Materialien aus der Bildungsforschung Nr. 64

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BASIC DATA ON THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF BERLIN

Max-Planck-Institut für Bildungsforschung Berlin 1999

GW ISSN 0173-3842 ISBN 3-87985-073-9

Materialien aus der Bildungsforschung

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GW ISSN 0173-3842 ISBN 3-87985-073-9

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Summary

The first of the three papers presented in this issue provides basic data on the city necessary for understanding some features of the educational system in Berlin and its current problems, namely its political history, contemporary economic situation, and demographic development. – The second paper begins with a description of the educational and financial constitution effective in the Federal Republic of Germany. The development and the basic structure of the educational system of West Berlin is presented with some figures indicating its size and its outcome. – Finally, some of the general problems the system must overcome are pointed out. The third paper deals with the process of the legal unification of the educational systems of East and West Berlin and discusses some of interpretations and misinterpretations of this process.

Zusammenfassung

Der erste der drei Beiträge in diesem Heft enthält Informationen über Berlin, wie sie zum Verständnis des hiesigen Bildungswesens und seiner jüngsten Entwicklungen notwendig sind, und zwar Informationen zur politischen Geschichte, der derzeitigen wirtschaftlichen Situation und der Bevölkerungsentwicklung der Stadt. – Der zweite Beitrag befaßt sich mit dem Berliner Bildungswesen. Nach einer Darstellung der Verfassung und Finanzierung des Bildungswesens in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland wird die Entwicklung des Bildungswesens in West-Berlin geschildert, seine heutige Struktur behandelt und mit Hilfe von statistischen Daten veranschaulicht. Abschließend werden einige ungelöste strukturelle Probleme diskutiert. – Die Umstrukturierung des Ostberliner Bildungswesens nach der Wiedervereinigung ist Thema des dritten Beitrags. Er beschäftigt sich mit den gesetzlichen Vorgaben und den administrativen Maßnahmen der Vereinigung und geht darauf ein, wie sie von den Betroffenen wahrgenommen werden.

Preface

The Goethe Institute in Chicago, in conjunction with the University of Chicago, the Consulate General of Mexico and DePaul University, organized a series of events and conferences dedicated to the changing urban environment in three large metropolitan areas: Berlin, Chicago, and Mexico City. As pointed out by the organizers, these three cities have likewise been centers of migration throughout the twentieth century, attempting in one way or another to integrate large groups of diverse people and to give them a new urban identity. Thus, each of the cities can benefit from considering how the others are responding to the problems and challenges called forth by the increasing multilingual, multicultural, and global environment of the city at the end of the twentieth century.

Since institutionalized processes of education play an important role in integrating new ethnic groups into the existing urban societies, one of the aforementioned conferences focused on the educational systems in the three cities in light of current economic and demographic changes. This conference took place at DePaul University in Chicago in April 1994. I was asked to give a broad overview of the educational system of Berlin and to contribute material enabling the participants to prepare for the conference. Since Berlin has not developed in the same way as other large industrial cities, I first composed a paper on the specific historical, economic, and demographic situation of Berlin. Another paper deals with the educational system and a third one is concerned with one of the problems Berlin has been confronted with recently, namely the problem of integrating the former socialist part of the city and its educational system. In-depth considerations of several major issues were also presented by educational experts from Berlin.

Apparently, the three papers which I prepared for the conference are still of interest to some of my colleagues. Therefore, I present the updated versions of those papers in this issue. The papers are independent of each other and can be read separately.

I thank my colleagues Doris Gampig, Cynthia Miller, Diann Rusch-Feja, Françoise Weber and Geoffrey Whittaker for helping prepare the text and the tables, for the graphic representations, and for editing assistance.

December 1998

Gundel Schümer

The City of Berlin



Geographical dimensions	28 miles from East to West 24 miles from North to South 343 square miles			
<i>Inhabitants (1996)</i>	3,458,763	12.8% foreigners		
East Berlin	1,296,665	5.6% foreigners		
West Berlin	2,162,098	17.2% foreigners		
Excess of births Excess of migrants Increase in population	8,194 4,461 12,655			
<i>Total labor force (1996)</i>	1,851,800	11.6% foreigners		
East Berlin	725,400	5.3% foreigners		
West Berlin	1,126,400	15.6% foreigners		
<i>Unemployed persons</i> ¹ (1996)	235,999	16.4% foreigners		
East Berlin	86,198	4.1% foreigners		
West Berlin	149,801	23.4% foreigners		
<i>Unemployed persons² (1992)</i> East Berlin West Berlin	12.7% 11.9% 13.3%			
Persons regularly receiving welfare (1995)	173,341	26.0% foreigners		
East Berlin	39,476	9.4% foreigners		
West Berlin	133,865	30.9% foreigners		

¹ Living in Berlin and registered at the Labor Office as looking for work.

² As a percentage of all wage or salary earners. Source: Statistisches Jahrbuch Berlin (1997, pp. 28f., 54, 57, 70f., 250, 260, 469); with additional calculations.

History¹

When the German Reich was founded in 1871 by uniting the German states under the guidance of Prussia, Berlin, the traditional residence of the Prussian kings, became the capital. At that time, the city had approximately 930,000 inhabitants, but, due to industrialization and the growing political and economic importance of Berlin, the population increased rapidly. Only 20 years later, the population amounted to more than two million and 20 years thereafter, the population had reached 3.7 million (Statistisches Jahrbuch Berlin, 1993, p. 46). The proportion of industrial workers was extraordinarily high and since they often lived under intolerable social conditions, it is not surprising that Berlin, the poorhouse of Europe, became the center of the German Labor movement.

At the end of the First World War, Berlin was also the center of revolutionary endeavors in Germany leading up to the proclamation of the Weimar Republic. During its short period of existence, the Weimar Republic was unfavorably affected by the worldwide economic crisis, and Berlin was the scene of political revolts and assassinations, of strikes, demonstrations and street-fights between rivalling radical groups, especially between the Communist and National Socialist factions. After Hitler came to power in 1933, political life of Berlin was beaten into submission, the cultural activities that had made Berlin famous were suppressed, and the local government was reduced to carrying out administrative functions. The National Socialists used Berlin to promote their public image until the city was nearly completely destroyed towards the end of the Second World War and finally conquered by Soviet troops in May 1945.

Following the defeat of Nazi Germany, the Allied Powers agreed upon a new Eastern border and divided the country into four zones of occupation. Berlin was also divided into four sectors, but was jointly governed by the Allied Command until 1948, when aggravating conflicts between East and West induced the Soviets to attempt to force the Western Allies out of Berlin by imposing a blockade on the city. This led to the political division of the city into East and West Berlin. After the establishment of the two German states in 1949, East Berlin was integrated into the German Democratic Republic, and became gradually shielded from the West until it was finally cut off as the Wall was built in 1961 to prevent the exodus of the East German labor force. As the Western

¹ The following facts on the City of Berlin are not controversial and can be found in every good encyclopedia or history book. If not, the special sources are quoted.

Powers continued to insist on the Four Allies' joint responsibility for the whole city, West Berlin retained its special legal status but was, in fact, politically and economically closely related to the Federal Republic of Germany.

Since the unification of the two German states in 1990, East and West Berlin have also been reunited and currently have the legal status of a city-state in the Federal Republic of Germany. According to the Unification Treaty and a corresponding resolution of the federal parliament, Berlin has been reinstated as the German capital, but the Federal Government will only move there from Bonn at the end of the decade.

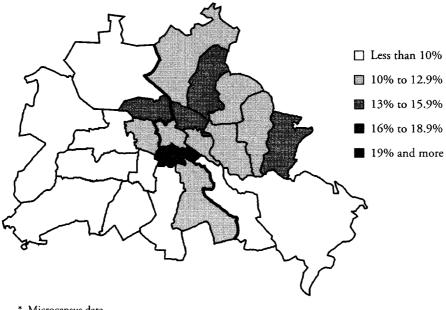
Economic Activity

Without the financial support from the Federal Government in Bonn, the economic development of West Berlin would not have been possible. Due to the Second World War and the subsequent dismantling of many manufacturing industries, about 66 percent of the industrial capacity of Berlin was destroyed (50% in the East and 75% in the western sectors). As the city was divided and West Berlin suffered from the blockade and the continuing isolation from its surroundings, the city lost its traditional economic basis. Yet, there was an economic recovery in the 1950s and 1960s after the West German government passed the Law for the Economic Promotion of West Berlin granting all sorts of tax reductions, as well as additional allowances for employees.

Since the 1970s, the number of jobs in the manufacturing industry has declined again, while the service industry has gained in importance. Nevertheless, the unemployment rate in West Berlin has been above the average in the Federal Republic of Germany since the 1970s. In East Berlin, it is still higher because the industries there have lost their markets in Eastern Europe following the monetary union of the two German states in July 1990. Figures 1 and 2 show the unequal distribution of unemployed persons in East and West Berlin, as well as between industrial areas and other areas in both parts of the city. Figure 1 represents the situation in 1991, that is, one year after reunification. Figure 2 represents the proportion of unemployment five years later, showing how quickly statistics from 1991 have become obsolete, especially in the East but also in the West.

Regarding the economic pattern, the differences between East and West Berlin are not very obvious. As the capital of the former German Democratic Republic, East Berlin was the center of the government and had a high proportion

Figure 1 Unemployed Persons* as a Percentage of the Total Labor Force in the Various Districts of Berlin (1991)



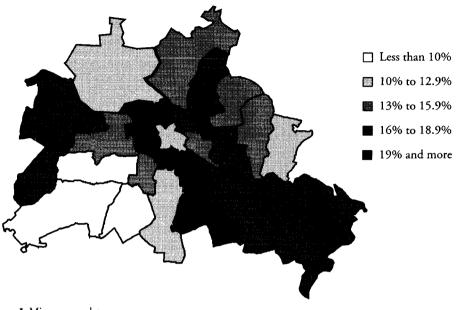
* Microcensus data. Source: Statistisches Jahrbuch Berlin (1992, p. 97).

of persons employed in service industries. Nevertheless, before monetary union, nearly 36 percent of the labor force in East Berlin was employed in the manufacturing industries and only 31 percent in the service industries,² while in 1996 both proportions were similar to those in West Berlin (cf. Table 1). Only 23 to 24 percent of the labor force had jobs in manufacturing, but 54 percent and 51 percent respectively worked in the service industries. These percentages deviate widely from those in the Federal Republic where in 1996 almost 40 percent of the labor force was in manufacturing and 38 percent in the service industries.³

² Calculations based on the Statistisches Jahrbuch Berlin (1991, p. 238).

³ Calculations based on the Statistisches Jahrbuch für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland (1997, p. 106).

Figure 2 Unemployed Persons* as a Percentage of the Total Labor Force in the Various Districts of Berlin (1996)



^{*} Microcensus data. Source: Statistisches Jahrbuch Berlin (1997, p. 57).

Concerning occupational positions, it is still obvious that the socialist state had no civil servants and that private enterprises were disadvantaged. The dissimilarities in the working hours still reflect the fact that labor agreements in industry in each state differed greatly and are now being adjusted only gradually. Besides this, it is evident that slightly more East Berlin women go to work than do women in West Berlin and that a greater proportion of these women have full-time jobs.⁴ Before unification, the discrepancies between East and West were much greater.

⁴ The differences between East and West Berlin women are small compared to those between East and West German women (Roloff, 1993–1994).

