

Political Education in the Federal Republic of Germany:
A Comparative Historical Analysis of Political Lessons
in German Lower-Secondary Education, 1945-2019



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Abstract

This thesis explores the institutional development of political education policy in the Federal Republic of Germany between 1945-2019. Following Roberts' (2002) analysis of political education in lower-secondary schools across the Federal Republic of Germany, the institutional arrangement was recreated by the Allied forces at the end of World War II, and further changed based on education trends such as the "1968 movement" at the 1960's, and an international comparative stage at the late 1990's. Conflicting accounts appear in the literature about the contribution of the Allied forces (Hahn, 1998; Robinsohn and Kulmann, 1967), however new data on the individual efforts of the American, British and French forces during the occupation period (Gehrz, 2002) serve as a basis to evaluate these accounts through a comparative historical analysis across member states. Using an actor-centred functionalist account of historical institutionalism literature, three hypotheses are considered (1) the institutional arrangement persisted until present days (path dependence, Capoccia, 2015); (2) the institutional arrangement was changed based on political affiliation modifications to the institutional coalition (gradual institutional change, Mahoney and Thelen, 2010); (3) the institutional arrangement was changed based on normative modifications to the institutional coalition (ideational institutional change, Blyth, 2002).

Tracing the curricular development of political lessons during the occupation period and the policy changes until present days, this thesis finds that the political education policy created by the Western allies persisted until the end of the 1960's, and further developed due to an ideational institutional change. The "1968 movement" at the late 1960's and 1970's, and the international comparative stage at the late 1990's were central to the curricular development.

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This thesis is presented in the middle of what is hopefully a long journey of enlightenment, self-knowledge, and study of the mechanisms underlying our civilization. The journey did not begin with the desire to investigate the power of sovereign states to manipulate political attitudes and behaviour, nor does it end with the submission of this academic endeavour on the development of educational institutions as a socialisation mechanism for the consideration of the highly respected scholars at the examination board of the University of Oxford.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

The first chapter serves as an introduction to the thesis, explaining the reasons for the selection of the research topic and research question. Background details serve to elucidate the research puzzle, surrounding the creation and development of political education policy in Germany after World War II. Following the literature review, the argument presents the research question, explanatory and dependent variables, and the three hypotheses of institutional development. This is followed by a passage on research limitations, and the layout of the thesis.

Background

The Federal Republic of Germany is considered to be a vibrant democracy, classified as a full democracy in the Economist Intelligence Unit's Democracy Index (2017). As a federation consisting of sixteen member states, Germany has a constitution and a system of checks and balances, separating between the executive, legislative and judicial branches. Its legislative branch has a bicameral parliament comprising of an upper Federal Council (Bundesrat) and a lower Federal Diet (Bundestag) (The World Factbook 2016-17, 2019) and its judicial branch is known to be independent and politically active through the exercise of “Judicial Activism” (Wallach, 1991). From a human rights perspective, the latest Freedom House “Freedom in the World” Index (2018) rates Germany with the highest mark on Freedom Rating, political rights, and civil rights, with an aggregated score of 94/100.

However, Germany did not always follow a democratic path in a substantive manner. The “German Empire” was established in 1871 after the unification of German-speaking political units in central Europe and was one of the most progressive countries at the time. Yet despite the adoption of a constitution and granting universal male suffrage, it maintained an authoritarian and nationalistic political culture (Anderson, 2000). Following these notions,

Germany participated in World War I¹ as part of the Central Powers, against the British Empire, France, United States of America and Russia (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2019g). The post-war efforts to create a more democratic political system in Germany through the establishment of the Weimar Republic in 1919, amendment of the constitution and granting universal suffrage, did not limit its imperialist desires, and under the National-Socialist regime it participated in World War II² as part of the Axis Powers, again against the UK, France, USA and the Soviet Union (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2019h, Gehrz, 2002).

At the end of WWII Germany followed a different path. With the Allied victory against Nazi Germany, it was divided into the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) and the German Democratic Republic (East Germany), under the influence of the American, British, French, and the Russian forces respectively. The Federal Republic of Germany went through a major transition to democracy, nurturing a democratic political culture and becoming one of the main benefactors of democracy worldwide - even after reunification with the German Democratic Republic in 1990. An explanation for this phenomenon is given by Gehrz (2002, page 45), arguing that the Allies found the solution for the “war of ideology against National Socialism and Fascism” in the unconditional surrender of the National Socialist government, and a deep socio-cultural intervention through an occupation period, focusing also on education policy. Looking at the failed attempt at the end of WWI, the Allies assessed that a legal-political change would not suffice to induce change, and envisioned a mechanism of educational denazification and democratisation in order to re-educate the citizens of the Third Reich.

Considering the role of education in the cultivation of political behaviour, Popkewitz (1991, 13) claims that schools are “the primary institution for establishing direction, purpose, and will in society”. The schooling process, that is the transfer of knowledge, includes developing the

¹ From now on referred to as “WWI”.

² From now on referred to as “WWII”.

cognition and motivation for political, cultural and economic traits that correspond with the processes of the modern state. Scholars in the fields of political science as well as education describe similar mechanisms that position education as central to the creation of a political behaviour. Political scientists such as Dalton and Klingemann (2007) explain that a political culture is the main condition to explain political behaviour. Fuchs (2007), elaborates on the political culture paradigm and determines that the political elite uses the education system as a socialisation agent, formulating the desired civic values and instilling them into the young citizens through “schoolbooks, curricula, or related texts” (180). Sociologists such as Foucault (1982) present a similar educational account, focusing on techniques of power used for the shaping of political attitudes and behaviour. He argues that the political elite articulates the desired social and structural relations within a society, in order to create a mechanism of subjection, and transmits those values through the education system.

Based on these accounts, one may infer that conventionally the political elite diffuses the values of a society through the education system, but at the end of WWII this mechanism was exploited: the Allied forces redefined the values of the German society, and used political education to influence the political elite. This manipulation serves as a basis to investigate the institutional development of political education in Germany after WWII, and the influence of the exogenous intervention made by the Western Allies on the current political education policy across member states in Germany.

Research Puzzle

The purpose of this thesis is to analyse the development of political education policy in the Federal Republic of Germany after WWII, emerging after the end of the National-Socialist era and with the beginning of the occupation period under American, British and French forces. The academic literature presents conflicting accounts of the influence of the Western Allies on

the institutionalisation of education policy across member states in German, such as in the case of political education lessons. Political lessons, as a form of political education policy in schools, became mandatory in Germany at the end of WWI. Roberts (2002) reviews the development of political education lessons since the establishment of the Weimar Republic in his article “Political Education in Germany”, and states that at this early stage the Study of Citizenship (“Staatbürgerkunde”) was a tool employed to socialise the people, but not devised in order to develop a democratic political culture. Furthermore, during the National Socialist era the target of this lesson was to produce “loyal and committed citizens for the Third Reich” (556). He claims it was the educational reforms enacted by the Allies that led to a true manifestation of democratic content and to a meaningful change. The planning of the German educational revolution started several years before the end of the war, and was executed individually by each of the Allies during the occupation period. The Potsdam Agreement in 1945 marked the beginning of the reform and the Allies joined forces in order to provide new guidelines for the education policy. However, in each of the member states another variation of political education lessons evolved.

Notwithstanding the foregoing, the contribution of the Allies is not unanimously acknowledged by the scholarship. Robinsohn and Kulmann (1967) argue that the Allies were not responsible for the creation of the new political education policy. Although not focusing on political lessons, the authors claim that at the end of the National Socialist period the German leadership returned to the old German traditions and restored the status-quo before Hitler’s rise. They acknowledge the connection between the Allies and the member states, and explain that blueprints for reforms were created under their control across member states, but those were abandoned due to the quick establishment of the Federal state, and realisation of “the futility of re-education dictated from outside” (313). They claim that internal politics were the main factor explaining the development of political education at the end of World War II. The

Christian Democratic Union (CDU) supported a conservative education policy and looked back into German history for preserving the status-quo, whereas the Social-Democratic Party (SPD) wanted to produce an educational reform, in accordance with the intentions of the Allies. Hahn (1998) contradicts this argument in his book “Education and Society in Germany”, and makes an ample attempt to explain the extent of the contribution made by the Western Allies to the democratisation of political education in Germany. He claims that the consensus against the success of the Allies is not justified, and is based on high expectations for institutional change, and on the direction and degree of change that occurred in East-Germany (91). Examining the change of the political culture, he ascertains that Germany has developed a pluralistic political culture based on the efforts of the Western Allies.

A recent account of the reforms conducted by the Allied forces in West Germany shed light on their efforts and impact on the development of the political education policy. Gehrz (2002, 78) explains that each of the Allies, although in consensus about the importance of educational reforms for denazification and democratisation purposes, had different philosophy and implementation strategies. The American forces focused on the immediate need of a “psychological disarmament” and a long-term solution against German aggression (78). They maintained an indirect control, and were involved mostly with politicians and senior officials, lobbying Ministries of Education to generate reform (223). The British forces believed that the Germans must be those who establish the new reforms without the Allies forcing them down their throats and took an even less direct strategy (69-70). They maintained contact with lower-ranking officials, school inspectors, principals and teachers (223). The French on the other hand only started planning for the occupation at the end of 1944, more than three years after their counterparts, and sought to punish the German people for the horrors of World War II, making them understand that war does not pay (97-98). They maintained a direct control, perceiving the German zones as colonies. The Allies participated in joint meetings and

discussed the education policy, as well as signed joint decrees, however the different interests led to a unique development of political education policy in each zone and member state, including the curriculum of political lessons.

Moreover, Roberts (2002) claims that the political lessons went through a period of change in the 1970's as part of an educational trend across member states in Germany, based on a student movement. The "1968 movement", associated with "left-wing, anti-authoritarian, educationalists", demanded a more emancipatory education, the removal of non-democratic elements from the system, and a stronger thematical confrontation with Germany's past, such as the collapse of democracy with the rise of Hitler, and the genocide of the Holocaust (560). The effect of this trend continued after the reunification of Germany in 1990, and penetrated the new member states of the former East Germany. These were socialised previously under a soviet sphere of influence, and developed an anti-fascist and socialist political culture that is not necessarily democratic. Towards the end of the millennium, international alternations led to another period of change in the 1990's where new economic, political and social challenges created a need of furthering political education on themes such as immigration, unemployment and extremism (562).

Hahn (1998) refers to the educational trend following the "1968 movement" and considers it as an outcome of the initial reform made by the Allies. After WWII "Germany has developed a pluralist and tolerant response to political and public pressures and, especially amongst its younger generation, produced a protest culture which, in general, has been beneficial to the nation's social and political life (91)." Nonetheless, he claims the trend was also supported by other mechanisms, such as Federal-level politics, and the foundation of a grand coalition in 1967 in Bonn (with CDU and SPD members of coalition). Furthermore, he ascertains that other international actors such as UNESCO, OECD, or the EU impact the political education policy.

In summary, a debate exists about the influence of the educational reforms conducted by the Western Allies in the Federal Republic of Germany at the occupation period on the creation of the initial political education policy across member states in Germany, and the development of the policy. Accounts of educational trends are given during two periods of time: the late 1960's and 1970's based on the "1968 student movement", and the late 1990's due to an international phase. Gehrz (2002) recent account of the allied activities lead to new insights on the creation of the initial policy, and serve as a basis for a comparative historical analysis across space.

Literature Review

Historical Institutionalism

The academic literature on institutional development includes three schools of thought: rational choice institutionalism, sociological institutionalism, and historical institutionalism. Fioretos, Falleti, and Sheingate (2016) conceptualise these theories based on two axes: actors- or structure-based, and resources- or idea-based. Rational choice institutionalism focuses on the interests of actors in the creation of institutional arrangements.³ According to Shepsle (1981), this theory considers institutions as an equilibrium of goal-oriented actors that are interested in maximising their benefits from a new institution. Actors will chose an alternative which allocates the most resources. Sociological institutionalism is tracking the cognitive factors that influence group dynamics in the institutional formation. Powell (1991) claims that institutions codify a behaviour prevalent within society, which is then self-reproduced. Political actors are influenced by ideas - norms, roles and reputations, that lead to power and legitimacy relations and determine the institutional arrangement. Historical institutionalism, on the other hand, focuses not only on the decision-making pattern within the moment of change, but also on

³ Defined as "the policies, practices and systems that allow for effective functioning of an organization or group. These may include 'hard' rules such as laws or the terms of a contract, or 'soft' rules like codes of conduct or generally accepted values" (United Nations Development Programme, 2009, 13).

previous events and sequences leading to the decision. Hall and Tylor (1996) explain that historical institutionalism includes a trade-off analysis of interests and resources like the rational-choice theory, as well as the cultural perspective of the sociological theory, but traces the causal mechanism through which events and sequences impact the actors and preferences in the creation of the initial policy. Historical institutionalism, an actor-centred functionalist approach (Pierson, 2004), is separated from other theories as it considers institutions not only to reflect the coalition of actors and their interests, but also to explain the coalition formation and the preferences of actors (Katznelson, 2003).

Approaches of Exogenous Institutional Change - Path Dependence

Historical institutionalism considers institutional arrangement to be related to an event, usually exogenous in nature, that has a long-standing influence on the creation and development of a policy. Capoccia (2015) considers this “critical juncture” as a short phase of fluidity and change, in which the circumstances created by the exogenous shock lead to a period where actors can recreate or develop an institution. The actors decide upon an institutional design, divergent from former trajectories, and march on a new pathway. It could be self-reinforcing through positive feedback, leading to “path-dependence”. Three approaches explain the causal power of critical junctures. Capoccia (2016) considers the first approach as focusing on antecedent structural conditions; the socio-economic conditions, class and social alliances, and cultural orientation that lead to the individual interpretation of the exogenous shock in the specific case study. The conditions diverge and lead to the development of a new policy. Slater and Simmons (2010) explain that these conditions, together with the choice of actors based on the events within the causal mechanism, lead to the institutional arrangement. Soifer (2012) discusses the difference between permissive and productive conditions that lead to path dependence: permissive conditions appear when institutional or structural constraints are loose

and provide the temporal bounds of critical, and productive conditions are contextual conditions that shape the initial outcomes which are reproduced. The second approach examines the influence of agency on institutional formation. The possible alternatives and the dynamic of power and legitimacy lead to the choice of institutional arrangement. This approach focuses on contingency and requires an in-depth understanding of the background conditions and key decisions made during the critical juncture (Capoccia, 2016). The third approach is concentrated with the creation of new interpretation. Blyth (2002) explains that in a critical juncture, actors develop a new idea and lobby among other actors. When enough actors agree on a new way to solve the challenge, they act collectively to develop a new policy. According to this approach, interests of actors are not specific based on structural conditions, but are socially constructed. Collective action by the coalition of actors leads to the promotion and convergence of ideas to solve the problem developed by the exogenous shock, and seeks to bring more social groups to support the idea, making compromises on their own interests.

Critical junctures lead to long-term influence on policies, as they exert not only direct influence, but also a distal influence. Hall (2016) considers four mechanisms to sustain coalitions and lead to path-dependence: The first mechanism is the benefits that actors receive from the institutional arrangement. Pierson (2004) argues that actors may see benefits as entitlements, leading to changes in worldview and have long-term influences on institutions. Based on the argument made by Kahneman and Tversky (1979), people give more weight to current benefits and possible future benefits, and actors are unwilling to change as it may losing something they already have. The second mechanism is the level of uncertainty on the indirect outcomes of policy change. Actors are not able to calculate the impact of policy change across time on themselves, the institution, or other institutions, and therefore prefer to maintain the current policy. The third mechanism is the distribution of power. Decision makers have the power to decide about the preferences, the agenda, and the distribution of resources. Changes

to the arrangement may affect the legitimacy or the resources each of the actors in the coalition receives. The fourth mechanism is the coordination effect of the institution. Institutions make investments in order to support policy goals, and changing the policy may be costly, leading actors to coordinate and support the same institutional arrangement.

Approaches of Endogenous Institutional Change - Gradual and Ideational Institutionalism

Historical institutionalism considers institutions as developing due to exogenous shocks, where path-dependence does not consider incremental and endogenous factors as leading to divergent political outcomes. However, in some cases policy “gaps” appear between the “intended” policy design and implemented design. Pierson (2004) determines these changes could happen due to several reasons: the first reason is limitations of institutional design. Actors who decide upon an institutional arrangement cannot calculate indirect influence of the policy. The second reason is political compromise. Actors must cooperate in a coalition when choosing a policy, leading to a chosen pathway that does not adhere to all preferences. The third reason is dynamics of legitimacy and power. Some actors in the institutions are not part of the “winning” coalition and do not benefit as much as other actors. They continue to challenge the institution and receive a larger part of the rent. The fourth reason is contextual changes. Across time, new interpretations to the institutional process appear that are based on different values, leading to institutional change (Thelen and Conran, 2016).

Approaches of endogenous institutional change follow similar mechanisms that were suggested by Capoccia (2016) to be endogenous manifestation of the exogenous shock, but also relate to changes to the coalition, either in terms of power and legitimacy (political change) or the norms underpinning the actors. The first approach is gradual institutionalism. Presented by Mahoney and Thelen (2010), it perceives institutions as the outcome of power-structure among actors and based on their distributional interests. When the political balance-of-power

within the group coalition changes, either due to modifications to the actors, environmental conditions, or resource allocations, institutional change is possible. The second approach of institutional change is described as an ideational change. Blyth (2002) explains that a new policy can be promoted by actors in the coalition, such as international agencies, academics, ministry employees, politicians, or lobby group. When actors in the coalition support the new interpretation, a new policy is possible. The approach varies from gradual change as it does not consider changes to power or dynamics of actors as leading to change, but rather the interpretation of the arrangement by the same actors in the coalition.

Argument

This thesis investigates the institutional development of political education in Germany after World War II, and the influence of the exogenous intervention made by the Western Allies on the current political education policy across states in Germany.

The research question of this thesis is:

Q1: “What explains the variation in political education policy across member states in the Federal Republic of Germany between 1945 and present-day”?

The explanatory variables are the educational reforms in the occupation period between 1945-1955 by the Western Allies: The United States of America, France, and the United Kingdom.

The dependent variables are the curricula of political lessons in the member states of the Federal Republic of Germany between 1955-2019.

The hypotheses of this paper are:

H1: The exogenous intervention of the Western Allies explains the variation in political education policy across member states in the Federal Republic of Germany between 1945 and present-day.

This hypothesis is built on the accounts of Hahn (1998) and Roberts (2002), through which the Allied Forces led to the creation of a new institutional arrangement of political education policy after WWII. Capoccia's (2015) argument of "path-dependence" serves to explain variation in political education policy across time through self-reproduction.

H2: The political affiliation of the Ministries of Education explains the variation in political education policy across member states in the Federal Republic of Germany between 1945 and present-day.

This hypothesis is built on the Robinsohn and Kulmann (1967) account, that the Allied Forces did not create a new institutional arrangement of political education policy after WWII, but internal political concurrence. Furthermore, Hahn (1998) explains that educational trends in the late 1960's were supported by a political-coalition. Mahoney and Thelen (2010)'s argument of a "gradual institutional change" serves explain variation in political education policy across time through institutional change of the political coalition.

H3: The norms and values underpinning the institutions explain the variation in political education policy across member states in the Federal Republic of Germany between 1945 and present-day.

This hypothesis is built on the accounts of Hahn (1998) and Roberts (2002), through which the Allied Forces led to the creation of a new institutional arrangement of political education policy after WWII. Furthermore, Roberts (2002) considers changes to the political education policy made in the late 1960's and 1990's as related to educational trends, such as "1968 movement" and globalisation. Blyth (2002) argument of "ideational institutional change" serves to explain variation in political education policy across time through institutional change within the political coalition.

