

6. Learning from History

It can be argued that we might get some guidance for predicting the outcomes of higher education reforms in Germany from a view beyond goals and strategies.

We can learn from the past history of reforms in education. By this I mean we should know the history of the educational institutions of the country under study. That includes both the history of the different sectors of a country's educational system, and the history of the interaction among the different sectors.

In the case of Germany, analysts of higher education need to be knowledgeable at least about the secondary system and the advanced vocational schools. Both are the feeder schools for the university. Secondly, they should know about the history of the relationships among the federal government, the eleven states and the university. Policy analysts are trained in organizational theory which tells us that organizations are inert. The larger the institution the longer it takes to change it. Thus, the analysts can turn to historians of education as a source of advice.

For example, Fritz Ringer, an historian and sociologist of education writes in Education and Society in Modern Europe (1979)³¹:

"The time has come to move beyond monographic studies of individual institutions. For educational systems are true systems. Their parts are inter-linked. No history of the German technical institutes can neglect the non-classical secondary schools. ... Faced with the apparent disappearance of certain curricula or groups of pupils after some new piece of legislation, the careful historian is bound to rediscover them under another name or in a neighboring compartment within a nearby unchanged overall structure."

Whenever he talks about the "history" or the "historian" we can substitute analysis or policy analyst.

In the case of the German *Gesamthochschule* we find an educational reform, just prior to the GHS, with a very similar fate: the reform of the *Gesamtschule* (comprehensive high school, in the following referred to as GS). It took place at the secondary level. The reform goals were very similar to those of the GHS, except designed for one level lower in the educational system: to bring together and to associate hitherto separate types of the German secondary educational level. (Gymnasium, Realschule and Hauptschule) The objectives led to two models of *Gesamtschulen*: the cooperative and

the integrated comprehensive GS. The GS reform practically mirrors the GHS reform in its underlying motivations and visible outcomes. We can describe the results as follows: now, the GS is accepted as a separate type of secondary school. It has ceased to be considered the model for all German secondary schools. It is the far-reaching concept which has been more successfully implemented.

We find GS in SPD/FDP governed states. The integration of teachers from the different types of schools into one staff body was unsuccessful (different salaries). A higher percentage of working class children attend the GS as compared to the same level at the *Gymnasium*. The employers treat GS-graduates like *Realschul*-graduates and not like pupils with 5 years of *Gymnasium*.

It seems obvious that conclusions can be drawn from the *Gesamtschul*-experience for the outcomes of the *Gesamthochschul*-Reform.

In the recent German history of higher education we have another example of the relationship between the federal government and the states, the states among each other, and the states and the university: the concept of a federally initiated, centralized, distance study (*Fernstudium im Medienverbund*). Between 1967 and 1973 members of the University Association for Distance Study and representatives from the state governments designed a higher education reform for distance study. Its motivation was to bring about reform of the university curriculum, to improve the capacity and performance of higher education, and to open the university to formerly excluded groups of society. This plan failed to reach consensus among the 11 states, and was heavily boycotted by the universities which feared the lowering of academic standards and an increase in federal control over higher education. Today, the only visible evidence of the reform is the University of Distance Study in Hagen, Nordrhein Westfalen (*Fernuniversität*).

Policy analysts in Germany asked to design a better GHS implementation might be more successful in taking what can be learned just from the two historical examples within the German education system than from a focus on the tight scope of goals and the matching strategies. It seems worthwhile to enlarge the vision and to widen the time perspective when we want to use implementation analysis for predictive and prescriptive purposes.

One final reflection about the origin of the implementation analysis.

The different implementation models are developed in the US by policy analysts. (Wildavsky founded the School of Public Policy at the University of California, Berkeley, where Bardach is on the faculty and where Berman and Elmore taught as visiting professors.) This newly established professional school socializes its students to intervene as outside experts in any kind of organizational political problem. They are called in by decision-makers for a limited time. Being an outsider, always short of time, and pressed for demonstrable success, they rely on standard informants, easily collected data, and short-time assumption. They work ahistorical because they have to prove that their work makes a difference. This development might explain in some way why the implementation analysis focuses narrowly only on one sector of a system and on a relatively short time span. And being so "objective", the policy analysts devise a method which has no taxonomy, no hierarchy of goals.

