

PEACE EDUCATION: STRATEGIES OF IMPLEMENTATION  
Concepts and Experiences

It was the goal of working party IV of the conference on Education for Peace and Social Justice to discuss implementation strategies, that are strategies to put across "Peace education". In the available time (a bare total of ten hours) it was of course hardly possible to produce results capable of being ordered systematically but it did lead to a number of many sided and colourful ideas being put forward, not to mention some well tried ideas and examples. However, there was no joint discussion of this experience, its value, its subjective premises and objective prerequisites. Since there was no over-riding theory on peace education placing it in its overall social context and also no clear concept of strategy, it was not possible either to decide on the value of the individual suggestions. No answer was given to a question asked by one of the participants on the criteria for assessing the effectiveness of certain strategies and on the conditions under which they might influence things.

In these circumstances, the best solution seemed to be to present practical examples as such and then to elaborate on them and add to them after oral presentation, since the main value of the discussion obviously lay in this kind of mutual exchange of information. The phrasing of the twelve detailed reports, which are here kept separate from the presentation and discussion of the remaining points, was approved of and/or corrected by the rapporteur in question, with the exception of No. 1. Apart from No. 2, the rapporteurs were actually involved in the measures and projects described in their reports and are still available for further information. If we criticise the discussion and individual examples in the following paragraphs, we would like those concerned not to misunderstand this to be subsequent carping. Since we ourselves were also involved in the discussion this is really self-criticism. We feel that this kind of criticism or self-criticism is necessary so that future discussions on strategies for peace education can be made more purposeful right from the start.

Right away, a distinction was made between two main strategies: one which tried to put across new contents in the framework of the old existing school system, the other which tried to use "new forms" (Johan Galtung) 1). In this connec-

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1) The names of the work group participants are given in parenthesis.

tion, it was pointed out that the traditional didactic methods and the corresponding teaching rituals were much too strong to let new contents produce palpable changes; even new forms outside the school are seriously threatened by the sheer force of existing systems, especially as long as this threat is not explicitly included in strategies for change (Ingeborg Hiller-Ketterer). An attempt must be made to combine the two strategies (Kirsten Schäfer). Schools are burdened with too many "vested interests" to be able to abolish them; in the final analysis, even parents would want to preserve schools (Hartmut von Hentig).

On this point, we would like to comment that in this discussion, Galtung used a term for "school" which he borrowed from Illich's work 2) and which historically and analytically does not appear to be particularly relevant. First of all, even "radical" alternatives to "the" school once more lead to the emergence of educational institutions and as such display characteristics which in the past have already been part and parcel of "school" in one or other form or variation. It is not "the" school itself which has to be abolished; the existing one has to be replaced by a different one. Secondly, a strategy which is lopsidedly reduced to "forms" probably leads to false expectations and wrong solutions. The forms themselves are not the primary problem but the social interests which leave their mark on both content and form. A basic distinction between various strategies should not be based on whether they have their point of departure inside or outside existing forms, but on which social impulse is dominant in them - that is a technocratic or an emancipatory one. Even in "new" forms, reactionary, elitist and similar contents and attitudes can become dominant and established. A warning example is the strong, almost irreversible differentiation according to achievement and the pecking order in some "modern" comprehensive schools. Quite apart from the fact that it is socially impossible, as Hartmut von Hentig rightly pointed out, an "elimination" of schools (Illich) would not necessarily guarantee an emancipatory education.

Even so, most of the discussion was based on Galtung's distinction between these two basic strategies, which we therefore adopt in a slightly different form to describe and present the detailed examples from practical experience and the results of the rest of the discussion. The examples can be distributed among the following five "fields":

- I. Activities outside school;
- II. Measures which can be carried out in the classroom within the traditional school system;
- III. Projects which go beyond the individual teacher's abilities;

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2) Cf. among others: I. Illich: "Deschooling society". New York, Evanston, San Francisco, London 1970.

- IV. Changes in the structure of the whole school in relation to the society of which it is part;
- V. "International" school concepts and activities in peace education.

The twelve examples which are separated from the continuous text which now follows are distributed among the five "fields" as follows:

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**Legend:** Continuous lines mean that a project includes measures which touch on all the fields they pass through and can be put into practice at least partially in all of them.

I. The first example of a strategy "outside school" was justified by the argument that the existing school system might be able to "corrupt" the new content, the new "message", if it were to be used.

Example 1: Discussion and Action Groups (Northern Ireland)

The "Northern Ireland Institute" is at present carrying out the following project with the financial support of the World Council of Churches and the Quakers: those assisting in the project form small informal discussion groups, especially in areas with socially underprivileged catholic and protestant groups. In doing so, some of the simple, popular games used are such ones as twenty questions, which are made to include some questions about aggression, war, the environment etc. As this goes on, some of the results of peace research are translated into simple, everyday language. It transpires that among these groups there is tremendous interest in finding out what is being done to them, what is going on. Once the groups have been formed, it is suggested that they familiarize themselves with the life stories of very poor people, prisoners and the like, in order to compare them with the representatives of other classes of society.

This is followed by asking people in various "public authorities" to find out how they see society. The next step is a description of the local history of the last 25 years in the form of street theatre shows, newspapers, posters and exhibitions. This description forces the participants to recognize and articulate relationships. After that, neighbouring localities and whole districts are included in the investigation. This finally leads to the first political activities: petitions, protests, fasts and so on. In this connection, those associated with the project do not expect these actions to be successful; what is important is the learning process, which starts from failures and goes on to give insights into the thought processes and behavioural structures of the authorities and the population. The goal (and hope) of the project is to replace the isolation of the individual with new forms of solidarity, solidarity which includes poor people in both the protestant and catholic areas. (Rapporteur: Vithal Rajan) 3)

Since the project has not been in force for long, it is not yet possible to make an analysis of the methods and results. Nor was this attempted by the group. One thing which is certainly to be welcomed is that the conflict in Northern Ireland is seen essentially as a social conflict which is only superficially religious. Whether or not the political solidarity aimed at will actually emerge to any extent will probably depend on the extent to which those working on the project can be made use of. However, according to Rajan's view, it also depends on the progress made in peace research, that is to say whether it is in a position to produce results which are relevant to the conflict in Northern Ireland and which can be "translated" into a simple language. Here, we feel that the problem of "translation" has not been given due reflection. At least it should be established whether or not it is possible to simplify the arguments in such a way as to preserve their essence and stringency. However, even if a certain success is achieved, it is still necessary to ask what this sort of solidarity leads to, whether it will become political, what weapons it will use and whether it will finally produce forms of organisation which will outlast a long confrontation. The report gives no information about aims of this kind, and no-one asked about them. What is clear is that this "model" can only be used as a supplement to school work, not as an alternative model, especially because it presupposes a certain elementary knowledge which is provided by the traditional school.

Whereas the group of addressees is only vaguely outlined in the first example, in the second the organisers turned to a relatively uniform group, both from the social and from the point of view of class structure, i.e. a group of school leavers most of whom later "wanted" to become apprentices,

3) Vithal Rajan, Belfast Bt. 9,7 AJ 169 Lisburn Road.

workers or unskilled workers.

Example 2: Simulation of a working situation (Model I)

In the framework of the subject "introduction to the working world", the staff of the Hesse Youth Education Centre made the following experiment in June 1970. In the Youth Centre they made a model of a box factory where the pupils of a class of leavers from secondary school were able to work for three days i.e. they had to make boxes. The staff of the Youth Centre were not introduced to the pupils as teachers; they played the role of "management".

The pupils had to apply for various jobs and were placed in various "departments" as workers, mastercraftsmen, accountants or managerial assistants. After they had been familiarized with their respective functions, "management" reduced the time allocated for doing different jobs, (the "time-keeper", also a pupil, was given the necessary instructions) kept "workers" on longer to do unpaid overtime, gave some workers their notice under rather threadbare pretexts. Some of the pupils were admittedly angry at how they were being treated, but it did not occur to them to do anything about the situation although the reprisals got increasingly worse, and they did not know that the "management" was acting in this way for educational reasons.

Next to the factory a pub had been set up for the young people, where they could go in their spare time. In this pub informal discussions between the pupils and the landlord started up (the pupils were also ignorant of the fact that the landlord was also a staff member). In this phase of the game in which the pupils were subjected to "management" repression without being able to do anything to protect themselves, the landlord was told to point out to them that there is such a thing as the law on the constitution of forms, the works council and so on.

After the pupils had informed themselves about their rights, they hesitantly decided to go on strike. There were some serious clashes, but the pupils managed to assert their rights, at least in part. Now the game was interrupted and the whole experiment was discussed for one and a half days. During discussion, the pupils condemned working conditions as being much too severe, claiming that they would never occur in practice. Later several pupils from that class wrote and told those who had conducted the experiment that real working conditions such as those at their own job were just as tough as those in the game. Some, who tried to assert their rights, lost their apprenticeship as a result. All those involved considered this experiment to be a very good demonstration of possible working conditions and of the worker's chances of defending himself against

them. (Rapporteur: Manfred Petsch) 4)

Here again, this is not an alternative to traditional school, as was explicitly stated, but a complementary function. The point of departure and the initial possibilities were just as concretely determined as were the social perspectives of the participants and the type of result expected. The shortcoming of this kind of project lies in its isolated occurrence. If the pupils are simply told in general terms that they can "do something", that they must show "solidarity", that there is a legal basis for certain demands and so on, in a concrete conflict, they will still be at a disadvantage and in all probability a disservice will have been done to "social justice" and to the individual. Apart from exceptions, the practice of resistance only has a chance of success if it is also possible to convey a continuous political working context, in concrete terms, if it is possible to integrate the individual in functioning political or trade union groups which guarantee the necessary cover and framework for further reflexion. Even so it can be assumed that this model's remarkable realism first enabled the would-be apprentices to experience their "class standing" clearly and in all awareness and showed them that in principle they can do something to change it by counteracting ruling interests with organised strategies.

II. Three examples were given of strategies which can be implemented by individual (or isolated) teachers within the existing school system, i.e. during classroom work for which he alone is responsible:

Example 3: Role playing in vocational school (Model II)

In several vocational schools in Nürtingen (Baden-Württemberg), in religious instruction which in these schools has now partially assumed the function of social affairs, 11 teaching units were introduced by means of role playing ("the family", "training", "school"). The class was divided up into 4 groups; each group selected a typical conflict situation which fits in with the overall subject (see above), either real or imagined. The pupils decided on the construction, solution, role description and distribution of the conflict themselves. The mainly short games were presented in the classroom and recorded on a tape recorder. In the following lessons, the recordings were analysed. As the result of the classroom discussion the conflict was then put on the blackboard under the three headings: "subject of conflict", "role behaviour", and "conflict solution".

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4) Manfred Petsch, 6149 Ober-Hambach, Odenwaldschule; cf. also: U. Lüers, "Selbsterfahrung und Klassenlage. Voraussetzungen zur politischen Bildung". München 1971, 123 pp.

Among other things, this makes it possible to point out that the cause of the conflict, the subject of the conflict, is not usually solved on an objective, rational basis but that the group structure usually also has a decisive effect. In order to encourage social sensitivity, the behaviour of individual players was often also submitted to analysis using the "child - teenager - adult" method according to R. and H. Hauser 5); according to this method there is a child hidden in each individual at every age, or a teenager, or an adult with typical behaviour patterns, one of which dominates at any given time - all of which have to be accepted by the others. First of all, it was shown that even in the most backward and authoritarian type of school in the Federal Republic it is possible to carry out experiments of this kind even if this is done at the expense of being isolated by the other staff. Secondly it was shown that apprentices, who are after all not in a very favourable position in view of their family, school and vocational socialization, develop an amazing degree of imagination in role playing and were motivated to take part in intensive discussion of the problems which thus emerged. (Rapporteur: Burkhard Steinmetz) 6)

A question which must be asked is whether a game in which the "roles" are limited in advance reveals truly observable behaviour or simply schematic concepts of "typical" behaviour which has been instilled in the person as he passes through different phases of socialization. Experience with role playing gathered with apprentices outside school does in part point in this direction. For instance, the "father" was always portrayed as someone who reads the newspaper at the breakfast table although this behaviour pattern hardly ever occurs in working class families. Even so systematically combined with other methods under the control of committed teachers this method could release a critical potential which could hardly be attained by any other means in vocational schools. It would be interesting to investigate whether and if so how these young people change their long term behaviour in factories and alter their attitudes to trades-unions and whether they are in a position to use what they have learnt in critical situations (for instance in a strike). The same teacher has also tried out another teaching game which directly touches on peace research, at least in con-

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- 5) Cf. R. and H. Hauser, Die kommende Gesellschaft. Handbuch für soziale Gruppenarbeit und Gemeinwesenarbeit. Wuppertal, München 1971.
  - 6) Burkhard Steinmetz, 74 Tübingen, Christofstr. 27; cf. also U. Lüers, among others, pp 167 pp loc. cit.

tent (it was mentioned briefly in the discussion but not in any great detail).

