Educational facilities and the community: Federal Republic of Germany - West Berlin

by Margrit and Declan Kennedy

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This article was abstracted from a report on research work which the authors carried out under a contract with UNESCO. UNESCO is presently engaged in a research study on the subject of "Educational Facilities and the Community." An important stage of the study is the collection of information and ideas on the subject from different parts of the world. Researchers from various countries have collaborated with UNESCO in this initial stage. The next stage of the study is devoted to the synthesis of the collected material and to the development of general principles for a methodological approach to the subject. UNESCO will publish the results of the study. The report that the authors submitted to UNESCO is part of the initial stage and it is not yet published. Their views expressed in this article do not necessarily represent those of UNESCO.

West Germany has lived through a decade of basic educational reforms which have resulted in one or several large, new, educational complexes in almost every city or large rural settlement. These complexes have been built according to new educational and technical standards, differing radically from those of the traditional German school. One important aspect in many of these is a new awareness of the needs of the surrounding community.

A recent recommendation of the German Council of Cities to the Conference of Cultural Ministers of the Federal States,[1] and studies by the states of North Rhine-Westphalia,[2] West Berlin,[3] and Hamburg,[4] indicate that the concept of multiuse of educational facilities (and the school as community resource) is rapidly being accepted. This applies not only to newly built educational facilities, as in the case of Hamburg and West Berlin, but also to total existing educational systems, as in the case of Essen.[5]

West Berlin will have built thirteen new middle school and community centers for 1,200 students each by 1975, all to a standard design. One or two of these centers will be located in every district of the city and feature similar community uses.

Hamburg has built two large experimental school centers in new satellite towns — Steilshoop and Mümmelmannsberg. They serve middle and high school populations of 2,400 to 3,000 students each and have extensive community facilities.

COMMUNITY SCALE	i	ii	iii	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
EKISTIC UNITS	ANTHROPOS	ROOM	HOUSE	HOUSE GROUP	SMALL NEIGHBORHOOD	NEIGHBORHOOD	SMALL POLIS	POLIS	SMALL METROPOLIS	METROPOLIS	SMALL MEGALOPOLIS	MEGALOPOLIS	SMALL EPEROPOLIS	EPEROPOLIS	ECUMENOPOLIS
NATURE															
ANTHROPOS															
SOCIETY										●	●				
SHELLS											●				
NETWORKS															
SYNTHESIS: HUMAN SETTLEMENTS															

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Essen presents a special case as it is the first German city which has declared all its schools to be community schools.

Activities for multioption schools: The German Educational Council, the German Council of Cities, other institutions, societies, and committees who passed the "Golden Plan III"[6] and who accepted the recommendations for school buildings established by the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development),[7] published a list of activities which were seen by them as positive and possible extensions to the normal school accomodation programs, in order to integrate the community into the newly established school centers and multioption schools. These lists were similar and can be summarized in the following *list of rooms and spaces:*

- gymnasium and game rooms,
- indoor and outdoor swimming pools,
- sports fields for school, spare-time, and club use,
- play areas for children and adults,
- open space and parks,
- recreational centers for old people,
- libraries,
- theater,
- exhibition halls,
- community centers (group meeting rooms, lecture theaters, administrative offices),
- youth clubs,
- adult education facilities,
- professional, vocational, and educational advisory bureaus,
- professional and vocational further education and retraining programs,
- social help organizations,
- medical offices, medical counselling rooms,
- public workshops.

The "Function Triangle" (community center — multioption school — recreational and sports facilities) (fig. 1) concept was put forward as the core idea for deliberation of the location of all these facilities within the urban area.[8]

Community and school integration: The reasons for physically integrating the community with educational and other facilities are manifold:

