

EDUCATIONAL REFORMS IN AUSTRIA AND YUGOSLAVIA

Part I: Five-Day School, All-Day School, Comprehensive School

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July 1977

The Federal Republic of Austria and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are neighboring states with formally very different political and social systems: Austria is a parliamentary or "bourgeois" democracy with a mixture of public and private ownership and a populace and parties almost evenly divided between "Black" Catholics and "Red" socialists. Yugoslavia is a one-party state pursuing its own "separate road to socialism" under a Communist Party dictatorship diluted by the unique ideology and institutions of "social self-management" and by multinational political and cultural polycentrism. The educational systems of the two countries nevertheless display many common features, two of which provide the starting point for this series of Reports. The first, a consequence of the fact that Austria and an important part of Yugoslavia (Croatia, Slovenia, the Vojvodina, and latterly Bosnia-Herzegovina) had a shared history in a common state until 1918, is that the twentieth century development of their school systems and educational values takes off from identical or closely related systems and values and is even today loaded with similar institutional and cultural baggage. The second is that both states are at the present moment debating or inaugurating major educational reforms that also have much in common, both in terms of what is being attempted and in the kinds and sources of opposition they are meeting. It is additionally significant that in each reform the most controversial issue concerns the purposes and consequent structure of a secondary school system that has survived the political, social, and value changes of the past 50 years remarkably intact.

In both countries the present reform effort dates from 1969, although the roots in each case can be traced much further back: in Austria to the last

decades of the monarchy, and in Yugoslavia at least to the communist takeover in 1944-45. All of these dates are worth examining further.

The belated arrival of the "industrial revolution" in the Austrian (and Bohemian) lands of the Hapsburg Monarchy, beginning after 1867, had by the 1890s given rise to the social and economic structures that demand—and the mass political parties with ideologies that justify—universal primary education and freer access to a better standard of secondary and postsecondary education for the explosively growing kinds and sizes of trained elites that such development requires. In Yugoslavia, some 50 years later, the ideological commitments and developmental ambitions of a new communist regime created functionally analogous conditions. Meanwhile, the pressure for reform that was building up in Austria by the turn of the century was relieved and deferred by subsequent political and economic developments: war and the dissolution of the Empire, the chronic depression that beset the "nonviable" First Republic, Austrofascism and Nazism (when some reforms promulgated in 1928 were repealed), war, and immediate postwar political and economic conditions. In Yugoslavia after 1945, at a stage of economic and social development when any education is better than no education, and with the campaign for simple literacy and mass primary education taking immediate priority, expansion and additions to the existing system of secondary schools and universities seemed the quickest, lowest risk, and the lowest cost way of training the cadres urgently needed to staff new or expanding socialist elites. If such a strategy carried a price in terms of the quality and appropriateness of such education and ideological compromises through preservation of the "elitist" nature of the system, in the social

composition of student bodies, and in the retention of many non-Marxists even in sensitive disciplines, these were costs deemed temporarily worth paying. Here, too, the pressure for more basic reforms was deferred.

For the sometimes violent student protest and "counterculture" movements that swept across Europe and America in the later 1960s, 1969 was, of course, a year of climax. These movements invoked a strong echo in Yugoslavia and a feebler one in Austria and were among the reasons why that year marked the beginning of a more deliberate and urgent campaign for educational reforms in both countries. Here, however, the spirit of the moment acted primarily as a catalyst on political and educational leaderships often already concerned by what they saw as a growing gap between the needs and changing values of rapidly modernizing societies and what the existing school systems were producing. Such awareness had been increasing not only because it had become internationally fashionable throughout the Western and Eastern worlds on whose frontiers both Austria and Yugoslavia lie, but because only in the 1960s did these two relatively belated industrializers and modernizers achieve levels of economic and social development at which both the quantity and the quality of trained persons being turned out by existing systems were clearly and increasingly inadequate. Previous postwar reforms that had attempted to respond to these challenges at an earlier stage in their emergence—particularly a 1962 Austrian package of school reform laws and several smaller-scale efforts in Yugoslavia after 1963—had accomplished some things, but had evaded several central but politically sensitive issues and had inadequately anticipated "l'explosion scolaire"¹ of the later 1960s.

One example, among many, of the importance and centrality of such considerations for the authors of the present Austrian and Yugoslav reforms is provided by a 1974 book about the Austrian reforms by Dr. Hermann Schnell, President of the Vienna School Board and a Socialist Member of the Austrian Parliament. Describing the belated speed of Austrian economic and social change during the preceding decade, Schnell concludes:

The revolutionary industrial and technical development and consequent fundamental changes in the structure of employment in Austria after the Second World War gave rise to widespread public uneasiness about the school [system] and led to the school reform of the 1960s. The increasing demand for a better qualified labor force was accompanied by a subjective factor, the growing aspiration of wider social strata for more education. The school system was incapable of meeting either of these demands not only because the higher schools had too few teachers and too little school space and the budget year after year failed to provide for substantial expansion, but also because conservative educational concepts and inherited educational traditions stood in contradiction to contemporary social and educational-policy trends.²

While the language is sometimes quite different, reflecting differences in official ideology, in socio-political systems, and occasionally in the rank-order of problems, the current educational reform efforts in Austria and Yugoslavia are in fact based on strikingly similar and often identical premises concerning the purpose of contemporary education. This is hardly surprising, since both efforts reflect what has been called "an international ideology of educational reform." Schnell's emphasis on this point is again illustrative. Citing the central themes of post-1945 reforms in a number of countries—"education for all" in the British Education Act of 1944, Louis Cros's exposition of "l'explosion scolaire" in France, the intimate linkage that should exist between school, life, and work as proclaimed in the Soviet Education Act of 1958, mass literacy campaigns in underdeveloped countries—he observes:

These themes have become the universal slogans of school reform movements in our age of international interinvolvement. Across all national borders there has thus been created a unified ideology of school reform, which is less concerned with the transmission and revitalizing of the culture and its inherent values as the task of education, but rather would see the intellectual

and spiritual growth and the needs of children and youth catered to, while in addition recognizing the legitimate demands of the society on the school.³

The primary goals proclaimed by both the Austrian and Yugoslav reforms reflect this “unified ideology”: equality of opportunity and its alleged corollaries in some form of comprehensive secondary schooling and an “open university,” co-education (in Austria, significantly, denoting both coeducation of the sexes and of different social strata), and curricular reforms designed to give pupils and students a better preparation both for work in an industrial or postindustrial society and for “modern lifestyles.”

