German Unification and Educational Reform in Eastern Germany:

An Analysis of the Impact of Unification on the Education System in the New Bundesländer and in particular on Instruction in Political Science.

by

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A Thesis submitted to Dublin City University in candidacy for the degree of Master of Arts.

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I hereby declare that none of the material contained in this thesis has been used in any other submission for any other award. Further that the contents of this thesis are the sole work of the author, except where an acknowledgement has been made for any assistance received.

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"The teacher is the ultimate key to educational change and school improvement...It is what teachers think believe and do at the level of the classroom that ultimately shapes the kind of teaching young people get"

Hargreaves, 1994 (in Byrne, 1994:8-9).



by Manfred Bofinger, (Photograph R. Guosser), Kunstausstellung der DDR

"The rules of the world are changing. It is time for the rules of teaching and teachers' work to change with them" Hargreaves, 1994 (in Byrne, 1994:9).

Statement

I hereby certify that this material which I now submit for assessment on the program of study leading to the award of Master of Arts is entirely my own work and has not been taken from the work of others, save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

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Abstract

The political system of the German Democratic Republic (G.D.R.) was strictly centralised with the ruling communist party enjoying absolute power. Therefore, the "Wende" towards the principles of democratic pluralism had profound implications for every aspect of this society.

Education in particular had served as a stabiliser of the communist system. It was distinguished by uniformity of structure, extreme selectivity in terms of content and an authoritarian approach to classroom instruction. Therefore, following the *Wende*, fundamental reform was considered essential. The purpose of this research is to provide an insight into the extent to which this reform has taken place.

Chapter One consists of an analysis of the school system under the communist regime. Structural, curricular and didactic reforms legislated for since unification are outlined in Chapter Two.

Chapter Three provides a more focussed account of the historical development of education in eastern Germany from 1945 to the present, using political science as a case study. It presents the results of informal interviews with teachers and pupils (past and present), and of a postal survey of one hundred and seventy six second level teachers of political education in the former G.D.R.. These indicate that while curricular reform in this key subject has been implemented, teachers continue to favour an authoritarian approach to classroom instruction.

Finally, factors influencing the nature of educational reform in eastern Germany are considered in *Chapter Four*. These include both organisational factors within the school system and external social factors. Recommendations are made on the basis of conclusions drawn.

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Introduction

In the late 1980s a series of events altered the geopolitical landscape of the European continent. Inspired by Gorbachov's "Glasnost", a process of democratisation began in the Soviet block countries. Its most dramatic consequence was the unification of East and West Germany.

Unifying two countries which had developed different socio-economic and political structures over a period of forty years, has created problems and challenges of considerable magnitude. While the immense economic repercussions of unification dominate political life and public discussion in both eastern and western Germany¹, questions of cultural policy have been somewhat neglected.

However, the principle tasks assigned to the G.D.R. education system were those of creating "socialist personalities" and generating support for the *SED* regime. Therefore, following the collapse of state socialism, reform of the East German education system was considered essential.

The central goal of this research is to determine the extent to which this has taken place. Emphasis is placed on structural, curricular and didactic reforms, since it is in these areas that the impact of changing socio-economic and political factors is most clearly visible.

The terms "former G.D.R.", "Five New States" and "eastern Germany" are used interchangeably in this dissertation, as are the terms "G.D.R." and "East Germany". "Western Germany" refers to the old Bundesländer.

The dissertation consists of four chapters. Chapter One is of an introductory nature. It describes the school system under the communist regime. Following an historical introduction, the aims, structures, curricula and teaching practices are examined. The system's positive and negative aspects are considered, as well as its effectiveness in achieving its aims.

Chapter Two outlines the official educational reforms which have appeared in legislative form since unification (external reform). Key developments from the collapse of socialism to the passing of the school reform laws in the newly established states are outlined. The educational aims, structures, curricula and didactic approaches advocated by this legislation, are considered

Chapter Three provides a more focussed and specific assessment of the development of education in eastern Germany from 1945 to the present, using political science as a case study. Its principle function is to determine whether the legislative changes described in the previous chapter are actually being implemented in the classroom (internal reform).

Political education before and after the *Wende* is compared on the basis of informal interviews with teachers and pupils (past and present), as well as the results of a postal survey of one hundred and seventy six eastern German, secondary school teachers of political education.

Chapter Four assesses the factors influencing the nature and speed of educational reform in eastern Germany, on the basis of comments made by teachers and students. Both organisational factors within the school system and external social factors are considered. Finally, recommendations are made on the basis of conclusions drawn.

Chapter One

Socialist Education in the German Democratic Republic from 1949-1989

1.1: Overview

This chapter consists of a description of the education system in the German Democratic Republic. Following a brief historical introduction, the aims, structure, curricula and teaching practices are examined.

1.2: Historical Background

Prior to the partition of Germany after the second world war, second level education was based on the principle of a tripartite structure and the concept of an all-round or general education.

A number of different school forms existed with the "Gymnasium" (Grammar School) and "Realschule" (Intermediate School) on the one hand and the "Volksschule" (Main School) on the other. The Volksschule placed the emphasis on practical subjects. It was intended for those who planned to leave school after nine years compulsory education. The Realschule offered a medium level qualification after ten years. Finally, the Gymnasium, a nine year grammar school with an academic background, prepared students for the higher education entrance qualification ("Abitur") ("Bildung und Wissenschaft", 1991:3).

Following Germany's defeat in world war two, territory not ceded to Poland or the U.S.S.R. was divided into four zones, according to the London Protocol of September 1944 (ratified and extended at the Yalta Conference of February 1945). The powers occupying these zones brought with them many new educational concepts (see Fritsch-Bournazel, 1992:1,73-75).

In the American, French and British zones, the *Volksschule* became a four year primary school and a five year "Hauptschule" (Main School), thus creating, together with the *Gymnasium* and *Realschule*, the tripartite structure as it exists today in the western states. In May 1949, the integration of these zones was sealed with the inception of the "Federal Republic of Germany" (F.R.G.).

In the soviet zone, on the seventh of October 1949, the socialist German state was born. It declared itself the "German Democratic Republic" (G.D.R.) and an inseparable component of the socialist community of states (see Fritsch-Bournazel, 1992:91). In line with the communist ethos a "unified" secondary school was introduced, in which differentiation was eliminated at all levels.

While the western education system has been extensively researched, the eastern system has been somewhat neglected. The remainder of this section attempts to remedy this situation.

1.3: Aims and Objectives of Education

"The G.D.R. was a child of chaos, sired by National Socialism, mothered by Stalinism and destined for a short but eventful life" (McElvoy, 1992:1).

The G.D.R. was created as an anti-fascist, socialist state, or in the words of Fritsch-Bournazel (1992:84): "as a socialist alternative to the F.R.G.".

The ruling socialist party "Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschland" (SED) faced the task of creating a political culture, which would correspond to the newly established political structures (VIII Bildungssystem, 1988: 24). The education system was seen as an important tool in the achievement of this objective (Hearnden, 1974:2).

Its goal was the development of "socialist personalities". The <u>Dictionary of Socialist</u> Youth Policy published by the *SED* publishing house in Dietz in 1975, defines a socialist personality as:

"...a fully fledged personality, knowledgeable on political, specialist and general scientific matters with a firm class view point and a Marxist-Leninist philosophy of life, distinguished by high mental, physical and moral qualities, imbued with collective thought and behaviour and capable of conscious and creative participation in the development of socialism" (in Schneider, 1978:65).

Furthermore, according to the "Law on the Uniform Socialist Education System of the G.D.R." of the 25th February 1965 (in Schneider, 1978:65), a socialist personality is ready at all times to defend not only his/her socialist state but also, under the guise of "proletarian internationalism", the territory and social order of the other eastern European countries. A socialist personality should also reject West Germany and the USA. as "imperialistic".

Erich Honecker (First Secretary (later Secretary General) of the Central Committee of the SED (1971-1989) and President of the Council of State (1976-1989)) in his speech at

Proletarian internationalism has been defined as " a fraternal bond among workers of all countries againsts capitalists of all countries" (Hinke, 1991:78).

the VIII party conference of the SED, described the education of socialist personalities as:

"eines der edelsten Ziele der sozialistischen Gesellschaft" (Honecker, 1971:70).

More specifically, Gerhardt Neuner (President of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences) described the socialist personality as the: "...zentralen Bezugspunkt" of all educational activities (Neuner, 1973:31).

Official party documentation on political, ideological education (including for example Grundpositionen für eine sozialistische Erziehungskonzeption (1966:2-64) and Aufgabenstellung (1969:46)) went a step further and defined the sub-goals which would have to be achieved if socialist personalities were to be developed. These included the adoption by students of specific:

- * behaviour patterns
- * personality traits and
- * convictions.

The requisite behaviour patterns included all those which expressed themselves in the defence of socialism in general, and the German socialist state in particular. The personality traits to be acquired included love of work and the worker, diligence and loyalty to the socialist ideal. Finally, the necessary convictions included support for the historical mission of the working class², faith in the inevitable victory of socialism and the decisive role of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states in the world-wide conflict between socialism and imperialism, acceptance of what the SED considered to be the responsibilities of the youth in the creation of a developed socialist system and finally belief that democracy, freedom and humanity can only survive when the working class and their party hold power (Aufgabenstellung, 1969).

These goals were to be achieved in the "Einheitsschule" (Unified School) which formed the heart of the "Integrated Socialist Education System". The structure and organisation of this system is described in the following section.

To abolish capitalism and replace it with communism (Schneider, 1978:64).

1.4: The Structure of the Integrated Socialist Education System.

The term "Integrated Socialist Education System" was used to describe a system of education and training encompassing a variety of institutions ranging from pre-schools to third level institutions (Schwarze, 1973:73). The system was controlled by the "Ministry of People's Education" in East Berlin.

In later years, the Ministry was dominated by Margot Honecker (Minister for Education from 1963-1989). She directed a team of advisers, inspectors and principals, who in turn set up an extensive network of control mechanisms (see Hockerts-Werner, 1993).

It was intended that the process of education of the "socialist personality" should begin in the home. Section III of the <u>Family Law Book of the G.D.R.</u> (published December 20th, 1965) stated that:

"It is the foremost task of parents to bring up their children in confident co-operation with state and social institutions as healthy, lively, able and well-educated people and active builders of socialism" (Schneider, 1978:65).

Formal education began in the "Kindergärten". Since the majority of women worked outside the home, these were attended by 95% of children aged between three and six. The Kindergärten (open from 6a.m. to 7p.m.) were subject to state supervision and had to follow detailed curricula (Korn and Avakov, 1984:38).

From the age of five children received pre-school education. This took place either within the *Kindergärten* or at "learning afternoons" which took place every second week.

On completion of pre-school education students enrolled in the "Uniform Ten Year Comprehensive School" (or Unified School)³, which was compulsory, co-educational and free of charge (Mitter, 1991:157). During these ten years the system was standardised

In 1959 the "Second School Reform Act" expanded the unified school from its initial eight to ten years (Moore-Rinvolucri, 1973:54).

throughout the country (see Korn and Avakov, 1984:36). Students were taught six days a week in unstreamed classes.

Completion of the Unified School entitled the student either to entry to a technical/vocational school or to preparation for the *Abitur* at an "Extended Secondary School" (Moore-Rinvoluncri, 1973:53). Potential entrants to this "Abiturstufe" as it became known, received special preparatory tuition from the end of year eight (Baske, 1979:142).

Thus the structure of the education system consisted of ten years common compulsory education followed by two further years for those with university aspirations or technical leanings.

In order to guarantee the uniformity of what was taught within this system, detailed curricula were published by the Ministry of Education. A description of these curricula is presented in the following section.

1.5: The Concept and Function of the Integrated Curriculum

"Es gibt kein unpolitisches Fach...keine reinen Fachfragen"

Margot Honecker, 1968 (in Schmitt, 1980a: 52)

The layout of subjects on the official school timetable of the G.D.R. (Table 1.1) appears similar to that in many western countries. The subjects were not conceived in isolation. Instead they were regarded as components of an integrated curriculum, through which ran the guiding thread of the socialist ideal (Schneider, 1978:66).

Table 1.1: School Curriculum of the G.D.R. (Unified School)

Year/ Subject	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
German	11	12	14	14	7	6	5	4	3	3
Russian					6	5	3	3	3	3
Maths	5	6	6	6	6	6	6	4	5	4
Physics						3	2	2	3	3
Astronomy										1
Chemistry							2	4	2	2
Biology					2	2	2	2	1	2
Handwork	1	1	1	2	2	2				
Gardening		1	1	1						
Polytechnic Instruction							4	4	5	5
History				1	2	2	2	2	2	2
Civics							1	1	1	2
Drawing	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	
Music	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
P.E.	2	2	2	3	3	3	2	2	2	2
Hours/ week	21	24	27	29	31	33	32	32	31	32

Source: Moore-Rinvolucri, 1973:54

Analysis of the detailed, mandatory curricula, issued by the Ministry of Education, shows clearly that every subject could be used to foster a Marxist-Leninist view of the world. The following extract from a seventh year chemistry syllabus illustrates this point:

"Instruction in this class is to be used for the politico-ideological education of pupils. By using the knowledge acquired in the geography courses in classes five and seven, pupils are to be made aware of the rapid growth of the chemical industry and the significance of iron ore and steel as the basis for the further development of our economy. The knowledge to be imparted is to be used for education both for patriotism and for friendship with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries" (Monumenta Pädagogica).

1968:818, Ministerium für Volksbildung, Berlin translated in Hearnden, 1974:199).

Those subjects considered directly relevant to the socialist "scientific and technological revolution" were mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology and polytechnic education (Hearnden, 1974:203). These subjects accounted for approximately forty percent of the total time available for classroom instruction (Bruno, 1988:5).

In mathematics, the emphasis was placed on the concepts, statements, definitions, methods and procedures which were considered to embody essential elements of mathematical method as well as philosophical, political and moral ideas. These included for example, conclusions about the relationship between mathematics and objective reality or social practice, the increasing role of mathematics in social development and the application of mathematics to the concept of a planned economy (see Bruno, 1988:8).

Physics instruction concentrated on importing exact knowledge of fundamental physical facts, concepts, laws and theories. Emphasis was placed on material which it was felt would provide a foundation for the teaching of a scientific world outlook and the essential conceptions of dialectical and historical materialism, as well as for promoting "...those moral and character features which are important for living in a socialist society" (Bruno, 1988:8).

Polytechnic education was based on the practical application of mathematics and the natural sciences. It consisted of:

- 1. an introduction to socialist production
- 2. technical drawing and
- 3. productive work experience in socialist enterprises.

The concept of polytechnic education was supported by the Marxist theory that school was not merely a threshold to life but was a part of life in the socialist community. According to **Korn** and **Avakov** (1984:54), students were to be taught to perceive work not merely as a means of obtaining the commodities necessary for living, but rather as a "matter of honour" (see also Moore-Rinvolucri, 1973:36).

In the area of languages, it had been intended in 1945 to offer students the opportunity to study both an eastern language (Russian) and a western language (usually English, more seldom French). However, from 1948 onwards, this pluralistic approach was abandoned. Russian became the obligatory first foreign language for all students from year five. English was demoted to the status of an optional subject, which could be chosen by students from year seven (Schmidt, 1975 in Klapper, 1992:236).

The Russian curricula stressed the importance of introducing students to the geographical, political and social structures of the Soviet Union, familiarising them with the lives of certain key individuals and important facts from soviet and Russian history, as well as introducing them to cultural features, including the lives of 19th century writers and selected works of literature. In other words, instruction in Russian was intended to act as a path to socialist culture. Furthermore, the Russian language was also presented as the key to a true understanding of Marxism-Leninism and to the scientific and artistic achievements of the USSR. (Der IV Pädagogische Kongreß, 1949).

The English syllabi on the other hand (see for example Lehrplan Englisch, 1986), placed the emphasis on the development of students' abilities to read and understand factual, scientific texts. The study of fictional prose and poetry was, however, neglected. The curricula for the Unified School, for example, proposed that one poem should be covered in year nine and one in year ten. Literature was introduced for the first time in year ten under the heading: "A Short Adapted Passage from a Modern Progressive British Novel" (Linke, 1991:263), as well as in the form of one page texts, contained in the course book English for You (Festag and Kerl. 1980).

It has been suggested (Linke, 1991:263) that fictional/cultural material was neglected in favour of more scientific texts, in order to ensure that English would be learnt primarily as a means of communication in areas of science and trade. It was not intended to further cultural exchange and understanding.

Even where socio-cultural material did enter the curriculum, it was clearly open to interpretations which could be used to foster a Marxist-Leninist view of the world. The following extract from the textbook <u>English for You</u> illustrates this point:

"Lesson Four: In the USA. today there is an increasing gap between rich and poor. While the profits of big companies are growing, the real wages of workers are not improving. The workers have to pay the high costs of the aggressive American foreign policy through increased living costs" (Festiag and Kerl, 1980:52).

Lesson five describes the successes of the American communist party which:

"though small, plays an important role in the fight for peace and social advancement" (Festiag and Kerl, 1980:54).

Lesson nine continues with a description of "committed socialist" Sean O'Casey, who played an important role in the "fight of the working class for a better social system" (Festiag and Kerl, 1980:95-96).

This approach was also evident in the German language curricula. For instance, from the 1970's onwards, students in year ten followed courses in "Socialist Humanism" and "The Development of Socialist National Literature in the G.D.R." These courses consisted primarily of testimonials to socialist endeavours and struggles, by authors such as **Brezan**, **Edel** and **Sakowski** (Müller-Michaels, 1991:61).

Even when German literature capable of alternative interpretations appeared on German courses, the curricula specified the points requiring treatment in class. Thus, chapters one to three of **Heine**'s *Deutschland: Ein Wintermärchen* were to be read as:

"...a passionate and consistent satire on the old feudalistic and Philistine Germany from a revolutionary standpoint" (translation of G.D.R. teaching plan by Müller-Michaels 1991:62).

History had a particularly important role to play in the G.D.R. curriculum. According to instructions published by the Ministry of Education, the purpose of history classes was:

"...den Schülern ein konkretes wissenschaftlich, exaktes und parteiliches Bild von der historischen Entwicklung der DDR als Teil des sozialistischen Weltsystems von Ihrer Gründung bis zur Gegenwart...(zu vermitteln)" (Häpfner and Kretschel, 1989:7).

In this subject, more than any other, the party line remained unquestioned on all issues. Events were viewed solely through the lens of Marxist-Leninist historical interpretation. Indeed, examination of the history books used, reveals that they contain material which could have been used for the education of:

"hochgebildete revolutionäre Kämpfer,...die von der historischen Mission und geschichtsbildenden Kraft der Arbeiterklasse überzeugt sind" (Hohn, 1970:97).

The following extract from a history book used in the Unified School illustrates this point:

"In the process of the establishment of capitalism, the bourgeois and the proletariat consolidated their positions as the main classes of this new social order. An unbridgeable opposition was formed between the two classes - the proletariat took up arms in the course of early spontaneous action against capitalist exploitation. It carried out a necessary and just struggle which already indicated subsequent historical development: the struggle for a socialist ordering of society in which the exploitation of man is finally done away with" (Hearnden, 1974:201).

In addition, military education was introduced into the school curriculum in 1978. Its purpose was to ensure that pupils were ready at all times to defend their socialist state. It contained both a theoretical and a practical component (VIII Bildungssystem, 1988:25).

The theoretical component consisted of the subject "Landesverteidigung" in which students in years nine and ten (aged 14-15) were taught about the military world and their "enemies" in the West. The practical part of the course, involved instruction on how to operate automatic weapons, how to ignite hand grenades and how to handle gas masks (see Latka-Jöhring, 1991:34).

Military education continued in year eleven as "Grundfragen der Militärpolitik und des bewaffneten Schutzes der DDR". At this stage, the practical component involved student participation in military camps, marches and manoeuvres, during which Soviet war literature and memoirs were distributed (see Schmitt, 1980a:97).

Finally the task of synthesising, generalising and applying the knowledge acquired in each individual subject to the support of Marxism-Leninism was allocated to Political Education or "Staatsbürgerkunde". This subject (analysed in depth in Chapter Three) dealt with the basics of scientific socialism, socialist ethics and morality, duty to the community and contribution to its welfare. It was political in outlook and ethical in content (Moore-Rinvolucri, 1973:16).

Religion, on the other hand, did not play a role in the school curriculum. It was attributed to the inability of early man, due to his ignorance, to explain natural events. The church was alleged to be nothing more than an instrument of domination, used in imperialist societies to suppress and control the working class (Schneider, 1978:66).

In summary, all disciplines were pervaded by the ideologies of Marxism and Leninism. The scientific subjects were used to demonstrate the material unity of the world and the ability of humans to control and change it. Polytechnic education emphasised the "necessity of mastering the scientific-technological revolution" in order to strengthen the G.D.R. and the socialist community of states. Classes in German language and literature, history and the remaining artistic/aesthetic subjects were designed to create and reinforce the desired political and moral values (Calame, 1980:97-98).

Extra-curricular activities were also considered important. They were closely linked to school life. It was felt that over and above the scheduled classes, schools should contribute to the political, ideological upbringing of pupils, as well as increasing their social awareness.

In the Extended Secondary Schools, for example, students were assembled on a weekly basis. During these assemblies reports were given on academic progress made during the previous week in the school and the "official" view on current political events provided.

Furthermore, a list of obligatory anniversaries was published annually. In 1974/75, for example, these amounted to twelve "Feiertage" and forty "Gedenktage", which were to be celebrated in class or by way of extra curricular activities. Instructions were distributed, for example, on the celebration of the fifteenth anniversary of the "National People's Army" (NVA) in 1971, the fiftieth anniversary of the USSR. (1972) and the twenty fifth anniversary of the G.D.R. (1974) (Schmitt, 1980a:94).

There was also insistence on the role of the youth movement and youth groups in encouraging patriotic attitudes, promoting the desire to work hard in formal school activity and imparting knowledge of the concept and precepts of socialist society. According to Margot Honecker, youth activity was also necessary to draw students into political life and ensure the sensible, productive organisation of their free-time (Studienmaterial, 1986: 152-153).

Thus the "Young Pioneers" (736,000 members in 1975) was set up for six to ten year olds, the "Thälmann Pioneers" (1.13 million members in 1975) for eleven to fourteen year olds and the "Free German Youth" (2.16 million members in 1975) for young people over fourteen (Schneider, 1978:67). Pioneer uniforms, badges of rank, parades in the school courtyard, flags of friendship, pioneer emblems in the pioneer room in each school and participation in camps all gave pioneer activities a strong political, propagandist and quasi-military accent. The Free German Youth acted as an intermediary between the SED and young people. It was perceived by many as a "youth party" acting as a propagating house for the mother party, by training its most active members for full SED

membership. It also carried out a programme of social work and organised leisure activities for its members (see Honecker, 1981:40).

Finally, in order to ensure the creation and reinforcement of the desired socialist convictions (Section 1.3), constant emphasis was placed on the importance of interdisciplinary co-ordination between academic subjects and extra curricular activities (Schmitt, 1980:92).

Co-ordination was to be both horizontal and vertical (Weitendorf, 1969:871). Horizontal co-ordination involved ideological complementarity and cross references between material covered simultaneously in different areas. Vertical co-ordination involved building on material covered in previous years, as well as covering material which could be dealt with in greater depth, reinforced and/or applied in later years.

However, some doubt existed as to whether teachers concerned themselves sufficiently and in the desired manner with co-ordination. In order to ensure this and also guarantee uniform ideological interpretation of the prescribed material, detailed teaching plans were published. These laid down the goals, content, and methodological conception of each teaching hour (Klingberg, 1976:31; Mayer, 1968:10).

It was felt by many that the restrictions imposed by these plans reduced the role of the teacher to that of an "Unterrichtstechniker" (or "teaching technician") (Schmitt, 1980a:119). This theory is examined in the following section. It is considered in the wider context of the role played by the teacher in the G.D.R. school.

1.6: The Role of the Teacher in the G.D.R.

"Es ist ... die Verantwortung der Lehrer, die heranwachsende Jugend im Geiste der sozialistischen Weltanschauung und Moral zu guten Patrioten und Internationalisten zu erziehen, zu Menschen, die den Ideen des Sozialismus treu ergeben sind" (Dokumente des VIII Parteitages der SED. 1971:33).

According to the official party line, the role of the teacher was not merely that of a specialist instructor. He/she was also expected to act as a political mentor for students (Schwarze, 1973:77). In the words of one teacher:

"as a teacher, one had the mission of being a political educator; communist education was always in the forefront and if one did not agree with things one had difficulties and came into conflict" (Hinke, 1991:88).

