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WORKER EDUCATION IN GERMANY

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by Robert E. Belding



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by Robert E. Belding

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FOREWORD

With the end of World War II and the advent of a variety of economic recovery programs, it became apparent to scholars and practitioners alike that the quality of the labor force, both here and abroad, was a vital, although often overlooked, factor in industrial recovery and growth. As a result of this awareness, there has been a development of interest and concern in the area of comparative education. Of particular interest has been the growing body of literature dealing with various aspects of comparative training and retraining programs within business and industry and related government-sponsored activities.

While much remains to be done, fortunately there are comparative educators like Professor Robert E. Belding of The University of Iowa's College of Education who not only are analyzing the educational issues and practices of European countries, but also are suggesting lessons that can be drawn from them for our country's use.

The Center for Labor and Management is, therefore, pleased to reprint the following three articles written by Professor Belding on Worker Education in Germany. In order of presentation, they are:

"The Formal Training of Leaders For German Trade Unions," *Labor Education Viewpoints*, Spring, 1965.

"Perennial Model Revisited," *Journal of Secondary Education*, March, 1965.

"Germany's Parallel Concepts of Manual Training and Our Reactions," *Adult Leadership*, March, 1970.

My colleagues and I are indebted to Professor Belding and the publishers for their permission to reprint these articles.

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THE FORMAL TRAINING OF LEADERS FOR GERMAN TRADE UNIONS

From the viewpoint of many citizens, both American and German, trade union movements have evolved from outlawry to respectability. But during the developmental years there have been marked differences in the two countries. For example, while our own trade unions had their problems and upsets during the Second World War, the German equivalents, through a dozen years of Nazi regime, were obliterated, with their leaders systematically either killed or incarcerated. All organizations likely to provide education for the working classes were destroyed. When the German trade union movement was able to shake off the dust of dictatorship and war, it suffered from an obvious shortage of people with the experience and knowledge required to meet the challenge and responsibility of rebuilding its shattered organizations. Thus the schooling of new union leaders was one of the urgent needs of Germany's postwar economy.

There is little question but what the unions of the Federal Republic took immediate action to establish a sound leadership. The vigor and originality of the new program might well contain lessons for our own unions whose leadership still stings from court battles and near slander in the press. What lessons, for example, might be built into their formalized education in their trade union colleges? How has respectability been inherent and maintained within the reestablished movement in Germany? How has their crash program been so effective in training a fresh corps of responsible union leaders? To what degree has the effectiveness of the training effort been due to all-union cooperation? These are but a few of the more superficial questions which an inspection of this postwar institution in Germany might help answer.

The new DGB (Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund)—the federated unions—rose energetically to the challenge of training leaders. With sound German efficiency, six leader-trainer colleges were created within half-a-dozen years after the war. These were founded in appropriate industrial centers of the Federal Republic. Each placed emphasis on excellence of equipment and facilities. Subsequently a score or more residential colleges have been founded by many of the sixteen industrial unions which formed the union federation, and still more of the residential-type institutions are planned.

Inevitably the new building and equipment as well as the hiring of appropriate staffs have cornered an impressive proportion of the total revenue of the federation.

Who Attends?

Regional and local union committees select students for the DGB colleges. Candidates usually would be expected to have been union members for at least two years and to have held an office for one of those years before being eligible for nomination; but in the immediate postwar pressures to create a core of trained leaders, these regulations have often been waived. In addition to receiving a salary meant to compensate for their immediate loss of wages, the unions pay tuition, travel, and all living expenses for each candidate.

A report of the DGB progress, recently presented to the union federation's Congress, contains some interesting figures which indicate the type of institutions established as well as the kind of students they attract. Seventy per cent of the students have been under forty years of age. Within the first few years after the war, as many as three out of four of the students had had only an elementary school education, yet virtually all students had participated in some form of adult education before entering the trade-union college.

Before the war a number of unions required leaders to have been members in good standing for twenty-five years before they could assume leadership posts, but this rule was realistically suspended as qualification for entrance at the newly created colleges. In the mid-1950s almost 20 per cent of the students had held no leadership post, and less than 4 per cent of them were full-time officials.

