



International Dialogues on Education Past and Present

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Reinhard Golz (Germany)

Editorial

Dear Readers and Authors of [International Dialogues on Education: Past and Present](#),

In the context of the publication of issue 2-2019 of our journal, we promised - at that time still completely unaware of the approaching worst crisis in society since the end of the Second World War - to publish issue 1-2020 on time on May 31, 2020. The COVID crisis has left its mark on everyone and everything, and, of course, on our editorial work. As Editor-in-Chief, I would like to thank the authors, reviewers and all the members of the editorial team involved for their commitment and reliability above and beyond the line of duty during this complicated time; we were again able to be on time, as promised. It is, among other things, this experience that shows us that, even in difficult times, our team is capable of mastering new, previously unimagined editorial challenges to "International Dialogues on Education".

This means that we will continue to regard different academic traditions, interests and analyses of results as enriching for academic dialogue and international, intercultural and interreligious education and communication. But it also means that we will continue to accept only scientifically sound contributions that are imbued with humanistic, democratic values, social responsibility, respect for the autonomy, diversity and dignity of individuals, groups and communities, and without attempts at proselytization or missionary work. In the context of the Corona crisis, we see ourselves as part of the enlightened majority of people, who are not allowing themselves to be misled by burgeoning conspiracy theories and anti-democratic, nationalistic activities, but who can and will contribute to overcoming the crisis with reason, attention, a sense of reality, international and interpersonal solidarity.

At this point we would also like to draw your attention to a special **Call for Papers from Dr. Arthur K. Ellis, Seattle Pacific University (USA)**, one of our most important cooperation partners, inviting you to participate in a discussion on the current uncertain future of education, in addition to or independent of the previous thematic orientation of our journal. The Call is about your thoughts, predictions, or even assumptions about how the education system will change as a result of the crisis in your opinion and experience; how the rapidly advancing digital educational technologies will change the idea of school as such; what the "new normality" for education will look like; what effects the Corona disaster may have on teaching, learning, administration, personnel, finances, evaluation, health and well-being, etc.

Worrying but inevitable thematic considerations and questions naturally touch not only educational scientists and practitioners, but also representatives of other humanities and social sciences disciplines, e.g. philosophers, sociologists, psychologists, philologists, political scientists, historians. The current situation requires and enables us to further strengthen our interdisciplinary work. You are all invited to participate in this discussion in our journal with contributions that we will publish in a special section of the November issue.

In our "[NEWS](#)" you will find the aforementioned Call for Papers, which also informs about deadlines and other organizational matters.

Another part of the November issue will of course - as before - include articles in the context of the basic thematic orientations of our Journal [International Dialogues on Education: Past and Present](#).

* * *

Now some remarks on the articles in this issue (IDE 1-2020), which in turn corresponds to the concern of our journal to analyse international educational dialogues and developments from both historical and current perspectives.

*First we will deal with three more **historical**-pedagogical contributions.*

In the article by **Olga Graumann and Sören Affeldt** "The Hanseatic League and Education - A Neglected Chapter in European and German History" the focus is on the tension between economy and education. Using the example of the qualification needs of Hanseatic merchants since the Middle Ages, it is shown that the development of German and European popular education has been remarkably influenced. Of particular interest for today's educational processes is the significance of "teaching abroad" for learning foreign languages and getting to know foreign cultures, as well as the "learning by doing" that has characterised merchant education since the Middle Ages. The presentation, which is based on works by H.-P. Bruchhäuser, also uses insights from museum pedagogy.

In his contribution on "Realism, Pansophy and Mentality in the Work of the Czech and World Pedagogue J.A. Comenius" **Dietmar Waterkamp** analyses under new aspects three fundamental German habilitation theses and their significance for international comeniology. These are the works of the East German comeniologist Franz Hofmann and the two West German comeniologists, Klaus Schaller and Andreas Lischewski. The selection of these works is justified by the high international reputation of the authors as comeniologists. The analysis of the different views of Comenius is based, among other things, on the comparison of his world view and pedagogy between East Germany and West Germany, as well as between Protestant and Roman Catholic interpretations.

Hein Retter analyses "The Dispute Over the Reform Pedagogue Peter Petersen (1884-1952) in Jena 2010: Review of a Total 'Desaster' After Ten Years". The author describes the controversies about the pedagogical heritage and the attitudes of the reform pedagogue Peter Petersen during and after the time of National Socialism. The starting point of disputes among educational scientists and politicians was a book published by Hein Retter in 2010. His interpretation of Petersen's ambivalent, not always apparent positions at the time of the Hitler regime and in the context of the political power relations after 1945 was judged very questionable by some authors in a heated atmosphere. With his detailed look back and by using contemporary historical and current documents, Retter defends himself (not always free of emotion) as the trigger of the ongoing "Petersen dispute". He is counting on everyone involved in this process to be able to learn from it.

*A further seven articles deal with more **current** educational science problems and developments.*

The article "Thinking and Acting Across Ponds: Glocalized Intersections of Trepidation, Neoliberalism, and Possibilities for 21st Century Teacher Education" by **Kenneth J. Fasching-Varner et al.** is based on the cross-continental experiences of teachers in their initial and continuing education in Australia, Germany and the United States. The local experiences in the individual countries are contextualized with global phenomena. Through a glocal (global and local) lens, it recognizes that the dynamics that counteract successful education and training are multifaceted, locally significant and globally consistent. In particular, it is a matter of internal university resistance and disputes about financing, status and role, as well as excessive dependence on market economies, which are accompanied by nationalism, neoliberalism and xenophobia. The authors invite a broader international discussion in their respective contexts in order to promote the democratic dialogue.

Irina A. Kolesnikova's contribution "Innovative Changes in Education of the 2010s: Pro and Cons" offers a theoretical analysis of the advantages and contradictions of innovative changes in modern education, based on data from the program and report documents of UNESCO, the Council of Europe and other international organizations. It focuses on ideas of lifelong learning, inclusion and open education that have developed particularly since the 2010s. The capitalisation of knowledge,

digitisation and socialisation of networks are presented as the main sources of the innovative education boom of the 2010s. The author points to the digital future of young people and suggests intensifying pedagogical research in this field, to develop a new way of learning, respectively of dealing with knowledge and information. To what extent superficiality is favoured by the digital medium is pedagogically and methodologically controversial and certainly needs to be examined in detail, because with technological developments there can also be risks of repressing humanitarian values from educational processes. The need for constant critical reflection on the results of innovation is emphasised.

The narrative investigation "Strengthening Resilience in School - A Narrative Examination of How Teachers Promote Resilience by Providing Social Support", of **Manuela Diers** is focused on children and young people who suffer from psychological risks in their environment, and what role social support from teachers plays in strengthening their resilience. The author points out that teachers can initiate a creative metamorphosis of biographical identity in order to overcome suffering. The connection between biographical and resilience research is discussed using a case study and it is emphasized that a constructive, trusting and appreciative teacher-pupil relationship is the basis for the resilient development of children at high risk.

Using an example from Belarus, **Natalia V. Bylinskaja** examines "Aspects of a Categorization of the Concept 'Personality' in the Professional Consciousness of Teachers ...". The article presents research on the concept of "personality" in the categorical grid of the consciousness of primary and secondary school teachers. With regard to the data obtained, the author shows the existence of an orientation in the minds and activities of teachers to implement personality-based, humanistic learning models. At the same time, she points out that the structure of the concept of "personality" revealed in the pedagogical consciousness is not cognitively complex and holistic. This determines specific tasks of psychological education to clarify and enrich the perception of the personality of teachers.

In their contribution "Salamanca 25 Years Later: A Commentary on Residual Dialogues of Disability and Diversity", **Margaret Winzer and Kas Mazurek** deal with the discussions on concepts, premises and promises of inclusive school education as a global movement that have been held since the UNESCO World Conference on Special Needs Education in Salamanca in 1994. The authors emphasize that despite the strong influence of the Salamanca Conference, a number of new and continuing challenges have emerged. They focus, among other things, on the role of UNESCO in the construction of an architecture for more inclusive school education and on other controversial core issues and different interpretations of the Salamanca directions.

The aim of **Sonya Corbin Dwyer's** study "The impact of ESL Discussion Groups in an Undergraduate Counselling Psychology Course" is to understand the impact of an experiential learning activity in a third year bachelor's programme on the theory and practice of counselling and psychotherapy on a small Canadian university campus. The experiential learning activity required students to participate in biweekly one-on-one interview groups with international students participating in English as a Second Language (ESL) programs at the university. The results of pre- and post-evaluation activities showed that students' cultural competence and cultural intelligence improved after participation in the course. The author believes that the results could encourage more university teachers to develop experiential learning activities between local and international students.

"A Comparative Study of Higher Education Governance in Greater China" is the title of the article by **Claire Y.H. Tao**. The author reviews and compares strategies for higher education reform adopted by the respective governments in Greater China, including mainland China, Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan and Singapore. She examines, for example, why these countries tried to reform their higher education systems, how they achieved the desired results, and how the respective governments reacted. The author focuses on the four areas of "rule of law", "transparency", "effectiveness" and "accountability"

to examine whether and how the governance of these selected cases has been implemented in higher education in Greater China over the past 30 years.

*This issue concludes with three **reviews** of recently (2019) published books.*

Anja Franz, in her review of the book by Andrea Òhidy and Katalin R. Forray on "Lifelong Learning and the Roma Minority in Central and Eastern Europe", stresses that little is known about the Roma so far, and that the book provides rich information on this largest and fastest growing, but at the same time most disadvantaged minority group in Europe in terms of health, employment, housing and education.

Krisztina Sebestyén reviews Romina Meinig's book "Zwischen Antiziganismus und Resilienz. An Empirical Study of Successful Sinti and Roma in Germany" (Between Antigypsyism and resilience. An empirical study about successful Sinti and Roma in Germany). The reviewer particularly focuses on the author's research results regarding the reasons for the existing successful careers of some Sinti and Roma in Germany, which are demonstrably mainly due to participation in education and integration efforts.

The anthology published by Tatyana Tsyrlina-Spady and Peter Renn "Nurture, Care, and Trust. Transformative Pedagogy Inspired by Janusz Korczak" is reviewed by **Reinhard Golz and David Whybra**. They emphasize that the book provides new insights into the professional ethics of the Polish pediatrician, pedagogue and writer Janusz Korczak (1878-1942), who did not abandon the orphans entrusted to his care on the way to the Treblinka extermination camp and went to his death with them. The reviewers draw particular attention to the inspiring pedagogical-didactic considerations in the articles and materials for teaching and learning from a contemporary perspective, which are based on Korczak's work.

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So much for the articles in this issue of IDE-Journal. As always at this point, I would like to remind future authors that we publish two issues per year, the first issue being published at the end of May and the second at the end of November. This means for the next issue (2-2020) that the intended contributions should be sent to the Editorial Board as soon as possible, but **not later than 15 October 2020**.

Authors are requested to adhere to our editorial standards and requirements in the [Instructions to Contributors](#).

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

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Olga Graumann & Sören Affeldt (Germany)

The Hanseatic League and Education - A Neglected Chapter in European and German History

Abstract: The focus of this article is on the connection between education and the Hanseatic League, a topic largely neglected in educational literature, although the qualification needs of Hanseatic merchants had a remarkable influence on the development of German and European education. The Hanseatic League as a network between merchant families, friends and trading partners, its temporal limitation from about the 12th to the 17th century, its spatial expansion, its offices at home and abroad as well as its trading goods are discussed in detail.

The main part of the article is dedicated to education. The general history of education in the Middle Ages cannot be separated from the specific history of merchant education. However, it can be stated that both strands of development have mutually fertilized each other. Of particular interest for today's educational processes is the importance of "learning abroad" to learn foreign languages and get to know foreign cultures, as well as the "learning by doing" that characterized the education of merchants in the Middle Ages. Since the Hanseatic League has been misused in the field of education for political ideologization over the past two centuries, a brief overview of the reception of the Hanseatic League in the history of education is appropriate. The topic is rounded off by emphasizing the importance of the European Hanseatic Museum in Lübeck, founded in 2015, for education today.

Keywords: Hanseatic League, Education in the Hanseatic League, Merchant education in the Middle Ages, Learning abroad, Network, European Hanseatic Museum Lübeck.

摘要 (Olga Graumann & Sören Affeldt: 汉萨同盟和教育 --- 在欧洲和德国历史上被忽略的一章): 本文的重点是关于教育与汉萨同盟之间的联系。尽管汉萨同盟商人的技能需求已对德国和欧洲的大众教育发展产生了显著影响,但其文献在教育文献中却被广泛忽略。

首先,将汉萨同盟作为商人家庭,朋友和贸易伙伴之间的一种网络进行更详细的说明。在这个网络上,其从12到17世纪的时间限制,空间扩展,国内外办事处以及商品之间进行互动。

本文的主要部分侧重于教育。中世纪的一般教育史不能与特殊的商业教育史分开。但是可以明确的是,这两条发展链相互滋养。对于当今的教育过程而言,首先令人感兴趣的是“海外教学”对于学习外语和了解外国文化以及“做中学”的重要性,这是中世纪商业教育的一大特征。

由于汉萨同盟在近二百年的教育领域中被滥用为政治意识形态,因此,简要概述一下汉萨同盟在教育史上被接受的情况。通过强调于2015年在吕贝克成立的欧洲汉萨同盟博物馆对当今教育的重要性来结束这一主题。

关键词: 汉萨同盟, 汉萨同盟的教育, 中世纪的商业教育, 海外教学, 网络, 吕贝克欧洲汉萨同盟博物馆。

摘要 (Olga Graumann & Sören Affeldt: 漢薩同盟和教育 --- 在歐洲和德國歷史上被忽略的一章): 本文的重點是關於教育與漢薩同盟之間的聯繫。儘管漢薩同盟商人的技能需求已對德國和歐洲的大眾教育發展產生了顯著影響,但其文獻在教育文獻中卻被廣泛忽略。

首先,將漢薩同盟作為商人家庭,朋友和貿易夥伴之間的一種網絡進行更詳細的說明。在這個網絡上,其從12到17世紀的時間限制,空間擴展,國內外辦事處以及商品之間進行互動。

本文的主要部分側重於教育。中世紀的一般教育史不能與特殊的商業教育史分開。但是可以明確的是,這兩條發展鏈相互滋養。對於當今的教育過程而言,首先令人感興趣的是“海外教學”對於學習外語和了解外國文化以及“做中學”的重要性,這是中世紀商業教育的一大特徵。

由於漢薩同盟在近二百年的教育領域中被濫用為政治意識形態,因此,簡要概述一下漢薩同盟在教育史上被接受的情況。通過強調於2015年在呂貝克成立的歐洲漢薩同盟博物館對當今教育的重要性來結束這一主題。

關鍵詞: 漢薩同盟, 漢薩同盟的教育, 中世紀的商業教育, 海外教學, 網絡, 呂貝克歐洲漢

Zusammenfassung (Olga Graumann & Sören Affeldt: *Hanse und Bildung – Ein vernachlässigtes Kapitel in der europäischen und deutschen Geschichte*): Der Schwerpunkt dieses Artikels liegt auf der Verbindung zwischen Bildung und Hanse, einer in der pädagogischen Literatur weitgehend unbeachteten Thematik, obgleich die Qualifikationsbedürfnisse der hansischen Kaufleute die Entwicklung der deutschen und europäischen Volksbildung bemerkenswert beeinflusst haben.

Zunächst wird näher auf die Hanse als ein Netzwerk zwischen Kaufmannsfamilien, Freunden und Handelspartnern, auf ihre zeitliche Eingrenzung von etwa dem 12. bis 17. Jahrhundert, ihre räumliche Ausbreitung, die Kontore im In- und Ausland sowie die Handelsgüter eingegangen.

Der Hauptteil des Artikels ist der Bildung gewidmet. Die allgemeine Geschichte der Bildung im Mittelalter lässt sich nicht von der speziellen Geschichte der Kaufmannsbildung trennen. Es kann jedoch festgehalten werden, dass sich beide Entwicklungsstränge gegenseitig befruchtet haben. Interessant für heutige Bildungsprozesse ist vor allem die Bedeutung der „Auslandslehre“ für das Erlernen von Fremdsprachen und das Kennenlernen fremder Kulturen wie auch das „learning by doing“, das die Kaufmannsbildung im Mittelalter auszeichnet.

Da die Hanse in den letzten zwei Jahrhunderten im Bildungsbereich für politische Ideologisierungen missbraucht wurde, bietet sich ein kurzer Überblick über die Rezeption der Hanse in der Bildungsgeschichte an. Abgerundet wird die Thematik durch die Betonung der Bedeutung des 2015 gegründeten Europäischen Hansemuseums in Lübeck für die Bildung heute.

Schlüsselwörter: Hanse, Bildung in der Hanse, Kaufmannsbildung im Mittelalter, Auslandslehre, Netzwerk, Europäisches Hansemuseum Lübeck.

Резюме (Ольга Грауманн, Зерен Аффе льдт :Ганза и образование – забытая глава в европейской и немецкой истории): Данная статья фокусирует внимание на теме образования в период существования Ганзейского союза – аспекте, который в педагогическом дискурсе по большому счету оставался за рамками научных исследований, хотя квалификационные потребности ганзейских купцов в значительной мере отражали развитие немецкого и всего европейского народного образования. В начале работы подробно рассматриваются «сетевая» структура Ганзы, включавшая купеческие семьи, друзей и торговых партнеров, хронология существования Союза, датируемая 12-17 вв., его пространственные границы, местные и зарубежные конторы, предметы торговли. Центральное место в статье занимает проблема образования. Обосновывается, почему историю образования в Средневековье следует рассматривать вкупе с историей образования, которое получали купцы Ганзы. Необходимо подчеркнуть, что такой вектор развития был взаимовыгодным. Для современной образовательной парадигмы прежде всего были бы интересны вопросы обучения за границей, прежде всего в плане изучения иностранных языков, знакомства с «иными» ментальностями, а также то, что сейчас принято называть «обучение через деятельность» - этот принцип как раз активно использовался при обучении купцов в Средние века. Поскольку в последние два столетия в образовательном дискурсе роль Ганзы идеологизировалась, авторы посчитали необходимым кратко остановиться на осмыслении данного феномена в истории образования. Рассмотрение заявленной тематики завершается указанием на значимость для современного образования открытого в 2015 году Европейского музея Ганзы в Любеке.

Ключевые слова: Ганза, образование в Ганзейском союзе, обучение купцов в Средневековье, обучение за границей, сетевое взаимодействие, Европейский музей Ганзы в Любеке

Introduction

The development of education in the context of the "Hanseatic League" is on the whole not explicitly considered in German pedagogical literature, it is not mentioned in the general literature on educational history or, if so, only in a few sentences. In the area of vocational education and training, on the other hand - especially in the training of merchants - at least some tracts also deal with its development during the Hanseatic era (see Bruchhäuser, 1989, to whom we are indebted and who is widely used as a source in the following).

The development of education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance in general, of course, has long been comprehensively researched in the history of school. However, the focus of this article is on the connection between the Hanseatic League and the development of education during the time of its existence. Education and the Hanseatic League can be viewed both in terms of the development of (school) education and from a socio-historical perspective. Methodologically, however, this article can only be a social or educational-historical sketch that examines social and school-historical factors - in this case, the acquisition of knowledge and skills within the framework of the Hanseatic League.

We are talking about a period from the middle of the 12th c. to the middle of the 17th c., a time in which domestic and foreign trade in various goods was constantly developing and thus increasingly demanding more education in all areas with respect to the merchants. Social conditions brought about independent commercial educational structures in the Middle Ages and commercial schools, citizen schools and, lastly, secondary modern schools developed from this (Keck, 1999).

Unfortunately, in recent decades, the focus of scientific discussion in educational science has increasingly been less on history. Bruchhäuser argues that historical educational research is in decline and warns that educational research needs historical content in order to be anchored in school and university curricula as well (Bruchhäuser, 2010, p. 37), because socio-historical analyses in particular provide aids to understanding, interpretation and orientation for the constructive handling of current challenges (Greinert, 2010, p. 115). Taking a closer look at the connections between trade, business and (school) education in the Hanseatic era is particularly interesting in view of growing nationalism, because it shows how cosmopolitan the long-distance traders had to be even then. The precise knowledge of foreign languages, knowledge of foreign goods and foreign cultures was as indispensable then for traders as it is today.

The basic idea of the Hanseatic League is presently being revived. In 1980 the city of Zwolle hosted the "Hanseatic Days of Modern Times". Today's "Städtebund DIE HANSE" sees itself as a voluntary community of cities that wants to promote modern trade, support tourism and continue the tradition of the Hanseatic League of the Middle Ages and early modern times. It is no coincidence that the traditional Bundeszentrum Lübeck is the seat of the new Hanseatic Office and that the Mayor of Lübeck is the President of the New Hanseatic League. Today, Hanseatic Days are again being held in various cities of the New Hanseatic League almost all over Europe - this shows the current relevance of this topic.

After briefly outlining the history of the Hanseatic League, we will turn in detail to the development of education during the Hanseatic era. Finally, the question of the significance of the Hanseatic League as an educational institution today will be examined.

I. The Hanseatic League

I. 1. What was the Hanseatic League?

"[...] the Hanseatic League is undoubtedly one of those phenomena of medieval and early modern history whose mention awakens certain ideas in everyone, be it the image of the Lower German merchant who dominated Baltic and North Sea trade with his richly laden cogs, or the image of the brick Gothic city within whose walls commercial enterprise and self-confident civic spirit freely unfold. It is always the memory of a 'glorious' piece of German history [...]", writes Henn in the context of an exhibition in Hamburg and Rostock in 1989 and 1990 respectively, with the theme: "The Hanseatic League - reality and myth" (Henn, 1989, p. 14f).

This quotation makes it clear that an exact chronological delimitation as well as a clear definition of the phenomenon "Hanse" cannot be found in the diverse literature on the Hanseatic League and that

historiography at different times finds different definitions and interpretations. For example, Emperor Wilhelm II used the image of the proud Hanseatic League members to arouse enthusiasm for building the imperial fleet.

In recourse to Johannes Osthusen (ca. 1425 to 1506 lawyer and syndicus of the Hanseatic city of Lübeck as well as canon at Lübeck Cathedral), Henn writes that the Hanseatic League is neither a "societas" nor a "collegium", nor a "universitas", that it had neither joint assets nor its own managing officials, but was merely a firm alliance of many cities "which came together to pursue their own trading interests safely and profitably". There was also no separate seal, but only the respective seal of the city, and there was also no separate council, but rather spokesmen commissioned by a particular city who met in a particular city (ibid., p. 15). Selzer consequently understands the Hanseatic League as an "umbrella for different interest groups" as well as a "special purpose association of long-distance traders" (Selzer, 2010, p. 14).

However, the view that the Hanseatic League was a union of cities is still widespread. Klose writes, for example, in a booklet for school lessons, that a union of cities developed from the union of the Wendish cities of Lübeck, Wismar and Rostock, and in Westphalia, for example, in 1246 a union between Münster, Osnabrück, Minden, Herford and others, and that there were common agreements and rules of conduct for merchants abroad (Klose, 2007, p. 9). But already at the beginning of the 20th c., for example, it was pointed out that the Hanseatic League lacked all the "essential elements of alliance law: there was no alliance treaty, no statutes, no binding definition of economic and political goals", no chairman who was allowed to speak and act on behalf of the community (Stein, 1911, quoted from Henn, 1989, p. 16f.). The sole aim of the Hanseatic League was - according to this interpretation - "to acquire trade privileges abroad and to ensure its members the undisturbed enjoyment of these privileges" (Henn, 1989, p. 17).

According to Selzer, the fact that the Hanseatic League nevertheless continued to exist for centuries, even though it could not demonstrate any corresponding organisational structures, was due to stabilising factors such as a strong sense of community and solidarity among the Lower German long-distance traders in particular. Selzer uses the term "Hanseatic culture" here, "which seeks to grasp the interactions between the self-image of the traders and that of the acting people as well as the cultural shaping of their living environment" (Selzer, 2010, p. 81). For this purpose, one can draw on research into kinship connections, because this shows that from the 12th century onwards, in the course of the Europeanisation of the Baltic Sea region, numerous new settlements were established, to which people from the Rhineland, Westphalia or Saxony moved, because they hoped for better chances in life. This can be easily seen from the family names, e.g. in Lübeck there is the alderman's family Warendorp, named after the Westphalian town of Warendorf or the Plescow family after the North Russian town of Pleskau/ Pskov, who first lived on the Swedish island of Gotland in Visby and then moved to Lübeck. Besides the family relations there were probably friendly connections, "brotherhoods and societies" (e.g. "Die Schwarzhäupter": an association of mostly German merchants in the Baltic cities of Riga, Reval, Pernau and Dorpat.) who were of great importance for the communication among political and economic elites in the Hanseatic cities" (ibid., p. 83).

This means that the Hanseatic cities were not linked by a legally established association of cities, but by a social network of the relatives and friendships of their citizens. Selzer describes this vividly using the example of Dortmund's mayor Arnd Sudermann († 1473). There was a family branch in the Prussian town of Thorn (today's Toruń in Poland). Sudermann was related by marriage to the ruling mayor Christoph Hengstenberg, who in turn had Prussian relatives. His cousin was a councillor and mayor in Cologne. So, if these politicians took part in Hanseatic Days, the relatives from Dortmund, Cologne and Thorn met to discuss Hanseatic politics (ibid., p. 83f.).

The disadvantage of the network was the lack of written agreements. If a legal dispute arose, the Lübeck Council, for example, decided that "liability was made dependent on the degree of care taken by the partner, which, in order to remain blameless, had to correspond to that which the person concerned applied in his own commercial matters" (ibid., p. 101). Selzer finds it astonishing that transactions were also concluded without contractual fixations and legal sanctions. On the one hand, there was the trust between the partners that the trading partner would handle his own goods with care; on the other hand, disappointed trust led to a breakdown of the trading relations between the trading partners and - which weighed even more heavily - to exclusion from the entire network. Selzer is of the opinion that it was not primarily "virtuous" to do business honestly, but "economically rational" (ibid.).

The highest management and decision-making body was the General Hansa Convention, at which all questions concerning the relationship of merchants and cities among themselves or the relations with trading partners abroad were dealt with. Actually, all decisions were supposed to be binding for the members, but there was no superior power to check or sanction the observance of the decisions. This meant that the members only complied with the decisions if they were in line with their interests (Henn, 1989, p. 21).

1. 2. Time localisation

There is no date of foundation, as the Hanseatic League was never founded. Therefore, Selzer is not inclined to speak "unreservedly of a continuous Hanseatic history before the end of the 13th century" (Selzer, 2010, p. 13f). Klose also speaks of the fact that the Hanseatic League was "not simply there overnight" because "a handful of merchants decided to found an association". The author emphasises that the formation of the Hanseatic League took several centuries and was linked to three events: the ever-faster growing population, the emergence of cities as centres of crafts and trade and thus also the increasing demand for trading goods, and the opening up of the Baltic Sea by settlers from northern Germany. (Klose, 2007, p. 4; Hammel-Kiesow et al., 2015, p. 34).

Selzer (2010, p. 14) also doubts that Hanseatic history should begin at the time of the founding of the city of Lübeck (1143/ 1159) and other cities in the 13th century. However, Henn is of the opinion that important preconditions for the emergence of the Hanseatic League were the colonization of the East, the development of the Baltic Sea region, the founding of Lübeck and the formation of the Gotland Cooperative. In 1282 the Hanseatic League is mentioned in a document, but it was only the London Kontorgemeinschaft which was meant. In the middle of the 14th century, a sense of togetherness of the Lower German merchants travelling in the Baltic and North Sea region beyond the Kontorgemeinschaften is documented for the first time (Henn, 1989, p. 19).

In 1604, after more than three centuries, the King of England rejected proposals to restore the privileges of the Hanseatic cities, believing that the privileges of foreign merchants were harmful to the Kingdom of England. Graichen and Hammel-Kiesow believe that an important reason for the gradual economic decline of the Hanseatic League was the lack of ability to react appropriately to new situations, as it became increasingly difficult to find a consensus between the divergent trading interests of its members. This was exacerbated by major plague epidemics. The relocation of European economic areas and trade routes as well as the development of the first nation states is seen as the most important reason (Graichen & Hammel-Kiesow, 2011, pp. 342f.). Also, the increasing social unrest at the beginning of the 16th c., as well as the Reformation with the following Europe-wide confessional wars contributed to Hanseatic trade becoming less important.

In 1669, the last Hanseatic Convention was held in Lübeck, at which attempts were still being made to reorganize the Hanseatic League on the basis of a city alliance. According to Henn, however, this failed: "Europe no longer needed the Hanseatic League" (1989, p. 22). Nevertheless, Lübeck,

Hamburg and Bremen did not dissolve the office in Bergen until 1774, and they did not even sell the Stalhof in London until 1852: "The Hanseatic League ends as it began: without a precise date," write Graichen & Hammel-Kiesow (2011, pp. 356f.).

1.3. Members of the Hanseatic League

It also proved difficult to determine who belonged to the Hanseatic League, as it avoided giving precise details of which cities were members of the Hanseatic League and which merchants were accordingly admitted to the privileges. The final decision as to who became a member lay with the branches abroad. For example, it was decided in Lübeck in 1366 that only those who were citizens of a Hanseatic city should enjoy the privileges of a German merchant. However, in 1393, Hanseatic council envoys in Bruges were told "that other merchants have always been rightly accepted in trader's rights (*kopmans recht*) [...]" (Henn 1989, p. 17). It is only from the 15th c. onwards that there are directories in which Hanseatic cities are listed by name. Depending on the understanding of "Hanseatic city", one speaks of 70 to about 200 Hanseatic cities and a distinction was made between "Hanseatic city", "Hanseatic cities" and "cities facing the Hanseatic League", i.e. between cities with full rights and those with fewer rights. The decisive factor for acceptance was whether or not advantages for the community could be expected from the city joining (*ibid.*, p. 18).

1.4. Branches abroad – Branch Office (Kontor)

The economic centres of Hanseatic trade were the branches abroad, called Kontors, although this term only became common among merchants from the 16th c. onwards (Selzer, 2010, p. 54). The most important were in Novgorod (Peterhof), Bergen, London (Stalhof) and Bruges. In contrast to the entire Hanseatic League, the large offices were bearers of rights and duties. They had their own court, their own cash register, their own order which an elected "elder" administered and their own seal. According to Graichen & Hammel-Kiesow (2011, p. 264), they were not members of the Hanseatic League, because only cities or their councils or merchants could fulfil that function. They existed for a long time; between the foundation of the first office in Novgorod and the closure of the office in Bergen there lies about half a millennium. At the large Kontors such as Novgorod there were at one and the same time a maximum of 150 to 200 merchants, in Bruges there could even be 600 (Selzer, 2010, p. 54). The Peterhof in Novgorod, for example, was demarcated from the city and the Lower German merchants had their own jurisdiction. The spiritual centre was always a church. In Bruges, for example, the merchants did not live together, but in their own buildings or with landlords. Each office was therefore designed differently. Selzer sums up: "The Hanseatic League always used [existing] organisational structures for its activities [...], next to and independently of it [like the Kontors just described, authors' note]. Extremely weak structures of the entire Hanseatic League were contrasted with extremely strong structures of these Hanseatic institutions" (*ibid.*, p. 53).

1.5. The Goods traded in the Hanseatic League

Selzer does not see the trade of the Hanseatic League as a pure trade of goods between Eastern and Western Europe, i.e. as a fast direct connection from Novgorod to Bruges, but as a trade that ran from city to city with numerous stopovers in the retail chains (Selzer, 2010, p. 94). Novgorod, for example, primarily supplied furs, pitch for shipbuilding and wax for candles, but it was also about the exchange of many more products. The trade route Novgorod-Lübeck-Hamburg-Bruges bridges 3,500 km on today's roads. On this long route, a merchant was not allowed to limit himself to just one line of trade, but had to buy or sell, which brought him profit. Moreover, product names such as cloth, wool or fish were only generic terms covering various kinds of the products (*ibid.*, p. 93ff).

Every long-distance trade transaction was risky: "Although Hanseatic merchants of the late Middle Ages already dreamed of incredible riches that could be won with a single transaction, the figures speak a rather sober language". An average profit rate of 15 percent was realistic, but this could also be much lower (p. 97). According to Selzer, Hanseatic trade cannot be compared with the large centrally organised and generationally stable trading houses such as the Upper German Fuggers or the Italian Medici. From the middle of the 13th c. onwards, when many merchants settled in the cities, their business structure is more comparable with the Upper German organisations. The Hanseatic long-distance merchants, however, continued to be everything in one person, such as chief accountant, cashier, clerk, etc. "The Hanseatic merchant did business, the South German merchant had a shop." (ibid., p. 98). To sum up, it can be said that the Hanseatic League presents "a historical phenomenon that largely eludes categorical thinking. What the Hanseatic League was cannot be grasped in modern constitutional terms. [...]. Nevertheless, the Hanseatic League was a vital reality." (p. 22).

II. The development of education in the time of the Hanseatic League

It makes sense to consider education and educational pathways based on the Hanseatic League in so far as institutionalised education has always been and will always be created when solutions to social problems are sought for the fundamental functional needs of societies (Herrlitz et al., 1984, p. 56), when cultural content can no longer be passed on as life goes on and when specialised knowledge and skills are required within certain social groups (Sandfuchs, 2000, p. 18). This can be illustrated very well by the example of the education of business people.

II. 1. School development

II. 1.1. Early Middle Ages

The early European Middle Ages were characterised by feudalism. The feudal lords, nobility and high clerics, formed a small upper class in contrast to the far greater number of dependent peasants, craftsmen and merchants. "The society of the Middle Ages was not a mobile meritocracy, but a traditional aristocratic society, in which the state of birth was also of decisive importance for the career of those who converted to the clergy," writes Kintzinger (2003, p. 77). This meant that attendance at monastic schools and schools at aristocratic courts, as the only forms of schooling in the Carolingian period, was reserved for noblemen who became clergymen or scholars.

Knowledge was still largely passed on orally in the 10th century. One speaks of an "oral culture" (Grams-Stehfest, 2019, p. 59). Thereafter, monastic schools lost their importance and the so-called cathedral and monastery schools were established, in which the next generation of clerics was to be trained for the diocese (Nonn, 2012, p.69; Grams-Stehfest, 2019, p. 60). In contrast to the monastery schools, the cathedral schools were also open to pupils from other social classes. There were pupils "who were future canons and partly already so as pupils (canonici scolares), those who as future worldly clerics or as laymen financed their school attendance otherwise, and finally those who could not pay the school fees and as poor pupils had to provide substitute services (scolares pauperes)" (Kintzinger, 2003, p. 107f.). However, the ascent to higher ecclesiastical office and to the court of the ruler was reserved only for the canonici scolares. Well-known cathedral schools were in Cologne, Hildesheim and Speyer, among others.

The teaching language in the monastery and cathedral schools was Latin. Until the 15th c. the "septem artes liberales", the so-called seven liberal arts, determined the teaching canon. In ancient times, "free" meant that these arts and sciences were not accessible to enslaved people, but only to "free" people. However, the word "liberales" was also derived from the Latin "liber" and means the seven book sciences: grammar, rhetoric, dialectics as well as arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy.

The cathedral schools opened up not only in terms of the student body, but also in terms of content. In contrast to the monastic schools, they were also increasingly oriented towards practical action knowledge. However, a term for "education" did not exist in the Middle Ages; it was about teaching, through which education and training were imparted and from which "educated" people should emerge (ibid., p. 12).

For merchants it was initially not possible to attend monastic schools, nor cathedral schools. Even if they were granted access, they could not have taken advantage of it, because in the early Middle Ages trade existed only in the form of "migratory trade". The merchants travelled with their sons and apprentices to the offices of the foreign cities in the Hanseatic action area and spent months or even years there. Schools, however, were tied to the seat of a monastery, a bishop or a court of nobility (Bruchhäuser, 1989, p. 117). In addition, the education offered by the Artes was not suitable for the needs of merchants. For example, the arithmetic of Artes referred to the calculation of church times and holidays and not to measures, weights and coins.

Even though trading in the early Middle Ages was mainly oral, a certain amount of writing was required, as trading books had to be kept and trading letters had to be written. Therefore, especially in the Russian Novgorod there were interpreters for the negotiations, who were called "Tolke" and were highly respected (ibid., p. 123). Members of the lower clergy offered their writing and reading skills to the merchants as auxiliary services, although the church was sceptical about the commercial pursuit of profit. Trade was not fundamentally reprehensible, as long as it was "virtuously" carried out, but the "spectrum of opinion extended from the rigorous rejection of trade independent of the kind of its exercise at all [...up to] the view that no Christian may act as a merchant ('nullus christianus debet esse mercator')" (ibid., p. 22). Excessive prices and interest were considered reprehensible usury and trading profit was considered to be reprehensible profit-seeking (ibid., p. 130).

In this context Gurjewitsch puts forward an interesting thesis: "The theologians condemned less the principle of individual property itself than its abuse" (Gurjewitsch, 1978, p. 276). In this context he also points out that the church as the largest owner in feudal society of secular wide-ranging property was by no means in favour of abolishing private property completely. "The commandment 'Thou shalt not steal', which defended all property, inevitably guarded above all the interests of the owners in a class society" (ibid., p. 277). The poor, on the other hand, were closer to Christ than the rich, so they were given abundant alms and thus saved their own souls.

Despite this rather negative attitude of the church towards trade, the priest who accompanied the merchants to Novgorod, for example, took over reading and writing in the local office. The fact that a priest accompanied the group of merchants shows the inseparable connection of the merchants with the Church and Christianity - regardless of how clerics assessed the merchants' profit-seeking. For example, a separate Christian church was already established in Novgorod at the time of the establishment of the branch office, because they wanted to be assured of spiritual support on the long journey and in the face of foreign Orthodox doctrine. However, the church was also used as a warehouse and a safe place for the cash box (Bruchhäuser, 1989, p. 131 ff). Remains of the office called "Peterhof" can still be visited in Novgorod today on the so-called trading site.

II.1.2. High and Late Middle Ages

From the 12th and 13th centuries onwards, an increasing secularisation process of the species' teaching canon can be observed. "The progressing intellectual work of the centuries, but above all the travels and the crusades, trade and change, the development of 'new' literature, the influx of Jewish and Arabic scholarship, then finally of the entire Aristotelian literature, brought a tremendous increase of knowledge, not least of all of the knowledge in history, geography and natural history that could hardly be accommodated in the traditional species", writes Dolch in his work "Der Lehrplan des

Abendlandes" (1971, p. 135). One has to consider that during this time, for example, science was considered "useless and religiously dangerous" by the Franciscans (*ibid.*, p. 141). But the distance of theology from the Artes is growing, and science is separating from school science, which includes not only knowledge but also skills, i.e., a manual moment in itself (*ibid.*, p. 143). The Artes became more and more part of the university curriculum, "the smaller schools were gradually reduced to mere preparatory schools (*facultas grammaticae...*)" (*ibid.*, p. 147), the so-called Latin schools. As educational and school providers, the cities took on this type of educational knowledge. In Hildesheim, for example, a separate municipal Latin school was founded around 1225, a school which still exists today: the Gymnasium Andreanum (Keck, 2003).

However, in the towns newly founded since the end of the 12th century, the new townspeople needed a much more suitable education for their commercial and craft activities than the cathedral and Latin schools were able to offer. The citizens also strove for higher recognition in urban society through learned knowledge (Nonn, 2012, p. 137f.). A "new middle class that was no longer exclusively bound to land and property", Buhr writes (1976, p.9). The hierarchical feudal order of the Middle Ages was broken through and the citizens, no longer bound only to the agricultural economy, created more freedom and a say in the cities' affairs. Kintzinger emphasizes that the citizens of the cities had a decisive influence on the development of the knowledge base of contemporary society in the late Middle Ages (Kintzinger, 2003, p. 125).

Until then, commercial correspondence has been conducted in Latin. However, as trade expanded, it became much easier to conduct business in the native language. Merchants therefore needed a good command of foreign languages such as English, Dutch and Swedish in addition to their mother tongue, so that they could communicate with business partners abroad. The requirements of commercial vocational training now led to German writing, reading and arithmetic schools, which were set up by the cities, but also by guilds and private individuals.

In 1252, the council had already made an effort to establish a municipal school in Lübeck, and it was established as an elementary school in 1262. In 1281 a German school was founded in the St. Nikolai-Kirchspiel in Hamburg, in 1278 in Stralsund and in 1279 in Wismar (Nonn, 2012, p. 140). These schools, which were mainly established in cities near the North Sea and the Baltic Sea and in the Lower German language area, remained, however, like all other schools in the large cities, subordinated to the Domscholastikus.

The municipal schools were now also considered as educational paths for business people, as they taught more commercial and occupational content. For the merchants of the Hanseatic League, the beginning of written commercial communication from around the 13th c. was the most important turning point in its educational history, confirms Blankertz (1982, p. 17).

The Latin School and the German School now existed side by side. Many commercial apprentices first attended a Latin school and then the German School (Bruchhäuser, 1989, p. 306). From the municipal elementary school in Lübeck, for example, wax tablets from the time around 1370 are preserved, with writing exercises by students and style exercises on commercial business letters and sales letters. For example, we can read that 31 tons of wine were sent to a merchant at a price of 31 Lübeck Marks, or that it was requested that a good guest be named to whom the merchant could entrust his goods. The wax tablets also contain copies of political council correspondence (*ibid.*, p. 294f.).

The fact that the merchants could now read, write and calculate for themselves made them independent of the clergy. "Those who had education and training were given access to fields of activity, pensions and even career opportunities that would otherwise have remained inaccessible to them. Knowledge finally led to social validity and recognition within the urban society" (Kintzinger, 2003, p. 130). Social advancement was now also possible for those who could not show noble origin or an old-established family. Students were considered equal to the families of the aldermen and were

allowed to marry into the old families. The merchant class was not reserved for a certain social class and to become a merchant one did not have to own land. Merchants were also recruited from serfs and post-born farmer's sons, who could now secure a profitable existence. Cordes justifies this with the fact that the high mobility and rapid growth of the urban population would have made it impossible to restrict trading to established families who were alone capable of making a living. "But even around 1500, when the Hanseatic League had long finished its expansion process, the topos of the rise of the foreign [...] apprentice to the top of the city government - from dishwasher to millionaire, so to speak - was still alive" (Cordes, 2000, p. 4f.).

I have received nothing from my parents that I am obliged to anyone for. I want to die for that, too. Because what I possess, I have acquired with great effort and work from a young age. (From the testament of Bertold Rucenberg, 1364, quoted in Bruchhäuser, 1989).

The Artes still largely determined the curriculum in the municipal schools as well. The great scholastics, however, such as Albertus Magnus, among others, were more open to science, especially natural science (Dolch, 1971, p. 142), and they therefore also judged the movement of goods more openly, as long as trade was not dominated by the pursuit of profit but everything was done for the glory of God.

Particularly as the teaching canon of the Artes increasingly opened up to secular contents, the cities and their citizens increasingly came into conflict with the church. The clergy did not want to detach the imparting of knowledge and the passing on of the traditional stocks of knowledge from the church environment (Kintzinger, 2003, p. 122). But the needs of the merchants, who had to communicate with their trading partners abroad about the value of goods and money as well as about travel routes, created a "very special milieu for the development of a practically accentuated knowledge culture (...) and it was followed by specific expectations regarding the teaching of the middle-class children" (ibid., p. 126f.). That led to the fact that the "competition of the city schools was hated by the church school authorities because it threatened the church monopoly on education and thus an element of church autonomy" (Gramsch-Stehfest, 2019, p. 155). In addition, pupils were obviously withdrawn from the Latin schools, which meant a financial loss for the cathedral schools. Bruchhäuser quotes a complaint to Rome by a scholastic from Hamburg that certain people had founded illegal schools and were teaching boys in their dwellings. In a papal bull of 13th May 1402, the Benedictine Abbot of Paderborn then was ordered, under threat of excommunication, suspension and interdict, to close all illegal schools in Hamburg within six days of receiving the reminder" (1989, p. 301). And, similarly in Lübeck, although four German writing schools were allowed to remain, further schools were banned with the threat of a new ban. There are also similar reports from other Hanseatic towns such as Reval or Braunschweig (ibid., p. 302 ff). The cities had to spend months, often years, in court trials and disputes with the bishop and the cathedral chapter in order to obtain permission to establish a municipal school. Kintzinger (2003, p. 138) adds, however, that afterwards the city fathers made far too little effort to build school buildings or to spend money on qualified school principals (see also Nonn, 2012, p. 140).

The private writing and arithmetic schools in which teaching was no longer in Latin but in German were initially disparagingly referred to as "Winkelschulen". It is astonishing that girls were also taught in these schools, mostly by the wife of the master of writing and arithmetic ("Schreib- und Rechenmeister"). These teachers were initially recruited from, among others, craftsmen who knew how to write or to do arithmetic; students who dropped out of their studies were tolerated by clerics, town clerks and others. The schools were profit-seeking enterprises that had to hold their own against the competition (ibid., p. 142). It can therefore be assumed that the writing and arithmetic masters themselves had a great interest in this and that their students learned successfully.

In the private writing and arithmetic schools, both children and adults were taught, which can be seen well in pictures from this period (Kirk, 2000, p. 71). The citizens of the merchant guilds now

wanted to learn arithmetic for their commercial purposes and took private courses with the arithmetic masters. As a rule, only one or two pupils could be taught at a time (ibid., p. 72). Arithmetic books were written which were intended for self-study, i.e. merchants could thus acquire arithmetic skills themselves. The invention of the printing press around 1450 also made a decisive contribution to the independent education and training of merchants.

According to Berke, the private writing and calculating schools "cannot be rated highly enough for the spread of the German language among the urban population and the training of arithmetic skills" [...] "In them the prospective merchant was taught correspondence, commercial arithmetic and, from the 16th century onwards, also book-keeping" (Berke 1960, p. 139). Furthermore, it was precisely the teachers at these schools who wrote the first German books for the merchants in the fields of correspondence, commercial arithmetic and book-keeping".

With the increasing number of lessons offered at the Latin schools and the municipal German schools, the private schools became less and less important (Kirk, 2000, p. 74).

The Reformation had a significant influence on the spread of writing and arithmetic skills and the change in the school system in the 16th century. According to Luther's teachings, every person should be able to read God's Word himself - which, according to Blankertz (1982, p. 19), was the first argument for compulsory education. Reble describes the Reformation attitude as follows: "Luther says 'yes' to the world at the same time much more decisively and much more radically 'no' than the Middle Ages" - with this he corresponds to the basic trend of the Renaissance (Reble, 1976, p. 75). At first, the Reformation brought about the decline of the school system, because the "abolition of foundations and monasteries destroyed their entire school system" (ibid., p. 80). Especially the humanists lamented this development. In his 1524 paper "To the councillors of all cities in Germany that they should establish and maintain Christian schools", Luther implored the authorities to establish schools for "boys and girls" and to introduce compulsory schooling. It is especially thanks to Melanchthon that a general-scientific-formal humanistic education was established as the foundation for all scientific education (ibid., p. 83). In addition to the German schools in the cities, a forerunner of the later elementary school system, the so-called "Küsterschulen" (schools for the sextons), emerged in the countryside, since instead of the parish priest, the sextons taught the children to read the Bible and catechism, to write and, in some cases, to calculate (Inckemann, 1997, p. 149 ff). For the merchants of the Hanseatic League this development had a positive influence, since most members turned to the Reformed faith.

The settling of merchants since the beginning of the 14th c. was accompanied by a "revolutionization of business operations" (Bruchhäuser, 1989, p. 258). This means that commercial activities now changed, because the rich merchants in the Hanseatic cities were able to conduct long-distance trade from their home towns, as an independent transport system developed. Settlement allowed trade contacts to be made in a large number of distant places, which intensified business operations and considerably increased the prospects for profit. It was very much in keeping with the basic motive of commercial activity: the pursuit of profit. The long-distance traders used so-called "clerks" as secretaries at the foreign accounts. The term "clerk" can be derived from the cleric in his clerical function (ibid., p. 133).

After training in the municipal or private schools, the sons of the rich merchants were sent to the Kontor in Bruges in Flanders, Bergen in Norway and also to the Kontor in Novgorod in Russia, the Peterhof. There the young men were not only to learn the tools of the trade, but also to learn to take responsibility for maintaining trade relations and to show that they could get along abroad. This was a very hard time for them at times, for they were left to their own devices in foreign countries. But the fact that they were able to get to know other countries and cultures at a young age was thanks to their fathers' Hanseatic network.

With the sedentariness of rich merchants and the further flourishing of the Hanseatic cities, the opportunities for social advancement disappeared for the less privileged. The sedentariness led to families who were wealthy at the time of long-distance trade now becoming impoverished and socially marginalised (ibid., p. 260), if they did not manage to recognise and participate in the changes in commercial practice. The social permeability that still characterised the earlier centuries disappeared. An interesting development emerged, which can be described as follows (ibid., p. 141 ff.). Whereas at the Hanseatic Kontor in Novgorod (Russia), the long-distance merchant classes striving for elitism came together, at the Hanseatic Kontor in Bergen (Norway), merchants from rather less prosperous social classes, who had worked their way up the individual career ladder, were themselves engaged in trade. Repulsive from today's point of view are reports about cruel rituals in Bergen, called "games", which all new clerk apprentices had to undergo. These rituals, in which apprentices also died, were intended to deter wealthy merchant journeymen from trading in the Bergen office. It was not until 1671 that the "games" were banned by the Danish king. Bruchhäuser is of the opinion that these "games" were ultimately intended to maintain the merchant profession for a less privileged and richer class.

An interesting aspect is also that after the Peace of Stralsund (in 1370 between the Danish King Waldemar IV and the League of Hanseatic Cities) the Hanseatic League denied their competitors any participation in commercial qualification processes, like learning Dutch and Upper German for merchants who were not members of the Hanseatic League. It was forbidden, for example, to act as an interpreter in the service of "non-Hanseatic" merchants in order to thwart foreign competitors. The office in Bruges banned, under threat of punishment, the teaching of the language to Dutch apprentices in Livonia (today Latvia and Estonia), in order to exclude the Dutch from trading with Livonia. At the Hansa Convention in Lübeck in 1417 and 1447, the ban on language learning was confirmed. After the Hansa Convention in Lübeck in 1487, language students of unknown origin were required to provide written proof of membership of the Hanseatic League (149 ff.). The Hanseatic League thus contributed to the promotion of education within its own sphere and to the prevention of education outside it for fear of losing power!

II. 2. Knowledge acquisition within the framework of the Hanseatic League

II. 2. 1. Learning abroad

The earliest form of commercial training took place abroad and already on the journey the merchandise was accompanied by the apprentices, often the sons or nephews of the merchants, who were only 13 years old. They completed their apprenticeship in the trading area of the Hanseatic League, i.e. at the Hanseatic Kontors and branches in cities such as Novgorod, Bruges, Bergen, Riga and London. One of the oldest records is of their stay in Peterhof in Novgorod. There was a provision in the Novgorod Court Rules (Schra), written around 1270, that apprentices (they were called "children") should stay in a separate room. When German merchants were captured in Novgorod in 1421, there was an apprentice among them. During the occupation of the Hanseatic Peterhof by the Russians in 1442, German merchant apprentices were also among the prisoners. At the Livonian town council in Wolmar in 1445 it was decided that no more apprentices should be sent to Pskov (Russia), as there was trouble between German merchants and Russians (Bruchhäuser 1989, p. 166 ff.). For example, the apprenticeship at the London office (Stalhof) lasted two years - but it could also last four years or longer at other offices. The apprenticeship abroad was maintained even after the merchants had settled down.

II. 2. 2. Training and teaching contents from the end of the 14th century

Typical career of a Hanseatic merchant

Hammel-Kiesow describe the typical career of a German Hanseatic merchant at the end of the 14th century as follows (Hammel-Kiesow et al., 2015, p. 94 f): the merchant was of Lower German origin, citizen of a Hanseatic city and licensed to trade in the branches (Kontors) abroad. This meant that he profited from the privileges acquired by the Hanseatic League. Training began at the age of six. The boy learned to read, write, calculate, Latin and church singing. At the age of 12 he started a commercial apprenticeship, which usually lasted 6 years and was practice-oriented. Part of this training had to be completed abroad. To learn the language, the apprentice was supposed to stay with the locals in the host country. In this way, the apprentices learned Russian, Polish, Estonian, Latvian, English, Icelandic, among others.

These six years of apprenticeship were followed by the journeyman's time, which was often spent with the master of the apprentice. The journeyman was already allowed to travel to foreign branches on behalf of his master and to conduct commercial transactions. It is interesting to note that after the journeyman's time, the merchant did not open his own trading business or become an employee in his father's business but became a partner in a trading company (Cordes, 2000, p. 3f.). Entering a trading company was a career leap.

The importance of the knowledge of foreign languages, reading and writing

First of all, both the merchants and the apprentices learned the necessary language skills as part of their apprenticeship abroad. For example, as early as 1269 the German merchants demanded that their language students be allowed to go to the Novgorod area unhindered in order to learn the language there (Bruchhäuser, 1989, p. 194). So, there were German merchant apprentices called "sprakelerers" who learned the Russian language in Russian families, (ibid., p. 196). Learning the language was the most important aspect of learning abroad. That it was not always good for the students to learn the language in a local family is shown, for example, by a report on a court case in Novgorod in 1423. On the German side, there was a complaint that the language student had been beaten to death by the gentleman with whom he lived and that he had taken his things (ibid., p. 202). One should assume, however, that such assaults were the exception.

From the 13th century onwards, Low German replaced Latin, but it was not until the middle to end of the 14th century that Low German was able to establish itself as the language of documents. From 1300 onwards, Middle Low German became the lingua franca in the Hanseatic region. "Central Low German was used for legal and commercial transactions and is also called 'Hanseatic language' in research" (Flache, 2003, p. 217). High German did not gain entry into the municipal chancelleries until the 16th century (ibid., p. 218). However, commercial apprentices were not supposed to specialise in just one language area but rather trade in several language areas. For this reason, they often completed their training at different offices in different countries.

The expansion of trade relations due to the sedentariness of rich merchants made it necessary that business transactions were well documented, so writing now was taught right from the very basics in German schools. Special books ("Schreibmeisterbücher") were used, containing illustrations for the preparation of the pens, exercises for body and hand posture, the teaching of individual characters and the application of writing patterns. The exercise material was business letters, certificates and contracts – also calligraphy was taught. Historical finds show that learning to read and write was job-related from the very beginning, with practice in, for example, entering names and nominal amounts in columns or listing types of coins (Bruchhäuser, 1989, p. 311 ff.).

There are also - initially handwritten - aids such as language books and dictionaries, e.g. the "Russian Book" written towards the end of the 15th century by the Dorpat councillor Thomas Schrove (Dorpat is today's Tartu in Estonia) and a Russian-Low German phrase book (ibid., p. 247).

Knowledge of the legal framework and the merchandise

Trading activities were subject to the regional legal norms and customs prevailing in the respective country. Merchants had to know and observe these legal conditions in order to trade successfully. This involved foreign privileges, trade contracts, account statutes and the locally customary trading modalities.

At first, the sales convent of Lübeck ("Lübisches Kaufrecht") was based on the form of itinerant trade, i.e. the simultaneous presence of seller, buyer and goods in the purchase trade from about the year 1000 onwards. From the 13th c. onwards, when merchants settled down, the delivery trade took the place of itinerant trade. Knowledge of the goods was still necessary, as was knowledge of the so-called marks of origin, which enabled a certain quality control. The merchants of the Hanseatic League limited themselves to relatively few trading objects: in Novgorod mainly fur and wax, in Bergen stockfish, in London wool and in Bruges cloth. In the foreign apprenticeship the different knowledge of the goods could be acquired locally, e.g. one had to make sure that "when buying wool, no hairs were struck under it" (ibid., p. 219). In order to acquire this knowledge, it was common practice for merchant apprentices to learn in craft enterprises as well. Apprentices were, for example, first sent to a linen maker in the countryside at Stalhof in London, in order to get to know and become familiar with the goods in addition to the English language. This training, however, did not last longer than a year and then was continued in the Kontor.

Acquisition of the trading technology

Languages are important for communication, and knowledge of the merchandise is also important so that high-quality merchandise can be distinguished from inferior merchandise. For successful trading or for making a profit, however, the so-called trading technique, i.e. the design of the act of purchase, is of particular importance, as described by (ibid., p. 223). It involves the right purchase of goods, setting prices, getting rid of the goods quickly so as not to be left sitting on them and making losses, determining suitable transport routes, dealing with customers correctly, claiming debts, weighing up risks and securities correctly. It is a matter of acquiring a basic mental attitude to acting and negotiating (ibid., p. 230 ff.). This knowledge was acquired especially on the spot in the context of learning abroad.

Computability

Profit-oriented trading was dependent on the ability to calculate. On the one hand, with regard to the dimensions of the goods, i.e. quantity in size and weight, and, on the other hand, with regard to the handling of the coinage systems. Both were highly dependent on the region or country, and therefore of great diversity. In addition, expenditure and income had to be compared. In the times of migratory trade, commercial transactions were hardly ever recorded in writing, and accordingly there was no systematic approach. With the expansion of the volume of business and the emergence of written commercial correspondence, accounting became increasingly important.

The oldest known book of arithmetic in German was written by the arithmetic master Ulrich Wagner in 1482 in Nuremberg and contains a clear orientation of the contents of the lessons towards the profession of a merchant. For example, the "rule of three" was carried out when buying various commodities. The calculation methods were different in the various calculation books: there was line calculation (Roman numerical system with abacus), but also numerical calculation (Arabic numerical representation), followed by the acquisition of basic arithmetical operations (ibid., p. 319 ff). The rule of three was of particular importance, in that, for example, it had to be calculated how much x metres of cloth cost if one metre costs y guilders. The use of the rule of three was also important in the conversion of the various coinages, measurements and weight units. The calculation of profit and also of loss was of particular importance, as was the calculation of interest and compound interest.

Interesting are the verbal factual arithmetical tasks, which have always had a connection to the commercial profession. There were also matching illustrations for these arithmetical tasks, such as a ship, a customs house, a herring buoy or the illustration of various coins. It was not about an explanation of the calculation method, but only about the application of rules and correct calculation results. There were calculating boards for "calculating on the line", arithmetic pennies (Rechenpfennige). Referring to Adam Riese (German arithmetic master in the 16th c.) Bruchhäuser wrote: "Riese knew how to methodically combine line and pen-and-ink arithmetic by placing the more descriptive use of arithmetic pennies in the individual arithmetic operations before the application of the more abstract numbers" (ibid., p. 340).

The first types of bookkeeping can be traced back to a merchant from Lübeck as early as 1330 - these were initially done rather informally. It was not until the 14th and 15th centuries that double-entry bookkeeping was learned as part of foreign teaching, and from the middle of the 16th century onwards, arithmetic masters in schools also adopted this teaching content. However, there were hardly any textbooks. In 1549 Wolfgang Schweicker of Nuremberg wrote a work on double bookkeeping ("Zwifach Buchhalten"), to which all further works referred (ibid., p. 334).

Social behaviour

Within the framework of the Hanseatic League, group norms of social behaviour were taught to young business people. For example, in the court orders of 1270 and 1325 there was an "Elderly man" in the Novgorod Kontor. He ran the Kontor, also acted as a judge and was called in when verbal disputes led to violence. Self-administration was a social characteristic of the Hanseatic foreign accounts (ibid., p. 236f.). The aim was to acquire professional virtues and behaviour patterns typical of the profession from the perspective of profit-oriented, rational trade. The journeymen had a model function for the apprentices and were also responsible for their training. The model was that of "professional diligence and a modest personal lifestyle" (ibid., p. 240).

