

The beginning of German educational system: A study of historical processes of making a policy in education

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Abstract

The German education system is the result of its socio-economic political condition. However too much emphasis on political or economic condition not only reduce the intellectual debate that surely played a larger role but also it tends to forsake the role of the people who demanded it or continuously tended to modify the government plans. However from the political perspective many authors believe that education in Germany had nothing to do with industrialization. It was rather the need of nationalism.

Keywords: German education system, nationalism, minorities, jews, communities.

Introduction

The formation of nationalism in one country can be only seen in international context. It means what one country or a nation does for itself it is actually doing it in relation with other. In fact C.A Bayly says that “the hardening of boundaries between nation-states and empires after 1860 led people to find ways of linking. Communicating with, and influencing each other across those boundaries.”^[1] (Bayly pg. 199) According to Derek Heater there are three main features of citizenship education in practice in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. “First was the principle that the security of the monarch and the security of the state required the subjects of the realm to be taught to help achieve these objectives. The second was the religious context in which these objectives were not only commended but actually practised. The third feature was the concentration on educating ‘gentlemen’ in order to provide the state with loyal and efficient administrators.

Schools and Schooling in late Medieval Germany

Here I am drawing lot from David L. Sheffler’s work Schools and schooling in Late medieval Germany Regensburg, 1250-1500^[2]. Though there are some similarities to modern educational structures, especially the division of medieval education into something similar to elementary, secondary, undergraduate, and graduate study, But there were certainly some differences providing the time and society of particular period. At the most basic level, the children learned little more than to recite portions of the Latin liturgy and the Psalter, frequently with little evidence of actual understanding. Even in schools with a more advanced curriculum, not all students learned the more specialized skill of writing. Moreover, the purpose of most medieval schools was the training of capable clerics; Sheffler says that “if schools served other ends was largely a by-product of this effort. The connection between schools and the church was so strong that contemporary writers often used the terms scholar and cleric interchangeably, a fact still evident in the modern English use of the term clerk.”^[3]

There was no overriding structure or authority, no progression from school to school, and no degrees before the university level. Most individuals who began their schooling in a “song school” could not expect to advance to study in grammar schools.

About girls and Jews education

It is clear that Latin grammar education was possible for some daughters of Regensburg’s civic elite. It was done through the engagement of a cleric by the family or through the employment of private schoolmistress.

Jewish education remained separated from the Christian community that surrounded it. However the distinctions between the two communities are not that sharp. Indeed evidence of interaction between Christian and Jews abounds at all levels. By 1475 however the tensions that eventually led to the destructions of the Jewish community in 1519 were beginning to mount.

In context of Regensburg he gives particular importance to the mendicant orders to civic education. He says in Regensburg the relationship between the city and the mendicant orders was very close. Many of the books produced under mendicant auspices found their way into other libraries in the city. The mendicants also played a role in the education of women (page 214). The female houses attached to the mendicant orders in the city were dominated by the daughters of the citizens of Regensburg. Most of these women were learning Latin and were literate in vernacular.

In addition to this he finds that evidence for “burgerliche Bildung” is paltry. He says even when cities controlled their own schools directly the primary change was in jurisdiction; the curriculum and organization of the schools was pretty much intact. Though he says that increasing emphasis on mathematics seen in the curriculum of St. Emmeram was the result of the need of the commercial society but these changes could be accommodated within the existing curriculum and organizational structures.

About the purpose of education we can say that for most of student education provided social and economic advantages.

The growth in university study also signalled a wider expansion of literacy in both Latin and vernacular. Although their major employer was church but lay scribes also appear in the city's service.

In his work *Grace Talent and Merit*, Poor students Clerical Careers and Professional Ideology in Eighteenth Century Germany Anthony J La Vopa says that Poor students were substantial minority at Protestant universities, and one that attested to the tenacious traditions of a religious culture. In the eighteenth century the term "poor student" referred to a distinct species of young men. Students of theology, they went on to careers in the clergy, including its teaching branch getting earlier education to charity in various forms. In his words : "The German Enlightenment did pit the claims of individual talent and merit against the collective privileges of "birth"; but one need only sample its vast literature on educational reform to realize that much of the tension was being generated at the second, lower fault line- the one running through the *Burgertum* and its clerical branch. It was this line that separated the outsiders among poor students- those inheriting neither *Bildung* nor *Besitz*- from the hybrid service elite. Straddling it- and registering its tensions- were the clergymen's son who had inherited a measure of *Bildung* but nonetheless, in view of their fathers' paltry pastoral and teaching incomes, were genuinely poor".(pg 4) He is critical of the fact that in the conventional models the poor always come from plebeian background. This does not do justice to the fact that as he says that in the corporate order of the old regime, certain disadvantages and rites of passage into the learned estate formed outsiders and insiders, for all the differences between them, into a distinct group. He says while all poor students lacked the advantages of propertied wealth, only some had to cross the abyss between uneducated mass and the educated elite.