In borrowing this method, Cerych treated the different goals of the GHS as if they were all equal. For example, the difficult task of providing a link between science and practical experience is evaluated on the same level as the GHS goal providing more effective student counseling and guidance. Or, the interregional equalization of education, the increase of working class students, another goal of the GHS, is treated as if it were equal to the more efficient use of higher education facilities. It is a travesty to treat all educational goals as equal.

NOTES

1. Cerych, L., Neusel, A., Teichler, U., and Winkler, H. (1981).
Gesamthochschule - Erfahrungen, Hemmnisse, Zielwandel. Frankfurt
2. Cerych, L., Neusel, A., Teichler, U., and Winkler, H. (1981).
The German Gesamthochschule. Amsterdam
3. Ibidem, p. 6
4. Krüger, and Wallisch-Prinz (1974).
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p. 177.
5. Denison, E. (1962).
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6. Schulz, T. (1962)
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8. Political Parties in Germany:
The major political parties in the Federal Republic of Germany use initials as abbreviations in the following way:
CDU: Christian Democratic Union
CSU: Christian Social Union
FDP: Free Democratic Party
SPD: Social Democratic Party
The CSU is a Bavarian party that in effect represents the CDU in Bavaria; therefore the CDU/CSU are for practical purposes considered regular partners.
9. Cerych, et. al. (1981).
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10. Mayntz, R. (1980).
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Implementation Politischer Programme. Königstein, p.1.
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Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 94, No. 4, pp. 601-616.
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19. Berman, P. (1978).
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20. Elmore, R. (1980), op. cit., p. 604.
21. Browning, R., Marshall, D., and Tabb, D. (1978).
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Pressman, Wildavsky (1979).
Implementation, p. 181.
24. Ibidem, p. 189.
25. Mayntz, R. (1977).
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zu einem neuen Forschungsgebiet," Die Verwaltung, Vol. 10, No. 1,
Berlin
26. Mayntz, R. (ed.) (1980).
Implementation Politischer Programme, Königstein
27. Ibidem, p. 5

28. On intervention strategy: input, output and process controlling strategies see also:
Benveniste, G. (1980).
"Implementation and Intervention Strategies: The Case of PL 94-142,"
Stanford-Berkeley Seminar on Law, Governance and Education.
29. Sabatier spent his sabbatical in Europe (Bielefeld) and worked with the project.
30. Cerych, et. al. (1981). Amsterdam, pp. 58.
31. Ringer, F. (1979).
Education and Society in Modern Europe. Indiana. p. 1.

APPENDIX

Figure 1:

The Structure of the Educational System in the Federal Republic of Germany (as of 1981)

