state guarantees their protection and participates in their promotion.

Article 143: The education of young people shall be provided for through public institutions. The Reich, the states, and the municipalities shall cooperate in their organization.

The training of teachers shall be uniformly regulated for the Reich according to the principles which apply generally to higher education.

The teachers in state schools shall have the rights and duties of state officials.

Article 144: The entire school system shall be under the supervision of the state; the latter may cause the municipalities to participate therein. The supervision of schools shall be carried on by officials mainly occupied with this duty and technically trained.

Article 145: Compulsory education shall be universal. For this purpose the elementary school with at least eight school years, followed by the secondary school up to the completion of the eighteenth year, shall serve primarily. Instruction and school supplies shall be free in elementary and secondary schools.

Article 146: The public school system shall be organized according to a general plan. The intermediate and higher school system shall be developed on the basis of an elementary school common to all. This development shall be governed by the varying requirements of vocations; and

the admission of a child to a particular school shall be governed by his ability and aptitude and not by the economic and social position or the religious belief of his parents.

Nevertheless, within the municipalities, upon the request of those persons having the right to education, elementary schools of their own religious belief or of their outlook on life shall be established, provided that an organized school system in the sense of §1 is not thereby interfered with. The wishes of those persons having the right to education shall be considered as far as possible. Detailed regulations shall be prescribed by state legislation on the basis of a national law.

To enable those in poor circumstances to attend secondary and higher schools, the Reich, the states, and the municipalities shall provide public funds, especially educational allowances for the parents of children who are considered qualified for further education in intermediate and higher schools until the completion of such education.

Article 147: Private schools as a substitute for public schools shall require the approval of the state and shall be subject to the laws of the states. Such approval shall be granted if the standard of the private schools in their curricula and equipment, as well as in the scientific training of their teachers, does not fall below that of the public schools, and if no discrimination against students on account of the economic standing of their parents is fostered. Such approval shall be denied if the economic and legal status of the teachers is not sufficiently safeguarded.

Private elementary schools shall be established only if, for a minority of those persons having a right to education whose wishes must be taken into consideration according to Article 146, §2, there is in the municipality no public elementary school of their religious belief or of their outlook on life, or if the educational administration recognizes a special pedagogical interest.

Private preparatory schools are abolished.

The existing laws shall continue in force for private schools which do not serve as substitutes for public schools.

Article 148: In all schools efforts shall be made to develop moral education, civic sentiments, and personal and vocational efficiency in the spirit of the German national character and of international conciliation.

In the instruction in the public schools care shall be taken not to offend the sensibilities of those of contrary opinions.

Civic education and manual training shall be part of the curricula of the schools. Every pupil shall at the end of his obligatory schooling receive a copy of the constitution.

The Reich, the states, and the municipalities shall foster popular education, including people's institutes.

Article 149: Religious instruction shall be part of the regular school curriculum with the exception of non-sectarian (secular) schools. Such instruction shall be regulated by the school laws. Religious instruction shall be given in harmony with the fundamental principles of the religious association concerned without prejudice to the right of supervision by the state.

Teachers shall give religious instruction and conduct church ceremonies only upon a declaration of their willingness to do so; participation in religious instruction and in church celebrations and acts shall depend upon a declaration of willingness by those who control the religious education of the child.

Theological faculties in institutions of higher learning shall be maintained.

Supplement 2

The Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany – Article 7 [School system]

URL: https://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/englisch_gg/englisch_gg.html#p0051 (retrieved 20th August, 2018)

(1) The entire school system shall be under the supervision of the state.

(2) Parents and guardians shall have the right to decide whether children shall receive religious instruction.

(3) Religious instruction shall form part of the regular curriculum in state schools, with the exception of non-denominational schools. Without prejudice to the state's right of supervision, religious instruction shall be given in accordance with the tenets of the religious community concerned. Teachers may not be obliged against their will to give religious instruction.

(4) The right to establish private schools shall be guaranteed. Private schools that serve as alternatives to state schools shall require the approval of the state and shall be subject to the laws of the *Länder*. Such approval shall be given when private schools are not inferior to the state schools in terms of their educational aims, their facilities, or the professional training of their teaching staff, and when segregation of pupils according to the means of their parents is not encouraged thereby. Approval shall be withheld if the economic and legal position of the teaching staff is not adequately assured.

(5) A private elementary school shall be approved only if the educational authority finds that it serves a special pedagogical interest or if, on the application of parents or guardians, it is to be established as a denominational or interdenominational school or as a school based on a particular philosophy and no state elementary school of that type exists in the municipality.

(6) Preparatory schools shall remain abolished.

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Nalline S. Baliram & Jeffrey J. Youde (USA)

A Meta-analytic Synthesis: Examining the academic impacts of feedback on student achievement

Abstract: Feedback can be defined by Irons (2008) as "any information, process or activity which affords or accelerates student learning based on comments relating to either formative or summative assessment activities" (p. 7). The current study aims to synthesize quantitative research studies to further explore the impact of feedback on academic achievement. Results indicated the overall summary effect to be moderate and statistically significant (Hedges' $g = .40$), thus lending support to the notion that feedback, considered a best practice, positively influences academic achievement. Moderator results suggested that teacher-provided and content-specific feedback at the K-12 level positively impacted student performance in the academic discipline. However, further research is warranted to explore the construct.

Keywords: Feedback, academic achievement, meta-analysis

概要 (Nalline S. Baliram & Jeffrey J. Youde: 一份抽象分析的汇总: 关于学术反馈对大学生成绩的影响): 反馈由Irons (2008) 定义为“成全或加速学生学习的任何信息、过程或活动都是基于形成性或总结性评估活动的一些评论(第7页)”。这份研究旨在总结定量的研究, 以进一步探讨反馈对学业成绩的影响。结果显示, 总体效果适中且具有统计学的意义(Hedges' $g=.40$), 并支持了反馈作为最佳的一种实践, 对学生成绩能产生积极影响的设想。调查结果表明, 教师提供的关于内容特定的反馈在K-12级别中对学生在学术领域的表现有着积极的影响。但是, 还需进一步的研究来验证。

关键词: 反馈, 学习成绩, 抽象分析

Zusammenfassung (Nalline S. Baliram & Jeffrey J. Youde: Eine meta-analytische Synthese: Untersuchung der akademischen Auswirkungen von feedback auf die Leistung von Studierenden): Feedback kann mit Irons (2008) definiert werden als "jede Information, jeder Prozess oder jede Aktivität, die das Lernen der Schüler ermöglicht oder beschleunigt, basierend auf Kommentaren, die sich entweder auf formative oder summative Bewertungsaktivitäten beziehen" (S. 7). Die aktuelle Studie zielt darauf ab, quantitative Forschungsstudien zusammenzufassen, um die Auswirkungen von Feedback auf die akademische Leistung weiter zu untersuchen. Die Ergebnisse zeigten, dass der Gesamteffekt moderat und statistisch signifikant ist (Hedges' $g = .40$), was die Vorstellung unterstützt, dass Feedback, das als Best Practice gilt, die akademische Leistung positiv beeinflusst. Die Ergebnisse des Moderators deuten darauf hin, dass sich das von der Lehrkraft bereitgestellte und inhaltspezifische Feedback auf der Ebene der K-12 positiv auf die Leistung der Studierenden in der akademischen Disziplin auswirkt. Es bedarf jedoch weiterer Forschung, um das Konstrukt zu verifizieren.

Schlüsselwörter: Feedback, Studienleistungen, Meta-Analyse

Аннотация (Наллин С. Балирам, Джефффри Й. Йуд: Метааналитический синтез: исследование академического воздействия «обратной связи» (feedback) на успеваемость обучающихся): По Айронсу (2008) „обратную связь“ (feedback) можно определить как «информацию, процесс или действие, которые стимулируют и ускоряют обучение учащихся и основываются на комментариях, касающихся либо формативного, либо суммативного оценивания» (стр. 7). Цель настоящего исследования – обобщение квантитативных исследований для научного описания воздействия «обратной связи» на академическую успеваемость. Согласно результатам исследования, совокупный эффект является умеренным и статистически значимым (эффект g Хеджеса = .40), что

подтверждает положительное влияние «обратной связи» (feedback), включенной в список "лучших практик", на академическую успеваемость. Данные модификаторы эффекта указывают на то, что на уровне общего образования предоставленный преподавателем в качестве «обратной связи» и относящийся к определенной теме комментарий оказывает положительный эффект на успеваемость обучающихся по той или иной академической дисциплине. Однако для верификации данного конструкта необходимы дальнейшие исследования.

Ключевые слова: обратная связь (feedback), успеваемость обучающихся, метаанализ

Introduction

Feedback, a component of formative assessment, is an important aspect of the current classroom learning environment. The Washington State Teacher Performance Assessment (TPA) requires every pre-certificated teacher to demonstrate evidence of classroom use of student reflection stemming from teacher or peer feedback. This implies strategies involving feedback have the potential to enhance instructional strategies that will improve student learning. In this study, the investigators will examine quantitative research studies that involve the impact on student achievement when feedback is integrated in the learning environment. More specifically, the investigators will use a meta-analytic approach to examine the effectiveness of the use of feedback as a classroom strategy. By collecting related quantitative studies and combining the findings of these studies into a calculated effect size, the overall impact for the classroom use of feedback can be determined.

Feedback defined

Feedback is understood here as a crucial type of formative assessment that can help learners understand what they need to do to improve their learning as well as what was done well (Brookhart, 2008). Effective feedback should provide students with sufficient information on what to do next and should therefore enhance learning and academic achievement. Irons (2008) defined feedback as "any information, process or activity which affords or accelerates student learning based on comments relating to either formative or summative assessment activities" (p. 7). According to Brookhart (2008), effective feedback should be clear, age-appropriate, content specific, timely, and of high quality. John Hattie (2012) theorized feedback to be among the most powerful strategies that enhance achievement with an overall effect size of .79.

The impacts of feedback may depend on the nature of the feedback, since feedback for learning can take many forms. Feedback can be given collectively to a class, to a group of students, or to a single individual. Evaluative feedback provided by a teacher can be delivered in the form of grades and non-specific comments such as praise or criticism. Feedback has the potential to affect students' sense of themselves and where they stand in relation to learning (Guskey & Marzano, 2003). However, according Brookhart (2008), feedback is not always helpful. It may leave students feeling either good or bad about themselves, "without any sense of what is inspiring their feelings except the external symbol of their success or lack of it" (Guskey & Marzano, 2003, p. 90).

Descriptive feedback, when directly linked to learning, allows students to make explicit connections between their thinking and other possibilities that they should consider (ibid, 2003). Descriptive feedback addresses misconceptions, lack of understanding, and provides a way to suggest the next steps a student should take. Irons (2008) emphasized that feedback must be clearly used for the sake of improving learning.

As noted by Irons (2008), feedback may not be appropriately utilized, because according to Hounsell (1987), students don't always use feedback for improvement. Examples might include a student not

explicitly coached on how to effectively utilize feedback, the feedback given did not contribute to student learning, or a student might be extrinsically interested in grades or marks. Furthermore, students may not be allowed the opportunity to enter into dialogue or discourse about their feedback (Irons, 2008). According to Holmes and Smith (2003), feedback may emphasize a power relationship between teachers and students especially if the teacher is providing all the feedback without opportunity for dialogue. Kluger and DeNisi (1996) conducted a meta-analysis on feedback and found that in 50 of 131 well-designed studies, giving feedback actually made academic performance worse.

Quality of Feedback

Since the purpose of feedback is to enhance student learning and content understanding, what might differentiate effective feedback from ineffective feedback? One might argue that effective feedback focuses on the task, the process and self-regulation. It is descriptive and will include positive feedback (praise) along with constructive criticism (Brookhart, 2008). However, teachers must be aware of their students' abilities, learning needs, and interests when deciding how and what feedback to give (ibid.). To be useful to students, feedback must be relevant to the students' reflection and learning process (Black & Wiliam, 1998 and Guskey & Marzano, 2003). Additionally, feedback should be corrective in that it should allow students to troubleshoot their own performance or area in which they are struggling. Effective feedback can be individual or collective as long as it promotes deeper reflection and understanding of the content at hand. Brookhart (2008) proposed giving feedback in small steps to help students assimilate the information.

Timeliness of feedback

Providing feedback in a timely manner enables the students to understand it and incorporate it in their learning (Brookhart, 2008). Some would argue that feedback needs to be provided within minutes of completing a task (Cowan, 2003). This may not be a realistic scenario in most larger classrooms, as it would most likely happen only during small group discussions, individual activities, and tutorials. Nevertheless, Brookhart (2008) emphasized that feedback needs to come while students are still mindful of the topic, assignment, or performance in question. In other words, feedback should come when there's still time to correct their errors. If feedback is given that is no longer relevant to current or future content, it's effectiveness may be diminished.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to determine the impact of teacher feedback on student academic achievement via quantitative research synthesis, or meta-analysis. This meta-analysis examined feedback given to students in grades K-12 and in higher education (HE) settings and included teacher-to-student and student-to-student feedback. The research question for this study is the following; does feedback have an effect on student academic achievement? The investigators hypothesized that there would be a statistically significant difference in academic achievement for students who received feedback, when compared to those who did not receive feedback.

Review of relevant research studies on feedback

Research on feedback strategies dates back several decades. Although studies have suggested that feedback improves academic performance, many of these studies suffer from major limitations. For example, Butler and Nisan (1986) used a mixed-methods study to test the effects of different feedback conditions on performance and motivation. Although their findings suggested statistically-significant positive results, there were several factors to consider. The sample consisted of sixth-graders. Generalizing the findings of this study beyond this age group is problematic, since students in various grade levels react differently to feedback received (Brookhart, 2008). Additionally, there was a time constraint involved. The students were given very few minutes to review their feedback before moving forward to the next assessment. This time constraint may have impacted the validity of the findings.

In a study conducted by Siewert (2011), the researcher sought to determine whether fifth-graders with learning disabilities would be motivated to complete assignments when written feedback was provided within 24 hours (p. 20). The results of the study suggested that effective feedback given to students in a timely manner positively impacted student learning as well as their confidence in developing the ability to understand content knowledge. However, there were several issues with the methodology used in the study design. First, a small sample size ($n = 22$) was utilized. Second, only four out of the 22 students sampled required special education services, two students were identified as gifted, and the remaining 16 students were part of the general education program. Third, during the study, several students were frequently pulled out of the classroom for various reasons.

Nunez, Suarez, Rosario, Vallego, Cerezo, & Valle (2015) examined the relationship between teacher feedback on homework and academic achievement. The sample included 454 students in grades 5 to 12 from three schools in northern Spain. The study sought to determine how teacher feedback impacted homework completion, the amount of time students spend on homework and homework management leading to academic achievement. The findings suggested a positive and significant correlation between student perception of teacher feedback on homework and the quality and amount of homework the students completed. Moreover, the quality and amount of homework completed positively and significantly predicted academic achievement. According to student perceptions from the study, the findings suggested that homework feedback from the teachers decreased significantly as grade levels increased.