Example 4: Conscientious objectors in front of the selection committee

Being a conscientious objector (CO) is one of the few action models which are in principle accessible to every male individual and at the same time has a direct political dimension and effect. That is why conscientious objectors are valuable as examples for political education. Furthermore, conscientious objectors represent certain essential aspects which are also relevant for peace, such as for example, basic rights, freedom of conscience, aggression, military strategy, structural violence and social justice. This also offers the opportunity for using teaching methods covering several subjects. Without going into all the subjects which can be related to CO, it is necessary to refer here to the possibilities for playing a game. It is advisable to organise an imagined session such as takes place before the real selection committees. The game should only be carried out once the pupils have some prior knowledge about the subject and the procedure. Also girls can easily participate at this stage.

The roles are distributed as follows: the applicant, perhaps his counsel, the chairman of the committee who is in charge of negotiations and three other committee members who decide on the application. There are some reference works available which give information about the special problems involved in playing this game. Experience has shown that pupils cannot always subordinate their emotions to the roles they are playing; for this reason it is a good idea if the teacher can play the role of the chairman of the committee in order to keep to the rules. This is important because the pupils have to practise being "worn down" by procedures (Luhmann) as a social situation within the game.

The analysis of the game with the whole class taking part is also a good check on the success of previous teaching. Incidentally it is not the purpose of this kind of game to "produce" conscientious objectors, but to point out the complexity of the whole problem. One can only produce conscientious objectors by means of resolute training in procedure, which 1. runs contrary to the concept of conscience, 2. is impossible at school and 3. would mean taking the educational aim of the game, i.e. to encourage independence and imagination, to absurd lengths. (Rapporteur: Burkhardt Steinmetz, cf. footnote 6)

Another game involving role playing, the "International Simulation Game" was recommended by Galtung but not in detail. The game was said to differ considerably from the usual type of East-West simulation as it is a "cross-



pressure-game" built up in such a way that no-one can ever do everything which he feels to be right; apparently, it is mainly used to describe and investigate North-South conflicts and is so designed that the pupils can alter it themselves.

It was also pointed out that none of these methods are actually new. Before, Moreno had developed his system of group psychotherapy 8) by means of which unresolved tensions can be subdued by individuals playing parts in "psychodramas" and at the same time observing the effects of this on others, increasing their ability to establish contacts and learning to see through each other's emotional relationships. It was said that the important thing about these methods is that their point of departure is not the individual but the relations between individuals (Gunther Neff).

Apparently basing her work on this method, Daublewsky (Weinheim) developed the so-called cooperation games 9) which the pupils of the Odenwaldschule represented at the conference referred to as games which force the participants to cooperate if they wish to attain a certain desirable goal. However, the pupils of the Odenwaldschule also drew attention to the danger of these concepts, namely that they might concentrate too much on individual or at best social efforts and attempts at therapy without ever aiming at the social causes behind their problems and overlooking the political dimension of these conflicts. In the case of the "International Simulation Games" the way in which individual psychological and the political levels are conveyed seems to involve problems, too. If the main effect of this method lies in recognizing how difficult it is to be a politician (Johan Galtung), then one might well ask whether this result is worth the effort involved. Greater "understanding" for politicians as such, that is regardless of their political goals and the interests they represent will not make schools political and will not reduce structural violence. 10)

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- 8) J.L. Moreno, Who shall survive? Foundations of sociology, group psychotherapy and sociodrama, Beacon N.Y., Beacon House 1953.
  - 9) B. Daublewsky 'Spielen in der Schule', in: 'Neue Sammlung' (1971), 6 pp 533-552.
  - 10) Unfortunately, Johan Galtung had hardly an opportunity to further illustrate his experiences with the game developed at the Ohio State University by Prof. Alger.

A general problem which emerges in connection with role playing at school (Model I), according to the experience of Burkhardt Steinmetz, is that one has to return to everyday school life afterwards. The games are a welcome change and also represent a stronger motivation for intellectual confrontation. However, this motivation is apparently not sufficient to produce continuous independent work and control of classroom work by the pupils.

There was general agreement, especially among the delegates from the Odenwaldschule, but also supported by Kirsten Schaefer of the Ernst-Reuter-Gesamtschule in Frankfurt, that it is not enough to grant older pupils democratic school institutions. Their previous school socialization has so corrupted their ability to perceive these possibilities and has as a rule perverted the necessary self-confidence so much that it is not difficult to "prove" the apparent unreality of such efforts (cf. example 10). This is the starting point of a method which aims at the encouragement of independence, criticism and creativity even in the first class of elementary school and in this way creates the ability to fulfill functions which progressive teachers would like to delegate to their older pupils:

Example 5: Practice for an education for peace:  
school structure as an expression of  
structural violence - teaching experi-  
ments and discussions with elementary  
school children

Even in the first school year at an average elementary school in a medium sized town (Reutlingen, Baden-Württemberg, approx. 30 6 to 7 year old children) the teacher kept making the organization and practice of classwork (i.e. the compulsions and dependences which led to a certain type of teaching) the subject of teaching itself. 11) In this process the children learnt among other things that the teacher himself is subject to certain constraints, that he has a certain relationship with the director, with the other staff and the school authorities, with the parents of his pupils and with his own education and training, that he is supposed to follow an educational plan, that this includes a syllabus and curricula, which perhaps do not correspond to the already developed interests of the pupils and also of the teacher and act as a barrier to their further development.

It emerged that even the "little ones" can already recognize the extent to which the existing school as a social field is involved in the reproduction of an "organized

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11) As a basis for such reflections the children's book 'Die Räuber von Kardemomme' by Th. Egner, Berlin 1959 is very qualified.

lack of peace" (Senghaas) 12). The children's own problems can be shown in connection with overlapping problems, for instance by demonstrating the connection between achievement pressure and the ideology of deterrence; also control of behaviour by means of threats and punishment; "do this because you know what will happen if you don't" can be shown to the children to be the product of and condition for a policy of threats and deterrence. First insights were given into the connection between the partial field they have direct experience of "school" and descriptions of overall social conditions, both of which are characterized by structural violence. As the teacher made his own teaching methods and indeed his own behaviour into a problem and a subject for discussion, allowed himself to be criticised and corrected himself, even after about four months the children showed signs of remarkable critical and analytical activity and constructive spontaneity; they even made surprising and useful suggestions for subjects and the lesson timetable (for instance they asked for so-called introductory classes to be left out altogether in future and wanted them replaced by a critical theoretical, i.e. more abstract approach before getting round to the subject itself, so that they could recognize the point of learning it in the first place); they uncovered and criticised certain tendencies in school text-books (for instance by means of a comparison of a childish, harmonized description of conveyor belt work using Wallraff reporting methods) they went on strike in certain lessons which treated them like "babies". One teacher's "child-oriented" music lesson had to be abandoned in favour of a critical study of Hindemith/Blecher "We build a new town" in coordination with German lessons, a project which was successful in spite of the considerable degree of musical difficulties involved. In so doing, the children soon grasped the following problem: the children in the play want to escape from the possibilities the adults grant them to be children. They build a new town where "children rule supreme". What in fact happens is that in this children's world the models of the adult world are not only reproduced but brutalised: the teacher hits the pupils and anyone outside the school who tries to eliminate taboos is put into prison. Teaching of this kind enables the children to see their teacher with critical eyes. Even very small children soon develop a remarkable ability to recognize when their teacher has fallen prey to stereotype thought patterns. This behaviour was still maintained by the children in the second form when they had a new teacher who was often confronted with

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12) Cf. e.g. D. Senghaas 'Abschreckung und Frieden - Studien zur Kritik organisierter Friedlosigkeit'. Frankfurt/Main 1972.

relatively knowledgeable questions about the motivation and justification for his actions, and whose measures, much to his surprise, were often questioned. Through the cooperation of the old teacher and the new one, it was possible to avoid a confrontation which would probably have meant that the children would have come off second best and have been subjected to more or less severe reprisals. (Rapporteur: Ingeborg Hiller-Ketterer) 13)

If used in isolation, this method must, we feel, soon come up against limits.

1. If the teacher has no colleagues who are prepared to cooperate with him in continuing his method, the critical attitude of the children will lead to sanctions and frustrations which they are unable to understand. In order to make them somewhat resistant to this, the teacher would have to describe his own self-critical behaviour as atypical and be able to rehearse resistance strategies.
2. The "theoretical" criticism of the selection of subjects, of the system of gratification and so on must in the long run lead to feelings of impotence and apolitical behaviour if it remains limited to the teaching of one teacher, that is if the teacher is not in a position to criticise the institutions which force him to use these behaviour patterns which have thus been made transparent in "practical" terms, and to provide the necessary experience of success.
3. Apart from this, we doubt whether this concrete material can claim to fulfill the promise of making "structural violence" visible to schoolchildren, particularly since "structural violence" can not only be derived from the fact that in planning his teaching the teacher is also bound by certain guidelines; we feel that structural violence is primarily derived from the concrete effects for the pupils themselves (the need to judge and select, to keep to the school rules and the like). 14)

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- 13) Ingeborg Hiller-Ketterer, Pädagogische Hochschule Eßlingen, cf in detail: Hiller-Ketterer 'Kind, Gesellschaft, Evangelium', Stuttgart, München 1971; Hiller-Ketterer/Thierfelder 'Leistung und Gerechtigkeit', Stuttgart-München 1972; Hartwig/Hiller-Ketterer/Kreiner 'Schule als Konfliktfeld - Materialien für didaktische Ansätze', in: Ackermann et al. (ed.) 'Erziehung und Friede', München 1971, pp. 88-99. G.G. Hiller 'Unterrichtliches Handeln als Gegenstand des Unterrichts' in Zeitschrift für Religionspädagogik, 26 (1971) pp. 3-19.
  - 14) As a start cf. W. Jungk und K. Hagener 'Mitbestimmung in der Schule. Schule als Übungsfeld politischen Handelns, dargestellt an einer Fallstudie zum Thema Schulordnung', Frankfurt/Main 1972.

Another thing which does not quite emerge from the description of this method is how the transition is achieved from the insight into "structural violence" in the school to a recognition of the same forces in society as a whole. Is this not where the teacher again resumes his old function as an "objective" authority, whose statements cannot be controlled by the pupils (it can be shown that ...)"? How can external violence and the integration of the school in this system be experienced by the pupils? In spite of these objections and questions, we still feel that this approach can be used as a prerequisite for later activity on the part of pupils and can hardly be overestimated as such. If these efforts were only to be applied to secondary level, one shortcoming would emerge which is characteristic of all examples mentioned under figure II: they are still "centred" on the teacher. The teacher himself reveals his concept, and if one were to prescribe it as a general method, it would presuppose a harmonious concept of teacher-pupil "partnership" as if both groups had the same power and were subject to the same constraints. 15)

III. There was agreement that the social problems which are relevant to peace education can no longer be covered by the traditional range of subjects, at least not at secondary level. For this, project-oriented teaching is necessary which in turn presupposes more readiness and ability to cooperate and thus assumes changes in teacher training and further training. The following example which had been put into practice at a special school for "backward children" was the only one of this kind mentioned.

Example 6:

Backward children inform themselves and others about backward children. - Preliminary report about a teaching project covering the subjects German, arithmetic, sociology, modelling, handcrafts and religion with backward children accompanied by a corresponding practical survey.

During a practical course with a 9th form at a Stuttgart special school for backward children, students of the Institute of Specialized Educational Science at the teachers' training college in Reutlingen, after a press conference of the school's director in which he had drawn attention to the wretched state of the school building, attempted to encourage the pupils of a leaving class to explore forms through which they could inform themselves and others about "being backward". This was intended to show that "backwardness" is mainly a problem produced

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15) Cf. 'pupils strategy' as a consequence of these reflections part III of this essay.

by continued socially oriented and organised cultural prejudice. Under the leadership of the students, the pupils collected the requisite information and material; they produced diagrams and questionnaires for interviews and pamphlets. The editors and producers of the South German Broadcasting Company succeeded in producing an entertaining and informative broadcast with this class in conjunction with a broadcast for young people for which the pupils not only selected the music but also carried out the interviews, wrote the manuscripts and read them.

After this experiment the students worked out further suggestions for similar projects and submitted suitable teaching material together with an analysis of the experiment. (Rapporteur: Ingeborg Hiller-Ketterer) 16)

The decisive feature of this experiment is not so much the doubtless vital cooperation between teachers of various subjects, but the fact that the subject taught directly corresponded to the objective interest of all the children involved, in that they had at least experienced "backwardness" as a form of social discrimination. On the other hand, the existing interest of some of the public in the chosen subject will also have played a role in its successful implementation.