Of the five thousand students who have passed through the established colleges each year, almost half have registered for the basic courses; others have enrolled in higher-level, specialized leadership courses, often under their own union's sponsorship. As many as 15 per cent of the students have been women.

What's Offered?

The Federated Union colleges were established to provide for the basic training of younger trade unionists who were expected, at a later stage, to occupy some of the leading positions in the movement at local, *land* (state), or national levels. Courses were, and still are, designed to provide a general introduction to problems common to most trade unions. Specifically these problems have fallen into the general categories of economic policy, industrial management, labor legislation, and welfare benefits. Intensive courses have placed more emphasis on training than on education, and

these would include classes for women trade unionists, for branch secretaries, and for youth-group leadership.

Colleges got under way by offering short-term courses of only one or two weeks in length. A few lasted for three weeks, and still fewer for a month. This was found to be inadequate, for subjects were not treated in sufficient depth to be of practical value and hardly conformed to the standard tradition of German thoroughness. For this reason, and because instructors could not properly assess individual students during such abbreviated courses, the tendency has been to extend their length. This has raised some difficulties in recruiting the most qualified students, for during participation family responsibilities are unavoidably neglected and compensation reduced.

Under usual circumstances the DGB college head is the only full-time staff member, and few of these have assistants. Teaching is done by part-time tutors who are occasionally assembled for conferences to appraise their training efforts and to be updated on developments as well as on teaching problems.

By no means is leadership training of union members confined to the DGB colleges which fall under all-union sponsorship. Individual unions carry on their own internal training, and certain industrial cities even support their own "social academies," institutions devoted to developing social attitudes as well as individual personalities. A conservative estimate of total participants in residential courses runs close to ten thousand a year. Evening courses with union sponsorship or assistance contain well over a hundred thousand students. Some of these are for shop stewards and for trade union representatives on labor exchanges. Others sit on social insurance tribunals and appropriately handle problems peculiar to their own unions.

Influences From Abroad

Partly through the influence of both American and British visiting lecturers and teams, the DGB colleges have been broadening their offering beyond mere training of participants in particular functions. Thus, while a decade ago Social Policy, Economics, and Labor Legislation took up as much as 80 per cent of the curriculum, this training of functionaries has moved over to accommodate political education courses prudently considered essential to the maintenance of an effective German democracy. No longer does one hear in the classroom of the DGB colleges that there are distinctions between trade union and political education; rather it is more common to hear that trade union education serves the purpose of preservation of the democratic way of life. If it is possible to identify political education *per se*, it would seem to be assisting the worker to discover his place in society and to understand his rights and duties.

It is not being overly optimistic to speculate that there is present evidence that the education of union leaders along these lines is helping raise the entire tone of public life by assisting in the development of those decent political manners without which no democracy can exist.

Thus, the colleges are not what they were when established almost two decades ago. Rather they have moved on to a curriculum which must broaden views as much as it strengthens judgment. In the maturing process the federation's colleges have increased the number of full-time lecturers, yet shaken down the number of students to a manageable body, capable of making the best use of available facilities.

Enough Lessons for Export

As was indicated earlier, the devotion with which German trade unions have cooperated to build up their impressive colleges holds lessons for the American labor movement. However, lessons as well as transport flow in both directions across the Atlantic, and those responsible for German trade union membership as well as its leader training might well look further into American experiences in this field. In a country such as Germany, where huge segments of the population from the middle classes downward have little political consciousness, the potential for political education of union membership is as open as it is intriguing. So many times and ways it has been said before, but it bears shouting to echo across the ocean: without the intelligent and active cooperation of unions, the political institutions of a free society have not the vigor to survive.

Special appreciation is expressed by the author for information provided by correspondence for the body of this article by the Headquarters Office of the Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund in Bonn. In addition, portions of the material have been derived from F. V. Pickstock's article, "Teaching Methods in Trade Union Education in Germany," *Rewley House Papers*, 3: 37-42, #6, 1957-58 (Oxford University Delegacy for Extra-Mural Studies) as well as from Alice Cook's *Adult Education in Citizenship in Postwar Germany* (White Plains, N.Y.: Fund for Adult Education, 1954.)

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PERENNIAL MODEL REVISITED

Germany for years has served as a prototype for the vocational education of adolescents. Although the French are quick to point out that they developed the theory of vocational education (1, p. 214), it is the Germans who legislated and implemented postschool vocational training for all youths not involved in college-preparatory courses.