High-quality studies involving feedback as a component of formative assessment suggest that when students are able to regulate their own progress by recognizing where the gaps between their desired goal and current knowledge may lie, feedback allows them to work toward obtaining the goal (Sadler, 1989). In a study conducted by Bangert-Drowns, Kulik, Kulik, & Morgan (1991), teacher-provided feedback on tests and homework were helpful to lower-achieving students because the comments focused on errors and included specific suggestions for improvement. With such feedback, students felt encouraged to focus their attention thoughtfully on the task rather than simply being concerned with getting the right answer.

In the current study, the investigators will conduct a meta-analysis that examines the impact of feedback on academic achievement in both K-12 and higher education settings. The study differentiates who provided the feedback to whom (teacher-to-student feedback versus student-to-student feedback) and identifies the types of feedback provided (content-specific feedback, praise and objective feedback). A central goal of this study is to further advance the body of knowledge regarding effective ways to provide students with feedback to improve student achievement and learning.

Meta-analysis

Meta-analysis is a form of research synthesis where an investigator searches for, collects, and synthesizes quantitative research on a topic. By synthesizing the experimental research on the impact that feedback has on student achievement, broader conclusions can be drawn. According to Rosenthal and DiMatteo (2001), a well-designed and executed meta-analysis can provide insight into the impact that a treatment has on a sampled population. Specifically, the present study seeks to quantify and calculate an overall effect size for a collection of related empirical research studies on several types of teacher-to-student feedback and student-to-student feedback in K-12 and higher education settings.

One advantage of conducting a meta-analysis is that it samples a much larger population than could be included in an individual experiment (Field & Gillett, 2010). Second, the inclusion of both published and unpublished research may yield a fuller picture of the impacts of a treatment or intervention, thus minimizing publication bias. Third, the traditional literature review may be biased in favor of studies that support a specific theoretical position or outlook, while the meta-analytic approach is likely to provide a less-biased view (Rosenthal & DiMatteo, 2001). Overall, the diverse range of studies included in a meta-analysis may provide cross-validation.

Meta-analyses do have their criticisms. The post-positivist or constructivist theoretician might criticize the reductive nature of quantitative research overall, especially when applied to schools. John Creswell, a proponent of mixed-methods research designs, argues that knowledge gained via experimental studies divorced from real-world contexts may lack applicability to real-world situations, such as a typical school classroom. If an experiment randomly assigns subjects to treatment and control groups, such a study lacks ecological validity since one would be unlikely to encounter a similar situation in a real-life context. Thus, the usefulness of knowledge gained from experimental studies is likely overstated when applied to classroom settings (Creswell, 2003).

While acknowledging these criticisms, such drawbacks can be minimized if one conducts a meta-analysis with robust design and implementation. According to Field and Gillet (2010), a properly conducted meta-analytic process has six steps: 1. Conduct a literature search; 2. Choose and apply search and inclusion criteria; 3. Calculate effect sizes for each included study; 4. Calculate meta-analysis effect size; 5. Do additional analysis; and 6. Write up the results (Field & Gillet, 2010, p. 666). The current study's methodology follows this six-step process.

Methodologie

Literature Search

The investigators conducted an extensive search of the empirical literature examining the construct feedback. This literature included studies on teacher-to-student feedback and student-to-student feedback in both K-12 and higher education. These studies measured the impact of feedback on academic achievement, where student academic achievement was identified as the dependent variable. To locate these studies, the investigators carried out computer searches of three electronic databases: ERIC, Education Source and Psych Info. Search terms used included "Feedback" and "Academic Achievement" or "Academic Performance" or "Academic Success". These criteria produced approximately 3000 results. Next, the researchers included additional parameters to narrow down the results. These parameters included peer-reviewed quantitative studies in published in academic journals from 1960 to present, which narrowed the field to 419 studies for consideration. The researchers scrutinized each study to determine its suitability for inclusion in this meta-analysis.

Additionally, the researchers sought to locate additional relevant studies by reviewing the reference lists of these and other studies.

Search and Inclusion Criteria

From the initial pool of 419 studies, a screening determined which ones were appropriate to include in this meta-analysis. The investigators limited the included studies to experimental and quasi-experimental studies that identified a comparison or control group and that compared students who received feedback to those who did not. Each study was required to report quantitative measurement that explained how feedback impacted academic achievement. Furthermore, studies had to report quantitative data, including mean and standard deviation for both the experimental and control/comparison groups, as well group sample sizes. After screening for these requirements, the initial pool of 419 studies was reduced to eight studies. From these eight studies, the researchers were able to extract 26 viable sets of data for comparative analysis. Table 1 lists the data sets drawn from the selected studies.

Table 1: Data Sets

Author (Year)	Data Set	Control Group	Experimental Group
Koenig et al. (2016)	A	No Feedback - Assessment 1	Performance Feedback - Assessment 1
Koenig et al. (2016)	B	No Feedback - Assessment 4	Performance Feedback - Assessment 4
Koenig et al. (2016)	C	No Feedback - Assessment 7	Performance Feedback - Assessment 7
Labuhn, et al. (2010)	A	No Feedback - Standard 2	Individual feedback - Standard 2
Labuhn, et al. (2010)	B	No Feedback - Standard 2	Social Comparison Feedback - Standard 2
Labuhn, et al. (2010)	C	No Feedback - Standard 1	Individual Feedback - Standard 1
Labuhn, et al. (2010)	D	No Feedback - Standard 1	Social Comparison Feedback- Standard 1
Labuhn, et al. (2010)	E	No Feedback - Standard 0	Individual Feedback - Standard 0
Labuhn, et al. (2010)	F	No Feedback - Standard 0	Social Comparison Feedback - Standard 0
Butler & Nisan (1986)	A	No Feedback - Session 3	Comments - Session 3
Butler & Nisan (1986)	B	No Feedback - Session 3	Grades - Session 3
Hwang et al. (2016)	A	No Feedback	Feedback
Adiguzel et al. (2016)	A	Comparison - Text	Text & Video Feedback
Butler (1987)	A	No Feedback - High Level	Comments - High Level
Butler (1987)	B	No Feedback - High Level	Praise - High Level
Butler (1987)	C	No Feedback - High Level	Grades - High Level
Butler (1987)	D	No Feedback - Low Level	Comments - Low Level
Butler (1987)	E	No Feedback - Low Level	Praise - Low Level

Butler (1987)	F	No Feedback - Low Level	Grades - Low Level
Newman et al. (1974)	A	No Feedback	Immediate Feedback - Test
Newman et al. (1974)	B	No Feedback	One Day Delay - Test
Newman et al. (1974)	C	No Feedback	Seven Day Delay - Test
Newman et al. (1974)	D	No Feedback	Immediate - Retest
Newman et al. (1974)	E	No Feedback	One Day Delay - Retest
Newman et al. (1974)	F	No Feedback	Seven Day Delay - Retest
Paige (1966)	A	No Feedback	Feedback

Calculating effect size

An effect size is a “standardized measure of the magnitude of observed effect” and reports an intervention’s impact in terms of standard deviation units (Field & Gillett, 2010, p. 668). This standardized measure allows different studies that may have measured different variables to be compared. Common effect measures include Cohen’s *d*, Glass’ *delta* (Δ), and Hedges’ *g*. Standardized effect sizes are calculated by dividing the difference in means by the pooled standard deviation of each condition. To measure a group difference, the mean difference is divided by the combined standard deviation, which yields the effect size (Ferguson, 2009).

These three measures of effect size have slight differences. For example, Cohen’s *d* uses a pooled standard deviation of experimental and control groups. Since both groups are given equal weight in the Cohen’s *d* formula, differences in group sizes may skew the standard deviation, and thus the effect size. Cohen’s *d* also has the potential to overestimate the calculated effect size in small samples (Borenstein et al., 2009). To address differences in standard deviation between control and experimental groups, a researcher can use Glass’ Δ . Glass’ Δ uses the standard deviation of the control group only, since the control group standard deviation would likely be closer to the entire population than the experimental group (Ferguson, 2009).

An overestimation bias in small samples can be addressed by using Hedges’ *g*, which yields a less-biased estimate by using a pooled and weighted standard deviation (Borenstein et al., 2009, p. 27). Of the 26 data sets included in this meta-analysis, all of them reported measures of group differences include mean, standard deviation, and sample size for treatment and control groups. In Table 2, the investigators calculated and reported the effect size for each data set using all three measures. However, only Hedges’ *g* was used for meta-analysis since this measure should yield a less-biased estimate.

Table 2: Effect sizes of data set

Author (year)	Data Set	Cohen's D	Glass' Delta	Hedges' g
Koenig et al. (2016)	A	-0.15	-0.14	-0.15
Koenig et al. (2016)	B	0.61	0.65	0.60

Koenig et al. (2016)	C	0.67	0.78	0.66
Labuhn, et al. (2010)	A	-0.11	-0.12	-0.11
Labuhn, et al. (2010)	B	-0.15	-0.17	-0.15
Labuhn, et al. (2010)	C	-0.25	-0.21	-0.24
Labuhn, et al. (2010)	D	0.06	0.05	0.06
Labuhn, et al. (2010)	E	0.37	0.79	0.35
Labuhn, et al. (2010)	F	0.98	2.22	0.93
Butler & Nisan (1986)	A	1.75	2.18	1.74
Butler & Nisan (1986)	B	0.24	0.25	0.24
Hwang et al. (2016)	A	0.67	0.68	0.66
Adiguzel et al. (2016)	A	-0.13	-0.21	-0.11
Butler (1987)	A	2.50	2.45	2.46
Butler (1987)	B	0.37	0.34	0.37
Butler (1987)	C	0.58	0.58	0.54
Butler (1987)	D	1.58	2.44	1.55
Butler (1987)	E	0.49	0.59	0.48
Butler (1987)	F	-0.38	-0.39	-0.37
Newman et al. (1974)	A	-0.06	-0.05	-0.06
Newman et al. (1974)	B	-0.20	-0.18	-0.19
Newman et al. (1974)	C	0.37	0.30	0.34
Newman et al. (1974)	D	-0.15	-0.13	-0.15
Newman et al. (1974)	E	-0.22	-0.23	-0.22
Newman et al. (1974)	F	0.43	0.37	0.40
Paige (1966)	A	0.60	0.51	0.59

Calculate meta-analysis effect size

Once a common effect size is calculated for each of the selected studies, the investigators calculated a combined meta-analysis effect size for all studies. Before this is calculated, the investigators must choose to view the results through the lens of either a fixed-effects model, or a random-effects model. The investigators made this determination based on populations, sampling, study characteristics, and

overall conclusions that hope to be drawn (Borenstein et al., 2009). A fixed-effects model is appropriate when similar research designs are used in included studies and assumes that all studies represent a population with a fixed-effect size. Thus, any differences in effect sizes can be attributed to sampling error (Field & Gillett, 2010). Since the fixed-effect model generates a weighted average of effect size estimates, each individual participant is considered to be the unit of analysis.

A random-effects model, in contrast, considers each study to be the unit of analysis, as not all studies have similar treatments, and not all are drawn from similar populations. Any differences observed in a random-effects model can be attributed to variations between included studies, as well as sampling error (Field & Gillett, 2010). In educational studies, these differences might include grade level, student socio-economic status, and teacher expertise.

In the fixed-effects model, included studies with larger sample sizes have a larger impact in the overall mean effect calculation, as these studies are assigned higher weights. Conversely, a random-effects model assigns weights proportionately, but in a much smaller range. Thus, studies with larger sample sizes are given less weight, and individual studies have less overall impact on the overall summary effect (Borenstein et al, 2009). When drawing overall conclusions, a random-effects model allows broader conclusions to be drawn, as generalizing the effect size beyond the sampled population is possible. Any inferences one might draw from a fixed-effects model are limited to only the include studies, and their populations, included in the selected studies (Field & Gillett, 2010).

In the present study, the investigators chose a random-effects model to calculate the overall effect size. It is an appropriate model in this case because the studies selected share common research design (an experimental or treatment group receiving feedback compared to a control group which did not). However, due to between-study variations in research design, it is unlikely that the studies could be considered functionally equivalent. It is more likely that there were differences in the studies that likely impacted the results. In other words, real differences exist in effect sizes across studies that are not based solely on sampling error. Therefore, a common effect size should not be assumed, and a random-effects model is justified. The use of a random-effects model better allows for generalizations to be drawn beyond the populations included, which may be useful for policy recommendations (Borenstein et al., 2009, p. 83-84). The investigators used Comprehensive Meta-Analysis, Version 3, to analyze the effects of feedback on academic achievement when considering the 26 included data sets.

Additional Analysis

In addition to calculating the overall effect size of the 26 data sets, the investigators sought to explore effects of three moderator variables, including student grade level, provider of feedback and type of feedback. Student grade level was divided into two categories, K-12 and higher education. Provider of feedback was divided into two categories, teacher-to-student feedback and student-to-student feedback. Type of feedback was divided into three categories including content-specific, praise, and objective. Table 3 illustrates how each data set was categorized according to the moderator variables.

Table 3: Moderator Variables

Author (year)	Data Set	Student grade level	Provider of feedback	Type of feedback
Koenig et al. (2016)	A	K-12	Teacher	Content Specific
Koenig et al. (2016)	B	K-12	Teacher	Content Specific

Koenig et al. (2016)	C	K-12	Teacher	Content Specific
Labuhn, et al. (2010)	A	K-12	Teacher	Objective
Labuhn, et al. (2010)	B	K-12	Teacher	Objective
Labuhn, et al. (2010)	C	K-12	Teacher	Objective
Labuhn, et al.(2010)	D	K-12	Teacher	Objective
Labuhn, et al. (2010)	E	K-12	Teacher	Objective
Labuhn, et al. (2010)	F	K-12	Teacher	Objective
Butler & Nisan (1986)	A	K-12	Teacher	Content Specific
Butler & Nisan (1986)	B	K-12	Teacher	Objective
Hwang et al. (2016)	A	K-12	Peer	Objective
Adiguzel et al. (2016)	A	Higher Education	Peer	Content Specific
Butler (1987)	A	K-12	Teacher	Content Specific
Butler (1987)	B	K-12	Teacher	Praise
Butler (1987)	C	K-12	Teacher	Objective
Butler (1987)	D	K-12	Teacher	Content Specific
Butler (1987)	E	K-12	Teacher	Praise
Butler (1987)	F	K-12	Teacher	Objective
Newman et al. (1974)	A	Higher Education	Teacher	Objective
Newman et al. (1974)	B	Higher Education	Teacher	Objective
Newman et al. (1974)	C	Higher Education	Teacher	Objective
Newman et al. (1974)	D	Higher Education	Teacher	Objective
Newman et al.	E	Higher Education	Teacher	Objective
Newman et al. (1974)	F	Higher Education	Teacher	Objective
Paige (1966)	A	K-12	Teacher	Content Specific

According to Koenig et al. (2016), the content-specific feedback was based on the students' performance and provided in both visual and oral formats. The researchers noted that "the visual presentation was in the form of a feedback page that was inserted into the writing packet. The oral presentation was completed by the experimenter who reviewed the information presented on the feedback page" (p. 282). The study by Adiguzel et al. (2016) was conducted in Turkish university consisting of freshman elementary and Turkish education pre-service teachers. The students provided content-specific feedback in the form of text and video. The content-specific feedback in the study conducted by Paige (1966) consisted of immediate feedback on the students' work that included the students being able to view the correctly worked-out problem.