Limitations

Focusing on political education in schools, several debates exist among decision-makers and academics over the meaning of political education as a concept. According to Messerschmidt (1961), one perspective sees political education to be the principle behind every action within the school. This can be seen through the participation of students in teaching activities (for example, studying in a group), school life (student unions and representation), and in fact through the curricula of all subjects - as each subject is indeed related to texts. The other perspective considers political education to be a separate subject devoted to the creation of basic political knowledge, in order to prepare students to take an active role in political life. Moreover, political education is understood to include six key aspects: curriculum aims, organisation and structure; teaching and learning approaches; teacher specialisation and teacher training; use of textbooks and other resources; assessment arrangements; and current and future development (Kerr, 1999). In Germany, a tracking system also leads to variation based on school structures. Furthermore, Roberts (2002) explains that in Germany, lessons of Geography and History also have an effect on political education next to political lessons. This thesis focuses on political education as political lessons, disregarding History and Geography lessons. The political culture is directly acknowledged in political lessons, and only indirectly as

consequences of historical and geographical processes. Furthermore, the thesis tracks the curriculum aims, organisation and structure through the themes presented as part of the political lessons. Other factors, however valuable, relate more to pedagogy and less to the accumulated knowledge of the taught lessons.

Secondly, the research focuses on political education in West Germany, and not East Germany. It was a joint initiative of the Western Allies as well as the Soviet Union to re-educate the German people, however as Roberts (2002) claims, East Germany developed a more socialist manifestation of political education, not compatible with the notion of a democratic political culture. The political education policy in the German Democratic Republic was not examined since the reunification with the Federal Republic of Germany in 1990 led to the adoption of the political education policy of West Germany, based on a “sister-member state” model (Mr. A. Schmitz, Personal Communication, 13 December 2018).

Thirdly, the influence of the Western Allies is investigated through one case study per occupation zone, and not through the examination of all case studies in West Germany. An account of the administrative control in West Germany showed that only one member state originating from the French occupation zone maintained from the occupation period until present days, leading to the selection of one case study per zone approach, based on geographical and historical proximity.

Finally, more resources could have been used for the examination of the case studies. The extent of the research didn't permit the consideration of the educational legal basis known as School Legislation (Schulgesetze). In order to compensate for that, the regulations of the Ministry of Education in the member states (Amtblätter) were reviewed.

Layout of the thesis

Chapter two explains the methodology of the thesis. It presents the methodological framework, the case selection process, and the operationalisation of the variables and hypotheses. Comments on data collection also appear in this chapter.

The third chapter explains political education in Germany more profoundly. It includes the conceptualisation of the explanatory and dependent variables, presenting the political education reforms during the occupation period, the process of curricular development, the political affiliation of the Ministry of Education and the institutional coalition of the process.

Chapters four to six present the three case studies under scrutiny, Hesse (following the American pathway), North-Rhine Westphalia (following the British pathway) and Rhineland-Palatinate (following the French pathway). Each of the chapters presents the first curriculum of political lessons created under the supervision of the Allied forces, tracks the curricular change until present-day, and includes an analysis of the curricular development.

The seventh chapter concludes the thesis, presenting a general discussion and the key findings. The contribution to the academic knowledge is demonstrated and suggestions for further research are made.

Chapter 2. Theory

The second chapter explains the methodological part of the thesis. It includes information on case selection, the operationalisation of the explanatory and dependent variables and the various hypotheses. This is preceded by a passage on data collection of secondary and primary resources, and the use of field research to conduct archival research and interviews.

Methodology

With the intention to explore the relationship between the educational reform of the Allied forces in the Federal Republic of Germany and the institutional change and development of political education policy in the German member states, Mill's (1872) method of difference was followed. The analysis is conducted through a controlled comparison of cases with a similar background (Hall, 2003). A positivist approach was employed to examine the hypotheses through an objective analysis of the history, using a small-n analysis of three case studies, where each case study received a different treatment by each of the Western Allies (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). As accounts supporting the validity of the three hypotheses were found in the literature review, a problem-solving perspective is used to analyse the policy development independently (Shapiro, 2002). Considering the educational reform conducted during the occupation period as a "critical juncture" between the years 1945-1955, and the independent policy development as the period between the years 1955-2019, a process-tracing method was chosen as the framework for data analysis. According to Mahoney (2003), process-tracing identifies the causal mechanism linking between the explanatory variables and the dependent variables, tracing the causal inference through a careful consideration of the evidence and the link between events. Following Beach and Pederson's (2013) approach, process-tracing could explain a certain outcome, creating a minimal but sufficient account to answer the research puzzle engulfed in a historical account.

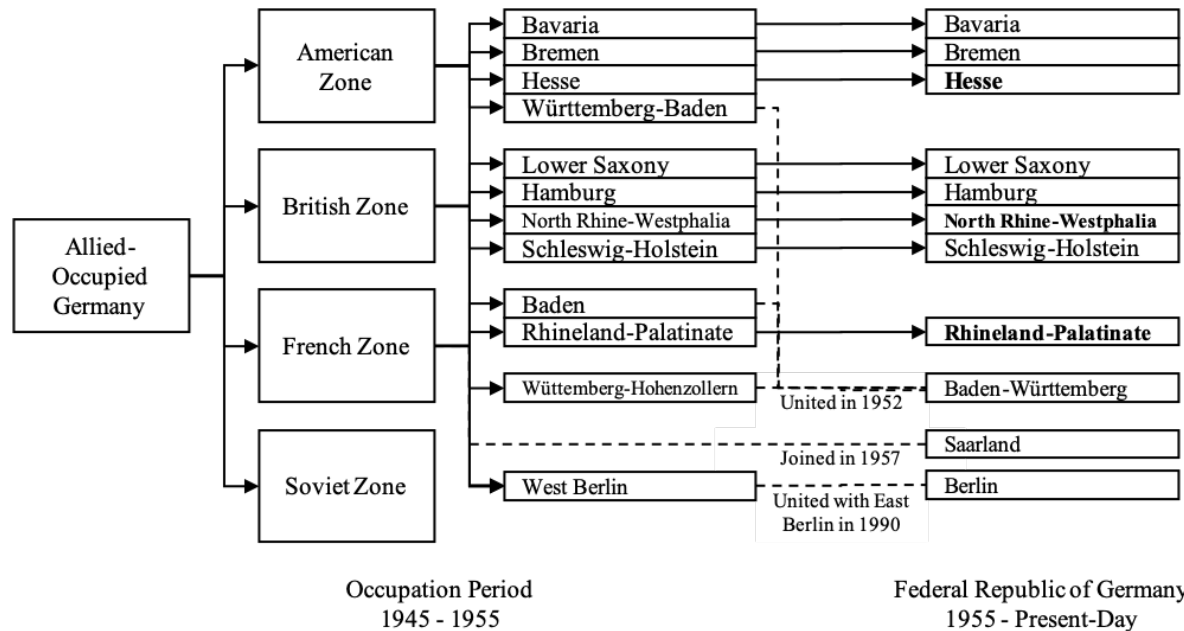
Case Selection

During the occupation of Germany at the end of World War II, Germany was stripped of all the areas it had annexed after 1938, and the remaining territory was divided into four zones: an American zone, a British zone, a French zone, and a Soviet zone. Apart from Berlin, which was divided between all of the Allies, each ally had direct control over its zone, which was divided into different regions (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2019c). The Western zones were comprised initially of eleven regions – later developing into the member states of the Federal Republic of Germany: The American zone included Bavaria, Bremen, Hessen, and Württemberg-Baden, the British zone was comprised of Lower Saxony, Hamburg, North-Rhine Westphalia, and Schleswig-Holstein. The French zone included Baden, Rhineland-Palatinate, and Württemberg-Hohenzollern. Over the years, some changes were made: in 1952 three member states united following a referendum: Württemberg-Baden, Baden, and Württemberg-Hohenzollern united under the chosen name Baden-Württemberg (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2019a). Moreover, in 1957 Saarland, which at the end of World War II became a protectorate of France, joined West-Germany as a member state (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2019f). Furthermore, after the unification of Germany, East and West Berlin united in 1990 to create Berlin, and the fourteen regions of East Germany were rearranged to establish five new member states: Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-West Pomerania, Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, and Thuringia (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2019d).

For the purpose of this research, a valid case study must be a member state that was under occupation in one of the three western territories and maintained its geographic continuity from the time of occupation to present-day. Therefore, the population of the research includes only eight member states: Bavaria, Bremen and Hesse originating in the American zone; Lower Saxony, Hamburg, North-Rhine Westphalia, and Schleswig-Holstein, which were under

British control; and Rhineland-Palatinate, which underwent French occupation. A graph with the member states of West Germany between the years 1945-2019 is presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1: The Member States of West Germany between 1945-2019



Source: Own Research

The sampling strategy follows the guidelines presented by Gerring and Seawright (2008), creating a representative sample which generates useful variation on the dependent variable. Three typical case-studies originating from a different zone of occupation were chosen, each representing the change in treatment in the critical juncture. As the French zone generated only one case study that withstood the conditions, the other two member states were chosen on the basis of geographical and historical proximity. The three case studies of this thesis are Hesse, under the occupation of American forces, North-Rhine Westphalia, from the British Zone, and Rhineland-Palatinate, which underwent French occupation. The sample is also a purposeful sample and a theoretical sample, since the case studies comprise the most productive sample with variation on the explanatory variable as well. (Marshall, 1996).

Operationalisation

Explanatory and Dependent Variables

Considering political education as a policy, the Western Allies invested many efforts in the denazification and democratisation of schools. Roberts (2002) suggests that the outcome of a political education policy is political lessons. In Germany, political lessons are mandatory for all students since the establishment of Weimar Republic, and at the end of World War II two out of the three member states under scrutiny also enacted the mandatory participation in political lessons as part of their constitution.⁴ Moreover, a valid dependent variable must be a political lesson in a school structure that exists from the occupation period in each of the three western territories. The Hauptschule and Gymnasium are found as relevant cases, but the research was limited to political lessons taught at the Hauptschule as it enrolled 65-70% of the student population after World War II and could better emphasise the education of the masses (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2019e). Finally, considering Kerr's (1999) definition of key aspects in political education to include the curriculum of political lessons, the explanatory and dependent variables would be operationalised through the curriculum of political lessons in lower-secondary Hauptschule schools across member states in Germany.

Hypotheses

The first hypothesis follows the theory of institutional development offered by Capoccia (2015), explaining institutional arrangements based on an exogenous intervention. Based on this hypothesis, the initial curriculum of political lessons is determined in each member state by the activity of the Western allies, and persists across time.

⁴ The Weimar Constitution considered political lessons as mandatory, and at the end of World-War II both North-Rhine Westphalia and Rhineland-Palatinate included them to be mandatory as well. See Verfassung für das Land Nordrhein-Westfalen, article 11 (2004) and Verfassung für Rheinland-Pfalz, article 39 (2015).

The second hypothesis follows the theory of institutional development offered by Mahoney and Thelen (2010), denouncing exogenous interventions as the only sources of institutional change, but rather changes to power and legitimacy of the political coalitions. European parliaments, such as the German parliamentary system, are built upon the proportional representation model, and require the creation of government coalition between several parties in order to direct legislation and policy. In such a system, each party develop an independent policy on different dimensions, but the formation of coalition imposes constrains on policy development. Laver and Shepsle (1996) solve this problem explaining that each policy dimension is decided based on the political party to which a ministry is allocated, based on coalition agreements. Moreover, policy can exceed the limitation of coalition agreements and drift closer to the position of the party behind the ministry, due to principal-agent problem. Martin and Vanberg (2004) explain that ministers represent not only the government position, but also their personal and party preferences, leading to a “ministerial drift” and a more pronounced policy change. In Germany, education policy is a matter of the member states, and policy changes are therefore explained by power dynamics between parties in the government coalition. Based on this hypothesis, the initial curriculum of political lessons is determined based on the political affiliation of the Ministries of Education.

The third hypothesis follows the theory of institutional development offered by Blyth (2002), considering not only exogenous interventions and endogenous coalitional changes as sources of institutional change, but also changes to the interpretation of actors within the institutional coalition. The decision to create a new curriculum is made by the Ministry of Education in the member state, however several actors that participate in the creation of the curriculum, such as academic institutions, private sector institutions, and civil society organisations, can influence the position on the ministry. Based on this hypothesis, curricular development is based on the interpretation of institutional coalitions, promoted by one of the actors and reaching consensus.

Data Collection

The study is based on secondary and primary sources, focusing on archival research and interviews. The archival research included visits to the archives of the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs (Ständigen Konferenz der Kultusminister) in Bonn - the consortium of ministers supporting the coordination and development of education policy across Germany (KMK, 2019), the German Rectors Conference (Hochschulrektorenkonferenz) in Bonn - the association of public and government-recognised universities in Germany also supporting the development of education policy in higher education across Germany (HRK, 2019), the Philosophikum I and Philosophikum II libraries at the Justus-Liebig-Universität in Gießen - an academic institution with a tradition of political education researching spanning four hundred years (Justus-Liebig-Universität Giessen, 2019), and the Bonn University and State Library - cataloguing also the state archives and publications (Rheinische Friedrich-Willhelms-Universität Bonn, 2016). Since a conceptualisation of the explanatory and dependent variables was required, important insights on the explanatory variable were based on the archival research conducted by Gehrz (2002), and some political education curricula for the dependent variable were found on the online database of the Georg Eckert Institute - the Georg Eckert Institute - Leibniz Institute for International Textbook Research (EDU MERES, 2019; Georg Eckert Institute, 2019). Interviews were conducted with academics, officials, and professionals specialising in research, decision-making and implementation of political education policy in the three states examined. These include librarians, archivists, professors for political education teachers' training, heads of departments in universities, as well as bureaucrats in educational ministries and institutions of the member states and the Federal state. This led to the creation of a new data-base of political lessons including curricula of political lessons, constitutional clauses, ministerial regulations and political affiliation of Ministries of Education.

The collection of primary sources was based on three field researches. The first study was conducted in December 2017, and focused on the educational reform conducted by the Western Allies. It included semi-constructed interviews with officials in the Federal Agency for Political Education in Bonn and the State Centre for Political Education in Düsseldorf, both in North-Rhine Westphalia, Germany. The next field studies were conducted in September and December 2018, and included an archival research and semi-constructed interviews on the dependent variable in the three case studies and on a federal level.⁵

⁵ See the list of archival researches and interviews in the appendices.

Chapter 3. The German Case Study

The third chapter examines the institutional arrangement of political education in Germany since its conception in the 19th century. Beyond contextual details, it presents the explanatory variable, the educational reforms conducted by the American, British and French forces during the occupation period in Germany. It further explains the process of institutional development under the independent Federal Republic of Germany, in the various member states. Based on the operationalisation of hypotheses two and three, the political affiliation of the Ministries of Education as well as the institutional coalition are presented, for each of the member states.

Political Education in Germany

According to Kerr (1999), education for political outcomes focuses on “the preparation of young people for their roles and responsibilities as citizens and, in particular, the role of education (through schooling, teaching and learning) in that preparatory process” (6). Several terms were given to this definition, including “civic education” and “citizenship education”, but as this research is on German case-studies the German term “political education” is adopted, defined by Massing (2013) in a similar way as “a collective term that encompasses all processes that have a political impact on every human being as a member of a social and political order across different groups, organisations, institutions and media”.⁶ As such, it can be employed formally and informally, and influence the political behaviour of the youth, as well as adults (Dr. H. Wupper-Tewes, Personal Communication, 12 December 2017).

The beginning of political education for the masses in Germany is surprisingly associated with 19th century France. Although a form of an educational institute existed already in the middle ages, the Ritterakademie, it was a school for the novelty, where the clergy and children of

⁶ “PB in einem weiten Sinne ist ein Sammelbegriff, der alle Prozesse umfasst, die auf jeden Menschen als Mitglied einer sozialen und politischen Ordnung über unterschiedliche Gruppen, Organisationen, Institutionen und Medien politisch prägend einwirken.”

aristocracy learned to read and write. It was actually Napoleon who introduced modern schools in 1806 after the German defeat to France. When the French occupied parts of the Kingdom of Prussia, they reformed the education system in order to introduce ideals of enlightenment and the French revolution, such as freedom, emancipation and patriotism. This triggered a Prussian reaction, developing an independent education system for the masses and compensating for territorial losses in wars through a political culture supportive of the German ideals. Between the years 1809-1810 two school structures were developed: the Gymnasium, secondary school for students with academic interests, and the Volksschule, a secondary school for the general population. Wilhelm von Humboldt, head of the Directorate of Education in the Prussian government and founder of the Gymnasium (as well as one of the founders of the Humboldt University of Berlin), wished to create a school supporting personal development through self-emancipation. Gymnasium students were taught physical education, aesthetics (music and arts), didactics (philosophy), languages, history, mathematics and science, to develop their character and continue to academic studies, becoming an essential part of the Prussian state. Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, a Swiss educator whose work served as guidelines for the foundation of the Volksschule, believed in education for the “head, heart and hands” - intellectual, emotional and practical development, and the principle of totality in education. The school was meant to eradicate illiteracy, and was based on notions of German nationhood and culture. By 1870 its purpose was to infuse political attributes into children’s core system of values, and with the German unification in 1871 was used to create citizens who are submissive to authority and to the state (Hahn, 1998, 1-8).

At the end of World War I and after the defeat to the Allied powers, an educational reform was conducted in order to democratise the education policy. The Weimar Republic instituted mandatory primary education with equal opportunity for all citizen. Furthermore, it added a new lesson to the core curricula, Study of Citizenship (Staatbürgerkunde), to renovate the

studies of political education. However Roberts (2002) states that the reforms and the new lesson were not enough to induce a democratic change, and continued to promote non-democratic and authoritarian political culture. The rise of the National-Socialist party brought about a major change to the education system. A new political ideology was introduced, and schools turned into institutions that supported a nationalistic and inclusive political culture. The education policy was centralised under the Reich Ministry of Education, and National Socialist ideals were introduced in all the lessons due to a core “cultural” curriculum overarching all lessons, including Arts, Music, German, History and Geography. Next to that, the Study of Citizenship lesson lost its place to a new lesson, Homeland Studies (Heimatkunde). Schools became a tool for propaganda of anti-liberal, anti-intellectual, and anti-democratic values (Hahn, 1998).

The Explanatory Variables: Political Education Reforms during the Occupation Period

The Western Allies started planning for the occupation of Germany already in 1940. Each of the Allied forces saw the education system as vital to the functioning of a state, and a tool to influence its political culture. They believed that a deep sociological change in the German society was imperative to ensure international security, and wished to turn Germany into a resilient democracy (Gehrz, 2002). Phillips’ (2017) structures the educational reforms to include four main time-frames. The first stage includes the wartime policy-making processes, until the official beginning of the occupation period in 05.1945. The second stage is the “reconstruction” phase, between 06.1945 and 12.1946 where the Allies were focused on eliminating authoritarian and nationalist influences from schools. The third stage is the supervisory phase, spanning 01.1947-09.1949. The final stage is the transfer of power to the new established state and the early developments under the young Federal Republic, until 05.1955. German member states received most of the power and legitimacy to maintain and

develop the education policy, and the military governors were replaced with high commissioners. This stage ended with the official declaration regarding the end of the military occupation of West Germany, and removal of the high commissioners (290). An analysis of the mutual and individual efforts of the Western Allies is presented based on the stages proposed by Phillips (2017), and the archival research by Gehrz (2002).