Beginning of a modern system of education

According to Jurgen Herbst, In Prussia the role of government's and its intellectuals and administrators was much more vital. Here we see royal decrees and academic debates were playing a central role. However they were facing resistance from local school authorities both at provincial level and local level.

Official school policy began in 1717 when king Frederick William I attempted to introduce compulsory schooling. In 1736 and 1763 decrees it was said that patrons of nobility should look at children of village whether they are reading or not. Prussia's general land law of 1794 declared Prussian schools and universities to be institutions of the state. In addition to this all public schools and educational institutions are subject to the supervision of the state. However there were some exceptions for the child to not attend school. These children were from agricultural background and until 1840's to industrial child labour as well. For them alternative hours were to be arranged on Sundays and other suitable times.

After 1806 defeat by French, the supervision of all schools by state administrative agencies became the norm. In 1810 and 1811 a system of school deputation in the provincial districts and in municipalities and rural communities was introduced. These had to decide on various school questions.

However despite of these various attempts we see a lax enforcement of compulsory education due to following reasons:

First we see opposing pulls of central directives and local interests on the provincial and municipal school deputation.

Second we have already seen there were many exceptions permitted by law itself about education of child from different strata.

Third expectation of the Prussian government that elementary schools (which according to law were to be tuition free) be financed in the main by local association, school societies and municipalities. Local regulations however, often ignored the land law and differed from each other. Similarly the phrase of General Land Law that schools being a state institution remained quite ineffective.

Schools in cities were expected to be and were in fact administered and financially supported by religious congregation or the municipalities in which they existed. Thus according to Herbst, *despite the legal framework of state directions schools were de facto in the hands of the agencies of civil society.*

As a consequence of state's unwillingness we see the two stage organization of general education in elementary schools and gymnasia projected after 1810. In towns and cities a child's school attendance was largely determined by the parent's social class. For the children of day labourers and the poor the choice was restricted to charity and publicly supported pauper schools, factory and Sunday schools. On the other hand parents of lower bourgeois could turn to *Burgerschulen*, *Mittelschulen* and *Realschulen*. These schools served either as advanced elementary schools of general education or they provided for the needs of young people who sought a practical oriented vocation preparatory type of schooling. Besides this there were late in and *Gelehrtenschulen* as well as *Progymnasia* and *Gymnasia* higher schools. All of them prepared their students for careers in the middle levels of state service. Passing of the *Gymnasium's* leaving examination gives the right to attend a university and thus to gain access to the professions and the higher levels of state service.

After this let's look at the intellectual debate that went on in the scenario. These debates are very necessary to look at in order to get a sense of various concerns shaping the directions in which school as an organisation and as an institution. Many intellectual like Johann Heinrich Gottlob Just and Georg Heinrich Zincke saw central directions as the answer to uncoordinated local efforts.

Karl Abraham Freiherr von Zedlitz also stressed the need for increasing the number of public schools and placing them under central secular supervision. He recognized three classes of society and need for corresponding schools. Children of peasants should go to country schools while children of urban wage earners should have *Burgerschulen* and children of professionals and nobleman should go to higher or *Gelehrtenschulen*. In addition to this there should be institutions for the training of teachers. He also recommended the creation of *ober-schulkollegium*, a state higher school board. It was to consist of five appointed educators, directly responsible to the crown. This came into effect that same year. Herbst says that "its impetus was never to be lost and its basic thrust of central secular direction of the nation's schools has been felt to this day". (Page 24)

However there were others who were against state regulation of schools. They were Trapp, and Wilhelm von Humbolt. On the other hand there was Johann Gottlieb Fichte who argued

that a system of national education was necessary to safeguard the stability of society and to enable the state to shape a national consciousness.