The type feedback provided to the treatment groups in the study conducted by Labuhn, et al. (2010), identified as objective feedback. In addition to providing a score, the experimenter told the students how many points several of the other students had scored. This was identified as social comparison feedback. Hwang et al. (2016) used student-to-student feedback. The students use an assessment rubric as a guide when providing a score to their peers. Newman et al. (1974) also used objective feedback in their study. Each test item was projected on the screen with the correct answer after students electronically answered the questions using clickers.

Butler and Nisan (1986) used both objective and content-specific feedback. In their study, objective feedback was in the form of a score, while the content-specific feedback was written and related to the task on hand. Similarly, Butler's (1987) study used content-specific, objective feedback along with praise. The content-specific feedback was in the form of written comments that consisted of one sentence that related specifically to the students' performance of each task. The praise provided to the students consisted of the phrase "very good". Finally, a numerical score ranging from 40 to 99 was provided. This was considered a form of objective feedback.

Results

Summary Overall Effect

The inclusion of all studies yielded a summary overall effect of Hedges' $g = 0.40$. Tests of statistical significance indicate support for rejection of the null hypothesis ($p = .003$). Meta-analysis results were further analyzed for differences according to moderators, which included student grade level, provider of feedback, and types of feedback. The results from these analyses follow.

Student Grade Level

The studies included in this meta-analysis were divided into two grade level categories, kindergarten through high school (K-12) and college/university or higher education (HE). The summary effects for each level were analyzed individually. The meta-analysis for K-12 studies ($n = 19$) indicated a summary overall effect of Hedges' $g = .55$. Tests of statistical significance indicate support for the rejection of the null hypothesis ($p = .001$). The meta-analysis for college/university or higher education studies ($n = 7$) indicated a summary overall effect of Hedges' $g = -.01$, with statistical non-significance indicated ($p = .911$).

Provider of Feedback

The studies included in this meta-analysis were divided into two categories according to who provided the feedback and included teacher-to-student feedback or student-to-student feedback. The summary

effects for each category of feedback provider were analyzed individually. The meta-analysis for teacher-provided feedback ($n = 24$) indicated a summary overall effect of Hedges' $g = .41$. Tests of statistical significance indicated support for the rejection of the null hypothesis ($p = .004$). The meta-analysis for peer-provided feedback ($n = 2$) indicated a summary overall effect of Hedges' $g = .32$ with statistical non-significance indicated ($p = .395$).

Type of Feedback

The studies included in this meta-analysis were divided into three categories according to the type of feedback provided, including content-specific feedback, praise or objective feedback (objective feedback included a numerical score, a letter grade, or whether the student response was right or wrong). The summary effects for each category feedback type were analyzed individually. The meta-analysis for content-specific feedback ($n = 8$) indicated a summary overall effect of Hedges' $g = .91$. Tests of statistical significance indicated support for the rejection of the null hypothesis ($p = .003$). The meta-analysis for praise feedback ($n = 2$) indicated a summary overall effect of Hedges' $g = .42$. Tests of statistical significance indicated support for the rejection of the null hypothesis ($p = .033$). The meta-analysis for objective feedback ($n = 16$) indicated a summary overall effect of Hedges' $g = .13$ with statistical non-significance indicated ($p = .144$).

Table 4: Effect Sizes

Moderator Variables		<i>n</i>	Effect Size	<i>p</i> -values
Student Grade Level	K-12	19	.55	.001*
	Higher Education	7	-.01	.911
Provider of Feedback	Teacher-to-student	24	.41	.004*
	Student-to-student	2	.32	.395
Type of Feedback	Content-Specific	8	.91	.003*
	Praise	2	.42	.033*
	Objective	16	.13	.140
Overall Effect		26	0.40	.003*
<i>Note.</i> *significance at the .05 level.				

Conclusion

Summary Overall Effect

Results of this meta-analysis of quantitative research studies on the impact of feedback on academic achievement indicated an overall moderate effect size (Hedges' $g = .40$) with statistical significance ($p = .003$). According to Marzano's model, this is equivalent to a 17% percentile gain. This gain suggests that students receiving feedback will on average most likely outperform 67% of student sample who receive no feedback (Marzano Research, 2015). When students are provided with feedback, the results support the hypothesis that feedback positively impacts student achievement. However, with only 26 data sets drawn from eight studies, additional exploration regarding the impact of feedback for all levels of education is warranted.

Moderator Effects

Student grade level. A moderate, positive, and statistically significant effect (Hedges' $g = .55$) was calculated for the use of feedback at the K-12 level. Results suggest that students at the K-12 level may show positive impacts in academic achievement when provided with feedback. At the higher education level, the calculated effect size was statistically non-significant ($p = .911$) and thus inconclusive.

Provider of feedback. A moderate, positive, and statistically significant effect (Hedges' $g = .41$) was calculated for the use of teacher-to-student feedback. Results suggest that students may show positive impacts in academic achievement when provided with teacher-to-student feedback. Student-to-student feedback results were statistically non-significant ($p = .395$) and thus inconclusive.

Type of feedback. A strong, positive, and statistically significant effect (Hedges' $g = .91$) was calculated for the use of content-specific feedback. Results suggest that students may show positive impacts in academic achievement when provided with content specific feedback. A moderate, positive, and statistically significant effect (Hedges' $g = .42$) was indicated for the use of praise feedback. However, the small sample size ($n = 2$) give these investigators pause when drawing further conclusions. Objective feedback results were both statistically non-significant ($p = .14$) and weak (Hedges' $g = .13$)

Implications

The summary overall effect and the moderator effects in this meta-analysis suggest that feedback can have a positive impact on student achievement. Grade level analysis suggests that students at the K-12 levels may benefit the most from feedback. Feedback is most effective when provided to a student from a teacher, rather than feedback delivered from one student to another. Content-specific feedback seems to provide the most positive impact on academic achievement.

These findings align with Brookhart's (2008) recommendations for effective feedback (clear, age-appropriate, content-specific, timely, high quality). A teacher is likely the party best-equipped to provide content-specific feedback that improves student understanding and thus achievement. The teacher has a mastery and knowledge of subject matter which would make any feedback they provide deeper and more useful than what a student could provide to his or her peer. However, the current structure of the school system and time constraints in a typical school day may limit how much time a teacher can devote to individual teacher-to-student feedback.

Several areas of future research are suggested by this meta-analysis. Overall, more studies examining the impact of feedback on student achievement are needed. Specifically, studies that examine the

impact of student-to-student feedback are especially needed for further analysis. It would be especially useful to determine how to better equip students to provide feedback to their peers. Additionally, more quantitative research studies on feedback in college and university settings is called for to address a research gap identified by the current study.

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Stefanie Lübcke, Fabian Mußél & Anja Franz (Germany)
The privilege of being politically active - a
qualitative study on the political commitment of
university students

Abstract: This article presents the most important results of a study on the university political commitment of students at the Otto-von-Guericke-University Magdeburg. The study focuses on the question of why and how students at the Otto-von-Guericke-University Magdeburg become involved in university politics. Semi-standardized interviews are conducted with students from different educational backgrounds. The Civic Voluntarism model by Brady, Schlozman and Verba, and Bourdieu's capital theory were used to evaluate the interviews. This provides an insight into the relationship between participation-relevant resources, or capital, and political commitment. On the basis of a comparison of the interviews, hypotheses are developed that can be regarded as the results of the study. The study thus provides insight into the significance of social origin and political participation, as well as socialization-related factors.

Keywords: Political Inequality, Organizational Research, Higher Education Policy, Civic Voluntarism Model, Empirical Education, Qualitative Social Research

概要 (Stefanie Lübcke, Fabian Mußél, & Anja Franz : 在政治上活跃的特权 - 大学生对高等教育政策参与度的定性研究) : 本文介绍了马格德堡大学的学生们在高等教育政策参与度方面的最重要的研究成果。调查的核心问题是马格德堡大学的学生们为何以及是如何在高等教育政策方面积极参与其中的。对来自不同教育背景的大学生们进行了半标准化的采访。对于采访的分析, 使用了Brady, Schlozman和Verba的Civic-Voluntarism模式以及布尔迪厄的资本理论。对此, 拓展了一个在相关资源、资本及政治参与度背景下的新视野。根据对不同采访的比较, 制定了假设, 并旨在从中得出调查的结果。该研究深入探讨了社会背景和政治参与的意义, 以及社会化的相关因素。

关键词: 政治不平等, 组织研究, 高等教育政策, Civic-Voluntarism模式, 实证教育, 定性社会研究

Zusammenfassung (Stefanie Lübcke, Fabian Mußél & Anja Franz: Das Privileg, politisch aktiv zu sein – eine qualitative Untersuchung zum hochschulpolitischen Engagement Studierender): In diesem Artikel werden die wichtigsten Ergebnisse einer Untersuchung zu dem hochschulpolitischen Engagement von Studierenden der Otto-von-Guericke-Universität Magdeburg vorgestellt. Im Zentrum der Untersuchung steht die Frage, weshalb und wodurch Studierende an der Otto-von-Guericke-Universität Magdeburg hochschulpolitisch aktiv werden. Es werden halbstandardisierte Interviews mit Studierenden unterschiedlicher Bildungsherkunft geführt. Für die Auswertung der Interviews wurde auf das Civic-Voluntarism-Modell von Brady, Schlozman und Verba sowie auf Bourdieus Kapitaltheorie zurückgegriffen. Damit gelingt der Einblick in den Zusammenhang von partizipationsrelevanten Ressourcen, beziehungsweise Kapitalien, und politischem Engagement. Auf der Grundlage des Vergleichs der Interviews werden Hypothesen entwickelt, die als Ergebnisse der Untersuchung anzusehen sind. Die Untersuchung gibt damit Einblick in die Bedeutung von sozialer Herkunft und politischer Teilhabe, sowie sozialisationsbedingten Faktoren.

Stichwörter: Politische Ungleichheit, Organisationsforschung, Hochschulpolitik, Civic-Voluntarism-Modell, Empirische Bildungswissenschaft, Qualitative Sozialforschung

Аннотация (Штефани Любке, Фабиан Мюсель & Аня Франц: О привилегии быть политически активным - качественное исследование степени вовлечённости обучающихся в вопросы политики высшего образования): В данной статье представлены наиболее значимые результаты исследования о степени вовлечённости студентов Университета имени Отто фон Герике в Магдебурге в вопросы политики высшего образования. Центральным вопросом исследования является следующий: что движет студентами Университета имени Отто фон

Герике в Магдебурге в их желании участвовать в решении вопросов политики высшего образования. Были проведены полустандартизированные интервью со студентами разных направлений подготовки. Для обработки результатов интервью использовались модель гражданского волонтаризма Бреди, Шлоцмана и Верба и теория капиталов П. Бурдьё. За счет этого удалось установить связь между ресурсами (в частности, капиталами), стимулирующими участие в данном виде деятельности, и непосредственно самой политической активностью. На основании сопоставления интервью были выдвинуты гипотезы, которые собственно и являются результатами проведенного исследования. Исследование позволило сделать заключения о роли таких факторов, как социальное происхождение, политическое участие, успешная социализация.

Ключевые слова: политическое неравенство, анализ организации, политика высшего образования, модель гражданского волонтаризма, эмпирическая дидактика, качественное социальное исследование

1. Introduction

In Germany, certain population groups participate in political life more than others, from voter turnout to work in political parties. As a rule, those who are politically more active are those who are more highly educated, have sufficient material resources and are well integrated socially (Vetter, & Remer-Bollow, 2018, p. 79). At German colleges and universities, the legally-anchored participation offer to students allows them to get involved in student self-administration (Dippelhofer, 2014, p. 147). In these university committees, students are called upon to represent their interests inside and outside the university and thus influence (higher education) policy decisions (ibid.). However, interest in the self-interest of the country's future "elites" has never been as low as it is today. While in 2004 four percent of students were still frequently involved in student self-administration, in 2016 the figure was only two percent (Multrus, Majer, Bargel, & Schmidt, 2017, p. 82). On the one hand, it can be assumed that with the Bologna reforms and the associated, increasingly neoliberal orientation of the universities, students have less time and energy for committee work in higher education institutions (Brüchert, 2010, p. 37ff.). On the other hand, it can be assumed that within the university similar selection processes take place according to cultural, social and material aspects as related political commitment in general.

92

The present research project will therefore address the question of why and how students at the Otto-von-Guericke University Magdeburg become active in higher education politics, where their interest in student politics is very low. The voter turnout in 2017 for the student council of the Otto-von-Guericke-Universität was only 19.7 % (see the quantitative overview in: Otto-von-Guericke-Universität [2017], especially p. 5). More specifically, the question is: To what extent have students with different educational backgrounds become active in higher education policy and what motivated them to do so? The Civic Voluntarism model, (Brady, Schlozman, & Verba, 1995) in conjunction with Bourdieu's capital theory (Bourdieu, 1983) will be used to explain political inequality as an interpretive framework for the evaluation of the research results. Subsequently, hypotheses are formulated that attempt to demonstrate the commitment of the interviewees to higher education policy. In this way, the study attempts to reconstruct empirically the biographical effects of the neoliberal social transformation, which currently appears to have reached its peak, for each specific possibility of participation in distribution struggles.

2. Explanatory models of political inequalities

In the following, connecting lines of the socio-cultural capital theory according to Bourdieu and the socio-economic "Civic Voluntarism Model" will be presented. Subsequently, there will be

consideration of the empirical implementation of educational research projects on participation-relevant factors in political work.

2.1. The Civic Voluntarism Model to Explain Political Inequality

When Brady, Verba and Schlozman began their investigation of possible participation-relevant factors, by asking why people are not politically active, the answers they received were: "because they can't, because they don't want to; or because nobody asked" (Brady, Verba, & Schlozman 1995, p. 271). Thus, they identified three factors relevant to participation: resources, political involvement and social inclusion (ibid., p. 271).

"Because they can't" in the Civic Voluntarism model refers to the area of resources. These consist of three elements: money, time and civic skills (ibid., p. 270). Whereby the Civic Skills refer to a series of cognitive, communicative and organizational skills which are acquired particularly during socialization within the family and in the further course of life (ibid., p. 438). The civic skills act as a kind of cost-reducing factor in the field of political activity, for example if people can follow political speeches well and quickly, they need less time to understand them (Hansen, 2009, p. 17). Moreover, in contrast to the elements of time and money, the civic skills do not minimize themselves with political activity; instead, the civic skills are maximized through political participation (Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995, p. 561 f.). The resources time, money and civic skills influence each other and are strongly dependent on a person's level of education. As a result, "participation-relevant resources are distributed along typical lines of social inequality" (Vetter, & Remer-Bollow, 2018, p. 84). According to Brady, Verba and Schlozman (1995), the area of resources is the most important explanatory factor for a person's political participation. In addition, the rational choice approach is integrated into the field of resources, in that the authors emphasize that the extent of the resources determines how high the costs are that have to be raised to be able to participate politically (ibid., p. 287). Before a person becomes politically active, one would weigh the costs against the benefits and only become active if the benefits are higher than the costs. Although this view has a lot in common with the models of rational choice, Brady, Verba and Schlozman emphasize that people only participate when they **can**. In contrast to many rational choice approaches, this puts resources at the centre of their research and not personal decisions (Hansen, 2009, p. 30).

