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Gundel Schümer

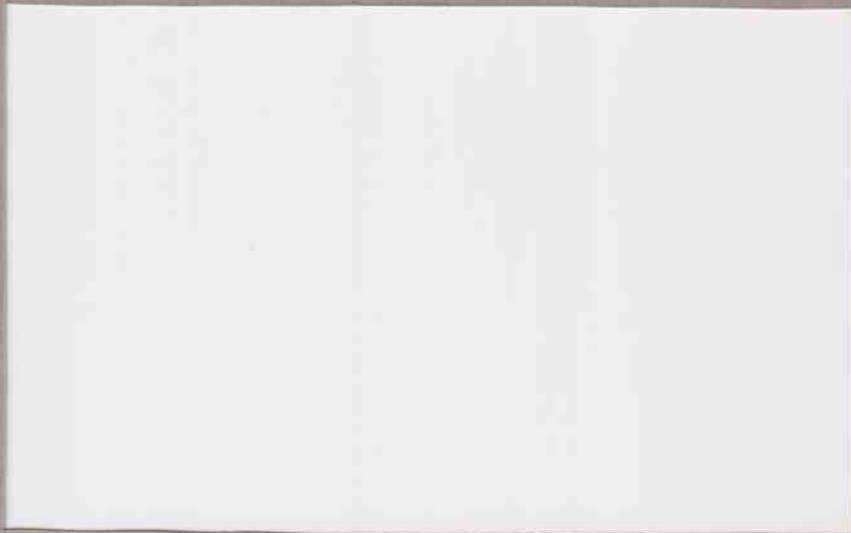
BASIC DATA
ON THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF BERLIN

Nr. 43/SuU

December 1994

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Forschungsbereich Schule und Unterricht
in the Center for School Systems and Instruction



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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 recently accomplished process of the legal unification of the educational systems of East and West Berlin and discusses some of its interpretations and misinterpretations.

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 Ost-Berliner 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 of 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 20th century, attempting in one way or another to integrate large groups of diverse people and give them a new urban identity. Thus, each of the cities can benefit from considering how the others respond to the problems and challenges called forth by the increasing multilingual, multicultural and global environment of the city at the end of the 20th 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.

Assuming that the three papers which I prepared for the conference might be of interest to some of my colleagues or to some of the guests of the Max Planck Institute for Human Development and Education, I present the revised versions of these papers in this issue. The papers are independent of each other and can be read separately.

I thank my colleagues Manuela Meermann, Robert Michaels, Cynthia Miller and Diann Rusch-Feja for helping prepare the text and the tables, for the graphic representations, and for editing assistance.

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The City of Berlin



Geographical dimensions:	28 miles from East to West	
	24 miles from North to South	
	343 square miles	
Inhabitants (1992)	3 449 500	11.2 % foreigners
East Berlin	1 284 900	3.5 % foreigners
West Berlin	2 164 600	15.8 % foreigners
Excess of births	- 12 337	
Excess of migrants	+32 054	
Increase in population	+19 717	
Total labor force (1992)	1 883 600	10.0 % foreigners
East Berlin	734 400	3.3 % foreigners
West Berlin	1 149 200	14.3 % foreigners
Unemployed persons* (1992)	208 000	12.8 % foreigners
East Berlin	98 000	1.8 % immigrants of German descent
West Berlin	109 900	3.4 % foreigners + immigrants
		24.6 % foreigners + immigrants
Unemployed persons** (1992)	12.4 %	
East Berlin	14.3 %	
West Berlin	11.1 %	
Persons regularly receiving welfare (1991)	218 635	26.7 % foreigners
East Berlin	49 586	7.7 % foreigners
West Berlin	169 089	32.3 % foreigners

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

**As a percentage of all wage or salary earners.

Source: Statistisches Jahrbuch Berlin 1993, pp. 17, 25, 57, 94, 236, 442–448; 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 2 million and 20 years thereafter, the population had reached 3.7 million (Statistisches Jahrbuch Berlin, 1993, p. 46). The proportion of industrial workers was extraordinary 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 endeavours 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 into power in 1933, the 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 (GDR), and became gradually

¹The 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.

shielded from the West until it was finally cut off by a wall built in 1961 to prevent the exodus of the East German labor force. As the Western Powers continued to insist on the Four Allies' joint responsibility for the whole city, West Berlin retained its special legal status, but in fact was politically and economically closely related to the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG).

Since the reunification 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 FRG. 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 toward the end of the decade. Independently, Berlin and Brandenburg, the region which surrounds Berlin, will consolidate to form one Federal *Land*.²

Economic Activity

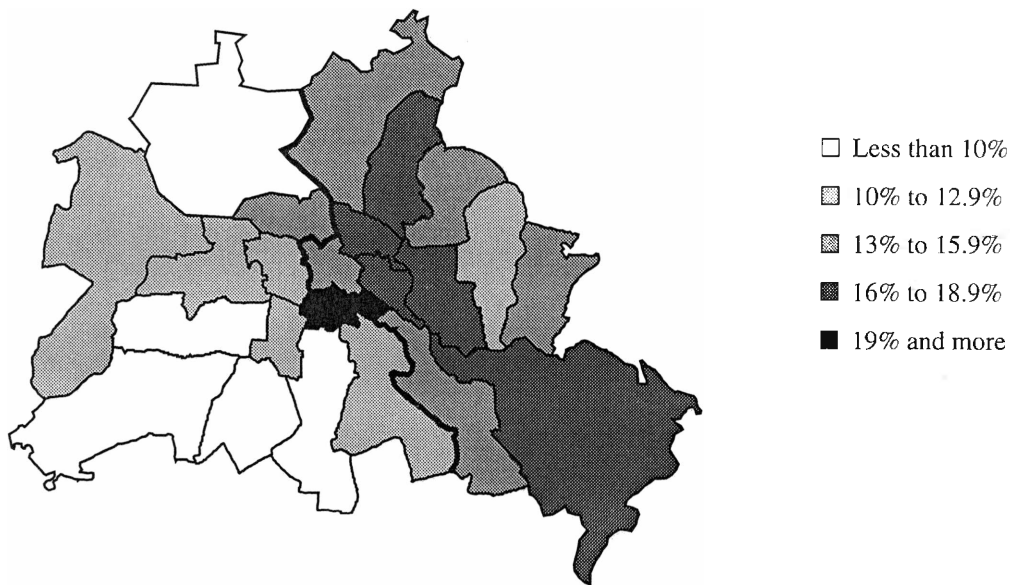
Without the financial support from the Federal Government in Bonn, the economic development of West Berlin would not have been possible. Due to the Second World War and the subsequent dismantling of many manufacturing industries, about 66% of the industrial capacity of Berlin was destroyed (50% in the 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 fifties and sixties 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 seventies, 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 FRG since the seventies. In East Berlin today, 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. The following graph shows the unequal distribution of unemployed persons in East and West Berlin, as well as

²*Land* (plural *Laender*) is the term used today for the political units of the FRG. *Land* is in some respects equivalent to province or state (comparable to, for instance, Illinois).

between industrial areas and other areas in both parts of the city. Statistics from 1992 showing the proportion of unemployment in Berlin have already become obsolete, especially in the East but also in the West. However, the relocation of the federal government from Bonn to Berlin will create new jobs and give the local economy a fresh impetus.

**Unemployed Persons* as a Percentage of the
Total Labor Force in the Various Districts of Berlin (1992)**



*Microcensus data.

Source: Statistisches Jahrbuch Berlin 1993, p. 94.