Unfortunately, there was no discussion of the way in which similarly structured projects could be developed for other types of school, or about which pupils show a similarly strong interest in such projects and how this could be mobilized. In another context it was mentioned that abolishing exams is an essential prerequisite for democratic education (Magnus Haavelstrud); that our schools are state run sorting boxes, and that teachers do not fulfill the task of educationalists but of public prosecutors (Johan Galtung). From the applause which greeted these statements it can be assumed that there was agreement on these points. Presumably the subjects thus referred to also fall directly within the pupils' primary field of interest. Thus, project-orientated teaching projects can be imagined for very different types of schools with the following subjects: a study of the individual psychological consequences and the social functions of awarding marks, of staying down, of examination, of the daily atomisation of interests (extrinsic motivation for learning, loss of self-confidence in one's own intellect as a result, destruction of independent, self-determined thinking and of memory, familiarization with differences in class and rank, practice of adjusted, acquiescent behaviour, the development of achievement standards which correspond to ruling interests and so on). Projects of this kind would hardly be likely

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16) Cf. in detail: Klepzig/Wörnle: thesis for the 1. diploma in teaching. Pädagogische Hochschule Reutlingen, spring 1973.

to attract public support; the pupils and schools involved would run the risk that the pupils would see through the internationalization of the coercive system and would refuse to adapt to it any more. Thus the teachers would manoeuvre themselves into a rather difficult position. It can hardly be assumed that this kind of teaching would become very widespread in our schools. It is not even probable that projects of this type would be initiated or put into practice at all in the framework of "normal" teaching.

The example shows that the teacher's possibilities to introduce measures which actually change structures are fairly small. The necessary but obviously small-scale attempts of individual teachers must be met by a pupil's strategy "in the framework of which the pupils see and organize themselves as a "counter agency" (Joachim Hofmann). Teachers and pupils are not in the same position. Even though the teachers had relatively strong power over their pupils the latter are more independent in a certain way. The teacher is on the lowest level of school "bureaucracy". With his many superiors, rules and regulations, he is the executive organ for others. He is tied to an authoritarian liaison of violence. Whereas there is a threat to the teachers' very existence in the form of the decision of the Conference of Prime Ministers now in force ("Principles on anti-constitutional forces in public service" dated 28.1.1972) if they are politically organized in a certain way; kick-outs of pupils for similar reasons are not provided for by the law even though they might sporadically occur in practice.<sup>17)</sup> The teacher has a double social role to play: in his classroom he is supposed to create an atmosphere of trust, although his vocation commits him to exercise a supervisory function; he is supposed to teach his pupils to be critical, yet he himself is subject to absolute obedience and is strictly bound by the regulations for civil servants. <sup>18)</sup>

The fact that changes in school must correspond to the interests of the pupils means that it is primarily they who must implement these changes. Change which fulfills its purpose is change which is conquered by the "subject" involved and not decreed from above. Perhaps the "conflict

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17) W. Abendroth et al. 'Wortlaut und Kritik der verfassungswidrigen Januarbeschlüsse', Köln 1972.

18) Cf. the booklet 'Projekt Curriculum' of the governing body of the students' representatives in the Land Hessen, Marburg 1972, to be obtained through the former chairman of the curriculum committee of the students' representative in the Land Hessen: Joachim Hofmann, 3551 Simtshausen, Niederaspherstr. 2.

strategy" recommended by Galtung could be part of this strategy for pupils: by means of strikes or other forms of protest they could try to fight for certain teaching units. For instance they could insist on being informed at school about the extent and social-economic functions of armaments and hear experts on the subject for a week. The confrontation with the school authorities and the direct experience of the common interest of the school system and industry which might also occur 19) would be an essential part of the learning process.

Even so, after these contributions to the discussion, there was agreement that an undifferentiated confrontation between teachers and pupils is not desirable; individual teachers can certainly give their help, especially to the younger children; they can become "partners of the pupils' groups", which first perhaps only comprise some of the children. Often it will have to be the teacher who encourages them to discover and protect their interests. By trying to control them too much, by not being tempted to revert to authoritarian measures due to failure, allowing them to hold pupils' meetings, by pointing out clashes of interests, by informing them about structures and events, giving advice, by directly or indirectly supporting action as far as he is able, he can play an important (but not the most important role) in the process of transformation. Alliances of this kind will only emerge on an ad hoc basis, however; the situation described (hierarchies, laws on civil servants etc.) hardly makes for a continuous identity of interest even between pupils and progressive teachers.

Now there are sufficient examples, and some were mentioned from other European countries during the discussion, which go to show that young teachers in particular can hardly play the role of a partner to a group of children in the process of getting organized. Even in the case of relatively slight deviations from the standards of the school, they become the object of all kinds of measures to discriminate, isolate and even repress them, both on the part of the head, the school authorities and even their own fellow teachers; - this can even lead to their dismissal or removal to another school. It is only the progressive group of teachers, not the individual teacher, who can withstand this pressure and in the long run act as a relatively reliable "partner" of the pupils. Just as in the case of the groups of pupils, the small groups of progressive teachers must also organize themselves in regional and supraregional associations and political trade unions; however, these organizations must be much more than just professional associations. They do not only serve the purpose of preventing isolation in school and among the staff but also give direct legal advice. Only if the teacher sees his work as

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19) Cf. among others F. Nyssen 'Schule im Kapitalismus', Köln 1970.



part of an overall social strategy for change and sees himself as part of a broader counter strategy which also includes the pupils and is also committed outside his school work any real changes together with the pupils can be brought about. 20)

IV. As these comments have shown, the borderline between the models and changes in the whole structure of schools in relation to society is flexible. Within certain limits, the following experiment could also be repeated as part of a strategy for pupils in one teacher's classes or in co-operation with other teachers; however, it is clear that it demands considerable agreement on the part of the school's headmasters or even presupposed a "special conference" in which the pupils already have a certain influence:

Example 7: Students' course at the Odenwaldschule

Some students at the Odenwaldschule still needed another credit for the current school year. The sixth form course system in the "Odenwaldschule" obliges the students to take part in a certain number of courses lasting three months each. The free selection of courses is limited in that the choice of a certain main subject automatically makes it compulsory to take certain other "complementary" subjects. 21) However, in the case under discussion, the teacher, Gerold Becker, did not have time to arrange the requisite course. As a result the students worked out a concept for a course on cultural anthropology, to be held by themselves, and the special conference, at which they were also represented, accepted it. The course was based on a text by Margaret Mead. One of the pupils had already done some work in this field in the past and gave an introductory paper. The teacher for this subject made recommendations on other literature. The course was prepared by a group of four pupils, with a total of 12 participants. For each session a new discussion leader and a new rapporteur were elected. In the course of the three months, even those students became active who had not participated much in the previous courses run by teachers.

The final examination and the marks at the end of the course which are still compulsory at the Odenwaldschule were dealt with in the following way: the groups suggested a mark for each student. At the end of the course, the teacher set three essay subjects, one of which could be selected and written on in a four hour class exer-

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20) Cf. part V of this contribution.

21) Cf. W. Edelstein 'Eine Schulverfassung für den Wandel'. In Schäfer/Edelstein/Becker: 'Probleme der Schule im gesellschaftlichen Wandel. Das Beispiel Odenwaldschule'. Frankfurt/Main 1971 p. 22.

cise. The final marks were composed of the mark given by the group and that given by the teacher for the essay. The usual individual reports ("course reports") were drawn up by three students, discussed in the group and given their final form. The special conference accepted them. (Rapporteur: Astrid Ursula Windfuhr) 22)

It is remarkable that the students still felt a motivation, indeed were even better motivated in spite of the pressure from marks. In attempting to assess achievement themselves, as was done here, if it is not possible to do without graduated marks, it is advisable to discuss the whole problem of the assessment of achievement in class. 23) "This kind of self-assessment basically hides the danger of the uncritical integration of the student in a selective and undemocratic achievement system"; but "students who have to award marks themselves are more likely to know about the vagueness of the basic criteria used and the low predictive value of such marks". 24)

In view of overflowing classrooms and the shortage of teachers, it would seem an obvious idea to introduce this sort of teaching in existing schools as a sort of emergency solution. However, this would probably fail because it would degrade classes run and organized by the pupils to the level of a technical makeshift expedient. The example of the Italian "student's school" (which was not discussed in our group), shows that certain concrete preconditions must be fulfilled. The report on this "Scuola di Barbiana" 25), which was drawn up by the students themselves on a level which we expect from an average university student here, begins by saying that their school had 29 teachers and 30 pupils. The only adult teacher, a progressive clergyman, himself only taught the eldest children, who in turn taught the younger ones and so on. This self limitation on the part of the clergyman did not in fact mean that he had no influence: the school could not have continued to exist without him. "Student-run courses" and "schools run by the pu-

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- 22) Astrid Ursula Windfuhr, 6149 Ober-Hambach, Odenwaldschule.
  - 23) Cf. K. Ingenkamp (ed.) 'Die Fragwürdigkeit der Zensurengebung'. Weinheim 1972. Cf. also F. Huisken 'Zur Kritik der bürgerlichen Didaktik und Bildungsökonomie'. München 1972.
  - 24) Governing body of the students' representatives in the Land Hessen (ed.) 'Projekt Curriculum'. Loc. cit. p. 8.
  - 25) Scuola di Barbiana. 'Die Schülerschule. Brief an eine Lehrerin'. Berlin 1970.

pils" therefore do presuppose very committed and extremely good teachers for a start. Another precondition seems to us to be even more important and is one which was not fulfilled at the Odenwaldschule, which is perhaps why, as the pupils themselves felt, this sort of course is hardly likely to become the rule there. The "Scuola die Barbiana" perhaps only worked so well as a school run by the pupils themselves because it was a school for the underprivileged run by children who could not have held their own even in a normal Italian elementary school and by the children of smallholders and unskilled workers from the mountains. These children developed a considerable motivation for learning: it is quite remarkable how much they learnt (various languages, mathematics, statistics ...). This motivation was reinforced every day by the clear distinction made between these children and the privileged, by their hatred for the school system and society in which they and their like were so obviously at a disadvantage, and through conscious solidarity with the oppressed throughout the world. One reason why this example has not yet been copied in Federal Germany is that here there are pressure groups which prevent this kind of solidarity and the emancipation of the underprivileged from the control of the privileged.

Under certain conditions, the principle of teaching by the pupils can also work in combination with lessons from teachers even in schools whose pupils are mainly recruited from the "middle" or dominant social classes.

Example 8: The experimental grammar school  
in Oslo/Norway

This school is organized for 16 to 18 year olds along the lines of a university. It is mainly run by the children themselves. However, this does not apply to the funds which are supplied by the City of Oslo. There are no school "authorities" who have to be obeyed. The pupils spend quite a lot of time organizing school meetings and discussions etc. There is traditional teaching in the usual subjects but with new subject matters. The teachers have volunteered to teach at this school, but are paid the usual salary. Not unlike Summerhill, the students have the right to teach themselves without any supervision. In so doing, they try to utilize the resources of society for the benefit of the school. Thus, the school is not simply closed to the outside world. For instance, the students often invite experts from various fields to hear their reports and to discuss things with them. In this way, peace research and peace education are informally incorporated in the life of the school. The role of the experts and the teachers is by no means that of unchallenged authority - they also have to act as "scapegoats". But this is the vital prerequisite for the success of this kind of work. The result is that as a rule the students are less good at

mathematics than their fellows at other schools; but they have developed a critical awareness for the analysis of their society and world society which is far more sophisticated than that of most fifteen year olds.  
(Rapporteur: Johan Galtung) 26)

Following an idea of Illich, Johan Galtung suggested that a kind of cafeteria should be set up in schools with a library attached to it, so that the material for discussions and work in small groups is easily available. According to this idea, teaching would soon mostly take place in the cafeteria, to which parents and teachers should have equal access. According to the experience of most student groups, the demand for "equality" with teachers and parents, especially in school conferences, is rather dubious. Thanks to their structurally guaranteed superiority, teachers and parents usually succeed fairly easily in manipulating the interests, wishes and goals of the children so skilfully, that the majority of them only notice later that action has been taken against their interests and intentions. Again, the idea that there should be "a book" on the table "instead of a menu" and that groups would form informally, according to Johan Galtung, seems rather unspontaneous and direct. However, this sort of "learning cafeteria" could be useful if it were designed properly for work in small groups. The inclusion of scientists and practitioners in teaching could then doubtlessly be intensified in traditional schools. However, Galtung's description does not indicate to what extent the opening up of the school to the outside world includes a direct effect on the socio-political conditions in the school's environment, along the lines of example 6. At all events, the hearing of experts itself is not enough. The assumption that in the long term it will be possible to eliminate the social forces that are materially interested in the maintenance of the present school system by introducing new subject matter and new forms to the school, by using "science" as a Trojan horse to this end, is hardly realistic. (Galtung)

The following example, which seems to be more complex, runs along similar lines:

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26) Johan Galtung, Professoratet I Konflikt-OG Fredsforkning, Chair In Konflikt And Peace Research, Blindern, P.O. Box 1070, Oslo 3, Norway.

Cf. also Mosse Jørgensen 'Schuldemokratie - keine Utopie, das Versuchsgymnasium Oslo', Reinbek 1973.