93

The factor of political involvement refers to whether people **want** to become politically active, i.e. to a person's motivation to become politically active (Brady, Verba, & Schlozman, 1995, p. 343). Although political participation and political involvement positively influence each other, the authors assume that motivation would precede political involvement to a certain degree (ibid., p. 345). The area of political involvement includes political interest, by which the authors mean a subjective self-assessment of political knowledge (ibid., p. 345 f.). In this context, it is about the "subjective feeling that they can make a difference" (ibid., p. 272). They investigate political informativeness, which, in addition to formal knowledge of political facts, also describes an individual's psychological involvement in political facts (ibid., p. 347). This also includes the aspect of the extent to which a person can identify with a particular party.

Concerning the third factor of political participation, Brady, Verba and Schlozman refer to the extent to which people are integrated into non-political networks (Gabriel, 2004, p. 327). Social inclusion has two effects on a person's probability of participation (ibid., 2004, p. 326 f.). On the one hand, the Civic Skills are further developed through membership in social networks and, on the other hand, with high social integration the probability of being addressed directly, of becoming politically active, is higher than with low social integration (Brady, Verba, & Schlozman, 1995, p. 272). Actors of the social network to whom the authors refer come from their immediate

environment and can be friends or colleagues, for example. In this context one can speak of political recruitment, which, according to Brady, Verba and Schlozman, is all the more successful the better the people know each other (ibid., p. 272 f.).

In the scientific discourse, the Civic Voluntarism model of Brady, Schlozman and Verba is predominantly assessed positively (Hansen, 2009, p. 23). One point of criticism is the one-sided connection between the factors relevant to participation and political participation. Although Brady, Verba and Schlozman themselves note that political participation can also influence participation-relevant factors (ibid.). That the model cannot be applied to the diversity of different forms of participation is sufficient ground for criticism (Aldrich, 1997, p. 421 f.). A further problem is that Brady, Schlozman and Verba repeatedly suggest at the theoretical level that the three factors influence each other, but that these interactions are not included at the empirical level. There the authors discuss the three elements as independently acting variables (Hansen, 2009, p. 24).

2.2. Bourdieu's theory of capital to explain social inequality

In his theory of capital Pierre Bourdieu describes the position of a person within a society by capital endowment (Bourdieu, 1983, p. 185). Capital occurs in different forms and these forms can be transformed into each other. He mentions economic capital, such as money, social capital determined by "belonging to a group" (ibid., p. 196), and cultural capital. Cultural capital exists in three different forms: the incorporated, the objectified and the institutionalized form (ibid., p. 185). In its incorporated form, it represents the "being" of a person that develops through socialization within the family. Bourdieu calls this "being" the "body-bound (...) internalized (...) knowledge" (ibid., p. 187) or also the habitus of a human being. Institutional cultural capital preserves the volatile incorporated cultural capital.

The three forms of capital are interdependent and influence each other. For example, the possession of sufficient economic capital ensures that a person has the time to acquire knowledge, i.e. cultural capital. The extent to which a person possesses these forms of capital depends mainly on the family and the socialization within it (ibid., p. 187). Thus, capital endowment is inherited and the process of reproducing social inequality begins. Since certain institutions have a specific endowment of capital, there is unequal treatment of people with different endowments of capital. The empirical findings to date on the connection between social origin and political participation indicate that it is ultimately the habitus that determines to what extent a person becomes politically active or not.

From both the participation-theoretical and the socio-cultural approach, it was first established that social and political inequality are always closely linked. On the other hand, it became clear that socio-economic status alone does not provide a plausible explanation for the different political participation of different population groups. By combining the standard socio-economic model and the models of rational choice, the Civic Voluntarism model was able to provide a plausible explanation for political participation. However, some questions remain unanswered, especially at the empirical level: To what extent does political participation influence the factors relevant to participation? How do the individual factors interact with each other? Answers to these questions can be found by using Bourdieu's theory of capital. In this theory, social origin determines the "being" of a human being. However, the convertibility of the various forms of capital into one another also makes it clear that participation and the factors relevant to participation can influence one another. There is also a challenge in this theory. Although cultural capital in its institutionalized and material form can be empirically examined in part by looking at the level of education and socio-economic status, it is unlikely that the totality of a person's capital endowment can be adequately represented in its complexity and constant change.

Nevertheless, this concept of the reproduction of social inequality has mostly established itself. Contributions to the discussion by French sociologists in the wake of Bourdieu now attest to the increasing positivism of the habitus concept. The question of social justice formulated by critical sociology and political theory is not considered obsolete by Bourdieu's students such as Luc Boltanski (2007). But the manner in which it has been presented and empirically investigated so far tends to exclude the recognition of possible emancipatory potentials. The accusation is that critical sociology confirms its underlying assumption of social injustice. Thus, the social actors themselves are - quasi scientifically - deprived of any room to manoeuvre, or the optionalities that could open up are assigned to externally determined principles of a rule that are not seen through by the actors.

Therefore, this study combines the socio-economic "Civic Voluntarism Model" with Bourdieu's capital theory. Thus, the participation-relevant factors of the Civic Voluntarism model (can, want, be asked) are translated by Bourdieu's forms of capital (economic capital, cultural and social capital) and thus examined in an empirically innovative way, i.e. discourse-analytical access to the narrative self-references of one's political perception of oneself, others and the world is sought. In order to arrive at this step, in the further course of the research project, the present case study presents the first qualitative content analyses and then summarizes them in theses for further processing.

3. Methodology and Evaluation of the Empirical Investigation

The study included semi-standardised interviews. The guideline expresses the phases of political socialization that essentially follow the categories of ability (economic situation, educational background), will (motivation, biographical background) and being asked about (social networks, political topics). In addition to the information on the interviewees' commitment to higher education policy, the framing factors for the persons, such as age, study programme and self-awareness of their financial situation, were also surveyed. The sample was initially eight persons and was then reduced according to the data from the status query. Four persons remained, on whom both the observation and the collection of verbal data were subsequently concentrated.

However, since this study is a decoupling of a longer-term project, the character of the study does not go beyond that of a pilot study. For qualitative research, Creswell (1998) recommends 5 - 25 and Morse (1994) suggests at least six cases. For procedures based on Grounded Theory, for example, even more. The present study therefore primarily serves to gain hypotheses, for which guideline interviews are very suitable (Stier 1999: 189). Another aim of the study is to compare the interviewees with regard to their statements on their commitment to higher education policy. Open variants of the interview, such as the narrative interview, are therefore inappropriate. This is also because the narrative structure is not the focus of interest in this study. After the interview, the interviewees answered a questionnaire. The questionnaire collected general information on the persons who might be relevant as influencing factors for the later evaluation of the study. In addition, the interviews were to be facilitated by asking for this information in writing. Thus, framing information such as age, study programme and subject semester were recorded. It also asked for information on political commitment, such as committee functions and university group membership. In addition, a core task of the questionnaire was to record the educational background of the four respondents and their perceived financial situation. This was an important part of the survey in order to establish a fit between the basic theoretical models. Thus, in the questionnaire the self-perceived financial situation was surveyed on a scale from "very good" to "very bad", as well as the highest vocational qualification achieved by the parents.

The interviews were evaluated based on the qualitative content analysis according to Kuckartz (2016, p. 100). The basic elements of this approach are "to identify and conceptualize selected aspects of the content of the material and to systematically describe the material with regard to such aspects" (Schreier 2014, p. 3). Udo Kuckartz, in particular, emphasizes the importance of category formation using the material, whereas, for example, the qualitative content analysis according to Mayring, which structures content, would focus in particular on the development of a theory (ibid., p. 6). Since, as already described in the previous chapters, the current state of research on the commitment of students to higher education policy is very limited, it seemed sensible to leave room in particular for categories that could arise during the work with the transcripts. In addition, Kuckartz emphasizes the foundation of the content- structuring content analysis in hermeneutics, emphasizing that the added value of hermeneutic procedures in empirical research would lie "in the extraction of hypotheses and in the interpretation of results" (ibid., p. 21). The following two examples may serve as examples for the procedure:

In the evaluation of the material, main categories were first formed on the basis of the guide and the theoretical background. Then the categories were further developed during the work on the transcripts. This resulted in a category system with seven main categories and five sub-categories. The category system describes the "totality of all categories" (ibid., p. 38). Categories were created according to thematic and analytically abstract criteria. This resulted in thematic and analytical categories (Kuckartz 2016, p. 34). All text passages of the four interviews were assigned to the respective main and sub-categories.

Category: Parental Politicization

Coding rule: The influence of the parents on the commitment to higher education policy and their work as an instance of politicization.

Anchor examples: "In any case, yes. I am someone who wants to act against the parental image in some way (laughs). That is the essence, yes." (B1, 58); "(...) Well, I've always been very political in the sense that I was interested in politics, that I somehow watched the news every evening and so on, because it's also a ritual in our family. But erm (...) but then I just took the step so that I really got involved, I somehow never managed. (...)"(B4, 15)

Category: Barriers

Coding rule: Factors that prevent other students from becoming active in higher education policy.

Anchor example: "Erm (...) why they are not active in higher education policy (...). I think there are several factors that act together. Simply because you have no idea that something like this even exists." (B3, 104); "Yes, it's partially society that somehow pretends you study quickly, finish quickly, pay into the pension fund somehow and just have a career. Somehow, they are so fixated on study, now, somehow, everything really has a focus on studying and what is left is ... free time. And there's not anything else that really eats up time and, of course, there are also financial barriers like why people somehow do part-time jobs rather than get involved, because otherwise they just can't make it". (B1, 70)

Subsequently, the original utterances assigned to the categories were summarized in their own words, Kuckartz calls this intermediate step the creation of "Summaries" (Kuckartz 2016, p. 111). Next, case summaries of the individual interviewees and thematic summaries of the individual categories were written. This resulted in a table consisting of the summarised original utterances, case summaries and category-based summaries. The aim of producing this paraphrased overview is "to present it later in tabular form as case summaries in which several interviews can be compared in relation to selected categories" (ibid., p.114). Thus, on the basis of the text tables, it was

examined to what extent the individual categories were interrelated and what role the framing information previously collected in the questionnaire could play. Hypotheses were then generated on the basis of these results, which represent the preliminary result of the study.

Based on the data from the interviews and the questionnaire, this analytical framework and the application of the method made it possible to systematize the fundamental meaning and reliable interpretations that were plausible and coherently corresponded to the research questions. This may be related to a problem that seems to be present in qualitative research: the overuse of "bricolage," sometimes ending in the mix of different methodologies, leading to a position of "anything goes" or at least to a position of excessive relativism called "blurred genres" (McLeod 2001, p. 9). A detailed discussion on this cannot be provided here, but the authors of this study would like to show that they are aware of the problems of validity and comprehensibility of qualitative research. For this reason, the evaluation strictly adhered to the evaluation steps of the qualitative content analysis according to Kuckartz, which structures content. The aim of the mixed-method design was to ensure that the self-received social status and what was continuously described in the study as educational origin was not only subjective - in the sense of perceived - but also objective. In the further course of the research with a correspondingly larger sample, the hypotheses gained from this pilot study would have to be elaborated further and other adequate evaluation methods would have to be used accordingly. As the first methodologically sound approach to the topic, we consider the procedure described to be comprehensible and valid.

One selection criterion was that the four students had to have been previously active in higher education politics or were currently active in higher education policy. None of the interviewees should have deliberately ended the higher education political activity. Furthermore, the students should differ with regard to their educational background. Two of the interviewees had parents whose highest vocational qualification was a university degree and the other two come from parental homes where none of the parents had obtained a university degree. Concerning the selection of university group membership, it was important that the interviewees were active in university groups that had a visible political orientation that went beyond student representation of interests and the responsibilities enshrined in the Higher Education Act. For it can be assumed that the motivation between a more general, politically oriented university group and a simple electoral list, such as the economics list, differs solely by membership in these two different groups. Also, a certain similarity in the political orientation of the university groups was sought in the selection of the university groups, since, here too, it can be assumed that substantial differences in general policy could constitute a disruptive factor concerning the motivation for the commitment.

97

4. Results

This final section presents the main findings of the study using two hypotheses. The premises are the result of the comparison of several interviewees concerning their statements ⁱ in the respective categories. In the presentation of the results, the hypotheses developed are presented and then explained, revealing which correlations led to the generation of the latter.

(1) The educational background influences the political interest and higher education political activity of the students in different ways, depending on the extent to which they are provided with participation-relevant resources, and thus the probability of political recruitment successes.

The study revealed that all respondents were confronted with political content in different ways by their parents. This can be interpreted in the sense that the parental home is a factor that has influenced students in their higher education political activities. Since all respondents somehow talked to their parents about politics during their school years, it can be assumed that a minimum

degree of parental politicization is required in order to become highly politically active later in life. In the study, a comparison of the influence of parents on their own political development and participation showed that this tends to move in opposite directions. In part, the need for distinction was responsible for the development of one's own political interests, and parents and their political activities can be regarded as role models and inspiration at the same time. What is striking in the material is the connection between social origin and the mention of one's own parents. In a case in which the interviewee is very enthusiastic and well-informed on the political career of the parents, the educational background of both parents is academic, and the mother is the point of reference for the students' own discussion of political issues.

"My mother has been a city councillor for many years and so on and I just always had a lot of information. Erm, ... and always found it very interesting and so I would say that I was socialized there, very strongly so and then just saw in the university the possibility for me to join a university group quite barrier-free (...) yes exactly." (B4, 43-48)

This effect is increasingly weakened in the survey, with decreasing participation-relevant resources of the parents. In another case, the perceived political past life, based on the activities and arguments of the parents, differs sharply from the other interviewees. Despite the fact that the parents have the same formal academic qualifications, the parents with a migration background are hardly responsible for or involved in the political development of the interviewee in a similar way.

"Not at all, my parents always keep a low profile when it comes to politics. Maybe at the Sunday table one talks somehow (laughs) about political topics, but that's it, too, so (...) about political parties or so my parents keep out of it completely." (B3, 190-192)

This makes it clear that the usability of institutionalized cultural capital is context-dependent, and that cultural capital must therefore be transformed into other forms of capital, so that the reproduction process of social inequality does not have an effect (Bourdieu 1983: 191).

98

This small case study condenses the indications that resources relevant to participation play a unique role in the probability of participation in higher education politics. This is not particularly surprising, but it also shows that the gradual differences in the habitual spaces of possibility, with actually the same starting position in formal terms, promote the reproduction of social inequality. This impression is reinforced if one considers that the pre-university political interest and political activity is articulated in the analysis instead as a subcultural desire or in the sense of a lifestyle.