Mutual Efforts of the Western Allies

The Wartime Policy-Making Processes (1940-05.1945)

The first major step in regards to political education was taken in the Casablanca Conference, 01.1943. On this occasion the Allies announced their intention to defeat Germany through an unconditional surrender, and occupying Germany until a successor was recognized (Gehrz, 2002, 47-49). The occupation of Germany was vital as it legitimised the rights of the Allies to conduct educational reforms. In 03.1944 the American and British forces agreed that a solution for German education was to be found in an independent reform, external to other international plans such as the forthcoming UNESCO (63). During the course of the following months the mutual organisation in charge of the execution of the occupation, the Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Expeditionary Force (SHAEF) was established, leading also the educational aspects. In 06.1944 the “Handbook for Military Government in Germany” was published, including guidelines for educational reforms. A joint policy, however, was not adopted by the Western Allies, due of different philosophies and interests (101).

The “Reconstruction” Phase (06.1945-12.1946)

The work on political education started immediately, with the opening of schools, vetting of teachers, and purging Nazi propaganda from schools and textbooks (114-119). The main event during this period was the Potsdam Conference, held on 08.1945, and the adoption of the

“Potsdam Agreements”. The Allied forces concluded that “German education shall be so controlled as completely to eliminate Nazi and militarist doctrines and to make possible the successful development of democratic ideas” (138). The Federal Ministry of Education was disbanded and the Allies became directly responsible for the execution of educational reforms (121). Furthermore, a joint Allied education committee met on a monthly basis to coordinate the education policy, but the different forces did not achieve consensus over the actions to be taken, and its decisions were non-binding (188).

The Supervisory Phase (01.1947-09.1949)

On 01.1947 the Allied forces started relinquishing power and to directly support German initiatives on educational reforms. Disagreements between the Western Allies and the Soviet forces during Moscow conference in 03.47 led to the creation of an American-British “Bi-zone”, and a possible “Tri-zone” with the French (191-192). Despite the separation the Allies achieved some mutual decisions on political education policy, and the Allied Control Authority published Directive 54 in 04.1947, titled “Basic Principles for Democratisation of Education in Germany” (19). The directive related to the creation of a democratic curricula as well, declaring that “all schools should lay emphasis upon education for civic responsibility and a democratic way of life, by means of the content of the curriculum...” (cited in Robinsohn and Kuhlmann, 1967, 312). However, the directive was considered as a non-binding recommendation (Gehrz, 190-194). This also led to a British decision that their education policy will not be integrated with that of the Americans in the bilateral Bi-Zone (192).

The Early Developments under the Young Federal Republic (10.1949-05.1955).

Following the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia in 02.1948 and the Six-Power Conference on 06.1948, it was decided that to establishment the Federal Republic in Germany due to

security interests in Europe. The Allies decided to decentralise the control over political education and cultural affairs, and give the member states cultural freedom (Kulturhoheit) (262). A Final Ordinance of the joint commission of West-Germany was published on 07.1949, giving the Allies the ability to intervene in German policy after the establishment of the Federation. Under Article VI, the forces would “observe, advise and assist the federal state and the participating Länder (member states) in regard to the democratisation of political life, social relations and education of the German people” (265). The ordinance demanded that all new educational legislation must follow Directive 54, the recommendations of the Allies, and called for oversight commissions allowing the Allies to monitor all educational legislation (268-269). Each of the Allies interpreted the ordinance in a different way, leading to a different outcome across member states.

The American Forces

The Education & Religious Affairs (E&RA) Branch of the US Group CC was the main power behind the educational reform in the American zones, replaced by the Office of the Military Government for Germany (U.S.) (OMGUS) in October 1945 (102). The education team was the smallest branch in the division, with 27 Education Control Officers (ECOs) and 3 civilians working at the beginning of the occupation, and amounting to a maximum of 100 members (114). They were in charge of 2.7 million students, 42,000 teachers and 11,000 schools (106). The ECOs were not well versed with the German language, and only a few of them had more than a basic knowledge of German education, history, politics and culture (110-113).

The Wartime Policy-Making Processes (1940-05.1945)

The War Department issued the first manual on military government in 1941, and started training the first military government officers at the end of that year (50). The official work on

educational reforms started in 1942 by the Division of Cultural Relations at the State Department. In 11.1942 the Division of European Affairs joined their efforts and concluded that educational reorientation was needed, requiring new democratic textbooks (56). Over the course of a year, the State Department debated the extent and purpose of an educational reorientation, since returning to the old German model of education was as “unacceptable as Hitlerism” (57). They believed that a period of “direct military government control” was needed to execute the reforms, but such a period should be as short as possible (78). The State Department presented a first draft in 04.1944 that included the position of the US government on a new education policy, CAC-167, calling for purging Nazi teachers and administrative staff of the Ministry of Education, widening access to education for all citizens, and executing a comprehensive curricular reform (79-80). CAC-167 was never officially published, but many of the main ideas appeared in CAC-151 and were approved by the Committee on Post-War Programs (PWC) (80). In addition, the U.S. Group Control Council published in the summer of 1944 a “Handbook for Military Government in Germany”, and in 01-02.1945 the War Department issued further directives in a “Technical Manual for Education & Religious Affairs”, explaining that an extensive control over the German educational system will be taken during the time of the occupation, and that a curricular recreation should be made by the German authorities (83).

The “Reconstruction” Phase (06.1945-12.1946)

In 05.1945 the Education & Religious Affairs Branch (E&RA) of the US Group CC took over the execution of the educational reforms, and reopened schools already in 06.1945. The first efforts were to eliminate militaristic and authoritarian content from textbooks and the curricula (114-115). The American forces eliminated racial theory studies and history lessons, and history studies were taught without textbooks (122-123). In 10.1945 the Office of the Military

Government for Germany (US) (OMGUS) took over the educational efforts, and already in 05.1946 the Ministries of Education in the German member states were given more authority, reopening buildings, approving educational research, and dealing with issues of private instructions without American supervision. E&RA would however maintain control over the appointment of personnel (including education ministers, deputies and councillors, rectors and directors, and school inspectors) and the curricular reforms (165-166).

The Supervisory Phase (01.1947-09.1949)

In 01.1947 the American forces focused on curricular reforms, and expected each member state to develop its own policy under their supervision. The Ministries of Education were required to submit a statement of aims, and develop a political lesson, in order to achieve the “attainment of democratic modes of living” (207-208). Due to the lack of personnel and resources, the American forces preferred to influence policy through cooperation with senior officers, and lobbied politicians and ministry officials (223). The first curriculum for a political lesson was introduced in 1948 (Amtsblatt des Hessischen Ministeriums für Kultus und Unterricht, 1948), and was further elaborated in 1949 (Amtsblatt des Hessischen Ministeriums für Kultus und Unterricht, 1949). It is said that the American forces had a stricter attitude in creating a uniform curricula, more than the British and French forces would require (Gerhz, 2002, 241).

The Early Developments under the Young Federal Republic (10.1949-05.1955).

After the transfer of power, the Americans perceived Article VI of the final ordinance as a regulation without power, and did not exert power to sustain the educational reforms (272).

The British Forces

The “Education Branch” of the British Control Commission planned and executed the educational reforms (102). At the beginning of the occupation 22 ECOs were to enter West Germany, rising to 70 ECOs by 07.45. This was not sufficient to administer 3.7 million students and 65,000 teachers (113). The number of British ECOs finally rose to 200 by 10.47 (114). British ECOs were more experienced than their American counterparts, and went through a five-weeks training course before arriving to Germany, however did not speak German (113).

The Wartime Policy-Making Processes (1940-05.1945)

The British Foreign office commissioned studies on the conditions of the education system in Germany in 1942, as well as “peace books” on primary, secondary, and higher education in Germany. The first book appears in 09.1942, focusing on higher education under the Nazi government. It denounced the German higher education system, concluding that the Prussians used the education system as a political agent to promote anti-religious and social policies. The same mechanism was later used by the Nazi government for indoctrination, through the appointment of a new academic elite and the influence of the content of education. It recommended a “drastic reorientation” phase of the German education system in order to secure European security interests. The research also determined that an attempt to re-educate Germany must be done by the German themselves, since a foreign interference without popular support would lead to the destruction of the system (66). The second Peace Book on primary and secondary education was published shortly after, discussing again the use of schools as a socialisation agent in the service of Nazi-ideology (65-66). Following those reports and the Casablanca conference, the Foreign Office issued a memorandum on “The Future of Germany”, stating that British control must be invisible in influencing education ministries, and that the Germans themselves must be in charge of the efforts of re-education (67). In

03.1944 a proposal to the Official Committee on Armistice Terms and Civil Administration (ACAO) was made, recommending the prohibition of textbooks, blacklisting Nazi teaching, banning syllabi, and reforming the curricula (71-72). In 11.1944, the Education Branch of the Control Commission for Germany, British Element (CCG (BE)) took control of the implementation of educational reforms.

The "Reconstruction" Phase (06.1945-12.1946)

In the British zones schools are reopened from 07.1945. Unvetted teachers are allowed to work under supervision with authorised textbooks, but the curricula is changing (119-120). Biology, History and Geography classes are completely prohibited, until the creation of a new curriculum (122). The British officers encourage the German authorities be more autonomous, releasing Ordinance 57 in 12.1946 and transferring the responsibility to the member states. The British ECOs do not give orders, but supervise and advise (155-156).

The Supervisory Phase (01.1947-09.1949)

At this stage, the British officers prefer to use their influence with practitioners and low-ranking officials, and support head teachers and teachers (223-224). They were criticised by the German authorities on their passive approach on educational matters, but the British posited that less involvement would lead to success over a longer time period (230).

The Early Developments under the Young Federal Republic (10.1949-05.1955).

After the transfer of power, the British forces did not have sufficient instruments to influence re-education policies, but had the power to veto Landtag bills if they relate to security matters (262). A first curriculum for a political lesson was published in March 1955 (Kultusministerium des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen), just before the end of the occupation.

The French Forces

The Department of Public Education (DEP) in the Administrator-General of the French Military Government (GMZFO) was in charge of implementing the educational reforms (Gehrz, 2002, 102). Although the French participation in the occupation of Germany was decided upon only in 1945, the French invested many efforts in re-education, making the American and British forces suppose the planning started many years beforehand. The DEP was the fourth biggest division in the French apparatus, with 180 ECOs from the beginning of the occupation, rising to over 200 in 05.1947 (106, 198). They were in charge of a population half the size of that under the American forces, with four times more personnel (104). Furthermore, the ECOs were educated, spoke German, and were familiar with the German society, culture and politics. Most of them studied German studies at university or attended German university, and had experience either in the field of education or occupation (102).

The Wartime Policy-Making Processes (1940-05.1945)

Already in 08.1944 the French Minister of Foreign Affairs stated that military defeat and occupation must be the way to deal with German aggression, and that the German must be taught that war does not pay (98). The minister issued a memorandum stating that teaching and textbooks reforms were an important element in the re-education efforts (99). In 04.1945, only a month before the occupation period, the Foreign Ministry finally outlined the educational reforms, including denazification of textbooks and curricular reforms (99-100).

The “Reconstruction” Phase (06.1945-12.1946)

In the French regions schools were opened from 07.1945 as well, but unvetted teachers were not allowed to educate children in schools (116-117). The first curricular purge includes the prohibiting of Biology and Racial Theory. History and Geography lessons are limited to ancient

History, and Geology studies respectively (123-124). The French imported textbooks and teachers from France, adopted manuscripts that were denied by the other allies, and developed “re-education courses” for German teachers, receiving pedagogical training and undertaking political education courses (127, 130). The French followed a colonial pattern, maintaining direct control over the German authorities, and dictating most of the reforms (170).

The Supervisory Phase (01.1947-09.1949)

After the transfer of power to the German authorities, the French continued to influence important policies through direct control. In 02.1947 they lead the publication of new textbooks, and the design and application of curricula. In 06.1947 Ordinance 95 is issued, determining all political education matters should be communicated to the military government, and any decision made by the government of the member states must be approved by the French forces. The first curriculum for a political lesson appears in 1949, and is created in cooperation with the military governments of all the member states in the French zones (Ministerien der Länder Baden, Rheinland-Pfalz, Württemberg-Hohenzollern, 1949).

The Early Developments under the Young Federal Republic (10.1949-05.1955).

After the establishment of West Germany, the French continue with direct control, and interpret Article VI of the final ordinance as a source of power against any changes to the educational reforms. They believe the German are not allowed to change any directives, decisions or reforms imposed by the Allies, and would use their veto power to limit bills and the approval of a budget if necessary (Gehrz, 2002, 265-266). An elaborated version of political lessons curriculum appears in 1952 (Amtsblatt des Ministeriums für Unterricht und Kultus von Rheinland-Pfatz).

Variation on Political Lessons Policy by the Western Allies during the Occupation Period

Although the Western Allies agreed that educational reforms and curricular reforms were an essential part of their purpose in the occupation period, they did not develop a common policy. The curricular reforms are based on four main stages made by each Ally separately: the decision on occupation and curricular reform, a negative stage where the old curricula were censured by the Allies, a positive stage where new curricula were developed under the Allies, and possible change to the institutional arrangement after the transfer of power and under the supervision of the Allies. The mutual and individual efforts of the Western Allies these stages are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: The Efforts of the Western Allies during the Occupation Period

Ally/ Stage	Decision on Educational Reform	Reform of previous Curricula	Development of new Curricula	Supervision after Transfer of Power
Western Allies	Casablanca Conference, occupation and reforms	SHAEF memorandum, no mutual policy	Directive 54, revision based on democratic principles	Final Joint Ordinance, "observe, advise and assist" in democratisation
American Forces	Minimal intervention, encouraging endogenous initiative for curricular change	Ban biology (racial theory) and history lessons	Lobby politicians and senior-officials and approve reforms	No direct regulatory power over educational reforms
British Forces	Minimal intervention, encouraging endogenous initiative for curricular change	Ban biology (racial theory), history and geography	Support low-ranking officials and supervise reforms	Use veto power to block anti-democratic bills
French Forces	Maximum intervention, colonisation pattern of control	Ban biology (racial theory), history and geography limited	Develop reforms, enforce changes and dictate policy	Educational reforms are binding, use veto power to block budget

Source: Gehrz (2002)

The Dependent Variables: Political Lessons after World War II

The Legal Framework for Political Education in the Federal Republic of Germany

Since the establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany, provision of education is a state matter, and the responsibility to develop a policy was given to the member states. Article 7 of the Federal constitution declares that: "the entire school system shall be under the supervision

of the state,” and the separation of power is evident in Article 30, where “except as otherwise provided or permitted by this Basic Law, the exercise of state powers and the discharge of state functions is a matter for the (member) states” (Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany). Despite the decentralisation, several umbrella organisations influence the education policy in Germany, on a Federal, European and international level. As a Federal state, the member states have the power over legislation unless the Bundestag decides to intervene. Article 72 articulates that “member states shall have power to legislate so long as and to the extent that the Federation has not exercised its legislative power by enacting a law”, and paragraph (1) of Article 74 charges the federal state with responsibility, among other issues, over “the regulation of educational and training grants and the promotion of research”, and “admission to institutions of higher education and requirements for graduation in such institutions.” Moreover, according to Article 91b paragraph 1, member states “may cooperate on the basis of agreements in cases of superregional importance in the promotion of sciences, research and teaching (Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany). Those articles led the way to the establishment of institutions such as the Federal Ministry for Education and Research, which focuses on higher education, international cooperation and research. Paragraph 2 of Article 91b, however, allows member states to cooperate with each other and the federal state “for the assessment of the performance of educational systems in international comparison and in drafting relevant reports and recommendations.” This serves as a basis for cooperation on primary and secondary education across members states through organisations such as the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs (Ständigen Konferenz der Kultusminister, or KMK). The KMK is an institution supported by the Federal Ministry of Interior that functions as a platform for Ministries of Education to examine education policy comparatively and achieve consensus on various issues. The KMK decisions

serve as non-binding recommendations, and are not necessarily adopted by the member states.⁷

Another organisation that exists to coordinate political education policy in a federal level is the Federal Agency for Political Education (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung). The function of this institution is to support adult political education through funding projects, organising conferences, publishing books, journals, and through social media. Similar institutions also exist on a member state level, known as Member State Agencies for Political Education (Landeszentralen für politische Bildung), but they do not influence political education policy directly – only indirectly through publishing educational aids for teachers, used in the teaching of political lessons (Ms. J. Klaeren. Personal communication, 18 December 2018). Furthermore, there is a bilateral cooperation between member states, mostly between West German and East German member states based on the “sister-member state” model after reunification, but it has no influence on political education in the West German states (Mr. H. Stahl and Mr. J. H. Winter. Personal communication, 18 December 2018).

On a European level, Article 23 of the German constitution defines Germany as a member of the European Union that could relinquish power over legislation based on the principle of subsidiarity (Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany). This gives a coordinating power to the EU, but does not exert any power over political education or curricular change (Mr. A. Schmitz, Personal Communication, 13 December 2018). Furthermore, Germany is a member of the United Nations, and has connections to UNESCO, and is also a member of the OECD, participating in the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA). PISA does not have any legally-binding influence, and is not related to political education, however Ministries of Education consider it in the context of assessments. The cooperation with UNESCO does not have any influence on the creation of curricula as well. In the creation of KMK

⁷ Interviews with teachers, professors and administrators show that in some member states KMK recommendations are highly considered when discussing pedagogical policy, whereas in others they are not used when considering curricular development.

recommendation on the pedagogy of “Development Aid”, UNESCO was formally consulted by the KMK, however this was the only case (Mr. A. Schmitz, Personal Communication, 13 December 2018). Furthermore, other international comparative projects affect German member states, such as the international civic and citizenship education study (ICCS) of the IEA. The member state of North-Rhine Westphalia is participating in the project, and is taken into considerations in the comparative analysis and recommendation of the IEA. However it has no direct influence over the curriculum (Dr. H. Wupper-Tewes. Personal Communications, 12 December 2017).

Overall, member states are independent in creating their education policy, and are solely in charge of formulating their own material and curricula for political education, school structures, and teaching requirements. The KMK may influence the political education policy through decisions made by the various member states, and presenting recommendations on the teaching of political education. It is important to note that the German authorities have no intention to create a unified curriculum across member states, nor do they have a system for comparison of political education policies, or measurement of the influence of political education on political attitudes and behaviour. Standardisation and measurements may give the government aggregated knowledge which could lead to the use of education as a tool for non-democratic propaganda (Mr. Zorn. Personal Communication, 8 December 2017).

Political Lessons and the Institutional Coalition of Curricular Development

Lange (2010) considers more than twenty institutions as related to political education in Germany. Starting from community level and institutions such as schools for adult education, workplace and lifestyle, the book continues to the member state level with agencies for political education, children support centres, schools, and teachers’ training at universities. On a Federal level several agencies influence the policy: the Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens,

Women and Youth, the Office for Family and Civic Functions,⁸ the Ministry of the Interior, the Federal Agency for Political Education, the Ministry of Defence, the Federal Commissioner for Culture and the Media, the Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, and the Foreign Office. On a European level several support programmes exist dealing with political education, and the “Comenius” programme for action in schools. On a non-governmental level religious churches, political foundations, civil foundations, labour unions and working groups of educational institutions effect the policy. These are presented in Table 2.