- Educational entities have requirements similar to other urban infrastructural facilities: the different supporting facilities service a similar size of housing or catchment area, and should ideally be situated at the nodal point of the settlement or public transportation system — thus bringing the time/distance factor into consideration. In planning terms, large, isolated, monofunctional school sites are undesirable, especially at these nodal points, where land is expensive and
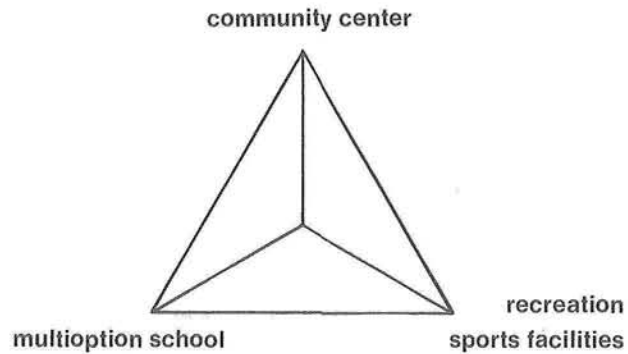

Fig. 1: The "function triangle"

islands for school uses only build barriers against the integration and overlap of other urban activities.

- A considerable savings in capital investment, running, and maintenance costs can be expected, through the material and ancillary cost sharing.
- Space allotment can be changed where sizes and areas are unpredictable beforehand.
- The community can intensify use in a particular facility, according to the demand and the diminishing attractiveness of already established facilities.
- The collaboration of many activities with similar cultural or social aims and content can be exercised as desired, without locational problems.

Decision-making levels

In West Germany — as one of the outcomes of the four power agreement after World War II — the educational and cultural autonomy lies with the states. However, the federal government is responsible for higher education and vocational training. It may also support experimental schools.

The power to make decisions regarding school sites, facilities, and capital investment planning is delegated to the local school administration. While maintenance costs are covered by local budget, teaching materials and personnel costs (for example, teachers, custodians, and so forth) are paid by the state.

Although in principle there is municipal autonomy, in practice it is being greatly weakened by state economic and social coordination. However, the region still has many tasks which can be summarized as follows:

- the integration of location and catchment area planning with concepts on central place formation and the formation of public utility districts or administrative districts;

- microlocational determination — the choice of sites for educational facilities within the given macrolocations, according to the goals of municipal development and urban design policies;
- the structure of educational units, especially in the areas of high school and further education, coordinated with the expected economic and social development of the region.

Most important, however, for the development of educational philosophy and practice is the fact that the state must also approve any educational experiment or change in curriculum, teaching method, or number of hours in basic fields of learning.

As a result, relatively homogeneous educational programs exist in comparison to vastly differing standards between states.

Whole-day vs half-day schools: Until the 1970s practically all German schools were "half-day" schools with the exception of a few private and a few full-day schools. This meant that, except for the most necessary classrooms and special rooms for biology, chemistry, sports, and so on, schools needed little additional provision for recreation, leisure, or extracurricular activities.

Through the addition of extracurricular activies in "whole-day" schools, new impulses have been given to other institutions to regard the school as a possible partner in "sharing the space and the action."

Shared facilities: Most German schools fit into the category of "schools which have extended their services to include elements of the non-school-age population"* because sports facilities are usually open to clubs, political parties, and other organizations for assemblies and conferences.

Regulations in the different German states are quite different: for example, in North Rhine-Westphalia multiuse of sports facilities is obligatory and financed out of the school budget, while in Saarland shared financing exists as a rule, and Bavaria has no regulations in this matter.

There is a growing demand for adult education which is institutionalized in the *Volkshochschule* (VHS). These often have their own buildings in central locations, but use school facilities to provide ongoing education in suburban areas.

Other uses in newer schools which provide special facilities are youth clubs (which include non-school-age population), public libraries, restaurants, cafeterias, and *Buergerhaeuse* (communal clubrooms and offices).

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* Definition given in the UNESCO outline of the research study.

Vocationally-oriented high schools: Schools which have reversed (or have had reversed) that pattern so that their internal activities or policies are to some extent influenced by elements of their environment"* refers to a new phenomenon in German secondary education: the vocationally-oriented high school.

The concept is the combination of vocational training with the high school certificate (*Abitur*). Several experimental and private schools have used it for years (for example, *Waldorfschulen*, Steiner Schools, Odenwaldschule, and others). At present most German states have appointed expert task forces to develop curricula and build programs for grades 11 through 13 which will allow students to prepare for university entrance, a trade, or a professional career. The cooperation or integration of these formerly separated school types hopefully will allow:

- greater chance of transferability and the development of individual talents and needs.
- greater chance for reality-oriented learning with programs that are closely tied to needs and opportunities in local and regional industries and job markets.