Under Germany's traditional ladder system, all children attended a common elementary school for four years. From there on, schooling divided into two distinctly separate programs, with those of academic talent heading into some form of Gymnasium, but with the remaining 90 per cent continuing for four years in an upper elementary school. Youths had finished this advanced elementary sequence at fourteen years of age, and would then leave full-time schooling to enter an apprenticeship. However, employers and parents, who often apprenticed their own children, were required to release these young people one or two days a week for attendance at a continuation school (Berufsschule), offering courses on vocational theory, and more recently with a complement of social studies courses designed to help them become better citizens in the new German democracy.

Although much has been reported in our own past literature on these German continuation schools, they still warrant our scrutiny, for while the Gymnasium and the universities remain sadly tradition bound, it is this populous channel of German education which has proven most versatile in adjusting to modern demands of a fast-moving industrial enterprise.

A brief picture of the development of the Berufsschule is essential to an understanding of its present merits. In the early part of this century Georg Kerchensteiner had established in the city of Munich an exemplary system of activity schools which was intended to "liberate the potential creative energy" of each youth. Fifty separate trades were taught in his smooth-running complex of city schools, and the stated purpose of the system was to guide each child into useful citizenship through knowledge in the appropriate lifework.

Kerchensteiner was sensitive to the role each vocation played in serving society, and felt that through a broad vocational training each person would contribute his share in helping society in the direction of a more perfect community. Take, for example, his one-day-a-week school for barbers. In addition to the rudiments of surgery and aspects of the business not taught

under the apprenticeship program, such common subjects as religion, German composition, bookkeeping, and civics were taught as pertinent extensions to elementary schooling.

During the early 1900s, Edwin Cooley in our Midwest, and Professor Paul Hanus, on the Atlantic coast, did much to correlate the Kerschensteiner vocational system with our own schools. The combination of wars and recognition that a separate secondary system for the vocationally oriented ran in opposition to the American high school principle has diminished the popularity of the German model for vocational education. (2, p. 119)

Yet thanks is due Kerschensteiner for the impetus given our own vocational education endeavor. New York's Department of Labor, the National Education Association, the newly created Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education, and the Smith-Hughes Act all followed study of, and interest in, the successful German effort.

Precisely where the part-time school stands today can be indicated by a review of some objectives and trends which have been noted since the Second World War. Objectives which followed the Potsdam Agreement, and which were reiterated by the military governments in power, included a guaranteed continuation of high standards in technical skills which had characterized the earlier schools, with the addition of a broadened and deepened civil and cultural growth of youths attending these postprimary schools. Together occupying powers and German educators were thus determined to assure that The Fatherland not only possessed an adequate supply of skilled producers, but that each would be a well-rounded and informed citizen of his community as well as of his country.

One recent move which has mainly helped to sort potential apprentices and Berufsschule attenders into the exact school which best suits particular aptitudes is the added year of elementary school which has become a common feature of each state. Vocational guidance is emphasized in this ninth Volksschule year, and students there take field trips and become acquainted with industrial opportunities so they won't be thrown, unprepared, onto the bewildering labor market. Under such a plan not only is each student more mature at the point when he enters an apprenticeship, but there exists for the first time today a liaison between teachers and industry or business beyond schooling.

The school under observation is a free, continuation-type institution, location mainly in towns and cities rather than in rural areas. Americans might say they are not sufficiently consolidated for efficiency, for they have not been established between villages in rural areas, nor have the many varieties of vocations represented been incorporated under a single school roof. These are locally supported, both by taxes and by contributions from

industries as well as unions. A few larger business establishments even support their own private vocational schools. Whatever the sponsorship, every Berufsschule is subject to state supervision and is obliged to follow the officially established curriculum.

Most immediately in control over the schools of one area is the School Advisory Council (Schulbeirat), a regulating body of individuals appointed under a prescribed formula. One may return to Munich, the place which gave birth to the vocational school complex, for a fairly representative model of what this Advisory Council is intended to be. That city's Council comprises a deputy (Landrat) who represents the government, three delegates of local employers selected by the chamber of commerce, two parental representatives, two student appointees, and one teacher.

