

Makiguchi and Gandhi: Some Comparative Issues for Secular, Sacred and Political Education

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ABSTRACT

The focus of this paper is educational, political and comparative. The paper argues that whilst extensive comparative research has been undertaken in the East and West, there is still a dearth of research and literature which develops a broader understanding and compares East with East. As this paper argues, one of the main reasons for this has been the paucity of research methodology to analyse and grasp the several indigenous ideas and practices on political or citizenship education which are accessible to scholars at the universal level. Using an interdisciplinary methodology this paper compares two Asian thinkers who have contributed to peace and education: Tsunesaburo Makiguchi (1871-1944) who was an educator in Japan, and the Indian political leader Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948). This paper highlights their political and educational creativity by focusing on their contributions at national and international levels and the longer term significance of their respective political ideas. The creativity of both thinkers is analysed by contextualizing their contributions from their respective historical locales. The paper reviews their specific influence on civic movements both at home and abroad, and concludes by discussing issues related to political or citizenship education for the 21st century. The paper

argues that studying the contributions of thinkers like Makiguchi, Gandhi (and other such thinkers) is useful in advancing our understanding of inter-cultural relations, and issues of equity and social justice. Further, such studies can enable readers to acquire critical understandings of the field of politics and complexities of political processes in contemporary societies.

Introduction

The focus of this paper is educational, political and comparative and it begins with the argument that whilst extensive comparative research has been undertaken in the East and West, there is still a dearth of research and literature which develops a broader understanding and compares East with East. This is especially the case within debates on citizenship and intercultural education where the educational policies in the West have not engaged with the practices in the East¹. However, in many Asian countries, including India, for more than a century there has been a heavy influence of Western authors on citizenship issues (Alston, 1910, Gupta, 1990). As this paper argues, one of the main reasons for this has been the paucity of research methodology to analyse and grasp the several indigenous ideas and practices on political or citizenship education which are accessible to scholars at the universal level.

This paper will cast some light on two Asian thinkers who have contributed to peace and education: Tsunesaburo Makiguchi (1871-1944) who was an educator in Japan, and the Indian political leader Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948). This paper highlights their political and educational creativity by focusing on their contributions at national and international levels and the longer term significance of their respective political ideas. These include Gandhi's influence on Civil Rights Movement in South Africa and the Chipko Movement in India; and Makiguchi's educational and political impact in Japan and the growing influence worldwide. However, the paper explores the difference between the two, because Gandhi was the leader of a large mass movement, whereas Makiguchi had no such political following.

This paper is based on previous comparative studies of the lives and fates of the two thinkers Makiguchi and Gandhi (Gundara, 2004, Sharma, 2006). The previous studies argued that an interdisciplinary methodology is needed to locate the ideas of indigenous thinkers, their effectiveness as citizens within their own historical context, and their impact on civic movements both within their own time as well as afterwards – both locally as well as globally. This historical-comparative study of these two thinkers within this paper has been concerned to address sociological, pedagogical and political issues.

The following sections adopt a comparative approach to the ideas, practices and influences of Makiguchi and Gandhi. The creativity of both thinkers is analysed by contextualizing their contributions from their respective historical locales. The paper reviews their specific influence on civic movements both at home and abroad. The paper concludes by discussing issues related to political or citizenship education for the 21st century. The paper argues that studying the contributions of thinkers like Makiguchi, Gandhi (and other such thinkers) is useful in advancing our understanding of inter-cultural relations, and issues of equity and social justice. Further, such studies can enable readers to acquire critical understandings of the field of politics and complexities of political processes in contemporary societies.

The authors of this paper use the notions of religious involvement in politics with a great deal of circumspection. This is the case because there are examples of positive involvement of religious movements for progressive political and social change as in the case of the Catholic Church in Brazil, and Makiguchi and Gandhi in Japan and India respectively. We also need to be cognisant of the very reactive and fundamentalist focus that religions can bear on politics and education. Such as, in the way in which the American Christian teaching is currently furthering the case of science education using the ‘creationist science’ to marginalize the use of the evolutionary theories of Darwin. Similarly, the fundamentalist Muslims are using the so-called ‘Islamic science’ written in Turkey and being recommended in schools all over Europe (Castle, 2007). This kind of fundamentalist science negates the positive contributions of other religiously motivated scientists, such as, the Muslim scientists of the 11th and 12th centuries in the Abu Sayyid Dynasty in Andalucia and includ-

ing figures like Ibn Sina (on medical matters), Ibn Zuhr (for his work on diet) and Ibn Rushd (for his work on general principles). Muslim, Jewish and Christian scholars developed intercultural modalities of developing knowledge. Greek texts were translated into Arabic and were subsequently translated into Latin from Arabic. It were these translations which partly informed the basis of the Renaissance. These earlier intercultural bases of knowledge are currently being negated by the literalists of the present times.

The current religious fundamentalisms are not only essentialists and reactive but are distorting knowledge and their involvement in education undermines the progressive secular forces which are trying to build mutualities, resemblances and new solidarities amongst fragmented and unequal communities in societies internationally. This requires a deeper research located within academic disciplines as well as across disciplines.