However the revolution of 1848 led to the Prussian government to assert its power to bring the country's educational efforts (especially the elementary schools) under its full control. The crown held instructors in the teacher seminar responsible for the disaster of revolution. A few years later the King's assumption translated itself into set of directives in which the directive of particular importance read like this : " The purpose of the elementary schools was not to aid "an abstract system or an idea of science," but to serve "the practical life in church, family, occupation, community, and state." The schools were to prepare for this life by being themselves grounded in it and remaining within its boundaries. In this way we can say the emphasis on practical education was there from the beginning, however it will be wrong to assume it as a starting point because an idea undergoes various mutations and changes with the change of period and new challenges. We can still not compare this with the education for industrial life.

Attitude towards minority

We see that in Prussia's Former Polish territories the government carried out an even more deliberative restrictive school policy toward ethnic minorities. It sought to prevent as much as possible the Polish language in the schools. As Polish inhabitants usually were Catholics and German Protestants, the government favoured Protestant *Gymnasia* of which in 1860 there were four of them to serve 427,000 Germans whereas three had to suffice for the 975,000 Catholic Poles.

Prussia's school policy had shown a preference for confessional public elementary schools whose denominational character was set by the religious constituency of the local community, and as majority of the Prussian population was attending one of the two Protestant denominations or the Catholic Church, Jewish parents and parents of other minority religious groups were disadvantaged by this policy. Though these minorities managed to have many of their private schools replaced with public Hebrew elementary schools. Herbst says that they were able to do that because Jewish teachers, forbidden to teach in Christian public schools, could practice their profession in Jewish public schools. As a result between 1861 and 1901 the number of Jewish public schools rose from 141 to 244, an increase of 73 percent and this can be compared with an increase in all other public elementary schools of 48 percent. (pg. 54) Treitschke (1834-1896), a German historian on observing German World says in context of horror in spring 1878 that all this forced thousands to reflect on the value of our humanitarianism and Enlightenment. Thousands feel that due to educational conceit we risk for forgetting completely the moral groundedness of human life. He evokes a popular sentiment against education and returns to questions of "moral groundedness" implying that Enlightenment and talk about Humanitat have eroded "moral groundedness". He argues not against *Bildung* per se but against its generalization, which he links to social "degeneration". (Marcel Stoetzler, The state, the nation and the Jews Liberalism and the Anti- Semitism Dispute in Bismarck's Germany. Page 33).

It is been argued by Majorie Lamberti that the key to an understanding of school policy and the administration of the

schools in Prussia in the imperial era are the maintenance of the state's monopoly of education and supreme supervision over the schools in the context of a positive relationship between the school authorities and the Catholic and Protestant churches, the awesome respect for and fear of the Catholic church as a power in society, and the priority given to the interests of the Protestant confession.(state society and the Elementary, pg. 215).

Nevertheless Herbst has shown that not all Jewish parents sent their children to Jewish public school. In fact Herbst says that "the percentage of Jewish children attending public Jewish elementary schools declined from 37 percent in 1886 to 29 percent in 1901 while the percentage of those enrolled in Protestant, nondenominational, or Catholic Christian schools rose correspondingly from 63 to 71 percent. The result was that the number of pupils in the existing public Jewish elementary schools steadily declined from an average of 138 in 1891 to 106 in 1901."(pg. 54). This shows us the desire for assimilation in state education. However education served other purpose also especially for state.

For the burgeoning bureaucracies and emergent industrial and civil projects; they also, at the elementary level, prepared reliable military recruits and loyal subjects. We can say that "At their most ambitious as in Prussia under the Elector Frederick the First and then Frederick the Great, schools were conceived as a means of reconstituting labour discipline and social control among youth, peasants and industrial workers, where traditional forms of social authority had declined. Andy Green refers to James Van Horn Melton Who says that the "efflorescence of state sponsored Peitist education in Prussia in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century can be seen as a response to the weakening of traditional forms of control and the onset of proto-industrial production in the countryside. With the breakdown of the traditional apprenticeship in the towns, and the proliferation in rural areas of absentee landlords, the masterless, landless poor and the proto-industrial labourer, traditional social bonds has been significantly weakened. The peitist education revival was supported by the state as a useful instrument for regenerating social authority, uniquely adapted, so the mid-century cameralist argued, for creating the kind of voluntary submission and self -discipline which was needed for the new industrial workers and the peasantry as they were granted more independence."(Andy Green used the quote in his work Education, Globalization and the Nation State)

It will be a mistake to assume that Prussian and German pioneering in nineteenth century education as something imposed from the top. According to Peter H.Lindert (Growing Public vol 1, page 115), examination of the historical record reveals that German educational leadership was built from the bottom up. Its three main origins lay according to Peter H. Lindert in First the strong latent local demand for educations of the late eighteenth century, second the key liberal opportunity created by Napoleon's victories over the German states, and third the decentralization nature of German government when it came to education.