Table 2: The Institutional Coalition of Political Education

Community Institutions	Schools for Adult Education Workplace and Lifestyle
Member State Institutions	Centre for Political Education Centre for Children Support Schools Universities for Teachers’ Training
Federal Institutions	Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth Office for Civil Service Ministry of the Interior Federal Agency for Political Education Ministry of Defence Federal Commissioner for Culture and the Media Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development Foreign Office
European Union Institutions	Support Programs on Political Education "Comenius" Support Program
Non-Governmental Organisations	Religious Institutions Political and Civil Foundations Labour Unions Working groups of Educational Institutions

Source: Lange, 2010, 5-6

However, in relations to political lessons, the process of curricular development is led by the Ministry of Education in each of the member states. The process of developing a curriculum is complicated and takes several years to execute. After a decision has been made by the Ministry of Education in a member state to review or change the curriculum, the responsibility is vested in a commission of teachers, school head teachers, members of school administrations, as well

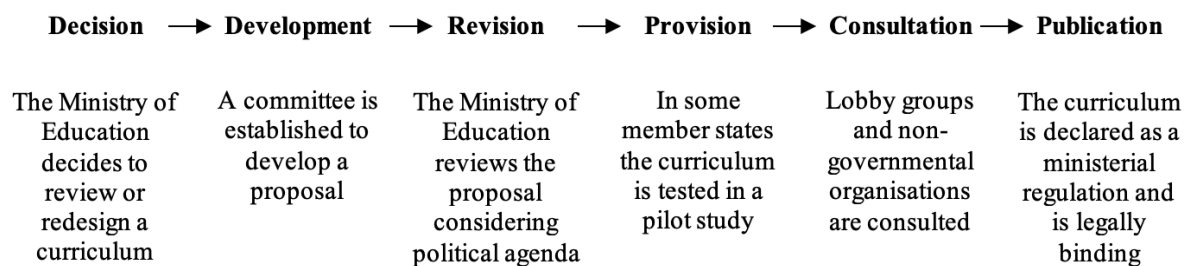
⁸ Until 2011 “Office for Civil Service” (Bundesamt für Familie und zivilgesellschaftliche Aufgaben, 2019).

as representatives of research institutes of the member state, and academics who specialise in the education of the specific subject. Usually, a curriculum is created for a certain lesson for each of the school structures. The commission's work spans many months, often several years, until a proposal is created. This proposal includes not only the themes, but also statements on the learning objectives, and pedagogic methods. The new curriculum is based on previous curricula, and in some states the curriculum is also tested before it is finalised and becomes valid. The next stage includes consultation with government associations, parents associations, and student representatives. Finally, the new curriculum is announced as part of regulations of the Ministry of Education, as it is binding for teachers (Mr. G. Raskaj. Personal Communication, 13 December 2018).

The same process was also reported by the Ministry of Education in Rhineland-Palatinate. The basis for new curricula is the constitution and legislation. The constitution declares that the aim of education is to create a democratic political culture, and therefore it is codified into the school law (Schulgesetz) and curricula of all lessons, including political lesson. For each school level a different team develops of curriculum. This process is coordinated with the teachers training institutions. The new curricula includes learning competences (based on KMK regulations) and pedagogy, as well as content. There is more coordination in recent years between member states, mostly on issues of assessments, but the development of curricula is independent. A decision for a new curriculum is made mostly based on financial issues. The ministry has a certain budget for curricular development, and each lesson is reviewed, usually with no political intervention, based on a circular basis. Once the decision has been made, a committee comprised of various relevant practitioners is created, to develop the curriculum. Once a proposal is made, the ministry reviews it and authorises it based on the legal processes (constitution, school law, and political agenda). At this point, lobby groups are consulted, such as churches, banks, and associations, in order to incorporate as many points of view as possible,

but these do not have substantive influence over the outcome. Finally, the Minister of Education authorises the final curriculum and it is announced (Mr. H. Stahl and Mr. J. H. Winter. Personal communication, 18 December 2018). A graph explaining the process of curricular development in the Federal Republic of Germany is presented in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Curricular Development in the Federal Republic of Germany



Source: Own Research

The creation of a curriculum has implications on teachers’ training, the creation of textbooks, and also the schooling process. At first, teachers’ training institutions are supported by the Ministries of Education and prepare teachers based on the new curricula. The process of training teachers in Germany is conducted in universities, and the development of higher education degrees, courses and programs, needs to be authorised by the Ministry of Education. Furthermore, usually the professors in charge of the education programs in the universities are members of the committees established to change the curricula (such is the case in Hesse and Rhineland-Palatinate). Secondly, once a curriculum is finalised, publishers begin a revision or redesign of their textbooks. Textbooks require the approval of the Ministries of Education, and therefore it is assumed that a textbook matches the syllabus. Moreover, in Germany school teachers and head teachers have a considerate amount of freedom in the design of teaching, such as pedagogy and use of materials, and ensuring compliance with the curriculum is also a

task for the school head teacher (Mr. A. Schmitz, Personal Communication, 13 December 2018; Mr. H. Stahl and Mr. J. H. Winter. Personal communication, 18 December 2018).

Curricular Development of Political Lessons

In the only account of curricular changes in political lessons across member states in Germany, Balsler and Nonnenmacher (1997) present several factors for institutional change between 1945-1997. In the member state of Hesse, formerly under American control, the curriculum changed in 1972, after a revision of the themes of all subjects. The new curricula was built based on school years and not school form, and integrated the study of Geography, History and Politics. In 1982 a decision was made to better integrate the three lessons, resulting in another change to the curricula. However, many schools did not accept this change and in 1995 another change was made to the curricula, offering two possibilities: a lesson including geography, history and politics, or three different lessons (84-88). In the member state of North-Rhine Westphalia, formerly under British control, the curricula changed in 1973 for the first time, with further editions in 1987 and 1991. The content remained similar but was taught more thoroughly in higher classes (119-124). In the member state of Rhineland-Palatinate, formerly under French control, a change to the curricula was created only 40 years after the establishment of the federation, based on a change to internal politics, where the CDU party lost the votes to the SPD party, leading to changes in the education policy. The changes led to better coordination between lessons and the introduction of new themes, such as Europe, German unification, nature protection, and the functions and rights of men and women.

Political Affiliation and Institutional Coalition in Curricular Development

Political Lessons and the Political Affiliation of the Ministries of Education

The process of curriculum development is part of the education policy led by the Ministries of Education in the various member states. The decision upon establishing a committee for the development of a new curriculum, choice of the members of the committee, revision of the draft and facilitating the provision time are made by the ministry. Although not always the decision to develop a new curriculum is made by the minister, the publication of the curriculum is indeed directly authorised by the minister himself. Political concessions lead to changes in the names of ministries, as well as the responsibilities of ministries – especially in regards to culture, education, and higher education policy. This thesis recognises a Ministry of Education as the ministry which creates and implements, among others, the education policy in primary and secondary schools.

Hesse

In the member state of Hesse, the ministry was under the leadership of various parties throughout the years. Between the years 1945-1950 CDU controlled the ministry, when Mr. Franz Böhm was the minister until 1946 (Landesgeschichtliches Informationssystem Hessen, 21 December 2018), Mr. Franz Schramm between the years 1946-1947 (Landesgeschichtliches Informationssystem Hessen, 01 April 2019a), and Mr. Erwin Stein until 1950 (Landesgeschichtliches Informationssystem Hessen, 21 January 2019b). In 1951 SPD received the educational portfolio and controlled the ministry until 1987. The first social democratic minister was Mr. Ludwig Metzger (Landesgeschichtliches Informationssystem Hessen, 01 April 2019d), and he was replaced by Mr. Arno Hennig in 1953 (Landesgeschichtliches Informationssystem Hessen, 24 May 2017). In 1959 Mr. Ernst Schütte took over the position, and remained in the ministry until 1969 (Landesgeschichtliches

Informationssysteme Hessen, 01 March 2017). Mr. Ludwig von Friedeburg entered office in 1969 (Landesgeschichtliches Informationssysteme Hessen, 01 April 2019b), and was replaced by Mr. Hans Krollman in 1974 who remained in office for a decade (Landesgeschichtliches Informationssysteme Hessen, 01 April 2019c). Mr. Karl Schneider from the SPD party headed the ministry between 1984 and 1987 (Landesgeschichtliches Informationssysteme Hessen, 15 March 2017). In 1987 the CDU received the responsibility over the ministry, and chose Mr. Christean Wagner to be the leading policy-maker (Landesgeschichtliches Informationssysteme Hessen, 31 January 2017). He remained in power until 1991, when the SPD party took over the ministry. Mr. Hartmut Holzapfel became the new minister and stayed in office until 1999 (Landesgeschichtliches Informationssysteme Hessen, 13 March 2017). In 1999 CDU received the education portfolio and elected the first female minister, Mrs. Karin Wolff, who presided over the ministry until 2008 (Landesgeschichtliches Informationssysteme Hessen, 23 January 2017). She was replaced by Mr. Jürgen Banzer who served less than a year in his position, as the ministry was given to the Free Democratic Party (FDP) (Landesgeschichtliches Informationssysteme Hessen, 17 January 2019). Mrs. Dorothea Henzler served at the lucrative position between 2009 and 2012 (Landesgeschichtliches Informationssysteme Hessen, 16 January 2019), and was replaced by Mrs. Nicola Beer, also from FDP (Landesgeschichtliches Informationssysteme Hessen, 21 January 2019a). In 2014 Mr. Alexander Lorz became the Minister of Education, a position he currently continues to fulfil (Landesgeschichtliches Informationssysteme Hessen, 30 January 2019).

In summary, control over the ministry of education was given to CDU party between 1945-1950, SPD party between 1950-1987, CDU party between 1987-1991, SPD party 1991-1999, CDU party between 1999-2009, FDP party between 2009-2010, and CDU party between 2014-2019. This is presented in Table 3.

Table 3: Ministers of Education in the Member State of Hesse

Year	Party	Name of Minister
1945-1946	CDU	Franz Böhm
1946-1947	CDU	Franz Schramm
1947-1950	CDU	Erwin Stein
1951-1953	SPD	Ludwig Metzger
1953-1959	SPD	Arno Hennig
1959-1969	SPD	Ernst Schütte
1969-1974	SPD	Ludwig von Friedeburg
1974-1984	SPD	Hans Krollmann
1984-1987	SPD	Karl Schneider
1987-1991	CDU	Christean Wagner
1991-1999	SPD	Hartmut Holzapfel
1999-2008	CDU	Karin Wolff
2008-2009	CDU	Jürgen Banzer
2009-2012	FDP	Dorothea Henzler
2012-2014	FDP	Nicola Beer
2014-2019	CDU	Alexander Lorz

Source: Own research

North-Rhine Westphalia

In the member state of North-Rhine Westphalia, the two first Ministers of Education were from the Centre (Zentrum) party, each of them functioning in this position for only several months (Landtag NRW, 01 April 2019c; 01 April 2019b). In 1946 Mr. Heinrich Konen became the minister by the CDU party (Landtag NRW, 01 April 2019j), and in 1947 was replaced by Mrs. Christine Teusch (Landtag NRW, 01 April 2019d). She held the position until 1954, when Mr. Werner Schütz took over the position (Landtag NRW, 01 April 2019n). Between 1956 and 1958 the control of the ministry was given to the FDP party and Mr. Paul Luchtenberg received the honourable posting (Landtag NRW, 01 April 2019h), but it was given back to the CDU party in 1958, and Mr. Werner Schütz returned to his former position (Landtag NRW, 01 April 2019n). In 1962 Mr. Paul Mikat became in charge of education policy, and held the position until 1966 (Landtag NRW, 01 April 2019i). The SPD party chose Mr. Fritz Holthoff as head of the ministry in 1966 (Landtag NRW, 01 April 2019k), and in 1970 he was replaced by Mr. Jürgen Girgensohn who was the minister for thirteen years (Landtag NRW, 01 April 2019g).

Mr. Hans Schwier, also from the SPD party, received the portfolio in 1983, and was in office for twelve years (Landtag NRW, 01 April 2019f). In 1995 Mrs. Gabriele Behler was appointed, and held this position until 2002 (Landtag NRW, 01 April 2019e), when Mrs. Ute Schäfer replaced her (Landtag NRW, 01 April 2019m). In 2005 the CDU party received control over the ministry, and Mrs. Barbara Sommer presided over the ministry until 2010 (Landesregierung Nordrhein-Westfalen, 12 June 2009). She was replaced by Mrs. Sylvia Löhrmann from the Green party (Landtag NRW, 01 April 2019l). In 2017 after the parliamentary elections, Mrs. Yvonne Gebauer from the FDP was appointed as minister (Landtag NRW, 01 April 2019a).

In summary, control over the ministry of education was given to CDU party between the years 1946-1956, FDP between the years 1956-1958, and then CDU party between the years 1958-1966. SPD party took over the ministry in 1966 and maintained control for forty years, until 2005. CDU party received the portfolio of education in 2005 and gave it to the Green (Grüne) party in the year 2010. In 2017 FDP party appointed the minister. This is presented in Table 4.

Table 4: Ministers of Education in the Member State of North-Rhine Westphalia

Year	Party	Name of Minister
1946-1946	Zentrum	Wilhelm Hamacher
1946-1946	Zentrum	Rudolf Amelunxen
1946-1947	CDU	Heinrich Konen
1947-1954	CDU	Christine Teusch
1954-1956	CDU	Werner Schütz
1956-1958	FDP	Paul Luchtenberg
1958-1962	CDU	Werner Schütz
1962-1966	CDU	Paul Mikat
1966-1970	SPD	Fritz Holthoff
1970-1983	SPD	Jürgen Girgensohn
1983-1995	SPD	Hans Schwier
1995-2002	SPD	Gabriele Behler
2002-2005	SPD	Ute Schäfer
2005-2010	CDU	Barbara Sommer
2010-2017	GRÜNE	Sylvia Löhrmann
2017-2019	FDP	Yvonne Gebauer

Source: Own research

Rhineland-Palatinate

In the member state of Rhineland-Palatinate, The first Minister of Education was from the CDU party, Mr. Ernst Lotz. He was appointed in 1947 (Rheinland-Pfälzische Personendatenbank, 01 December 2015), and was replaced in 1947 by Mr. Adolf Süsterhenn (Rheinland-Pfälzische Personendatenbank, 01 April 2019h). In 1951 Mr. Albert Finck was appointed to this position, which he held until 1956 (Rheinland-Pfälzische Personendatenbank, 01 April 2019b). Mr. Eduard Orth replaced him and maintained office for eleven years, between the years 1956-1967 (Rheinland-Pfälzische Personendatenbank, 01 April 2019g). In 1967 CDU member Mr. Bernhard Vogel was given the authority over education policy, and he stayed in office until 1976 (Rheinland-Pfälzische Personendatenbank, 01 April 2019i), when he was replaced by Mrs. Hanna-Renate Laurien (Rheinland-Pfälzische Personendatenbank, 01 April 2019f). In 1981 the position was given to Mr. Georg Gölder, who served in this position for a decade (Rheinland-Pfälzische Personendatenbank, 01 April 2019c). After the Landtag elections, SPD received the authority over the ministry and Mrs. Rose Götte assumed office in 1991 (Rheinland-Pfälzische Personendatenbank, 01 April 2019d). Three years afterwards, Mr. Jürgen Zöllner replaced her as minister (Rheinland-Pfälzische Personendatenbank, 01 April 2019j), and in 2001 Mrs. Doris Ahnen took over the position (Rheinland-Pfälzische Personendatenbank, 01 April 2019a). After thirteen years, Mrs. Vera Reiß became the minister of Education in 2014 (Bundesrat, 01 April 2019), and since 2016 Mrs. Stefanie Hubig is in charge of education policy (Rheinland-Pfälzische Personendatenbank, 01 April 2019e).

In summary, CDU party had the authority over education policy between the years 1946-1991, after which the SPD party took over the Ministry of Education. The final minister was appointed in 2017 by the FDP party. This is presented in table 5.

Table 5: Ministers of Education in the Member State of Rhineland-Palatinate

Year	Party	Name of Minister
1946-1947	CDU	Ernst Lotz
1947-1951	CDU	Adolf Süsterhenn
1951-1956	CDU	Albert Finck
1956-1967	CDU	Eduard Orth
1967-1976	CDU	Bernhard Vogel
1976-1981	CDU	Hanna-Renate Laurien
1981-1991	CDU	Georg Gölder
1991-1994	SPD	Rose Götte
1994-2001	SPD	Jürgen Zöllner
2001-2014	SPD	Doris Ahnen
2014-2016	SPD	Vera Reiß
2016-2019	SPD	Stefanie Hubig

Source: Own research

Political Lessons and the Institutional Coalition

The power to change the political lessons is vested in the Ministries of Education, but several actors participate in the process of curricular development. At first, the curricular commission follows the recommendations of the KMK in terms of comparative regulations (Mr. H. Stahl and Mr. J. H. Winter. Personal communication, 18 December 2018). Secondly, the committee includes not only members of the Ministries of Education, but also other actors. Bureaucrats, researchers, principals and teachers represent the ministries, professors represent the academic institutions, banks, private corporations and teachers unions present their opinion, and students and parents as organisations represent the civil society (Mr. G. Raskaj. Personal Communication, 13 December 2018). The institutional coalition involved in the Curricular development in each member state is presented in Table 6.

Table 6: The Institutional Coalition involved in Curricular Development

Federal Institutions	Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs
Member State Ministry of Education	Ministry administration Research institutes School head teachers School teachers
Academic Institutions	Academic associations Professors for didactics of education Teachers training institutes
Private Sector Institutions	Economic institutions Private sector Teachers union
Civil Society Organisations	Student representatives Parents associations

Source: Own Research

Chapter 4. The Member State of Hesse

The fourth chapter presents the initial curriculum outlined under the supervision of the American forces. Afterwards, curricular developments are presented and analysed based on the three considered hypotheses.

First Curriculum of Political Lessons under the supervision of the American Forces

At the beginning of the Allied occupation of Germany, the American forces took over the region of Hesse. The first German government was led by the SPD party, but the Ministry of Education was led by the CDU party. The CDU leaders had good relations with the American ECOs, and they adopted many of the reforms offered by the American forces (Gehrz, 2002, 167, 211). The influence of the American forces is also evident through changes to constitutional clauses related to education policy (166). A first political education curricula created by the military government of Hesse for Gymnasium students appeared already in 1945, but a first curriculum for all schools appeared in 1948.

1948: Political Lesson (politischer Unterricht) - Provisional

The curriculum for the new political lesson (politischer Unterricht) appeared in 1948. The majority of students study it between classes seven and nine, one hour per week in the first two years, and two hours a week in the last year. The curriculum focuses on four main political interactions: person-family-people, work and economy, community and member states, nation and world. In class seven, studies are focused on family and work. The themes focused on family as a community, as a residential community, and as an economic community. It also looked into the father's workplace, and the use of money. In class eight, the focus was on the citizens and their interaction with the community and the district. This included knowledge on the different communities in the population of Hessen, such as age structure, gender,

occupations, religions, and resettlement of refugees; how the city is managed, through the work of administration, elections, city assemblies and councils, the work of the mayor and the city as a whole, as well as the function of newspaper reports. Furthermore, students were taught about the relationship of the city and the member state, and the rights and duties of citizens through social policy and the tax system. In class nine, students learn about the member state of Hessen, with information on the census of the member state, the constitution and citizen rights, and the work of the courts. Finally, students were taught about the future design of Germany, and Germany's place in the world. (Amtsblatt des Hessischen Ministeriums für Kultus und Unterricht, 21. August 1948).

1949: Political Lesson (politischer Unterricht)

The second version of the curriculum appears after nine months of provision. The political lesson continues to follow the same themes and four spheres: person-family-people, work and economy, community and member states, nation and world. However the new curriculum expands political studies to five study years and political lessons are taught in classes five and nine, leading to new themes that appear as part of the curriculum. Classes five and six include an introduction to the family, school, work and professions, and the community. Class five focuses on the different parts of the family, and the functions of school. Beginning with class five and moving to class six, the various occupations are presented and it is explained how they create a community. Another topic taught in class six is the community, its connection to the city and local government, and interdependence through transportation. In class seven the themes of family, work and profession, and money reappear. The function of the division of labour and social security are more pronounced, as well as the function of insurance. The economic life of the member state is also presented, through the work of the local industry and crafts. In class eight students learn about their home town (city or village), including the

function of the community, the municipality, the local government, private welfare, and cultural life. The district administration and its tasks reappear, also in a geographical context. Class nine continues to include information about the member state of Hessen, including the census, the constitution and citizen rights, and the legal system including the civil law, criminal law, and judicial law. The political organisation of the Federal Republic of Germany and the federal constitution are discussed, and Germany's place in the world is presented, in regard to relations to a pan-European context, international relations, international law, connectivity, and international organisations. A final theme appears on career choice, including supply and demand of different professions, training paths, and the importance of each profession. (Amtsblatt des Hessischen Ministeriums für Kultus und Unterricht, 7 Juli 1949).