The purpose of the series of essays to which these pages provide an introduction is to explore the ways in which Austrian or Yugoslav understanding of these and other features of “the international school reform movement of our time” and their attempts to implement their own variations on common themes are different or suggestive, and therefore of more than provincial interest. It is particularly revealing that in both reforms the central and most controversial issue concerns the future of the *Gymnasium*, the pride of traditional Central European educational systems. Here the clash of values—of “educational ideologies”—is clearest and most acute. Like the French lycée and the English grammar school, the *Gymnasium* was created to fulfill neohumanist conceptions of self-perfectibility through a general education emphasizing the enduring relevance of the classics and, in particular, ancient Greek culture as a paradigm and model. The focus is therefore less on training for citizenship or work than on “the total person,” the human being who becomes “really” human only through education, who learns to think clearly and critically, to place things in historical, cultural, and value contexts, to acquire knowledge, and to associate and apply it rationally. Attacked as a bastion of ascriptive, class-bound elitism and therefore of unequal opportunity and unexploited reserves of human potential, and as irrelevant in a modern world of increasing specialization requiring ever more career-specific knowledge, the *Gymnasium* is defended as an increasingly necessary antidote to other, less desirable by-products of that specialization and “modernity,” a socially and even

politically dysfunctional as well as culturally “dehumanizing” parochialism that is purportedly encouraged by mass education too obsessed with the classroom as preparation for work and political citizenship. It is also defended on the ground that to abolish a system of “quality” schools designed to select and train elite cadres to perform socially necessary elite jobs well (i.e., able to think clearly and critically, . . . etc.) because their “elitism” has historically been “ascriptive” is to throw out the baby with the bathwater. Would it not be preferable merely to “democratize” the system through selection based on objectively determined individual potential rather than social origins, and is this not already happening? For all concerned the issue is a deeply emotional one in which the side one chooses almost invariably corresponds to one’s position on the ideological-political (but not necessarily the class) spectrum, further evidence that basic values are involved.

Peeling the Austrian Onion

Three issues have dominated the domestic political headlines in the Austrian press and television in recent months and with equal emphasis: a scandal around the person of the Federal Defense Minister, alleged attempts by the socialist government under Chancellor Bruno Kreisky to dominate Austrian radio and television and turn them into exclusively “Red” media, and a proposal by the (socialist) Minister of Education and Culture, Dr. Fred Sinowatz, to move from a six-day to a five-day week in primary schools (grades one through four) and perhaps later in middle schools (grades five through eight).

The Sinowatz proposal has aroused a widespread and emotional opposition that initially surprises foreign observers from countries where a five-day school week has long been a way of life. In Austria the five-day work week (and in many offices a four-and-a-half-day week that ends at noon on Friday!) is at least as widespread as in England. So, too, is the weekend in the country or on the ski slopes, which is no longer a luxury of the upper and middle classes now that every *Gemeindebau* (municipal housing estate) is jammed with private cars; one of the most common sights in Vienna at noon on Saturday, when the school week does finally end—the normal Austrian primary and middle

school day is 8 A.M. to noon—is the line of these cars waiting with motors running outside every school in the district, grandmother and luggage in the back seat, or large and small skis on the roof-rack.⁴

Some of the reasons volunteered for opposition to the five-day school week are short-term, pragmatic, and uninteresting, except that most of them are matters of parental convenience that do not consider what might be “best” for the children: working mothers with a six-day week, usually therefore salespersons who would have to make other arrangements for small children; Saturday morning as the only time working parents on a five-day week can do childfree shopping; Saturday morning as the only time mum and dad can be together alone; etc. The most commonly volunteered reason for supporting the proposal is equally parent-centered: it comes from those who most regularly make weekend excursions and who do not want to wait until Saturday noon—often, as noted, from Friday noon—to start. It is also worth noting that, on both sides, this set of parent-centered reasons is a further reminder of changing employment and social structures in Austria: a rapidly growing number of working women, including mothers, and all that this implies.

A second set of reasons offered for opposition concerns the physical and mental health of pupils and students versus the quality of education: to eliminate Saturday school would mean either adding to the learning burden on the other five days, again further overburdening those purportedly (and in almost everyone’s view genuinely) overburdened pupils, or it would mean eliminating some subject(s) or further diluting the quality of an education that is already widely considered inadequate to the needs of the modern world. Here the opposition has invoked the authority of some learned child psychologists who argue that a six-day school week—or ideally but impossibly a seven-day one—is healthier and pedagogically sounder. The reason is that a two-day or even a one-day weekend, breaking routine and changing environments, results in psychological damage and reduced learning ability at the beginning of the new week. Survey data, including Monday-morning test results, are cited in evidence. Needless to say, other equally eminent psychologists are arguing the opposite, claiming that a two-day weekend relaxes

and refreshes, that a “lost hour” of reinsertion into routine on Monday morning is a small price to pay for improved learning and mentally and physically healthier children the rest of the week.

On closer examination, all the preceding turns out to represent only the outermost layer of an onion of opposition in which the inner layers are increasingly inarticulated and eventually at most semiconscious. It is these layers that make a passionate debate over an otherwise superficially marginal issue of interest to students of the relationship between changes in cultural and educational value systems. One of them is captured in the title given to an article about the five-day school week debate in a recent (March 15, 1977) issue of *Profil*, an anti-Kreisky, but otherwise not particularly “rightist,” Viennese weekly newsmagazine: “Angst vor der roten Maus” (“Anxiety in the Face of the Red Mouse”). Cutting deeper, one finds the same concern expressed in the phrase “Verschulung der Jugend” (literally “schoolization of youth”). Deeper still this becomes a basic question of ultimate responsibility for the socialization of the next generation: whose is it, and to what ends? By this curious route the debate over a five-day school week for primary school children comes to touch the most basic questions of values and purposes that any educational system must answer.

Austria’s School System

The Austrian Constitution designates education as one of the areas in which legislation, including substantive amendments to existing legislation, must be passed by a two-thirds majority of the National Assembly. The electorate and therefore the Assembly are almost equally divided between two political parties that together represent over 90 percent of the electorate and that jointly governed the country, in a “grand coalition,” from 1945 to 1966. These are the Catholic and largely conservative Austrian People’s Party (ÖVP, itself a carefully balanced federation of three corporate interest groups: a Peasant *Bund*, an Employers *Bund*, and an Employees and Workers *Bund*) and the Socialist Party (SPÖ), “Black” and “Red” camps whose extreme differences of ideology and *Weltanschauung* had plunged the interwar First Republic into civil war and fascism, hard lessons and traumas that taught moderation and made two postwar decades of “grand coalition” *mésalliance*

possible.⁵ In this situation, with the decision-making process further complicated by the sometimes legal and sometimes conventional need to consult a variety of corporate interests, it took no less than 15 years of political debate and work in Ministry of Education and Parliamentary commissions to design the package of School Acts that was promulgated in 1962 and that provides the framework of the present Austrian school system. Amendments to these Acts have undergone, and the presently proposed reforms must undergo, a similar process, despite single party governments and parliamentary majorities since 1966, since these majorities (first ÖVP and now SPÖ) are always small and the two-thirds rule therefore means that both the great parties must still agree on such matters.

The 1962 School Acts re-established a standard countrywide school system,⁶ but compromises between the educational ideologies of the two parties and their associated interest groups made it a singularly complicated one. There are three basic levels—primary (grades 1 through 4), lower secondary (grades 5 through 8), and upper secondary (grades 9 through 12 or 13)—with both state and private (usually state-subsidized church) schools at each level and with “Special Schools” (*Sonderschulen*) for physically or mentally handicapped children paralleling other types at the first two levels. Nine years of school beginning at age six are compulsory. The system is increasingly differentiated at each level, with more than two dozen

separate types of upper secondary schools. Figure 1 diagrams the system as it is presented to confused parents and pupils by the Ministry for Education and Culture, with the upper secondary level drastically simplified into only seven categories.