Example 9: The comprehensive school as an opportunity for the political education of teachers and pupils

The main principle of the experimental school in Bielefeld is to "force" the teachers to become "political" minded by letting them design their own school and bear total responsibility for it. This creates the preconditions for a political education (= an education towards the "flexible settlement of common problems") and thus also for peace and social justice. The school is designed in such a way that the teachers cannot avoid working actively with the parents in doing political work on the different levels of the state educational authorities. At the same time, they are also directly involved in the evaluation of their teaching experiments through the university and in the further development of educational theory. The curricula which they either draw up themselves or are made available to them by the various faculties of the university serve the same purpose. They are not designed as timetables, worked out right down to the last detail, but constantly confront both teachers and pupils with new decisions. Thus they resemble a maze, a journey into the unknown, which leads to "political education", because politics demand the ability to make decisions which change reality, taking into consideration power and dominance.  
(Rapporteur: Hartmut v. Hentig) 27)

The brevity of this description hardly makes it possible to assess the Bielefeld experiment. Perhaps this concept works when coupled with university research in this way. However, the question must be asked as to whether it can be considered as a generally applicable model of the close cooperation with university is an essential feature of this model, since then it only would be possible in university towns. In addition, the report on it gives the impression that the "maze" curricula simply aim at forcing a choice between different possibilities and projects. If this interpretation is correct, one could criticize the model by saying that this sort of choice is not political and does not necessarily result in the ability to make political decisions.

After the presentation of this example, there was a longish discussion about the political value of model schools. Some participants tended to hold the view that model schools simply acted as an alibi and were a classic example of "repressive tolerance". Freedoms granted to the teachers and pupils at these schools are so uncharacteristic that the results could not be adopted for the "normal" school system

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27) Hartmut von Hentig, Fakultät für Pädagogik, Philosophie und Psychologie, Universität Bielefeld. 48 Bielefeld, Roonstr. 25.

(Nicolaas Rodenburg). The answer to this was that the reforms which have been carried out in normal schools in recent years were also a result of the experience with experimental schools. In Galtung's view, the "alibi theory" and the "inspiration theory" of the role of model schools can both be valid depending on the context. The following example illustrates the "alibi theory" but also proves that the bureaucratic aims it describes can in some cases be foiled:

Example 10: Changing of rigid plans by the administration by means of solidarity on the part of teachers with the help of "scientific assistants"

In one of the "Länder" (Federal States) a progressive school experiment (comprehensive school) was developed in years of planning work. The 1970 plan suggested that after six months introductory work, differentiated classes should be introduced in the fifth form in German, English and mathematics, all main subjects. As this plan was put into effect, it emerged that there were no sufficiently valid criteria on which to base the differentiation of class standards at the planned moment. The opponents of the comprehensive school used this as an argument to claim prematurely that the experiment had failed. This group, which included the Philologenverband (Association of Philologists) and some representatives of the administration, talked of the model as a warning example and pointed to the supposed drop in achievement levels. The teachers were accused of trying to undermine the plan for subjective reasons.

By means of a long discussion and with the help of the scientific assistants it was finally possible to change the concept and improve it, although the minister himself had to suggest this. A real transitional class, lasting two years, was introduced, with a division of the class according to two different levels of achievement only being introduced at the end of the 6th form. This example shows that after clashes between representatives of the administration and the teachers at the grass roots level, it is possible to alter restrictive conditions which were initially taken to be unalterable and to find a constructive solution. The example also shows how necessary it is to have a constant scientific check and control over school experiments while they take place and to give support and assistance to the teachers in their new work. (For obvious reasons it is not possible to mention either the rapporteur or the site of the experiment.) 28)

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28) Cf. also: P. Büchner 'Schulreform durch Bürgerinitiative. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen von Gesamtschulen'. München 1972.

The activity of the scientific assistants described here is certainly something positive. However, it is doubtful whether the experiment would also have been successful without additional political pressure, if its aims and other similar experiments show how important it is to include parents and perhaps even mobilize them when extensive changes in the structure of teaching and school are involved. The tendency of parents to resist reforms should not be underestimated (Hartmut v. Hentig). Strategies which overlook parents are often condemned to failure for that very reason.

However, there were only very few concrete proposals on this subject. The headmistress of a UNESCO school, Helena Piasecka, reported from Poland that in large cities, regular courses are held at adult colleges for the parents of school age children. These courses should be designed so that they pass the latest results of educational research on to the parents and to approach them whenever they have recognizable needs and problems resulting from the present school system. A more ambitious proposal was to prepare and carry out courses together with parents and children, so that the children are again involved in objective communication with their parents (Ingeborg Hiller-Ketterer).

V. Strategies which are based from the start on international cooperation and experience are relatively rare in Europe's traditional school systems which are largely rooted in the nation state thinking of the 19th century and are indeed based on the very same nation state. Until now, the UNESCO schools' programme for "International Understanding" has not been a significant success, presumably because of its idealistic basis. Isolated initiatives launched by some of these schools are a first step in spite of this. Thus, it was reported that after a programme for children which was broadcasted in the Federal Republic, called "Germans ask Poles", more than 200 letters from West Germany were sent to one of the Polish schools participating in the programme. This led to a lively correspondence between German and Polish school-children and then to group visits on an exchange basis.

The following contribution reports on a German attempt to break through the national narrow mindedness of our schools, at least in part:

Example 11: Self-education for peaceful behaviour  
through peace corps service

In the "Studienkolleg Laubach", a school with room for boarders in a small town run by the "Evangelischen Kirche in Hessen und Nassau" (Protestant Church in Hesse and Nassau) the idea emerged to reinforce the teaching of history and sociology through intensive work outside school. A "Working Party for Peace Work" was set up which,

although it is still mainly supported by the pupils and teachers of this school is now registered as an independent association in order to be less reliant on the school and the organization running it and to have a better platform for practising partnership between younger and older groups. Students (former pupils) also take part. Since 1969 peace corps work has been organized in Auschwitz, Stutthof (near Danzig), Palermo and Israel, taking the form of six three week visits with between 14 and 29 participants. For 1973 visits are planned in such a way that 11 holidays and 10 school days are covered (the time used for the class excursions in the past). Travel and expenses are paid for from subsidies from the Protestant Church, the State (the Federal Youth Plan) and the district where the school is. This work for peace is understood by the group to be physical work for and with people who have been or are plagued by violence, war or exploitation. The aim of the participants is to "develop a great ability to live peacefully" through the "experience of a partnership" where there is a certain amount of stress involved, that is through the group process and the experiencing of different ways of life and work; this new ability should then become effective in political and social actions in school and its environment and also in taking up a political stand in public. Thus, since this initiative was taken, part of the group has started to help the children of migrant workers. These activities are very well prepared in courses on history, in which the significance of fascism is given particular attention, and in classes on contemporary problems in the countries to be visited. In work done after peace corps service, dealing with concrete tasks has proved to be most effective, such as the organizing of exhibitions (Auschwitz), giving talks in other schools and for other groups, organizing youth meetings (for instance at the "Evangelischen Akademie in Arnoldshain), preparing for and taking part in the conference on "Peace with Poland" in Frankfurt in 1971. It is hard to assess the effect of group work on the school, but it usually constitutes a positive factor in the "atmosphere" which also has quantitative repercussions (30-50% of the 'Abitur' class took part in the peace service project in recent years). The teachers involved (9 out of 30) have made the subject of peace education compulsory in civics and social subjects (course system) and work together in a group on peace education. This work has produced a clear polarization both among teachers and pupils. Through an allied peace service organization the groups recruit members with a very strong motivation for social work abroad (work in the negro slums in the U.S.A. and in a home for the deaf in Norway). For conscientious objectors, this social peace service abroad takes the place of a substitute for



military service. (Rapporteur: Rüdiger Mack) 29)

Like many others, this contribution was taken note of but not discussed, although it is a starting point for integrating concrete social and international experience in present school structure as a complement to "theoretical" knowledge and also represents a possibility to exert a political influence on one's environment from within school. The rapporteur should have been asked what signs indicate that working experience of this kind in the long run produces a kind of internationally orientated awareness and that it leads to practical solidarity with the exploited and underprivileged groups, including those in one's own country. It should have been asked what is meant by "the ability to live peacefully" in relation to a society in which the "peacefulness" of the greater part of the population is constantly being postulated by the minority, who in fact benefit from this very peacefulness. The groups should have asked what models for action and what social targets the pupils develop if their process of political learning started in this way and what "polarisation" means in the context of the school. Another thing which is important to know is whether this also includes the attitude one has to one's own institution, whether the conflicts are only seen as the result of circumstances and situation which do not concern us, or whether we become aware of them in our own sphere of life and how they are dealt with.

The following model (Example 12) is basically the most complicated. Potentially it covers all five "fields" covered by the previous teacher's classes but can be put to better use in classes covering several subjects, and if it were applied consistently it would lead to extensive changes in structure of the whole school. In practical terms these changes can start in any age group and thus refuse the argument that democratic education is not possible with 7 or 8 year olds (Johan Galtung). This example is based on recent knowledge acquired in the field of neurophysiology, which can now be considered to be proven and states that one mainly perceives and memorizes those things for which a prestructured interest is already present. The neurophysiologist and educationalist, David Wolsk, has drawn a simple conclusion from this: it is wrong to try "to arouse" the children's "interest" by presenting the pupils with objects/learning material/targets from outside, that is to say as coming from the teacher or the school in the form of compulsory text-books and methods. Methods have to be found which make use of interests and experiences which are already present when the child enters school, that is

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29) Rüdiger Mack, 6312 Laubach I, Richard-Wagner-Str. 22.

they must be made visible and conscious so that the child automatically goes on to acquire further knowledge. The following text of Wolsk's only refers to an international project which is now underway which first used this method on twelve year olds; however, it has already been tried out successfully with younger children and with other subjects.

Example 12: Controversial, conscious behavior as the starting point for intrinsic learning based on emotional and social processes and transnational school communication as a didactic instrument (model III)

In January 1972 a nine day workshop was held in Hamburg with the support of the UNESCO secretariat and the UNESCO Institute for Education in Hamburg; the participants were teachers from eight countries (Federal Republic, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, England, Austria, Hungary, the U.S.A. and Cyprus). The aim of the "workshop" was to suggest innovations for the teaching of sociology and the organization of an experimental programme. About 40 curriculum units were collected for children aged 12 - 18. Some were developed by authors who were not present at the "workshop" and were specially made for it, whereas others were worked out by the teachers on the spot. They have in common that they are based on the actual experience and activities of the pupils as generated in the classroom. They serve as the starting point for the independent investigation of various topics connected with man's behaviour as an individual and as a social being. The curriculum units (discussed here) are used in the normal framework of social studies, history, literature and human biology. The teacher starts from a certain concept of human behaviour or from a well known human situation. Teaching starts by involving the children in an activity which is directly or indirectly related to the situation. This might be a simplified experiment on distortions of perception, simulation, a role-playing situation or for instance an investigation of how a rumour spreads at school. This activity lasts 10 to 20 minutes; the rest of the lesson is used for discussion.

The curriculum covers a broad span of "critical incidents" of this kind and also projects which are called experience-situations for lack of a better term. They are arranged in sequences in order to develop certain topics, but they can also be used separately.

These experience situations produce a typically high level of interest and personal commitment. This is a key factor. It is important for the children to see themselves as the source and centre of the curriculum. Their experience, their reactions, their feelings, their decisions are the basis of the following discussion, but

they are only the basis. It is just as important for the discussions to go beyond special, direct experience. As this happens, the children begin to learn how to take a step backwards on their own, how to generalize and see possible connections with other situations and experiences. They try to formulate general rules about human behaviour.

As the whole process starts by analysing one's own behaviour in taking a decision, each pupil begins to test his own assumptions about human behaviour and about himself. This process of analysis and synthesis is completed in further discussions and/or continued in writing. It is possible for each child to establish what other information, knowledge and interpersonal abilities would be useful. At this point, teachers, parents, people working in public libraries and others in the community can be of help.

As a result of this initial experience situation, the pupil has his own personal frame of reference which he can use on the information from these external sources. To use Piaget's terminology, both assimilation and accommodation can take place. This can considerably improve his understanding and the storage of new information.

It is just as important that the teacher, by relating information to decision-making processes, should aim at something which is usually largely lacking in present day teaching, i.e. the question of how to use acquired knowledge. Developing experience situations and "critical incidents" which lead to participation and activity, which in turn require the pupils to make decisions, provide a better opportunity to create an "on the job" context for learning in the classroom. The children experience the process which leads to decisions and in which information is needed to make decisions or to analyse them. They learn through experiencing themselves, which is particularly important whenever they learn about subjects pertaining to the social or emotional sphere.

The curriculum also includes a number of units which do not begin with a classroom experience situation, such as for example the "Ideal community", "The year 2000", "Export - import", "Action projects", "Community problems". Even so, these units are based on much the same method. The contacts which the pupils establish with people and institutions in their community concentrate on the relationship between information and decisions. It is important for the children to see that the assumptions people make about human behaviour and social processes form the background for their description of the

problems and for the decisions with which they are trying to solve them.