Political Lessons Curricular Development

1972: Social Teaching (Gesellschaftslehre) - Provisional

The first draft of a new curriculum for the political lesson is presented in 1972, when the Ministry of Education decides to reorganise the curriculum and integrate between the political lesson, history, and geography in order to create a new lesson: Social Teaching (Gesellschaftslehre). The lesson is taught in all schools, between years five and nine or ten. Working in three groups, the curriculum focuses on four learning fields: socialisation, economics, public tasks and inter-social conflicts. Socialisation is taught in classes 5/6 through the presentation of characters in the society, and the school as a social organisation. The history of schools is explained, as well as the function of school in a socio-geographical perspective. Furthermore, the behaviour of different groups in societies and its effects appears through discussion on conflicts, prejudice and minorities. In classes 7/8 the role of the family is discussed, through housing conditions and the function of school in the family. Self-determination and citizen participation are presented next, within school, through labour

unions, and in the development of human rights and the legal system. In classes 9/10 socialisation is discussed through authority conflicts in the work place, based on gender role, and justification for the function of authorities. The function of protests against authority is also discussed, based on norms of enlightenment, and its manifestation through youth protest, commercial protest, and political crimes. Economy is taught in classes 5/6 through living conditions, consumer culture and changes in living conditions from the middle ages to the 19th century with the creation of the class system. In classes 7/8 the agrarian revolution and industrial revolutions are discussed, based on the feudal-agrarian means of production and urbanisation due to the appearance of factories. The lesson continues to discuss the capitalist mode of production, financial assets and investments, and the relationship between production and infrastructure. In classes 9/10 the theme of economic life and the economic system of Germany is discussed. At first students learn about the various professions and the needs of the society, and to use balance sheets and annual reports. Afterwards, the macro data about the German reconstruction after 1945 is discussed, explaining how the economy grows based on production and its geographical location. The field of public tasks is taught in classes 5/6 based on the problems of the underprivileged and the function of the police. Life in big cities, transportation and recreational facilities are introduced, next to the school variety and life in a slum. The function of police as an official public institution is then introduced. In classes 7/8 democracy is discussed, with the changes of public tasks based on voting, the socio-political goals of the authorities, and the distribution of the public budget. In classes 9/10 the rights and duties of citizens are discussed, focusing on an assessment of the functioning of democracy in Germany, the fundamental basis for a democracy, and urban planning as an example for public tasks. The field of inter-social conflicts is taught in classes 5/6 based on the function of war as a discharge of inter-social conflicts in the ancient times. The cases of Sparta-Athens and Rome-Carthage are presented. Secondly, national prejudice is discussed and disposed of. The

fanaticism in the field of sport as a phenomenon is presented, next to the incentives of good foreign relations, such as competitive sport, workers, tourism and the development of transportation. In classes 7/8 colonialism is discussed, including the formation of colonies, the importance of colonies to their mother countries, and the inter-social conflicts they create. In classes 9/10 the function of the military and armament is discussed. The military is discussed mostly based on its economic toll and the problems of democratic legitimacy for military action. Finally, conflicts between nations with a similar level of development are discussed. The competition between imperialist states before World War I is presented, as well as the different social systems in East and West Germany, and the Cold War through the détente policy and supranational alliances (Der Hessische Kultusminister, 1972).

1973: Social Learning (Gesellschaftslehre)

In 1973 a second version appears after 8 months of provision. Five semantic changes are made, mostly renaming the fourth learning field to inter-social conflicts and peacebuilding, and the curriculum remains similar (Der Hessische Kultusminister, 1973).

1980: Social Teaching (Gesellschaftslehre) - Provisional

In 1980 another curriculum appears, following a 1978 regulation of the school law (Schulverwaltungsgesetz), to further integrate the political lesson, Geography and History into one lesson: Social Teaching (Gesellschaftslehre). The new lesson is taught between classes five and ten, when classes five and six include 180 hours, and years seven to ten include 480 hours altogether. The curriculum maintains the same learning fields: socialisation and social structure, economy, political order and public tasks, international and inter-societal relations and conflicts, and peacekeeping. The organisation of themes is changing: socialisation includes issues of groups and classes and mechanism for social change, and an explanation of changing

social values, norms and behaviours. Economy includes the following topics: working conditions of agricultural and industrial production; organisation of production in economic, social, political, legal and technical perspective; social work, division of labour, and the economic and social status of workers; distribution of production; economic structure and growth, and social interest formation based on economic issues. Political rule and public duties include the following themes: institutionalisation and legitimation of domination; organisation of political decision-making processes; control of political and social power; political and social reconciliation; and the realisation of political and social interest through a democratic constitution. International and inter-social relations and conflicts includes the following themes: structural problems of the world economy; dependence of third and fourth world states on the industrialised countries; peacekeeping issues; overcoming racial, national, and colonial issues. Overcoming religious and ideological conflicts through cooperation and integration is also presented (Der Hessische Kultusminister, 1980).

1981: Social Teaching (Gesellschaftslehre) - Provisional

This curriculum offers a more radical change to the curriculum. Social Teaching (Gesellschaftslehre) continues to be taught between classes five and ten, but the organisation of themes is different. The four learning fields remain: the economy, social structures and their changes, the dialectical dispute between state and society, and the relationship between peoples and institutions and within them. However, the fields are divided into specific topics, and are to be taught in specific classes. Classes five and six include fourteen themes, classes seven and eight include sixteen themes, and classes nine and ten include sixteen themes as well. Themes can relate to several fields, and include political, geographical, and historical comparison. Focusing on politics, we can include the following themes: social groups, institutions, social norms, values and behaviours; economic, social and political structures; political, state and

civic power; distribution of economic and social interests; human-space relations and transportation; regional and global economic structures, interdependence and inequality; institutionalisation and legitimation of power and organisation of political and state decision-making processes; political and social revolutions: English and American revolutions, enlightenment and civil society, equality between 1789 and 1918; industrialisation and technology as mechanisms for social change in the 18th and 19th century; nation states in the 19th century: imperialism, Europeanisation process, structural problems of the world economy; national socialism (1933-1945): social, political and economic conditions of Nazi rule in Germany; World War I and World War II (1914-1945): problems of peace and peacekeeping; the end of the German Reich, formation of member states and the Federal Republic of Germany: the development of Germany since 1945: cooperation and integration; political and social realisation through a democratic constitution, preserving and securing democracy, socio-political balance of interests; the Basic Law (federal constitution) and the constitution of the member state of Hesse (Der Hessische Kultusminister, 1981).

1982: Social Studies (Sozialkunde)

In 1982 a second version of the curriculum appears, where themes are organised based on classes and not fields. In summary, the curriculum includes the same themes (Der Hessische Kultusminister, 1982).

1995: Social Studies (Sozialkunde)

In 1995 a new curriculum appears, dividing the former lesson, social learning, into three different lessons: Social Studies (Sozialkunde), Geography and History. The curriculum of the Social Studies lesson is divided into four fields: individuals and society, social structures, institutions and political system, and political action. Classes 5/6 focus on the function of

school, family, rights of people with disabilities, immigration and environmental protection. Classes 7/8 teach about the legal system, foreign cultures, and the function of democracy. Furthermore, social justice is discussed in a religious context and the concept of equality in different timeframes. In classes 9/10 the European Union is discussed, the political framework of the Federal Republic of Germany, the technological development and the opportunities for social change, and international relations and peace. The living conditions in a third world states are taught jointly with geography lessons (Hessisches Kultusministerium, 1995).

2002: Social Studies (Sozialkunde)

In 2002 a new curriculum appears for Social Studies. The studies are limited to three years, where students of the Hauptschule learn 46 hours in class seven, 52 hours in class eight, and 52 hours in class ten. In class seven, the following themes are included: the city and community; environmental protection; the member state of Hessen; the family; and leisure planning. In class eight, the following themes are taught: the rule of law, the political order in the Federal Republic of Germany, Europe – human rights and peacekeeping; social market economy, and third world states – environment – ecology. Class ten includes the following themes: international relations and “one world”, equal rights, extremism and violence, peacekeeping, and social justice in the Federal Republic of Germany (Hessisches Kultusministerium, 2002).

2011: Politics and Economy (Politik und Wirtschaft)

In 2011 a new curriculum appears for all schools. The lesson Politics and Economy (Politik und Wirtschaft) is taught between years seven and nine, and includes six main fields: democracy, economy, the individual and society; society and nature, law and jurisdiction, and international relations and globalisation. The field of democracy includes the following themes:

the political system of the Federal Republic of Germany and its fundamental rights as the basis of the democratic constitutional state; today's democracies, in contrast to other systems within the framework of the parliamentary-representative system, are defined by aspects of the rule of law, in particular fundamental rights, the separation of powers, popular sovereignty, pluralism and party democracy, and elements of socio-political participation; federalism and the related levels of administration, participation and political decision-making; the role of the media in democracy in the field of conflict of democratic control function and political and economic interests; the constitutionally mandated mission to the welfare state is the basis of socially organized social justice in the Federal Republic of Germany; European integration of particular importance for the democratic process as well as for the development of the welfare state; and critical examination of anti-democratic behaviours in the immediate area of life and in supra-regional contexts. The field of economy includes the following themes: social market economy as well as the national and international integration of economy and society; the functional principles of the market, socially responsible behaviour in the economy and the position of the individual in the market; students as participants of the economic activity; economy is considered from different perspectives (critical consumer / future participant / future participant in the working life with the possibilities of self-employment or dependent employment); lobby groups (consumer associations or trade unions and employers' associations); politics and economy - the reciprocal influence of state and business; and the European context within an internationalized economy. The field of the individual and society includes the following themes: individuals and groups in society under the aspects of socialization, individuation and acculturation; society as both a prerequisite and an object of politics; the tension between individual lifestyle and social expectations; problems of social structure, gender issues, and social change; possibilities and limits of political design, social developments, and intercultural difference; and question of limits of tolerance for freedom and

anti-democratic groups and milieus. The field of the society and nature includes the following themes: the tension between economics and ecology; sustainable development should ensure the satisfaction of current and future social, economic and environmental needs; the principle of participation, generational responsibility and shared responsibility of industrialized and developing countries; and the interaction between the close-to-life close-up and superregional as well as international references. The field of the law and jurisdiction includes the following themes: the legal process under constitutionally anchored human rights and international relations; law as a result of political will-formation and decision-making processes; structural prerequisite and political and economic action; law and policy; legal regulations; freedoms and limitation of freedoms in a democracy; private-sector action in a social market economy. The field of international relations and globalisation includes the following themes: international interdependence of modern societies and the resulting global dependencies; opportunities, leverage and risks of globalisation; progressive international division of labour and the development of international cooperation; economic, cultural and political conflicts as expressions of concrete problems and conflicts of interest. The problems are expressed at regional, national and international level; the European unification process – opportunities and political and economic conflicts; the immigration society in a European and global context; and causes of migration as well as the conflicts, opportunities and problems in integration process (Hessisches Kultusministerium, 2011).

Data Analysis

During the occupation period two curricula of political lessons were developed. The first one was presented in 1948 as a provisional version, and the second one in 1949 after nine months of provision, as the official curriculum. After the occupation period, the curriculum changes in 1972, with the appearance of a provisional version, and a second version is presented in 1973

after changes. In 1980 the curriculum changes again, based on a decision to fully integrate the political lesson, Geography and History. A provisional version appears, followed by an additional provisional version in 1981. In 1982 an official curriculum appears. An amendment to the curriculum is made again in 1995, re-dividing the three lessons into independent curricula. Further changes to the political lesson curriculum are made in 2002 and 2011. Therefore, considering the curricular process to include stages of provision, the curriculum is analysed based on the following curricular development: 1948-1949 first curriculum. 1972-1973 curricular change, 1980-1981-1982 curricular change, 1995 curricular change, 2002 curricular change and 2011 curricular change.

First Curriculum: 1949

The First curriculum published in 1949 was developed by the Ministry of Education controlled by the CDU party, under the supervision of the American forces. The Ally led to the development of a new institutional arrangement, through cooperation with Ministry officials, resulting in the curriculum of “Political Lesson”. It included the following main topics: family; work and profession; citizens in the home town; the member state of Hessen, its constitutions, government, and legal system; Political organisation of the Federal Republic of Germany, and Germany as part of the world.

Institutional Change: 1972-1973

The first institutional change appeared in 1973. The lesson name was changed to “Social Teaching (Gesellschaftslehre)”, and included a wider range of themes: socialisation (family, work, authority); economy (living conditions, agrarian and industrial revolution, capitalism and German economy); public tasks (political institutions, underprivileged, government budgets, right and duties); and inter-social conflicts (national prejudice, colonialism, military apparatus,

imperialism, East and West Germany, détente period and supranational alliances). Balsler and Nonnenmacher (1997) explain that the curricular reform included a revision of the themes of all lessons, and the integration of history, geography and political lessons. Based on the analysis, the lessons were not integrated, but developed together to include different lessons with of the political themes.

Based on the analysis, this change is in accordance with the “1968 movement” trend (Roberts 2002) and the interest to change the themes taught in political lessons, leading to changes to the name of the lesson, structure and themes. Following a path-dependence perspective, the curricular institutional change stops the persistence of the institutional arrangement after 24 years. Hahn’s (1998) perspective that the change is a result of a distal correlation could not be accepted, as the mechanism of change is based on a demand by a member of the institutional coalition, and not directly to the policy designed in the occupation period. Following a gradual institutionalist perspective, the curricular institutional change was not related to a change in the political affiliation of the Ministry of Education. The SPD party took over the Ministry in 1951 and maintained control for more than twenty years, using the curriculum created by CDU beforehand. Following an ideational institutionalist perspective, the curricular institutional change could be explained on changes in the interpretation to the institutional coalition, starting with the students and finding partners in other actors of the coalition.

Institutional Change: 1980-1981-1982

The second institutional change appeared in 1982. The lesson continued to be named “Social Teaching” (Gesellschaftslehre), and included different themes: the economy, social structures and their changes, the dialectical dispute between state and society, and the relationship between peoples and institutions and within them. Geographic and historical issues are integrated together with political issues, and new themes are included: World War I, World

War II, and the national socialist history of Germany. Balsler and Nonnenmacher (1997) explain that the curricular reform was composed of a further integration of History, Geography and political lessons.

Based on the analysis, the change was indeed conducted following a 1978 School Regulation (Schulgesetz) to further integrate Geography, History, and political lessons. Following a gradual institutional perspective, the curricular institutional change was not related to a change in the political affiliation of the Ministry of Education. This is due to the fact that the SPD party continued to maintain control over the Ministry. Following an ideational institutionalist perspective, we can find an explanation in a KMK recommendation from 1972, regarding the educational qualifications. In the recreation of the Gymnasium studies, the KMK recommendation considers the lessons geography, history and political lessons to be a part of the Social Teaching field, which then led to a change in the School Regulations, leading to the pedagogic integrative change (Kultusministerkonferenz, 15 February 2018, 6). It could therefore be explained as an ideational change supported by the KMK and accepted by other actors of the coalition.

1995: Curricular Change

The third institutional development appears in 1995, following a decision to re-divide the Social Teaching lesson (Gesellschaftslehre) to independent lessons. The name of the lesson was changed to Social Studies (Sozialkunde), and included the following themes: the function of democracy, the political organisation of the Federal Republic of Germany, and the international community. New themes that are adopted as part of the curriculum include people with disabilities, environment and sustainability, social justice, technological development, and supporting third world countries. Balsler and Nonnenmacher (1997) explain that the curricular

reform was related to the fact that the education system rejected the imposed integrative change, leading to return to the former pedagogic state.

Based on the analysis, the coalition resisted the change and wished to return to former interpretation, although creating a new curriculum. Following a gradual institutional perspective, the curricular institutional change was not related to a change in the political affiliation of the Ministry of Education. The SPD party continued to maintain control over the Ministry, despite the CDU becoming the ruling party between the years 1987-1991, which did not lead to a curricular change. Following an ideational institutionalist perspective, the curricular institutional change could be explained as a resistance of teachers and principals to the 1980 curricular change. It does not relate to path dependence, but to the fact that the “loosing” actors, namely head teachers and teachers, continue to lobby for their interpretation in front of other actors, leading to ideational change.

2002: Curricular Change

The fourth institutional development appears in 2002. The lessons continued to be called Social Studies (Sozialkunde) but were taught during only three study years. They included the following themes: family and leisure, the political institutions in the city and community, member state and the Federal Republic of Germany; the rule of law, equal rights, extremism and violence, and third world countries; environmental protection, European human rights and peacekeeping efforts, social market economy, ecology, one world policy and peacekeeping.

Following a gradual institutional perspective, the curricular institutional change was preceded by a change in the political affiliation of the Ministry of Education. The CDU party received the authority over the Ministry of Education in 1999, and based on the time frame the new minister would have initiated and authorised the new curriculum. Following an ideational

institutionalist perspective, the curricular institutional change could be explained as an educational trend, which Roberts (2002) considers to be related to globalisation.

2011: Curricular Change

The fifth institutional development appears in 2011. The lesson changes its name to Politics and Economy (Politik und Wirtschaft) and includes the following themes: democracy, economy, the individual and society; society and nature, law and jurisdiction, and international relations and globalisation.

Following a gradual institutional perspective, the curricular institutional change was preceded by a change in the political affiliation of the Ministry of Education. The FDP party received the authority over the Ministry of Education in 2009, and based on the time frame the new minister would have initiated and authorised the new curriculum. Following an ideational institutionalist perspective, the curricular institutional change could be explained by a KMK recommendation from 1989, regarding expected qualifications and assessment standards. In the recreation of Social Studies/Political lesson, the KMK recommendation includes expectations on themes, pedagogy, and qualification for students in secondary education. In 2005 another version appears, which requires the member states to change their legislation by 2009 (Sekretariat der Ständigen Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 17 November 2005, 1).⁹

⁹ “The Länder are requested to implement the revised Standard Examination Requirements for Social Studies / Politics and Music at the latest by the 2009 matriculation test.”

The curricular development in Hesse is presented in figure 3.

Figure 3: Political Lessons Change in the Member State of Hesse

1949	1973	1982	1995	2002	2011
Political Lesson (Politischer Unterricht)	Social Teaching (Gesellschaftslehre)	Social Teaching (Gesellschaftslehre)	Social Studies (Sozialkunde)	Social Studies (Sozialkunde)	Politics and Economy (Politik und Wirtschaft)
First Curriculum	1968 Movement	KMK Integration	De-Integration	Globalisation/ Internal Politics	KMK Qualifications/ Internal Politics

Source: Own Research

Conclusion

Changes to the curriculum of political lessons were made in 1973, 1982, 1995, 2002 and 2011. CDU party led the creation of the first curriculum, and political affiliation of the Ministry of could explain the changes in 2002 and 2011. However, other ideational accounts on institutional change can explain all changes, and provide more sophisticated accounts on curricular changes in 2002 and 2011. Therefore, path-dependence ended in 1973, and curricular changes are explained by ideational change.

Chapter 5. The Member State of North-Rhine Westphalia

The fifth chapter presents the initial curriculum outlined under the supervision of the British forces. Afterwards, curricular developments are presented and analysed based on the three considered hypotheses.