	We	est Berlin	East Berlin		
	Total	Within total: females	Total	Within total: females	
Total number (in thousands)	957.3	433.5 (45.2%)	615.6	291.6 (47.4%)	
Occupational position (%) ¹					
Self-employed	12.0	8.7	8.6	5.4	
Civil servants	9.8	8.1	4.6	3.7	
White-collar employees	50.7	64.4	58.4	76.3	
Blue-collar workers	27.4	18.8	28.4	14.6	
Industry (%)					
Primary industry	0.9	-	0.9	_	
Manufacturing industry	23.3	12.0	24.3	11.0	
Transportation and commerce	22.3	20.6	23.9	23.6	
Service industry	53.5	66.3	51.0	64.0	
Hours worked during					
the sampling week (%)					
None or less than 10 hours	9.0	11.9	6.5	6.7	
Between 10 and 21 hours	9.9	16.0	5.1	6.5	
Between 21 and 31 hours	7.0	11.6	5.4	8.8	
Between 31 and 40 hours	34.6	33.8	21.5	23.8	
40 and more hours	39.5	266	65.5	53.0	

Table 1 Gainfully Employed Persons in Berlin According to Occupational Position, Industry, and Man-Hours (1996)

¹ Excluding family members.

Source: Statistisches Jahrbuch Berlin (1997, p. 253); with additional calculations.

Population

The war and its consequences diminished the population of Berlin from nearly 4.5 million in 1942 to 2.8 million in 1945 (by 1.7 in West Berlin and 1.1 in East Berlin).⁵ Afterwards, it grew slowly again, but in West Berlin the various political crises and the construction of the Wall in 1961 resulted in a further decrease in population. In the 1960s, the demand for workers and employees was satisfied by recruiting persons from West Germany and from foreign countries. Due to the ex-

 $^{^5}$ These and the following statistics are based on the Statistisches Jahrbuch Berlin (1993, pp. 46–49 and 52–54).

cess of foreign migrants and their much higher birth rate compared to Germans, the number of inhabitants in West Berlin did not fall below 1.8 million. Since the end of the 1980s, the population amounts to more than 2 million inhabitants again. East and West Berlin combined have nearly 3.5 million inhabitants to date. Also, as a result of the war and the particular political situation of West Berlin, there is an excess of women and a high proportion of elderly people today.

According to data from the registration office, the number of inhabitants from foreign countries amounts to 444,112 which is almost 13 percent of the total population.⁶ The biggest group is the Turks who make up 31 percent of the non-German population. In their appearance and religious habits they are the most "alien" group, differing not only from the Germans but also from most of the other Berlin residents. The second group (18%) is formed by citizens of the former Yugoslavia, most of whom came to Berlin as migrant workers, but since the recent civil war, there has also been an increasing proportion of refugees. An additional 7 percent of the non-German population comes from Poland, 15 percent from the European Union, 9 percent from other European countries (including the former Soviet Union), 11 percent from Asia, and 10 percent from African, American and other countries.

About 73 percent of the non-German labor force are blue-collar workers compared to 40 percent in the German labor force (Berliner Statistik, 1998, pp. 17 and 19). These foreign blue-collar workers often have not completed a vocational training. Due to agreements between the Federal Republic of Germany and several socalled recruitment countries, the first migrant workers came in the 1950s, but their number increased only in the 1960s after the construction of the Berlin Wall which halted further immigration from East Germany. This first generation of so-called guest-workers were young, healthy, single men who expected to come for a few years and then return home with their savings. Yet, in the 1970s, many of them wanted to stay in Germany for a longer time and were joined by their wives and children. According to statistical reports from 1991, more than 50 percent of the non-German population has lived in Germany for more than 10 years or from their birth on (cf. Table 2⁷).

⁶ These and the following statistics are based on data from December 31, 1996 (Statistisches Jahrbuch Berlin, 1997, p. 54). In the Federal Republic of Germany, the proportion of foreigners amounted to about 9 percent in 1996. See Statistisches Jahrbuch für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland (1998, pp. 60 and 66).

⁷ The reports from 1991 have already become obsolete (cf. the statistics on this page). Current data have not yet become available.

Citizens	Percentage of citizens living in Germany						
	Number (= 100%)	Less than 1 year	1–less than 10 years	10 years and more	From birth on²		
States of the European Union ¹	40,482	10.5	44.4	36.5	8.6		
Turkey	137,592	3.9	22.0	47.3	26.7		
Former Yugoslavia	42,174	19.7	21.5	44.0	14.8		
Other European countries ³	57,151	22.6	52.6	15.6	8.8		
Non-European countries	77,957	13.2	57.6	18.2	11.0		
Total	355,356	11.6	37.3	34.2	16.9		

Table 2 Non-German Residents in Berlin According to Citizenship and Duration of Stay in Germany (December 1991)

¹ Member states as of December 31, 1991.

² Including persons with missing data.

³ Including the former Soviet Union.

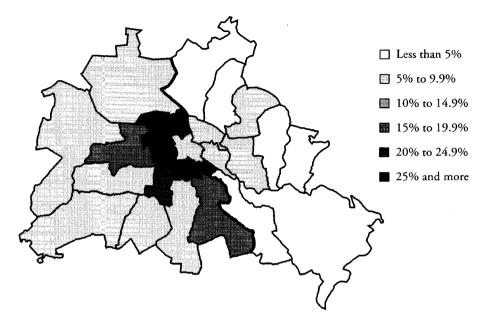
Source: Berliner Statistik (1992, p. 28); with additional calculations.

Many of the non-German residents of Berlin have attended German schools, often speak German better than any other language and do not intend to go back to their home countries, even though some of them are unemployed today. (In Berlin, 29% of the non-German labor force is out of work.⁸) As the rather high proportion of intermarriages between Germans and foreigners suggests (Bericht, 1994, p. 64), they are fairly well integrated into the German population, although the Turkish Berliners, as they call themselves, still occupy a special position due to their religious and cultural background. Many of them, as well as many residents from other nations, do not attempt to attain German citizenship because they do not want to lose their civic rights in their home country.⁹

⁸ These are results of the microcensus in April 1996 including persons who are not registered at the Labor Office as looking for work. The corresponding proportion of the German labor force is 13 percent. See Statistisches Jahrbuch Berlin (1997, p. 57).

⁹ See Bericht (1994, p. 73) and Blumenwitz (1993, p. 152). According to the *Reichs- und Staatsangehörigkeitsgesetz* (law of citizenship) as amended in 1993, almost all foreigners living in Germany for 15 years and most of those living here for 10 years would be eligible for naturalization if they wanted it. So would their family members.

Figure 3 Non-German Residents as a Percentage of the Total Population in the Various Districts of Berlin (1996)



Source: Statistisches Jahrbuch Berlin (1997, pp. 32 and 54); with additional calculations.

The vast majority of foreigners living in Berlin or in other parts of the Federal Republic of Germany are migrant workers or belong to their families. In the 1990s, most of the newcomers were either refugees or asylum seekers (Bericht, 1994, pp. 76–77) who left their native country for political or economic reasons or were driven away by war. Most of them are Yugoslavians, Poles, and Rumanians, alongside a growing number of persons from the Third World. In addition, more and more immigrants of German descent live in the Federal Republic of Germany and in Berlin as well. They come from the Eastern Bloc states, mostly from the former Soviet Union, and are recognized as German citizens if they can prove their German descent by documentary evidence or by their linguistic and cultural affiliation to Germany. Due to the economic failure of communism, the number of these resettlers has increased rapidly (Trommer, 1989; Hullen & Schulz, 1993–1994). Since Berlin is the nearest metropolis, it has become the gateway to Germany for a rather high

proportion of East European immigrants, most of whom are recognized as German citizens (and do not appear in the statistical reports). Some of the younger ones do not speak German properly, but due to the formal support and the informal pressure to speak and behave as Germans, they integrate themselves fairly well into German society.

Since reunification, a growing number of immigrants from the former Eastern Bloc states have moved to East Berlin, probably because people speak Russian there and are more familiar with living conditions in the former socialist states. Yet, the vast majority of all non-German residents, namely more than 84 percent, live in West Berlin. As Figure 3 shows, they are unequally distributed over the various districts of the city. The highest proportion is found in the areas around the historical center of Berlin and in the industrial areas, that is, in those parts of the city where apartment buildings are old and in need of modernization, as many dwellings have neither a bathroom nor central heating.

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The Educational System of Berlin

Educational Constitution¹

The German educational system is state controlled as well as being centralized to a rather large extent. State control began with the introduction of compulsory school attendance in various German states during the first half of the eighteenth century. The Catholic and the Lutheran churches fought against state domination of the school system and later, communities, teachers, and parents also tried to gain more influence in educational matters. In spite of their efforts, the state extended its realm of control. After the Second World War, state control was reestablished on the assumption that open conflicts between the aforementioned groups, with their particular and often contradictory interests, could be best prevented by political means. In fact, as postwar history in Germany has shown, the state has been an active player in implementing important educational reforms which, in turn, strengthened the principle of state control. However, state control of the educational system is quite different in the Federal Republic of Germany from that of the authoritarian German Reich (1871–1919) or in the totalitarian state of the National Socialists (1933–1945).

(1) The Federal Republic of Germany is a democratic country where all executive power emanates from the people through its representative bodies. Executive, legislative, and judicial powers are separated. Legislation is bound by the constitution while the administration and the courts are bound by law. According to modern interpretations of these constitutional principles, all educational decisions which are fundamental for the realization of the basic rights of the citizens are not to be left to the administration, but have to be established by law. The executive bodies have to carry them out while, at the same time, protecting the citizens' rights. If this is not effected, the citizens can defend themselves against violation of their rights, take the case to court, and oblige the state to create the conditions which are necessary for exercising their rights.

¹ The following description of the educational system of Berlin, its constitutional foundation, and its financing is based on the legal texts defining and regulating this system, for instance, the German Constitution, the Education Act, and the School Status of Berlin, as well as the collection of legal prescription laid down by the Berlin Senate of Education. The legal texts are not specified, but additional sources and representations or estimations of the system are quoted as usual.

(2) In all cultural matters, including the educational system, the state is represented by the governments of the individual *Länder*² of the Federal Republic of Germany. In the German Reich, the individual German states were politically sovereign in many respects, for instance, in educational matters, while the National Socialist state exercised centralized control over all of Germany. After its fall, federalism was reestablished, placing the responsibility for educational policy and administration at the *Länder* level. The *Länder* parliaments pass their own education acts and school statutes, which have to conform to the *Grundgesetz* (Basic Law), the German constitution.

According to the *Grundgesetz* (Article 7, § 1), "the entire educational system shall be under the supervision of the state." This does not simply mean that the state has the right to organize, plan, direct, and superintend the educational system. The article of the *Grundgesetz* quoted above is one of those concerned with citizens' fundamental rights and requires, in conjunction with other articles, that the state protects the citizens' right to education, free development of personality, free choice of the educational institutions and free access to them, as well as the right to participate in educational decision-making. Moreover, the constitutions or the education acts of the *Länder* interpret the article as implying compulsory school attendance. This, in turn, obliges the state to provide educational institutions and all that is needed for adequate schooling.