The basic moment of decision at which pupils are classified in terms of aptitude for different kinds and levels of further education comes at the end of the first four years of undifferentiated *Grundschule* (formerly and still generally called *Volksschule*). At the end of the fourth year, at age 10, each pupil is designated as an “A-stream” or a “B-stream” student. Designation is based on his or her teacher’s recommendation confirmed by the school’s Council of Teachers; parents who disagree may request an examination to demonstrate that an error has been made, but this apparently does not happen often. “B-stream” pupils go on to a four-year *Hauptschule* (secondary general school). These are a combination and evolution of the *Burgerschule* and the upper level *Volksschule* that were the “middle schools” of the working, peasant, and lower middle classes of the monarchy and of the First Republic before and after similar reforms in effect from 1928 to 1934 (after which they were largely revoked or suspended by the Dolfuss, Schuschnigg, and Nazi regimes). The supposedly more able “A-stream” pupils go on, depending on their parents’ choice, to an “A-stream” division of a *Hauptschule* or to the lower level of an eight-year *Gymnasium*, a category that is in turn subdivided

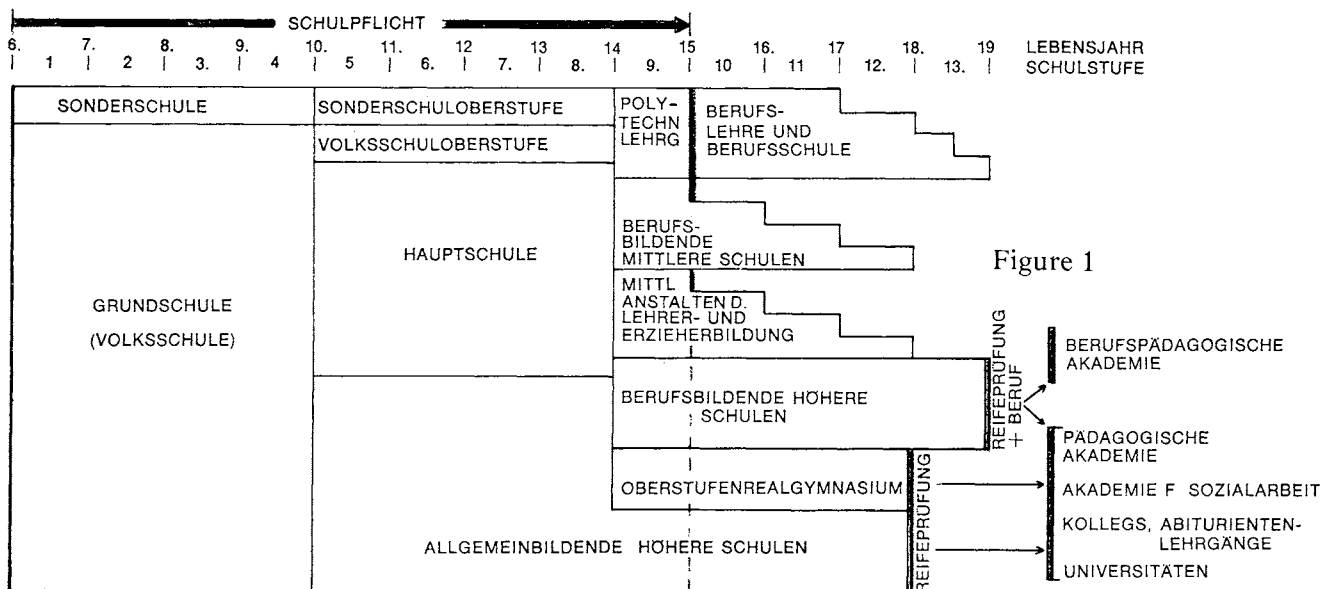


Figure 1

into several types (*Gymnasium* and *Realgymnasium*, both further subdivided in the last four years, and home economics *Gymnasien* for girls), all now collectively termed *allgemeinbildende höhere Schulen*—general education secondary schools, abbreviated AHS. All types of AHS have a common curriculum in the first two years that conforms in principle with the “A-stream” curriculum of the *Hauptschulen*. (The upper level *Volksschulen* in Figure 1 represents the remnant of the eight-year elementary schools that were the rule before 1928 and were still dominant in the early postwar years, particularly in smaller towns and rural areas. They are now confined entirely to remote rural areas; only about 3 percent of all Austrian pupils in grades five through eight currently attend such schools.)

The system beyond the *Hauptschule* or the four-year lower level of an AHS is far more complicated. The basic choice is between more “general” education in an upper level AHS, leading to state examinations (the *Matura*) which qualify one for university entrance; vocational training in a one- to four-year “medium level” or a normally five-year “top level” technical school, the latter also leading to a *Matura*; or pedagogical schools and academies for future primary and *Hauptschule* teachers. (AHS professors must be university graduates, involving distinctions in training, prestige, and salary that complicate efforts to design and gain acceptance for comprehensive secondary schools.) The upper level AHS includes three types of *Gymnasium* (the *humanistisches Gymnasium* with classical Greek, the *neusprachliches Gymnasium* with a second modern foreign language, and the *realistisches Gymnasium* with more mathematics and science), two types of *Realgymnasium* (scientific and mathematical), and the upper level of the home economics *Gymnasium* for girls. There is also a new form created by the 1962 School Acts, an independent four-year upper level AHS originally called the *Musisch-pädagogisches Realgymnasium* (arts and education type) and since 1976 officially an *Oberstufenrealgymnasium*; originally conceived merely as a successor to traditional secondary normal schools with a broadened curriculum, this form has attracted a more diverse and larger clientele than anticipated, primarily from among *Hauptschule* graduates, and by the 1970s was enrolling over 28 percent of all AHS students.⁷ The vocational schools, subdivided by occupational

categories, include nine kinds of “medium level” and five kinds of “top level” institutions, plus special forms in both categories. Finally, its existence necessitated by inconsistencies as a result of compromises in the drafting of the 1962 School Acts, which prolonged compulsory schooling from eight to nine years without adding a proposed but abandoned fifth year to the lower secondary level, there is a one-year “pre-vocational school” (*polytechnischer Lehrgang*) for those who are not going on beyond the compulsory nine years. It has understandably become a not-very-serious “remainder school.” It is complemented by one- to four-year “compulsory technical schools” (*berufsbildende Pflichtschulen*) as part-time vocational schools for the contracted apprentices that seem an only vaguely modernized (and exploitative) version of the medieval guild system but that engaged fully 26.8 percent of all Austrian 16-year-olds in 1973-74.