Methods and media of content mediation by the Hanseatic League

The most effective method was probably "the inclusion of apprentices in the business activity and their participation in it" (ibid., p. 244). The contents became vivid and could be experienced directly. The fact that apprentices were fully involved in the business also entailed risks due to their limited professional experience. There was, however, the custom that the apprentices were allowed to carry on a kind of retail trade on their own - "all kinds of spices and trifles" (ibid., p. 245) -, which was not permitted to German merchants, e.g. in Novgorod (laid down in the Kontor rules and regulations of the Peterhof of 1371), Bruges and other Kontors. Also, in Reval, for example, the long-distance traders left the sale of salt to apprentices. They learned how to deal with the customers, they practised the language and profit-oriented trading techniques without great economic risk (ibid., p. 246).

In the transition from the Middle Ages to modern times (around the end of the 15th to the beginning of the 16th century) the worldview of wider Europe changed and with it the methods and media of imparting knowledge and skills. It was a slow and gradual process and the educational paths of the states continued to differ.

In the Renaissance period, the values of antiquity had been valid. Autonomous thinking was now expected and perceiving oneself as an individual became the actual goal of life (Reble, 1967, p. 64). At the same time man experienced the world in a new and deeper way. The basic trend of the epoch was lust for life, worldliness and a broadening of horizons. In hindsight it seems clear that the conquests of the world at that time, the voyages of discovery and the expansion of trade did not fall into this epoch by chance, and that rather this new basic attitude also had to become visible as an outrageous expansion of the economic and technical field. And the ideal of man was the literarily and artistically educated, philosophically open-minded and cosmopolitan man (ibid., p. 68) - that is, the man who knows foreign countries, who travels, who confronts and deals with foreign cultures and languages.

In the history of education this epoch is closely connected with the term "Humanism". In the whole of Europe, i.e. also in the whole area of the Hanseatic League, the need for a purely secular and no longer theologically formed education was recognized and the question of the right teaching method arose. It was criticized that after ten years of schooling a child learned only a fair amount of Latin and hardly any Greek. The children of merchants who travelled to other countries learned to speak various foreign languages fluently in a much shorter time. It was concluded that the lack of success of school language teaching must be due to the method. In addition, those who went abroad also had much more knowledge of the world than students who only went to school. The humanists also denounced the hard 'breeding and beating' pedagogy of the Middle Ages (ibid., p. 71).

In summary, it can be said that the qualification requirements of Hanseatic merchants advanced the development of German national education. The emergence of cities in the Middle Ages with a self-confident citizenry consisting largely of merchants provided schools that were accessible to a broad section of the population and became increasingly cosmopolitan. From this point of view, the development of education within the Hanseatic League and the general development of schools were mutually beneficial. However, it is also interesting to note that not only learning in schools but also learning locally (especially abroad) was important for the acquisition of knowledge by the merchants.

III. The time of the Hanseatic League as learning matter today

III. 1. Reception of the Hanseatic League in the last two centuries

The phenomenon "the Hanseatic League" - like most historical facts - has been received and interpreted in different ways throughout the history of research. Every historical work is a child of its time. However, Hanseatic history has also been abused by ideology.

Due to Germany's stronger orientation towards world trade and the establishment of a German naval power in the 19th and early 20th centuries, the Hanseatic League was an excellent example of economic upswing and colonialism. For this reason, the Hanseatic League was much more important in textbooks than the southern German city associations (Buhr, 1976, p. 32).

It was "suggested to the student the necessity of a turn to world politics" and "a basis for the Wilhelminian naval policy" was created" (ibid., p. 52). However, there was also a socially critical Hanseatic image in the embodiment of the pirates (especially Claus Störtebecker) who worked against the "exploitative pepper sacks".

The image of the Hanseatic League shaped in the Middle Ages as the embodiment of German greatness was used to compensate for the defeat in the First World War. During the Nazi era, the Hanseatic League was accorded enormous national and political significance (Graichen, & Hammel-Kiesow, 2011, p. 361 ff). It was now about the "Hanseatic naval heroes" and the "Hanseatic citizen" as a "political and soldierly man" (Buhr, 1976, p. 84 f). "The Hanseatic League is thus placed within the framework of the National Socialist general theme of the expansion of the German life space" (ibid., p. 100). It was defined as an "association on a national basis" and this meant that the German merchant felt superior to the foreign one (ibid., p. 101).

After the Second World War, the history books had to be revised also with regard to the depictions of the Hanseatic League. These revisions were partly based on the textbooks of the Weimar Republic. According to Buhr, even after 1945, many authors found it difficult to keep the Hanseatic image free of nationalist ideas. (Buhr 1976, p. 135). In the textbooks up to the 1970s Buhr misses economic and social history perspectives that could be brought to the attention of the students, especially on the topic of the Hanseatic League. This has changed in recent decades. In the booklet published by Kultur und Werbung Lippstadt GmbH in cooperation with the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Historischer Stadtkerne

in Nordrhein-Westfalen "Die Hanse. Merchants Conquer Europe. Ein Heft für den Unterricht" (Klose, 2007), for example, children are given a picture of the Hanseatic League that is largely appropriate to the current state of research. Here, for example, reference is also made to contemporary designations that go back to the Hanseatic League such as "Hansaplast", "Lufthansa" and the car registration numbers HH (Hanseatic City of Hamburg), HL (Hanseatic City of Lübeck) etc. Also, the topic "International Hanseatic Days today" is taken up.

Today, representatives of globalization see the medieval Hanseatic League as the forerunner of our globalization processes (Graichen & Hammel-Kiesow 2011 p. 360). However, the frequently made comparison of "the Hanseatic League" and "the European Union" should always be viewed critically. By no means is the Hanseatic League a forerunner of the EU. Both are phenomena of a very special kind. Just looking at the respective actors - medieval merchants, on the one hand, and modern democratic nation states on the other - shows the difficulty of a comparison.

III. 2. The Hanseatic League as learning matter today

The phenomenon "Hanseatic League" offers many possibilities to transport topics and contents. In addition to its purely historical dimension, i.e. its obviously important significance for the social development in the north of the Holy Roman Empire and beyond that its influence on the whole of northern and central Europe, it can also be used as a framework for many other topics. For the development of the medieval city as an independent form of society, long-distance trade is of great importance. The rich merchants were an important group of the growing bourgeoisie. In northern Germany, the Hanseatic League as a network of rich long-distance traders is one aspect that helps to understand medieval society and its development.

The phenomenon "Hanseatic League" is therefore a learning matter in itself. The "Hanseatic League" is a thoroughly complex subject, which, as the history of research shows, has been ideologically distorted on several occasions and still often imprecisely and therefore sometimes incorrectly communicated.

The easily established references to today's world are advantageous for the mediation of business life. Our society today is dependent on long-distance trade. In order to approach the topic of globalization, for example, it can be helpful to look at the activities of Hanseatic merchants. Or on the subject of communication, the juxtaposition of letters and modern digital message formats makes the unbelievable amount and speed of today's communication, which many people (especially younger ones) are not necessarily aware of, only clearer. In the Middle Ages it was certainly the merchants who wrote the most letters, as they were dependent on information for their business.

Many of the topics and possibilities naturally concern medieval merchants in general. What can be shown particularly well with reference to the Hanseatic League are ways of cooperation with individual competition. Actually, the Hanseatic merchants and also the Hanseatic cities had strongly divergent interests, but nevertheless they created a system for themselves in which they were nearly always able to work and profit together. Understanding the mechanisms behind this is also important for modern societies. This is where the phenomenon of the "Hanseatic League" is particularly valuable as learning matter. It could be interesting to explore the extent to which the special training of Hanseatic merchants (see above) had an influence on the network of friendships, acquaintances and relatives that ultimately lay behind Hanseatic activities. It is reasonable to assume that it was precisely during the apprenticeship years abroad and in befriended merchant families that contacts and friendships were made that made a successful career within the Hanseatic network possible in the first place. Conversely, the personal level of acquaintances may be a particular strength of the network.

Even if a comparison goes too far, the outlining of the Hanseatic League against the backdrop of the European Union offers many opportunities to approach both topics in depth. If one works out the intentions and motives of the respective actors and looks at the resulting structures, astonishing parallels or differences become apparent. Modelling such an outlining allows deep insights into both topics.

III. 3. The importance of the European Hanseatic Museum in Lübeck

The European Hanseatic Museum in Lübeck explores the questions of what the Hanseatic League was and what economic role it played in Europe on an exhibition area of ca. 3,500 m². Especially the question of which parallels and insights can be gained from the phenomenon "Hanseatic League" for our time will be the focus of the museum's research and communication. The exhibition shows the multifaceted development of an initially loose pool of Lower German merchants into one of the leading European trade networks. Through media work-stations, staged presentations and valuable original objects, the visitor is sent on a journey through time, beginning in the 12th century and enabling him to experience the daring and greed for profit of the merchants, adventurous trade journeys, exciting trading places as well as wealth, illness, life and work in the Middle Ages in detail and intensively. A special highlight of the Hanseatic exhibition are the high-quality productions in which students can experience important stages of Hanseatic history at close quarters and in which the Middle Ages come alive to a certain extent. This emotional, haptic access to historical content is an impressive experience especially for schoolchildren. How cramped was the journey with a cog really? What do wool or linen fabrics feel like? How heavy was chain mail? What is shown is always based on historical and archaeological evidence and the latest scientific research. The presentations are complemented by valuable original objects, such as rare documents, paintings or collection pieces from international museums, which complete the visitors' journey through time.

This special and high-quality exhibition is at the heart of the European Hanseatic Museum's educational work, as it brings the most important contents closer to a broad public. There are special offers for the in-depth study of individual topics, e.g. a workshop on writing or a business game that provides insights into the difficulties of consensus negotiation. The museum's programme is rounded off by numerous events such as lectures, panel discussions and the like, which take a broader view of economic activity in the past and present, thus demonstrating the relevance of Hanseatic history for our society today.

Together with the Research Centre for the History of the Hanseatic League and the Baltic Sea Region (FGHO), the European Hanseatic Museum Lübeck aims to be a hub of Hanseatic research. This is where the latest results of international research come together, are processed and made available to a broad public.

Concluding remark

The examination of the topic "Education and the Hanseatic League" has shown that the general history of education in the Middle Ages cannot be separated from the specific history of merchant education, but that both strands of development have influenced and stimulated each other. This can be shown very well with the example of the education of merchants within the Hanseatic League.

It would now be interesting to compare the development of merchant education in Upper Germany with the development in Lower Germany, which developed partly in parallel, but partly also differently. It can be seen that the Upper German economic and city union model of the cities of Augsburg, Esslingen, Nürnberg and Ulm with the Upper German merchant dynasties and societies (Fugger, Welser, Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft) and their long-distance trade with Northern Italy, Spain, France, but also India and others, meets with far less interest in educational literature than the

Hanseatic League. This may be due to the network of the Hanseatic League that the merchants created, which is interesting for the present day, or to the political ideologization of the Hanseatic League in the last two centuries described above, which has still not completely disappeared - or perhaps also to the "seafaring romanticism" with which the Hanseatic League is all too often associated.

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Dietmar Waterkamp (Germany)

Realism, Pansophy and Mentality in the Work of the Czech and World Pedagogue J.A. Comenius: An Analysis of Three Fundamental German Works and Their Significance for International Comeniology

Abstract: Three fundamental scientific works on the pedagogy of Comenius will be considered from new perspectives. These are the works of the East German comeniologist Franz Hofmann and the two West German comeniologists, Klaus Schaller and Andreas Lischewski. Germany has produced numerous scientific analyses of Comenius since 1945, but these three habilitation theses were selected for comparative analysis because their authors gained an international reputation as comeniologists through these works. By illuminating the different views of Comenius, new aspects of his world view and pedagogy can be carved out. Differences arise not only due to certain peculiarities of Comeniology between East Germany and West Germany, but also between Protestant and Roman Catholic interpretations. Each of the three works describes the pedagogy of Comenius from its own perspective. Hofmann wrote as a historian of pedagogy and at the same time as a teacher-trainer who passes on the intellectual heritage to a younger generation of pedagogues; Schaller wrote as a pedagogue and philosopher who provided a philosophical deepening of Comenius' pedagogy; Lischewski, as a younger scientist, undertook a scientific-critical effort to delve into the hidden theoretical structure of Comenius' work. A look at the three works shows that there are still unresolved questions despite the renewed upswing in Comenius research since the 20th century.

Keywords: J.A. Comenius, Consultatio Catholica, German universities; Franz Hofmann, Klaus Schaller, Andreas Lischewski, Habilitation treatise.

摘要 (Dietmar Waterkamp: 捷克及世界教育家夸美纽斯著作中的现实主义, 泛神论及心态: 德国三项基本著作及其对国际夸美纽斯学重要性的分析): 文章从新的角度分析了夸美纽斯教学法的三项基本科学著作。主要涉及东德夸美纽斯学学家 弗朗兹·霍夫曼以及两位西德的夸美纽斯学学家克劳斯·沙勒和安德烈亚斯·利舒夫斯基的著作。自 1945 年以来, 德国对夸美纽斯进行了诸多的学术分析。然而, 这三项获得大学授课资质的学术著作被选中用于比较性的分析是因为三位作者由于他们的著作而赢得了作为夸美纽斯学者的很高的国际声誉, 并且, 因为他们从不同的视角阐释了夸美纽斯世界观的全新的观点, 从而教育学可以由此得到进一步展开。差异不仅源于东西德之间在夸美纽斯学上的某些特殊性, 而且也源自新教和罗马天主教的阐释。这三部作品中的每一部都从个人的角度展现了夸美纽斯的教育学。作为教育史学家, 同时也是一位教师教育家, 霍夫曼描述了他将知识遗产传承给了年轻一代的教育家。作为教育家和哲学家, 沙勒描述了他深化了科美尼亚教育学的哲学。而作为年轻的科学工作者, 利舒夫斯基进行了科学的批判性的努力, 以便了解科美尼亚著作中隐藏的知识结构。通过观察这三部作品可以发现, 尽管对夸美纽斯的研究重新兴起, 但自 20 世纪以来仍然存在着未解决的问题。

关键词: 夸美纽斯, 天主教会, 德国大学, 弗朗兹·霍夫曼, 克劳斯·沙勒, 安德烈亚斯·利舒斯基, 大学授课资质论文。

摘要 (Dietmar Waterkamp: 捷克及世界教育家誇美紐斯著作中的現實主義, 泛神論及心態: 德國三項基本著作及其對國際誇美紐斯學重要性的分析): 文章從新的角度分析了誇美紐斯教學法的三項基本科學著作。主要涉及東德誇美紐斯學學家弗朗茲·霍夫曼以及兩位西德的誇美紐斯學學家克勞斯·沙勒和安德烈亞斯·利舒夫斯基的著作。自 1945 年以來, 德國對誇美紐斯進行了諸多的學術分析。然而, 這三項獲得大學授課資質的學術著作被選中用於比較性的分析是因為三位作者由於他們的著作而贏得

了作為誇美紐斯學者的很高的國際聲譽，並且，因為他們從不同的視角闡釋了誇美紐斯世界觀的全新的觀點，從而教育學可以由此得到進一步展開。差異不僅源於東西德之間在誇美紐斯學上的某些特殊性，而且也源自新教和羅馬天主教的闡釋。這三部作品中的每一部都從個人的角度展現了誇美紐斯的教育學。作為教育史學家，同時也是一位教師教育家，霍夫曼描述了他將知識遺產傳承給了年輕一代的教育家。作為教育家和哲學家，沙勒描述了他深化了科美尼亞教育學的哲學。而作為年輕的科學工作者，利舒夫斯基進行了科學的批判性的努力，以便了解科美尼亞著作中隱藏的知識結構。通過觀察這三部作品可以發現，儘管對誇美紐斯的研究重新興起，但自 20 世紀以來仍然存在著未解決的問題。

關鍵詞：誇美紐斯，天主教會，德國大學，弗朗茲·霍夫曼，克勞斯·沙勒，安德烈亞斯·利舒夫斯基，大學授課資質論文。

Zusammenfassung (Dietmar Waterkamp: Realismus, Pansophie und Mentalität im Werk des tschechischen und Weltpädagogen J.A. Comenius: Eine Analyse dreier grundlegender deutscher Arbeiten und ihre Bedeutung für die internationale Comeniologie): Es werden drei grundlegende wissenschaftliche Werke zur Pädagogik des Comenius unter neuen Gesichtspunkten betrachtet. Dabei handelt es sich um die Arbeiten des ostdeutschen Comeniologen Franz Hofmann und der beiden westdeutschen Comeniologen, Klaus Schaller und Andreas Lischewski. Wissenschaftliche Analysen zu Comenius sind in Deutschland seit 1945 zahlreich zu finden, jedoch diese drei Habilitationsschriften wurden für die vergleichende Analyse ausgewählt, weil ihre Autoren durch diese Arbeiten eine hohe internationale Reputation als Comeniologen erlangten, und weil sich durch die Beleuchtung der differenten Sicht auf Comenius neue Aspekte seiner Weltanschauung und Pädagogik herausarbeiten lassen. Differenzen ergeben sich nicht nur durch bestimmte Eigenheiten der Comeniologie zwischen Ostdeutschland und Westdeutschland, sondern auch zwischen protestantischen und römisch-katholischen Interpretationen. Jede der drei Arbeiten entfaltet die Pädagogik des Comenius aus einem eigenen Blickwinkel. Hofmann schrieb als Historiker der Pädagogik und zugleich als Lehrerbildner, der das gedankliche Erbe an eine jüngere Generation von Pädagogen weitergibt, Schaller schrieb als Pädagoge und Philosoph, der eine philosophische Vertiefung der comenianischen Pädagogik leistete, Lischewski unternimmt als jüngerer Wissenschaftler eine wissenschaftlich-kritische Anstrengung, um zu einer verborgenen gedanklichen Struktur des comenianischen Werkes vorzudringen. Die Betrachtung der drei Werke zeigt, dass trotz des erneuten Aufschwungs der Comenius-Forschung seit dem 20. Jahrhundert noch ungelöste Fragen bestehen.

Schlüsselwörter: J.A. Comenius, Consultatio Catholica, deutsche Universitäten, Habilitationsschriften: Franz Hofmann, Klaus Schaller, Andreas Lischewski

Резюме (Дитмар Ватеркамп: Реализм, пансофизм и ментальность в трудах всемирно известного чешского педагога Я. А. Коменского: анализ трех основополагающих работ немецких специалистов, определение их значения для всей комениологии): В работе предпринимается попытка рассмотреть под новым углом зрения три основополагающие научные работы, посвященные педагогическому наследию Я. А. Коменского. Это публикации немецких комениологов: Франца Хофманна (Восточная Германия) и Клауса Шаллера и Андреаса Лишевски (Западная Германия). В Германии начиная с 1945 года появилось много научных исследований, направленных на изучение идей и концепций Я. А. Коменского. Мы отобрали для сравнительного анализа докторские диссертации названных выше ученых из Германии, поскольку именно благодаря этим работам ученые получили признание в научном сообществе комениологов на международном уровне. Вторым аргументом в пользу нашего выбора стало то, что данные работы – благодаря собственному, оригинальному взгляду авторов на дискурс Коменского – «высветили» новые аспекты его картины мира и педагогического творчества. Зоны расхождения во взглядах на педагогическое наследие Коменского объясняются не только спецификой развития комениологии в Восточной и Западной Германии, но и спецификой протестантской и римско-католической интерпретации работ чешского ученого. В каждой из трех работ присутствует своя перспектива осмысления педагогики Коменского. Хофманн смотрит на проблему глазами педагога-историка и специалиста, занимающегося профессиональной подготовкой учителей; его основная задача – транслировать идеи Коменского новому поколению педагогов; Шаллер пишет как педагог и философ – он обеспечивает педагогике Коменского философскую проекцию; Лишевски, представляя новое поколение ученых, осуществляет критическую рефлексия, чтобы проникнуть в глубь

ментальных структур, определяющих концепцию Коменского. Анализ работ Хофманна, Шаллера и Лишевски показал, что, несмотря на новую волну интереса к наследию Коменского, обозначившуюся с XX века, на этом участке остается еще много нерешенных вопросов.

Ключевые слова: Я. А. Коменский, Всеобщий совет об исправлении дел человеческих, немецкие университеты, Франц Хофманн, Клаус Шаллер, Андреас Лишевски, докторские диссертации

On the scientific and social environment at the time the habilitation theses of the German comeniologists Hofmann, Schaller and Lischewski were written

It was not until the 20th century that important writings of the Czech and world pedagogue Jan Amos Comenius (1592-1670) were found, viewed and published in archives. Several bibliographies have been compiled (Michel, & Beer, 2000; Korthaase, 1996; further bibliographical references can also be found in the IDE journal (Golz, 2015).

Most of the works of Comenius were discovered in the 1930s but were only edited and translated after the Second World War. It is above all the "Consultatio Catholica de Rerum Humanarum Emendatione" (in German: Allgemeine Beratung zur Verbesserung der menschlichen Dinge; in English: General advice on how to improve human things; abbreviated often referred to "Consultatio Catholica"), which Comenius wrote during the last three decades of his life and of which a copy has been preserved over the centuries in the city of Halle in eastern Germany. It is a very extensive work, consisting of seven individual books, which has by no means been translated into German in its entirety to this day. His work includes the famous books Pampaedia, Pansophia and Panglottia; the Panorthosia from this collective work of Comenius also became famous. The rescued Latin manuscript, which was not written by Comenius, is now in the National Comenius Pedagogy Museum in the Czech capital, Prague. The "Lexicon Reale Pansophicum" also belongs to the collection of manuscripts from Halle. In addition, smaller and fragmentary works from other places, which also represent Comenius' Pansophicum, were found in the estate of Samuel Hartlib in London by G. H. Turnbull. Among them is a first short version of the Janua Rerum from 1643, which was reissued posthumously in 1681 as "Janua rerum reserata" and was more complete. Other works were found by F.M. Bartoš and St. Souček in St.Petersburg, which today belong to the so-called Leningrad manuscripts, including the Prima Philosophia, i.e. the Metaphysics of Comenius, which was written between 1628 and 1630. It should not be overlooked that quite a few of Torso's unfinished works have been preserved (Schadel, 1989; Ludvikovskij, 1961).

Two independent camps have been attempting to present Comenius in a new way for contemporary educational science in Germany since 1960. This constellation in 20th century Germany is attributed by many to the desire of contemporary authors to reconcile past theories with the conditions of the modern world. Yet this phenomenon alone cannot account for the newly awakened interest in Comenius. The two German states which existed from 1949 to 1989 were faced with a difficult question: could the work of educational scientists in the time before 1945 be utilized or would researchers have to start from scratch?

The combination of Comenius's status as an outstanding figure of educational thought in several European countries, including Germany, and the aforementioned coincidence in the history of manuscripts, ensured that the Consultation Work first became known as the main work of Comenius in the 20th century, making translations and commentaries necessary. On the one hand, there were educational scientists from the GDR (German Democratic Republic; often referred to as East Germany), who, inspired by a book by Robert Alt from 1953, edited and interpreted Comenius' writings anew or for the first time (Alt, 1953). The leading scholar in this endeavour was initially Hans Ahr-

beck (1890 to 1981). After his student Franz Hofmann had habilitated, he became the leading comeniologist in the pedagogy of the GDR. Hofmann was habilitated at the University of Halle in 1960 with a thesis on Comenius. In the Federal Republic of Germany, it was the Bochum Professor of Pedagogy Klaus Schaller, who was habilitated at the University of Mainz in 1959 with a scientific work on Comenius, who appeared in print in 1962. In Germany had the unusual situation that two outstanding experts on Comenius literature, both equipped with a good knowledge of Czech and with good contacts to Czech Comenius researchers, worked independently of each other, but with knowledge of each other's publications. The period from 1960 to 1990 was productive for Comenius research in Germany, and Comenius remains a permanent fixture and perpetual undertaking in German educational science today. Both Hofmann and Schaller, inspired by Comenius' holistic and universal thinking, understood and practiced their work as an international undertaking. A broad textual basis was created during the decades after 1960, giving Comenius research a new foundation. Translations into German as well as interpretive publications were produced. Two habilitation theses, from 1959 and 1962, stand out even today. The decades proved to be so fruitful for pedagogical Comenius research in Germany that in 2013 another German habilitation thesis on the pedagogy of Comenius was published, which can be positioned next to the two aforementioned ones.

As scientists, the East German Franz Hofmann and the West German Klaus Schaller were certainly on par with each other. Both read and spoke excellent Czech and had a good education in the old language. For both of them the topic "Comenius" was a lifelong pursuit. The coexistence of two outstanding Comenius experts in educational science in Germany, who belonged to the two opposing German states, was a special constellation in the second half of the 20th century. While Hofmann took up the work of older scientists in the GDR such as Robert Alt and Hans Ahrbeck, Schaller was strongly inspired by the Czech philosopher and Comenius expert Jan Patočka.

Andreas Lischewski's monograph on Comenius, which was published by Schöningh Verlag in 2013, was a surprise for the public. It is a habilitation thesis which was submitted to the University of Passau under the title "The Discovery of the Pedagogical Mentality in Comenius". The somewhat modernistic-looking title is initially irritating, but the subtitle clarifies the content: "The problem of anthropological empowerment in the *Consultatio Catholica*". This book expands on the pedagogical interpretation of Comenius because it offers a generally consistent interpretation of the *Consultatio Catholica*. This helps to reconstruct the essential stages of Comenius' philosophical career and to answer individual questions about his most important works. There was little reason to hope that another German scholar from the field of educational science would take the trouble to delve deeper into the work of Comenius than Hofmann and Schaller did. Both died in the early 21st century: Hofmann in 2002 and Schaller in 2015. One might assume that such a work would have had to have been written in Bochum under Schaller's influence or - rather unlikely - in Halle under Hofmann's influence. It should, however, be considered that Johannes Schurr had worked as an educational scientist in Passau and had published an introduction to the *Consultatio Catholica* as early as 1981 (Schurr, 1981). He died relatively early in 1994.

There was also strong cohort of philosophical-theological Comenius researchers in Bamberg with Erwin Schadel and Uwe Voigt. Lischewski probably met Schaller, who was perhaps the first to introduce him to Comenius, during his studies in Bochum. He certainly got to know Hofmann through Comenius conferences; the two Bamberg philosophers were known to him early on. He himself mentions only Schadel by name in the epilogue to the printed habilitation thesis but he refers to the "Stiftung Forschungskreis zur Förderung der Begründungswissenschaft Metaphysik", whose Pentecost conferences he repeatedly attended. The foundation awards scholarships for doctoral students among other things. In view of the strong secularization which educational science in Germany has undergone in the past 50 years or so, the reference to this scientific milieu sounds almost as if the

author wanted to locate himself on the fringes of this science. But the opposite is the case, Lischewski is in the middle of the professional guild. This is shown by his other publications.

One might wonder why Lischewski did not continue his academic career with Klaus Schaller. This question would have been easier to answer with Franz Hofmann in Halle. But the university towns that have influenced the student and scientist from North Rhine-Westphalia most in his intellectual development are in Bavaria: Würzburg and Passau in particular, and Eichstätt next door, where Lischewski also taught at the university. The aforementioned foundation is based in the Franconian town of Eisingen near Würzburg. One of the founders of the foundation was Rudolph Beringer, who was a professor of philosophy at the University of Würzburg. Lischewski probably became acquainted with Beringer's philosophical teachings through Winfried Böhm, a student of Beringer. A similar relationship existed with Prof. Wiebke Schrader, a younger colleague of Beringer's in Würzburg, who was particularly familiar with Lischewski's subject matter. Lischewski refers to her as his "mentor" (Lischewski, 2010, Acknowledgement). The scientific and intellectual environment chosen by Lischewski suggests that Schaller's interpretation of Comenius did not entirely appeal to him.

These suspicions are fed by the titles that Lischewski has associated with his company: One recognizes the desire to do justice to the theological intention of Comenius. Lischewski reveals the linguistic influence of the great past thinker in his tendency to create a variety of detailed titles. Three years before his habilitation theses, which was written as a methodological paper on the subject, he announced an extensive publication for which the same title was intended:

Palimpsestus Comenii or:

Divine Salvation and Human Forces on Earth - The Problem of Anthropological Empowerment in the Work of Johann Amos Comenius. A history of mentalities study on the genesis of the Comenian concept of "hope" (naděje, spes) and its pedagogical consequences (Lischewski, 2010, Acknowledgement).

In Passau, Prof. Norbert Seibert and Prof. Guido Pollak were reviewers of the habilitation thesis, and Prof. Erwin Schadel joined as an external reviewer. Lischewski mentions Prof. Wiebke Schrader, who died in 2007, and Prof. Guido Pollak as the authoritative advisors during the writing process. Erwin Schadel might have joined the supervision and review for Mrs. Wiebke Schrader.

Andreas Lischewski has since been appointed to a professorship in general education at the Alanus University of Art and Society in Alfter near Bonn. In 2017 he was instrumental in the organisation of the international conference "Art and Culture" at Alanus University, which was organised by the university together with the German Comenius Society and the Czech Unie Comenius. The Comenius Yearbook 26 from 2018 documents this conference under the title "Art and Culture" under the editorship of the former chairman of the German Comenius Society Prof. Andreas Fritsch from the Free University of Berlin, Prof. Andreas Lischewski and the current chairman Prof. Uwe Voigt, who now teaches at the University of Augsburg.

This rapid admission of Lischewski into the circle of comeniologists shows that Lischewski's habilitation thesis immediately gained recognition in the circle of experts. It is a special achievement of Lischewski's that he brought the topic of Comenius, and especially the 'Consultatio Catholica', into collegial contexts that did not seem predestined for it. The two Passau experts Prof. Pollak and Prof. Seibert have not yet been assigned any research work on Comenius. The former has filled a chair for general pedagogy, the latter still holds a chair for school pedagogy. Thus it was unexpected that Lischewski received his first appointment to a chair of general education through an anthroposophically inspired university. Further publications from Lischewski will perhaps reveal the connection between Comenius pedagogy and anthroposophical pedagogy.

Scientific interrelations and differences in the habilitation theses of Hofmann, Schaller and Lischewski

Franz Hofmann

Franz Hofmann wrote his habilitation thesis before receiving Klaus Schaller's. He referred only to three earlier publications by Klaus Schaller, namely his dissertation of 1955 (Schaller, 1955), his translation and publication of the Pampaedia of 1957 (Schaller, 1957) and a paper of 1958 on the ancient Greek word PAN (Schaller 1958). Hofmann's work was not a response from one Comenius expert to another. Hofmann focused on the pansophy of Comenius in order to demonstrate its significance for his pedagogy. He saw the most important intellectual property of Comenius in pansophy, only indirectly in pedagogy. Schaller, on the other hand, approached Comenius' own pedagogy directly and expanded his inquiry by describing numerous other works and authors of the 17th century, which he summarized under the characteristic "pedagogical realism". In doing so, he positioned Comenius in the larger framework of contemporary pedagogy.

The achievements of both scholars are quite comparable, but the fact that Hofmann's habilitation thesis was not printed shows that the two were written under different conditions. It is a great pity and downright painful that the typewritten copy of Hofmann's habilitation thesis, which is available for loan in the Halle University Library, is now in such a poor state of repair that it is unlikely to be available for much longer. For a deeper understanding of Comenius' thoughts, even after sixty years, the work still represents a very important, by no means obsolete source.

Hofmann's work is both scientific and didactic. It is an echo of Comenius' own efforts to create encyclopaedias and at the same time to make his own research and his thoughts known to a wide audience. Hofmann describes the latter as the "popular educational efforts" of Comenius. Although Comenius was one of the earliest to write encyclopaedias in alphabetical order of words, he was not only an encyclopaedist, but also someone who envisions structure. He based his work on the efforts of his teacher Johann Heinrich Alsted from Herborn, who dealt with the topics of theology and philosophy in compendia. Comenius took up the metaphor of the theatre, which was popular at the time, and summarised his educational programme as "Theatre of Nature", "Theatre of Human Life", "Theatre of the Earth Circle", "Theatre of the Centuries". He wrote the entire "theatrum" in his mother tongue (Hofmann, 1960, p. 36).

Hofmann has designed his writing in such a way that even the uninitiated can understand the Comenian thought of pansophy. He shows how this concept came into being and how Comenius had to grapple with it. The approach from the point of view of the development itself originates from a didactic intention. Hofmann writes as a teacher-trainer for educators, which can be easily seen in his characterization of the two didactics of Comenius: Czech didactics and Latin didactics (Didactica Magna). Hofmann wrote that Comenius was a sensualist and empiricist in didactics. Later, in the presentation of Pansophy in the Consultatio Catholica, he was a subjective idealist (Hofmann, 1960, p. 182). In his opinion, at the time of the writing of the Czech (or Bohemian) didactics, pansophy was not yet mature; Hofmann even spoke of "pansophical-methodical ideas". Comenius' attempt to organize was still encyclopaedic in the conventional sense (Hofmann, 1960, p. 116). This was also largely true for the Didactica Magna. There was still no inner connection in the accumulation of knowledge.

However, the limited scope expanded beyond the Czech nation, and the humane concern was taken into account. The word "universalis" was often used; Hofmann wishes to translate it as "holistic". The Didactica Magna values a methodical approach: didactic rules are derived from the comparison of examples. While Czech didactics still said that "art imitates nature", Comenius in Latin didactics

strived for a systematic approach, he sought a way to define "principia" and to base teaching and learning on principia (Hofmann, 1960, p. 119). For Hofmann, this change in Comenius' thinking did not begin until 1638, when he created a method in the form of four standard questions which were intended to shed light on the nature of every object of teaching and learning. The "what" (quid) leads to a clear definition of the object. The "what" (per quid) leads to the structure of the thing by grasping its components. The "by what means" (quomodo) serves to reveal the axioms, i.e. the way a thing fulfils its purpose, the "how often" aims at a subdivision of the thing, i.e. the detection of variations in characteristics, including defects. In the spirit of Comenius, Hofmann formulates: "Thus things are our masters and teachers, they show us the panharmonic order of the whole" (Hofmann, 1960, p. 67).

For Comenius, "didactics" was an effort to order the educational material. The didacticist could not do without metaphysics, because the basis for the order of the educational material had to be the order of being. Behind it all was the conviction that the world has a universal harmony and that the realms of being exist in correspondence with each other. There is a parallelism between the spheres of being of nature, art and education. Sometimes Comenius chose the allegory of the clock, which was intended to illustrate how one thing in the world interferes with another (Hofmann 1960, p. 57). But didactics cannot be limited to describing the world according to the age of the learners, it must also show the position of man and the learner in the world, because if man does not know which is his place in the world, no learning is possible. Man himself exists in this harmony, he is a reflection of its creation. He is God's most noble creation.

Comenius first had to fight for the optimistic view of man in God's creation, he had to fight his way through the doubt that the world was not recognizable to man. The divine ideas underlying creation were closed to man according to ancient metaphysics. The doctrine of man's fall from grace also applied here; he was cast out of paradise. This teaching had led Luther to a pessimistic view of the world and a pessimistic view of man. The temptation of this view was also present in Comenius, but Comenius never gave up the idea of the image of man as God, he did not cultivate such a radical image of sinfulness as Luther did.

Hofmann criticized his West German colleague Schaller for classifying Comenius' recourse to metaphysics as a return to the Middle Ages (Hofmann, 1960, p. 71). In Schaller's view, Comenius had taken the principles of the order of being from the (supposed) objective "All of things". Hofmann refers to the Czech Comenius expert Jan Patočka, who is highly esteemed by both of them and who considers Comenius' use of metaphysics to be an effort to find a general science that is not based on the Cartesian epistemology; he does not consider this to be a relapse into the Middle Ages.

Hofmann therefore did not have the problem which Schaller had in distancing his work from didactics. Rather, he wanted to show that pansophical thinking is already perceptible in Latin didactics. The differing evaluation of the didactics of Comenius between two scientific figures in both German states also has to do with the change in the conceptual understanding of didactics. According to today's understanding, didactics aims more at methods and techniques of teaching, and no longer considers the fundamental questions of philosophy. This would not have been acceptable for Comenius. Behind Hofmann's demarcation from Schaller lies the larger problem of whether Comenius was already an early thinker of the modern age, as Hofmann was convinced that he was, and who called him a pioneer of the modern age. Hofmann would like to preserve Comenius as a thinker who also speaks to the present day and could accordingly be related to the pedagogy in the GDR. He suspects that Comenius could only be of historical interest in Schaller's view (Hofmann, 1960, p. 30).

The didactics could not be limited to the selection and arrangement of the educational subjects. It was self-evident for Comenius that lessons had to lead to the correct application of knowledge. It was a characteristic of Pansophy, as Hofmann describes it, that teaching and cognition would lead to

new agency within humanity and between states. In this way, man is also drawn into the philosophy of harmony. He goes back the way to his original predetermination (Hofmann, 1960, p. 183), he will develop from there and become God's helper in the world reform. His ego will expand to the universe, to the whole. God could only initiate this correction by sending his Son into the world, who exemplified this experience. Pedagogy is included in these humanistic thoughts, for it will ensure that nations acquire proper knowledge and recognize the plan and action of God. Hofmann emphasizes the shift from man's understanding to his will in this anthropology because understanding the world was essential for conversion until now (Hofmann 1960, ppm. 183-184), now it is free will. The *Consultatio Catholica* builds on this, Hofmann wants to make connections from didactics to this main work of Comenius. Thus, the *Pampaedia*, as the middle section of the *Consultatio Catholica*, is also an extension of all previous pedagogical writings. The Greek prefix "Pan", which appears in many connections, basically indicates the great expansion that will take place in all dimensions of the world and of man (Hofmann, 1960, pp. 184-185). Education is expanding to self-education. The whole world is a school of God's wisdom, and the whole of life is a path of education which ultimately leads to the divine "academy" which man reaches after death. The educational process takes on a cosmic dimension. God himself becomes teacher of the *schola hyperphysica* (Hofmann 1960, p. 189). Thus also the Latin didactics expands to *Consultatio*.

The problem arose for Comenius that on the one hand he spoke of the "seeds", i.e. plants which God had placed in man to become helpers, while on the other hand man had fallen and needed regeneration. He solved this anthropological problem by the great thought that man would again place himself in God's original plan for the world. The core problem with this is that it is high time for conversion, because the end of the world is approaching, and this plan can also fail - to the detriment of man and the world.

For Hofmann, these bold thoughts of Comenius could be explained by his "sect heritage", i.e. his being rooted in the Hussite religious movement of the brotherhood. It cultivated a positive image of man in which the divine filiation of all people was anchored, in which man was a reasonable creature, even the Lord of creatures - as the image of his Creator (Hofmann 1960, p. 186). Basically, the theology of creation had more to say with the brothers than a Christology. They combined it with an eschatological view of the imminent end of the world. Thus, the thoughts of Comenius were lent drama as was his own fate as a church leader of the end times.

Hofmann does not lose sight of the practical reform steps that Comenius is taking parallel to the elaboration of a new pansophical foundation of pedagogy. After the great disappointment over the Peace of Münster of 1648, which left the Brethren Church in Bohemia and Moravia with no chance, he tries to realize his reform ideas in Hungary in the Transylvanian domain of Prince Sigismund Rákóczi. In 1650 his activity began in Sárospatak. There he wrote the famous books *Orbis sensualium pictus* and *Schola ludus*. The illustration of the "Orbis" shows that Comenius took up the sensualism of his time, and the theatrical play of the *Schola ludus* shows that Comenius also understood the Jesuits' appreciation of the theatrical play in the school. His didactics now include sensual activity and movement. Language remains at the centre of both reform efforts. The school reform in Sárospatak, however, covered only the first three school years, which were already in Latin. During these three years the vestibule, the janua and atrium were taught, three language books of Comenius. The books are mainly about the "external" things which are named and described. Philosophical knowledge, i.e. explanatory knowledge, was intended for the fourth grade, which was no longer possible, and the fifth grade was intended as a logical class. The 6th class, the "political" class, would have had the goal of proving the knowledge gained to be "salutary" for the present, i.e. to represent and apply to daily and common life. The 7th class was to become the theological class that showed the way to eternal life. For Hofmann, this structure of educational goods is the proof of Pansophical thinking in pedagogy.

Klaus Schaller

Transitioning from Hofmann's habilitation thesis to Schaller's can seem like immersing oneself in another linguistic world. The difference would be less noticeable if the two authors had focused their attention on different sub-themes of the great Comenian work, but this is not the case. Both assume - in accordance with the chosen titles of the works - that Comenius has developed his own pedagogy, which is the subject of their works. Hofmann obviously considers the pansophy of Comenius to be the essential foundation of his thoughts and formulates his title thus: "The Pansophy of J.A. Comenius and its significance for his pedagogy". Accordingly, Pansophy is the conceptual construct which was used as the foundation of pedagogy, and which therefore deserves detailed consideration and analysis - even before the description of the pedagogy of Comenius. Schaller's habilitation thesis does not speak of pansophy in its title, but immediately of pedagogy: "The pedagogy of Johann Amos Comenius and the beginnings of pedagogical realism in the 17th century". It comprises three parts of similar scope. The first part deals with "Pansophy and Pedagogy", the second part with "The Pedagogy of J.A. Comenius", the third part "The beginnings of pedagogical realism in the 17th century", offers a history of the impact of the pedagogy of Comenius in the 17th century and characterizes both positive and critical reactions from pedagogues and pedagogies in the environment of Comenius. The expansion of the subject matter is very valuable and brings many sources which were seldomly used into the field of vision. The third part has, however, no parallels to the other two habilitation theses considered here, so it is not taken into consideration in the present study.

The heading "Pansophy and Pedagogy" shows the proximity of Schaller's thoughts to those of Hofmann. Both are aware of the central importance of "Pansophy" in Comenius, but they have a different relationship with this part of Comenius' thinking. It did not play a significant role that Hofmann taught and researched in Halle and Schaller in Mainz and Bochum. They both had extensive theological knowledge and a feeling for the theological roots of Comenius' thought. It is noticeable that Schaller goes into the theological statements in more detail.

Hofmann differs from Schaller only in a few places because he is interested in differences in the fundamentals, not in details. Hofmann draws the conclusion from a longer passage in Schaller's dissertation of 1955 (Schaller, 1955) that Comenius is "rather a guardian of the old than a pioneer of the new" for Schaller "whose pedagogical principles can only be compared in terminology with the modern ones, since they are not anthropologically but cosmologically-metaphysically-theologically founded" (Hofmann, 1960, p. 29). Hofmann obviously misjudges Schaller's intention, but makes it clear that he prefers the anthropological foundation of pedagogy for his interpretation of Comenius in comparison to the West German philosopher Schaller, who apparently does not want to claim it as his own. Hofmann would like to understand Comenius' "commitment to education and humanity, to peace and friendship among peoples" as a "living call to contemporary humanity" (Hofmann, 1960, p. 30). Schaller does not share such enthusiasm. Hofmann indirectly addresses a question to Schaller with this criticism: Can a philosopher as deeply rooted in late ancient and medieval theology and philosophy as Comenius - as Schaller sees him - still inspire today's pedagogy? Schaller does not draw the picture of the visionary Comenius, he looks instead more closely at the political reformer Comenius.

Schaller wants to show that Comenius had important philosophical thoughts and that his theoretical statements are always based on philosophical connections. What is difficult for the reader is Schaller's tendency to interpret what has just been said from another angle, i.e. to be able to see and show it differently. He wants to draw the reader into his philosophical thoughts. In this way he tends to formulate paradoxes and avoids unambiguous statements. Schaller does not describe or summarize, as Hofmann does to a large extent, but follows his own philosophical impulse, which he is con-

vinced can already be perceived in the thinking of Comenius. He speaks of the "asubjectivity of Comenius' pedagogy". With this he alludes to his own criticism of modern pedagogy, which in his opinion is shaped by the idea of the subjectivity of modern man. However, he brings the thinker Comenius so close to the present day that he can speak of an identity in "our time", but still draws a line: "it is an identity of opposites, which actually acts as an absolute identity through the repetition of the same word". Systematically - and with a theological undertone - he states at the beginning of his investigation: "It only appears that the Comenian train of thought is an anticipation of modern pedagogy. In truth he thinks the completely different" (Schaller 1962, p. 14). Schaller wraps Comenius up in a riddle, but will he solve it? Schaller argues that one must always know the whole of the work in order to be able to evaluate the pieces. What is more: the relationship of the individual to the whole of the universe must always be taken into consideration, and this relationship must be direct.

Among the paradoxes that Schaller identifies in Comenius' thinking are "The surface of things is their backside" (Schaller, 1962, p. 31). "The sum of knowledge inevitably becomes ignorance" (Schaller 1962, p. 33). "The activity of the world as a whole manifests itself in the passivity of knowledge" (Schaller, 1962, p. 58). A deeper paradox is that man is only given to himself as a human being when he retreats from himself and finds his sense of being in the other (Schaller, 1962, p. 140). Schaller declares this paradox to be the essence of pedagogy: "It is only the renunciation of the human being in his reflexive self-understanding that makes the human being as a person free of himself and his tasks, which he encounters in fellow human beings and things" (Schaller, 1962, p. 157).

Schaller is already entering the field of pansophy with these formulations. How can we understand the whole, everything, space, the universe, all of creation? Obviously, we cannot research everything, we can only recognize the harmony of it all, the parallels between structures on a large and small scale, because everything that exists has isomorphic structures. The "everything" is also the "one". "Panharmony" becomes the principle of knowledge. The realms of knowledge explain each other, everything is similar to everything. Schaller declares the Panharmonics to be one of the most important "inventions" in the Comenian system. It is a key (Schaller, 1962, p. 29). This also established that panharmony cannot produce anything new (Schaller, 1962, p. 30). It does not follow the modern understanding of science; it moves cyclically.

But the "one" of the whole is not obvious, it is hidden by the many. This repudiates the view of the unifying features of the whole. The danger of factual isolation, of "chunkiness", as Schaller translates it, also exists for didactics, which Schaller pays relatively little attention to. That is why it is so important that pedagogy draws on pansophy. But for Schaller, the transition to pansophy requires a revision, a completely unfamiliar relationship to knowledge; in fact, such a process would be so devastating that it would be hard to imagine that many people would actually do it. Knowledge is not the empowerment of man, from the point of view of pansophy. It does not originate from the desire to rule over nature and the world, but rather means precisely the disempowerment of man, the abandonment of the striving for power, the end of the striving for the subject, which strives to create an object for itself and to dispose of it (Schaller, 1962, p. 191). All previous science - and Schaller counts metaphysics among them - remained blind, it could not recognize the purposes of the whole and did not find the basis of the perfect action, the Chresis. Only illusory images came to light. All desire to act turned into a disturbance of order, into violentia and into an obstruction of the free flow of human activity. Therefore, "disempowerment", abandonment of subject thinking, is the necessary condition to gain access to Pansophia (Schaller, 1962, pp. 60-62).

Schaller is skeptical about the tendency of people to want to strengthen their subjectivity. It is the tendency to raise oneself as a one who recognizes to the "subject of the recognized", in a movement of reflexivity aimed at anchoring the certainty of recognition in the recognizing subject (Schaller, 1962, pp. 137, 60, 158f). Schaller knows that this tendency is constitutive for modern thinking, but

he does not surrender to it; he wants to maintain a balance between subjectivity and objectivity. If an exaggeration of the cognitive subject is to be avoided, it is obvious to grant the objects of cognition, the "things", a higher status, close to an ontological quality. This is easy to observe with Schaller. In this respect he can draw on Comenius' theorem that the "realia", the things themselves, teach people what to do (Schaller, 1962, p. 139). The universe opens up to knowledge from within itself (Schaller, 1962, p. 29). Knowledge is not a human achievement. Schaller formulates in the sense of Comenius: "The lumen universale leads from God through things into man" (Schaller, 1962, p. 179). Thus "the things" - the created - shine for man. The power of the universe is also communicated to pedagogy. "The pedagogical measures of the Pampaedia will only be able to develop pedagogical energy if they make use of the instrumental power of the universe" (Schaller, 1962, p. 246).

The rejection of a strengthening of subjectivity is consistent with Schaller's tendency to suggest the absence of will to the person striving for knowledge. He formulates the following about knowledge: "Thus it accomplishes the will of God in unwillingness, thus it inactively brings about the order of the world: chresis" (Schaller, 1962, p. 60). The chresis is the culmination and conclusion of knowledge, it points man to practical realization. Knowledge is no longer "knowledge" if it has lost Christ as its actual content, who wanted to realize the will of God on earth. But it can be completed in order to bring about the completion of "world history" (Schaller, 1962, p. 63), that is, the return to Christ. Comenius worked on the completion. Obviously, it is not a sleepy inactivity that Comenius wanted, but rather an inactivity strained towards the goal.

Schaller had a strong desire to accredit Comenius to the modern era (Schaller, 1962, p. 137f). This desire also manifested itself in a weaker form in Hofmann. If the attribution to modern times were not to apply, the legitimacy of the extensive study of Comenius in today's pedagogy would be questionable. Schaller nevertheless shied away from making the reference to the modern age clear; he also left open the option of bringing Comenius into the proximity of New Platonism. He sees in Comenius the endeavour "to free things as what they are, to free them from every ontological-metaphysical bracketing" (Schaller, 1962, p. 189). What then is "the authoritative horizon of the whole" that can prevent man from descending into the abuse of creation (Schaller, 1962, p. 249)? In the theory of language, which Schaller found innately in Comenius, the oscillation between classifications to late antiquity and modernity becomes apparent. Schaller dedicates profound thoughts to Comenius' language theory (Schaller, 1962, pp. 91-106). According to Comenius, "true speech" requires the "unambiguous assignment of thing and word" (Schaller, 1962, p. 93). For the encyclopedist Comenius there was still a great deal to be done in the field of languages to prepare mankind for the return of Christ. It was not only about extensive lexical work, but also about working out a world language. According to biblical tradition, the coexistence of a multitude of languages in humanity was a great obstacle to the spread of the unifying religion and to communication in the world in politics, culture and education.

The question of the world language clearly showed Comenius what the divine mission to mankind meant, to complete creation. Comenius demanded that every thing, even the smallest, must be named by sounds and phonetic symbols. There should be no more sound connections than things and no more things than sound connections. All real and observable phonemes in mankind must be taken into account for the world language. New words must be invented according to these principles. These speculations reflect something of the Comenius way of thinking: the urge for completeness, for clarity, order and unambiguity, and above all the conviction that everything important has already been created and is waiting to be used correctly by mankind, the Chresis. A mechanical world view underlies this way of thinking. It is regrettable that Schaller did not address the limitations of Comenius' thinking, of Comenius' attachment to traditional philosophy and theology in this important intellectual field.

For Comenius, who wrote a textbook of physics (*Physicae ad lumen divinum reformatae synopsis* - 1632) the scientific phenomenon of light has always been fascinating. As with all observations of natural phenomena, light becomes a parable for Comenius that can pictorially explain God's action with the world and man. The metaphor of the mirror is added to the metaphor of light, which Comenius crafted and which Schaller interprets. This allegorical metaphorical speaking is a continuous feature of Comenius' philosophising. It would be worth giving an analytical appraisal, but it was not Schaller's aim - despite his strong philosophical impulse - to give an analysis of Comenius' way of thinking. Schaller takes Comenius' peculiarity of linking images and pictorial speech for granted, mostly as a result of his theological thinking. He explains his linguistic results, but he does not fundamentally address the difference of about 300 years which separate us in terms of Comenius' way of thinking and speaking.

A pictorial manner of speaking may be the expected language use for a follower, but Klaus Schaller did not join the faith of Comenius at all. Speaking in this manner could no longer be appropriate for the issues which Comenius negotiated. In spite of all the impressive historical detail and accuracy that characterises Schaller's comments on Comenius' works, there is a gap between Comenius' own intentions and the willingness of today's Comenius reader to understand. Comenius' theory of language, as well as his theory of light, are considered to be deficient today. Schaller certainly wanted to translate Comenius' thinking and speaking into the present day, but he did so by repeatedly filling the statements of Comenius with a philosophical way of speaking tested on Heidegger, which seemed to him to provide a secure basis for "modern" philosophising. It also guaranteed a relatively close intertwining of philosophy and theology, but it could not narrow the gap between Comenius and today's reader. Schaller demonstrated an impressive wealth of references to Comenius' thinking, which clashed with the strange nature of the philosophical undercurrent that was to enliven Schaller's interpretation of Comenius.

Andreas Lischewski

Lischewski's book was published about 53 years after the two earlier habilitation theses (Lischewski, 2013). This may be a long time in science, but it is clear from Lischewski's work that it was written in response to the two earlier ones. This is understandable, because they set standards that had yet to have been surpassed. But the scientific situation had changed, on the one hand the dissonances within Germany are a thing of the past, on the other hand Lischewski, building on the existence of these two works, had to give his work a specific direction of inquiry. It was not a question of giving one of the two works the higher rank, but of working out a core problem of Comenius' thought and solving it as far as possible. Lischewski was able to rely on the works of Hofmann and Schaller with regard to the standards of exegetic procedures, such as textual criticism, criticality, traditional cinema and criticism of form, as well as the history of concepts and motifs. He did not imitate their broad approach to information processing but rather concentrated his analysis on the main and late work of Comenius. He approached his goal of revealing the message of this work and his lines of argumentation in an argumentative and developing manner.

It is related to the **Consultatio Catholica** of Comenius, often referred to as the *Consultation Work*, as done so by Lischewski. It is comprised of seven books and only came to academic attention after the discovery of the complete manuscript by the Ukrainian philosopher Dimitri Tschizewskij in the library of the orphanage of the Francke Foundations in Halle in 1933/34. It was a manuscript, but not by the hand of Comenius. Comenius gave this work the title: *De emendatione rerum humanarum consultatio catholica*, which is usually translated *General advice on the improvement of human things*. Chyzhevsky made a copy of the extensive manuscript, which was later partially copied. The manuscript remained in Halle until 1957, when the government of the GDR decided to donate the manuscript to the Czech Republic. Nevertheless, a German translation of one of the seven books, the mid-

dle central one entitled **Pampaedia**, was published - based on Chyzhevsky's early copy - together with the Latin text of this book as early as 1960. This first Latin-German edition of the Pampaedia was prepared by Dmitriy Chyzhevsky and Klaus Schaller together with Heinrich Geissler and published by Quelle and Meyer in Heidelberg in 1960. The Prague Academy published a two-volume edition in Latin in 1966 with the entire text of the seven books found by Chyzhevsky. The details of the text layout in the original manuscript, which was by no means ready for printing, had to be discussed at length. After the Czech Academy of Sciences had worked through the complete work in 1966 without reaching the state of a critical edition, Klaus Schaller reworked his translation of the Pampaedia and in 1991 presented another bilingual edition of the Pampaedia - this time at the Academia Verlag in Sankt Augustin (Schaller, 1991).

Attempts to make the counselling work accessible to interested parties, at least in excerpts, in German were made twice by Franz Hofmann, once in a work that offered larger excerpts from all seven parts of the counselling work in Hofmann's own translation (Hofmann, 1970), and again in 1992 in the so-called anniversary edition for the 400th birthday, in which Hofmann offered translations of relatively short excerpts from many of Comenius' writings that were important for pedagogy (Hofmann, 1992). But a complete translation of the advisory work into German is still missing. Lischewski relies mainly on the Latin Prague edition of 1966.

What status does the consultancy work have? What is the point of such a comprehensive multi-part work to carry out consultations? Did an author like Comenius really believe that he could give a new direction to the events in humanity and the world and motivate people to change the goal of their lives? If the work was to be an aid in the great deliberations of statesmen, leading clergymen and administrators of schools, it anticipate the deliberations, but it could not create real situations! Was there a solution to this dilemma? If Comenius really wanted to exert a historically relevant influence, his work had to have mysterious powers. But Comenius' historical thinking was not only about political or social history, that is, as Comenius said, secular history, but also about the history of salvation, which God pursues with the humanity created by him. The relationship between world history and salvation history is also a dilemma, because in the end world history will inevitably parallel salvation history, but both historical dynamics are neither controllable and nor predictable. Can it be accomplished by putting all events and all open questions confidently into God's hands? That is not what Comenius meant; in his opinion, God wants to enable man to work with him and wants to give him enough autonomy to direct historical dynamics towards the good goal.

Lischewski's work differs from both of his predecessor works. The author delves deeper into the inner structure of Comenius' late work. His book is argumentative, it argues progressively and reaches its goal in chapter VI (Outlook). Since Lischewski also establishes connections to other writings of Comenius, the analysis of the consultancy work is placed in a broader context of Comenius research, without losing the argumentative thread. At the centre of the argumentation are always the "means" that have already been invented or are yet to be invented in order to be able to fulfil the hopes.

The material of this great work of Comenius seems to be something very abstract. What hope is being discussed? When an object of hope becomes a foundation of hope - through a larger chain of justifications - this intellectual progress is quite impressive, but still it does not answer the question of what it is about. The answer is understandable: It is about the exile's hope to return to their homeland as a step towards overcoming the division of Christianity. But in the meantime Comenius was about much more than that, about the hope for the return of Christ, who will rule the world in a millennial kingdom. But if this scenario is to come true, the ground must be prepared for it. Fundamental reforms must be achieved in all areas of the common life of the people in a relatively short time, otherwise it could be that Christ will return in a mission quite different from that which was

hoped for. Comenius carried out a great thought experiment in this late great work which should demonstrate the following:

Fundamental reforms are possible, as there are very good conditions present, so world reform is possible. However, the fear of failure is always present - with terrible consequences. Thus this work also serves the self-assurance of Comenius himself - the self-assurance of his faith, that is: his hopes. One can feel how strongly the fear attacks his own train of thought and the doubt about the validity of the evidence. Lischewski has no smooth success story to report.

It is a strength of Lischewski's work to repeatedly make this self-referential moment of Comenian thought visible (Lischewski, 2013, e.g., p. 231).

Although he writes that Comenius observed a "doubtful indecision between hope and fear" (ibid) of himself and in the environment at the beginning of writing the consulting work, this was transformed into "a firmly founded hope" (ibid). Fear in another form resonates with today's reader: Is Comenius dealing here with something real or only with an abstract model of progress? Do his thoughts have a real object or are they purely semantic in nature? If something is not recognized as existing, is it possible to make it existent through a plethora of arguments in which it is treated as existing? Is this the content of progress that Comenius repeatedly attests to? In other words: is it a philosophical autosuggestion? It is to the credit of the researcher Lischewski that, through his persistent pursuit of the thought processes of Comenius, he leads today's reader to this limit of doubt. Lischewski does not cross this boundary, nor could he do so without denying the temporal distance that separates us from Comenius. This enables Lischewski's work to address the dangers contained in the Comenius argumentation. The two predecessors did not, and probably could not, do so, since an admiration of the founder of modern pedagogy seemed natural to them, in order to bring this scholar back into the centre of their own science.

Lischewski is particularly critical of the chiasm of Comenius. Comenius was convinced of the final character of his era and looked forward to the first phase of the Last Days, the millennial kingdom of Christ, with joyful expectation and at the same time with great concern for humanity. Not only did he observe these happenings, but he saw himself in the midst of it, and it was questionable as to whether humanity, and above all Christianity, would be able to cope with this upheaval of the time and the world. He felt the pressure on himself to do justice to the special role God had placed upon him in this event. Comenius was convinced that he himself had taken an essential step to create a new situation in salvation history with the writing of the *Consultatio Catholica*. He himself counted the *Consultatio* among the "works of divine providence" (Lischewski, 2013, p. 327). Comenius often operated with the image of the "path of light" or "the paths of light", so he was convinced that with the conclusion of the *Consultatio* and its irrefutable proof, now a new path of light was discovered which allowed for decisive action.