Through the "Action projects" the children themselves become active and take decisions. By working together with representatives of the authorities and people at their jobs, they can compare the way they take decisions with their own.

Other projects emerge spontaneously from the experience situations and discussions. For instance, after the experiment "levels of aspiration", some children were interested to know how their fellows decide what they want to do when they grow up. They developed a questionnaire which was to be filled up once a year during the three years at secondary school.

The international project for which the units were collected includes a system according to which results can be exchanged between classes in various countries. In this way, the children are able to compare their behaviour with that of others, to observe similarities and differences (using the same "experience situation" to start with) and to try to explain them.

In the course of this exchange of experience, the children study their own preconceived ideas and those others have about them. For instance, in Denmark a class is given a recording of a German class discussing the question "What is a German?" However, before listening to the tape, they themselves make a recording, first giving their own views about what characterizes a German, secondly saying what the German children could have said on the subject and thirdly giving their views on what is characteristic of a Dane. Then they listen to the tape from Germany and comment on the merits and faults of their assumptions about what the German class would say.

This is an example of what can develop from an exchange programme. Each unit offers its own special possibilities. Taken together, they present a much broader spectrum of common, general experience situations. The pupils try to imagine themselves undergoing the experience which actually happened in another country (developing sensitivity for others); then they can find out how well they were able to see and feel this experience from the point of view of another person, that is, to understand the other person. This process is encouraged by starting it again from another angle: a second group of pupils tries to understand what it was like for the first group.

The project, which is now in force in the eight countries present at the workshop is now being analysed by the UNESCO Institute for Education in Hamburg. A follow-up workshop will be held in 1973.

(Rapporteur in the discussion: Reiner Steinweg) 30)

This text has been reproduced in full because until now there have been no publications on this approach which was referred to although it has been tried out for some years now in the U.S.A. and Denmark. Of course, there were many questions which people would have liked to have asked the authors, such as those mentioned above after the description of other examples. Apart from this, the description leaves other, perhaps vital questions open: 1. What games are primarily involved? Is the "curriculum" a motley of different approaches, such as have already been partly described in this report, or does it contain new, original forms which are especially suitable for the purposes described? From talks with Wolsk we have gained the impression that the latter is the case. Perhaps he refrained from being more concrete, because in the final analysis this is not possible in a description but in practical trials. But it is only if one is more familiar with the special structure of these games that one is in a position to judge whether the level on which the children take "decisions" is sufficiently related to the political level, in the widest sense. This can only be assumed a priori in the case of the action projects, although of course it is important to know what sort of "action" and what general political context the author has in mind. We have the impression that he would support and admit any kind of political action as long as it was designed and carried out by the children themselves. However, practical experience would show how far he can go in view of the existing social clash of interests. 2. Wolsk's basic concept of "interest" also needs further explanation, but it is clear that he is not thinking of a new version of the old teaching postulate of developing objective interests from "natural" problem situations. The aim here is not primarily specialized knowledge, as in the famous example of the milk tin in connection with the physical properties of air, but the level on which one is constantly directly involved in one's daily dealing with other people, that is the level of behaviour. 3. Wolsk does say a good deal about what the pupils "can" do and learn to perceive in the framework he sets, but he does not say what behaviour occurred in previous experiments and under what concrete social and organizational school conditions

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30) Reiner Steinweg, 6268 Bad Vilbel, Windeckerstr. 16; The above cited text was written by David Wolsk, especially for this report. Danmarks Paedagogiske Institut, Hermodsgade 28, 2200 Kobenhavn N.

it occurred. Once again, we can only refer back to oral statements which indicate that the behaviour which is described here as a possibility has actually occurred, not in model schools but in ordinary kinds of schools. It is to be hoped that the teachers who took part in the UNESCO experiment will give a detailed description of their results and the necessary preconditions. 4. Another point which is not clear is how the children are supposed to progress beyond their direct experience by evaluating the "critical incidents". What role does the teacher play in this? Probably the teacher has to have very special educational skills to avoid falling back into the old role of simply passing on knowledge. How do the children acquire the "skills" they need in order to follow up the new, conscious interest they have in a certain problem if the teacher in fact limits himself to being the children's "assistant", their "counsellor" when they need him, as David Wolsk says? 5. How is it possible to prevent this approach being to the advantage of the socially privileged and to the disadvantage of the underprivileged? This question is especially relevant when referring to the possibilities of the parents to satisfy the growing need for information on the part of their children. 6. Finally, the assumptions about the causes of human behaviour which the project seems to be based on also seem rather dubious. After all, in the final analysis it is not "assumptions about human behaviour" which condition important social and political decisions, although they doubtless also play a role. The question is whether there is any point in starting with human behaviour as such, with "general rules" about behaviour and with the concept of "man" per se or to suggest these ideological ideas to schoolchildren. It is clearly demonstrated that these ideas are ideological whenever work is done towards international understanding at school level: Wolsk obviously starts from an early assumption made by peace research which has since been proved wrong, namely that attitudes, prejudices and preconceived ideas and so on have a decisive effect on international relations. However, it is not primarily attitudes which determine political decisions but the material interest of the ruling classes in different countries.

Thus it emerges that through their selection of games and problems the teachers still have considerable opportunities to manipulate their pupils, even according to this model; this is still bound to happen even if the teacher makes every effort to keep his behaviour free from attempts to control them, as Wolsk himself does. Therefore it would be a mistake to assume that this method automatically leads to more democratic structures, especially since it is hardly capable of being applied consistently and with all its logical ramifications in a bourgeois, democratic society. However, this is a difficulty which this method shares with all other "utopian" approaches, such as for instance Bertolt Brecht's theory of education, which incidentally shares some

interesting points with Wolks's theory. 31) This method, if rigorously applied, would mean doing without a "general education" completed at 18 without achievement comparisons, marks, moving up or down a class and examinations. If this new approach based on "interests" were consistently applied according to the latest knowledge in neuro-physiology and the social sciences - and Wolks's experiments do seem to represent quite a considerable step in this direction, in spite of the doubts and questions raised above - it would probably give rise to serious social resistance, if schoolchildren seriously and determinedly tried to uncover the origins of the observed differences in behaviour on the interpersonal, the local and international level.

However, this is exactly what should be aimed at. If it is true that different social classes produce different behaviour patterns (and after all there are now quite a number of indications that this is so, based on admittedly problematic empirical studies) then this particular curriculum should lead the children to discover class distinctions behind differences in behaviour. It should not be necessary for the teacher to point this out. He would simply have to take up observations of this fact and make suggestions on how to pursue this further. Since this approach necessarily includes the environment of the school, even if no work was done with the requisite projects as suggested by Wolks, the teacher would sooner or later have to take sides in the clash between classes and interests which begins to emerge. In contrast to the "small time" French schoolmaster often mentioned by Marx, teachers in recent decades have as a rule taken the side of the privileged, even if they did so unconsciously. If they were obliged to practise this new approach based on interests they would be forced to side with the exploited classes in order not to lose contact with most of their pupils. This could incidentally certainly be done without turning the tables and neglecting and oppressing children from the "better" classes; as most "radical" schoolchildren and students have a middle or upper middle class background it should still be possible to gradually persuade them to show solidarity with the lower classes. Even the partial application of this new approach would in the long run force individual teachers to organize themselves as described under III above, once the application of this method went beyond the experimental stage and became a mass phenomenon in schools.

It is quite feasible that this approach coupled with consistent work with the parents could also enable partly or entirely proletarian groups of parents to undergo changes in consciousness and learning processes due to the activities of their children, which would also contribute to solidarity. Then the demand for overall political activity on the part of teachers would not just be a demand, but teaching activity and political activity would then be identical.

The political and trade union organization of teachers would no longer run the risk of turning into a simple professional organization. This of course does not mean to say that an overall social strategy could only start from schools. However, in our view schools could contribute to a much greater extent than in the past to the consolidation of emancipatory movements.

In the view of other delegates at the conference, international activities in peace education outside schools should be organized both through established institutions, such as UNESCO, the World Federation of United Nations Associations, trades unions, boy scouts and other youth organizations and through new institutions specially designed for peace research. It was hoped that the latter would prefer broad scope for action by developing new projects and programmes and by influencing existing organizations. However, only the already customary summer schools were discussed in concrete terms. The delegates spoke out in favour of a pluralistic concept and want participants to be recruited "from different social classes with differing educational backgrounds or from social fringe groups."

The setting up of an "International Secretariat for Peace Education" was also suggested which would be supported by a "Committee for Peace Education" in I.P.R.A. (International Peace Research Association) and would have the following tasks: 1. collecting and passing on of information on projects and experience in various countries - here the idea was to set up a kind of "data bank" to this end; 2. the co-ordination of these projects. 3) The I.P.R.A. magazine should also be used to make information about projects and liaison groups more readily accessible. For the moment, the magazine would also replace the "data bank" for peace education projects. 3)

#### VI. On the structure of future discussions on peace education strategies

The largest working party was faced with the dilemma of wanting to discuss strategies of implementation for goals which

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32) Christoph Wulf has been elected secretary of the Education Committee of the International Peace Research Association for the years 1972-74. Address: 6000 Frankfurt/Main, Schloßstr. 29.

33) Cf. International Peace Research Newsletter, ed. by International Peace Research Association, Secretariat, International Peace Research Institute, P.O. Box 5052, Oslo 3, Norway; cf. especially vol. II No. 1 and 2. 1973. Special issue on Peace Education ed. by Christoph Wulf.



had only been described in very general terms or in such specific terms that there could be no agreement on them in the working party; neither could this agreement be reached in a short discussion on "goals". The formulation of the subject "An Education for Peace and Social Justice" was found to hide a number of goals, some of which were contradictory, some of which could be reconciled with each other; at all events these aims were fairly divergent. They ranged from an education for class consciousness and active participation in class struggle (Benedetto Sajewa) to an education for a general, undetermined "ability to behave peacefully" (example 11). Some delegates equated peace education with "good", i.e. democratic (Nikolaas Rodenburg) or "political" education as such (Hartmut v. Hentig); others interpreted it to mean the conveying of specific results of peace research (this group included John Shipee) and agreed that "peace education" should not be degraded to being just one more subject among others, because this would surely mean that it would be ineffective - just imagine having to award marks in "peace education" as a compulsory subject! It was said that peace education should be the determining principle behind all teaching.

The suggestion to "pretend" that the goals had been fixed and to concentrate on the resistance, which any school reform of any kind is bound to meet with whatever its intentions (Hartmut v. Hentig), could not prevent the contributions to the discussion from being just as divergent as the goals. In one sub group it was agreed later on that it was not possible to separate means and ends, but, even so, the group could not find a basis for working out concrete and exactly calculated strategies needed for all levels.

In these circumstances it was not possible to fulfill the claim to develop a strategy on how to introduce peace education as a teaching principle in society and in schools in concrete terms. The very formulation of the subject of the congress "An Education for Peace and Social Justice" is just about as plausible as the demand for "An Education for Freedom From Famine". However, most of the participants seemed to agree that peace education should not be misunderstood to be an education for any sort of "peacefulness", but that it should discuss the social origins of "the organized lack of peace" and "structural violence" as constituents of dominance in schools and should then go on to develop action models to change the system. "An Education for Peace and Social Justice" interpreted in this way would be part of a clearly socialist implementation strategy in the school and the society around it. Along these lines, a future discussion on strategy should cover the following dimensions:

1) Assessment of the school in the framework of society

This should involve a historical assessment of the role of the school and an appreciation of the different interests

connected with it. A study of "educational economy" would probably reveal the close relationship between the school and state institutions on the one hand and the interests of a monopolistic private sector of the economy on the other.

## 2) Developing goals to promote democratization

This is where peace education should be seen as part of the overall social struggle. This and the determination of the preconditions for peace are the concrete goals for the co-ordinated restructuring of school and society.

## 3) Estimating resistance and counter strategies

Because it includes information about and the elimination of the origins of the lack of peace, peace education as part of a socialist strategy is in contradiction to the existing system, to the interests of the very groups who profit from war and its preparation and for whom "peace" is thus only of ideological value. The strength of these forces and the available counter resources must be exactly calculated.

## 4) Developing of an implementation strategy according to the "double strategy principle"

From 3) it follows that an implementation strategy must have two components: a) it must include a mobilization strategy in order to make full use of available forces, and b) must include a reform strategy on a day-to-day basis in order to broaden the basis for counter strategies. It is only once these levels have been elucidated that it will be possible to develop instruments to assess the value of models and certain actions. In our view, it is only then that a proper differentiation of target groups can take place.

## 5) The planning and development of suitable games and teaching material

If the development of a just and peaceful society is to be seen as a long-term prospect and task, then the necessary "mobilization" should be understood more as a political principle and less as a day-to-day activity. Schools, teacher training centres and other educational institutions have an important preparatory and participatory role to play. The planning and development of didactic concepts and materials is therefore essential. In this context a start could be made with some of the examples mentioned in this report.