Visits to the homes of pupils and frequent parental contact was expected as well as constant recruitment for the permanent ranks of the NVA and the teaching profession (the latter being a particularly difficult task since remuneration for teachers amounted to a purchasing power in the West of DM1,000/month in 1989) (Lissek, 1991:179).

A teacher was permanently on duty, to the extent that it was impossible for him to separate his career from his private life. For example, Stschukina in her teacher training textbook Zur Theorie und Methodik der kommunistischen Erziehung in der Schule (1977:254-256) stated:

"Die Kinder dürfen niemals fühlen oder sehen, daß ein Lehrer sich gehen läßt...Der Lehrer ist für die Schüler immer ein anschauliches Beispiel. Und dieses Beispiel muß eine Art Muster dafür sein, wie ein Mensch sich zu verhalten hat......Alles ist von Bedeutung: wie sich der Lehrer kleidet, welche Eigenarten und welche Umgangsformen er hat".

In particular, the teacher was expected to consistently display those characteristics associated with a socialist personality.

These included in particular:

* support for socialism and all its teaching

* a high level of social awareness and a sense of responsibility towards children

of working class parents

* extensive knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and

* the pedagogical and methodical abilities essential for the education of socialist

personalities (Schmitt, 1980a:113).

Indeed, the concept of a "socialist teacher personality" is emphasised throughout the

didactic literature of the G.D.R. This was consistent with Soviet pedagogy which was

extremely teacher centred (Klingberg, 1975:10-11).

In order to recruit teachers with the "correct" political attitude and ensure that they

would influence pupils in the desired manner, the state relied on:

a) the selection process

b) the training process and

c) strict control of the teaching process.

Each of these areas is now considered in turn:

An examination of the recruitment process after 1945, reveals that almost all former

members of the National Socialist Party (NSDAP) were either dismissed or left

voluntarily. They were replaced by 40,000 new teachers, who in a few short months

were prepared for their installation for the academic year 1945/46.

The purpose of this process was twofold. Firstly "denazification" and secondly the

placing of communist personnel in influential positions (Latka-Jöhring, 1991:32). Only those

teachers were selected, who supported the establishment of a socialist school system

after World War II, or had at least not openly opposed it (Schmitt, 1980a:114).

It remained the case over the history of the G.D.R. that a prospective teacher who was unable to demonstrate a firm commitment to the SED, could give up all hopes and desires of a career (Latka-Jöhring, 1991:32). Furthermore, the conclusion from the little reliable information about the activities of the State Security Service (Stasi) in schools, is that a number of teachers were members (Dürr. 1992:393; Schweitzer, 1992:40)⁴.

Once a teacher had been selected for teacher training he had to complete a particularly intensive course of study. In order to obtain a teaching qualification in any subject, he first had to pass a course in Marxism-Leninism or scientific Marxism. The course included material on dialectical and historical materialism, the political economics of socialism, scientific communism and the history of the working class movement (Bruno, 1988:17). It took up one third of total study time and was dedicated largely to the improvement of the "argumentative abilities" of future teachers. In other words, it was intended to improve their ability to impart socialist messages (Dürr, 1992:392). Once teachers had obtained their basic qualification, it was obligatory to participate in refresher courses and to engage in further study, not only in their specialist subjects but also in political education (Schwarze, 1973:77). Further education took the form of:

- a) self-study based on centrally devised programmes
- b) further education courses in central institutes⁵
- c) further education during the work process, which involved teachers working in groups and sharing their experiences (Schmitt, 1980: 109).

However, even the stringent selection process and influence exerted on teachers during training could not guarantee that they would, in practice adhere to the required norms.

Therefore, a single mandatory textbook was prescribed for each subject in each year of the Unified School. These textbooks were prepared for publication in state publishing

Indeed, Saxony's current Minister for Education, Stefanie Rehm, is of the opinion that:"...es an jeder Schule ein bis zwei Stasispitzel gegeben hat." She continues:" Wir haben 2000 Schulen in Sachsen, also mindestens 3000 Stasi-lehrer" ("Mit der Katze fressen", 1991:114).

The "Central Institute for the Further Education of Teachers" was located in Ludwigsfelde and was responsible for developing programmes and publishing material.

houses by a group of scholars approved by the Ministry of Education (Lukas, 1991:4). They have been described as "sehr faktenreich, aber einlinig" (Wippermann, 1991:238).

Furthermore, control instruments in the form of teaching plans, interpretative aids and directives were designed by the "Ministry of Pedagogical Sciences" in collaboration with the central publishing house *DDR Verlag Volk und Wissen* in East Berlin, and issued by the "Ministry of Education".

The teaching plan provided a thorough and meticulously detailed guide to the goals, content and structure of each teaching hour. It also provided instruction on teaching methodology and co-ordination with other subjects.

The interpretative aids and directives appeared in the teaching journals such as the *Deutsche Lehrerzeitung*. Published in conjunction with the teaching plans, they contained lists of additional teaching material, as well as a detailed model for each teaching hour. These models contained a step by step instructions on the knowledge to be conveyed, questions to be asked and homework to be set (Diecke, 1989).

Although, unlike the textbooks and teaching plans, the teaching aids were not compulsory, they were used by the majority of teachers (see Schmitt, 1980a:118). It was this widespread use of compulsory textbooks, plans and aids that gave rise to the claim that the role of the teacher was being reduced to that of an *Unterrichtstechniker* (Section 1.5). Clearly, it could be argued that their existence favoured the schematic reproduction of the given model, leaving very little room for experimentation, innovation and personal interpretation of the syllabus.

In conclusion, while any attempt to estimate exact figures would be futile, it has been proposed that teachers loyal to the SED could be categorised under the following headings (Fischer, 1992:354):

- a) convinced socialists
- b) indifferent or
- c) intimidated⁶

However, apart from these "bedingungslosen Vollstreckern des Willens der Partei" (Christa Wolf, Wochenpost, 47/1989 in Strützberg, 1991:49), there was also a fourth category of teacher (see Schmitt, 1980a:118-119). These teachers were less interested in the prescribed form of programmed teaching. They resented being forced to participate in what they considered to be the ideological deformation of education, and attempted to encourage pupils to "read between the lines" and form their own opinions. Indeed it is possible that much of this kind of teaching took place outside of the official classroom setting, for example during the breaks from lessons.

However, opportunities for a more open, critical form of teaching were severely restricted. Deviation from the explicit guidelines provided had not only serious political consequences (in the words of one teacher "Das wäre Selbstmord" (gewesen) (Mayer, 1968:15)) but also gave rise to practical difficulties in the procurement of material. The ideological line followed by both the mass media and the educational media allowed little scope for alternative interpretations (Schmitt, 1980a:119-120; Wallace, 1992:102). In the words of one teacher:

"Rückblickend kann ich sagen, daß sich die Pädagogen unserer Schule um gute Startbedingungen für die Schüler ehrlich bemüht haben, sich zugleich jedoch in Rahmenbedingungen befanden, die extreme Begrenzungen enthielten" (Eisbrenner, 1991:21).

The extensive network of informers for the *Stasi* made many teachers fearful of teaching anything which could be interpreted as contrary to the party line ("Mit der Katze Fressen", 1991:114).

1.7: Conclusion

Neutrality of world outlook is rejected. Accordingly only socialist morality is presented as correct, which includes education in hatred" (Schneider, 1978:64).

This review of the education system in the G.D.R. reveals the following:

The state was intensely preoccupied with its young people. This preoccupation manifested itself, for example, in the extensive network of state run pre-school institutions and youth groups. Such an intense interest in the activities of young people ensured that they were well cared for. However, it also resulted in their being restricted and controlled to a considerable extent (see Schwarze, 1973:73).

The system succeeded in producing many instances of academic excellence, particularly in the natural sciences. Furthermore, the introduction of polytechnic education meant that students gained practical experience in an industrial environment. However, as we have seen (and will see in greater depth in Chapter Three), many subjects contained a certain ideological bias. For example, Lissek (1991:182), in his article on teaching in Thuringia under the communist regime, stated:

"In den Naturwissenschaften konnte man -zugegebenerweise- nicht allzuviel falsch machen. Aber schon in den künstlerischen Fächern mußten zumindest peripher Klassenstandpunkt und Marxismus-Leninismus herhalten. Das steigerte sich im Literaturunterricht und kulminierte schließlich in Geschichts- und Staatsbürgerkundeunterricht. Selbst der Sprachunterricht wurde bolschewistisch untermalt. Man erinnere sich an die Hitliste der Pflichtliteratur des sozialistischen Schul"un"wesens: Die Vergewaltigung der Historie und gesellschaftspolitischen Problematiken, Zerrbilder, Lügen, Intoleranz und Haß im Geschichtsunterricht und Staatsbürgerkunde sind schon jetzt diskussionsunwürdig" (see also Klapper, 1992:240; Latka-Jöhring, 1991:32; Rohlfes, 1990:706 and Wegner, 1992:471-87).

Furthermore, while individual teachers may have attempted to utilise the limited pedagogical leeway available, to encourage critical analysis, independent thought was, in

general, treated with suspicion (see Turner, 1991:4, Latka Jöhring, 1991:32). In the words of one student:

"Nur eine Meinung galt, und alles was die da oben gemacht haben, war richtig" (Hofmann, 1992:136).

Virtually immediate ex-matriculation was the reward of anyone showing signs of ideological hostility and/or moral "shortcomings". In the opinion of Schweitzer (1991:40):

"Intellectual mediocrity combined with ideological conformity was a much safer ticket for a successful career, than intellectual excellence combined with ideological non-conformity" (see also Heyne, 1989:3,6; Meyer, 1968:22).

Thus, despite the positive aspects mentioned above, the system as a whole appears to have been a repressive, stifling one, based on conformity and an unquestioning commitment to the cause of communism. Uniform structures, ideologically biased curricula and stringent control mechanisms were designed with the primary purpose of creating citizens capable of functioning as required in a socialist system (see Klapper, 1992:244; Schneider, 1978:64).

Conflicting claims have been made concerning the success of this system in creating socialist personalities. Erich Honecker stated at the VIII Parteitag der SED in Berlin:

"Mit feststellen: sozialistisches Befriedigung können wir Staatsbewußtsein...(ist) seit dem VII Parteitag in unserem Volke weitergewachsen...Zusammen mit den Eltern, mit der sozialistischen Kinderund Jugendorganisation, gestützt auf alle gesellschaftlichen Kräfte, erzieht unsere Oberschule die jungen Menschen zu bewußten sozialistischen Staatsbürgern mit hohen Kenntnissen, die den Ideen des Sozialismus treu ergeben sind, die fühlen und handeln als Patrioten und Internationalisten, sich durch eine sozialistische Arbeitseinstellung auszeichnen und aktiv an der gesellschaftlichen Lebens mitwirken." Gestaltung des (Bericht Zentralkomitees an den VIII Parteitag der SED, Berlin, 1971:71 in Schmitt, 1980a:165).

However, empirical research conducted before the collapse of the Soviet regime contradicts this statement (Schmitt, 1980a:174).

On the one hand, findings indicated that the vast majority of pupils, when questioned directly, declared their support for socialist principles (Schmitt, 1980a:228). However, this finding has been explained as the mere repetition of memorised formulae (Ludz, 1971:11-23; see also Bockelmann, 1990).

This theory is supported by the fact that, even where the requisite beliefs were present verbally, they were reflected in concrete action only to a very negligible degree. Situations where pupils followed the social priorities defined by the SED, instead of their own more rewarding personal preferences, were few and far between. In other words students displayed a high level of system supportive attitudes and a low level of system supportive behaviour (Dieck, 1967:389; Moldenhauer, 1991:51).

A number of theories have been proposed in an attempt to explain this apparent anomaly. According to a comment made by **Margot Honecker**, in 1990, responsibility for the failure of "her" system lay with the teachers. They had had too little personality and had shown deficiencies in their pedagogical and psychological abilities. Thus the school had failed to realise an idea which she believed to have been intrinsically good. In her words:

"Die hehre Idee scheiterte an der schnöden Wirklichkeit" (Margot Honecker, 1990 in Fischer and Schmitt, 1991:30).

However, this theory has been rejected by educational researchers. Instead, they favour one or more of the following explanations:

Students, like all other citizens of the G.D.R, experienced a discrepancy between their daily life and the high flying postulates and self-praise emanating from those in power. This discrepancy was reinforced by exposure to western lifestyles as portrayed for example, by western television networks. Without some degree of reinforcement from its material environment, the school system could not maintain its credibility.

In the words of Rohlfes (1990:718):

"Ein Unterrichts und Erziehungssystem, das...sich mehr auf Utopien als auf Realitäten stützt, muß schließlich scheitern" (see also McElvoy, 1992:148).

Pupils became tired of being inundated with propaganda and preferred to retreat into their private sphere and the recesses of society (Rytlewski, 1989 in Fritzsche, 1990:2; see also Bockelmann, 1990), a phenomenon which has been described as "Die Flucht ins Private" (Heyne, 1989:17).

Secondly, it has been proposed that central preplanning of education is a contradiction in terms. Pupils with different needs, abilities and learning speeds cannot be expected to follow detailed mandatory curricula and learn exactly the same thing at the same time (Vom Lehrplan zum Rahmenplan., 1992:3).

Thirdly, the compulsory syllabi gave the teaching process an air of norm fulfilment. Pupils interpreted the teacher's goal as "getting through the lesson". They gave him what he wanted in a ready response, showing a good grasp of the facts and a "firm class standpoint", in return for the appropriate grades. In these circumstances, it was unlikely that solid socialist convictions would be formed (Bockelmann, 1990; Burrington, 1983:55).

Finally, the numerous school celebrations and political gatherings gave rise to routine and ritualism, with the political purpose fading into the background. This was particularly the case when participation was obligatory and students were forced into the role of passive participants (Schmitt, 1980a:94).

As a result, while the intensive political education received did leave its mark on students' minds, it did not succeed in creating committed socialists, as defined by the SED (Section 1.3). The principle argument in support of this hypothesis is that it was graduates of this system who in the summer and autumn of 1989 left the G.D.R. via Hungary, Prague and Warsaw or demonstrated in the street against the SED regime (Fischer, 1992:339; Sander, 1990:257).

Soon after the fall of the Berlin wall, on the 9 November 1989, the bankruptcy of the system became evident (Hinke, 1991:74-96). As support increased for the ideals of democratic⁷ government, calls for the reform of an education system, based on the principles of the old regime, became increasingly insistent.

The following chapters investigate the extent and nature of educational reform since 1989.

The term "democratic" is used in the western "liberal" as opposed to marxist "progressive" or "popular" sense. Its prerequisites include liberty, or the right not to be arrested arbitrarily and to be judged in accordance with clearly defined penal and judicial rules; freedom of the press and of opinion; freedom of assembly and freedom of association (Bobbio, 1991:5). It is not intended that "democratic" should automatically read "western". Instead, it can be thought of as an abstract model or an "ideal type" (see for example Max Weber, in Heywood, 1991:57-61).

Chapter Two

German Unification and Legislative Reform in Education in the Five New States

2.1: Overview

This chapter examines educational reforms legislated for since unification. Key developments from the collapse of the socialist regime to the passing of the school reform laws in the newly established states are described together with the aims, structures, curricula and didactic approaches, advocated by this legislation.

2.2: New Political Orientations and Legislative Measures

In the late 1980's a series of events altered the geopolitical landscape of the European continent. Inspired by Mikhail Gorbachov's "Glasnost" and "Perestroika", a process of democratisation began in the socialist states of central and eastern Europe. One of the most dramatic consequences of this process was the unification of East and West Germany (see Kirkwood, 1991:7).

It was felt that the centralist structures of totalitarianism were incompatible with democratic principles. As a result, restructuring on an unprecedented scale was deemed necessary. In particular, reform of the education system was considered essential (Dürr, 1992:391).

Therefore, following the dramatic events of autumn 1989 (Section 1.7), a time of feverish activity began (Martini, 1992a:7). Protests and demonstrations were held against attempts over the years by the SED to create a closed, repressive education system. Reform groups were set up calling for structures and curricula which would encourage individuality and creativity (see Fischer, W., 1992:339).

The question as to whether any elements of the old system were worthy of retention was answered in the affirmative with regard to:

- a) the social conditions surrounding the educational process (i.e. pre-school education, free education for all, co-education, childcare for children under three and equal opportunities for children from urban and rural areas) and
- b) an educational approach which stressed the importance of both academic and practical work (Educational Debate in the G.D.R. on the Eve of Reunification, 1990:16).

Following Margot Honecker's resignation on the 20th October, 1989, the Education Ministry, lacking strong leadership, was incapable of initiating change. It was capable only of reacting to reformers' demands (Fischer, 1992:338). Staatsbürgerkunde and Military Education (Section 1.4) were abolished. Restrictions on access to the Abitur

based on political or ideological premises were removed. The state-run youth organisations were disbanded and a five day school week was introduced (see Fischer, D., 1992:4). All regulations referring to the superiority of the SED and the role of political organisations in education were dropped (Reuter, 1991:5).

On the 13th November, 1989, Hans Modrow was elected Prime Minister. He admitted in his inaugural speech that the inflexible and "indoctrinating" education system was in many ways responsible for current social protest (Modrow, 1989 translated in Reuter, 1991:6). Modrow therefore promised de-ideologisation, deregulation, differentiation and individualisation.

On the 11th December, 1989, the "Bund-Länder Kommission für Bildungsplanung und Forschungsförderung" began discussion on the unification of the East and West German education systems.

Four weeks later West German Federal Minister for Education, Jürgen Mölleman, met his East German counterpart, Hans-Heinz Emons. They called for the establishment of a "Gemeinsame Bildungskommission" consisting of delegates from East and West.

On the 3rd and 4th of March, 1990, an eagerly awaited "Koordinierungstreffen für eine Bildungsreform von unten" took place. Shortly afterwards, a number of teachers syndicates and representative groups were set up. These included: "Der Allgemeine Verband der Pädagogen der DDR" (established March 10th), "Der Philologenverband der DDR" (established March 14th) and "Die Deutsche Gesellschaft für Pädagogik" (established March 24th) (see Fischer, W., 1992:340; Reuter, 1991:6).

The establishment of the newly elected East German government (on April 19th) was the starting point for an extensive transfer of money and equipment into the East German education system by the Federal Republic. This included a DM100 million programme for the purchase of books (funded by the federal government and the publishers), a computer support programme and state-run programmes to build up state education departments (see Reuter, 1991:9).

This was followed on the 16th May, 1990, by the setting up of the "Gemeinsame Bildungskommission" consisting of delegates from East and West Germany. Its purpose was to prepare for the merger of the two education systems. It made the following recommendations:

- a) In the field of general education, the principle of the sovereignty of the individual states (to be reconstituted by the "Ländereinführungsgesetz" of July, 1990) should be respected. However, bearing in mind their federal rights and duties some degree of co-ordination should be maintained.
- b) the chief organ of co-ordination should be the "Ständige Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder der Bundesrepublik Deutschland".

On the 31st of August, 1990 the "Unification Treaty" was signed. It made the last central government level decisions before the state governments were established in late November (transitional state representatives having been appointed in September) (see Reuter, 1991:9).

Article 13 granted responsibility for education to the five new states: Brandenburg, Mecklenburg West Pomerania, Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt and Thuringia, (Diagram 2.1, Appendix E). Article 37 obliged them, however, to base their new systems on the "Hamburger Abkommen".

This agreement was passed by the Standing Conference in former West Germany in 1964 (and extended in 1971). It standardised the beginning and duration of full-time, compulsory education, the dates for the start and end of the school year, the length of school holidays, the designation of the various educational institutions and their organisation, the possibility of transfer from one school type to another, the beginning of foreign language learning, the sequence of language options and finally, the recognition of school leaving certificates and teacher training certificates. The purpose of the agreement was to ensure that the education system remained broadly comparable across the Federal Republic. In this way it was possible to help prevent infringement of the

Law re-establishing the federal states on the territory of the former G.D.R.

constitutional right to freedom of movement within the F.R.G. Report on the Development of Education, 1992:120).

The Unification Treaty also contained provisions for a dramatic "cleansing" and rationalisation of the teaching profession in the eastern states. It gave the following grounds for the dismissal of teachers (chapter XIX, section 2, paragraphs 4-5):

- * personal unsuitability (i.e. extreme "politische Belastung")
- * human rights violations
- * involvement with the Stasi
- * inadequate qualifications
- * lack of demand (in light of the increased pupil teacher ratio and the fall in demand for certain subjects, such as Russian) (see Fischer, W., 1992:350; Schmidt, 1991:44-45).

In order to investigate suitability, possible human rights violations and/or involvement with the *Stasi*, commissions were set up in each of the five new states ("Zeit des Vergessens", 1991:113). They were granted the power to dismiss what they considered to be "politically tainted" teachers ("Alte Gesichter", 1992:69).

Teachers were required to fill out questionnaires on their activities under the communist regime. These were then analysed by the commissions together with personal files and letters from parents. Finally, teachers had to appear before the commissions and answer questions on their past activities.

This approach was regarded by many as highly arbitrary. Criticism centred on the lack of objective criteria for "separating the wheat from the chaff" (Dürr, 1992:393), as well as on the use by teachers of personal connections (Seilschaften) in order to avoid dismissal

In Mecklenburg-West Pomerania, no commissions were set up. Instead the task of compiling dismissal lists was given to "regional Boards" ("Alte Gesichter", 1992:71).

(Kirchner, 1992:10-11). However, critics failed to come up with a viable alternative proposal and the process continued.

The fourth ground for dismissal was inadequate qualifications. However, it rapidly became clear that teaching qualifications in general³ were of a lower standard than those in the old (western) states. Therefore, it was decided that the majority of teachers should be given the opportunity to requalify in their own or an alternative discipline (Schweitzer, 1991:45-46) The Standing Conference provisionally recognised the majority of teaching qualifications obtained in the G.D.R., while changes in basic teacher training and in-service training were taking place.

The new states adopted a teacher training programme which corresponded to that of the old states. It consisted of:

- a) A course of study at an institute of higher education and
- b) A supervised period of practical training known as "Vorbereitungsdienst".

It was also decided that from now on entrance to teacher training should require the *Abitur*. However, this provision did not apply to teachers already in employment who wished to engage in further training (see <u>Report on the Development of Education</u>, 1992:162).

Finally, for financial reasons, a further reduction in teacher numbers was deemed necessary, in order to achieve the West German pupil teacher ratio of 15:1 (compared to an eastern ratio of 9:1) (Fischer, 1992:352). Early retirement was encouraged in all five states, as well as part-time work in conjunction with further training. However, the resultant reductions were not sufficient to offset the increase in the pupil teacher ratio (Schmidt, 1991:44). Therefore, forced redundancies appeared necessary.

However, in Brandenburg, the "Ampelkoalition" of SPD, FDP and Alliance 90/Greens attempted to find a socially acceptable alternative to such dismissals. Teachers' hours and

Approximately sixty different teaching qualifications existed in the G.D.R. As a result, specific statements on individual qualifications were not made (Lewin, 1992:21-22; Fischer, W., 1992:353).

wages were reduced by 20%. This was a particularly controversial move as teachers' wages were already a mere 60% of the western level (Fischer, 1992:353).

In the remaining four states, dismissals were based on seniority, length of service and level of demand for the subject taught. This approach also gave rise to controversy, particularly among younger teachers. In the words of one such teacher:

"Ich werde jetzt von Lehrern verdrängt, die noch die Stalin-Zeit genommen und zu jedem und allen genickt haben" ("Alte Gesichter", 1992:71).

In total, it appears that between October 1990 and December 1991, approximately 28,000 teachers lost their jobs. Of these job losses, approximately 12,000 have been attributed to political investigations by the Commissions and the remainder to rationalisation (see Fischer, W., 1992:362; Schmidt, 1991:44).

Meanwhile the political landscape continued to change rapidly. On the 14th of October, 1990, democratic elections had been held for the new Länder parliaments. Once they had been elected these parliaments assumed responsibility for educational matters.

They were given until June 30th 1991, to draft and pass new "Schulreformgesetze". Berlin was the only exception in that the school law of former West Berlin was merely extended to cover that of the eastern part of the city. In the spring of 1991, drafts of the new school laws were published, debated and discussed. A transitional period was granted for the completion of the old style courses while, simultaneously, new courses were being developed.

Pupils in the five new states sat the old-style *Abitur* for the last time in 1992. In Brandenburg, Saxony and Thuringia, the old decrees regarding final examinations remained valid until 1993. In former East Berlin the first *Abitur* based on the new rules took place this year (1994) (Fischer, W., 1992:352).