Regarding the economic pattern, the differences between East and West Berlin are not very obvious. As the capital of the former GDR, East Berlin was the center of the administration and had a high proportion of persons employed in the service industries. Nevertheless, before the monetary union, nearly 36% of the labor force in East Berlin was employed in the manufacturing industry and only 31% in the service industry³ while in 1992 both proportions were similar to those in West Berlin (see the following table). Here only 29% of the labor force had jobs in the manufacturing industry but 52% in the service industry. Both percentages

³Calculations based on the Statistisches Jahrbuch Berlin, 1991, p. 238.

deviate widely from those in the Federal Republic where in 1992 40% of the labor force was in the manufacturing and 39% in the service industry.⁴

Gainfully Employed Persons in Berlin
According to Occupational Position, Industry, and Man-Hours (1992)

	West Berlin		East Berlin	
	Total	Within Total Females	Total	Within Total Females
Total number (1,000)	1,021.5	447.7 (43.8 %)	621.7	289.0 (46.5 %)
Occupational position (%)*				
Self-employed	10.0	6.3	5.8	3.8
Civil servant	8.4	6.7	1.2	-
White-collar employee	50.2	63.9	63.5	80.8
Blue-collar worker	31.1	22.5	29.4	14.7
Industry (%)				
Primary industry	0.7	0.5	0.5	0.6
Manufacturing industry	28.6	16.6	29.5	15.2
Transportation and commerce	18.6	18.7	21.9	22.4
Service industry	52.1	64.2	48.1	61.8
Hours worked in week under report (%)				
None or less than 10 hours	10.6	11.9	6.6	7.5
Between 10 and 21 hours	8.9	14.5	2.3	3.3
Between 21 and 31 hours	7.1	12.3	4.1	7.1
Between 31 and 40 hours	40.8	39.3	12.6	13.0
40 and more hours	32.5	22.0	74.5	69.1

*Without helping members of the family.

Source: Statistisches Jahrbuch Berlin, 1993, pp. 91, 245; with additional calculations.

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 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 more East Berlin women go to work than do women in West Berlin and that a greater proportion of these women have

⁴Calculations based on the Statistisches Jahrbuch 1994 für die BRD, p. 116.

full-time jobs.⁵ Before the unification the discrepancies between East and West were even greater.

Population

The war and its consequences diminished the population of Berlin from nearly 4.5 million in 1942 to 2.8 million in 1945 (1.7 in West Berlin and 1.1 in East Berlin).⁶ 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 sixties the demand for workers and employees was satisfied by recruiting persons from West Germany and from foreign countries. Due to the excess 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 eighties, 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 aged people today.

According to data from the registration office, the number of inhabitants from foreign countries amounts to 385,900 which is more than 11% of the total population.⁷ The biggest group is the Turks who make up 36% 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 (14%) is formed by citizens of the former Yugoslavia, most of whom came to Berlin as migrant workers, but since the recent civil war, there is an increasing proportion of refugees as well. An additional 8% of the non-German population come from Poland, 11 % from the European Union, 10% from other European countries (including the former Soviet Union), and 12% from Asia.

⁵The differences between East and West Berlin women are small compared to those between East and West German women (Roloff, 1993-94).

⁶These and the following numbers are based on the Statistisches Jahrbuch Berlin, 1993, pp. 46-49, 52-54.

⁷These and the following numbers are based on data from Dec. 31st 1992 (Statistisches Jahrbuch Berlin, 1993, pp. 56f., 94). In the FRG, the proportion of foreigners amounted to about 8 % in 1992 (Hullen & Schulz, 1993-94, p. 3).

More than 75% of the non-German labor force are blue collar-workers compared to 41 % in the German labor force (Berliner Statistik 1994, pp. 9, 18). These foreign blue-collar workers often have not completed a vocational training. Due to agreements between the FRG and several so-called recruitment countries, the first migrant workers came in the fifties, but their number increased only in the sixties 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 seventies, 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% of the non-German population has lived in Germany for more than 10 years or from their birth (see the following table⁸).

**Non-German Residents in Berlin According to Citizenship and
Duration of Stay in Germany (Dec. 1991)**

Citizens from:	Number (= 100 %)	Percentage of citizens living in Germany:			
		less than 1 year	1-less than 10 years	10 years and more	from birth**
States of the European Union*	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***	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

*Member states as at December 31st, 1991.

***Including the former Soviet Union.

**Including persons with missing data.

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

⁸The reports from 1991 have already become obsolete (compare the numbers on p. 10) yet, current data are not available.

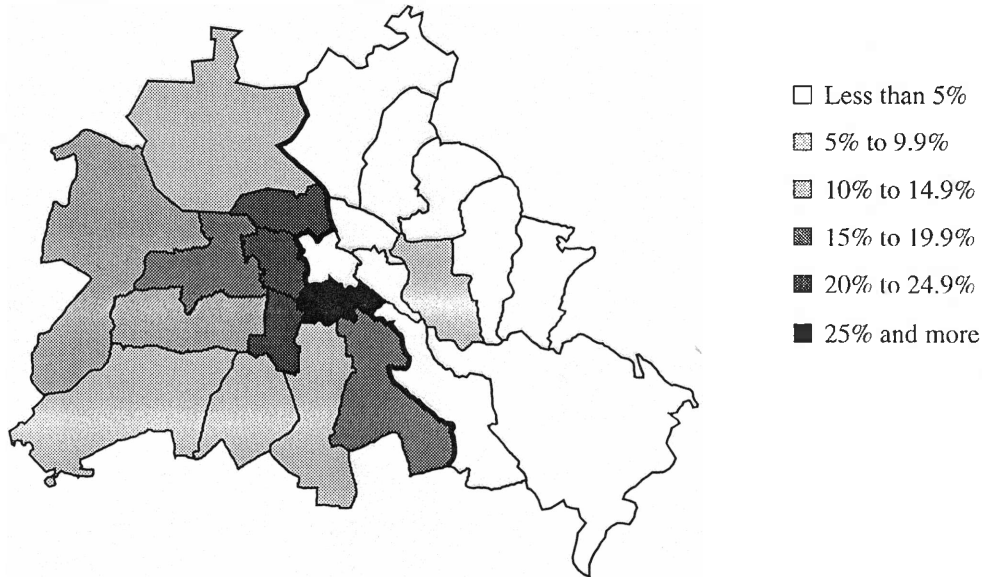
even though some of them are unemployed today. (In Berlin 21% of the non-German labor force is out of work.)⁹ As the rather high proportion of intermarriages between Germans and foreigners suggests (Bericht, 1994, p. 64), they are fairly well integrated into the German population, although the Turkish Berliners still occupy a special position due to their religious and cultural background. Most of them, as well as most of the 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.¹⁰

While the vast majority of foreigners living in Berlin or in other parts of the FRG are migrant workers (or belong to their families) most of the newcomers are 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 besides a growing number of persons from the Third World. In addition, more and more immigrants of German descent live in the FRG 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 during the last years (Trommer, 1989, Hullen & Schulz, 1993-94). Since Berlin is the nearest metropolis, it has become the gateway to Germany for a rather high proportion of East European emigrants, 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.

⁹These are results of the microcensus in May 1992 including persons who are not registered at the Labor Office as looking for work. The corresponding proportion of the German labor force is 12 % (Statistisches Jahrbuch Berlin, 1993, p. 94).

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

**Non-German Residents as a Percentage
of the Total Population in the Various Districts of Berlin (1991)**



Source: Statistisches Jahrbuch Berlin 1992, p. 55; 1993, p. 52; with additional calculations.

Since the 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 88%, live in West Berlin. As the preceding graph 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 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 18th century. The Catholic and the Lutheran churches fought against state domination of the school system and later, the communities, the teachers, and the parents also tried to gain more influence in educational matters. In spite of their efforts, the state expanded 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 (FRG) from that in the authoritarian German Reich (1871–1919) or in the totalitarian state of the National Socialists (1933–1945).

1.) The FRG 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 protect 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.

2.) In all cultural matters, and that includes the educational system, the state is represented

¹The 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 Statutes of Berlin, as well as the collection of legal prescriptions 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.

by the governments of the individual *Laender*² or city-states of the FRG. 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 *Laender* level. The *Laender* parliaments pass their own education acts and their own school statutes, yet, these have to conform to the Basic Law, the German constitution.

According to the Basic Law (Art. 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 Basic Law quoted above is one of those concerned with citizens' fundamental rights and, combined with the other articles, means that the state protects the citizens' right to education, to free development of personality, to 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 Federal *Laender* interpret the article to imply compulsory school attendance. This, in turn, obligates the state to provide educational institutions and all that is needed for adequate schooling.