HANS-ECKEHARD BAHR (FRG)

in cooperation with Marianne Gronemeyer, Reimer Gronemeyer,  
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## THE POLITICIZING OF EVERYDAY LIFE:

### SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF PEACE

#### 1. Peace - from Empty Universal Formula to Specific Situational Concretisation

Peace politics without long-term scientific peace research is running into more and more difficulties. But peace research itself is in danger of becoming an authority only to be referred to by those concerned with the preventive handling of conflicts, even before it has itself clarified its aims, methods, and possibilities.

In its first phase, in the 1960s, peace research was concerned primarily with the formulation of theories regarding strategic disarmament and security politics, and introduced the criticism of the international threat and deterrent system. It succeeded in logically taking ad absurdum the 'reasoning' behind the deterrent spiral (Boulding, Rapoport, Senghaas, among others). However, politically speaking, this criticism remained without consequence, because it lacked the necessary sanctioning power, in view of the decisive authority of power-politics.

Why did this criticism of the bipolar deterrent system meet with so little response even from the critical public, and why was it given virtually no practical support from any section of any democratic society? The answer is most probably that, from the very outset, it stylised the deterrent system as an unshakable fact defying all transforming influences brought to bear on it by social groups: it hypostatized the deterrent system as conflict dynamism, with no real origins autochthonous and self-contained, aloof from the actual governmental and power structures of antagonistic societies - a kind of spiritless natural mechanism above the heads of societies capable of peace. However, in the following study, both turn out to be one-dimensional: both the structure of the above-mentioned bipolar military autism, as well as the implicit assumption that societies have a relatively uncorrupted capacity for peace.

Also without consequence in this early phase were peace researchers' suggestions about conflict regulation. This was so because they developed conflict-regulation models with decreased annihilating potential as the only alternative to dynamic armament. In the final analysis, these remained only quantitatively differentiated from the incriminating deterrent models of the military powers. Paralysed by the absolute and totally dominant position of international violence, this

sort of peace research remains unable to define peace as something positive, as dimensionally a different quality in national and international relations. Accordingly, wherever peace research persists in advocating - as the arms control school does - fighting the devil with Beelzebub only and treating the arms syndrome only homoeopathically 1), this research has indeed 'fallen for the mystification of total violence, which reveals itself in the reasoning behind the plans made by the deterrent machines'. (Koch 1972, p. 425)

The arms limitation settlement signed in Moscow by Brezhnev and Nixon in summer 1972, provisionally concluding the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, was interpreted by the treaty partners themselves as an expression of peace-promoting policy. In its SIPRI Yearbook 1972, the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute comes to the conclusion, however, that the political administration in the US and the USSR had the same difficulties resisting those groups in their own societies which were continually clamouring for new and more effective weapons. Therefore the way to an effective control of armament leads us into the realm of domestic politics. Social conditions must be recognized as a decisive and new determining factor in the possible attainment of peace.

SIPRI also verifies the most recent shift of interest within critical peace research: just as in the early phase the deterrent configuration had been viewed only as a self-contained, closed system without its social substratum, so now people are also increasingly coming to realize that armament complexes are parts of larger social structures' (Senghaas 1972, p.8) and that their violence structure indeed has its roots in economic, social, and psychodynamic conditions. Not least in order to prevent the inner structure of their social systems, so fraught with conflicts, from undergoing a critical and transforming shock, the US and the USSR have been forced to resort to the institutionalisation of their bilateral cooperation as sketched above. If peace research wants to make useful suggestions towards damming up the waters of the vast overflowing armaments pool, it must indirectly elicit data about the violence structure within the armament societies themselves. Only then will it be able to achieve praxeological consequences by setting itself constructive objectives (strategies for change).

An indispensable part of this focus of critical social scientists concerned with peace and violence research is -

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1) Brockhaus 1968 (p.573): 'Homöopathie: the treatment of a disease by small doses of drugs which in large doses in healthy persons would produce its symptoms.'

not counting the renewed research into imperialism 2) - Johan Galtung's much-quoted attempt to reach an extended concept of peace analogous to the basic differentiation between personal and structural violence. (Galtung 1969, pp.167 ff.) This includes a negative concept to be interpreted as the absence of personal violence, and a positive concept of peace, to be interpreted as social justice (equal distribution of power and resources as well as absence of structural violence). Peace research, up to this point possessing only a negative concept of peace vis-à-vis the international system of violence, would not gain new perspectives on the basis of the Galtung differentiations (=phase 2). It would have to depart from its purely deductive methods of defining violence as a universal structure of social systems first of all within the framework of a functional table of categories, whereby individual manifestations of violence are considered merely as exponents of the surrounding, enclosing structure. Above all, it would have to free itself from the constraint of system-analytical categorisation, which easily leads to a neo-scholastic set of concepts and not to constructive data collection on social conditions and the potential of peace (praxeological consequences, concrete work programmes, formulation of specific action plans for concrete social institutions).

In other words, peace research would in a future third phase have to move on from an axiomatic deductive, order-oriented discipline interested primarily in analytic awareness, to an empirical-inductive, practice-oriented science interested predominantly in political awareness - with the latter dialectically related to the former. Only in this way, by a process of long, interdisciplinary research, will the social conditions of peace be able to be differentiated and ascertained.

But it is by no means the case that continued criticism of the constantly modified deterrent system (phase 1) has thereby become obsolete. On the contrary: the schematisation of the short research history of the science of peace does not mean that one of these phases has come to an end; rather, it only makes clear the higher complexity which can be recognized today in the problem of peace.

The partially completed results and the hypotheses of the Bochum research project 'Social Conditions of Peace', presented in the book from which this article has been prepared (Bahr 1972), are to be regarded as a contribution to the

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2) Compare the collection of studies about the sociology of hierarchical structure in Senghaas 1972a. The bibliography contains several hundred titles.

third phase in the research 3). This latter phase is to be determined by the following premises:

1) Galtung's definition of a 'positive concept of peace through social justice' allows the peace researcher to move from an empty universal formula to specific situational concretisation. A practical victory cannot arise from this semantic victory until the implications have been made real. Examples: (a) Study of the social causes of conflicts (conflicts for authority, institution conflicts, class conflicts, etc.); (b) Critical examination of programmes for teaching peace. The main question here: are the postulates of tolerance and good understanding to be unreflectingly transferred from the international conflict level to that within society with an eventually integrating and domesticating effect, or does the 'freeing from the conflicts produced by hierarchical establishments'<sup>4</sup>) still remain to be considered as the objective of peace educators, according to Galtung's definition?

2) If one regards peace as something positive, viewing it from the postulate of social justice, then peace research does not so much obey preventive demands for mere models for regulating conflicts within the general framework of governmental crisis management. Rather, it defines itself positively as a society-orientated 'theory of development' with the praxeological aim of a new science of planning relevant to domestic politics. It studies the individual and institutional conditions of political socialisation, develops models for various stages of learning, and works out conflict-activating plans of action for specific social institutions. If one now specifies the postulated universals of positive peace (= social justice = equal distribution of power and resources, see above) in regard to the concrete, everyday problems of a welfare state, then the positive definition of the aim of peace

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- 3) This project is being carried out by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Friedens- und Konfliktforschung. In the basic project paper (90 typed pages) the tasks of the three research sections are individually outlined. Section A: The anthropological conditions of peace: Investigation into the anthropological conditions both of aggressiveness and of unwillingness to be peaceable. The aim: to work out conditions for the conflict capacity of the individual and of social groups, as well as the conditions for overcoming inter-individual violence relationships (pp.32ff.). Section C: Education conditions for peace: working out models and new didactic methods for teaching in schools and parishes, ranging from preschool development promotion to the complex: parochial activity and the mass-media impulse (p. 49). The research project began on 1 November 1971 on the basis of the furthest advanced work at that time, which was Section B: The social conditions of peace.
- 4) Compare the pertinent ideas of Karin Priester (1972). Quote here is from page 31.

can be brought to a point in the multidimensional complex of tasks involved in political participation. This can be formulated as the equal share in all public and non-public decision-making as well as full participation in the material 5) and non-material resources of society. Participation in the comprehensive sense is correspondingly valid for the research plan here documented as a positive ingredient of social peace. Only in this sense is the programmatic title 'Politicising of everyday life' to be understood.

3) Clearly, only a multidisciplinary approach can do justice to the task. What is needed is an approach which takes into account psychosocial questions of political and religious socialisation as much as the economic, legal, security-political, social, and educational components of participation.

The normative conditions of peace are thereby not established a priori as a 'theory' through a separate process: rather, they are formulated from one case to the next in a dialectic correlation between a peace-orientated theory and social 'practice'. Research which approaches the problem thus consequently inquires into the normative conditions of peace while at the same time ascertaining - empirically, critically, and constructively - present-day social conditions of peace, first of all in the framework of easily manageable projects. In following this course, however, the research must not perpetuate the mistake made by most peace research up to the present: the studied avoidance of any theory critical to society (C. Koch). The methodological advantages of this second, pragmatic approach are obvious: axioms of medium range for transforming existing structures in peace-promoting systems are to be gained in the pursuit of limited concrete research projects, instead of a sweeping extension of research topics involving the corresponding overtaxing of the research groups themselves (the acquiring of information, questions as to the groups' competence or rather the problem of dilettantism, etc.) In this second approach, small learning objectives are first set, objectives which take into consideration the special qualifications and the actual capacity of the research team. The probability of independence and original research contributions to the main discipline increases beyond the mere adaption of other peoples' theories.

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5) Fritz Vilmar shows the way here in Vilmar 1971, p.5. The general concept of co-determination in all sections of society stands and falls with the question of how much real direct cooperation and co-determination there is at the work-place. Without co-determination at the work-place the entire concept of co-determination 'is a colossus with feet of clay'. See also Vilmar/Möller 1972, p. 248 ff.; similarly, Vilmar 1973.

Galtung's theoretical demand for equating peace with the creation of social justice has been - independent of the discussions about theory in Scandinavian Peace Research - as it were dramatised for the world public and in symbolic action staged in practical political terms by the decision of the Geneva World Council of Churches in 1970 (Arnoldshain) and in 1972 (Utrecht) to give more material support to political freedom movements in Africa, Latin America, and other areas.

Here too the positive practice of direct political involvement with national resistance groups advocating peaceful political aims corresponds to a negative concept of the church's peace-mission in terming it the 'Anti-racism-Programme'. In Canterbury in 1969 the Ecumenical Council decided upon a programme of a 'new distribution of social, economic, political and cultural power from the strong to the weak'. This programme can and must now, if positive peace forms an integral and indivisible whole, be equally applied to all the powerless and underprivileged of the earth, and is therefore also fundamentally valid for the rich, highly industrialised societies.

It is in this further sense of the first empirical theological application of what was originally only an anti-racial ecumenical programme for peace to the everyday conflicts of a welfare state that we understand the peace and participation programme sketched as follows.

## 2. Hypotheses and Partially Completed Results

### 2.1 Hypothesis A

Multicausal experiences of helplessness (a) are converted into a diminishing interest in politics which results in a growing insensibility towards the suffering of others (b).

To (a) Hierarchies in firms and industries, insecurity at the place of work, fear about the status etc. (production sphere); being worn down by the struggle for basic necessities (sleep, a place to live, learning, playing, etc.) (reproduction sphere); a general feeling of being in principle unable to change anything either in international or in local structures which promotes discord.

To (b) Problems of the Third World, traditional fringe groups (the old, the homeless, criminals, the mental ill), new marginal situations (e.g. small families isolated in new housing areas).



## 2.2 Hypothesis B

Citizens' initiative/inward effect: processes of learning. The feeling of political helplessness is not to be overcome in the framework of an idealistic didacticism which reckons with man's indestructible common sense, nor by appeals to morality (the method of the classical political education system as well as the educational practice of the Church). This inner feeling of powerlessness is rather to be overcome - at least in some places - by learning in the social field itself. This means the direct involvement in conflict-oriented citizen action groups, and the political socialisation of citizens.

Citizens' initiative/outward effect: political participation; structural changes. Formally, citizens' initiatives can be classified according to the level of conformity with or divergence from the overall social system. The main question here: are the general conditions of a system whose primary concern is with growth to be transformed by a certain action group (cf. Hypothesis C), or is it only that those local reform measures which were in the offing anyway are signaled (citizens' initiative as an integrated early warning system)?

## 2.3 Hypothesis C

Citizens' associations can exercise the function of dramatising groups for concrete system-changing forms and the ingredients of human coexistence, thus preparing the way for their institutionalisation. Besides this anticipatory staging of practicable Utopias in the local sphere, they also recall political aims of peace and structural reforms which had been pushed aside - although they had been laid down in the constitution ('dangerous memories').

Two types of such dramatising groups can be distinguished here. They differ not so much in the form their action group takes as in the objective they are endeavouring to reach.