All in all, it would appear to be a democratically appointed group, charged with the responsibility of formulating policies, suggesting and judging the effectiveness of the programs in eight Berufsschulen. It should be noted that under such a plan the Council possesses no legal or pedagogical authority. (5, p. 56)

Germany, in 1919, made attendance at a vocational school compulsory for all workers. Although it was the first country to inscribe such legislation in its constitution, it took years for the law to become effective in all areas.

Every Land or state in Germany today provides a part-time education for apprentices between fifteen and eighteen years of age. Each is required to offer between four and ten hours a week of vocational-cultural studies, and on the employer's time. Schools are not exclusively for apprentices, but are required to contain all young men and women who have no other educational facilities available, including those who work at home or who may be unemployed. A practical examination, devised by each school's governing board, terminates attendance for all scholar-apprentices.

These common features among schools of all the eleven states do not mean that a central control for vocational education has been established. In fact, the Potsdam Agreement demands that each state administer its educational program and that there be no central ministry in Bonn. (6, p. 28)

With more pride in state than in nation as a heritage of the people, it might be asked how states seem to agree in the basic offerings and purpose of continuation education.

There is a Permanent Conference of (state) Ministers of Education (Standige Konferenz der Kultusminister) which meets regularly to try to equalize education in the different states, while at the same time circumventing any efforts to make the system centralized in control. Before the Conference became active, each state was regulating its own educational show so thoroughly that, in an otherwise mobile society, transfer of students or teachers between states was thoroughly discouraged. For example,

with Munich as its capital, Bavaria was requiring four years of well-proven education bound into its apprenticeships, whereas the contiguous state of Wurttemberg was demanding only two years. Because of progressive ideas and flourishing economies of city states, in general they have required more years of compulsory education, and a more demanding education, than did some less progressive states. The Permanent Conference has done much to bring these facilities and demands in line with each other. (8, p. 25)

Recent International Yearbooks of Education have reflected changes brought about through the conscientious efforts of the Ministers' Conference. For example, in 1959 the group approved the addition of one semester to the school course for surveyors. (7, 1959, p. 200) As early as 1956 the Yearbook (p. 172) reported that new, specialized vocational schools, as well as new subjects, were being added as the bursting economy and automation shifted demands. Clerical training schools offering modern languages would be but one example of a new form of offering. The Conference of Ministers took the responsibility of standardizing these courses among cities and states, with the express purpose of facilitating occupational mobility.

A more perennial influence of the Conference has been expressed in its encouragement to balance the Berufsschule offerings with social studies and humanities which would form better-rounded citizens. Inasmuch as the continuation school hours are already jammed with essentials to the vocation, the Conference has spent its effort on increasing the number of hours or days each week in school attendance.

Agricultural, commercial, and industrial academies form the rough classification of school types. Agricultural institutions, which include fishery, mining, and forestry schools, are the most versatile in adjusting to seasonal demands, for their courses are stepped up in winter when the apprenticeship portion of activity has been slowed, and the schools virtually close down during the productive portion of the year. Whatever the adjustment to the calendar, total annual schooling must add up to more than 230 hours. Although the national average for school hours per week would be less than five, the agricultural schools demand well over five hours of classroom work per week. (13, p. 575)

Mining schools are unique in that students start attendance only after a half-year of underground apprenticeship. Some of their part-time schooling may be scheduled for evenings or even weekends, and the total class hours per week for this species of agricultural school has been established at seven.

While all agricultural schools are run under a flexible calendar schedule, the commercial and industrial schools are marked by their own flexibility in meeting the shifting demands of urban economy. Modern commercial

schools running on part-time schedules provide special courses in such areas as home economics (food and provisions, draperies and textiles), financial (banking, insurance, and bookkeeping), and hardware (porcelain and cutlery). Representative of the industrial offering would be special extraapprentice work for butchers, machinists, barbers, cabinet makers, and printers.