In conclusion, when in the summer of 1991, legal and organisational arrangements had reached the point where the academic year could begin, a unique educational experiment reached its climax. The reform legislation had made fundamental changes in the

UNIFICATION AND LEGISLATIVE REFORM IN EDUCATION IN THE FIVE NEW STATES

ideological basis of education, the structure of the system, the school curricula and the role of the teacher. Each of these areas is now examined in turn.

2.3: Aims and Objectives of Education

Educational reform in eastern Germany since 1989 is perceived as a component of large scale social reform. Centralism and dogmatism are to be replaced by pluralism and flexibility. The primary educational goal has become:

"Die Erziehung zur Bereitschaft zum sozialen Handeln, zur Anerkennung der Grundsätze der Menschlichkeit, der Rechtsstaatlichkeit, der Demokratie und der Freiheit"

(Erstes Schulreformgesetz für das Land Brandenburg, 1991:117; see also Martini, 1992b:9-10).

Examination of the educational goals, as defined by the new reform laws, reveals the following:

Each state focuses on the development of the individual student, in accordance with his/her aptitudes and abilities. The task of the school is to recognise these aptitudes and create the optimal conditions for their development (Döbert and Martini, 1992:98).

Furthermore, as well as being supported in the development of their individuality, the School Reform Laws state that students should also be taught to respect freedom (in particular, freedom of the press), human dignity, basic human rights and the rule of law. They should be taught to practise tolerance towards other religions, philosophies of life and values, to play an active role in democratic society, to protect the natural environment and to co-exist peacefully with other nations and races (Synopse zu den Schulgesetzen, 1991).

These goals are presented in the form of guidelines and are not intended to be exhaustive. However, they provide a clear contrast to those of the G.D.R. system. Authoritarian principles have been replaced with those of participative individualism. In the words of one teacher:

"We are leaving centralist education behind. This should be replaced by a joy in understanding, self-confidence, courage of one's convictions, an ability to deal with conflict in a non-violent manner, an ability to practise tolerance towards those who think differently. We would like to awaken a feeling of responsibility for our environment, motivate curiosity, stimulate thought about God and the world and teach students to control their own lives" (Latka-Jöhring, 1991:36).

Concrete attempts to realise these aims were operationalised in the restructuring of the education system, the replacement of curricula and the redefinition of the role of the teacher.

2.4: Restructuring the Education System

The "Wende" brought with it an opportunity to dismantle the old structures and replace them with a new, more efficient and liberal education system. Structural reform began with the abolition of the unified school. The rigidity and uniformity of this school structure was rejected.

Instead there was widespread support for a more differentiated approach. It was felt that differentiation within the school structure would enable schools to recognise and develop the talents of each individual student (see for example Martini, 1992a:29-30, Wützke, 1990 in Lorenz, 1991:33).

The western states recommended the adoption of their respective differentiated systems. Comprehensive schools⁴ in conjunction with other school types were recommended, as well as the traditional tripartite model (Section 1.2).

However, the majority of eastern states were not prepared to adopt a given system without first adapting it to suit their individual needs. As a result, the formulation and passing of the school reform legislation was accompanied by considerable debate and controversy. Old differences were rekindled between supporters and opponents of the traditional tripartite structure and the comprehensive school (Mitter, 1991:163; Report on the Development of Education, 1992:133).

Preferences gradually began to emerge in the individual states. These were influenced by the political persuasions of the newly formed governments and teachers associations, as well as by recommendations from the western states (Mitter, 1991:163). An analysis of the structures chosen by the new states reveals that while they favour the tripartite model, a number of innovations have also been introduced.

Mecklenburg West Pomerania is the only state offering the tripartite model in its traditional form. In the remaining four states, vehement protests by parents, teachers and students prevented its introduction. Objections focused on the introduction of a

The comprehensive schools also feature differentiation. However, pupils are educated under one roof and curricula are co-ordinated in order to facilitate transfer from one stream to another (Report on the Development of Education, 1992:133).

Hauptschule. Attendance of a Hauptschule was perceived by many as social demotion and a ticket to long-term unemployment.

In an attempt to introduce differentiation without introducing a Hauptschule, Saxony-Anhalt, Thuringia and Saxony developed the "dual" system. According to this system, the Gymnasium exists alongside a "Mittelschule". The Mittelschulen combine the courses offered by the Hauptschulen and Realschulen. They are known as "Sekundarschulen", "Regelschulen" and "Mittelschulen" in Saxony-Anhalt, Thuringia and Saxony respectively (Döbert and Martini, 1992:99).

In the *Mittelschulen* in all three states, pupils are educated together in grades five and six. From grade seven onwards, they are streamed according to ability and interests. One stream has a vocational bias. It offers a qualification equivalent to that of the Hauptschule at the end of grade nine. It is intended for those who intend to enter the labour market or apprenticeship training. The second stream has a linguistic bias. It offers a qualification equivalent to that of the *Realschule* at the end of year ten (Saxony and Thuringia striving for New Paths, 1991:10). For students who opt instead for the Gymnasium, the Abitur can be obtained after twelve years schooling.⁵

Finally, Brandenburg was the only one of the new states to favour the comprehensive school. The governing socialist party (SPD) was determined to introduce a structure:

"...die allen Schülern ihre Chance gibt, in der Schüler nicht frühzeitig ausgesondert, sondern gefördert werden" (Nauman. 1990: 33/Deutsche Lehrerzeitung in Schmidt, 1991: 39).

In response to parental demand, Realschulen and Gymnasien were also introduced by the Brandenburg Ministry of Education (Döbert and Martini, 1992:102-104). In 1991 there were sixty eight Gymnasien, seventy nine Realschulen and three hundred and ninety two comprehensive schools in Brandenburg (Schmidt, 1991:39).

Pupils in the old states sit the Abitur after thirteen years. Since pupils in the new states have had this opportunity after twelve years, the Standing Conference agreed to accept this qualification for a transitional period, lasting at least until 1996 (Report on the Development of Education, 1992:10; Schweitzer, 1991:45).

In conclusion, a variety of school structures have been set up on the territory of the former G.D.R.. However, they are all based on internal and external variations of the tripartite model.

Once these structures had been at least partially put in place, demands that they be complemented by a swift and effective reform of curricula and teaching methodologies became increasingly insistent (Döbert and Martini, 1992:108-109). In the words of education researcher, Renate Martini:

"Die Schulstrukturen sind bestimmt. Damit steht nun die inhaltliche Ausgestaltung im Vordergrund bildungspolitischer Aktivitäten aller am Schulwesen Beteiligten" (Martini, 1992a:32).

2.5: Curricular Renewal

With regard to content, it was felt that any ideological bias had to be removed from the school curriculum. In order to achieve this, subjects had to be reconceptualised and filled with new content.

Since educationalists were of the opinion that "indoctrination" had been an educational priority under the socialist regime, this process could not be restricted to politically sensitive subjects, such as history and political science. All subjects had to be "cleansed". Therefore, the five states issued completely new curricula for each subject.

These curricula were issued in the form of "Rahmenrichtlinien" (Guidelines). The Rahmenrichtlinien were published by each new state for each subject. While their layout differs from state to state, they all contain a description of the goals to be achieved in the subject concerned, as well as a broad content outline.

The Rahmenrichtlinien differ from the curricula of the G.D.R., in that neither the sequence of topics nor the amount of time to be devoted to each one, is specified. Furthermore, detailed examples and definitions are not provided. In other words:

"Innerhalb der gegebenen Verbindlichkeit bleiben den Lehrerinnen und Lehrern große Freiräume hinsichtlich der Inhalte, der Schwerpunkte und der Abfolge" (Döbert and Martini, 1992:96).

The Rahmenrichtlinien were developed openly, in a process involving cooperation by teachers, educational researchers and politicians. In this way, it is hoped that curricula will not be:

"....lediglich Ausdruck einer politischen Führung, ihren steuernden Einfluß geltend zu machen, sondern in wachsendem Maße Resultat des Bemühens

The term "indoctrination" is used in the following sense: the intentional inculcation of values and beliefs as truths. This may involve deliberately ignoring or falsifying evidence or presenting it in a biased way, in order to achieve the desired end (Harper, 1991: 247).

von Lehrerinnen und Lehrern um Veränderung ihrer Schule nach neuen pädagogischen Wegen" (Vom Lehrplan zum Rahmenplan, 1992:4).

An analysis of the guidelines issued for the individual subjects reveals the following:

In the fields of science and technology, the ideological bias has been removed and the courses shortened. In light of the rapid transformation of the Federal Republic into a service and information society, greater emphasis is placed on communications and information technology.

In order to retain the practical element of the curriculum, polytechnic education has been replaced by "Wirtschaft-Technik". This subject consists of a technical course and a work placement. It replaces the old style polytechnic education (see Döbert and Martini, 1992:96).

In the area of languages Russian has been demoted and placed on an equal footing with English and French (see Lakomski, 1992:7). However, early calls for the complete abolition of Russian were rejected. In the words of one student:

"Blöd finde ich, wenn Erwachsene jetzt sagen, Russisch muß abgeschafft werden. Englisch und Franzözisch können drüben viele, aber Russisch.....Das ist unser Vorteil. Da sollten wir was draus machen" (Hofmann, 1992:56).

However, in redrafting the Russian curricula, efforts were made not only to remove the ideologically biased elements but also to make the language more attractive to students. In this way it was hoped to remove the aversion towards learning Russian, caused partly by its difficulty (Slavic language with complex morphology, based on the Cyrillic alphabet) and partly by its association with the old regime (see Böhme, 1991:168 and Klapper, 1992:241).

The new language curricula emphasise the importance of both linguistic fundamentals and the culture of native speakers (Böhme and Szalai, 1990:126; Klapper, 1992:241). For example, the guidelines issued for English in Mecklenburg West Pomerania state:

"Die Hauptaufgabe des Faches ist es daher, die Schüler auf die Begegnung mit der englischen Sprache in Freizeit und Beruf vorzubereiten und sie darüber hinaus mit den Gegebenheiten des fremden Sprachraums vertraut zu machen" (Vorläufige Rahmenrichtlinien Englisch, Mecklenburg Vorpommern, 1991:5).

Correspondingly, the guidelines for English for years five and six in Mecklenburg West Pomerania state that:

The student should learn:

- a) to understand spoken English
- b) to react suitably in given situations (role play) and
- c) to extract information from texts.

Recommended content areas include:

- a) the daily life and environment of the student and
- b) aspects of daily life in Great Britain

(Vorläufige Rahmenrichtlinien Englisch, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, 1991:6-8).

Similarly, the guidelines for years eleven and twelve state that the student should learn:

- a) to understand authentic, longer, more complicated texts as well as different varieties and registers of English
- b) to express themselves fluently and in context and to react suitably in given situations
- c) to extract information from specialised texts, including secondary material and all kinds of literary texts and
- d) to analyse and interpret literary texts and compose free texts (i.e. "creative writing").

Recommended content areas include:

- a) social, cultural and historical aspects of English speaking countries
- b) youth
- c) mass media
- d) science and technology
- e) economics, politics and ecology

(Vorläufige Rahmenrichtlinien Englisch, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, 1991:20-22).

By including socio-cultural elements as an integral part of language courses, it is hoped to prepare students for contact with other cultures, to contribute to the breaking down of racial prejudice and to awaken an interest in the races and nations of Europe and the rest of the world (see Böhme, 1991:168).

Increased emphasis is also placed on the aesthetic subjects with a greater number of hours allocated to the study of music and art. The curricula in these areas are intended to reflect the variety and richness of German and international culture (see Döbert and Martini, 1992:96).

A further important curricular development was the reinstatement of religious education. The high level of atheism in the eastern states means that the demand for religious instruction is relatively low. However, the need for basic ethical education is undisputed given the "lack of orientation" after the collapse of forty years of communist rule (see "Sternstunde in der Schule", 1992:45-46).

Brandenburg's education minister, Marianne Birthler, proposed the introduction of a new compulsory subject "Lebensgestaltung, Ethik und Religion". This subject was to deal with such issues as peace and the environment and was to include teaching about religion. It was intended that it should replace religion in its traditional form.

The churches were, however, opposed to this proposal. They insisted that they be allowed to educate pupils in their own way. Birthler argued in response that because of the decade long suppression of the churches in the G.D.R., students should first of all be allowed to experience what religion is, before deciding either for or against it. In addition, pupils whose old world had fallen apart should be given time to consider new values.

Eventually a compromise was reached. Birthler agreed to allow 50% of the hours designated to "Lebensgestaltung, Ethik und Religion" to be devoted to "rein konfessionellen Unterricht" ("Sternstunde in der Schule", 1992:46). This is taught by religion teachers chosen by the church concerned and is dependent on a large enough number of students choosing this option.

In the remaining four states religion was introduced as a "Wahlpflichtfach" (i.e. an optional subject within a compulsory group). Anyone rejecting religion in its traditional form is offered "Ethics" as an alternative (see "After Forty Years......", 1991:16).

Finally the most dramatic changes of all were needed in the social and political sciences. With regard to history, the one sided view of historical events was to be replaced by a new pluralistic outlook (Bockelmann, 1990; Döbert and Martini, 1992:95).

The history guidelines published in Brandenburg, for example, suggest the following approach. Year five should begin with an introduction to world history, including prehistoric man, advanced civilisations in the Near East and the Greek and Roman empires. This should be followed by German history with appropriate references to European and world history. In year eight, the descriptive and explanatory functions of history should be examined. In year nine, the chronological approach should be abandoned and replaced by an analysis of the different aspects of historical development. It is recommended that areas such as "Der Mensch als Subjekt und Objekt der Geschichte: Machen "große Männer" Geschichte?" or "Alltagsgeschichte: Zur Geschichte der kleinen Leute" be examined (see Klose, 1991:9-13).

In the political sciences, detailed material on virtually every aspect of democracy and parliamentary government has been introduced (Section 3.4). Emphasis is placed on the

functioning of a market economy and the structure and conflicts of a pluralistic society (see Dürr, 1992:392).

In conclusion, the replacement of content in line with the new educational goals has been largely completed, although curricula are being continuously developed and improved (see Müller-Michaels, 1991:64). However, reform required more than a restructuring of the system and a replacement of old material with new.

The role of the teacher also had to be redefined in order to allow the teaching process itself to become more democratic. Attempts to achieve this goal are examined in the following section.

2.6: Redefining the Role of the Teacher

Teachers in eastern Germany are no longer regarded as defenders of government policy. Nor are they obligated to any one political party. Instead their task is to create the optimal conditions for the education and development of each individual student (Pressemitteilung (Brandenburger Kultusministerium), 1991:38-40).

To guide teachers in this time of change as well as aiding in the training of new teachers, the *Rahmenrichtlinien* (Section 2.5) include a list of didactic principles on which it is recommended that classes be based (see for example <u>Vorläufiger Rahmenplan Geschichte</u>, Brandenburg, 1991: 8-11).

The wording of these principles differs from state to state. However, their basic substance remains the same. They are as follows (Pressemitteilung (Brandenburger Kultusministerium), 1991:40):

1. Student Orientation:

According to this principle, students should be the subject rather than the object of the lesson. It should be possible for them to bring their experiences, needs and problems to class. These should where possible provide a basis for further discussion. This principle, in particular, represents a movement away from the monopolisation of the central teaching plan.

2. Differentiation:

This principle is based on the premise that students have different needs, abilities and learning speeds. They cannot all be expected to learn the same thing at the same time. Instead teachers are advised to create a situation where students are not forced to "conform to the average" (Pressemitteilung (Brandenburger Kultusministerium), 1991:40). For example, the introduction of "Grund- und Leistungskurse" (lower and higher levels) allows pupils to find a level of difficulty suited to their ability.

3. Exemplarity:

In all subjects far more material exists than could possibly be covered in the limited time available. Therefore, as we have seen, the *Rahmenrichtlinien* merely list broad subject areas which must be dealt with. The choice of particular examples is at the discretion of the teacher. However, it is suggested (see for example Vom Lehrplan zum Rahmenplan, 1992:5-7) that teachers take the following criteria into account in the selection of material:

- 1. material chosen (e.g. material on Ludwig XIV) should be representative of a broader topic (e.g. absolute forms of power).
- 2. the methodology employed (e.g. analysis of findings) should be representative of more general methods (e.g. source analysis) and
- 3. what is taught should be meaningful for the students concerned, given their prior knowledge and experience.

The structure of the course should remain primarily in the head of the teacher as opposed to that of the student. A systematic ordering of content and methodology will only arise for the student once the course has been completed (Vorläufiger Rahmenplan Geschichte, Brandenburg, 1991:10).

4. Problem Orientation:

According to this principle, students should not merely be provided with "correct" factual knowledge to be memorised and reproduced at a later date. Instead they should be taught how to recognise and solve problems (Pressemitteilung (Brandenburger Kultusministerium), 1992:7).

Problems should be chosen which lend themselves to questioning, analysis, debate and judgement formation. Students should be encouraged to move away from uninformed subjective reactions, towards considered, rational decisions. A possible step sequence in problem solution would be as follows (Diagram 2.2):

Diagram 2.2: Step Sequence in Problem Solution

Recognition that a problem exists, a starting point could be a statistic on the rain forest or the financial burden of restoring and maintaining the concentration camps at Auschwitz.

Search for alternative solutions

Testing of arguments for and against the solutions.

Weighing up the proposed solutions against one another.

Simulation of consequences if proposed solutions implemented..

Decision on a solution on the basis of rational argument.

After having considered all the conditions and consequences, being able to live with the possibility that no solution exists.

Source: Pressemitteilung (Brandenburger Kultusministerium), 1992:58

In parallel to problem solution, it is recommended that students be given an insight into the process of scientific research and the analysis of results obtained (Pressemitteilung (Brandenburger Kultusministerium, 1992:61).

5. Action Orientation:

According to this principle, education should not be limited to cognitive activities such as reading, writing, memorising and analysis (*Vorläufiger Rahmenplan Geschichte. Brandenburg.* 1991:8-9). Instead classes should be organised in such a way that students become not only mentally but also physically and emotionally involved.

This could be achieved, for example, by reconnaissance for an ecology project or the questioning of older people in preparation for classes in contemporary history. Getting

up and leaving the classroom, research and discovery are all stages in the learning process (Pressemitteilung (Brandenburger Kultusministerium), 1991:59).

Guidelines on foreign language teaching in the five new states stress, for example, the importance of contact with native speakers (see for example Vorläufige Rahmenrichtlinien Englisch, Mecklenburg Vorpommern, 1991; Vorläufige Lehrplanhinweise Englisch, Thüringen, 1992).

6. Openness:

Finally, democratic pluralism should replace a one-sided view of the world. It is no longer permitted for teachers to force a desired opinion on students and so to hinder their development and ability to make independent judgements (Pressemitteilung (Brandenburger Kultusministerium), 1991:40).

In this context, radical change was also deemed necessary in the assessment and evaluation of student performance. Firstly, under no circumstances may a student's political opinion be drawn into performance evaluation. Secondly, there is to be a movement away from the traditional emphasis on ability to reproduce "correct" facts. Instead emphasis is to be placed on creativity, judgement and analytical abilities.

In summary, these didactic principles represent an attempt to abandon the old style "Kommandopädagogik" (or controlled education), in favour of a new, more democratic teaching style. It is felt that the Rahmenrichtlinien in general, and these principles in particular should afford the teacher:

"....bei einem relativ hohen Verbindlichkeitsgrad in den Lernzielen, große Freiräume bezüglich der Inhalte, deren Abfolge und der Zeiten für die Behandlung sowie für das methodische Konzept" (Vorläufige Rahmenrichtlinien Englisch Mecklenburg Vorpommern. 1991:5).

2.7: Summary

One German state collapsed like a house of cards. The other watched in fascination and began slowly but surely to support the process. No one had foreseen the opening of the Berlin wall on the ninth of November, 1989. G.D.R. observers were amazed at the breathtaking speed of the demise of the *SED* regime. Within one short year, the old political structures had vanished and national unification had been completed.

The adoption of a decentralised form of government meant that responsibility for shaping educational policy became the responsibility of the individual states, who proceeded to pass legislation reorganising their education systems.

The School Reform Laws stress the need to offer equal opportunities to all in line with their aptitudes and abilities. The primary educational objective has become the education of mature citizens, capable of critical thought and independent judgement (Martini, 1992b:10-12).

The reform laws also provide the basis for a restructuring of the school system in the new states. This took the form of a transition from the unified school of the G.D.R., to a differentiated system loosely based on the tripartite model.

Next, in an attempt to eliminate ideological distortion in G.D.R. curricula, new curricula free of Marxist domination have been issued for all subjects at all levels.

Finally, with regard to teaching methodologies, it is recommended that they be based on the following didactic principles: student orientation, differentiation, exemplarity, problem orientation, action orientation and openness. In order to facilitate the implementation of these principles, the quantity of compulsory material has been considerably reduced.

Thus, it appears that "external" (or official, legislative) reform has been largely completed. A framework has been created within which "internal" reform (or change within the classroom itself) can take place.

However, in order to determine the extent to which this has occurred, it is necessary to alter the focus of this research.

The following section examines the changes which have taken place in the day to day teaching of one subject: "political education". By examining the changes which have taken place in this key subject, it is hoped to be able to determine whether the spirit of democratic reform has succeeded in entering the classrooms of the former German Democratic Republic.

Chapter Three

The Impact of Unification on Instruction in the Classroom: a casestudy of the teaching of political education before and after the Wende.

3.1: Overview

The function of this chapter is to provide a more focussed account of the historical development of education in eastern Germany from 1945 to the present, using political science as a case study. ¹ In particular, the aim is to determine whether the legislative changes described in the previous chapter are actually being implemented by teachers in the classroom.

Following a description of the research methodology employed and an historical overview of the development of political education in eastern Germany, political education before and after the *Wende* is compared, in relation to the aims and objectives of the subject, syllabus construction and course content, didactic approaches and teaching methodologies, and performance assessment and evaluation.

While a similar study could have been carried out of for example "history" or "English", it was felt that "political science" more than any other subject reflects the influence of the political system on the education system.

3.2 Research Methodology

Primary research was conducted as follows:

Firstly, teaching plans, aids, government directives and textbooks published in the former German Democratic Republic were compared with guidelines and textbooks used since the *Wende* in the Five New States. Research sources include personal contacts, archives, research institutions, libraries and the Ministries of Education in eastern Germany.

Secondly, correspondence was entered into (correspondent addresses: Appendix B) and informal, unstructured interviews conducted with teachers and students (past and present)². In the context of a general discussion of education before and after the *Wende*, teachers also described their personal experience of teaching political education³. Students' descriptions of political education classes before and/or after the *Wende* then provided a form of countercheck on this information.

Thirdly, in order to determine whether the tentative hypotheses emerging from the exploratory research could be substantiated using a statistically more valid approach, and in particular to determine whether legislative reforms have been reflected in teaching practices since the *Wende*, a postal survey of one hundred and seventy six secondary school teachers of political education in eastern Germany was conducted. It was carried out as follows:

A preliminary study of twenty eight teachers was carried out using an open-ended, unstructured questionnaire (preliminary questionnaire: Appendix A, list of schools surveyed: Appendix B). The results obtained were categorised using descriptive content analysis and the main questionnaire developed⁴ (main questionnaire: Appendix A).

This was administered to a sample frame of one hundred and forty eight *Gymnasien* in Brandenburg and Mecklenburg West Pomerania (out of a total of one hundred and

Interviews were carried out primarily in the states of Brandenburg and Mecklenburg West Pomerania in the Summer of 1993 and in Saxony in the Summer of 1994.

Due to ongoing legal procedures (Section 2.2), teachers (who remained anonymous) answered questions relating primarily to the teaching of political education since the *Wende(i.e.:1990-1993/4)*.

In accordance with legal requirements, licences for the dispatch of the main questionnaires were obtained from the relevant Ministries of Education.

ninety five (i.e. seventy six percent)) selected randomly from lists provided by the education ministries in the two states ⁵ (list of schools surveyed: Appendix B).

Approximately ten weeks after the dispatch of the main questionnaires (December, 1993), sixty two percent had been returned of which ninety five percent were suitable for analysis. The resultant data was tabulated (data tabulation: Appendix C) and analysed using S.P.S.S.X. frequency and cross tabulation analysis (statistical analysis: Appendix D).

This chapter presents the results of the primary research concerning the teaching of political education before and after the *Wende*. Student/teacher comment on education in eastern Germany in general, and the reform process in particular, is presented in *Chapter Four*.

Two of the Five New States were selected for intensive study, since time and resources did not permit a close examination of all five.