Comenius relied on syllogistic reasoning, which proceeds in three steps. The superset establishes which conditions must be fulfilled in order to achieve the great goal, the subordinate establishes that these conditions are indeed and in reality fulfilled (or in the negative case: not or not yet), so that in the third step the *conclusio* can take place, which says: The desired result can actually be produced (in the negative case: not produced). Then those who feel called can go to work in order to reach the desired result (ibid, p. 171). For Comenius, the centrepiece (the pedestal) was the most laborious piece of work, because he had to show that the means are really available or can be made available to complete the work. There had to be at least three major chapters in the *Consultatio* that could prove that the goal of universal reform, that is, world reform, was attainable. These were the weighty chapters that form the centre of the great work. First there is *Pansophia*, it shows the complete order of things, because this order is the truth and ensures that actions based on it are true and can be seen by all. The *Pansophia* is followed by the *Pampaedia*, which must show how people

can acquire knowledge of the truth of things and overcome ignorance, i.e. how they must be instructed in the truth, i.e. which is the one correct content and path of teaching. This is followed by the Panglottia, which has the extremely difficult task of creating a universal language and showing that it contains something of all languages and can be understood by all speaking people. In this way, the wisdom that is brought to light in Pansophia can be communicated to all people. Comenius has indeed carried out detailed preliminary studies for the universal language and has published some of them. He tackled the lexis, as well as the phonetics and syntax of such a language. In doing so, he certainly had the Christian world mission in mind, because the world reform was the plan of a Christianization of mankind. One can see from these three core elements of the Consultatio that Comenius spent a lot of time and energy establishing the world reform, i.e. the reform of humanity. These three books led to the discovery of the most important means necessary for the systematic implementation of human enlightenment: knowledge of the world, i.e. knowledge of all means that can serve mankind, school as a possibility to pass this knowledge on to all people, and the world language, which would enable a uniform teaching of all people and a common administration of all peoples (Lischewski, 2013, pp. 334-335). Lischewski was the first to uncover the steps of thought and solutions to problems included in this project in a systematic presentation.

The three parts of the Consultation are preceded by two chapters which are intended to clarify the intention and working methods of Comenius. The first chapter is Panegersia, which Comenius called a wake-up call. The call for consultation goes to all people who care about the reform work. By pointing out the corruption of human society in its full extent, it underlines the urgency of counselling on the improvement of human conditions. He also states that certain rules must apply to counselling. The second chapter is the Panaugia, a chapter that demonstrates the necessity, possibility and ease of world reform. It is based to a great extent on the metaphor of light. Chapters of Comenius' work *Via Lucis* have been included in this chapter. Comenius had completed the *Via Lucis* almost 30 years before the publication of the Consultatio and had given it to the Lords of the Royal Society in London, who did not accept it for printing. It was not until 1668 that the Royal Society had this work printed, which is now available in a German translation by Uwe Voigt, with an introduction and a detailed commentary (Der Weg des Lichtes, Hamburg, 1997).

The three middle chapters are followed by two concluding chapters. Panorthosia is of great importance for the whole work of Consultation, it shows how the improvement in the institutions of the societies - in families, schools, churches and the states - should proceed and which political institutions should be established for this purpose. In the last chapter, the seventh book, called Panuthesia - which means: All admonition - all responsible persons are admonished to promote the work of renewal in their area of responsibility. Thus the circle of the Consultation is closed.

Lischewski was one of the first to address the presumptuousness of such a program (Lischewski, 2013, p. 433). As strong as the motive of Comenius was to bring together the peoples of the earth and thus to promote peace on earth, Comenius' thought also contains a clear streak of violence. Lischewski reveals this. The role of violence in his reform programme makes Comenius somewhat invisible in that he wants to present the implementation of the reforms as something easy and pleasant. However, the "lightness" is achieved by the fact that he wants to understand it as an automatism, as an event that happens by itself, as something spontaneous that is at the same time something mechanical (Lischewski, 2013, p. 291). This tendency is rooted in the Pansophical view that things manifest themselves (ibid, p. 274), i.e. that they force the mind under their command, the order of things (ibid, p. 294). The strongly developed metaphor of light also supports the idea of lightness. But light does not send freedom or spontaneity; man cannot escape the light unless one wickedly blocks access to their own eyes. Lischewski brings Pansophy and machine into a direct connection by formulating: "The Pansophical world order established by God was transferred into a concrete social order by means of the machine model" (ibid, p. 300). The Pansophical order of the

world has something machine-like, it strives with the certainty of a machine towards its goal, which was also its starting point.

Man has been given knowledge and ability along the path to awareness, but what about the will? Even if God has given man insight and ability, man does not want to carry out what he has realised. Man must subordinate his will to the order of the world, that is, to the divine will, become one with it, so to speak. In the same way, he must take the logical steps that Comenius presents, for to pull away from the logic he has revealed would be a sin that would destroy his soul. Lischewski states dryly that Comenius' concept of freedom is negative (ibid, p. 304). Man must subject his will to the divine. Otherwise Comenius cannot achieve the goal of the advisory work, namely to lead all people to the recognition of Christ as the ruler in the Millennial Kingdom. In the worship service of the Moravian Church the listeners concentrated on hearing, a dialogical event between pastor and congregation hardly existed. Lischewski not only addresses the weakness of Comenius' concept of freedom, he also reveals - the closer he gets to the end of his analysis - more and more doubts. These concern above all the Comenian chiliasm, from which also the Comenian idea of the state originates. Lischewski speaks of the Christian theocracy as the ideal image of Comenius, which serves the Christianization of the people and will ultimately enforce the rule of God on earth. The absolutist territorial state provides the pattern (ibid, p. 296f). Lischewski is not afraid to speak of the "political surveillance state" (ibid, p. 283). He describes the supervisory structure that Comenius envisaged for family, school and church (ibid, p. 297). Book censorship is also part of this, printed works against the truth are to be forbidden (ibid, p. 316). Comenius also planned for his own books to be examined by a "world assembly", but in his case he meant more a legitimation than an examination. In this way pansophy can be spread among all peoples (ibid, p. 298).

Lischewski repeatedly quotes Comenius' referring to the "enemies" (ibid, pp. 286, 288, 315, 326). This meant primarily the Catholic Habsburgs, who had forcibly expelled Protestantism from their lands, including Bohemia and Moravia. Comenius had no doubt that these enemies would have to be fought in the future, also by force. The Peace of Westphalia had no binding force for him, for he had handed Bohemia and Moravia completely over to the Habsburgs and had left the Protestant Czechs no chance to continue their churches. It was undeniable for Comenius that in the end times the friends of Christ and the enemies of Christ, Christianity and Christianity of lies (ibid, p. 315), would face each other and lead their armies against each other (ibid, p. 317). Comenius had no doubt about the outcome of this battle: already in this "mortal life" the enemies of Christ would be "destroyed" and would find "their tragic end" (ibid, p. 315).

Lischewski is aware that Comenius was, more deeply than often assumed, influenced by the events of the religious war in the 17th century and did not place the final conflict under the requirement of non-violence.

Of course, he granted his church the right to exclude those church members who followed a different theology. He labeled opponents of his church with the Pauline term "obduracy", it was allowed to proceed with armed force against them if necessary (ibid, p. 316).

The word "consultation" (*consultatio*) can give the impression that Comenius was concerned with a discourse free of domination between church leaders, scholars and state leaders, but Lischewski contradicts this, because in his opinion Comenius shied away from the "risk of equal talks" (ibid, p. 430). What else should be discussed, if the result of the discussions was already determined beyond doubt in advance by Comenius? When in the "Consultatio" he insisted so strongly on the irrefutability of his argumentation, he made it clear that fundamental contradiction was not possible. Lischewski attests that Comenius had a "fundamental inclination to practical totalitarianism" (ibid, p. 435). This is certainly difficult to accept for the Protestant-dominated pedagogy in Germany, but it

can be of particular interest to read a Comenius interpretation that was written in the environment of Catholic-dominated Pedagogical Institutes.

Lischewski opened a new view on Comenius because he recognized the great tension under which Comenius stood not only politically but also intellectually and theologically. The great work of counseling is by no means the work of his age as the sum of the thoughts of a sage, but rather it shows how his whole way of thinking placed him in an ever higher tension, and how hope and despair pulled him in different directions and threatened to tear him apart. He was not only on the summit, but just as much on the abyss. Lischewski writes: "There was a constant up and down of hopes and disappointments, which also affected the late Comenius" (ibid, p. 374). In doing so, he is thinking above all of the political hopes of Comenius, but an awareness of the - as Lischewski writes - "fragility" of the "overall conception" of pansophy was probably also present in Comenius (ibid, p. 422). Pansophy was so centrally important for Comenius because the work of counseling was not only meant to be an academic intellectual achievement for him, but was itself of "salvation-historical" importance. With its logical or syllogistic success, a new situation in salvation history had to arise (ibid, p. 327). The work was thus also an effective force in the eschatological debate; he was convinced that the spirits would separate in the eschatological struggle. It is more difficult to say what was the cause of his own doubts regarding this work. For Lischewski there is a weakness in the concept of human will, in which Comenius lagged behind Augustine (ibid, p. 422). In fact, the value of the doctrine of the will from Comenius is disputed among Comenius interpreters. Since Comenius does not express a concept of the individual, previous interpreters were willing to put the will of man behind his ability to reason. But Lischewski points to the passages in the "Consultatio" in which Comenius declares that God wants to make people who do not want to become willing (ibid, p. 396). The human desire was a force in which the "change of the world" would take place. The Pansophical education goes from knowledge to wanting and from there to action, but people often refuse to take this last step.

More generally speaking, a contradiction arises from the fact that Comenius ascribed a kind of metaphysical power to "things", i.e. the material world. It forces man to subordinate himself, because he does not translate his insights into action. But in doing so, he devalued man's will power and the act of choosing his will. The weakness of his concept of freedom may be related to this. Comenius did indeed elevate man to the co-worker of God in the forthcoming completion of creation, but he did not grant him individuality and thus subordinated him to the anonymous objective power of the created world. Likewise, he pursued the presumptuous idea that the objectivity of the world (*res*) must be transferred into the mind of man (*mens*) in pedagogy (ibid, p. 362). Although Lischewski (like Schaller and Hofmann) also subscribes to the idea that Comenius had already opened the door to modern thinking, the lack of a concept of individuality casts doubt on this. For Comenius, "truth" came from things, not from language (ibid, p. 430f). For him, the objectivity of things ruled the human mind and there was only *one* truth for him. Comenius thought more of the faith in creation than of the faith in redemption. Things created by God had a divine signature for himself.

He pursued the idea of perpetual motion machines for decades in connection to this line of thinking. The device, if invented, would be regarded by him as proof of the correctness of his entire body of thought. It would have demonstrated that nature executes its movement by itself, evenly and without a foreseeable end. The clockwork "world" would also have to run its course and confirm the findings of Pansophy, Pampaedia and Panglottia. How could the educated thinker and above all the deeply religious Christian Comenius pursue such an abstruse idea? He was looking for something supernatural through which "Elijah" could appear with power before a world council and drive apart the enemies of Christ. These thoughts and plans give an idea of how desperate Comenius must have been about the course of events and above all about the mental powerlessness which he himself also felt. The hope for a perpetual motion machine was just as much a human hubris as the idea

of a didactic machine (ibid, p. 437). It resembled Comenius' idea of the printing press, which was still relatively new at the time, in that it would ensure a fast, accurate and easy transfer of the desired knowledge from the teacher to the pupils. Lischewski writes about Comenius, who was taken up by the idea of order and hoped for a turning point in the history of God's salvation: "The first step to be taken must be taken by the force of the inner-worldly order of beings into the human spirit, for only through this force is man himself ordered" (ibid, p. 360). Perhaps Comenius already saw the first step into this pedagogical machine age in the series of textbooks he wrote, especially the language textbooks.

The more critical points Lischewski brings together in the last one hundred pages of his book - with due restraint - to form Comenius's explanations, the more critical are his casual references to Schaller's works. What bothers him is his tendency to place Comenius in a "non-binding limbo of a supposedly discursive openness", which is only suitable for "making fundamental criticism impossible" (ibid, p. 402f). Lischewski moves away from Schaller's willingness to praise Comenius as an advocate of the freedom of the subject (Lischewski, 2010, p. 426), and also rejects Schaller's attempt to call Comenius a witness of "communicative reason" (Lischewski, 2013, p. 412). It disconcerts him that Schaller himself claims that he allows Comenius to speak as himself, while others make him the mouthpiece of their own speech (Lischewski, 2013, p. 387f). Lischewski's refusal to separate pansophy from the mechanistic notion of didactics takes aim at Schaller, who wanted exactly that. Lischewski, on the other hand, demands: "this unity of pansophical universalism and pedagogical mechanism must be held fast" (ibid, p. 439). Lischewski even sees Comenius as "the mechanization of hope" (ibid.), which can only produce a certainty of victory. In this intensification, however, he can no longer follow Comenius, and he therefore moves on to the critical question of what then remains of the "praised Comenian greatness" (ibid.). This sounds like a final rejection of Comenius, but he may not be able to bring himself to enact such a rejection. Thus, he has a need to escape from the trap he set for himself in the last pages of his work.

Combined consideration

One of the most important questions of Comenius' research is certainly whether the life of Comenius was straightforward or interrupted. What is striking about Schaller's numerous works on Comenius is the weight he attaches to Joachim Hübner's criticism of his "Didactica Magna". Comenius had sent handwritten copies of his "Didactica Magna" to a few well-disposed scholars for evaluation. A reply was received in 1639 from the German lawyer and philologist Joachim Hübner, who lived in Oxford, and was critical of the planned book. The distance that Hübner had to this work did not prevent him from accompanying Comenius on his intellectual paths in a friendly manner, sometimes with subtle irony (Blekstad, 1969, pp. 249-260). Schaller sees Hübner's criticism as the trigger for a retention of the Latin manuscript for about twenty years, which only appeared in the large Amsterdam edition of his works in 1657 (Schaller, 2004, p. 70). Hübner had warned Comenius that he could be counted among the "didactic sect", which he considered to be a disaster. Schaller sees this as the reason why Comenius increasingly avoided the term 'didactics' (didactica) (Schaller, 1992d). He sees a turning point in Comenius' thinking around the years 1639 to 1640 (Schaller, 2004, p. 71). In the meantime, he had found Pansophia and was therefore able to fill the concept of didactics with new content. He had turned away from a purely technical understanding of teaching, Schaller speaks of a "pansophical rehabilitation of the Didactica Magna". Didactics later appeared to him as a labyrinth into which he had temporarily gotten lost (Schaller, 1992a). Nevertheless, it is surprising that Comenius sticks to the analogy of teaching and printing and maintains the triad of "fast, safe, pleasant" as an indication of correct teaching. The technique of the printing press is given the attributes: fast, uniform and flawless, and this ideal is to be achieved one day in the mechanics of teaching.

Schaller obviously rejected the technical proximity of Comenian didactics. He repeatedly distanced himself from the false didactic view that can be read from Comenius' writings, but which Schaller believed should not be taken so seriously, because Comenius had later changed his opinion. In Schaller's opinion, the turn to pansophy had transcended the didactic phase in Comenius' thinking. "This change is expressed in a new, pansophical understanding of knowledge", wrote Schaller in 1992 (Schaller, 1992a, 27). However, the technical proximity of Comenius' thinking remained.

If this turning point in the thinking of Comenius really existed, it was a real upheaval. Pansophy must have entered Comenius' life and way of thinking like something really new. According to Schaller, the *Pampaedia* was a part of this. However, Comenius not only brought about a turn in philosophical thinking, but Schaller also saw a turning point for active intervention during Comenius' stay in England in 1641/42. According to this view, Comenius recognizes that man should mediate between God and things, thus completing creation (Schaller, 1992a). Is it justified to assume there was such a striking turn in Comenius' thinking? Schaller considers it to be an essential reason for the intrusion of Chiliasm in Comenius' conception of theology (Schaller, 1992c, p. 51f). This fact is strange, at least for today's reader, and requires further explanation. It would not only be a way to escape his resignation in the phase of his life when he wrote *Trostschriften*, but also an outbreak. Such a turn of events catapulted the Bishop of the Brethren University from the self-conception of being the first pastor of his Church to the confidence of a prophet of Christianity, later perhaps of a third Elijah. The reader, who cannot claim to be an expert on Comenius, is irritated by the fact that there is nothing to be said of such a turning point with Franz Hofmann or Hans Ahrbeck.

Franz Hofmann knows the Hübner criticism, especially since Ahrbeck has already written about it (Comenius, 1961, p. 27). But neither of the two scholars speaks of the shock that Hübner's criticism of Comenius would have caused. There was no real break for them between didactics and pansophy. On the contrary, pansophy appears to be a method that can make didactics and other intellectual efforts even more reliable. The *Prodromus pansophiae*, the *Prelude to Pansophy*, and the *Didactica Magna* were published together in 1657 in the *Opera Didactica Omnia* in Amsterdam. In Hofmann's opinion, pansophy was already present when the Latin Didactics were written (written 1633-38) and even more so in the writing: *Pansophiae diatyposis* (translated by Hofmann: *The Picture of Pansophia of J.A. Comenius in the Ground Plan and Outline*, which outlines the scope, extent and application of the whole future work (Hofmann, 1992, pp. 98-152), which was largely written in 1639 and printed in Gdansk and Amsterdam in 1643. Schaller refers to some aggressive contemporary reactions to pansophy, which partially destroyed the goodwill that Comenius earned through his didactic writings (Schaller, 2004, pp. 19-21). Nevertheless, the defense against technical aspects in pedagogy could also be a special feature of West German pedagogy, perhaps a legacy of the so-called humanities pedagogy, which considered the philosophical foundation of pedagogy to be irreplaceable. For the philosopher Jan Patočka, "the turning point" was characteristic of the anthropological constitution (Patočka, 1970, pp. 61-74).

One could assume that the dissonance on the topic of the relationship between didactics and pansophy not only existed between two scientists but was partly caused by their different locations in divided Germany. Was it a dissonance within Germany? It was never personal antagonism. Both scientists took part in the "exemplary international scientific cooperation" of which Schaller once spoke with regard to international Comenius research, which could not be divided by the Iron Curtain (Schaller, 1973, p. 17). Schaller and Hofmann published repeatedly in one and the same publication. The question of whether this apparently minor, but not insignificant, difference for the interpretation of the Comenius was made moot by the later work of Lischewski.

If one searches Lischewski's work, it is noticeable that Lischewski does not ask directly for the views of Comenius, but rather follows the development of his thought through the works. According to Lischewski, Comenius constructed a chain of evidence. It therefore remains a question as to

whether Comenius was able to sufficiently substantiate his arguments or had to leave them unproven. Further texts forced him to change his path to finding proof. It was extremely important for Comenius to make clear statements. Lischewski based his entire analysis on the concept of hope. This seems appropriate for the faith and thinking of Comenius. Lischewski's guiding question is always whether there are sufficient well-founded indications that hope will be fulfilled. For every time hope is present, proof must be found showing that there are means available to make this hope justifiable. It must be proved that the means are effective, i.e. that they do what is expected of them. The burden of proof is not necessarily meant in the sense of empirical proof, i.e. it does not always require a measurement, but requires a consistent intellectual deduction. Once a means of fulfilling hope has been found and its effectiveness clearly deduced, the means can become a new reason for hope. In this way, hope can become more concrete step by step. In this way people can come closer to Christ's plan of salvation, for Comenius believes that it is Christ himself who creates and fulfils hope.

In Lischewski's view, didactics itself has become a means for Comenius and then also a "central carrier of hope", which gives reason to hope that the great promises will come to be (Lischewski, 2013, p. 71). Didactics has achieved "an infallible certainty", so that it can safely prevent the failure of an expected success (ibid., p. 70). This is true if didactics is applied persistently and continuously to all pupils in school lessons. Thus, according to Lischewski, there is no break in the thinking of Comenius, not even between Bohemian and Latin didactics. For Lischewski the idea of the "didactic machine" (ibid., p. 71) is not objectionable, on the contrary, it is very promising.

By choosing the concept of hope as an analytical approach, Lischewski recognizes that the entire Consultatio is full of suspense. The danger there would be the risk that the prophecy would be considered proof - a so-called self-fulfilling prophecy. Although the faith is certain in the end - the saving act of Christ will prove itself - failure remains possible. It would be the failure of the human being to whom God has entrusted so much and to whom he has sent Christ as an outstanding helper. God himself cannot fail, but his creation "man" is not secured against failure. That is why Comenius' mental effort for hope has such need and drama. Yes, in the end Comenius sees himself as the Elijah whom God has called, but who can also fail, quite similar to the Old Testament Elijah and also the second Elijah - John the Baptist. Much was at stake for Comenius during the conception and writing of the consultation work, he was the representative of the mankind, so to speak, whom God called to help God's plan of salvation with mankind to succeed - or to surrender to failure. A tremendous historical burden lies on Comenius' shoulders. He is the last link in a long line of pioneers who strove to make God's plan of salvation a reality. It was up to him and to his mental implementation of the breakthrough of hope to determine whether the chance that God gave mankind would become reality. Comenius had to make an unprecedented spiritual effort and at the same time endure the mental tensions that were connected with it. He was truly a man of longing and a man of pain. In doing so, he was under extraordinary time pressure, for the return of Christ was imminent and mankind had to be ready. If it is not ready, the return of Christ will be quite different from what one hopes for. How close the eschatological event was, was shown by the signs that especially gifted people could see.

With his great late work, Comenius not only described what hope had achieved so far and what it still had to achieve, but he also encouraged hope. He wanted to awaken it to new strength. It is a question whether this thinking and experience of Comenius can be described at all in the past tense, because the hoped-for events did not occur, the hopes have thus passed, although for Comenius there could be no afterwards after these hopes and events. There was no doctrine of faith for such an afterthought, nor did Comenius lay the foundation for such a new doctrine of faith. It follows from this that one must report on Comenius' thoughts and faith in the present tense, because supposedly his hope must also be our hope. But indeed, if we admit to ourselves today that the hopes

and events did not occur, what are our future prospects? This old problem of Christianity confronts us also today - even if one speaks about it in Christian theology as about something past from the early days of Christianity. Comenius was not satisfied with the message that one must never give up hope, but he worked on the refinement of hope to a new quality from mere hope to secure knowledge. If this path to the autosuggestion of faith failed with him, will it succeed with us? But if we give up this attempt, what still connects us with Comenius?

Comenius extended the idea of hope from the manageable hope of the Moravian Brethren to return to their homeland and to freely exercise and proclaim their faith to the hope of humanity. This was perhaps an act of despair because the concrete hope simply did not want to be fulfilled in the events of the Thirty Years' War. To give up hope was a strong temptation for Comenius for a time, this was very hard on him and drove him to great despair until he exponentially increased hope, inflated it, so to speak, to a gigantic cosmic ball, because only the new great hope could also pull the smaller one with it. Comenius thus lived in himself and through himself, which he had to think through at the same time. He was not a scholar who had to define himself through an object, but he lived through his problem as fate itself. It should be solved in him, in his life and thinking. In spite of his entanglement in the existential distress of his problems, he had to keep a cool mind and take every step of his thoughts into account. In Lischewski's book, this tension in Comenius' life and thought becomes tangible. In this way, Lischewski initiates a new dynamic in the study of Comenius' pedagogy, which is not only significant for the study of the life of Comenius, but also for the weighting of the Comenius legacy in pedagogy.

The analysis of these three habilitation theses proves the value of the traditional habilitation, which offered time, support and freedom to devote oneself to such a large and presuppositional topic. However, the value of habilitation theses and habilitation procedures is changing, and it is questionable whether such achievements can be expected in the foreseeable future. This change could perhaps be compensated for if international research cooperations on Comenius were made possible in educational science, because hardly any other personality in educational history has had such an international reputation as Comenius. The work of Lischewski shows that traditional confessional boundaries can also be crossed. National educational cultures could rise above their borders and find mutual complementarity in research on this topic. A joint, cross-border research would have to achieve more than anthologies with contributions from scholars from several countries would undoubtedly do (Charles University Prague, 1991).

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Hein Retter (Germany)

The Dispute Over the Reform Pedagogue Peter Petersen (1884-1952) in Jena 2010: Review of a "Total Disaster" After Ten Years

Abstract: With the reunification of Germany, a Jenaplan School was founded in 1991 in the city of Jena, Thuringia. Since then one place of the city carried Petersen's name. The University School at Jena, refounded by Petersen as Life Community School in 1924 (the traditional purpose as a mere teacher training school goes back to the year 1844) and received international attention during the Weimar Republic. Petersen's attempt to gain recognition in the Hitler state (1933-1945) with his reform pedagogy failed, but the University School was allowed to continue to exist. In 1950 it was closed by the socialist GDR state (East Germany). Ten years ago, a bitter dispute raged in Jena over Petersen because previously unknown racist texts written by him had been discovered. The dispute ended when Petersenplatz was renamed "Jenaplan". A book by Hein Retter, which appeared ten years ago, was highly controversial: it described children of Jewish and socialist origin as well as disabled children - from families who were threatened by Nazi ideology but who saw their children safe with Petersen. Looking back ten years, the author of the controversial book describes the Jena Petersen dispute and what can be learned from it.

Keywords: reform pedagogy, Jenaplan, Jena University School, Petersen dispute, National Socialism, Holocaust

摘要 (Hein Retter: 一场关于改革派教育家彼得·彼得森 (1884-1952) 2010 年在耶拿发生的争论: 十年后的"全面灾难"之回顾): 随着德国统一, 1991 年在耶拿 (图林根州) 成立了耶拿普兰学校。自那时起, 这座城市的一个广场被命名为彼得森。在耶拿的大学学校 (自 1844 年以来, 仅是一所面向师范生的实践学校) 在 1924 年由彼得森新建为"社区学校"。在魏玛共和国时期, 它得到了国际上的关注。彼得森在希特勒州 (1933-1945) 的改革教育中希望获得承认的尝试虽然失败了, 但大学学校被允许继续存在。1950 年, 它被民主德国关闭。在发现彼得森的特别种族主义文本之后, 十年前在耶拿爆发了一场激烈的争执。这场争执以将彼得森广场更名为"耶拿普兰"而告终。海因·瑞特十年前出版的一本书引起了极大争议: 所描述的是犹太和社会主义背景的家庭, 以及受到纳粹意识形态的威胁, 却带着孩子的那些从属于大学的残疾儿童的家长们。回顾过去十年, 这本有争议的书的作者描述了耶拿彼得森的争论, 历史的进展以及可以从中学到的东西。

关键词: 改革教学法, 耶拿普兰, 大学学校, 彼得森之争, 国家社会主义, 大屠杀。

摘要 (Hein Retter: 一場關於改革派教育家彼得·彼得森 (1884-1952) 2010 年在耶拿發生的爭論: 十年後的"全面災難"之回顧): 隨著德國統一, 1991 年在耶拿 (圖林根州) 成立了耶拿普蘭學校。自那時起, 這座城市的一個廣場被命名為彼得森。在耶拿的大學學校 (自 1844 年以來, 僅是一所面向師範生的實踐學校) 在 1924 年由彼得森新建為"社區學校"。在魏瑪共和國時期, 它得到了國際上的關注。彼得森在希特勒州 (1933-1945) 的改革教育中希望獲得承認的嘗試雖然失敗了, 但大學學校被允許繼續存在。1950 年, 它被民主德國關閉。在發現彼得森的特別種族主義文本之後, 十年前在耶拿爆發了一場激烈的爭執。這場爭執以將彼得森廣場更名為"耶拿普蘭"而告終。海因·瑞特十年前出版的一本書引起了極大爭議: 所描述的是猶太 and 社會主義背景的家庭, 以及受到納粹意識形態的威脅, 卻帶著孩子的那些從屬於大學的殘疾兒童的家長們。回顧過去十年, 這本有爭議的書的作者描述了耶拿彼得森的爭論, 歷史的進展以及可以從中學到的東西。

關鍵詞: 改革教學法, 耶拿普蘭, 大學學校, 彼得森之爭, 國家社會主義, 大屠殺。

Zusammenfassung (Hein Retter: *Der Streit um den Reformpädagogen Peter Petersen (1884-1952) in Jena 2010: Rückblick auf ein "totales disaster" nach zehn Jahren*): Mit der Wiedervereinigung Deutschlands wurde 1991 in Jena (Thüringen) eine Jenaplanschule gegründet. Ein Platz der Stadt trug seitdem Petersens Namen. Die Universitätsschule in Jena (die als bloße Übungsschule für Lehrerstudierenden seit 1844 existierte) wurde von Petersen 1924 als "Lebensgemeinschaftsschule" neu gegründet. Sie fand in der Weimarer Republik internationale Beachtung. Petersens Versuch, auch im Hitlerstaat (1933-1945) mit seiner Reformpädagogik Anerkennung zu finden, schlug fehl, doch die Universitätsschule durfte weiter existieren. 1950 wurde sie vom DDR-Staat geschlossen. Vor zehn Jahren tobte in Jena ein erbitterter Streit, nachdem besonders rassistische Texte Petersens entdeckt worden waren. Der Streit endete mit der Umbenennung des Petersenplatzes in "Jenaplan". Ein Buch von Hein Retter, das vor zehn Jahren erschien, war hoch umstritten: Geschildert wurden Familien jüdischer und sozialistischer Herkunft sowie Eltern behinderter Kinder, die von der Nazi-Ideologie bedroht wurden, doch mit ihren Kindern zur Universitätsschule gehörten. – Im Rückblick auf die zehn letzten Jahre schildert der Autor des umstrittenen Buches den Jenaer Petersen-Streit, den Fortgang der Geschichte und das, was man daraus lernen kann.

Schlüsselwörter: Reformpädagogik, Jenaplan, Universitätsschule, Petersen-Streit, Nationalsozialismus, Holocaust

Резюме (Хейн Реттер: *Дискуссии о педагоге-реформаторе Петере Петерсене (1884-1952) в Йене в 2010 году: ретроспективный взгляд на «тотальную катастрофу» - десять лет спустя*):

После объединения Германии в городе Йене (федеральная земля Тюрингия) была открыта школа с системой организации «Йена-план». С того времени одна из площадей города носила имя Петерсена. Петерсен основал экспериментальную университетскую школу в Йене (до этого она, начиная с 1844 года, функционировала как учреждение подготовки студентов-педагогов) в 1924 году и трансформировал ее в воспитательную общину. В период Веймарской Республики педагогическая модель Петерсена получила международное признание. Попытка Петерсена обеспечить своей школе признание и в период нацистского правления (1933-1945) успехом не увенчалась, хотя университетская школа и продолжала существовать. В 1950 году политическое руководство ГДР закрыло школу. Десять лет назад в Йене разразились ожесточенные споры о наследии Петерсена, после того как были обнародованы труды Петерсена с расистским подтекстом. Закончилось все тем, что площадь, названная его именем, была переименована и стала называться «Йена-план». Книга Х. Реттера, увидевшая свет десять лет назад, тоже оказалась резонансной: в ней рассказывалось о семьях еврейского и «социалистического» происхождения, о семьях с детьми-инвалидами: все они преследовались режимом, но в то же время продолжали принадлежать к общине. Автор нашумевшей книги вспоминает те годы, рассказывает об острых дискуссиях по поводу Петерсена и его концепции, описывает, как развивались события дальше и говорит об уроках, которые нужно извлечь из этой истории.

Ключевые слова: реформаторская педагогика, «Йена-план», университетская школа, дискуссии о наследии Петерсена, национал-социализм, Холокост).

1. The City of Jena in Thuringia 100 Years Ago

It seems to make sense to extend the review of the city of Jena in Thuringia, the place of the events of the following chapters, not to ten, but to one hundred years. One hundred years ago, on May 1, 2020, the Free State of Thuringia of the German Empire was founded from seven principalities - hardly viable on their own - after the fall of the German Empire. At the time, this meant the end of a geographically unprecedented disruption of the smallest territories, which had existed for several centuries with an abundance of exclaves in the middle of Germany. The newly created unity became possible after the German November Revolution in 1918 and the entry into force of the "Weimar Constitution" on 11 August 1919. Because of continuing political unrest in Berlin, the elected German National Assembly met in Weimar - until 1945 the capital of Thuringia - from 6 February 1919 to draw up a democratic constitution for the first German republic after the end of the monarchy.

In 1923, the government of Thuringia, which at the time was politically extremely left-wing, appointed Peter Petersen (1884-1952), a senior teacher from Hamburg, to the Chair of Education (Educational Science) at the State University of Jena (which received the name Friedrich Schiller University in 1934). The city of Jena was also the largest industrial location in Thuringia due to the Carl-Zeiss industrial enterprises (known worldwide for the manufacture of precision optical instruments) and the Schott glass works. Both companies were - since 1919 100% - part of the Carl-Zeiss-Stiftung (see Stutz, 2018). The children of both companies' managers and workers formed the main contingent of the pupils who shaped the spirit of the reform school established by Petersen. Simply called the "Petersen School" in Jena, it was officially called the "University School" from 1926. From a formal point of view, it was an elementary school for grades 1-8 and, as an experimental school, belonged to the Educational Science Institute of the University of Jena, where Petersen worked. In this school, which had been founded with 20 pupils at Easter 1924, there was a large proportion of children from social democratic and communist families.

During the Weimar Republic, conservative and right-wing parties gained in importance during the 1920s. Thus, from 1930, Thuringia became the first territorial state in the German Empire in which Nazi ministers co-ruled the state, headed by Wilhelm Frick (NSDAP), under Erwin Baum (Thuringian Land Association) as the leading minister of state (Leimbach, 2018, p. 65f.). A number of bourgeois parties formed a coalition with the Nazis. The Social Democratic Party (SPD), with 32% of the voters' votes being the actual winner of the elections, went into opposition. The Hitler Party (NSDAP) had achieved a share of 11% of the votes in the elections to the Landtag on December 8, 1929 (Dressel, 2010, p. 90). In view of the economic crisis, the NSDAP continued to gain support in Thuringia, as everywhere in Germany. From the end of August 1932, Thuringia was the state in the German Reich in which the incumbent Nazi government led by Fritz Sauckel, who later became Reich Governor, merged seamlessly into the Hitler state of 1933.

While in Weimar (the city of Goethe, Schiller and German Classicism) Hitler's party, the NSDAP, achieved peak voter favour in the Reichstag elections of 1932/33, in Jena the NSDAP became the strongest party, but together the left-wing party spectrum was far superior to the Hitler party in purely numerical terms. It should be noted that since 1928, the KPD (the Communist Party) which was loyal to Moscow, led an ideological campaign of destruction against the SPD, the Social Democrats, which was also weakened by splitting off groups. A comparison of the results of the Reichstag elections on March 5, 1933 in the city districts of Jena and Weimar shows the considerable strength of left-wing parties in the industrial city of Jena compared to the capital Weimar under the (since January 30, 1933) incumbent German Reich Chancellor Adolf Hitler.

City districts	NSDAP	SPD	KPD
Jena	33,4	25,9	18,3
Weimar	49,7	15,7	11,9

Figure 1: Results of the Reichstag elections of March 5, 1933 for NSDAP, SPD and KPD; comparison of the city districts of Weimar and Jena; figures in percent (Dressel, 2010, p. 134f.).

2. Historical Aspects - the Transition from the Weimar Republic to National Socialism

Peter Petersen became known as the founder of the reform pedagogical school model "Jena Plan" (other spellings: Jena-Plan, Jenaplan) and from the second half of the twenties onwards his University School was widely recognized by pedagogues who were striving for a reform of the school system in the sense of "New Education". Petersen's reform idea was not modernist, but "new-conservative": instead of the modern classroom principle (with students of the same age group), he returned to the mixed-age learning group, for which he introduced new principles of school life.

This resulted in particular advantages for highly gifted children as well as for children with disabilities and developmental delays. A constant stream of domestic and foreign visitors who came to Jena led to the University School. For Petersen, New Education meant firstly the independent organisation of learning by the pupils, secondly a changed role of the teacher, thirdly a rich school life, with elective courses to promote creative and manual skills, also with the participation of parents.

In the Hitler state, Petersen succeeded in saving his school from closure, although all those interested in education in Jena knew that Petersen's pedagogy had been born in the intellectual awakening of the Weimar Republic. In order to expand his pedagogy, called "Jenaplan", Petersen's pedagogy in Jena was strongly associated with Social Democratic reformers during the educational awakening of the Weimar Republic, but from the beginning it also had its own reform profile, which was fed by an idea that in the 19th century was a particular source of inspiration for the democratic renewal of the school system. This idea originates from the legal sphere of early Romanticism, as developed by the jurist Otto von Gierke (1841-1921) in social and cooperative law: Applied to the school, this means that the school is not to be understood as a compulsory institution of the state, but is ideally supported by a free association of parents ("Genossenschaft"). Parents are the main stakeholders in the education of their children: as a co-operative, they are keen to be jointly responsible for the education of their children in the best possible school, whereas the state has economic obligations (in the payment of teachers) and a more occasional supervisory function.

The Protestant pedagogue Friedrich Wilhelm Dörpfeld (1824-1893) realized this idea in the School Community movement. This first emerged in the Calvinish-reformed school system and has a tradition especially in the Netherlands, also in the US states. Parents have much more rights and duties of participation than in the traditional state school system. In Jena, the Petersen School remained attractive for all people, especially for the educationally conscious workforce, for Christian liberals and reform-orientated parents with Jewish roots. Petersen called his school ideal "free general elementary school according to the principles of New Education". Petersen's school ideal of institutional education was the comprehensive school from kindergarten up to university entrance.

"Free" meant: a family school co-responsible by the parents. However, during the Weimar Republic and the "Third Reich", he was only allowed to run an experimental elementary school for pupils in grades 1 to 8. Its starting point was the reform movement of the "Lebensgemeinschaftsschulen" and the idea of training elementary school teachers (Volksschullehrer) at the university; the traditional teacher training seminars are known to have a much lower scientific level. As late as 1929, he had celebrated the socialist "Lebensgemeinschaftsschule" (Life Community School) on the occasion of their tenth anniversary.



Figure 2: Peter Petersen pays tribute to the tenth anniversary of the socialist "Lebensgemeinschaftsschule" (Life Community School) in the magazine "Die Volksschule", in 1929.

In 1926, Petersen gave one of the keynote speeches at the annual conference of the "Lebensgemeinschaftsschule" in Gera, – together with the leading Marxist pedagogues of the Berlin school reform movement Fritz Karsen, Wilhelm Paulsen and Kurt Löwenstein.

Zweite Tagung der Lebensgemeinschaftsschulen
im Palmengartensaal zu Gera, Zschöchernstr. vom 1.–3. April 1926.
Donnerstag, 1. April, abends 8 Uhr: Empfang der Gäste im Tagungsraum.
Die Ankommenenden werden von früh 9 Uhr bis abends 7 Uhr im Wartesaal 1. und 2. Klasse des Hauptbahnhofes erwartet.
Freitag, 2. April:
Grundsätzliche Fragen.
9 Uhr: Eröffnung der Tagung durch Fritz Karsen, Berlin.
9,15 Uhr: Die Richtlinien der Gemeinschaftsschulen. Wilh. Paulsen.
10,15 Uhr: Die schulgesetzlichen Grundlagen und Möglichkeiten der Gemeinschaftsschulen. Kurt Löwenstein.
11,15 Uhr: Gemeinschaftsschulen und Lehrerbildung. Peter Petersen.
3–6 Uhr: Aussprache.

Figure 3: Petersen in the circle of leading Marxist school reformers, Gera 1926. Program announcement. Magazine "Lebensgemeinschaftsschule", 3, 1926, p. 33.

Nazi pedagogues in Jena were right in this respect when, after 1933, they mentioned Petersen's commitment to international understanding in the 1920s, his liberal pedagogy and his proximity to left-wing circles, whereas Peter Petersen, after Hitler's appointment as Reich Chancellor, tried to make this impression forgotten by his new identification with the "national political revolution". Petersen's journalistic demonstration of his intellectual proximity to the Nazi pedagogue Krieck and his students was striking. For example, when he tried to prove that the "political-soldiary" was relevant to his own educational ideas (Petersen, 1934a; critical report of the NSLB district administration Jena, in Retter, 1996b, p. 157f.).

Up to the fourth edition in 1932, the work Petersen had made known to the public and later called "Der Kleine Jenaplan" was also internationally presentable, while the 6th/7th edition in 1936 showed considerable adaptations to National Socialism. After the war, Petersen tried to reverse this in further editions of this booklet, but he was by no means successful to remove all traces of the now undesirable past (Retter, 2010, pp. 230-233).

From 1933, Petersen incorporated the new National Socialist character of the public school system into his school, such as the Nazi school celebration at the beginning of the week (with the hoisting of the flag), the Hitler picture, the Hitler salute at the beginning of lessons. The questionable assertion that his pedagogy had "always" been open to the "demands of [racial] hygiene, eugenics, race doctrine, and hereditary science" (Petersen, 1934b, p. 3f.) did not, however, lead to his physically and mentally disabled and developmentally disturbed children leaving his school - on the contrary, he had such children in his school even after 1933 (ibid., p. 60). Here, in the core area of education, Petersen's school differed significantly from the Nazi school policy of excluding those elements of education and life opportunities that were undesirable in the Nazi "Volksgemeinschaft":

The "'Law against the overcrowding of German schools and universities', which was passed on April 25, 1933, introduced 'race' as a criterion for access to secondary schools and university studies. The proportion of Jewish pupils and students in the entire school and student body was no longer allowed to exceed the Jewish proportion in the total population of just under one percent. As a result, the number of Jewish pupils in public schools halved until 1935, before tending towards zero after 1938."ⁱ

While the Nazis restricted educational opportunities for Jewish children from the beginning, Petersen encouraged them (as the examples of Elisabeth Scheinok and Margot Reinhardt show). We have

to see: Under Nazi rule Petersen pursued a strategy that only seemed to promise him success if he behaved completely differently in different contexts.

In the review of an anti-Semitic writing in 1933, Petersen had described the "nature" of the "Jews living in Germany" as "decomposing, flattening, even poisoning for us". He demanded their "return to their own way of life", "which had already been done with the best success in Zionism" (Petersen, 1933). With this text Petersen produced the worst anti-Semitism. His recommendation to remove Jews from Germany by referring to the Zionist movement was in line with the Nazi policy of separation.

The obvious question is how this recommendation influenced everyday life of the University School. Whether a student was Jewish or only "half-Jewish" (first degree race mixed) or "quarter-Jewish" (second degree race-mixed) in Nazi classification was irrelevant to an anti-Semitic headmaster who hated anything Jewish. If the "racist" Petersen had wanted to make the University School "Jew-clean", he would not have accepted Elisabeth Scheinok, whose parents were Jews from Poland, into his school in the first place, nor the (partly) Jewish children of those parents with whom he had closer contact, such as the Eppenstein and Wandersleb families.

The dissertation of the Polish Jew Tonja Lewit on "The transformation of Jewish national education in Poland" would never have been promoted by an anti-Semite Petersen. His report of February 28, 1928, appreciatively emphasized in Lewit's study that the development of a "Jewish-secular school" in contrast to the orthodox-national Cheder was a new topic to which the author had devoted herself "with effort and prudence", "with diligence and dedication". The new Jewish school system in Poland appears as "a link among the manifold new developments in the field of education in Europe after the World War" (UAJ: stock M, No. 596). As little attention is paid to the author, who was a victim of the Holocaust, by today's reception of Petersen's work, so exclusively those expert opinions are cited in which Petersen praised the dissertations of young Nazis, such as the work of Hans-Joachim Düning (UAJ: stock M, No. 601).

While in the GDR reform educational concepts in favour of the socialist uniform school were forbidden, in West Germany (Federal Republic) a renaissance of the "Reform Pedagogy" (internationally also known as "Progressive Education" or "New Education") of the 1920s took place in the course of about three decades after the Second World War. From the 1970s onwards, the discussion about Petersen's problematic role in the Hitler state began to become a permanent topic of German educational science. During the Weimar Republic, Petersen was highly regarded both in Germany and internationally for his efforts to promote a "New European Education Movement" that would unite peoples. Recent research has shown the extent to which his publications were influenced by National Socialism, both through his commitment to Nazi ideology and his contacts with Nazi organizations.

Petersen became a member of the NSLB on April 1, 1934; only in this way did he have a chance to interest Nazi functionaries in his pedagogy. Even though he and his wife Else did not belong to the NSDAP, it is striking that Petersen's close circle of students had joined the party (NSDAP). Heinrich Döpp-Vorwald, Herbert Ruppert and Johann Dietz had completed this step on May 1, 1933, and Christoph Carstensen, Petersen's assistant from April 1, 1938 to July 1940, did not join the NSDAP. He already had joined the SS on November 4, 1933. For others, such as Käthe Heinze, Herbert Sailer, Karl Knoop, joining the party was only possible after the ban on admission had been lifted in 1937 and was then carried out. Some of the aforementioned also belonged to other party organizations, such as the SA (Döpp-Vorwald, Sailer, Knoop) or the SS (Ruppert, Carstensen, Knoop). Petersen could only be right. For without this needing to be mentioned, he thus possessed a "brown" figurehead, which on the one hand helped to compensate for his own non-membership in the party, and on the other hand was good for political contacts in higher positions (Retter, 2007, p. 336).

The fact that Petersen behaved extremely differently towards different groups of people at the same time in the same time context does not indicate that he actually possessed any valid political conviction that he claimed to represent. It can be assumed that he used his language in public in an extremely goal-oriented manner to achieve his plans. His primary interest was to preserve his school, which should be (and was) a safe educational place for parents with their children, independent of politics. At the same time, Petersen wanted to help the Jenaplan gain recognition in the respective political system. This was a balancing act that was bound to fail. Petersen's need for personal recognition and his efforts to expand his options for action were exorbitant. The contradictions, temptations and dilemmas Petersen faced in this process have been revealed by Petersen research of the last decades. His dubious journalism and his cooperation with Nazi officials make the historical retrospect on Petersen appear ambivalent. In the long run, his strategies of power did more harm than good to the Jenaplan. Such an attempt at interpretation certainly does not make his racist texts any better, but it does explain some of his behaviour. It remains to be noted: Petersen never removed a child from his University School. He never refused to admit a Jewish child or a child of Jewish origin to his University School. Some former students of his school, whose parents or they themselves were threatened by Nazi measures, have remained grateful to him.

3. Trigger, Course and Highlights of the Recent Petersen Debate

A new examination of the topic "Petersen and National Socialism" began with the publication of a documentation volume (2008) by Prof. Dr. Benjamin Ortmeyer, University of Frankfurt a.M. - as part of his habilitation thesis (Ortmeyer, 2009). The documentation of all texts by Petersen 1933-45 contaminated by Nazi ideology - including previously unknown texts with particularly repulsive racism - met Jena unprepared. But it also caused a sensation throughout Germany. For none of the (relatively short) texts in which Petersen produced racist Nazi ideology was known until then. They are also missing in the Petersen Complete Bibliography by Walter Stallmeister (1999). The public distancing of Petersen's identification with the Nazi system was an imperative for the Jenaplanschule Jena (as well as for other schools that worked according to the Jenaplan). Not Petersen's text production of the Nazi era, but the Jenaplan of the Weimar Republic in its original form became the basis of the modern school concept.

Ortmeyer's declared goal from 2009 was to inform the population, especially in the city of Jena, about the fact that Petersen was an anti-Semite and racist. Connected with this was the demand to give the Petersenplatz in Jena a different name. There should be no place for a racist in Jena's culture of memory. One can read about the dispute about Petersen in Jena, today in press reports, especially in the *Ostthüringer Zeitung* (OTZ) from 2009 to 2011 in documentaries, also online. Ten years have passed since the highlights of this discussion, and there is calm on all fronts of the former dispute. There is no need in Jena to remember this. The sequence of events in Jena 2009-2011, which led to the renaming of Petersenplatz, can be summarized in the following points:

In autumn 2009, the city of Jena organized forums (panel discussions) open to the public, to which a number of researchers from outside were invited, including Ortmeyer (Frankfurt a.M.), Schwan (Osnabrück), Retter (Braunschweig). Other scientists who presented statements of their views on the "Petersen case" also took part in the public discussion.

On November 4-5, 2010, the "Petersen-Workshop" took place in Jena: a scientific conference (with audience participation) with the lectures of a wider range of experts. Their presentations were published in the conference report (Fauser, John, & Stutz, 2012). Schwan and Ortmeyer had cancelled their participation after the conference. That was a reaction to the book about the Jena University School (Retter, 2010), which was published two weeks earlier. On November 29, 2010 Schwan wrote a devastating "analysis" of the book, which was at the heart of the texts of the "documents"

that the GEW published in February 2011 (see Schwan, 2011). The book and Schwan's paper were not mentioned at the Petersen Workshop, but the participants were aware of them. – On December 14, 2010, there was no majority in the Cultural Committee of the City of Jena for the proposal to rename Petersenplatz, but a stalemate of five approving and five non-approving votes. – On January 12, 2011, Prof. Dr. Reinhard Schramm, the then second and now first chairman of the Jewish Community of Thuringia, commented: "Petersen's anti-Semitism is openly apparent, so that renaming Petersenplatz is a matter of the moment. Nothing could be objected to renaming the square with the term "Jenaplan". – On 16 March 2011, the Jena City Council decided by a majority vote to rename Petersenplatz. – On March 22, 2011, the Cultural Committee of the City of Jena decided by a majority vote that the new name of the former Petersenplatz would now be "Jenaplan".



Figure 4: Hein Retter (2010) – Cover picture of the book.

Was the Petersen case closed? How has the evaluation of the "Jenaplan" changed, since its author, Peter Petersen, today marked as racist and anti-Semitic, usually only causes eloquent silence among educationalists? The question arises, since the volume "Die Universitätsschule Jena - Zufluchtsort für bedrohte Kinder im Nationalsozialismus" (The Jena University School - Refuge for Children at Risk under National Socialism [Retter, 2010]), contributed significantly to the heated discussion in Jena ten years ago. Rarely has a book about the situation of parents and children in a school during the Nazi era met with such strong rejection.

It was about families who were not followers of Adolf Hitler's idea of a pure racial community in the service of the NS: In Petersen's university school, these were families with Jewish, socialist or Protestant faithful belief (as well as families with a physically or mentally handicapped child). While the majority of these children had already attended Petersen's school for several years under democratic conditions before Hitler came to power, they became "enemies of the people" under the Hitler dictatorship, and the Nazis were increasingly fighting them.

Ten years ago, nobody wanted to say that the volume made a relevant contribution to research. Today one can talk about it. Benjamin Ortmeyer (2008), whose documentation of Petersen's publications during the Nazi dictatorship was decisive for the Petersen debate in Jena, reacted to the book (Retter, 2010) by calling the volume a "scientific and political total disaster", taking over a statement by Torsten Schwan:

Benjamin Ortmeyer

„Wissenschaftliches und politisches Totaldesaster“

Im Auf und Ab der Debatte über den Erziehungswissenschaftler Peter Petersen als Namensgeber für Schulen (und in Jena einen Platz) wurde in Jena nun aktuell als Entlastungsmanöver angesichts der unhaltbaren nazistischen Schriften Petersens ein „neues Fass aufgemacht“: Das seien ja alles nur Worte, aber in der Universitätsschule in Jena, da wäre „nie Heil Hitler“ gesagt, „nie die Hakenkreuzfahne“ gehisst worden, ja die Schule, so die Krönung der Falschbehauptungen, wäre wirklich, wie Petersen 1948 neben anderen Unwahrheiten behauptet hatte, eine „Zufluchtsort“ für „seine jüdischen Kinder“ gewesen.

Figure 5: Quote from B. Ortmeyer, in *Dokumente*, 2011, p.163: Hein Retter's book (2010) as "scientific and political total disaster".

Dr. Torsten Schwan had written about the criticized book: "The distortion of the actual historical situation made by Retter is - unfortunately this must be named so clearly - simply grotesque" (Schwan, in *Dokumente*, 2011, p. 136). And: "As shamelessly as in this book - this has been shown in various places - repression and instrumentalization has not been practiced in pedagogy for decades. [...] How serious the damage caused by his unacceptable instrumentalisations is for the Jenaplan pedagogy, but also for the city of Jena, will only become clear in the future" (Schwan, *ibid.* p. 154).

I think, ten years were sufficient to establish how resounding the "damage" of the book of the "shameless" author had done was in fact. The interested reader will find the "shameless" result at the end of this article (see ANNEX). In the campaign against the book (see Figure 5), a far-reaching catalogue of assertions was made, which can be summarised in three points:

1/ The Reform Pedagogue Petersen was a Racist and Anti-Semite.

2/ There were no children in the Jena University School under Petersen's leadership who were racially or politically endangered or threatened during National Socialism, nor were there children of Jewish parents or endangered children with Jewish roots. As far as partly Jewish children attended the Petersenschule, they did not have to fear any threat from Nazi legislation. The Jena University School was neither a place of "refuge" nor a place of protection for allegedly "threatened" children who attended this school. Petersen's school, which had existed as an experimental school since 1924 and became the birthplace of the pedagogical reform model "Jena Plan", was rather attended by children of high-ranking Nazis in the "Third Reich"; likewise, a large number of the teachers were Nazis.

3/ In his lousy work, which "is ultimately so shamelessly instrumentalized, so inadmissibly simplified and at the same time does not show the trace of a critical claim" (Schwan, in *Dokumente*, 2011, p. 157), Hein Retter tells fairy tales and fictions about Petersen and his school in order to stage a "revisionist rescue of Petersen's honour" (*ibid.*).

4. The Role of the Teachers' Union, "Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft (GEW)"

After ten years, we have to report what has become of the "total disaster" that the author Hein Retter was certified to have suffered. Things really didn't look good for him in 2010. The spokespersons of the debate had the support of the local press (OTZ) and the GEW: Solidarity support was provided by the GEW Thuringia, the GEW District Association Jena and the GEW-Studis of the Friedrich Schiller University. They all acted as editors of a "documentation" (2011), flanked by the GEW main

journal "Erziehung und Wissenschaft" (E&W), owned by the GEW umbrella organisation (head-quarter: Frankfurt a.M.).



Figure 6: The editors of the GEW brochure "Dokumente" (Documents), February 2011.

The brochure also contained photos of a poster campaign with Petersen quotations, which had been organized by the "GEW-Studis" of the Friedrich Schiller University of Jena under the direction of Mike Niederstraßer. Also published there is the correspondence that Ortmeyer and Schwan had with Jena's Lord Mayor Dr. Albrecht Schröter (SPD) when they withdrew their participation in the Petersen Workshop Jena (November 4-5, 2010). Although forgotten today, it is an interesting reader in terms of contemporary history. Here, to criticize the book about the Jena University School (Retter, 2010) was not enough for the opponents. They needed an even stronger argument for their "shooting out" and found it in the accusation of historical revisionism (Geschichtsrevisionismus). "It is less about Petersen than about historical revisionism" (Ortmeyer, quoted, in *Dokumente*, 2011, p. 12). And: "But the hardest and best proven reproach of Torsten Schwan against Hein Retter's writing is the reproach of historical revisionism" (ibid., p. 164). What was meant was: Hein Retter is a history forger and denied the Holocaust.

"Holocaust denial" is the extensive trivialisation or denial of the National Socialist genocide of the European Jews. In German jurisdiction this is a punishable offence. The Holocaust has played a role in our family till today, but in a manner that we feel to be an obligation to keep the cry "Auschwitz, never again!" always alive in our consciousness (Retter, 2011, p. 264; Retter, 2017, p. 121f.). For this reason, Petersen's conduct can in many respects only be regarded as questionable. But if this warning becomes a puffery, as was the case in the Jena Petersen discussion, then one cannot remain silent. I think, it is difficult to present contemporary history with a pure heart when such scholars uphold the argument, "Six million murdered in the Nazi genocide" only to make their own assertions unassailable, but suppressing the concrete fate of those persecuted by the Nazi regime, when these people are grateful for the protection they received from the Petersen University School during the Hitler dictatorship.

The GEW organ "E&W" (Frankfurt a.M.) had published in its November 2010 issue an essay by Karl-Heinz Heinemann, entitled "Petersens Weg zu Hitler" [Petersen's path to Hitler] (Heinemann, 2010, pp. 22-23). Certainly the Petersen Workshop in Jena on November 4-5, 2010 was to be accompanied by a challenging message from the GEW organ. To illustrate the text, a photo was presented with the explanation: "Pedagogy under the swastika: Most schools were under Nazi influence - including the Jena Plan model schools. The teacher-student relationship reflected the relationship between 'leader and followers'" (see below, Figure 7):



Figure 7: Photo of an alleged Jenaplan school during the Nazi dictatorship.

Notes (by Hein Retter): 1/The photo obviously does not show a Jenaplan school. 2/"Jena-Plan model schools" did not exist in the NS state. 3/The description of the photo ("Mediennummer 3522388 © picture-alliance / akg-images") by "dpa Picture-Alliance GmbH" is: **Boys' class with teacher in the classroom, photo, without place and year (Germany, 1935);** see also: Heinemann (2010).

Comment 2020: How is it that a photo is supposed to say something typical about Jenaplan pedagogy but does not show a Jenaplan school? How can the picture come from a Jenaplan school if the picture agency neither claims this nor the viewer finds signs of it? We see a classroom of the traditional kind: with screwed benches, without freely adjustable tables. This is traditional teaching in a classroom that Jenaplan radically changed through inter-year study groups. An inquiry to this effect made to the editorial staff of E&W in late autumn 2010 could not be clarified there. But they were willing to accept that the photo did not come from a Jenaplan school.

How is it that a photo is supposed to say something typical about Jenaplan pedagogy but does not show a Jenaplan school? We see a classroom of the traditional kind: with screwed benches, without freely adjustable tables. This is traditional teaching in a classroom that Jenaplan radically changed through inter-year study groups. An inquiry to this effect made to the editorial staff of E&W in late autumn 2010 could not be clarified there. But they were willing to accept that the photo did not come from a Jenaplan school. The assertion that Jenaplan model schools existed during the Nazi era is incorrect. In Westphalia in 1934-35, there were school experiments with home-bound group lessons, behind which Petersen's Jenaplan pedagogy hid, but the term "Jenaplan" was not allowed to appear officially, and "Nazi model schools" they were by no means, as the critical report of the ministerial official from Berlin, Dr. Voigtländer, stated in his report on Petersen's "Pedagogical Week" of May 22-26, 1934, in Rahden/Westphalia. The expert from the Reich Ministry of Education (Berlin) emphasized "that Petersen's pedagogy cannot provide the basis for a National Socialist school reform" [...] "It is known that Prof. Petersen only formally recognized the state as the schoolmaster. [...]"

Rather, one must "avert the dangers that may arise from the apolitical and formal character of Jena's pedagogy" (in Retter, 1996b, pp. 291-293).

Nowhere else than at that conference in Rahden in 1934 did Petersen in the Hitler state publicly betray his ideals of freedom and humanity from the Weimar Republic, and this for a plate of lentils of the expected expansion of the Jena Plan - and of course also to preserve his own school. The conference in Rahden in 1934 was a major event, which in its appearance naturally paid homage to National Socialism in all its form.

Once again Petersen was fortunate to be one of the main speakers at the VI International Congress on Moral Education in Krakow in September 1934. Here he was enthusiastic about the "national political" change in the German Reich on the basis of "landscape and race, language and myth" (Petersen, 1935, p. 214). But once again, for Petersen, supposed success turned into obvious failure. With the decree of February 3, 1936, the Reich Ministry of Education banned the further spread of the school experiments. In the district of Lübbecke/Westphalia, this led to the fact that in places where the school organization already corresponded to the Jenaplan, it was soon switched back to "normal operation". Petersen's University School in Jena was allowed to continue to exist, although an official school visit in 1935 did not give it a particularly good report card.