1) Citizen action groups which publicly and outside parliament dramatise the rights of underprivileged minorities in society, whose rights have formally and legally long since been granted but which in actual fact are still being withheld. By that we mean those groups which sue for such rights in conflict-oriented demonstrations; examples are the Civil Rights Movement insofar as it follows Martin Luther King's concept and that of the SCLC; also similar demonstrations of American Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and other minorities in the USA; also the self-help action groups in West European towns, such as demonstrations by settlers in new housing areas, the consumer protection society, etc. Action groups of this kind aim at equality for all but remain firmly within the bounds of the liberal democratic

system.

2) Citizen action groups which not only dramatically 'recover' that which de jure belongs to those who have been given a raw deal by society but over and above this - mostly by symbolic actions - also aim for new rights, the achievement of which is in no way provided for in the present political system in the West. Examples are the occupation of uninhabited houses in Italy, Holland, and towns in the Federal Republic of Germany by people who had nowhere to live. These are groups which, despite sporadic, direct action, attack on the theoretical level the entire distribution of property along capitalistic lines. There are also the goods-boycott actions of the Dutch Shalom groups which fundamentally question the orientation of economic relations with Third World countries conducted entirely according to the principle of profit maximisation. They are in fact questioning the 'most natural' premise of the liberal trading society.

Thus through symbolic actions not only public states of distress are highlighted and dramatised; but also new ways of life are anticipated which transcend the established system. The fact that - at least in small groups - there is already anticipated in practice that which tomorrow ought to come to us all is evidence of a new and not merely conservative method of effecting peace in society. The anticipation of humane forms of organisation in public and private life in one's own actions is perhaps also more convincing than an inconsequent reflection on new possibilities for society. The old proverb still holds true today: 'Verba docent, exempla trahunt' - freely translated: although words, theoretical explanation, are informative, it is really only the living example which moves people to action.

Such symbolic actions from citizens follow the old tradition of prophetic symbolic actions and of the classical social revolutionary reform groups. The result is that, from a theological point of view, they stand in total opposition to all cult priests' attempts at preserving those religions which are a substitute for actual mature participation in public decisionmaking. Or, politically formulated, they stand in practical opposition to all those who in pseudo-paternal fashion exclude the citizen from all decisionmaking by pointing out its ever-growing complexity.

#### 2.4 Hypothesis D

The decisive social discrepancy lies as much as ever in the economic and social inequality of citizens who in terms of formal politics do possess equal rights. This unquestionable analytic finding often leads to the hasty and erroneous conclusion that a strategy intending change can be initiated only in the production sphere. The work of the Bochum re-

search project, however, concentrates on participation in the home and recreation sphere (reproduction sphere) for the following reasons:

- It has been maintained (C. Offe, H. Habermas) the recreation sphere is the place where by way of social compensation, amends are made for lack of chances to participate in the production sphere; this is done in order to secure mass loyalty and thus make the system crisis-proof. If this is so, then the experiencing of involvement within this sphere cannot but affect the whole system.

- This politicalisation is a process that comes about through various stages of learning. It is not in the production sphere but in the reproduction sphere that areas of conflicts and actions can be opened up, areas in which the citizen can become involved without exposing himself to a direct threat to his existence.

- It is to be expected that out of possible successes in this personal reproduction sphere and out of first-hand experience gained in decisionmaking, there will develop a certain self-perpetuating dynamism which will make its effect felt beyond this purely intimate sphere.

- In the reproduction sphere, models for action are available. These can be put into practice without delay - as opposed, for example, to the models for social change which are concerned with the sphere of institutionalised socialisation (W.-D. Narr). In it a double lag must be reckoned with: the time it takes for new accepted standards for institutions to assert themselves, and the time it takes for the effects of socialisation to show themselves.

### 3. Categories in the Analysis of Citizens' Initiative

#### 3.1 Types of Involvement as an Effect of Class Difference or Social Status

A continuum of actions based upon the criterion of degree in involvement of the participants gives the following picture:

Vivid negative experiences gained in a physical-psychical manner can function as action impulses. Such experiences range from mere inconveniences (for example, the lack of a shopping centre in a newly built-up area) to elementary threats (for example, loss of one's home due to a redevelopment project). The approach of those involved is in the related self-help activity primarily affective-emotional; the materialistic motivation dominates.

Abstract or anticipated forms of involvement which require a certain insight into the system may also function as action impulses (for example, citizen reactions against the establishment of a political majority within boards of directors of radio stations, participation in the planning, educational-political actions). In these cases of activity relating to the system the approach is primarily cognitive, communicated through mass-media coverage, for instance. The ideal motivation dominates.

Indirect involvement - such as in the 'Third World' actions and in work with marginal groups - may function as action impulse. In this 'altruistic' involvement, the approach is affective (solidarity) as well as cognitive (working over of information); the ideal motivation dominates.

Generally, it may be said that members of the lower social classes are motivated to take part in actions through direct involvement, whereas the third category of actions is essentially carried out by members of the upper middle class.

These findings might provide hints towards a theory of learning levels in the field of political socialisation: if class membership is defined in terms of income, schooling, freedom to make decisions at work, speech levels, repertoire of roles, etc., then we can identify membership in the lower class with a lack of autonomy in all these areas. From this would follow that an individual stability based on experience in autonomy during a person's own lifetime is the prerequisite for a person to reach beyond his own problem horizon. The experience of success in the course of citizen actions possibly accumulates these stability experiences (multi-participation, lasting motivation).

### 3.2 Citizens' Initiative and Class Membership 6)

It is indeed correct that 'the social potential for action of citizens' initiative 'crosses' the mainlines of the professional stratification and class structure' (or is in complicated superimposing relations with these) (C.Offe). However, within the realms of involvement mentioned, we can recognize level-dependent differences in the quantity and quality of the activities of those involved.

Whether with self-help measures taken by those occupying newly-developed areas or by marginal groups, or with activities concerning change of structures (property rights, environment protection, city planning, educational politics), or with defence measures taken against state interference

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6) We owe the following considerations to Hans-Jürgen Benedict.

(state-of-emergency laws, § 218 ('Abortion'), Bavaria's broadcasting regulation), in all areas members of the middle class take the leading role. This holds true with the initiation as well as with the carrying out of the actions.

This dominance appears to result from the following cause: Members of the middle class, just as members of the lower class, are affected by the neglect of community responsibilities (no playgrounds, too few kindergartens, overfilled school classes, unreasonably high rent). As far as that goes, for them, too, negative experiences become a primary action impulse. Importantly, however, these grievances are not quite so elementary to the middle class as they are for the lower classes. The latter are particularly affected by the lacks in the system (in the continuation of their unequal share of privileges in the classical phase of capitalism) and find, therefore, their capacity absorbed completely in the daily struggle against these adversities.

In contrast to the working class, the middle class members are in a better position: they can proceed from mere doing away with symptoms to dealing with the system itself. And they can articulate the new life's need made possible by the development of the productive powers. It is thus possible to state a cause and effect relationship between material security and ideal involvement in citizen initiative.

Within the middle class, involvement is pursued with differing degrees of intensity. Roughly: professional groups which are in close contact with daily problems of the population at large (teachers, social workers, architects, doctors) show a greater readiness to challenge the administrative authority with the fight against system defects. In contrast to this, the political activity of those who were self-supporting in handicrafts, trade and industry is much more strongly oriented towards their own interests, which explains their dominant role in community politics. Naturally, officials and employees within the administration and industry still internalise the value system of the bureaucracy and the free enterprise to too great an extent to allow them to join initiative groups which criticise the system.

On the one hand, the fact that they are largely refused ascent to a carefree 'middle class' level despite the improvement in their standard of living has an inhibiting effect on the involvement of the workers (and employees) in citizens' initiative. Through this, however, they lack a decisive prerequisite for that autonomy of conduct which enables readiness for opposition and conflict. Members of the lower class can, indeed, experience individual stability which enables them to reach beyond their own problem horizon (structural and altruistic involvement) by participating in self-help actions with their primarily affective-emotional approach. Guaranteed income (not completely swallowed by costs of reproducing the labour power) better schooling (which would

facilitate the cognitive approach to social problems), a greater share in decisionmaking at work (which would relieve the dulling effect of the work) would, however, have to be added as elementary requirements for a stronger democratic involvement of the worker. On the other hand, it appears that the collective experiences which are constructive for the working class and which take the place of individual civil independence must still be made primarily in the areas of production. Participation in citizen initiatives - indeed, the mere example of successful protest movements in the area of reproduction - can, however, have a stimulating effect on this process. Look, for example, at the relationship between what happened in Paris, May 1968, and the occupation of factories in France. Or look at the imitation of student protest forms in the September strikes of 1969 in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Concerning the change of late-capitalistic industrial society, one might, at the moment, speak of a division of labour determined by class status but which cannot possibly be abolished: while 'the intermediate classes - especially the intellectuals, the teachers, those employed in public service, the employees, indeed even many technicians and engineers' (E. Mandel) - criticise the neglect of common obligations and present alternatives; massworker-mobilisation would have to strive for that public control of production and distribution of public wealth which enables realisation of this alternative better life, also in financial respects.

#### 4. Reflection of the Conflict in the Subject, and the Objective Relevance of the Conflict for the System as a Whole

Changes in society have mostly taken place through the application of social pressure. As with resistance actions the readiness to suffer is essential to their success, so with citizens' initiative the readiness for conflict with state, political parties, and administration is essential to their success.

Subjectively, conflict intensity will be measured by how much the citizen takes a risk to existence through participation in initiatives. The question is how many segments of the entire role will be involved in the conflict. Here also the degree of readiness to take a risk will be a function of learning experience (see above). The subjective assessment of conflict intensity may well differ from the objective meaning of the conflict for the social surroundings. Participation on the edge of a socially highly explosive field of conflict (e.g. participation in a demonstration against property speculation) can subjectively be experienced as less risky than highly engaged participation in a conflict of little social significance (e.g. involvement in a citizens' initiative against the changing of street names). Both of these aspects of conflict experience must be taken into con-

sideration in a didactics of the conflict.

The transparency of the conflict and the access to it for those involved, as well as for those outside, is important for the transforming effect of citizens' initiatives upon the participants and upon the opposition addressed. The spectrum ranges from slight accessibility/intransigence of the conflict (interweaving of impenetrable interests, power asymmetry, apparent or actual obligation to fact) to unproblematic accessibility/evidence (direct recognition of the problem, argumentative impact, good prospects of success). In the course of citizens' initiatives, intransigence can be modified to the didactically formed evidence under certain circumstances. This is clear from the three drafts of cases following.

### I. Intransigence of the Conflict

#### Stuttgart-West: A City Area Comes Under the Hammer

Stuttgart-West, residential quarter from the time of Stuttgart's founding, is presently being swallowed up by the city: industrial and administrative buildings are replacing the residences. Many tenants have already had to leave their homes or have been given notice.

- a) 'Where 500 people live, 1500 could work'. The decisions of the administration pave the way for restructuring. Projected building plans indicate that Stuttgart-West will become an industrial and administrative area.
- b) 'The claims are demarcated'. The restructuring will be pushed on, but by the economically interested who buy and tear up whole housing blocks. The strategy:
  - 'We had only one choice: either to take the 1400 employed workers out of the city, or in this way enlarge our area'. The threat of loss of trade taxes forces the city administration to go along with the plan.
  - 'We want to create a generously laid-out, experimental kindergarten'. Open conflicts are avoided through deceptive compromises.
  - 'We have gotten the tenants out unexpectedly fast'. 'Here and there a few old people are still living in the houses we bought. That problem will solve itself'. The long-term possibilities of industry override the shorter perseverance of the citizens who must secure their elementary needs for living.

The hand-in-hand game of the city administration and industry presents the citizen with a two-front war, makes alliances impossible, and leaves him unable even to contact the decision level on which the planning takes place.

A citizens' initiative which attempts to check the development in Stuttgart-West can count on the indignation and sup-

port of many citizens. (3500 signatures have been collected.) They will not, however, succeed in carrying through their demands against administration and industry:

- We want to remain in Stuttgart-West.
- Considering the lack of 19000 welfare apartments in Stuttgart, it is an irresponsible act to tear up well-preserved housing.

At best, the citizens can succeed in forcing industry to carry out its plans more carefully and in obligating the administration to ease the hardships by providing housing. But the fact remains: the breaking up of Stuttgart-West will not be stopped.

## II. Evidence of the Conflict

Frankfurt: Parents' Initiative: 'Change the School - Now!'

For 5 to 10 year old children the government spends only one third of the funds it appropriates for the education of 15 to 19 year olds. As a result there are unbearable conditions in the elementary schools: an average of 40 children per class, a lack of teaching equipment, and too small and unsuitable classrooms. The status of the school problems in local election campaigns is not to be overlooked: the deplorable state of affairs is clearly known to numerous parents and those responsible for these problems. Nonetheless: for 20 years reforms have been demanded, but in vain. Lamé excuses and arguments: no money, no teachers, no classrooms. Dramatisation of the school problems through parents' initiative:

- Clear demands upon the responsible parties, combined with threats and challenges.
- Temporary refusal of enrollment of the children in schools responsible.
- Public demonstrations with children in the city center at rush hours (before elections!)