The Educational and Political Creativity of Two Twentieth Century Dissidents

Makiguchi and Gandhi were contemporaries who functioned in two different national contexts. Whereas in the early twentieth century Japan was colonizing parts of South East Asia, India was a colony of the British Empire. Both Makiguchi and Gandhi confronted the authoritarianism in different countries – which for Makiguchi was the imperialism and nationalism of the Japanese government, and for Gandhi it was the racism in South Africa and the British Raj in India. However, there was a difference in the nature of the authoritarians they both confronted, and this was one of the reasons why these two contemporaries experienced a dissimilar fate. Whereas Makiguchi was imprisoned by the dictatorial Japanese government for his statements denouncing the emperor and the war, Gandhi on the other hand was dealing with foreign colonisers and fought for the cause of Indian independence, and was established as the political leader of the Indian National Congress. Further, Gandhi was able to extend his moral and political influence and was seen as the *Bapu* or Father of the Nation while at the same time building a powerful political base.

Both Makiguchi and Gandhi aspired to transform their respective societies and education played an important role in this transformation. Makiguchi hoped to contribute to this transformation through his education and practice, whereas Gandhi was able to make a major political impact within Indian society through the *Satyagraha*² movement or movement based on the force of 'truth' (explained below) and through the use of media to disseminate his ideas. Common to both thinkers was the normative aspect of their ideas, their reliance on 'truth' as the law of the universe and their perceived interdependence of human life. Makiguchi's theory of education known as the *value creating theory* and Gandhi's political philosophy at the individual level aimed to make citizens more socially responsible.

Makiguchi was born on 6 June 1871. The last decade of the nineteenth century witnessed the transformation of the Japanese society "from a feudal, largely agrarian society into a modern industrial power (that) was accompanied by large-scale dislocation and disruption" (Ikeda, 2001: 2-3)³. His personal circumstances were difficult because he was abandoned by his parents and brought up by relatives who were even unable to afford to send him to school. However, in spite of his adversities, Makiguchi trained as a teacher in the early part of the 20th century and subsequently developed his own educational pedagogy through his 30 years of classroom teaching and perusing books by Japanese and Western authors (for further details of his work see Bethel, 1989 ed.).

His educational pedagogy, *Soka Kyoikugaku Taikei* or 'The System of Value Creating Education', is a pragmatic theory of knowledge and had implications for revitalising teaching and learning processes and impact the education system as a whole. The key word in Makiguchi's pedagogy, which is *Soka* or 'Value Creation', was formulated on the understanding of the creation of value for the 'self' and the 'others'. Value Creation has the purpose of enhancing human life that can be nurtured by the educational process. Addressing this key concern Makiguchi states:

Education consists of finding value within the living environment, thereby discovering physical and psychological principles that govern our lives and eventually applying these newfound principles in real life to create new value.

In sum, it is the guided acquisition of skills of observation, comprehension, and application.

(Bethel, 1989 ed.: 168)

As a teacher Makiguchi carried out research which was conducted through “the scientist’s method of inducting findings from actual experience” (Bethel, 1989 ed.: 8) despite the fact that the trend which educationalists followed was to imitate foreign theories at home. Makiguchi faced the disadvantage in not being a highly qualified academic, but ‘only a school teacher’. Social acceptance of his educational work was important to Makiguchi, and he spared no efforts to form relations with eminent people in politics and education such as Tsuyoshi Inukai, the prime minister of Japan from December 1931 to May 1932; Magoichi Tsuwara, minister of commerce and industry; and Itamu Takagi, professor of medicine at Tokyo Imperial University. Arguably, for Makiguchi the role of an educator was to extend the boundaries beyond the classroom, and he himself wanted his work to have an impact on the Japanese education system as a whole.

However, in the latter years of his educational career Makiguchi realised that education in schools, without the necessary societal and structural change, was not adequate to actualise his proposals for *value creating education* (see Sharma, 2006: 167-168). For instance, his proposal of ‘half day’ learning at school and part of the day as an apprentice was not readily accepted within the educational structure and system of the modernising and industrialising Meiji era (1868-1912). In the later years the militaristic government indoctrinated the youth to participate in the war and this was also something that Makiguchi could not accept.

In 1928 Makiguchi became a Buddhist and formed a Buddhist educators group called the Value Creating Education Society (*Soka Kyoiku Gakkai*). Whereas some critics such as Brannen (1964) and Bethel (1994) claim that Makiguchi turned to religion as a solace and therefore established this society, it can be argued that Makiguchi formed this organisation as a result of his understanding that a societal change was necessary for an educational transformation. This organisation drew educators as well as other members of society who were interested in his value creating theory as well as Nichiren Buddhism. Makiguchi’s speeches to this group were not only to do

with education, but also religion, society and politics. Makiguchi was imprisoned because of his statements denouncing the emperor and the Japanese war. Unfortunately, unlike Gandhi, Makiguchi was unable to deal with the political processes of the Japanese society and was therefore unable to influence the Japanese people politically. Also, apart from his colleague Josei Toda, there was no active and political support from the Japanese people for Makiguchi, including lack of support from the Soka Kyoiku Gakkai for his release. Subsequently Makiguchi died as a prisoner on November 18, 1944.

Today, in the twenty-first century, Makiguchi is not well known within the political or educational circles of Japan. As Kumagaya states, he is not even mentioned in the 1971 'Modern Educational History of Japan Dictionary', which attests to the fact that although several scholars and eminent persons during Makiguchi's time admired his work, just forty years after the publication of his educational pedagogy he was virtually unknown in the educational circles of modern Japan (Kumagaya, 2000). Numerous reasons can be stated for the continued lack of knowledge of Makiguchi and his values in Japan. At the educational level Harima (1997) points out that chief among the main factors that have deterred the application of Makiguchi's ideas even today is the tendency within the Japanese educators to be easily influenced by foreigners even at the cost of overlooking the ideas of Japanese thinkers⁴.