However history of schooling in Prussia (though it seems that the General Civil Code of 1794 began the nationalization of the school, a process in which the state removed the church from the province of the school and possessed school exclusively as a tool to fulfil its political and social purposes) is characterized by collaboration between the state and the

church until the end of the monarchy in 1918. In fact the concept of school as a state institution was not rigorously applied except in the eastern districts, where the government used the *school to Germanize the Polish population*.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Germany was made up of roughly 1,800 more or less autonomous political units. In the large German states of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the absolutist monarchs and their well-established bureaucracies contributed to the erosion of corporate and feudal structures. The aim was “internal state building”: insurance of state power against outside competitors and autonomous groups within.

Confessional schools remained the predominant form of elementary education for Catholics and Protestants in the Prussian state throughout the nineteenth century despite the changes that came in the wake of national unification, industrialization, and urbanization. Neither the secular school nor the inter-confessional school providing a common educational experience for all children without distinction as to church affiliation ever took hold. The inter-confessional school in which the Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant religions were taught to the pupils of each faith in separate classes as one subject in an otherwise religiously neutral curriculum, was the pedagogic ideal of a large number of school teachers in Prussia, looking at it as a means of diminishing church influence in the schools as well as promoting tolerance and social harmony in a confessionally segmented nation. However school law enacted in 1906 these confessional schools were looked at as the exception to the rule. We see putting up of a legal seal on prevailing practice of having children and teachers of one and the same faith in a school. Confessional school survived the revolution of 1918 and the efforts of the Socialists to abolish the instruction of religion in the school.

In the Weimar Republic the social democrats did not succeed in establishing a secular school system for the entire nation. Even German Democrats who made inter-confessional school the only legally valid norm.

The school choice at the beginning of the twentieth century

In Germany public schooling had come increasingly under the control of state authorities. The Weimar constitution's general direction for school policy declared that states were to exercise supervision over schools. School attendance by students up to the age of eighteen was to be compulsory.

In case of supervision there was a difference as long as a private school tended to supplement public school, it had to remain under existing regulations of the Land, however if it wanted to substitute for the public system, it had to take state authorization and this was to be only granted as long as these schools compared favourably with public school curricula, equipment and the academic training of their teachers and as long as they don't differentiate on the basis of economic background of the students.

The rise of modern educational system with reference to industrialisation

When we look at the growth of public education with either the nation-state or the region as the unit of analysis, the role of industrialization as a causal factor appears slenderous. There has been long standing mismatch in the industrial age between what skill required on the job and what is learned in school. Moreover in the long nineteenth century rates of industrial and

educational growth do not correspond. Britain was the first society to industrialize yet universal primary education was not the norm until last third of the century. On the other hand Prussia, a largely agrarian society was pioneer for her extensive system of primary schools. Jim Carl says that “Industrialization breathed life into patterns of schooling that had already been set in the emerging market societies, and only in limited instances –the founding of engineering schools, say, or the existence of short lived factory schools- did schooling mirror industrialization exactly”. (Industrialisation and public education: social cohesion and social stratification, Jim Car in International handbook of comparative education page-504).

Most of the early findings focussed on the fact that education developed to promote national unity. However Peter Lindert looks at it from the perspective of democratisation. He considers education as a form of social spending, and he explores the relationship of social spending and economic growth. According to him mass schooling corresponds especially to expansions of male suffrage and, in its initial phase of growth, to local control. In the northern United States popular education developed rapidly and early because of well-established voting rights and local flexibility. Lindert, by following the same perspective for Germany says that decentralized educational control enabled Germany to behave “like a set of local democracies when it came to primary education” (page no 510).