In the first months of 2011, a letter to the editor campaign against the reform pedagogue Petersen took place in the GEW press organ "Education and Science" (E&W). It supported the demand to rename the Petersenplatz in Jena. So it was claimed, referring to Hein Retter and his book (2010), that "recently Jewish children at Petersen's school during the Nazi era must be invented". (Schwan, in: E&W, 2/2011, p. 34). It is clear to every reader of the book (2010) that the term "Jewish children" - as well as the subchapter in the book (2010) "Children from Jewish families" - served as a collective term for children from partly Jewish families. Cornelia Cotton, Rolf Schrade, Margot Pampel, had confirmed in their reports: in the everyday life of the Nazi regime one was stamped as a Jew, no matter what classification level of the racial laws one belonged to. Schwan, however, had to give the term "Jewish" the meaning "fully Jewish" to be able to say that Jewish children were "invented" here. Rolf Schrade contradicted him as a directly affected person (see below, Figure 8a+b).

The former Petersen student, Prof. Dr. Rolf Schrade, wrote an "open letter" in February 2011 which was sent to several persons and institutions, also to the GEW magazine E&W. Schrade referred directly to Torsten Schwan's statement about the allegedly "invented Jewish children". Anyone who thought that the GEW editors would immediately print Schrade's letter in the next issue was mistaken. In March 2011, a statement by the "GEW-Studis" of the University of Jena appeared in E&W. Their message was that "no evidence had ever been presented for the fairy tale of the rescued 'Jewish children'" (E&W, 3/2011, p. 35). Finally, in May 2011 Schrade's letter to the editor was published, but in a revised form at the end of the letter. Schrade's original letter, which referred directly to Torsten Schwan's statement, read (See also in German, the original and the changed version: Retter, 2012, p. 334):

I read with great shock in a reader's letter from Torsten Schwan that the stay of Jewish children at the Petersen School in Jena, about which Prof. Hein Retter reports in his book "Die Universitätsschule Jena im NS", was an invention of the author. But there were Jewish children at the Petersen School: I am one of them. Born in 1934, I was regarded as half Jewish during the Nazi era and despite this "flaw" I was able to attend precisely that school from 1940 until the end of the war in 1945. My Jewish mother Erna Schrade was deported to the concentration camp Theresienstadt during that time. My father, then head of personnel and later head of planning at Carl Zeiss Jena, who had refused to divorce my mother, was "transferred" to a labor camp in Merseburg in 1944. My parents miraculously survived the concentration camp. I owe it to courageous people like Petersen who, through their have protected unconventional behaviour.

I think - and this I would like to address to the writer of the address reader's letter - that belongs to a historical view, to actually consider all sides of a person and an event. A polemical one-sided representation, as he gives it, does not damage only the reputation of the reform pedagogue Petersen, but also insults those persons who endured the suffering and injustice of the Nazi era. Rolf Schrade, Mahlow.

Prof. Dr. phil. Dr. h.c. Rolf Schrade, Berliner Str. 25, 15831 Mahlow. Open letter February 20, 2011.

Figure 8a: Open letter from Prof. Dr. Rolf Schrade, .2011, February (Here translated into English).

The end of Schrade's letter I have put in italics (see above) to show what the E&W editorial team made of it: The posthumous thanks to Petersen and Schrade's criticism of GEW member Schwan have been deleted. In the form published by E&W in the issue May 2011, p. 43, the text finished (in original in German):

That I too survived in Jena is thanks to courageous people like Petersen, who protected me with their unconventional behaviour. A historical view also includes actually considering all sides of a person and an event. A polemical one-sided portrayal also insults the people who had to endure the suffering and crimes of the Nazi era.

Figure 8b: The last sentences of the "open letter" by Rolf Schrade changed and published by the GEW editors, E&W, 5/2011, p. 43 (adopted by Retter, 2012, p. 334).

5. Aftermath of the Petersen Debate – An Overview of Further Events

After "Petersen experts" branded the book about the Jena University School (Retter, 2010) as a "total disaster", the following is an overview of how the volume became the starting point for new developments, events and research findings.

While critics claimed that the controversial book, which appeared in October 2010, was written "to ensure the preservation of 'Petersen-Platz'" (in Dokumente, 2011, p. 157; p. 163), its author Hein Retter had stressed in February 2010 that Petersen "should not be a namesake of a street or a square because of his concentration camp lectures and his racist texts". The statement was printed in the "Ostthüringer Zeitung" (OTZ), as Figure 9 shows.

keiten und methodischer Mängel" nicht in der Lage sei, ein „gültiges Urteil über Petersens Pädagogik“ abzugeben. Retters Fazit dennoch: Petersen könne aufgrund seiner KZ-Vorträge und rassistischen Texte kein Namensgeber einer Straße oder eines Platzes sein. Prof. Retter wird, wie im Ausschuss angekündigt wurde, am 23. Februar um 17 Uhr in einer öffentlichen Veranstaltung der Volkshochschule sprechen. Der Veranstaltungsort wird noch bekannt gegeben.

Dem Ausschuss lag diesbezüglich eine von Prof. Hein Retter/Braunschweig ausgearbeitete 112-seitige Abhandlung vor, in der der Petersen-Kenner zu dem Schluss kommt, dass PD Dr. Benjamin Ortmeyer/frankfurt/Main mit seiner Habilitationsschrift „Mythos und Pathos statt Logos und Ethos“ aufgrund „sachlicher Ungenauig-

Figure 9: Ostthüringer Zeitung (OTZ), 11 February 2010 (excerpt).

Year 2011

On June 18, 2011, a "Stolperstein" (commemorating brass plaque, lit. "stumbling stone") was set in Jena in front of the last residence of Gitta Reinhardt, "Volljüdin" /Full Jewish (Nazi classification), murdered in Auschwitz, on the occasion of Holocaust remembrance. Her daughter Margot Reinhardt, married Pampel, was a student at the University School. Margot's daughter Felicity Zwalf, who came from Melbourne, spoke about her grandmother words of remembrance, as well as about the life and survival of Margot (Felicity's mother) under Nazi rule in Jena. The identification of Margot Reinhardt as a Jena Holocaust victim and the identification of her daughter as a student of the Petersen School would have been quite sufficient to justify the book about Petersen's University School. But for the critics the elaborate research work was a "total disaster", the "fairy tale of the Jewish children" the "GEW-Studis" wrote (E&W 3/2011, p. 35).



Figure 10: "Stolperstein" / Stumbling stone/ for Gitta Reinhardt, née Czerwinska, murdered in Auschwitz, May 2, 1943.

67

Year 2012

In spring 2012, the lectures of the Jena Petersen Workshop of 2010 were published, and the volume continues to determine the current state of discussion about Petersen in educational science (Fauser, John, & Stutz, 2012).

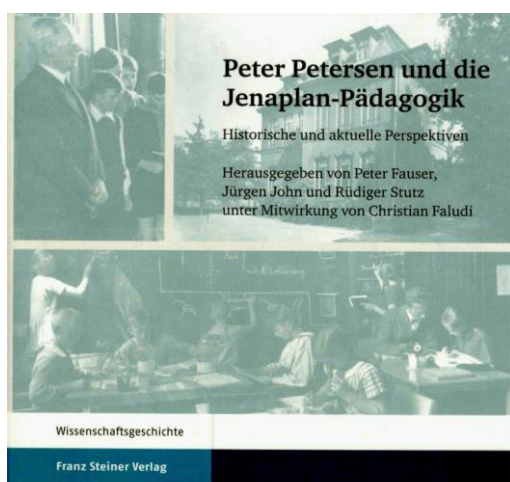


Figure 11: Cover of the conference proceedings of the "Petersen Workshop" in Jena November 4-5, 2011, edited by Peter Fauser, Jürgen John and Rüdiger Stutz, with the collaboration of Christian Faludi. Title in English: *Peter Petersen and the Jenaplan Pedagogy. Historical and current perspectives*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2012.

Year 2013

On November 14, 2013, a wall sculpture was inaugurated in the Volkshaus in Jena in memory of Hildegard Grebe-Grottewitz, who worked as a dance and gymnastics teacher in Jena from 1928 to 1938; as a half-Jew, her public appearance in 1937 was prohibited by the NSDAP in Jena. Her application to the Nazi authorities to be allowed to enter a second marriage after her divorce was probably not granted; she was threatened with sterilization; she fled to Berlin with her life partner and her daughter, Cornelia, born 1927 Cotton, 2008, p. 111). Cornelia Grebe had attended University School from 1934-38. In Berlin then, the family had to live a life of anonymity in order not to be discovered; the marriage did not take place until after the end of the war (see *Jüdisches Leben*, 2015, pp. 267-269). Cornelia Cotton, née Grebe, who had donated the sculpture, came to Jena from the USA on occasion of the memorial service for her mother. Years earlier, in her life review (Cotton, 2008), she had already reported on her upbringing in Jena during the Nazi era - with gratitude for her time at University School, where she felt safe, which was not always the case on the streets. A contribution by Gisela Horn on "Women in Jena" had recalled the fate of Cornelia's mother, Hildegard Grebe-Grottewitz (Horn, 2007, p. 58f.).

Year 2015

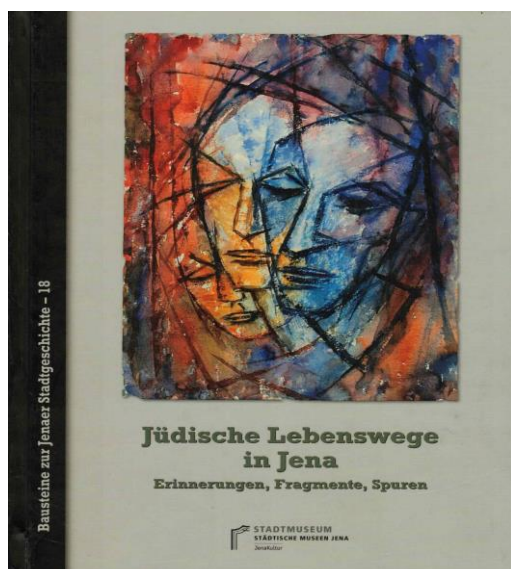


Figure 12: Book title "Jewish Life Paths in Jena" (2015).

In 2015, the volume "Jüdische Lebenswege in Jena", edited by the Jena City Archive and comprising over 600 pages, was published under the editorial direction of Constanze Mann. The documentation contains "Memories, Fragments, Traces" (subtitle). It was the continuation of the first book about Jewish Life in Jena, published by the "Jena Arbeitskreis Judentum" in 1998. Interesting for us: What role does the recent Jena discussion about Petersen play?

- (1) The "quarrel about Petersen", which shook Jena before and after 2010, is completely unmentioned in the volume "Jüdische Lebenswege".
- (2) The term "Jewish" in the title of the volume is used as a generic term for persons who were not only full Jews in the sense of the Nazi racial laws, but also including persons of Jewish origin. – This corresponds completely with the view of the book by Hein Retter (2010).

- (3) For the first time in the Jena commemorative literature about victims of National Socialism, the respective authors of the contributions mention Jewish and partly Jewish families in larger numbers whose children attended "Peter Petersen's University School".
- (4) In the literature and source references of the respective contributions, the controversial book of 2010, "Hein Retter, Die Universitätsschule Jena...", is regularly listed.
- (5) Among other things, the Jena documentation mentions that Petersen's sons had lived in the house of the "Volljuden" (Nazi classification) Otto Eppenstein since 1931 - after the remarriage of Petersen's first wife (divorced in 1927), Gertrud, nee Zoder (1892-1958), with Otto Eppenstein (1876-1942), who also entered into the second marriage (Jüdische Lebenswege, 2015, p. 235; see Retter, 2007, pp. 158f.); the friendship of the Petersen and Eppenstein families lasted since 1924, when the former moved from Hamburg to Jena due to Peter Petersen's appointment to the Thuringian State University.

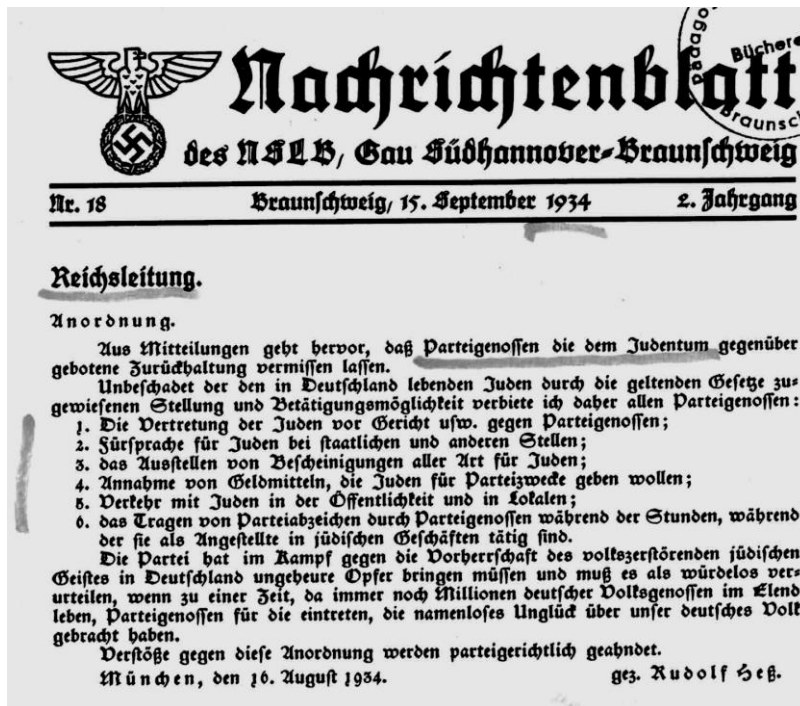


Figure 13: Avoidance of Jews - Order for party members, by the Deputy Führer, Rudolf Hess (Reichsleitung), September 15, 1934.

Contacts with Jews in everyday life had been strictly regulated for members of the NSDAP in 1934 by the deputy leader, Rudolf Hess (see figure 13). NSDAP members were forbidden: "1. to represent Jews in court etc. against party members; 2. to intercede for Jews in state and other offices; 3. to issue certificates of any kind for Jews; 4. to accept funds which Jews want to give for party purposes; 5. to have social interaction with Jews in public and in restaurants; 6. to wear party badges by party members during the hours when they are employed as employees in Jewish shops." Petersen was not a member of the NSDAP, but as a member of the NSLB (since April 1, 1934), so he belonged to an important subdivision of the Hitler Party. That the order should also apply to NSLB members suggests its publication in the NSLB Newsletter. Petersen's handling of this precarious situation plays a role in the historical judgment of him. I have no information that he ever visited the house Eppenstein in Jena, Otto-Devrien-Straße 16, during the Nazi dictatorship. His two sons (they became university students in the thirties) and his wife Gertrud from his first marriage lived there, apart from his former family friendship with Otto Eppenstein.

Year 2016

On May 27, 2016, a ceremony took place on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Jenaplan-schule Jena. Present among the guests of honor was Margot Pampel, 94, in a wheelchair. On the occasion of the anniversary, she had come from Australia to Germany on a last trip accompanied by her daughter. The day before, the Lord Mayor of the City of Jena, Dr. Albrecht Schröter, gave a reception for Margot Pampel with guests including headmaster Frank Ahrens (Jenaplan-schule Jena) and Ilja Rabinovitch, from the Jewish Community in Jena.

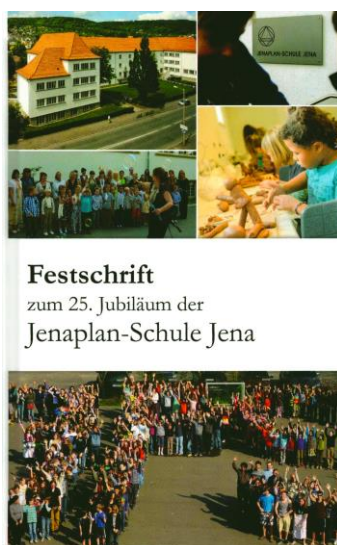


Figure 14: Cover of the "Festschrift" for the 25th anniversary of the Jenaplan-Schule Jena.

On the day of the ceremony (May 27, 2016) the school's "Festschrift" was published, which also contains the greetings of Claudia Cotton, Margot Pampel and Rolf Schrade. The three very old people from the USA, Australia and Germany recalled their schooldays at the University School (see ANNEX).



Figure 15: Ostthüringer Zeitung on May 30, 2016: Photo and report on the visit of Margot Pampel from Australia on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Jenaplan-schule Jena.

Year 2017

In 2017, the autobiography of Margot Pampel, née Reinhardt, was published by the "Lamm Jewish Library of Australia" with the title: AS CHANCE WOULD HAVE IT. FROM JENA TO MELBOURNE (Pampel, & Zwalf 2017). Here she tells in detail about her school days with Petersen and the subse-

quent ordeal; her mother, Gitta Reinhardt, experienced the fate of "Auschwitz". She herself fled from Nazi-Jena and tried to hide.

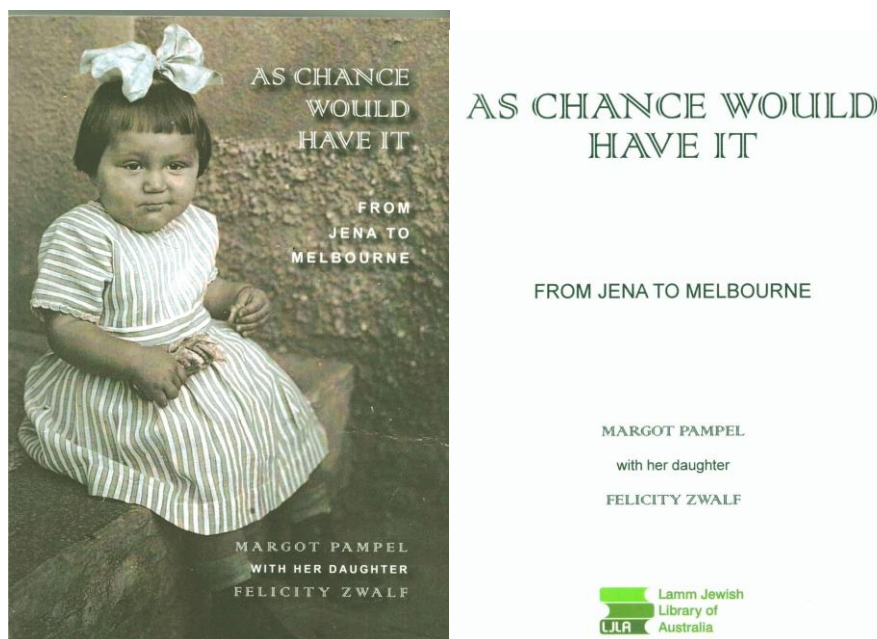


Figure 16: Cover and title page of Margot Pampel's book published in 2017, editorially supported by her daughter, Felicity Zwalf.

Year 2018

In 2018 the Springer Publishing House published the volume edited by Heiner Barz "Handbuch Bildungsreform und Reformpädagogik". Among the articles that deal with well-known representatives of international reform education, one contribution is dedicated to Peter Petersen and the Jenaplan, with reference to the current state of discussion and research (see Retter, 2018).

On September 10, 2018, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Thuringia presented a documentation from the scientific estate of Heinz Grün at the RLS office in Jena: "Opposition and Resistance in the Jena Area 1934-1945" (edited by Dr. Gertraude Remer). The material collected in earlier decades by the two researchers, Anneliese and Heinz Grün, could only now be published. The documentation which is now accessible in the Jena City Archive, is relevant for the Petersen research (see Grün, & Grün, 2018).



Figure 17: ISO-Image of the CD: Grün's Documentation Against Fascism and War. "Conflict, Opposition and Resistance in the Jena Area 1934-1945."

In the years before, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation kindly gave me the opportunity to use the unprocessed scientific estate of Heinz Grün, stored in various boxes at the RLS office in Jena, for my own research work. Also Michael Grün, Bad Kleinen, helped with supplementary material. Heinz Grün's main documentation, on "Citizens of Jena and the surrounding area in resistance against the Nazi regime 1933 - 1945" (Grün, 2005) is now also available for all interested parties. I was lucky that my suggestion to put this work online was realized by the University Library of Jena.ⁱⁱ

Year 2019

In issue 1/2019 of the IDE-Online Journal the paper "How William H. Kilpatrick's Project Method Came to Germany: 'Progressive Education' Against the Background of American-German Relations Before and After 1933" was published in International Dialogues: Past and Present: IDE-Online Journal, 6 (2019) no.1, pp. 88-124.

Retter: "Progressive Education" Against the Background of American-German Relations Before and After 1933
International Dialogues on Education, 2019, Volume 6, Number 1, pp. 88-124
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Hein Retter (Germany)

How William H. Kilpatrick's Project Method Came to Germany: "Progressive Education" Against the Background of American-German Relations Before and After 1933

Abstract: This study shows which contacts and events were decisive for the publication of essays by John Dewey and William Kilpatrick as a German book in connection with Kilpatrick's ensuing discussion after 1918 of the project method - in the middle of the Nazi era. The volume was edited in 1935, by Peter Petersen, at the University of Jena, the founder of the Jenaplan (Jena Plan). A number of previously unknown letters, information from various archives and Kilpatrick's diaries, which are now available in digital form, were used. It was not possible to clarify all the details. However, it is certain that personal contacts and the educational exchange in American-German relations were not completely broken off with the beginning of Nazi rule in Germany in 1933.

Key words: Project method, William H. Kilpatrick, John Dewey, Thomas Alexander, Peter Petersen, Franz Hilker, progressive education

Figure 18: Front page of the essay by Hein Retter (2019), URL: [IDE-2019-1-full.pdf](#), pp. 88-124.

The research report (including an evaluation of Kilpatrick's correspondence and diary) on the background of German-American relations before and after 1933, shows how it came about that Petersen was able to publish the book "Der Projekt-Plan" in 1935. The volume contains essays (translated into German) by the two leading American representatives of progressive, democratic education, John Dewey and his student William H Kilpatrick. One should see, however,

(1) that Dewey and Kilpatrick completely ignored the problem of racism in the USA, the discrimination of African Americans, (2) that at the same time, in 1935, Petersen surrendered himself, his philosophy of education and Jenaplan to the Nazi ideology even more than before. Petersen achieved the Jenaplan's demonstrative connection to the NS mainly through his programmatic treatise "Die erziehungswissenschaftlichen Grundlagen des Jena-Planes im Lichte des Nationalsozialismus" (Petersen, 1935), as well as through the text written by Herbert Sailer: "Why do we see the Jena Plan as the starting point for the National Socialist peasant school?" (Sailer, 1935).

Herbert Sailer (1912-1945) was a Hitler Youth leader (most recently "Stammführer"), a member of the SA since May 1933 and a teacher at the University School from 1935 to 1939. He taught the upper group, Anneliese Rau, teacher of the lower group from 1937, was also a young Hitler supporter. She had been a member of the "Bund Deutscher Mädel" (BDM) since October 1, 1932, and a NSDAP and NSLB candidate since April 1937 (UAJ: stock D, No. 2320). The middle group was taught by Dr. Ilse Opitz. She represented Christian confession-oriented convictions (Retter, 1996b, p. 32). The same applied to the religion teacher of the University School, Gertrud Schäfer (1897-1987). She was an opponent of the Nazi rule and those Nazi theologians who called themselves Deutsche Christen (German Christians), followers of Hitler and claiming that Jesus was not a Jew but an Aryan (see the German Wikipedia entry "Gertrud Schäfer").iii

One can agree with Robert Döpp when he stated that curricular topics of the University School, as far as they are tangible, are not sufficient to "prove the fundamental Nazification of the University School. They show, however, that it is an illusion to want to understand the school beyond the other school reality in the Nazi era" (Döpp 2003, p. 429); that it was part of the everyday life of the University School when Sailer gave speeches in uniform and Petersen's assistant Döpp-Vorwald visited the University School in SA uniform did not distinguish it from the school operations of other schools in its public commitment to the Nazi state (Döpp, *ibid.*).

6. International Understanding, Jewish Children and the Racism of Petersen after 1933

The political upheaval of 1933 leads the researcher, who is concerned with the fate of those families of the Petersen School in Jena who were politically left-wing or were counted among the "democrats" (i.e. the political centre), very quickly to the question: What did Petersen do with children whose fathers and/or mothers, for political, racial or other reasons (such as physical or mental handicaps), were fought against by the Nazis from 1933 onwards, so to speak as vermin? They absolutely contradicted Hitler's idea of the German people as a racially "blood pure" Nazi community and partly the fathers fought actively in the resistance against the Nazis. Their existence was threatened by state measures as well as by arbitrary acts of violence during the Nazi dictatorship, which meant increasing humiliation, disenfranchisement, and finally systematic mass murder for those undesirable in the Nazi community.

Opponents of the volume "Jena University School" (Retter, 2010) argued: Here a danger for partly Jewish families had been constructed by the author of this book, which did not exist at all (Dokumente, 2011, p. 133). The argument was put forward: The "Jüdische Mischlinge" (Jewish race-mixed individuals) in Petersen's school were in any case subject to compulsory schooling, they were in no danger of being excluded from it by law, neither at Petersen's nor at any other public school in the 1930s, regardless of the question of the separation of Jewish and non-Jewish pupils in the course of the racial legislation from autumn 1935 onwards.^{iv}

Unfortunately, the critics failed to recognize that Jewish "mixed race" individuals were exposed to dangers and even the feeling to have lost their own identity, due to Nazi law and the high degree of social isolation. This led to a life "In the Shadow of the Holocaust" (Tent, 2007).

This shows the school fate of Margot Pampel, however, said something quite different: she had to leave the secondary school^v after the school management discovered her Jewish origin, which her mother had concealed (in accordance with Petersen's advice), months before the introduction of the racial laws and the decrees restricting the conditions of existence of Jewish "Mischlinge". As the school regulations of the University School of 1930 made clear under point 10 (Petersen, 1930, p. 204), those parents who "did not agree with the school spirit" were friendly asked to send their children "to another school". In the end, Petersen alone decided; no state education authority could dispute his decision.

This also applied to partly Jewish families, which represent a larger group in Petersen's parental and student body. They shared the fate of public stigmatization in the Nazi state, but were put in a state of constant, increasing fear not so much by laws as by locally arbitrary measures: Fear of discovery, of the Gestapo, of denunciation, of humiliation, of exploitation, of marginalization, of the violence of Nazi thugs: traumatic experiences of loss of identity that they retained for life (Tent, 2007; Gensch, & Grabowsky, 2010). If one parent was Jewish, the authorities were able to withdraw custody of the child from the parents, since education in the spirit of National Socialism was not guaranteed (Retter, 2010, pp. 172 ff.); for the current state of research on the topic of NS race legislation, see Brechtken et al. (2017).

"Mischlinge" (race-mixed persons) remained a problem for the Nazis from the very beginning, especially since Hitler, together with the party leadership and the SS, wanted to put them on an equal footing with the "full Jews" and exterminate them, while the ministerial bureaucracy strove to grant them a place in the Nazi national community as subhumans under degrading conditions until they would become extinct through social isolation. Schwan (in Dokumente, 2011, p. 120f.) took up the topic, but only quoted Beate Meyer's dissertation (1999) from the more recent thematically relevant literature. His presentation was not oriented on the documented bad everyday life of the "half-Jews",

but emphasized their "special rights" that ministry officials intended to grant to the "mixed race" individuals. But such alleged rights were more declarations of intent than reality; Gestapo and SS had no problem ignoring ministerial decrees when necessary. The practice of humiliation and exclusion from society was determined by the arbitrariness of local decision-makers and was practised in very different ways. This should not be forgotten: Not only Jews, but also "half-Jews" were tortured and murdered by the Nazis, already with the pogrom night in 1938 Reinhard Schramm (2001) used the example of his own family to show the extent to which even half-Jews were subjected to torture and murder under the Nazi dictatorship. A family in which the father died before 1933 and the Jewish widow raised the children alone was considered a Jewish family by the Nazis (ibid., p. 20).

While the Nazis tried to separate those groups of people they considered enemies of the people, Petersen's pedagogical concept consisted in accepting all children – with parents of all social classes, world views, including parents with a physically and mentally handicapped child). Anyone who suspects the concept of "international understanding" behind this, which Petersen (1926) saw as the basis of a "New European educational movement", will perceive that racism as a slap in the face, which Petersen developed after 1933. In Jena one remembered that in 1929 Petersen, through the circle of friends of the University School, had invited to a lecture by Prof. Dr. Albert Pinkewitsch, from the Second State University in Moscow, on "The Russian Elementary School" (Volksschule). It was known in Jena that Petersen had good relations with colleagues of the Soviet Union. This was the case in Schramm's family, but the situation in the case of Margot Pampel was very similar: Her father, a communist, died after an accident in 1930.

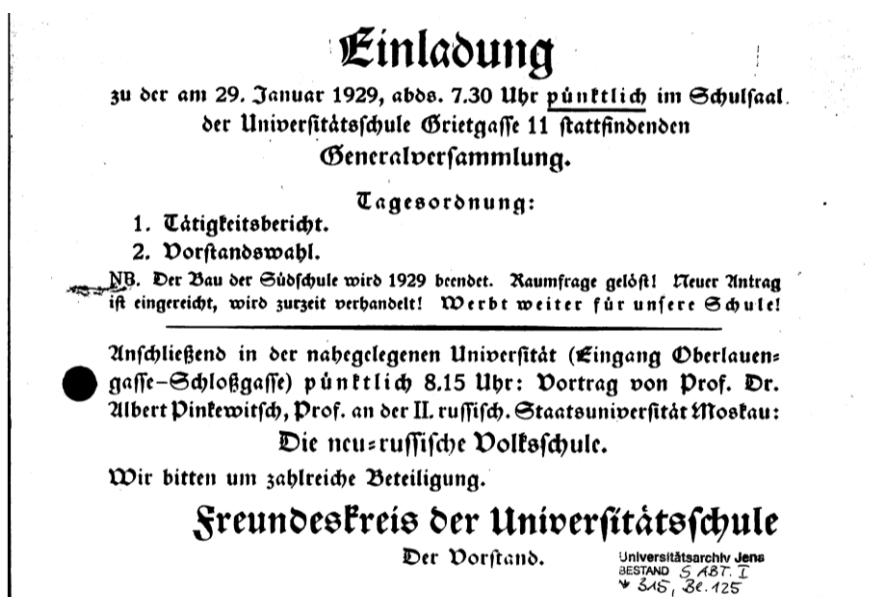


Figure 19: Announcement of a lecture by Prof. Dr. Albert Pinkewitsch, Moscow, January 29, 1929, "The New Russian Primary School", in the assembly hall of the University School, Jena. Source: UAJ, stock S, I, No. 315, p. 125.

Already one year later the Nazis ruled in Thuringia, with the Baum/Frick cabinet. The year 1930 was also a climax of Petersen's successes under the conditions of the first German democracy, the Weimar Republic. Not in Thuringia, where the Jenaplan had no followers outside of Jena, but in socialist-ruled Prussia, Petersen met with sustained interest in the Jenaplan among elementary school teachers on the political left. The Prussian Minister of Education, Adolf Grimme (SPD), ap-

proved the first Jenaplan experimental school by letter dated September 18, 1930: The text of the letter from Minister Grimme to Petersen read:

My dear Mr. Petersen! According to the reports of the government in Potsdam, the conditions for an attempt to implement the so-called "Jenaplan" in Wittenberge seem to have been met. The government has approved the experiment in principle and has ordered the responsible school councilor, Dr. Zeplin, who has himself taken part in a course in Jena and is very sympathetic to the experiment, to support the teaching staff in carrying out the experiment as far as possible. I would appreciate it if you could keep in touch with the teaching staff and also support the experiment on your part.

With best regards in old solidarity, Yours sincerely, gez. Grimme.

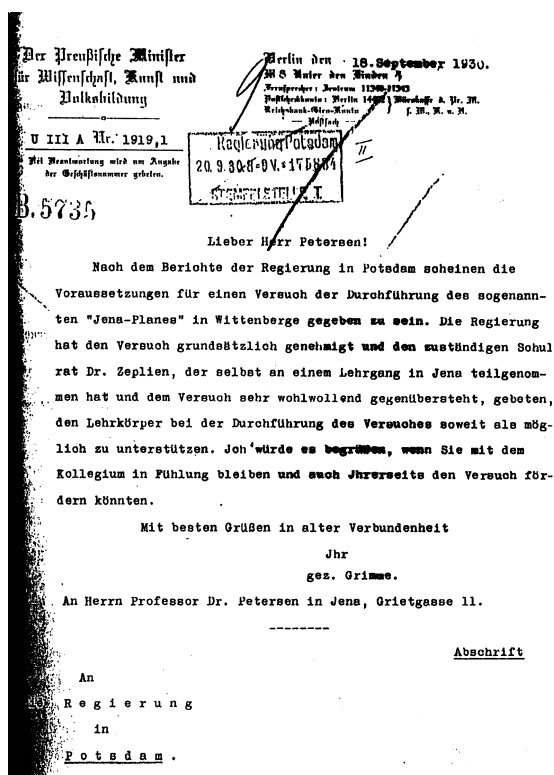


Figure 20: Letter from the Prussian Minister of Education, Adolf Grimme, dated September 18, 1930: Approval of the Jenaplan organisation of an elementary school, in the town of Wittenberge.

With the coup d'état of the Reich Chancellor von Papen in the so-called "Prussian Strike" on July 20, 1932, the Prussian state government and thus also Minister of Education, Grimme, was deposed. From then on, the Social Democrat no longer belonged to Petersen's political network. After Hitler came to power at the end of January 1933, Grimme was no longer interesting for Petersen.

The old Nazi Theodor Scheffer and the Nazi pedagogue Ernst Krieck with both his disciples Hördt and Kade were a springboard for Petersen's move into Nazi circles (Retter, 2007, p. 295ff.). Before 1933, he was considered an internationally recognized reform pedagogue of liberal educational principles in Jena, who had gained respect in the Weimar democracy with his commitment to tolerance, humane attitudes and international understanding. Petersen's idea of community had a cooperative, a socialist and a "völkisch" root, which he stressed, depending on the political requirements (Retter, 2007, p. 275ff.).

With his advocacy of the Hitler state in 1933, Petersen wanted to make his liberal concept of New Education forgotten in public space. At the same time, he tried to help his pedagogy to gain recognition, which

in turn was only successful on a regional and short-term basis. At many points in this "contemporary" change of identity, ruptures arose which the Petersen research of the last decades has uncovered. The ambivalences of his change of system, which was carried out with flying colours, made Petersen a risk to the lasting memory of a community that honoured him at his place of work by naming a place, but could not know of this risk at the beginning of the political turnaround in 1991. The Petersen controversy 10 years ago helped to bring the problematic aspects of Petersen's behaviour much more to the fore than was possible 30 years ago, immediately after the "Wende".

Petersen's active readiness to adapt to National Socialism is an old finding of Petersen research from the 1990s; but the full extent to which Petersen demonstratively presented Nazi ideological communities in his publications was first revealed by Ortmeyer. His study made Petersen - rightly so - guilty before the victims of the Holocaust and was suitable for questioning the moral substance of the Jenaplan.

In 1933, the following applied to the students of the Jena University School: Unless a normal transfer to a secondary school took place, all children continued to attend Petersen's school. The fact that there were fathers from the left-wing milieu in Petersen's school community who joined the resistance is attested to by documents on Jena's local history in the Third Reich. The fact that well-known socialists, such as Paul (v.) Hermberg (SPD) or the high KPD functionary Alfred Noll (Weber, 2004, p. 539f.) emigrated to far-flung countries is shown in the specialist literature. But that they had their children in the University School and that these children continued to attend Petersen's school from 1933 onwards can only be found out from the parent/pupil lists of the university archive Jena - for the first time in the volume "Retter, 2010". Ortmeyer interpreted the subject of the book in his own way with the statement:

"Equating the discrimination of resistance fighters who were harassed and threatened [with] the fate of Jewish children and the children of Sinti/Roma in the gas chambers is already a step to relativize and put aside the uniqueness of the history of the state-organized and industrial genocide" (Ortmeyer, in Documents, 2011, p. 41).

It was somewhat embarrassing when recognized victims of National Socialism and their children were instructed in their painful fate by the spokesmen of the Jena Petersen discussion: You were only harassed, but you were not among those who were sent to the gas chambers. So everything is not so bad for you!

Apparently Ortmeyer tried to play down left-wing opposition and resistance in Jena to the Nazi regime by referring to the Nazi genocide. If one follows such accusation of "putting aside the genocide" to Thuringian conditions, one can only be concerned how he dealt with the fate of Lydia and Magnus Poser, for example - in application of what he outlined in the sentence quoted above. Lydia Orban, married Poser, was arrested several times by the Nazis and spent "only" two years in prison. The arrest of Lydia and Magnus Poser on July 4, 1944 ended with the murder of Magnus Poser: While Lydia Poser was released from custody after two days, her husband attempted to escape from the Gestapo prison in Weimar. The chance of success was small. He accepted death in order not to have the names of his fellow combatants squeezed out of him by torture. Magnus Poser died from the bullet wounds of his guards on July 21, 1944 in the sick bay of Buchenwald concentration camp (Schilling, 2006, p. 340). But in terms of Ortmeyer's normative commandment, the whole thing did not have the quality of the perfect mass murder. If one follows Ortmeyer's offer of interpretation, the death of Magnus Poser is rather the regrettable consequence of the "chicanery" and "threat" of a resistance fighter, apparently of inferior importance for the culture of remembrance.

The same applies to the suffering of those persecuted by the NS and their families in the Petersen School. Heinz Grün had interviewed Rolf Schrade in 1980. The records from the scientific estate did not become accessible to the public until 2018.

From a conversation with Dr. Rolf Schrade

[Hugo Schrade refused to divorce his Jewish wife. Already in 1938 Zeiss employees had offered him that his wife and son should live in Switzerland at Zeiss' expense. He did not accept the offer.

On 15 October 1944 he was taken to the forced labor camp in Weißenfels, Halle. Prof. Ibrahim took Mrs. Schrade and her son to his children's hospital in case of danger. The daughter of Ernst Abbe, Grete Unrein, was a friend of Schrades. She brought Rolf Schrade, who as a child had been abused and beaten up with 'Judmann', to his parents' apartment. Before this beating Rolf Schrade was not aware that he was of Jewish descent.

On 31 January 1945 Rolf Schrade was with us at the Saal-Bahnhof when his mother was taken away with Jewish women, among others. The night before, [the Jewish doctor, Mrs.] Dr. [Klara] Griefhahn had committed suicide. It was a traumatic experience for him. He had an inkling of what the transport would mean. Although 40 years have passed, he is still afraid today.

Head of the transport to Theresienstadt concentration camp was a certain Waldemar Eissfeld. He was tried in 1952 by the jury court in Darmstadt for deprivation of liberty. Mrs. Schrade also testified at the trial. After the war, Mrs. Schrade and her son Probst visited Grüber^{vi} in Berlin. - H. G.]

See Pastor Schröter, Jena, minutes of a meeting with Dr. Rolf Schrade on April 25, 1988 in Jena, transcribed in the personnel file by H.G. Source: Grün & Grün 2018, year 1945.

To speak of "Jewish children" does not necessarily mean to follow the classification of the Nazi laws. The term is also used in today's documentaries in a value-neutral way (as a collective term), while those affected experienced it as a malicious stigmatization under the Hitler regime: The characteristic as "Jewish", which they had not emphasized before, now became an incriminating part of their self-image, even if they were "only" half or quarter Jewish, according to Nazi laws. Among those still living of that generation who fled from the Nazis at the time, even though they were not "fully Jewish", the Jewish part of their own identity could - as a reaction to this oppressive experience - be particularly appreciated in the decades after the end of Nazi rule (Cotton, 2008, p. 16, p. 104f.).

Jena did not have very many Jewish inhabitants during the Weimar Republic compared to other cities. In 1925 there were 277, but by 1933 the number had already shrunk to 111, with a population of just under 60,000 (Arbeitskreis Judentum 1998, p. 50f.). In the bourgeois intellectual milieu, which includes university professors and the leading staff of Carl-Zeiss, it was not unusual, however, for a number of married couples to fall under the Nazi classification of a "mixed marriage".

During the Weimar Republic, the university town of Jena had neither its own Jewish cemetery or synagogue nor a rabbi; for worship, religious instruction, pastoral care and highlights of Jewish life, the Jews of Jena were cared for by rabbis from outside the town. Thus it was not to be expected that the University School would be attended by a larger number of Jewish students, especially since Petersen clearly developed its profile from 1930 onwards in the direction of a Protestant denominational school. In contrast, the proportion of socialist-oriented families in the industrial city of Jena was quite significant. This plays a role in the origin of the parenthood of the University School. This fact is also fundamental to the much higher proportion of socialist families in the University School compared with families of Jewish origin.

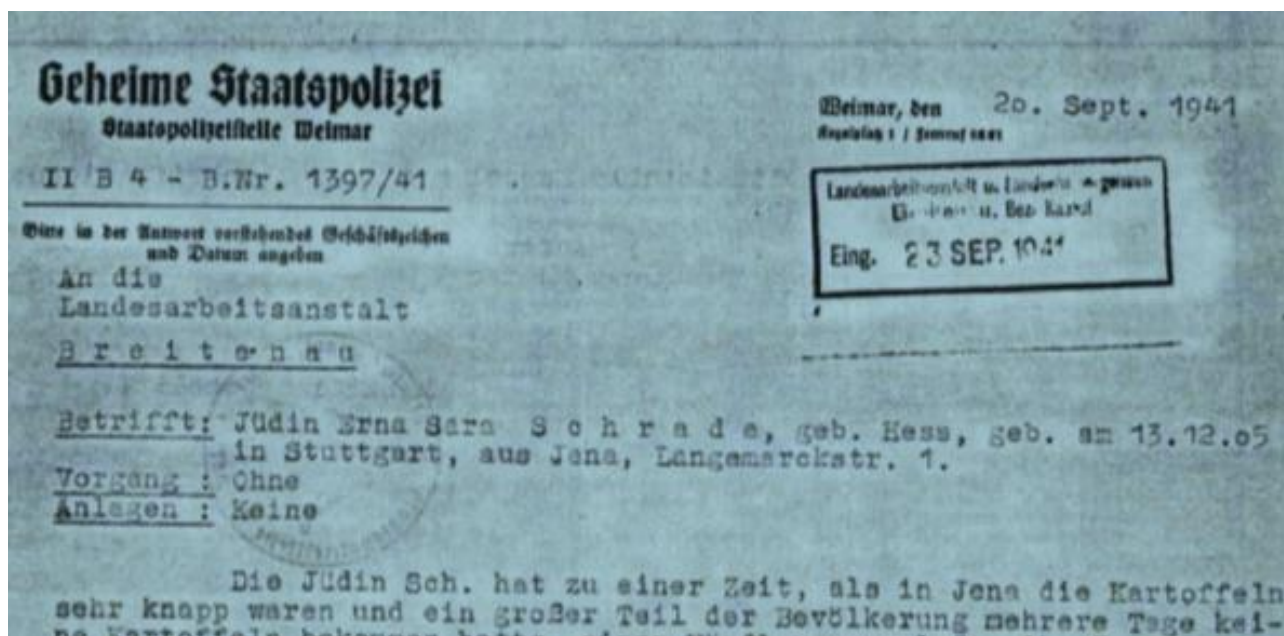


Figure 21: Deportation of Erna Schrader by the Gestapo to the Breitenau labor camp near Kassel, after she had been denounced by her landlord (from the "Files for Erna Sarah Schrader," Schutzhäftling, Breitenau labor camp; Access: September 26, 1941; Source: ITS).

Gisela Horn provided more detailed information on Erna Schrader's situation at the time: "The mere purchase of a large quantity of potatoes, which she had also purchased for another suffering family, was enough to send her to a labour camp in Breitenau near Kassel for three weeks [...] At the same time, she herself was concerned to support other persecuted persons, so she contacted Propst Grüber and the "Relief Centre for Non-Aryan Christians" run by him (G.H. in: Jüdische Lebenswege, 2015, p. 453f.).

In a curriculum vitae of 25 March 1947 Erna Schrader wrote:

"Since I am of Jewish descent, I and my relatives were persecuted during the Nazi regime under the Nuremberg Laws. During the past 12 years, my husband has only experienced difficulties in his professional life. The then NSDAP district leader Müller used every opportunity to insult and oppress us. On the basis of a denunciation, I was arrested by the Gestapo in 1941 and from September to October I was taken to the Breitenau labor camp, where I had to do hard, physical labor. My relatives did not know where and for how long I was arrested. As a result of racial persecution I was taken to the camp at Theresienstadt in January 1945 [...] My brother Siegfried was murdered in Maidanek near Lublin." (Erna Schrader, CV 1947; source: ITS)



Figure 22: Erna Schrade, transport map, Theresienstadt concentration camp; Source: ITS.

In fact, no one in Jena doubted that in the case of Erna and Hugo Schrade the experience of their son Rolf was worth being perceived and not suppressed by the culture of memory (cf. Jüdische Lebenswege, 2015, p. 452ff; Jena-Lexikon 2018, p. 560f.).

It was Margot Pampel who referred me to Elisabeth Scheinok and Ulrich Dannemann. She had found both of them at the Petersenschule after she had been enrolled there. Both were "Jewish children", had Jewish parents, but were not victims of the Nazi regime during their school days at Petersen: Elisabeth experienced on April 1, 1933, how her parents' shop was occupied by SA troops. Among the Jewish shops that were excluded from the delivery of goods in June 1933 was Aron Scheinok (Grün, 2003, p. 330). The Scheinok family was arrested in late October 1938 in the so-called Poland Action, which was followed by the deportation and presumed murder of the entire family (Jüdische Lebenswege, 2015, p. 437f.). Ulrich Dannemann moved with his parents to Cologne, went into exile with his father to Brazil in 1935 and returned to Germany after the war. In 1951 his former classmate Margot visited him (Pampel & Zwalf 2017, p. 156ff.).

Holocaust remembrance in the GDR: The GDR had an initially ambivalent and, from the 1950s on, a rather oppressive political attitude towards Holocaust remembrance. The GDR leadership honoured the victims of fascism. What was it like in Thuringia, in the territory of the East German state? Jews who had been able to escape the Holocaust and returned to Jena after the fall of the Hitler Empire saw no chance of continuing their former economic existence; they left the city for West Germany (Arbeitskreis Judentum, 1998, p. 184ff.) In the course of the change of political system from 1990 onwards, Jena - like other cities in the former GDR that now belong to the Federal Republic of Germany - had to undergo an extensive programme of renaming street names. In East Germany, the German Democratic Republic (GDR) was founded on 7 October 1949 under the leadership of the SED, which created its own communist culture of remembrance: by naming streets after the founding fathers of the ruling state doctrine, the victims and living models. After 1990, however, street names that recalled the past decades of the socialist state were a nuisance to the citizens.

At the same time, there was a new interest in awakening the memory of the Holocaust and of the historical Judaism of Jena and keeping it alive in remembrance. After the political turnaround, Jena's culture of remembrance had attempted, in an often difficult search for traces, to wrest all Jewish families who had suffered under National Socialism from the widespread ignorance of the local public. The aim was to remember and honour them. The "Jena Arbeitskreis Judentum", founded in 1997, did not forget in its work those who managed to evade the Nazis by fleeing and emigrating, nor did it exclude those who, because the Nazi legislation "only" classified them as half-Jews or

quarter-Jews ("first or second degree race-mixed"), also suffered injustice and began their deportation for murder not only in the last weeks of the fall of Hitler's Germany, but already after the November pogrom in 1938. A first result of the historical search for the victims of the Nazi dictatorship in Jena was published in 1998 by the Jenaer Arbeitskreis Judentum.

7. Learning Processes – Insights about Petersen and the Actors Involved in the Petersen Discussion

In several large-scale studies on Petersen (Döpp, 2003; Retter, 2007), problematic activities during the Second World War were discussed in detail, such as Petersen's lectures in the Buchenwald concentration camp to deported Norwegian students of the University of Oslo, the lectures in elite institutions of the Hitler Youth - as well as several Nazi ideological texts. From 1941 to 1944, advanced training courses for heads of the Reich Labour Service of the Women's Youth (RADwJ) were held at the University of Jena under Petersen's organizational direction (detailed: Retter, 2007, p. 429ff.). In May 1945 the Nazi regime was finally defeated.

In 1945 Petersen was 61 years old. Starting in May 1945, he tried to make his own opposition to the Nazi regime credible by reconnecting it with the period of the 1920s, during which he had close contacts with socialist school reformers and the Soviet Union. The claim that Petersen had prepared the NS-ideology (Hartmann, 1986) is nearby, but questionable: no, he used it to justify his pedagogy. As expected, he could hardly be credible for Nazi pedagogues. Similarly, Petersen tried to get into the mood of the expected republican state after the collapse of the Kaiserreich by clarifying his idea of education. So in 1919 Petersen had spoken of the fact that "the capitalist intoxication of the working class" would evaporate and that "the pure socialism we demanded would prevail". Its ethics should be embodied by the "two ideas of community and free humanity" (Petersen, 1919, p. 41; p. 16). He advocated the socialist goal of a comprehensive school and common training for all kinds of teachers of the public school system at the university (ibid., p.40f.). After 1945, on the other hand, political conditions in the Soviet-occupied zone (later the GDR) called for recourse to Karl Marx. Petersen did so with reference to Marx's "Critique of the Gotha Program" in order to propagate a free, people-bound socialism against the established reactionary state (see Retter, 2007, p. 527). The goal was always the same: to strengthen his academic power, to finally help his pedagogy (Jenaplan) to succeed and, if possible, to gain influence in the new political system: After apparent initial success, Petersen failed thoroughly.

With Petersen, there was no pause for thought in the upheavals of time. What about his moral integrity? We must remember that as late as 1944 he had been giving lectures for more than one Nazi leadership circles I mentioned above. Further plans were prevented by the fact of the Allies' advancing. Did Petersen express joy and relief over the liberation from the National Socialist yoke? Petersen's posthumously published book, "Der Mensch in der Erziehungswirklichkeit" (The human being in educational reality) was a late attempt to distance himself from National Socialism, in a problematic and time-bound way. Here, the Nazis now belonged to the "satanic world" (Petersen, 1984, p. 196).

Petersen was not – like the majority of his faculty colleagues as former party members – dismissed from university service in 1945/46. In 1946 he was one of the most respected academics at his university and in the city of Jena. He became Dean of the Social Pedagogical Faculty which he had founded. Since his school was initially allowed to continue to exist after a short interruption (Döpp 2005, p. 609, footn. 3943), for a short time he saw new opportunities for the Jenaplan, the expansion of his school at least up to grade 10 and, once more, for academic teacher training. This was achieved by refreshing his contact with the communist Walter Wolf, who, before 1933 a student of Petersen, became the first Minister of Education under SED rule in Thuringia (but held office only

until 1947). All that was important for Petersen now was: first, to remain silent about his former role in Nazi networks; second, to pretend that he had always been an opponent of the Nazi regime; third, for his students and doctoral candidates, insofar as they were high Nazi officials, to confirm their complete innocence in writing; fourth, not only to secure but also to increase his own academic existence.

Petersen's moral integrity, apparently exemplary for his social setting immediately after the collapse of the Nazi Empire, was in fact existing now only in broken forms, but nobody said anything about that during his lifetime. University professors from West Germany, such as Hans Mieskes and Theo Dietrich, wanted to put their academic teacher Petersen back in the historical picture as a leading reform pedagogue in Thuringia, under the sign of the Jena Petersen Renaissance from 1990 onwards, but, as a critical analysis of their texts shows, they had neither addressed Petersen's Nazi networks during the Nazi era, nor brought to light the blind spots in their own professional biographies dating back to the Nazi era (Retter, 1997; John, Retzlar, & Stutz, 2012, p. 457f.).

The Petersen controversy ten years ago was a conflicting and complex learning experience for all those involved. A fair discussion, trying to understand the arguments of the other side, fell by the wayside. At the height of the debate in 2010, political action replaced rational discussion. If the free exchange of opinions is restricted to scenarios of moral justification, it becomes impossible to advocate differentiated research approaches. Educated people from the academic sphere, who are normally committed to the rule of law and respect for human dignity, reciprocally resorted only to accusations, insinuations, rejections. A language of stigmatisation formed the vocabulary of the actors that could hardly be increased: "total disaster", "historical revisionism", "myth", "instrumentalisation", "invention", "coronation of false assertions", "shameless". Today it is forgotten that such rhetoric existed, and not even the GEW was embarrassed. There was no self-contemplation of using this language of rhetorical annihilation, which the GEW had edited in its documentation (2011) - and all this only so that instead of the name "Petersenplatz" in an otherwise hardly interesting place in Jena, today the street sign "Jenaplan" hangs.

At the beginning of the Jena Petersen Discussion in 2010, I suggested that it would make sense to rename the Petersenplatz in Jena. Because the quality of racism that Petersen produced in some of his essays does not provide a moral basis for the Holocaust remembrance of a community. The question for me at first was a political question that a researcher had to accompany critically and advise, but not to decide for the policy makers. This attitude gave a new approach to Petersen research, that went far beyond renaming a street or a square. At the same time, however, the transformation of rational discussion into a setting for action forced to rethink the value basis for democratic rules and decision-making processes. Other educationists who became my opponents in this debate - honourable colleagues - may see their life's work in the renaming of street names. Not me at all. But it may sound paradoxical, they were the ones, who, by exaggerating the debate, contributed significantly to its current calming effect. The more hectic the discussion, the sharper the tone, the coarser the argumentation of the controversy: the stronger the process of slowing down after the end of the conflict by a political decision. This means two things: First, it was right to rename the Jena Petersenplatz. Second, in Jena - and elsewhere - today, ten years later, things have become quiet around Petersen. This result had far-reaching consequences.

1/ The decades of instability of the Petersen ruling has given way to much greater stability today (see Retter, 2018). While the Petersen reception between 1970 and 2010 was constantly accompanied by new insights into Petersen's inglorious behaviour during the Nazi era, there is hardly anything new to add from this corner of Petersen research today. Now that the excitement about the book "Die Universitätsschule Jena" (Retter, 2010) has subsided, further research results may be reported in the near future.

2/ With the renaming of Petersenplatz in Jena to "Jenaplan" in 2011, the previous main speakers in the debate had no interest in further attacks. They suddenly and silently disappeared as fast as they had come.

3/ The Petersen discussion in Jena and the renaming of Petersenplatz were triggered by previously unknown texts by Petersen from the Nazi period, which clearly contain racist and anti-Semitic statements. Of course, these quotations certainly allow only a critical judgment of Petersen. A racist essay, for which one looks for motives as an interpreter, frees neither from its questionability nor its author from historical guilt. Of course, under the conditions of dictatorship, language can also be of strategic importance to a great extent, making the political convictions displayed questionable. Today we have to consider a further fact: Petersen's university school had a number of children whose parents were in resistance to the Nazis or were racially persecuted - and were later officially recognized in the GDR as "persecuted by the Nazi regime" (VdN). This also applied to Erna Schrade and her husband Hugo Schrade, among others (as files show of the Thuringia State Archives in Rudolstadt I had access to. So it would be a methodological error to pronounce moral condemnation judgments on a figure of contemporary history without considering other sources of judgment to the contrary, although they are easily accessible.

4/ Petersen research is not a game of competition in which one can make academic profit quickly by presenting questionable quotations. In my experience, it is a game in which also one must expect to lose. The deeper one goes into it, the more the researcher is forced to ask himself what role he plays in the reconstruction process of Petersen's thinking and acting. All those who thought they could use the historical Petersen for their own career by presenting only quotations may have noticed how quickly one is on the losing side with supposed successes of this method. They deserve recognition because without them the discussion would not have got off the ground. On the other hand: They ignored an important methodical principle of research in contemporary history: Every thesis with a claim to viability has to take into account contingency and the complexity of those life contexts from which Petersen acted and generated through his own actions. The question must always be asked: What aspects speak against accepting my thesis?

5/ We have to remember: It is the *context of discovery* (Hans Reichenbach) which leads the progress of scientific knowledge; so those questionable texts moved the Petersen controversy 10 years ago. Such discoveries are sufficient to remove the name Petersen from the communal culture of Holocaust remembrance. But the scientific task is to use *the context of discovery* to create *contexts of justification* for a sustainable historical judgement about Petersen. For educational science this task is not yet complete, but requires further work.

8. The Role of the Scientist in Political Decision-Making Processes

The review of the Petersen discussion in Jena 10 years ago is not only the memory on a lasting experience in the public mind but also a special kind of political lesson. It reminds us that in liberal democracy, scientists can perform an important function of consultation in the preparation of political decisions, but that they themselves have no political mandate. It is their task to provide reliable explanations - especially for complex and controversial issues - which they derive from robust theories. In contrast, the spokespersons of the Jena debate had presented a collection of Petersen quotations for their moral judgment "racist" or "anti-Semitic", but had excluded other methods and facts with different results from their judgment. At the same time, we recognize our inability to live up to the claim that the memory of the Holocaust reminds us to the moral command "Auschwitz - never again!" We may not permit the rhetorical assistants of the Nazi genocide to hide behind their own excuses!! While the moral demand is absolute, in empirical science we are forced to question our previous knowledge through more differentiated knowledge.

Our moral convictions clearly demand a judgement that says "yes" or that says "no", because morality knows only "good" or "bad", no "as well as". The structure of moral judgement is dichotomous. However, the "life contexts" of contemporary history that the researcher investigates are complex and require consideration; here we are often faced with a dilemma: That calls for objective differentiation.

Important for research on contemporary history on the background of changing political systems are pluralism of methods, diversity of theories, the disclosure of dilemmas, rational argumentation and well-founded weighing of facts. In contrast, the renaming of street names in local politics is a completely different goal - not unimportant for citizens, but not the primary task for the educational and social scientist. Irrespective of this, the scientist today has the duty to take a stand on current social issues and to provide answers on the basis of existing research and available findings, if there is a current need for it.

As a citizen, the scientist, like everyone else, in the liberal democracy is completely free to protest against existing statements or measures of politics – or to stand up for them. But science has a different task, and the scientist who wants to take on the role of a politician in order to achieve a certain political decision by all the means of agitation has missed his profession.

Max Weber (1864-1920) had used the terms *ethics of responsibility* and *ethics of conviction* to refer to the two poles of political action, but he would have turned over in his grave if scientists tried to assert political interests. This tendency was embodied in a self-exposing way by a small group of agitating scientists in the Petersen discussion 10 years ago. They have succeeded in realising their intention to rename Petersen-Platz, and they deserve respect for having initiated this discussion. The means used to do so were questionable in part, but the rhetorical battle scene provided much more food for innovative thinking in the town of Jena than a street name normally gives rise to. Meanwhile, history has covered everything with a soothing veil of a survived period of communal turmoil.

ANNEX – Greetings (Grußworte)



Figure 23: Greetings from former graduates of the Jena University School: Claudia Cotton, née Grebe (USA), Margot Pampel, née Reinhardt (Australia), Rolf Schrader (Germany) on the 25th anniversary of the Jenaplan School Jena; Source: Festschrift 2015, p. 35; p. 102; p. 169.

Cornelia Cotton - Greeting

It is a great pleasure for me to send a few words on the 25th anniversary of the Jenaplan School Jena. Professor Petersen, the founder of the Jenaplan pedagogy, had created a paradise for children when I was his student from 1934-1938, especially for children whose families were under pressure from the Nazi government - like my own family. At this school we learned through play and in free, daily contact with the arts to develop as human beings, without compulsion or fear. It was then that I wrote my first poems and stories. The older I get,

the more I realize how much I owe to the Petersen School, how great its influence has been on me - how the teachings of this school have accompanied me throughout my life. I am glad that Peter Petersen's ideas have prevailed, despite all obstacles, and that the school in Jena can celebrate its 25th anniversary. In addition, there are several Jenaplan schools in the country today - and this teaching has spread throughout the entire school system. It sends its warmest greetings to all students and teachers, Cornelia Cotton, Croton-on-Hudson, NY, USA.

Cornelia Cotton was a student of Peter Petersen's University School from 1934-1938.