Using community resources: "Schools which are making use of community resources on a systematic basis to enrich their practice or curriculum," are more difficult to find. However, a growing need for paraprofessionals exists. Mothers and fathers from the community are increasingly in demand for supervisory functions in schools, particularly in full-day schools, which are usually understaffed during recreation and free hours. Programs for training paraprofessionals are being developed and many professional educators expect school life to change considerably under the influence of these newcomers.

The integrated school center Bremen-Ost uses recreation and cultural facilities in the city, such as theaters, museums, cinemas, and parks, as well as the harbor, and weekly and Christmas markets on a regular basis as a learning place for expanding spare time.

Specific tasks: "Schools which are engaged in programs of cooperation for a specific task with one particular aspect of their environment"* can be found in Osnabrück, where the municipally supported theater has taken an active role in sponsoring student produced plays and workshops with students.

Other noteworthy initiatives in this connection include the many courses for school children in museums and a recent recommendation of the German Science Foundation (DFG) advocating the participation of museum representatives in scientific, educational, and cultural planning.[9]

Total community integration: "Schools which are no longer schools"* in the accepted physical sense of the word do not exist in Germany, but some very few

Table 1
Multiuse facilities in new schools (West Germany)

Name of school	Number of students	Grade levels	G = Full day / H = Half day	Urban integration	Public library/media center	Sports facilities	Adult & ongoing education	Clubs	Restaurant Cafeteria	Counselling services	Recreation and other facilities
Gesamtschule Bremen-Ost 3 Bremen Walliserstr. 125	1,000 1,000	1 G	G H		X	X	X		X		pilot project "leisure and recreation" opens museums, harbor, market, etc. to school uses.
Gesamtschule Steilshoop 2 Hamburg 71 Gropiusring 43	2,400	1 2	G	X	X	X	X	X	X		parent school
Gesamtschule Mümmelmannsberg 2 Hamburg 74 Mümmelmannsberg 54	2,400 2,400	1 2	G							·	two pedestrian links through school, connecting shopping center, sports facilities, residential area, and kindergarten
Integreierte Gesamtschule Roderbruch 3 Hannover-Roderbruch (NS) Roderbruchweg	2,400	1 2	G				X				parent participation in recreation programs, TV productions for community channel
Integrierte Gesamtschule Garbsen 3011 Garbsen (NS) Meyenfeldenstr. 8-16	4,320	1 2	G								community recreation programs
Integriete Gesamtschule Pries-Friedrichsort 23 Kiel 17 (SH) Steenbarg 10	1,260	1	G		X	X	X				parent participation in school recreation programs
Gesamtschule Bremen-West 28 Bremen Lissaerstr. 7	1,840	1 2	G			X	X				parent participation in school recreation programs

Source: SBL Studie 33 "Schule und Freizeitbereich" 1975
Kennedy, Lüdtke, Opaschowski, Schmitz-Scherzer

of the new schools have achieved a certain degree of physical and social integration with their surroundings.

The two foremost examples can be found in Hamburg-Steilshoop and Mümmelmannsberg (table 1), both providing main pedestrian paths through the school and close connections with the local shopping centers as well as the public library and youth clubs.

General design principles

Central hub systems: The advantage of design around a central space lies in its easy supervision and orientation. Recognition of the whole school as an entity, however, is only possible in relatively small schools. Larger schools have large artificially lit areas; need air conditioning; and have problems if new parts are added or a phased implementation becomes necessary.

The open central hall may cause acoustical problems if used as an assembly hall or a lecture theater.

Central hub systems often lead to rather rigid symmetrical solutions, which can be alleviated if a split-level design principle is introduced. Another disadvantage of this type of school is that it offers few possibilities for an urban integration which may be critical to the "vibrations" between school and community, and to its "outreach image."

Linear systems: The advantages of a linear system fulfill most of the new demands which large school centers face and community schools demand:

- easy orientation access to all the different functions;
- functional interpretation in urban settings;
- flexibility in phasing, enlarging, and adding (micro- and macrogrowth).

Esthetic qualities, however, may be difficult to achieve. Often these buildings break off rather arbitrarily at the end, which may prevent their urban integration.