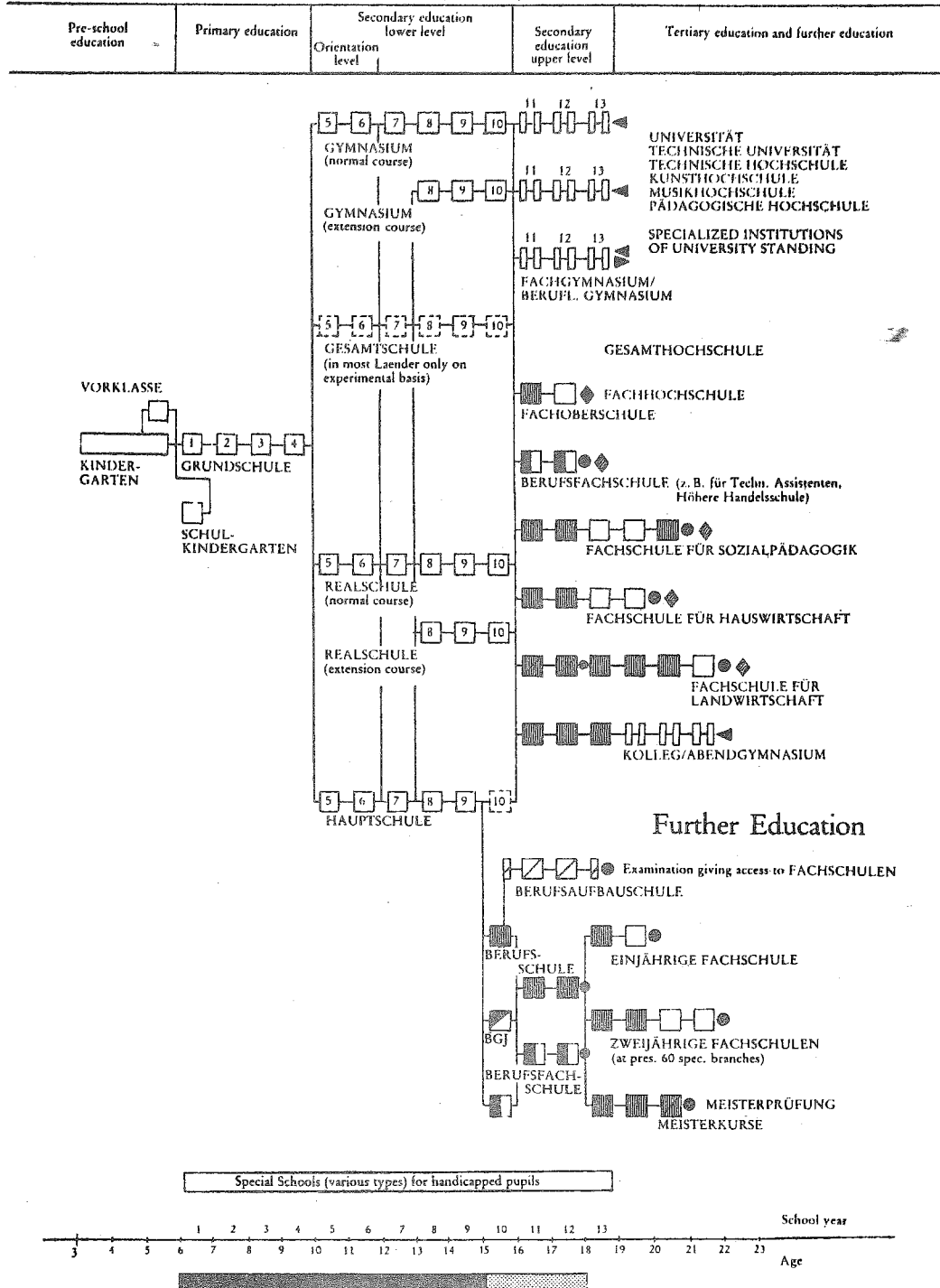


Figure 2: German Institutions of Higher Education

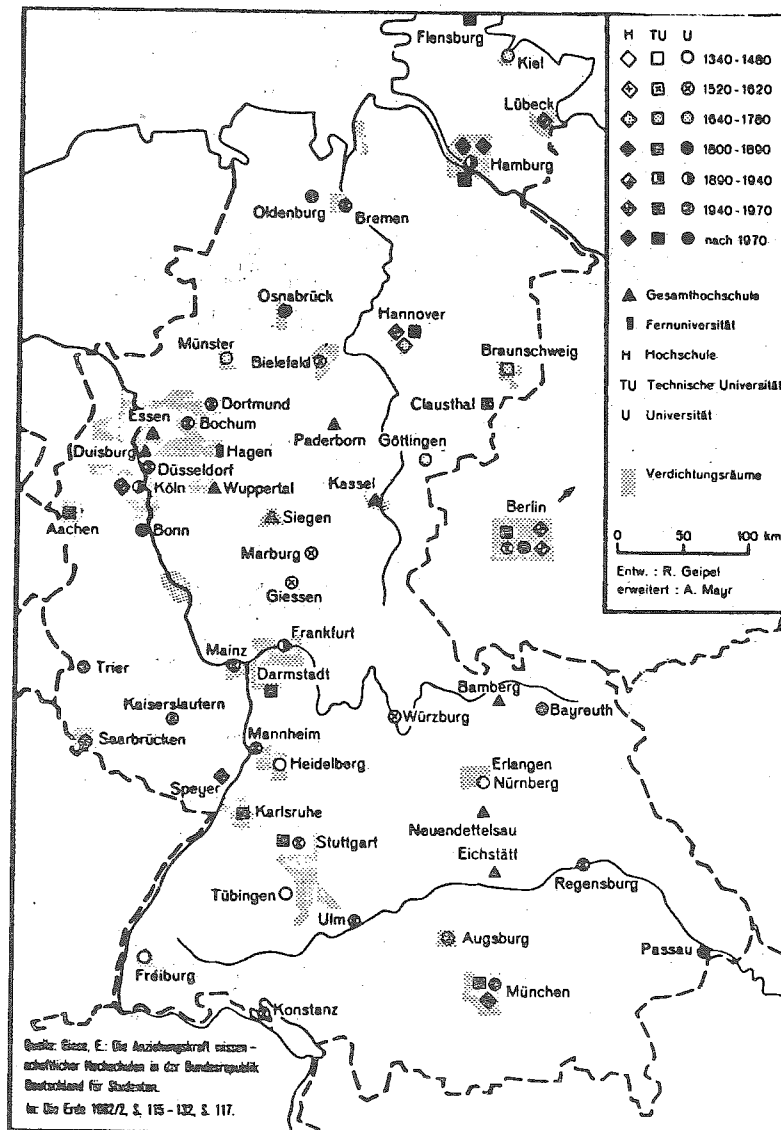


Figure 3:

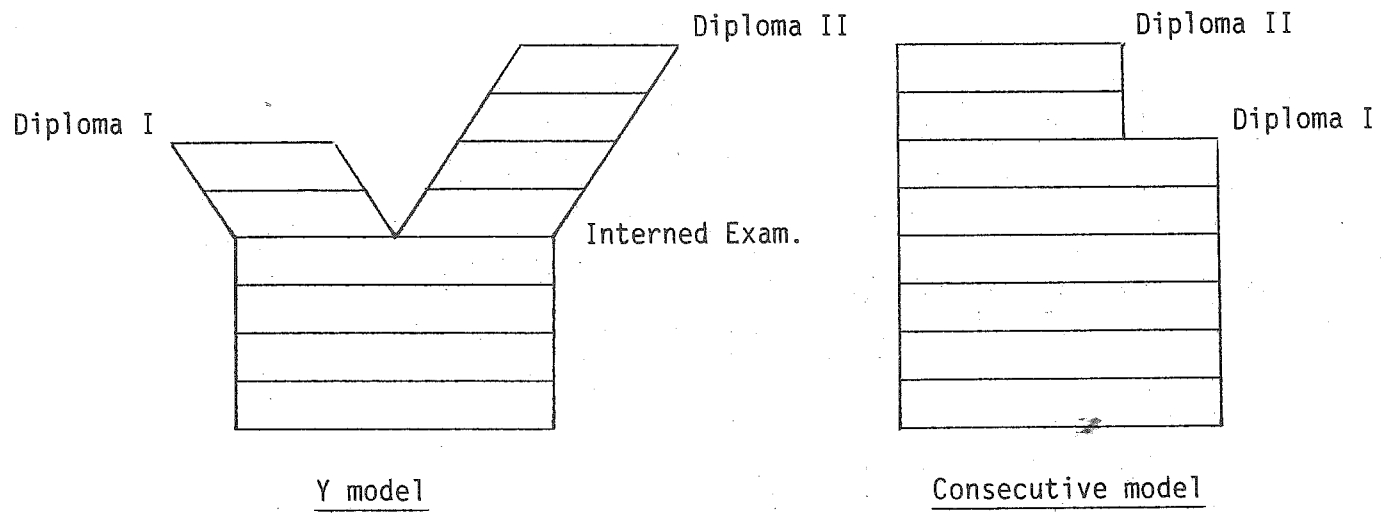


Table 1: German Institutions of Higher Education, 1950 - 1980

Higher Education Institutes	1950	1960	1970	1975	1977	1980*
Universities	31	33	40	49	50	54
Comprehensive Universities	--	--	--	11	11	6**
Teachers Colleges	78	77	32	33	31	13
Fine-Art Colleges	18	25	27	26	26	26
Technical Colleges	--	--	98	136	136	95
TOTAL	143	152	211	266	265	229

Source: Peisert, H. and Framhein, G. Das Hochschulsystem in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Stuttgart, 1979, p. 21.