Margot Pampel - Greeting

It is my heart's desire to express my great joy at the 25th anniversary of the Jenaplan School in Jena. Between 1929 and 1935 I myself was a student at the University School, also called the Petersen School. All my life I had a good feeling when I thought back to my school days, because here my love for learning and teaching was awakened. That is why I was very happy to hear in 1991 that the renamed Jenaplan School Jena was working in the spirit of Professor Petersen and was continuing what I had experienced at the University School. However, I am not only grateful to Professor Petersen for my wonderful school days, but also for the fact that he tried to circumvent the Nazi laws. My father died in 1930, and since then my mother and I have lived alone. In the seventh year of school, Professor Petersen recommended that I switch to the Aufbau-schule. My mother did not want to sign the obligatory registration form at first, because it was asked whether I was "Aryan". My mother was Jewish. She could not answer the question with "Yes". Professor Petersen nevertheless advised her to answer with "Yes" because my father had been a German. Margot Pampel, Australia.

Margot Pampel, née Reinhardt, was a student at Peter Petersen's University School from 1929 to 1935.

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Rolf Schrade - Greeting

Dear Mr. Ahrens, it is a special pleasure for me to convey my congratulations to the Jenaplan School Jena. I am a student of Peter Petersen and I owe a lot to the University School. Some time ago there was a discussion in which it was doubted that Jewish children attended the Petersen School during the Nazi era. To this I would like to say: I am one of them. Born in 1934, I was considered half Jewish during the Nazi period and despite this "flaw" I was able to attend that very school from 1940 until the end of the war in 1945. Everyone in Jena knows that my Jewish mother Erna Schrade was sent to the Theresienstadt concentration camp during this time. My father, at that time personnel manager and later planning director of Carl Zeiss Jena, who had refused to divorce my mother, was transferred to a labor camp in Merseburg in 1944. My parents miraculously survived the camps. That I too was able to survive in Jena is thanks to courageous people who protected me through their unconventional behaviour - like Peter Petersen. Students, parents and teachers of the Jenaplan School Jena should know this. I wish you all the best for your work in the future. With best regards, Rolf Schrade.

Prof. Dr. Rolf Schrade was a student of Peter Petersen's University School in the years 1940-1945.

ABBREVIATIONS (Meaning translated into English)

BDM	Bund Deutscher Mädel / Female Hitler Youth
CV	Curriculum Vitae / Lebenslauf / resume
DDR/GDR	Deutsche Demokratische Republik / German Democratic Republic
E&W	"Erziehung und Wissenschaft" / "Education and Science", monthly GEW magazine
GEW	Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft / "Education and Science", Teachers' Union
GEW-Studis	Gruppe von Studierenden mit GEW-Mitgliedschaft an der Universität Jena / Group of students with GEW membership at the University of Jena
HJ	Hitlerjugend / Hitler Youth
KPD	Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands / Communist Party of Germany
NS	Nationalsozialismus (Nazi-) / National Socialism (Nazi-)
NSDAP	Nationalsozialistische Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands / National Socialist Workers' Party of Germany
NSLB	Nationalsozialistischer Lehrerbund / National Socialist Teachers' Association
OT	Organisation Todt / Organization Todt
OTZ	Ostthüringer Zeitung / East Thuringia Newspaper
RADwj	Reichsarbeitsdienst der weiblichen Jugend / Reich Labour Service of Female Youth
RLS	Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung / Rosa Luxemburg Foundation
SA	Sturmabteilung / Storm Troopers
SED	Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands / Socialist Unity Party of Germany
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands / Social Democratic Party of Germany
SS	Schutzstaffel / Protection Squadron
TAZ	Die Tageszeitung / "The Daily Newspaper"
VdN	Verfolgter des Naziregimes / Persecutee of the Nazi regime

ARCHIVES

ITS	International Tracing Service: International Center on Nazi Persecution, Bad Arolsen
PPAV	Peter-Petersen-Archiv, Vechta
UAJ	Universitätsarchiv, Universität Jena

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- i URL: <https://www.dhm.de/lemo/kapitel/ns-regime/alltagsleben/schule.html> (retrieved: 2020, April 1)
 - ii URL: https://www.db-thueringen.de/receive/dbt_mods_00030196 (retrieved: 2020, March 30).
 - iii URL: [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gertrud_Schäfer_\(Theologin\)](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gertrud_Schäfer_(Theologin)) (retrieved: 2020, March 30).
 - iv On the racial legislation of the Nazis and the Nuremberg laws 1935, September 15, see URL: https://worddisk.com/wiki/Nuremberg_Laws/ (retrieved: 2020, March 30).
 - v The "Aufbauschule" which Margot attended was a special type of secondary school which made it possible for gifted children at the end of the sixth grade of elementary school to transfer to the seventh grade of the "Aufbauschule"; the successful completion of which enabled them to study at a university.
 - vi After the "Reichspogromnacht", November 9/10, 1938, the Berlin Protestant pastor ("Propst") Heinrich Grüber (1891-1975) received permission from the Nazi state to apply for visas for Christians of Jewish origin to emigrate, at a time when the systematic deportation of Jews to the concentration camp had already begun and the Protestant church leaders were not helping Christians of Jewish origin. Through his office Grüber succeeded in helping almost 1200 threatened Jewish Christians to emigrate until his arrest and deportation to the concentration camp December 19, 1940. During this time Erna Schrade worked for the Berlin Grüber office and stood up for Jewish Christians in Thuringia.



Irina A. Kolesnikova (Russia)

Innovative Changes in Education of the 2010s: Pro and Cons

Abstract: The article offers a theoretical analysis of the advantages and contradictions of innovative changes in modern education. The author uses the data presented in the UNESCO and Council of Europe programmes, reviews in the main areas of innovative development, but also information from the websites of international organizations, implementing innovative educational models. The ideas of life-long learning, inclusion and open education in the 2010s are meanwhile developing in conditions of "liquid modernity" (Bauman, 2000). Metamodern culture, the capitalization of knowledge, digitalization and network socialization are presented as the main external sources of the innovative boom in the education world of the 2010s. Against the background of the technological development one can see serious risks of forcing the humanitarian values and basic foundations out of pedagogic processes. In this regard, the need for constant critical reflection on the results of innovative education changes is emphasized.

Keywords: Education, innovation, metamodern, educational capitalism, educational technology, digitalization, learning networks, humanitarian values

摘要 (Irina A. Kolesnikova: 2010 年代教育的創新變化: 利與弊): 本文對現代教育中創新變革的益處及矛盾進行了理論分析。作者利用聯合國教科文組織和歐洲理事會的計劃及報告文件中提供的數據, 檢測在教育主要領域中的創新發展及實施創新教育模式的國際組織網站的相關信息。在"流動的現代化"的條件下, 終身學習, 融合和開放教育的思想在 2010 年代得到了發展 (Bauman, 2000)。超現代文化, 知識資本化, 網絡的數字化和社會化被視為 2010 年代創新教育熱潮的最重要的外部來源。在技術發展的背景下, 人們看到了其人道主義價值和意義被教育進程所取代的嚴重風險。在這種情況下, 強調了對教育創新變革的結果進行不間斷批判性反思的必要性。

關鍵詞: 教育, 創新, 超現代性, 教育資本主義, 教育技術, 數字化, 學習網絡, 人道主義價值。

摘要 (Irina A. Kolesnikova: 2010 年代教育的創新變化: 利與弊): 本文對現代教育中創新變革的益處及矛盾進行了理論分析。作者利用聯合國教科文組織和歐洲理事會的計劃及報告文件中提供的數據, 檢測在教育主要領域中的創新發展及實施創新教育模式的國際組織網站的相關信息。在"流動的現代化"的條件下, 終身學習, 融合和開放教育的思想在 2010 年代得到了發展 (Bauman, 2000)。超現代文化, 知識資本化, 網絡的數字化和社會化被視為 2010 年代創新教育熱潮的最重要的外部來源。在技術發展的背景下, 人們看到了其人道主義價值和意義被教育進程所取代的嚴重風險。在這種情況下, 強調了對教育創新變革的結果進行不間斷批判性反思的必要性。

關鍵詞: 教育, 創新, 超現代性, 教育資本主義, 教育技術, 數字化, 學習網絡, 人道主義價值。

Zusammenfassung (Irina A. Kolesnikova: Innovative Veränderungen im Bildungswesen der 2010er Jahre: Pro und Kontra): Der Artikel bietet eine theoretische Analyse der Vorteile und Widersprüche von innovativen Veränderungen in der modernen Bildung. Die Autorin verwendet die Daten, die in den Programm- und Berichtsdokumenten der UNESCO und des Europarates präsentiert werden, überprüft in den Hauptbereichen der Bildung innovative Entwicklungen, auch Informationen von den Websites internationaler Organisationen, die innovative Bildungsmodelle umsetzen. Die Ideen des lebenslangen Lernens, der Inklusion, der offenen Bildung in den 2010er Jahren entwickeln sich unter den Bedingungen einer "flüssigen Modernität" (Bauman, 2000). Die metamoderne Kultur, die Kapitalisierung von Wissen, die Digitalisierung und die Sozialisierung von Netzwerken werden als die wichtigsten externen Quellen des innovativen Bildungsbooms der 2010er Jahre dargestellt. Vor dem Hintergrund der technologischen Entwicklung sieht man ernsthafte Risiken, die humanitären Werte und Bedeutungen aus pädagogischen Prozessen zu verdrängen. In diesem Zusammenhang wird die Notwendigkeit einer ständigen kritischen Reflexion über die Ergebnisse innovativer Veränderungen im Bildungswesen betont.

Schlüsselwörter: Bildung, Innovation, Metamodernität, Bildungskapitalismus, Bildungstechnologie, Digitalisierung, Lernnetzwerke, humanitäre Werte

Резюме (Колесникова Ирина А.: Инновационные изменения в образовании 2010-х: pro et contra): В статье дан теоретический анализ преимуществ и противоречий инновационных изменений в современном образовательном пространстве. Автор использует данные, представленные в программных и отчетных документах ЮНЕСКО и Совета Европы, теоретические обзоры по основным направлениям инновационного развития образования, а также информацию с сайтов международных организаций, внедряющих инновационные образовательные модели. Идеи непрерывного обучения, инклюзии, открытого образования продолжают развиваться в новых условиях «текущей современности» (З.Бауман). Культура эпохи метамодерна, капитализация знаний, цифровизация и сетевая социализация становятся основными внешними источниками инновационного бума в образовании 2010-х годов. В статье анализируются основные направления трансформации практики обучения с их плюсами и минусами. Подчеркивается, что стремительное развитие цифровых технологий обучения и социальных сетей сопровождается рисками вытеснения гуманитарных ценностей и смыслов из педагогических процессов. В связи с этим подчеркивается необходимость постоянного критического осмысления результатов инновационных изменений в образовании.

Ключевые слова: образование, инновации, метамодернизм, академический капитализм, образовательные технологии, цифровизация, учебные сети, гуманитарные ценности

Introduction

According to Professor Donald Clark, in the last decade there were as many changes in education as in the previous thousand years (Clark, 2012). Currently in the educational space both existing innovative trends and completely new ones are represented. Some of them are ambiguous and even contradictory in their pedagogical and socio-cultural consequences. **Lifelong education** remains relevant (Conceptual Evolution, 2011). The documents of the European summits proclaim it as the main political programme of civil society, social cohesion and employment. Lifelong learning became one of the key topics of the World Education Forum held in May 2015 in the Republic of Korea. The UN member states adopted the Sustainable Development Goals, according to which it is planned by 2030 to reduce the negative indicators to "zero" by parameters: i.e. hunger, poverty and AIDS, the discrimination of women and children (Transforming our world, 2015). An important role in this is assigned to education. On the way to the learning society, there is a tendency to expand the spacetime of the continuing education by attributing its beginning to an earlier age point, by involving older people in various types of education and developing non-formal and informal education practices. The popular McLuhan slogan "The world - is a global village" has now been supplemented with the following theses "The One World Schoolhouse" (Salmon Khan) and the call: "Want to live - learn to learn!" (Manifest..., 2015).

The important step in a common terminological base for formal education design was taken by the International Standard Classification of Education adopted by UNESCO. Here education is presented from zero (pre-school education) to eighth (doctoral studies or its equivalent) level (ISCED, 2011). The practice of multi-level training is permanently improving, as well as the access to higher education for student groups poorly represented in this learning segment. Around the world different forms of **inclusive education** are developing. The history of its evolution and the current state are presented in the 2020 GEM Report: inclusion and education (Inclusion and Education, 2020). The academic pedagogical community is searching for principles and procedures to recognize learning outcomes obtained through non-formal or informal learning. Very important is the activity of international non-governmental organizations whose mission is an improvement of the world through lifelong education and its humanization. Two examples are the work of the Swiss Nonprofit Private

Educational Foundation "International Baccalaureate" (IB site), or The International Academy for the Humanization of Education (Golz, 2012; Golz, Graumann, & Whybra, 2019).

Against the background of total digitalization, the concept of lifelong education is being transformed. The chronicle of the IT revolution is presented in detail in the work of Professor B. Karryev (Karryev, 2016). Thanks to PC and ICT humankind has real technical prerequisites for the realization of Y.A. Komensky's idea "to teach everyone everything." Education has stepped over the temporal and spatial barrier of classrooms, pushing out the boundaries between people, countries and knowledge areas. Digital technologies bizarrely integrate with traditional forms of learning. In the global information space new forms of open education have appeared. Among them there are different online learning activities. For example, on YouTube learning channel one can find educational playlists with video and "tutorials" on various subjects and topics, including maths, science, music and foreign languages. Materials offered by educational projects like Khan Academy, TED-Ed, Crash Course and Coding Train, are much demanded around the world.

Open education became one of the most important democratic achievements at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries. It provided academic and professional mobility, access to general and higher education for new student contingents and equality of education in different countries. An important consequence of such openness is **the internationalization of an education space** manifested in various forms of pedagogical knowledge and an exchange of best educational practices, but also in the development of transnational and cross-border education.

These processes are accompanied by the creation of common standards, agreements, general requirements for the educational and training systems. For example, in 2016 a new edition of **International Standards ISTE** appeared as a framework for innovation in education (ISTE, 2016). It offers most general requirements in five areas: students, teachers, supervisors, computer science teachers and educational technologies. Emphasis for all categories is put on digital citizenship, the thinking properties which ensure the implementation of systemic changes and team collaboration. When compiling ISTE standards, the experience of teachers from dozens of countries was used, so they can be adapted to the needs of education in any region of the world.

The international documents on education development strategy offer several **new groups of educational goals**:

- Adaptation to life in modern, complex and democratic societies.
- Coordination of the results of school and university education with the requirements of employers.
- Acquisition of universal competencies in the field of innovation and creativity
- Development of the ability to cooperate in training and work.
- Providing various types of mobility - geographical, professional, intellectual and emotional.
- Personal development based on a wide knowledge base.
- The ability to learn during a life.

But nowadays the historical background of educational space development is changing drastically. In the 2010s, the development of existing educational trends continued under the new conditions. A rapid change in the spatiotemporal context of public life with the rethinking of the basic categories "time", "space", "information", "energy" led to the transformation of educational realities and their theoretical interpretations.

What is the novelty of our time?

The fundamental novelty of our time is reflected in the concepts of **the metamodern, digimodernism** (Kirby, 2009) and **"liquid modernity"** (Bauman, 2000). These concepts are associated with the properties of complexity, variability, uncertainty. The culture of the metamodern era contains a desire for oscillation (Turner, 2011) "between...a modern enthusiasm and a postmodern irony, between hope and melancholy, between naivety and knowingness, empathy and apathy, unity and

plurality, totality and fragmentation, purity and ambiguity" (Vermeulen and Van den Akker, 2010). In such oscillation, the possibility of pivotal changes is laid. In modern pedagogical consciousness there is also oscillation: from humanistic educational models of the 19th-20th centuries to global digitalization, robotization, student chipization or a self-learning process. At the intersection of ideas, concepts and paradigms differ in their nature, innovations are born. Here adjoin the "hasty culture" of megalopolis schools (as the Singapore Teaching Practice) and the rural "culture of slow learning" (e.g. "barefoot schools"). Digital technologies are woven into archaic forms of education. There is an opportunity to teach religion on the Internet using modern computer technology. Robots become full members of university departments. A lot of things happen that yesterday seemed paradox. A wide panorama of views on educational diversity and its innovative development can be found in Lisa Chesser's article (Chessier, 2013).

For thousands of years, educational institutions remained the guardians of cultural traditions and they were distinguished by constancy and conservatism. But in the third millennium the world for the first time in history faces permanent non-linear and non-directional changes, taking place in the "space of flows" as it was defined by Spanish sociologist M. Castells. 'Liquid Modernity' (the metaphor of the Polish-British sociologist Z. Bauman) is also associated with the concept of flow. A modern pedagogical reality can be classified as one of liquid cultural and psychological phenomena. Its "liquidity" manifests itself in:

- Rapid change of educational standards, norms and requirements
- Blurring teaching and learning objectives
- Uncertainty of the content of education
- Transformation of the teacher professional position
- Avalanche-like growth of innovations in education
- Latent transformation of the nature of knowledge and learning.

A liquid is a physical property denoting the ability to flow and take the shape given from the outside. Basing on physical analogy, let us try to analyze what is "eroding" millennium-old foundations of educational institutions, forcing them to quickly fit into new organizational and pedagogical forms set from the outside. Among the main sources of external "pressure" in the second decade of the 21st century there are: further capitalization of knowledge; total life digitalization and an innovative technological boom. If we analyze these sources of fundamental changes in education, we find a number of pros and cons.

Educational (Academic) Capitalism

After in the mid-1990s the World Trade Organization listed education in the services sector, it began to be interpreted in terms of demand and consumption. The concept of "human capital" is widely used in pedagogical works. In the 2010s, the transferring of market methods to solving educational problems continued to expand. In the new phase of capitalism (cognitive capitalism) a "general intellect" became the source of surplus value. Knowledge is regarded as a means of accelerating economic growth and increasing competitiveness. Various forms of extracting "cognitive power" from people lead to the exploitation of the mind (Peters, 2009 and Peters and Bulut, 2011). This is accompanied by the emergence of concepts of educational (or academic) capitalism and ***an entrepreneurial university***.

In the logic of cognitive capitalism information is perceived as intellectual raw materials. Cognition (including the educational process) turns into a kind of labour activity (with digital performance - into digital work) (Foray, 2000). Educational institutions are called upon to supply students with the necessary raw materials and "tools" for their processing. Data on the cognitive potential of a person and his ability to learn become a commodity in the acquisition of which elite educational institutions and employers are interested. Within the global educational market, a plurality of decisions on the provision of information and educational services to the population is allowed. Until

recently, in the field of education software, an organization of the learning process or design development served as a commodity. But now education is interpreted not only as a service, but as a profitable investment in the future (of a person, corporation, etc.), and the criterion for the value of specific knowledge is the possibility of its conversion into promotion in the labour market or life success. The pedagogical publications use the concepts of investment choice, ROI (return on investment) and ROR (rate of return) - a financial coefficient that illustrates the level of profitability or loss-making of training, taking into account the investments made in it. The signs of the new economic system also are clearly visible at the level of educational practice transformation. Cognitive capitalism features in the educational system look like this, highlighted by the French economist Yann Moulier-Boutang (see italics in the text):

- *The complex work turns into simple one.* The learning process is simplified as it is converted to digital forms and test control options; also due to the use of comics, animations, etc.
- *Action fragmentation in accordance with the concept of reducing training time.* This feature corresponds to the transition from a long educational discourse and fundamental courses to mini-learning (mini-lectures, applied short-term courses, educational blogs)
- *Transition to small-scale production of "niche" products and services with increasing uncertainty in demand.* A manifestation of this property was: the orientation of education to labour market dynamics and the specific requirements of employers; use of the idea of "orientation towards the consumer" in the content and methods of training; the formation of an extensive market for writing and selling ready-made academic texts "on order" for all education levels.
- *A product differentiation through its quality and innovativeness.* A dissemination of innovations becomes an indispensable criterion in assessing the quality of the teachers and educational institutions' activities. (Moulier-Boutang, 2012).

The strategic intangible assets of cognitive capitalism, says Dominic Foray, professor at the Lausanne Federal Polytechnic School, include: *flexibility* as the ability to adapt to market changes, and a *brand* that is associated with the specificity and quality of a product presented by publicity. These signs are also present in the modern education system as mechanisms of its transformation. To verify this, just go to the "branded" sites of the world's leading educational institutions or specific countries and regions.

Professor Michael A. Peters interprets the specifics of "educational capitalism" as the gigantic enterprise – the centre of economic knowledge, where all improvements are based on economic theories and technological innovations (Peters, 2009). Modern universities are seen as the driving economic growth force due to the accumulation of knowledge. It is believed that their role in economic development is largely based on the commercialization of scientific research. Activities focused on entrepreneurship include industrial research on a contract basis, intellectual property commercialization, paid continuing education programmes, the rental of premises for exhibitions or conferences, etc.

A new direction in the university's activities was given by the so-called "*third mission*" - a strategy focused on the development of lifelong education for different strata of the population, the transfer of technology and innovation and involvement in social life. In the wave of academic capitalism universities and schools are learning to earn money on their own, as well as raise funds for the development of science and education on the basis of patronage and endowment.

Against the background of the active introduction of economic and technological innovations, pedagogical meanings are to be gradually supplanted from school and university life. According to the inspirer of many international socio-pedagogical projects, Dr. Alan Bruce, modern educational institutions are forced to exist in an environment where alternative views are limited by the power of the market and its endless cycles of consumption.

An academic science serving the cognitive economy is step by step losing its unique intellectual specificity. Universities, distinguished for centuries by the freedom of scientific thought, are forced to adapt to market fluctuations, changes in public opinion and the political situation. Scientific research is increasingly limited to the project frames of an applied and custom-made nature. Z. Bauman convincingly shows with numerous examples how in this situation, university teachers turn into "a tool" with one or another consumer value (Bauman, & Donskis, 2013, pp.131-168). Even in studies confirming that modern students retain the "intangible" personal benefits of higher education, such concepts as investment and acquired goods appear.

So, the past decade has shown that the transfer of the cognitive capitalism realities to the field of education, in addition to the development of its new socio-economic functions, lead to some **negative consequences**. Among them are:

- *The pragmatization of educational goals*
- *Displacement of a fundamental university science not oriented to momentary economic benefits to the background*
- *Distribution of "precocious" products which Z. Bauman wittily calls "academic fast food" at all levels of education*
- *New society stratification on the basis of the presence / absence of access to educational information adequate to the modern world complexity*
- *Expansion of the sale market for the products of intellectual labour and "academic ghostwriting" (Kolesnikova, 2017)*
- *Market thinking cultivation in the academic environment.*

All this testifies to the decline of the era of the Humboldt higher education model, with its demand for academic freedoms and the independence of university studies from ideological, economic and political influences.

EdTech and Digital Revolution in Education

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The information culture of the second half of the 20th century in the third millennium is being transformed into a digital one. To indicate the specifics of this period, Alan Kirby introduces the concept of "digimodernism" (Kirby, 2009). Computerization combined with digitalization creates fundamentally new technologies and forms of learning. The possibility of the rapid overcoming of geographical expanses and borders in search of knowledge, contributes to the development of academic mobility and scientific / educational nomadism. In the past two decades, the development of education has largely been determined by the concept of EdTech.

Ralph Müller-Iselt is the author of "*The Digital Revolution in Education. A Radical Change in Learning and How We Can Design It*". His analysis of extensive international material shows the changes in the learning system under the influence of digital resources (Müller-Eiselt and Dräger, 2015). Among directions of change there are:

- a) *New types of educational spaces and environments* (for peer-to-peer training, tutor support, escape classroom etc.
- b) *New sources and carriers of educational information:*
 - Open content (OER, MOOC, open licenses, educational channels, YouTube -videos)
 - Electronic libraries
 - Cloud educational systems and Internet services (Web 3.0)
 - Virtual narrative in VR systems
- c) *New management systems:*
 - Automated systems for educational management
 - Student electronic portfolios
 - Personal electronic accounts
- d) *Wearable Technologies.*

A comprehensive analysis of digital technologies and their impact on 21st century students is provided in the OECD series of working papers (Graafland, 2018, also Tiven, Marjorie, & Fuchs, 2018). Let's dwell in more detail on innovative pedagogical potential and possible risks of the most important digital resources.

Augmented Reality, Mixed Reality and Virtual Reality

The use of AR, MR and VR in education can be regarded as the development of the principle of visual instruction on a fundamentally new technological basis; as an educational strategy of virtual immersion; as a way to create innovative environments for pedagogical interaction and to a real-virtual continuum design. The ability to create own 3D virtual worlds in the learning process by using AR, MR and VR, contributes to the development of creativity at any age. In the training system virtual simulators create the illusion of being in an unfamiliar working environment or empathizing with a client, etc (Christou, 2010 and Fourtané, 2019). In a number of countries, the practice of virtual training of children with mental development problems is emerging. Students with autism or sensory integration problems get a chance to adapt to an unfamiliar environment.

Artificial Intelligence

At the Gothenburg Summit (2017), the European Commission's report on the state of the European educational space and the plan for the development of digital skills and competencies using artificial intelligence were presented. Emphasis was placed on:

- Effective use of digital technology for teaching and learning
- Digital competencies and skills development for the digital transformation of society
- Improving the quality of education through foresight based on Big Data.

At the ELForum 2017 conference, it was said that the use of AI will mainly concern routine pedagogical processes: increasing the adaptation level, motivation and student support; monitoring their emotional, physical and moral state. In 2018, Ilkka Tuomi from Institute for Advanced Technology Research (Finland) presented an analytical report on the results of AI use in education (Tuomi, 2018). One of the most successful areas was video processing. Classrooms use AI video systems and data from social media and IoT platforms. AI systems are effective in gathering informal evidence of skills, experience and competency from open sources, including social networks and student portfolios. In different countries there are online courses on artificial intelligence. The discipline of AI education is included in school curricula. For example, more than 40 Chinese schools are engaged in a pilot programme in which *SenseTime*, one of the country's largest AI companies, is participating. Last year, China published its first school textbook on AI.

At the same time, the integration of AI in educational processes creates new ethical and regulatory problems. In particular, this concerns the protection of student data and the absence of guarantees that the machine algorithm will not offer an erroneous solution. An important topic is the propaedeutics of a dissocial use of AI. In addition, there is a fear that the introduction of AI without a fundamental review of the essence of education may contribute to the expansion of outdated teaching practices.

Robot teachers

The development of robotics also has its impact on the innovative change in learning practices. According to a UK Government report (Future Jobs, 2010) the list of future professions will include virtual teachers (avatar managers). Today, the reality is the use of bots (programmes based on artificial intelligence) to communicate with students. There are some examples. An artificial intelligence system powered by IBM Watson has been helping Georgia Tech students work on projects under Prof. Jill Watson for six months. At the US Military Academy, Android *Bina48*, together with a

real professor, gave a few lectures on the course of moral philosophy, including the topic of AI use in society.

Since February 2015, the post of Deputy Head of the Robotics Department in the Moscow Technological Institute has been occupied by the *Alantim* robot, developed by the Promobot Perm Company. It gives students lectures on robotics, studies people's reactions to robots, and takes part in advising guests and employees of the institute. In South Korea robot English teachers are working with audiences. French robot teacher *Nao Evolution*, with modules for emotionality, autonomy and support for communicating with people, is used in schools and universities around the world etc.

The interaction of students and teachers with AI is a promising sphere of research and investment. But there is a risk of future competition between the "machine" and men/women as teaching professionals. In any case, the harmonization of the capabilities and functions of human and artificial intelligence is necessary.

Big Data

In the last decade, the ability to work with huge arrays of information was technologically realized. The collection and Big Data processing are used to increase the efficiency of management and increase competitiveness, including in education and training. Two points associated with Big Data use seem especially significant for the development of education and pedagogical thought in the next decade. The first concerns the speed of the mass introduction of innovations in the educational field. The second opens up prospects for optimizing the individual educational path.

The technological revolution is accompanied by the emergence of international initiatives related to the study and dissemination of educational innovations. Such as the *Edutopia* network, for example, a resource funded by the George Lucas Educational Foundation which looks for the best lifelong learning strategies and practices. There is a unique experience in digital representation of the *Global Learning Landscape* by the analytical firm HolonIQ, working on the taxonomy of educational innovation (Global Learning Landscape, 2020). This organization is building, investing and mapping educational innovation, working with entrepreneurs, educators, institutions, and governments around the world. More than 50,000 educational organizations were analyzed: 500,000 applications, the work of millions of schools, colleges and universities. As well as a huge amount of data on educational startups, technologies, deals, research, patents, etc. Open access to successful educational initiatives creates unique opportunities for cooperation, removes barriers to the spread of innovation, allowing analysis of trends within and between innovation clusters.

But in the "era of hacking humans" there are some serious risks in Big Data use by the education system. The Big Data technologies permit obtaining a complete "educational profile" of a particular person by using global networks information on educational requests through test assignments, social networks and blogs and site preferences, thereafter to build an educational trajectory, taking into account personal information about the student. Experts in the field of the psychometrics of online learning believe that student behaviour data in the virtual learning environment provides more information about the content and level of their knowledge than traditional test results. Fundamentally new is the idea of moving from grades that record past educational achievements to assessing future opportunities and the level of training. Computer programmes capable of recommending a student's personal training programme on the basis of Big Data, have already been created. They can predict with a high degree of probability (over 90%) whether the student will successfully complete a particular programme before he/she starts their studies. Also, there is a technological prospect of tracking the student's emotional state in order to provide an appropriate psychological background for learning. With the possibility of the total manipulation of the construction of an educational trajectory, and to a certain extent, of a professional and life path, any idea of the educational independence of a person in a network space becomes illusory.

Blockchain in Educational System

However, block storage of data avoids the manipulation of certificates, diplomas, scientific papers and articles due to their unconditional verification. For scientists, researchers, teachers and students - this is an opportunity to safely present in the public domain and maintain authorship of works and to receive information about current developments in any field. For the first time in the educational system, the blockchain technology was officially applied at the University of Nicosia in 2017 in order to simplify the search and storage of documents on specialization: diplomas, certificates, etc. There also Bitcoin was first accepted for training payment.

The European Commission dealt with introducing blockchain into the education system. It initiated a study of the benefits, risks, possible problems, and the feasibility of its application at different levels of education (schools, colleges, universities, postgraduate education). The results are described in detail in the report "Blockchain in Education", which shows the possibilities of this technology for changing institutional standards and expanding the students' capabilities (Grech, & Camilleri, 2017).

The analysis revealed eight areas of application of the blockchain in the training system:

1. To protect certificates
2. To verify multi-stage accreditation
3. For automatic recognition and transfer of educational loans
4. As a passport for lifelong learning
5. To track intellectual property and to reward the re-use of this property
6. To receive payments from students
7. For financing with blockchain in the form of vouchers
8. To identify students within an educational organization.

Internet of Things (IoT)

According to Cisco analysts, by 2009 the number of different devices connected to the global network exceeded the number of global population and spawned a new reality called the Internet of Things (IoT). A rapid spread of "epistemic things" which change a person (primarily PCs and gadgets) fosters revolution in the learning system. The range of IoT use in the training system is quite large. These are ID cards for students, electronic diaries, interactive whiteboards, virtual classrooms, robot teachers, cameras that broadcast lectures online, electronic bracelets to control attendance, biometric bracelets that measure "student engagement", sensors that monitor students' brain activity, "smart" desks with a touch screen for teamwork. This list is constantly expanding.

A separate place in it is occupied by messengers installed in phones and PCs. By the end of the second decade, programmes for the online exchange of text, sound and video messages had overtaken social networks in traffic volume. Direct messaging became an organic part of learning, training and professional communication. Now any participant in the educational process can use messengers to create their own channel for "connected learning". Connecting a computer and gadgets arouses the desire to produce and post content for general viewing. This is facilitated by numerous online training programmes for media creativity, blogging, programming, etc.

The use of new models of information changes our way of thinking and communication. The transition from a linear presentation of thought to multidimensional, hyper-text is accompanied by an increase in the speed of information exchange, the emergence of specific network communication languages (texting, tweeting, posting). But where Elon Musk calls mobile phones "brain expanders," the Italian psychiatrist Vittorino Andreoli writes about "mind prostheses," about the danger of having "double brains": a real one and the other "in your pocket," which leads to a split identity (Andreoli, 2019).

Smart-education

The concept of "smart-education" characterizes flexible learning in an interactive educational environment based on open access to content from around the world. This is not just about new digital technologies, but about a change in the philosophy of education and learning theory in general. New realities give rise to new pedagogical terminology (e-learning, e-school etc.). At the intersection of the psychological, pedagogical, engineering and technical fields, "hybrid" areas emerge, such as cybernetic pedagogy, e-didactics, the psychometrics of learning, ontological engineering in training etc. The smart education system is already partially implemented in many countries, allowing students to move from university to university without re-examination and teachers to develop personalized training programmes. As an example, we refer to the "*Move2Learn, Learn2Move*" initiative funded under the Erasmus + programme for Europeans aged 16 to 19, who are entitled to purchase travel tickets for educational travel to other EU countries.

But the English word "smart" is ambiguous. Among its meanings are not only the adjective "clever" but also the nouns "sadness, pain", the verb "to suffer". Such semantic conjugation is symptomatic. An impartial analysis of the results of global computerization and digitalization of education also reveals their sad side.

Contradictions and Risks of Learning Technologization

As it turned out, in contrast to the largest technological upheavals in industry caused by innovations, the informatization and digitalization of education does not make fundamental changes in teaching and learning. A. Krol, entrepreneur and founder of the Serendipity University Project draws attention to the fact that almost 100% of educational start-ups are not directly related to the learning process, referring only to logistics and process management:

- Packaging and distribution of educational content
- Providing remote access
- Group work organization and interaction of participants
- Testing
- Learning analytics
- Dating services for students, teachers and tutors
- Provision of media libraries, monetization services, educational marketing, etc.

The French researcher J. Frayssinhes who has analyzed the nature of educational innovations in the digital age, also notes that the modern learning process is more techno-centric than pedagogic-centered (Frayssinhes, 2016/4). In other words, the pedagogical component itself in educational innovations is poorly represented.

OECD states that, despite the fact that billions of dollars are spent on technical support in the world from laptops to tablets, this does not affect the learning outcomes. As international experience shows only 5 - 10% of students are able to independently complete online training. There is no country so far where widespread adoption of computers and the Internet in education has led to improved academic performance. Moreover, against the background of technologicalization and digitalization, the socio-economic gap between students is not narrowing, but growing, as is the financial burden on students. There is one another problem. The mastering of the technical innovations by middle-aged and older teachers is often difficult. Thus, the heterogeneity of the education community with regard to their individual integration into the digital environment still remains. Digital inequality is also observed among peers in different countries, since not all children and adolescents have access to the Internet.

Some problems are associated with the excessive technocratization of educational processes. A number of technological advances which initially seemed to be a competitive advantage, began over time to show their opposite side. It is useful to listen to the voices of philosophers, futurologists and

psychologists telling us to pay attention to the risks of the intensive digital technology use in the education system.

There is a growing amount of scientific data that digital innovations contradict the neuro-physiological nature of personality development. As recent studies show, with prolonged stays inside computer networks, the psycho-physiological parameters of the personality are transformed. Active gadget users undergo some changes in their social interaction, a decrease in emotional intelligence, quality of memory, and the ability to build images of the future. Because of the predominance of clip thinking and the "click-based" way of obtaining information, the ability to solve complex problems is reduced (Carr, 2011). The classical understanding of information as a measure of reducing uncertainty is no longer relevant, as the random accumulation of information uncertainty only increases. At the same time the hyper-informational environment is capable of destructively affecting the personality. Denoting the consequences of such destruction, Russian psychologist A. Kurpatov uses eloquent diagnosis metaphors: "informational obesity", "informational pseudo-debility", "digital autism" (Kurpatov, 2020). The psychological implications of modern technologies are analyzed by Romanian researcher M-E. Osiceanu within the fluctuation between 'technophobia' and 'technophilia' (Osiceanu, 2015).

British publisher J. Bridle expressed his concern that the promise of a new technologically-supported enlightenment could turn into its opposite. Using the metaphor "The New Dark Age" he complains that Enlightenment dispelling the darkness of past centuries is unable to help the new generation because "computational thinking" weaned them from real thought (Bridle, 2018). American researcher M. Anderson criticizes "creeping technophilia" in education with its constant innovations. According to him, the "hegemonic discourse of innovation" embracing education justifies the constant and often uncritical adaptation of new technologies (Anderson, 2018). He underlines that only the positive features of technology are fixed in the terminology, but there are no ethically neutral ones. This position is complemented by the thought of J. Bridle "about the ingenuous adoption of technology as a tool neutral to value." He calls for carefully choosing the words used to talk about one or the other technology (Bridle, 2018).

As we see, euphoria from the introduction of technology into the educational process is being replaced by an awareness of its humanitarian consequences. Increasingly, schools and parents in different countries raise the question of the prohibition of the gadgets being used. Also, the use of applications blocking children's access to potentially harmful sites is expanding. But prohibitive measures in this case seem to be ineffective. It may be worth considering internal intellectual and moral barriers. Philosopher M. Epstein introduces the concept of "**techno moral**" to denote the new possibilities of morality arising from the development of science, technology and means of communication (Epstein, 2001). There is a need for: a) special training for the creators and users of digital learning support to take into account its possible risks (physiological, psychological, ethical, etc.); b) educating children towards "digital resilience", c) the monitoring of the humanitarian risks of educational innovations. And these are historically new pedagogical tasks. Partially, the pedagogical community has begun to tackle these tasks. One example is the Digital Citizenship Website, which provides training materials for students, children and technology users to know how to use technologies appropriately [Nine Elements].

Learning Networks as Innovative Education Space

The 21st century is called the network century. Global networks generate a new type of sociality and social inheritance and replace linear and hierarchical types of interaction with nonlinear discrete ones. In addition, they provide communication "transparency" and increasingly a complexity of social systems. All this means considering learning networks as an innovative information source. In an ever-changing world where the only correct answer is often missing, a person tries to find the

necessary knowledge in communities, networks or databases. Global networks fulfill the function of informal learning, providing an answer to any request. As M. Epstein figuratively remarked, "in electronic conciliarity the picture is drawn by the crowd." This phenomenon also was described by D. Cormier in his "Making the community the curriculum" (Cormier, 2018).

Referring to network teaching relationships we must take into account both their technical and moral dimensions. It is network interaction that becomes the catalyst for the destruction of the familiar hierarchy of educational processes due to the effects of participatory interaction and social stigmergy. The old pedagogical tradition of the long-term storage and transfer of socio-cultural experience from older to younger generations is being replaced by the spontaneous creation and appropriation of network information "here and now" with free distribution "upon request". The expansion of network communication takes learning interaction from the reality of educational texts into the reality of communication. In fact, the pedagogical idea of "embedded content" is transferred to the communication system.

But the information which a student finds in the public domain does not always turn into reliable knowledge. The question is about the quality of content obtained through network synergy. Since ancient times, mankind in its scientific research, training or education was guided by the summit achievements of thought and acts represented in the life of outstanding people. The online knowledge is averaged to the simple everyday opinion. In the chaos of net interaction, the original message contexts that determine its meanings and values often disappear. Instead of interest in objective evidence-based knowledge, the importance of personal production and consumption of data is cultivated. This contains the risk of loss of learning content depth and "illusory erudition" demonstration.

Network Learning Theories

Against the background of the practice of network learning, the discussion does not stop among theorists about the legality of using digital networks for academic education. They search for principles that allow this to be done, ensuring reliability and the scientific nature of network content. The conditions under which network learning is more effective than the classical model are being studied. On the basis of our knowledge about chaos, about complexly organized and self-organizing systems **connectivism** (a theory of learning in digital networks) was formed. In the education model proposed by Dave Cormier the image of a rhizome is used where the knowledge roots are interwoven into a network (Cormier, 2012). In accordance with his thesis: "the best education is one that prepares for uncertainty," these roots can grow from anywhere, in all directions, "to the touch" finding the best options for advancement in a particular context. Another basis for the theoretical justification of the success of training in digital networks appeared in the form of **mathetics**, a new pedagogical direction developing ways of independently organized learning. It is based on transdisciplinary ideas about neuro-pedagogy, meta-cognition, learning styles, self-learning motivation, different types of attention, efficiency and pleasure from learning (Frayssinhes, 2016 -1).

There are some contradictions in joint activities, overlooked by network learning supporters. These contradictions were noted by American programmer Eric S. Raymond (Raymond, 2001), and then later by American writer Nicholas Carr, who analyzed the possibilities and limitations of network cooperation in the production system. According to their observations, it is effective for collecting and grouping information, intensifying the implementation of innovative tasks at the level of processing the source material. But the crowd is not suitable for turning all this into a final innovative product. Here the intellectual impulse from highly knowledgeable people is required.

These above organizational and economic considerations are applicable to the assessment of the effectiveness of network educational cooperation. A network is not a guarantee of obtaining the optimal learning outcome or creating an innovative educational product. Often in network communication, a person deals only with the illusion of involvement, but not real progress in updating

knowledge. There is a significant emergence of studies on cognitive entropy as a phenomenon of avalanche-like errors accumulation, and that includes the process of network cognition.

Social and pedagogical cooperation in the network

Despite the ambiguity of educational results, global networks became a source of quite new types of socio-pedagogical relations. In 2006 - 2010 several books on Wikinomics were published, where it was shown how the use of the principles of open-source software, mass cooperation and peer production provides new ways of communicating and creating values in the global market. It turned out that these economic principles operate in the educational space. Since the end of the first decade of the 21st century, educational structures have been activated in the world based on the principles of peer-to-peer learning, networking and horizontal pooling of resources and knowledge. An example is *Peer-2-Peer University*, a non-profit, online, open-learning community funded by the Hewlett and Shuttlesworth Foundations. Education here is based on crowd-sourcing. Self-organizing training materials (texts, images, videos) are posted and discussed in chat rooms. The DIY principle has become the foundation for the Edupunk movement with its negative attitude towards the commercialization of instruction. The "Edupunk Manifest" appeared in 2010, proclaiming: *"Be hypertextual and multilinear, heterogeneous and heterodox. Think of yourself as a part of a collective work"* (Manifesto EduPunk, 2010).

Informal learning in its network forms is increasing constantly. Besides the forums for applied (sometimes naive) issues there are sites for those who think deeply and seek the truth. There, important problems are posed and discussed. For example, mechanisms by which modern education subordinates a person are studied or the ways to make fundamental changes in the education system of the third millennium. It is through network interaction that new types of educational and pedagogical cooperation are formed and the subjects of changes in education become apparent: i.e. educational "Internet communities", learning organizations, educational clusters and ecosystems. For example, hackathon forums became a specific form of cooperation in educational efforts, bringing together specialists from different fields to work on a specific problem and engage in mutual learning. In the education field the ideas of networking significant for the successful organization of certain activities have also taken root.

In many universities the content of vocational training includes training in the ability to establish useful contacts, build contact bases, maintain effective communication, using the capabilities of the Internet. Meetings are held with graduates who have achieved success as potential sources of positive experience and connections. The Commission for the Implementation of the "New Priorities of European Cooperation in the Field of Education and Training" strategy (2015) focused on the development of ecosystems at all levels of education and training. Numerous descriptions of network associations of educational institutions can be found in international publications. When analyzing the combination of rivalry and cooperation in the knowledge market, Russian economist G. Klejner determines the ability to interact in the new conditions through the concepts of concordance; "co-competition" and "co-cooperation" (Klejner, 2006).

Sustainable changes in local education systems require the emergence of pedagogical leaders rooted in the local culture knowing its problems and opportunities, believing in the potential of young people. The activities of international network communities for the training of teachers, the carriers of positive changes, aim at this. For example, the global Network Teachers & Alumni "Teach for All" brings together over 50 partner organizations around the world. Each of the network participants has access to successful international experience in eliminating "systemic injustices" in education. The Global Learning Lab collects and disseminates the learning experiences of classes and communities that have made the most progress, both within and outside the network (Teach for All).

Global Network Risks

Along with innovation potential, networks can be a threat. Some publications of recent years analyze the mechanisms of manipulating the user's behavior for commercial and other purposes. Against the growing tendency for network self-learning the problem of fake information is becoming more and more acute. Quite recently, an article by the Dutch researcher of network culture G. Lovink with the eloquent title "Requiem for the Network" appeared. Comparing the logic of building up network contacts with the capitalist imperative of expanding influence in the market sphere, he critically assesses the "garbage" quality of the content thus formed. G. Lovink cites the work of researchers from different countries who call for the use of network technologies to support alternative values of cooperation and common use while in the real world individualism and competition dominate (Lovink, 2020). Perhaps the appearance of such statements indicates the beginning of a mass awareness of the contradictory nature of the network educational potential.

Worth mentioning is one more important consequence of network development. It is the transfer to the virtual space of some typical socio-pedagogical problems due to the globalization of sources and forms of anti-social behaviour. As a result of aggression in society, the number of acts of violence has increased dramatically both inside the real educational space and in cyberspace. The network is multiplying videos of teenagers' attacks on peers and teachers. In recent years, alarming data are on the increase regarding the level of network aggression. It is reflected in terms such as cyber-bullying – the Internet harassment of children and adolescents, cyber-stalking etc. On the initiative of the European Commission in 2004 - within the framework of the EU Safe Borders project, the Safer Internet Day was established, celebrated on the first Tuesday in February.

Learning Content Transformation

By the end of the 2010s, the contradiction was identified between the development of ideas about "*how to teach*" (the technological side) and the lack of a clear understanding of "*what to teach*", what to include in the content of formal education. The structure of education content traditionally included knowledge, skills, experience activities and value system. Each of these components undergoes innovative changes. In a situation where the knowledge volume doubles every 18 months, the time interval between the moment of knowledge acquisition and the moment it becomes obsolete has significantly decreased. Because that knowledge changes from a normative to a probabilistic type, the value of factual knowledge has decreased. Standardized, fixed content is rapidly depreciating.

Training texts also change under the influence of the digital technologies. New perception formats initiate a hyper-textual presentation of learning material with a preference for figurative information. It can be anime, comics, dance etc. There is a shift in the methods of cognizing the world: from theoretical understanding to direct spontaneous action, which is not always conscious. The discourse of the new culture is forming through an appeal to emotions, personal beliefs and personal experience. The time has come when, as stated in the "Metamodernist Manifesto" of Luc Turner, any information, regardless of its true value, becomes the basis for empirical or aphoristic knowledge (Turner, 2011). When evaluating learning outcomes, the question arises of distinguishing between information, data, opinions and knowledge itself. However, the complexity of the modern world requires meta-cognition based on interdisciplinarity and transdisciplinarity (Kolesnikova, 2018). Therefore, around the world a transition is taking place from the STEM (natural sciences-technologies-engineering-maths) system to the STEAM (natural sciences-technologies-engineering-art-maths) one.

In the last quarter of the previous century, in addition to new types of literacy, attention was paid to universal and flexible (soft) skills. But in recent years the central place in the structure of education content has been taken by **21st Century Competencies** (the Deloitte Report). They are associated

with the development of information literacy, communicative culture, creativity, critical thinking, emotional intelligence, complex problem solving, but also with collaboration, self-organization and the ability to teach others. Innovative models of teaching "skills for the future" are being actively developed primarily in the field of IT and nanotechnology. An example is the international network «Ecole42» and the Russian School League RUSNANO. In different countries, training practice is focused on "Education for a World of Unscripted Problems". Their methodology is based on the idea of learning as a creative project process, with a free choice of disciplines, schedule of classes and educational trajectory.

With the total technologization of life and learning the question arises of combining abilities required on the labour market with those allowed to remain human (Shape of Jobs to Come). In this sense, the importance of such a component as humanistic values is increasing. In liquid modernity, where everything is possible and permissible there is the problem of correlating the meaning and goals of learning with values necessary to preserve our planet and maintain peace. What values should we talk about? First of all, about the values relating to the phenomenon of Life: the life of nature in its ecological state and human life in its existential sense. The environmental protection and ecology subjects are becoming more distinct in modern education. Many pedagogical publications appear on this score. In recent years, it is adolescents who have attracted the attention of adults to the environmental problems of their future. Suffice it to recall the Greta Thunberg phenomenon or the Canadian Teen Movement *#NoFutureNoChildren*.

But, up to now, pedagogy has paid too little attention to human life values, as defined above. Several aspects relevant to all ages are important here. We can talk about the propaedeutics of suicides among young people, the promotion of a healthy lifestyle etc. Let us dwell only on one innovative direction, which has become more apparent in recent years. The problem of aging, death and immortality more and more actively fits into the context of lifelong education, forming a new segment of the scientific and educational industry. The spread of healthy longevity and immortality ideas led to the emergence of programmes on the biology of aging, old age diseases, genetics and the epigenetics of aging. For example, the Buck Institute for Research on Aging specializes in the study of aging processes, offers training for researchers in this field, and implements programmes for graduate students, teachers, and adults. According to the gerontologist Aubrey de Gray and inventor Ray Kurzweil, by 2050 everyone will get a chance to achieve immortality by regularly taking courses for renewal and rejuvenating their body. However, it is worth noting that much in this direction is still ambiguous in terms of morality. In particular, this concerns the idea of creating immortal beings.

Social Criticism of Formal Education

Despite all our efforts, both school and vocational training have so far had little interest in unlikely, but theoretically possible situations. The human factor in the form of the inability to act professionally in unexpected circumstances is increasingly the cause of disasters. No matter how impressive educational innovations related to the technological breakthrough of the third millennium are, many voices are now increasingly heard announcing the end of education in its accustomed form. Once again, with an interval of half a century (after I. Illich "Deschooling Society", 1971), the image of a "school-prison" pops up in the public mind. The question arises of the tyranny of formal education, where "students acquire fear of and dependence on the teacher and the system, learn conformism and submission.

French teacher and sociologist Jean-Pierre Lepr y writes about this in his book called "The End of Education? Commencement" (Lepri, 2012). Tony Wagner from the Harvard Innovation Laboratory convincingly proves in his books that the current model of education is outdated and has nothing to do with the life and work of most people (Wagner, 2008). Similar views are reflected in the book of

the American teacher with 30 years of experience, J. Gatto, "Weapons of Mass Instruction. A School-teacher's Journey Through the Dark World of Compulsory Schooling" (Gatto, 2010).

The world feels the need for a radical education renewal. In the 2010s, a new round began in the development of the unschooling philosophy, which considers the experience of freely chosen activities, travels and the implementation of creative projects. The pedagogical community is trying to answer the question of how to use education to unleash creative talent and initiative in a global, knowledge-based civilization inextricably linked to the Internet. More and more educators and psychologists believe that, in order to raise children who can flourish in an ever-changing world, they should be entrusted with managing their own learning and development.

Awareness of the mismatch of formal education with modern life trends leads to the expansion of family initiatives in the training and education of their children. As specific options for network integration, such flows as "conscious parenting", "positive parenthood" arise. Around the world homeschooling has become more and more popular. The emergence of a new generation of autodidacts scooping up information on the Internet from an early age together with online learning allows them to create a "self-directed learning design". In addition to that, many young people are ready to take on teaching functions. A call "Unschooling Yourself" is accompanied by the appearance of net recommendations on how to engage in lifelong self-learning, how to find one's own educational path. Some personal sites provide numerous links to relevant tools, possible areas and methods of self-training. Some students upload videos that capture the routine of their learning activities. There is a new type of "bloggers-influencers" who talk about the life and events of the institution they study. Such stories are popular with those who lack educational motivation.

The Role of the Younger Generation in the Changes of Learning Design

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The idea of preparing the younger generation for the world renewal (Wagner, 2012) led to the emergence of adults' associations who decided to raise children who are ready for life, positive, with the right to vote in solving the ambitious tasks of building the future. In different countries and continents, special educational centres are being created that attract young people able to respond to global challenges. As an example, we can refer to *The Singularity University*, the *Shanghai American School*, *United World Colleges* or the Russian Educational Centre "Sirius." The research laboratories offer open training in creative solutions to real problems by creating networked local hubs that provide children with access to the latest technology from an early age. The organizers of such laboratories are convinced that many complex problems of our time can be solved through empathy, curiosity and game.

In the modern world, there are about 2 billion young people aged 10 to 24 years old. Each of them has great human potential and is adapted to modern digital technologies. Already the first fully digital generation in history has grown. The leading role in positive changes of education is increasingly shifting to them, who have a quite new mentality. It is the youth environment where online learning communities are increasingly emerging and ideas of a society of self-directed learners are put into action. Here one can talk about the phenomenon of highly motivated, digital, intercultural, personalized youth learning.

At the beginning of the 21st century, four students from the American University of Paris created the *Global Nomads Group*. This group united young people who believe in the power of communication, youth and common humanity. Now this virtual initiative brings together more than a million young people in 60 countries on all continents. They share their stories, empathizing with previously unknown people, imbued with a sense of a mankind community. This requires certain network communication skills, the ability to engage in storytelling and listen to the stories of others. The Global Nomads Group's activities are an example of training by concrete actions with the following

logic: *"Learn through mini-lessons on the network - expand knowledge through global resources - explore - share your creative stories"* (Global Nomads Group). Over the past decade, an extensive innovative space has been formed for training peers from different countries on the basis of "virtual exchange". The Virtual Exchange Coalition and the Saxelab Laboratory of Social Cognitive Neurobiology at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology are developing evaluative tools for measuring attitudes and skills that are acquired through virtual sharing. The tasks of professionalizing and supporting the best innovative practices of peer training have been established.

Some Conclusions

The volume of this article does not allow for analyzing the array of innovative changes in education. Based on information offered, we can propose the following conclusions.

1. Everything is mixed up in the global educational space of the 21st century. Everywhere in the education system one can see the ambiguity and inconsistency of innovative results as characteristic of a metamodernism culture and liquid modernity. In international pedagogical publications and discussions of recent years, the metaphor "Uncertainty School" is increasingly found. In accordance with this, modern pedagogy faces the innovative task of conceptualizing uncertainty in the context of permanent changes in the education system. It can only be solved at an interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary level.

2. We see that innovative changes in education are first of all based on the integration of new economic and technological potentials. By the end of the 2010s, knowledge capitalization combined with the digitalization of education allowed a global market to form with a huge financial turnover. The influence of certain economic principles has been transferred step by step to the field of education. The capitalization and digitalization of knowledge, the introduction of technological innovations as the main engines of the development of education in addition to positive transformations (democratization, internationalization and openness) has produced a number of side effects. One of them is the new type of education inequality between generations and within generations – the digital divide.

Despite technological progress, good intentions and efforts undertaken by the international community, the possibility of learning for all on the planet is still very problematic. In addition to socioeconomic reasons, the political situation influences the level of education. In a number of countries, a generation is growing up, whose childhood and youth passes under permanent violence and wars. This interrupts the usual course of formal education, making the survival experience a priority source of activity for young people to learn, socialize and be socialized. An increasingly acute global problem is the training of migrants. According to Global Migration Indicators 2018, over 30 million school-age children are international migrants, and this number will increase.

Even so international educational policy is largely focused on the requirements of economic development, labour market conditions, and the development of new technologies. Humanitarian tasks related to the upbringing of the young generation, capable of positive global changes, are undertaken mainly at the level of community and private initiatives, covering the field of non-formal education.

3. In the digital age technologies become direct participants in the constitution of knowledge. The American philosopher Don Ihde defined this phenomenon as "technological intentionality." Digital forms of communication, the transfer of the learning process into virtual space transform the function of the teacher, who is not now the main carrier of educational content, but the mediator or facilitator in student communication with the information space. Students no longer adapt to the content of the teaching, but the content and teaching process adapt to them. This change in the logic of the educational process was named the "flipped classroom."

The starting point in a non-linear learning process can be found by a freely cognizing person who is able to combine his/her efforts with an unlimited number of people according to the network principle. And there is a trend to transition from simple net groups to online communities and techno-social digital associations. The development of new educational practices raises such important issues in the digital and network age like the quality of collective intelligence, collective actions and joint design of democratic goods.

4. In the past two decades, the task of technological support for educational innovations came to the fore. But it's obvious that the task of bringing education into line with the challenges of time cannot be solved only at the technological level. On the one hand, technological development has created the prerequisites for the implementation of lifelong learning for everyone. On the other hand, society is addressing more and more claims to formal education institutions. In connection with the spread of non-formal education, learning networks, self-education practice and homeschooling the following question arises whether it is possible to study effectively without an institutional framework.

5. Pedagogical science and official teaching practice cannot keep pace with the permanent changes in educational reality and the rapid development of transdisciplinary knowledge. Only a fresh look at the training and education of a new generation in the context of liquid modernity can help. In addition, it is worth noting that the 21st century demonstrates a combination of fundamentally new technological capabilities with the pedagogical ideas and narratives of past centuries. In fact, does the "*Teach for All*" movement not return to the Comenius idea of "teaching everyone everything"? Does home-schooling not resemble the situation of Pestalozzi's famous book "*How Gertrude teaches her children*"? Does academic nomadism not develop the practice of educational travels dating back to the Middle-Ages? Is the principle of "peer2peer education" not close in meaning to the Lancasterian System? Is modern video storytelling not another historical variation of the didactic stories of the past? The same can be said about the method of projects, game methods or tutoring. Such examples can be continued. All this testifies to the need for the humanistic ideas and succession of experience in the course of innovative changes of the education system. Exactly this is constantly emphasized by educational scientists and representatives of other disciplines of human and social sciences, e.g. by participants of the biennial conferences on "Educational Innovations in Countries Around the World ..." under direction of A.K. Ellis (Ellis, 2019; see also Ellis, & Bond, 2016).

6. The concept of sustainable development integrates economic, technical, social and environmental approaches. Also, it presupposes a keeping of the ecosystems' ability to self-heal and adapt dynamically to change. However, along with the self-renewal of education as a kind of ecosystem there are signs of its systemic self-destruction. Primarily it's a loss of the pedagogical (humane) meaning of innovations (Kolesnikova, 2019) and risks for student health. To prevent any negative effects from the introduction of innovations on the education system, pedagogical monitoring and humanitarian expertise are required. Also, there is a need to teach each person the "rules of digital hygiene" and "digital sustainability", as well as protection of the self and others from the negative impact of technologies.

7. In recent months educational institutions all over the world have been forced to rapidly adapt to the corona virus situation. This is more evidence of "liquidity" and the unpredictability of our time. As it turns out, the technical opportunity for online learning or training is invaluable in situations of mass epidemics, when schools and universities are closed for long periods of quarantine. Also, museums, art galleries and theatres are developing educational work on their sites. It is difficult to predict what else innovative teaching and learning in this connection will have to develop. But in any case, it is important not to lose sight of the humanistic principles of pedagogical interaction.

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Kenneth J. Fasching-Varner, Renee P. Desmarchelier, David Gerlach, Peter Wiens, PG Schrader, Barry Down, Lindsay Stewart, Michaela Stone, Nigel Bagnall, Mareen Lüke (USA, Australia, Germany)

Thinking and Acting Across Ponds: Glocalized* Intersections of Trepidation, Neoliberalism, and Possibilities for 21st Century Teacher Education

(*Glocal – a portmanteau word bridging global + local)

Abstract: This article draws upon the cross-continental experiences of teacher educators in Australia, Germany, and the United States to contextualize and connect localized experiences in each country in the education and training of teachers as glocal phenomena. Through a glocal lens, the paper suggests that the dynamics working against the successful education and training of teachers are multifaceted, locally significant, and globally consistent. Two relevant areas are considered, resonating in both the local contexts of the authors and in their global reach, connectivity, and consistency: 1) internal university resistance and fighting over funding, status, and role and 2) over-reliance on market economies that depend on cheap labor fueled by nationalism, neoliberalism, and xenophobia. The authors address issues related to enrollment, reduction, and accreditation within university-based teacher education and training programs as particular areas of common complexity before yielding to discussion of the effects of those concerns situated within neoliberalism and neo-nationalism. The glocalized analysis and critical approach taken by the authors serve as foils to combat the negative scenario that encapsulates the education and training of teachers. Finally, questions are framed to help readers join in the broader discussion in their particular contexts, extending the capacity for democratic dialogue.