"Erm no, so not really. No, so I was (...) as a teenager ..., I was also in the left scene a bit active. I went to demonstrations for a bit, but that's because friends did it, ... not really intrinsically motivated". (B1, 88-90)

Participation in demonstrations against Nazi marches, a vegetarian lifestyle and ultimately acceptance among friends shows that there was initially only a diffuse political understanding. It is interesting to note that the interviewees had a more serious and consolidated interest in parties that did not show any complicity in injustice in the adolescence phase. The interest is partly connected with concrete career strategies. It makes sense that those political parties, that are considered responsible for legitimizing injustice through their policies, are not considered relevant and attractive by the interviewees. Accordingly, the educational background is an essential factor for the acceptance of higher education political activities, whereby it is preferably the individual's own motivation that is decisive as to whether the process of participation is positive.

(2) In particular, social grievances associated with external and personal experience motivate students to get involved in university policy.

As already mentioned, the motivation of the interviewees to get politically involved is marked by the grievances perceived by society. The interviewees show differences in the way that, if their ideas of university political commitment correlate with political career ideas, they found sustainability-related, examination-related and financial "grievances" in everyday student life interesting and addressed them.

"Well, I see some kind of grievances, on very different levels. So social grievances, for example, as far as our studies are concerned, the exams are concerned but also sustainability or financing and I just want to solve them as well as I can. That's the way it is and I simply enjoy it. I just have a lot of fun when dealing with people who are involved in higher education policy." (B1, 72-77)

Respondents who deal with general social grievances, some of which affect themselves, tend to be more politically involved in society as a whole, addressing issues such as "a good life" and "social justice".

"Is it in principle the case that one is forced to commit oneself sustainably and for the long-term in order to achieve at least small goals and help so many students at university perhaps to be a little more tolerant, ... and to create more opportunities to actually live out oneself on campus?" (B2, 88-91)

At this point, higher education political commitment is perceived as particularly meaningful and realistic. Concrete higher education policy issues tend to be pushed into the background, as there is hardly any room for these topics in the necessary scope of the committees of higher education politics. It must be pointed out that the case studies barely took into account the influence of political desirability and habitual imprints. In fact, it seems that the motivation for higher education political commitment can mainly be traced back to social mainstream issues such as gender, plurality, sustainability, etc. It became apparent that social and habitual influences increase the motivation for higher education political commitment and that in the cases which described the way in which this is done the motivation is strongly dependent on one's own educational background. Determined and objective approaches in party-related youth organizations are to be found above all among students with clear career ideas and a slightly lower educational background. In the case of people with socio-economic, social and political experiences of discrimination, the way in which they engage themselves in higher education politics is more influenced by the world in which they live and serves as an early means of networking with like-minded people. The duration of commitment to higher education politics is the same for all interviewees. Most respondents describe their commitment as very important for their own development and the professionalization of committee activities.

99

That makes you (...) somehow happy that you can do it. (...) and yes just somehow uncovering grievances." (B1, 233)

"I think I can help myself a lot later, sitting for a very long time through long sessions." (B3, 315-316)

"For me it offers very much thematically, because I also have this (...) this whole aspect, of the (...) of the (...) of the organization, structure (...) yes management with it and that one can learn a lot, naturally, in university politics (B4, 204-207).

The practice of higher education politics has a weakening effect on the interviewees, but almost everyone appreciates the practiced form of democratic decision-making. In addition, there are debates on topics that do not receive any attention in the university context, such as thinking about post-growth economies or social changes in the context of the migration movement.

5. Conclusion

How do students at Otto-von-Guericke University Magdeburg become active in university policy? The empirical results show clearly that they become active in the field of political participation because they can do it, because they want to and because they are asked to.

In the area of **ability**, the predominantly "very good" financial situation of the interviewees was particularly impressive. Only one of the interviewees rated his financial situation as significantly worse than the others, which probably also had an effect on the associated burdening perception of higher education commitment. The factor of the existence of a migration background also seemed to have an influence in the study on the pre-university political knowledge with which the students went into their higher education political activities. If the area of **willingness** is considered, it is particularly noticeable that respondents with a lack of academic background on the part of their parents had to show more interest and willingness of their own to become active in higher education policy than students with academically educated parents. Students whose parents had obtained a university degree were also **asked** whether they wanted to become active in higher education politics.

The recruitment came mainly from the circle of friends and acquaintances, whose members were usually already active in university politics and had organized themselves into a university group. This point was not addressed in the interviews with the two interviewees, who came from a non-academic family. From this insight, it can be concluded that even within university politics, the same students tend to become politically active and thus the same political habitus is reproduced repeatedly. This leads to the assumption that political inequality, which in turn is based on social inequality, is reinforced in the course of the studies. However, it can also be seen from the interviews that higher education political activity does not seem to be utterly unattainable to students with a non-academic parental home, since two of the interviewees emerged from such parental homes. However, this aspect can be traced back to the fact that a prior interest was combined with strong willpower on the part of the interviewees and that particular hurdles in getting involved were thus able to be overcome. The extent to which students with low political interest from non-academic families are given the opportunity to become active is the goal of future studies. On the basis of the empirical results available, it can be seen that students from non-academic parental homes are probably less likely to become active than students whose parents have obtained a university degree. However, there are still no empirical findings on the composition of student representatives. Further studies would now have to clarify the composition of student representation along socio-demographic variables.

100

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i The complete transcripts as well as the text tables of the content-structured analysis can be requested from the authors. For reasons of space, no larger paraphrases or interview excerpts could be placed in this article. The interview passages for this article were translated into English.



Hsuan-Jen Chen (Taiwan)

Towards a Safe and Respectful Campus: Perspectives of Multicultural Education

Abstract: *This paper argues that multicultural education is an essential way of creating a safe and respectful campus. Examined from the perspective of power relations, schools are viewed as a site that helps maintain existing power relations by reinforcing the assimilation ideology. A drawback of this is that only one set of perspectives is valued. As a result, students who are not part of the norm are more likely to be treated unfairly in school. This may impose a negative effect on their learning as school is not a safe environment for them. To create a safe and respectful campus, multicultural education has to be incorporated as it helps students foster multiple perspectives and learn to embrace diversity. This paper first defines multicultural education. Secondly, it illustrates why multicultural issues should be examined in the framework of power relations. Then, it focuses on exploring the assimilation ideology and the role schools play in the process of assimilation. In this section, it analyzes how students are endangered by assimilation, and the case of the Yeh Yong-Zi event in Taiwan is also examined. Finally, it discusses in what ways multicultural education could help establish a safe and respectful campus culture.*

Keywords: *multicultural education, assimilation, safe and respectful campus*

概要 (Hsuan-Jen Chen: 迈向一个更加安全的、充满尊重的校园之路：多元文化教育的视角)：

本文将多元文化教育描述为一条创建更加安全和充满尊重的校园环境的重要途径。从权力行为的角度来看，学校是一个通过强化同化的意识形态来帮助维持现有行为的场所。问题是并非所有的视角都得以被评估。因此，不属于该标准的学生在学校受到了不公平的待遇。这将对学习产生负面的影响，因为学校对于他们来说不是一个安全的地方。为了创建一个更加安全的、充满尊重的校园环境，必须有多元文化教育的融入。它有助于学生领会并拓展更加宽广的视角，并学会接受多样性。本文首先定义了多元文化教育。其次，它阐释了为什么在权力行为的背景下应当研究多元文化的问题。之后，探究同化意识形态和学校在同化过程中的作用。本文还分析了学生如何受到同化的威胁，并对台湾 Yeh Yong-Zi 事件进行了分析。最后，文章讨论了多元文化教育如何能够帮助建立一个更安全的和充满尊重的校园文化。

关键词：多元文化教育，同化，融合，更加安全并充满尊重的校园

Zusammenfassung (Hsuan-Jen Chen: Auf dem Weg zu einem sicheren und respektvollen Campus: Perspektiven der multikulturellen Bildung): Dieser Artikel beschreibt multikulturelle Bildung als wesentlichen Weg zur Schaffung eines sicheren und respektvollen Campus. Aus der Perspektive der Machtverhältnisse betrachtet, sind Schulen ein Ort, der hilft, bestehende Verhältnisse aufrechtzuerhalten, indem er die Ideologie der Assimilation verstärkt. Ein Problem dabei ist, dass nicht alle Perspektiven bewertet werden. Infolgedessen werden Schüler, die nicht Teil der Norm sind, in der Schule eher ungerecht behandelt. Dies kann sich negativ auf das Lernen auswirken, da die Schule für sie keine sichere Umgebung darstellt. Um einen sicheren und respektvollen Campus zu schaffen, muss multikulturelle Bildung integriert werden. Sie hilft den Schülern, mehrere Perspektiven zu fördern und zu lernen, Vielfalt zu akzeptieren. Dieser Artikel definiert zunächst die multikulturelle Bildung als solche. Zweitens veranschaulicht er, warum multikulturelle Fragen im Rahmen der Machtverhältnisse untersucht werden sollten. Danach erfolgt eine Betrachtung der Assimilationsideologie und der Rolle der Schulen im Prozess der Assimilation. In diesem Abschnitt wird analysiert, wie Schüler durch Assimilation gefährdet sind, und der Fall des Yeh Yong-Zi Ereignisses in Taiwan wird ebenfalls untersucht. Schließlich wird diskutiert, auf welche Weise multikulturelle Bildung dazu beitragen könnte, eine sichere und respektvolle Campuskultur zu etablieren.

Schlüsselwörter: multikulturelle Bildung, Assimilation, Integration, sicherer und respektvoller Campus

Аннотация (Хсуан-Йен Чен: Как создать школьное пространство, в котором ученику будет комфортно и где его будут уважать как личность? Перспективы поликультурного образования): В данной статье описывается поликультурное образование как значимый фактор, влияющий на комфортное пребывание ученика в школе и позволяющий ему чувствовать себя в ней личностью. Если рассматривать проблему под углом дискурса власти, то школы являются той структурой, которая помогает поддерживать существующий порядок вещей за счет укрепления идеологии ассимиляции. Проблема же заключается в том, что оцениваются не все перспективы этого процесса. Из-за этого ученики, не вписывающиеся в «норму», в школе чаще испытывают к себе несправедливое отношение. Это может негативно сказаться на успеваемости учеников, поскольку в этом случае школа не будет являться для них комфортным пространством. Для создания этой комфортной среды и для того, чтобы ребенок чувствовал уважение к себе как к личности, необходимо встраивать концепцию поликультурного образования. Поликультурное образование поможет ученикам раскрыться и научит их быть толерантными. В начале статьи дается определение поликультурного образования. Затем обосновывается, почему вопросы поликультурного образования должны рассматриваться в контексте дискурса власти. В последующем рассматриваются идеология ассимиляции и роль школы в процессе ассимиляции. В данной части анализируется, каким опасностям подвержены школьники в процессе ассимиляции, а также исследуются события в Тайване, связанные с делом Йе Юн-Ци. В заключении приводятся различные точки зрения на то, каким образом поликультурное образование может помочь в создании безопасного и толерантного школьного пространства.

Ключевые слова: поликультурное образование, ассимиляция, интеграция, безопасное и толерантное школьное пространство

Introduction

Schooling is an important process of socialization. Existing and functioning within social contexts, school and its curriculum not only reflect power relations in society but also transmit ideologies of the dominant culture. Hence, schools tend to reproduce the current social structure. The cultures and ideologies of the subordinate groups are often ignored in school. As a result, students who are not part of the norm are more likely to be treated unfairly in school. An extreme example of this is school bullying. It may impose a negative effect on students' learning as school is no longer a safe environment for them. This study explored how to build a safe and respectful campus through the lens of critical theory. In contrast to quantitative studies that highlight hypothesis testing, this study emphasized the construction of a conceptual framework illustrating why multicultural education provides a possible solution to discrimination and violence on campus.

Critical theory is an important theoretical construct that shapes my perceptions of the social condition. Compared with the other two social science traditions, i.e., positivism and interpretive theory (hermeneutics), critical theory is similar to hermeneutics in terms of reality and value. For positivism, social reality exists objectively; therefore, the researcher has to use scientific measurements to figure out the structure or the laws governing the reality. For hermeneutics and critical theory, social reality can be understood by interacting with the subject involved. In other words, positivists believe the researcher has to be value-free or value-neutral when conducting a study, whereas hermeneutic and critical theorists recognize the value-laden aspect of inquiry and inquirers (Ashley & Orenstein, 2005; Creswell, 2012). Although critical theory shares similar perspectives with hermeneutics in certain aspects, it moves beyond hermeneutics as it expresses an interest in emancipation (Ashely & Orenstein, 2005). Critical theory is morally passionate (Ashely & Orenstein, 2005). For critical theorists, reality is socially constructed; yet, people are not always aware of the process producing the reality and the rules they live by, which creates an obstacle for them to make sense of their life experiences. To remove such an obstacle, critical theory critiques how particular social institutions constrain people to act and to identify themselves. It thus has an interest in analyzing how particular ideas help sustain authoritative relations that are inherently

unjust and repressive (Ashely & Orenstein, 2005). These critical theory approaches are revealed in this study.

This study is essentially a theoretical inquiry, attempting to develop a plausible conceptual framework that is capable of offering insight, enhancing understanding and providing a meaningful guide to action (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Such a goal is close to the notion of normative theory proposed by Eisner (2001) in his discussion of curriculum theories. Eisner made a distinction between normative and descriptive theory. Concerned with articulation and justification of a set of values, normative theory aims at providing “a persuasive case for the value of a particular end of state of being” (ibid., p. 35). Descriptive theory, on the other hand, attempting to explain, predict or control the events of the world, can best be exemplified by theories in natural science. The conceptual framework I attempt to establish in this study is similar to normative theory. Through examining culture and power relations, I strive to judge the value of promoting multiculturalism in the school curriculum. Therefore, in this paper, I first defined the term *multicultural education*. Second, I located multicultural and cultural issues in the framework of power relations. Third, I examined what kinds of role schools play in maintaining existing power relations and how this impacts students and their safety when they are on campus. Then, I discussed in which way multicultural education is essential for creating a safe and respectful campus, which is especially important for those culturally diverse students.

Multicultural Education

Multicultural education is a popular term which educators use increasingly to describe education policies and practices that recognize and accept human differences and similarities in race, social class, handicap, gender and sexual orientation (Sleeter and Grant, 2007). Based on a review of the literature on multicultural education, Gollnick (1980) has described multicultural education as aiming at promoting cultural diversity, human rights, alternative life choices, social justice and equal opportunity for all people, and equity in the distribution of power among groups. In short, it recognizes the difference existing among different people and different groups. It also emphasizes the importance of respecting those who are different from oneself. After all, it is the difference that constitutes this diverse world.

According to Tatum (2003), human diversity stands out in seven categories, including race, social class, gender, religion, sexual orientation, age, and physical or mental ability. In each category, there are usually two groups: dominant and subordinate. The dominant groups are “systematically advantaged by the society because of group membership” (Tatum, 2003, p. 22); vice versa, the subordinate groups are systematically disadvantaged or even discriminated against. Based on this understanding, each individual is likely to be dominant in certain categories and subordinate in others. Yet, certain categories can be more conspicuous than others due to the environment and personal experiences. Those categories usually stand out as one’s major identity. As Tatum (2003) pointed out, it is usually the categories where one is subordinate that stands out. In a little experiment Tatum conducted, she found that when it comes to do a self-description, men usually would not mention their gender, but women would; heterosexual people would not indicate their sexual orientation, but non-heterosexual people would. The result seems to suggest that members of the dominant groups do not have to deal with the inconvenience of not belonging to the dominant groups, so they simply view their advantageous status as the norm and it usually goes unexamined. On the other hand, one is often conscious of one’s subordinate identities. For example, a white, middle class female might first identify herself as female when she is among a group of white, middle class males.