Various school reforms beyond the elementary level had closer industrial applications, in that what was studied had as much importance to technical, commercial, and managerial work as the educational credentials. In part-time continuation schools for the male graduates of the Volksschule, for example, much of the curriculum centered on vocational training for future workers in agriculture, industry, and commerce, (quoted in Carl *et al*).

Robert Locke has argued that high rates economic development in Germany toward the end of the nineteenth century were due in large measure to the quantity and quality of training offered at the German technical institute. These were not only larger and practical oriented but also scientific. However the usefulness of particular curricula for particular technical or practical job is really questionable. Fritz Ringer problematizes certain findings of him, for example he says that “Locke simply says that the German technical institutes, and they alone offered the right sort of education in the right quantity for optimal economic growth. But how does he know that? Could he specify the needs of industry with comparable exactitude even for today? Were there enough places in industry even for the engineers and technicians that France did produce? Might Germany not have drawn more economic benefit from its highly developed system of primary and post primary schooling, or from a surviving apprenticeship system of primary and post-primary schooling or from a surviving apprenticeship system and an emerging vocational school programme, than from its universities and technical institutes? More than that, the current assumption is that academic general form of higher education is much more necessary than having people with special technical qualifications.

Contemporary debates about these policies are geared towards not only for economic benefits but also and “even primarily at a certain structure of social roles and ranks in which those

with 'applied or merely practical or technical schooling typically ranked very low indeed'.

They seek to look at the educational transformations of later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries primarily in terms of their *social effects* rather than primarily in terms of their economic causes. It's been assumed that the enlargement of access to secondary schools and university level institutions that began in the late nineteenth century was a process of 'democratisation'. However recent research is questioning that whether increased enrolments resulted in a significantly more equal distribution of relative educational opportunities.

Ringer says that "the resulting relative gains achieved by the working classes long remained virtually insignificant, and even the advances made by the lower middle classes were neither great nor easy to access in view of rapidly changing socio-occupational categories and of the growing complexity and hierarchical differentiation of educational institutions. In becoming more widely available, moreover, educational qualification tended to lose some of their value in the 'job market'. The old assumption that educational expansion has meant 'democratisation' in the sense of increased individual *socio-occupational mobility* has thus lost most of its credibility.

The work of Detlef Muller suggests that the Prussian Gymnasium of the early nineteenth century enrolled a good number of students who did not prepare for university entry, but left school after a few years to pursue a variety of non-graduate occupational paths. The Gymnasium thus functioned almost as a common school, with a socially diverse pattern which had an equally diverse 'output' of academically oriented graduates and non-academically oriented early leavers. In its setting this pattern was at least democratic to the extent that students from financially weak backgrounds might be encouraged by academic success and by the encouragement of teachers to alter their perspectives from those of early leavers to those of graduates and university entrants. Muller says that the more this happened, the greater the academically and socially conservative pressures became to transform the Gymnasium into a purely university- preparatory institution and in effect to channel potential early leavers away from the Gymnasium into the Realschulen, Realgymnasien and Oberrealschulen of the later nineteenth century. While these fully accredited institutions ultimately managed to send many of their graduates to the universities as well, they long in effect prevented their pupils from competing effectively for access to the universities and to the academic professions. The overall process was in this way one of exclusion not one of expansion and democratization.

Muller argues that "diverse collection of vaguely defined schools, was gradually transformed into a highly structured system of precisely delimited and functionally interrelated educational institutions in Prussia, and possibly elsewhere, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In a sense the Prussian educational system became more systematic: the boundaries between different types of secondary institutions were more sharply drawn; curricula and graduate qualifications were meticulously specified; and the functional relationships among the different parts of the total system were fully articulated. Partly the process was one of bureaucratic rationalisation. Government officials in pursuit of a rational division of labour, they fully specified institutional

roles. (Also it is worth noting that the process of systematization proceeded from the top of the academic hierarchy downwards. Thus in Prussia beginning in the early nineteenth century, Latin schools that met certain standards were officially designated Gymnasien, while the remaining schools fell into a category of institutions that were both incompletely accredited and incompletely defined. From 1860 on, the later so-called Realgymnasien began to take shape, while the even less favoured oberrealschulen did not emerge until 1878).

Modern phase

From 1918 to 1933 Germany was a liberal polity, the Weimar Republic; From 1933 to 1945 it was a totalitarian dictatorship, the Nazi Third Reich; from 1945 to 1949 with reduced frontiers, the country was administered as four zones of occupation; from 1949 to 1990 two Germanies existed: the 'western liberal FRG (Federal Republic of Germany) and the communist totalitarian GDR (German Democratic Republic); since 1990 those two entities have been united into an enlarged liberal FRG.