Keywords: glocality, teacher education, neoliberalism, educational reform, comparative education, free market, teacher education and training, higher education

摘要 (Kenneth J. Fasching-Varner, Renee P. Desmarchelier, David Gerlach, Peter Wiens, PG Schrader, Barry Down, Lindsay Stewart, Michaela Stone, Nigel Bagnall, & Mareen Lüke) : 本文以澳大利亚、德国和美国的跨大陆教师们的经验做为基础, 把各国在教师培训和再培训方面的当地经验与全球现象结合起来。通过一个全球性的(同时也是地区性的)视角认识到, 阻碍成功培训和再培训的动因是复杂的, 它在当地具有重要意义, 且在全球范围内是固有的。有两个相关领域在作者的当地背景及其全球影响力, 网络和一致性方面引起了共鸣: 1) 大学内部的阻力以及对资金、地位和作用的斗争 2) 过度依赖由廉价劳动力而决定的, 并伴随着民族主义、新自由主义和仇外心理的市场经济。作者们将那些与大学的教师培训及培训计划中的入学、减少和认证的相关问题视为共同复杂性中的一个特殊领域。之后, 他们侧重于在新自由主义和新民族主义中那些固定关注点所产生的影响的讨论。作者们的本地化分析和批判性方法可以视为一个幻灯片, 用以抵抗那些围绕教师培训和再培训的负面情况。最后, 所提出的问题有助于读者在各自的背景下参与更加广泛的讨论, 从而提升他们进行民主对话的能力。

关键词: 全球地区性, 师资培训, 新自由主义, 教育改革, 比较教育, 自由市场, 高等教育。

摘要 (Kenneth J. Fasching-Varner, Renee P. Desmarchelier, David Gerlach, Peter Wiens, PG Schrader, Barry Down, Lindsay Stewart, Michaela Stone, Nigel Bagnall, & Mareen Lüke) : 本文以澳大利亞、德國和美國的跨大陸教師們的經驗做為基礎, 把各國在教師培訓和再培訓方面的當地經驗與全球現象結合起來。通過一個全球性的(同時也是地區性的)視角認識到, 阻礙成功培訓和再培訓的動因是複雜的, 它在

當地具有重要意義，且在全球範圍內是固有的。有兩個相關領域在作者的當地背景及其全球影響力、網絡和一致性方面引起了共鳴：1) 大學內部的阻力以及對資金、地位和作用的鬥爭 2) 過度依賴由廉價勞動力而決定的，並伴隨著民族主義、新自由主義和仇外心理的市場經濟。作者們將那些與大學的教師培訓及培訓計劃中的入學、減少和認證的相關問題視為共同複雜性中的一個特殊領域。之後，他們側重於在新自由主義和新民族主義中那些固定關注點所產生的影響的討論。作者們的本地化分析和批判性方法可以視為一個幻燈片，用以抵抗那些圍繞教師培訓和再培訓的負面情況。最後，所提出的問題有助於讀者在各自的背景下參與更加廣泛的討論，從而提升他們進行民主對話的能力

關鍵詞：全球地區性，師資培訓，新自由主義，教育改革，比較教育，自由市場，高等教育

Zusammenfassung (Kenneth J. Fasching-Varner, Renee P. Desmarchelier, David Gerlach, Peter Wiens, PG Schrader, Barry Down, Lindsay Stewart, Michaela Stone, Nigel Bagnall, & Mareen Lüke: Über Teiche hinweg denken und handeln: Globalisierte Schnittpunkte von Beklemmung, Neoliberalismus und Möglichkeiten der Lehrerbildung im 21. Jahrhundert): Dieser Artikel stützt sich auf die kontinentübergreifenden Erfahrungen von Lehrerinnen und Lehrern in Australien, Deutschland und den Vereinigten Staaten. Die lokalen Erfahrungen in den einzelnen Ländern bei der Aus- und Weiterbildung von Lehrkräften werden mit globalen Phänomenen kontextualisiert. Durch eine globale (globale und zugleich lokale) Linse wird erkannt, dass die Dynamiken, die einer erfolgreichen Aus- und Weiterbildung entgegenwirken, vielschichtig, lokal bedeutsam und global konsistent sind. Es werden zwei relevante Bereiche betrachtet, die sowohl in den lokalen Kontexten der Autoren als auch in ihrer globalen Reichweite, Vernetzung und Konsistenz mitschwingen: 1) der universitätsinterne Widerstand und Kampf um Finanzierung, Status und Rolle und 2) die übermäßige Abhängigkeit von Marktwirtschaften, die von billigen Arbeitskräften abhängen, und die durch Nationalismus, Neoliberalismus und Fremdenfeindlichkeit begleitet werden. Die Autoren behandeln Fragen im Zusammenhang mit der Immatrikulation, Reduzierung und Akkreditierung in universitären Aus- und -Fortbildungsprogrammen für Lehrerinnen und Lehrer als besondere Bereiche von gemeinsamer Komplexität. Danach betrachten sie die Diskussion über die Auswirkungen dieser im Neoliberalismus und Neonationalismus verankerten Anliegen. Die globalisierte Analyse und der kritische Ansatz der Autoren dienen als Folie zur Bekämpfung des negativen Szenarios, das die Aus- und Weiterbildung von Lehrkräften umgibt. Schließlich werden Fragen formuliert, die den Lesern helfen sollen, sich an der breiteren Diskussion in ihren jeweiligen Kontexten zu beteiligen und so die Fähigkeit zum demokratischen Dialog zu erweitern.

Schlüsselwörter: Globalität, LehrerInnenausbildung, Neoliberalismus, Bildungsreform, vergleichende Bildung, freier Markt, Hochschulbildung

Резюме (Кеннет Й. Фашинг-Варнер, Рени П. Десмаршелье, Давид Герлах, Петер Винс, ПГ Шрадер, Бэрри Даун, Линдсей Стюарт, Микаэла Стоун, Найджел Багналл, Марин Люке: Думать и действовать через пруды: Глокализованные пересечения тревоги, неолиберализма и возможностей подготовки учителей в 21 веке): В данной статье в трансконтинентальной проекции изучается опыт педагогов из Австралии, Германии и Соединенных Штатов Америки, чтобы выявить национальные особенности в профессиональной подготовке и переподготовке преподавателей. Опыт, полученный в разных странах, соотносится и соизмеряется на фоне глобальных феноменов. Статья, в которой сама проблематика рассматривается через призму глокализации (т. е. с перспективой профилирования регионального отклика на процессы глобализации), показывает, что тенденции, которые препятствуют успешной подготовке и переподготовке специалистов, являются многоуровневыми; степень их релевантности национально-маркирована, но по содержательному наполнению они в разных странах имеют много общего. Рассматриваются две значимые области, которые соприкасаются как в локальных контекстах авторов, так в глобальном радиусе действия, структурообразования и соотносённости: 1) внутреннее, университетское сопротивление и борьба за финансирование, статус и распределение ролей; 2) чрезмерная зависимость от рыночных экономик, которые ориентированы на дешёвую рабочую силу и страдают от национализма, неолиберализма и ксенофобии. Авторы рассматривают сопутствующие вопросы, возникающие в процессе подготовки и переподготовки преподавателей в университетских программах – зачисление, восстановление, аттестация как особые сферы, обладающие общим уровнем сложности. Далее обращается внимание на имеющие место дискуссии о последствиях проблем,

спровоцированных неолиберализмом и неонационализмом. Предпринятый авторами критический глокализационный анализ может служить своего рода защитной пленкой, с помощью которой подавляются те негативные сценарии, которые сопровождают профессиональную подготовку и переподготовку педагогов. В заключение формулируются вопросы, которые призваны помочь читателям включиться в широкое обсуждение проблематики в разных контекстах и тем самым стимулировать их к осуществлению демократического диалога.

Ключевые слова: *глокализация, профессиональная подготовка учителей, неолиберализм, реформа образования, сравнительный анализ образовательных дискурсов, свободный рынок, высшее образование*

More than 15 years ago, Reid and O'Donoghue (2004) articulated trepidation about teacher education and training; this article expounds their concerns in contemporary educational contexts, drawing on the authors' experiences in Australia, Germany, and the United States within frames of the education, the training and the vocational engagement of pre-service and in-service teachers. The authors of this work are colleagues within the field of teacher education on three different continents; each discovered that what we frame as local concerns are better framed as glocal phenomena, ones in which our perceived hyper-localized concerns are also locally relevant to our global counterparts. Further, these concerns are globally connected across contexts. Like Meyrowitz (2005), we recognize that "all experience is local...[and] the localness of experience is a constant" (p. 21), but we accept this in the context that ideas and information are distributed "with and about people who live in local-ties different from our own [and also that] we more frequently intercept experiences and messages originally shaped for, and limited to, people in other places" (p. 23). "The similarity of demands, coordination of mobilization, and clustering of policy outcomes across countries with varying political and cultural conditions" is locally extant, globally relevant, and of mutual import (Barrett, & Kurzman, 2004, p. 487-488).

Erickson (2002) characterized glocality as "global phenomena more often than not could be studied in their local expressions...[and that] cultural globalization has always [been] tantamount to glocalisation (...) creative fusions of [the] local and non-local" (p. 166-167). This perspective directly informs our work and we argue from this glocal standpoint that the dynamics working against the vocational education and training of teachers are multifaceted, locally significant, and globally consistent. We will discuss two relevant areas, resonating individually in our local contexts yet suggesting global reach and consistency. They are: 1) internal university resistance and fighting over funding, status, and role, and 2) over-reliance on market economies that depend on cheap labor fueled by nationalism, neoliberalism, and xenophobia. A glocal analysis and critical approach may serve as foils to combat this negative scenario. This contribution ends, consequently, by framing questions to help readers join in the broader discussion in their particular contexts.

Cross-Continental Glocal Challenges in Teacher Education and Training

For more than 60 years, universities and university teacher-based education and training programs around the world have faced and continue to face internal challenges that could be identified by the acronym ERA: Enrollments, Reduction, and Accreditation (Kaiser, 2012; Vaughn, 2002; Young, 1979; Patillo, 1960; Eaton, 2010; Seldon, 1960; Hoffman, 2013; Ansell, 2008). Overall, our contexts include comprehensive universities that are facing declining or static enrolments; we focus on universities with enrolment declines relative to traditional students pursuing teaching degrees. We hear with great frequency from our students that they are often led to perceive teaching as a lesser pro-

fession and are pressured to pursue other majors. Jane (pseudonym) is a representative example from the Australian context. In Australia, students in secondary school achieve an Overall Position (OP) score that informs what programs a student can be accepted into for university study, based on subject achievement relative to the performance of peers. Jane's OP was a 1, the highest level one can achieve, and would have qualified her for nearly anything she wanted to study. Jane came from a family of teachers, had always wanted to be a teacher, and was eager to enter an Australian university's teacher education and training program with that desired major. Jane was placed under a considerable amount of pressure from teachers in her high school as well as the school's guidance officers to pursue a profession that would be considered of higher status and higher pay than teaching, such as medicine or law. Peers who questioned why someone smart who could study anything would pursue teaching magnified this pressure. Jane's constant response was one of resistance to this pressure, and Jane asked a group of teachers and peers at one point, "Don't we want smart teachers?" While Jane persisted in following a teaching course, many students succumb to the pressure to find more economically promising careers. A similar phenomenon has happened in the United States despite both contexts experiencing high demand for teachers (Aragon, 2016; Cowan, Goldhaber, Hayes, & Theobald, 2016; Kearney, 2014; Mason, & Matas, 2015), particularly in areas where marginalized groups of K-12 students are educated. Many university students simply choose other careers to respond to family, peer, and teacher/school pressure imposed on them, leading to declining teacher enrollments, and this phenomenon is not new. In the late 1980's Harvard Professor Sara Lawrence-Lightfoot highlighted this trend, particularly the pressure placed on female students who make up a vast majority of students pursuing education (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1988). In Lawrence-Lightfoot's (1988) Bill Moyers' World of Ideas television interview, she said:

For the most part I think teachers are denigrated, that given a chance, women who now have the choice of what they want to do are unlikely — I mean, who are highly educated, who have high status, who are privileged, are unlikely now to go into teaching. For example, they are choosing business or law or medicine or any of those now opening-up fields that used to be the province solely of males.

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While Lawrence-Lightfoot shared these remarks over 30 years ago, they remain true today. Since 1988, however, the pressure is not solely based on the perception of teaching as lesser, the pressure is now exacerbated by the free market, neoliberalism, and educational reform.

Although teacher education in Germany still relies heavily on state-owned structures, universities are faced with high numbers of enrolments of pre-service teachers who generally study two subjects plus educational sciences. Later, these teachers will be employed in a school system that has used to, since its inception in the 18th century, differentiate among social classes: Hauptschule used to address the working class, Realschule focused on future citizens working in (higher) offices, and Gymnasium that prepares students for universities. In general, the German educational system has become more flexible and permeable. However, with new school types (e.g. comprehensive schools) in some German states, it is widely agreed that the traditionally lower strands (Hauptschule and Realschule) tend to reproduce inequalities within the educational system and German society. As a result, children from poor families have a higher risk of being left behind despite attending a Gymnasium school culture. Teacher education programs are still structured according to these school types; these programs include more pedagogical aspects for lower-school types and more content knowledge for the Gymnasium candidates. The Gymnasium teacher degree is highly sought by those generally wishing to avoid challenges associated with negative student behaviors and learners with more specialized needs. Job placement, especially for those wanting to teach in the more elite Gymnasium, depends heavily on a second phase of teacher training after earning a university degree. In

this phase, teacher candidates already work part-time at a school while remaining students within the state-run teacher training institutions (Munderloh, 2018). In the second phase, teacher candidates are dependent on the teacher educators who evaluate their work and their own prior beliefs of good teaching, although these beliefs are not necessarily based on any accepted standards. This practice works to homogenize future teachers by implementing the normative expectations of the tiered school system and traditional practices of teaching (Wernet 2006; Dzenkel, Kunze, & Wernet, 2012). Said another way, compliance with the traditions and values held by these teacher educators directly impact how candidates navigate their employment. Through these structures, both schools and the system of teacher education reinforce themselves, becoming insularly resistant to innovation and change.

In the Australian context, modified delivery modes have been used to compensate for declining physical presence of students, and to cater to students for whom greater flexibility is believed to be attractive. In the US context, education class sizes have risen. This increase is due to combining populations of traditional undergraduate students in education with a semi-parallel group of non-traditional students who are pursuing alternative routes to licensure (ARL). Traditional and non-traditional students report significant disconnects with peers based on the route to licensure being pursued (Redding, & Smith, 2016, p. 1095). John (pseudonym) and Sarah (pseudonym) are two illustrative examples from the US context. John began his undergraduate teacher preparation program immediately following graduation from high school. He articulated feeling less supported over time in his program as class sizes increased and more and more of his classes were taught by adjunct professors; the same is true of 'sessional' and 'casual' instructors in Australia, and in the German context, much of the training is farmed out post-degree to non-university-based educators serving in supervisory but not necessarily pedagogical roles.

John was passionate about teaching but continued to experience a disconnect in his education and training as he was forced into larger classes or classes with people who expressed different needs from a traditional undergraduate population.

Ultimately, he switched majors in part citing that the lack of support wore him out, particularly since he perceived that education would be the major most apt to support students. John shared [his feelings]: "at the end of the day, it just didn't work for me. My professors, more and more, were not the real professors and the classes kept getting bigger and bigger to accommodate all these older people and they always seemed to look down on us and tell us what we didn't know because we didn't have as much time on the planet as them. Why would I want to have my parents pay tuition money to feel mistreated?"

On the other hand, Sarah was an accountant who decided in her mid-40s to pursue teaching. Initially, she enrolled in a university-based alternative program but found that many of her classes were shared with 18-20-year-olds; this group of students largely did not share her life or labor experiences. From her perspective, Sarah found that she could never fully capitalize on her strengths; at the same time, her specific needs were never addressed. Sarah resigned from the university-based program. Instead, she pursued a 3-week summer education and training program where she was given her own classroom to complete her field requirements and receive her licensure -- a so-called *alternative pathway to licensure (alternative license)*. John and Sarah's experiences are not unique. Alternative license students, in particular, who have had different undergraduate majors as well as more life and career experience, often seek programs that place the least demands on their time and combine the lowest cost with flexibility and speed.

Alternative arrangements put a greater financial strain on institutions of higher education; universities see fewer new candidates pursuing teaching as a result. Unfortunately, this tension forces institutions to develop unique learning arrangements that do not necessarily best meet the needs of inherently different pre-service teacher populations. To save costs, universities across contexts rely essentially on the free, or poorly-compensated, labor of mentor teachers. This arrangement signals that the induction phase of a pre-service teacher is likely to be completed with a teacher for whom this extra responsibility is uncompensated and in addition to already taxing responsibilities to their school students. This is especially true in urban and rural settings where marginalized and historically underrepresented young people live.

Betty (Australian) and Josephine (US) are examples of mentor teachers who felt the strain of the pressure to accept and mentor new teachers with the economic insult of no or little pay. Coupled with some personal struggles, Betty felt overwhelmed by her day-to-day classroom responsibilities. Her principal and the university-based education and training program put heavy pressure on Betty to accept an in-school practice student, or pre-service teacher. Betty had no information about whom she was to mentor and felt forced to accept. The student she received required significant intervention; they were not well prepared for the classroom. Exacerbated by Betty's personal circumstances, the student received poor scores and was not supported, guided, or inducted into better practice. Similarly, Josephine was offered US\$200 for supporting a student teacher for 15 weeks, which was to take place during the high-pressure spring testing semester. After this experience, Josephine told the university that supporting her mentee involved well over 240 hours of additional time beyond her normal school responsibilities; compensation for her work of inducting a pre-service teacher into the profession totaled about \$0.83 an hour, less than the compensation of most US prisoners for their 'required labor.' The university was devastated when working through this information with Josephine.

Declining enrolment, less funding and tuition, and decreasing public (federal or state) support means that the money for adequate compensation is not readily available or easily accessible. We argue that money obviously exists, but how it is earmarked and restricted and the financial picture of most universities means that the money needed never materializes. But, the needs and obligations to provide mentor teachers is still mandated by the licensure requirements of the state where Josephine lived, for example, and is true for counterparts in Australia and Germany.

In Germany, the supervision of those in school-based practice is outsourced to pedagogical others who are not part of the university education and training landscape. These pedagogical others often represent disconnects between the knowledge taught in education and training and the demands met in the actual classroom (Gerlach, 2020); the mediation of the disconnects is itself disconnected. In Australia, the 'practice' experience is handled in a variety of ways, none of which compensate faculty or adjuncts for the work and time put into supporting the student. The unfunded mandates of supporting teachers in the field in an economically complex environment presents a nearly insurmountable challenge for university-based education and training programs. On the other hand, in alternative pathways to licensure, programs are only involved in a limited training phase that often does not require compensated mentorship. In those arrangements, these pre-service teachers are given classrooms and compensated as teachers while completing their school practice, student teaching, or field-based requirements. Situations like these make it even harder for universities to compete.

Finally, universities worldwide face increasing demands made by external evaluators as part of accreditation processes. The processes often ask institutions to provide copious documentation and

evidence including syllabi, measures of student and faculty performance, physical copies of assessments and resultant data, strategic plans, and credentials of all personnel involved in teacher education and training. This includes the already over-taxed mentor teachers. Further, these programs are asked to provide access to interviews and to interact with the various stakeholders during onsite visits. In all three national contexts, and within sub-contexts of each country represented in this article, we have all committed a significant amount of professional time, stolen from our teaching and scholarship and allocated toward, addressing, responding to, and engaging with accreditation processes.

On its face value, accreditation is not inherently problematic; but the accreditation process imposes a burden of time, requires resources, and demands involvement that detracts from the principle enterprise of educating pre-service teachers. In our experiences, the accreditation process consumes a disproportionate amount of faculty and administrative effort relative to how it may serve to enhance the program. At times, the process of accreditation also seems to advocate change for change's sake without attending to what change means and "without some explanation of how change happens, or not, there will be a mismatch between the stated policy goals (rhetoric) and implementation and outcomes (reality)" with regard to accreditation (Down & Sullivan, 2019, p. 45). Over time, these efforts and energies continue to increase as accreditation organizations and bodies require more and more of faculty members and administrators. Relative to the day-to-day business of their university, both faculty members and administrators are doing increasingly more with fewer resources in contexts that feel progressively more based in external surveillance of the work rather than establishing a supportive and reflectively engaging process of continuous improvement.

Neoliberalism and Neonationalism

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Since the early 1980s, the idea of neo-liberalism has significantly impacted the global landscape. Tied to Reagan and Thatcher-era economic models in the Americas (MacDonald, & Ruckert, 2009; Puiggrós, 2019; Arnove, Ranz, & Torres, 2013), Europe (Arriazu Muñoz 2015; Birch, & Mykhenko, 2009), and Australia (Davies, & Bansel, 2007; Beeson, & Firth, 1998; Rea, 2016), each ensuing decade has sent more of the public sector to the private sector for support, funding, and basic-level existence. In education, across our contexts, from public primary/elementary and secondary schooling through tertiary education, the government as a public entity has expressed and demonstrated proportionally less financial commitment to the enterprise of education (Lipmann, 2013; Olssen, 2004; Robertson, 2008). Educational reformistas have particularly and significantly profited (Fasching-Varner, & Mitchell, 2013; Fasching-Varner, Mitchell, Martin, & Bennet-Haron, 2014). One need not look too deep or carefully to see the ways in which powerful private lobbies' connections to governments from both sides of the political spectrum influence decisions on curriculum, reform, and the resultant financial investment in schools, the choice of materials, access to learning environments, and even the vocational preparation of teachers, which, as we referenced earlier, has become more market-driven and influenced by non-public education and training corporations (Giroux, 2019; Liou, Leigh, Rotheram-Fuller, & Cutler, 2019). In the US, the 'charter-school' movement takes public funds for schooling and often invests them with private learning management organizations that fund for-profit quasi-public school models. In Australia, whatever public funding exists is shared evenly with already wealthy private sector educational sites. In Germany, although still very slim, the private school sector is on the rise, financed predominantly by churches and religious organizations. These private schools service the upper classes, whose members want to avoid the rising heterogeneity in state-run schools. Here, though, pressure is built up through market-related opportunity-exploiting initiatives. While maintaining governmental influence over curricu-

lum and testing requirements, the reduction of financing by the public purse creates many mandates that solely benefit the private sector as it relates to education.

In the economic model of free-market capitalism, we must also recognize that educational reform over the past 40 years has been particularly dependent on sorting people into distinct class groups where the service-based economy relies on a significant portion of the public sector to remain locked out of many of the benefits of formal education (Fasching-Varner et al., 2014; Cook, 2015; Bell 2019). In free-market capitalism, society depends on a variety of laborers and resultant educational attainment to bolster the increasing gap between wealthy and poor (Kotler, 2018; Boyle, 2019; 2018; Boyles 2018). Of the three countries about which we write, the US may manifest this divide the most; however, the more socialized landscapes of Australia and Germany are not immune to the sorting and separation that the free market creates. In all three contexts, the last five years have seen particular manifestations of this sorting that pin marginalized immigrants and refugees in the role of economic scapegoats for the benefit of the market elite (Inglehart, 2018; Heyer, 2018; Moreno, & Price 2018; Huerta, 2019; Hutchinson, 2019; Lester, & De La Rama, 2018; Hanson-Easey, 2018; Langenbacher, & Wittlinger, 2018; Beltran, 2017; Marek, 2019; Klikauer, 2018). Political leaders in all three countries have doused the landscape with a hateful fuel centered on fear and loathing of particular types of immigrants and refugees. In Australia, for example, Pauline Hanson, a xenophobic and anti-immigrant senator, entered the Senate chamber in a burqa, attempting to fuel a national fear around safety and creating a context to fear Muslim immigrants and refugees (Grant, More, & Lynch, 2018). Besides her burqa stunt, she and the political right in Australia have created campaigns based on vitriol and ignorance. The latter not only sends markers to immigrants that they should not feel like they belong, but, more importantly, have attempted to signal to dominant groups that these newcomers should be feared as not Australian (forced assimilation), as safety threats (their religions tell them to hate the dominant group), and as threats to the labor market (they are coming to take our jobs) (Falnnery, & Watt, 2018; Poynting, & Briskman, 2018).

In the US, Donald Trump began his campaign for president by claiming that Mexican immigrants are rapists and demanding a physical wall be built to separate Mexico from the United States (Kirk, & Martin, 2016). As president, he has worked to implement a travel ban targeting predominately Muslim countries and worked to eliminate the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program, which works to protect immigrants who came to the US as minors and have essentially lived their whole life in the United States. Trump has made bombastic and very high-profile speeches at political rallies and deployed social media to heighten a sense of fear and loathing along the same lines as Hanson in Australia (Johnson, 2017; Milkis, & Jacobs, 2017).

Germany has also experienced a dangerous rise in nationalist, right-wing, anti-Semitic, and generally xenophobic tendencies, which - especially after the 2015 migration - have helped the *Alternative for Germany* party become extremely successful, gaining over 20% of seats in some state parliaments (Arzheimer, & Berning, 2019). One of their most prominent members, Björn Höcke, has made speeches employing racist language, an interesting fact since he was a history teacher in the state of Hessen before he became a politician (Grabbow, 2016; Berg, 2018). And, this is happening in a country with a difficult history, that holds freedom of speech as one of its highest values. The rise in tension has, at least in part, prompted the ouster of Annegret Kramp-Karrenbauer, who was leading Merkle's Christian Democratic Union party and believed to be the next in line to serve as Chancellor of Germany. Within this political discourse, extreme tendencies become more and more successful when citizens from East Germany feel neglected by the West (Berlin Institute, 2019) and the public in general thinks that they cannot state their opinion in public anymore (Allensbach Institute, 2019).

The intersection of neo-liberal economic policies coupled with the targeting of marginalized peoples in our contexts ensures that as teachers enter the classroom they not only focus on their teaching, but must do that teaching work in a larger social context which is: 1) underfunded, 2) aimed at not actually reforming to allow growth of the educational reform industrial complex, and 3) contextualized in a way that further marginalizes already underrepresented groups. As teacher education programs have less time to prepare teachers, have increased demands on their financial and structural capabilities, and with increasingly privatized routes to the classroom, the challenges often become insurmountable hurdles for teachers. We see significantly low retention rates in the profession; many teachers entering the classroom are not likely to persist after five years (Gray, & Taie, 2015; Fasching-Varner, & Hartlep, 2015). The demands placed on teachers externally and internally, coupled with a lack of preparation, induction, or proper professional development, further jeopardize the articulated possibilities of what a free and public education might mean in the 21st century.

Glocality

While we discuss only the three countries that represent our localized experiences, we understand that the flat world creates a need to comprehend how education and schooling may provide possibilities toward transforming education and educational outcomes (Friedman, 2004; 2005; Darling-Hammond, 2012). As we have explored, there are a myriad of disconnections in what higher-education-based teacher education programs may want to deliver and what their capacity actually is, particularly given mounting pressures internally, populist and nationalistic discourses federally, and diverse landscapes used against diverse learners. While we each work in contexts that may appear to be our own national concerns, we see the larger landscape as one that is always already *glocal* -- that is locally situated and globally facing, locally delivered and globally influenced (Chen, & Wellman, 2004; Hampton, 2010; Messina Dahlberg, & Bagga-Gupta, 2014; Roudometof, 2016; Porto, & Belmonte, 2014; Wellman, 2004; Thompson & Arsel, 2004). As educational scholars, we recognize that writing this is an act of glocality where the conversation alone prompts us to not see our challenges or opportunities are particularly reflective of a narrow or isolated occurrence, but as existing in replicated and replicable ways across the globe where we can be informed by a broader range of international contexts and ideas.

Global landscapes have great potential to inform local applications for practitioners of teacher education, as opposed to driving all decisions in increasingly and hyper-localized ways that consider narrow lanes of restrictive necessity (Brodeur, 2004). A glocalized approach, we argue, has the potential to consider the challenges we all face as global citizens, reflecting upon the often systemically oppressing -- and increasingly ominous -- backdrop to the work we do as teacher educators (Tsou, 2015; Wright, & Maton, 2004). How might glocality inform particular lessons about the interaction between experience and practice where damaging internal and external forces are resisted by networks of objectively and subjectively heavily engaged colleagues? Glocality is not simply understanding someone else's experience; it is the call to ask exacting questions that intensify dialogue and engagement, where the answers to the questions neither derive from global nor particularly local standpoints. Glocality asks us to push the boundaries of our (dis)comfort and enter fully into the world with the substantial implications of grasping pressures created by neoliberalism and neonationalism which do not exist in isolation in only one country or place. Like Down (2012), our team is "deeply skeptical and increasingly outraged by market-driven prescriptions to fix education" (p. 70), yet, for better or worse, we as teacher educators, teachers, and communities are intentionally part of the 'machine' that is the free-market; consequently, our efforts are best addressed in broader, globally-informed, yet highly localized enactments (Ban, 2016). The approach we advocate

creates a longer horizon line for engagement, expanding beyond our own worldviews and perspectives. So we end this contribution with the questions that drove us, the authors, toward more globalized thinking about what we have written here, and invite you as a reader to join in, extend, and transform this conversation with your global truths.

Guiding Questions

The need for global connections arises from our conversation in three distinct locations with underlying similarities. Pre-service teachers, teacher educators, and administrators are encouraged to grapple with the complexity of the changing global educational landscape. Posing a series of guiding questions, in five frames, helps focus the conversation and understanding of the current reality of teacher education and training so that readers also have a sense of how they might direct their energies when moving forward.

Question Frame 1 – How do accreditation processes and expectations, related to teacher education, function in practice? What, specifically, are the differences between the intent and impact of accreditation, particularly where accreditation appears to be more like surveillance than support in terms of the reflective capacity that could be generated?

Question Frame 2 – How might education and training programs address and plan for changing landscapes considering global implications? How might teacher educators provide opportunities to develop understandings of global consciousness while challenging localized narratives?

Question Frame 3 – How does the muddying of neoliberal and neo-nationalistic stimuli impact the complexities of teacher education and training, educational reforms, curricular decisions, and how do pedagogies impact current and intending teachers' satisfaction with the profession?

Question Frame 4 – What can we learn from the status and value placed on teaching as a profession currently? How does this framing impact the economic and human capital assigned to preparing educators who are culturally sensitive, class aware, and structurally resistant, at both school and higher education levels? How might the framing of the work be reinterpreted to promote a different engagement?

Question Frame 5 – Given complex multinational and multicultural energies that contribute to a global understanding, how can practitioners prepare educators and future educators to be globally engaged? How, in particular, might practitioners outgrow superficial understandings of the global community in their classrooms and work toward the cultivation of meaningful connections across spatial and cultural barriers?

Taking up the challenge of these questions provides for a more informed practice among teacher educators and classroom teachers. The call to practice globality requires critical approaches and reflection through global and local lenses to focus on dialogue and building relationships.

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Manuela Diers (Germany)

Strengthening Resilience in School – A Narrative Examination of How Teachers Promote Resilience by Providing Social Support

Abstract: The article presents a recent study on the question of how young people suffering from psychological risks in their environment recreate social support from teachers in their narratives and what kind of role teachers' social support plays for children and young adults living at high risk and for strengthening resilience. It points out that teachers can initiate creative metamorphosis of biographical identity to help overcome trajectories of suffering. The link between biographical and resilience research is discussed on the basis of Marica's case. One key result is the importance of teachers in the role of significant others, a position which enables them to strengthen resilience. A constructive, trustful and approving teacher-student relationship is the basis for the resilient development of children at high risk.

Keywords: resilience, school, social support, biographical research, case analysis

摘要 (Manuela Diers: 增强在学校中的应变能力- 关于教师如何通过社会支持来提高应变能力的一项叙事研究): 文章提供了一项针对下列问题的最新研究: 在他们环境里遭受心理风险的年轻人是如何在其叙事中恢复对老师的社会支持, 以及老师们的社会支持对于那些生活在高风险中的儿童, 年轻人, 并为加强其韧性所起到的作用。作者指出, 教师可以发起一项创造性地针对自身传记身份的转变来克服痛苦。在马里卡案例的基础上, 讨论了传记研究与弹性研究之间的关系。一项关键的结果是教师在其他重要角色中的重要性, 这一地位使他们能够增强其韧性。一种建设性的, 相互信任与欣赏的师生关系是高风险儿童弹性发展的基础。

关键词: 弹性, 学校, 社会支持, 传记研究, 案例分析。

摘要 (Manuela Diers: 增强在学校中的应变能力- 关于教师如何通过社会支持来提高应变能力的一项叙事研究): 文章提供了一项针对下列问题的最新研究: 在他们的环境里遭受心理风险的年轻人是如何在其叙事中恢复对老师的社会支持, 以及老师们的社会支持对于那些生活在高风险中的儿童, 年轻人, 并为加强其韧性所起到的作用。作者指出, 教师可以发起一项创造性地针对自身传记身份的转变来克服痛苦。在马里卡案例的基础上, 讨论了传记研究与弹性研究之间的关系。一项关键的结果是教师在其他重要角色中的重要性, 这一地位使他们能够增强其韧性。一种建设性的, 相互信任与欣赏的师生关系是高风险儿童弹性发展的基础。**关键词:** 弹性, 学校, 社会支持, 传记研究, 案例分析。

Zusammenfassung (Manuela Diers: Stärkung der Resilienz in der Schule - Eine narrative Untersuchung darüber, wie Lehrerinnen und Lehrer Resilienz durch soziale Unterstützung fördern): Der Artikel stellt eine neuere Studie vor, die sich mit der Frage befasst, wie Jugendliche, die in ihrem Umfeld unter psychologischen Risiken leiden, in ihren Erzählungen die soziale Unterstützung von Lehrern wiederherstellen und welche Rolle die soziale Unterstützung von Lehrern für Kinder und junge Erwachsene, die unter hohem Risiko leben, und für die Stärkung der Widerstandsfähigkeit spielt. Sie weist darauf hin, dass Lehrerinnen und Lehrer eine kreative Metamorphose der biographischen Identität initiieren können, um Leidenswege zu überwinden. Die Verbindung zwischen Biographie- und Resilienzforschung wird anhand des Falles Marica diskutiert. Ein zentrales Ergebnis ist die Bedeutung der Lehrerinnen und Lehrer in der Rolle bedeutender Anderer, eine Position, die es ihnen ermöglicht, die Resilienz zu stärken. Eine konstruktive, vertrauensvolle und anerkennende Lehrer-Schüler-Beziehung ist die Grundlage für die widerstandsfähige Entwicklung von Kindern mit hohem Risiko.

Schlüsselwörter: Resilienz, Schule, soziale Unterstützung, biographische Forschung, Fallanalyse

Резюме (Мануэла Дирс: Развитие резильентности в школе: нарративное исследование о том, как педагоги укрепляют психологическую устойчивость учеников через социальную поддержку): В статье приводятся данные актуального исследования, посвященного вопросу о том, как молодые люди, подверженные в своем окружении психологическим рискам, отражают в нарративах социальную поддержку со стороны педагогов, и какое значение данная социальная поддержка имеет для укрепления жизнестойкости уязвимых групп. Проведенное исследование показывает, что педагоги могут инициировать креативную метаморфозу биографической идентичности, чтобы помочь своим воспитанникам обойти тернистые пути. Взаимосвязь между биографическими исследованиями и исследованиями резильентности обсуждается на примере Marica'si. Главный результат – позиционирование педагогов в роли тех, в ком молодые люди особо нуждаются. Такая позиция позволяет им развивать резильентность. Залогом успешного развития резильентности у детей с высоким уровнем психологической нестабильности являются конструктивные, доверительные и уважительные отношения между ними и педагогом.

Ключевые слова: резильентность, социальная поддержка, биографическое исследование личности, метод анализа случая из практики

1. Introduction

"There are many accounts of children and adults facing and overcoming adversities in their lives in spite of the fact that their circumstances suggested they would be overcome by the adversities" (Grotberg, 1995, p. 10). Marica was still a child when she first experienced violence and adversity. When she was only five, her mother was shot by her stepfather and one year later Marica, her mother and her two siblings fled to an unfamiliar town. While her mother was working, Marica took care of her siblings, cooked the meals, did the housework and had already assumed the role of mother for her younger siblings by the time she was eight or nine. She therefore neglected her schoolwork and had no time to play with friends. Within just a few years Marica changed schools frequently and was fighting against the odds. She had no time to be just a young girl. "Some children seem to escape unscathed, and a few even appear to be strengthened by their adverse experience" (Rutter, 2006, p. 651). And that is how Marica managed her life. After leaving school, she completed an apprenticeship as a dressmaker and additionally worked in the catering business. By the time of the interview she was happily married and living with her husband and daughter in an apartment building.

The above is just a brief description of a resilient biography. Marica suffered from psychological risks in her environment and was living at high risk. She was not alone in her attempts to overcome adverse conditions. Although her mother was not a help – in fact quite the reverse – she found others to support her. Her aunt, her grandmother and the headmaster at her secondary school were the most important people in her life. "Children need to become resilient to overcome the many adversities they face and will face in life: they cannot do it alone. They need adults who know how to promote resilience and are, indeed, becoming more resilient themselves" (Grotberg, 2006, p. 10). The social support of teachers, headmasters or other educators can be a significant resource for promoting resilience in pupils at high risk, as examined in this study.

2. The resilience framework

Resilience is a concept that focuses on the factors in development that promote health and strength. "This topic of individual resilience is one of considerable importance with respect to public policies focused on the prevention of either mental disorders or developmental impairment in young people" (Rutter, 2006, p. 652). A review shows the heterogeneity of resilience research (Diers, 2016; Unger 2018). There is consensus in developmental psychology about two conditions that must be met in order to satisfy the criterion of resilience as defined by Masten and Reed: "resilience generally refers to a class of phenomena characterized by patterns of positive adaptation in the context of significant

adversity or risk" (Masten, & Reed, 2002, p. 75). In addition, resilience varies over the course of a lifetime and it must be understood as a capacity which is greatly influenced by context (Rutter, 2006, p. 675; Fingerle, 2011, p. 211). It is necessary to increase the focus on individual developmental processes and context factors which promote resilience.

Resilience is not a clearly defined concept, which led Carol Kumpfer to develop the resilience framework to combine the different concepts and definitions. It "should be considered a starting point for organizing factors and processes predictive of positive outcomes in high-risk children" (Kumpfer, 1999, p. 183). Kumpfer emphasises the meaning of the processes which promote resilience. One internal resiliency factor alone does not lead to resilience but transactional processes and different factors in conjunction with one another can strengthen resilience. Her resilience framework includes six main concepts of resilience research.

(1) **Stressors:** The resilience process is activated by incoming stimuli. The homeostasis in the individual is impaired. This can be perceived as a stressor or as a challenge. According to Kumpfer, the essence of resilience is perceiving the incoming stimulus as a challenge.

(2) **Environmental Context:** Protective and risk factors in the environment influence the person's development. They vary according to age and cultural factors. The environment can buffer the negative effects of acute and chronic stress. Furthermore, "most risk and protective factors function as dimensional variables" (Rutter, 2006, p. 652). For example, the divorce of a child's parents can function either as a risk factor or a protective factor (e.g. if the divorce puts an end to severe conflicts within the family).

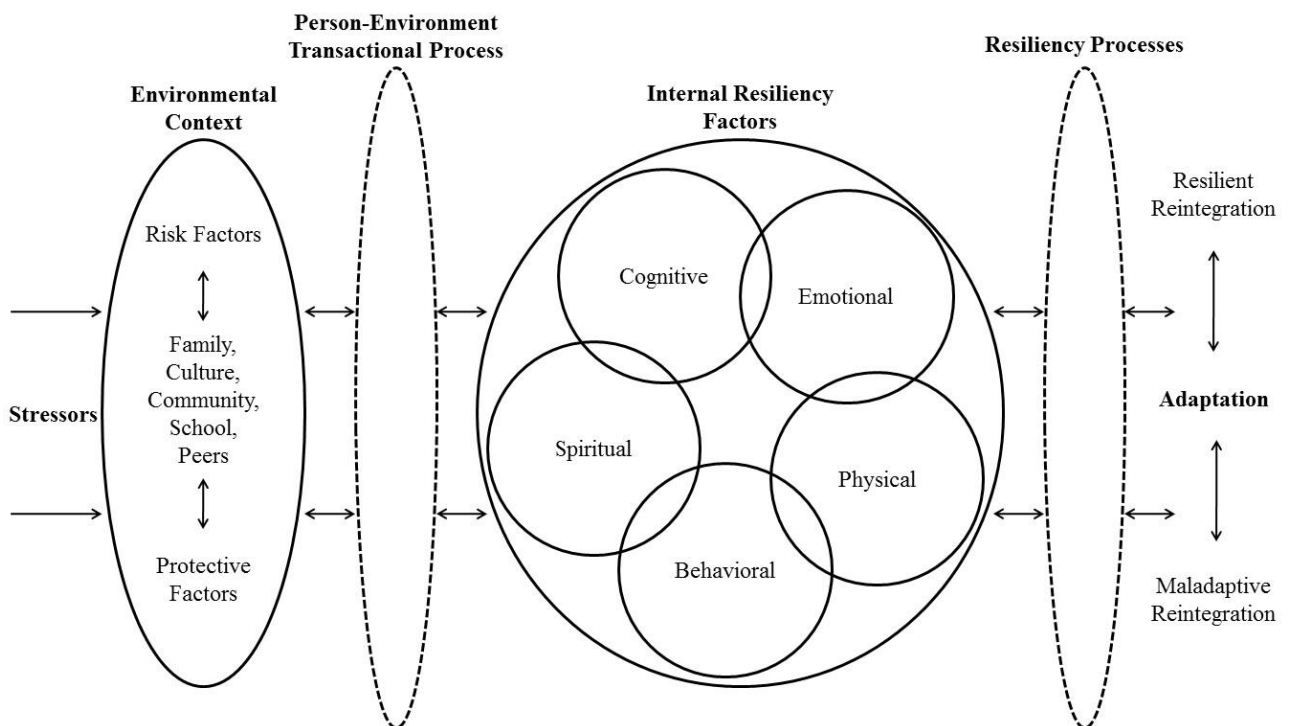


Figure 1: Resilience Framework (Kumpfer, 1999, p. 185)

(3) **The Person-Environment Transactional Process** includes the passive or active efforts of the person or caring others to create a healthier environment. "Most of the youth don't have the option to leave a negative environment or neighbourhood. Resilient youth living in high drug and crime com-

munities seek ways to reduce environmental risk factors by seeking the prosocial elements in their environment" (Kumpfer, 1999, p. 191).

(4) Internal resiliency factors include competencies (cognitive, emotional, physical, behavioural and spiritual) which are necessary to master developmental tasks or other challenges.

(5) Resiliency Processes are transactional processes between the person's resiliency factors and the development outcome (resilient or maladaptive reintegration).

(6) Kumpfer differentiates between four levels of adaptation (Kumpfer, 1999, p. 211):

1. Resilient reintegration, or a higher state of resiliency and strength
2. Homeostatic reintegration, or the same state before the stressor
3. Maladaptive reintegration, or a lower state of reintegration
4. Dysfunctional reintegration or a major reduction in positive reintegration

A positive life outcome must be defined with a view to the cultural context of the individual. Being successful despite the odds means different things to different ethnic groups. The level of adaptation can be measured by mastering developmental tasks. A famous criticism is directed against the normativity of developmental tasks. To defuse this criticism, developmental tasks must be defined within the cultural context. The actional development paradigm (Noack, 1990) gives a framework for the definition of successful coping from the perspective of the individual, the perception of developmental tasks, the individual objective and dealing with these requirements. This requires an analysis of individual developmental processes, which is the aim of this study. The resilience framework provides a structure for analysing individual resilient developmental processes.

3. The concept of social support

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There is no common approach to definitions of social support. Definitions are found in three assorted characteristics (Diers, 2016, p. 83): (1) Satisfaction of fundamental needs (e.g. Thoits, 1982, p. 147; Laireiter, 2011, p. 87), (2) promoting of well-being (e.g. Shumaker, & Brownell, 1984 p. 13) and (3) social support as a protective factor (e.g. Nestmann, 2001, p. 1687). In this study, social support is defined as a protective factor in the environmental context which promotes adaptive development despite adverse conditions in that the person protects itself from negative influences or is able to deal better with negative experiences (Hosser, 2001, p. 34; Nestmann, 2001, p. 1688).

A distinction is made between constructs and contents of social support. Laireiter tried to identify and combine the overall similarities in research on social support. He did not include subconstructs, such as 'supporting climate environment', which have no well-founded operationalisation (Laireiter, 2011, p. 88). According to Laireiter (ibid.) social support is understood as a kind of metaconstruct that contains different empirically well-founded subconstructs: social support resources, social support exchanges and perceived social support. Laireiter differentiates between psychological and instrumental social support. The psychological dimension of social support is particularly important in terms of this study and is therefore presented in detail. Psychological support contains supporting actions on an emotional and psychological basis, for example basic emotional support which can facilitate the acceptance of social support or strengthen a sense of belonging. Social support can promote well-being, a sense of acceptance, inclusion, confirmation and appreciation. Self-esteem and self-confidence, optimism and a reduction of fear will be increased in such a way of social integration (Nestmann, & Wehner, 2008, p. 18).

4. Promoting resilience in school

In terms of developmental research, social support can be a strong resource in the lives of children and adolescents who are at high risk (Grotberg, 1995; Werner, 2006; Theis-Scholz, 2007; BZgA, 2009). A confident relationship with a mentor has a positive impact on child development (Du Bois & Silverthorn, 2005; Baker, 2006). Attachment research has proved teachers to be a secure base for children and adolescents at high risk (Pianta, 1992; Grossmann, & Grossmann 2004). This leads to the question of protective factors in school.

In the social environment of adolescents, social support, lasting positive relationships, and adults as positive role models are protective factors which can be influenced by teachers. Teachers can even be significant others for their pupils. Resilience research has produced some hints about promoting resilience in school. Wustmann elaborates promoting resilience by the structure of lessons and also on an interpersonal level (Wustmann, 2004, pp. 134): In education, resilience can be strengthened by encouraging problem-solving ability, strategies for conflict resolution and by assuming responsibility. An appreciative educational style, a trusting internal attitude and social support are factors on the interpersonal level which help to promote resilience.

In the Kauai longitudinal study, the resilient children and adolescents state that teachers are the main attachment figures outside the family. For this group, school is an important refuge point and home (Werner, 2006).

In conclusion, it can be stated that teachers are people with a wide and important influence on children and adolescents at high risk and are potentially the greatest chance for young people who do not have reliable relationships at home. As long as high-risk children and adolescents have reliable relationships in school, they have a good chance of becoming or staying resilient to adversity.

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5. Central issue and method

This study focuses on the perspective of young adults on their lives, which has to date played only a minor role. There is no research on the question of how young adults recreate teachers' social support and the importance of this for their resilient development. The narrative interviews on their lives have been conducted in order to identify the development and relevant processes which promote or hinder resilience. The biographical context can give an inside view on the complex interrelations of resilience processes.

This leads to the question investigated by the study: *How do young people who have grown up at high risk recreate the social support received from teachers in their narratives and what role does teachers' social support play for living at high risk and for strengthening resilience?*

Resilient development can be acquired by way of retrospective consideration. Biographical processes are identified from the autobiographical narrative interviews with young adults. Detailed analysis of biographical processes will reveal new insights into promoting resilience processes and interactions in school.

The autobiographical narrative interview is suitable for revealing developmental processes (Küsters, 2009). The survey procedures also include a narrative request about support from outside the family and a questionnaire. The transcripts of the interviews were analysed with the biography analysis (Schütze, 1983; 2005).

The sample contains 22 autobiographical interviews with young people aged between eighteen and thirty. In their childhood they were subjected to adverse conditions and risk factors. They received

little or no support from their parents. Varying attributes of the participants were the support of teachers and school, their professional success and overall satisfaction.

The objective of biographical-narrative analysis is to record social reality as it is perceived from the point of view of the interviewed people (Kleemann, Kränke, & Matuschek, 2009, p. 65). In addition, subjective interpretative patterns of the respondents should be revealed relating to the reconstruction of life history (Schütze, 1983, p. 284). According to Fritz Schütze the biographical analysis is divided into different steps. Analysis of the communicative schemes of the transcripts is the first research step to separate the extempore narration from pre-planned and argumentative presentation (Schütze, 2014, p. 229). Secondly, social and biographical processes are worked out in the structural description of the story line. "It attempts to depict the social and biographical processes (including activities of working through, self-explanation and theorizing, as well as of fading out, rationalization, and secondary legitimating of the informant) rendered by the narrative" (Schütze, 2014, p. 230). The third research step is the "analytical abstraction of generalities which are revealed by the text" (Schütze, 2014, p. 229). Analysis of the dominating biographical processes opens up the entire biography is opened with the analysis of the dominating biographical processes. Focussing on the research question reduces the complexity of the analysis results and reveals the main biographical processes that explain the examined social phenomena (in this study the influence of teachers' social support on resilient development). A focused detailed and contrastive case analysis combines the different research areas (resilience framework and biographical-narrative analysis) in respect of the main research question and concludes the analysis of this study (Diers, 2016).

Schütze differentiates between four biographical processes that are necessary for comprehension of the biographical-narrative analysis (Schütze, 2005). Institutional expectation patterns are biographical actions within the framework of an institution that structures the stage of life (e.g. school, family formation phase) (Kleemann, Krähnke & Matuschek, 2009, p. 69). A person has to comply with prescribed standards to stay there (active attitude of the person). Biographical action schemes are processes to fulfil the person's biographical aim. The person actively pursues his/her biographical target. In passive and suffering stages of life the person is not able to actively follow biographical action schemes. Schütze calls these phases of life 'trajectories of suffering' (Schütze, 1983). In some cases, for example, the person could lose his/her entire legal capacity. Trajectories of suffering end with creative metamorphoses of biographical identity which are induced by the environment and open up new opportunities for biographical action schemes, in this case the person regains his/her legal capacity.

6. Case analysis

Teachers respond to the individual risk position of young people. Teachers can be significant others for children and adolescents at high risk and even create a protective environment in school. This is made quite clear in the case of Marica. In the study three cases were analysed in detail (Diers, 2016) ii. The case analysis of this paper refers only to the case of Marica and is only a part of the overall analysis. By focussing on the strengthening processes in school, this chapter points out how teachers promoted Marica's resilience by initiating a creative metamorphosis of biographical identity. The social support of her class teacher in secondary school (Mr. Hinrichs) can be described with a quote from Marica: "the person who always tried to get the best out of me". Mr Hinrichs and the headmaster (Mr. Reiners) were the main contact persons in secondary school. Marica claims that both had a substantial influence on her development: she mentions supporting situations already in the main narration within the autobiographical-narrative interview and explicitly said that they were important contact persons.

After four changes of school, Marica moved into the seventh class. She was suffering from violence and adversity at home and unable to concentrate on her schoolwork, but trying to hide her problems. Mr.

Hinrichs realised that her mind was elsewhere and asked her about it. He encouraged Marica to work actively in lessons even though she was tired. Mr. Hinrichs reflected upon everyday things in school and encouraged her. In other words, he took her individual risk situation into account. The teachers' actions range between the concepts of fairness and performance (Bohnsack, 2009, pp. 40). Probably, the teacher recognizes an impending trajectory of suffering in the form of school failure and tries to counteract.

It took approximately one year before Marica was willing to accept support and confide in Mr. Hinrichs and Mr. Reiners. Because of an impending deportation, Mr. Reiners helped her maintain her place of residence and wrote a successful letter to the competent authority for Marica to stay in Germany. Marica has a migrant background. Her mother was born in Bosnia and her father is a Kurd from Turkey. Marica's stepfather is a Roma born in Yugoslavia. Marica was born in Germany. Her migrant background was not a special issue in the interview. This degree of support is unusual for supporting actions of teachers, but has to be classified as a person-environment transactional process to create a more protective environment. At many personal meetings, when Marica told him about her problems. Mr. Reiners included a female teacher in the conversations because of Marica's fear of being alone with older men (The stepfather tried to abuse Marica and often touched her indecently.). In doing so, Mr. Reiners demonstrated a very fine intuition. The code 'speak from the heart' (in German 'Reden-können') has a special meaning with regard to Marica's resilience process. The opportunity to talk about her problems and experiences became an important coping strategy. Marica told of many other supporting situations. For example, Mr. Reiners established contact with a psychologist. He also told her not to feel so responsible for her siblings, but to focus on her own development. In this way he opened up some doors for her to feel better and rendered informal assistance to improve Marica's situation.

This personal and emotional support influenced her school achievements. Marica's motivation in school improved. A trustful teacher-student relationship correlates with a higher involvement at school (Schweer, 2000, p. 135), as is also shown in this study. As from the eighth class, Marica actively joined in lessons and enhanced her school performance. Mr. Hinrichs recognized Marica's ability to care about others and her communication skills. He encouraged her to become class representative and Marica started to care about her classmates. Talking to others about similar experiences helped her to cope with her own adversity. Marica called this a 'technique' used by the teachers to get the best out of her. She had already developed the ability to care for others in her childhood. By transforming this risk condition (taking over the mother's role) into a resource (aide for classmates, assuming responsibility), the teacher's support helped to end the trajectory of suffering and initiate a creative metamorphosis of biographical identity. The assumption of responsibility generally appears to be a protective factor (Julius, & Goetze, 2000). Her awareness of other pupils' problems was a main element of her creative metamorphosis of biographical identity. She was able to use her own adverse experiences to help others cope with their problems and to increase her own self-efficacy. Talking about problems became one of her main coping strategies. Another important coping strategy was to go in for sports. When she confided in Mr. Reiners, he advised her to take up sport as a way of channeling her energy. She was able to work off aggression and build up strength and has regularly played basketball for about two years.

Mr. Reiners and Mr. Hinrichs became important persons of trust. The pedagogical student-teacher relationship evolved into a more personal one. Both functioned as a significant other for Marica and had a great influence on her resilient development. They initiated a creative metamorphosis of biographical identity to overcome the risk conditions and help her to find adequate coping strategies. This phase of life is interpreted as a resilience process. The environment, in this case Mr. Hinrichs and Mr. Reiners, created a healthier and more protective environment (person-environment transactional process) so that Marica developed internal resilience factors (e.g. assumption of responsibility, school

achievement, high motivation, emotional stability, positive self-awareness and self-efficacy). These factors had a great influence on her creative metamorphosis of biographical identity and promoted resilient development.

7. Conclusions for strengthening resilience in school

In the broadest sense, resilience processes are coping processes (Wustmann, 2005, p. 202). After a creative metamorphosis of biographical identity, the person regains biographical legal capacity and is able to envisage achievable biographical aims. The perception of stressors changes from this point of view into a challenging and positive perception. It seems possible to overcome the suffering phases of life. The person has regained her/his internal locus of control, which is assumed to be the basis for the origin of resilience (Wieland, 2011, p. 189).

Marica learned to use coping strategies to overcome neglectful conditions in the family. Her class teacher and her headmaster in secondary school initiated these coping strategies with the focus on her individual skills and risk conditions, and provided coping assistance (Perrez, Laireiter, & Baumann, 1998, pp. 293). Therefore, her trajectory of suffering came to an end and was transformed into a creative metamorphosis of biographical identity. The analysis has revealed that this biographical phase is related to resilience processes. In their roles of significant others, the teachers created a strong and trustful relationship with Marica and were able to strengthen her resilience.

These conclusions reinforce the role of teachers in the life of children at high risk. Constructive, trustful and approving teacher-student relationships are the basis for resilient development. Teachers can be significant others and an important protective resource when the family is a source of stress and adversity.

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ⁱ All names have been changed in order to protect the individuals' anonymity.

ⁱⁱ To read about the detailed case of Hung and David, see Diers, 2016. The case analysis of David is also published in Diers, 2014.



Margaret Winzer and Kas Mazurek (Canada)

Salamanca 25 Years Later: A Commentary on Residual Dialogues of Disability and Diversity

Abstract: The concepts, premises, and promises of inclusive schooling as a global movement crystallized at UNESCO's 1994 World Conference on Special Needs Education in Salamanca. Despite their marked influence over the past 25 years, the Salamanca documents also ushered in a set of continuing challenges. Using the documents as a departure point, this paper addresses three main areas: UNESCO's role in erecting an architecture for inclusive schooling; core issues that arose in the Salamanca documents, particularly relating to contentious debates about the audience for inclusive schooling; and continuing issues in interpreting the Salamanca directions.

Key words: special education needs, inclusive schooling, Salamanca documents, global education governance

摘要 (Margaret Winzer & Kas Mazurek: 萨拉曼卡25年之后：关于残疾与多样性余下对话的评论)：1994年联合国教科文组织在萨拉曼卡举行的世界特殊教育大会上提出了包容性教育的概念，前提和承诺作为全球性的一项运动。尽管在过去25年中产生了巨大的影响，但萨拉曼卡的文件也带来了一系列持续的挑战。基于这些文件，本文涵盖了三个主要领域：联合国教科文组织在建设包容性学校建筑中所起的作用；萨拉曼卡文件中提出的核心问题，尤其体现在关于观众对更具包容性的学校教育的争议性辩论中；以及在解读萨拉曼卡路线时遇到的持续问题。

关键词：特殊教育需求，包容性学校教育，萨拉曼卡文件，全球教育政策。

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摘要 (Margaret Winzer & Kas Mazurek: 薩拉曼卡25年之後：關於殘疾與多樣性餘下對話的評論)：1994年聯合國教科文組織在薩拉曼卡舉行的世界特殊教育大會上提出了包容性學校教育的概念，前提和承諾作為全球性的一項運動。儘管在過去25年中產生了巨大的影響，但薩拉曼卡的文件也帶來了一系列持續的挑戰。基於這些文件，本文涵蓋了三個主要領域：聯合國教科文組織在建設包容性學校建築中所起的作用；薩拉曼卡文件中提出的核心問題，尤其體現在關於觀眾對更具包容性的學校教育的爭議性辯論中；以及在解讀薩拉曼卡路線時遇到的持續問題。

關鍵詞：特殊教育需求，包容性學校教育，薩拉曼卡文件，全球教育政策。

Zusammenfassung (Margaret Winzer & Kas Mazurek: Salamanca 25 Jahre später: Ein Kommentar zu den Residualdialogen über Behinderung und Diversität): Die Konzepte, Prämissen und Versprechen einer inklusiven Schulbildung als globale Bewegung kristallisierten sich auf der UNESCO-Weltkonferenz über Sonderpädagogik 1994 in Salamanca heraus. Trotz ihres starken Einflusses in den letzten 25 Jahren brachten die Dokumente von Salamanca auch eine Reihe anhaltender Herausforderungen mit sich. Ausgehend von den Dokumenten behandelt das vorliegende Papier drei Hauptbereiche: Die Rolle der UNESCO bei der Errichtung einer Architektur für eine inklusivere Schulbildung; Kernfragen, die in den Salamanca-Dokumenten aufgeworfen wurden, insbesondere im Zusammenhang mit den kontroversen Debatten über das Publikum für eine inklusivere Schulbildung; und anhaltende Fragen bei der Interpretation der Salamanca-Richtungen.