First Curriculum of Political Lessons under the supervision of the British Forces

After the occupation, the CDU party led the ministry of Education and the first government of the member state of North-Rhine Westphalia (Gehrz, 2002, 187). In the British zone, North-Rhine Westphalia was the only member state led by the CDU party, but this did not mean that reforms were not forthcoming. The British CEO in charge of secondary education in NRW wrote in 12.1948 that “the most reactionary Land (member state) should produce such a progressive programme is certainly a matter for congratulation for our officers in North Rhine/Westphalia (187).” A first political lessons curriculum appeared in 1954 for students of the Realschule, but in 1955 the curriculum for the Volksschule appeared, published towards the end of the occupation period.

1955: Political Education (politische Bildung)

The curriculum for the political lesson, political education (politische Bildung) emerged in 1955. The lesson was to be taught in classes seven and eight, and repeated more thoroughly in classes nine to ten. The material is not based on classes, but on themes. The theme “In the Democratic state each citizen is jointly responsible,” discusses the following issues: voting – municipal council, city council, district council, member state parliament, and Bundestag. Under the theme “In the Democratic state, fundamental rights protect everybody”, the following subjects are presented: abuse of power, secrecy of letters, inviolability of the apartment, right of property, freedom of assembly, freedom of expression and freedom of the

press, equality before the law, equal rights for women, and limitations of laws (warrants, expropriation, protection of the youth). Under the theme “In the rule of law, the judge upholds the law”, the following institutions are included: arbitration office, juvenile court, traffic judges and inheritance. The theme “the social state secures the citizen” accounts for compulsory and private insurance, protection of workers, mothers, teenagers and children, and the work of charities. Under the theme “in economic life one manages the other”, the following matters are presented: basic economic definitions such as wages and prices, power of consumers, property formation and cooperatives, employers and employees, and professional associations such as guilds and unions. The theme “people and states are also dependent on each other” includes the following main topics: export and import, cultural exchanges, international cooperation and UNESCO, the UN and the Universal Postal Union, the Geneva Conventions, and the Youth Red Cross. The final theme concludes “divided Germany brings hardship and tasks” (Kultusministerium des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1955).

1956: Political Education Booklet (Politische Bildung und Erziehung)

In 1956 the Ministry of Education publishes a booklet on political lessons, including the various curricula, recommendations and regulations on the topic (Politische Bildung und Erziehung) (Kultusministerium des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1957).

1964: Political Education Booklet (Politische Bildung und Erziehung)

In 1964 the Ministry of Education publishes another version of the booklet on political lessons, including the various curricula, recommendations and regulations on the topic (Politische Bildung und Erziehung) (Kultusministerium des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1964).

Political Lessons Curricular Development

1973: Political Lesson (politischer Unterricht) - Provisional

In 1973 the new provisional curriculum is presented, in order to reform the teaching of political education. It is the first change presented after 1955, and includes the first change for classes nine and ten. The new political lesson (politischer Unterricht) is directed at students of all school structures. The curriculum focuses on six learning fields: school, family, free time, profession, the general public, and international relations. Class nine includes the five sections. The first section focuses on school, and includes the following themes: competition or cooperation between students?: behaviour in groups and organisations; students representing students: through participation in a social organisation; is there a “proper” school order?: conflicts between students and teaching. The second section on family introduces the themes: only a girl?: role expectations in the modern family; are you allowed to have a say children?: democratisation of the family; labour-saving device or status symbol?: consumption decisions in the household. The third section includes themes related to free time, such as: about my free time I decide alone!: possibilities and limitations of leisure behaviour; holiday reservation: leisure and leisure industries. The fourth section on the general public tackles the next issues: information or manipulation?: tasks and working methods of the mass media; “the conversation with the viewer: the individual and the media; does property confer power?: on the basic conditions and contradictions in the market economy system. The final section is also related to the general public, and includes two themes: federal elections – an election? About depoliticization tendencies in the current electoral system; “safety for all!”: dangers of commercialisation of the election campaign. Class ten includes four sections. The first section on profession includes the following issues: career choice - a choice?: the career choice between constraints and personal desires; just wage?: from the different evaluation of the work performance. The second section about the general public includes the topics: stepchildren of

the affluent society: from the underprivileged groups of the meritocracy; future without a car?: about prioritization in coping with public tasks; strike - a means of political debate?: the principle of solidarity in democratic society. The third section on international relations holds within it several themes: development aid – a call for unwanted competition?: the relationship between "rich" and "poor" countries; peace - if necessary by force?: of the necessity of peacekeeping; foreign policy in the service of the big industries?: on the influence of economic interests on foreign policy; national egoism or international cooperation?: the possibilities and limits of worldwide cooperation. The last section is not defined, giving teachers the possibility to include a topic of their choice based on daily politics (Der Kultusminister des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1973).

1974: Political Lesson (politischer Unterricht)

The following year a second edition of the curriculum, expanding the political lesson to classes five to ten was published. The curriculum continues to include six learning fields: school, family, free time, profession, the general public, and international relations. In class five and six, the theme of school relates to communication between students and teachers. The theme of family includes the father as the main worker and the influence of the economy on the household. The theme of free time includes the following topics: "Ulrich may not play along": role behaviour in play groups; "what do we do on the weekend?": conflicting desires in the planning of the leisure time and problems in its realisation. The theme of profession discusses the function and purpose of work. The theme of general public relates to the following issues: playground or parking lot?: political decision at the municipal level; "where to go with the dirt?": pollution in industrial regions; "it has even been in the newspaper!": information content and opinion; "does it only depend on the Chancellor?": the distribution of power in the parliamentary system; "I need pocket money!": the function of money. The theme of

international relations presents the issues of UNICEF and development aid. In classes seven and eight, the theme of school brings about homework and education between steering of teachers and co-decision with students. The theme of family presents the purchase power and class-socialisation issues. The theme of free time introduces “fire chair and bicycle chain”: aggressive behaviour of young people. The theme of profession discusses social security of employees and “just wage?”: from the different evaluation of the work performance. The theme of general public presents several issues: “before that you have to be careful!”: deviating behaviour and prejudices against minorities; information or manipulation?: tasks and working methods of the mass media; “you can sell everything!”: function of advertising in the market economy; “The consumer is king”: consumer behaviour and its effects on the market; “do politicians have to argue?”: the function of the political decision-making parties; “now I call the police!”: state use of force and its borders in the rule of law. The final theme international relations presents the importance of international peacekeeping efforts. Classes nine and ten remain the same, except for four topics taught now in classes seven and eight, and semantic changes (Der Kultusminister des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1974).

1987: Political Lesson (politikunterricht)

The year 1987 presents a third version of the curriculum originally published in 1973. The political lesson (politikunterricht) is aimed for students of all school structures and is taught in classes five to ten. The curriculum is now reorganised into four learning fields: society, economy, the general public, and national and international relations. In addition to that, school, family, free time and profession are used as a secondary field in each of the learning fields, as well as city, state, parties, associations, world society, and public opinion. Except for semantic changes, the themes remain the same (Der Kultusminister des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1987).

2001: Politics (Politik) or as part of an integrated lesson Social and Labour Teaching (Gesellschafts- und Arbeitslehre)

With the beginning of the new millennium, a new curriculum for political education is decided upon, as the old one hasn't been reformed for many years, and the new age brings new meanings to political education. The curriculum is directed to students of all schools, under different titles, and in the Hauptschule it is taught as politics (Politik) or as part of an integrated lesson Social and Labour Teaching (Gesellschafts- und Arbeitslehre). It should be taught in years seven and eight. Unlike previous years, the curriculum does not include specific topics, but defines eight "learning fields" and themes within them that should be taught. The curriculum includes eight learning fields: securing and advancing democracy, economy and work, opportunities and problems of internationalisation and globalisation, ecological challenges for politics and the economy, opportunities and risks of new technologies, identity and life in the change of modern society, social justice between individual freedom and structural inequalities, and securing peace and the process of conflict resolution. The first learning field, securing and advancing democracy, includes the following topics: relationships between politics and life; traditional and new forms of political participation in democracy; theories and conceptions of democracy; fundamentals, threats and protection of fundamental human rights; principles and problems of democratic institutions; causes of and the defence from political extremism and xenophobia. The second theme, economy and work, presents the following issues: economic policy objectives, decision-making fields, decision makers and instruments; principles and functioning of the market economy; perspectives of the "post-industrial" economy; structural change of companies; young people in the consumer society; the future of work and work. The third learning field, opportunities and problems of internationalisation and globalisation, introduces the following themes: causes and consequences of immigration as well as opportunities and difficulties of intercultural

coexistence; Europeanisation processes in business, politics and society; economic, political and cultural consequences of globalisation processes; developing countries and development policy. The fourth learning field, ecological challenges for politics and the economy, brings about several subjects: ecological challenges in business private, professional and economic action; environmental policy in the field of tension between economy and ecology; sustainability as a design principle for politics and business; global aspects of environmental crises and livelihood initiatives. The fifth learning field, opportunities and risks of new technologies, includes: change in private and professional everyday life through technological innovations; consequences and opportunities of new technologies for the economy; political, social and economic consequences of new media; economic, political and ethical aspects of technological innovation. The sixth learning field, identity and life in the change of modern society, discusses the following issues: personal identity and personal life in the field of tension of self-realisation and social expectations; stability and change of values, value systems and normative orientations; gender equality and the coexistence of generations; chances and dangers of group processes; social security and individual future planning. The seventh learning field, social justice between individual freedom and structural inequalities, presents the following topics: causes and consequences of social change in modern societies; the distribution of opportunities and resources in society; structures and future problems of the welfare state and social policy; exclusion and deviant behaviour. The eighth learning field, securing peace and the process of conflict resolutions, concludes with these themes: dealing with conflicts in everyday life; violence prevention as a state and social task; mechanisms of violent escalation; current problems and perspectives of peace and security policy; the possibility of mass destruction as a challenge to peace policy (Ministerium für Schule, Wissenschaft und Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, 2001).

2004: Economy (ökonomische Bildung)

In 2004, a decision is made to include economic education (ökonomische Bildung) as part of political education, which will be taught in addition to the regular curriculum on political education. It does not negate the previous topics, but adds further “problem fields”: consumer sovereignty - sales strategies, market - market processes between competition, concentration and market power, monetary stability, production - technical progress - structural change, work and employment in a changing industrial environment, service and information society, income and social security between the benefit principle and social justice, ecological challenges/ relationship between economy and ecology, and social market economy challenges through internationalisation and globalisation (Ministerium für Schule, Jugend und Kinder des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, 2004).

Data Analysis

During the occupation period the curriculum of political lessons was developed, and published in 1955. After the end of the occupation period, further guidance was published in 1956 and 1964, but presented the first curriculum. The curriculum changes in 1973, with the appearance of a provisional version, and a second version in 1974 after changes. In 1987 a third version of the curriculum appears. In 2001 a further development of the political lesson is made, and in 2004 a new educational field is introduced to the political lessons: economy. Therefore, the curriculum is analysed based on the following curricular development: 1955 first curriculum. 1973-1974 curricular change, 2001 curricular change, and 2004 curricular change.

1955: First Curriculum

The first curriculum was by the Ministry of Education under the control of CDU, and with the guidance of the British Forces. The lesson was called Political Education (politische Bildung)

and was taught during four study years. It included the following themes: democracy, human rights and freedoms, the rule of law, social state, economy, international relations and institutions, and East and West Germany.

Institutional Changes: 1973-1974-1987

The first institutional development appears in 1974. The lesson was called Political Lesson (politischer Unterricht), and included the following themes: school (competition or cooperation, student representation and student-teacher relations), family (work, class, gender, equality and consumption in the household), free time (playtime, aggressive behaviour, leisure behaviour and possibilities), profession (purpose of work, social security, career choice and working conditions), the general public (political system and decisions, the media, market economy, elections, underprivileged groups, prejudice against minorities and social solidarity), and international relations (rich and poor countries, peacekeeping efforts, international economy and international cooperation). Balsler and Nonnenmacher (1997) explain that the curricular reforms did not change the curriculum in a profound way.

Based on the analysis, this change is a significant change, reframing the themes and adding new ones. The change in accordance with the “1968 movement” trend (Roberts 2002) and the interest to change the themes taught in political lessons, leading to changes to the name of the lesson, structure and themes. Following a path-dependence perspective, the curricular institutional change stops the persistence of the institutional arrangement after 19 years. Hahn’s (1998) perspective that the change is a result of a distal correlation could not be accepted, as the mechanism of change is related to environmental shifts and not directly to the policy conducted under the Allies. Following a gradual institutional perspective, the curricular institutional change was not related to a change in the political affiliation of the Ministry of Education. Already between the years 1956-1958 the FDP party was in charge of education

policy, but the curriculum did not change. The CDU party took over the Ministry in 1958 and led the policy creation until 1966, but no changes to the curriculum were recorded. In 1966 the SPD party took over the Ministry, and might have impacted the institutional change, but a new curriculum had appeared earlier. Based on the timeline of curricular development, the process takes between two to four years. Between the beginning of the SPD's control over the Ministry of Education in 1966 and the first provisional curriculum in 1973 seven years pass. Following an ideational institutionalist perspective, the curricular institutional change could be explained on changes in the interpretation to the institutional coalition, starting with the students and finding partners in other actors of the coalition

It is important to note that the appearance of another curriculum in 1987 does not seem to include any real changes to the curriculum, besides reorganisation to learning fields. The themes remain similar, as well as the titles, except for two minimal semantic changes.

Institutional Changes: 2001

The second institutional development appears in 2001. The lesson changed its name to "Politics" (Politik) or was taught as part of an integrated lesson called "Social and Labour Teaching" (Gesellschafts- und Arbeitslehre). It included the following themes: securing and advancing democracy, economy and work, opportunities and problems of internationalisation and globalisation, ecological challenges for politics and the economy, opportunities and risks of new technologies, identity and life in the change of modern society, social justice between individual freedom and structural inequalities, securing peace and the conflict resolution.

Based on the analysis, the curriculum was not changed for many years and that the new millennium required curricular change. Following a gradual institutional perspective, the curricular institutional change was not related to a change in the political affiliation of the Ministry of Education. The SPD party is in charge of the Ministry since 1966. Following an

ideational institutionalist perspective, the curricular institutional change could be explained as another educational trend, which Roberts (2002) considers to be related to globalisation.

Institutional Changes: 2004

The third institutional development appears in 2004, when it is decided to add Economy (ökonomische Bildung) as a theme in political education. It does not change the political curriculum but includes a new theme in addition to it.

Based on the analysis, the curricular change is explained by a recommendation of the KMK, about economic education in schools from 2001. In the report from 2008, the member state explains that the result impacted the creation of another theme added to political lessons in the 2004 curriculum. (Sekretariat der Ständigen Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. (27 June 2008, 75). Following a gradual institutional perspective, the curricular institutional change was not related to a political alternation. The SPD party is in charge of the Ministry since 1966. Following an ideational institutionalist perspective, we can find an explanation in a KMK recommendation from 1972. It could therefore be explained as an ideational change initiated by KMK accepted by other actors of the coalition.

The curricular development in North-Rhine Westphalia is presented in figure 4.

Figure 4: Political Lessons Change in the Member State of North-Rhine Westphalia

1955	1984	2001	2004
Political Education (Politische Bildung)	Political Lesson (Politischer Unterricht)	Politics (Politik)	Adding Economy (Ökonomische Bildung)
First Curriculum	1968 Movement	Globalisation/ KMK Qualifications	KMK Decision

Source: Own Research

Conclusion

Changes to the curriculum of political lessons were made in 1974, 2001, and 2004. CDU party led the creation of the first curriculum, and political affiliation of the Ministry of could not explain the curricular changes. However, other ideational accounts for institutional change can explain all changes, Therefore, path-dependence ended in 1974, and curricular changes are explained by ideational change.

Chapter 6. The Member State of Rhineland-Palatinate

The sixth chapter presents the initial curriculum outlined under the supervision of the French forces. Afterwards, curricular developments are presented and analysed based on the three considered hypotheses.

First Curriculum of Political Lessons under the supervision of the French Forces

The first elections in Rhineland-Palatinate produced a CDU-led government, and placed the education portfolio in the hands of a CDU politician. They encountered the fierce re-education efforts of the French ECOs, who seemed to their British colleagues to be very intensive, and reminding of the French colonialization efforts in other regions of the world (Gehrz, 2002, 103). The first political lessons curriculum that appeared in 1949 was created with the cooperation of the French military government, and was valid for students in all the member states in the French zone: Baden, Rhineland-Palatinate, and Württemberg-Hohenzollern. An the themes for political lessons was published in 1952.

1949: Civic Studies (Staatbürgerkunde) - Provisional

The first curriculum for the Volksschule was developed with the military government for the use of all member states in the French Zone. The new lesson, civic studies (Staatbürgerkunde) was created for a provision period of three years, and was taught in classes seven and eight. The curriculum focuses on five main themes: the family, the community, the hometown and the region, the member state, and the constitution. The theme “the family as an example of a natural community” includes the following topics: emergence of the family, its structure, family in the narrower and wider sense; family as an economic community, diligence, perseverance, and thriftiness; family as a community. Duties and rights of the family member; love, loyalty, reverence, obedience; family as a foster home of culture and good manners.

Evening and leisure activities. Family celebrations. Education of children. Religious life; the meaning of family honour. The theme “the essence of the natural community” presents the man as an individual and as a community, and the tension between individualism and being a part of a group. The theme “natural and arbitrary communities” includes the home town community (and within it the will of the people, the work on the municipal council, elections and activity of mayors and local councils, the tasks of the administration, and the relationship between the community and the family and its members), and the regional community (and its administration and tasks). The theme “the member state” presents the nature and origin of the member state, the forms and tasks of the member states, and the various competing parties. The theme “regulation of our national life through the constitution” holds within itself several topics: the tension between the state and the family and its members; education and upbringing as tasks of the state; state and church; social and ethical tasks of the state; state and economy; legislation; administration; and the function of the judiciary. Finally, a summary of the virtues a law-obeying citizen must have in a democratic state are summed up (Ministerien der Länder Baden, Rheinland-Pfalz, Württemberg-Hohenzollern, 1949).

1952: Political Community Studies (Politische Gemeinschaftskunde)

In 1952, a wider state-focused description of political education appeared, based on the former curriculum. The political lesson, Political Community studies (Politische Gemeinschaftskunde), was taught to all students of the Volksschule in classes seven and eight. The curriculum focuses on four main fields: family, community, people, and state. Twelve themes are presented, and 24 lessons are offered to include these themes. The themes are: the playground community, the school community, the family, associations, the municipality, the region, co-responsibility of citizens in the community; the legal system; the implementation of laws; the constitution; the federal parliament; and supranational communities. The theme of

association, includes the “belonging of the individual family members to professional associations and associations (the youth organisation as the closest example of an orderly agreement based on a constitution).” The theme of the municipality (village or urban community) presents the following definitions: parish; self-administration; elections; council meeting; community ownership; taxes; school and community; public facilities (swimming pool, folk bookshop, fire brigade, police, hospital, traffic control). The theme of the region discusses several topics: the Landrat; regional administration and subdivision into offices and mayors; non-profit organizations of the district (district hospital, agricultural school, cooperatives, savings banks, guild association). The theme of “action and co-responsibility of each individual in the life of the community” holds within the following issues: the participation of the members in clubs and in the cooperative; participation in the self-administration of the community; the church council; the district; the responsible participation in the election of all parliamentary bodies; identification of interest groups (political parties) in the composition of democratic bodies. The theme of “how a decision or a law comes about” presents the work of the municipality, district, state, and federal government. The theme of “the implementation of laws” explains the division of power between the federal government, the member state government, the president of the regional government, Landrat, and mayor. The constitution of Rhineland-Palatinate is the next theme, followed by the federal parliament (composed on the Bundestag and Bundesrat), the federal government and the federal constitution. The final theme of supranational communities includes: organisations such as the Red Cross, Olympic Games, UN, and Benelux; world economy and world traffic; humanity as a big family; and the union of mankind as a Christian ideal. The offered lessons are: we lost in a game; we choose the speaker of the class; father is unemployed; our house rules; we participate in a meeting of the youth group; the city council; the city council buys new furniture for us; immigrants come to our village; the Landrat and its members (we must be vaccinated,

the school council is there, foot-and-mouth disease has broken out); in the village (in the city) a new mayor is chosen; father is the head of the association; what will I do – what should I do?; we save money in a building-cooperative; our street has potholes – we need a new street; which parliament member of your district belongs to the Bundestag?; the house was broken into while shopping; in our street someone was arrested; our parents go to vote; we help the red cross; the Olympic bell is ringing; we receive a gift package; our neighbour is moving out; a European youth camp at the Lorelei; How Marshall plan helps our homeland (Amtsblatt des Ministeriums für Unterricht und Kultus von Rheinland-Pfalz, 25. March 1952).