Nationalism and education

Andy Green says that after World Wars a new international order was established. There was a retreat of reactionary ethnic nationalism and we the restoration of the association of nationalism with the left. Education in the post-war era though continued to be associated with nation building and state formation but Andy Green says that education's " typical official modality stressed civic integration and cultural pluralism, rather than the cultural nationalism of the previous period, the national education system was no less associated with the process of national development than before; in fact this association had if anything been strengthened by its prevalent adoption in newly independent states."(Education globalisation and the nation states pg-272). Further he says that in older states education was used as an explicit agent of state formation.

In 1911 the Prussian Ministry of Education issued introductions for civics in the secondary schools, both classroom lessons and visits to public institutions and meetings. During the war the entire school system of Germany became one of the most active agents for the dissemination of patriotic propaganda.' Thomas Mann was able to write in 1918 that 'German humanity is fundamentally opposed to any politicisation, the German concept of education has no political element' (Derek Heater page no 175)

The Weimer Republic, also used schools to bolster nationalistic civic loyalty, even the constitution, a copy of which was given to every school-leaver, set down these provision. But a constitution does not help to this. Two threats to the republic- its attempted overthrow in 1920 (the Kapp Putsch) and the assassination of Foreign Minister led to the civics as an obligatory subject. The excerpts from history textbooks read like this.

"The history of the German people (including border and foreign Germans) organizes its material according to its different phases as a representation of the development of the political, social, economic and spiritual life of the German race". However both these attempts were hardly able to relate them to Weimer Republic. In 1927 a conscious effort was

made to render Constitution Day an occasion of great popular celebrations.

Nazi era

A particular kind of nature of nationalism can be seen by the end of First World War. Hobsbawm has characterized this period (1918-45) as the apogee of nationalism in its most reactionary racial and ethnocentric forms. The First World War and the wilsonian concept of self-determination did not work. Most of the new states which were built on the ruins of the old empires, like Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania, Turkey and Yugoslavia, were as multinational as the old 'prisons of nationalities' they replaced (Hobsbawm, p.133). Their national minorities were as oppressed in their new small states as they had been in the empires.

The principle of ethnic nationalism led to Nazi plans to expel Jews. Racism and ethnic nationalism found its way into the heart of education in a number of states during this period. Hitler used German schools to promote his Aryan supremacist doctrine and to fuel anti-Semitism.

In Nazi era three themes predominated in school curricula. These were: the importance of and pride in military strength; admiration of and reverence for the fuhrer; and the fundamental importance of 'race' as an explanatory factor in some subjects, notably biology and history and as a motive for feelings of superiority of the self and hatred of the threatening 'other'. For the secondary school, history, narrated to display the valiant deeds of the German race and the crucial role of the Nazi Party in bringing the story to a heroic climax.

Nazi era however is known for its Nazi Youth movement, and the significance of the Nazi Youth movement lies in its powerful reinforcement of the determination to indoctrinate and militarize the younger generation. Derek Heater believes that it is possible to interpret the Nazi programme of "an ardently nationalist –volkisch tone of education as lineally connected with nineteenth century advocates from Fichte onward. In addition, humiliation and injustice of Versailles treaty was widespread and very much kept alive through the lessons used in civics and history textbooks in the 1920's.

After world wars

Andy Green says that after world war two changes can be discerned in western state in the relation between education and state formation. Firstly he says "it was increasingly the case that where education was identified with the national interest....this was in terms of citizenship and national cohesion. Secondly in some of the older nation states, there was a sense in which education was no longer part of the cultural process. He says in the USA, Germany, Canada and the Netherlands, each with strong minority communities, governments found themselves equally confused about what kinds of citizens their schools were meant to produce.

German education after 1945

Plans for the post war 'educational reconstruction' of Germany were started during the war; and at the Potsdam conference of the Allied powers agreeing on two things: First denazification required dismissal of all the teachers tainted with allegiance to the Nazi party, Second to destroy ideologically biased textbooks. However these allied powers accepted the traditional German view of state supervision over the public school system. They thought that it will help in the

complete eradication of any and all traces of Nazism and militarism.