Schlüsselwörter: besondere Bildungsbedürfnisse, inklusive Schulbildung, Salamanca-Dokumente, globale Bildungspolitik

Резюме (Маргарет Винцер and Кас Мазурек: Саламанкская декларация – 25 лет спустя: комментарий к продолжающимся дискуссиям о специальном образовании и концепции многообразия): Концепции,

условия реализации и перспективы инклюзивного школьного образования как глобального явления обозначились на всемирной конференции ЮНЕСКО по образованию лиц с особыми потребностями, которая состоялась в 1994 году в Саламанке. Несмотря на сильный эффект от принятых положений и мер, ощущавшийся на протяжении последних 25 лет, Саламанкская декларация высветила и целый ряд «устойчивых» вызовов. Анализ документов, утвержденных в Саламанке, позволяет говорить о том, что декларация затрагивает три ключевые момента: роль ЮНЕСКО в создании платформы для инклюзивного школьного образования; ключевые вопросы, затрагиваемые в документах конференции, в частности, те, которые касаются разнополярных мнений о целевых группах, инвolvedированных в инклюзивное обучение; неутрачивающие дискуссии, возникающие при интерпретации саламанкских положений.

Ключевые слова: особые образовательные потребности, инклюзивное образование в школе, документы саламанкской конференции, глобальная образовательная политика

The ongoing movement toward inclusive schooling for students with special educational needs (SEN) is paved with major milestones. One of the most powerful global influences was created at the World Conference on Special Needs Education convened in Salamanca, Spain in June of 1994, sponsored by the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in cooperation with the Spanish Ministry of Education and Science. Within the theme of Access and quality, delegates negotiated a paradigm shift that, they claimed, represented the "new thinking" and "a world-wide consensus on future directions for special educational needs education." The core precepts entailed "major reform of the ordinary school" to ensure that children and youth with SEN would "have access to regular schools" and "be included in the educational arrangements made for the majority of children" (UNESCO, 1994, pp.10, iv, 6). The thinking and directions were gathered into the *Salamanca Statement on Principles, Policy and Practice in Special Needs Education* and the embedded *Framework for Action*.

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Over the past 25 years, the Salamanca documents have proven remarkably influential and enduring on both theoretical and practical dimensions. They codified inclusive principles within human rights, broke new ground by recognizing regular schools as the baseline for educating SEN students, and became a powerful stimulus for worldwide inclusive activity. The central themes occupy a visible and prominent place in the national education plans of many nations. They were particularly endorsed on the European terrain (Meijer, 2010; Takala, & Head, 2017).

Despite the impressive pedigree, the documents tend to be vague and contradictory, replete with interpretative ambiguities that even today confound the practices and attainment of inclusive programs. The most egregious and fundamental problems relate to definitions. The drafters at Salamanca omitted a normative definition of inclusive schooling; an embedded problem concerned the targeted constituency. The description of the population to be served as "children and youth whose needs arise from *disabilities* or *learning difficulties*" (UNESCO, 1994, p.6, emphasis added) created a two-element path that confuses the issue of whether priority belongs to those with disabilities or to the diverse body of students with differences and disadvantages that still create learning problems, unmet learning needs, and marginalization.

Salamanca's message has been both feted as exemplary by researchers and policy makers and meticulously explored from multiple angles. Without denying the profound impact of the agreement, our discussion problematizes the taken-for-granted reputation of the agreement as a panacea and leading voice in inclusive schooling chiefly because the fundamental issues surrounding definitions that came to life at the conference remain largely unresolved and negotiable. The contemporary field sees shared agreement about the ideological charter of inclusive schooling- but this is matched by a corresponding contestation

of what the phrase actually means. Questions related to the disability-diversity conundrum are further ignited by demographic reconfigurations in many countries that have created new social demands on education and foregrounded the practical issue of mounting diversity in the schools.

Previously on these pages we have examined issues that lie at the intersection of disability, diversity, and inclusive schooling and questioned the wisdom assimilating disability into diversity (Winzer, & Mazurek, 2017; 2019). We recognize that attention to diversity is critical in contemporary schools but also contend that disability does not parallel other differences and disadvantages; the project of inclusive schooling must single out disability because fairness demands different approaches, different remedies, and different policies (for a discussion see Anastasiou, & Kauffman, 2012; Anastasiou, Kauffman, & Michail, 2014). The same argument is implicit in this paper. We use the Salamanca documents as the departure point to critically interrogate three broad but intermeshed themes that play into the conversation about diversity and disability. Throughout, we focus on the role of UNESCO in erecting an architecture for inclusive schooling to meet the needs of SEN students and, peripherally here, as part of the Education for All (EFA) tool kit. The paper then explores core issues from the Salamanca meeting: identified policy and institutional choices to propel inclusive schooling as well as the forum of dissenting ideas specifically related to the delineation of the inclusive space as exclusively for disability as opposed to schools to accommodate all. The final section pinpoints issues in interpreting the Salamanca directions that continue to prompt extensive commentary and to shadow inclusive schooling.

Delineating a global inclusive agenda

Inclusive schooling owes its ancestry to the field of special education. However, it is more than old wine in new bottles; the inclusive agenda does not seek to reconfigure special education but adopts sharply divergent theories, principles, and methodology. Different presumptions produce a rights-based education agenda promoted and advanced on the basis of social policy considerations such as participation and equal access, and requiring fundamental changes in attitudes about students, curriculum, pedagogy, and the school organization that determines rules and daily operations.

The Salamanca conference did not mark the retelling of special education. Authoritative work on inclusive schooling was well underway and the foundational philosophy and practices well operationalized by the time the conference took shape in 1994. Varied conceptual blueprints and definitions that pursued greater access to the mainstream but with different theoretical orientations and different cadences developed simultaneously in highly industrialized nations (see Florian, 2014). American scholarship and practice played a singular role in creating the basic concepts and propelling the lexicon of inclusive schooling into public and pedagogical discourse. The US quest emerged from civil rights and was built on the seminal *Education for All Handicapped Children Act* (EHA, PL 94 142, 1975) and its significant reauthorizations. Measures were anchored in disability. The legislation limits itself to children with disabilities, guarantees such children an appropriate education, and ties all prescriptions for education to the principle of the least restrictive environment (LRE) in which settings can range from general classrooms to more restricted placements such as special schools.

Contemporaneous with American developments, UNESCO took the lead as ideological agenda setter in devising new policy agendas to accommodate students with SEN. Karen Mundy is a key source on the development of UNESCO; Florian Kiuppas on UNESCO developments related to inclusive schooling (Kiuppas, 2014; Kiuppas, & Hausstatter, 2015; Mundy, 1999; 2006; 2016). Kiuppas (2014) explains that within UNESCO a special education unit supplementary to general education oversaw interest in special education. Beginning in the early-1950s, it mobilized knowledge in the field through a series of summits,

policy dialogue meetings, and conferences and, at the same time, set about identifying and documenting examples of innovative practices in different countries (Ainscow, Slee, & Best, 2019; Kiuppas, 2014).

The opening gambits had seen inclusive schooling develop as a rather independent issue largely restricted to the domain of students with disabilities. Coupling inclusive schooling with disabled pupils remained an important part of UNESCO's policy and praxis, but with decreasing viability. With human rights as the touchstone and a focus on social justice, the guiding principles of schools, and the reality of diverse societies, UNESCO began to design the architecture for a new inclusive model with a different policy intent and a wider and more diverse clientele.

In the UNESCO playbook, diversity is an encompassing proposition that pivots on the notion of *all*. Diversity variously refers to common markers such as culture, gender, ethnicity, language, and social class; to different styles and rates of learning; to physical, intellectual, social, emotional, linguistic, and other conditions; and to children from disadvantaged or marginalized areas and groups, including girls, children from ethnic minorities, those from poor and remote communities, as well as those with disabilities. Of itself, disability is simply another identity representation to be pursued alongside other common markers. The rhetoric of diversity was informed by "recognition of the need to work toward schools that "include everybody, celebrate differences, support learning, and respond to individual needs." In turn, inclusive schooling was seen as key in taking action against structural injustices and inequalities. To UNESCO, the establishment of inclusive schools is "a crucial step in helping to change discriminatory attitudes, in creating welcoming communities and in developing an inclusive society" (UNESCO, 1994, pp. 3, 6).

The key constituents involved in inclusive schooling were slowly produced, negotiated, and consolidated as part of the UN-UNESCO ensemble. Throughout the 1990s, the concepts and terminology began to regularly appear in UNESCO documents. In the new millennium, benchmarks for inclusive schooling were prominent reference points in the *EFA Global Monitoring Reports* that appeared from 2002 to 2015. The inclusive process was hailed as "a fundamental philosophy throughout UNESCO's programs," characterized as "a dynamic approach of responding positively to pupil diversity" and a key strategy to combat marginalization and exclusion to attain and sustain quality education for all. By the close of the decade, diversity was the axiomatic imperative. Discourses now posited that inclusive schooling "supports and welcomes diversity among all learners," not just those with disabilities (UNESCO, 2002, p. 17; 2005, p. 12; 2009, p. 4).

Polishing the inclusive agenda

The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization got underway in 1946 as part of a broader network of UN organizations. UNESCO's mandate to uphold universal education rights and initiate, endorse, and support education activity around the globe was often fraught with contrary views and expectations, punctuated by periods of "turbulent non-growth" (Mundy, 1999, p. 39) that saw key members withdraw. As the 1990s approached, UNESCO was the weakest of the UN specialized agencies in terms of reputation and status and there were "internal fears about losing its status as the lead agency for education" (Singh, 2011, p. 57). Buoyant efforts to strengthen its authority and maintain its integrity lay in a series of international conferences that constructed and defined an impressive global agenda for education. UNESCO was charged with facilitating the implementation of EFA, coordinating UN partners, and maintaining their collaborative momentum.

In the wider history of international education, three major conferences are generally considered drivers of change: Jomtein, Thailand in 1990, Salamanca, Spain in 1994, and Dakar, Senegal in 2000 (Singh, 2011). The same meetings critically advanced the realization of inclusive education. Jomtein shepherded in a productive decade for global education and, to some extent at least, ideas about inclusive schooling took root (Ainscow & Miles, 2008; de Beco, 2018). However, placing the inclusive agenda firmly on the world stage waited on the Salamanca conference in 1994: by UNESCO's own account, Salamanca "proved a watershed for the global agenda" of inclusive schooling (UNESCO, 2018, p. 2). (The Dakar Framework for Action produced in Senegal in 2000 overlooked disability altogether).

The conference at Jomtein

The first meeting launched by UNESCO convened as the World Education Conference on Education for All in Jomtein in March of 1990. A defining human rights ethos was invoked throughout: delegates were informed by the ideal of education as a human right expressed in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UN, 1948) and the matching ideology in UNESCO's Constitution that speaks to "full and equal opportunities for education for all" (Article 1, cited in Mundy, 2016). Against this backdrop and spurred by recognition of the huge numbers of persons excluded from schooling worldwide, the Jomtein meeting produced the *World Declaration on Education for All* (UNESCO, 1990) that crystallized as the Education for All initiatives. EFA advanced the logic of universal entitlement; its ambitious agenda were centrally concerned with issues of participation and access to primary education, including programs, activities, and services. With boundless optimism, the delegates called for "Universal access to, and completion of, primary education (or whatever higher level of education is considered as basic) by the year 2000" (UNESCO, 1990)¹.

Inclusive schooling or inclusive processes were not referenced in the conference reports. Yet intent is implicit. The articles that stated that every person "shall be able to benefit from educational opportunities designed to meet their basic learning needs" (Article 1) and that "Steps need to be taken to provide equal access to education to every category of disabled persons as an integral part of the education system" (Article 3) encapsulated the core ideals of inclusive schooling. The pledges to vulnerable and excluded groups to make society more just and less discriminatory through universal entitlement to education strengthen the link.

The conference at Salamanca

The World Conference on Special Needs Education that met in Salamanca, Spain, from 7 to 10 June, 1994, hosted more than 300 participants representing 92 governments and 25 international organizations, and included senior education officials, administrators, policy makers, representatives of the United Nations, and donor agencies. The generated *Salamanca Statement* and the accompanying *Framework for Action* represented both symbolic and substantive policy.

The documents built on the interplay of multiple contrasting policies, varied political influences, and an intensity of moral commitment. Delegates forged both conceptual and practical alignments with the visions of the Jomtein meeting. They returned to binding international treaties such as the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UN, 1948) to enforce the priority of education as a human right and looked to non-binding UN documents such as the *Standard Rules for the Equalization of Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities* (UN, 1993) that placed rights within the context of disability. Policy makers affirmed their commitment to Education for All, embedded the themes of inclusive schooling as "an important

contribution to the agenda for achieving Education for All and for making schools educationally more effective" and considered "the fundamental policy shifts required to promote the approach of inclusive education" in order to serve students with SEN as "an integral part of national plans for achieving education for all." The drafters confirmed rather than created: they reviewed, interpreted, and utilized resolutions, recommendations, and publications of the UN system and other intergovernmental organizations. There were frequent allusions to "countries or areas that have witnessed progress in equalizing educational opportunities for children and youth with special educational needs" (UNESCO, 1994, Preface, pp.18, 37).

Following considerable discussion, inclusive schooling was adopted as the conceptual preference for educating SEN students (Kiuppas, 2014). Multiple understandings nested within the main theme. The inclusive school where "all children should learn together, wherever possible, regardless of any difficulties or differences they may have" was a central expression. Another thread made it clear that the establishment of inclusive schools had to be part of an overall education strategy. Because the principles would fail to take root in traditional education structures, Salamanca's "clear and forceful policy on inclusion" demanded that schools reform and transform in order to address and respond to all learners. A further central theme sought to shift students with SEN from outsider to participant status. By recognizing "the necessity and urgency of providing education for children, youth and adults with special needs within the regular education system" they opened the school domain to a much broader population than previously specified. An allied and highly visible stipulation premised general schools and classrooms as the norm or baseline. Traditional modes that routinely separated students were dismissed; the text ruled that "the assignment of children to special schools or sections within a school on a permanent basis should be the exception" (UNESCO, 1994, pp. 11, 8, 12). The *Framework for Action* lent coherence to the ideological base with a purposeful and deliberate set of activities designed to direct inclusive schooling.

Overall, the inspiring pledges in the Salamanca agreement represented a consensus on, and a global commitment to, the ideals of inclusive education. Still, a degree of internal balkanization was present, reflected in the much-debated issue of whether inclusive schooling should primarily attend to the traditional population of those with disabilities or whether the process should respond to the diversity of all learners. Both the Jomtein and the Salamanca documents noted that "The learning needs of the disabled demand special attention" (UNESCO, 1990, Article 3; 1994, p. 4). Sprinkled throughout the final Salamanca agreement are statements that inclusive schooling must be first and foremost dedicated to the traditional population of disabled pupils. For other participants, however, inclusive schooling was best situated within the wider context of social issues and used as a tool to counter the marginalization and exclusion of all vulnerable persons. The explicit social goals downplayed the disability variable and leaned toward diversity-oriented education narratives. To ensure universal entitlement "regardless of individual differences" (UNESCO, 1994, p. 7), advocates held that the inclusive schooling clientele had to expand beyond the boundaries of disability to encompass all those deemed different, disadvantaged, or with unmet learning needs. As we further discuss below, the question of the target population was ultimately unresolved: ideas prioritizing those with disabilities and holistic perspectives run side by side in the final documents.

The Salamanca agreement expresses the moral and political commitment of the international community; it is not binding and lacks reinforcement and accountability provisions. Nonetheless, 93 countries and 20 non-government organizations signed the document and agreed to abide by the ideology and to implement the practical and strategic changes. In the first flush of enthusiasm, international organizations and their representatives, expert committees and ad hoc study groups, governments, ministers of member states, as well as individual experts, collaborated. Many governments indicated that they were

creating new policies, laws, and national plans (de Zaldo, 2000; Kiuppas, 2014). Signatory states pursued inclusive education and carved out some improvements for students with SEN. The agreement attracted widespread approval on the European scene; the emphasis was particularly strong in the group of states that form the European Union. Once European countries positioned themselves in relation to Salamanca, the documents formed "the keystone in the conceptual framework of many country's policies" (Meijer, 2010, p. 2).

After initial bursts of momentum, the grand promises stalled. For example, the appeals to the international community "to endorse the approach of inclusive schooling" and to governments "to adopt as a matter of law or policy the principle of inclusive education" (UNESCO, 1994, p. 10, 9) were, at best, diluted; at worst, overlooked. European systems took formal decisions in favor of improved access for SEN students but still supported programs ingrained within an ideology sharply at odds with inclusive schooling. In many cases, they implemented inclusive education but continued to house a multilevel architecture of education where inclusive models functioned alongside a robust systems of categorical special education schools.

Trans-Atlantic conversations tended to be sparse. American ideas had held a powerful resonance; their early commitment to inclusive schooling positioned American actors with explicit voice in the inclusive education policy arena. They became fruitful lenders but the US inclusive fraternity restricted its borrowing (see Hunt, 2011). References to Salamanca are scant in the American literature.

Discussion

Contemporary commentators eulogize the Salamanca conference as "the most important reference for public policies and social debates on special educational needs in most countries of the world;" the documents as "a primary point of departure in research and policy on inclusive education" that continue "to guide the agenda of national and international inclusive policies" (Ainscow, Slee, & Best, 2019, p. 7; Magnusson, 2019, p. 1). This paper similarly underscored how the Salamanca meeting and its decisions are generally hailed as a defining milestone in the development of inclusive schooling. On a less effusive note, however, the Salamanca documents are characterized by loose construction and lack a tight conceptual focus. A literal reading suggests striking ambiguities joined to a vague and confused lexicon that renders the agreement open to contradictory interpretations. In fact, Kuippas (2014) observed that "depending on what standpoint a reader is looking from," that person can interpret the texts "as supporting certain views and approaches more than others" (p. 759). Below we touch on some of the short- and long-term effects of interpretative dissonances. For clarity, we address the dimensions separately although in reality they are intermeshed and interdependent.

Definitional dilemmas. It stands to reason that an international document promoting inclusive schooling would provide a definition of the term. Yet even as the final agreement was larded with general observations about who should be included, rationales for inclusive education systems, requisites for inclusive schools, and demands that international organizations and governments adopt the principles, it omitted a satisfactory international working definition. Following, the texts allowed "for a multitude of interpretations of what inclusion can mean" (Magnusson, 2019, p. 21). With multiple interpretations and ways of expressing and implementing inclusive goals, researchers find that implementation is marked by tensions and lack of any real political priority, together with resistance because of lack of coherence and competing interests (de Beco, 2018; Haug, 2016; Norwich, & Koutsouris, 2014).

Depicting the audience for inclusive schooling. The Salamanca agreement was the product of various actors who owned different interests rooted in different ideological and pedagogical stances so it is not surprising that a plurality of voices articulated conflicting goals. During the conference negotiations, competing ideas about the target audience surfaced. Some advocates delineated the inclusive space exclusively for disability; other championed schools designed to increase the participation of all students with unmet learning needs. In the immediate aftermath of the conference, "the different ways to interpret the document solidified;" there were disagreements in public debates related specifically to "the definition of the target population of inclusive education" (Kiuppas, 2014, pp. 757, 754). Parties again had to navigate their decision-making through contradictory pressures from different groups of actors pursuing sharply different and non-compatible versions of who should be served by inclusive schooling. UNESCO's organizational unit for special education had focused on special education and people with disabilities throughout the second half of the 20th century. In post-Salamanca discussions, the unit was urged by those foregrounding disability rights to keep its focus on persons with disabilities. However, they confronted advocacy groups of the social justice persuasion who held expectations to widen the target group (see Kiuppas, 2014). By the year 2000, the policy intent to support diversity and engage all marginalized and disaffected groups became the main narrative for UNESCO and the education systems that adhered to its policies.

Widening the inclusive territory. Shifting the focus of inclusive schooling to a diversity agenda creates a cascade of risks for those with disabilities. For one thing, once disability is considered as simply another identity representation the unique social and education needs surrounding disability may be misapprehended or negated (see Anastasiou & Kauffman, 2012; Anastasiou, Kauffman, & Michail, 2014; Haug, 2016; Winzer, & Mazurek, 2019). For another, researchers hold that expanding the inclusive schooling concept to encompass diversity can create a fundamental misalignment between diversity and disability: it makes the discussion too vague and may set the inclusive education community against the disability community (UNESCO, 2018). Others argue that the broad nature of access stipulated by a focus on diversity may blanket the interests of disabled people. That is, encompassing diversity agendas can render disabled students invisible; disability issues may become secondary or be overlooked in favor of other minority interests (e.g., Kiuppas, 2014; Norwich, & Koutsouris, 2014; Winzer, & Mazurek, 2019).

In a Canadian study, researchers found that official intervention may be reduced or delayed (Winzer, & Mazurek, 2019). Kiuppas (2014) reports that special education was a major component of UNESCO's education program up to the mid-1990s but, as inclusive education gained traction, there ensued a "fading focus on disability in UNESCO's engagement in education." Now "disability plays a less important role in UNESCO's programme spectrum, compared to some decades ago" (pp. 757, 746). Since the year 2000, inclusive education has been more tightly aligned with the EFA project. What had previously been a separate special education track merged into the renamed 'Section for combating exclusion in education' and became more general in its scope (Kiuppas, 2014). By being part of a general education section that encompasses all learners, inclusive schooling shifts from being a very specific focus with a very specific audience to a focus on providing all children with SEN an education.

Announced policy and daily practice. UNESCO sets out to direct inclusive programs at the full scope of difference, disadvantage, and disability. Haug (2016) points out that most European countries express an intention to realize inclusive education in accordance with the UNESCO vision. Yet, despite the ambitious mission to welcome and support diversity, "the results of its implementation in practice are not at all convincing" (Haug, 2016, p. 14).

In the global North, whatever the situation and space of practice, inclusive education systematically identifies with those with disabilities. The literature and present practice confirm inclusive schooling as specifically related to the framework of special education and a concern for students with disabilities the dominating perspective (Haug, 2016). An analysis of relevant research databases from 2012, for example, concluded that the dominant use of the term *inclusion* was in relation to special education and disability (Norwich, & Koutsouris, 2014).

Postscript

Throughout the 1990s, UNESCO led a consortium of agencies in a series of international conferences and summits that revitalized its status as a powerful player in shaping global education policies. The initiatives produced Education for All, an ambitious international program that nurtured aspirations for universal primary education. As well, UNESCO developed inclusive schooling for students with special educational needs as a form of education action. As it polished the principles and lexicon. UNESCO repurposed the inclusive agenda away from its traditional concentration on disabled pupils to new discourses embedded in diversity.

Key conferences at Jomtein and Salamanca played vital roles in constructing and negotiating the boundaries of the UNESCO vision. Jomtein served to launch the globalization of inclusive education and as prologue to the 1994 Salamanca conference. Deliberations at Salamanca were evocative of the Jomtein meeting and closely aligned with the EFA agenda. Delegates created a paradigm shift in both special and general education by explicitly calling for a transformation of school systems so as to include students with special educational needs in general programs. The ideals and practices spread broadly as both objectives and norms and visibly accelerated the worldwide movement toward inclusive education. The foundations and assumptions redounded across Europe; not so much in North America.

The Salamanca documents simultaneously created a series of complex educational contradictions and mismatches that have contributed to informing and shaping the contemporary field. The drafters structured a general understanding of what inclusive education should be, but did not tender a normative definition. Even after 25 years, a universally accepted definition, or any legal consensus about how to define inclusive schooling, does not exist (see de Beco, 2018). Little wonder that the interpretation and implementation varies greatly within and across specific policy contexts and that deepening discourses in the literature dwell on the consequences of missing, multiple, or contested definitions (e.g., Florian, 2014; Goransson, & Nilholm, 2014; Haug, 2016).

Issues circling the profiles of those to be actually served by inclusive schooling simmered before Salamanca, dogged discussions at the conference, and appeared in sharp focus post-Salamanca. The heart of the disputes related to whether the inclusive agenda should favor students with disabilities or make diversity the starting point. At the conference itself, delegates allowed a two-track system; they promoted inclusive schooling for disabled students but simultaneously broadened the concept to accommodate diverse and homogeneous groups in general school systems. While following up the conference, the voices were neither uniform or unambiguous: disputes related to the targeted constituency flared up. In the end, views that endorsed the heterogeneity of learners were accepted as the major narrative.

Two broad trends emerged. On the one hand, UNESCO promoted a diversity agenda that envisaged disability as simply another cultural representation. Collapsing disability into diversity eventually disfavored students with disabilities in terms of reducing official initiatives and urgency. On the other, despite the

powerful message in UNESCO's rendition of inclusive schooling, its institutional embeddedness is questionable. Policy makers may state intentions to adopt the directions but schools tend to retain a preoccupation with the disabled population while inclusive schooling remains strongly embedded within the paradigm of special education.

More than 25 years after the Salamanca delegates met, the fault lines and muddled interpretations continue to confound the inclusive enterprise. There remains much uncertainty about the true meaning of inclusive schooling, the appropriate audience for the processes, how to face the the pressing issue of diversity in the schools, and the considerations necessary to accommodate those with disabilities within the inclusive agenda.

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i Jomtein's original goals envisioned universal primary education by 2000. This changed to 2010 and then to 2015 in the mid-1990s. In the new EFA cycle that began in 2015, the global architecture absorbed the Education for All agenda into a new set of Sustainable Development goals (SDGs) that were adopted by all 193 member states of the UN. SDG 4 calls for inclusive and quality education for all.



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The Impact of ESL Discussion Groups in an Undergraduate Counselling Psychology Course

Abstract: This study aimed to understand the impact of an experiential learning activity in a third year undergraduate course on the theory and practice of counselling and psychotherapy at a small Canadian university campus. The experiential learning activity required students to participate in bi-weekly one-to-one discussion groups with international students participating in English as a Second Language (ESL) programs at the university. The results of two pre- and post-assessment measures demonstrated that the students' cultural competence and cultural intelligence scores improved after participating in the course. Findings may encourage more university educators to develop experiential learning activities between domestic and international students.

Keywords: experiential education, experiential learning, ESL, English as a Second Language, counselling psychology, undergraduate teaching, cultural competence, cultural intelligence

摘要 (Sonya Corbin Dwyer: ESL 讨论小组在大学基础阶段的学位课程中对于心理咨询的影响): 这项研究的目的是为了了解在第三学年获取学士学位的过程中, 以经验为导向的学习活动对加拿大一所小型大学校园的咨询和心理疗法的理论和实践所产生的影响。以经验为导向的学习活动要求学生与国际学生们一同参加为期两周的一对一的讨论组, 后者均参加了在大学里的英语作为第二语言 (ESL) 的计划。评估前后的两项措施的结果表明, 参加该课程之后, 学生们的文化能力和智力都得到了提高。该结果可以鼓励更多的大学教师在本地和国际学生之间开展以经验为导向的学习活动。

关键词: 体验式教育, 经验学习, 英语作为第二语言, 心理咨询, 本科教学, 文化能力, 文化智力。

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摘要 (Sonya Corbin Dwyer: ESL 讨论小组在大学基础阶段的学位课程中对于心理咨询的影响): 这项研究的目的是为了了解在第三学年获取学士学位的过程中, 以经验为导向的学习活动对加拿大一所小型大学校园的咨询和心理疗法的理论和实践所产生的影响。以经验为导向的学习活动要求学生与国际学生们一同参加为期两周的一对一的讨论组, 后者均参加了在大学里的英语作为第二语言 (ESL) 的计划。评估前后的两项措施的结果表明, 参加该课程之后, 学生们的文化能力和智力都得到了提高。该结果可以鼓励更多的大学教师在本地和国际学生之间开展以经验为导向的学习活动。

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Zusammenfassung (Sonya Corbin Dwyer: Die Auswirkungen von ESL-Diskussionsgruppen in einem Studiengang für Beratungspsychologie im Grundstudium): Ziel dieser Studie war es, die Auswirkungen einer erfahrungsorientierten Lernaktivität in einem Bachelor-Studiengang im dritten Jahr auf die Theorie und Praxis der Beratung und Psychotherapie an einem kleinen kanadischen Universitätscampus zu verstehen. Die erfahrungsorientierte Lernaktivität erforderte von den Studierenden die Teilnahme an zweiwöchentlichen Einzelgesprächsgruppen mit internationalen Studierenden, die an Programmen für Englisch als Zweitsprache (ESL) an der Universität teilnahmen. Die Ergebnisse von zwei Maßnahmen vor und nach der Bewertung zeigten, dass sich die kulturelle Kompetenz und die kulturelle Intelligenz der Studierenden nach der Teilnahme am Kurs verbesserten. Die Ergebnisse könnten mehr Hochschullehrer ermutigen, erfahrungsorientierte Lernaktivitäten zwischen einheimischen und internationalen Studierenden zu entwickeln.

Schlüsselwörter: Erlebnispädagogik, Erfahrungslernen, ESL, Englisch als Zweitsprache, Beratungspsychologie, Undergraduate Teaching, kulturelle Kompetenz, kulturelle Intelligenz

Резюме (София Корбин Двайер: О роли работы в тандем-группах на занятиях по английскому языку как второму иностранному (направление подготовки «Консультационная психология», начальный этап

обучения): Цель данной работы состоит в представлении результатов учебной активности студентов-бакалавров третьего курса, изучающих теоретические и прикладные аспекты консультационной психологии и психотерапии в небольшом канадском университете. Данная учебная активность была связана с познанием «иной» ментальности через участие в двухнедельных тандем-группах с иностранными студентами, обучающимися на программе «Английский язык как второй иностранный». Результаты двух «срезов», проведенных до и после реализации проекта, показали, что после участия в данных образовательных мероприятиях уровень культурной компетентности и культурной интеллигентности студентов повысился. Подобный формат обучения мог бы стать хорошим примером для вузовских преподавателей и вдохновить их на более активное использование в образовательной деятельности потенциала межкультурного общения между «местными» и иностранными студентами.

Ключевые слова: педагогика приключений, обучение «опытным» путем, изучение английского языка как второго иностранного, консультационная психология, обучение студентов-бакалавров, культурная компетентность, культурная интеллигентность

A common term used to label the process of learning from experience is 'experiential learning.' This term is not new, defined in 1975 by Hoover and Whitehead (as cited in Gentry, 1990): "Experiential learning exists when a personally responsible participant cognitively, affectively, and behaviorally processes knowledge, skills, and/or attitudes in a learning situation characterized by a high level of active involvement" (p. 10). Kolb and Kolb (2005) emphasized the need for "learning spaces that promote growth-producing experiences for learners," citing Dewey's philosophy that not all experiences are educative (p. 205). Kolb (1984) stated that the experiential learning model "emphasizes the critical linkages that can be developed between the classroom and the 'real world'" (p. 3).

"Experiential education is a method, a profession, and a philosophy" (Gilbertson, Bates, McLaughlin, & Ewert, 2006, p. 9). As a method, experiential education encompasses a variety of curriculum activities, each focusing on learning by doing and direct experience (Roberts, 2012). Experiential learning activities require that the learner be actively engaged in reflecting and constructing meaning (Gilbertson, et al., 2006).

This study aimed to understand the impact of an experiential learning activity in a third year undergraduate course on the theory and practice of counselling and psychotherapy offered at a small Canadian university campus. Specifically, did it help improve cultural intelligence and cultural competence?

Thomas (2006) uses a basic definition of cultural intelligence "as the ability to interact effectively with people who are culturally different" (p. 80). He explains it is the capability to adapt to, and shape, the cross-cultural interaction context. Similarly, Núñez (2000) defines cultural competence as a "set of skills that allow individuals to increase their understanding of cultural differences and similarities within, among, and between groups" (p. 1071). While it is beyond the scope of this paper to fully explore these concepts, it is important to note that it is "important to understand why some individuals function more effectively than others in culturally diverse situations" (Ang, & van Dyne, 2008, p. 3).

The Context

The undergraduate course, called Contemporary Issues in Psychotherapy, examines basic issues in counselling practice, as well as theories and techniques of counselling. As an introductory course, there is a focus on communication skills, in particular active listening, attending, and nonverbal communication skills. The textbook for the course states "It is an *ethical obligation* for counselors to develop sensitivity

to cultural differences if they hope to make interventions that are consistent with the values of their clients" (Corey, 2017, p. 25). Therefore, the course also explores ethnocentrism and cross-cultural communication.

The experiential learning activity required students to participate in bi-weekly one-to-one discussion groups with international students participating in English as a Second Language (ESL) programs at the university, for a total of five sessions. The discussion groups were based on the Big Talk approach created by Kalina Silverman (2020). This discussion group format is designed with the intention of helping people make more meaningful connections. Each hour-long session consisted of two 30-minute conversations, each with a different partner. Each conversation had a set of three related questions to help guide the conversation. For example: What are you most thankful for today? How can you show gratitude? What single object would you save if your house caught on fire?

Following Kolb's (2015) Experiential Learning Cycle, the students participated in Concrete Experience, Reflective Observation, Abstract Conceptualization, and Active Experimentation. The psychology students learned about concepts in the classroom and then later engaged in self-reflections that included examining what they were learning about themselves, skills they were developing, how they might use what they learned in the future, and any differences in their pre- and post-assessment scores. Students submitted two written reflections, one at midterm and the other at the end of the semester. In addition, class discussions were held weekly to monitor any issues and problem-solve if necessary, giving students the opportunity to try new approaches and skills in their upcoming sessions.

Method

Participants

Twenty-one students were enrolled in the class and 19 chose to participate in the study. All were psychology majors. There were three men and 18 women in the course, as well as two students who were older than average. Therefore, participants were not asked to identify their gender or age to keep their responses anonymous.

Data Collection

To answer the research question "does participating in ESL discussion groups improve students' levels of cultural competence," the results of two pre- and post-assessment measures were utilized. These measures were part of the course curriculum and students completed the measures as part of their own self-reflection. After they completed the post-measure in class, the study was described by the instructor and the students were invited to participate. Using self-addressed envelopes provided by the instructor, students voluntarily submitted copies of their pre- and post-measures at the end of the semester by means of inter-office mail, with all identifying information removed. The students were informed that the envelopes would not be opened until final marks for all psychology courses taught by the instructor were submitted. This procedure was approved by a research ethics board and permission was obtained from the authors to use the scales for teaching and research purposes.

Pre- and Post-Measures

The *Cultural Competence Self-assessment Checklist* (Rexdale Women's Centre, n.d.) consists of 36 statements divided into three sections: 1) Awareness, 2) Knowledge, and 3) Skills. It uses a 4-point Likert

scale ("never" to "always/very well") designed to help individuals identify areas of strength and areas that need further development. A sample Awareness statement is: "I have a clear sense of my own ethnic, cultural and racial identity;" a sample Knowledge statement is: "I will really listen to the answers before asking another question;" and a sample Skills statement is: "I can act in ways that demonstrate respect for the culture and beliefs of others."

The *Short Form Cultural Intelligence Scale (SFCQ)* (Thomas et al., 2015) consists of 10 statements about one's experiences when interacting with people from other cultures. It uses a 5-point Likert scale ("not at all" to "extremely well") to indicate how the statements describe the individual. A sample statement is: "I think a lot about the influence that culture has on my behavior and that of others who are culturally different." The authors stated that the short form cultural intelligence scale (SFCQ) is a theory-based, short measure of cultural intelligence that "captures the original theoretical intent of a multifaceted culture general form of intelligence that is related to effective intercultural interactions" (p.1099). Validity was established with 3526 participants in five language groups. "Results provide evidence for of the measure, and indicate that cultural intelligence is a single latent factor reflected in three intermediate facets" of cross cultural knowledge, skills and cultural metacognition (p. 1099).

Results

Repeated measures *t*-tests were conducted on the pre-test total of each scale compared to the post-test total. Repeated measures *t*-tests were also conducted on the pre- and post-scores of the three subscales of each measure. These were planned comparisons so no correction factor was used. Not all students completed all of the questions so the sample sizes range from 13-17.

The total score on the *Cultural Competence Self-assessment Checklist* (Rexdale Women's Centre, n.d.) can range from 36-144. The higher the score, the more culturally competent one is. The students' total Cultural Competence score ($n = 13$) was significantly higher at the end of the course than at the beginning ($p = .014$) as the mean increased from 112.5 to 121.8. The students' Cultural Awareness score ($n = 17$) was significantly higher at the end of the course than at the beginning ($p = .001$) as the mean increased from 33.7 to 37.4 (range can be from 11-44). Their Cultural Knowledge score ($n = 16$) was significantly higher at the end of the course than at the beginning ($p = .024$) as the mean increased from 42.3 to 45.5 (range can be from 13-52). As well, the students' Cultural Skills score ($n = 16$) was also significantly higher at the end of the course than at the beginning ($p = .003$) as the mean increased from 37.1 to 40.9 (range can be from 12-48).

The scores on the *Short Form Cultural Intelligence Scale (SFCQ)* (Thomas et al., 2015) can range from 1-5 as scores on the items are totaled and divided by the number of items. The higher the score, the higher the level of cultural intelligence. Students' overall Cultural Intelligence score ($n = 17$) was significantly higher at the end of the course than at the beginning ($p < .001$) as the mean increased from 3.7 to 4.2. Students' Cultural Knowledge score was significantly higher at the end of the course than at the beginning ($p = .008$) as the mean score increased from 3.4 to 3.9. Their Cultural Skills score was significantly higher at the end of the course than at the beginning ($p = .001$) as the mean score increased from 3.7 to 4.3. Last, the students' Cultural Metacognition score was significantly higher at the end of the course than at the beginning ($p = .008$) as the mean score increased from 3.7 to 4.2.

Conclusion

While the primary objective of the experiential learning activity was to provide students with opportunities to practice their communication skills, the activity included a focus on cross-cultural communication skills development. The students' total scores on both measures increased significantly from the beginning of the course to the end. Further, each of their subscale scores increased significantly from the beginning of the course to the end. The students' Cultural Competence, Cultural Knowledge and Cultural Awareness scores (as measured by the *Cultural Competence Self-assessment Checklist* (Rexdale Women's Centre, n.d.)) all improved after participating in the course, which included the on-going experiential learning activity of discussion groups with ESL students. Likewise, their Cultural Intelligence, Culture Knowledge, Cultural Skills, and Cultural Metacognition (as measured by the *SFCQ* (Thomas et al., 2015)) also improved.

Thomas et al. (2015) explained that cultural intelligence as measured by the *SFCQ* is multidimensional and identifies individual differences that will explain and predict effectiveness in a cross-cultural context—the ability to interact effectively. It is a type of intelligence, not intercultural competence or motivation. Similar to other forms of intelligence, it is the ability to adapt to an environmental context: the cultural context. It is a unique construction of abilities including knowledge, skills, and metacognition.

The authors of the *Cultural Competence Self-assessment Checklist* used in this study stated in their introduction: "Remember that cultural competence is a process, and that learning occurs on a continuum and over a life time" (Rexdale Women's Centre, n.d.). Diller and Moule (2005) also asserted that cultural competence for all individuals is a developmental process and an ideal toward which to strive. It requires the "continual acquisition of knowledge, the development of new and more advanced skills, and ongoing reflective self-evaluation of progress" (p. 13). While this study supports the use of ESL discussion groups as a means of enhancing the cultural competence of psychology students, it is acknowledged that one experiential activity is not enough—but it is a start.

Jayakumar (2008) pointed out that in U.S. colleges, most incoming students have primarily been exposed to people of their same race and White students in particular tend to have minimal interaction with people of other racial backgrounds before college. Jayakumar also noted that while some institutions may have structural diversity (the numerical representation of students of color within an institution), this form of diversity alone does not lead to the development of cross-cultural competence. The same two points could be made about the setting for this study. Perhaps because of this, the psychology students openly expressed throughout the semester how much they enjoyed the discussion groups and in particular, meeting the students in the ESL program with whom they previously did not have an opportunity to interact. They were adamant that the activity be continued in future offerings of the course.

While using experiential learning activities to prepare students for working with culturally diverse clients is an important aspect of counsellor education (Arthur & Achenbach, 2002), the course being studied was at the undergraduate level so students may not pursue a career in a helping profession. However, promoting the development of self-awareness, knowledge, and skills for working with culturally diverse populations can enhance undergraduate students' personally and professionally as these skills are applicable to many, if not most, future careers. The ability to adapt to different perspectives and cultures has become a necessity in order to be successful in an increasingly diverse workplace.

A limitation of this study is the lack of a control group, students in the course who did not participate in the experiential activity. As this study was on a specific teaching approach, it was not appropriate to exclude some students from the activity. Future studies could utilize a qualitative approach, exploring

the experience of participating in the ESL discussion group, which may reveal other strengths of the activity.

There are many ways to provide students with experiential learning activities to develop their cultural intelligence, as other instructors have found (e.g., Kurpis & Hunter, 2017). Participating in on-campus ESL discussion groups is an accessible option for many instructors and their students. In addition to the significant increase in cultural intelligence and cultural competence as demonstrated by the statistical analysis of their pre- and post-measures, anecdotal feedback from both the domestic and international students was also supportive of many other learning outcomes, both formal and informal, as they learned about themselves while learning about other people.

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Natalia V. Bylinskaya (Belarus)

Aspects of a Categorization of the Concept "Personality" in the Professional Consciousness of Teachers - An Example from Belarus

Abstract: The article presents research into the concept of "personality" in the categorical grid of the consciousness of primary and secondary school teachers. The data obtained demonstrate the presence of an orientation in the teachers' minds and activities towards the implementation of personality-oriented, humanistic models of learning. At the same time, the structure of the concept of "personality" revealed in the pedagogical consciousness is not cognitively complex and holistic. This determines the specific tasks of psychological education to clarify and enrich teachers' perceptions of personality.

Key words: personality, personality-oriented education, pedagogical consciousness, associative experiment, factor analysis

摘要 (Natalia V. Bylinskaja: 在教师的职业意识中对“人格”这一概念进行分类的若干方面：来自白俄罗斯的一个案例)：本文介绍了在中小学教师意识分类网中对“人格”一词的研究。所获得的数据证实了在教师的思想和活动中存在着一种取向，用以实施以人格为导向的，人性化的学习模式。同时，在教育意识中所揭示的“个性”概念的结构在认知上并非复杂且具有整体性的。这决定了心理教育的具体任务，用以澄清和丰富教师的人格知觉。

关键词：人格，人格为导向的教育，教育意识，关联实验，因素分析。

摘要 (Natalia V. Bylinskaja: 在教师的职业意识中对“人格”这一概念进行分类的若干方面：来自白俄罗斯的一个案例)：本文介绍了在中小学教师意识分类网中对“人格”一词的研究。所获得的数据证实了在教师的思想和活动中存在着一种取向，用以实施以人格为导向的，人性化的学习模式。同时，在教育意识中所揭示的“个性”概念的结构在认知上并非复杂且具有整体性的。这决定了心理教育的具体任务，用以澄清和丰富教师的人格知觉。

关键词：人格，人格为导向的教育，教育意识，关联实验，因素分析。

Zusammenfassung (Natalya V. Bylinskaya: Aspekte der Kategorisierung des Konzepts der "Persönlichkeit" im Berufsbewusstsein von LehrerInnen – Ein Beispiel aus Weißrussland): Der Artikel stellt Forschungen zum Konzept der "Persönlichkeit" im kategorialen Raster des Bewusstseins von Primar- und SekundarschullehrerInnen vor. Die gewonnenen Daten belegen das Vorhandensein einer Orientierung in den Köpfen und Aktivitäten der Lehrerinnen und Lehrer zur Umsetzung persönlichkeitsorientierter, humanistischer Lernmodelle. Gleichzeitig ist die Struktur des im pädagogischen Bewusstsein offenbarten Konzepts der "Persönlichkeit" nicht kognitiv komplex und ganzheitlich. Dies bestimmt die spezifischen Aufgaben der psychologischen Ausbildung zur Klärung und Bereicherung der Wahrnehmung von Lehrerpersönlichkeit.

Schlüsselwörter: Persönlichkeit, persönlichkeitsorientierte Bildung, pädagogisches Bewusstsein, assoziatives Experiment, Faktorenanalyse

Резюме (Наталья В. Былинская: О некоторых аспектах категоризации понятия «личность» в профессиональном сознании педагогов: на примере исследования в РБ): В статье представлены результаты исследования понятия «личность» на примере изучения категориальных структур сознания педагогов начальной школы и учителей «среднего» звена. Полученные данные свидетельствуют о том, что и на уровне сознания, и в «деятельностном» дискурсе у учителей отмечается ориентированность на имплементацию личностно-ориентированных, гуманистических моделей обучения. В то же время структура актуализируемого в сознании педагога концепта «личность» в когнитивном плане не является застывшей и однородной. Это

определяет специфику задач психологического воспитания для объяснения и наполнения новыми смыслами содержательной структуры исследуемого концепта.

Ключевые слова: личность, личностно-ориентированное образование, педагогическое сознание, ассоциативный эксперимент, анализ факторов.

In modern pedagogy and psychology research addressing students, teachers and practising psychologists, the concept of "personality" has a variety of theoretically substantiated approaches, supported by experimental studies. There are different points of view on the relationship of biological and social factors in the development of personality, on the ratio of the concepts of "individual", "individuality", "person", "personality" in psychology.

Starting in 1927 G.W. Allport identified about 50 different definitions of the complex term "personality" after analysis of the literature (Allport, 1998). It still unknown how many formulations exist today because the *person* is the object of research in many sciences and social disciplines. In psychology the term "personality" has two main meanings. First of all, it means a person, an individual who has consciousness, who has his or her own position in life, formed as a result of much conscious work in the process of social activity. Secondly, it means a person who has a psyche that makes him or her able to control his/her behaviour and mental development.

In the history of USSR psychology, the original understanding of the personality as a psychological category was based on the enumeration of the components that form the personality as a kind of mental reality. Such an approach deprived the concept of "personality" of its categorical content. By the end of the 1970s the problem of personality was being considered in the framework of the structural and systemic approaches developed in the works of USSR psychologists.

In textbooks of the 1960-1980's for students who were studying pedagogical special subjects, the concepts of "personality" were expounded by the leading USSR psychology scientists B.G. Ananyev (1980), A.N. Leontiev (1977), A.V. Petrovsky (1986) and S.L. Rubinstein (2000). The definitions of personality designated by these scientists were united by representations of the socio-historical and predominantly social nature of a person's personality.

At the present stage of development of psychological science and, accordingly, in educational publications, we can observe a transformation of the meaning of this concept. The phenomenon of personality is described in the relationship of biological and social factors in the mental development and life experience of a person, in their interaction and mutual influence. For example, personality is the integrity of subjective reality and the way for person to exist in the system of relationships with others; personality refers to a subject who is freely determined in the space of culture and time of history (Slobodchikov, & Isaev 2013, p. 370); man/woman is a socio-genetic being not only because he/she was born in society. Behind his or her birth is the most complex process of transforming the evolutionary patterns of lifestyle in the history of phylogenesis, anthropogenesis and sociogenesis. The socio-historical life of a person is a source of personality development in the system of social relations (Asmolov, 2019; see also Berulava, & Berulava, 2019, pp. 53-60). According to Petrenko (2010), a person's personality is the basis of his or her picture of the world, defining categories of consciousness, where cognition subject experience is structured and ordered. Petrenko thought that this picture of the world determines a person's behaviour and includes its cognitive, value and emotional aspects. The picture of the subject's world is revealed in the broad context of its meaning-formation of "not yet become being", in the context of the little-studied category of "fate", and perhaps in overcoming that fate. Because not only our knowledge about *person* is evolving, but also the *person* is evolving in the course of self-awareness (Petrenko, 2010, p. 86). Thus, not only the socio-historical nature of personality but also the characteristics of internal activity and individual identity are emphasized.

The relevant task of modern education is the implementation of personality-oriented, humanistic models of learning. According to some researchers, the essence of these models is to put the personality and prospects of its development in the centre of attention (Asmolov, & Guseltseva, 2016; Guslyakova, Vetkhova, & Kirsanov, 2019; Mendel, 2016; Slobodchikov, 2005; Sysoeva, 2019). The existing variety of theoretical approaches to the concept of "personality", on the one hand, and the need to focus the activities of a modern teacher not so much on the transfer of knowledge, skills, as on solving the problems of the personal development of students, on the other hand, have determined the purpose of this study: a study of the concept "personality" that exists among educators. The subject of the research is the categorical structure of the concept of "personality" in professional pedagogical consciousness.

Organization of the research

Three hundred teachers at Belarusian comprehensive schools were involved in this research: 100 primary school teachers and 200 subject teachers (chemistry, biology, music, Russian, Belarusian, German language teachers). The research was carried out from 2018 to 2019 by the author of the article and consists of several stages.

In the first stage, an associative experiment was conducted with teachers ($n = 200$), in which the concept of "personality" was the stimulus word. The experiment instruction limited only the associative flow (please answer with the first word coming into your head), but it left freedom in the choice of possible associations (the grammar class of associations was not prescribed).

The material obtained at this stage was processed by means of frequency analysis, since words that occur only once in the subjects' answers are considered "not semantically related to the main word and are the result of random or individual association" (Leontiev, & Gippenreyter, 1972, p.188). After the excluding of single answers to the stimulus word "personality", a list of 16 associations was obtained: a person (27% of answers), a child (20%), a student (19%), "I" (13%), an individual (7%), individuality (3%), respect (2%), teacher (2%), character (1%), outstanding (1%), bright, authority, soul, interesting, problem, creativity (less than 1% of answers).

The task of the second stage was to check the completeness of the content of the compiled list of associations, to clarify how they represent the desired concept in the minds of teachers. For this, a reverse associative experiment was conducted, in which 40 primary school teachers and 60 subject teachers ($n = 100$) were the respondents. Respondents were offered a list of associations that they needed to re-indicate in one word.

Data processing revealed a high accuracy in determining the initial concept, because the word-stimulus "personality" was correctly identified by 87% of the participants in the experiment. That is a high probability that the compiled list of associations really represents the concept in the minds of educators.

In the third stage, the list was offered to teachers ($n = 100$) for classification with the instruction: combine the available words into any number of groups. The data obtained (similarity matrix 100×16) were processed by factor analysis using the principal component analysis with the varimax rotation.

Results and discussion

As a result of factor analysis, 6 factors were identified in the group of teachers: 2 strong and 4 weak according to the Humphrey criterion, according to which a factor is considered subjectively significant if the absolute value of the product of two maximum factor weights (load of qualities) is twice as large as a unit divided by the square root of the number of observations. The Humphrey criterion

is used to determine subjectively significant factors and the cognitive complexity of respondents (Buyul, & Tsefel, 2005).

For discussion, the identified category factors are presented in descending order of their subjective significance for teachers. The percentage of total variance indicates the subjective significance of the factor, and the numbers (factor weights) represent the load of qualities combined into a factor.

The first power factor (31% of the total variance) is formed by the scale values: student (0.957), child (0.957), teacher (0.944), individual (0.835), "I" (0.833). The content of this factor can be described as a "role position". Because the first constituents are the "student" and "child", it can be said that the personality of the student as a subject of the educational process is the most important for teachers.

The second powerful factor (17% of the total variance) is formed by the scale: authority (0.899), character (0.893), problem (0.589), creativity (0.457). The content of this factor is a combination of diverse personal manifestations, which complicates its interpretation. In order to more accurately indicate the identified category as an auxiliary, the expert method was applied. According to most experts (psychologists, $n = 50$), it is advisable to combine the qualities discussed as a "creative leader."

At this point it is useful to discuss less significant factors.

The third powerful factor (11.5% of the total dispersion) is formed by the following scale: bright (0.980), interesting (0.962). The content of this factor can be described as "originality of the individual."

The fourth powerful factor (10.5% of the total variance) is formed by two scale values: respect (0.891), people (-0.803). The content of this factor may be described as more complex and bipolar in structure. It fixes the opposition between respect and a person that exists in the minds of teachers, so the general name of this construct can be fixed as "an unrespectable person." The idea of a disrespectful, negative attitude towards a person is, in our opinion, a kind of projection of respondents on the existing attitude to the teacher on the part of society, associated with the insufficient importance of the status of a teacher in modern society (low wages, incompetence in solving different problems, etc.).

The fifth (most) powerful factor (8.5% of the total dispersion) is formed by the scale values: outstanding (-0.832), soul (0.659). This factor presents the dichotomy of the extraordinary (close to the content of the third factor "originality of the personality") and the soul, which allows us to designate the selected category as "extraordinary soullessness".

The sixth (weakest) factor (7.5% of the total variance) is represented by only one "individuality" scale value (0.895). It is interesting that this characteristic is isolated from close meanings in the pedagogical consciousness. We may thus assume that in the minds of educators, knowledge about the differences and individual characteristics that distinguish one particular person from other people is present. But this knowledge is more closely defined and not related to other knowledge, therefore not always implemented in the practice of the educational process.

Conclusions

As a result of the study, it was found that the concept of "personality" is described by teachers through two significant categories: "role position" and "creative leader". The leading categories demonstrate that in the minds of educators there is no scientific understanding of a personality. The revealed general categorical structure of the concept suggests that this idea is quite contradictory (the categories of "disrespectful person" and "outstanding soullessness").

The presence of the categories "creative leader" and "originality of the individual" indicate the assimilation and specific rethinking by teachers of modern ideas in the field of understanding the person with their emphasis on the importance of the subject's activity. This fact is evidence of the ongoing reorientation of professional consciousness and the teacher's activity from the traditional, cognitive education paradigm to a more modern, humanistic one. A change in the direction of the teacher's professional activity is also indirectly evidenced by the absence in the content of the concept "personality" of characteristics indicating cognitive processes and the achieved level of knowledge and skills.

The humanistic ideas that are being introduced into school practice in the pedagogical consciousness are presented somewhat one-sidedly, because the attention of teachers is mainly focused on the personality of the student. Teachers need to study not only the individual and personality characteristics of students, but also individual characteristics of themselves. You become a person only through interaction with another person, that's why professional and personal growth is as important a task for teachers as well as caring for the personal development of students.

Research data confirm the need for the psychological and pedagogical education of teachers to strengthen the orientation of their professional activities towards the implementation of a personality-oriented, humanistic model of education, focused on the development prospects of the personality of the teacher and his or her pupils. Personality-oriented education provides the transformation of traditional conservative, authoritarian, enlightening pedagogy into a new cultural pedagogy, whose subject is not only intellectually and professionally competent, but also an original, tolerant, person-developing and self-developing person.

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Claire Y.H. Tao (Taiwan)

A Comparative Study of Higher Education Governance in Greater China

Abstract: During 1980, many Western countries launched public administration reforms. These reform waves also blew over to many Asian countries. With the advent of globalization and the rise of knowledge-based society, education and innovation are regarded as the driving forces behind social and economic growth and development. To enhance the national capacity, education reforms have also become common agendas among nation states since the 1980s. This paper aims at critically reviewing and comparing major policies and strategies of the higher education reform adopted by the respective government in Greater China, including mainland China, Hong Kong, Macau, and Taiwan and Singapore. The key research questions are why these countries attempted to reform their higher education and if these countries achieve the desired results and comply with good governance. In this paper, four areas, "Rule of Law," "Transparency," "Effectiveness," and "Accountability" are evaluated to examine how these selected cases' governance in higher education have been implemented in the past 30 years.

Keywords: greater China, governance in higher education, good governance, rule of law, transparency, effectiveness, accountability

摘要 (Claire Y.H. Tao: 大中华区高等教育治理比较研究): 许多西方国家自 1980 年代开始改革公共行政。这波的改革浪潮也吹到了许多亚洲国家。随着全球化及知识社会时代来临, 教育及创新被视为是社会经济增长与发展的动能。为了提升国力, 许多国家也自 1980 年代开始改革教育。本篇研究主要审视与比较大中华地区(中国、香港、澳门、台湾与新加坡)各个政府高教改革的政策与策略。主要针对这些国家高教改革的原因以及是否这些国家的改革达到预期的结果和是否遵守善治来做研究。本篇研究使用四个面向: 法治、透明、效力、课责来检验这些国家在过去三十年间的高教治理实施情况。

关键词: 大中华、高等教育、治理、善治、法治、透明、效力、课责

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Zusammenfassung (Claire Y.H. Tao: Eine vergleichende Studie zur Governance im Hochschulbereich im Grossraum China): Im Laufe des Jahres 1980 leiteten viele westliche Länder Reformen der öffentlichen Verwaltung ein. Diese Reformwellen schlugen auch auf viele asiatische Länder über. Mit dem Aufkommen der Globalisierung und dem Aufstieg der wissensbasierten Gesellschaft gelten Bildung und Innovation als die treibenden Kräfte für das soziale und wirtschaftliche Wachstum und die Entwicklung. Um die nationalen Kapazitäten zu stärken, sind Bildungsreformen seit den 1980er Jahren auch unter den Nationalstaaten zu einer gemeinsamen Agenda geworden. Dieses Papier zielt darauf ab, die wichtigsten Politiken und Strategien der Hochschulreform, die von der jeweiligen Regierung im Großraum China, einschließlich des chinesischen Festlandes, Hongkong, Macao sowie Taiwan und Singapur, verabschiedet wurden, kritisch zu überprüfen und zu vergleichen. Die wichtigsten Forschungsfragen sind, warum diese Länder versuchten, ihre Hochschulbildung zu reformieren, und ob diese Länder die gewünschten Ergebnisse erzielten und sich an eine gute Regierungsführung halten. In diesem Papier werden die vier Bereiche "Rechtsstaatlichkeit", "Transparenz", "Wirksamkeit" und "Rechenschaftspflicht" evaluiert, um zu untersuchen, wie die Governance dieser ausgewählten Fälle in der Hochschulbildung in den letzten 30 Jahren umgesetzt wurde.

Schlüsselwörter: Großraum China, Governance im Hochschulbereich, gute Regierungsführung, Rechtsstaatlichkeit, Transparenz, Wirksamkeit, Rechenschaftspflicht

Резюме (Клэйр Й. Х. Тао «Сравнительный анализ организации управления в системе высшего образования в крупных территориальных единицах Китая»): В течение 1980 года многие западные страны начали реформы государственного управления. Эта тенденция охватила и многие азиатские страны. Глобализация и придание высокого статуса обществу, базирующему на знании, определили образование и инновации в качестве движущих сил социального и экономического роста. Что укрепить национальные ресурсы, с 1980-х годов реформы в области образования стали основной повесткой дня и для национальных государств. Основная цель данной статьи состоит в том, чтобы проанализировать и сравнить ключевые стратегии и политические рычаги реформы высшего образования, предпринятой управленческим аппаратом на территории Китая, включая его материковую часть, специальные административные районы Гонконг, Макао, а также Тайвань и Сингапур. Магистральным в исследовании является вопрос, почему была предпринята попытка реформирования системы высшего образования, были ли достигнуты желаемые результаты и какую роль в этом сыграло государственное администрирование. Анализ проводится через четыре категории: «легитимность», «транспарентность», «эффективность», «подотчетность». Они привлекаются для того, чтобы определить, как на означенных территориях осуществлялась организация управления в сфере высшего образования в последние тридцать лет.

Ключевые слова: Гросс-Китай, управление в сфере высшего образования, добросовестное управление, верховенство закона, прозрачность, эффективность, подотчетность

Introduction

In the post-Second World War period, the state continued playing the role of an engine of economic progress; however, after the global economic crisis in the mid-1970s, the notion about the governments' competence to perform this responsibility began changing during the 1980s. The government, characterized by hierarchical and top-down administrative processes in the making of public policy, was found ineffective and inefficient in delivering the policy objectives relating to progress and well-being of the people. The United Kingdom, under Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, and the U.S. then started public administration reform, as these two countries had suffered heavily from economic recession and tax revolts. A fast-spreading desire to make government act more like a business in order to save money, increase efficiency, and oblige public bureaucracies to act more responsively towards their citizenry arose (Pollitt, & Bouckaert, 2011). Next, the governments of New Zealand and Australia joined the movement. (Gruening, 2001) Their successes pushed other western countries to launch major programs of central government reform by reference to private sector management practices from 1980s. It later became known as the New Public Management (NPM). It is a term which has come to cover a very wide range of reforms in an equally broad spread of countries.