Similar to other types, nonspecialized instructional areas are clustered and often bring with them an undulating, interesting facade or atrium-type interior courtyards.

Angle systems: These systems, on the surface, resemble bent linear systems. Their main axis serves as "school street" and the building can be easily extended and enlarged. They offer:

- a special place for public and/or central uses such as forum, library, cafeteria, and so forth;
- they create negative space outside, which can be used for urban integration which would otherwise be impossible.

It is typical that one finds angle systems only in more recent school centers, where environmental criteria have gained more importance. The angle type has a "front" (the inside of the angle) which is useful for communal facilities, while the "back" (the outside of the angle) serves as department rooms and nonspecialized instructional clusters.

Network systems: Often these systems have interior courtyards and this allows only a limited number of stories. They emphasize adaptability, flexibility, and openness. The addition of new parts or demolition of old parts can be done easily without loss of coherence.

Two serious disadvantages are: the length of the circulation system; and the difficulty of providing orientation and differentiation.

West Berlin

In contrast to more decentralized educational planning systems, change in the German centralized system is slower, but if it is achieved it is usually visible on a large scale. One of the best examples of this phenomenon is the building of the thirteen West Berlin *Mittelstufenzentren* (abbreviated MSZ and translated "middle school centers"), each of which will provide educational facilities for 1,200 students as well as community facilities. These school centers will be completed in 1975.
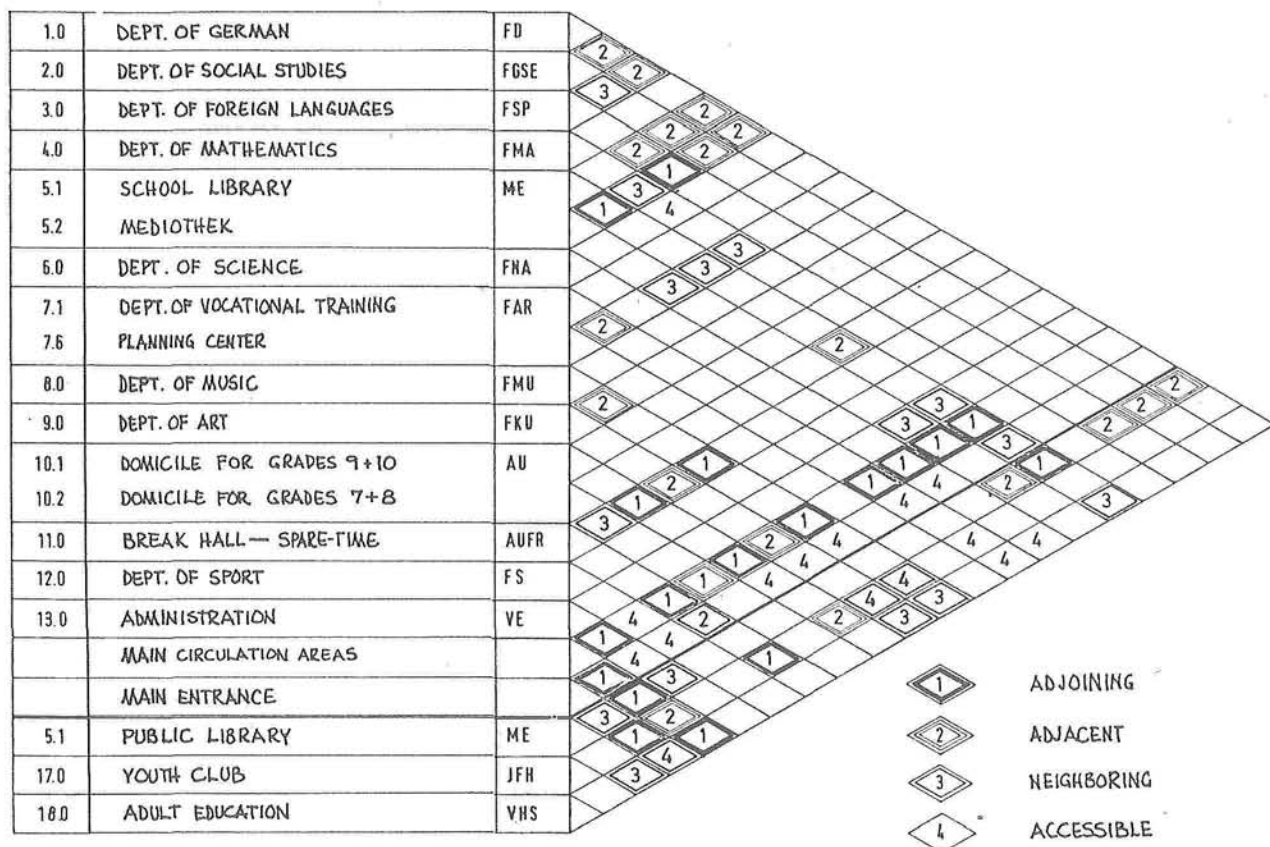