Harima also finds that by and large the Japanese polity lacks the ability to challenge authority, which he claims can be attributed to their culture. However, it is possible that the hierarchical structures as well as the culture of Japanese society which lays stress on the allegiance to the emperor system and caste system is also a contributing factor. This lack of initiative to understand and challenge political and economic machines continues to be the case even today, and can be another reason why the general public has not seriously engaged with the Soka Gakkai, or its leader Makiguchi. The Soka Gakkai is the successor to the organisation Soka Kyoiku Gakkai which was established by Makiguchi in 1930. It presently includes roughly one tenth of Japan's population, and now does have a political view since it provides political endorsement to the ruling Komeito political party. As a growing political entity it has been of interest to both the Japanese politicians and the media. Takesato Watanabe's research concludes that the latter has gone on

to generate a wrong image of *Gakkai* in Japanese society, through “distortions generated in the reportage of the Soka Gakkai”⁵ (Watanabe, 2000: 213).

Notwithstanding this, Makiguchi’s ideas have gained popularity in some parts of Japan and abroad in spite of the fact that during his lifetime the practical application of his value creating theory had taken place only within his own classrooms and in Toda’s⁶ *Jishu Gakkan* educational institution. However, due to the post-war reconstruction of the Soka Gakkai by Toda, and his successor the current president, Daisaku Ikeda,⁷ Makiguchi is now known to the Soka Gakkai members in 190 countries, and research (by members and non-members) is being carried out on the Theory of Value Creation (see Sharma, 1999). The Soka Gakkai is also registered as a Non Government Organisation with the United Nations.

The Soka Research Centre in Japan takes a pragmatic view of Makiguchi and teachers and schools are encouraged to develop their own teaching methods through classroom practice (Sharma, 1999: 117). However, although Makiguchi is gaining attention within Japan, the application of his ideas is mainly restricted to the experiments carried out by research associations related to the Soka Gakkai.⁸

Based on observations in the Soka Schools established by Daisaku Ikeda (see Sharma, 2006), two factors can be attributed to the successful application of Makiguchi’s values in these schools. Firstly, there is a willingness among the teachers to experiment with the ‘value creating theory’ of their original founder Makiguchi. Secondly, has been Ikeda’s initiative to bring recognition to Makiguchi and Toda’s educational ideas. Toda serves as the link between Makiguchi and Ikeda because Ikeda joined the Soka Gakkai after Makiguchi’s death⁹. Bethel states that, “Ikeda, as Makiguchi, sees education as the most important factor in changing the present reality” (Bethel, 1973: 121). Further, he adds that Ikeda and Makiguchi both laid emphasis on the “need for a harmonious balance within every person’s life between the pursuit of values of personal gain and the pursuit of values of social good. One cannot, in other words, be a complete, happy, value-creating person by himself” (Bethel, 1973: 121). This philosophy enthuses both teachers and students of the Soka Schools to be active participants in their local communities, as well as engaging in international exchanges¹⁰.

The factors are, however, unique to the Soka institutions. A critical analysis of the restricted application of Makiguchi can be attributed to the difficulties of both Makiguchi and Ikeda in their endeavour to contribute to the processes which could transform their respective societies in both intellectual and moral terms and through the use of both religion and politics. As Bethel analyses in his work *Makiguchi the Value Creator*,

In Soka Gakkai, under Ikeda's leadership, intellect is not pressed into the service of the movement, but rather is aimed at transforming the quality of mind of the entire population, equipping that population to judge the movement and to hold both it and its competitors accountable...Soka Gakkai may well be breaking open new frontiers in this respect.

(Bethel, 1973: 143)

However, Bethel does not address the issue of how the Soka Gakkai in practical terms has achieved this transformation since he does not engage with the structures and institutions to undertake this task. As argued earlier, Makiguchi must have established the *Soka Kyoiku Gakkai* because he realised that education on its own could not compensate for society¹¹. One of the reasons that Makiguchi was unable to 'succeed' as an educationist was because he did not have the adequate institutional or societal support required for his proposals to be implemented (as pointed out earlier). In light of this Makiguchi's speeches within the *Gakkai* on the existing socio-political events can be seen as his efforts for enabling the members to become more politically aware. Similarly today, Ikeda and the Soka Gakkai in Japan claim that their religion is not an 'Opiate', and have therefore engaged in influencing Japanese education, culture and politics.

The current socio-political involvement of the Soka Gakkai in Japan under Ikeda's leadership as a civil society movement can be equated to the *satyagraha* movement led by Gandhi. Now more than ever, when the world witnesses both the positive and negative results of the influence of religious values in civil society movements (with Aung San Suu Kyi and the Buddhist monks in Burma on one hand, and the Islamic radicalists on the other), there is a need for a rigorous and critical engagement with and study of Gandhi and Ikeda's civil society movements of the 20th-21st centuries. In particular

as this paper will now explore, there is a need to study the educational and political creativity of Gandhi, Makiguchi and Ikeda.

Unlike Makiguchi, Gandhi's role as an educator was not limited to school education and he was able to influence a much wider group of people in his role as the *Mahatma*¹² or leader of the millions. His educational role encompassed learning to use the *charkha* (wheel), wearing hand-made *khadi*¹³, protecting the cow from being slaughtered, and other economic and social reforms that were aimed at boycotting British goods. He also wanted to transform the minds of the Indians and educate the populace to a life of values that contributed to both the individual and social welfare. The Congress Party viewed this as an effective policy, but to Gandhi, who was born into Jainism and practiced Hinduism, it was his creed that stemmed from his commitment to non-violence or *ahimsa*. This he hoped would allow the Indians to see "the universal and all-pervading spirit of Truth leading to identification with everything that lives" (Gandhi, 1957: 504). Unlike the Congress Party Gandhi saw his movement as an educational one, in which the educator (himself in this case) was also a role model. Through his own experiments Gandhi as the *Bapu* (or father) hoped to lead people to understand and practice a life of truth and non-violence.