The supervision of the educational system at the *Länder* level is characterized by shared responsibilities. The parliaments have the power to pass legislation on educational matters and to plan the *Länder* budgets, while the Ministries of Culture and Education work within the framework of these laws according to the financial means allocated to them. They plan the development of the educational system, determine teacher training programs at the universities and colleges, and are responsible for the personnel administration. In addition, the Ministries of Culture and Education set the curricula, that is, they define the course schedules (specifying the subjects to be taught and the weekly periods allotted to them for the various grades and types of schools), elaborate the course guidelines (determining the goals and topics for the various subjects for each grade and type of school), approve textbooks, and set the rules for transfers, examinations, and diplomas. Finally, they are responsible for the more detailed regulation of all orga-

² Land (plural Länder) is the current term for the political units of the Federal Republic of Germany. Land is roughly equivalent to "province" or "federal state" (comparable to, for instance, Illinois).

nizational aspects of schools and their internal affairs. They determine, for instance, class size and classroom size, teaching loads and load reductions, testing conditions, extracurricular activities, and so forth. Besides their legally binding directives, they provide various recommendations on good practice and cooperation in the schools.

In the narrower sense of the word, state control of the school system is carried out by school inspectorates, responsible either for the various parts of the *Land* or the local school districts. The local school inspectors are the official superiors of the school principals and the teachers. They visit the schools, observe the courses, enforce the official regulations, and evaluate the teachers at certain points in their careers. In addition, they attend to the so-called external matters (school buildings, furniture, teaching and learning materials, etc.) for which the communities are responsible or, in the case of private schools, the persons or bodies maintaining and financing them.

Despite the education acts, the legal regulations and the superintendence by the state, schools retain a certain amount of autonomy. Firstly, teachers are legally guaranteed pedagogical freedom. Of course, they must adhere to the curricular framework for their subject, grade, and type of school, but how they do this, which methods they use, which instructional media, which learning activities, etc., is left completely up to them. Secondly, the state itself is obliged to assure participation in educational decision-making by all persons involved. The various *Länder* regulate the right of participation in different ways. In Berlin, the *Abgeordnetenhaus* (Chamber of Deputies) passed school statutes designed to ensure that students, parents, and teachers meet regularly, discuss problems, and have the possibility to influence decisions. According to the statutes, each group is democratically represented in the meetings of each of the other groups, and groups are established at all levels (grade, school, district, and municipal).

The statutes not only warrant communication between the various interest groups and enable them to exercise their democratic rights, they also reduce the influence of the school administration and the school principal. The latter is not an administrative official, but a teacher with a reduced load who is elected by the teaching staff from among several candidates approved by the school administration. The principal is the immediate superior of the teachers only as regards administrative matters, the pedagogical affairs of the school being determined by the school committee. The principal is bound by the resolutions of this committee and has to carry them out.

As mentioned above, the principle of state control applies to the entire educational system, that is, not only to schools, but also to institutions of higher education. Correspondingly, the Länder maintain academies, colleges, and universities, and protect them against political or ideological influences or constraints by granting them economic independence, giving them autonomy in certifying the students' qualifications, and allowing them to nominate candidates for academic positions which, as a rule, are approved by the Ministries of Culture and Education. Many university courses confer academic degrees in the strictest sense (e.g., MA, diploma, doctorate, etc.), while others are regulated by the state in the intention of ensuring adequate qualification of professionals such as teachers, lawyers, physicians, or pharmacists. The state examinations are carried out by professors who are either joined by state officials (for teachers and lawyers) or commissioned by the state as examiners (for medicine and pharmacy). On the one hand, the system of state examinations has gone a long way towards ensuring qualitative uniformity of the German universities and other institutions of higher education. On the other hand, the state examinations have also certainly limited the freedom of teaching and learning on which German universities have prided themselves since the beginning of the last century.

Finally, state control applies not only to public but also to private educational institutions. The *Grundgesetz* explicitly guarantees the right to establish private schools including colleges, universities, etc. Accordingly, there are all sorts of private gymnastic schools and sports colleges, language, music and theater schools, vocational schools, and so on. Yet, regarding compulsory schooling, the establishment of private schools is permitted only under certain conditions: (a) when the private schools are not inferior to the public schools in their educational aims, facilities, and the professional training of their teachers; (b) when they do not promote segregation of students according to the financial means of their parents; and (c) for primary schools, when there is a special pedagogical concept which is not represented in the existing public schools, and is deemed worthy of promotion.

If all these conditions are fulfilled and the economic and legal position of the teaching personnel is assured, then private schools are licensed as "substitute" schools by the Ministries of Culture and Education, and have a right to financial support from the *Länder* governments. When their grades, examinations, and degrees become comparable to those of the public schools, the private "substitute" schools are qualified as "state-recognized," which is an important attribute in terms of their attractiveness to parents.

To round off this overview of the educational constitution in Germany, additional information on the integration of foreign students must be included here. In principle, foreign students and their parents have the same rights and duties as Germans. Under the *Grundgesetz*, the fundamental rights concerning education apply to everybody and, regarding the right to education, neither the *Länder* constitutions nor the *Länder* school laws distinguish between Germans and foreigners. Moreover, students from countries of the European Union are treated as natives in every respect, while there are some restrictions for students from other countries, although, in fact, these restrictions have no consequences. Independent of the *Grundgesetz*, the *Länder* constitutions, and school laws, the legal regulations of the European Union and further international agreements on education, for instance, the UNESCO Agreement against Discrimination in Education, are in effect.

However, all these agreements and laws only set the framework for the educational policy of the various *Länder*. Some *Länder* (for instance, Bavaria) try to separate foreign school-age children, teach them German as a foreign language, and follow the curriculum of their native countries, unless the parents want their children to attend German classes. Since it is difficult to form ethnically homogeneous classes, most foreign students actually attend mixed classes. In Berlin and in most of the other *Länder*, foreign students are integrated as soon as possible, that is, as soon as they are able to keep up with lessons in the German language. Otherwise, they attend special preparatory classes, for a maximum of two years, and are then integrated into the ordinary school system. Since, as a rule, the number of non-German students in a general class should not exceed 30 percent (or 50% if at least half of the foreigners can follow the lessons in German without difficulty), there are, in fact, many special classes for foreigners in some districts of the city, but these classes have the same curriculum as the general ones.

Financing of the Educational System

According to modern interpretations of the *Grundgesetz*, the state is not only obliged to protect the fundamental rights of its citizens, but also to provide the means necessary for exercising these rights. Thus, the state has to provide for the social welfare of its citizens and, for example, establish an educational system as a public service, and assure equal opportunity of access to the system. Education

is largely financed by the state through tax revenues. The division of financial responsibility for education among the three levels of government, namely the federal, *Länder* and local level, is regulated by law.

Both general and vocational schools are financed by the *Länder* and the socalled sponsors of the schools, that is, the persons or bodies maintaining them. Most general schools are sponsored by the communities, but there are private sponsors as well, for example, the Catholic and the Protestant churches or the Association of the Rudolf Steiner Schools. The *Länder* are responsible for financing public school teachers, most of whom are civil servants with tenure and statefinanced old-age pensions. The sponsors are responsible for paying for the socalled external school matters, namely, for the school buildings and utilities, for furnishing the schools (including technical facilities, teaching and learning materials, as well as providing the technical staff, for example the janitor or the school secretary), and for the transportation of the students.

In the case of vocational training, the *Länder* are responsible not only for financing the teachers, but also for financing all external matters of the state schools. In the dual system,³ the publicly or privately-owned enterprises offering apprenticeships finance the workshops, the personnel and the teaching materials necessary for the practical training of their apprentices. Besides this, training centers (run by groups of enterprises working in the same fields) are being further developed. The universities and the other institutions of higher education are, as a rule, also establishments of the *Länder* governments. They pay for the buildings, the equipment, and all requisites for teaching and research; they finance the academic and nonacademic staff, and they are liable for the budgets.

All private institutions, whether they are general or vocational schools, institutions of preschool or higher education, are also publicly supported. If a private institution is recognized by the Ministry of Culture and Education of the *Land* as a "substitute" for a state institution, it even has a legal claim to financial aid from the government of the *Land*. The type and amount of subsidy is dependent on the laws of the individual *Land* to which the institution belongs. For instance, in Berlin, the Senate allows the private "substitute" schools as much money as would be necessary for the salaries of the staff in a comparable public school, that is a school run and financed by the local authorities. In addition to this, there are educational grants for students attending private schools.

³ Initial vocational training within the dual system consists of apprenticeships in public or private enterprises together with part-time attendance at public vocational schools (cf. p. 34).

There is no attendance fee for public general schools, vocational schools, and institutions of higher education in any of the German *Länder*. In addition, each *Land* (or each community) provides the learning materials according to the laws of its parliament or the regulations of its Ministry of Culture and Education. The Education Act of Berlin has established that the state either lends learning materials or gives them free of charge to the students. Articles of consumption, such as pencils and notebooks, and articles usually needed outside as well as inside the school, for example, sportswear, are not financed by the state unless the students or their parents cannot afford them. Moreover, students undergoing vocational or professional training can get financial aid from the Federal Government if their parents cannot provide them with their living costs. According to the Federal Education and Training Promotion Act of 1971, public assistance for needy students is solely dependent on social criteria and not on academic performance.

The proportion of money that the *Länder* and communities can spend on their educational systems is only partially dependent on their internal revenue. Despite the cultural sovereignty of the *Länder*, they are bound in several respects by federal laws and agreements between the *Länder*. The financial and legal position of civil servants, for example, is regulated by the Federal Framework Law for Civil Servants, with which the corresponding *Länder* laws must comply. Thus, the salaries of school and university teachers are comparable in all German *Länder*. An exception is that, during the transition period since 1990, the East German teaching personnel have only received 60 to 80 percent (at most) of the equivalent West German salaries, because the cost of living in the former German Democratic Republic does not yet compare with that in West Germany.

More important than the aforementioned laws is the financial constitution as defined in the *Grundgesetz*. This law regulates the division of the financial responsibilities and the distribution of the different tax revenues among the federal, the *Länder* and the local governments. (All these authorities are free to decide how they use their financial means for meeting their various liabilities. That is to say, in the Federal Republic of Germany, there are no dedicated taxes that have to be used for special purposes.) Moreover, the *Grundgesetz* provides for federal legislation in ensuring the legal and economic unity of the Federal Republic of Germany and especially in maintaining relatively homogeneous living conditions throughout the country. Accordingly, federal laws regulate adjustments between financially strong and weak *Länder* and entitle the Federal Government to supplement financial aid to *Länder* in need of special support as, for example, the former city-state of West Berlin.

All things considered, the financial constitution has fulfilled its function to balance the budgets of the *Länder*. So far, the public means per capita in financially weak *Länder* (especially in the city-states which are structurally burdened with greater expenses) are not only equal to those in the stronger *Länder*, but even higher. Thus, from a structural vantage point, the city of West Berlin has not been in a poorer financial situation than any other city or town in West Germany, despite the fact that West Berlin has higher proportions of foreigners and unemployed citizens.

Since similar systems of financial adjustment operate within the Länder, the communities (local authorities) have equal opportunities for maintaining their educational institutions, as a rule. As mentioned above, they are free to allocate their budgets, but, in fact, they have not neglected their educational institutions even in times of economic crises. Due to their dependence on support from their Länder governments, the poorer communities are in fact obliged to execute the tasks set by their government. In West Berlin, the financial means of the individual districts are not dependent on their economic and social structure, instead public money is distributed between the districts according to their needs. Regarding the educational system, the school buildings and their equipment are usually of equal standard from district to district across the city. (The few existing differences usually result from voluntary contributions from parents, former students or other sponsors in the narrower sense of the word.) The teacherstudent ratio or the financial means for instructional aids vary only between the different types of schools (cf. the following section) or due to their proportion of students with special needs, such as newcomers from foreign countries, but not between the districts.