Earlier it was mentioned that since the reestablishment of the Berufsschule in the late forties, there has been an awareness that responsible citizenship involved more than specialized, vocational competence. Although continuation schools have always been accountable for broadening their youthful charges, social studies, humanities, and subjects useful to all citizens have been particularly emphasized since the war. In fact, Allied authorities required that the ideals of democracy were to be taught. (4, p. 44) Thus, whatever the school type or the specialty assigned to it, every institution teaches such subjects as personal and occupational hygiene, economic and industrial history, and something about operation of local, state, and national government. Students also have some voice in the operation of their school plant through student government, and thus may gain experience in social, political, and administrative involvements.

A sample of the three-year sequence followed in one community's industrial Berufsschule will help to bring out the balanced aspect of today's continuation school. In each of the three years a student undergoes one hour a week of religious instruction, with equal time devoted to civics, the native language, and economics. During the first two years, students all take two hours a week of theory in their vocational specialty, and in the final year when approaching full membership in their vocation, a half hour per week is added to this subject.

Each student is initiated with one hour per week in highly specialized and pertinent accounting, and a half hour per week is added as he progresses through the two upper years. To make way for such increments, a subject such as geometry starts with one hour in the first half, is abbreviated to half an hour in the second year, and is dropped as a required subject in the third year. A combination of technical and free-hand drawing is taken for two hours a week throughout the three years. The total number of hours per week spent under cover in such an industrial continuation school is limited to ten in each of the three years.

Nearly fifty years have passed since our state and federal governments and interested professional organizations took action to create workable forms of vocational education in America. In this time of renewed concern for vocational training of youths, are there lessons from the continued success of the German Berufsschule pattern? Our early school leavers, our unemployed youths, and those who have attended high schools with ineffective

vocational offerings could benefit from a restudy of Germany's venerated program. A penetrating answer to further questions might help to ascertain just what help might come from the German plan.

Can the German successes in part-time vocational education be put to action without adopting the German system of separating the vocational trainees from the "academically talented" youths?

America has gone farther than Germany both in automating jobs and in removing small crafts and industries from the home. Does the German apprenticeship on top of full-time schooling apply to a country whose economy is depersonalized en masse?

We also have separate states which support their own educational systems. Although there is more cooperation and less jealousy between our United States and the Lander of Germany, there might well be room for a permanent interstate planning council for vocational education. Its aim would be to facilitate mobility, or even cooperatively to reduce population movement for vocational purposes.

Might juvenile restlessness and delinquency be reduced by continuing youths in part-time schooling in citizenship, with a realistic sample of student government as a part of the academic responsibility? (Stateside studies show that early school leavers and those joining the work force following high school are not inclined to be the ones who have been elected into high school offices of responsibility.)

Would there be merit in the creation of boards for regulating local vocational offerings—boards with a balanced representation from municipal government, from industries and businesses and unions and students as well as parents?

Just as Germany has imaginatively adjusted its vocational education program to the times, we must be equal in our creative imagination and adaptability in visualizing how such a venerated mid-European model can fit our own economy as well as our very own brand of democracy.

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GERMANY'S PARALLEL CONCEPTS OF MANUAL TRAINING AND OUR REACTIONS

Our Borrowing Habit

In the early days of our century we were still importing generously from the Germans their successes in school operations. From their kindergarten to university research, from elementary curriculum to normal schools, and from philosophy to the psychology of school implementations we had transferred and planted on American soil an endless variety of educational ideas.

"Continuation school" became an often heard couplet here, and manual training gained popularity, culminating in recognition by our federal government in the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917. This fulfillment of an enduring American dream ordered establishment of a Federal Board for Vocational Education consisting of three national cabinet secretaries, the commissioner of education, and three others appointed by the President of the United States.¹ As an administering body, it would distribute funds to states and establish programs of studies and reports. States were required to create their own vocational boards designed to blueprint programs for public schools below college level, and with the stated goal of fitting students for useful employment.

It is beyond the purpose of this article to indicate how efficiently the states moved to become eligible for the benefits of this act. Needless to say, it has served our nation as an invaluable complement to our effort to educate all youths to fullest capacity and within the peculiar talents of each. The purpose here is to review the development of alternate manual training ideas, both based in Germany, and which served as major foundations for our ultimate Smith-Hughes Act.