The supervision of the educational system at the *Laender* level is characterized by shared responsibilities. The parliaments have the power to make legislation on educational matters and to plan the *Laender* budgets, while the Ministries of Culture work within the framework of these laws according to the financial means allocated to them. They plan the development of the educational system, determine the teacher training programs in the universities and colleges, and are responsible for the domain of personnel administration. In addition, the Ministries of Culture decide on the learning objectives and the content of courses, 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 per 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 organizational aspects of schools and

²Land (plural *Laender*) is the term used today for the political units of the FRG. *Land* is in some respects equivalent to province or state (comparable to, for instance, Illinois).

their internal affairs. They determine, for instance, class size and classroom size, teaching loads and load reductions, testing conditions, extracurricular activities, and so on. Besides their legally binding directives, they give various recommendations to influence the culture of teaching and working together 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. First, teachers are legally guaranteed pedagogical freedom. Of course they must adhere to the curricular framework of 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 concerned. The various Federal *Laender* and city-states regulate the right of participation in different ways. In Berlin, the Chamber of Deputies passed School Statutes designed to ensure that the students as well as the parents and the 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 entire city).

The Statutes not only warrant communication between the various interest groups and enable them to exercise their democratic rights, but 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 of by the school administration. The principal is the immediate superior of the teachers only as regards administrative matters, while the pedagogical affairs of the school are 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 *Laender* establish academies, colleges, and universities, and protect them against political or ideological influences or constraints by granting them economic independence, by giving them autonomy in certifying the students' qualifications, and by allowing them to nominate candidates for academic positions which, as a rule, are approved of by the Ministers of Culture. While several university courses of study are certified by academic degrees in the strictest sense (i.e., Magister Artium, diploma, doctorate, etc.), others are regulated by the state with the intention of ensuring adequate qualifications 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 medical and pharmacy professions). On the one hand, the system of state examinations has gone a long way towards qualitative uniformity of the German universities and other institutions of higher education. On the other hand, the state examinations have 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 Basic Law 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:

- 1.) when the private schools are not inferior to the public schools in their educational aims, their facilities, and the professional training of their teachers,
- 2.) when they do not promote segregation of students according to the financial means of their parents, and
- 3.) 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.

In case that all these conditions are fulfilled and that the economic and legal position of the teaching personnel is assured, the private schools are licensed as "substitute" schools by the

Ministers of Culture and have the right to financial aid from the *Laender* 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 out 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 Basic Law, the fundamental rights concerning education apply to everybody and, regarding the right to education, neither the *Laender* constitutions nor the *Laender* 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 Basic Law and the *Laender* 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 countries or *Laender*. Some *Laender*, for instance Bavaria, try to separate foreign school-age children, to teach them German as a foreign language, and to 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 other *Laender*, 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 two years at the most, 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 % (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 Basic Law, the state is obligated not only to protect the fundamental rights of its citizens but 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, to establish an educational system as a public service and to assure equal opportunities of access to the system. As a matter of fact, education is financed by the state, that is by tax money, to a large extent. The division of financial responsibilities concerning education among the three levels of government, namely the federal, the *Laender* and the local level, has been established by laws.

Both, general and vocational schools are financed by the *Laender* and by the so-called 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 *Laender* are responsible for financing public school teachers, most of whom are civil servants with tenure and state-financed old-age pensions. The sponsors have the responsibility to pay for the so-called 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 *Laender* 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 and learning 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 *Laender* governments. They pay for the buildings, the equipment, and all things necessary for teaching and research, they finance the academic and nonacademic staff, and they are liable for the budgets.

³Initial vocational training within the „dual system“ consists of apprenticeships in public or private enterprises together with part-time attendance at public vocational schools (see p. 30).

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 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. In addition to this, there are educational grants for students attending private schools.

There is no attendance fee for public general schools, vocational schools, and institutions of higher education in all German *Laender*. 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. 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 things 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 parents cannot provide 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 *Laender* and communities can spend on their educational systems is only in part dependent on their internal revenue. Despite the cultural sovereignty of the *Laender*, they are bound in several respects by federal laws and agreements among the *Laender*. The financial and legal position of civil servants, for example, is regulated by the Federal Framework Law for Civil Servants to which the corresponding *Laender* laws must comply. Thus, the salaries of school and university teachers are comparable in all German *Laender* and city-states with the exception that during the transition period since 1990, the East German teaching personnel have only received 60% to 80% (at most) of the equivalent West German salaries because the cost of living in the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) does not yet compare to that in West Germany.

More important than the aforementioned laws is the financial constitution as defined in the Basic Law. This law regulates the division of the financial responsibilities and the distribution

of the different tax revenues among the federal, the *Laender* 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 FRG, there are no individual taxes that have to be used for special purposes.) Moreover, the Basic Law provides for federal legislation in ensuring the legal and economic unity of the FRG and especially in maintaining relatively homogeneous living conditions throughout the country. Accordingly, federal laws regulate adjustments between financially strong and weak *Laender* and entitle the federal government to supplement financial aid to *Laender* 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 *Laender*. So far, the public means per capita in financially weak *Laender* (especially in the city-states which are structurally burdened with greater expenses) are not only equal to those in the stronger *Laender* 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 of unemployed citizens.

Since similar systems of financial adjustment operate within the *Laender*, the communities as a rule have equal opportunities for maintaining their educational institutions. 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 *Laender* 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 do not depend on their economic and social structure but the districts receive public money according to their needs. Regarding the educational system, the school buildings and their equipment are comparable throughout the city more often than not. (The few existing differences usually result from voluntary contributions of parents, former students or other sponsors in the narrower sense of the word.) The teacher-student ratio or the financial means for instructional aids vary only between the different types of schools (see the following section) and 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 *Laender* and city-states 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 had in the years when it was strengthened as a bulwark against communism. For the time being, the *Laender* of the former GDR have not been integrated into the system of financial adjustment between the *Laender*, but they receive special support, first, 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 used to restructure the educational system and to refurnish the educational institutions in East Berlin to match the standards in the western part of the city. According to the constitutional obligation of ensuring homogeneous living conditions, a substantial portion 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 Federal *Laender*, 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 Basic Law also result in significant structural similarities in the various educational systems. Furthermore, several amendments to the Basic Law give the federal government greater authority in the domains of 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 *Laender* governments such as comprehensive educational planning and advancement of research.

Finally, the *Laender* cooperate and coordinate their educational policies in order to assure freedom of movement within Germany. Thus, they established the Permanent Conference of the *Laender* Ministers of Culture 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 GDR. 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 FRG.

Due to the endeavors of the aforementioned councils, the structure and content of the various German educational systems within the FRG are similar in many respects – at least when compared to other educational systems as, for instance, the system in the former GDR or the modernized systems of several Western European countries. Nevertheless, the individual *Laender* 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 *Laender* in modernizing the educational system after the Second World War.

The development of the educational system in West Berlin⁴: 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; Fuessl & Kubina, 1984). According to this law, only one type of school compulsory for all children was established, the 9-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, yet, apart from that, school 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, in West Berlin, most of the socialist and pedagogical reform principles of public education were abandoned. The gravest alteration was the abolition of the standard compulsory school in favor of the traditional tripartite German school system (see the following paragraph, p. 26) as it had been

⁴The development of the educational system of East Berlin will not be treated here because after the reunification 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 see pp. 44–54.)

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 *Laender* of the FRG, 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 GDR, the structure of the tripartite school system in West Berlin remained unchanged for more than a decade. At the beginning of the sixties, however, it was increasingly criticized by Social Democratic school politicians who remembered their former ideas of a comprehensive educational system. Yet, a simple revival of the previous concepts was not 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 should be characterized by a system of obligatory and optional courses and by forms of flexible differentiation between the students according to their achievement and interests. Furthermore, the new comprehensive schools should be run as whole-day schools which were not the custom in Germany at that time and still are rare exceptions in the West. (In West Berlin, for instance, only 18 of the 237 public primary schools are whole-day institutions.)