Fig. 2: Department proximity matrix

As in most other German states, the so-called "student-peak," a 50 percent increase in the number of school children populating the primary and middle schools from the late sixties into the late seventies, caused a very difficult situation in West Berlin. The question was whether it would be possible to provide a future-oriented solution to urgent educational problems and, at the same time, a sufficient quantity of schools in which the goals of basic educational reform could be implemented.

The possible solutions were to continue the traditional types of schools: *Hauptschule* "mainschool" (1st to 8th or 9th grade), *Realschule* "middle school" (5th to 10th grade), *Gymnasium* "high school" (5th to 13th grade), thus perpetuating the social stratification of the nineteenth century. The other was to favor the plan of the German Educational Council and integrate all three types of schools at middle school and high school levels.

According to the educational program guidelines of the Social Democratic Party, the Senate of Berlin decided to follow the second concept, and to integrate grades 7 through 10 in new middle school and community centers with public libraries, adult education, facilities for recreation and leisure, and sports and craft programs. Similarly grades 11 through 13 would then be integrated in new professionally-oriented high school centers, which would be closely related to industrial and commercial locations. They are planned to be finished by 1978 when the first year of middle school students will enter grade 11.

Program: Based on the principle of "subject-oriented classrooms," the program encompasses a middle school with ten parallel streams, 1,200 students, and an all-day usage.

Furthermore, it was necessary to establish which areas were immediately suitable for both purposes — school and general uses — and which areas would have to be added to achieve a community educational facility.

Location criteria: To determine the different locations, which had to be suitable for a similar program, a set of criteria was drawn up exemplifying the choice of location for these large-scale building complexes.

Design competition

From the design competition one solution was chosen, mainly because of its systematically arranged circulation spaces in a split-level, two- to three-story building which made the individual departments accessible to one another, allowing a maximum use of the available space.

Cost consideration led to a construction grid of 7.20 m (24 ft). Its multiplier defined the length and width of the building, and allowed the already defined finer grid to be incorporated.

Involvement of the community in the planning process

The ideas and expectations of the inhabitants of the thirteen communities (fig. 3, p. 366) were considered only to the extent that their elected representatives voiced them. The fact that there was no sizable movement among those affected to shape the centers according to their own needs certainly demonstrates a lack of direct involvement.

It seems as if most people were either in accordance with or not interested in the results of a large educational and community center in their neighborhood. The other possibility is that they saw no chance to articulate a different opinion which would be heard.

The first months of use have brought different experiences in each center. In some, everything seems to be operating successfully and community acceptance of the facility is overwhelming. In other cases, mostly in poorer areas, school and multiuse facilities have already been damaged beyond repair. Discotheques and youth clubs have been vandalized to the extent that they had to be closed for weeks. Large amounts of equipment have been stolen. As a result, restrictive measures were increased. School authorities and other agencies involved are struggling to clarify responsibilities for damage.

The Hamburg model: full-day schools and education centers

There are presently eight experimental, new, integrated middle and high schools in Hamburg but only two have specially designed buildings: Steilshoop and Mümmelmannsberg. Both of these names stand for the large development complexes or satellite towns originally designed for 24,000 people. These concrete landscapes, primarily public housing (which is also available to the middle class in Germany), came into existence very quickly, accompanied by a multitude of social problems. The educational problem was clearly visible: limited time and space for school rooms for the children of the newly arrived and mostly younger families. The decision of the Senate in Hamburg was not to separate the school system into primary, middle, and high schools, but to have one integrated school center for the entire development (table 2, p. 366).