Due to the reunification of Germany, the financial situation of Berlin has changed. West Berlin still belongs to those *Länder* which profit from the system of financial adjustment within the Federal Republic, but, since 1994, the city no longer receives supplementary aid from the Federal Government as it did in the years when it was strengthened as a bulwark against communism. For the time being, the *Länder* of the former German Democratic Republic have not been integrated into the system of financial adjustment between the *Länder*, but they receive special support, firstly from the Federal Government, and secondly from the European Union in Brussels which has also established a system of financial adjustment between rich and poor member states. A proportion of these allowances has been allocated to Berlin and being used to restructure the educational system and to refurnish the educational institutions in East Berlin, so that they match the standards in the western part of the city. According to the constitutional obligation to ensure homogeneous living conditions, a substantial proportion of the regular budget of Berlin has also been devoted to the eastern districts. Nevertheless, some differences between the school buildings (and their equipment) in East and West Berlin still exist.

Structure of the Educational System

Despite the cultural sovereignty of the *Länder*, their educational systems are comparable in several respects, due not only to historical factors. As described above, the educational and financial constitutions founded on the *Grundgesetz* also result in significant structural similarities in the various educational systems. Furthermore, several amendments to the *Grundgesetz* give the Federal Government greater authority in enterprise-based vocational training and higher education, in setting the conditions for public grants and scholarships, in regulating civil service positions and promotions, and in defining combined tasks of the federal and the *Länder* governments such as comprehensive educational planning and advancement of research.

Finally, the *Länder* cooperate and coordinate their educational policies in order to assure freedom of movement within Germany. Thus, they established the Permanent Conference of the *Länder* Ministers of Culture and Education whose work led to several agreements concerning the standardization of school affairs, for instance, the Hamburg Agreement in 1964. Among other things, the Agreement establishes the length of compulsory education, the division of secondary schools, and the regulation of transfers and examinations. According to the Unification Treaty in 1990, the Hamburg Agreement is the basis for the reorganization of the school system in the former German Democratic Republic. In addition to the Permanent Conference, the German Council on Education (1965– 1975) and the Science Council worked out recommendations for modernizing the school system and developing the structure and content of higher education and research in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Due to the endeavors of the aforementioned councils, the structure and content of the various German educational systems within the Federal Republic of Germany are similar in many respects – at least when compared to other educational systems, such as the system in the former German Democratic Republic or the modernized systems of several Western European countries. Nevertheless, the individual *Länder* are proud of the special features of their school systems. Regarding Berlin, this pride is justified by the fact that the city was the forerunner of all German *Länder* in modernizing the educational system after the Second World War.

The development of the educational system in West Berlin:⁴ In 1948, the municipal authorities of Berlin passed the School Reform Act which was strongly influenced not only by socialist principles, but also by ideas of pedagogical reform (Klewitz, 1977; Füssl & Kubina, 1984). According to this law, a single type of school (compulsory for all children) was established: the nine-year standard school (*Einheitsschule*). Only after the 8th grade were students to be divided into a practical track for those aiming at vocational training after grade 9, and an academic track for those aiming at professional training after grade 12. Lessons in a modern foreign language were made obligatory for all students. Additionally, school life was characterized by a combination of obligatory and elective courses beginning in grade 7. Due to a unified teacher training program, one and the same teaching staff were to be responsible for both tracks.

After the division of Berlin, the establishment of the two German states, and new elections in the western part of the city, the School Reform Act was amended; that is, most of the socialist and pedagogical reform principles of public education were abandoned in West Berlin. The most significant alteration was the abolition of the standard compulsory school in favor of the traditional tripartite German school system (cf. the following paragraph) as it had been reestablished in the western allied occupation zones. Endeavors to maintain equivalent standards in the three types of schools were not successful. The only remainders of the first school reforms in Berlin were the six years of common education in the primary school (*Grundschule*) compared to only four years in most of the *Länder* of the Federal Republic of Germany, the obligatory foreign language for all students, and nine years of compulsory schooling.

While the school system in East Berlin was gradually adapted to the completely unified system in the German Democratic Republic, the structure of the tripartite school system in West Berlin remained unchanged for more than a decade. At the beginning of the 1960s, it was increasingly criticized by Social

⁴ The development of the educational system of East Berlin will not be treated here, because after the unification of both parts of the city, East Berlin adopted the Education Act and the School Statutes of West Berlin, and implemented the structure and the regulations of the educational system effective in the West. (For more details cf. pp. 48–58.)

Democratic school politicians who recalled their former ideas of a comprehensive educational system. Yet, a simple revival of the previous concepts did not appear to be promising, since the goals of the standard compulsory school had been defamed as communist egalitarianism, and the construction of the Berlin Wall had strengthened anticommunist attitudes in the population.

Considering the political situation and anticipating the growing industrialization in Germany, the advocates of the comprehensive school (*Gesamtschule*) propagated the concept of a democratic, achievement-oriented school, aimed not at leveling, but at individualization and specialization in addition to social integration. This new type of school would be characterized by a system of obligatory and optional courses and by forms of flexible differentiation between the students according to their achievements and interests. Furthermore, the new comprehensive schools were to be run as whole-day schools which were not the custom in Germany at that time and remain rare exceptions in the West. (In West Berlin, for instance, only 25 of the approximately 250 public primary schools are whole-day institutions.)

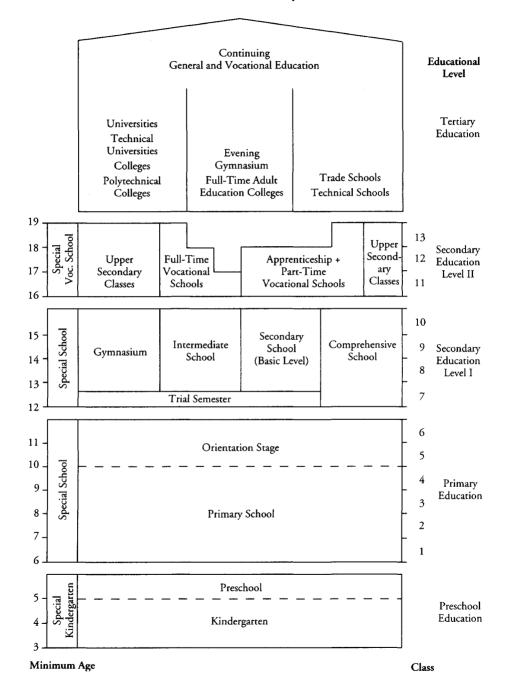
At the end of the 1960s, the first comprehensive schools were established in Berlin in order to test out this type of school (Schümer, 1985). They were rapidly followed by others, since increasingly large groups of students entered secondary education and new schools for them had to be supplied. In 1975-1976, 25 percent of the age cohort leaving the primary school level already went on to the nearly two dozen comprehensive schools in existence then. The original goal was to integrate the various types of schools into one comprehensive system. This goal was promoted by standardizing the curricula and the equipment of the three traditional types of schools; yet, the abolition of the divided school system was not achieved. The Gymnasium (plural Gymnasien), traditionally preparing students for entrance to university, remained the most prestigious secondary school. The comprehensive school mainly attracted students who would formerly have attended an intermediate school (Realschule) or a basic secondary school (Hauptschule). The intermediate school is in second place in the traditional hierarchy of German schools and is attended by students who are not aiming at higher education but at more demanding vocational training or positions in trade and commerce. The basic secondary school emerged from the long-standing German Volksschule, that is, the ubiquitous, non-selective elementary school traditionally attended by the vast majority of students. During the 1970s, when increasing numbers of foreign students with little proficiency in the German language entered the basic secondary school, it declined further in reputation. Since the intended comprehensive school system could not be achieved, the reforms in Berlin resulted in four types of regular secondary schools. The basic structure of the present educational system in Berlin was thus established (cf. Figure 4⁵).

The structure of the educational system: At the age of three, children may enter a kindergarten, that is, according to the original meaning of the German word, the equivalent of an American nursery school. When they are five years old, they may attend a preschool class (Vorklasse) which aims at preparing them intellectually and socially for the primary school (Grundschule). Primary school begins at the age of six, and pupils generally remain there until they are 12. During the first four years, teaching is mainly of a general nature, while from the 5th grade on, the individual subjects gain in importance and the obligatory study of a foreign language begins. Students can choose between English, French, Latin, Russian and Turkish, if they are of Turkish descent. Some primary schools offer bilingual education (in German and one of the following languages: English, French, Greek, Italian, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, or Turkish) from the 1st grade on. The last two years in primary school correspond to the orientation stage in various other Länder; that is, the teachers observe the students' cognitive, physical, and socio-emotional development and give parents advice as regards the most suitable type of secondary school for their children. However, it is not mandatory to follow the primary school teachers' recommendations. Parents have the freedom to choose the type of secondary school for their child from the three traditional types and the comprehensive school.

The first half-year of secondary schooling is considered as a *trial semester*. Afterwards, the students can change the type of school chosen or they may be obliged to do so if their teachers judge them to be unsuited on the basis of their performance and capabilities. Should this occur, students from the *Gymnasium*, the most demanding and difficult of the secondary schools, have to then "go back" to an intermediate or a comprehensive school, and students who do not succeed in an intermediate school have to attend one of the non-selective schools, namely a secondary school (basic level) or a comprehensive school. Yet, in principle, even these "transferred" students can still reach their initial goals. Thus, both students at the *Gymnasium* (or in the upper classes of the comprehensive schools) and also students from the other secondary schools can attain the *Abitur* (i.e., university entrance qualifications). If they achieve high marks,

⁵ Figure 4 represents the structure of the educational system effective in West Berlin as from 1979–1980 and in East Berlin as from 1991–1992.

Figure 4 Basic Structure of the Educational System in Berlin (1998)



they may attend preparatory classes and then transfer to a *Gymnasium*, or they may attend the upper secondary classes of a comprehensive school, or a vocational training center (*Oberstufenzentrum*).

Nonetheless, the *Gymnasium* remains the usual route to university studies. In addition to the first foreign language, all students of the *Gymnasium* must study a second foreign language from the 7th grade onwards. At the beginning of grade 9, they have to choose an elective subject (*Wahlpflichtfach*) which may be a third foreign language or additional instruction in either mathematics, information technology or one of the natural sciences. (In East Berlin, a few specialized schools with emphasis on physical education or music still exist.) Apart from the elective subjects, the students in an age-class are taught jointly in all subjects. Only in the upper secondary classes do the students have more freedom of choice in their subject areas. Education in the *Gymnasium* is completed after seven years if the students successfully pass the *Abitur* which qualifies them for university entrance.

The intermediate schools (*Realschulen*) give their students the foundation necessary for more demanding vocational training (e.g., in engineering, commerce, or administration), or for further education in general or vocational schools providing access to institutions of higher education. As in the *Gymnasium*, the students in the intermediate schools are taught jointly in all but their elective subjects. Usually, they can choose between a second foreign language or another academic subject such as mathematics, or decide in favor of prevocational training and studies (*Arbeitslehre*).

Education in basic secondary schools (*Hauptschulen*) is characterized by ability grouping in mathematics and English (as the first foreign language), combined subjects with a strong emphasis on interdisciplinary instruction and project work, prevocational training and studies. Also provided is remedial teaching in small groups for those who need it, such as foreign students with little proficiency in German. In spite of these special measures, the basic secondary schools have the lowest standing in the hierarchy of Berlin schools.