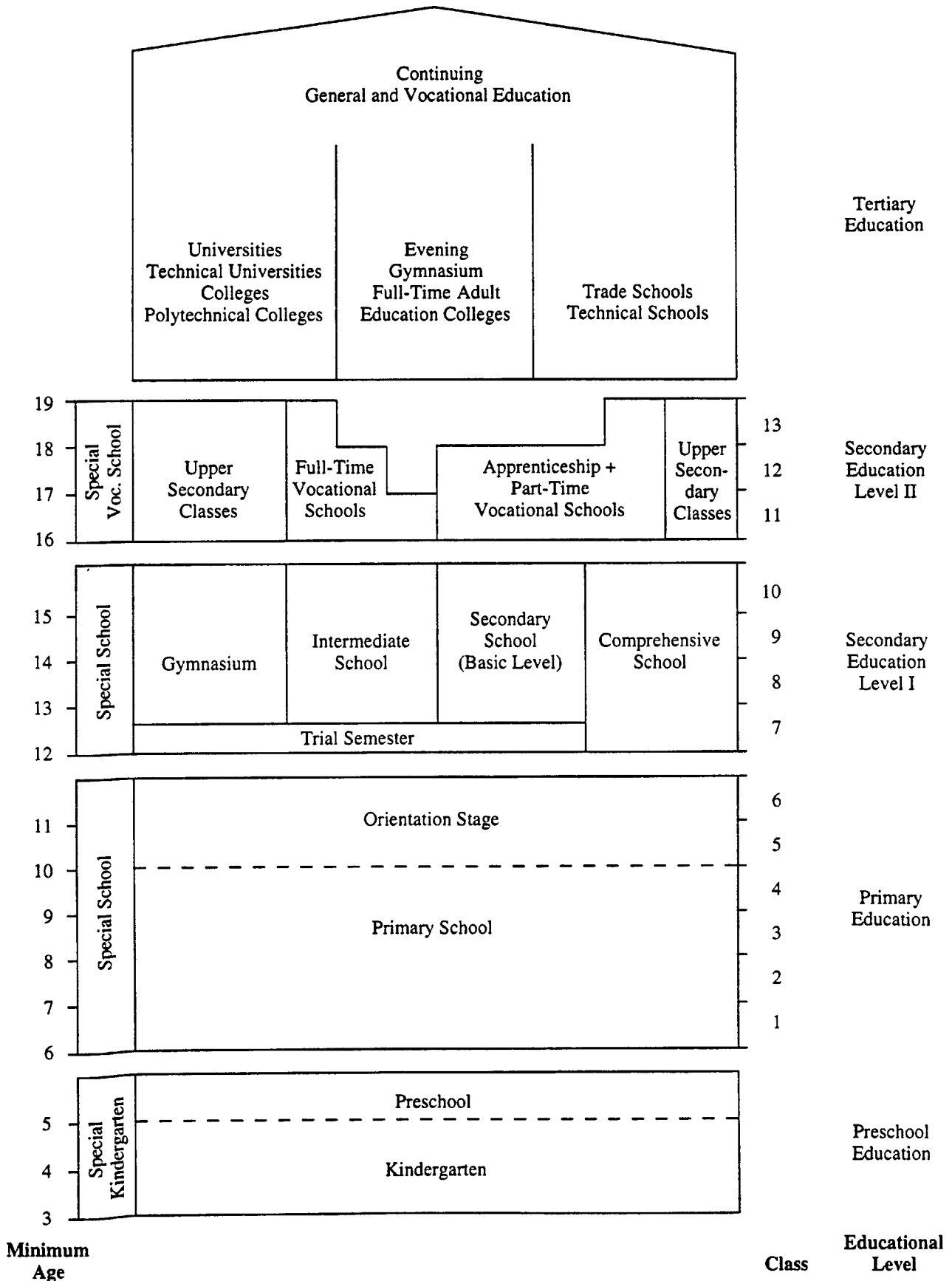
At the end of the sixties, the first comprehensive schools were established in Berlin in order to test out this type of school (Schuemer, 1985). They were rapidly followed by others, since increasingly large groups of students entered secondary education and new schools for them had to be supplied. In 1975-76, already 25 % of the age cohort leaving the primary school level 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*, 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 has been attended by students who do not aim 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 historically attended by the vast majority of students. During the seventies, when increasing numbers of foreign students with little proficiency in the German language entered the basic secondary school, it lost a lot of what was left of its reputation. Since the intended comprehensive school system could not be achieved, the result of the reform in Berlin was four types of regular secondary schools. With that, the basic structure of the present educational system in Berlin was determined. (See the following graph⁵.)

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, as a rule, pupils remain there until they are twelve. 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 the first 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 above languages) from the first grade on. The last two years in primary school correspond to the orientation stage in various other federal *Laender*, that is, the teachers observe their 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 among the three traditional types and the comprehensive school.

⁵The graph represents the structure of the educational system effective in West Berlin as from 1979-80 and in East Berlin as from 1991-92.

Basic Structure of the Educational System in Berlin (1994)



The first half-year of secondary schooling is considered as a trial semester. Afterwards the students can change the chosen type of school or they may be obliged to leave it if their teachers judge them to be unsuited on the basis of their performance and capabilities. 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, such students who are “sent back” can still reach their initial goals. That is, not only students at the *Gymnasium* or the upper classes of the comprehensive schools can attain the *Abitur*, i.e., university entrance qualifications, but also students from the other secondary schools. If they achieve high marks, they may attend preparatory classes and then change over to a *Gymnasium* or they may attend the upper secondary classes of a comprehensive school or a vocational training center (*Oberstufenzentrum*).

Yet, the *Gymnasium* remains the normal road 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 or data processing or one of the natural sciences. (In East Berlin, there still exist a few special schools with emphasis on physical education or music.) Apart from the elective subjects, the students of an age-class are jointly taught 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 7 years if the students successfully pass the *Abitur* which qualifies them for university entrance.

The intermediate schools give their students the foundation necessary for more ambitious vocational training (for instance, in engineering, commerce or administration) or for further education in general or vocational schools opening access to institutions of higher education. As in the *Gymnasium*, the students in the intermediate schools are jointly taught 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 career studies (*Arbeitslehre*).

Education in basic secondary schools is characterized by ability grouping in mathematics

and English as the first foreign language, by combined subjects with a strong emphasis on interdisciplinary instruction and project work, by an emphasis on prevocational training and career studies as well as by remedial teaching in small groups for those who need it, for instance, foreign students with little proficiency in the German language. In spite of these special measures, the basic secondary schools have the lowest prestige in the hierarchy of Berlin schools.

As already mentioned, the comprehensive schools 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 in grade 9 also in German and the sciences. Of course, both upgrading and downgrading are possible. Furthermore, the comprehensive schools offer the opportunity to select a first elective subject already in grade 7 and to select a second elective subject 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 graduated according to their performance. Their diplomas are equivalent to the school-leaving certificates of the traditional schools and open corresponding access to vocational training or further academic education.

Regarding special schools 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 be sufficiently supported in the general schools 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 grade 1 to 10 but special vocational schools are also available.

In Berlin and in some other *Laender* of the FRG, compulsory education in general schools ends only after the 10th grade or when the students are 16 years old. If they do not attend

upper secondary classes at „Gymnasia“ 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. This training takes place in private or state-owned enterprises where the young people start to work as apprentices. 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 sort of vocational training qualifies the young people as skilled workers, clerks, tradesmen, etc., and gives them access to specialized schools for extended vocational training (*Fachschulen*) or to evening schools or colleges preparing adults for university entrance.

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

As already mentioned, admission to higher education can be attained at “Gymnasia“, 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 schools and full-time adult colleges offer preparatory courses for employed adults and others aimed at completing the *Abitur*. Finally, gifted adults without *Abitur* but with a completed vocational training have the possibility to apply for a university entrance examination.

Regarding teacher education, the standards of qualification have risen continually in the FRG during the last 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 universities or equivalent institutions of higher education for at least 6 to 10 semesters. The second part, that is, the preparatory service, consists of practical training in the classroom

(under the supervision of experienced teachers) and attendance in teacher training seminars for two years. Both, the theoretical and the practical part of teacher training conclude with state examinations which are required for tenured employment in the school system. As a rule, in-service training of teachers is optional.

In some federal *Laender*, the length and content of the theoretical studies depend on the type of school for which the teachers are trained. In other *Laender*, the university education corresponds to the various educational levels involved. In Berlin, a combination of both forms was established allowing the flexible assignment of teachers to the various types of schools. Teacher salaries are dependent on the type of qualifications, for instance, whether they are qualified to teach only one subject 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. Only teachers in the "Gymnasia" have always been educated at universities.

Current Issues

Before sketching a few of the current issues concerning the educational system, some data on the various types of schools in Berlin should be given. As can be seen from the following table, more than 400,000 students attended the public and private general schools in Berlin in the last school year. Together with the 78,000 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 almost 20% of the population.

Most general schools in Berlin are fairly small and do not have many more than 400 students, that is, between 18 and 20 classes with around 23 students on the average. The vocational schools seem to be much bigger, at least those assigned for apprentices trained within the "dual system". Yet, since these schools are attended by most of the students only one or two days per week, they actually are much smaller.