Political Lessons Curricular Development

1968: Social studies (Sozialkunde) - Provisional

The new curriculum for Hauptschule students is created based on the adoption of the 1964 Hamburg agreements, a federal agreement changing the school system. The Hauptschule replaces the Volksschule, leading to the development of new lessons, social studies (Sozialkunde), taught between the classes seven and nine. In the seventh class one weekly hour is dedicated to political studies, in class eight two hours, and in the ninth class three hours. The curriculum focuses on four main fields: state order and supranational relations, fundamental order of the society, law, economy and working world. These are taught through a variety of themes in each class. Class seven focuses on communities, and the following themes are taught: our class is a community (what is a community?; class and school regulations; possibilities of student participation), our family is a natural community (we belong together [community of life and destiny]; our family book tells [relationships, family tree ...]; our family has to divide their money [income, budgeting, saving ...], we live in a community (the community cares for us [tasks of the community, projects and plans - where does the community get the money?]; great tasks solve the communities together [schools, hospitals, water supply, sewage treatment

plants ...], the community associations; economic structure of our community [companies, occupational groups, job profiles ...]; the cultural life in our community [parish, folk education, associations ...]), and the community is watching over the law (from the offense [criminal case]; when two citizens quarrel [civil process]; legal capacity, criminal responsibility and juvenile justice). In class eight, the function of a democracy is the main topic, in addition to several topics. The topic “our country Rhineland-Palatinate” presents the following issues: administrative structure: municipality - office - district - administrative district - country; diet - history of our country - judiciary in the state of Rhineland -Palatinate. Another topic is “occupational areas and job descriptions” as it serves as a preparation for career choice. The topic “the Federal Republic of Germany” presents an overview of the Federal Republic of Germany, the member states, the structure and organs of the Federal Republic (separation of powers, forms of power control), the constitution and the Basic law. The topic “the whole Germany” discusses the division of Germany into East and West Germany, and the status of Berlin. The topic “the voter decides” includes the following sub-topics: all state power emanates from the people; group formation in politics (parties); active and passive suffrage; we are following an election campaign, the parliament members, and government formation. The topic “how is a law passed” shows the different stages of legislation: a law becomes necessary; initiation of laws; submission of bills; readings; committee work; opposition; and adoption of the bill as a law. The topic “human dignity is inviolable” includes the following matters: fight for human rights in history; postal secrecy; inviolability of the apartment; protection against deprivation of liberty; freedom of expression; right of assembly and association; right to property; freedom of belief and conscience; equality before the law; and restriction of fundamental rights. The final topic discusses other forms of political systems and governments, such as absolutism, dictatorship, and monarchy. Class nine focuses on the interaction between man and the modern world, and includes several topics. The topic “insight

into the economy” clarifies the production chain from raw materials to the consumer, and the different production means in an industrial and agricultural state; the various companies and their workings are presented, and the responsibility of the consumer is advised. The topic “the modern working world” includes several issues: profession or job; further education; the social partners: workers and employers and their organizations; law and protection of working people; social ideas: Liberalism - Marxism – Socialism; and Christian social design. The topic “family in our time” presents the function of the husband and wife as life companions and as parents, gender issues and the professional lives of women, inheritance and matrimonial law, and the protection and promotion of the family by the member state. The topic “our free time” discusses the concept of free time, and different forms of free time activities: newspapers, magazines, books; film, radio, television; mass media and free opinion; concert and theatre; sports; public education institutions; clubs and youth groups; vacation; and the design of leisure as an individual task. The final topic of “world in transformation”, concludes with the following issues: European unification, international alliances, the international business markets, international organizations, “continents change their face”, and development aid (Ministerium für Unterricht und Kultus, 01 December 1968).

1978: Social studies (Sozialkunde) - Provisional

In 1978 a new proposal for the political lesson appears, after curricular changes to the political lesson in Gymnasium for classes nine to eleven in 1971, and changes to the aims of the lesson in 1972. A committee was commissioned in 1974 to consider the former curriculum and develop a new one. The new lesson, social studies (Sozialkunde) is taught in the Hauptschule between classes seven and nine. Class seven focuses on communities, and includes the following themes: the school class as a group, the community as a political action field, and the family as a socialisation agent. Class eight present several issues related to the political life:

dealing with mass media (political opinion forming), functions of communal and political associations, and law and jurisdiction. Class nine includes the issues concerning federal and international politics: the political order of the Federal Republic of Germany, socialism in the GDR, and problems of international relations (Kultusministerium Rheinland-Pfalz, 1978).

1984: Social studies (Sozialkunde)

The curriculum for social studies (Sozialkunde) follows the former provisional curriculum, and is taught in the Hauptschule between classes seven and nine. The new lesson allocates hours to each of the topics, 25 hours in class seven and eight, and 24 hours in class nine. Class seven focuses on communities, and includes the following themes: living together in the classroom (7 hours), education and social life in the family (8 hours), and political participation in the community (10 hours). Class eight present several issues related to the political life: tasks of the mass media (6 hours), the political order of the Federal Republic of Germany - the member state of Rhineland-Palatinate (14 hours), and law and jurisdiction (5 hours). Class nine includes the issues federal and international politics: socialism in the GDR (9 hours) and peacekeeping as an international task (15 hours). Overall, the curriculum stays the same, when the theme of federal system moves from class nine to class eight, and some semantic changes are made for the titles (Kultusministerium Rheinland-Pfalz, 1984).

1992: Social studies (Sozialkunde) - Provisional

The new proposal for a curriculum for social studies (Sozialkunde) follows the former one, providing material for Hauptschule students between classes seven and nine. The curriculum adds another year at class ten as an optional year, and allocates 25 hours to each of the topics in each study year. Class seven focuses on communities, and includes the following themes: young people in social groups (7 hours), education and social learning in the family (8 hours),

and political participation in the municipality, in the region, and in the member state of Rhineland-Palatinate (10 hours). Class eight present several issues related to the political life: handling of the mass media (6 hours), law and jurisdiction (5 hours), and the political order of the Federal Republic of Germany (part 1) (14 hours). Class nine includes the issues concerning federal and international politics: the political order of the Federal Republic of Germany (part 2) (10 hours), the process of European unification (6 hours), and peacekeeping as a task of international politics (9 hours). Class ten, which is optional, includes the following themes: the Federal Republic of Germany as a welfare state (12 hours) and political participation in the regional area (13 hours). Overall, the curriculum stays the same, when the division of themes changes: the member state moves class eight to class seven, and the federal system is taught in two parts, and European unification is included as a new theme. The topic of East Germany is deducted based on the unification of Germany a year earlier. Class ten includes extra topics on social policy (Ministerium für Bildung und Kultur, 1992).

1998: Social studies (Sozialkunde)

In 1998, the curriculum is published after five years of provision. It includes for the first time curricula for geography, history and social studies (Sozialkunde) in one social teaching learning field (Gesellschaftswissenschaften), however divided to different lessons. The curriculum continues to be taught between classes seven and nine with an additional optional year at class ten, allocating 25 hours to each of the topics in each study year. Class seven focuses on communities, and includes the following themes: young people in social groups (7 hours), education and social learning in the family (8 hours), and political participation in the municipality, in the region, and in the member state of Rhineland-Palatinate (10 hours). Class eight present several issues related to the political life: handling of the mass media (6 hours), law and jurisdiction (5 hours), and the political order of the Federal Republic of Germany (part

1) (14 hours). Class nine includes the issues federal and international politics: the political order of the Federal Republic of Germany (part 2) (10 hours), the process of European unification (6 hours), and peacekeeping as a task of international politics (9 hours). Class ten, which is optional, includes the following themes: the Federal Republic of Germany as a welfare state (12 hours) and political participation in the regional area (13 hours) (Ministerium für Bildung und Kultur, 1998).

2016: Social studies (Sozialkunde)

The new curriculum is published after a decision was made in 2009 in the Landtag to revise the curriculum based on new vexing topics, such as World War II and German reunification, climate change, and globalisation, and in order to emphasise democratisation studies. A commission was formed between 2012 and 2014 to create an overarching curriculum for the three lessons in the social teaching learning field (Gesellschaftswissenschaften), however divided into geography, history, and social studies (Sozialkunde). Furthermore, the Hauptschule is dissolved and is integrated with the Realschule to include a new school structure: Realschule plus, in addition to the Gymnasium. The curriculum is taught in three classes, seven to nine, allocating 30 hours for each study year. Class seven focuses on the following themes: democracy in the field of experience of young people (12 hours), family in the society and member state (8 hours), and life in the media society (10 hours). Class eight includes the following themes: economy (14 hours) and the political order of the Federal Republic of Germany (16 hours). Class nine presents the following themes: law and jurisdiction (8 hours), politics in the European Union (10 hours), and peace and security (10 hours). Overall, the curriculum maintains its order, with slight changes to the themes. Political engagement in the family, society and member state are merged into one theme, economy appears as a theme,

and some semantic changes to the titles are made (Ministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft, Weiterbildung und Kultur, 2016).

Data Analysis

During the occupation period the curriculum of political lessons was developed, and published in 1952. It was preceded by a curriculum published by the French Military government in 1949 for all the member states in the French zone, and an individual political curriculum was published in 1952. After the end of the occupation period, a provisional curriculum was published in 1968, with the development of the Realschule. The curriculum changes in 1978, with the appearance of a provisional version, and a second version is presented in 1984. Further versions of the same curriculum in 1992 as a provisional version, and in 1998. The 2016 version maintains the same themes. Therefore, the curriculum is analysed based on the following curricular development: 1952 first curriculum. 1968 curricular change, and 1978-1984-1992-1998-2016 curricular change.

1952: First Curriculum

The first curriculum was developed in 1952 based on the preferences of the CDU party, under direct control of the French forces. The lesson was called Political Community Studies (Politische Gemeinschaftskunde) and included the following themes: the playground community, the school community, the family, associations, the municipality, the region, co-responsibility of citizens in the community; the legal system; the implementation of laws; the constitution; the federal parliament; and supranational communities

1968: Curricular Change

The first institutional development appears in a provisional curriculum in 1968. The lesson was called Social Studies (Sozialkunde), and included the following themes: the communities (class, family, city, and legal protection), democracy (Rhineland-Palatinate, the Federal Republic of Germany, East and West Germany, voting and legislation processes, human rights and political systems) and the modern world (economy, family relations, free time, and international relations). An official version after revision was not found, and Balser and Nonnenmacher (1997) do not relate to this change as part of curricular analysis.

Based on the analysis, the curricular institutional change is related to a KMK decision from 1964, the Hamburg Agreements, on school structures. The decision led to the development of Hauptschule and Realschule out of the Volksschule (Sekretariat der Ständigen Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. (10 May 2001, 2). In most cases the Volksschule turned directly into the Hauptschule, but in this case the member state chose to create a new curriculum. Following a path-dependence perspective, the curricular institutional change stops the persistence of the institutional arrangement after 16 years. Following a gradual institutional perspective, the curricular institutional change was not related to a change in the political affiliation of the Ministry of Education. The CDU party continued to have authority over the Ministry. Following an ideational institutionalist perspective, we can find an explanation in a KMK recommendation from 1964, explaining the change as related an ideational change supported by the KMK and accepted by other actors of the coalition.

1978-1984-1992-1998-2016: Curricular Change

The second institutional development appears in 1978. The preface explains that it follows changes starting in 1971, first to the political lessons in the Gymnasium, and since 1974 in the Hauptschule. The lesson was called Social Studies (Sozialkunde) and included the following

themes: the communities (class, family, and city), political life (mass media, associations, legal affairs) and federal and international politics (West Germany, East Germany, and international relations). Balsler and Nonnenmacher (1997) do not relate to this change as part of their analysis.

Based on the analysis, this change is in accordance with the “1968 movement” trend (Roberts 2002) and the interest to change the themes taught in political lessons, leading to changes to the name of the lesson, structure and themes. Following a gradual institutional perspective, the curricular institutional change was not related to a change in the political affiliation of the Ministry of Education. The CDU party maintains control over the Ministry until 1991, at which point the SPD party starts holding the portfolio of education. It is correct that an additional theme was added in an additional optional year in the 1992 curriculum, but the change is minor in comparison to the content of the curriculum. Furthermore, less than year is not sufficient enough to develop a curriculum, raising the probability that the political change did not lead to a curricular change. Following an ideational institutionalist perspective, the curricular institutional change could be explained on changes in the interpretation to the institutional coalition, starting with the students and finding partners in other actors of the coalition.

Further changes to the curriculum appear in 1992, 1998, and 2016 but include minimal changes. The 1992 curriculum adds an additional year and deducts a theme (East Germany), and the 2016 curriculum adds economy as a theme. Balsler and Nonnenmacher (1997) relate to the 1992 change as related to a political modification when SPD takes over the Ministry of Education in 1991. This is not found to be true, since a year passes between the political change and the development of a new curriculum, a period which is not sufficient for the creation of a curriculum. Furthermore, the content of the curriculum persists, eliminating one theme which is no longer relevant after the reunification of Germany. The analysis of the further changes in 1992 and in 2016 is also complicated, as themes were deducted and added based on “layering”

on top of the former curriculum: In 1992 the elimination of “East Germany” as a theme, and in 2016 adding “Economy” as a theme. However, unlike the case on NRW 2004 when an extended change to the curriculum was made, in these cases the change does not suffice to account for an institutional changes as it does not represent an interpretational change.

The curricular development in North-Rhine Westphalia is presented in figure 5.

Figure 5: Political Lessons Change in the Member State of Rhineland-Palatinate

1952	1968	1978
Political Community Studies (Politische Gemeinschaftskunde)	Social Studies (Sozialkunde)	Social Studies (Sozialkunde)
First Curriculum	KMK Change to School Structure	1968 Movement

Source: Own Research

Conclusion

Changes to the curriculum of political lessons were made in 1968, and 1978. CDU party led the creation of the first curriculum, and political affiliation of the Ministry of could not explain the in 1968 and 1978. However, other ideational accounts for institutional change can explain for the changes. Therefore, path-dependence ended in 1968, and curricular changes are explained by ideational change.

Chapter 7. Conclusion

The seventh chapter presents the conclusion. The introduction includes a synopsis of the research puzzle, literature review, and research question, followed by an explanation of the methodology and operationalisation of variables and hypotheses. A general discussion on the influence of the explanatory variables is made based on the empirical data traced in the thesis. The key findings present the validity of the hypothesised causal relations based on the general discussion, followed by a passage on the research implication. Finally, the contribution to the academic knowledge is acknowledged, and recommendations are made for further research.

Introduction

At the end of World War II the Allied forces decided to occupy Nazi Germany, in order to create a deep socio-cultural change and develop a sustainable democratic political culture (Gehrz, 2002). Intervening in political education policy, the Western allies intended to socialise the people into a new political culture paradigm, thereby empowering them to support the democratic political process, structure and values (Fuchs, 2007). With the persistence of democracy in Germany and manipulation of political education mechanism, the thesis embarked on an investigation of the institutional development of the policy. The academic literature did not reach a consensus concerning the influence of the Western Allies on the conception of political education, and its further development. One perspective suggested that it was not the American, British, and French forces that led to the creation of a new policy during the occupation period (Robinson and Kulmann, 1967), but rather political affiliation. Another perspective had a bigger appreciation of the efforts made by the Allies (Hahn, 1998). Moreover, Roberts (2002) relates to political education policy as political lessons, and says not only were the Allies responsible for the emergence of democratic political education, but other trends led to institutional change – such as the 1968 movement, and globalisation before the

turn of the millennium. Balsler and Nonnenmacher (1997) present the curricular development of political lessons across member states, finding several mechanisms for institutional change: political affiliation of the Ministries of Education, or a change lobbied for by one of the actors in the institutional coalition.

The literature of historical institutionalism determines that an institutional arrangement, such as the political education policy, is generated after an event, usually of exogenous origin, and leads to a short period of institutional recreation and a longer period of institutional persistence (Capoccia, 2015). This event, “a critical juncture”, leads to “path-dependence” based on the appearance of new socio-cultural conditions, a change to the coalition, and an ideational interpretative change at the initial stage (Capoccia, 2016). However, recent studies explain that institutional change is also possible due to endogenous changes. Not considering the antecedent structural conditions, institutional change could emerge based on a change to the coalition (Mahoney and Thelen, 2009). A “gradual institutional change” is due to alternation of power and legitimacy among actors in the coalition. A new coalition could be created where political power is vested in an actor who pursues other interests of the institutional arrangement. Furthermore, Blyth (2002) describes an institutional change due to a normative modification of the institutional arrangement, that is the values and norms underpinning the function of the institution. Such an “ideational institutional change” could begin with a member of the coalition, usually a “loser” who wishes to alter the policy for higher rent. Further members of the existing coalition may accept the new interpretation and develop a new policy.

The research question therefore investigated the mechanisms of institutional development of the political education policy in the Federal Republic of Germany between 1945-2019. Considering political education to be more profound through the curriculum of political lessons in lower-secondary schools, three hypotheses are pronounced: The first hypothesis considers that “the exogenous intervention of the Western Allies explains the variation in political

education policy across member states in the Federal Republic of Germany between 1945 and present-day”. Capoccia’s (2015) argument of “path-dependence” serves as the explanatory theory of self-reproduction to explain variation in political education policy across time. The second hypothesis considers that “The political affiliation of the Ministry of Education explains the variation in political education policy across member states in the Federal Republic of Germany between 1945 and present-day.” Mahoney and Thelen (2010)’s argument of a “gradual institutional change” serves as the explanatory theory of institutional change to the political coalition to explain variation in political education policy across time.

The third hypothesis considers that: “the norms and values underpinning the institution explain the variation in political education policy across member states in the Federal Republic of Germany between 1945 and present-day.” Blyth (2002) argument of “ideational institutional change” serves as the explanatory theory of institutional change within the political coalition to explain variation in political education policy across time.

Following a positivist approach, a comparative research was conducted on a small number of cases. The method of difference was used to distinguish between cases based on changes in treatment that lead to variation in outcomes (Mill, 1872). Among the member states originating in the occupation zones under the control of each of the Western Allies, a sample of one case study per Ally was chosen based on historical and geographic considerations. Process-tracing method was used in order to trace the causal mechanism of curricular creation and development from 1945 to 2019, analyse the causal chain, and deduce insights on the causal power of contextual conditions, political agency, and institutional interpretations underpinning the decision-making pattern of the actors in the institutional coalition.

The archival research conducted by Gehrz (2002) introduced new evidence on the mechanism of curricular change created by the Western Allies in the period between 1945-1955. Their contribution was crucial to the creation of the overall political institutional arrangement,

vesting the power of political education policy in the member states, and to the creation of such a policy across member states. Further archival research and interviews were conducted to conceptualise the dependent variables, presenting the legal basis and institutional coalition involved in curricular change. Moreover, the parameters for variation based on “gradual institutional change” and “ideational institutional change” were presented through political affiliation of the Ministries of Education in each member state, and the actors involved in the institutional coalition required to develop a new curriculum of political lessons.