As already mentioned, the comprehensive schools (*Gesamtschulen*) were established in order to "overcome the disadvantages of the traditional tripartite system," that is, for instance, "to avoid premature decisions with regard to a pupil's school career, (...) to substantially reduce the number of young people who have to repeat a school year" or "to foster social integration" (Schools in Berlin, 1993, p. 10). Correspondingly, students entering the comprehensive schools at grade 7 are taught in mixed ability groups. Later, they are graded according to achievement, first in English and mathematics, and then, in grade 9, also in German and the sciences. Of course, both upgrading and downgrading are possible. At comprehensive schools, it is additionally possible to select the first elective subject in grade 7 and a second one in grade 9. The students can choose from a variety of subjects ranging from physical education or prevocational training to more academic subjects such as a second or a third foreign language. At the end of grade 10, students are assessed according to their performance. Their qualifications are equivalent to the school-leaving certificates of the traditional schools and open corresponding access to vocational training or higher education.

Regarding special schools (Sonderschulen) for students with physical or mental disabilities, the leading principle of educational support is to avoid unnecessary isolation. Thus, early diagnosis and therapy, adequate transport services, and integration of students with special needs into mainstream education have become important means of providing disabled children with special educational support. Only students who cannot sufficiently be supported in the general schools have to attend special schools according to their individual needs. These schools employ teachers with special training and teaching methods; they have special equipment and provide various forms of therapy. Most of the special schools cover grades 1 to 10, but special vocational schools are also available.

In Berlin and in some other *Länder* of the Federal Republic of Germany, compulsory education in general schools ends after the 10th grade or when the students are 16 years old. If they do not attend upper secondary classes at *Gymnasien* or comprehensive schools, they have to continue their compulsory education in vocational schools (*Berufsschulen*). Some students attend full-time vocational schools (*Berufsfachschulen*) while the majority begin their initial vocational training within the so-called dual system, a German peculiarity which has often been criticized within the country and discussed as a model outside it. This training takes place in private or state-owned enterprises where the young people begin apprenticeships. In addition to the practical training, the apprentices have to attend a part-time vocational school (for two or three years) which, as a rule, is run by the state. Successful completion of this vocational training qualifies the young people as skilled workers, clerks, tradesmen, and so on, giving them access to specialized schools for extended vocational training (*Fachschulen*) or to evening classes preparing adults for university entrance.

Young people who find no apprenticeship at all (or none to their liking) either receive vocational preparation in part or full-time vocational schools (*Berufsvorbereitende Lehrgänge*) or absolve the basic vocational training year (*Berufsgrund*- *bildungsjahr*) in one of more than a dozen vocational fields, for instance, business administration, electrical engineering or healthcare. Some attend even more demanding vocational schools (*Oberstufenzentren, Fachoberschulen*), qualifying them for higher education at universities (or equivalent institutions) or in specialized institutions of vocational training (*Fachhochschulen*).

As already mentioned, admission to higher education can be attained at *Gymnasien*, at comprehensive schools, and at various types of vocational schools, leading to general or special university entrance qualifications, or to other degrees required in institutions below university level. In addition, evening classes and full-time adult colleges offer preparatory courses for employed adults and others aiming to complete the *Abitur*. Finally, gifted adults without *Abitur* but with a completed vocational training have the possibility of applying for a university entrance examination.

Regarding teacher education, the standards of qualification have risen continually in the Federal Republic of Germany during recent decades. The *Abitur* is required for admission to all courses of study leading to full teaching credentials. Independent of the type of school the future teacher will be teaching at, the training is divided into two parts; the first being academic training at university or equivalent institutions of higher education for six to ten semesters. The second part, the preparatory service, consists of practical training in the classroom (under the supervision of experienced teachers) and attendance at teacher training seminars over two years. Both the theoretical and the practical parts of teacher training conclude with state examinations which are required for tenured employment in the school system. Generally, in-service training of teachers is optional.

In some *Länder*, the length and content of the theoretical studies depend on which type of school the teachers are being trained for. In other *Länder*, the university education corresponds to the various educational levels involved. In Berlin, a combination of both forms was established, allowing flexible assignment of teachers to the various types of schools. Teacher salaries are dependent on the level of qualification, for instance, whether they are qualified to teach one or two subjects. Since the regulations for teacher education were changed several times, many of the older teachers attended shorter courses of studies and graduated from colleges or pedagogical institutes. Teachers in the *Gymnasien* have always been educated at universities.

Current Issues

Before sketching out a few of the current issues concerning the educational system in Berlin, more data on the various types of schools is called for. As can be seen from Table 3, more than 400,000 students attended the public and private general schools in Berlin in 1997–1998. Together with the 86,000 students at vocational schools and about 150,000 students at the universities and the other institutions of higher education, the proportion of students in Berlin amounts to more than 20 percent of the population.

Most general schools in Berlin are fairly small and rarely have more than 400 students (between 15 and 20 classes, each with around 24 students). The vocational schools initially appear to be much bigger, at least those for apprentices trained under the dual system. However, since these schools are attended by most of the students for only one or two days per week, they are actually much smaller.

The number of students per class varies greatly between the individual types of schools. This can be due to differences in the prescribed class sizes (dependent on the special problems which the various types of schools have to cope with, such as the education of disabled students), it can also reflect the fact that many schools belonging to a particular type are confronted with additional problems, such as high proportions of foreign students, which are grounds for more favorable teacher-student ratios. As can be seen from the table, the average number of students per class is rather high in all secondary schools, except for the basic secondary schools which have mainly been attended by low-achieving students and foreigners with limited proficiency in the German language for nearly two decades. The proportion of non-German students amounts to more than 40 percent in the basic secondary schools, while the non-selective primary schools have only 25 percent foreign students, and the prestigeous and ambitious *Gymnasien* only 11 percent.

Due to the fact that few foreign migrant workers had been employed in the German Democratic Republic, the percentage of non-German students in East Berlin is not comparable to that in the western part of the city, where the proportion of foreign students in general schools amounts to nearly 22 percent, while there are only 3 percent in East Berlin schools. Regarding private schools, similar differences exist between the two parts of the city. Since the East German constitution did not permit the establishment of private educational institutions and few have been established in East Berlin during the last four years, the per-

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centage of students attending private schools is still less than 1 percent in the eastern part of the city, compared with 6 percent in West Berlin. Concerning vocational schools, no separate data on East and West Berlin is available because the East German system of vocational training was not comparable to that in the West and the process of establishing the western public and private vocational schools in East Berlin is not yet complete.

To round out this overview of the various types of schools, some figures detailing their success rates; Table 4 represents the number of students who left the public and private general secondary schools at the end or in the course of the school year 1996–1997 in order to begin their vocational or professional education or to look for a job if they were older than the compulsory school age. Since the numbers include students who moved away from Berlin, the proportion of those who left school without a diploma is not equivalent to the proportion of those dropping out, but is 1 to 2 percent higher, in the case of foreign students, by an even greater percentage.

Nevertheless, the substantial differences between the various types of schools (regarding the percentage of school-leavers without a diploma) concern differences between their student populations. Altogether, about 13 percent of the students did not obtain a diploma, while, in the basic secondary schools, about 30 percent were not successful. Not having a diploma is worse today than was formerly the case, because the majority of students leave school not only with a basic but also with an intermediate secondary diploma, and 30 percent of all school-leavers pass the *Abitur*, that is, the exam qualifying for university entrance. Most students obtaining this prestigeous certificate have attended the *Gymnasien*, yet 19 percent of the students at comprehensive schools also pass the *Abitur*. As will be shown later, a few others reach the same goal in the vocational schools.

Due to the fact that access to higher education was limited in the German Democratic Republic, the proportion of students leaving school with an intermediate secondary diploma was rather high in East Berlin in comparison with the students who attained the *Abitur* there in the early nineties. However, the situation in East Berlin soon became similar to that in the West. As can be seen from Table 4, the proportion of students with university entrance qualifications was even higher in East Berlin than in West Berlin in 1997. The differences between German and foreign school-leavers seem to be much more severe. Only 11 percent of the non-German school-leavers passed the *Abitur* while about 30 percent of them leave school without a diploma; these percentages are in inverse

	Schools n	Students n	Students per school (average) n	Students per class ¹ (average) n	Percentage of non-German students in:		Percentage of students at private schools in:	
					East Berlin	West Berlin	East Berlin	West Berlin
Primary schools	505	208,306	413	23.7	4.4	25.4	0.5	4.8
Secondary schools (basic level)	59	15,278	259	18.9	5.9	41.3	_	1.4
Intermediate schools	87	31,681	364	28.0	1.5	25.0	0.7	8.5
Gymnasien	127	84,603	666	28.0	1.4	11.0	1.2	7.6
Comprehensive schools	78	56,815	728	27.6	3.1	18.7	2.0	8.0
Schools for students with special needs	100	13,572	136	9.7	2.1	27.7	1.2	9.2
Total general schools ²	976	410,820	421	23.8	13.7		3.7	
Within total: East Berlin West Berlin	426 487	186,079 224,741	437 462	23.7 23.3	3.4	21.7	0.9	6.0
Vocational schools ³ (dual system)	46	65,097	1,415	21.5	8.0*		1.7*	
Specialized vocational schools	87	15,323	176	22.5	13.4*		23.8*	
Vocational schools qualifying for higher education	40	5,918	148	30.5		.3*		2.0*
Total vocational schools ⁴	173	86,572	500	22.2	9	.4*	5	5.6*

Table 3Basic Data on Public and Private Schools in Berlin According to Type of School (1997)

¹ Without students in grades 11–13.

² Including schools with integration courses for immigrants whose compulsory education will end before they can be integrated into the ordinary school system.

³ Including vocational schools for students with special needs.

⁴ No separate data on East and West Berlin available.

Sources: Das Schuljahr in Zahlen. Allgemeinbildende Schulen (1997-98, pp. 3-9 and 12-18). Berufsbildende Schulen (1997-98, p. 4f.); with additional calculations. proportion to those of German students leaving the general school system. Nevertheless, there is reason to hope that the foreign students will soon attain much higher levels of qualifications (cf. p. 42).

To date, non-German students are also less successful than Germans in the vocational schools (cf. Table 5). Of the German students leaving the vocational schools, 63 percent obtain diplomas, yet the success rate of the foreign students amounts to only 41 percent. While the graduates have a fairly good chance of finding a job, the majority of students leaving vocational school without these qualifications often remain unemployed. Many of them leave general schools without a diploma and therefore have difficulties in finding an apprenticeship. As a result, they often attend vocational preparation courses or other courses outside the dual system of vocational training. As can be seen from Table 5, some of them do finally obtain diplomas equivalent to those from the general schools, thus improving their chances on the labor market.