Two cities of Germany had tried separate manual training ideas during the decades that bridged the centuries. One of these was to remain in Germany to complement a vital program already under way; the other was to be transshipped to America, to be tried for size in our schools, and later to help bring on our high school vocational legislation. In hand is a mild who-done-it in the form of a side-by-side comparison of the two manual

¹ Layton S. Hawkins, Charles A. Prosser and John C. Wright, *Development of Vocational Education* (Chicago: American Technological Society, 1951). Provisions of the Act are reviewed on pages 597-604.

training concepts as they were planted and tested in German soil. It will become apparent which idea of the two seemed better suited to our peculiar needs.

Almost without exception German educational innovations which found most attraction for us were from the progressive, industrialized, and Protestant North—from such cities as Wittenberg and Berlin, Dessau and Halle and Leipzig. The last of these cities had provided laboratories from which our psychology was to become scientific, as well as other aspects of graduate-level research.

The Saxon Innovation

It was in that Saxon city of Leipzig, in the closing years of the 1800s, that Waldemar Goetz was to devise a novel manifestation of manual training.² He had received a private education, but as an active teacher he had become sensitive to the lack of vocational concern in the elementary schools where instruction seemed leveled mainly at the handful of boys who might survive long enough to attend the university.

In his eagerness to introduce manual training for all children of elementary school age, Goetz was bent on complementing, rather than upsetting, the well-established classroom program. German children had traditionally been dismissed from school at noon, so he planned to offer his manual training during after-school hours. Almost without exception elementary teachers were men, so he initiated his program by having the male teachers of the lower grades trained in an additional subject—manual training. Originally they taught boys in the third year of schooling and in extracurricular sessions.

Some theory was first introduced in lecture classes, then the boys moved into medium-sized shops to turn out functional pieces of wood or metal. Also cardboard was used as an appropriate regional medium, and book-binding became a skill tailored to the local printing centers of the Leipzig area. In fact, some of these children's products were to prove so useful that they seemed to threaten the well embedded apprenticeship programs as well as the established crafts of Saxony.

German education has frequently been criticized, especially by Americans, for its early and severe specialization. In harmony with such concentration, the Leipzig Method of apprenticeship taught children to shape a single item well, to the point that proficiencies developed were hardly transferable to the fashioning even of quite similar items. Thus not only

² The main body of material on Waldemar Goetz and what became known as his "Leipzig Method" has been drawn from Charles A. Bennett, "The Development of Manual Training in Germany," chapter V in *History of Manual and Industrial Education, 1870-1917* (Peoria, Illinois: The Manual Arts Press, 1937), pp. 170-180.

might a skill in bookbinding, for example, be applicable to that particular craft alone, but it might even prove to be useful only within the city of Leipzig.

Goetz insisted that in his manual training shops a spirit of *laissez faire* should prevail, yet special projects were devised for the talented boys, or they were asked to assist and monitor the slower youths. Thus there was some adjustment to individual talents and motivations.

As might be expected Goetz' innovations³ provoked unfavorable reactions from traditionalists. Yet he had laid the groundwork for a program which was to spread, especially through the initiative of his immediate successor, Alwin Pabst, who carried on the work of Goetz in the Leipzig schools.⁴ Starting in 1899, he added definition to his master's plan, then helped spread it to embrace home economics for the other sex, to other grades of the primary school, and to other cities so that eventually it was to become an accepted part of the common-school education of many German communities.

The Southern Experience

Shortly after the Leipzig experiment got under way, Dr. Georg Kerschensteiner of Bavaria was appointed superintendent of schools for the municipality of Munich. Though he held a degree in electricity, he was an all-round scholar, bent on acquiring a background of study and understanding of whatever his assignment might be. Thus his initial efforts as administrator in Munich were related to what he already knew best—the elementary school.⁵

In appraising the situation in Munich by actually seeing secondary school classes in action, he was struck by the lack of character development in the schools and by the complete insulation of secondary scholars from manual tasks. Because of his position in the community he was able to sell parents, local manufacturers, and school personnel on the introduction of a core of manually related subjects around which the more traditional curriculum

³ References to the tradition-bound nature of German education are abundant and sempiternal. For a recent reiteration of this reluctance to change the educational establishment, see Saul B. Robinsohn and J. Casper Kuhlmann, "Two Decades of Non-Reform in West German Education," *Comparative Education Review*, XI No. 3 (October 1967), p. 311.