First reactions of those responsible: unsure, positive, but evasive and diverting.

- The Ministry of Education: 'The Hessian regional government was and is continually striving to improve the schools, not just to change them. All improvements are possible, however, only within the framework of reality.'
- City Board of Education: The department supports fully the demands of the citizens' initiative and promises to provide the necessary classrooms.

Reactions after intensified pressure, after ultimate demands for the hiring of professionals who were not at that time teaching in the schools (as temporary immediate measures),



accompanied with an appeal of the parents to such professionals:

- Surprisingly unbureaucratic hiring, which required months of red tape beforehand.
- Attempt of the city's Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) to put forward the parents' programme as their own political programme.
- The support of the citizens's initiative through the 'Action small class': Granting of money, large-scale publicity campaigns etc.

Success: 357 applicants were immediately added to the teaching staffs. As a result there was a remarkably lower number of pupils per class in the first classes at the beginning of the 1970 school year in Frankfurt (1/3 of the classes had fewer than 25).

### III. Didactically Produced Evidence of the Conflict Rotterdam, Het Oude Westen: Total Reconstruction

Het Oude Westen, a quarter near Rotterdam City Centre, most of whose buildings were erected between 1890 and 1910, was threatened with a total reconstruction that, at the same time, was marked out for a functional transformation of the area from a mainly residential area into an administrative, office and business area as well as an entertainment centre. The official reconstruction plan scheduled medium-term a demolition of 10% of the housing (those determined to be in poorest condition); only casually is the functional transformation mentioned. The clarity of the problem became lost for the inhabitants through the medium-to long-range planning. The full significance was found out only indirectly; the local press, politicians, experts, and district councillors expressed moderate criticism.

As soon as those affected begin to grasp the inadequacy of the situation, access to the planning problem is opened. The picture: bad financial situation of the quarter, inadequate housing quality, very bad street paving, unfavourable traffic situation, lack of playgrounds, and rat plague.

The cooperation of Community Organisers with architects enables the development of alternative plans for the community planning. The citizens are deliberately confronted with these problems at quarter meetings. (This would be an introduction of an organised learning process for the broadening of the awareness of the interests involved in the planning.)

Around this very subject of skipping the interests directly vital to the inhabitants, the group problems crystallise later. The expansion of the theme, necessary when dealing with the administration, leads to the destruction of the original core group (mainly housewives and workers). Certain

tendencies towards bureaucracy appear. The activity of the action group is directed by the intellectuals. Only through a pointed and planned information and communications policy (quarterly newspaper, quarterly meetings, street committees, personal connexions of group members) and through differentiation of the formulation of the task suitable to the varying interests within the group can feedback on the needs of the affected populace be partially restored.

## 5. Citizens' Initiative an Institution

The following question remains open: how can the advantages of coordinated dramatising groups be combined with the advantage of increased ability to succeed offered by socially accepted participation systems which participate in the power market? Within the broad spectrum of the actions and activities, we distinguish transitions from coordinated to institutionalised forms. The handicap, which becomes more prominent with increasing institutionalisation, lies in the danger of integration, of being absorbed into the 'marketing strategy' of organisations. A demoscopic participation, then, very quickly allows early recognition of conflict material and the means of avoiding it. On the other hand, of course, the ability to sanction initiatives grows with institutionalisation (for example, the possibility to enforce rights granted). Modelwise, steps of the institutionalisation can be discerned.

### I. Sporadic Action as Confrontation with the City Administration: Occupation of Houses in Frankfurt-Westend

At first the problem is dramatised by a sporadic action deliberately intended to violate the rules. (Problem: Real estate speculation - more profitable use of sites close to the city through the construction of 16 to 20-storied office-buildings is possible only after a permit to demolish the existing housing is obtained through the municipality. Therefore, houses which are intact are deliberately neglected.) In a nocturnal action the vacant house in Eppsteiner Straße No 47 was occupied. The rooms were repapered and the fence painted. A fir tree was planted in the garden. The occupation aroused a wave of solidarity (neighbours sent furniture, money and plum cake), which, for the first time, seriously threatened to embarrass the so-called 'speculators-mafia' in what was formerly the most exclusive area.

At the same time the news of this action was transmitted via journalistic media, which clearly tended to support these actions. This is a matter of a 'democratic' transmission: it is not a reactive ex post report from the point of view of the administration and police, but a constitutional part of the action itself. The effect: quick informing of a broad public,

initiation of further occupation of houses (chain reaction) in the entire federal territory, functioning to reinforce the action itself.

The possibility follows: legal institutionalisation of the innovative impulse (reform of legal means against the misuse of housing space (municipal council), renovation of the law (Land, Federal Republic).

February 1, 1972: decree concerning the misuse of housing space. May 15, 1972: decisions concerning the implementation of a resolution by the municipal council:

- If housing space is misused, a settlement sum is demanded (for example, the document concerning this social issue demands the sum of DM 1500 per square metre. An estate under question on the Bockenheimer Landstraße would have yielded DM 4.000.000 ). However in negotiations the town-council has not agreed on a fixed sum.
- Persecution of rent-profiteers is intensified.
- Foreign workers without residence permits shall not be deported if they instigate litigation against rent profiteering.
- A cover organisation was founded to head the individual occupying groups: 'Red Aid, Council for the Houses Occupied'.

Interim results: Regional transcendence of the capitalistic organisation of social conditions, rather an approximation of social justice in a municipal region.

A spontaneous, informal, principally independent group; voluntary participation dependent on the degree of involvement (motivation) and social level. But: problem of contingency, instability, and a lack of certainty in the possibilities of achieving goals.

## II. Apprentices in Essen: Support Through Power-Holders

An informal working group (WG) of industrial and mercantile apprentices formed in Essen in 1968 has succeeded in combining the advantages of coordinated action of initiative groups with the institutional possibilities of power-holders (churches, trade unions). Their aim is the improvement of professional training. Through sampling, the WG sheds light on unbelievable grievances in the field of professional training, which it reports to the public. The firms concerned react sharply. Thus arise lawsuits for a number of apprentices.

- The WG largely succeeds in proving its charges and on the court record disproving the defamation raised by

- the firms and boards.
- Through public action and through information passed to the industrial inspection board, firms are forced to deal with grievances. Other firms follow voluntarily.
- The actions have considerable influence in changing the awareness to those problems in the Federal Republic of Germany.
- All court judgements are requested by a Federal Ministry at the Superior Court in Essen. The material collected by the WG is to form the basis of a professional training reform. There are points listed in the 'Action Program of Professional Training' of the Federal Government (December 1970) which would be unthinkable had it not been for the fight of the apprentices.

The positive attitude of the trade unions towards the action means considerable legal protection and has a considerable bearing on the success.

This relative integration of the action within an institution does not mean an acceptance of the original core group: On the occasion of an action against a retail firm (owner: a member of the provincial legislature representing the Social Democratic Party of Germany) the trade union members were bound through institutional loyalty, whereas the independent apprentice groups could approach the object conflict from the outside. At the same time an impulse for reform was brought into the institution by the extra-institutional activity of apprentices (making stricter standards, initiations of more productive debates over goals).

Advantages of a spontaneous informal group are reinforced by measures of an established authority. Independence can be fairly well preserved.

### III. Community Organization (C-O) in Munich: Actions Initiated by Institutions

Since the beginning of 1970 a C-O-team has been working in Hasenberg1-Nord in an accomodation area for 2 700 homeless persons (temporary supporters: Caritas and Victor-Gollancz foundation). Differing from the method of case work, the C-O uses the method of social group work and social action in (mainly) geographic units (Communities) as work areas.

The goal of the teamwork in Hasenberg1:

- To change the social group (homeless persons without influence upon political, economic or local events); i.e. to awake in them a common problem consciousness and to show the real manifestation and consequences of minor contradictions of a capitalistic society, to illuminate social backgrounds, to develop common per-

spectives and strategies of social changes, and to solve problems through the common actions of those involved (reduction of the pressure situation).

- To enable the social group to go beyond the requirements of social-political engagement to a self-reliant maintenance of their interests and to participation in political decision-making processes as a step towards emancipation.

This concept of a catalytic C-O differs from the pluralistic harmony-concept (cooperation, arbitration) taken from traditional US social work, since it is aimed at a change in the power-balance and redistribution of power through initiation of social action among disadvantaged persons having solidarity. It is an institutionally supported organisational attempt, related to the cause of the problems, which intends to develop and apply methods which will eliminate or change conditions (of the system).

Independent of chance spontaneity through planned stimulation. Self-reliance systematically built up. Stabilising an informal, low-conflict and weakly-motivated group outwardly and inwardly directed through social group work. The risk of institutional care and control and therewith integration, prevention of a conflict struggle.

#### IV. Planning Cell: Institutionalisation of Participation

Participation models which break through the traditional participation forms and do not leave the individual participation to spontaneous pressure from below, but which institutionalise the participation, are principally being suggested and realised in the area of planning.

One model of citizen participation in the planning process has been submitted by P. Dienel. To be assured of realisation, this model certainly requires complete reinforcement through law. Actually Dienel does not consider his model utopian, since in the long run, planning decisions, without the public functioning as idea-bearer, can no longer be efficient. (The state building promotion law may be counted as a step in this direction.)

The planning cell represents a use of project-oriented, group-internal learning process for the purpose of planning. In order to remove the grip of certain interests from the institutionalised participation (of the 400 property owners in the basic assembly of the Düsseldorf citizens' forum, there were 200 architects and designers alone), the planning cell should be occupied by a representative sampling of the population. A lawful 'planning vacation' ensures participation of those chosen. Experience with groups engaged today in planning processes indicates that it is possible to pro-

duce interest and involvement in participants. Being informed is a function of participation, according to Dienel.

Apart from the difficulties of realising the model, the danger of a stabilizing absorption of conflict material through pseudo-participation cannot be denied. So long as the possibilities of carrying through the models formulated by the planning cells remain unclear, it is hard to estimate if basic activity is not merely exploited as a pool of ideas with simultaneous disciplining of resistance (namely by restoring a vent function on the planning cells).

No spontaneous personal initiative, duty instead of a voluntary attitude, advantages of the systematic (methodical) development of competence and legally sound citizen participation, danger of the disparate group which is fully integrated into the authority. Motivation, preparedness produceable?

From the attempt advanced here to categorise citizens' initiatives according to cognitive points of views, a two-fold consequence results:

First, the analytical viewpoints specified (conflict aspect, degree of transparency, degree of institutionalisation, level analysis etc.) have to be combined in a multifactor analysis model which alone can claim to represent the complex social reality fairly adequately.

Second, the different aspects of the participation conditions can only be considered from a multi-disciplinary approach.

For the cognitive aspect of citizen's initiative, the latest mass-media effectiveness research can give valuable hints. Stimulus-response learning theory and the behavioural theory based on it offer transferrable approaches to understanding motivational processes. The results of communications theory explain generalisable patterns of intragroup processes: Organisation sociology furnishes the analysis of conditions for success in the goal systems to which the citizens' initiatives apply. More recent city sociology (H.P. Bahrdt, A. Mitscherlich, J. Jacobs) has introduced public models which should be taken note of for the development of a praxeology of participation with democratic basis, even if these need critical revision.

## 6. Summary & Conclusions

If one regards peace as something positive, viewing it from the postulate of social justice, then peace research does more than just obey preventive demands for models for regulating conflicts within the general framework of governmental crisis management. Rather it defines itself positively as a society-orientated theory of development with the praxe-

ological aim of a new science of planning relevant to domestic politics. It studies the individual and institutional conditions of political socialisation, develops models for various stages of learning, and works out conflict-activating action plans for specific social institutions. If one now specifies the postulated universals of positive peace (= social justice = equal distribution of power and resources) in regard to the concrete, everyday problems of a welfare state, then the positive definition of the aim of peace can be brought to a point in the multidimensional complex of tasks involved in political participation: the equal share in all public and non-public decision-making, as well as full participation in the material and non-material resources of society.

Practical instrumentation of this program needs detailed empirical case-studies, some of which are presented as abstracts in the article. As a result we can recognise different qualities of involvement (merely emotional, cognitive etc.) dependent on class membership and socialisation much more than on individual character.

As for the system-transforming effect of citizen's initiatives it can be said: (a) If the recreation sphere is the place where, as social compensation, amends are made for lack of chances to participate in the production sphere in order to secure mass loyalty and thus to make the system crisis-proof, then experiencing involvement within this sphere must affect the whole system. And (b) this politicising is a process that comes about through various stages of learning. It is not in the production sphere but in the reproduction sphere that areas of conflicts and actions can be opened up, areas in which the citizen can become involved without exposing himself to a direct threat to his existence.

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