Although the non-German students are not nearly as successful as the Germans in both general and vocational schools, there is reason to hope that this situation will soon alter fundamentally. As mentioned above (p. 24), schools in Berlin do not distinguish between Germans and foreigners but provide them with equal educational opportunities. Special treatment of foreign students is mainly restricted to measures which support their integration into mainstream education. Obviously, this policy leads to favorable results: in the school year 1980–1981, more than 50 percent of the non-German students leaving the general schools in West Berlin did not obtain a diploma at all, and less than 5 percent passed the *Abitur*. Only 10 years later, 70 percent of the foreign students were successful in graduating from the general schools and the proportion of those with university entrance qualifications amounted to more than 11 percent.⁶

Apparently, the foreign students catch up with their German peers rather rapidly. The distribution of 7th grade students among the various types of schools shows even more clearly than the data on graduates that the development of the foreign students is following the same trend as that of the Germans, but with a time lag of about 20 years (cf. Figure 5). In 1968, as the first comprehensive schools were being established, the majority of German students still attended basic secondary schools. In 1976, when most of the currently existing compre-

⁶ Calculations based on figures in Das Schuljahr in Zahlen (1993–94, p. 166f.).

		Percentage of students leaving school:					
	Total number	without		c secondary na after	with inter- mediate secondary	with university entrance	
Students from	(= 100%)	diploma	9 years	10 years	diploma	qualification	
Secondary schools (basic level)	4,546	29.7	12.9	48.9	8.6		
Intermediate schools	6,659	3.2	3.6	2.6	90.5	_	
Gymnasien	10,363	0.5	0.5	0.3	16.6	82.1	
Comprehensive schools	10,958	11.3	6.4	23.5	39.6	19.2	
Schools for students with special needs	1,585	79.1	8.3	5.5	6.4	0.8	
Total	34,468*	12.9	5.0	14.8	36.5	30.8	
Within total:							
Germans	29,918	10.3	4.4	13.3	38.1	33.9	
Foreigners	4,550	30.4	8.8	24.0	25.8	10.9	
Within total:							
East Berlin	16,170	10.4	3.5	11.9	42.0	32.2	
West Berlin	18,298	15.2	6.3	17.3	31.6	29.6	

Table 4School Graduates from Public and Private General Secondary Schools According to School Leaving Certificate (1997)

– Diploma not available.

* Including 357 students in integration courses for immigrants whose compulsory education ended before they could be integrated into the ordinary school system.

Source: Das Schuljahr in Zahlen. Allgemeinbildende Schulen (1997–98, pp. 124–127); with additional calculations.

Table 5 School Graduates from Public and Private Vocational Schools According to Type of School, Course and School Leaving Certificate (1997)

	- 	Percentage of students leaving scho			Percentage of graduates with diploma equivalent to:				
	Total number	without	with completion	with diploma	basic secondary	intermediate secondary	university entrance		
Students from	(= 100%)) completion					(special)	(general)	
Vocational schools (dual system) ¹									
Courses for apprentices	19,908	17.6	13.7	68.8	0.8	0.8	-	-	
Other courses ²	6,535	15.2	62.7	22.1	13.2	5.0	-	-	
Specialized vocational schools	7,722	26.7	5.7	67.6	_	14.2	0.8	_	
Vocational schools qualifying									
for higher education	2,810	34.9	6.4	58.7	-	7.0	44.2	14.5	
Total	36,975	20.4	20.1	<i>59.5</i>	2.7	4.8	3.5	1.1	
Within total:									
Germans	31,738	19.2	18.3	62.6	2.6	4.4	3.7	1.2	
Foreigners	5,237	27.8	31.3	40.9	3.4	7.5	2.4	0.6	

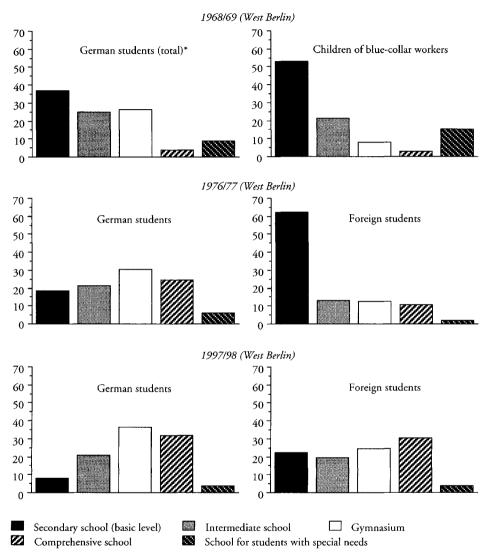
¹ Including vocational schools for students with special needs.

² Part and full-time vocational preparatory training and courses for the basic vocational training year.

- Diploma not equivalent to the respective school leaving certificates.

Source: Das Schuljahr in Zahlen. Berufsbildende Schulen (1997-98, pp. 161 and 163); with additional calculations.

Figure 5 Percentage of German and Foreign Students in the 7th Grade of Public and Private General Schools According to Type of Schooling (1968, 1976, and 1997)



* The statistical reports do not distinguish between German and foreign students until 1970 (primary schools) or 1975 (secondary schools). At the end of the 60s, about 3% of all students in primary schools were foreigners. Their proportion in secondary schools was certainly smaller.

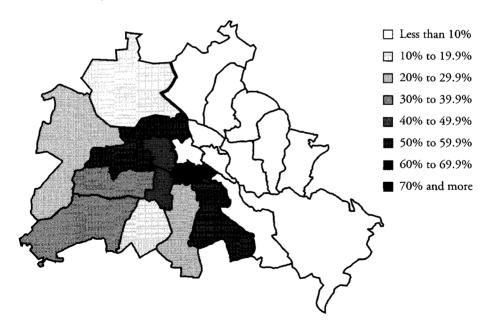
Sources: Berliner Statistik (1968), pp. 5–6 and 9; Das Schuljahr in Zahlen (1976/77), pp. 9 and 86; (1997/98), p. 12; with additional calculations.

hensive schools had been set up, only 18 percent of German students attended basic secondary schools, while 24 percent were at comprehensive schools and 30 percent at *Gymnasien*. At that time, most children of foreign migrant workers had just arrived in Berlin or had only lived here for a short time. Thus, it is not surprising that more than 60 percent of the foreign students attended the nonselective secondary schools (basic level). Besides, the distribution of foreign students among the 7th grade classes of the various types of schools corresponds closely to the distribution of children from German blue-collar workers with which they can best be compared.

The majority of the non-German students living in Berlin today were born here and are much better able to take advantage of their formal career chances than the children of the first generation of foreign migrant workers. Of these, 44 percent attend the 7th grade at an intermediate school or at a *Gymnasium* and 30 percent chose a comprehensive school, while only 22 percent are at the sec-

Figure 6

Foreign Students as a Percentage of all Students in Secondary Schools (Basic Level) in the Various Districts of Berlin (1993)

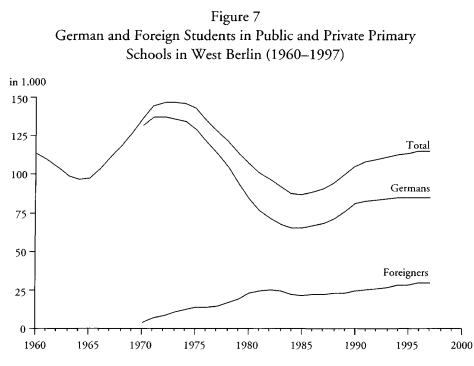


Source: Das Schuljahr in Zahlen (1993/94), pp. 15f.; current data are not available.

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ondary schools (basic level). This distribution is similar to that of German students in 1976, but deviates widely from their current distribution among the different types of secondary schools. Apparently, the increasing percentages of non-German students in the basic secondary schools have occasioned an educational upgrading of German students since the foreigners, compared to the Germans, are linguistically and culturally disadvantaged. However, the fact that all types of secondary schools have increasing numbers of non-German students shows that ethnic discrimination is not inherent in the school system itself.

On the other hand, the integration of non-German students into the Berlin school system is not without its problems. Because the proportion of non-German residents varies greatly within the city (cf. p. 17), the proportion of non-German students differs markedly between the various districts. This leads in turn to a high concentration of foreigners in the basic secondary schools which have consequently suffered a decline in standing in the German population. As is evident from Figure 6, German students are in a minority in the basic second-



Sources: Das Schuljahr in Zahlen (1983/84), pp. 28 and 40; (1989/90), pp. 52 and 59; (1993/94), pp. 17 and 18; (1997/98), pp. 33 and 35; with additional calculations.

ary schools in some of the inner city districts and can therefore not contribute a great deal to the integration of their foreign peers into German society. The drop-out rate in these schools is higher than elsewhere, both among German and non-German students, the former belonging mainly, as they do, to the lower socioeconomic strata. As the economic downturn endangers job opportunities, especially in the manufacturing sector, these students are disadvantaged in many respects.

Another problem concerns the demographic trends and their consequences for the educational system. In the 1970s, increasing birthrates and growing numbers of foreign students led to a dramatic expansion of all general and vocational schools. The number of students increased by about 50 percent, firstly in the primary schools (cf. Figure 7) and then in the secondary schools. Little more than a decade later, the numbers of students dropped again very dramatically in spite of the continuing influx of foreign children.

Due to the fact that nearly all West German teachers are civil servants who cannot be dismissed easily even when they are no longer needed, the decreasing numbers of students occasioned various improvements within the schools, such as smaller classes or learning groups, class splitting, the establishment of remedial and optional courses and the introduction of a sabbatical year for teachers. At the same time, the staffing policy had to be altered. On the one hand, no new teachers were needed; on the other hand, the future age structure of the teaching staff had to be taken into consideration. Thus, in West Berlin, a few new appointments were made every year, but as far as possible only part-time contracts were entered into. Nevertheless, the age structure of the teaching corps has changed fundamentally. In the mid-1970s, about 50 percent of all teachers in general schools were under 35 years old, while this age-group does not amount to much more than 12 percent today.⁷

For several years, the number of students has been increasing again, yet this time the Berlin Senate has not reacted to the situation by appointing more teachers, but has, instead, allowed teaching and learning conditions to change for the worse. For instance, classes and learning groups are increasing in size once more, some timetables have been curtailed, some teachers have higher teaching loads than before, or no longer enjoy any load reductions. Besides, proposals such as postponed retirement for teachers are under discussion. As the last point

⁷ Calculations based on Statistisches Bundesamt (1997–98, p. 47).

makes evident, the administrative authorities are taking the fact into account that teachers as civil servants cost a great deal of money even after they have retired.

Public funds have become very limited in West Germany during recent years. The first reason for this was a severe economic recession which has been overcome only recently. Secondly, the reunification of Germany has been much more costly than was anticipated. Due to the constitutional obligation to maintain relatively homogeneous living conditions throughout the Federal Republic of Germany, an enormous transfer of public money from West to East Germany has been required. Within the last two or three years, the tax revenue per capita in the new *Länder* of the Federal Republic of Germany has increased considerably, but it still only amounts to 55 percent of that raised in West Germany. Thus, further transfers of money will be necessary for many years to come. In spite of increases in taxation and increased national debt, public means will remain much scarcer in the West German *Länder* than was formerly the case.

At the same time, the financial burden on the public pocket will increase dramatically due to the changing age structure of German society. According to calculations from the OECD,⁸ the total dependency ratio; that is, the percentage of the population aged under 15 or 65 and over, will increase from 44 percent in 1990 to almost 75 percent in the year 2040. Since public expenditure is much higher for the elderly than for the working age population or for children, the financial burden on the public budgets will increase even more than the dependency ratio would indicate.

Even though these calculations may be on the pessimistic side, it is evident that fundamental reforms will be necessary in the Federal Republic of Germany in order to cope with the situation in the future. In any event, the educational system will have to manage with much less public money than it receives today. Evidently, the current standard cannot be maintained in the future without private financial support or severe cutbacks in the schools. However, these measures will be insufficient if the educational system does not undergo fundamental restructuring.