Multicultural education aims at embracing human differences, so no one would be discriminated against simply because he or she is not part of the norm. When multiculturalism is promoted in schools and in society, it helps culturally diverse students to realize that it is okay to be different

from the dominant group and their being different does not imply inferiority. Being different would not deprive people of their rights of receiving education. This is the core of multicultural education, namely, to promote educational equity for all. To achieve this goal, educators need to be open to human differences and try to understand what culture is and what elements we should examine if we want to better understand culture? There are various definitions of culture. In this paper, culture is discussed based on the notion of power relations from the perspective of critical theory.

Culture and Power

Culture controls our daily lives in many unsuspected or taken-for-granted ways. Hall (2000) argued, "Culture hides much more than it reveals, and strangely enough what it hides, it hides most effectively from its own participants" (p. 82). According to Hall (2000), individuals who want to understand their culture need to study their own lives, their ways of thinking, and their position in relation to others. Traditional discussions of culture are typically disassociated from power. Culture is defined in the dictionary of sociology as "the accumulated store of symbols, ideas, and material products associated with a social system, whether it be an entire society or a family" (Johnson, 2000, 73). In a definition like this, culture tends to be reduced to a set of artifacts, detaching culture from power relations, thus failing to recognize how culture is reproduced and manifested in social relations (Giroux, 1988; McLaren, 2015).

Created by human beings, culture cannot be detached from human activities and social relations (Giroux, 1988; McLaren, 2015). Culture is much more than concrete artifacts such as food, clothing, and customs. Culture influences "the particular ways in which a social group lives and makes sense of its 'given' circumstances and conditions of life" (McLaren, 2015, p. 160). Individuals belonging to particular social groups inevitably have to interact with other social groups. As a member of society, an individual is engaged in interactions with other individuals in the society, with individuals who represent public institutions, in the work place, in recreational activities, as well as with family and friends. Through the various kinds of interactions individuals have, they build social relations that become part of their culture.

Social relations exist simultaneously with power relations. When different social groups live side by side, common rules are set up, by those with power, by which all are supposed to abide. Those who decide the rules, tend to create rules for behaviors that are acceptable to them. In this context, power is the ability to impose one's will on others. Power is also related to each cultural group's positionality, namely, the degree of respect one group receives in society (Marshall, 2002). One group's power and positionality determine the degree of adaptation its members have to undergo as they attempt to assimilate into the mainstream culture. If one group possesses power and its culture resembles that of the mainstream, the degree of adaptation its members need to make will be relatively low. In contrast, groups whose cultures are different from the mainstream possess less power and need to make more adaptation to be accepted in the mainstream. This is actually related to the distinction between the dominant and the subordinate groups (McLaren, 2015).

From the perspective of power relations, individuals occupy different social positions. Those in a similar position usually form a common culture. Any given society is constituted by various social groups; therefore, the structures, material practices, and lived relations typically demonstrate a combination of both dominant and subordinate cultures (Darder, 2012; Giroux, 2001; McLaren, 2015). McLaren defined a dominant culture as "social practices and representations that affirm the central values, interests, and concerns of the social class in control of the material and symbolic wealth of society" (McLaren, 2015, p. 161). Take the United States for example. Generally, in the United States, the dominant groups are those who are predominately white. These groups control politics, economics, media, and state and federal educational policy by setting up rules to regulate the behaviors of others (McLaren, 2015; Tatum, 2003). Subordinate cultures exist in subordination to the dominant culture (Darder, 2012; McLaren, 2015). The dominant culture legitimizes the values

and interest of dominant groups, and dominant ideologies marginalize and negate what constitutes the essential elements of the subordinate culture such as its cultural values, heritage, language, and lived experiences. Such an understanding toward the difference between dominant and subordinate cultures leads us to explore further: what kind of role does school play in the unequal power relations?

School and Assimilation

As part of the dominant cultural institutions, school is often an important agent for maintaining existing power relations because it emphasizes that every student should accommodate the dominant cultural model (Grant & Ladson-Billings, 1997; Nieto & Bode, 2011; Olsen, 2008). As a result, the psyche of the students of the subordinate group, such as students with lower socio-economic status or non-heterosexual students, is left untended (MacLeod, 2004; Tatum, 2003). How can schools overcome the existing dominant ideology and teach students from subordinate groups to value their being different from the dominant culture and to develop a positive sense of self? In this section, I first examined the notion of assimilation and its connection with power relations. Then, I discussed how schools promote assimilation. Lastly, the impact of the assimilation ideology on students, especially those who do not conform to dominant cultural norms or images, was explored.

Assimilation vs. Integration

Assimilation, which emphasizes absorbing members of subordinate groups into “the social structures and cultural life of another person, group, or society” (Grant & Ladson-Billings, 1997, p. 24), typically leads to partial or total replacement of the home culture with the new culture. The English-only or the official English movement that advocates legislating English as the official language of the United States reveals the prevalence of an assimilation ideology (Thomas, 1996). Applied in the context of schooling, assimilation means adopting the dominant cultural ways of life by learning to eat, dress, talk, and behave in a way acceptable to the dominant culture (Nieto & Bode, 2011; Olsen, 2008).

Assimilation ideology is more likely to develop a monocultural society, where subordinate cultures are not valued as much as the dominant culture (Gordon, 1964). In contrast is the notion of integration, in which individuals from subordinate groups manage to retain their cultural identity and learn to value the dominant culture simultaneously (Berry, 1997). As integration signifies contact and identification with both home culture and new culture, it is usually considered as a better model of adaptation (Ryabichenko & Lebedeva, 2016).

The American historian, Arthur Schlesinger’s (1998) book, *The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society*, expresses the insecurities vis-à-vis the increasing diversity in the United States. Although Schlesinger recognized that “America was multiethnic from the start” (p. 15), he insisted the importance of maintaining the historical conception of America as a melting pot. In the conception of the melting pot, the differences of race, religion, wealth, and nationality are submerged in the exercise of democracy or civil principles. Schlesinger believed the melting pot conception is essential in reducing the differences among different groups. He perceived validating the existence of various ethnic groups as separatism that “nourishes prejudices, magnifies differences, and stirs antagonisms” (p. 22). Schlesinger supported his perspectives by connecting the disuniting of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia with the ethnic diversity within these countries. Schlesinger called ethnic groups’ standing up for civil rights in the United States an “ethnic upsurge” (p. 49) and a threat to the Anglocentric culture. He stated,

The ethnic upsurge (it can hardly be called a revival because it was unprecedented) began as a gesture of protest against the Anglocentric culture. It became a cult, and today it threatens to become a counter-revolution against the original theory of America as “one people,” a common culture, a single nation. (Schlesinger, 1998, p. 49)

Schlesinger contradicted himself by making this statement as he claimed he believed America is a multiethnic nation from the beginning. If different ethnic groups have to forfeit who they are to become American, then America would be transformed into a mono-cultural country. Additionally, Schlesinger viewed ethnic diversity as a source of ethnic conflicts that would disunite America as they did in the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia. Schlesinger expressed extreme insecurities over diversity.

Assimilation and Power Relations

The notion of assimilation can be clarified more if analyzed from the perspective of societal power relations. As two cultural groups come together, their cultural influences on each other largely depends on each group's position in societal power relations (Darder, 2012; Giroux, 1988). If both groups possess a similar or equal social status, the cultural influence between the two groups is more likely to be bidirectional (Darder, 2012). This means that acculturation is more likely to occur as each cultural group adapts to the beliefs and traditions of the other group without losing its own cultural integrity (Grant & Ladson-Billings, 1997). On the other hand, if a power differential exists between the two cultural groups, the cultural influence typically moves from the more powerful group toward the less powerful one, rather than bidirectionally (Darder, 2012). For example, between dominant and subordinate groups, it is the subordinate groups that have to adapt to the dominant culture in order to fit into the mainstream. In that process of adaptation, if they are able to maintain their own family or ethnic group beliefs and traditions while integrating dominant values, beliefs, and patterns of beliefs, they acculturate themselves into the dominant culture without losing their ethnic culture. Yet, this is usually difficult to achieve. Rather, the subordinate groups' adaptation to the dominant culture is often accompanied by their gradual loss of their own cultural integrity (Darder, 2012). Assimilation is not an issue that bothers the dominant groups. Possessing the privileges of being a dominant group, individuals would not have to think about assimilating themselves into the dominant culture because they are the dominant culture, they are the norm (McIntosh, 2000; Tatum, 2003).

Assimilation implies the acceptance of one set of cultural values as the preferred standard (Gordon, 1964). In the process of conforming to the dominant culture, the subordinate groups also internalize the values of the dominant group. Superficially, it is to the subordinate groups' benefit to accept the cultural values of the dominant group to succeed in the dominant culture. Paulo Freire (2000), the Brazilian philosopher and educator, used the term the oppressor and the oppressed to describe the relationship between dominant and subordinate groups in his book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Freire (2000) stated,

One of the basic elements of the relationship between oppressor and oppressed is prescription. Every prescription represents the imposition of one individual's choice upon another, transforming the consciousness of the person prescribed to into one that conforms with the prescriber's consciousness. Thus, the behavior of the oppressed is a prescribed behavior, following as it does the guidelines of the oppressor. (Freire, 2000, pp. 46-47)

Using the term prescription, Freire referred to rules. The oppressor is the one who sets up rules for the community or the society to follow. By requiring the oppressed to abide by the rules, the oppressor imposes his or her will/world perspectives on the oppressed. This explains how

assimilation functions to the benefit of the oppressor. As the oppressed assimilate themselves to the dominant culture, the dominant culture will be consolidated. The status of the dominant group can thus be easily maintained as the oppressed internalize the dominant cultural values and think in the same way as the dominant group. Now, the question is: what is the connection between school and students' assimilation process into the dominant culture?

The Role of Schooling

On the top of the assimilation prerequisite is language ability. Becoming English speaking characterizes an important aspect of many immigrant students' assimilation into American society. To them, being American is synonymous with becoming English speaking (Olsen, 2008). This is also reflected in American public policy and is especially noticeable in formal school policy and program design. Hence, one of the important educational tasks is becoming English speaking (Olsen, 2008; Thomas & Cao, 1999).

As the English language is used as the medium of instruction in schools, young immigrant students quickly switch to the English language once they start attending schools, even if the literacy of the ethnic language is developed. Jiang (1997) conducted a study about the biliteracy development of a Chinese boy, Ty who moved to America at the age of four. With the efforts of Ty's parents, Ty developed abilities of reading and writing in Chinese early in his childhood, before his formal school education. His English literacy started to boom after he entered elementary school. Ty demonstrated early biliteracy in Chinese and English. Yet, due to the lack of a meaningful language use context, Ty's ability to write his first language, Chinese, deteriorated rapidly by the end of his second-grade year. Ty's literacy in Chinese was largely constructed by his memorization and continuous practice. Other than in his home, there were few opportunities for him to use Chinese to communicate with others. Also, his schoolwork placed a heavy demand on his acquiring English. His biliteracy became fragile. Within two years of schooling, Ty had switched to English as his preferred language.

In Laurie Olsen's (2008) study about immigrant students in an American public school, she observed that in the process of Americanization, immigrant students have to learn English and give up their native language; learn the American way of eating, dressing, behaving, and dating and giving up ways of living in their native culture; and they must learn to identify themselves in the American racial spectrum and give up their national identity. In order to become American, immigrants have to forfeit who they really are and embrace the American dominant cultural standards. Under the pressure of assimilation, immigrant students in Olsen's study were worried about: "how American can I be and still be me" (ibid., p. 44). This suggests that Anglo-conformity ideology remains powerful in American society and overshadows the immigrants' life as they can sense the pressure for them to disassociate with their past. Olsen observed,

Learning English is a fundamental requirement for acceptance and participation in an English-taught curriculum and English-dominant social world. Teachers, immigrant students, and native U.S.-born students alike, all agree that to be American one must speak English. (Olsen, p. 91)

If immigrant students cannot speak English well, they tend to believe their inability to speak English prevents them from being real Americans (ibid.).

Beyond what is overtly expressed in the curriculum planning, students also learn in the schooling process their social roles (e.g., gender roles) and attitudes toward various aspects of life. This part of the curriculum, usually unrecognized by students, is categorized as the hidden curriculum. To define the hidden curriculum, McLaren (2015) stated,

The hidden curriculum deals with the tacit ways in which knowledge and behavior get constructed, outside the usual course materials and formally scheduled lessons. It is a part of the bureaucratic and managerial “press” of the school—the combined forces by which students are induced to comply with the dominant ideologies and social practices related to authority, behavior, and morality. (McLaren, 2015, p. 147)

Often unstated and covert, the hidden curriculum is revealed in what is assumed to be standard or important in the context of schooling. Through the hidden curriculum, the values of the dominant culture are transmitted to students of diverse backgrounds. In schools the hidden curriculum can be found when heroes are introduced and heroines are excluded; when female students are assumed to do less well in math and sciences; when students of color are placed in the lower track, regardless of their academic abilities (McLaren, 2015; Wink, 2010). The hidden curriculum reflects how sociocultural dynamics impact the schooling process even though most people are not consciously aware of it (McLaren, 2015). Consequently, in order to explore how schooling assimilates students into the dominant culture, it is necessary to move beyond the level of content-knowledge only. The sociocultural context of schooling serves as an even more powerful text (McLaren, 2015).

Assimilation and Campus Safety

As stated earlier, when assimilation is emphasized, the psyche of the students of the subordinate group is left untended. In the long run, this may lead to their lack of a positive sense of self. An immediate effect of being different from the norm is verbal bullying from the peers. If students are continually harassed in school because of their clothes, their size or family income, school would cannot be a welcoming place where learning takes place (Harrison, 2005). Instead, going to school can become a nightmare. In some cases, the verbal harassment is intensified into violence. Either verbal harassment or physical violence turns a campus into an unsafe place.

The Yeh Yong-Zi event in Taiwan was an extreme example of campus violence. In the spring of 2000, a ninth-grade male student at a junior high school in Pingtung County was found lying unconscious in the school toilet, in a pool of blood. That was Yeh Yong-Zi, a student who demonstrated a great deal of feminine characteristics as a teenage boy: he spoke gently; he enjoyed cooking, singing, knitting and chatting with female classmates. These qualities turned him into a target of physical attack and bullying. He was constantly harassed by other male students, especially when he was using the school toilets. As a result, Yeh Yong-Zi was afraid of going to the school toilets by himself. He would only go there when no-one was there, either before a class dismissed or after a class started (Bih, 2006).

The tragedy happened one morning, five minutes before a music class dismissed. As usual, Yeh Yong-Zi asked for his teacher’s permission to leave as he needed to go to the toilet. He never returned. He was found lying unconscious in the school toilet during the class break. After being sent to hospital, he passed away the next morning.