It is particularly noteworthy that in this system the basic educational “selecting out” process occurs at a significantly earlier stage than in the United States, where it usually happens—except for dropouts at each state’s minimum school-leaving age—at the end of high school, at age 17 or 18. In Austria the first stage in “selecting out” is at age 10, when “streaming” in effect condemns a sizable group of Austrian children to at most a *Hauptschule* education and thus, except for extraordinarily able and ambitious “B-streamers,” to low economic and social status in life. For most of the rest the process is completed at age 14, at the end of lower level secondary education: only about 22 percent of Austrian lower secondary school pupils go on to an upper-level secondary school that leads to a *Matura*. On the other hand, of those in this group who complete their studies and take the *Matura* (ranging from 78 percent in the AHS to 68 percent in “top level” technical schools), fully 85 percent go on to university—the breakdown by sex is 75 percent of male *Maturanten* and over 95 percent of female ones. It is further worth noting that even the “top level” technical schools, although they lead to a *Matura* formally as good as that earned by a *Gymnasium* student, carry significantly less prestige than the *Gymnasium* but that *Maturanten* from the technical schools who do not go on to university are particularly important in middle management levels in the Austrian economy. Finally, the overall importance of such educational selecting-out for the profile of Austrian

society is further evident in statistics comparing the proportionate size of Austria's university student population with that of other Western European countries, not to mention those of Eastern Europe and North America. Despite an increase in the number of domestic full-time students at Austrian universities from 13,888 in 1955-56 to 62,481 in 1974-75, Austria still has one of the lowest "student quotas" among European countries: 87 students per 1,000 student-age persons, which the *Hochschulbericht 1975* compares with 121 in Sweden, 102 in West Germany, ... but 62 in Switzerland, the lowest of all.

The impact and wider social significance of "streaming" at age 10—when combined with the organization of schools above that age level and the geographic difficulty or social inhibitions that restrict the entry into the AHS network of "A-stream" pupils from rural or working class backgrounds—becomes apparent from (1) an examination of the dispersion of pupils by type of school at higher levels, from (2) the discovery that despite a theoretical horizontal "permeability" the system is in practice highly "impermeable" between types, and from (3) a look at the social strata represented in each type.

1. In the lower level secondary schools—grades 5 through 8, ages 10 through 14—the proportions in 1964-65 were 29.6 percent in upper-level *Volks-schulen*, 53.6 percent in *Hauptschulen*, 14.3 percent in AHS lower-level, and 2.5 percent in Special Schools. By 1973-74 the picture had altered to yield the following numbers and percentages:

<i>Volksschule</i> ,		
upper level	16,042	3.3%
<i>Hauptschule</i>	363,250	73.8%
AHS, lower level	96,695	19.7%
Special Schools	15,708	3.2%
	492,055	100%

I have been unable to locate countrywide statistics for the breakdown by "streams," but in Vienna, which is in many respects atypical, the picture was as follows in the early 1970s: AHS, 37.2% (cf. under 20% in Austria as a whole); *Hauptschule* "A-stream," 24.5%; *Hauptschule* "B-stream," 31%; Special Schools for the handicapped, 7.3%.

In upper level secondary schools—beyond grade eight—a straightforward comparison of this kind is more difficult and misleading because of the number of types of schools and varying lengths of study. Perhaps the best indicator is Table 2, prepared for an OECD report⁸ and showing the distribution by school types in 1973-74 of Austrians born in 1958 and therefore of an age to be tenth graders (i.e., in the first year of schooling beyond the compulsory nine). It should be noted that of the 95,910 or 83.7 percent of the age cohort that were enrolled in regular schools that year, 20,637 (18.1% of the age cohort and 21.6% of those still in school) are identifiable as grade-repeaters, since they were enrolled in types of schools that do not have a tenth grade (*Volks-* and *Hauptschulen*, Special Schools, one-year Prevocational Schools, and lower level AHS).

Also of interest, in view of the number of types of AHS and the future of the *Gymnasium*, is the breakdown of the 1973-74 total of 68,955 upper level AHS pupils:

Table 1

<i>humanistisches Gymnasium</i>	3,351	4.9%
<i>neusprachliches Gymnasium</i>	18,449	26.8%
<i>realistisches Gymnasium</i>	6,581	9.5%
science <i>Realgymnasium</i>	11,735	17.0%
maths <i>Realgymnasium</i>	1,867	2.7%
home economics type	4,648	6.7%
upper level <i>Realgymnasium</i>	19,271	28.0%
"special forms" for adults	3,053	4.4%

2. The "impermeability" of the system is suggested by the fact that currently, according to the *Profil* article previously cited, only 3 percent of Austrian children assigned to a "B-stream" at age 10 ever manage to make the step upward to an "A-stream." Commented *Profil*: "Once a child lands in the 'B-stream' of a *Hauptschule* (whether as a failure attributable to its milieu or to its personal development), it does not need to give too much thought to its further destiny. It is and remains stamped as a failure." Later, for those who make it

Table 2

	Absolute number	Percentage * **	
Cohort born in 1958	114,581	100.0	
Not attending school	18,439	16.1	
Students in special forms and fine-arts colleges	232	.2	
Students in standard forms	95,910	83.7	100.0
of which at the following categories and/or types of schools:			
<i>Volksschule</i>	1,027	.9	1.1
<i>Hauptschule</i>	8,138	7.1	8.5
Special schools	1,237	1.1	1.3
Pre-vocational school	9,014	7.9	9.4
AHS - lower level of two-level form	1,221	1.1	1.3
AHS - upper level of two-level form***	11,345	9.9	11.8
AHS - upper level form***	4,400	3.8	4.6
Compulsory technical schools (part-time instruction)	33,103	28.8	34.5
“Middle-level” technical schools	16,188	14.1	16.9
“Top-level” technical schools***	8,913	7.8	9.3
Medium-level secondary teacher- training schools	1,324	1.2	1.4

* percentage of the cohort

** percentage of the total number of students enrolled in standard forms of the various categories or types of schools

*** leads to *Matura* and university entrance

over this hurdle and on into an upper level secondary school, fundamental differences in curriculum between an AHS and a technical school, among kinds of technical schools, and after the ninth year among AHS types make it almost

equally difficult to change type of school and thus future profession or job-type after age 12 or 14.

3. As for the breakdown by type of school and by father's level of education or profession (or

TABLE 3

Father's position	University Educated	<i>Maturanten</i>	Skilled Worker	Unskilled Worker
<i>Gymnasium</i>	27.86	28.36	40.75	3.03
<i>Realgymnasium</i>	21.75	24.49	51.79	1.97
<i>Realschule</i>	6.92	30.78	58.43	3.87
<i>Hauptschule/A stream</i>	1.80	8.81	74.35	15.04
<i>Hauptschule/B stream</i>	1.01	4.57	66.41	28.01
Special schools	0.00	2.25	58.18	39.57
Average	6.30	12.09	64.14	17.47

mother's in fatherless households), a study of sixth-graders in Vienna secondary schools in 1962—the only index to social origins apparently available—is both too limited and too old to be more than vaguely indicative, especially since Vienna is in many respects atypical of Austria as a whole. For what it is worth, it is presented in Table 3.

More indicative, although not directly comparable, are the more complete statistics available on the social origins of Austrian university students. In its *Hochschulbericht 1969* the Federal Ministry for Science and Research analyzed the results, which also incidentally reveal how few older Austrians have any kind of higher education:

One-third of native full-time students have fathers with university-level education. A further fifth of the fathers have a middle-school (now termed higher-school) [AHS or upper level technical school] education. In the total male population in the age group of the fathers of the students (40 to 65), only 4.4 percent have a university-level degree, a further 5.8 percent have a middle-school education. Eight percent of those studying are sons and daughters of workers. In the total population of their parents' generation, however, the proportion of workers is 41 percent.

These few figures already show very clearly that the majority of the students come from a very few social strata.