As part of a comprehensive educational center which has been planned as a cultural focus for the entire community, it is unusual. Schooling is only one function that is housed in this center. Although the development is by no means finished, the community center already offers a number of activities to the residents. In Steilshoop the "Youth Club" opens in the morning hours and serves as a place for students to gather during the breakfast and noon breaks. They can drink soda, play table tennis, read newspapers,

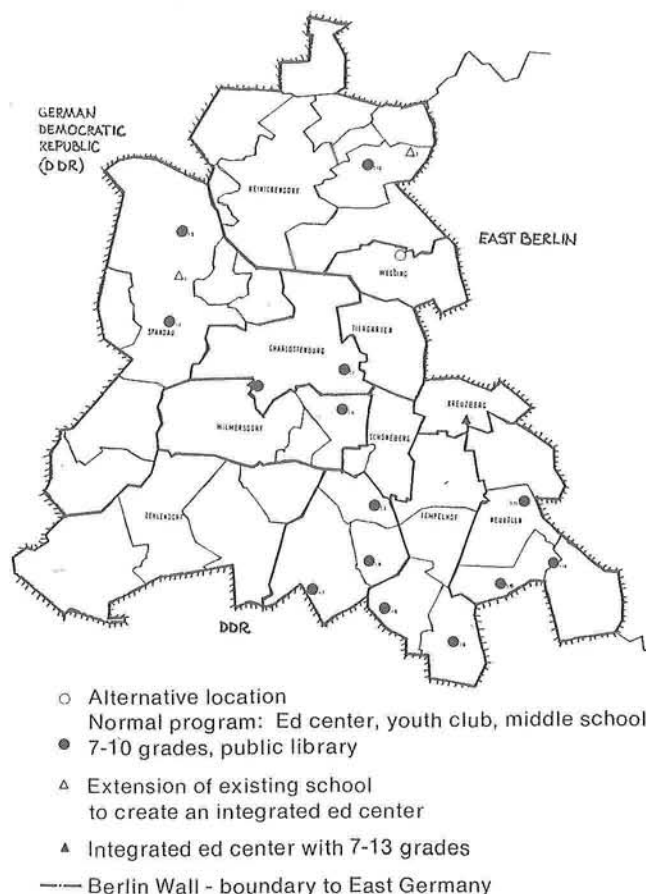**Fig. 3:** Location of integrated educational community centers in West Berlin

- o Alternative location
  Normal program: Ed center, youth club, middle school
- ● 7-10 grades, public library

- △ Extension of existing school
  to create an integrated ed center

- ▲ Integrated ed center with 7-13 grades

- —··— Berlin Wall - boundary to East Germany

Table 2
Steilshoop community and educational center

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210 - 240 teachers

  16 - 20   administrative and technical staff

2,400 students, aged 10 to 19

Grades 5 - 7	900 pupils in 9 parallel streams
Grades 8 - 10	900 pupils in 9 parallel streams
Grades 11 - 13	600 pupils in 9 parallel streams

School concept:
Integrated multioption community school at the middle and high school (Secondary I and II) levels — full-day school with five days per week.
Community activities include:

  Youth club,
  Educational counselling office,
  Day care center with parent education,
  Adult education,
  Half-day kindergarten,
  Public library,
  Youth music school, and
  the close cooperation with the other two 20 class primary schools within the satellite town.

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talk together, and smooch. The center can also be used during free school hours during the day.

During the afternoon the "Youth Club" is used primarily by the primary and middle school pupils for unstructured play. There are also courses available in judo, table tennis, and enamelling. In the evening until 10 pm it is used mostly by young people between the ages of fourteen and eighteen. There is a variety of communication possibilities in the form of eight clubs which range from "rhythm and dance" to an "auto repair workshop."

After 6 pm the community and educational center is used more by adults. Tenant meetings are held in the large assembly room and a band uses the sound studio. Many adults also take part in the numerous sports activities of the center. The library and the parent school have just been opened and there is an adult education program in the evenings.

The most important argument for the community center is the possible savings through multifunctional facilities.