In fact, values such as non-violence were able to generate an impact not only because it was pertinent, but due to the methods of application within the context of the Indian political movement. Gandhi was constantly creating values in his engagement with politics, religion, economics, industry and education. In *Satyagraha* the values of non-violence, tolerance, love for humanity, amongst others, were constantly associated with Gandhi's personality, his symbols, and the entire movement (as elaborated further on in this paper).

Dennis Dalton borrows from Burns to attribute to Gandhi the role of an educator, and states,

Burns gives to the conception of leadership a normative dimension that Plato stressed but that is often missing in contemporary political science analysis. Burns views the leader as essentially an educator engaged in a creative relationship with followers. Gandhi saw *Satyagraha* as heuristic because it employed a

kind of power that encouraged reflection and reexamination of motives, needs, and interests. He believed, as Burns suggests, that this educative procedure depended on the development of an engagement of all those involved in a situation to extend awareness of human needs and the means of gratifying them.

(Dalton, 1993: 193)

Within each act of the *Satyagraha* was Gandhi's aim of transforming himself as the leader and those he led, in order to move his people and their country further on the path of independence or *swaraj*. Another vital purpose of Gandhi's education, as Dalton notes, was "that satyagraha must be used to gain the empowerment of those who had never been politicised" (ibid.: 194).

However, this two-pronged educational approach – the liberation of the individual and the independence of the country – was difficult to sustain due to several factors such as the ideological differences between Gandhi and the Congress political party and its leader Nehru who was a protégé of Gandhi; the regular eruption of violence within the Indian independence movement that interrupted its progress; and the contradictions that surrounded Gandhi whilst he tried to bring together diverse groups of vested interests in a multi-cultural Indian society.

Unlike Makiguchi, Gandhi had to wield his political creativity to bring the numerous sections of the Indian community to work together towards the common goal of social transformation and national independence. Let us engage here with Gandhi's intercultural understandings and ingenuity.

Intercultural aspects of Gandhi's own life are an important factor in his attempts to deal with "the other" through dialogue. His Indian, Gujarati, Hindu background and Diaspora experiences in England and South Africa have particular relevance to the socially diverse polity of present day democratic nation states. This is especially relevant because it is indicative of the various layers of identities of the diasporic influences which influenced his understandings of identities. As a person embodying ideas of Indianness these excluded notions of the caste and the *jati*.

The first phase of his intercultural experiences were not only unusual but perhaps more radical than others. Born in Porbander, West part of India on 2 October 1869, Gandhi's departure for England at the age of 19 despite the

religious strictures of crossing the *kala pani* or 'black waters', were an indication of his radicalness. He came from a strict *Modh bania* (trader) caste. His arrival in London and the metropolis and adoption of dress and manners paradoxically also strengthened his notions of his Indianness. The adoption of vegetarianism and study of classic Indian texts in English translation were part of a self-conscious understanding of himself. His acquisition of a legal qualification before his return to India not only equipped him as a professional lawyer but also sharpened his understanding of the ambiguities and anomalies in the field of law.

The second phase of his intercultural experiences start with his departure to South Africa and his understandings are informed by the repertoires of experiences in these diasporic contexts. He had to negotiate within himself not only the complex set of identities but also of experiences.

In 1893 as a professional and shy commercial lawyer his exposure to brutal colonial racism in South Africa was very different from his diaporic student experiences in London. It provided a further deepening of his intellectual and spiritual journeys. While remaining a loyal subject of the Empire and its constitutional framework, his sympathies lay with the Boers in South Africa. It was during this phase of 21 years that his activism became manifest and a commitment to the community and public life matured. He made some political inroads with a campaign against the electoral suppression of the franchise for rich Natal Indian merchants in 1894.

He used political activities such as distributing pamphlets, and the passing of moderate resolutions using legal arguments. The commitment to the Indian cause in South Africa was further developed after his return there in 1902 and the setting up of the Indian Opinion, a weekly paper in Durban and the setting up of Phoenix Farm in 1904. The 1906 Transvaal Asiatic Amendment Act to finger print all Indians led to the political campaigning for all Indians not just the merchants. As Claude Markovits writes:

Between 1907 and 1913 he gradually perfected a technique of political agitation which he called *satyagraha* to distinguish it from 'passive resistance' with which it is generally equated.

(Markovits, 2003: 4)

The development of *satyagraha* as active political resistance using non-violent methods, and the writing of what can be called a theoretical book called the *Hind Swaraj* in 1909 was not only a critique of western civilisation but also an elaboration of his political philosophy. The deepening of these ideas was marked by the October 1913 miners march from Natal to Transvaal and it pre-figures the 1930 Salt March in India¹⁴ (Swan, 1988). At a meeting in Durban in 1913 to mourn the Indian miners killed he was moved to wearing a *lungi*¹⁵ and *kurta*¹⁶ for the first time. The South African experience therefore forms the basis of re-inventing tradition which he subsequently used to great effect in India. It seems to be a direct result of the relationship between the struggle of the subordinated South African Indian community and the longer term development by Gandhi of his own political practice.