The first to act on this programme of re-education were the soviets who through their military administration in soviet zone of occupation they authorized a compulsory eight year common school (Grundschule) for all children, to be followed by further schooling in a compulsory three year vocational school (Berufsschule) or a four year high school (Oberschule). The law did away with the traditional German bifurcation of schooling at the age of nine or ten. Herbst says (p 122) a student's admission to the Oberschule at age fourteen would depend primarily on his or her working class background, membership in communist youth organizations, and nonparticipation in church activities.

A school reform in May 1946 eliminated the three part secondary education system inherited from Weimar Republic which separated students into vocational, managerial, and academic tracks. Further reforms in 1958 and 1959 established 10 years of compulsory education in the polytechnic school, which all peoples attended, following a uniform curriculum, free of materialistic, racist, religious, or imperialist teachings. Pupils in grades 7 through 10 worked a few hours each week to become accustomed to industrial production and to develop solidarity with the working class. These changes should be seen in the context of coming of the Federal Republic of Germany.

In favour of Working class

Through the 1950s and early 1960s, East German educators furthered their effort to utilize education to overturn social class. Achievements of the peasants and working class were highlighted in history, literature, and the social sciences. Children whose parents belonged to the worker and peasant classes received preference in admission to higher education. Some offspring of white-collar professionals, the landed aristocracy, enemies of the socialist state, and some adherents of organized religion were sent to apprenticeships and factories. Arbeiter- und Bauern Fakultaten in existence from 1946 to 1962, were offered for workers, former soldiers, and returning political prisoners. About 25 percent of all university students entered higher education through this path.

After a period of time the process of social and political selection was accomplished through polytechnic schools and the Freie Deutsche Jugend present in every educational institution; the Arbeiter- und Bauern Fakultaten were discontinued.

During the 1950s and 1960s, the Federal Republic of Germany also introduced a number of reforms to broaden access to its educational system. The number of intermediate schools for training managers, civil servants, and white-collar employees increased. New Fachschulen were introduced and the number of college-preparatory secondary schools in rural areas increased.

In 1992-1993 the West German multi-track system of schooling was introduced into the new federal states to replace the 10 year, homogeneous polytechnic school. West Germany's states established the Standing Conference of ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs in 1948. The five new East German states became members in 1990. This body leads to greater standardization of schools and the mutual recognition of certificates awarded by vocational schools and comprehensive schools, and it lays down uniform

requirements for the Abitur, the entrance examination for university admission.

Germany's political parties champion significantly different educational policies. The Christian democrats and their Bavarian allies, the Christian socialist Union, held power from 1982 to 1998 under the leadership of Helmut Kohl. These parties argue that early and clearly delineated separation into the three track (Hauptschule, Realschule, and Gymnasium) is necessary to maintain educational quality.

Recently we see that private schools have been growing but they are subject to supervision by the state agencies. They are prohibited to segregating the children from richer families. Generally they are seen as innovative and less rigid in structure. They must be recognized by the state to administer examinations or to award certificates. These state approved schools can draw as much as 98 percent of their budgets from public funding as lessening the burden of government.

At the age of six, children begin Grundschule (elementary school) which lasts for six years in Berlin and Brandenburg and for four years in the other federal states. Since 1973 schools in some western states have included a two year Orientierungsstufe (orientation phase) at the end of fourth grade; Parents and teachers meet and begin a process of consultation and advising through which the child's future is determined with a final decision made at the end of sixth grade. The social democratic party champions the orientation phase which is opposed by Christian democrats. Thus this two year adjustment and advisement period is offered in some federal states (such as Hesse, Lower Saxony, Hamburg, and Bremen) but not others, depending in political party dominance.

Some of the state's require a certain grade point average, particularly in German and math, for entrance into the college preparatory secondary school, the Gymnasium; other use admission tests. Despite of all this all base their decisions on teachers' recommendations as well as parents' wishes.

After completing the Grundschule, about one fourth of pupils enter the Hauptschule secondary general school). After unification the new East German states did not introduce the Hauptschule, preferring instead to combine the general and intermediate secondary schools as an alternative to the Gymnasium. Some of these schools combining the Hauptschule and Realschule also exist in Bremen, Hamburg, Hesse, Lower Saxony, and Schleswig-Holstein and are known by various names. In most German states, the Hauptschule encompasses grades five through nine (and seven through nine where orientation was followed).