- ● Optimal public and cultural services at reasonable cost for the population can be provided;

- ● It is a focal point for socializing in the new development complex which serves to counteract the isolation of the residents;

- ● The integration of different facilities in one center encourages contact between the residents through the various educational programs.

It should not be forgotten that the school and community center is planned for a community which — despite all statements to the contrary — is a dormitory city. Educational planners cannot escape this fact and should attempt to evaluate and meet the interests of the inhabitants who live in such city districts.

Social problems and school-centered programs: The social structure of the population determines the activities and programs offered to a high degree. In the case of Steilshoop there are working class families with many children, lower than average earnings, high rents, working wives, child care problems, long commutes to and from work, and isolation resulting from the recent move.

The community center provides many opportunities to alleviate the resulting social problems: adequate school and kindergarten facilities located directly in the development, possibilities of communication for young people in the *Haus der Jugend* and for adults in the *Volkshochschule,* sports clubs, counseling services (parental and educational counseling), and various information possibilities (public library).

Regarding the services, Schier and Tillmann[10] have asked some critical questions: Is there only rock music in the youth center or is there also a discussion group of apprentices (*Lehrlings-AG*)? What happens

when the citizens' group starts fighting about rents with the administration? Are there support and advisory groups for the educational committees or do they even lack rooms for meetings?

Since the work on community centers is new, these important questions have found only limited answers. Most of the conversations with people working on the Hamburg model indicate a high sensitivity to this problem and a readiness to work on it:

- Members of the leadership of the community center in Steilshoop regularly visited the citizen action groups in connection with rent questions;
- Unconventional architectural solutions were sought in the public reading rooms to avoid the stereotype of a middle class institution;
- Activities in the youth club are understood as an integral part of the community work.

Utilization of the space: The Steilshoop Community and Educational Center is situated north of the focal point on the north-south axis of the town facilitating pedestrian interaction with the open space to the north and the shopping center to the south. Both connect with the densely built housing areas to the east and west.

The road between the school and adjoining block of flats has been bridged at the first upper floor level to accomodate the combined school and public libraries.

Most of the building complex is one to two stories high. The different wings of the building are linked to each other by socializing areas on the ground floor level, where the cafeteria, teachers' and student rooms, large lecture theater and the youth club are situated.

The first impression of the community center in Steilshoop is that of a colorful, almost confusingly diverse building rather than an awe-inspiring temple to education. There are parts with overhangs, ramps, steep roofs, and attractive entrances which have the function of inducing the passerby to find out what is behind them.

The youth club is at the end of the main street of Steilshoop. Its open hall is well-designed and provides help for overcoming youthful shyness in a relaxing atmosphere.

The entire grounds are open to the public, thus linking residential and nearby recreational areas. This concept of linking the public with the educational center originally featured a series of small shops and cafes along the main street between the shopping center and the community center which would have introduced natural opportunities for contacts among the residents. Today, however, there is a rather long uninviting and uninspiring stretch of bleak apartment block facade between the center of the development and the educational center.

There are, of course, other problems, such as the fact that the youth club has limited contact to other rooms in the educational center and spontaneous attempts may die in the germination process solely due to lack of rooms.

However, in general, both from the perspective of the population and the school itself, this model seems to work. The community center offers many different possibilities which meet the interests of the residents. Whether the Hamburg model can be repeated elsewhere, however, remains to be seen. The cost of the school complex and the accompanying facilities was 65 million DM. This is a sum which would intimidate many less affluent communities.

The example of Essen: community centers

A model for the multiuse of school buildings has been designed in Essen. The intent is to expand the use of school buildings to include leisure time activities and additional educational oportunities. It is hoped that with a minimum of capital investment, personnel, and maintenance costs schools can be transformed into community centers.

Possible uses of this model are divided into three categories:

- Established groups, clubs, and organizations which occasionally or regularly would take advantage of the rooms not used for instruction.
- Open or limited access courses, assemblies, or workshops for different purposes.
- An open meeting place for all age groups.

To staff the open school program voluntary workers, part-time assistants, part- or full-time counselors, and full-time educators will be needed.

The realization of the model will take place in the following stages:

- inventory of resources
- determination of what is needed
- selection of schools which will become community centers
- development of a five year program.