This aspect of the picture has, however, changed somewhat since 1969. Later *Hochschulberichte* show the proportion of workers' children among university students moving up to 12 percent by 1971-72. Analogous trends are incidentally also apparent in the enrollment of farmers' offspring and women, with the latter moving up from 29 percent of all students in 1967-68 to 38 percent in 1972-73. As a result, the proportion of new students whose fathers had a university education was down to 27 percent by 1973-74, that of fathers with higher school diplomas held steady at 20 percent, while 52 percent of fathers had no *Matura*.

The System Under Fire

A major objection to this organizational scheme, unsurprisingly, is that age 10 is too early to "stream" children in this way, and that such premature judgments become far more pernicious because the decision in each case depends almost entirely on only one person's (the fourth grade teacher's) judgment,¹⁰ because of the later horizontal "impermeability" of the system in practice, and because of the social and career importance that Austrian social and economic systems place on the type of school one has attended. The harmful consequences may be described in terms of either or both of two values that Austrians of various ideological persuasions or interests endow with different or varying degrees of importance. These are "equality of opportunity" and "full exploitation of

each individual's and the society's reserves of talent" as a "necessity" in a modern society, with this necessity in turn understood either as economic (the talents demanded by an industrial society) or as deriving from definitions of culture or of individual rights (e.g., to "self-improvement"). Both of these values appear, with significantly differing levels of emphasis, in the definitions of the goals or functions of education found in party platforms, the 1928 and 1962 Education Acts, and the theses of the reform movement.

Other criticisms, many of them concerned with curriculum or the quantity or quality of schools and teachers rather than with organizational defects, also form part of the "uneasiness" about the educational system that led to and that illuminates the current reform efforts and opposition to specific proposed reforms. One major problem that is an indicator of others is an extraordinarily high number of grade-repeaters in all schools: Forty percent of all pupils repeat at least one of the first eight grades in Austrian schools (24 percent of them twice and 13 percent of them three times or more) or never complete eight grades, while half of those entering an eight-year AHS do not complete it. (The retention rates at the upper secondary level are higher, as noted above. For many of the critics, the implications of this state of affairs point not only to an overloaded and too intensive curriculum, which is in part traditional and in part a response to the thesis that a more "modern" society requires ever more factual knowledge (*Wissen*) of its citizens. They are also consequences of "restrictive measures and authoritarian structures that cripple the learning process." Again the phrasing of the (socialist) President of the Vienna School Board is worth citing, partly because it also illustrates the conceptual approaches and the internationally fashionable currents characterizing the arguments of some key sectors of the Austrian school reform movement:

Two developmental tendencies in our society are exerting a strong influence, especially on internal school structures and school life. These are the spread of a pluralism of values and the increase in the range of freedom in industrial society. Both forms have been carefully described by sociologists. Increasing pluralism of values is related to social upheaval and regrouping

and is promoted by the mass media, while the increase in the range of freedom is clearly observable in all social strata and all institutions. Because in its instructional and upbringing functions the school still in general represents a closed value-system and demands respect for this value-system in daily life, when the teachers are long since no longer willing to conform to this value-system in their own lives, serious conflicts must occur.¹¹

Most if not all of these criticisms are of course *mutatis mutandis* heard in almost all European and many other countries these days, further evidence that Austria, its school system, and its problems are part of a wider world. Only one problem which is pressing elsewhere is not yet part of the Austrian scene, a point that Austrian writers on the subject frequently comment on. The Austrians do regularly complain that their curricula and the division of their students among disciplines or types of training are inappropriate to the current and future needs of their society (e.g., too many studying sociology or law, too few training as engineers or in management). But their "schooling explosion" is still too recent and limited, and the quantitative gap between what the economy and society demand and what education supplies is still too large¹² for the concern about a general overproduction of advanced skills, knowledge, and aspirations that is plaguing many other countries, both "advanced" and "underdeveloped," to be on the agenda here before (according to Ministry and other estimates) about 1995.

The Proposed Reforms

By the late 1960s, as noted in the Introduction to this Report, unresolved and newly emerging deficiencies of the school system as reformed by the Education Acts of 1962 were a matter of growing concern among Austrian educators, educational policymakers, and others. Their unease was increased by sometimes violent student unrest in other and neighboring countries. Thus, in nervous anticipation of similar troubles at home (largely unwarranted, since most Austrian students remained characteristically passive), the Upper House of the Austrian Parliament reacted to news of the Paris student riots of May 1968 by appointing a Commission for University Reform. It labored for several years before giving birth to a few small mice.

The serious and genuinely Austrian attack on the system came instead from a different quarter and over an issue that at first glance seems rather curious. In a then uncontroversial clause, the 1962 School Acts had decreed the introduction of a ninth year at the *Gymnasia* (i.e., a thirteenth year of school before university entrance) as an alternative to serious curricular reform, on which there was no consensus, to relieve the pressure that the addition of new, “modern” subject matter had been placing on Austria’s already notoriously overworked *Gymnasium* pupils. Immediately introduced in the four-year *Musisch-pädagogische Realgymnasium* created by the same Acts, the ninth year was to have been implemented in the traditional eight-year AHS with the class that otherwise would have graduated at the end of the 1969-70 school year. During the winter of 1968-69 some 340,000 signatures were collected for a popular initiative (*Volksbegehren*), as permitted under the Constitution, demanding the repeal of the ninth year. The People’s Party, then in power, supported the initiative and the Socialist Party opposed it, but with important defections from each camp. On the Socialist Party side the protest movement was strongly endorsed (and in some accounts initiated) by Leopold Gratz, one year later to become Minister of Education in Kreisky’s first (minority) socialist government and currently Mayor of Vienna, a leading contender to succeed Kreisky as head of the SPÖ, and a leading opponent of fellow socialist Sinowatz’s five-day school proposal. And on the “Black” side Theodor Piffl-Perčević, then the Minister of Education, vehemently opposed the initiative and caused a sensation by resigning from the government and Parliament in protest when his own party supported it. In a subsequent ÖVP-SPÖ compromise the ninth year was formally only suspended, not repealed, but no one has ever urged its reinstatement.

Piffl-Perčević was a conservative, “old school” Minister of Education who was fond of quoting Aristotle and Sophocles, and whose own contributions to Austrian education had contradictorily included (1) rescuing the widespread teaching of classical Greek by decreeing (as his first ministerial act) that it should be taught wherever five students wanted to take it, and (2) dramatically expanding the number and accessibility of the AHS under the slogan “a higher school in every District [*Bezirk*] in the country” (a major reason why the number of

AHS students could double between 1964 and 1974). In an article published early in the dispute, in October 1968,¹³ he reminded his opponents of the purpose of the ninth year and pointed out that Austria’s original school law governing the *Gymnasia*, adopted in 1849, had also provided for 13 years of schooling leading to the *Matura* (at that time 5 years of *Volksschule* and 8 years of *Gymnasium*). How, he asked, could one be considered ready for the university in today’s world, when modern science and technology required so much more knowledge and intellectual skills, with less preparation than had been considered necessary more than a century ago? To illustrate his point, he listed 16 differences between the social function and curriculum of the *Gymnasium* of 1849 and those of the 1960s. The list also highlights some of the other, underlying reasons for the discontent with the *Gymnasium* that had focused on the symbolic issue of the ninth year.