Yeh’s death initiated a lot of discussions on gender equality. According to the court judgment, Yeh’s accident was caused by the slipperiness in the school toilet. Yet, what needs to be explored further is why this young boy would avoid school toilets. Discrimination and violence against Yeh’s femininity turned the campus into an insecure place where Yeh eventually lost his life.

The assimilation ideology aims at educating individuals to behave and to perceive the world similarly. Because of the assimilation ideology, being different is not valued. Rather, students are humiliated or degraded because they are different. In Yeh Yong-Zi’s case, the dominant culture was the mainstream masculine value (Bih, 2006). As Yeh did not fit into the traditional masculine image, he was teased and harassed in the school. Such a situation should be and could be avoided.

Promoting multicultural education is a possible answer to an unsafe campus caused by the assimilation ideology.

Creating a Safe and Respectful Campus through Multicultural Education

Multicultural education can help create a safe and respectful campus mainly because of its nature. Banks (2010) stated, "Multicultural education is at least three things: an idea or concept, an educational reform movement, and a process" (p. 3). A central belief of multicultural education is that all students should have equal opportunities to learn in school, no matter what their ethnicity, social class, gender, and religion are. However, school, like a miniature society, also structures students into different social and cultural groups. As the assimilation ideology is imposed, the students who do not belong to the dominant groups have to learn to become someone they are not. In the United States, English is spoken as the main medium of instruction. In order to succeed academically, immigrant or ethnic students who focus on learning English are likely to lose their native tongues, which, after all, are not valued in school (Olsen, 2008; Thomas & Cao, 1999). In Taiwan, Mandarin is spoken as the official language. Those whose mother tongue is Mandarin begin to learn the language from Day 1 after birth while those who do not speak Mandarin at home finally learn the language when they attend school. Are some students in a more advantageous status than others? The answer is positive. Those who do not speak Mandarin at home are apparently less advantageous. They might struggle at the beginning of school life. In addition, these students' accents are more likely to be teased. Rather than trying to blame someone for the situation, it is probably more constructive to understand such situations and events as part of the societal power structure, so that it is important to educate students to respect different accents as a way to create a safer and more respectful learning environment.

Aiming at promoting social justice, multicultural education emphasizes tolerance of differences among people (Nieto & Bode, 2011). It is difficult to find two totally identical persons. Thus, being different should become more widely accepted and tolerated. When we view someone as being different, we actually judge from a set of standards in our mind. What are the standards? Who sets up the standards? Are the standards part of the norm and the dominant culture? If so, in whose interest are the standards set up?

As a baby boomer, James (2003) used to think Miss America was always white and black females' beauty was not as valuable. She constructed these conceptions based on the messages she received from the media. Yet, in the process of her identity development, she incorporated various frames of reference, including family stories from her father's side, mother's side, and her personal experiences interacting with society. By comparing and contrasting these different perspectives, James was able to detect the contradiction and get rid of the misconception embedded in each perspective. For example, James's family stories helped her recognize that the negative images toward blacks in the media were not true.

James's experience in identity development illustrates the importance of fostering multiple perspectives when examining any incident, which is a notion greatly promoted by multicultural education (Spring, 2000). By multiple perspectives, I refer to adopting different perspectives from various sources. If students understand the existence of multiple perspectives, they can see that it is okay to be different from the norm and their being different does not imply inferiority. This way, students would not hurt or humiliate someone simply because the person is different.

This world is diverse in nature. The ideology of assimilation penetrates the educational experiences of the subordinate groups (Olsen, 2008). Based on Freire's (2000) concept of oppressors vs. the oppressed, assimilation is in the interest of the oppressor, members of dominant groups. Because of assimilation, the oppressed, members of subordinate groups, easily stand out and become the

target of verbal bullying or physical violence. To change the situation, the mentality toward being different should be transformed. We should learn to respect human rights by accepting diversity in various aspects of life rather than judging an individual based on dominant cultural values. If multicultural education is promoted, both educators and students are more capable of thinking outside the box. They would become more tolerant towards various forms of diversity. This way, assimilation would not be the only way of life, and people could be who they are. With multicultural education, a safer and more respectful campus is created for learning to take place.

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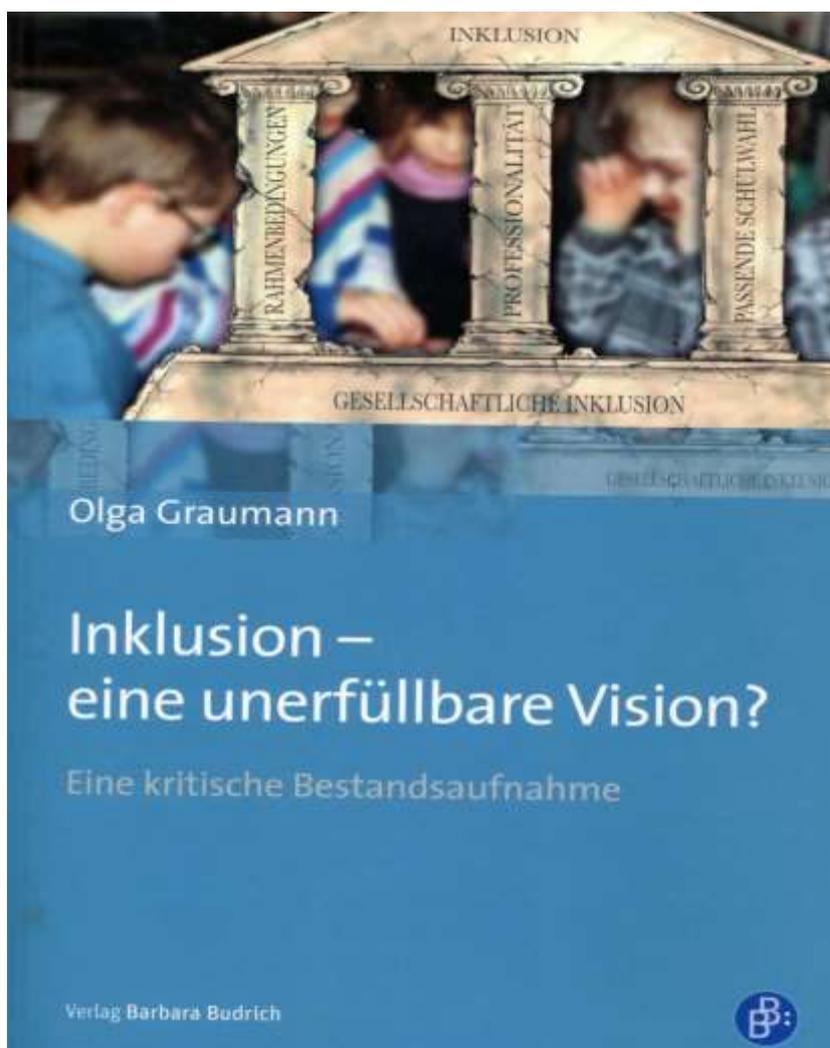
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Book Review by Ulf Algermissen

Olga Graumann (2018). *Inklusion – eine unerfüllbare Vision? Eine kritische Bestandsaufnahme.* [Inclusion - an unattainable vision? A critical inventory.] Berlin/Toronto: Budrich. 303 pp., ISBN 978-3-8474-2231-0 (Paperback)



How to deal with inclusion? For many years, Prof. em. Dr. Dr. h.c. Olga Graumann worked in pedagogical and educational research and taught pedagogics at the University of Hildesheim. As a former special education teacher, challenging fringe areas of pedagogy are particularly close to her heart. She always encouraged her students to think of their own role not just as tutors but also as parts of complex personal teacher-student relationships. Integrative work, such as group formation and the encouragement and guidance of cooperative action are therefore always regarded as a general purpose of educational work. Thus, with her publications and her practical work, she was over years at the center of the integration movement. With the book “Inklusion – eine unerfüllbare Vision?” she is critically concerned with the further development of the special education discussion.

The developments in institutional special education in the early 1970s caused an apparent homogenization of the students. Criticism of this approach is not new: Even representatives of the progressive education movement (Reformpädagogik) of the 1920s suggested non-segregating solutions to deal with special challenges. The critical pedagogy of the 1970s and the comprehensive school movement took up these ideas of one school for all. Nevertheless, it took four decades for educational policy to focus on non-selective education. Graumann works towards the goal of measuring the current implementation of inclusive education in terms of demands based on progressive (reform pedagogical) and special educational experiences.

Based on case vignettes of successful integration (chap. 1.5), she derives aspects which are suitable to rethink school from the point of view of the impaired children as a safe living and learning space. With this view into integrative pedagogics, she opens up the field of reference to which inclusive work must continue to refer: open forms of teaching, individual learning support, reconstructive diagnostics, constructivist views of learning and teaching concepts are presented in detail in their meaning for integrative action (chap. 3.1).

The author then devotes special attention to the theoretical concepts of the Geneva School (Jean Piaget), the cultural history school, Dewey's pedagogy and the Visible Learning approach (chap. 3.3). The following section on "Participation and Democracy" shows values that affect every educational activity. Without appreciation, tolerance and consideration, no school can be a place where someone likes to live and learn.

A special and very up-to-date section (chap 3.4) deals with teacher professionalisation. From a humanistic view, the author takes on the approach of integrative responsibility of teachers. For example, she expects teachers to understand behavioral problems as relationship problems and not to push off this responsibility to school social workers. Referring to Oevermann, Graumann establishes claims not to regard conflicts as unilateral problems in the child's actions. From this perspective, she demands a change in teacher education that stresses relationship aspects in contrast to mere teaching aspects. There is no problem child, there is a human being. Therefore students should be able to learn about the socio-educational and therapeutic dimensions and foundations of interdisciplinary cooperation during their education. In a section on working in migration contexts (chap. 3.4.5) Graumann underlines the need to recognize personal experiences that determine the practice as historical and relative.

Another focus of the book is supported by voices of school authorities themselves (chap 4): "Inclusion from the perspective of those affected". Now one can ask if the word affected is an appropriate description of the relationship between the school and its agents. However, the word summarizes the statements of school administrators, teachers and parents, interviewed about their experiences with inclusive schooling. It becomes apparent that inclusive schools in many cases doesn't manage to give adequate support for the individual child. Special support interventions seem to be ineffectively organized until now. The chapter provokes critical thinking.

In addition to reporting relevant research results and empirical findings, Graumann develops fundamental aspects which can contribute to a successful implementation of inclusive learning environments (chap. 5). Special Educational Competence, Team Teaching, integration assistance and interior design are examined as conditions of success for integrative work.

The book does also contain a DVD. The elementary school "Eichendorff-Schule" in Bielefeld has a long tradition of successful integrative and now inclusive work. The film shows a pedagogical setting that gives you hope and shows how successfully established inclusive school life has the potential to make its actor happy. Integrative work by truly committed colleagues shapes a living and learning space in an enjoyable and expedient way.

The book shows how enlightening a historical view can be, for the pragmatically conducted discussion about school and social inclusion. Even for parents of disabled children, this is a readable book to help in making a decision or choice of schools. Offering a set of reference theories

from social psychology and sociology (chap. 3), it is an informative and extensive compendium for students and teachers of all disciplines who want to gain a more thorough overview of the persistently difficult relationship between general education and special education. A book that enriches the discussion and that has been missing.

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Book Reviews by Hein Retter

Timo Jacobs & Susanne Herker (Hrsg.) (2018). *Jenaplan-Pädagogik in Konzeption und Praxis. Perspektiven für eine moderne Schule. Ein Werkbuch*. Baltmannsweiler: Schneider Verlag Hohengehren. 556 pages, ISBN 978-3-8340-1716-1; 36 €.

Germany is one of those countries of the western world where the public (state) education system is strongly dominant. On the other hand, a larger number of schools exists with a special concept of teaching and learning - a pedagogical alternative to public education. This does not exclude that some reform concepts also found their way into the public education system. Emerging from the international movement of so-called "New Education" in the first three decades of the 20th century, such schools work, for example, according to the pedagogical concept of Maria Montessori (1870-1952), Rudolf Steiner (1856-1925), Célestin Freinet (1896-1966), Hermann Lietz (1868-1919), Helen Parkhurst (1887-1973). Emerging from the school reform movement 100 years ago, such schools today, certainly have an increase of pupils. The concepts have been further developed pedagogically, but are still significantly linked to the basic idea of their historical starting point.

This applies in particular to the practical pedagogy of Peter Petersen (1884-1952), the reform educator who taught educational science at the University of Jena from 1923 to 1950. As a successor to the famous Herbartian Wilhelm Rein (1847-1929), he developed a new concept of school at the University of Jena, which soon found international interest, in which - as Petersen repeatedly emphasized - international experiences of "New Education" played a special role, not least reform schools from the USA.

Since the 4th World Congress of the New Education Fellowship in Locarno (Switzerland) in 1927, Petersen's model is named the Jena Plan. In the decades following the Second World War, Petersen's school model spread mainly in West Germany and the Netherlands. After the German reunification in 1990, the Jena Plan pedagogy found lively interest in the former GDR, which had banned all "bourgeois" reform schools under socialistic rule. Reform schools exist in the new federal states partly also as public (state) school with a special, experimental status.

The main features of the Jena Plan are:

It is not the age group, but the mixed-age group that forms the starting point of learning, which combines learning with social learning; there is no "sit-down": the traditional classroom is replaced by various activity areas and job offers, which can also extend to the adjoining corridor. This practice has a lot in common with the historic English Open Plan Schools of the seventies and today "open plan teaching".

The basic situations of educational teaching are work and conversation, play and celebration. A system of flexible introductory and advanced courses enables the promotion of the talents and special interests of children; In addition to teachers and students, the parents are also involved in school activities, whose interest in founding a Jenaplan school often formed the starting signal for their continued existence. Petersen had in fact called his school a family school. Children with special needs, disabled children, are taught together with non-disabled children (now referred to as inclusion).

The present book, published by the educator and current president of the Society for Jenaplan Education in Germany, Timo Jacobs (teacher at a German Jena Plan school), and the Professor of Educational Science at the Kirchliche Pädagogische Hochschule Graz (Austria), Susanne Herker, has long been the first major attempt to address aspects of school practice of today's Jena Plan schools - from different points of view but in the multiplicity, forming a unity. Today Jenaplan schools work mainly in Austria, Germany and the Netherlands. The book contains contributions from nearly 60

authors who work in the majority as practical pedagogues in Jena Plan schools, complemented by contributions from scientists and university teachers, some of them well-acquainted with the Jenaplan or concepts of reform education in general, and some of them working in the field of school development and the arts of educational research.

In any case, this volume proves that a young generation of educators are following the concept of the Jena Plan and - as the individual contributions show - doing creative work. The striking feature is the diversity of the various contributions, which are not all "typical Jena Plan", but an expression of an open form of teaching, which makes clear the self-determination of learning, the variety of forms of learning, in group work, projects, individual work, but at the same time a review of the development of the pedagogical concept, which always lives on the communication with other schools working in the same direction.

The authors contributions are assigned to the following chapters:

Jenaplan as a reform concept - ..., as a school concept - ..., as a didactic orientation - ..., as a concept of a pedagogically oriented school development - ..., practice, giving glimpses in present situation and future development.