The choice of the schools which are to become community centers will be determined by the following criteria:

- necessity for leisure time and educational facilities in the community;
- location of the school in the neighborhood;
- architectural and spatial features of the school;
- coordination with other school and city-planning activities.

In the first phase, school rooms and leisure areas, which could be used for this program, will be equipped and made available to established groups (organizations, clubs, youth groups, church

organizations, and so forth) in the afternoon and evening hours. The use of the rooms will depend on whether a person or organization will take responsibility for them.

Evaluation of the model: The suitability of this community school model can best be measured by answering the question, "How close did the project realize the formulated goals while keeping finances and personnel to a minimum?"

The five year plan gives reason for scepticism. Now that younger people and adults are invited to meet in the community center in order to play, to take part in sports activities, work on hobbies, to discuss personal and social problems, and in some cases to begin workshops, the presently intended program under a responsible person or organization will not suffice. If experience from this is intended to be joined with the goals and content of the school, then space, equipment, material, and personnel will be necessary in order to stimulate such activities. Construction changes — a financial expense — will be needed.

The program in Essen shows much ingenuity and initiative in the development of a concept that, with a small investment, can provide the population with additional communication and leisure time activities.

It should be clear, however, that it is not possible with one blow to solve all the problems involved in realizing even small goals. "Small solutions" are always seductive at first, especially when the problem revolves around finances. It is all too easy to lose sight of the total problem and cure only the symptoms.

Integrated centers

The community school should provide the students with the possibility of self-determination in social experiences in addition to lowering class differences. The school should discontinue its isolation and open itself to the general population. Above all, to an ever increasing degree, it should include the parents in the educational process.

Are these goals easier to reach if the integrated school is an integral part of a community center?

Leisure time is a "waste product" of the daily business of schooling. In general, there are inadequate personnel, ideas, time, money, and rooms. The students have few possibilities for extracurricular activities and, as a result, feel themselves imprisoned in the school even during their free time. In short, there is a gap between the goals of integrated schools and the reality of spare time in schools.

Unlike the "usual" situation, the youth club in Steilshoop has lead to meaningful improvements. It has created the material prerequisites to meet the needs and interests of the youth. Through a mixture of unstructured communication possibilities and fixed

programs it is possible to achieve stable and adequate social relationships.

A critical view of large-sized school centers

In considering the arguments which led to the reform of the middle and high school levels in 1967, it must be admitted that the technical and functional objectives have been achieved while the educational and sociopolitical aims have been largely neglected.

The main goal has not been achieved, namely, to provide an equal opportunity for quality education for children of all socioeconomic classes. Those few educational experiments worth mentioning (i.e. Weinheim and Fröndenberg) have remained single examples of educational innovation. Most others have been carried out by idealistic teachers who soon gave up their uphill battle against bureaucratic inflexibility and short-sightedness.

Economically, no city has enough resources to continue building large-sized schools for up to 3,000 students, requiring enormous maintenance costs. The total state of secondary education is such that prestige objects of this size can no longer be used by politicians to pretend that things are moving ahead.

Decreasing birth rates, following the student peak for which these schools were built, no longer warrant a one-sided emphasis on quantitative aspects of education but rather a demand for the upgrading of the quality of schools.

In this existential crisis of education new modes for planning and integration will have to be found. There is a greater chance that more community involvement will be one aspect which will offer a sharing of responsibility and effective educational innovation, beyond mere tinkering with the symptoms.

Community schools and society

All over the world, higher educational standards and division of labor have brought both unexpected possibilities and unforeseen problems. In moving from the patriarchical extended family to the tendency of small family units and to the greater freedom of the individual, the problems of immature teenagers and helpless old people have created a need for greater welfare and care measures. The upbringing of toddlers and young school children has been transferred from the parents who are overburdened with the demands of society for their labor and intellectual resources to the schools. A large portion of the responsibility is being taken over by the state, especially in advanced industrial countries.

New orientations for schools are needed to get away from the institutions which only house teachers and pupils.[11] They strive for better integration with the

community and with society at large. A center which encompasses different social backgrounds and which includes the parents can replace the "school" and can include the educators from industry and scientific institutions who can just as well take part in the educational task. In this manner, education becomes a task which matters for everybody and whose result will determine the way in which the life of society will develop in the future.

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