Socialist Party agreement to suspend the AHS ninth year—necessary because of the constitutional requirement of a two-thirds majority in such matters—was made conditional on the formation of a broader-based parliamentary School Reform Commission. It began its work in the atmosphere of the times and with a mandate to give priority to problems in the following areas: the school system for 10- through 14-year-olds (i.e., the lower secondary schools), new measures to encourage and differentiate pupil learning capabilities, and curricula and syllabuses “corresponding to the position and tasks of the school in contemporary society.”

Indicative of the institutions and interests that participate, usually formally, in educational decision-making in Austria, the 45-member Commission consisted of the following:

1. Nine members of Parliament—four SPÖ, four ÖVP, and one from the Liberal Party (FPÖ, Austria’s third, small parliamentary party);
2. The presidents of the nine Provincial School Boards;
3. As representatives of teachers the Central Committees of the AHS network and of the higher technical schools, and the Federal apparatuses of the teachers’ unions;

**DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SOCIAL FUNCTION AND CURRICULUM
OF THE *GYMNASIUM* IN 1849 AND IN THE 1960s**

Gymnasium 1849

5 classes *Volksschule*
8 classes *Gymnasium*
13 school levels, 6- through 19-year-olds

1. More than one hundred years ago the *Gymnasium* was conceived as an institution in which to acquire the maturity for university entrance, basing itself on the then social situation:

a) oriented to pupils from culturally active families (High German, music at home, encouragement of literature, books, French, etc.), i.e., primarily from social circles conducive to higher education;

b) oriented to studies at the then universities, which were not yet as strictly specialized as today and which therefore catered far more to higher general education than today;

2. The overwhelming majority of pupils enveloped and sheltered in (at least apparently) orderly family situations (regular daily schedules, learning discipline, structured free time, etc.);

3. Stronger tendency to self-study at home, especially through more homework on Sundays;

4. Fewer distractions;

5. No commuting to school; pupils only from local families or boarders;

6. Only two foreign languages as compulsory subjects;

7. History
Mathematics
Physics
Chemistry
Natural history;

Gymnasium according to the 1962 School Law

4 classes *Volksschule*
9 classes *Gymnasium*
13 school levels, 6- through 19-year-olds

Today's social situation, essentially different from that of 1849;

a) Oriented to all families of any type and structure; even in well-to-do families, home music, literature, French, etc., not encouraged. Therefore the *Gymnasium* today is asked to master a much more difficult situation;

b) Generally increasing, even extreme specialization, therefore decreasing capacity in general education, so that the demand for general education in the *Gymnasium* is correspondingly greater. Today disintegration of the family situation (both parents working; loosening of inner linkages, broken families, etc.);

No weekend homework;

Distractions becoming an overall serious social and particularly youth problem: through television, radio, film, pulp magazines, advertising; own (motorbike, etc.) or family motorization; weekend arrangements; head-on attack by political and commercial forces on essential elements of heretofore lifestyles and morals (e.g., sexual); all mentioned here only as distractions significantly increasing in quantity, without ethical value judgment; rapid increase in school commuting; significant time- and distraction-problems; additional physical and psychological burdens; three foreign languages compulsory in

	the most popular types of <i>Gymnasium</i> ; more additions of required subjects than the deletion of subjects no longer considered necessary can compensate for;
8. No social science instruction;	Social science compulsory in combination with history; separation and more of same demanded; economics compulsory in combination with geography; separation and more of same demanded; physical education compulsory, more demanded; ski courses, field days; first-aid education demanded;
9. No instruction in economics;	
10. Physical education elective, no field days!	
11. Drawing elective, no handwork;	Handwork, etc., compulsory, more demanded;
12. Singing elective, otherwise no music instruction;	Music compulsory, more demanded;
13. No art courses;	Art courses compulsory;
14. Lack of legal training;	Legal education necessary; important civil and criminal law liabilities for 15- through 17-year-olds;
15. No traffic education;	Traffic education essential, knowledge of traffic rules demanded up to driver's licence age;
16. Shorter Christmas and Easter holidays.	Longer Christmas and Easter holidays.

4. As representatives of parents the Federal Executive of the Parents Association, the Central Bureau of the Catholic Parents Association, The Austrian Friends of Children, League of Parents Associations for Higher Schools, and the Austrian League of Parents Associations;

5. University professors of pedagogy.

It was equally indicative of Austrian political styles and it was promptly noticed—by Member of Parliament Gratz—that only 18 commission members were identifiable as members or adherents of the Socialist Party, while all the rest had “a close relationship” to the People’s Party. Whereupon it was decided that the commission would conduct its work without taking votes, except in rare circumstances.¹⁴

One of the first tasks assumed by the Reform Commission was a reformulation of the goals that Austrian education should be seeking to achieve. Although discussions in the fall of 1969 led to no authorized or accepted conclusions, the debate centered around a formulation offered by Dr. Marian Heitger (a university professor): a superficially bland series of commonplace propositions, it is in fact a carefully formulated attempt to build a synthesis out of the tension between traditional and contemporary educational values:

The guiding idea of education is the mature person, who is ready for and able to assume personal responsibility, autonomously and with critical consciousness, for all-social interaction.

Independent and consciously responsible thinking, acting, and creating in a dynamic and mobile world with pluralistic value systems demands of people a once and repeatedly rationalized standpoint particularly with reference to religious, moral, and social value systems.

Education is neither to be achieved through indoctrination, nor can it be achieved while evading a religious-philosophical content and the need to make value judgments, but is rather the product of a critical confrontation with and independent adoption of these.

Education in this sense requires a readiness and capacity for creative thinking and doing, to recognize relationships and antecedents, to achieve subject-specific knowledge, for a responsible application of knowledge, for communication, for critical analysis and tolerance, wide-ranging cooperation, and for permanent further education.

A consensus was also achieved on matters involving the curriculum in the *Volksschule* and the desirability of early "setting" by aptitude in the third and fourth grades, and on the need for a new type of kindergarten (*Vorschule*) that would be more than a day-care center and that would prepare less mature children to enter the *Volksschule* (where the rejection and repeater quotas were unacceptably high even in the first grade). Then, however, the Commission came to a virtual standstill over the more sensitive question of what to do about "streaming" of 10-year-olds. A proposal that would have given both the recommendation of the fourth grade teacher and examination after parental appeal a purely advisory character was rejected and what seems to have been a proposal to move the moment of decision to the end of the sixth grade was evaded. The main accomplishment in this period, during which the work of the Commission was interrupted by elections in March 1970 and again in October 1971—bringing first minority and then majority Socialist Party governments that were the first purely socialist administration in Austrian history—was to propose a series of school experiments or pilot projects in a number of areas. A Center for School Experiments and Development

was established (under the Ministry of Education and Culture) to carry out these projects and was made directly responsible to the Minister (now Socialist): Gratz before and Sinowatz after the October 1971 elections.

Of the pilot projects initiated or planned at this time, four were of particular significance: the institutionalization of the *Vorschule*, the creation of a comprehensive-type school (*Gesamtschule*) for 10-through 14-year-olds (fifth through eighth grades) and experiments with more elective courses and "setting" by aptitude in compulsory ones at upper level AHS and the technical schools. Of these in turn, the comprehensive school experiment was the most radical. Its purpose was to prove that a system that liquidated the barrier between *Hauptschule* and AHS and between A and B streams in the *Hauptschule* would equip a greater number of pupils with above average aptitudes, who researchers claimed existed in equal numbers in the AHS and *Hauptschule* A streams, to continue and complete higher secondary and postsecondary training. In this way there would be greater hope of realizing both of the central values that the reformers believed were ill-served by the existing system—"equality of opportunity" and "full exploitation of unexploited individual and social reservoirs of talent." The controversial nature of the first of these, for many Austrians connoting "leveling," unavoidably poorer education for AHS students, and socialist aspirations for a classless society, was hopefully ignored.