3.3: Historical Background

This section provides a concise overview of the development of the subject "political

education" in eastern German schools from 1945 to the present. The development of this

subject falls into five distinct phases:

Phase One:

1945-1949

Phase Two: 1950-1956

Phase Three: 1957-1962

Phase Four: 1963-1989

Phase Five: 1990-(1994)

During phases one and two, political education was known as "Gegenwartskunde"

(Contemporary Life), during phases three and four as "Staatsbürgerkunde" (Citizenship

Studies) and during phase five as "Gesellschaftskunde" (social studies/political

education) (Schmitt, 1980a: 19-27; Kühn and Massing, 1992: 19-27). Each of these phases is now

examined in turn.

Phase One: Contemporary Life (1945-1949)

After World War II, teaching recommenced in the Soviet zone according to Order 40 of

the military administration. It was felt that pupils should be taught about the barbaric

character of Nazi racial theories, the concept of "Lebensraum" and the catastrophic

consequences of Hitler's policies for the German people.

However, such teaching could not take place without extensive preparation. As a result,

the reintroduction of history, a subject which was intended to play a pivotal role in this

explanatory process, was delayed for a year.

During this time, a replacement was needed and a new subject, "Contemporary Life",

introduced. However, this subject was not allocated a definite position in the school

curriculum. Instead, it was left to teaching staff to decide when and for how long it

should be taught.

With regard to content, it was decided that Contemporary Life should examine current

events such as the (then just beginning) Nuremberg trials, the refugee problem, agrarian

reform and the role of the United Nations (founded in 1945).

A change in emphasis took place in 1948. Following the transition to central economic

planning in the G.D.R., Contemporary Life was given the task of generating support for

the first six month plan of 1948 and subsequently for the two year plan of 1949/1950

(Burrington, 1983:43-44).

Thus, during phase one, Contemporary Life was considered a mere substitute for history

and was not allocated a definite number of hours per week. Content was initially oriented

towards current events and the processing of the past. Later it became more precise, as

the possibility of using the subject to generate support for specific government policies

was recognised (Schmitt, 1980a: 19-22).

Phase Two: Contemporary Life: 1950-1956

Following the foundation of the G.D.R. on the seventh of October, 1949, it was decided

that students should develop a close affinity with their newly founded state, as well as

receiving a comprehensive grounding in socialist theory (Schmitt, 1980a:22).

Contemporary Life was not considered capable of achieving these objectives in its then

form. In order to rectify this, it was declared an official subject and allocated two hours a

week in grades 5-12 (academic year 1951/52). This later became one hour a week in

grades 7-12 (from academic year 1952/53).

In 1952, the teaching plans, which had been appearing every four months since 1951,

were replaced by annual plans. Marxist-Leninist material was introduced for the first time

in 1954.

Contemporary Life remained, however, the poor relation of the school curriculum. A

lack of teachers trained in this subject gave rise to unsystematic, haphazard instruction.

However, this situation changed slightly in 1955, when it was made compulsory for all

teachers to participate in further education in politics and socialist ideology (Schmitt,

1980a:22-24).

Phase Three: Citizenship Studies: 1957-1962

On the first of September, 1957, Contemporary Life was replaced by "Citizenship Studies" (Moldenhauer, 1991:55), which was taught in grades nine to twelve of the Unified

School. It was intended that the renaming of the subject should document a movement

away from an unsystematic treatment of current events and a haphazard processing of

the past, towards more systematic study of Marxism-Leninism.

The teaching plan published in 1958 placed the emphasis on Marxist-Leninist philosophy

and political economy. However, this plan remained in force for a mere ten days, as it

was thought to be too demanding.

Its replacement made three areas compulsory:

a) dialectical and historical materialism (Section 1.5)

b) class conflict and

c) political economy

However, in the opinion of many (including Kurt Hager, Sekretär des

Zentralkommittees der SED), attempts to cover such material in the Unified School

necessarily resulted in over-simplification (Hager, 1959:105).

Therefore, the 1959 curriculum returned to a concentration on the genesis of the G.D.R.,

its state structure and the role of the youth in a socialist state. Directives introduced in

1961, following the building of the Berlin Wall, did not alter this policy.

Despite these changes in approach, Citizenship Studies was consolidated during this

period and recognised as a subject in its own right. For example, in 1958 it was included

in the "Lehrplanwerk" (Official Syllabus). In 1959, the journal Geschichte in der Schule

was renamed Geschichtsunterricht und Staatsbürgerkunde. Finally, between 1958 and

1960, faculties of Citizenship Studies were opened in the Universities of Berlin and Jena,

the teaching college in Potsdam and the "Deutsche Hochschule für Körperkultur" in

Leipzig (Schmitt, 1980a:24-26).

Phase Four: Citizenship Studies: 1963-1989

The fourth party conference of the SED in 1963, marks the beginning of this phase. The

"sweeping expansion of socialism" was declared a strategic objective of the party. In

order to develop personalities capable of achieving this objective, increased importance

was attached to political, ideological education (Schmitt, 1980a:86).

A working party, set up by the "Ideological Commission of the Politburo", was given the

task of developing a new teaching plan for Citizenship Studies.

The teaching plan, developed by the Commission and published in 1964, was based on

analyses of Soviet experiences and the results of extensive educational experiments.

Citizenship Studies was reorganised to ensure a systematic sequence of content.

Marxism, together with the SED party manifesto, formed its basis. The training of

political education teachers began in 1964. In the same year, the first textbooks and

teaching aids were published.

At the beginning of the school year 1968/69, Citizenship Studies was introduced into

classes seven and eight of the Unified School. In the late 60s and early 70s, the teaching

plans were modified to tailor them more closely to current political developments and

improve their coordination with other subjects (Weitendorf, 1969:867).

The significance of Citizenship Studies during this period is clear. Its primary goal, the

development of socialist convictions in students, corresponded to the central goal of the

entire education system.

In conclusion, over the history of the G.D.R., political education was transformed from a

temporary replacement for history into a key discipline (Moldenhauer, 1991:55). Its content

became more regulated and precise and its teachers more highly qualified.

Indeed, at the time of the Wende, political education was perceived as embodying the

spirit of socialist education. For this reason, it was one of the first subjects to be

abolished, following the collapse of the SED regime (George, 1991:2).

Actress Steffi Spira Rushin spoke for many East Germans, when, on the fourth of

October, 1989, she declared:

"Meine Urenkel mögen aufwachsen mit einem schulfreien Samstag, ohne

Fahnenappelle, ohne Fackelzüge und ohne Staatsbürgerkunde" (Kuhn and

Massing, 1992:35).

However, there was widespread agreement in 1989 that political education (in a radically

altered form), should continue to be taught in eastern Germany (Kuhn and Massing,

1992:36).

Phase Five: Political Education: 1990-(1994)

Thus, on the fifth of March, 1990, political education was reintroduced into East German

schools as "Politische Bildung" (Brandenburg), "Gemeinschaftskunde" (Saxony) and

"Sozialkunde" (Mecklenburg West Pomerania, Saxony-Anhalt and Thuringia) (George and

Cremer, 1992:527). Its primary goal was declared to be the education of critical citizens

capable of independent judgement and active participation in democratic society

(Fritzsche, 1990:9),

The remaining sections in this chapter compare the goals, content, teaching

methodologies and assessment criteria of political education, during the phases directly

before and directly after the Wende.

3.4: Aims and Objectives of Political Education

Pre 1989:

Analysis of the teaching plans used in the G.D.R. (see for example Lehrplan Staatsbürgerkunde, 1964:3; Lehrplan Staatsbürgerkunde, 1988:4) reveals that the primary goal of political education in the G.D.R., corresponded to that of the entire education system, i.e. to form socialist convictions and teach socialist behaviour. Since this subject dealt directly with the basic questions of socialist ideology, politics and morality, it was an important tool in

the hands of the ruling SED.

Its most important sub-goals included the development of a Marxist philosophy of life among students, the creation of a belief in their minds of the correctness of communist

theories and the strengthening of their loyalty to the G.D.R..

Further objectives included increasing support for proletarian internationalism, love of the G.D.R. and devotion to the communist party. Resistance to foreign influences was also to be strengthened.

and to to the six engineers.

Thus, political education was expected to make a considerable contribution to the education of model socialists, capable of filling their role in a socialist society. In the opinion of one teacher interviewed (Saxony, 26.6.94), the goal of political education

was:

"...die politischen Ideen eines sozialistischen Systems den Kindern einzupauken",

as well as the:

"Überzeugung, daß SED die einzig richtige Partei war".

At the end of the day, it was hoped to have created:

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"...überzeugte Bürger der DDR, die an den entwickelten Sozialismus glaubten" (Saxony, 26.6.94).

In the opinion of another teacher interviewed:

"Die frühere Zielsetzung in der DDR war anders. Es war eine feste politische und ideologische Wahrheit vorgegeben, die von den Schülern vertreten werden mußte" (Saxony, 20.7.93).

Finally, according to another:

"Toleranz politischer Ideen, Pluralismus, wurde einer Weltanschauung geopfert" (Brandenburg, 28.4.93).

Similiar opinions were expressed by students. According to one (Mecklenburg West Pomerania, 20.6. 94), the goals of political education included the:

"....Erziehung der Schüler zu sozialistischen Persönlichkeiten; Erarbeiten eines einheitlichen Standpunkts (dessen der Partei) zu allen politischen Fragen; Festigung bzw Entwicklung einer marxistischen-leninistischen Weltanschauung",

or:

"Die Beeinflussung der politischen Meinung der jugendlichen Schüler(innen) und damit Aufdrängung der Ideologien des sozialistischen Staates (Dresden, 30.6.94).

In the opinion of another group the goals of political education included:

"...die Verherrlichung des damaligen sowjetischen Systems" (Saxony, 26.6.94),

as well as:

"...die Herausstellung der Richtigkeit der Staatspolitik der DDR und der anderen sozialistischen Staaten" (Dresden, 30.6.94)

and:

"...das Herausfinden, daß das System des Sozialismus das bessere ist" (Dresden, 30.6.94).

In the words of another (Saxony, 26.6.94), the purpose of political education was:

"Die sozialistische und kommunistische Weltanschauung zu vermitteln und zu veranschaulichen, daß nur dieses politische System das einzig richtige ist"

as well as:

"Alle anders denkenden Menschen zu Feinden des sozialistischen Systems zu erklären, alle Mängel der sozialistischen Marktwirtschaft mit dem System des Kapitalismus in Verbindung zu bringen" (Saxony, 26.6.94).

Furthermore, a number of students stated that political education classes also served other purposes, including:

"....die (inoffizielle!!) Einschätzung der politischen Überzeugung der Schüler/innen" (Mecklenburg West Pomerania, 20.6.94),

as well as:

"...indirekte Mitgliederwerbung für SED" (Saxony, 26.6.94).

In the light of the above, the abolition of Citizenship Studies was seen as inevitable, following the collapse of the socialist regime.

Post 1989:

Political education was reintroduced in March, 1990, as "Gesellschaftskunde" (Section 3.2) or "das Demokratiefach" (Bockelmann, 1990). A paper compiled by the "Clara Zetkin College of Education" in Leipzig served as a guide for this new subject. According to this document:

"Civic lessons should contribute to forming mature and responsible adults, guided by a humanistic education, democratic conviction and the ability and willingness to take an active part in the processes leading to the formation of a political will and the ability to make decisions in society. Students should be taught to settle conflicts in a civilized manner...to exert tolerance towards people with differing political convictions and religious opinions and affiliations and to take a critical stance in respect to political decisions" (extract from document in Feige, 1990:2, Geschichte und Gesellschaftskunde/4 translated in Fritzsche, 1990:5).

In other words, there was to be a movement away from passive acceptance of given truths. Students are to be helped to become critical, mature citizens, capable of independent, rational judgement.

Likewise, the guidelines for political education published by the new states stipulate that students are to be made capable of contributing to the defence of freedom and human dignity, recognising and seizing chances for self-realisation and bearing responsibility for the consequences of their decisions. They are also to be made capable of understanding the purpose of social and political structures and using them correctly, perceiving their own interests and the interests of others and finally developing a sense of responsibility, which will enable them to recognise their rights and duties in a democratic society (Vom Lehrplan zum Rahmenplan, 1992:13; Vorläufige Rahmenrichtlinien Sozialkunde, Mecklenburg Vorpommern, 1991:22).

Teachers' descriptions of what they now believe to be the goals of political education corresponded closely to the above. The following representative selection of comments made by teachers surveyed, illustrates this point:

"Die Schüler sollen durch Kenntnisse über die politische Ordnung, die gesellschaftliche Struktur sowie das Wirtschafts- und Rechtswesen befähigt werden, die Vorgänge in Staat und Gesellschaft zu verstehen und sie aktiv mitzugestalten" (Saxony, 20.7.93).

"Urteilen und Handeln aufgrund von Kenntnis und Verständnis ist also das Ziel. Urteile dürfen dabei nicht vorgegeben werden, sondern sollen in Diskussion und kritischer Analyse möglichst von jedem Schüler selbst getroffen werden" (Mecklenburg West Pomerania, 20.7.93).

Similarly, in the opinion of one student (Dresden, 30.6.94), the goals of political education include the:

"Förderung der Meinungsbildung durch Darstellung gesellschaftlicher Verhältnisse in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart",

or another (Dresden, 30.6.94):

"Es sollte auf Beziehungen der Menschen eingegangen werden und zum Nachdenken anregen ... über sich und die Mitmenschen".

Also stressed by teachers as being an important goal of political education is the overcoming of political apathy. In other words, the goals of this subject include:

"Die Schüler aus der Ohnmacht und der Politikgleichgültigkeit zu erwecken" (Brandenburg, 10.8.93)

OT:

"...der Politikverdrossenheit entgegenzuwirken" (Brandenburg, 10.8.93).

These changes in aims are indeed radical. They represent an attempt (in principle at least) not only to abandon an old ideology but also to deal with the problems facing a society, as it feels its way into a pluralistic democracy.

However, important questions need to be raised. Are the changes in the officially stated aims, in some cases at least, not just verbal make-up using new terms to form a mask? Does the change in ideology and language correspond to a change in what is being taught and how it is being taught?

Teachers in the five new states are now faced with the task of selecting appropriate course material according to the new guidelines (Section 2.4). They are also expected to teach according to a didactic concept that calls for a participative, analytical approach (Section 2.5).

The remainder of this chapter attempts to determine the extent to which these requirements are being met, turning first to the question of actual course content before and after 1989.

3.5: Syllabus Construction and Course Content

This section compares the material covered in political education classes before and after the Wende.

Pre 1989 (Phase 4: 1963-1989):

Analysis of the mandatory teaching plans and textbooks used in the G.D.R. reveal that prior to the Wende, political education took place in three broad cycles: Cycle One (classes seven and eight, ages 12-13) dealt with the foundation and history of the G.D.R., cycle two (classes nine and ten, ages 14-15) with society's development from imperialism to communism and cycle three (classes eleven and twelve, ages 16-17) with Marxist philosophy, economics and ethics. Each of these cycles is now outlined in turn.

In Year seven, the focus was on the G.D.R.. Unit 1 of the teaching plan described how it was to be portrayed as a society in which socialism had succeeded. This success was ascribed to the seizing by the G.D.R. of the "opportunity for social advancement" created by the "victory of the soviet army" in 1945 (Unit 2). The ruling communist party was portrayed as leading the way in social reform. Unification of workers, expropriation of private property and agrarian reform were described as important steps in the reform process.

Unit 3 dealt with economic recovery in the G.D.R. It was described as having been achieved as a result of great efforts by the workers and close economic cooperation with the Soviet Union, under the leadership of the SED. Other achievements emphasised include liberation from exploitation, social security and free access for all citizens to science and culture.

East and West Germany were then compared (Unit 4). The division of Germany was attributed to the foundation by the "deutsche Monopolherren" of a separate German state, in order to hinder the development of socialism in the West. Workers in the West were described as "suppressed" by the "imperialists" in power (Lehrplan Staatsbürgerkunde, 1968, Klasse 7, in Schmitt. 1980a:54).

In Year eight, the object of political education was the social system of the G.D.R. The basic text was the constitution.

Once the origin of the constitution had been explained (Unit 1), students were introduced to the class character of socialism (Unit 2). The basic rights and duties of citizens of the G.D.R. were enumerated (Unit 3). Four hours were then devoted to the study of state institutions (Unit 4).

Finally, students were introduced to G.D.R. foreign policy (Unit 5). The internal system in the G.D.R. was examined in the context of international development. Support for the socialist community of states, as well as for workers' movements around the world was called for (Lehrplan Staatsbürgerkunde, Klasse 8, 1974/75 in Schmitt, 1980a:56; see also Lehrbuch für Staatsbürgerkunde, Klasse 8, 1981).

Cycle Two began in year 9. The basic principles of Marxist-Leninist theory were explained. These were then applied to current events.

To begin with, the "inevitability" of society's development from imperialism to communism was explained (Unit 1). Marxist theories were then applied to modern capitalism. The strengthening of positions of power in capitalist societies was described as resulting from repressive domestic and aggressive foreign policy (Unit 2). According to Marx, this approach was doomed to failure.

Finally, areas such as "selected problems in current international politics", "selected areas in the history of the German workers' movement" and "selected philosophical questions" were covered (Lehrplan Staatsbürgerkunde, Klasse 9, 1974/75, in Schmitt, 1980a:56-57; Lehrbuch für Staatsbürgerkunde, Klasse 9, 1982).

The Marxist laws explained and applied in year 9 were repeated in year 10 and related more specifically to the G.D.R. The strengthening of the socialist community of states was described as essential, particularly in the face of imperialist attempts to undermine its unity, by means for example, of "ideological corruption" (Unit 1).

Unit 2 concentrated on economic development in the G.D.R. Emphasis was placed on the need for constant increases in worker productivity.

Unit 3 concerned socialist state theory, while Unit 4 systematised and summarised material covered up to this point (Lehrplan Staatsbürgerkunde, Klasse 10, 1974/75 in Schmitt, 1980a:57-58; Lehrbuch Staatsbürgerkunde, Klasse 10, 1983; Stabü, Klasse 10, 1987:55-142).

Finally, in cycle three, Marxist-Leninist philosophy was taught. The central positions of Marx, Engels and Lenin were described. The theory of dialectic, historical materialism (Section 1.5) was explained. It was presented as the basis of the historical mission of the working class (Einführung in die marxistisch-leninistische Philosophie. 1987; Lehrplan Abiturstuse Staatsbürgerkunde. 1988).

In Years 11 and 12, the course was laid out in such a way that the basic units on existence and consciousness (Units 1-4), dialectical materialism (Unit 5) and theories on class, state and revolution (Unit 6), followed one another in sequence.

An introduction to Marxist personality theory and a description of Marxist views on changing the world completed the course (<u>Lehrplan Staatsbürgerkunde</u>, Abiturstufe, 1974/75 in Schmitt, 1980a:58).

It is clear, then, that very little time was devoted to alternative theories of society and social development. Information on viewpoints deviating from the Marxist position was provided only where it was felt necessary to furnish students with counter arguments for opposing philosophies (found in the teaching plans (for example Lehrplan Staatsbürgerkunde Abiturstufe, 1989:23) under the heading "Grundgedanken zur Wiederlegung der feindlichen Auffassung"). The following extract from a year ten textbook (Lehrbuch Staatsbürgerkunde 1987:8) illustrates this point:

"Wer nicht von Lenins Erkenntnissen ausgeht, wird zu einer falschen Bestimmung unserer Epoche kommen. Bürgerliche Meinungsmacher sprechen beispielsweise von einer "Epoche der Industriegesellschaft"...Andere leiten aus der Bedeutung der Elektronik und Robotertechnik eine "Epoche der technotronischen Gesellschaft" ab. Dabei

wird ausschließlich und einseitig von Entwicklungsprozessen der Produktivkräfte und nicht von der gesellschaftlichen Gesamtentwicklung ausgegangen. Wer wüßte aber nicht, daß sich in sozialistischen und kapitalistischen Ländern die Produktionsmittel nicht grundlegend voneinander unterscheiden, wohl aber die gesamte Produktions- und Lebensweise der Menschen. Mit einem solchen Herangehen bürgerlicher Ideologen wird die tatsächliche Gesellschaftsentwicklung verschleiert".

In other words, students were taught that capitalist theories neglect the broader socio-historical elements in favour of technological factors in their analysis of the development of society. In this way (according to Marxist theory), they disguise the conflicts which are present in society. However, an objective analysis of counter arguments to this point of view is not provided (an approach described by one teacher as "Lügen durch Weglassen" (Saxony, 7.6.93)).

Secondly, the material covered was characterised by the following:

- * frequent repetition
- * an emphasis on theory and
- * extreme selectivity.

In other words, analysis of the teaching plans and textbooks reveals that over the entire course, the same key areas were dealt with repeatedly. It has been suggested that this approach was adopted in order to develop and reinforce socialist convictions (Schmitt, 1980a:59). For example, the topic "Gesetzmäßigkeit der Entwicklung zum Sozialismus" is a key component of the curriculum in year seven. It is then repeated in years nine, ten and eleven. In the words of one teacher:

"In meiner Schulzeit, da ging es los, z.B. Stabü (Staatsbürgerkunde), da hatten wir Oktoberrevolution, Novemberrevolution, Zweiter Weltkrieg, dann der Parteitag, der Parteitag......dann hatte man das wieder - mir stand es schon in der Schule bis hierher" (Hockerts-Werner, 1993).

Furthermore, material covered was of an abstract nature. Emphasis was placed on theoretical principles rather than daily reality. In the opinion of one former student (Saxony, 26.6.94):

"Kaum einer hat geglaubt, daß wir in diesem Fach etwas für das Leben lernen".

Finally, the choice of content was extremely selective. Facts to be included in the curriculum appear to have been taught on the basis of their ability to contribute to the formation and reinforcement of socialist convictions. In other words, content was to be ideologically functional.

For example, in the field of international politics China remained a blank space on the political map. No mention of China is to be found in the teaching plans. Even articles from the G.D.R. constitution itself were removed from the plans when it was felt that they contradicted SED policy at any given time (Schmitt, 1980a: 59).

Furthermore, any reference to political events in the West appear to have been inserted only when they could be used to demonstrate Western "imperialism" and "aggression". In the opinion of one student (Saxony, 26.6.94) the approach taken involved:

"Schlechtmachen des Kapitalismus durch Herauspicken der schlechten / negativen Meldungen der westlichen Welt".

For example, the following extract from a textbook used in year ten is representative of references to forms of government and lack of democratic freedoms in the West:

"Die politische Krise in der kapitalistischen Welt zeigt sich z.B. darin, daß von 1970 bis 1980 nahezu 80 Regierungen kapitalistischer Länder zurücktreten mußten...Parallel dazu treten immer stärkere Formen autoritärer Machtausübung hervor. In vielen kapitalistischen Ländern werden demokratische Rechte und Freiheiten eingeschränkt, herrscht Gesinnungsschnüffelei und bestehen Berufsverbote für Kommunisten und andere demokratische Kräfte" (Staatsbürgerkunde, 10, 1987:23-24).

Also stressed in references to the West was the "problem of social degeneration". For example students were told:

"Die Kriminalität in der Gesellschaft steigt. Viele Menschen, vor allem Jugendliche, greifen zum Rauschgift, um sich der kapitalistischen Wirklichkeit zu entziehen" (Staatsbürgerkunde, 10, 1987:24).

The only facts provided in relation to the G.D.R. would seem to be those which could have been used to demonstrate the advantages of the socialist system (Schmitt, 1980a:59). For example, in a historical review of the development of the socialist system, East German students were informed that:

"Die Überwindung der Kriegsfolgen war schwer.. Aber dank des Volkseigensektors in der Wirtschaft gab es schon damals (1958) auf dem Territorium der **DDR** keine Arbeitslosigkeit, wurden Errungenschaften durchgesetzt, von denen noch heute die arbeitenden Menschen in kapitalistischen Ländern nur träumen können. Sie sind selbst in einem solchen reichen kapitalistischen Land wie in den USA, wo gewaltige die Kaufhäuser füllen und dem Touristen Warenmengen Überflußgesellschaft vorgaukeln, nicht verwirklicht" (Staatsbürgerkunde, 10. 1987:56-57).

In the opinion of one student (Hofmann, 1992:110):

"Das war doch sehr einseitig was wir da immer hörten".

A second (30.6.94) described the course as:

"...sehr, sehr einseitig".

Others (Saxony, 26.6.94) spoke of:

"...Propagandafilme, die die DDR verherrlichten",

as well as the:

"Kundgeben der Vorteile des Sozialismus und der Nachteile des Kapitalismus" (Dresden, 30.6.94).

Many pupils (for example Dresden, 30.6.94) also complained that material was drawn almost entirely from:

"...Quellen sozialistisch gesonnener Menschen".