The proportion of peoples going to Hauptschule has declined throughout past year. It is because parents push their children into the more prestigious and academic oriented Realschule

and Gymnasium. Successful graduates after begin vocational apprenticeships in one of country's recognized. Even those who complete Realschule and Abitur. In 2001 they were of equal number of beginning apprentices as Hauptschule making competition tough.

Germany's vocational training system is capable of producing skilled craftsmen through the "dual system" of education, whereby Hands on practical training is supplemented by theoretical instruction in the Berufsschule (vocational school), where young people learn theoretical material two or three days a week while simultaneously specializing in one or more areas: industry, commerce, agriculture, home economics etc. The examination at the end of vocational school is administered by employers and trainers as well as teachers and includes an oral examination. Apprenticeship last for two to three years.

About 40 percent of pupils finishing the four or six year elementary school enter the Realschule, which covers grades 5 through 10 and is structured to educate mod-level administrators, functionaries, employees in service or commercial sectors, and managers. The Realschule is viewed as a middle class institution, providing a strong guiding in mathematics, modern languages and technical fields. Beginning in grades seven and eight, pupils may be separated into pre-vocational tracks. This track emphasizing business and economics, enrolls about two-thirds of the girls in these schools, while the mathematics, science, and technology track enrolls half the boys. The social science and humanities tracks attract about twice as many girls as boys. Graduates of the Realschule may attend a Berufsfachschule (full time vocational school) or a Fachoberschule (vocationally oriented upper secondary school). These train students for careers in nursing, bookkeeping, social work, forestry, commerce, the technical trades, tourism, social welfare, dental technology. The course lasting for three years.

About one-fourth of Germany's pupils completing elementary school enter the Gymnasium. These schools are divided into a lower level, grades 5 through 10, and an upper level, grades 11 through 12 or 13, in which students concentrates on fewer subjects. Most require basic or core course: German, math, civics, sciences, physical education, religion, the arts and music, English and one other foreign language.

Herbst has who has studied school choice and school governance has indicated that there are now indications that the social and ethnic divisiveness inherent in the three-pronged school structure effects the overall productivity of the German school system as measured in the outcomes of the OECD PISA tests of the year 2000. (I have taken this from Herbst, pg. 139)

Table 1: Socioeconomic Composition of Students in German Schools in 2000

School Type	Highest International Socioeconomic Index	Share of Working-class Families (%)	Share of Migration Families (%)	Mid-Level Reading Competence
Hauptschule	41.4	62.9	40.0	397
Realschule	48.3	42.5	20.3	500
Gymnasium	57.9	21.7	13.7	581

Source: Based on Table 9.12 in Jürgen Baumert *et al.*, eds., PISA 2000: Basiskompetenzen von Schülerinnen und Schülern im internationalen Vergleich (Opladen: Leske und Budrich, 2001), p. 462

These tests show an unexpected shock to the German public and opened a new debate about the status of its education. The PISA report states that: "it cannot be overlooked that 50 percent of the 15-year old students in the Gymnasia come from families of the upper civil service class and that, as one moves downwards the social class scale, that percentage decreases to 10 for families of un and semi-skilled workers. Correspondingly, in the Hauptschule the percentage increases from roughly 10 for children from the upper civil service class families to about 40 of those who come from families of unskilled workers" (Quoted by Herbst pg. 140).

In the year 2000 the social class status of students attending German schools still correspond roughly to the type of schools they attended. Same can be said for the ethnic or national backgrounds of students. Nearly 50 percent of the children from families in which both parents were born outside of Germany attended the Hauptschule or a vocational school, while only 15 percent of this group studied in Gymnasium. While in the case of parents being German 25 percent attended the Hauptschule or vocational school but 32 percent the Gymnasium.

To sum up we can say that it is not only industrialization but the effect that it had on the society shaped the debates on education and the final outcome was always got effected by the fact which party is ruling and what agenda is it serving. In medieval society we may see domination of religion, while in the beginning of nationalism state control and citizenship education became the primary effort. In all these process intellectual debate and role of society played a vital role. Industrialization and its linkage with the schooling systems are yet problematic as it is not making the country economically advanced than other countries rather it seems to help the process of differentiation in the society. We have seen the effect of Nazi era had to be eradicated with the help of European countries, yet with regard to minorities no special attention is paid.

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