⁸ See Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (1988, pp. 29–32). The development of the age structure in East Germany is comparable to that of West German society, as considered by the OECD. See also Statistisches Jahrbuch für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland (1998, p. 61).

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The Unification of the Educational Systems of East and West Berlin

The following account¹ of the changes in the educational system of East Berlin is in part based on existing publications, in part on documents and oral statements by leading members of the central school administration responsible for both parts of the city. Moreover, the present report refers to interviews with various educational experts, namely, superintendents or school inspectors, principals and teachers in East and West Berlin, as well as elected members of the Berlin *Abgeordnetenhaus* (Chamber of Deputies) from different political parties, thus representing different perspectives on the transformation of the East Berlin educational system. Apart from the expressly selected politicians and administrators, the interviewees belong to an accidental sample. The interviews were not standardized, but concentrated on points of emphasis according to the posts and experiences of the individuals being interviewed.

According to the Unification Treaty, the educational system of the German Democratic Republic was to be restructured on the basis of the relevant agreements made by the Permanent Conference of the Ministers of Culture and Education of the individual *Länder*,² organized in 1948 as a voluntary working association in what was later the Federal Republic of Germany. The Hamburg Agreement of 1964 established the length of compulsory education, the division of secondary schools, and the regulation of transfers and examinations, and was to serve as the primary document (Anweiler et al., 1992, p. 513). The five new *Länder* have sovereignty in cultural affairs and are thus responsible for all legal and administrative regulations concerning their educational systems. Correspondingly, each of the *Länder* passed its own education act and school statutes. East Berlin, however, was reunited with West Berlin and they now constitute a single *Land* or city-state of the Federal Republic of Germany. Consequently, Berlin had less time than the new *Länder* to prepare decisions on reforms of the educational system.³ In 1991, East Berlin adopted the laws and implemented the

¹ I am grateful to Linda Hillman, Cynthia Miller, and Jeffrey Strange for their kind assistance in revising this paper.

² Land (plural Länder) is the current term for the political units of the Federal Republic of Germany. Land is roughly equivalent to "province" or "federal state" (comparable to, for instance, Illinois).

³ In actual fact, all politicians concerned did not have sufficient time to prepare decisions because of the rapidity of the reunification process. See table of events in the Appendices 1 and 2, pp. 59–62.

regulations effective in West Berlin. This meant complete abolition of the existing East German educational system.

From the very beginnings of the German Democratic Republic, the East German system of education was centralized and state-controlled (Anweiler et al., 1992, pp. 82–83). The constitution did not permit the establishment of private schools, and, beginning in the 1950s, all daycare institutions were integrated into the school system (Waterkamp, 1987, pp. 135–141). Moreover, the system was standardized as much as possible.⁴ In 1989, it was based on the so-called 10year, general, polytechnic school (*Polytechnische Oberschule*), compulsory for all children except the mentally handicapped (Kienitz, 1988; Arbeitsgruppe Bildungsbericht, 1994, pp. 178–291). The term *polytechnic* refers to the aim of making the students familiar with the general scientific, technological, and economic foundational knowledge of production. Moreover, polytechnic education was realised in special subjects taught in school workshops and in state-owned firms where the students cooperated with the workers and contributed to the productivity of the enterprises.

Alongside the general schools, two types of special schools existed: one for children with physical or learning disabilities, and one for children who were particularly talented in sports, music, dancing, languages, mathematics, natural science, and so forth. Regarding general schools, slow learners transferred to vocational schools after eight years, while the majority spent ten years in general schools and a further two or three years in vocational schools. As a rule, these were full-time schools run by large socialist enterprises. Apart from some compulsory subjects, most students were trained in the so-called basic trades. They left the vocational schools with a qualification as a skilled worker in a specific field, which also entitled them to attend colleges or other institutions below university level. Around 5 percent of those attending the three-year vocational schools completed their studies with university entrance qualifications in addition to their skilled worker certificates. Around 10 percent of the students who finished the ten-year general, polytechnic school gained access to the two-year, extended, general school aiming to complete university entrance qualifications. Most of them took up full-time studies at a university or equivalent institution of higher education.

⁴ The various changes in the educational system of the German Democratic Republic are not discussed here (cf. Anweiler, 1990).

The transformation of the educational system in East Berlin was drastic and it is a moot point whether or not such radical change could have been avoided. Possibly, some characteristics of the former system could have been retained and some of the West Berlin laws could have been altered. Shortly after the opening of the borders, the municipal authorities of East and West Berlin formed joint committees to solve the common problems of the city. At that time, the Berlin Council on Education (Berliner Bildungsrat), composed of educational experts from East and West Berlin, was established. In 1990 the council recommended that the basic external structure of the socialist school system be maintained to a great extent (Berliner Bildungsrat, 1991). More precisely, they envisioned a separate six-year primary school and an integrated comprehensive secondary school with student tracking in major subjects, although it seemed clear from the beginning, that the establishment of Gymnasien in East Berlin could not be prevented (Roeder, 1991). Unfortunately, no driving political force existed in East Berlin which could have resisted the extension of the western laws after reunification. The teachers, principals, and school inspectors were predominantly concerned with personal problems, such as the recognition of their degrees or the consequences of their political backgrounds. The majority of the parents thought mainly of the advantages their children could derive from the change and spoke in favor of the establishment of Gymnasien. Thus, the East Berlin Chamber of Deputies passed the Act on the Unification of the Municipal Law of Berlin, jointly prepared by politicians from both parts of the city, which determined that the West Berlin Education Act, defining the structure of the educational system, should become effective in East Berlin after reunification. Finally, in December 1990, the first joint elections to the Berlin Abgeordnetenhaus took place. Since left-wing parties did not attain a majority, they had to resign themselves to relinquishing the East German educational system in favor of that of West Berlin.5

All parties agreed upon rapid alterations in East Berlin because of concern that the coexistence of two educational systems within one city would promote further migration from East to West. Since the opening of the border between Hungary and Austria in September 1989, more than half a million East Germans had fled to the West. As a result, several thousand additional students had

⁵ See chronology of legal events resulting in the unification of the educational systems of East and West Berlin in the Appendix 2, p. 61f.

to be integrated into the schools of West Berlin. There was consensus that further migration had to be prevented.

At the time of reunification in October 1990, the school year had already begun. Therefore, the school administration decided to complete the 1990–1991 school year without major changes. Yet, East Berlin was to come within the purview of both the Education Act and the School Statutes of West Berlin immediately following the summer vacation in 1991. Thus, the school administration had less than a year to prepare for the intended alterations. In other words, the socialist educational system in East Berlin was done away with in an administrative *tour de force*, causing much confusion and damaging many personal identities.

The most far-reaching change was the abolition of the 10-year general polytechnic school which had been attended by the majority of students aged from 6 to 16. The administration had then to establish both primary schools for children aged from 6 to 12 and also the four different types of general secondary schools for students aged between 12 and 16 (or 19). In addition, special schools were mandated for the mentally handicapped, who had not previously been subject to compulsory education, while most schools for children with special talents were closed. Lastly, vocational schools were established to take the place of the vocational training carried out in the large state enterprises.

These changes caused a number of problems. Firstly, since they had the right to choose the kind of secondary school their children attend, parents were consulted in order to find out how many of the various types of secondary schools needed to be established. Secondly, the furniture and equipment in some existing school buildings had to be removed, depending on the type of school the building was to accommodate. Moreover, many secondary school buildings were in need of alteration because more science laboratories were needed than had been necessary in the 10-year general schools. Several school buildings also had to be renovated, as accident insurance companies refused to insure them in their state of disrepair. Thirdly, many students had to change schools and leave friends and teachers behind. Many teachers had to integrate themselves into newteaching roles and also attend extensive in-service training (cf. p. 52f.). Finally, all schools had to be supplied with the Berlin course schedules, course guidelines, and the volumes of legal regulations, as well as with all sorts of teaching and learning materials.

Previously, in East Germany, one textbook per grade and subject existed and the teachers did not have much say over when and how to use them. In contrast, West Germany had a variety of textbooks and further instructional aids which could be used in schools, provided they conformed to the constitutional principles and to the course schedules and guidelines of the various subjects. Since almost none of the East German textbooks met these requirements, few received approval from the Berlin School Senate. Therefore, teachers had to examine the available instructional media, make their choices and order new textbooks and other media for nearly all subjects and grades. It is easy to imagine the pressure these teachers felt having to prepare a new curriculum over the summer.

Additional problems were caused by the fact that teacher education in the two German states differed widely. In the Federal Republic, admission to teacher training requires the *Abitur*, the qualifying exam for the university. Teacher training consists of academic studies at a university or equivalent institution theoretically lasting 6 to 10 semesters (9 to 16 in practice) followed by the preparatory service; two years of practical training or practice teaching in the classroom. Both stages of teacher training lead to state examinations, which are required for tenured employment as civil servants in the school system.

All things considered, teacher training in East Germany was far less demanding in many respects (Schmidt, 1990). In the 1980s, two standard forms of training existed:

(1) Teachers of grades 1 to 4 in the general schools received no university training but attended a four-year course at a teacher training institution which could be entered after only ten years of general schooling.

(2) Teachers of grades 5 to 12 at general schools and teachers giving theoretical instruction in vocational schools (covering grades 11 to 13) were trained at universities or colleges of education. Five years of theoretical studies as well as polytechnic and practical training were necessary to receive a teaching diploma. Teachers at the extended general schools were selected according to their professional competence in grades 5 to 10 and also according to their political loyalty. As in the West, the regulations for teacher training were changed several times. Many teachers who had been working in East Berlin schools had not been trained according to the two forms described above, but had become teachers after shorter and less demanding studies.

Due to these conditions, it was not easy to assign the East Berlin teachers to the various types of schools under the West Berlin system. Additionally, some areas of expertise were no longer taught and other areas did not have enough teachers prepared to teach them. Take the case of Russian language teachers: in East Germany, Russian had been the obligatory foreign language for all students, while other foreign languages were optional. Since 1991, East Berlin students can choose between English, French, Latin, and Russian as their first foreign language. Currently, in both East and West Berlin, more than 90 percent of the students choose English. Since Russian is not popular as the second foreign language, many Russian teachers are no longer needed, while the other languages, such as English, cannot be taught regularly enough or by sufficiently competent teachers. Additional problems exist regarding teachers of civics *(Staatsbürgerkunde)* (cf. p. 54).

Another problem concerns salary. According to the Federal Framework Law for Civil Servants which the *Länder* laws must comply with, the salaries of civil servants (including teachers) depend upon the kind of academic or non-academic education they have, their position within the professional hierarchy, their practical experience, and their seniority. Due to these regulations, many East German teachers belong to much lower income groups than their colleagues in the West. Moreover, during the transition period, they have received only 60 percent to 80 percent (at most) of the equivalent West German salaries, because the cost of living in East Germany does not yet compare to that of West Germany.

Teachers in East Berlin tend not to complain because their salaries are much higher than they used to be, and because they have other, more pressing problems. East German teachers find it more problematic that (1) their training is considered inferior to that of West Berlin teachers, that (2) they have to seek additional qualification in their subjects, that (3) their professional experience is not adequately recognized, that (4) their teaching practices are not valued, (5) that their teaching methods are not approved of, that (6) their classroom management style is not appreciated, and that (7) their former pedagogical commitment is judged today as having been merely a performance of political duties. In other words, they feel criticized in nearly all aspects of their professional life and their morale is low. Considering the fact that they previously had clear expectations regarding the goals, objectives, methods and media of their lessons, the unprecedented pedagogical freedom they now experience makes them feel even more insecure. In addition, there are all sorts of legal regulations (the Education Act, the School Statutes, course schedules and guidelines, etc.) to become acquainted with, and this also takes time.