Post 1989:

After the *Wende*, this Marxist-Leninist domination of political education was felt to be incompatible with the new educational goals. Therefore, once unification had been completed, *Rahmenrichtlinien* (Section 2.5) for this subject were published by each new state. These contain material from a much greater variety of disciplines including: sociology, economics, politics, history, psychology, philosophy, law and pedagogy (see for example *Vorläufiger Rahmenplan Politischer Bildung, Brandenburg, 1992:50-60*).

Cremer (1992: 545-632) analysed the content outlines contained in the guidelines for political education in all five new states. His analysis revealed that according to the guidelines teachers were to concentrate in class on the following areas:

a) Society

- 1. Family
- 2. School
- 3. Freetime
- 4. Tolerance
- 5. Addictions
- 6. Problems of Youth
- 7. Career Choice
- 8. Social Problems

b) Democracy

- 1. East and West Germany
- 2. German Unification
- 3. Basic Human Rights
- 4. Democratic Parties and Election Procedures in the State Concerned
- 5. Media
- 6. Violence, Terrorism and Extremism

c) International Politics and Foreign Policy

- 1. Europe and the Developing World
- 2. Freedom, Disarmament and Security
- 3. European Integration

d) Environment/Economy

- 1. Environmental Protection
- 2. Economic Development

(Cremer, 1992:545-632; see also <u>Vorläufige Rahmenpläne Politischer Bildung</u>, Brandenburg, 1991/2:15-23/50-60; <u>Vorläufige Rahmenrichtlinien Sozialkund</u>e, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, 1991:7-11, 27-32).

For example, in the case of Brandenburg the guidelines for political education contain the following outline:

Years 7-8:

Society: Group behaviour, socialisation, prejudice, minorities, social class and social integration.

Democracy: Political power structures and forms of government.

One World: From an east-west to a north-south conflict, features of developed and

underdeveloped societies, ecological threats and European integration.

Economy: Employees and consumers, the functions of a market economy, social security

and the transition from a planned to a free market economy.

Years 9-10:

Society: Social structures and social change, career choice, the development of a market

economy, basic social needs, addictions and A.I.D.S.

Democracy: Political participation and decision-making processes, social conflict and its

resolution, free elections as a feature of democratic government, participation in

democratic processes between elections and the relationship between democracy,

government and the mass media.

One World: Radical change, conflict and new dimensions in international relations, the

global dimension of peace and security, European integration, world economic

cooperation and the north-south conflict.

Economy: Planning in a market economy, models and reality, economic change, social

market economy and unemployment, the free market and state control, and economic

and consumption trends.

(Vorläufiger Rahmenplan Politischer Bildung (Sekundarstufe I), Brandenburg, 1991:15-32)

Year 11:

Society: East and West Germany, racism and delinquency

Democracy: The functions and influences of the mass media, democratic models and

technology and the future.

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One World: The concept of progress, the ozone layer and the greenhouse effect, the need for international co-operation in environmental protection, and God and the world: religion as a social, political and economic factor.

Economy: Consumer behaviour, working in a modern industrial society and industrial development.

Year 12:

Society: Social inequalities, the education system and equal opportunities and national minorities.

Democracy: Political participation: parties, movements and organisations, the German constitution and the consequences of German unification.

One World: Centralism versus regionalism, progress and development in the third world, and international conflict and its resolution.

Economy: German economic policy, ecology and industry.

(Vorläufiger Rahmenplan Politischer Bildung (Sekundarstufe II), Brandenburg, 1992:52-59).

Responses by teachers and students to questions concerning the content of political education classes indicate that the guidelines are being implemented in class.

For example, one group of pupils (Dresden, 30.6.94) spoke of material covered in class as being drawn from:

"...Quellen von verschiedenen Personen unterschiedlicher politischer Gesinnung".

Teachers praise the fact that the:

"...Parteilinie nicht mehr vorgegeben ist" (Brandenburg, 10.8.93)

and that the:

"...ideologische Überfrachtung der Lehrpläne verschwunden ist" (Mecklenburg West Pomerania, 10.6.93).

For example, according to the guidelines for political education produced in Brandenburg the school:

"...erzieht junge Menschen zur Anerkennung der Grundsätze der Menschlichkeit, der Demokratie und der Freiheit",

and at the same time:

"...wahrt Offenheit und Toleranz gegenüber den unterschiedlichsten religiösen, weltanschaulichen und politischen Überzeugungen...Sie vermeidet was die Empfindungen Andersdenkender verletzen könnten. Keine Schülerin und kein Schüler darf einseitig beeinflußt werden" (Vorlaufiger Rahmenplan Politische Bildung, Sek II, Brandenburg, 1992:3).

In the opinion of one teacher (Saxony, 7.6.93), the removal of an "einseitige Betrachtungsweise" removes the necessity for "Feindbilder". It also facilitates an:

"...umfassende und keine parteilich gebundene Wissensvermittlung" (Mecklenburg West Pomerania, 10.7.93).

Also praised is the:

"Pluralismus - ermöglicht durch die Vielfältigkeit der Materialien, zu denen Lehrer und Schüler jetzt Eingang haben" (Brandenburg, 10.8.93)

or in other words, the increased:

"...Möglichkeiten zur allseitigen Informationen und eigenen Wertung" (Mecklenburg West Pomerania, 10.6.93).

Also perceived in a positive light by teachers from all disciplines is the fact that the Rahmenrichtlinien are presented in the form of guidelines, i.e. the:

"...enge Lehrplangebundenheit ist beseitigt" (teacher-Mecklenburg West Pomerania, 6.7.93).

In the words of another teacher (Brandenburg, 10.8.93):

"Freiräume für den Lehrer sind gegeben - grobe Richtlinien sind nur vorgegeben"

Furthermore, in the words of one teacher interviewed:

"Viel Freiraum für Diskussion wird gegeben - Freizeit, Familie, Probleme im Jugendalter, Gewalt und private Probleme werden an den Lehrer herangetragen" (Mecklenburg West Pomerania 6.7.93).

Similarly, a pupil (Dresden, 30.6.94) commented:

"Das Fach wird durch vielseitige Themen gestaltet, die auch im späteren Leben von großem Nutzen sein können".

The vast majority of teachers interviewed now claim to select material:

"nach Vorgaben der Rahmenrichtlinien und Wünschen der Schüler" (Brandenburg 28.4.93).

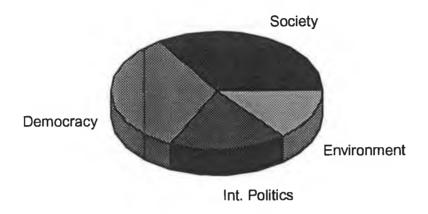
These comments appear to be confirmed by the results obtained in the main postal survey (Section 3.1).

Analysis of the responses to the question:

"Welche Themen werden im Unterricht am ausführlichsten behandelt?"

revealed the following situation (Diagram 3.1).

Diagram 3.1: Areas Covered in Political Education

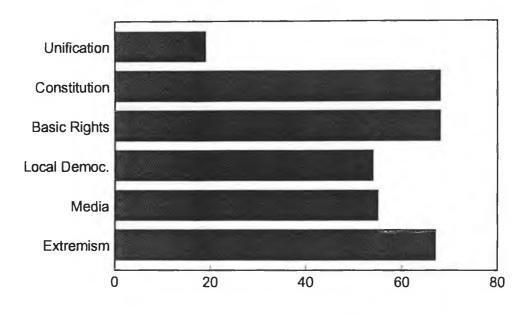


Source: Survey Data (Appendix C, Table 3.2:2)

Clearly teachers are placing the emphasis on areas related to democracy (with thirty four percent of areas described as being covered in some depth, falling under this heading), followed closely by areas related to society (thirty three percent), international politics (eighteen percent) and the environment (fourteen percent).

Under these broader headings the emphasis is being placed on basic rights, the constitution and extremism (Diagram 3.1a), social problems, the family, youth and the concept of tolerance (Diagram 3.1b), development aid, freedom, security and disarmament (Diagram 3.1c) and finally environmental protection, economics and agriculture (Diagram 3.1d):

Diagram 3.1a: Areas Covered in Political Education (Democracy)

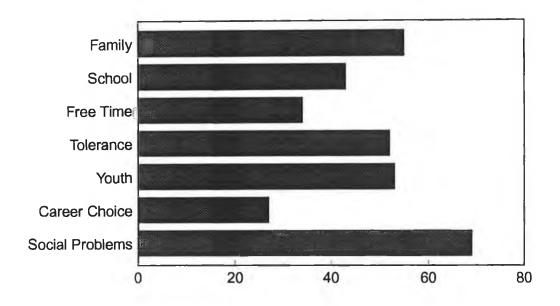


Frequency of Occurrence

Source: Survey Data (Appendix C, Table 3.2:2)

Under this sub-heading more teachers are dealing with the German constitution, basic rights and extremism in class, than for example with unification and local democracy.

Diagram 3.1b: Areas Covered in Political Education (Society)

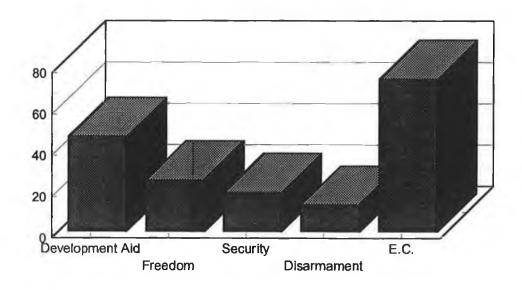


Frequency of Occurrence

Source: Survey Data (Appendix C, Table 3.2:2)

Here the emphasis is being placed on social problems, the family, youth and the concept of tolerance.

Diagram 3.1c: Areas Covered in Political Education (International Politics)

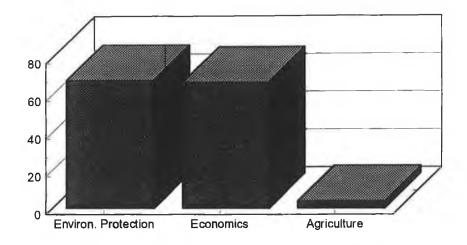


Frequency of Occurrence

Source: Survey Data (Appendix C:Table 3.2:2)

Clearly, when dealing with the area of international politics, E.C. issues dominate, together with the question of aid to developing countries.

Diagram 3.1d: Areas Covered in Political Education (Environment)



Frequency of Occurrence

Source: Survey Data (Appendix C:Table 3.2:2)

Finally, the survey reveals that the relationship between agricultural policies and environmental protection does not figure strongly in classes dealing with environmental questions. Instead the emphasis is placed on environmental protection in general, and its economic aspects in particular.

These general patterns are reflected in the data breakdowns for the individual states, as well as for Levels One and Two⁶ in the schools surveyed (Appendix C, Table 3.2:2,3).

Thus a comparison of the guidelines and the survey results indicates that in terms of content, teachers are operating within the broad framework provided by the guidelines.

However, these findings clearly tell only part of the story. In order to complete the picture it is necessary to examine the situation with regard to teaching methodologies and assessment criteria (Sections 3.6a and 3.6b respectively).

Years 5-10 and 11-12 respectively in Mecklenburg West Pomerania, Saxony and Saxony-Anhalt and years 7-10 and 11-12 respectively in Brandenburg.

3.6a: Didactic Approaches and Teaching Methodologies.

Pre 1989:

Political education in the G.D.R. consisted of attempted ideological transfer from teacher to pupil. The pupil was regarded as a passive object in this process.

The teaching plans stressed that classes in political education were to be distinguished by a militant, polemical style. Furthermore, they were to be conducted offensively and in an overtly partisan manner. For example, the teaching plan published in 1988 ("Grundsätze der Gestaltung des Staatsbürgerkundeunterrichts", in Lehrplan Staatsbürgerkunde. Klasse 7-10:11) stated:

"Der gesamte Staatsbürgerkundeunterricht muß durch einen kämpferischen und polemischen Stil gekennzeichnet sein...kämpferischer und polemischer Geist des Staatsbürgerkundeunterrichts erfordert vor allem die überzeugende Auseinandersetzung mit der Politik und Ideologie des Klassengegners. Die Auseinandersetzung muß offensiv und oft parteilich geführt werden".

The plan continues (pp.33):

"Der Unterricht soll dazu beitragen, daß die unversöhnliche Haltung der Schüler gegenüber dem Imperialismus, insbesondere gegenüber dem BRD Imperialismus weiter ausgeprägt wird"

followed by (pp.42):

"Der Unterricht hat dazu beizutragen, Abscheu und Haß der Schüler gegenüber dem Imperialismus zu vertiefen".

On the other hand the plan states (pp.42):

"Ihre Hochachtung vor dem aufopferungsvollen Kampf der Kommunisten soll vertieft werden"

and (pp.33):

Ihre Überzeugung ist zu stärken, daß die DDR ihr sozialistisches Vaterland ist, das nichts mit der imperialistischen BRD gemein hat".

In other words, teachers were instructed that the entire political world was to be presented to students in terms of "friend" and "foe".

As a result of this dichotomous approach, political reality had to be reduced to those phenomena which could easily fit into black and white categories.

For example the teaching plan in use directly before the collapse of the SED regime contains the following observation:

"Die Lehre von Marx ist allmächtig, weil sie wahr ist" (Lehrplan Staatsbürgerkunde Abiturstufe, 1988:22).

The use of adverbs such as "allmächtig" and "wahr" leaves no room for doubt. Such a dogmatic statement demands passive acceptance rather than critical analysis of Marxist theory. Similarly, in a chapter entitled "Der Charakter unserer Epoche" in the textbook used by students in Year 10 (Staatsbürgerkunde, Klasse 10, 1987:24), ideological assumptions are already embedded in the language used. The chapter contains for example the following extract:

"Schließlich drückt auch die Zunahme der Kampfaktivität der Arbeiterklasse und ihrer Verbündeten die Vertiefung der allgemeinen Krise des Kapitalismus aus.

Immer klarer tritt hervor, daß der Kampf gegen die sozialen Folgen der Krise aufs engste mit der Friedenssicherung verbunden ist.

Der Imperialismus ist zum größten Hindernis für die Entwicklung der Menschheit geworden. Die Vertiefung seiner allgemeinen Krise hat die menschenfeindlichen Züge des Kapitalismus noch offensichtlicher gemacht.

Wenn wir die bisherigen Feststellungen über den Hauptinhalt unserer Epoche, über die Entwicklung des internationalen Kraftverhältnisses und über die Vertiefung der allgemeinen Krise des Kapitalismus zusammenfassen, gelangen wir zu einer gründlichen Antwort auf die Frage nach den Ursachen der wachsenden Aggressivität imperialistischer Krise, vor allem in den USA und in anderen NATO-Staaten, in den achtziger Jahren. Sie liegen -kurz gesagt- in der Verschlechterung der inneren und äußeren Existenzbedingungen des Imperialismus."

Clearly, the above extract is based on the unquestioned assumption that capitalism ("Imperialismus") is "bad". The choice of the superlative form of the adjective "eng" in the phrease "aufs engste" (paragraph two) and "groß" in "zum größten Hindernis" (paragraph 3) both underlines this point and discourages contradiction of the argument being made.

The use of presupposition further strengthens the underlying assumption that capitalism is inherently evil. For example, the use of the comparative: "noch offensichtlicher" presupposes firstly that capitalism possesses "menschenfeindliche Züge" and secondly that these were already obvious even before the worsening of the "crisis" faced by capitalism. Furthermore, the use of terms with comparative force such as "Zunahme", "Vertiefung", "wachsenden" and "Verschlechterung" create the impression of an ongoing process. In other words not only is capitalism "bad" it is getting worse.

Finally, the fact that the term "Krise" appears four times in this short extract alone (three times in conjunction with "die Vertiefung") in the phrases:

- "...die Vertiefung der allgemeinen Krise" (paragraph 1)
- "...die sozialen Folgen der Krise" (paragraph 2)
- "Die Vertiefung seiner allgemeinen Krise" (paragraph 3), and finally
- "...die Vertiefung der allgemeinen Krise des Kapitalismus" (paragraph 4).

both presupposes that capitalism faces a worsening crisis and demonstrates that students were to associate "Krise" with "Kapitalismus"/"Imperialismus".

Indeed, the word "Krise" belongs to a stock vocabulary of key words which were repeatedly associated with capitalism in school textbooks. This vocabulary also includes "Hindernis", "menschenfeindlich" and "Aggressivität".

The fact that the above assertion makes no attempt to provide any kind of a balanced view of the advantages and disadvantages of capitalism provides us with a taste of the sterility of classroom communication in the G.D.R. Teaching material assumed that socialism (as defined by the SED) was infinitely superior to all other ideologies.

Such an approach is rendered possible (and necessary) by the premise that there is one correct interpretation of social reality. A teacher's report in the official East German teachers' journal: <u>Geschichtsunterricht und Staatsbürgerkunde</u>, 1988, (in Rohlfes, 1990:714) further demonstrates how such an approach functioned. A student received the task:

"Explain the role of West Berlin in the plundering of our Republic. Concentrate in your answer on the wooing away of trained workers and currency speculation."

Here the "plundering" of the G.D.R. by West Berlin is presented as an indisputable fact to be accepted by students. The choice of a military term loaded with negative connotations such as "plundering", followed by the patriotic "our Republic", ensured that the tone of the resulting essay was prescribed in advance, even before the second sentence specified the areas to be emphasised. The task of the student was merely to fill out the outline provided.

Referred to in the same report was another essay question which apparently dealt with a controversial issue:

"Gegenwärtig wird im Zusammenhang mit den Schutzmaßnahmen vom 13. August 1961 sowohl vom Schutzwall als einem Bollwerk des Friedens als auch von der Mauer, die ein Symbol des Unfriedens sei, gesprochen.

Wie erklären Sie diese unterschiedlichen Bezeichnungen. Welche Positionen und Absichten stehen hinter dem Wortgebrauch?"

Here the use of the term "Schutzmaßnahmen" in conjunction with the building of the wall, as well as the use of the subjunctive "sei" at the end of the second phrase, provided students with a clear direction which they could hardly afford to ignore.

Similarly, the textbook used in Year ten (Staatsbürgerkunde, 10, 1987:19,27) contains essay questions phrased as follows:

"Begründen Sie anhand der realen Entwicklung in der Welt seit 1917, daß sich der Sozialismus in der historischen Offensive befindet!"

Or:

"Nennen Sie Beispiele, die beweisen, daß die aggressivsten Kreise des Imperialismus bereit sind, Massenvernichtungswaffen skrupellos einzusetzen!"

Both of the above questions are in fact no more than disguised assertions, i.e.:

"Der Sozialismus befindet sich in der historischen Offensive"

and:

"Die aggressivsten Kreise des Imperialismus sind bereit Massenvernichtungswaffen skrupellos einzusetzen".

Again, military terms ("Offensive", "Massenvernichtungswaffen") are used in order to underline the conflict between capitalism and socialism. Negatively charged adjectives

("aggressiv") and adverbs ("skrupellos") are used to discredit the opposing system. Indeed many of the adjectives employed are superfluous. Again they serve to both strengthen the assertion and discourage criticism of the assumption on which it is based. In short, these terms remove any doubt as to the truth of the assertions made. For example, "skrupellos" refutes in advance the argument that the western powers might not use their weapons of mass destruction. The term "real" suggests that there has been only one true process of development in world history, i.e. that of the growth of communism and the decline of capitalism. After such highly emotive rhetoric the students' task (proving the truth of the statement / giving reasons for the situation) was a relatively straightforward one. They simply had to follow the directions given.

Similarly, the questions which appeared for example, in the textbook used in year nine (<u>Lehrbuch Staatsbürgerkunde</u>. 9, 1982:34), left little doubt as to the nature of the answer required. The following example illustrates this point:

"Setzen Sie sich mit der Auffassung auseinander, daß der bürgerliche Staat ein "Rechtsstaat" für alle Bürger sei! Beziehen Sie in Ihre Argumentation aktuelle Beispiele ein, die beweisen, daß diese These eine Lüge ist und das Klassenwesen des kapitalistischen Staates verschleiern soll!"

If the first sentence had been allowed to stand alone (in a different context), the question / task would have been a relatively objective one. However, the second sentence qualifies the first and prescribes the conclusion to be proved (i.e. diese These ist eine Lüge und soll das Klassenwesen des kapitalistischen Staates verschleiern). The question is also based on the assumption that there are "aktuelle Beispiele" and an argument refering to them must lead to the above conclusion.

Indeed, even a glance at the chapter titles in the school textbooks indicates in advance the conclusions which will be drawn at the end of each chapter. For example, the following extract from the Table of Contents found in the textbook used in year nine (1982) illustrates this point:

"1.2.3.2: Der Kampf der Arbeiterklasse gegen kapitalistische Ausbeutung und Unterdruckung.

1.2.4: Die Unterordnung des gesamten gesellschaftlichen Lebens unter die Profitinteressen der Bourgeoisie."

and in year ten (1983):

"1.3.1: Die kommunistische Weltbewegung - die einflußreichste und stärkste politische Bewegung in der heutigen Welt."

The reduction of political reality in the G.D.R. to matters of right (communism) and wrong (capitalism) was observed by Schmitt (1980b:3) in his discussion on political education in East Germany. He commented that:

"In the classroom (as elsewhere) political positions and ideologies are not discussed in order to discuss their normative or empirical validity, but to give them a "progressive" or "reactionary" label. Marxist-Leninist ideology and the socio-political conditions of the G.D.R. are progressive by definition and thus taboo for discussion. So are the strategic decisions of political leaders for attaining socialism/communism."

An extract from a reconstruction in dialogue of a political education class (as observed by American researcher Elizabeth Mayer (1968 12-14) while attending a three week program of summer courses conducted in Erfurt, 1968) further demonstrates the use of such a dogmatic approach. A question and answer technique was employed:

"F. An was denkt ihr bei dem Wort Kapitalisten?

A. An Westdeutschland, und USA. In allen westlichen Ländern nutzen die Kapitalisten ihre Macht aus. Wir tun dies hier auch. Aber wir tun es für das Volk, nicht gegen das Volk.

F. Bei dem Wort Krieg?

A. Ausbeutung, Unterdrückung, den Krieg, der von Westdeutschland ausgeht. Faschisten. Mit Sozialismus ist Frieden verbunden.

F. Bei dem Wort Recht?

A. Das Recht ist auf unserer Seite. Die Westdeutschen haben Unrecht.

F. Bei dem Wort schwach?

A. Die Westdeutschen sind schwach. Wir sind stark.

F. Bei dem Wort Grenze?

A. Da jammern sie und schreien in Westdeutschland, weil wir die Grenze zugemacht haben, daß die Schmuggler nicht mehr schmuggeln können......"

Pupils interviewed for this study confirm that reality was presented in terms of good and evil. In the opinion of one (Dresden, 30.6.94), the subject involved the:

"Darstellung des "guten" sozialistischen Menschenbildes und des "schlechten" feindlich- kapitalistischen Bildes".

Thus, since all students were to be led to the same ideological position on political and philosophical questions (namely that of the *SED*), discussion was considered to be of limited value and multi-dimensional, discursive work neglected, ⁷or:

"Die Notwendigkeit, Standpunkte von vornherein in marxistische und in abweichende zu unterteilen, schließt eine Auseinandersetzung auf gleicher Ebene aus" (Neujahr, 1976:188).

As a result, the range of teaching methodologies was extremely limited. The transmission method of teaching dominated, i.e. lectures by the teacher on factual, "correct" material.⁸

Margot Honecker (1973:14) stressed for example the importance of the:

The outcome of any discussion was made clear in advance by the dogmas printed in the textbooks (see for example <u>Einführung in die marxistisch-leninistische Philosophie</u>. Lehrbuch für die Abiturstufe, 1987).

Indeed the Secretary of State in the Ministry of Education in Brandenburg stated: "Untersuchungen in DDR Schulen kurz vor der Wende ergaben, daß durchschnittlich nur zehn Prozent der gesprochenen Worte von Schülern stammten" (Schulreform....1992:15).

"Erwerb festen, sicheren, exakten und systematischen Wissens".

Paar (1972:403), in his speech at the VII International Pedagogical Congress of the G.D.R., stated that the best didactic approaches for the achievement of this aim were:

"der Lehrervortrag und die Vermittlung exakter Begriffe".

Furthermore, the teacher dominated all leadership functions in the class by means of instructions, demands and punishment controls (Lehmann, 1970:46). Indeed the textbook Einführung in die Allgemeine Didaktik: Vorlesungen, which was widely used in teacher training institutions in the G.D.R., made the following statement:

"Diese Funktion des Lehrers, seine Führungsfunktion, ist der entscheidende Punkt einer didaktischen Funktionsbestimmung des Lehrers" (Klingberg, 1976:220).