His return to India in 1915 was the beginning of the third phase of the maturation of his political ideas which allowed the cumulative understandings in all the previous contexts to be used to connect with the Indian masses. However, his understandings derived from the 300,000 oppressed Indian minority of different castes and religions in South Africa was qualitatively and quantitatively different from the diversity of 300 million Indians. In order to establish himself in India he started to build a political base in Gujarat¹⁷ as well as making a linguistic shift from English to Hindustani and Gujarati, although he had started to do some of this thinking in South Africa. These shifts in political experiences accompanied by linguistic shifts also meant that Gandhi was developing a political and lexical vocabulary which would be suitable for the Indian freedom struggle.

Here it can be argued that Gandhi's understanding of politics was not a purely Western one, but had strong indigenous elements. The new political vocabulary he used constitutes terms that cannot be comprehended within a Western understanding of politics. Gandhi's political culture was based on the concept of law that was understood by the Indian polity. Whereas he used his skills as a civil lawyer as stated earlier, to write petitions and so on, he was also invoking the 'common brotherhood' of the disparate but inter-cultural Indian community through appealing to their shared understanding of a 'causal law', that is even now expressed in popular terms such as fate, destiny, or the will of God (Bhagyan or Allah). Thereby Gandhi's political

culture made use of both the notion of law that had come in from the West but also created an indigenous political theory that took the causal law or *satya* as a peg, to which were added terms borrowed from the diverse communities, such as *ahimsa* from Jainism, *dharma* from Hinduism, love from Christianity, and notions of equality from the Buddhist *sangha*.

The appeal this made to the popular culture was the greatest asset for Gandhi's movement. But this can be misunderstood if we do not examine the persona of Gandhi. There can be said to be two Gandhis. The first is Gandhi the person, for whom Truth and Non-violence was his creed. Then there was the Gandhi who had to play the role of the Mahatma, the moral leader and a nationalist, who had to work through the problematic intercultural issues.

In London's Tavistock Square stands a statue of Mahatma Gandhi. It is exactly opposite the site of the 7/7 bus bombing. In a professorial address delivered at the Institute of Education next door, two years before this incident Gundara (2003) had mentioned:

It is a matter of fundamental importance that the role of religion in multi-faith, constitutional and democratic states is clearly defined to avoid these states being lead to a brink of fundamentalist and dogmatic notions of 'truth' fuelled by faith.

The importance of Gandhi and his protégé Nehru in the present context is that they had a genuine intercultural understanding of western and Indian civilisations. They personified a creativity and determination which is currently lacking in many political and educational leaders.

(Gundara, 2003: 12-13)

Unlike the bombers, Gandhi's notion of 'truth' was not exclusive or fuelled by a desire to cause destruction to the 'others'. Gandhi's creativity was certainly an outcome of his intercultural understandings of the different concepts of 'truth' (as stated above), which stands as a polar opposite to the narrowest definition of 'truth' held by the London July bombers. It must be added that this is the same concern that underlined Makiguchi's declaration in the early part of the 20th century that, in the spectrum of 'values' there is no need for a separate 'sanctity value', as expressed by Western thinkers like Winderband (see Bethel, 1989 ed.: 84). Instead he advocated the 'value of good' that he

found exists in our creative contribution to society's welfare through our actions for protecting human dignity and the sanctity of life (Ibid.).

After 1920 Gandhi had begun to intensify his identity as a nationalist. He had begun to think that the liberation of the Indian people would also lead to the liberation of the British people and hence the development of his struggles was directed at the imperium and not at individuals or the British people. He then started in earnest to develop interventions in Champaran in Bihar, an involvement in the Ahmedabad strike, and these interventions were sharpened by the Rowlatt Bills which suppressed political dissent.

The experience of the jail and the turn towards social reform by focussing on untouchability, the role of education as well as the promotion of the *khadi* cloth are further markers in his intercultural journey. The focus on his attire was based on the deliberate process of self-definition and identity construction. He used contemporary media as well as political party apparatus to mobilise the ordinary masses including the peasants (Green, 1993).

His intercultural understandings are evidenced by his attempts to bring equalities within the Hindu community by eradicating caste differences, the attempts to reconcile the differences between Hindu and Muslim communities and at the political organisation level by reconciling the Congress Party and the Muslim League. His opposition to the caste system did not arise because he was a Hindu but because he was a reformer and as Ashis Nandy suggests a modern Indian nationalist (Nandy, 1983: 48).

The partition of India for very complex reasons was a deep blow to Gandhi because he had continued to think that religious differences were superficial and that his version of Indian nationalism could accommodate these differences. He nevertheless, continued to wade into areas of religious violence and retained his moral high ground in politics. From 1937 onwards his name was mentioned for the Nobel Peace Prize but "the Eurocentrism of the Norwegian Committee deprived him of an award many thought he deserved" (Markovits, 2003: 22-23).

On 31st January 1948 Gandhi was assassinated by a Hindu radicalist. Making Gandhi 'the Father of the Nation' made him into an icon as 'the founding father of secular nationalism', which Nehru sought to promote as the ideology of the new republic.

The Impact on Civic Movements in the 20th and 21st Centuries

A critique of Gandhi's work has also developed both within India as well as internationally. The Marxists and communists ideologically and organisationally opposed Gandhi's ideas as did the narrow Indian nationalists. However, there have also been others who have supported Gandhi's work. The Gandhian movement has included Vinoba Bhave, the Bhoodan Movement, the work of socialist Rammanohar Lohia and Jayprakash Narayan, who called for 'Total Revolution' and subsequently became part of the Janata Coalition, led by Morarji Desai which ironically defeated the Congress Party (which Gandhi founded) in 1977 thirty years after Gandhi's death and invoked Gandhism as an ideology of the Indian state.