The *Gesamtschule*, like comprehensive schools in other countries, would incorporate *Hauptschule* A- and B-streams and AHS into a single school (the "integrated" *Gesamtschule*) or at least lead to close cooperation between a *Hauptschule* and an AHS (the "additive" *Gesamtschule*, a form that has in fact never been tried). "Setting," another imported device, would replace "streaming," with all pupils in a grade following a single curriculum in common classes in secondary subjects but divided into three groups according to aptitude (constantly re-evaluated) at least in each of the three subjects considered most important in the Austrian curriculum: German, mathematics, and foreign languages.

Although 59 schools were involved in the experiments by 1973-74, all but one were being carried

out entirely within existing *Hauptschule*, since it has proved difficult to induce the AHS to participate in the program.¹⁵ One of the main aims of the experiment has thus not been realized, but much has been revealed—none of it unexpected—about the attitudes of teachers, administrators, parents, and alumni of the *Gymnasia* and their ability to resist changes that they are convinced will lead to a lowering of quality (or their own status) in the education of the now 19 percent of Austrian 9- through 14-year-olds who attend these elite (and according to their critics elitist) schools. The sensitivity of the whole issue is apparent in the frequency and emphasis with which the reformers point out a cardinal difference between the proposed Austrian *Gesamtschule* and comprehensive schools in countries like Sweden and Great Britain. Here the target is explicitly limited to the lower secondary level, to grades five through eight. No one has seriously proposed the inclusion of the upper level, where differentiation, selectivity, specialization, and thereby a social sorting out for a hierarchy of (achievement-based?) elites will continue to be the rule. The *Gymnasium*, reduced to four post-comprehensive years, would live on.¹⁶

The Current Debate

By early 1977 a few of the experiments carried out under the aegis of the Center for School Experiments and Development have been judged sufficiently successful and noncontroversial to be regularized de facto if not yet de jure. The most notable of these are the new Kindergartens (*Vorschule*) and English language “pre-schooling” courses in *Volksschule*; neither exactly headline-makers. There is little disagreement about the validity in principle of building aptitude “sets” (*Leistungsgruppen*) in the *Hauptschulen* and perhaps elsewhere, but there is also general agreement that pilot projects in this area have so far been carried out inconsistently, too slowly, or too half heartedly to be judged. As for the key issue of comprehensive schools for 10- through 14-year-olds, Education Minister Sinowatz and Vienna School Board President Schnell declared in the February 1977 issue of *Schulreform*, an occasional special supplement of the unwidely-read official *Wiener Zeitung*, that the subject was ripe for decision, a statement that Sinowatz repeated during a March press conference before some 150 journalists. There it was again virtually ignored, for the main focus of the

press conference was an impassioned debate over the five-day school week—with Sinowatz there to argue for and fellow-socialist Mayor Gratz there to argue against it.

The curious thread that has come to connect the five-day week, the all-day school, and the comprehensive school in the minds of most of the Austrian public and a number of well-informed people, including participants in decision-making, consists of some red herrings, some well-founded suspicions, and some glimpses of the inner layers of the onion of perceptions and values that the five-day week proposal represents.

The basic connector is a widespread suspicion that the five-day week is at least in part a not-too-subtle device to bring the all-day school, another goal of some of the reformers, in by the back door and without a political consensus. This would happen, it is said, because it would prove impossible—except perhaps in the *Volksschule*—to compress what is now taught in six days into five without at least some afternoon classes (already common in the *Gymnasium*), and that some such classes would prove the thin end of a wedge leading to five days of all-day school. Sinowatz has attempted to disarm this suspicion in two ways: by proposing federal legislation that would merely enable the nine federal provinces or even individual school districts or schools to make their own choices, and by insisting that the intent is to apply the innovation at least initially only to the *Volksschule*. It is also pointed out that one province, Upper Austria, already has a five-day week without an all-day school in over 90 percent of its *Volksschulen* and *Hauptschulen*, and that Upper Austrian children are demonstrably “neither dumber nor less educated” than their fellow-countrymen. Popular suspicions on this point are nevertheless probably justified, since ministry officials I have interviewed have generally talked in terms of a five-day week at least to the upper secondary level as an immediate goal—only to backtrack hastily when I notice that they have said this and that it would likely lead either to all-day schooling or to major curricular innovations not immediately planned, a proposition they do not dispute.

The argument is then further complicated and partly obfuscated by a widespread tendency to confuse the terms and concepts “all-day school”

(*Ganztagsschule*) and “comprehensive school” (*Gesamtschule*). Although often a matter of simple terminological confusion and technically incorrect, since the two concepts formally have nothing to do with one another, confounding them frequently involves two accurate insights. One is that the ministerial and pedagogical groups supporting the five-day school are in general the same people who would like to see the comprehensive school institutionalized and universalized throughout the lower secondary level, reducing the AHS to a four-year (grades 9 through 12) school and thereby postponing social and future economic differentiation of Austrian youth to the end of the eighth grade. The other is that both concepts reflect a philosophy of education and an ideological worldview that is antipathetic to Austrian tradition and to many (perhaps most) Austrians, even when they only dimly and inarticulately sense that this is so.

The opposition to the all-day school and the comprehensive school, whether or not these are (inaccurately) thought to be the same thing, crystallizes the differences in social and ideological values that divide Austrians involved in the debate. One clue is provided by the number of persons who object passionately to the idea of the all-day school while at the same time complaining about the difficulty of helping their children with the staggering amount of homework that comes with even the first grades of a *Volksschule* (a problem that the all-day school would eliminate in large part) or, even more significantly, committing their own children to *Malbintern* (day boarders and therefore in effect also a kind of all-day school) in a church or other private sector school. “‘They’ have our children six mornings a week as it is,” I have been told by such parents. “Now ‘they’ want to have them in the afternoon as well, and control their homework, and in compensation offer to give them back on Saturday morning, when I have to shop and when other

[private sector] children’s organizations aren’t open.”

Most items in a catalog of the reasons and perceived group interests underlying both this and opposing (pro-reform) positions are too obvious to need listing here. There is one exception, implicit in the term *Verschulung der Jugend* (see page 4), which one hears repeatedly from parents as well as from political opponents of the reforms. At one level it reflects a suspicion by non-Socialist Austrians that the state school system inculcates “socialist” rather than “Christian” values, a suspicion that is justified in only some school districts or individual classrooms.¹⁷ At another and more significant level, what is meant seems to be that the all-day school, with or without the comprehensive school, signifies an abhorrent extension of the role of the state—at the expense of the role of the family, church, and other “private” sectors such as professional associations, trade unions that also run schools and other organized youth activities—as a symbol for the public and secular sector of the global social system, in the socialization of the country’s next generation.