Thus the comment by educational researcher Roth (1969:45), supported by Kossakowski (1970:62):

"Der heute in der DDR geübte Führungsstil des Unterrichts liegt zweifellos im Tendenzbereich "autoritär" ",

was hardly a surprising one.

Comments made by students support this view (e.g. Dresden, 30.6.94). Many spoke for example of a "...strenge Unterrichtsführung". One stated:

"Es wurden sehr strenge Lehrmethoden angewandt. Dem Schüler wurde wenig Freiraum gegeben, d.h. der Lehrer ist die Autoritätsperson, hat das Sagen und nur seine Meinung ist die richtige. Die Meinung der Schüler war nicht gefragt".

There were, nevertheless, exceptions to the general rule. In the words of one former student:

"Einer unserer Lehrer wollte auch unserer Argumentationsfähigkeit fördern, dem anderen schien das Gegenteil (alles auswendiglernen und wiederkäuen) wichtiger" (Mecklenburg West Pomerania 20.6.94).

Estimation of the exact number of exceptions is an impossible task. However, given the approach to teacher education and training, the obligatory teaching plans, restrictions on teaching materials and controls exerted by the *Stasi* (discussed in Section 1.5), it is likely that for political education in particular, they were few and far between. This assumption is supported by the fact that comments such as the above were made by only one of the survey respondants.

Post 1989:

After the *Wende*, it was clear that if the new educational goals were to be achieved, a new understanding of the political education process was necessary.

Instead of a provider of the "one truth", the teacher is to be perceived as a trustee of the political maturity of the student. By means of expert didactic competencies, this maturity is to be developed and nurtured (Vorläufiger Rahmenplan: Politische Bildung, Sek.II, Brandenburg, 1992:19-21).

The individual states left teachers unrestricted in their choice of methodology. However, as we have seen (Section 2.6), it was recommended that the planning and organisation of all classes be based on the following principles:

- * Student Orientation
- * Differentiation
- * Exemplarity
- * Problem Orientation
- * Action Orientation and

* Openness

(see for example <u>Vorläufiger Rahmenplan Politischer Bildung</u>, Brandenburg, 1992:42).

In the context of political education, these principles have been interpreted in the five new states as implying that class discussion should deal with problems and conflicts relevant to the life of the individual student and encouraging active study in authentic or simulated situations (Vorläufiger Rahmenplan Politischer Bildung, Brandenburg, 1992:42-44; Vorläufige Rahmenrichtlinien Sozialkunde, Mecklenburg Vorpommern, 1991:24-26).

According to the new guidelines political education should emphasise the existence of different interests within every society. It is forbidden for teachers to force an opinion on students and thus create the impression that a "compulsory" philosophy of life exists or that political education is based on any one theory ("Uberwältigungsverbot") (Pressemitteilung (Brandenburger Kultusministerium), 1992:58-59). For example, the guidelines for political education (Brandenburg, 1992:20) state:

"Es ist nicht erlaubt, die Schülerinnen und Schüler - mit welchen Mitteln auch immer - im Sinne erwünschter Meinungen zu überrumpeln und damit an der Gewinnung eines selbständigen Urteils zu hindern."

and continue:

"Hier genau verläuft die Grenze zwischen politischer Bildung und Indoktrination. Indoktrination aber ist unvereinbar mit der Rolle des Lehrers bzw. der Lehrerin in einer demokratischen Gesellschaft und der Zielvorstellung von der Mündigkeit der Schülerinnen und Schüler".

In order to encourage the implementation of the above principles in political education classes, the education ministries recommend the adoption of the following methodologies:

1) Project Work

This approach requires action and cooperation by students. Both practical and mental abilities are developed since students not only determine the goal of the work but also conduct independent research and produce and present their own results.

2) Discursive Procedures

Frequent discussion, debate and argument aids in the development of communicative skills, as well as tolerance of the views of others. An open, trusting atmosphere is, however, a prerequisite for controversial discussion.

3) Case Studies

Here, a concrete example/situation is used to demonstrate the individual phases of problem solution, i.e. problem recognition, hypothesis formation, hypothesis testing and the evaluation of alternative solutions (Section 2.6). Using this approach, students' analytical abilities are developed. They also learn how to construct a path of investigation.

4) Creative Work with Media

Students are given the opportunity to produce leaflets, pamphlets, posters, photographs, graphics, newspaper articles and radio programmes. In this way the production and analysis of media can be linked to a sharpening of perception and development of creativity.

5) Procedures from the Social Sciences

Empirical and social research methods (including survey, observation and experimentation) can be conducted in a suitably simplified form, either in or by a class. These procedures can aid in the development of pupils' analytical and perceptive abilities.

6) Simulation

Here the course of political decision making is simulated. Suitable topics range from the cleaning up of a local site to the setting up of a development project in the third world. Techniques involved in simulation include role play, mock tribunal negotiations and computer simulation. Experience has shown this approach to be particularly effective in motivating students.

7) Future Workshops (Zukunftswerkstätten)

Using this methodology, student groups suggest solutions for current problems and controversial issues. Students are directed through a "critical phase" to a "phantasy phase" (Vorläufiger Rahmenplan Politischer Bildung, Brandenburg, 1992:43) to the "development of concrete Utopias". While this method has its limitations in classroom settings, recommendations do not rule out the use of individual elements and techniques.

In particular, the aim is to bring students to see the future not as an automatic extension of the past, but rather as an endangered dimension, whose existence must be ensured by conscious, political action and decision making.

8) Lecture by the Teacher

Generally based on a textbook or other form of academic literature, the basic facts related to a specialist topic are provided. The course of the class is determined by the teacher.

Although it is recommended that this approach lose its dominance, it has nevertheless, a number of important didactic functions, including the introduction, contraction and revision of material.

Finally, it the Education Ministry recommend that phases of common preparation, analysis and evaluation of the teaching process take place. This recommendation is based on the theory that the teaching process itself is a socio-political process. Interests are

recognised, articulated and defended. Goals are striven for. Tasks are thought through and problems solved. Communicative structures arise and change.

These methodology listings are not intended to be complete. Instead, their function is to encourage teachers to abandon the old, authoritarian teaching style, in favour of a more open, communicative, cooperative style, distinguished by mutual respect and student participation (Vorläufiger Rahmenplan Politischer Bildung, Brandenburg, 1992:42; Vorläufige Rahmenrichtlinien Sozialkunde, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, 1991:5).

However, the results of the primary research indicate that on the one hand teachers recognise that given the aims of political education:

"die didaktische methodische Gestaltung des Unterrichts bedeutend vielfältiger sein kann / muß" (Brandenburg, 28.4.93),

or that a:

"motivierende und interessante Unterrichtsgestaltung von Seiten des Lehrers erforderlich ist" (Mecklenburg West Pomerania, 10.7.93),

while on the other hand teachers' responses indicate that many have not adopted the new methods. In response to questions concerning the teaching methodologies employed in political education classes, the following comments are representative:

"Zur Zeit überwiegend der Frontalunterricht" (Brandenburg, 28.4.93)

"Frontalunterricht spielt noch eine große Rolle" (Mecklenburg West Pomerania, 6.7.93)

"Noch sehr viel Frontalunterricht" (Saxony, 7.6.93)

Notable in the above comments is the use of "noch" and "Zur Zeit". It is almost as if teachers were apologising for their lack of success in this area and recognising the need for change.

Students (e.g. Dresden, 30.6.94) also speak for example, of:

"Vorträge des Lehrers" and "...üblicher Unterricht",

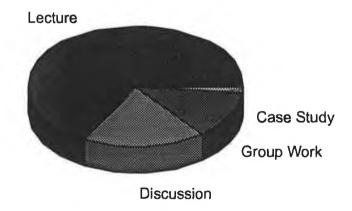
as well as:

"...in der 12^{ten} Klasse - nur Vorträge des Lehrers"

The situation indicated by these comments is confirmed by the main postal survey. In response to Question (3):

"Welche Lehrmethoden werden im Unterricht am häufigsten verwendet?", teachers listed the teaching methodologies used in class in order of frequency. The results can be depicted as follows (Diagram 3.3):

Diagram 3.3: Teaching Methodologies Employed Most Frequently



Source: Survey Data (Appendix C, Table 3.4:4, Appendix D:6)

Sixty four percent of teachers surveyed stated that they use the lecture method more frequently than any other approach. This suggests that an authoritarian teaching style, distinguished by one teacher lecturing to a class of passive students, is continuing to dominate.

This trend is particularly obvious in Mecklenburg West Pomerania (Diagram 3.5), where approximately seventy five percent of teachers surveyed favoured a teacher dominated approach to political education, compared to sixty percent (approximately) in Brandenburg.

Diagram 3.5: Teaching Methodologies Employed Most Frequently (by State)

Brandenburg

Mecklenburg

Lecture

Discussion

Discuss.

Group Work

Croup Work

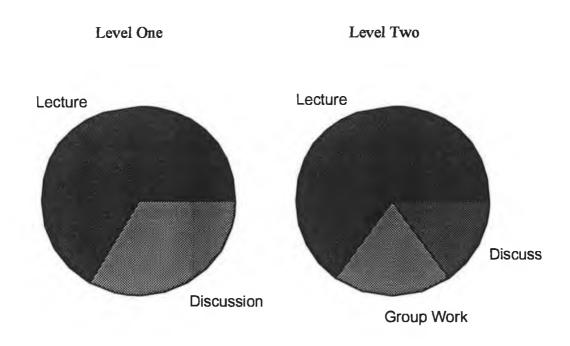
Source: Survey Data (Appendix C, Table 3.4:4, Appendix D:7,8)

It is possible that this discrepancy is an indication of different degrees of conservatism in different regions. In order to make conclusive statements on regional differences, a comparative study would have to be carried out. However, it may be that factors such as the location of Berlin within the state of Brandenburg giving it a "Sonderstatus" or its higher population density compared to Mecklenburg West Pomerania (86/km² (1992)

and 80/km² (1992) respectively (Statistisches Bundesamt)) may have influenced the rate of diffusion of educational reform in Brandenburg's favour. Further investigation of the above is however beyond the scope of this study.

Finally, progression through the school grades does not appear to alter the situation in either of the states surveyed, although group work does begin to play a more important role (Diagram 3.6).

Diagram 3.6: Teaching Methodologies Employed Most Frequently (by Level)



Source: Survey Data (Appendix C, Table 3.4:4, Appendix D:10)

Informal interviews with parents and students serve only to confirm these findings. Parents complain that teachers employ methodologies which belong in the past, while students express the opinion that their teachers prefer to avoid discussion.

Thus, the emphasis on participative methodologies called for by the new guidelines does not appear to have been achieved. In other words, a discrepancy exists between the

stated objectives of political education and the support for these objectives expressed by teachers on the one hand, and the teaching methodologies employed in class on the other.

However, although the purpose of this part of this chapter is to determine whether legislative reform in the Five New States has been implemented in the classroom, rather than to compare east and west, it is interesting to note that empirical research in this area suggests that this discrepancy also exists to varying degrees in many western states. This is despite the fact that experimental studies conducted for example, in western Germany (Ackermann and Kendschek, 1992:367; Grammas and Kuhn, 1992: 464), Iceland (Bagge, Jensen. Larsen and Schneider, 1989:9-22), France (Augoyard and Jardel, 1989: 56-68), Holland (Hülsenbeck and Smit, 1989: 69-77), Portugal (Almeida, 1989: 78-87) and Great Britian (O'Shea, 1989:88-102), have demonstrated both the feasibility and the desirability of the extensive use of participative methodologies in political education classes.

For example, a study conducted by **Dumas** and **Lee** on political education in western German schools, involving classroom observation and interviews with teachers, headmasters, professors of teacher education and specialists in state and federal ministries, spoke of a "...limited concept of method" (1976:240) and:

"...a pedagogical tradition in which teacher authority and order often seem to be treasured above all else" (1976:239).

Dumas and Lee (1976:240) continued:

"During our many hours of observation we saw little deviation from the daily routine of classic recitation, teacher questioning and student answering and some intermittent lecture."

A similar study conducted by **Hage** in western Germany (1985:66) entitled "Methodenrepertoire von Lehrern" concluded:

"Methoden, die die selbständigen und produktiven Schülertätigkeit fördern treten demgegenüber (d.h. dem Lehrervortrag gegenüber) deutlich zurück und führen in manchen Schulen nur ein Randdasein."

Furthermore, following extensive analysis of political education in a number of countries (including America, Great Britian, Australia and Tanzania), Harper (1984:249) concluded that:

"At the level of the classroom, authoritarianism seems to be the dominant relationship world wide".

Similarly, Marzano (1993:159), following a survey of eighty five teachers in eighteen school districts across the United States, concluded that while participative techiques are being used, they are not being employed to a sufficient extent.

Possible causes and implications of the failure to shift the emphasis from "frontal teaching" to participative techniques are considered in Chapter Four. Although discussion relates primarily to eastern Germany, some of the conclusions drawn may also apply to western states.

3.6b: Performance Assessment and Evaluation

Finally, the criteria employed in the assessment and evaluation of student performance in political education are particularly revealing.

Pre 1989:

According to the teaching aids published by the Ministry of Education in the G.D.R. (see for example <u>Beiträge zur Methodik des Staatsbürgerkundeunterrichts</u>. 1975:126), assessment of student performance was to be based on:

- a) knowledge of facts and events as described in the prescribed textbooks and
- b) political convictions.

In other words, teachers were required to assess not only the extent to which a student's factual knowledge corresponded to curricular requirements, but also that to which their ideological position corresponded to that of a socialist personality.

Therefore, directives on assessment stressed that examination questions should be set which allowed a student to demonstrate both "knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory" and "an understanding of and support for SED policy, the concept of the socialist state and the historical mission of the working class". For example, the <u>Richtlinien für die schriftlichen und mündlichen Prüfungen</u> (1974, in Schmitt, 1980a:163) contained the following passage:

"Die Prüfungsfragen sollen so gestellt werden, daß der Prüfungsteilnehmer nicht nur seine marxistisch-leninistischen Grundkenntnisse...zeigen kann, sondern darüber hinaus zum Nachweis veranlaßt wird, daß er die wissenschaftliche Politik der SED und unseres sozialistischen Staates versteht und vertritt, und daß er in der Lage ist, vom Klassenstandpunkt der Arbeiterklasse aus zu den Grundfragen unserer Zeit Stellung zu nehmen,...parteilich zu werden und die Sache des Sozialismus offensiv zu vertreten".

Failure to reach the required standard in either of these areas was punished by low grades and academic failure. Thus, neither the official terminology nor the interpretation scheme on which it was based could be abandoned without punishment (Schmitt, 1980a:163). In the words of one student (Dresden, 30.6.94):

"... gab es bei Leistungskontrollen zwei Zensuren: Wissen (z.B. Abfragen von Ereignissen) und Können (hier aber indirekte Zensierung der Meinung des Schülers, wenn Abweichung von Lehrermeinung)".

Another stated:

"Die Schüler wurden danach bewertet, was die Lehrer hören wollten: Für "rotes Geschwätz" gab es die besten Noten" (Saxony, 26.6.94).

In other words:

"Man mußte nur das hinschreiben bei Arbeiten, was der Lehrer hören wollte, um seine "1" zu bekommen" (Dresden, 30.6.94).

Gerd (pupil, East Berlin) supported this view when he spoke of the:

"....ganze(n) Verlogenheit. Daß man immer in der Schule, in Stabü immer irgendwas erzählt hat, was der Lehrer hören wollte" (Hofmann, 1992:133).

Another added:

"Schüler mit anderen Auffassungen als der Lehrer hatten es schwerer und bekamen eindeutig schlechtere Noten" (Dresden, 30.6.94).

In other words:

"...nicht systemkonforme Meinungen wurden mit schlechteren Noten bewertet".

Therefore, as another pupil put it:

"...wurde in Testaten nur auswendig Gelerntes aufgeschrieben oder gleich in den Unterlagen nachgeschaut" (pupil, Saxony, 26.6.94).

This evaluative approach was consistent with the intensely ideological nature of political education in the G.D.R. and the required official, authoritarian and therefore dogmatic interpretation of social and political reality.

Post 1989:

The above approach was considered incompatible with the principles of democratic political education. After unification, new guidelines on assessment and evaluation were issued (Einheitliche Prüfungsanforderungen Sozialkunde/Politik. 1989:12-13), in these, a substantial reduction in the emphasis placed on the mere reproduction of material is recommended. They also stress that under no circumstances should the content or expression of a student's political opinion be drawn into the evaluation process (see for example Vorläufiger Rahmenplan Politischer Bildung, (Sekundarstufestufe I/II), Brandenburg, 1991/2:12/44).

Instead teachers are encouraged to base their assessment on students' performances in the following areas:

- * The reproduction of facts in context, for example basic information on events, definition of scientific terms and description of processes, structures, norms and conventions.
- * The independent explanation, processing and ordering of content, together with the subsequent application of principles learnt to comparable material.
- * The processing of complex facts in a planned manner, in order to reach independent conclusions

(Einheitliche Prüfungsanforderungen Sozialkunde/Politik, 1989:13-18).

In practice, however, the position appears to be less straightforward. Some teachers described the following as the criteria used in the assessment of student performance in political education:

"...eigene Denkleistung" (Saxony, 7.6.93)

"...die Fähigkeit, sich klar und differenziert auszudrücken" (Mecklenburg West Pomerania, 6.7.93),

"Die persönliche Bereitschaft, sich mit Problemen auseinanderzusetzen" (Mecklenburg West Pomerania, 10.7.93),

as well as the:

"Befähigung der Schüler, selbständig ein Problem zu bearbeiten" (Mecklenburg West Pomerania, 10.6.93).

However, a significant number of teachers responded in the following manner:

"Wie in jedem anderen Fach, Bewertung im wesentlichen dann, wenn Kenntnisse abfragbar und exakt bewertbar sind, z.B. Inhalt von Gesetzen" (Brandenburg, 28.4.93).

"Bewertung erfolgt größtenteils nach Punktsystem zu konkreten Fakten" (Mecklenburg West Pomerania, 10.7.93)

or finally:

"Streng nach der Regel nur gelernte Fakten zu benoten, aber keine Meinungen" (Saxony, 7.6.93)⁹.

Pupils comments indicate the same tendency (for example, Dresden, 30.6.94):

Although this comment was made in a different context, the sentiments expressed are nonetheless revealing.

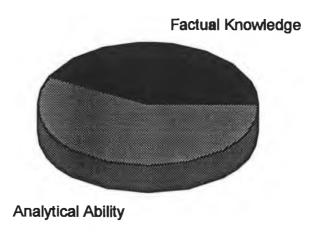
"Zensierung nur auf erlerntes Abgefragtes, wie Daten von Ereignissen u.a.".

These comments suggest that there has been a shift in emphasis in favour of analytical ability, in line with the new guidelines for political education. However, a significant number of teachers continue to emphasise factual knowledge over analytical ability. This trend is confirmed by teachers' responses in the main survey. In response to the question:

"Nach welchen Kriterien wird die Leistung eines Studenten in diesem Fach bewertet?",

teachers ordered the criteria used in assessing student performance in order of frequency. The results were as follows (Diagram 3.7):

Diagram 3.7: Assessment Criteria Employed Most Frequently



Source: Survey Data (Appendix C, Table 3.8:5, Appendix D:6)

Forty three percent of respondents continue to name "factual knowledge" as the criterium used most frequently in the assessment of student performance. In other words,

for many teachers a discrepancy exists between the stated goals of political education and the criteria used in the assessment of student performance in this subject.

Interestingly, as with regard to teaching methodologies (Section 3.6a), a similar problem again exists in many western states. For example, according to a report issued by the "Council of Europe" on a research workshop entitled "Assessment and Examinations", involving fifty five educational researchers from thirty one member countries:

"School marks are still too much based on mechanical reproduction of encyclopaedic knowledge rather than an assessing of broad based general education or personal skills required in working life or in further studies" (Barrett, 1993:3).

Similarly a report published by "Her Majesty's Inspectorate" in Britain spoke of:

"...an emphasis on factual recall rather than an understanding of underlying concepts and ideas" (1981, in Harper, 1984:249).

Possible causes and implications of this discrepancy between stated objectives and assessment criteria employed are considered in Chapter Four. Again, although the emphasis is placed on eastern Germany, some of the conclusions drawn may also apply to western states.

Finally, the results of the main survey indicate that teachers have been successful in significantly reducing the emphasis placed on political opinion as an assessment criterium (Diagram 3.9).

No teacher mentioned "political opinion" as the criterium used most frequently in the assessment of student performance (Diagrams 3.7). A mere seven and a half percent of teachers stated that they continue to take a student's political opinion (defined by teachers as "politische Meinung", "persönliche Meinung") into account in the assessment of performance.

Diagram 3.9: Assessment Criteria Employed

Political Opinion

Analytical Ability

Source: Survey Data (Appendix C, Table 3.8:5)

This finding had been suggested in the preliminary stages by the teachers' comments for example, that assessment took place:

"streng nach der Regel nur gelernte Fakten zu benoten aber keine Meinungen" (Saxony, 7.6.93),

or:

"Bewertung erfolgt größtenteils nach Punktsystem zu konkreten Fakten, nicht nach persönlichen Meinungen oder Urteilen" (Mecklenburg West Pomerania, 10.7.93).

This is also confirmed by one pupil (East Berlin):

"Gibt natürlich auch Gutes heute. Daß man seine Meinung sagen kann" (Hofmann, 1992:52).

3.7: Summary

The democratisation of East Germany gave rise to insistent demands for new perspectives in political education. For this subject in particular, the coordinates had changed beyond recognition. As a result of its close links with the discredited SED regime, it rapidly became clear that the abolition of political education in its then form (i.e.: "Citizenship Studies") was inevitable (McElvoy, 1992:19).

It was felt that democratic reform of political education required the replacement of every element of the subject. These included in particular, the aims, content, didactic approaches, and criteria for the assessment and evaluation of student performance. Each of these areas is now summarised in turn:

Aims:

For forty years, political education had been a tool in the hands of the communist regime. Thus, the goal of political education corresponded to that of the SED, i.e. the creation of loyal, socialist personalities.

Analysis of the forewords of the new guidelines for political education (see for example Vorläufiger Rahmenplan, Brandenburg, 1992:19-22) together with interview material reveal that these goals have changed dramatically. The function of political education is no longer to make all those who come within its grasp think alike. Instead it is to develop in young people the ability and inclination to think for themselves and participate actively in democratic society. Interviews with teachers and students indicate that in theory at least they support these new aims.

Content:

In the G.D.R., the material covered in political education was drawn primarily from the party manifesto of the SED. Curricula were characterised by the deliberate falsification and omission of material. Analysis of the textbooks and teaching plans employed, together with interview material, reveals that content was presented in a biased manner and arguments tailored to the ideologically convenient conclusion.

The guidelines issued since the *Wende* in eastern Germany recommend that teachers concentrate on broad areas related to society, democracy, international politics, foreign policy and the environment.

The results of the primary research indicate that these areas are being covered in political education classes.

Methodology:

Primary research suggests that teaching in the G.D.R. was characterised by a strictly authoritarian approach. The student was perceived as a passive object, whose task was to assimilate facts provided by the teacher.

In place of this dictatorial approach, the guidelines recommend a new teaching style characterised by a high level of student participation. In particular, frontal teaching is to be avoided as much as possible. It is seen as preventing communication among students and making social learning difficult (Pressemitteilung (Brandenburger Kultusministerium), 1991:41).

In its place, the use of more diverse didactic approaches is encouraged. These include discussion, group work, project work, case studies, creative work with media, procedures from the social sciences, simulation and future workshops (Vorläufiger Rahmenplan politischer Bildung . Sek II, Brandenburg, 1992: 39-41).

However, the results of the primary research reveal that while the teachers surveyed declare their support for participative approaches, in class approximately sixty five percent continue to favour the lecture approach, to the detriment of more participative methodologies. These findings were confirmed by informal interviews with parents and students.

Assessment and Evaluation:

Finally, a genuine break with the past necessitates the abandonment of ideologically biased evaluation of student performance. No longer is a student to be judged on the basis of their political opinions and ability to reproduce material without question.

Instead, it is recommended that assessment be based on a student's ability to reproduce facts in context, explain and interpret facts independently, apply principles and process complex material in a structured manner.

Survey results indicate that while there has been a shift in emphasis from factual knowledge to analytical abilities in assessing student performance in political education, a significant proportion of teachers continue to favour factual knowledge. On the other hand, the importance of political opinion as an assessment criterium has been significantly reduced.