The number of students per class varies greatly between the individual types of schools. This is not only due to differences in the prescribed class sizes depending on the special problems which the various types of schools have to cope with, for instance the education of

Basic Data on Public and Private Schools in Berlin According to Type of School (1993-94)

	Schools	Students	Students per school	Students per class	Percentage of non-German students in:		Percentage of students in private schools in:	
	n	n	average n	average n	East Berlin	West Berlin	East Berlin	West Berlin
Primary schools	476	212 771	447	23.0	1.8	23.6	0.1	4.5
Secondary schools (basic level)	57	12 123	213	17.5	3.8	45.6	–	1.6
Intermediate schools	86	26 158	304	26.6	0.9	21.4	0.1	8.8
“Gymnasia”	129	81 082	629	27.5	0.7	11.7	0.8	7.9
Comprehensive schools	86	53 767	625	25.3	1.3	21.5	0.6	8.3
Schools for students with special needs	94	13 650	145	9.1	0.5	25.5	1.1	8.6
Total general schools¹	946	400 056	423	22.5		12.4		3.4
Within total: East Berlin	418	186 461	446	24.3	1.5		0.3	
West Berlin	506	213 090	421	25.0		21.9		6.1
Vocational schools ² (dual system)	42	62 315	1598	20.2		11.0*		2.0*
Specialized vocational schools	57	11 180	287	20.1		12.6*		22.0*
Vocational schools qualifying for higher education	32	4 609	149	27.3		13.4*		2.1*
Total vocational schools*	131	78 104	596	20.5		11.4*		4.9*

¹Including schools with integration courses for 505 immigrants (aged 14 or 15) whose compulsory education will end before they can be integrated into the ordinary school system.

²Including vocational schools for students with special needs.

*No separate data on East and West Berlin available.

Sources: Das Schuljahr 1993-94 in Zahlen. Allgemeinbildende Schulen, pp. 1-3; Berufsbildende Schulen, pp. 4-5; with additional calculations.

disabled students. It also reflects the fact that many schools belonging to a certain type are confronted with additional problems, such as high proportions of foreign students, which involve 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 the basic secondary schools which for nearly two decades have mainly been attended by low-achieving students and foreigners with limited proficiency in the German language. The proportion of non-German students amounts to more than 45% in the basic secondary schools, while the non-selective primary schools have only 24% foreign students and the prestigious and ambitious "Gymnasia" far less than 12%.

Due to the fact that only few foreign migrant workers had been employed in the GDR, the percentage of non-German students in East Berlin cannot be compared to that in the western part of the city. There, the proportion of foreign students in general schools amounts to nearly 22% while there are only 1.5% in East Berlin. Regarding private schools, similar differences exist between both parts of the city. Since the East German constitution had not permitted the establishment of private educational institutions and only few have been opened in East Berlin during the last four years, the percentage of students attending private schools is still far less than 1% in the eastern districts as compared to 6% in the western districts of 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 has not been completed to date.

To round out this overview of the various types of schools, some figures on their success rate have to be reported. The following table 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 1992-93 in order to begin their vocational or professional education or to look for a job if they were past the age of compulsory schooling. 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 drop-outs, but is higher by 1% to 2% or, in the case of foreign students, even by a greater percentage.

School Graduates from Public and Private General Secondary Schools According to School Leaving Certificate (1993)

Graduates from:	Total number (= 100 %)	Percentage of students leaving school:				
		without diploma	with basic secondary diploma after: 9 years	10 years	with intermediate secondary diploma	with university entrance qualification
Secondary schools (basic level)	3 291	32.2	13.3	48.9	5.7	–
Intermediate schools	4 215	3.7	4.5	2.0	89.9	–
“Gymnasia”	7 890*	1.4	0.8	0.5	17.7	79.7*
Comprehensive schools	9 594	14.3	5.5	22.9	48.9	8.4
Schools for students with special needs	1 341	84.0	2.8	6.4	6.7	–
Total	26 708**	15.7	4.7	15.0	38.0	26.5*
Within total: Germans	22 492*	12.9	4.2	13.5	39.8	29.6*
Foreigners	4 216	31.0	7.5	23.1	28.4	10.0
Within total: East Berlin	10 050*	15.8	3.7	12.0	46.5	22.0*
West Berlin	16 658	15.7	5.3	16.9	32.9	29.3

– Diploma not available.

* Including 2193 East Berlin students who passed the Abitur in 1992 after 12 years of schooling as was the practice in the GDR. Since the next age-group could go in for the Abitur only in 1994, the data from 1993 have to be completed in this way in order to gain an adequate representation of the students' diplomas.

+ Including 377 students in integration courses for immigrants whose compulsory education ended before they could be integrated into the ordinary school system.

Source: Das Schuljahr 1993-94 in Zahlen, pp. 160-163 and 1992-93, p. 157; with additional calculations.

Nevertheless, the strong differences between the various types of schools regarding the percentage of school-leavers without a diploma, refer to differences between their student populations. Altogether about 15% of the students did not attain a diploma, while in the basic secondary schools about 30% were not successful. To not have a diploma is worse today than it was formerly, because the majority of all students leave their schools not only with a basic but with an intermediate secondary diploma, and every fourth school-leaver passes the *Abitur*, that is, the exam qualifying for university entrance. Most students obtaining this prestigious school leaving certificate attend the "Gymnasias", yet at least 8% of the students leaving the 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 GDR, the proportion of students leaving school with an intermediate secondary diploma is still rather high in East Berlin in comparison with the students who attained the *Abitur* there. However, it can be expected that the situation in East Berlin will soon adjust to that in the West. The differences between German and foreign school-leavers seem to be much more severe. Only 10% of the non-German school-leavers passed the *Abitur* while about 30% of them left school without diploma; these percentages are in inverse proportion to those of the 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 (see below p. 37).

To date, foreign students are also less successful than Germans in the vocational schools (see the following table). 67% of the German students leaving the vocational schools attain diplomas, yet the success rate of the foreign students amounts to only 41%. While the graduates have a fair chance to find a job, the majority of the students leaving the vocational schools without completion will probably remain unemployed. Many of them had left the general schools without a diploma and therefore had difficulties in finding an apprenticeship. That is why they attended vocational preparation courses or other courses outside the "dual system" of vocational training. As can be seen from the table, some of them finally attain diplomas equivalent to those of the general schools and thus try to improve their chances on the labor market.

School Graduates from Public and Private Vocational Schools According to Type of School, Course and School Leaving Certificate (1993)

Graduates from:	Total number (= 100 %)	Percentage of students leaving school:			Percentage of graduates with diploma equivalent to:			
		without completion	with completion	with diploma	basic secondary diploma	intermediate secondary diploma	university entrance qualifications: general	special
Vocational schools (dual system)*								
Courses for apprentices	19 939	19.4	10.5	70.1	0.7	0.5	–	–
Other courses**	5 354	21.4	51.2	27.4	17.7	2.4	–	–
Specialized vocational schools	5 392	21.9	3.8	74.4	–	10.2	–	1.6
Vocational schools qualifying for higher education	2 530	28.9	5.5	65.7	–	5.5	16.0	49.7
Total	33 215	20.8	15.6	63.6	3.3	2.8	1.2	4.0
Within total:								
Germans	28 704	20.0	12.9	67.1	3.2	2.5	1.3	4.2
Foreigners	4 511	26.3	32.7	41.1	3.7	4.4	0.6	2.8

* Including vocational schools for students with special needs.

** Part-time and full-time vocational preparation and courses of the basic vocational training year.

– Diploma not equivalent to the respective school leaving certificate.

Source: Das Schuljahr 1993-94 in Zahlen, pp. 151–153; with additional calculations.