As for Asian countries, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War proved the authoritarian model of government to be a failure. Some communist countries, such as China, which had experienced a rule-directed, party controlled and centralized bureaucracy with a hierarchical government structure, needed to change their public administration system. In addition, due to the 1997 Asian economic crisis, the validity of the previous "East Asian miracle" led by the state-centric governmental practice started to be doubted. Hence, Asian countries have been also riding the global movement of public sector reforms.

Meanwhile, with the advent of globalization and the rise of knowledge-based society, additional pressures have been generated for nation states to improve or maintain their competitiveness in the global market environment. A knowledge-based society is a society which emphasizes the importance of knowledge, education and innovation to drive social and economic growth and devel-

opment. Educational reforms have become common agendas among nation states since the 1980s in order to enhance their relevant resources (Zhou, & Luo, 2018; Mok, & Welch, 2003; Shin, Postiglione, & Huang, 2015).

Most of the existing literature or academic discourses related to public sector reform, governance, or education reform are based on the western perspective, few relevant case studies of Asian countries have been conducted. Since the author is from the Greater China region and has noticed similar traditions or cultural practices shared in Greater China, this paper aims to compare each society's higher education governance in this region, including mainland China, Hong Kong, Macau, Singapore and Taiwan, and see if their reforms achieve good governance to better respond to the changes and needs of society.

Good Governance

As the traditional government started to be questioned and criticized in many developed and developing countries, many countries moved away from traditional hierarchical forms of organization and revised their relationship with all non- government actors (in other words, civil society) in a more participatory direction.

New modes of governing in which a multitude of public and private actors from different policy levels govern society through networks and soft policy instruments, in other words, governance, gradually gained popularity (Sørensen, 2006). As governance is generally recognized as an important determinant of a country's long-term economic growth and development, it is important to pay attention to good governance.

The concept of good governance has gained prominence around the world in recent times. It has become a buzzword in the vocabulary of polity and administrative reform, mainly due to the importance given to it by the international community. Like governance, according to United Nations, "good governance" has no single and exhaustive definition, and there is no delimitation of its scope which commands universal acceptance. Good governance has been said to encompass: the rule of law, effective participation, multi-actor partnerships, political pluralism, transparent and accountable processes and institutions, an efficient and effective public sector, legitimacy, access to knowledge, information and education, political empowerment of people, equity, sustainability, and attitudes and values that foster responsibility, solidarity and tolerance.

However, there is a significant degree of consensus that good governance relates to political and institutional processes and outcomes which are deemed necessary to achieve the goals of development. Good governance has been said to be the process whereby public institutions conduct public affairs and manage public resources in a manner essentially free of abuse and corruption, and with due regard for the rule of law.

According to Tripathi (2017), good governance is an approach to government that signifies a participative manner of governing which functions in a responsible, accountable, and transparent manner based on the principles of efficiency, legitimacy, and consensus for the purpose of promoting the rights of individual citizens and the public interest. This indicates the existence of political will for ensuring the material welfare of society and sustainable development with social justice.

Historical Review of Higher Education Reform in Greater China

The term Greater China has several meanings, but the use in this paper is narrowly defined as referring to a geographical concept which consists of mainland China, Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan, and Singapore, where ethnic Chinese comprise the majority of the population. In this sense, the term is

used to describe the ethnic and associated political, economic and cultural ties among these Chinese societies (Harding 1993; Cheung 2013).

China

In Mainland China, every sector of the society was centralized before the "open door" policy. With the increasing development of neo-liberalism and globalism, not only economic reforms have begun to take place, but China's governance of higher education has also undergone substantial reforms in the decades since the late 1970s. (Han, & Xu, 2019) Greater autonomy was introduced into the HE sector to give higher education institutions (HEIs) the necessary freedom to function in a market economy. In the last decade or so, the Chinese Government has allowed for the rise of the market in the education sector and promoted the establishment of private educational institutions.

According to the Chinese Ministry of Education's official statement, the overall objectives of higher education reform since 1990s are to streamline the relationship between government, society and higher education institutions with the aim of developing a new system in which the State is responsible for overall planning and macro management, while higher education institutions follow legislation and exercise autonomy in providing education according to the needs of society (Chinese Ministry of Education). In general, the changing patterns of governance can be observed in the following three areas, privatization of educational provision, financial diversification and decentralization of administration (Cai, 2013).

In old China, higher education grew slowly in terms of institutions and enrollment. By 1949, only 205 institutions had been established and total enrollment was 117, 000 students (Hao, & Long, 2000). By 2010, there were 2723 HEIs. The system has experienced rapid growth, particularly during the past three decades (1978-2014). The number of college students increased by 7.76 times from 3,408,764 in 1998 to 26,474,679 in 2015. Nowadays, China's higher education system has experienced the second highest rate of college enrollment globally (Shin, 2018).

China's private sector dates back to ancient China. In modern China before 1949, there were 81 private institutions. Unfortunately, the private sector disappeared in 1952. The first private institution of contemporary China was established in 1984, along with the reemergence of the private economy. The change indicated that the private institutions were officially accepted and given legitimacy. In the mid-1990s, China realized the importance of promoting the private sector and issued a law on promoting the private sector. Those private HEIs were funded by businesses or individuals in the private sector.

Before 1992, Chinese HEIs were defined as public sectors affiliated with governmental departments. At that time, HEIs were highly controlled by governments at all levels, and there was no institutional autonomy. This centralist mode was characterized by (a) a single system of state ownership (b) vague responsibilities and obligations between institutions and governments; (c) resource distribution by command and planning.

In 1993, the central government released a historical document *the Mission outline of the development and reform of Chinas education* clearly stating that the national policy was to actively encourage and support social agencies and citizens to establish schools according to law, provide guidance, and improve administration. The Mission outline also stated that government agencies had to change their functioning mode from direct control to managing schools through legislation, funding, planning, advice on policies, and other necessary means.

In 1998, the Law on Higher Education again stipulated the general principles behind the policy of decentralization, calling for more diverse modes of educational services and allowing far more flex-

ibility for local and provincial governments to run higher education. To carry out the policy of strengthening the nation through science and education, MOC proposed *the Action Plan to Vitalize Education into the 21st Century* in 1998.

According to the "2020 Outline", HEIs are required to establish a new type of management mechanism and a modern university system by reforming and improving organizational governance.

Hong Kong

Higher education in Hong Kong has existed for more than a century. The oldest current institution is the University of Hong Kong, founded in 1911. The motives of those who provided the earliest higher education in Hong Kong were largely philanthropic. The scale of provision, in terms of the population of Hong Kong, was very small. But gradually it became clear that Hong Kong's needs could not be met solely by private benefactors, and other sources of finance had to be found - principally government, but also employers and, in most cases, the students themselves (University Grants Committee, 1996)

Higher education (HE) in Hong Kong remained elitist during most of the British colonial period. The HE system responded to the industry needs and underwent the first round of expansion during the late colonial era. During this expansion period, eight education institutions (HEIs), which were funded by the government via the University Grants Committee (UGC), became self-accredited, and the participation rate in HE increased from 2% in the 1970s to 18% in 1994. The second wave of HE expansion began after China resumed the sovereignty of Hong Kong, and the city became a Special Administrative Region (SAR) in 1997. In 2000, Hong Kong sought to increase the participation rate of tertiary education to 60% by 2010. Hence, the then Chief Executive decided to expand the higher education sector by doubling sub-degree places by the year 2010. This sub-degree level of HE sector has exponentially grown since then, which led the growth of private higher education in Hong Kong. There are currently 21 local degree-awarding post-secondary education institutions in Hong Kong, 9 of which are funded by the public and the other 12 are self-financing post-secondary institutions.

However, the quest for gaining wide access to HE is not necessarily associated with an increase in public expenditures of this sector. As SAR, Hong Kong, unlike China, has continued its colonial tradition, maintaining minimal government intervention and *laissez-faire* economic orientation in higher education governance since early 2000s. The Hong Kong government did not increase direct public investment or strong coordination of its regional education hub initiatives to achieve its goals of expanding higher education and developing transnational education. (Lo, 2017) Instead, it relies on marketization, competitions and self-financed institutions to achieve the above-mentioned goals.

Besides moving towards mass HE, Hong Kong government also emphasized internationalization in its HE reform initiatives to respond to HE globalization. Measures have been adopted to increase non-local student participation for achieving the objective of Hong Kong as a regional education hub. Quality assurance systems were also introduced to ensure that the UGC-funded institutions are more efficient, more accountable to the public, more cost-effective, and more responsive to socio-economic needs. Hong Kong also established the new Innovation and Technology Bureau in 2015 to address the increasingly competitive regional and global environment. This bureau was established to encourage universities and industries to work together in projects related to knowledge transfer.

Macau

Before 1981, Macau had no higher education institutions and all citizens wishing to receive higher education had to go to other countries. The first modern higher institution of Macau, the University of East Asia (UEA), was established in 1981. However, in the beginning, UEA was a private university which recruited students and addressed the educational needs from around the region, particularly from Hong Kong. After the joint Sino-Portuguese declaration was signed in 1987, the nurturing of local talents was defined as an important ingredient for stability and transition to the handover era, while the public demanded greater government input in education. As a result, in 1991 the Government of Macau acquired UEA and renamed it to University of Macau (UM). The target audience of higher education focused this time on the local population, aiming to develop and upgrade the local skills and capacity. All courses were employment-oriented and "localization" was exhibited by increasing subjects and postgraduate programs linked to the local needs. (Open Access Government, 2018)

Higher education flourished remarkably over the past three decades. Macau has 10 tertiary educational institutions, four of them are public and six are private. During the 2016/2017 academic year, there were 2,265 teaching staff and 32,750 registered students in these institutions, with 267 programs including doctorate, master's and bachelor's degree programs, higher diplomas, postgraduate certificates and diploma programs. In addition, 19 overseas institutions were granted approval in 2016 to offer 34 tertiary educational programs. (Higher Education Bureau, 2020)

After the political transition of Macau from a Portuguese territory to a Special Administrative Region of China in 1999, the city experienced rapid economic development. Under the formula of 'One Country, Two Systems,' Macau enjoys a high level of autonomy as a Special Administrative Region of China with its own legal system, currency and autonomy over all matters of internal affairs including education (Bray, & Kwo, 2003). Unlike other parts of the world where governments have decreased their expenditure on higher education, Macau is privileged and supports its higher education through both the public and private sectors.

The Macau government receives large amounts of revenue from taxation and is therefore able to increase its expenditure on higher education. Although educational opportunities are plentiful, distribution of resources is inequitable. According to Lau and Yuen (2014), it is observed that one institution, the University of Macau, is getting the largest share of the pie. This uneven distribution is the result of the government strategy to increase the competitiveness of this particular university for the vision of evolving UM into a world class university.

In 2009, the Beijing government decided to grant a piece of land to Macau for the development of a new UM campus. Such generous support from the Beijing government and the Macau SAR government for public higher education demonstrates the awareness of nurturing educated individuals for the knowledge-based economy.

Taiwan

In 1950s, after ROC government retreated from Mainland China, higher education in Taiwan was developed for nation building and economical and political development. The strong demand for technical talents also surfaced due to robust economic growth in the 1960s. The government en-

deavored to set up public institutions for post-secondary education and decreased restrictions on the establishment of private institutions.

Since 1950, the higher education system of Taiwan has evolved from an elite system to a universal one today. Educational authorities in Taiwan have been expanding higher education since the 1990s to meet the demands of economic transformation and to meet cultural expectations. The number of universities in Taiwan increased from 7 in 1950 to 164 in 2008 (Evaluation bimonthly 2015). Only 28% of the young people in Taiwan were allowed to enter universities in 1995, but the proportion rose to 70% in 2013.

According to Chen, & Chin (2016),

After the lifting of martial law in 1987, the government began to consider neo-liberal policies. As higher education expanded in the 1990, the government started to restrain its spending and increased the deregulation, decentralization, and the internationalization of higher education institutions (HEIs). The revised University Law of 1994 modified universities away from the previously centralized model of governance toward being more autonomous entities. (Chen, & Chin, 2016, p.117)

According to Chang, Wu, Ching, & Tang (2009),

After the increase in higher education... In order to reduce the government's burden of higher education financing, the MoE has adopted a new policy to finance all national universities in Taiwan by providing only 80% of the total budget, while leaving the remaining 20% to the financial resources of individual universities. In addition, the Educational Funding System was introduced to ensure the efficient use of government funding. In the Educational Funding System, all revenues and expenditures are supervised and managed by the Board of Educational Funding with the aim of promoting the independence of HEIs and the efficiency of funding management. (Chang, Wu, Ching, & Tang, 2009, p. 48)

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With the pressure to compete internationally and to attain global recognition, Taiwan government also began to introduce market competition mechanisms in 2000 to supplement the ordinary funding scheme. When the universities apply for those funding schemes, MoE would evaluate their application proposal, executive plan, and performance to make sure the universities move in the right direction and are accountable for their actions (ibid).

A review of the development of higher education in Taiwan over the past few decades shows that governance in higher education has transitioned from a centralized administration to government-regulated and market-driven management; yet, authority has remained the primary governance tool of Taiwan's government.

Singapore

Since gaining independence in 1965, Singapore has pulled itself out of poverty and forged an economic powerhouse. Since the late 1990s, the city-state placed more emphasis on reforming and restructuring its higher education sector to achieve the status of "Asia's global education hub" as part of the transformation toward a knowledge-based economy. The sector experienced massive expansion in the 1980s and 1990s with a huge rise in student participation rates from a mere 5 percent in 1980 to 21 percent in 2001. (Department of Statistics Singapore, 2002)

In such a context, the education hub strategy was described as a means to increase national income and enhance national competitiveness under the slogan of making Singapore 'the Boston of the East.' To uphold this aspiration, the government launched the Global Schoolhouse strategy in 2002 and thus launched a series of policies to reform its higher education sector. The strategy was seen as an important measure to open up the territory of the city-state to the presence of overseas Higher Education providers and consumers. The government proactively invited globally prestigious universities to establish branch campuses in the city-state. However, there is a growing sentiment among Singaporeans against this "open-door" policy, as local university places are lost to international students. Such a sentiment forces the Singaporean government to make changes in its strategic direction. In this context, the "Singaporeans first" notion emerged and the focus of the Global Schoolhouse policy has shifted from managing global challenges to finding the right balance between global and local agendas (Tan, 2011). These initiatives demonstrate that Singapore adopted and insisted on a state-centric model in implementing the Global Schoolhouse strategy.

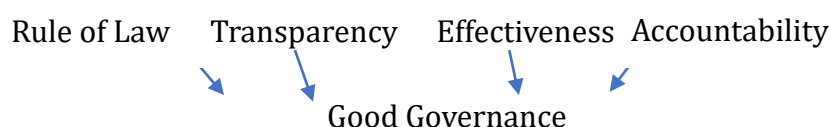
Singapore government has been increasing the higher education budget as universities have contributed much towards economic growth (Gopinathan, & Lee, 2011). The government wished to cultivate human capital to compensate for the lack of natural resources and space. Singapore has successfully transformed an export-oriented economy manufacturing electronics, petrochemicals and component and precision engineering, to an economy focused on services, innovation and research since 1991. (Loke, Chia, & Gopinathan, 2017) As a small city state with a few universities, Singapore was able to put policies in place at the national and the institutional levels between 1999-2009 without much opposition from institutions and segments which were left at a disadvantage.

Generally speaking, although this city state implemented a series of market reforms, such as centralized decentralization", entrepreneurialization, globalization, internationalization, marketization, and massification to expose Singaporean educational institutions to competition, the Singapore state continues to play a strong role in steering the reform process and ensuring that the plans of individual universities meet the goals of the national policies.

Comparative Study of Higher Education Governance in Greater China

According to the United Nations, good governance has 8 major characteristics: participation, rule of law, transparency, responsiveness, consensus oriented, equity and inclusiveness, effectiveness and efficiency, and accountability.

Because it is impossible to list all the above-mentioned characteristics in a condensed way with all necessary details, this paper will focus on the formal actors involved in decision-making and implementation as well as the formal structures that have been set in place to make and implement the decision. Good governance in higher education in this paper will be measured and examined by the following attributes only: rule of law, transparency, effectiveness, and accountability.



These four attributes cover the dimensions of the state's institutions and structures, decision-making processes, capacity to implement, and the relationship between government, officials and the public.

Rule of Law and Transparency

First of all, rule of law means that any related laws are declared and implemented for impartial enforcement. Transparency means that stakeholders understand and have access to the means and manner in which decisions are made, especially if they are directly affected by such decisions. This information must be provided in an understandable and accessible format, usually communicated through the media.

All the major related regulations declared in these countries in Greater China in the past 30 years are retrieved and extracted from their authorities' websites, online documents, publications, etc. in order to clearly evaluate how each government in Greater China has administered the rule of law and transparency of government policy in their HE reform.

By doing this, we can also assess if the info is open, accessible, easy-to-understand for the public or stakeholders to scrutinize their education policy-making development to compare their transparency level.

China

The Chinese government holds the belief that education is the basis of national development and modernization. In China, there are many laws and regulations in education. They are regarded as effective ways of steering and monitoring implementation across a large and complex system. The government uses laws and regulations to protect access to education and guarantee high-quality education.

The Ministry of Education often drafts these laws and submits them for approval by the National People's Congress. Once approved, the State Council enacts the law. Finally, the National People's Congress formalizes local policies and implementation measures at the respective levels.

All the related law and policies from the year of 1999, reports from the year of 2017 and statistics from the year of 2010 can be found and accessed from the official websites of China's Ministry of Education.

Year	Regulation	Purpose to stipulate the law
1985	Decision on the Reform of the Education Structure	A shift of financial responsibilities from the central government to local levels.
1990	Draft Regulation of Higher Education Institution Evaluation	Evaluate and quality control higher education.
1993	Decision on the Development of the Tertiary Industry	Education was part of Tertiary Industry and those who invested in it would own and benefit from it.
1993	Programme for Education Reform and Development in China	The central government would refrain from exercising direct control over education
1993	Mission outline of the development and reform of China's education	Actively encourage and support social agencies and citizens to establish schools
1998	Law on Higher Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Stipulate the general principles behind the policy of decentralization. ▪ Call for more diversified modes of educational services and allow more flexibility for local and provincial governments to run higher education.
2003	Action Plan of Education Innovation 2003-2007	Require all HEIs undergo quality evaluation every 5 years.

2010	The National Outline for Medium-and-Long-Term Educational Reform and Development (2010-2020)	Build a modern Chinese model of university governance as an important task of higher education reform.
2017	Double First Class University Plan	Aim at comprehensively developing elite Chinese universities and their individual faculty departments into world-class institutions by the end of 2050.

Source: Website of MOE, China, from http://en.moe.gov.cn/documents/laws_policies/

Hong Kong

Higher education in Hong Kong is managed by Education Bureau.

Year	Regulation	Purpose to stipulate the law
2000	Review of Education System Reform Proposal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Expand higher education provisions. Privatize higher education. Urge the government to provide educational opportunities for its people to develop their global competencies/skills.
2000	Learning for Life and Learning through Life: Reform Proposals for the Education System in Hong Kong	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provide a student-focused, win-win environment. Build quality, lifelong learning and society-wide mobilization Aim to increase the participation rate of tertiary education to 60% by 2010.
2004	Policy Address	Aim to promote HK as Asia's world city
2016	Pilot Scheme on the Articulation of Hong Kong Sub-degree Graduates to Huaqiao University	Open up opportunities for Hong Kong sub-degree graduates to be articulated to Mainland institutions

Source: Education Bureau, the Government of the Hong Kong SAR, from <https://www.edb.gov.hk/en/edu-system/postsecondary/policy-doc/index.html>

Macau

Higher education in Macau is managed by the Tertiary Education Services Office (GAES). It was established in 1992. According to GAES, its major responsibilities include to initiate and to formulate policies for the development of higher education; to assist and promote higher education; and to help evaluate the performances of institutions of higher education.

However, now it is the Higher Education Bureau under the Office of the Secretary for Social Affairs and Culture who is responsible for assistance, follow-up and the development of higher education in Macau. It was formerly the Tertiary Education Services Office (GAES), and was renamed the Higher Education Bureau in 2019, through the reorganization of functions and structure.

Year	Regulation	Purpose to stipulate the law
1991	Higher Education Regulation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Establish systematic guidance for higher education development. Aim to develop and upgrade local skills and capacity through higher education. Approve and recognize private institutions of higher education
1992	Amendment of Higher	Amend the previous regulation from 1991.

	Education Regulation	
1994	Regulation of Master and Doctoral Degree achievement at the University of Macau	Govern the organization of degrees in different categories, the criteria for their conferral, and other related matters
1998	Establishment of Tertiary Education Services Office	Regulate the structure, personnel, and finances of the Tertiary Education Services Offices
1999	Higher Education Programmes Conducted by Non-Local Higher Education Institutions	Regulate how overseas institutions/distance learning in Macau should operate, be approved, etc.
2003	Verification of Academic Qualification	Check, verify, and recognize authenticity of the diplomas/certificates
2017	Higher Education Quality Evaluation System	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Guarantee and continuously enhance the quality of Macao's higher education. ▪ Reinforce the autonomy and responsibility of higher education institutions. ▪ Correspond to the trend of global higher education development.

Source: Website of GAES, from http://www.dses.gov.mo/en/e_law_title.html

Taiwan

Department of Higher Education from Ministry of Education takes the responsibility for assisting and guiding HEIs' development and quality for carrying out their respective missions and mandates.

Year	Regulation	Purpose to stipulate the law
1994	University Act	Grant more autonomy and flexibility to colleges and universities in Taiwan.
2002	Plan for Enhancing International Competitiveness	Encourage international exchange activities, improving students' English proficiency and encourage colleges and universities to recruit international students
2005	Teaching Excellence Project	Improve teaching quality of HEIs.
2005	Development Plan for World Class University and Research Centers of Excellence	Establish internationally competitive research universities through concentrating extra funds in a small amount of chosen research universities.
2018	Higher Education Sprout Project	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Aim to enhance the quality of universities and promote the diversification of higher education to secure students' equal right to education. ▪ Aim to reinforce international competitiveness through facilitating universities to achieve world-class status and developing cutting-edge research centers with funding support.

Source: Website of MOE, Taiwan, from <https://english.moe.gov.tw/lp-48-1.html>

Singapore

In Singapore, the Higher Education Division of the Ministry of Education (MOE) oversees the provision of postsecondary education, which includes the polytechnics, the Institute of Technical Education (ITE), the autonomous and private universities and publicly subsidized institutions.

Year	Regulation	Purpose to stipulate the law
1997	Thinking Schools, Learning Nation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Vision for a total learning environment. ▪ Develop creative thinking skills, a passion for lifelong learning and nationalistic commitment among the youth ▪ Vision of learning as a national culture, where creativity and innovation flourish at every level of society.
1998	World Class University programme	Seek to position Singapore as the "Boston of the East."
2000	Fostering Autonomy and Accountability in Universities	Enhance autonomy and accountability for universities
2002	Global Schoolhouse Strategy	Open up the territory of Singapore to the presence of overseas higher education providers and consumers.
2005	The University Corporatization Act	Change publicly funded universities into companies to enhance their autonomy and accountability while government retains its control over the higher education sector.

Source: Website of MOE, Singapore, from: [https://www.moe.gov.sg/about/org-structure/higher education-group/hep](https://www.moe.gov.sg/about/org-structure/higher-education-group/hep)

Effectiveness and Accountability

In this paper, effectiveness refers to processes and institutions producing results which meet needs while making the best use of resources. Accountability refers to the act of holding public officials or service providers responsible for processes and outcomes and imposing sanctions if specified outputs and outcomes are not delivered.

Facing the changing economic and political dynamics of the modern world, governments in the selected countries in this paper are all forced to improve their competitiveness in the global market environment with the following major reforms: massification and privatization of HE to provide more educational opportunities to the public; establishing world-class university status to maintain qualified faculty; academically gifted and successful students; excellence in research; quality teaching at an international standard; high levels of funding; well-equipped facilities; internationalization to provide an educational practice within an environment that integrates a global perspective. In the following study, we will only focus the above-mentioned reforms to assess the effectiveness and accountability.

China

China has made considerable strides in advancing tertiary education over the last decade, with the number of institutions more than doubling and government expenditures increasing from \$52.66

billion in 2003 to \$311 billion in 2014. With a great number of universities existing in mainland China, voices demanding greater respect in the global community have become stronger and stronger. Some Chinese universities actually have worldwide reputations, but they rarely have decent positions in the rankings and league tables (Shen, 2018). Therefore, the 211 Project and 985 Project, initiatives designed to raise research standards and cultivate people with talent, demonstrate the effort Chinese leaders are making to modernize the country's education system and develop elite Chinese universities into world-class institutions (China Power Team, 2016).

According to Chen (2011), China pays attention to two aspects in terms of higher education internationalization. One is sending students to study abroad, and hosting foreign students. From 1978 to 2014, 459,800 Chinese students have studied overseas, which ranks China above all other countries in the world. (MOE, 2014). Meanwhile, 356,499 international students from 200 countries studied in Chinese institutions of higher education in 2013. Most recently, the Chinese government announced its goal of increasing the number of international students studying in China to be tripled within the next five years (Lin, 2019).

The other method for boosting internationalization in higher education is Chinese-foreign cooperation in running schools. Advanced patterns and professional course settlement can be borrowed and learned through Chinese-foreign cooperation in running schools. According to the statistics, there are more than 1,000 Chinese-foreign cooperations in running schools and projects across China's 28 provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities as of 2005 (Jiang, & Feng, 2006).

While China's higher education institutions follow state's legislation and exercise autonomy in providing education according to the needs of society, China has recently experienced rising unemployment rates of university graduates as a result of HE expansion.

Macau

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Due to its small size and population, the current number of HEIs in Macau is deemed sufficient.

The University of Macau is criticized for receiving disproportionate amounts of educational resources, but this uneven distribution is the result of the government strategy to increase the competitiveness of this particular university for the vision of evolving UM into a world class university. Without failing the government's expectation, University of Macau, was ranked 351-400 in the Times Higher Education World University Ranking in 2018. Macau is a part of China but differs from the mainland in laws, currencies, and educational systems. Macau can be considered to be a product of hybrid systems which combine Western elements into Chinese settings—between domestic and foreign. Macau plays a dual role as a destination in itself and as a stepping-stone for mainland students' international mobility. (Li, 2015)

Hong Kong

The Hong Kong government adoption of managerialism has introduced management reforms and adopted a market-oriented approach in running education, bringing the efficiency and effectiveness of educational service delivery to Hong Kong.

According to Wong (2018), Hong Kong's internationalization agenda, driven by the University Grants Committee (UGC) which controls the funding of universities and various international ranking agencies by incorporating internationalization as an indicator of good performance, can be observed in the following dimensions.

Firstly, internationalization focuses on the recruitment of non-local or international students. Compared to ten years ago, the numbers of non-local students studying in the UGC-funded institutions in Hong Kong have increased at least fivefold. However, the majority of non-local students originat-

ed from the Chinese mainland. Although this shows that Hong Kong can attract a significant number of Chinese students, there is still much room for local universities to increase the proportion of students from Asia and other parts of the world under the wider goal of true internationalization.

The second dimension of internationalization refers to the integration of Hong Kong's universities into an active network with international counterparts by demonstrating their "world-class" performance through international rankings. Many universities in Hong Kong have been well ranked with six Hong Kong universities among the top 400 in the Times Higher Education World University Rankings. These universities also made good use of their institutional reputation to explore markets for higher education outside Hong Kong, especially on the mainland. They have also explored opportunities to collaborate with Chinese universities to jointly offer self-financed postgraduate programs and courses in China. Local universities also utilize their international prestige to build ties with overseas partners to offer programs and undertake collaborative research projects. Hong Kong higher education is well regarded in the world due to its goal of creating an educational hub in the region and maintaining international competitiveness.

In the 1990s, when Hong Kong was still a British colony, new accountability policies were enacted, notably the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) and the Teaching and Learning Quality Processes Review (TLQPR). Hong Kong was the first among the East Asian nations to apply quality measures to monitor its higher education sector (Mok, & Lee, 2002).

In short, while the Hong Kong government has adopted a relatively liberal approach in the massification process of higher education and the development of transnational education, they also used varied forms of quality assurance and audits based on the ideas of "value for money" and "fitness for purpose" to ensure that HEIs remain accountable to the public.

Taiwan

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As noted above, Taiwan's higher education has expanded at an unprecedented pace, admitting more students rather than limiting it to the elites. Although in 2005 the MOE established a professional evaluation institute, the Higher Education Evaluation and Accreditation Council of Taiwan (HEE-ACT), to train professional staff and set up standards and database, the rapid expansion of the higher education system caused some unexpected consequences. For one, the overly rapid upgrade of some vocational/technical colleges into universities changed the nature of some HEIs. This allowed them to convert into "comprehensive universities" at the expense of their original educational foundation for vocational and technical training, which had formerly been at the core of Taiwan's economic development strategy (Chou, 2008; Hayhoe, 2002). Another impact came from the government's introduction of market competition mechanisms, which accelerated the uneven distribution of resources among public/private and elite/non-elite HEIs and eventually increased social stratification in Taiwan (Chou, & Wang, 2012; Chen, & Chen, 2009). In addition, an excess of university graduates has resulted in a gap between higher education and the job market due to the increasing numbers of students who have difficulties in finding a job in their university discipline. The unemployment rate of university graduates increased from 2.7 percent in 1993 to 5.84 percent in 2012. (Chou, 2014).

Since the 1990s, the Taiwanese government began emphasizing the internationalization of higher education. The 'White Paper on Higher Education' was promulgated in 2001. This document argued that Taiwanese higher education should promote high academic standards, increase the recruitment of international students, and offer English curricula to mitigate its lack of internationalization. With Taiwan's entry into the World Trade Organization in 2002, policies concerning higher education internationalization were further emphasized to improve Taiwan's competition with other countries and expand its higher education market. The Taiwanese government designed the 'Plan

for Promoting Universities' International Competitiveness' in 2002 with the goal to increase the university recruitment of overseas students and the provision of international courses. Afterwards, follow-up policies were promulgated, including the 'Program for Extending the Recruitment of Overseas Students' in 2004, the 'Southern Sunshine Policy' (i.e. the extension of the recruitment of overseas students from Southeast Asia) in 2008, and the 'Study-in-Taiwan Enhancement Program' in 2011. The plan proposed establishing Taiwan as a higher education hub in East Asia and set a goal of enrolling 150,000 overseas students by 2020, which would account for 10% of the total number of university students in Taiwan (MOE, 2011; Liao, 2018).

In an attempt to provide universities with more incentives for pursuing excellence and to offset the declining quality of universities due to rapid expansion and public budget cuts, the MOE launched the World-Class Research University Project and Higher Education for Excellence plan in 2003-2014. Seven years after the plan started, 11 of the universities subsidized by this plan are ranked in the world's top 500 universities as well as the world's top 100 universities in the global university rankings as of the end of 2013 (UK's The Times Higher Education World Ranking and Quacquarelli Symonds, QS) (Ministry of Education, 2014).

Singapore

Singapore's education system has been lauded for its achievements in delivering quality universal schooling to its citizens. It consistently tops international educational rankings, produces students who win international competitions, and churns out graduates who are among the most desired in the world. From the website of Singapore's Ministry of Education, their policy considerations are based on economic relevance, quality education, and cost-effectiveness when considering any expansion of the university sector.

In terms of their internationalization of higher education, for instance, the Singapore government reviewed its economic and educational structures in response to the 1997 Asian financial crisis and then launched the Thinking Schools, Learning Nation (TSLN) initiative. The TSLN was a direct response to globalization, borrowed heavily from foreign models of teaching and learning, and was a retooling of the national education system to meet the needs of the global knowledge economy (Gopinathan, 2007).

In 2002, the Ministry of Trade and Industry sought to build on the WCUP aimed at attracting 10 elite foreign universities to Singapore within 10 years. It was hoped that the foreign universities would help transform Singapore into an innovation society. With this program, Singapore turned into an international education hub to capture a larger share of the global higher education market and increase education's contribution to the GDP (Economic Review Committee, 2002). Thus, the Global Schoolhouse (GSH) Program became the overall policy framework for internationalization of higher education in Singapore.

The basic vision of GSH was to transform Singapore into an innovation society by: bringing in prestigious foreign universities; tripling the number of international students to 150,000; recruiting talented researchers capable of contributing to Singapore's knowledge economy; encouraging more innovation, creativity, and entrepreneurialism among local students; improving the capacity and reputation of national universities; improving the private sector (Gopinathan, & Lee, 2011).

Given Singapore's seemingly successful development of its higher education sector, GSH can be considered a great success, but there are still some setbacks. Several high profile universities have closed their operations in Singapore, such as Johns Hopkins University, University of Chicago, and New York University, etc. Singapore also failed to achieve its ambitious goal of 150,000 international students amidst considerable political resistance from citizens who felt foreigners were being prior-

itized over their own interests (Mok, 2016). Also, while Singapore has been successful in attracting talented researchers, it has had some trouble retaining them, due largely to the heavy pressure to produce research with immediate economic benefits (Sanders, 2019).

Conclusion

According to Lewis and Gelandar (2009), good governance in education systems promotes effective delivery of education services.

Laws and regulations related to the aforementioned comparative study have been introduced and promulgated for universities to plan their operations, apply for funds, enhance their global competitiveness, etc. The information can be easily accessed on government websites for the stakeholders and the public to retrieve and scrutinize. Such practice can be regarded as good indicators of rule of law and transparency. Also, massification and privatization of higher education and learning best practices from world-class universities in the region have commonly been adopted to increase the number of higher learning opportunities and to elevate the excellence of their higher education. Those practices are also regarded as good indicators of effectiveness and accountability.

Although each state has implemented reforms in their higher education system, some countries face great challenges after reform. First of all, using such rankings as a rationale for developing world-class universities is widely criticized since rankings' "one size fits all procedure" reduces the complexity into a simple formula. University quality is not necessarily being improved by pursuing world-class university status. Subsequent to the higher education expansion, some negative outcomes also arose, such as the uneven distribution of resources to public and private universities, greater social divisions between public and elite institutions and private and non-elite institutions, unbalanced distribution of higher education resources between urban and rural areas, and surplus of university graduates in Taiwan and China. In addition, with the low birthrate, many universities in Taiwan are also estimated to be in danger of disappearing in the near future. Such outcomes brought on by the reform do not meet expectations of good governance in terms of the effectiveness, efficiency and accountability.

Overall, each government of the aforementioned countries exhibits the characteristics of good governance in terms of rule of laws, transparency, and effectiveness to some extent. Some countries may not meet the expectations of their people in terms of equity or accountability. As the forms of governance in the countries have been intertwining the traditionally "centralized and bureaucratic governance structure" with "market-driven and internationally benchmarking model," governments are expected to continue developing their steering capacities in horizontal rather than hierarchical ways to conform to new democratic expectations from the public.

Each government should consult with stakeholders and exercise prudence in decision-making to ensure sustainable higher education development and progress in the greater China region in the future. They should consider the social context of their society in order to better cope with the unexpected results of previous reform such as possible university closure or merger, more university graduates than needed, balance between the quantitative development and qualitative improvement, etc.

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Book Review

by Anja Franz

Andrea Óhidy & Katalin R. Forray (Eds.) (2019). *Lifelong Learning and the Roma Minority in Central and Eastern Europe*. Emerald Publishing Limited. 240 pp., ISBN: 9781838672607 (Hardcover)

Roma people live throughout all European countries. They are Europe's largest and fastest-growing minority group with about 10-12 million people living mostly in the Central, Eastern and Southern parts of the continent. At the same time, they are the most disadvantaged group in Europe in regard to health, labour, housing and education. Despite all of this, little is known about Roma in European countries: they are referred to as a "hidden" or "forgotten" minority (p.2).

The anthology of Andrea Óhidy and Katalin R. Forray addresses this research gap and provides an overview of the current social and educational situation of Roma people in Central and Eastern Europe. It discusses the policies implemented to develop the success of Roma in education in these eight Central and Eastern European countries: Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Hungary, Moldova, Poland, Romania and Slovakia. It addresses professionals in the field of education sciences and practice in Europe and beyond.

The book opens with the introduction "Lifelong Learning and the Roma Minority in Central and Eastern Europe" by Katalin R. Forray and Andrea Óhidy (pp. 1-13). This chapter offers the reader a short overview about the Roma people in Europe and provides information about the current information regarding the social status and education of European Roma. It also includes helpful insights about the structure of the anthology.

In Chapter 1 "Bottom up, Top down and Human Rights - Roma Organizations, Policy Frameworks and European Institutions" (pp. 15-24) Natasha Hofmann reviews the policy measures aimed at the improvement of the education of Roma people following the Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005-2015 by the European Union (EU). She focuses on the discourse surrounding the European perception of Roma. After all, this decade produced a number of political achievements in the form of measures taken towards equal social participation and human rights for the Roma population. Continuous improvements in the education of Roma are recognized. Nevertheless, the problems of Roma people getting access to school, labour, housing and the healthcare system remain driven by discrimination and exclusion.

The following chapters have a similar structure and focus on the education situation of the Roma minority in various European countries starting with Bulgaria. The author Milena Ivova Ilieva clearly describes the disadvantages the Roma community faces in the Bulgarian education system (pp. 27-47). She gives a broad overview of the marginal position of Roma in the society by providing information on numbers, groups, names, legal status, social situation, culture and languages of Roma people in Bulgaria. She also presents a summary report of how the treatment of Roma in the Bulgarian education system is reliant on national statistical data. There is, however, a shortage of public data on ethnicity. Even the limited data which is available shows a low level of education among Roma children along with a great risk of illiteracy and complete school absenteeism. Ilieva takes a closer look at the source of these issues, finding that problems arise from economic conditions, attitudes towards the education of the Romany community, as well as attitudes from the majority population and the institutional setting within the state itself, closing "the vicious circle for the Roma people" (p. 34). There are various policy measures for Roma integration with the aim of

welfare improvement within this minority group, but they remain rather ineffective and fail to address the specific needs of the Roma community. Therefore the author gives twelve suggestions for improvement of the educational integration of Roma children: 1) Harmonization of all institutional programs, 2) regular monitoring of educational integration, 3) enhancement of early childhood education, 4) introduction of multicultural education to schools to overcome deprivation and frustration of Roma children, 5) enhancement of curricula towards the formation of an multicultural environment in schools, 6) perseverance from teachers, parents and children, 7) close community work with the parents to prepare an environments for homework, 8) involvement of the parents into all day school life, 9) introduction of changes in the law on education to prevent children from remaining illiterate while attending school, 10) encouragement of children searching for educational opportunities in addition to school, 11) improvement of the Roma living and working conditions and 12) promotion of kindergarten and school life using digital innovations.

Chapter 3 written by Goran Lapat and Renata Miljević-Ridički focuses on the education situation of the Roma minority in Croatia (p. 49-69). They take care to account for the specific circumstances of the lives of Roma women as they are "doubly marginalized because of their Roma ethnicity and their gender" (p. 49). Next to statistical data on numbers, groups, names, legal status, social situation, culture and languages of Roma people in Croatia, the authors provide interview data which give interesting insights into day-to-day problems of the Roma minority. The following pages give the reader some idea of the Croatian measures for improving Romani languages (p. 58) and Roma participation in the education system (p. 60). The data show that Roma children rarely attend preschool and that a large number does not complete elementary school. They also rarely attend secondary school or participate in tertiary education. The chapter ends with a summary of Croatian policies and support programs for Roma education (p. 65). However, the authors focus solely on the description of the situation, there is no information about the efficiency e.g. of the measures or programs.

Markéta Levínská, Dana Bitternová and David Doubek concentrate on the Roma minority in the Czech Republic (pp. 71-95). They describe the Roma minority as a heterogeneous group, regarding their economic and social status. After listing information about numbers, groups, names, legal and social status of the Roma people, the authors shed light on their educational attainment and policies and support programs. It seems that rather a high number of Roma children (one third) in the Czech Republic are attending a school for children with mild intellectual disabilities and there is a lack of inclusive education (p. 80). These matters should be urgently discussed with consideration of mechanisms of discrimination and racism. Current research related to the state of Roma education show that the "Roma ethnicity is perceived as problematic by schools, mainly teachers, and is not associated with positive cultural capital" (p. 85). Not surprisingly, Roma pupils of standard schools face stigmatization and rejection. This is why Roma parents tend to choose practical schools for their children. The authors conclude by describing family background, educational institutions, teaches and personal intentions as critical factors for the success of Roma children (pp. 86-89).

The next chapter from Julianna Boros and Eszter Gergye describes the situation of the Roma population in Hungary, based on available statistical data, with a focus on educational opportunities (pp. 97-114). In Hungary, Roma people are also "one of the most endangered by poverty and social exclusion" (p. 98). Overall, consistently low levels of education, high unemployment and lack of stable employment or sufficient income as well as segregation lead to deprivation and exclusion. The authors describe the Hungarian Roma minority as a "heterogenous group with regard to their spoken languages and their cultures" (p. 98). There are different linguistic groups whose lives vary heavily in terms of geographic locations, housing situations, and access to employment. The participation of Roma in education is referred to as "unsatisfactory" and successful educational

careers are still rare (p. 105). There are several initiatives and programs supporting success in school, but those initiatives are unfortunately not "widely spread throughout the country" (p. 110). In the summary of the chapter the authors state that education is the key to future life possibilities for Roma children. It is therefore important to strengthen their educational opportunities and help to prevent deprivation and discrimination: "Through the personal successes of Roma and Gypsy people, the whole society would benefit at a national level." (p. 112).

Roma in the education system in the Republic of Moldova is the topic of the chapter written by Maria Diacon (pp. 115-134). The chapter offers in-depth information about aspects of life conditions, health and education of this most precarious minority in the Republic of Moldova based on a quantitative study covering Roma households. The author describes the disadvantages the Roma community faces starting with providing information on numbers, groups, names, legal status, social situation, culture and languages of Roma people in the Republic of Moldova. Differences between the Roma education status and that of the rest of the population are the most dramatic, as Roma have a much lower level of education. Looking at illiteracy among the Roma, it shows that 21 percent of the Roma have no education at all while only three percent of the non-Roma population do not have basic reading and writing abilities (p. 127). This "practically excludes a significant part of the population from the social and economic life and significantly limits their possibilities to find well-paid jobs" (p. 126).

Agnieszka Świątek and Wiktor Osuch give an overview on the Roma community in Poland, the share of the population, its spatial distribution and the education of Romani children. Their research findings show that the educational situation of Roma students over the last decade has improved (p. 144-149). Additionally, some successful governmental programs of support for the education of Roma have been initiated (p. 149). However, Roma still have a low level of education, Roma students are more likely to not be accepted by their classmates and the contact between parents and the school seems to be limited. Therefore, the authors conclude: "The Romani education is now in the early stage of its development and it requires further support and monitoring." (p. 136).

Lifelong Learning for Roma in Romania is the topic of the chapter written by Aurora Adina Colomeischi. Roma people are the second largest minority group in Romania after Hungarians (p. 159-179). Based on statistical data, the author describes a great diversity of the Roma minority regarding geographical distribution, dialects, cultural heritage and traditions. Even though they are the most heterogeneous ethnic group in Romania, they face similar problems such as poor living conditions, low access to public goods and also a low level of education (p. 160). There are severe inequalities regarding education of Roma people starting in preschool education, as only very few Roma children attend kindergarten. While the level of education of Roma people is significantly lower than that of the general Romanian population, the most disadvantaged group is female Roma. The author describes several policies and support programs for Roma education in Romania (p. 171) as well as the Romanian initiative "Roma Children and Parents Want to School!" as an example for best practice (p. 176).

The Roma minority in Slovakia, the center of interest of Rastislav Rosinský, has the highest risk of poverty, discrimination and segregation (pp. 181-201). The Roma people suffer significantly from a lack of infrastructure and medical care in their communities as well as marginalization and even exclusion in the labour market. Education of Roma is also at very low level. A special issue is the attendance of so called "special schools" for pupils with special educational needs, "who are considered to be not sufficiently equipped to master the main education stream in primary and secondary schools". After finishing a special school, pupils cannot continue their education in a secondary school. Slovakia 60 percent of the children attending special schools are Roma children: "Roma children are in the trap of a vicious circle of poverty, marginalization and despair." (p. 195). There are several strategies for the support of Roma education in Slovakia such as the use of

pedagogical assistants or the development of community centres. The most important seems to be the establishment of "year 0" in primary school, which is to prevent experiences of failure and disinterest in school education. The children develop skills to master the first year of primary school such as language and motor skills (pp. 197-200).

Andrea Óhidy concludes with an overview of participation and success of Central and Eastern European Roma in education and lifelong learning (pp. 203-220). The Roma minority suffers in all those countries from poor health, low levels of education, and poor access to labour markets, housing and social services in comparison to the non-Roma population. It is therefore a common challenge to change the marginalized situation of Roma people. The policies and support programs of all the countries discussed in this book have similar aims and objectives due to the common strategy of Roma inclusion developed by the EU. However, the author states that even though there are certain improvements of the situation of Roma in Central and Eastern Europe, the goal of Roma inclusion has yet to be fulfilled. The Roma minority still has limited access to education, labour, housing and healthcare and is confronted with discrimination and exclusion.

This book provides rich and structured information about the situation of the Roma minority in eight European countries and is an inspiring read for a broader scientific readership, including students at all levels. It also gives more advanced students from fields of social sciences and humanities a varied, handy overview and synthesis of recent research about Lifelong Learning and the Roma Minority in Central and Eastern Europe.

About the Reviewer

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Book Review

by Krisztina Sebestyén

Romina Meinig (2019): *Zwischen Antiziganismus und Resilienz. Eine empirische Untersuchung erfolgreicher Sinti und Roma in Deutschland.* [Between Antigypsyism and resilience. An empirical study about successful Sinti and Roma in Germany.] Pécs: Pécsi Tudományegyetem BTK NTI Romológia és Nevelésszociológia Tanszék – Pädagogische Hochschule Freiburg Institut für Erziehungswissenschaft. 144 pp., ISBN: 978-963-429-334-7 (= Gypsy Studies – Cigány Tanulmányok – Roma Studien, Vol. 42.)

Roma and Sinti minorities have been in Europe from many centuries, but there is little information about these groups available today. It is interesting because about 250,000 to 300,000 Roma and Sinti people live, for example, in Germany alone (p. 22). All of the minorities usually have difficult situations in their everyday lives because they have other languages, habits, and lifestyles, so their behaviour is often incongruous to others in mainstream society in different situations. This is true for education as well, but there are always some people – researchers refer to them as resilient –, who can be successful despite their disadvantages. It is interesting to learn more about the backgrounds of these successful people in order to understand the reasons for their success. First, they act as examples for others in similar situations. Second, if specialists know the positive conditions which led to successful completion of schooling, they can use this information to optimize paths to success for Roma and Sinti, the society can develop, and the minorities can more easily adapt to mainstream societal norms.

Romina Meinig is a teacher trainee who is interested in people who belong to Roma and Sinti minorities and how they can complete at least one type of schooling. She wrote her research experiences in a book, which was published in 2019 as the 42. volume of the series "Gypsy Studies – Cigány tanulmányok – Roma Studien". The book has two parts: The author first writes about the theoretical background of Roma and Sinti studies. Secondly, she analyses four interviews with Roma and Sinti people. These interviews discuss paths the subjects took in their lives with a focus on their education. The author is interested in the following topic: how can Roma and Sinti people successfully complete school.

The concepts of resilient, risk factor, and protective factor structure the theoretical background of the study. The term of "resilient" has multiple definitions, but the author uses the conception of Schmidthermes: to be a resilient person means to be successful against many negative circumstances and life conditions. According to the specialists, risk factors are the conditions which can have a negative influence on a person's life. Maybe it is an illness or an accident, but a risk factor can be a mental or a psychosocial condition as well. Personal resources or helpful people close to the resilient person are mentioned in the special literature as protective factors.

The author writes in her book that the Roma and Sinti people must fight against Antigypsyism: a negative social phenomenon which the majority society directs towards Roma and Sinti people. Furthermore, the participation of Roma and Sinti people in education and their social conditions cause challenges in everyday life. Poor language skills is the greatest disadvantage which these people face and is the reason why they spend so little time in educational institutions. They usually do not attend kindergarten and typically drop out of school before graduating. Other reasons can be,

for example, negative experiences or segregation in school, and prejudiced teachers. These reasons have negative effects on the school achievement of Roma and Sinti people as well. Hence, Roma and Sinti people are threatened by poverty and unemployment because they are not (well-)educated, they belong to a minority group, they do not have German citizenship or generally good living conditions, they fight against prejudice, and so on. There are some people who are able to become successful in education despite these circumstances and are able to make better living conditions for themselves and their family.

The most interesting part of Romina Meinig's book is the four interviews, which she held with one Sinti and three Roma people. The two women and two men who were interviewed are between 15 and 39 years old, and all of them completed at least secondary school. One woman was born in Germany; the other three people moved or fled from Kosovo or Bosnia to this country 5-28 years ago. While Meinig summarizes the results of the four interviews on a whole, each interview was completed individually on a one-on-one basis.

This qualitative research has two hypotheses: (1) if somebody's life has some protective factors, they can result in successful completion of schooling; (2) Roma or Sinti people have stronger feelings of social integration in the majority society after successfully completing school. The questions of the half-structured pathway-interviews were inspired by Daniel Strauß's questions and these were constructed in five thematic blocks. These are about (1) people and social resources, (2) fight strategies, (3) factors of integration, (4) development and (5) general information or situations related to the researched topic.

Risk factors in terms of education included poor language knowledge, educational deficits, and one of the interviewees reported a delayed entrance to school. Undereducated parents, death of a family member, refugee status, migration background, poor social conditions at home, and discrimination were listed as social risks. Naturally, not every risk factor mentioned was relevant for every interviewee, but most were true for the majority of participants.

Romina Meinig was interested in researching how these people could successfully complete one type of secondary school, despite these difficult conditions. She found more factors which were helpful on the pathway of these people as well. Many of the interviewed people mentioned their own will or their ambitious and open character. All of them are motivated and would like to be more educated. One of most important factors was the support of other people, for example family members, friends, teachers or psychologists.

In summary, the author found that the first hypothesis was verified, which means that protective factors can support success in education. The interviewee said that if somebody has a qualification, they can be recognized, and it is easier to get a job or to integrate to society. While, three people are proud of their minority identity, one of them thinks that education helps them to separate themselves from other Roma and Sinti people who would not integrate themselves into the majority society. In contrast to the first hypothesis, the second was not verified. Romina Meinig assumed that a successful school completion creates a stronger relationship to the majority society. The interviewed people said that they have relations or common free time activities with some members of the majority, but three of them strongly identify as Roma and Sinti. The fourth person tries to hide their minority identity not only in their native country, but in Germany as well. The reasons are, for example, experiences of discrimination and their attempt to try to find their own identity.

In my opinion, Romina Meinig's book can be interesting for not only specialists, but all members of society. It can be a source of motivation for members of the minority to be well educated and successful in life. After the reading this book, the majority can view the social problems from another perspective. The book can be an interesting reading experience for people who would like

the pathway interviews as well. The book does not contain the transcripts of the interviews in whole, but the cited details and author's analysis inspire further consideration.

About the Reviewer

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Book review
by Reinhard Golz & David Whybra

Tatyana V. Tsyrlina-Spady, & Peter C. Renn (Eds.) (2019). *Nurture, Care, Respect, and Trust. Transformative Pedagogy Inspired by Janusz Korczak*. Gorham, Maine: Myers Education Press. 375 pp., ISBN-13: 978-1-9755-0131-0 (Paperback)

It must be said in advance that it is not possible to do justice to the richness of content, the interdisciplinary diversity and the many pedagogical inspirations in this book. We can only try to give a brief overview of the basic ideas and some of the contents of this book, which is aimed at educational scientists, educational policy-makers and practical pedagogues, but also at philosophers, psychologists and other representatives of the humanities and social sciences.

In the cover text it says rightly:

The book provides answers to timely questions of how to respect children's rights in K-12 schools, community centers, summer camps, and colleges; how to create an atmosphere of trust and safety, and provide social-emotional learning in the classroom; how to become a genuine child advocate; and how to support growing child agency.

The title of the anthology chosen by the editors refers to central categories in the pedagogical heritage of Janusz Korczak and his timelessly inspiring professional-ethical attitudes as a true humanist in the horrible circumstances during the Nazi German occupation of Poland, especially in the Warsaw Ghetto, where Korczak had run orphanages for Jewish and socially neglected children.

Many of the countless publications which have appeared about Korczak in the meantime have described the life and work of this Jewish-Polish paediatrician, pedagogue and writer, and have also reminded us of his attitude during the transport of the children from his orphanage to the extermination camp Treblinka. There are various descriptions of this situation by contemporary witnesses, but they all agree on one thing, namely that Korczak, although he was offered the opportunity to leave, did not abandon the children entrusted to him and went to his death with them.

The depiction of this touching scene in the last days of Korczak's life raises new questions about the professional ethics of the educator in every new generation. Whenever there is talk about Korczak in teacher training, in socio-pedagogical events, in schools etc., one cannot avoid these questions and one must not avoid them.

Sometimes the actual pedagogical-practical achievements, visions and questions of Korczak recede behind the memories and representations of Korczak's death march and the children entrusted to him. But there are still so many thoughts, still undiscussed, challenging questions and tasks for prospective and practicing teachers to discover regarding their own professional and personal development and in the interest of their students. This book offers both an impression of the man Korczak and his work and also - in addition to the contributions - in annexes numerous didactic materials for teaching and learning in schools and other educational institutions.

Korczak developed a pedagogical concept which is described in the pedagogical historiography with different terms. There is talk about "caring pedagogy", "care pedagogy", "orphanage pedagogy" or of "pedagogy of respect"; there is also talk about "psycho pedagogy", "empirical pedagogical diagnostics", and there are works about Korczak as the "Pestalozzi from Warsaw" etc.

This not only points to the complexity and fatefulness of his life and work. It also indicates the specific nature of his contribution to the contemporary national movement of "New Education" in his time, which in Poland was also known as "Ruch nowego Wychowania", in Germany as "Reformpädagogik" and more internationally as "Progressive Education".

Korczak dealt extensively with the problem of children's rights in theory and practice. The most important of these is the "right of the child to respect", which also plays an important role in some contributions to the book under discussion here. Various other rights are assigned to this fundamental right, including the initially irritating "right of the child to die". Korczak's commentary is known, that we for fear that the child may be taken from us, we deprive it of life. His attitudes on this problem are worthy of discussion today and in the future and make us think again and again. It is about the development of independence and self-determination, about scope for own experiences which are in principle risky and about recognition of the right to make mistakes and failures. Apart from the right "to death" understood in this way, the child has, in Korczak's view, the right "to this day" and the right "to be a child". The rights of the child and their contemporary pedagogical interpretation find fundamental consideration in articles of the book under discussion here.

In his pedagogical fiction Korczak often quite deliberately only raises questions and inevitably leads the reader into the situation of thinking more deeply about the answer itself. His books are not strictly theoretical rules of educational methodology, but rather a stimulating contrast to it.

The contributions in the book edited by Tatyana Tsyrlina-Spady and Peter C. Renn, each in its own way, provide just as many suggestions for dealing with the work of Janusz Korczak both from a historical perspective, and to make it useful for present and future educational problems and tasks.

The book consists of contributions from educational scientists, practical pedagogues, representatives of several disciplines of human sciences, educational politicians and others interested in Korczak and the contemporary discussion of his visions. It is introduced by two prefaces, the first by Marta Santos Pais, UN Special Representative of the Secretary General on Violence against Children. She reminds, among other things, that Korczak is one of the promoters of the first international agreements and declarations on the Rights of the Child (1924; 1989) adopted by the United Nations. The second foreword was written by Amy Spangler, a practical educator and director of schools with over 30 years of experience in these areas. She is convinced that reading this book can be a step "in the right direction towards making Korczak's dream for all children a reality today" (p. 20).

The introduction by Tatyana Tsyrlina-Spady and Peter C. Renn is subtitled with "A Letter from the Editors: Ten Reasons to Read This Book" (pp. 23-27). Of these "Reasons..." here are just a few in a nutshell: Often the "legendary final act of love, commitment, and sacrifice to his children" serves to describe Korczak, but there is much more to learn from his personality. The message of the children's right to respect is very timely in the face of the still existing maltreatment in the world today. Korczak reminds us that educators "are not miracle-workers (...), "they renounce hypocritical longing for the perfect child". For beginners in education with high expectations, but also with the feeling of not being sufficiently prepared for disappointments, the knowledge of Korczak's belletristic literature in the educational reality helps. It is especially important to read Korczak's "The Child's Right to Respect", not only for students of pedagogy and trained educators, but also for parents and all those who have responsibility for children (ibid.)

At this point and generally, the thematic breadth and at the same time accuracy of the book's title once again becomes particularly clear; it is about "Nurture, Care, Respect, and Trust".

The individual contributions of the book reflect the pedagogical inspirations of Janusz Korczak in many ways, and the editors have assigned them to five parts. Unusual, but also not without charm, is the recommendation of the editors to the readers to begin the study of the book first with the part that corresponds most to their own interest. The reviewers follow this recommendation in that they

Part 5 "**Transform and Play: Creating Different Educational Realities Inspired by Korczak**" (pp. 244-305), together with the extensive appendix of the book (pp. 307-366), deals with various suggestions and possibilities for the practical implementation of Korczak's pedagogy in school and other educational everyday life. To this end, the contributions of:

Tonia Bock, Darcia Narvaez, Ralph Singh, and Mary S. Tarsha "Guiding Children for Virtue" (pp.247-259); Wojciech Lasota "Bets and Postcards: Fostering Children's Self-Efficacy" (pp. 261-272); Tamara Sztyma "It Is Hard to Be in Charge: What can we learn from *King Matt the First?*" (pp. 273-282); Irina Demakova "Nash Dom Camps: A Unique Space of Childhood" (pp. 283-289); Shirane L.A. Halperin "The Janusz Korczak Contest of Youth Literature" (pp. 291-298); Lukas Ritson and Caitlin Murphy "Respecting and Developing Children: A Valuable Collaboration with Janusz Korczak" (pp. 302-305).

At the end of each part, the editors have inserted assignments for students, which can be used to recapitulate the contents. As already mentioned, there is an extensive appendix with interesting yet challenging and stimulating examples of practical educational work in the Korczak context by Julie Scott "Found Poetry Project" (p. 309 ff.) and Ira Pataki "Youth Courts and Post Cards: Incorporating Korczak and Principles of Restorative Justice in a School Youth Court" (pp. 315-366).

The Book concludes with short information about the 38 authors and a subject and name index concentrated on the Korczak topic. From the point of view of the reviewers, critical references refer only to insignificant things, such as the fact that the headers do not mention the names of the authors additionally to the short titles of the individual articles, that the final list of contributors sometimes contains only cursory information about the authors' origins and their current place of life and work.

For various reasons, authors from Germany and other countries with Korczak societies interested in the same subject could not participate in the conference organized by the editors and held at Seattle Pacific University (2018; see: [Conference Announcement – IDE Journal](#)) which laid the foundation for the contributions of this book. In Germany alone a lot of publications about Korczak's life and work have been published and bibliographed. The topics and sources discussed in this book will now further enrich not only the relevant literature, but also the discussion on the contemporary significance of Janusz Korczak's literary and pedagogical-practical heritage.

This book has its specific meaning for the study of pedagogy and its sub-disciplines (historical, comparative, general pedagogy, intercultural, interreligious education, social pedagogy), but also for the study of other human sciences such as philosophy, psychology and sociology.

The contributions are characterized by new impulses for the worldwide implementation of children's rights. This book should not only belong in the stock of libraries of educational institutions, it is addressed to all people who are committed to the worldwide implementation and effective compliance of children's rights.

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