Conclusion:

The results of the primary research indicate that in terms of the goals and content of political education legislative reforms have been implemented in the classroom. However, with regard to didactic approaches, methodological monism (Reuter, 1991:2) continues to dominate. Thus, internal reform, or reform within the classroom itself, remains incomplete.

The following chapter examines possible causes and implications of these findings.

Recommendations are made on the basis of conclusions drawn.

Chapter Four

Obstacles to Change and the Way Forward:

an assessment of the factors influencing educational reform in eastern Germany and recommendations for the future

"Die äußeren Bedingungen für eine neue Form von Schule zu schaffen ist das eine. Das andere ist, diese Rahmen auszufüllen. Die innere Schulreform ist weit schwerer zu realisieren, muß sie doch im wesentlichen von den Lehrerinnen und Lehrern getragen werden, die oft selbst noch ihren Platz suchen in dem Spannungsfeld zwischen Verunsicherung und Reformzuverischt"

(Dr. G. Harms, Secretary of State, Ministry of Education, Brandenburg, in <u>Schulreform...</u>, 1992:15).

4.1: Overview

This chapter discusses factors (many of which became apparent during interviews with teachers and pupils in the five new states) which may be influencing the nature and speed of educational reform in eastern Germany. Both organisational factors within the school system and external social factors are considered. Finally, recommendations are made on the basis of conclusions drawn.

4.2: Factors Influencing the Nature and Speed of Educational Reform

in the Five New Bundesländer

It appears that a desire for democratic reform has ensured implementation and acceptance of structural and curricular reforms. Implementation has been further facilitated by support from former West Germany, in the form of funds and equipment (Section 2.2). Acceptance may have been reinforced by disillusionment with monolithic, uniform structures and state propaganda (Sections 1.4 and 1.5 respectively).

However, despite structural change and the adoption of new course material, authoritarian teaching styles continue to dominate (at least with regard to political education). Primary and secondary research findings suggest a number of possible explanations for this apparent contradiction.

These include both organisational factors within the school system and factors of a more general social nature:

Organisational Factors:

a) An increase in teacher contact hours and class size.

Many of the teachers surveyed commented that the newly recommended teaching approaches require "...sehr zeitaufwendige Vorbereitungen" (Mecklenburg West Pomerania, 6.7.93). Therefore, since they now have a "höhere Stundenzahl" or in the words of one (Mecklenburg, West Pomerania, 10.6.93) that "...der Lehrer sich heute mehr zum Stundengeber entwickelt", attempts to introduce the new methodologies are creating considerable time difficulties. These difficulties are exacerbated by increases in class size, in line with the increase in 1990 in the pupil teacher ration from 9:1 to 15:1 (Section 2.2).

b) A shortage of personnel trained in the new subject areas.

The new teaching plans were introduced almost over night. This allowed very little time for training and preparation. Teachers complain for example of:

- "...keine entsprechenden Lehrerinnen und Lehrer (Mecklenburg West Pomerania, 2.7.94),
- "...unausgebildete Lehrer" (Brandenburg, 22.8.93),
- "...noch nicht ausreichende vorhandene Kenntnisse" (Mecklenburg West Pomerania, 10.7.93),
- "...fehlende Erfahrung" (Mecklenburg West Pomerania, 6.7.93)

and the:

"Einsatz fremder Fächer z.B. Sozialkunde ohne Vorbereitung" (Mecklenburg West Pomerania, 10.7.93).

c) A lack of emphasis on instructional methods on pre-service and in-service teacher training courses.

Even where additional training courses are available, many teachers are of the opinion that insufficient emphasis is being placed on teaching methodologies and didactic approaches. For example, **Kuhn** and **Massing** (1992:37) stated:

"Erfahrungen und Gespräche mit zahlreichen Lehrerinnen und Lehrern sowie mit Lehrerausbildern aus der ehemaligen DDR, die alle ein hohes Weiterdaß und Fortbildungsinteresse äußern, zeigen, sowohl im fachwissenschaftlichen wie im fachdidaktischen und methodischunterrichtspraktischen Bereich große Defizite gesehen werden".

As a result of both points b) and c), it is possible that due to a lack of knowledge and practical experience of the new methodologies, many teachers are merely employing traditional methods and recreating their own personal experience of learning.

d) A shortage of teaching materials.

The enormity of the situation (described by one teacher as "ein wahnsinniges Chaos" (Hockerts-Werner, 1993)), has been exacerbated by a lack of materials. While school libraries held an abundance of such eastern classics as Marx, Engels and Lenin and the related secondary literature of commentaries and interpretation manuals, they were virtually devoid of any other material (Dürr, 1992:393). Many of the new textbooks are being delivered only after some considerable delay (for further discussion on this point see Klapper, 1992:243) thus hindering preparation and study by teachers and students.

Similarly, a number of prominent western researchers (including for example British educationalist Clive Harper (1991:250) and Australian John Fien (1991:240)) have described factors such as lack of adequate teaching and learning resources, a shortage of trained staff and shortcomings in pre-service and in-service teacher training as resulting in over use of "frontal teaching" in many western classrooms.

In other words, it appears that many of the organisational factors which may be inhibiting educational reform in eastern Germany are also at work in the education systems of many advanced societies. This may at least partially explain the continued prevalence of authoritarian teaching methods in these societies.

Social Problems:

However, the results of the primary research indicate that as a result of its recent history, deeper socio-psychological problems exist among both teachers and students in eastern Germany, which make internal reform even more difficult.

Firstly, once the education system had been restructured, many teachers were expected to teach students previously unknown to them, often in unfamiliar surroundings and under repeatedly changing leadership. This created an air of confusion and uncertainty

among both teachers and students. Many of the political education teachers interviewed described:

"...organisatorische Unklarheiten" (Mecklenburg West Pomerania, 6.7.93),

"...Wechsel der Schule und Verformierung der Klassen" (Mecklenburg West Pomerania, 10.6.93)

and:

"...die völlige Umstrukturierung einzelner Klassenstufen" (Mecklenburg West Pomerania, 10.6.93),

while students complained of the disappearance of a "Kollektivgeist" or that:

"...jeder für sich alleine kämpft und das Miteinander verloren geht" (Brandenburg, 10.8.93).

This feeling of isolation is also apparent in the following extract from an interview conducted with two pupils (S1 and S2) in Leipzig (Hockerts-Werner, 1993):

"F: Gibt es auch Sachen von der Schule damals, die Ihr vermißt?

S1: ...Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl

F: Wie war denn das so? Wie habt Ihr das denn erlebt?

S1: Man war eine Klasse, ...einfach richtig so...jeder war für jeden da.

F: Und ist das heute nicht mehr so?

S1: ...wenig

S2: Heute beschäftigen sich alle also...mit sich selber eigentlich".

These changes were summed up by one teacher as a movement:

"...vom wir zum ich" (Brandenburg, 10.8.93).

This sense of isolation is due, however, not merely to the changes in school structure and subject content but also to the fact that the entire social structure is confused, creating a time of great personal insecurity.

In the words for example of one fifteen year old student, who has experienced full-time education under both political systems:

"Ich komme mir manchmal vor, als stünde ich in der Mitte von einem Loch, und man weiß nicht, was kommt. Vielleicht eine Welle, die einen wegspült. Oder man packt es. Manchmal beneide ich die, die jetzt erst in die Schule gekommen sind. Wenn die so alt sind wie wir, haben sie vielleicht echte Chancen. Aber unsere Generation...Na, ich weiß nicht" (Hofmann, 1992:127).

Many teachers describe for example "...Frust und Orientierungslosigkeit" among students, as well as "...komplizierte Familienprobleme" (Mecklenburg West Pomerania, 10.6.93). Students have lost their "soziale Sicherheit" according to one teacher (Saxony, 7.6.93), and their "...Eltern können sich viel weniger um sie kümmern".

This air of uncertainty and isolation has been further exacerbated by fear of dismissal on the part of teachers (Fischer, D., 1992:28). The increasing student teacher ratio and the cleansing process conducted by the educational commissions (Section 2.2) continue to result in job losses. It remains unclear to many if and for how long they will be allowed to continue to teach. One teacher stated:

"Angst vor Arbeitslosigkeit schafft großen psychischen Leistungsdruck" (Brandenburg, 10.8.93).

Others speak of "Existenzangst" (Brandenburg, 10.8.93), and the:

"Verunsicherung vieler Lehrer durch unklare Perspektive" (Mecklenburg, 10.6.93).

Furthermore, from the foundation of the G.D.R. in the chaos surrounding the defeat of fascism, until the collapse of the SED regime, teachers relied on orders from party headquarters and ministry bureaucrats (see for example Klemke and Kompatzki, 1993). The "stultifying predictability" (Dürr, 1992:393) of their protected lives left them ill-prepared for the rapid changes they have experienced since November, 1989. The collapse in ideological, political values has left many of them disoriented and without the confidence or courage to take the initiative.

Finally, informal interviews suggest that many of the difficulties faced by teachers in the current reform process stem from their own uncertain social status and loss of personal credibility. For example, one political education teacher, when asked about the role played by the teacher in the new system, responded:

"Keine Rolle spielt der Lehrer....gesetzliche Rahmen fehlen. Der Lehrer ist wieder ein politischer Spielball für diese Gesellschaft" (Brandenburg, 22.8.93).

Another (Mecklenburg West Pomerania, 6.7.93) stated:

"Die gesellschaftliche Anerkennung auch bei Eltern ist mäßig".

Another complained of:

"...Vorurteile gegenüber den Fähigkeiten der ostdeutschen Lehrer" (Brandenburg, 28.4.93).

Teachers came close behind members of the judiciary and police force in their level of activity for the SED regime (Section 1.6). Today their communist-oriented teaching is still fresh in the minds of pupils, many of whom regard their "ideological U-turn" towards the principles of a liberal, capitalist society as unacceptable, untrustworthy and

unreliable. For example, one teacher (Saxony, 7.6.93) described how a student commented:

"Mit Eurer Generation gibt es keine Versöhnung".

In the words of one group of students:

"Die meisten sind doof, die denken wir wissen nicht was sie früher für welche waren" (Hofmann, 1992:58)

or:

".....und die Lehrer, manche total gewendet. Unsere Klassenlehrerin.....früher SED hat kaum eine andere Meinung gelten lassen. Und nun auf einmal war sie schon immer dagegen" (Hofmann, 1992:110) or:

"Manche Lehrer haben sich mit der Wende eben gewendet" (Hockerts-Werner, 1993)

or finally:

"So 'ne rote Socke, die vorher Stabü gegeben hat, kommt auf einmal und gibt Gesellschaftskunde" (Hofmann, 1992:143).

Similarly, in the words of another group (Rush, 1992:119-120):

"In der Schule ist auch alles anders, denn die Lehrer erzählen das Gegenteil von dem, was sie uns vor eineinhalb Jahren erzählt haben. Das verwirrt alle...."

or:

"Sie (die Lehrer) wollen auch nie in der SED gewesen sein, sie waren schon immer dagegen. Das finde ich gemein, daß die Lehrer nicht ehrlich sind".

Similarly, according to one teacher interviewed (Brandenburg, 28.4.93):

"Eine Reihe von Studenten vermuten noch, daß der Lehrer ihnen Meinung des Staates beibringen will".

In conclusion, it appears that the organisational and socio-psychological factors discussed above created a situation in which the relatively passive acceptance of structural reform was possible, as well as curricular change in political education.

However, under these conditions a reform of teaching methodologies in this subject did not take place. Furthermore, there is no reason to believe that many of the above factors, both organisational and social, have not had a similar impact on other subjects, particularly the remaining social sciences (including for example, history).

4.3: Recommendations

"(Demokratie)...kann aber nur dann auf auf einem qualitativ hochwertigen Niveau in einer human gestalteten Welt bestehen, wenn die künftigen Demokraten im Rahmen der Bildung alle ihre Fähigkeiten optimal entfalten können und in der Lage sind, von andern her zu denken und zu handeln (Biller, 1992: 537)".

A democracy can only grow and develop through the activity of its citizens. Active, critical participation by each individual in democratic processes is required.

Secondary research findings indicate that the active participation of students in the learning process is a decisive prequisite if political-ideological beliefs and convictions are to have consequences for behaviour (see for example Schmitt, 1980:8). Without such participation one cannot expect knowledge obtained in the classroom to be transformed into firm standards internalised by pupils.

Thus an education system distinguished by predominantly authoritarian didactic instruction is highly unlikely to contribute effectively to democratic reform. Instead, political education will at most encourage passive acceptance of democratic principles and institutions, while students' overall experience of learning will not enable them to participate actively in democratic processes (a situation which indeed exists to varying degrees in many advanced "democratic" societies).

However, if didactic reform is to succeed in eastern Germany, it must be borne in mind in political education classes (indeed at all times) that:

"It is impossible to think that you are teaching democracy through words alone. It is impossible to speak about democracy using authoritarian speech. It is also impossible to speak about democracy while at the same time practising an authoritarian pedagogy" (Freire, 1991:116).

Educational reform which limits itself to restructuring and the publication of new aims and curricula, while retaining an authoritarian approach to teaching, remains incomplete. Democratic reform also requires changes in didactic approaches and teaching methodologies. In other words:

"Begriffe wie Toleranz müssen nicht nur gesprochen sondern auch geübt werden, das Austragen von Konflikten auf friedliche Weise (Gespräche, Diskussionen) muß gelernt werden" (Brandenburg, 10.8.93).

Specific measures must be taken to generate and accelerate the reform process. To begin with, the organisational problems (Section 4.3) must be resolved as quickly as possible, i.e.:

- * teachers' workload needs to be reduced
- * the number of suitably trained teachers in specific subject areas increased
- * an increased emphasis placed on instructional methods on teacher training courses and
- * an adequate supply of materials ensured.

As we have seen (Section 4.3), these recommendations may also apply to the education systems in many western countries. However, in eastern Germany in particular, the socio-psychological problems (discussed in Section 4.3) also need to be addressed.

To begin with, the pedagogical environment in which teachers work and students learn needs to be stabilised. In other words, restructuring should be completed as quickly as possible, as should the work of the educational commissions. In this way, it may be possible to regain a sense of stability and security within the school system.

Secondly, in order to minimise lack of confidence on the part of teachers and lack of trust on the part of students, a return to the question of teacher education and training is required.

Teacher education is currently under the control of the Ministry of Education in the state concerned, the "Landesinstitut für Lehrerfort- und -weiterbildung" and the relevant university faculties. It consists either of short-term, intensive courses ("Fortbildung") or long-term courses leading to a recognised teaching qualification ("Weiterbildung").

As already discussed, increased emphasis should be placed on participative, instructional methods within the teacher training process, so that teachers do not simply transfer unchanged and apply uncritically their personal experience of learning.

Even though teachers in the G.D.R. may have been aware of more modern instructional methods, their pedagogical efforts were severely handicapped by the:

"emphasis on indoctrination which penetrated all teaching under communist rule" (Dürr, 1992:392).

Teachers must be encouraged to accept all kinds of pluralism and a diminished authoritative form of instruction, which many currently regard as anarchy and loss of discipline. In other words, despite inclinations to the contrary, they should be encouraged to gradually replace "Frontalunterricht" with more participatory, pedagogical techniques (Section 3.5), particularly in the social science subjects. In other words:

"Es geht darum (...) einen demokratischen Interaktionsstil zu enwickeln, der die einseitige Dominanz des Lehrers abbaut" (Sander, 1990:257-263).

Teachers must be encouraged to teach their students that textbooks are fallible, that experts disagree, that leading historians, scientists and literary critics continually argue over interpretations and means. The mark of a good teacher should be an ability to engage students in discussion and make them think.

Similarly, assessment strategies dealt with should be extended to cover a wider range of tasks, including oral and aural tests, project work and practical tests, than can be covered in the traditional pencil and paper examination. This would require the provision of special training programmes in assessment (see for example World Education Report. 1991:87).

Furthermore, there should be increased use of participative techniques on teacher training courses themselves (both pre-service and in-service). The use of such techniques promotes the values and skills associated with participation, as well as providing teachers with concrete examples which they can then adapt to suit their own circumstances.

Opportunities for participation can be increased in a variety of ways. Increasing the total time available for the course is one approach. Another involves restrictions on the number of participants. However, given the level of demand for teacher training and the financial limitations, there are practical constraints associated with both of these approaches.

A further factor influencing opportunities for participation is the structure and design of the individual training courses. Courses featuring sessions involving group work offer greater scope for participative techniques than do those comprised only of lectures and plenary sessions.

Increased experience of participative techniques should increase teachers' confidence in their use. Increased use of participative techniques in class, in particular open discussion of what has happened in the past should then help to improve student teacher relations (see Coolahan, 1991:51). This in turn should allow further use of participative methods. Thus, the classroom should gradually become an "Erfahrungsraum für Demokratie" (Sander, 1990:262).

Exchanges with teachers (in western Europe for example) are also encouraged. These could, for example, take the form of sitting in on classes, giving lectures and team teaching. Also recommended are conferences and common research programmes (Eisele, 1990:70; Reuter, 1991:7).¹

Finally, since democracy is not just a thing of reason but also an inner attitude, the creation of a school environment conducive to democratic interaction is essential. Therefore, democratisation should not merely take place at classroom level. It should also be reflected in the overall ethos of the school.

Indeed, these may further highlight deficits in the western system of "democratic" education.

Although disagreement exists concerning the concept of a "democratic school", researchers agree that activities should where possible be planned so that students directly experience the give and take of democratic processes. For example, participation in student government (for example within the framework of a student council with class representatives) is seen as particularly useful.

Another important means of teaching democracy is through extra-curricular activities organised around student interests (see Ravitch, 1991:53). Clubs, teams and youth groups should be run by students with direct responsibility for the selection of leaders and the making of descisions.

Ravitch (1991:54) in her paper "Democracy: What it is and how to teach it", presented in Poland in 1991, further explained that once students had had the experience of thinking for themselves, of choosing and changing their leaders and of making decisions, they would quickly understand the way democracy works.

Although "democratic schools" are also far from established in western states, research evidence emanating in particular from France (Corpet, 1974:82), the United States (Hepburn, 1984:253; Olson, 1974:132-143), Scandinavia (Lowbeer, 1974:181) and former West Germany (Biller, 1992: 534) suggests that democratic administrative structures help for example to develop leaders among students. Findings (obtained primarily by observing group dynamics) also indicate that participation in democratic processes teaches students the importance of compromise, cooperation and tolerance.

In the same way, direct contact with democratic processes may help many East Germans to overcome the psychological consequences of dictatorship, indoctrination and control. It may then be possible for the education system to help shift the socio-political centre of gravity from passive, institutional democracy towards active, participatory democracy.

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Appendix A

Fragebogen: Gesellschaftskunde

(Preliminary Study)

Guten Tag! Als Forschungsstudentin der Dublin City University (Irland), arbeite ich zur Zeit an meiner Dissertation über die Wirkung der deutschen Vereinigung auf das Schulsystem in den fünf neuen Ländern. Ich wäre Ihnen sehr dankbar, wenn Sie mir diesbezüglich helfen könnten, in dem Sie die folgenden Fragen beantworten. Alle Antworten werden vertraulich behandelt und lediglich für irische Forschungszwecke verwendet. Auf den Fragebogen sollen daher nur das Bundesland und das Datum vermerkt werden.

Land:			
Datum:			

Vielen Dank für Ihre Mühe!

1. Was sind Ihre Meinung nach die politischen und sozialkritischen Ziele und Aufgabe
des heutigen deutschen Schulsystems?
2. Wie lassen sich diese Ziele von denen der ehemaligen DDR unterscheiden?
2. Wie het eich des getdeutsche Cabullarmilarham als Folge den Vereinigung geändert?
3. Wie hat sich das ostdeutsche Schulkurrikulum als Folge der Vereinigung geändert?
4. Welche Rolle spielt der/die Lehrer/in in der ehemaligen DDR (z.B. ihre Beziehung
den Schülern, ihre Einflußmöglichkeiten bezüglich der Schüler, ihre Entscheidung
möglichkeiten in Bezug auf den Kurrikulum)?
5. Welche Rolle spielt der/die Lehrer/in heutzutage?

6. Was sind die Hauptziele des Faches Sozial/Gesellschaftskunde?
7. Inwieweit werden heutzutage diese Ziele erreicht?
8. Welche Rolle spielt der/die Sozial/Gesellschaftskundelehrer/in?
9. Welche didaktischen Methodologien werden in Sozialkundeunterricht am häufigsten verwendet?
10. Was sind die Vor - und Nachteile dieser Methodologien?

11. Welche Arbeitsmittel werden im Unterricht am häufigsten verwendet?
12. Welche Themen werden im Gesellschafts/Sozialkundeunterricht am ausführlichste behandelt?
13. Nach welchen Kriterien werden diese Themen ausgewählt?
14. Nach welchen Kriterien wird die Leistung eines Schulers in diesem Fach bewertet?
15. Welche Rolle sollte, Ihre Meinung nach, das Fach Sozial/Gesellschaftskunde spiele im zukunftigen deutschen Kurrikulum?

	Was sind die wichtigsten Vor- und Nachteile der deutschen Vereinigung feutschen Lehrer/innen?	für die
	Was sind die wichtigsten Vor- und Nachteile der deutschen Vereinigung seutschen Schuler/innen?	für die
10		4 1
	Was sind Ihrer Meinung nach die prinzipiellen Auswirkungen der deu einigung auf die gesellschaftswissenschaftlichen Schulfächer?	itschei
auf	Was sind im allgemeinen die prinzipiellen Auswirkungen der deutschen Vereidas Schulsystem der ehemaligen DDR (z.B. Schulstruktur, soziale/poligaben des Systems usw).	•

20.	Wie	stellen	Sie s	ich die	Zukunf	des	ostdeutsche	n Bildungs	systems	VOT	(z.B.
Scł	ulstru	ktur, B	ildungs	ziele, L	ehrer/Stu	ıdente	naussichte us	w)?			
_											
21.	Sollte	en Sie n	och irg	endwel	che Anme	erkunį	gen oder Krit	ikpünkte ha	ben, so k	önne	n Sie
die	se hie	r notiere	en.								
_										-	
_											
_				_							

Vielen Dank für Ihre Mühe!

Fragebogen: Sozialkunde / Politische Bildung

Guten Tag! Als Forschungsstudentin der "Dublin City University" (Irland), arbeite ich zur Zeit an einer Arbeit über Sozialkunde/Politische Bildung. Ich wäre Ihnen sehr dankbar, wenn Sie mir diesbezüglich helfen könnten, indem Sie die folgenden drei Fragen beantworten.

Die Antworten werden vertraulich behandelt und lediglich für irische Forschungszwecke verwendet. Auf dem Fragebogen sollen daher nur das Bundesland und das Datum vermerkt werden.

Für eine schnelle Rücksendung dieses Fragebogens wäre ich Ihnen sehr dankbar. Um dies zu erleichten, finden Sie beigefügt ein Addressenstikett.

LAND:	DATUM:
-------	--------

Vielen Dank für Ihre Mühe!

1. Welche Themen werden im Unterricht am ausführlichsten behandelt? Bitte ankreuzen!

Themen	X
Gesellschaft	
Familie	
Schule	
Freizeit	
Toleranz	
Jugendliche	
Berufswahl	
Soziale Probleme	
Sonstige	
Demokratie	
Vereinigung	
Verfassung der BRD	
Grundrechte	
Demokratie im eigenen Land	
Medien	
Extremismus	
Sonstige	
Internationale Politik	
Entwicklungshilfe	
Freiheit	
Sicherheit	
Abrüstung	
EG	
Sonstige	

1. (fortgesetzt)

Umwelt	X
Umweltschutz	
Wirtschaft	
Landwirtschaft	
Sonstige	

2.	Welche I	Lehrmethoden	werden im	Unterricht am	häufigsten	verwendet?
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Bitte setzen Sie eine"1" vor die am häufigsten verwendeteMethode, eine "2" vor der am zweithäufigsten verwendete Methode usw...

Setzen Sie keine Nummer vor die Methoden, die nicht verwendet werden.

Lehrmethoden	Nr.
Frontalunterricht	
Gruppenarbeit	
Projekte	
Fallstudien	
Diskursive Verfahren zB Diskussionen	
kreative Medienarbeit	
sozialwissenschaftliche Verfahren	
Simulationen	
Zukunftswerkstätte	
Sonstige	

3. Nach welchen Kriterien wird die Leistung eines Studenten bewertet?

Bitte setzen Sie eine "1" vor das an häufigsten verwendete Kriterium, eine "2" vor das am zweithäufigsten verwendete Kriterium usw....

Setzen Sie keine Nummer vor die Kriterien, die nicht verwendet werden.