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 change fundamentally. As mentioned above (p. 19), the schools in Berlin do not distinguish between Germans and foreigners but grant them 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 of 1980-81, more than 50% of the non-German students leaving the general schools did not attain a diploma at all and less than 5% passed the *Abitur*. Only 10 years later, already 70% of the foreigners graduated from the general schools and the proportion of those with university entrance qualifications amounted to more than 11%.⁶

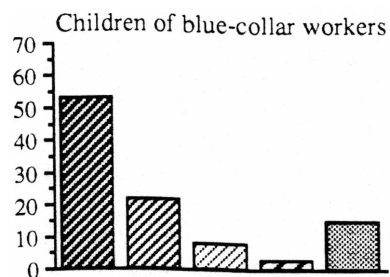
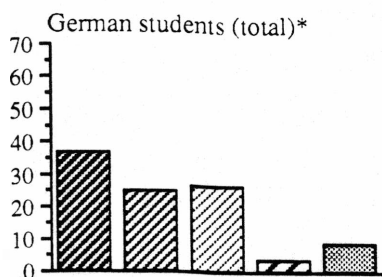
Apparently, the foreign students catch up with their German peers rather rapidly. The distribution of 7th grade students among the various types of schools shows even more clearly than the data on graduates that the foreign students' development is following the same trend as the Germans' but with a time lag of 15 to 20 years (see the following graphs). In 1968, that is, at the beginning of the establishment of comprehensive schools, the majority of the German student population still attended basic secondary schools. Several years later, when most of the currently existing comprehensive schools were set up, only 18% of the German students attended basic secondary schools while 24% were at comprehensive schools and 30% at "Gymnasia". At that time the majority of the children of foreign migrant workers had just arrived in Berlin or had lived here only a few years. Thus, it is not surprising that more than 60% of the foreign students attended the non-selective secondary schools (basic level). By the way, the foreign student distribution among the 7th grade classes of the various types of schools corresponds to the distribution of the children of German blue-collar workers to whom they can be most closely compared.

The majority of the non-German students living in Berlin today were born here and are much better able to make use of their formal career chances than the children of the first generation of foreign migrant workers. 46% of them attend the 7th grade at an intermediate school or at a *Gymnasium* and 29% have chosen a comprehensive school while not many more than 20% are at the secondary schools (basic level). This distribution is similar to that of the German student population in 1976, but deviates widely from their current distribution

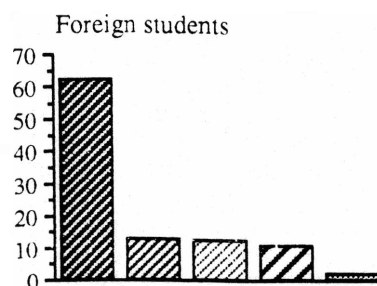
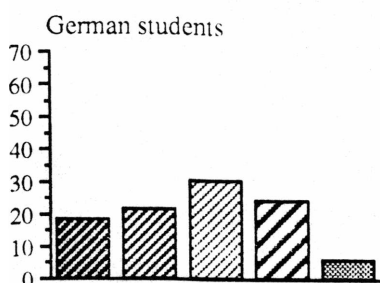
⁶Calculations based on figures reported in *Das Schuljahr 1993-94 in Zahlen*, pp. 166-167.

Percentage of German and Foreign Students in the 7th Grade of Public and Private General Schools According to Type of Schooling (1968, 1976 and 1993)

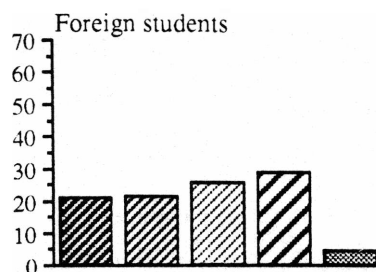
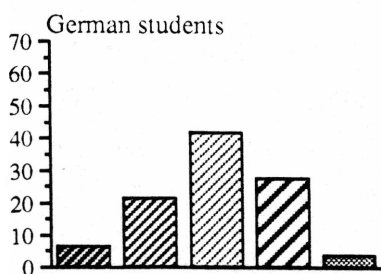
1968/69



1976/77



1993/94



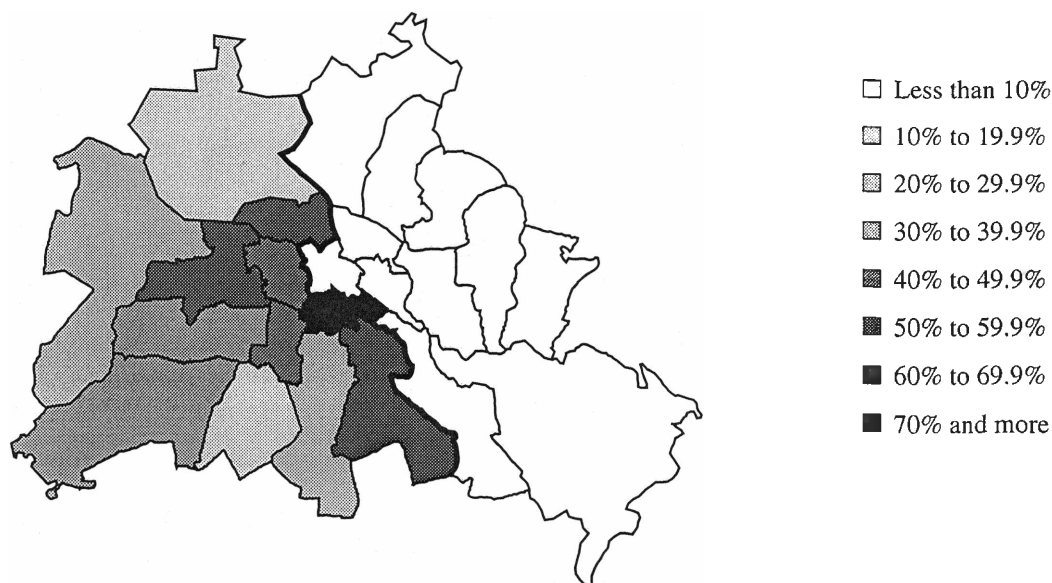
*The statistical reports do not distinguish between German and foreign students until 1970 (primary schools) or 1975 (secondary schools). At the end of the sixties, about 3% of all students in primary schools were foreigners. Their proportion in secondary schools was certainly smaller.

- ▨ Secondary school (basic level)
- ▧ Intermediate school
- ▩ Gymnasium
- ▦ Comprehensive school
- ▤ School for students with special needs

among the different types of secondary schools. Apparently, the growing percentages of foreign 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 foreign students into the school system of Berlin is not being achieved without problems. Because the proportion of non-German residents varies greatly within the city (see above, p. 13), the proportion of non-German students differs extremely between the individual districts. This in turn leads to a high concentration of foreigners in the basic secondary schools which have lost their reputation in the German population. As can easily be seen from the following graph, in some of the inner city districts German students form only a very small minority in the basic secondary schools and therefore cannot contribute much to the integration of their foreign peers into the German society. The drop-out rate in these schools is higher than elsewhere not only among the foreign students but also among the Germans, most of whom belong to the lower socio-economic strata of the

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

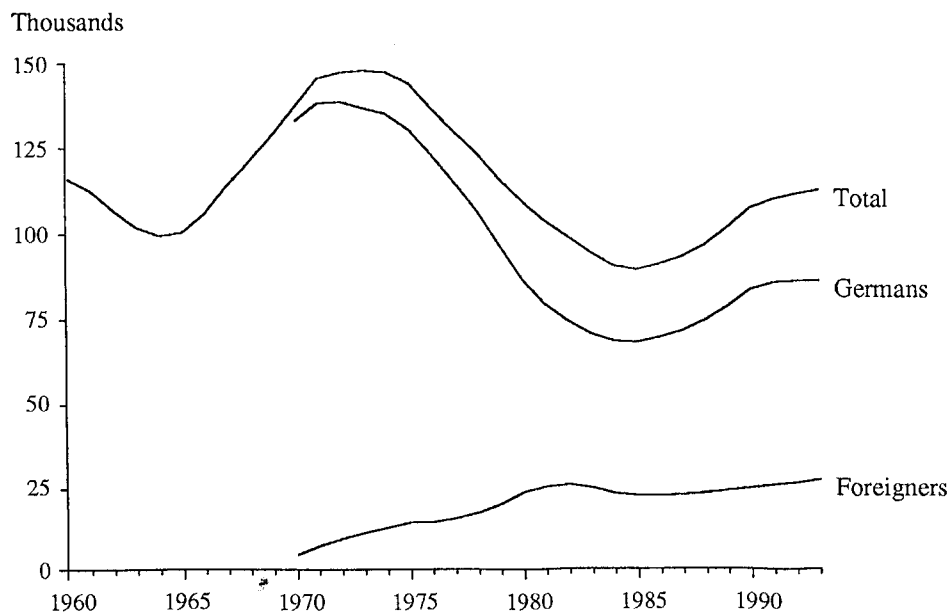


Source: Das Schuljahr 1993/94 in Zahlen, pp. 15f.

population. In view of an economic development endangering job possibilities, especially in the manufacturing industry, these students are disadvantaged in many respects.