*Source: Der Bundesminister für Bildung und Wissenschaft (1981). Studenten an Hochschulen 1975-1980. Bonn

**Excluding the Bavarian cooperative GHS.

Table 2: Students at German Higher Education Institutions by Types of Institutions and by Disciplines, 1977/78 (Per 1,000 students)

Disciplines	Universities, Teachers Colleges, Fine-Arts Colleges				GHS		FH		Total	
	thou.	%	thou.	%	thou.	%	thou.	%	thou.	%
Philology, cul- tural sciences, sport	240,0	34.8	14,5	25.8	2,3	1.4	257,6	28.2		
Economics, soc- ial sciences	143,0	20.7	15,5	27.6	57,8	34.9	216,3	23.7		
Math, natural sciences	127,9	18.5	7,2	12.8	2,9	1.8	138,0	15.1		
Engineering	68,8	9.9	14,0	24.9	87,7	53.0	170,5	18.7		
Medicine, dental medicine, veter- inary medicine	64,5	9.3	1,3	2.3	--	--	65,8	7.2		
Agronomy	16,3	2.4	0,9	1.6	6,0	3.6	23,2	2.5		
Art	30,3	4.4	2,8	5.0	8,7	5.3	41,9	4.6		
TOTAL	691,8	100.0	56,2	100.0	165,4	100.0	913,3	100.0		

Source: Bundesminister für Bildung und Wissenschaft. Grund- und Strukturdaten 1978.
Bonn, 1978, p. 111.

Table 3: Distribution of Students (in %) in GHS by Type of Courses and Institutions (78/79)

GHS	Integrated courses	Teacher training	Short courses	University courses
NRW	34.9	32.8	21.4	10.9
NRW ¹	37.9	35.0	20.6	6.5
Essen	28.3	28.1	23.0	20.6
Kassel ²	38.4	32.2	18.4	11.0 ³

Notes: 1) All GHS of NRW except Essen.

2) 1979/80.

3) Fine-Arts (7.3%) and miscellaneous.

Source: Der Minister für Wissenschaft und Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen. Handbuch Hochschulen in Nordrhein-Westfalen. Düsseldorf, 1979. and, GHS Kassel. Bericht des Präsidenten. Kassel, 1980.

Table 4: Students from Working Class Background at German Higher Education Institutions, Winter 1973/74

Universities	10%
Teachers Colleges	12 %
Gesamthochschulen	18 %
Technical Colleges	24 %

Source: Infratest. Hochschulbarometer, Befragung von Studierenden Wintersemester 1973/74, Zusammenfassung wichtiger Ergebnisse. München, 1974, p. 36.

Table 5: Social Origin of Students at the GHS Kassel and the University of Göttingen

Occupation of Father	Students GHS Kassel (WS 77/78)	Students University Göttingen (SS 77)
Independent farmer	10.5%	7.1%
Unskilled, semiskilled worker	9.1%	3.3%
Skilled worker	14.3%	9.8%
Employee in technical field (engineer, etc.)	20.4%	14.1%
Administrative staff in civil service	14.4%	15.9%
High civil service	15.3%	26.3%
Independent academic	2.3%	7.8%
Independent businessman	12.3%	14.1%
No profession/other	1.5%	1.6%

Source: Studentenwerk Kassel: Die soziale Lage der Studenten an der Gesamthochschule Kassel, WS 77/78. Kassel, 1978, S. 118.

Table 6: Expenditure on Higher Education (in millions of DM)

	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
NRW	3,900	4,100	4,500	4,800	4,800	5,500	5,600
GHS of NRW	511	528	642	675	674	727	780
Hessen	1,139	1,168	1,374	1,424	1,479	1,534	1,627
GHS Kassel	40	59	59	61	75	83	90

Source: Data supplied by Wissenschaftliches Zentrum für Berufs- und Hochschulforschung
an der Gesamthochschule Kassel.

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