Kriterien	
Faktenkenntnisse	
Politische Meinung	
Eigene Denkleistung	
Sonstige:	

3B	In welchem	en Jahrgang '	-e	geben	Sie	zur	Zeit
	Sozialkundeu	interricht?					

Jahrgang "e:		
amit emit o		

Vielen Dank für Ihre Mühe!

Abs: Jennifer Bruen
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Appendix B

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Gymnasium (Herr Gräfe), Freienwalderstr., 1, 16269 Wriezen.

Gymnasium "B. Brecht" (Herr Opitz), Am Scheuenberg 1, 16259 Bad Freienwalde.

Gymnasium Müncheberg (Frau Reelitz), Bergmannstr., 15374 Muncheberg.

Einstein Gymnasium (Herr Richter), Dahlwitzerstr., 79, 15366 Neuenhagen.

Gymnasium Strausberg (Herr Klinnert), August-Bebel-Str., 49, 15344 Strausberg.

Gymnasium Rüdersdorf (Herr Eckardt), Brückenstr., 80, 15562 Rüdersdorf.

Gymnasium (Frau Dr. Simon), Bertolt-Brecht-Str., 3, 15306 Seelow.

"Friedrich Ludwig Jahn" Gymnasium (Herr Röger), Jahnstr., 3-9, 03149 Forst.

Gymnasium Welzow (Frau Mühle), Cottbuserstr., 22, 03119 Welzow.

Gymnasium (Frau Emmrich), Kraftwerkstr., 73, 03130 Spremberg.

Gymnasium (Herr Lorenz), Mittelstr., 1, 03130 Spremberg.

Gymnasium Peitz (Frau Otto), Jahnplatz, 1, 03185 Peitz.

Pestalozzi-Gymnasium (Frau Winter), Friedrich-Engels-Str., 72, 03172 Guben.

Gymnasium Cottbus-Land (Herr Ramoth), Lieberroserstr., 13a, 03046 Cottbus.

Gymnasium (Herr Proksch), Karl-Liebknecht-Str., 13-14, 15848 Beeskow.

Städtisches Gymnasium (Herr Weise), Diehloerstr., 66, 15890 Eisenhuttenstadt.

Gymnasium (Herr Gorlitz), Stiftsplatz, 7, 15898 Neuzelle.

Bernhardinum (Frau Werfel), Trebuserstr., 45, 15517 Fürstenwalde.

Geschwister-Schwoll Gymnasium (Herr Dr. Krebs), Frankfurterstr.,70, 15517 Fürstenwalde.

Städtisches Gymnasium (Frau Jentzsch), Holzstr., 1a, 15517 Fürstenwalde.

Gymnasium (Herr Drobe), Schönfelder Weg, 46, 16321 Bernau.

Alexander-von-Humboldt-Gymnasium (Herr Dr. Meier), A.-Bebel-Str.,34, 16225 Eberswalde-Finow.

Gymnasium Finow (Herr Mahling), F.-Weineck-Str., 36, 16227 Eberswalde-Finow.

Gymnsium Wandlitz (Herr Arndt), Prenzlauer Chaussee 130, 16348 Wandlitz.

Main Study (Mecklenburg West Pomerania):

Herder Gymnasium (Frau Dr. Sikora), M.-Plank-Str., 8, 17491 Greifswals.

Humboldt-Gymnasium (Fr. Dr. Scherpelz), Makarenkostr., 54, 17491 Griefswald.

Jahn/Bebel-Gymnasium (Herr Dr. Zschächel), Thälmannplatz, 1 / Martin Luther-Str., 17489 Greifswald.

Gymnasium Demminerstr. (Herr Dr. Rätzer), Demminerstr., 42, 17034 Neubrandenburg.

Sportgymnasium (Herr Schneider), Geschw.-Schwoll-Str., 14, 17033 Neubrandenburg.

2. Gymnasium Oststadt (Herr Dr. Kittler), J. -Gagarin-Ring, 18, 17036 Neubrandenburg.

Gymnasium Lessingstr. (Herr Dr. Klötzer), Lessingstr., 1, 17033 Neubrandenburg.

Gymnasium Lütten-Klein Nord (Herr Krause), Danzigerstr., 45, 18107 Rostock.

Gymnasium Lütten-Klein Sud (Herr Satzhorn), Kopenhagenerstr., 3, 18107 Rostock.

Gymnasium Stephan-Jantzen (Herr Pösler), St.-Jantzen-Ring, 3, 18106 Rostock.

Gymnasium Evershagen (Herr Tuschner), Th.-Morus-Str., 2, 18106 Rostock.

Gymnasium Reutershagen (Fr. Dr. Ehlert), W.-Borin-Str., 16, 18055 Rostock.

Gymnasium Lütte II (Frau Engelke), Lindenstr., 3a, 18055 Rostock.

Gymnasium Lütte I (Herr Peper), Goetheplatz 5/6, 18055 Rostock.

Gymnasium Südstadt (Frau Dr. Kopplow), Mendelejewstr., 12a, 18059 Rostock.

Gymnasium Dierkow II (Herr Kästner), W.-Butzek-Str., 23, 18146 Rostock.

Gymnasium Toitenwinkel (Herr Gebhardt), Hinrichsdorferstr., 7, 18146 Rostock.

Gymnasium Reutershagen (Herr Eichholz), Gross Schwasser Weg II, 18057 Rostock.

Goethe Gymnasium (Herr Dethloff), J.-R.-Becher-Str., 10, 19059 Schwerin.

Lessing-Gymnasium (Herr Winkler), J.-R.-Becher-Str., 14, 19059 Schwerin.

Gagarin-Gymnasium (Herr Meding), A.-Sacharow-Str., 75, 19061 Schwerin.

Sportgymnasium (Herr Tischendorf), V.-Flotow-Str., 20, 19059 Schwerin.

Goethe-Gymnasium (Herr Schwanz), Frankenhof, 8, 18439 Stralsund.

Hansa Gymnasium (Frau Domroese), Fahrwallstr., 19, 18439 Stralsund.

Herder-Gymnasium (Frau Stiefler), Haus-Marchwitzstr., 1, 18435 Stralsund.

Gymnasium H. Kleigel (Herr Litzner), E.-Weinert-Promenade, 8, 23966 Wismar.

Gymnasium Altentreptow (Herr Günther), Pestalozzistr., 17087 Altentreptow.

Gymnasium Anklam (Herr Stähle), Leipziger Allee 23/25, 17389 Anklam.

Gymnasium Bad Doberan (Herr Lange), Alexandrinenplatz, 11, 18209 Bad Doberan.

Gymnasium Neubukow (Frau Welzel), Panzower Weg, 18233 Neubukow.

Gymnasium Bützow (Herr Fiedler), Am Markt, 18246 Bützow.

Gymnasium Demmin (Herr Heiden), An der Mühle, 7, 17109 Demmin.

Gymnasium Loitz (Herr Dr. Rischer), Goethestr., 64-66, 17121 Loitz.

Gymnasium Gützkow (Frau Kleinsorg), Parkstr., 18, 17091 Gützkow.

Gymnasium Grevesmühlen (Herr v. Leupoldt), Am Tannenberg, 23936 Grevesmühlen.

Gymnasium Schönberg (Herr Birnbaum), Goetheplatz, 5, 23923 Schönberg.

Gymnasium Grimmen (Herr Kasch), J.-R.-Becher-Str., 18507 Grimmen.

J.-Brinkmann-Gymnasium (Herr Bartsch), Am Wall, 18273 Gustrow.

G.-Barlach Gymnasium (Herr Dr. Kohlhagen), Tolstoi-Weg, 18273 Gustrow.

Gymnasium Laage (Herr Rädtke), Str. des Friedens, 12, 18299 Laage.

Gymnasium Hagenow (Fr. Lehnitz), Möllner Str., 14, 19230 Hagenow.

Gymnasium Boizenburg (Herr Stern), L.-Reinhard-Str., 21, 17268 Boizenburg.

Gymnasium Wittenburg (Fr. Hagen), Lindenstr., 12, 19243 Wittenburg.

Goethe-Gymnasium (Fr. Dobberphul), Alexandrinenplatz, 1, 19288 Ludwigslust.

Fr.-Rohr-Gymnasium (Herr Jung), Prislicherstr.,23, 19300 Grabow.

Gymnasium Neustadt-Glewe (Herr Tappe), Thälmannstr.,23, 19306 Neustadt Glewe.

Gymnasium Dömitz (Herr Niemann), Leninallee, 30a, 19303 Dömitz.

Gymnasium Lübz (Herr Duwel), Th.-Mann-Str., 19386 Lübz.

Gymnasium Malchin (Herr Prestin), Am Zachow, 39, 17139 Malchin.

Gymnasium Friedland (Herrn Barthel), M.-Leistner-Str., 59, 17098 Friedland.

Gymnasium Carolinum (Herr Drauschke), F.-W.-Str., 1-2, 17235 Neustrelitz.

H.-Schliemann-Gymnasium (Herr Fischer), W.-Piecke-Str., 10, 17235 Neustrelitz.

Gymnasium Mirow (Herr Gaulke), Mühlenstr.,34-35, 17252 Mirow.

Gymnasium Parchim (Herr Scholz), J.-Gagarin-Ring, 48, 19370 Parchim.

Gymnasium Pasewalk (Herr Scherping), Grünstr., 11, 17309 Pasewalk.

Gymnasium Löcknitz (Herr Stoebel), Am See, 6, 17321 Löcknitz.

R.-Wossidlo-Gymnasium (Herr Dr. Achenbach), Baumeisterplatz, 1, 18311 Ribnitz-Damgarten.

Gymnasium Röbel (Herr Niesche), Schulstr., 20, 17207 Röbel.

Gymnasium Rövershagen (Herr Sperling), Fernverkehrsstr., 42, 18182 Rövershagen.

E.-M.-Arndt-Gymnasium (Herr Berger), Arndstr., 7, 18528 Bergen.

Billrath Gymnasium (Herr Blum), Str. d. DSF 30, 18528 Bergen.

Gymnasium Saßnitz (Herr Nitkowski), Schulstr., 5, 18546 Saßnitz.

Gymnasium Crivitz (Herr Bratrschowsky), Str. d. Freundschaft, 10, 19089 Crivitz.

Gymnasium Sternberg (Herr Klabunde), Seestr., 19406 Sternberg.

Gymnasium Bruel (Fr. Zaddach), Schulstr., 19412 Bruel.

Gymnasium Franzburg (Herr Melle), An der Promenade, 1, 18461 Franzburg.

Gymnasium Strasburg (Herr Hundt), A.-Becker-Str., 1, 17335 Strasburg.

Gymnasium Teterow (Herr Ruge), Schulkamp, 17166 Teterow.

Gymnasium Eggesin (Herr Grams), Lindenstr., 17b, 17367 Eggesin.

Kopernikus-Gymnasium (Fr. Kattner), Ueckermunder Str., 17358 Torgelow.

R.-Wossidlow-Gymnasium (Herr Glass), Goethestr.,17192 Waren.

F.-Reuter-Gymnasium (Herr Höpeker), Friedenstr., 17213 Malchow.

Gymnasium Penzlin (Herr Lau), Hirtenstr., 14, 17217 Penzlin.

Gymnasium Neukloster (Herr Köchel), Am Sonnenberg, 16, 23992 Neukloster.

Gymnasium Dorf Mecklenburg (Herr Bachler), E.-Thälmann-Str.,12, 23972 Dorf Mecklenburg.

Gymnasium Festland (Frau Koltermann), Hugelanderstr., 5, 17438 Wolgast.

Gymnasium Insel (Herr Stelzer), Gothener Landweg, 17424 Heringsdorf.

Appendix C

Table 3.2: Areas Covered in Political Education (Question 1)

Areas Covered (Total)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
Frequency	55	43	34	52	53	27	69	19	68	68	54	55	67	46	25	19	13	74	68	67	4
Areas Covered (Mecklenburg)				_																	
Frequency	27	19	16	29	25	12	38	11	38	35	30	25	30	22	15	10	19	36	35	37	3
Areas Covered (Brandenburg)																					
Frequency	28	24	18	23	28	15	31	8	29	34	23	30	38	24	10	9	4	38	33	30	1
			_																		

Area Codes:

SOCIETY	(DEMOCRACY)	ENVIRONMENT
1:Family	10:Basic Rights	19:Env. Protectn.
2:School	11:Democracy	20:Economics
3:Freetime	(in own state)	21:Agriculture
4:Tolerance	12:Media	
5:Youth	13:Extremism	
6:Career Chcice		
7:Social Problems	INTERNATIONAL POL	ITICS
	14:Development Aid	
DEMOCRACY	15:Freedom	
8:Unification	16:Security	
9:Constitution	17:Disarmament	
of B.R.D.	18:E.C.	

Table 3.2: Areas Covered in Political Education (Cont......)

State	Brande	nburg			Mecklenburg West Pomerania				
Area	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	
Frequency (Level One)	37	33	16	12	15	11	4	5	
Frequency (Level Two)	50	46	37	24	10	14	7	4	

Area Codes:

- 1:Society
- 2:Democracy
- 3:International Politics
- 4:Environment

Table 3.4: Teaching Methodologies Employed (Ouestion Two)

Methodologies Employed (Total)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Frequency	79	78	73	60	75	46	41	38	14	23
Methodologies Employed (Mecklenburg)										
Frequency	41	38	35	33	41	26	19	21	7	1
Methodologies Employed (Brandenburg)										
Frequency	38	40	38	27	34	20	22	17	7	2
Methodology Employed Most Frequently(Total)										
Frequency	42	9	0	1	13	0	1	0	0	0
Methodology Employed Most Frequently(Meckbg)										
Frequency	24	2	0	_1	7	0	0	0	0	0
Methodology Employed Most Frequently(Branbg)										
Frequency	18	7	0	0	6	0	1	0	0	0
Methodology Employed Most Frequently (Level 1) Mecklbrg/Brandbrg										
Frequency	2/4	0	0	0	2/1	0	0	0	0	0
Methodology Employed Most Frequently Level 2) Meckbrg/Brandbrg										
Frequency	5/8	0/4	0/0	0/0	1/2	0/0	0/1	0/0	0/0	0/0

Methodology Codes:

1:Lecture by Teacher

5:Discursive Work

9:Future Workshops

2:Group work

6:Creative Work With Media

10:Others

3:Projects

7: Social Sciences Procedures

4:Case Studies

8:Simulations

Table 3.8: Assessment Criteria Employed (Question 3)

Criteria	1	2	3
Criteria Employed (Total)	79	13	79
Criteria Employed (Mecklenburg)	35	7	35
Criteria Employed (Brandenburg)	44	6	44
Criteria Employed Most Frequently (Total)	28		39
Criteria Employed Most Frequently (Mecklenburg)	15		19
Criteria Employed Most Frequently (Brandenburg)	13		20
Criteria Employed Most Frequently (Level 1-Meckbrg)	2		2
Criteria Employed Most Frequently (Level 1-Brandbrg)	3		3
Criteria Employed Most Frequently (Level 2-Mecklbrg)	1		5
Criteria Employed Most Frequently (Level 2-Branbg)	5		8

Criteria Codes:

- 1:Factual Knowledge
- 2:Analytical Abilities
- 3:Political Opinion

Appendix D

1: COMMAND FILE

TITLE GENERATE SYSTEM FILE FOR MA SURVEY/

FILE HANDLE MASTERS/NAME=MA.DAT

DATA LIST FILE=MASTERS/

NUMBER 1-2, STATE 3, LEVEL 4, LOC 5, FMETH 6, FASSESS 7

VAR LABELS NUMBER, IDENTIFICATION NUMBER/

STATE, STATE/

LEVEL, LEVEL TAUGHT/

LOC, POPULATION OF AREA/

FMETH, METH USED MOST FREQUENTLY/

FASSESS, ASSESSMENT CRITERIUM USED MOST FREQUENTLY/

VALUE LABELS STATE

- 1 'BRANDENBURG'
- 2 'MECKLENBURG'/

LEVEL

- 1 'LOWER SECONDARY'
- 2 'UPPER SECONDARY'/

LOC

- 1 '0-20,000'
- 2 '20,000-40,000'
- 3 '40,000-60,000'
- 4 '60,000-80,000'
- 5 '80,000-100,000'
- 6 '100,000-120,000'
- 7 '120,000-140,000'/

FMETH

- 1 'FRONTAL TEACHING'
- 2 'GROUP WORK'
 - 3 'PROJECTS'
 - 4 'CASE STUDIES'
 - 5 'DISCURSIVE PROCEDURES'
 - 6 'CREATIVE WORK WITH MEDIA'
- 7 'SOCIAL SCIENCES PROCEDURES'
- 8 'SIMULATION'
- 9 'FUTURE WORKSHOPS'/

FASSESS

1 'FACTUAL KNOWLEDGE'

2 'POLITICAL OPINION'

3 'ANALYTICAL ABILITIES'/

MISSING VALUES LEVEL (0)/

LOC (0)/

FMETH (0)/

FASSESS (0)/

FILE HANDLE SYSFILE/NAME='SYSFILE.SYS'

SAVE OUTFILE=SYSFILE

2: DATA FILE

^	-	-	_	-	_	•
0	-1	"	"	п	m	1
v		L	v	-1	w	

4711011
4812211
4911011
5011010
5110000
5212003
5311050
5411001
5510011
5612011
5712071
5811013
5910013
6010313
6110001
6210003
6312013
6420003
6522013
6622011
6721011
6822013
6920013
7020011
7120051
7220013
7312223
7410753
7512010
7610011
7710021
7811003
7920013
8010000
8112050
8211003
8321000
8412011
8512053
8610000
8722213

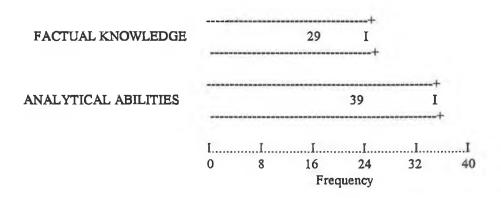
4: OUTPUT FILES:

SPSSX OUTPUT FROM ANALYSIS FILE ONE:

TEACHING METHODOLOGY EMPLOYED MOST FREOUENTLY(TOTAL)

FRONTAL TEACHING		43	+ I +
GROUP WORK	9 I		
CASE STUDIES	-+ I 1 -+		
DISCURSIVE PROCEDURE	13 I		
SOCIAL SCIENCES PROC.	-+ I 1 -+		

ASSESSMENT CRITERIUM EMPLOYED MOST FREQUENTLY (TOTAL)



SPSSX OUTPUT FROM ANALYSIS FILE TWO:

TEACHING METHODOLOGY EMPLOYED MOST FREQUENTLY(BRANDENBURG)

	+
FRONTAL TEACHING	19 I
	+
GROUP WORK	7 I

	44 H H H 44 64 64 64 H H H H H H H H H H
DISCURSIVE PROCEDURE	61
	+
SOCIAL SCIENCES PROC.	I 1
	+
	III
	0 4 8 12 16 20
	Frequency
ASSESSMENT CRITERIUM	EMPLOYED MOST FREQUENTLY(BRANDENBURG)
FACTUAL KNOWLEDGE	14 I
FACTUAL KNOWLEDGE	141
	+
ANALYTICAL ABILITIES	20 I
	LIII
	0 4 8 12 16 20

SPSSX OUTPUT FROM ANALYSIS FILE THREE:

TEACHING METHODOLOGY EMPLOYED MOST FREQUENTLY(MECKLENBURG)

					+				
FRONTAL TEACHING					24 I				
	****				+				
	+								
GROUP WORK	2 I								
OROOI WORK	+								
	+								
CASE STUDIES	I 1								
	+								
		+							
DISCURSIVE PROCEDURE		7 I							
	-	+							
				_					
	I	I	I	I	I	I			
	0	5	10	15	20	25			
	Frequency								

ASSESSMENT CRITERIUM EMPLOYED MOST FREQUENTLY (MECKLENBURG)

FACTUAL KNOWLEDGE				15	5 I	
					+	
						+
ANALYTICAL ABILITIES					1	9 I
						+
	I	I	I	1	I	I
	0	4	8	12	16	20

SPSSX OUTPUT FROM ANALYSIS FILE FOUR:

STATE BY METHODOLOGY EMPLOYED MOST FREQUENTLY

	FRONTAL	GROUI	CASE	DISCUSSION	SOCIAL	
	TEACHIN	G WORK	STUDIES		SCIENCES	
	1 19	7		6	1 1	
BRANDENBURG	1	1	1	1	Ţ	1
	24	2] 1	1 7	1	1
MECKLENBURG	1	1	1	1	Ī	1
	42	9	1	13	1	_
Total	63.6	13.6	1.5	19.7	1.5	

STATE BY ASSESSMENT CRITERIUM EMPLOYED MOST FREQUENTLY

	FA	CTUAL.	A	ANALYTICAL				
	KN	OWLED	GE A	ABILITIES				
	1	1	I	3	1			
		14	1	20	ı			
BRANDENBURG	1		I		İ			
		15	1	19				
MECKLENBURG	1		1					
			28	3	19			
			41.8	5	8.2			

LEVEL TAUGHT BY METHODOLOGY EMPLOYED MOST FREQUENTLY

	FRONTAL TEACHING			GROUP	DISCUSSION SOCIAL					
			WORK				ENCES	NCES		
	1	1	1	2	1	5		7	1	
	1	6	Ţ		1	3	1		1	
LOWER SECONDARY	1		1		I				[
		14		4	1	3	1		1	
UPPER SECONDARY					-1		1		I	
		19		4		6		1		
Total		63.3		13.3		20.0		3.3	3	

LEVEL TAUGHT BY ASSESSMENT CRITERIUM EMPLOYED MOST FREQUENTLY

	FA	CTUAL		ANALYTICAL ABILITIES			
	KN	OWLEDO	GE .				
		1	1	3	Ĺ		
		5	1	5	1		
LOWER SECONDARY	1		I		†		
	1	7	1	13	1		
UPPER SECONDARY	1				1		
,		11		18			
Total		37.9		62,1			

SPSSX OUTPUT FROM ANALYSIS FILE FIVE:

TEACHING METHODOLOGY EMPLOYED MOST FREOUENTLY BY POPULATION

	0-20,000		20,000-		40,000	- 12	120,000-		
			40,000		60,000) 14	140,000		
	1	1	1	2		3	1	7	Ţ
	Ī		- 1	2	l	1	1		1
FRONTAL TEACHING	I		1		1		Ì		1
		1		1	1		1	1	
GROUP WORK					ļ				1
	1	2	I		ļ		1	1	
DISCURSIVE PROCEDUR.			I				1		1
		3		3		1		2	
Total	33	33.3		33.3 11.		1.1	.1 22		

ASSESSMENT CRITERIUM EMPLOYED MOST FREQUENTLY BY POPULATION

	0-20,000			20,000- 40,000		40,000 - 60,000		120,000- 140,000	
	Į.	1	.1	2	Į	3	ļ	7	Į,
		2	1	1	ı		1	1	1
FACTUAL KNOWLEDGE			I				1		
		1	1	2	1	1		2	
ANALYTICAL ABILITY	ļ		1		Ī				
		3		3		1		3	
Total		30.0		30.0		10.0		30.0	

3. ANALYSIS FILES:

Analysis File One:

FILE HANDLE ANAL1/NAME= 'SYSFILE.SYS'
GET FILE ANAL1
FREQUENCIES VARIABLES=FMETH FASSESS/
BARCHART
STATISTICS=MODE/

FINISH

Analysis File Two:

FILE HANDLE ANAL2/NAME='SYSFILE.SYS'
GET FILE ANAL2
SELECT IF (STATE EQ 1)
FREQUENCIES VARIABLES=FMETH FASSESS/
BARCART/
STATISTICS=MODE/

FINISH

Analysis File Three:

FILE HANDLE ANAL3/NAME='SYSFILE.SYS'
GET FILE ANAL3
SELECT IF (STATE EQ 2)
FREQUENCIES VARIABLES=FMETH FASSESS/
BARCHART/
STATISTICS=MODE/

FINISH

Analysis File Four:

FILE HANDLE ANAL4/NAME='SYSFILE.SYS'
GET FILE ANAL4
CROSSTABS TABLES=STATE BY FMETH
STATE BY FASSESS
LEVEL BY FMETH
LEVEL BY FASSESS
STATISTICS=CHISQ

FINISH

Analysis File Five:

FILE HANDLE ANAL5/NAME='SYSFILE.SYS'
GET FILE ANAL5
CROSSTABS TABLES=FMETH BY LOC/
FASSESS BY LOC/
STATISTICS=CHISQ

FINISH

Appendix E

Reunited Germany