Another problem concerns the demographic fluctuations and their consequences for the educational system. In the seventies, increasing birthrates and growing numbers of foreign students had led to a dramatic expansion of all general and vocational schools. The number of students increased by about 50 %, first in the primary schools (see the following graph) and then in the secondary schools. Only a dozen years later, the numbers of pupils or students dropped again very dramatically in spite of the continuing influx of foreign children and young people.

German and Foreign Students in Public and Private Primary Schools in West Berlin (1960–1993)



Sources: Das Schuljahr in Zahlen 1983/84, pp. 28, 40; 1993/94, pp. 17, 18; with additional calculations.

Due to the fact that nearly all West German teachers are civil servants who cannot be easily dismissed even when they are not 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 or 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 given. Nevertheless, the age structure of the teaching corps has changed fundamentally. In the mid-seventies, about 50 % of all teachers in general schools were less than 35 years old, while this age-group has not amounted to many more than 10 % in the nineties.⁷

For several years, the number of students has been increasing again, yet this time the Berlin Senate has not reacted on the situation with new appointments of teachers but has put up with teaching and learning conditions changing for the worse. For instance, classes and learning groups are becoming bigger again, some students' timetables are 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 topic makes evident, the administrative authorities take the fact into account that teachers as civil servants cost a great deal of money even when they are retired.

Public funds have become very limited in West Germany during the last years. The first reason was a severe economic recession which has been overcome only recently. Second, the reunification of Germany has been much more costly than anticipated. Due to the constitutional obligation of maintaining relatively homogeneous living conditions throughout the FRG, 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 *Laender* of the FRG has increased considerably, but it still amounts to only 55 % of that in West Germany. Thus, further transfers of money will be necessary for many years to come. In spite of increases in taxation and new national debts, public means will remain much shorter in the

⁷ Calculations based on data concerning teachers in West Germany; see the Grund- und Strukturdaten, 1978, p. 77 and 1992-93, p. 112. Current data on the age distribution of teachers in Berlin are not available, yet there is no reason to assume that they deviate from the West German data.

West German Laender than these were formerly accustomed to.

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

Even though these calculations could be too pessimistic, it is evident that fundamental reforms will be necessary in the FRG in order to cope with the future situation. In any event, the educational system will have to manage with much less public money than today. Evidentially the current standard cannot be maintained in the future without private financial support or without severe economy measures in the schools. Yet, all these measures will not be sufficient if the educational system does not undergo fundamental restructuring.

⁸ See: Ageing populations, 1988, pp. 29–32. The development of the age structure of the East German society is comparable to that of the West German society considered by the OECD. See the Statistisches Jahrbuch 1994 für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland, p. 66.

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The Unification of the Educational Systems of East and West Berlin

The following report* on the changes in the educational system of East Berlin is in part based on publications, in part on documents and oral statements (of undeniable facts) given 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 Members of the Berlin Chamber of Deputies belonging to different political parties and thus representing different perspectives of the transformation of the East Berlin educational system. Apart from the purposely 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 just interviewed.

According to the Unification Treaty, the educational system of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) or East Germany had to be restructured on the basis of the relevant agreements made by the Permanent Conference of the Ministers of Culture (of the individual *Laender*¹) organized in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) or West Germany in 1948. The Hamburg Agreement of 1964 establishing, among other things, the length of compulsory education, the division of secondary schools, and the regulation of transfers and examinations was to serve as the primary document (Anweiler et al., 1992, p. 513). Apart from that, the five new *Laender* have sovereignty in cultural affairs and thus responsibility for all legal and administrative regulations concerning their educational systems. Correspondingly, each of the *Laender* passed its own education act and school statutes. East Berlin however, was reunited with West Berlin and together they now form one city-state of the Federal Republic of Germany. Consequently, Berlin had less time than the new *Laender* to prepare decisions on reforms of the educational system.² In 1991, East Berlin adopted the laws and implemented the regulations effective in West Berlin. This meant doing away with the former educational system completely.

From the beginning of the GDR, the East German system of education was centralized and state-controlled to a rather large extent (Anweiler et al., 1992, pp. 82–83). The constitution did not permit the establishment of private schools, and beginning in the fifties all daycare

*I am grateful to Linda Hillman and Cynthia Miller for their linguistic revision of my representation.

¹*Land* (plural *Laender*) is the term used today for the political units of the FRG. *Land* is in some respects equivalent to province or state (comparable to, for instance, Illinois).

²As a matter of fact, all politicians concerned did not have sufficient time to prepare decisions because of the rapidity of the reunification process. See the table of events in the appendix, p. 56.

institutions were integrated within the school system (Waterkamp, 1987, pp. 135–141). Moreover, the system was standardized as much as possible.³ In 1989, it was based on the so-called 10-year general polytechnical school (*Polytechnische Oberschule*) compulsory for all children except the mentally handicapped (Kienitz, 1989; Arbeitsgruppe Bildungsbericht, 1994, pp. 178–291). The term “polytechnical” refers to the aim of making the students (in all grades and in all subjects) familiar with the general scientific, technological, and economic foundational knowledge of production. Moreover, polytechnical education took place in special subjects taught in school workshops and in production enterprises where the students were to cooperate with the workers and contribute to the productivity of the enterprises.

Besides 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, etc. Regarding general schools, slow learners transferred to vocational schools after eight years, while the majority spent ten years in general schools and two or three further 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 so-called basic trades. They left the vocational schools with certification as a skilled-worker in a certain field, which also entitled them to access to colleges or other institutions below the university level. Around 5 % of the age group left the three-year vocational schools with university entrance qualifications in addition to their skilled-worker certificate. Around 10 % of the students who finished the 10-year general polytechnical 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 an equivalent institution of higher education.

The transformation of the educational system in East Berlin was drastic. However, it is an unsettled question whether or not such a 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. The council recommended

³The various changes of the educational system of the GDR are not discussed here. See Anweiler, 1990.

in 1990 that the basic external structure of the socialist school system be maintained to a large extent (Berliner Bildungsrat, 1991). More precisely, they envisioned a separate 6-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 "Gymnasia" 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 the 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 "Gymnasia". Thus, the East Berlin Chamber of Deputies passed the Law on the Unification of the Municipal Law of Berlin, jointly prepared by politicians of both parts of the city, which determined, among other things, that the West Berlin Education Act, defining the structure of the educational system, should become effective in East Berlin after reunification. Finally, in December of 1990, the first common elections for the Berlin Chamber of Deputies took place. Since the parties of the left did not attain the majority, they had to resign themselves to relinquishing the East German educational system in favor of the West Berlin one.⁴

All parties agreed upon rapid alterations in East Berlin out of fear that a 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 of 1989, more than a half million East Germans had fled to the West. As a result, several thousand additional students had to be integrated into the schools of West Berlin. There was general consensus that further migration had to be prevented.

At the time of the reunification in October of 1990, the school year had already begun. Therefore, the school administration decided to complete the 1990-91 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 long summer vacation in 1991. Thus, the school administration had less than a year to prepare for the intended innovations. In other words, the socialist educational system in East Berlin was done away

⁴ See the chronology of legal events resulting in the unification of the educational systems of East and West Berlin in the appendix, p. 57.

with in an administrative tour de force causing much confusion and damaging many personal identities.

The most portentous change was the dissolution of the 10-year general polytechnical school which had been attended by the majority of students from age 6 to 16. The administration then had to establish both primary schools for children from age 6 to 12 and the four different types of general secondary schools for the students from age 12 to 16 or 19. In addition, special schools were mandated for the mentally handicapped, who previously had not been subject to compulsory education, while most schools for children with special talents were closed. Lastly, vocational schools had to be established to take the place of the vocational training that had been done in the large socialist enterprises.