The appendix provides information on organizational structures and sources of information on the Jena Plan today. The experience of the Jena Plan schools in the Netherlands plays an important role for a new generation of teachers who founded new Jena Plan schools only in the 1990s. One can wish the volume many readers interested in progressive education.

H.G. Callaway (2017). *Pluralism, Pragmatism and American Democracy. A Minority Report*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. Hardback ISBN 978-1-4438-8922-3. Date of Publication: 01/07/2017; 320 pages; Price: £64.99

118

Joyce E. King & Ellen E. Swartz (2018). *Heritage Knowledge in the Curriculum. Retrieving an African Episteme*. Routledge. New York and London: Taylor & Francis Group. – Paperback: 230 pages; 37,73 €. ISBN: 978-0-815-38043-6. – Hardcover: 230 pages, 120,47 €. ISBN: 978-0-815-38042-9 – E-book: 216 pages, 29.16 €. ISBN: 978-1-351-21323-3; [reviewed is the e-book version of kindle; 216 pages;]

Both books have a common point of intersection: the question of race in its - different - meaning for white thinking and African American thinking in the USA of the last 100 years: Thus in the time of Progressivism after 1900, the time of Social Constructivism from 1930 and the time of the Civil Rights Movement from the sixties until today. First, the volume of H.G. Callaway.

The review applied a volume of particular interest, the title of which already illustrates America's central political values as the points of orientation of its philosophers: pluralism, pragmatism, democracy. Dr. H.G. Callaway (Temple University, Philadelphia) presented contributions on this topic in 19 essays. Such a volume deserves our attention at a time when America's current policies are creating uncertainty worldwide, and democratic perspectives are being put to the test. It is not a systematic theory that is presented here. These are texts that have been written for various occasions, and most of them have already been published; five are first publications, all other essays, first written in the nineties, have been checked by the author for this issue. Most of them are

extended reviews of books that revolve around the subject area defined in this volume. It is remarkable that the author reflects the American experience with pluralism, pragmatism and democracy by removing it from the already existing theoretical approaches of other authors and creating new contexts for the reader. In this way, in the light of a liberal interpretation, a - loose - theory emerges in the reflection of already existing conceptions of American Philosophy, in the visible endeavour not to put these concepts at risk, but to renew their understanding. If pluralism, pragmatism, democracy are at the top of the list, then a second group of terms should be mentioned that supports this crux, but also highlights areas of tension: concepts such as experience, values, community, interest-groups, reconstruction, liberalism, individualism, social theory, and also religion and science, nature and naturalism, utilitarianism, the moral universe.

John Dewey (1859-1952), whose thinking decisively shaped America's intellectual culture in the first half of the 20th century, has, almost inevitably, repeatedly moved into the centre of attention, but with different contexts in each case. This applies to the essays by Ralph Waldo Emerson and 19th century New English Transcendentalism (with a review of the English philosopher of Romanticism, S.T. Coleridge). This also applies to Dewey's adversary George Santayana (whose concept of imagination the author compares with that of Emerson). Sidney Hook, perhaps Dewey's most important pupil, whose reprint (1996) about the metaphysics of pragmatism becomes for Callaway motivation to investigate the contradictory statements about the deeper dimensions of American philosophy.

We find in Callaway's volume reviews of books about Dewey's philosophy and its aspects, as written by Larry Hickman, James Campbell and Raymond Boisvert. Special attention should be paid to the fact that reviews of German authors are also mentioned, who play a decisive role in the transformation of American philosophy and its main proponents. Callaway reviewed two books by political scientist Walter Reese-Schäfer (University of Göttingen) on the two Frankfurt philosophers Karl-Otto Apel and Jürgen Habermas. Another review he dedicated to the social philosopher Hans Joas, whose book "Pragmatismus und Gesellschaftstheorie" (1992) was a landmark for a new interest in pragmatism in German-speaking countries.

The reviewer is allowed a short excursion. The central chapter of Joas' book concerned the negative attitude of German philosophers towards new American philosophy at the Third International Congress of Philosophy at Heidelberg, 1908. This negative view about the so called stupid Germans who didn't acknowledge the good American pragmatism determined the view of some German and Swiss educationalists until today. Callaway correctly reproduces the critical representation of Joas. Scepticism about the pragmatism of the USA however was not only a German reaction, but a European one, and it had objective reasons.

In pragmatism truth is no longer understood as the correspondence of consciousness and being, thinking and (separated) reality. Truth primarily is that which has proven itself in the real world, and thus becomes conscious as experience. Effective experience is the basic concept of all pragmatic philosophy. Terms no longer stand for the essence of a thing, but only have value if they have practical effectiveness – that's the claim. The method to make things clear is to avoid philosophical aporias, contradictions, dilemmas, because their discussion does not produce successful results. Known opposites such as thinking and acting, should be and factual being, phenomenon and essence of a thing are levelled by Dewey's naturalism. Any dualism in philosophy, especially Kant's philosophy, belongs in the dustbin of history. That makes philosophy easy. It proclaims the message that philosophers have so far only created problems without solving them. Finally, if problems do indeed arise in society, then democratic growth in the future will solve them.

An optimistic message. It has just made the mistake that it was wrong – in particular for African Americans, who dreamed the unfulfilled dream of democratic justice. If one thinks of the effort for "Social Reconstruction" in the time of Great Depression in the US, created 1933 by Dewey and some

of his colleagues of the Teachers College of Columbia University, New York, then mainly it was content with academic rhetoric that hardly touched the misery of African Americans. As chairman of LIPA, a small party that only existed for a few years, he did, however, use a greeting at the annual meeting of the NAACP in 1932 to campaign for votes for the upcoming presidential election. This was unsuccessful because the candidate supported by LIPA received hardly any votes in an election, that Franklin D. Roosevelt won.

William James had always pointed out that the term pragmatism and its basic idea did not come from himself, but from Charles S. Peirce, his long-standing impoverished friend, who had long lived outside the academic world. Despite all his friendship with James, who at times supported him materially, Peirce saw the core of his philosophy endangered by the popularization begun by James. From 1905 Peirce used the term "Pragmatism" for his own philosophy. Outside of professional philosophers, Peirce's scientific achievements remained largely unknown to the American public even after his death (1914). Peirce's "Collected Papers" - apart from an edition of Peirce's writings by Morris Cohen - were not published until 20 years after his death. John Dewey, however, who is considered to be the third founding father of American pragmatism after Peirce and James, was careful not to subsume his own philosophy under the term pragmatism. In the years after 1900 "pragmatism" had become too much of an ambivalent topic of discussion. Everyone who wanted to create a new philosophy understood it differently. In early 1908, the American historian Arthur O. Lovejoy distinguished 13 different types of pragmatism with James' who described himself as radical empiricist. Critically seen, the new was not at all uniformly tangible among American philosophers in the first decade of 20th century. On the other hand, criticism of traditional philosophy, the classical idealism of Kant, Hegel, Schelling, clearly emerged.

Among the leading philosophers of the USA after 1900 it was only Josiah Royce (1855-1916) who did not take part in this criticism of idealism. He remained loyal to idealism, but at the same time he also represented an "absolute pragmatism" that was now completely contrary to Dewey's instrumentalism and the new logic, which he published in an expanded form in 1903; Bertrand Russell in turn asserted critically: that what Dewey presented to the professional world in 1916 as "Essays in Experimental Logic" has nothing to do with logic.

The prerequisites for an American philosopher to report on the new American philosophy to the philosophers of Europe, gathered in Heidelberg, were therefore extremely poor in the autumn of 1908. William James, friend of a series of German philosophers, would probably have managed, with wit and rhetoric, at the Heidelberg Congress of 1908 to create a climate of acceptance of the new. But James had cancelled. The grand opening speech at the Third International Philosophers' Congress was given by Royce. He spoke about the concept of truth and expressed himself critically on instrumentalism - as Dewey represented it. That's why after the publication of the Congress Report (which is available online today) Dewey later criticized Royce's presentation quite sharply. But after the First World War it was Dewey who represented the cause of American philosophy without the competition of others, and he did so as radically as he did successfully. Only after the Second World War, did the philosophical era of Dewey collapse.

Nevertheless, pragmatism has lost none of its importance. Willard Quine, Richard Rorty, Hilary Putnam - and Charlene Haddock Seigfried (*1943) - reconstructed pragmatism. Callaway rightly refers to the latter, because Seigfried made the importance of pragmatism fruitful for the feminist view. And not only in her commitment to Jane Addams and John Dewey, but also to the African American philosopher Alain L. Locke, one of the most important voices of the Harlem Renaissance in New York in the 1920s, when African American culture won the identity as a well-known movement for the first time.

Coming back to our review: It is Callaway's concern to (re)find the right balance of political philosophy in the basic tensions of democracy, which becomes clear in pragmatism as a unity in the multiplicity of its themes and authors. Understanding democracy in all its diversity was certainly a

concern of James, but not of Dewey, who rightly received criticism from Callaway on this point. This view stressed democracy as the good, self-ruled community, with the concept of pluralism in his main political work, "The Public and Its Problems" (1927). Despite his friendly relationship with Horace Kallen, Dewey has basically never managed to reconcile this central concept of his vision of democracy.

In contrast to the overwhelming majority of intellectual heirs of classical pragmatism who ignored the problem of the Color Line (W.E.B. Du Bois) and suppressed the existence of African American pragmatism, Callaway devotes himself in detail to Martin Luther King (1929-1968), the murdered African American pastor and leader of the Civil Rights movement. Callaway defends the "King Dictum": *The arc of the moral universe is long but it bends toward justice*. Until today the hopeful sentence waits for its fulfilment. The essay about Martin Luther King is the most impressive chapter in the book. Not in recourse to Dewey, but to Abraham Lincoln, Callaway makes clear how much the "King Dictum" is dependent on a horizon of values that precedes reality and gives hope for justice in the face of reality. A recommendable book.

The volume of Joyce E. King (Professor for Urban Teaching, Learning and Leadership at Georgia State University) and Ellen E. Swartz (American educational consultant, independent researcher) is a very encouraging for all those who continue to suffer from everyday racism in the United States. African Americans for long have given up hope that the Civil Right Movement, which began after 1900 and peaked in the 1960s, will change the existing disadvantages in the long run. They make the bitter experience that the "arc of the moral universe" is very long, maybe too long: White American moral "bends towards justice"? By no means! To quote such a statement today with a mitigating intention, half a century after Martin Luther King's murder, 1967, has a hint of ideology. King & Swartz make clear that the time is ripe for a new start of reflection on African American identity in historical retrospect, both on the originals of the past of American Slavery and the African part in the historic roots of African American identity. The aim is to gain distance from the too official view of American culture which textbooks spread, written by white American historians. The continuation of white supremacy on the African American since the time of slavery, the following era of "Black Codes" and the discriminating "Separate but equal-doctrine" of the Supreme Court, ruling the American Nation from 1896 to 1954, must be taught to the young generation as part of the curriculum of public education.

The white majority society of America has hardly been interested in the question. White historians have written white contemporary history perhaps with a sideways look mentioning in few lines on the fate of colored people; in educational science of the 20th century for white left-wing liberals who are close to progressivism, this book should be a must read. Because they receive the criticism they deserve, and no one before dared to speak as clearly as King & Swartz did in all objectivity.

The chapter on American Democracy in this book is opened with a letter from the African American Benjamin Banneker (1731-1806) to Thomas Jefferson, the "Father of American Democracy", who wrote the American Declaration of Independence, 1776. In this letter Banneker – the rare issue of a free man, with reason – indicted the great Jefferson, a rich planter with many slaves, "how pitiable is it to reflect, that although you were so fully convinced of the benevolence of the Father of Mankind, and of his equal and impartial distribution of those rights and privileges, which he had conferred upon them, that you should at the same time counteract his mercies, in detaining by fraud and violence so numerous a part of my brethren, under groaning captivity and cruel oppression, that you should at the same time be found guilty of that most criminal act, which you professedly detested in others, with respect to yourselves" (p. 25).

My comment: I learned about American democracy by reading the Works of John Dewey, but America's most famous philosopher, as he was called, did not mention Banneker nor any other central figure of African Americans' fight for equality in his collected writings of 37 volumes. I think now, it's a shame, that the different faces of America, in a cultural view, are suppressed by famous white intellectuals. Only this "white" dominated image of American democracy which is damaged by suppressing the racial aspects, has determined the Dewey renaissance in Switzerland and Germany for a quarter of a century.

The spiritual centre of this volume of King & Swartz is the reconstruction of African American identity based on the works of the leaders of the early African American Civil Right Movement, William Edward Burghardt Du Bois (1886-1963) and Carter G. Woodson (1875-1950), to present the rich cultural heritage of black history and living for the current generation. A second step, which is actually new, is the connection of Afro-American culture with its origins in Africa, the connections that existed in pre-Columbian times between Africa and America (according to the latest research) and to expose the roots for Afro-American identity here. This concerns the knowledge of the symbolic world of Africa and the knowledge of African languages, and is also supported by the co-author of this chapter, Hassimi O. Maïga (Emeritus Professor for Education, Medgar Evers College, New York City, with biographical roots from Mali, West Africa). The third step is to discuss and to show ways to transform the knowledge in a curriculum so that the younger generation of public schools can once again become aware of and strengthen their African-American identity.

As a reader one naturally asks oneself: Should young African Americans be educated nationally and against the principles of American democracies? No, not at all. What's surprising is that the basic values of Africa's diverse cultures, especially West Africa's pre-colonial period, are surprisingly close to the ideal of American democracy, "sharing responsibility for communal well-being and belonging; pursuing knowledge as inseparable from pursuing wisdom; knowledge as a communal experience in which everyone has something to contribute; exhibiting self-determination that considers the needs of the collective; love, dignity, and decency as shared by all; knowing that cultural sovereignty is a common right of all peoples; pursuing freedom and justice as communal responsibilities; and protecting childhood as a collective responsibility" (p. 82). Here, every Dewey connoisseur is surprised: these values coincide with the ideals of American democracy proclaimed by Dewey.

Of course, King & Schwartz' book sharply criticized the progressive education movement of the 20th century (chapter 4 and 5), and John Dewey, America's world-renowned educational philosopher, belonged to the progressive movement (although we know that leading Dewey experts, such as Robert E. Westbrook, tried in vain to portrait him as an opponent of progressivism). But King & Swartz say quite rightly that Dewey wished for a slow change to the gradual equal rights of the races, but he remained silent to the injustices of his time. And, indeed, we know that the Dewey very associated educational historian Lawrence A. Cremin had written a history of progressive education only as a "white" movement; the African Americans didn't exist. Even an author like Ronald K. Goodenow, who denounced such kinds of hidden indirect racism of the progressive movement (the language of which was filled with terms such as tolerance, social understanding etc.) saw the African Americans only as victims of white school politics, and could not appreciate the achievements of African Americans for democracy (King & Swartz, p. 81).

For Dewey's European interpretation and the assessment of educational movements in America, these are completely new approaches to interpretation. Also a rich literature documentation and the foreword and epilogue by esteemed US scientists (Gloria Ladson-Billings; Vera L. Nobles and Wade W. Nobles) encourage further international research.

Reviewed by

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