In the bi-polar context at the international level Gandhian ideas were used from micro-level struggles against poverty as well to liberate the poor in Mafia-bound Sicily by Danilo Dolci in 1952 in Italy, and in 1953 by Lanza del Vasto who used a Gandhian fast to protest against the French war in Algeria. Gandhian principles have also been used by the anti-globalisation activist Jose Bove (who was recently imprisoned in France for burning a McDonald's), and Ernest Schumacher in his 1973 book 'Small is Beautiful' on development of village industries incorporated Gandhi's ideas. Gandhi's inspiration was also acknowledged by the Bruntland Commission in 1987. The environmentalists in India like the Chipko movement and Petra Kelly of the Green Party in Germany also subscribed to his ideas and inspiration. Whether the numerous movements which have arisen are based on his thought and action or on his position as an icon is an open question.

In sharp contrast to the political successors of Gandhi (like Martin Luther King who appeared on the international stage soon after Gandhi's passing away), within India the use of Gandhi and his ideas has been mostly contextual. Terms such as Gandhian and Gandhism have continued to be used extensively by various sections of the Indian society – academia, politics, media, civil servants and the general public. References to these concepts have often suited the context of those who speak of Gandhi – in speeches made at public gatherings or in printed material for the readership of the educated few. Though there have been some practitioners of Gandhi's views,

in general one finds that Gandhi is more often than not used by those in positions of power to suit their own end (see Sharma, 2006: 186-188). In essence, whereas some scholars contend that Gandhi is still relevant in modern India, critics find him as merely a picture hanging on the walls of government, police, and court buildings.

In contrast however, Makiguchi's history within his own lifetime and after his death has been very different from Gandhi. In his own lifetime Makiguchi did not face the challenges that Gandhi had to confront with as a national leader. However, Makiguchi had demonstrated great courage by standing up against the educational, political and religious authoritarian establishment of his society. As a school teacher and principal he refused to curry favour with the children of influential parents and therefore was made to transfer from one school to another until he was forced to retire in 1929. Later on as a Buddhist leader Makiguchi openly voiced his concerns for the equality and dignity of life, denouncing the emperor as a common man. His actions angered the religious and political authorities of his time for which he faced imprisonment and subsequent death. His predicament as a teacher in Japan has ramifications for many millions of teachers in authoritarian states at the present time who suffer a range of privations. This adds to the denial of teaching and learning of millions of young people in many non-democratic states.

Makiguchi's successor Ikeda can be likened to Gandhi in his engagement with the social and political transformation of his country. In recent years the Komeito party has become well-known for implementing varied welfare policies in Japan (Fisker-Nielsen, 2005: 15).

Gandhi's movement faced challenges similar to those experienced by the Soka Gakkai's political engagement. Fisker-Nielsen's recent research shows that in providing political endorsement to the Komeito party, the Soka Gakkai has been landed in a contradictory position with the support given by the Japanese government to the United States military operations (Fisker-Nielsen, 2005). The issue itself is complex, but for our analysis it can be said that not only for the members of this organisation but for the Japanese polity in general the disregard for article 9 of the Constitution (that promotes peace) by political parties reveals paradoxes that lie within modern societies.

For example, on the one hand aspirations such as ‘peace’ have been advocated by the Japanese Constitution, as well as the Soka Gakkai that are in the lineage of Makiguchi, while on the other hand there has been the political reality in which Japan had offered to assist America’s war against terrorism for the sake of ‘maintaining peace’.

This issue highlights the contradictions and paradoxes that emerge in the use of ‘values’ within the reality of politics. At the same time our critical appraisal of the use of such ‘values’ within the Japanese politics does not attempt to overlook the necessity and importance of the citizen’s engagement in political transformation and the role played by the Soka Gakkai in endorsing public accountability from the governing political power (see Held, 1987: 267-268).

In particular, the powerful use of Makiguchi’s concept of ‘Soka’ or ‘Value Creation’ by Ikeda within the realm of Japanese society and politics has provided an example of the positive use of religious values in a public domain. It has shown that personal values can be of benefit not only to the individual but also to the society at large, as long as the use of values is educationally oriented with a focus on the political education of the ‘members’ who in turn hold the political powers accountable. This was also recently very powerfully manifested in the massive revolt of the Burmese monks against the Burmese military government.

The Relevance for Citizenship Education in the 21st Century

In relation to the above discussions on Makiguchi and Gandhi, the underlying concern of this paper has been with citizenship or political education. The exposition of Makiguchi, Gandhi and Ikeda’s political understandings were studied in relation to their place as a citizen of his country. In the context of the twenty-first century, there have been civic movements in both Makiguchi’s and Gandhi’s respective countries and abroad to which their contribution can be delineated in certain ways.

The ideas and practices of these thinkers for a field of study and practice carries considerable educational weight in the early twenty-first century.

Citizenship education somehow occupies the paradoxical position of being recognised generally as of central importance whilst being treated as peripheral in many educational institutions. There is, in effect, a struggle in process over the ‘values’ which should inform the development of citizenship education, especially in democratic societies.