This transformation caused all sorts of inconveniences. First, since they have 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 be established. Second, the furniture and equipment in some existing school buildings had to be removed, depending on the type of school the building would accommodate. Moreover, many buildings provided for the secondary schools were in need of reconstruction because more labs for physics, chemistry and so on were needed than had been necessary in the 10-year general schools. Independently, several school buildings had to be redeveloped, as accident insurance companies refused to insure them in their state of disrepair. Third, many students had to change schools and leave at least some friends and teachers behind. Many teachers had to not only integrate themselves into a new teaching staff but also attend time-consuming in-service training (see below, p. 51). Finally, all schools had to be supplied not only with the Berlin course schedules, course guidelines, and the volumes of legal regulations, but also 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, almost none of them received approval from the Berlin School Senate. Therefore, the teachers had to examine the available instructional media, make their choices and order new textbooks

and other media for nearly all subjects and all grades. One can easily imagine the pressure these teachers felt having to prepare a new text over the summer.

Additional problems were caused by the fact that teacher education in the two German states differed widely. In postwar West Germany, admission to teacher education has required the *Abitur*, the qualifying exam for the university. The training to become a teacher consists of academic studies at a university or equivalent institution theoretically lasting from at least 6 to 10 semesters (in fact, 9 to 16 on average) 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 eighties, 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 grade 11 to 13) were trained at universities or at colleges of education. Five years of theoretical studies as well as polytechnical and practical training were necessary to receive a teachers' diploma. Teachers at the extended general schools were selected according to their professional efficiency in grades 5 to 10 and according to their political loyalty. As in the West, the regulations for teacher education were changed several times. Many teachers who have been working in East Berlin schools have not been trained according to the two forms described above, but have 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 % of the students choose English. Since Russian is also 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 or by sufficiently competent teachers. Additional problems exist regarding teachers of civics (*Staatsbuergerkunde*). (See below, p. 51.)

Another problem concerns salary. According to the Federal Framework Law for Civil Servants with which the *Laender* laws must comply, 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 % to 80 % (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. According to the Unification Treaty, financial adjustment is planned only from 1995 on.

Teachers in East Berlin do not 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 their training is considered inferior to that of West Berlin teachers, that they have to seek additional qualification in their subjects, that their professional experience is not adequately recognized, that their teaching practices are not valued, that their teaching methods are not approved of, that their classroom management style is not appreciated, and that 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. First, the class size used to be much smaller in East Germany. Second, the teaching load of all East German teachers amounted to 23 lessons per week. Now, it is 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 GDR had reduced teaching loads, while West Berlin

teachers have enjoyed reductions much less often. Finally, most East German schools had an overinflated 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 leaves to gain the formal academic education they lacked, and those in need of retraining, like the Russian language teachers mentioned earlier, to be retrained. Teaching loads were heavily reduced for 3 years: during one year, the primary school teachers taught only 8 lessons per week. As a result, even the unnecessary 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 councilors and school inspectors of the individual districts of 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 truly devoted to the communist state. Teachers who held party membership only, 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 are given the status

of civil servant, their political biography is 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 answer their questionnaires truthfully receive the status of civil servant. Teachers who try to conceal the truth are dismissed, because this is considered a breach of trust. As soon as the verification process is completed, new school principals can be elected. For the time being, the schools are managed by commissioners.

While the need for student and teacher integration is there, the opportunities for integration are 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. (By the way, according to an empirical investigation (Rosenberg, 1994), students in West Berlin use the same language to speak of East Germans as students in East Berlin do when they speak of foreigners.) Regarding teachers, those from West Berlin think they have nothing to learn from their colleagues in the East, as their lessons are seen 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 feel either very insecure because of their presumably inferior training and the political critique of their teaching style, or they do not recognize or 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, that is less than 1 % of all teachers, participated in this exchange program beginning in the school-year 1991-92. Most of the participating teachers lived in the districts along the former border and worked in the neighboring districts. The other teachers had long distances to travel between home and school and this was an additional reason for the relative failure of the

exchange program.

In sum, integration has not taken place, nearly all affairs of schooling have changed 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 ten. According to a resolution of the Senate of Berlin of 1992, children can still be brought to school all year round from 6 a.m. until 6 p.m. and lunch is still provided as before. Yet, this form of daycare is not to be confounded with whole-day schools as they have been established in West Berlin for some years. The whole-day schools belong to the school system while the daycare centers are subject to 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 (see the footnote on p. 45) should be mentioned. All of the experts were asked what should have been maintained of 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 polytechnical 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, some characteristics of polytechnical education were planned to be integrated into the general studies in primary schools as, for instance, gardening. Unfortunately, in East Berlin, many of the schools' working gardens were lost, not because they were not wanted, but because the schoolgrounds now belong to the districts and some began to use the property for other purposes. Since students, teachers and parents often do not know the reasons for such changes or the political means of preventing them, they are inclined to attribute all alterations to the reigning political power.

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 to visit all parents at home or even at the workplace when there were cases of serious discipline or learning problems. As a rule, the teachers met these expectations. The totalitarian system disappeared and was not replaced by a voluntary system of 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 adequately judge the processes of transformation. As a matter of course, all true democrats would have preferred a deliberate process giving all persons concerned 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 rapidity of many alterations could not have been avoided: faced with the problem of increasing migration of students from East 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 Chamber of Deputies, that both Chambers were freely elected, and that the new Chamber of Deputies, jointly elected in December of 1990, did not even discuss the option of revising the work of its predecessors.

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Important Events Concerning the Reunification of Germany

1989

- 9-11 Opening of the border between Hungary and Austria enabling more than half a million Germans to flee the German Democratic Republic (GDR) via the two countries
- 10-7 40th anniversary of the GDR
- 10-18 Honnecker announces his resignation as Minister-President of the GDR
- 11-9 GDR travel restrictions lifted (Opening of the Wall)
- 11-13 Modrow becomes Minister-President of the GDR
- 12-1 The People's Chamber of the GDR deletes the Socialist Unity Party's claim to leadership from the constitution
- 12-7 Beginning of the roundtable talks between the Bloc Parties and the parties of opposition

1990

- 1-21 The official sale of the Berlin Wall begins
- 3-18 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 aims at realizing Germany's unity
- 4-12 deMaizière becomes Minister President of the GDR
- 4-24 Agreement between both German states on an economic, monetary, and social union
- 7-1 Realization of the aforementioned union
- 7-2/3 Agreement between both German states on an election and unification treaty
- 9-12 Treaty of the Allied Powers on final regulations concerning Germany
- 9-20/21 Ratification of the Unification Treaty in the East and West German parliaments
- 9-24 The GDR resigns its membership in the Warsaw Pact
- 10-3 The Unification Treaty comes into effect: Accession of the GDR to the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG)
- 10-22 The Council of Ministers of the European Community approves the integration of the former GDR into the European Community

Source: Arbeitsgruppe Bildungsbericht am Max-Planck-Institut für Bildungsforschung (1994). Das Bildungswesen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Strukturen und Entwicklungen im Überblick (pp. 754–755). Completely revised and enlarged edition, Reinbek b. Hamburg: Rowohlt.

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

1990

- 3-3 First free elections for the People's Chamber in the German Democratic Republic (GDR).
- 5-6 First free elections for the East Berlin Chamber of Deputies.
- 7-23 The East Berlin constitution, passed by the East Berlin Chamber of Deputies on the basis of the all-Berlin constitution of 1948, comes into effect. Among other things, the constitution provides a "differentiated" educational system including private schools (formerly forbidden) and schools for the handicapped.
- 9-18 The Preliminary School Statutes of the GDR, passed by the Council of Ministers of the GDR in accordance with the School Statutes of West Berlin, become effective.
- 10-3 The Unification Treaty of the two German states comes into effect: Accession of the GDR to the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and, accordingly, 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 be in effect in East Berlin until July 31st 1991.
- 12-2 First common elections for the Berlin Chamber of Deputies in both parts of the city. The left parties lose their majority: their governmental coalition is followed by a coalition of the Christian Democratic with the Social Democratic Party.
- 12-10 The Second Law on the Unification of the Municipal Law of Berlin is passed by the Berlin Chamber of Deputies. It regulates the financing of private schools in East Berlin.

1991

Currently The school administration decides on the dates and procedures for restructuring the educational system in East Berlin and prepares for its realization.

8-1 The Education Act and the School Statutes of West Berlin come into effect in East Berlin.

Sources (besides the relevant issues of the law gazettes of the GDR and of West Berlin):
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