The importance of this indicator is suggested, at the most superficial level, by the contrast it offers to the attitude of most Americans, the overwhelming majority of whom are normally assumed to be more “anti-socialist” and by tradition anti-elitist than Austrians of any political or ideological persuasion but who seldom seemed troubled by the (*Ganztag-*) state school’s enormous role in the socialization of their children. To understand the sources and implications of such fear or *Verschulung* one must go back into the history of Austrian popular and elite conceptions of family, church, state, and school and how they ought to be related to one another and to the individual subject.



Epilogue

In June 1977, after this Report was completed, the newsletter of the Central Office of the Catholic Parents Associations of Austria, *Unsere Schule*, published an article on the five-day school week proposal. Here, although still largely implicit, the preconceptions, suspicions, and value preferences that underly opposition to the five-day week, and that see it as a sly way of introducing even worse things, find clearer expression than in any other published statement that has come to my attention. The excerpts that follow, constituting about half the article, are therefore offered as evidence in support of otherwise challengeable speculations about the layers of an onion of perceptions and values:

The Central Office of the Catholic Parents Associations at its Provincial Conference in Vienna has taken a stand against an over-hasty introduction of the five-day school week. In an unanimously adopted resolution of the Central Office (which represents the interests of 100,000 parents who send their children to Catholic private schools), it is stated that "any new legal regulation must protect the freedom of Catholic private schools to decide in favor of a five- or six-day week...." At least the parents who send their children to a Catholic private school should not be obliged to accept the adventure of the five-day week blindly.

All suggested ways of "coping with" the five-day school week are in fact loaded with problems:

* A curricular housecleaning is needed, to be sure, but only in order to make room for necessary new course content.

* If it becomes increasingly necessary to shift the so-called primary subjects [German, mathematics, foreign languages] to afternoon hours because of the five-day week, there would be little remaining possibility for remedial classes, while elective courses would seriously suffer. Moreover and above all, medical doctors hold that eight hours of instruction would be unbearable, [since] children experience a depression of their ability to work between one and

four o'clock. In addition, the increased pressure would inevitably make them more accident-prone on the way to and from school. Monday to Friday study time would no longer be thinkable, since there would be almost no personal free time left, and serious family discussion would only rarely be possible.

In addition: Afternoon instruction might be a device to bring in the all-day school secretly, silently and quietly [sic] (although the material prerequisites for it are entirely lacking in the state school system). Not that the all-day school in and of itself provides grounds for panic and horror among Catholic parents: if in the afternoon the teachers' helpers who do the work are of a kind that has the confidence of the parents (as is the case with day boarders in Catholic private schools), the all-day school can also be a help. The condition must be that the children will not be "taken away" from their parents and that there is no obligation to attend an all-day school.

* Parents and teachers are against shortening the summer vacations—and the children also need an appropriate amount of recreation.

* Similarly the extension of schooling by a year would mean that parents will be called on by "little stepfather State" to make a serious additional contribution to his revenues....

NOTES

1. The title of a 1962 book by Louis Clos of France that seems to have had a particularly strong impact on Austrian educational reformers.
2. Hermann Schnell, *Die österreichische Schule im Umbruch* (Vienna, 1974), pp. 47f.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 15f.
4. At the school where my own children are enrolled, there was a room-wide parental groan when it was announced at the first parent-teachers' meeting of the academic year that the second grade and beyond would continue to end the week at noon on Saturday rather than at 11 A.M., as had been proposed—because, we were told, to end at 11 A.M. on Saturday would necessitate staying until 1 P.M. on some other day, and this would further overload already overloaded pupils. But when the five-day week proposal was advanced a few months later, almost none of our fellow-parents was in favor.
5. Cf. D.I. Rusinow, *Notes Toward a Political Definition of Austria*, Parts I, II, III [DIR-2, 3, 5-'66], Fieldstaff Reports, Southeast Europe Series, Vol. XIII, Nos. 1, 2, 7, 1966.
6. After 1945, in the absence of a federal law, province-by-province partial retreats from changes introduced into the First Republic school system of 1928 during the Dolfuss-Schuschnigg and Nazi eras (1934-1945) had created in effect nine different systems with sometimes important differences.
7. There are actually four other "special forms" of *Aufbaugymnasium*, primarily for older persons returning to school full- or part-time in search of the valued *Matura*, but their enrollments are statistically insignificant and they are omitted from most lists. For a fuller description of the entire school system, here very simplified, see the *Bildungsbericht 1975* submitted by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) by the Federal Ministry of Education and Art.
8. Bundesministerium für Unterricht und Kunst, *Bildungsbericht 1975 an die OECD* (Vienna 1975), Tabelle 1, p. 273. Other statistics in these paragraphs are calculated from the same source or (for the Vienna "streaming" breakdown) from H. Schnell, *Schools in Vienna* (Pressdienst der Stadt Wien, 1971) p. 10.
9. As cited by Hermann Schnell, *Die österreichische Schule im Umbruch* (1974), p. 148.
10. A survey indicating that fully 40 percent of all prognoses over A- or B-stream abilities have turned out to be erroneous (criteria unspecified) is cited by *Profil* (*op. cit.*) as an index of the fallibility of a *Volkschule* teacher's judgment in such circumstances.
11. Schnell (1974), p. 61.
12. Partly because of the considerable and worrying "brain drain" to Western Europe, particularly West Germany where Austrians have no serious language problem, which has characterized most of the postwar period. The pull is in part because of the greater earning power that developed skills could command in other countries, a factor of lessening importance in the affluent Austria of today, and in part because of a strong sense that Austrian culture has become unlivably "provincial" or "parochial." The latter is a subject that falls outside the scope of this Report, but is highly relevant to the subject of the relationship between culture and education in Austria.
13. Theodor Piffl-Perčević, "Zur Diskussion um die 13. Schulstufe," in *Die Industrie*, no. 43 (October 25, 1968). Cf. his autobiography, *Zuspruch und Widerspruch* (Graz, Verlag Styria, 1977), pp. 79-81 and *passim.*, and Schnell (1974), pp. 162f, 190.
14. From interviews at the Education Ministry and with Dr. Schnell; cf. Schnell (1974), pp. 81-100.
15. Bundesministerium für Unterricht und Kunst, Zentrum für Schulversuche und Schulentwicklung, *Arbeitsberichte* Nrs. 1/17 and I/19 (Klagenfurt, 1975).
16. It was clear in interviews with socialists working at the Center for School Experiments and Development or in the Vienna school system that many have reservations about this limitation. "Nobody is proposing *at this time...*" is heard too frequently to be insignificant. On the other hand, the opposing political camp has divided views on the comprehensive *lower* secondary school. It is categorically opposed by the Union of Christian Teachers at Austrian Higher Schools (i.e., Catholic *Gymnasium* teachers), while the Catholic Teachers of Austria (another "Black" teachers' association significantly including *Hauptschule* instructors) has come out in favor of a compromise in the form of a six-year comprehensive *Grundschule*, postponing differentiation to the seventh grade (cf. these and other professional association standpoints quoted in Schnell 1974, pp. 88-90).
17. The Socialists respond by pointing out that religious instruction is required at all levels in state schools unless a parent (or upper secondary school pupil) formally requests exclusion, and that it was Kreisky's Socialist government that in 1971, on its own initiative, expanded state subsidization of private church schools from 60 to 100 percent of teachers' salaries.