⁴ Charles A. Bennett, *op cit.*, p. 179.

⁵ Diane Simons, *Georg Kerschensteiner; His Thought and His Relevance Today* (London: Methuen and Company, 1966), pp. 14, 16+. Much of the remainder of the report on Kerschensteiner is derived from this recent book as well as from Emil E. Toews, *The Life and Professional Works of Georg Michael Kerschensteiner, 1854-1932* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1955), pp. 154-162. An invaluable primary source was found in Georg Kerschensteiner, *Selbstregierung der Schuler* (Vienna: Deutscher Verlag für Jugend und Volk, 1925), pp. 3-17.

would revolve. Unlike the Leipzig plan, the manual training would be included in the regular school day. Basically he felt student character could be enhanced by exposure to what the common man would be doing for a livelihood.

He supported a different device to minimize disturbance to the program; he first tried out his plan with girls only, and in their eighth school year. Later, as in the case of the mid-Prussian city, he included both sexes and at different class levels. Teachers were drawn from the industries, and the school superintendent insisted that they undergo a teacher-training program, complete with apprentice teaching experience and examinations, before they were accredited to instruct their secondary-school charges.

The northern experience obviously had little impact on Kerschensteiner's program. From the start the latter was less specific and specialized as it developed the undefinable quality of "character." Thus there was study of the general theory of shop practice, then students entered the attached museum to study the qualities of materials with which they would be working. For example, cabinets were on display to show the types and grains of wood, the differences between soft and hard, and how these materials were seasoned and treated before they entered the school shop. Finally the students were assigned their own school benches and tools in a central shop. Their end products were more ornamental than directly functional. With such a general, character-building background their skills were more easily transferable to making other products than was true in the Leipzig undertaking; furthermore, students were less open to accusations of competition from local artisans.

Our Selection and Adoption

In the early years of the twentieth century we looked to Germany for a form of manual training suited to our needs. Despite our previous reliance on progressive ideas flowing from central and northern German states, we inspected and imported the "Munich Method." In fact there has been considerable reference to Georg Kerschensteiner in our own history of education; only rarely have the Saxon names of Pabst and Goetz been recognized in our education texts.

Why did we turn to the South of Germany for this idea? Thanks to Pestalozzi and certain Prussian followers of his ideas, we already had incorporated vocational concepts in our elementary schools, and our high schools now stood ready to incorporate manual training under their all-embracing roof. Partly because of the more advanced level of the high school, we saw fit to hire specialists rather than to supplement the training of the elementary teacher who was already overburdened with too many subjects to teach.

We were prepared, better than Germany had been, to employ specialists in manual training for our high schools, for the provisions of the Morrill Act had given us a supply of trained men and women for vocational subjects. In no way would the subject derange the already entrenched course for preparing students for college, since the expansion of the high school was already in full bloom and more colorful courses were being added daily. Thus we assumed the Bavarian cloak of functional education and have equated Georg Kerschensteiner with our own manual training achievements.

How did the Bavarian import come to our shores? Kerschensteiner gained international recognition in 1900 through his prize essay "The Education of German Youths in Citizenship."⁶ Consequently three Americans were to visit Munich schools to observe his program and to talk with the promoter of the idea of placing manual training at the core of a dynamic institution which would turn out citizens of character.

These men backed the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education and its effort to prod Congress into vocational legislation. In 1910 Georg Kerschensteiner toured certain American cities and spoke before the National Society. The Bavarian's views were aired generously before Congress until the Smith-Hughes legislation was finally passed in 1917.

Although we have not looked to Germany recently for further educational lessons, in this day of concern for the proper, specialized education of all youths we might well return to study the German pattern of manual training, keeping in mind that the training programs as developed in Germany will not work, unchanged, in our environment.⁷ They would need careful study and evaluation in light of our unique situation as we stand in need of relating to our present-day society and its economy.

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⁶ Melvin L. Barlow, "Industrial Education in Other Nations," chapter XVI in *History of Industrial Education in the United States* (Peoria, Illinois: Charles A. Bennett, 1967), pp. 455-6.

⁷ Workable suggestions for this are presented by Francis Keppel in his "Vocational Education: A Program for Tomorrow," *American Vocational Journal*, XXXIX (February 1964), pp. 115-118.