Citizenship education has been a topic of concern for education in many modern nation states. In this new century of global terrorism and Islamophobia, living with the ‘other’ is an issue that urgently needs to be addressed. *Learning to Live Together* is a recent initiative of the UNESCO that was originally forwarded by the Delors Commission in 1996, and has greater currency after 9/11. The commission highlights six major paradoxes of globalisation and the challenges of education for living together. Compared to this initiative by UNESCO, the conference on *Learning to Live Together* which took place in 1936 in Utrecht was centred on the need for morality underpinned by religious ‘values’, in an age in which industrial and scientific development had begun to raise concerns about the breakdown of communities and ‘values’ (Rawson 1936). Based on similar concerns, a previous work by Sharma (2002) on Makiguchi and Gandhi was influenced by similar concerns in which the ‘reductionist’ Newtonian-Cartesian paradigm was juxtaposed with the ‘holistic’ views of these thinkers, so as to find a more cohesive understanding of ‘values’.

However, the following study by Sharma (2006) showed that in the twenty-first century there are political implications of *Learning to Live Together* which we need to consider. The task of educating students to understand the ‘values’ of the ‘other’, such as Gandhi suggested, has become more complex in the twenty-first century due to the increasing contextual use of ‘values’ which may be politicised or depoliticised. Today in India Gandhians writ large have de-politicised Gandhi and his ‘values’. This *re-appearance* of Gandhi in a way very different from his intentions is an example of the argument that Herbert Marcuse makes on the ‘classics’ of literature, philosophy and politics which, in becoming available in paperbacks in local bookstore

have left the mausoleum to come to life again...but coming to life as classics, they come to life as other than themselves; they are deprived of their antagonistic force, of the estrangement which was the very condition of their truth.

The intent and function of these works have thus fundamentally changed. If they once stood out in contradiction to the status quo, this contradiction is now flattened out.

(Marcuse, 1972: 24)

Expounding on Marcuse's argument, Ferguson states, "One of the consequences of Marcuse's analysis is, he suggests, that if one tries to conceptualise the world differently, one's arguments will not be accepted as valid for consideration until they have been reduced to the terms of the existing universe of discourse" (Ferguson, 1998: 25). Though there is an extremity in the analysis Marcuse makes of the closing of the universe of discourse, his claims cannot be completely dismissed. It has been seen through this study on the presence of Gandhi that though he continues to be invoked, his writings do not make the significant contribution they did within his own time. As noted earlier, Gandhi's ideas and 'values' engaged various colonial governments in many different ways, such as through his role as the political leader of the Indian National Congress, his moral influence and perceived image as the Father of the Nation, and the impact of his movement of *Satyagraha* especially after the Salt March of 1930, all of which are now framed within the Indian history textbooks.

At the same time, though there has been a 'de-politicisation' of Gandhi, there has been an opposite change in the case of Makiguchi. Whereas both Gandhi and Makiguchi had opposed their respective governments, Gandhi was an activist who was seen as a growing threat by a politically astute British colonial administrator. While Makiguchi was an educator who was perceived as an annoyance by the autocratic leaders of his own Japanese government, as was the Nichiren temple, and the school authorities in which he taught and served as principal.

Therefore, it is argued here that in spite of the leading discourse, or 'socially constructed knowledge' (Kress and Leeuwen 2001) that exists within societies, that have been formed largely by the agendas of power-holders, there are new discourses that arise constantly to challenge the existing ones. On the one hand, dissident thinkers like Gandhi are made 'safe' in India by depriving them of their oppositional political force, whilst others

like Makiguchi in Japan have assumed such a political role after their death.

To bring out the sharp contrast in comparative terms between Gandhi's political influences during his own time as compared to Makiguchi's political impact after his death, this paper has concentrated on Gandhi's engagement with the politics of his own time and Ikeda and Soka Gakkai's growth after their founder's death. A vital implication of the above two examples of the politicisation and de-politicisation of thinkers like Makiguchi and Gandhi is that the ideas and 'values' of dissident thinkers tend to lose their creativity and efficacy when they are used in a way that does not contend with the existing power structures of society.

In the twenty-first century context, 'values' such as non-violence, peace and value creation to strengthen human rights are often processual, and can therefore be invoked, politicised and de-politicised according to the context in which they are placed. Here it is argued that in the twenty-first century, an investigation into 'values' in education cannot be limited to an approach based on philosophy and ethics. *Learning to Live Together* with the 'values' of the 'other' has political implications in which issues of power need to be taken into account from the classroom to the international level. These implications need to be critically examined through future research.

Conclusion

This comparative study of two Asian thinkers and their influences has provided some insights on citizenship education which need to be included within the current debates about these subjects. These include a systematic analysis of inter-cultural education as well as questions of identity, social justice and equity. These studies can enable learners to acquire critical understandings of the field of politics, including the paradoxes of political values and engagement.

As our future citizens, young people need to acquire creative and critical skills and sensibilities. At a basic level this can start with a rigorous study of the 'values based politics' of Edmund Burke, Karl Marx, Gandhi, Ikeda, Mandela, Aung San Suu Kyi, and many others.

However, acquisition of more knowledge is not enough and schools need to become more democratic in the way in which they function (Bourn and Gundara 1999). This paper therefore concludes by suggesting that in order to foster the citizens of the 21st century there needs to be educational, political and societal support for the qualitative transformations of our educational institutions (for further details see Sharma, 2006).

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Notes

¹ Such as leading documents including Cricks report (2000).

² Non-violent resistance; a relentless search for truth; truth-force; holding on to truth. Also, the name of Gandhi's political movement.

³ For more on Makiguchi's life and background see Bethel, 1994 and Sharma, 1999.

⁴ The source of this information is a letter received from Mr. Hisao Harima on 3 November 2003.