General Discussion

The Occupation Period of the Federal Republic of Germany, 1945-1955, as a Critical Juncture

During Casablanca Conference on 01.1943 the Allied forces announced their objectives of German unconditional surrender and occupation of the German territories. The American forces started planning for the military occupation in 1941, and educational reforms were discussed as early as 1942. They believed in reforms conducted by the German with American guidance, through cooperation with ministries and officials. The British forces began formulating the educational reforms in 1942 as well, and believed in the empowerment of German low ranking officials for an educational reform built “bottom-up”. They invested in cooperation with teachers, principals and school inspectors. The French powers outlined the educational reforms in 04.1945, a month before the official occupation started, and took matters into their hands. A direct pattern of control was enacted, similarly to the control of the French colonies, and the Ministry of Education was required to implement the French commands.

The Potsdam Conference, held on 08.1945, clearly stated that the political education policy would change to support a democratic political culture. For this purpose a joint Allied education committee was established, but the different perspectives of political education presented by the Western and Eastern Allies, as well as the variation between the American,

British and French forces, led to an independent manifestation of educational reforms. Each of the Allies erased the former Nazi curriculum of political lessons, and created a transitional curriculum, until a first curriculum is created by the Ministry of Education in the member states. Directive 54, published in 04.1947 by the Allied Control Authority, outlined the expected changes to political education policy, including the creation of a democratic curricula. However it was considered by the member states, as well as the Allied forces, as a non-binding recommendation. The Six-Power Conference on 06.1948 marked the beginning of the withdrawal from Germany, and the establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany in the Western zones. The creation of the federal constitution vested the power to design the political education policy in the member states, giving the Allied forces the ability to influence that policy until the official end of the occupation, on 05.1955. Each of the Western Allies maintained a different power relations with the Ministries of Education and supported the creation of the initial curriculum of political lessons in the member states.

First Curriculum and Institutional Development

In each of the member states, Hesse, North-Rhine Westphalia, and Rhineland-Palatinate, a first curriculum was established during the occupation period 1945-1955. Hesse, originally controlled by the American forces, developed a provisional version already in 1948 and an authorised curriculum in 1949. The member state of North-Rhine Westphalia published the initial curriculum in 1955, one and a half months before the official end of the occupation period. In Rhineland-Palatinate a first curriculum appeared in 1952. These curricula were created by the Ministries of Education in each of the member states, under the guidance of the Western Allies. Each of the Allied forces had an individual interpretation of the desired democratic political culture, and implemented a different policy to invigorate the creation of a new curriculum. In this critical juncture, the permissive condition for the creation of the new

institutional arrangement was the occupation by the Western Allies, and the productive condition was the individual efforts of the Allies. Variation is not based on political affiliation of the Ministry of Education, as all the ministries were led by the CDU party. The new socio-cultural conditions at the end of WWII and the new institutional coalition (Education Control Officers and Ministry of Education bureaucrats) gave the Allied forces the power and legitimacy to create a new curriculum, and lead a new interpretation of political education.

Curricular Development and Institutional Change

After the official end of the occupation of West Germany, in 05.1955, the Ministries of Education in each of the member state had the agency to design the institutional arrangement. A new institutional coalition was established, where the Ministries of Education have the power to decide upon a new curriculum, but several other actors are involved in the process of curricular development: academics in the conception of the curriculum, teachers and principals in the phase of provision, students and parents as part of the committee, and private sector institutions before the publication. Indeed, coordination between member states on issues of assessments and accreditation leads to limitations – due to non-binding recommendations based on consensus among member states.

The data analysis shows that curricular changes were not made until 1968. In Hesse, the first curricular development was completed in 1973. Path-dependence stops not because of changes to the political affiliation of the Ministry of Education, as the SPD party was in power since 1951 and did not lead to a curricular change, but rather based on the demand of students and the 1968 movement. Further changes in 1982 and 1995 relate to demand by the KMK which was accepted by the actors in the institutional coalition, and resistance to the change presented by teachers and principals, and not by political affiliation as SPD was in control during the two curricular developments. Final two curricular changes in 2002 and 2011 could be related to

political affiliation, since CDU and FDP parties led the ministry, but the causes are traced to globalisation and KMK decisions.

North-Rhine Westphalia adopts a new curriculum in 1974, not based on political affiliation as SPD party was in power since 1966 and did not create a curricular development beforehand. The 1968 movement was strong enough to induce change, started with the students and parents and leading to a normative change in the other actors in the institutional coalition. Similar changes are made in 2001 and 2004, based on globalisation and KMK decisions. The KMK decisions are accepted by the other actors in the coalition.

The member state of Rhineland-Palatinate changes the curriculum in 1968 based on a decision to develop a new school structure. Other states transfer the previous curriculum of the Volksschule to the Hauptschule, but in this member state the decision triggers a recreation of the curriculum. Political affiliation is not relevant in this case, as the CDU continues to control the Ministry of Education. In 1978 a provisional curriculum is made, based on the 1968 movement. Further curricular development is made in 1984, 1992, 1998 and 2016, but these present only small and semantic changes and not a change to the institutional arrangement. It is interesting to see that the 1992 curricular change was preceded by a change to the political affiliation to the Ministry of Education, with the SPD controlling the ministry until present days, but the curriculum stays the same. The trend of globalisation does not have an impact on curricular development in this case study. These institutional changes are presented in table 7.

Table 7: The Institutional Change of Political Lessons

Hesse

Year	Name	Reason	Party
1948	Political Lesson (Politischer Unterricht)	First curriculum - provisional	CDU
1949	Political Lesson (Politischer Unterricht)	First curriculum	CDU
1956	Political Lesson (Politischer Unterricht)	Updated curriculum	SPD
1964	Political Lesson (Politischer Unterricht)	Updated curriculum	SPD
1972	Social Teaching (Gesellschaftslehre)	1968 movement - provisional	SPD
1973	Social Teaching (Gesellschaftslehre)	1968 movement	SPD
1980	Social Teaching (Gesellschaftslehre)	KMK decision - provisional	SPD
1981	Social Teaching (Gesellschaftslehre)	KMK decision - provisional	SPD
1982	Social Teaching (Gesellschaftslehre)	KMK decision	SPD
1995	Social Studies (Sozialkunde)	De-integration and resistance	SPD
2002	Social Studies (Sozialkunde)	Globalisation/ internal politics	CDU
2011	Politics and Economy (Politik und Wirtschaft)	KMK decision/ internal politics	FDP

North-Rhine Westphalia

Year	Name	Reason	Party
1955	Political Education (Politische Bildung)	First curriculum	CDU
1973	Political Lesson (Politischer Unterricht)	1968 movement - provisional	SPD
1974	Political Lesson (Politischer Unterricht)	1968 movement	SPD
1987	Political Lesson (Politischer Unterricht)	Updated curriculum	SPD
2001	Politics (Politik)	Globalisation/ KMK decision	SPD
2004	Adding Economy (Ökonomische Bildung)	KMK decision	SPD

Rhineland-Palatinate

Year	Name	Reason	Party
1952	Political Community Studies (Politische Gemeinschaftskunde)	First curriculum	CDU
1968	Social studies (Sozialkunde)	KMK decision	CDU
1978	Social studies (Sozialkunde)	1968 movement - provisional	CDU
1984	Social studies (Sozialkunde)	1968 movement	CDU
1992	Social studies (Sozialkunde)	Updated version - provisional	SPD
1998	Social studies (Sozialkunde)	Updated version	SPD
2016	Social studies (Sozialkunde)	Updated version	SPD

Source: Own research

Key Findings

Following the data analysis, the following hypotheses were found:

H1 is rejected.

The exogenous intervention of the Western Allies does not explain the variation in political education policy across member states in the Federal Republic of Germany between 1945 and present-day. The first institutional arrangement by each of the Western Allies does account for the variation in political education policy across member states, but only for the course of 15-25 years, that is the late 1960's.

H2 is rejected.

The political affiliation of the Ministries of Education does not explain the variation in political education policy across member states in the Federal Republic of Germany between 1945 and present-day. The initial curriculum across member states was created when the CDU party controlled the Ministries of Education, so political affiliation does not account for the initial variation. Considering curricular change, except for two cases, where better explanations are found, political affiliation does not coincide with curricular changes. Furthermore, in many cases the curricula persists despite changes to the political affiliation.

H3 is accepted.

The norms and values underpinning the institution explain the variation in political education policy across member states in the Federal Republic of Germany between 1945 and present-day. At the end of WWII the Western Allies led a deep socio-cultural reform, or interpretation of political culture, including the recreation of a political education policy. Further curricular development is explained by new interpretations of the political education policy, lobbied first one actor in the institutional coalition, and gaining support from other members of the coalition.

Research Implications

This thesis develops insights regarding the academic debate on the contribution of the Western Allies to the political education policy: the argument made by Hahn (1998) on the essential contribution of the Western Allies is supported through the analysis of their mutual and individual efforts. Robinsohn and Kulmann (1967) argument is not supported, as only weak and contradictory evidences were found to support changes to political education based on political affiliation. However, Hahn's (1998) consideration of the "1968 movement" as a direct implication of the Allied policy was contradicted, as it emanated through a different causal mechanism. It was based on a different interpretation of the policy designed by the Allies. Moreover, Balsler and Nonnenmacher (1997) analysis of curricular development in political lessons was contradicted in some cases, based on an empirical consideration of the curricular development. Furthermore, Roberts (2002) argument on the influence of 1968 movement and globalisation in the late 1990's is supported by the evidence, where the 1968 movement triggers changes in all case studies, and globalisation in two of them (and declared as such in the third). Furthermore, the measurement of the Allied efforts and the institutional development lead to insights on the function of patterns of control and the persistence of institutional arrangements. The American forces determined that a long-term political change would be made only if the occupied powers would create the new institutional arrangement with support and guidance. The same analysis was made by the British forces, who focused on cooperation with low-level bureaucrats. The French forces, in contrary, maintained a direct pattern of control, leading the reforms and coercing the institutional arrangement. The empirical evidence shows that in Hesse, where a "low" level pattern of control was maintained, five changes to the political affiliation were made, and five curricular changes were made. In North-Rhine Westphalia, where a "low" level pattern of control was enacted, six changes to the political affiliation were made, and three curricular changes were made. In Rhineland-Palatinate, where a "high" level

pattern of control was enacted, one change to the political affiliation was made, and two curricular changes were made. The patterns of control and institutional changes are presented in table 8.

Table 8: Pattern of Control and Institutional Persistence

Ally	Control Pattern	Member State	Political Changes	Policy Changes
American Forces	Low	Hesse	5	5
British Forces	Low	North-Rhine Westphalia	6	3
French Forces	High	Rhineland-Palatinate	1	2

Source: Own research

Contribution to the Academic Knowledge

At first, this thesis develops the academic discussion on political education in Germany. It is a seminal research that presents the different policies employed by the American, British, and French forces, and reveals a detailed account of the variation in the creation of political education policy. Moreover, it produces independent archival research and interviews to conceptualise the process of curricular change in the member states of the Federal Republic of Germany, and trace the conditions that lead to curricular change in each of the case studies.

Secondly, it tracks the curricular development and change across member states, adding to the accounts presented by Balser and Nonnenmacher (1997). Focusing on a smaller number of cases, this thesis investigates empirical evidences that explain the causal mechanism for institutional change, and contradict in some cases the aforementioned analysis. Moreover, this thesis includes an analysis of a time period spanning twenty-five additional years.

Thirdly, this thesis is a seminal research that analyses the political lessons policy from a historical institutionalist perspective. The use of a comparative historical analysis leads to new findings on the antecedent structural conditions, political agency, and institutional coalitions related to political education policy in Germany.

Fourthly, it deduces insights on the correlation between political education and political behaviour. Employing theories of political science and sociology of education, the thesis presents a first account of the curricular changes in the Federal Republic of Germany, whose intention is to support the persistence of a democratic political culture, and political elite.

Fifthly, it presents findings on mechanisms of change that lead to institutional persistence. Higher agency to the leading actor in the institutional coalition cause a cognitive limitation where actors limit themselves to the institutional arrangement. This is exhibited through less changes to political affiliation and policy changes.

Finally, it brings insights to policy-makers on the creation of curriculum of political lessons, and is a seminal research on the process of curricular development, structure and themes across member states, and the function of an institutional coalition in a federal setting.

Recommendations for Further Research

At first, the comparative historical analysis is a valuable methodology to account for variations in institutional arrangements across case studies. This thesis considered the variation in three case studies based on the activities of the Western allies, but was limited to political lessons in lower-secondary Hauptschule. Additional research could be done to include political lessons in all German school structures. Moreover, lessons of History and Geography could be analysed additionally, based on Roberts (2002) argument that they relate indirectly to political education. Furthermore, this thesis was limited to curriculum structure and themes when operationalising political lessons, and could be expanded to discuss other aspects of political education, such as teaching and learning approaches, teacher specialisation and teacher training, use of textbooks and other resources, and assessment arrangements (Kerr, 1999).

Secondly, this thesis focused on one case study per Ally. Additional research could examine the remaining case studies in the Federal Republic of Germany. Furthermore, in the aftermath

of WWII two additional countries went through a certain exogenous change to their political education period by the Allied forces. More research could be made to compare between Germany, Austria and Italy, whose political education policy was altered as well.

Thirdly, the connection between political education and political behaviour deserves further academic attention. The historical analysis conducted in this mass could serve as a basis for an examination of the correlation between structure and content of political education and voting patterns, ideological crimes rate, xenophobia, and other factors of political behaviour.

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Hesse

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Appendices

Appendix 1. List of Interviews

Date	Institution	Name	Position	Contact Details
20.09.2017	Justus-Liebig University of Gießen, Hesse	Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Sander	Professor, didactics of social sciences	E-mail address: Wolfgang.Sander@sowi.uni-giessen.de
08.12.2017	Federal Agency for Political Education	Mr. Peter Zorn	Referent, Target group related offers	1. Phone number: +49(0)228-99-515-579 2. Fax number: +49(0)228-99-515-293 3. E-mail address: Peter.Zorn@bpb.de
08.12.2017	Federal Agency for Political Education	Ms. Hildegard Bremer	Editor, Print	1. Phone number: +49(0)228-99-515-267 2. Fax number: +49(0)228-99-515-309 3. E-mail address: Hildegard.Bremer@bpb.de
08.12.2017	Federal Agency for Political Education	Ms. Josephine Events	Program Manager, Policy	1. Phone number: +49(0)228-99-515-297 2. Fax number: +49(0)228-99-515-203 3. E-mail address: Josephine.Evens@bpb.de
08.12.2017	Federal Agency for Political Education	Ms. Jutta Klaeren	Referent, Print	1. Phone number: +49(0)228-99-515-224 2. Fax number: +49(0)228-99-515-309 3. E-mail address: Jutta.Klaeren@bpb.de
12.12.2017	State Agency for Political Education, North-Rhine Westphalia	Mr. Hans Tewes Wupper	Manager of Department 224, Memorial Promotion and Remembrance Culture	1. Phone number: +49(0)211-885-4864 2. E-mail address: Hans.Wupper@mkw.nrw.de
10.09.2018	Justus-Liebig University of Gießen, Hesse	Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Sander	Professor, didactics of social sciences	E-mail address: Wolfgang.Sander@sowi.uni-giessen.de
11.09.2018	Justus-Liebig University of Gießen, Hesse	Mr. Werner Dees	Referent, library/political education	E-mail address: Werner.Dees@bibsys.uni-giessen.de
11.09.2018	Justus-Liebig University of Gießen, Hesse	Mr. Lutz Trautmann	Employee, Archive	1. Phone number: +49(0)641-99-14060/47 2. E-mail address: Lutz.Trautmann@admin.uni-giessen.de
06.12.2018	Federal Agency for Political Education	Ms. Jutta Klaeren	Referent, Print	1. Phone number: +49(0)228-99-515-224 2. Fax number: +49(0)228-99-515-309 3. E-mail address: Jutta.Klaeren@bpb.de

11.12.2018	The German Rectors' Conference	Mr. Thomas Lampe	Referent, Library and Public Affairs	1. Phone number: +49(0)228-887-159 2. Fax number: +49(0)228-887-110 3. E-mail address: Lampe@hrk.de
13.12.2018	The Standing Conference of Ministers of Education and Culture	Mr. Andreas Schmitz	Referent, Department of Public Relations, Documentation and Library Services	1. Phone number: +49(0)228-501-611 2. Fax number: +49(0)228-501 763 3. E-mail address: Andreas.Schmitz@kmk.org
12.12.2018	University and State Library of Bonn, North-Rhine Westphalia	Ms. Beate Sandmann	Referent, library/ Media sciences, music, pedagogy	1. Phone number: +49(0)228-737-221 2. Fax number: +49(0)228-737-546 3. E-mail address: Beate.Sandmann@ulb.uni-bonn.de
14.12.2018	Bonn Center for Teachers' Education, University of Bonn, North-Rhine Westphalia	Dr. Robert Steegers	Executive director	1. Phone number: +49(0)736-0081 2. Fax number: +49(0)228-736-0087 3. E-mail address: Steegers@uni-bonn.de
17.12.2018	The German Rectors' Conference	Ms. Barbara Michalk	Referent, Higher education in Germany and Europe	1. Phone number: +49(0)736 0081 2. Fax number: +49(0)228-736-0087 3. E-mail address: Steegers@uni-bonn.de
17.12.2018	Goethe University Frankfurt, Hesse	Ms. Julia Mayer	Pedagogic employee, department of social sciences	1. Phone number: +49(0)69-798-36541 2. E-mail address: Tel: +49 (0)69-798-36541 Mayer@soz.uni-frankfurt.de
17.12.2018	Goethe University Frankfurt, Hesse	Prof. Dr. Tim Engartner	Professor, department of social sciences	E-mail address: Engartner@soz.uni-frankfurt.de
17.12.2018	Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz, Rhineland-Palatinate	Prof. Dr. Kerstin Pohl	Professor, institute for political science	1. Phone number: +49(0)6131-39-38474 2. E-mail address: Pohl@politik.uni-mainz.de
18.12.2018	Ministry of Education, Mainz, Rhineland-Palatinate	Mr. Heiko Stahl	Referent, Policy guidelines and curricula of social sciences	1. Phone number: +49(0)6131-162877 2. E-mail address: Heiko.Stahl@bm.rlp.de
18.12.2018	Ministry of Education, Mainz, Rhineland-Palatinate	Mr. Jan Hendrik Winter	Referent, Policy guidelines and curricula of social sciences	1. Phone number: +49(0)6131-162877 2. E-mail address: Jan-Hendrik.Winter@bm.rlp.de

Appendix 2. List of Archival Research

Date	Institution	Comments	Contact
September 2018	Justus-Liebig University of Gießen	Secondary research in the library, Primary research on teachers' training and content on political lessons teaching in the archive	Name: Mr. Werner Dees Position: Referent, Library/ Political Education Contact details: 1. Phone number: +49(0)641-99-14514 2. Fax number: +49(0)641-99-14509 3. E-mail address: Werner.Dees@bibsys.uni-giessen.de:
December 2018	The Standing Conference of Ministers of Education and Culture	Primary research on curricula, ministerial regulations, and federal recommendations on political lessons in the archive	Name: Mr. Andreas Schmitz Position: Referent, Department of Public Relations, Documentation and Library Services Contact details: 1. Phone number: +49(0)228-501-611 2. Fax number: +49(0)228-501 763 3. E-mail address: Andreas.Schmitz@kmk.org 4. Website: https://www.kmk.org
December 2018	The German Rectors' Conference	Secondary research in the library, Primary research on teachers' training and academic influence on political lessons teaching in the archive	Name: Mr. Thomas Lampe Position: Library and Public Relations Contact details: 1. Phone number: +49(0)228-887-159 2. Fax number: +49(0)228-887-110 3. E-mail address: Lampe@hrk.de 4. Website: https://www.hrk.de