Furthermore, the working conditions of the East Berlin teachers have deteriorated since the reunification. Firstly, the class size used to be much smaller in East Germany. Secondly, the teaching load of all East German teachers amounted to 23 45-minute-periods per week. It is now dependent on the type of school and can amount to up to 26 and a half hours per week. Apart from that, almost all teachers in the German Democratic Republic had reduced teaching loads, while West Berlin teachers have enjoyed reductions much less often. Finally, most East German schools had a top-heavy administration. Independent of the size of the school, each school was managed by five officials who had no teaching load, compared to the West German practice of having one school principal and one deputy, both of whom have a teaching load, albeit a reduced one.

The adaptation of the East Berlin working conditions to those in the West led to an oversupply of teachers. This oversupply allowed the primary school teachers to take leave in order to gain the formal academic education they lacked, and those who needed it such as the Russian language teachers mentioned earlier, to retrain. Teaching loads were substantially reduced for three years: during one year, the primary school teachers taught only eight lessons per week. As a result, even the excess teachers were able to keep their jobs. Nevertheless, many teachers were unhappy because the in-service training often did not meet their needs and because it was considered a great burden, at least by the female teachers with families.

The oversupply of teachers would have been much greater if many teachers had not quit their jobs before East Berlin came within the purview of the West Berlin laws or if teachers had not been dismissed for political reasons. In fact, about 2,000 teachers gave notice before they were discharged for political reasons. Others took early retirement because they did not have enough energy for the retraining to meet all the new requirements. The remaining teachers had to answer a questionnaire concerning their membership in political parties and organizations, as well as concerning their political activities, especially those involving the state security police. These questionnaires had to be signed in lieu of an oath. Municipal councillors and school inspectors of the individual districts in East Berlin examined all personnel files and decided on the further employment of each individual teacher. As a rule, all school principals and all teachers with civics as their only subject were dismissed since these positions were held only by citizens loyal to the communist state. Teachers who only held party membership, as opposed to being involved in political activities, were not dismissed.

In East Germany, teachers had been normal employees of the state. In contrast, almost all teachers in West Germany are civil servants or state officials with concomitant rights and duties. For instance, they have tenure and cannot be dismissed easily. Also, they receive old-age pensions from the state. However, they can be assigned to certain jobs or public duties and they do not have the right to strike. Before the teachers of East Berlin were given the status of civil servants, their political biography was verified by examining the personal data in the archives of the state security police (*Stasi*) where all the formal employees and informal agents of this ministry were registered. Teachers who answered their questionnaires truthfully received the status of civil servants. Teachers who tried to conceal the truth were dismissed, because this was considered a breach of trust. As soon as the verification process was completed, new school principals could be elected. Before these elections took place, the schools were managed by commissioners.

While the need for student and teacher integration was present, the opportunities for integration were often missed. In 1990, many contacts were established. About 130 schools in the one half of Berlin had a sister school in the other half. Yet, mutual visits of teachers or classes and common meetings or excursions died out soon after the initial curiosity was satisfied. East Germans characterize West German students as presumptuous, while West Germans criticize the East Germans as xenophobic. (Incidentally, according to an empirical investigation [Rosenberg, 1994], students in West Berlin use the same terms to refer to East Germans as students in East Berlin do when they refer to foreigners.) Regarding teachers, those from West Berlin think they have nothing to learn from their colleagues in the East, because the classroom presence of East German teachers is viewed as extremely teacher-centered and monotonous. Their style of interaction with the students is also criticized as authoritarian. On the other hand, teachers from East Berlin either feel very insecure because of their supposedly inferior training and the political critique of their teaching style, or they neither recognize nor perceive the relevant differences between the educational processes in East and West. (For example, East Berlin teachers do not understand why they should give up publicly grading their students, since they are convinced that adequate self-assessment is important even for the slow learners.) In any case, the East Berlin teachers consider their Western colleagues to be competitors who want to take away their jobs. These attitudes on both sides compound the problem.

For the same reasons as above, the teacher exchange program was not very successful (Granzow, 1993). Approximately 100 teachers from West Berlin and 200 from East Berlin (less than 1% of all teachers) participated in this exchange program beginning in the school year 1991–1992. Most of the participating teachers lived in the districts along the former East-West border and worked in the neighboring districts. The other teachers had long distances to travel be-

tween home and school and this was an additional reason for the relative failure of the exchange program.

In summary, little integration has taken place, practically all aspects of schooling have changed radically in East Berlin, and frustration is high among those teachers who were not victimized by the former socialist system. On the whole, what survives today and has been introduced in the western part of Berlin are some ridiculously minor things, such as the handwriting style, the possibility to learn Russian as the first foreign language and the five-day school week. Only one significant feature has been retained in the East, namely the provision of daycare for children up to the age of 10. According to a 1992 resolution from the Senate of Berlin, children can still be brought to school all year round from 6 a.m. until 6 p.m. where they are supervised, and lunch is still provided to them as it was before the Wall fell. Yet, this form of daycare is not to be compared to whole-day schools as they had been established in West Berlin for some years. The whole-day schools belong to the school system while the daycare centers are under the jurisdiction of the Senate of the Interior. In West Berlin they are independent from the primary schools and accommodated in their own buildings.

To round out this overview of the unification of the educational systems in East and West Berlin, the answers to one of the few standard questions contained in the interviews with the educational experts (cf. p. 46, introduction) are of significance. All of the experts were asked what should have been maintained from the former socialist educational system and many of them spoke in favor of the basic external structure of the East German school system (as the Berlin Council on Education had done). They also favored the idea of polytechnic education. This idea was dismissed by the School Senate as superfluous, given the similar pre-vocational studies (Arbeitslehre) already established in West Berlin schools. Nevertheless, it was planned to integrate some characteristics of polytechnic education into the general studies in primary schools, for instance, gardening. Unfortunately, in East Berlin, many schools lost their working gardens, not because they were not wanted, but because the schoolgrounds now belonged to the districts and some of them began to use the property for other purposes. Since students, teachers, and parents often do not know the reasons for such changes nor the political means of preventing them, they are inclined to attribute all alterations to the political regime of the day.

A second answer to the question about the merits of the socialist educational system concerned the teachers' pedagogical commitment. In recent years,

teachers in general have taken less and less interest in their students. East German homeroom teachers used to be responsible for the learning development of their students; this was in their job description. They had to participate in extracurricular activities and visit all parents at home or even at their workplace when there were serious cases of disciplinary or learning problems. As a rule, the teachers met these expectations. The totalitarian system disappeared and was not replaced by a voluntary system of teachers' personal support for the students. Teachers do not see their new role in the liberal system and, even worse, they cannot expect parents to recognize it either.

In conclusion, it can only be reiterated that the East Berlin educational system was replaced in an administrative tour de force which caused much confusion and often has been criticized not only in the eastern but also in the western part of the city. Yet, it is not easy to judge adequately the processes of transformation. As a matter of course, all true democrats would have preferred a deliberate process giving all persons affected the opportunity to form their own opinions and to participate in the decisions on innovations. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the rapid change could not have been avoided: faced with the problem of ever-increasing migration of students from East Berlin to West Berlin, the transition period had to be as short as possible. Regarding the fact that the unification of the two educational systems was achieved by extending the purview of the West Berlin laws to the East instead of modifying the laws themselves, it should be kept in mind that this was decided, independently, by the East and the West Berlin Chambers of Deputies, that both Chambers were freely elected, and that the new Abgeordnetenhaus, jointly elected in December 1990, did not even discuss the option of revising the work of its predecessors.

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Appendix 1 Important Events Concerning the Reunification of Germany

1989

September 11	Opening of the border between Hungary and Austria en- abling more than half a million East Germans to flee the
	German Democratic Republic (GDR) via the two countries.
October 7	40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR.
October 18	Honnecker announces his resignation as Minister President of the GDR.
November 9	GDR travel restrictions lifted (opening of the Berlin Wall).
November 13	Modrow becomes Minister President of the GDR.
December 1	The People's Chamber of the GDR abolishes the Socialist
	Unity Party's claim to leadership from the constitution.
December 7	Beginning of the roundtable talks between the Bloc Parties and the opposition parties.

1990

January 21	The official sale of the Berlin Wall begins.
March 18	First free elections for the People's Chamber in the GDR:
	The parties forming the "Alliance for Germany" win the
	elections, but fall short of an absolute majority. They form a
	coalition with the Social Democratic Party and the Free
	Democratic Party. Their common policy is aimed at bring-
	ing about German reunification.
April 12	De Maizière becomes Minister President of the GDR.
April 24	Agreement between the two Germanies on economic, mon-
	etary, and social union.
July 1	Realization of the aforementioned union.
July 2–3	Agreement between the two Germanies on the election and
- •	unification treaty.

September 12	Treaty of the Allied Powers on final regulations concerning
	Germany.
September 20–21	Ratification of the Unification Treaty in the East and West
	German parliaments.
September 24	The GDR resigns its membership of the Warsaw Pact.
October 3	The Unification Treaty comes into effect: accession of the
	GDR to the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG).
October 22	The Council of Ministers of the European Community ap-
	proves the integration of the former GDR into the European
	Community.

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Appendix 2 Important Events Concerning the Unification of the Educational Systems of East and West Berlin

1990

March 18	First free elections for the People's Chamber of the German
	Democratic Republic (GDR).
May 6	First free elections for the East Berlin Chamber of Deputies.
July 23	The East Berlin constitution, passed by the East Berlin Cham-
	ber of Deputies on the basis of the all-Berlin constitution of
	1948, comes into effect. The constitution provides for a
	"diferentiated" educational system, including private schools
	(formerly forbidden) and schools for the handicapped.
September 18	The Preliminary School Statutes of the GDR, passed by the
	Council of Ministers of the GDR in concordance with the
	School Statutes of West Berlin, become effective.
October 3	The Unification Treaty comes into effect, accession of the
	GDR to the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), and, ac-
	cordingly, unification of East and West Berlin.
	The Law on the Unification of the Municipal Law of Berlin,
	separately passed by the parliaments of East and West Berlin,
	comes into effect. It determines that the purview of several
	West Berlin laws be extended to East Berlin immediately.
	Among them are the Education Act, the School Statutes and
	the laws concerning private schools and teacher education.
	The school administration of West Berlin, empowered by
	the aforementioned law to regulate the transition from the
	socialist to the western educational system, decides that the
	Education Act and the Preliminary School Statutes of the
	former GDR are to remain in effect in East Berlin until July
	31, 1991.
December 2	First common elections for the Berlin Abgeordnetenhaus
	(Chamber of Deputies). The parties of the Left lose their

	majority and their governmental coalition is replaced by a coalition of the Christian and Social Democrats.
December 10	The Second Law on the Unification of the Municipal Law
	of Berlin is passed by the Berlin <i>Abgeordnetenhaus</i> . It regulates the finances of private schools in East Berlin.
1991	
Continuously	The school administration determines the dates and proce- dures for restructuring the educational system in East Berlin and prepares for their implementation.
August 1	The Education Act and the School Statutes of West Berlin come into effect in East Berlin.

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