⁵ Amongst others, the Japanese media has tried to emphasise the Soka Gakkai's vast financial resources, and political power. Such as, articles suggesting that money is coaxed or coerced out of members. Other articles stir up suspicion against the Soka Gakkai and its political links with the Komeito political party. There has however been no evidence to suggest that the Soka Gakkai has gained in any direct way through the political endorsement it provides to the Komeito party. Further, as Watanabe's research shows, the speculative and baseless reports by the Japanese media have often been the result of the control exercised by 'competing religious and political groups' (Watanabe, 2000: 225). Watanabe's research shows that the "...matrix of influence and interests binding the media, state, and religion in Japan

has impeded, within the Japanese press, the recognition that freedom of speech is the freedom to question and criticise those in the highest authority” (Ibid: 212). Watanabe argues that the “media coverage on *the reality of the activities* of the Soka Gakkai, Japan’s largest religious organisation with an estimated membership of 4 million households, is virtually nonexistent” (Ibid, emphasis added). Instead, the Japanese press and LDP officials have tried to falsely represent the Soka Gakkai as a religious organisation that aims to eventually ‘take over Japan and impose its belief as a state religion’ through its increasing financial and political strengths (Ibid: 218).

⁶ Josei Toda or Toda Jyogai (1900-1958) was an educationist and the second President of the Soka Gakkai.

⁷ See (Ikeda, 1981: 281-291) for Yasuji Kirimura’s brief biography of Daisaku Ikeda.

⁸ Outside Japan several researches as well as applications of Makiguchi’s values are taking place by both members as well as non-members of the *Soka Gakkai*, such as Soka Ikeda College in Chennai that has been established by a non-member, Mr. Sethu Kumanan.

⁹ See Ikeda 1972-1976.

¹⁰ See the activities by the Kansai Soka Schools at <http://www.kansai.soka.ed.jp/>

¹¹ See Bernstein 1970: 345.

¹² Mahatma literally means ‘great soul’- name given to Gandhi by the Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941).

¹³ Coarse, hand-spun cloth. The economic component of Gandhi’s movement included activities such as manufacturing salt from the sea, and spinning the wheel to make the khadi cloth. These activities were directed to boycott British goods and were an important part of the Indian national struggle for freedom.

¹⁴ In March 1930 Gandhi and the other *satyagrahis* marched to the ocean to gather salt in a campaign to boycott the British.

¹⁵ A *lungi* is a two meter length of cloth worn by men on the lower half of the body. Looks like a sarong. Found in parts of India, Bangladesh and Myanmar.

¹⁶ *Kurta* (or sometimes *kurti*, for women) is a traditional piece of clothing worn in northern India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan. It is a loose shirt falling either just above or somewhere below the knees of the wearer, and is worn by both men and women.

¹⁷ A state in West part of India.

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ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Το άρθρο πραγματεύεται συγκριτικά την εκπαιδευτική και πολιτική προσφορά δύο Ασιατών διανοητών και ηγετών μεγάλων πολιτικών ρευμάτων της εποχής τους: του Tsunesaburo Makiguchi στην Ιαπωνία και του Ινδού πολιτικού ηγέτη Mahatma Gandhi. Εξετάζοντας την πορεία τους, οι συγγραφείς επιχειρούν να αναδείξουν τις ιδέες τους, τις πρακτικές και την επιρροή που άσκησαν οι δύο προσωπικότητες στο ιστορικό πλαίσιο στο οποίο έδρασαν. Παράλληλα, επιχειρείται να συσχετιστούν οι βασικές πτυχές της ιδεολογίας των δύο διανοητών με σύγχρονα ζητήματα της εκπαίδευσης του πολίτη, υποστηρίζοντας ότι η ζωή και η δράση τους μπορούν να αποτελέσουν έμπνευση για τους σύγχρονους εκπαιδευτικούς, να τους στηρίξουν σε ζητήματα διαπολιτισμικής επικοινωνίας, ισότητας και κοινωνικής δικαιοσύνης.

Στο πρώτο μέρος της εργασίας εξετάζεται ιστορικά η ζωή των δύο προσώπων και οι συνθήκες που διαμόρφωσαν την ιδεολογία τους. Γίνεται αναφορά στη θεωρία δημιουργίας αξιών (value creating theory) του Makiguchi και στη φιλοσοφία του Gandhi, που ήθελε το άτομο κοινωνικά υπεύθυνο, αλλά και στους λόγους για τους οποίους ο Ινδός φιλόσοφος είχε πολύ μεγαλύτερη απήχηση απ' ό,τι ο Makiguchi.

Στη συνέχεια οι συγγραφείς διερευνούν την επιρροή της διδασκαλίας των δύο σε κοινωνικά κινήματα του 20ου και του 21ου αιώνα, όπως για παράδειγμα στη δράση του Martin Luther King ή του Ιάπωνα Daisaku Ikeda. Το τρίτο μέρος της εργασίας προσεγγίζει την κληρονομιά που άφησαν οι δύο διανοητές στο ζήτημα της εκπαίδευσης του πολίτη στον 21ο αιώνα, μια εποχή που η κατανόηση των αξιών του άλλου μοιάζει αναγκαία. Το άρθρο καταλήγει με τη θέση ότι η εκπαίδευση των εκπαιδευτικών θα ήταν χρήσιμο να περιλαμβάνει τη μελέτη της προσφοράς προσωπικοτήτων όπως ο Gandhi και άλλοι μη δυτικοί διανοητές, που υποστήριξαν πρακτικές μεθόδους προκειμένου να τους ενισχύσει στις απαιτήσεις της διαπολιτισμικής προσέγγισης και στην επίλυση κρίσεων μέσα στην τάξη.